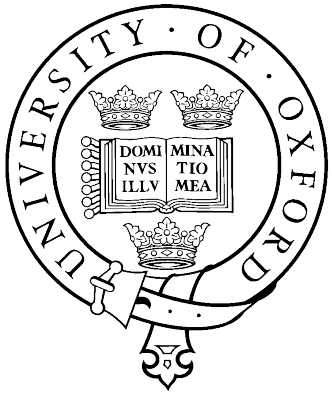
Wearable Containers of Meaningful Things:

English Late Medieval and Early Modern Jewellery to Enclose, Conceal, and Enshrine

Volume I



Caroline Croasdaile
St. Peter's College
School of Archaeology
University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Hilary Term 2025

Abstract

This study identifies and examines a unique and specific type of jewellery that could physically contain something, commonly known as portable reliquaries or lockets, used in England between c.1400 and 1700. This interdisciplinary research investigates the different ways that meaning was constructed in these 'wearable containers' through materiality, ornamentation, and contents. It also considers how the interiors and framing boundaries of the forms interacted together to create a functional possession, rather than a merely decorative accessory. Set within a period of great transition between the medieval and early modern eras, this study considers the effects of the Reformation on belief, especially those associated with religion, magic, or sentiment connected to these material objects. It sheds light on how a form, once commonly used for religious reliquaries, could be transformed and adapted into a locket, or the medium which memorialised interpersonal relationships of more immediate, intimate loved-ones.

The results reveal that container jewellery held a wide range of meaningful materials such as textual amulets, coins, hair, textile, or plant matter, and that diverse 'relic-making' strategies embedded materials with special memories or meaning-carrying capabilities and effectiveness. This study also highlights the impact of key moments in English history on this material, such as the execution of Charles I, which contributed to the more widespread, common use and preservation of the 'relics' of loved ones. In sum, this research adds to a broader understanding of the ways that people constructed meaning in materials, and the material objects that were worn and carried with them as they moved through life.

Table of Contents

Title Page ..... *i*

Abstract ..... *ii*

Table of Contents ..... *iii*

Lists of Figures, Tables, Graphs, & Maps ..... *vi*

List of Abbreviations ..... *x*

Acknowledgements ..... *xi*

Chapter 1. Introduction *1*

1.1 Introduction **1**
1.1.a Research Aims and Questions 3
1.1.b The Material Evidence 4
1.1.c Terminology 5
1.1.d Data Sources 10
1.1.e Issues in the Data Sources 10
1.1.f Geographic and Temporal Limits 13
1.1.g Ethical Considerations 15

1.2 Literature Review **20**
1.2.a Current State of Scholarship 20
1.2.b Contextualising the Object Type in Time and Place: Pre-1400 25
1.2.c Contextualising the Object Type: Europe c.1400-1700 31

1.3 Theoretical Frameworks **33**
1.3.a Materiality 33
1.3.b Object Biography 36
1.3.c The Senses 38
1.3.d Memory 40
1.3.e Relics and Relic-Making 40
1.3.f Summary 43

1.4 Methods **43**
1.4.a The Datasets 45

1.5 Introducing the Data **45**

1.6 Chapter Outline **49**

Chapter 2. Objects, Materials, Bodies, and Ritual Entanglement:The Case for Vervain *51*

2.1 Introduction **51**

2.2 The Winteringham Pendant **53**

2.3 Containing Plant Matter: Vervain **59**

2.4. Other Container Tau Cross Pendants **66**

2.5 The Flowering Cross **73**

2.6 Summary **79**

Chapter 3. Agnus Dei Pendants and Eucharistic Devotion *80*
3.1 Introduction **80**
3.2 The 'Lamb of God' or *Agnus Dei* **83**
3.3 *Agnus Dei* Pendants in the Assemblage **85**
3.4 Eucharistic Origins and Connections **86**
3.5 *Agnus Dei*: The Wax Roundel Discs **88**
3.6 *Agni Dei* and Other Contents **95**
3.7 Offering and Exchange **103**
3.8 Summary **105**
Chapter 4. The Reformation in England, Recusant Practice, and Wearable Container Objects . *107*
4.1 Introduction **107**
4.2 Changing Social Contexts: Illicit and Illegal **110**
4.3 Popular Commentary and Public Reception **115**
4.4 Summary **121**
Chapter 5. Stuart Monarchs: Martyrdom, Memory, and Devotion *123*
5.1 Introduction **123**
5.2 Stuart Container Jewellery: Mary, Queen of Scots and the Blairs Jewel **128**
5.3 Wearing Relics of Charles I: Blood, Hair, Textile, Image **129**
5.4 The Pendants and Workbox of Martha Edlin **141**
5.5 Summary **143**
Chapter 6. Love, Locks, and Mourning: Interpersonal Jewellery *146*
6.1 Introduction **146**
6.2 Medieval and Early Modern Courtly Hair Tokens: Leading to the Seventeenth Century **154**
6.3 Hair Lock Earrings and Love-locks: (c.1600-1649) **158**
6.4 Rings, Pendants, and Slides (c.1649-1700) **173**
6.4.a Rings with Hair Set into the Band 173
6.4.b Behind Rock Crystal or Glass 177
6.4.c Necklaces 183
6.5 Less Costly Love Tokens **185**
6.6 Summary **187**
Chapter 7. Discussion and Conclusion *190*
7.1 Discussion: Container Jewellery, (c.1400-1700) **190**
7.1.a Materialised Religion 190
7.1.b The Container Jewellery Object and the Body 195
7.1.c 'Relic-Making' and 'Relic-Materials' 197
7.1.d 'Afterlives' of the Objects 199
7.1.e Recommendations and Further Areas of Research 202

7.2 Conclusion **207**
Figures ***211***
Chapter 1. ..... **211**
Chapter 2. ..... **238**
Chapter 3. ..... **266**
Chapter 4. ..... **274**
Chapter 5. ..... **276**
Chapter 6. ..... **295**
Chapter 7 ..... **322**
Bibliography ***325***

Lists of Figures, Tables, Graphs, & Maps

Fig. 1.1	Selection of English container jewellery (c.1400-1700)	211
Figs. 1.2a-f	The Middleham Jewel from Middleham, North Yorkshire	212
Figs. 1.3a-c	The Wragby Pendant from Wragby, Lincolnshire	217
Figs. 1.4a-c	The Hockley Pendant from Hockley, Essex	219
Fig. 1.5	Roman *Bulla* pendant	222
Fig. 1.6	Bucket-shaped pendants from the Pontic area, Western Asia	222
Fig. 1.7	*Bulla* pendant from Langton by Wragby, Lincolnshire	223
Fig. 1.8	Cylindrical container from Ascott-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire	224
Fig. 1.9a	Grave goods and skull from York, North Yorkshire	225
Fig. 1.9b	*Bulla* pendant from York, North Yorkshire	225
Figs. 1.10a,b	Bronze hinged pendant	226
Figs. 1.11a-c	Great Gold Buckle from Sutton Hoo, Suffolk	228
Fig. 1.12	Container buckle from Mâcon, France	229
Fig. 1.13	Ampulla from Dereham, Norfolk	230
Fig. 1.14	Octagonal pendant from Istanbul, Turkey	231
Fig. 1.15	Hinged pendant front plate from Tendring, Essex	232
Fig. 1.16	St. Cuthbert Cross from Durham, County Durham	233
Fig. 1.17	Walrus ivory pendant from England	234
Figs. 1.18a,b	Reliquary pendant from Canterbury, Kent	235
Fig. 1.19	Pearl and rock crystal pendant from Scotland	237
Figs. 2.1a-c	The Winteringham Pendant from Winteringham, North Lincolnshire and vervain plant	238
Fig. 2.2	Katherine of Aragon portrait miniature	240
Fig. 2.3	The Sudeley portrait miniature of Jane Seymour	241
Fig. 2.4	The Sudeley portrait miniature of Catherine Parr	242
Fig. 2.5	Portrait of Queen Mary I	243
Fig. 2.6	The Godstow Ring from Godstow Abbey, Oxfordshire	244
Figs. 2.7a-c	Tau-shaped pendant from Selby, North Yorkshire	245
Fig. 2.8	Pendant from Devizes, Wiltshire	248
Fig. 2.9	The Raglan Ring from Raglan, Monmouthshire, Wales	248
Fig. 2.10	The Matlaske pendant from Matlaske, Norfolk	249
Figs. 2.11a-c	The Bridlington pendant from Bridlington, East Riding of Yorkshire	250
Figs. 2.12a,b	*Geranium robertianum* plant known as ‘Herb Robert’	253
Fig. 2.13	Sculpture relief of The Sunday Christ from England	254
Fig. 2.14	Pen and ink drawing from Sloane MS 6 175v	255
Fig. 2.15	Printed tau cross from Germany	256
Fig. 2.16	Gold iconographic ring from Thornecombe, Dorset	257

Fig. 2.17 Gold and rock crystal pendant from Kirton, Lincolnshire 258
Figs. 2.18a,b Tau-shaped pendant with dimensional flower buds from England 259
Fig. 2.19 Cruciform pendant from Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire 261
Fig. 2.20 Detail of illustration from the Rous Roll, MS 48976 262
Fig. 2.21 Illustration after Warwick Roll from Shaw 1858, 169 263
Fig. 2.22 Tomb effigy of Thomas de Beauchamp, Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Warwick, Warwickshire 264
Fig. 2.23 Horse harness pendant from Edlesborough, Buckinghamshire 265
Fig. 3.1 *Agnus dei* pendant from Broughton, Hampshire 266
Fig. 3.2 *Agnus dei* pendant plaque from Normanby, North Yorkshire 267
Fig. 3.3 Pendant plaque with the Face of Christ from Crays Hill, Essex 267
Fig. 3.4 *The Sacrifice of Abel and Melchizedek* mosaic in the Basilica of St. Vitale, Ravenna, Italy 268
Fig. 3.5 Eucharist wafer iron from Sweden 269
Fig. 3.6 Three hosts badge of Andechs Abbey, Upper Bavaria, Germany 269
Fig. 3.7 Embroidered burse from England 270
Fig. 3.8 The Swinburne Pyx from England 270
Figs. 3.9a,b *Agnus dei* pendant and contained wax disc from Southwark, London 271
Fig. 3.10 Openwork *agnus dei* pendant from St. Mary, South Elmham (otherwise) Homersfield, Suffolk 272
Fig. 3.11 *Agnus dei* incomplete pendant from Harescombe, Gloucestershire 273
Fig. 4.1 Woodcut print of devotional material in *A New Yeares Gifte*, 1597 274
Fig. 4.2 Heart-shaped pendant from Woodbastwick, Norfolk 275
Fig. 4.3 Print of 'Jesuit Trumpery' from *A discovery of the Jesuits Trumpery,* 1641 275
Figs. 5.1a,b The Blairs Jewel of Mary, Queen of Scots 276
Fig. 5.2 Container pendant from Barwick in Elmet, West Yorkshire 278
Fig. 5.3 Charles I book-shaped reliquary pendant 279
Fig. 5.4 Frontispiece of King Charles I from *Eikon Basilike,* 1649 280
Fig. 5.5 Detail of a painting depicting the execution of Charles I 281
Figs. 5.6a,b Charles I rock crystal and pearl reliquary pendant 282
Fig. 5.7 Gold pendant inscribed 'CR / Rex / Martyr' 284
Fig. 5.8 Heart-shaped rock crystal medallion pendant of Charles I 285
Figs. 5.9a,b Rock crystal medallion pendant of Charles I and chain 286
Fig. 5.10 Heart-shaped rock crystal 'IHS' pendant from Spain 288
Fig. 5.11 Gilt, heart-shaped pendant with weeping eye 289
Fig. 5.12 Heart-shaped inscribed silver pendant 289
Fig. 5.13 Heart-shaped silver pendant containing medallion of Charles I 290
Fig. 5.14 Martha Edlin's embroidered casket with associated objects 291
Fig. 5.15 Martha Edlin's embroidered casket 292
Figs. 5.16a,b Heart-shaped pendant with royal profile portraits 293

Fig. 5.17	Heart-shaped pendant with cupid image	294
Fig. 6.1	Detail of Portrait of Lady Mary Erskine, Countess Marischal	295
Fig. 6.2	Red enamelled hair lock pendant from the Portland Collection	296
Fig. 6.3	Black enamelled hair lock pendant from the Portland Collection	297
Fig. 6.4	Red enamelled hair lock pendant from the Ham House Collection	298
Fig. 6.5	Black enamelled hair lock pendant from the Ham House Collection	299
Fig. 6.6	Red enamelled hair lock pendant from the London Museum	300
Fig. 6.7	Detail of hair pendant illustration from *The Royal House of Stuart*, Hope and Gibb, 1890	301
Fig. 6.8	Detail of a portrait of Sir Thomas Hanmer	302
Fig. 6.9	Detail of Portrait of Lady Margaret Livingstone, 2nd Countess of Wigtown	303
Fig. 6.10	Detail of Portrait of Elizabeth Cavendish (*née* Basset), Countess of Newcastle	304
Fig. 6.11	Detail of Portrait of Lady Frances Deveraux	305
Fig. 6.12	Portrait Miniature of Sir William Compton	306
Fig. 6.13	Detail of Portrait of Anne Vavasour	307
Fig. 6.14	Detail of Portrait of Anne Wortley, Later Lady Morton	308
Fig. 6.15	Detail of 'Portrait of a Lady' (Perhaps Lady Elizabeth Sedley, *née* Savile)	309
Fig. 6.16	Portrait of *Sir Thomas Aston at the Deathbed of his Wife*	310
Fig. 6.17	Silver-gilt inscribed ring with figural heart and skulls	311
Figs. 6.18a,b	Openwork ring, found in Newcastle-Under-Lyme, Staffordshire	312
Fig. 6.19	Detail of a print in *A Collection of Emblemes*, Wither, 1635	313
Fig. 6.20	Enamelled toothpick of an arm holding a scythe from England	313
Fig. 6.21	Openwork mourning ring inscribed 'Samuell Nicholets'	314
Fig. 6.22	Openwork mourning ring inscribed Henry Hammond, chaplain to Charles I	315
Fig. 6.23	Ring set with the painted image of an eye	316
Fig. 6.24	Ring set with woven hair and the initials 'T H'	316
Fig. 6.25	Mourning buckle dedicated to 'Eliz Harman'	317
Fig. 6.26	Composite hair pendant necklace from Albion Art	318
Fig. 6.27	Composite hair pendant necklace with portrait of Queen Mary II	319
Fig. 6.28	Slide-clasp set with woven hair	320
Fig. 6.29	Slide with an image of a reclining skeleton	321
Figs. 6.30a,b	Heart-shaped pendant with the profile portrait of a woman	322
Fig. 7.1	Photograph of George Lister and Ted Seaton with the Middleham Jewel	323
Fig. 7.2	Photograph of Dave Stewart with the Middleham Jewel	324

Table 1	Total Objects in Appendices I and II by Period (c.1400-1700)	46
Table 2	Total Object Types in Appendices I and II (c.1400-1700)	46
Table 3	Late Medieval Object Shapes (c.1400-1534), Appendix I	55
Table 4	Late Medieval Multi-word/Phrase Inscriptions (c.1400-1534), Appendix I	82
Table 5	Late Medieval Interior Contents (c.1400-1534), Appendix I	83
Table 6	Early Modern Iconographic Occurrences (c.1534-1700), Appendix II	126
Table 7	British Portrait Paintings with Hair Lock Earring Pendants (1600-c.1640)	172
Graph 1	Late Medieval Occurrences of Iconography (c.1400-1534), Appendix I	81
Graph 2	Early Modern Inscription by Type (c.1534-1700), Appendix II	125
Graph 3	Interior Contents by Period (c.1400-1700), Appendices I and II	150
Graph 4	Early Modern Interior Contents (c.1534-1700), Appendix II	151
Graph 5	Late Medieval Inscription by Type (c.1400-1534), Appendix I	191
Graph 6	Shape Distribution by Period (c.1400-1700), Appendices I and II	195
Map 1	Object Find Location Distribution in England (c.1400-1700), Appendices I and II	47
Map 2	Early Modern 'Catholic-Coded' Object Find Location Distribution in England (c.1534-1700), Appendix II	112

List of Abbreviations

BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BABAO	British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology
BL	The British Library
BM	The British Museum
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media, and Sport
EEBO	Early English Books Online
FM	The Fitzwilliam Museum
LM	The London Museum
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
MET	Metropolitan Museum of Art
NMW	National Museum Wales
NPG	National Portrait Gallery (UK)
RCT	Royal Collection Trust
SHM	Statens Historika Museum
SKCM	Society of King Charles the Martyr
UCL	University College London
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Eleanor Standley, for her comments, guidance, and support throughout the duration of the D.Phil. I would also like to thank the curators, collections managers, and assistants, particularly at the British Museum, V&A, London Museum, and the Ashmolean for making access to their collections possible. A heartfelt thanks to the conveners and participants of the International Medieval Congress (2023), British Archaeological Association Post-Graduate Conference (2024), and the Society of Medieval Archaeology Student Colloquium (2024), where I presented my ongoing and adjacent research, and who offered engaging, insightful, and thoughtful discussion and feedback. A big thanks to friends at St. Peter's College for making the dark days of the COVID-19 pandemic bearable, and for continually sharing a zest for life. Especially Meadow Poplawsky, Annie Forster, Wojciech Marcinkowski, Alek Ebbeling and Alex Roth. Thank you to my fiancé, Tobias Gerrard-Anderson, for his kind and constant support throughout the completion and submission of the thesis.

A special thank you to my parents, a couple of American university students who met decades ago touring a medieval Welsh castle whilst studying in the U.K. Sharing my passion for history, archaeology, and all things old and fascinating, as well as travelling and exploring innumerable sites, museums, and collections with both of you is one of the great joys of my life. Thank you for feeding my imagination, believing in me, and supporting my studies. Also, for not finding it overly odd that your young daughter enjoyed playing 'Tudor Court' with her Barbies, and pretending to be delighted when, around the age of 10, she presented a self-made copy of Hans Holbein the Younger's portrait of Elizabeth I on Mother's Day. It all makes sense now.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This is the first study to identify the 'wearable container' jewellery object as unique and specific, and to consider its iterations in England through time as the sole focus of research.[1] 'Wearable containers' are defined as any jewellery object able to be worn on the body, with the affordance to contain a secondary object or material, also referred to as 'container jewellery'. These wearable containers are primarily pendants and rings, but also less frequently include other forms of dress accessories like buckles.[2] The date range of c.1400-1700 is chosen intentionally, as it bridges the transition from the medieval to the early modern periods in England: a time which notably includes the Reformation and which brushes against the nascent years of what has been called the Enlightenment.[3] As Keith Thomas demonstrates in his well-known *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* the change or continuation of broadly held popular social beliefs and practices can be traced into modernity.[4] In a similar fashion, I aim to investigate the beliefs and practices surrounding a single, and particularly well-poised object type. The form and use of container jewellery have the potential to demonstrate how past people constructed meaning in materials, and the treasured possessions that were held in close and

[1] The term 'jewellery' originates c.1400 in English meaning 'jewels or valuable objects (typically made using gold, silver, or precious stones) considered collectively; items of the sort produced or sold by a jeweller; *spec.* objects of this sort used as personal adornments'. 'jewellery/jewelry, n., OED.
[2] Table 2 in Sec. 1.5 includes details of the number of objects in this study by types such as rings, pendants, etc.
[3] Kant 1784. In his famous essay 'What is Enlightenment?', Immanuel Kant urged independent thought, reasoning, and rationality. 'Enlightenment' has been used by subsequent scholars to describe the intellectual and cultural movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which notably included the development of empiricism and the scientific process. Robertson 2020. Fleischacker 2013.
[4] Machielsen and Pfeffer 2023. Thomas 1971.

intimate contact with their bodies. In this research, I examine the strategies these artefacts drew upon in order to be effective, protective, healing, magical, or emotionally charged. Simultaneously, I reveal how they acted as functional tools and repositories of meaning, memory and emotion, and not merely decorative objects. This work also examines the ways that the contents (or former contents) of the containers were mediated, communicated, and framed through the boundaries of their physical container. The duality and relationship of interiority and exteriority is a recurrent theme, which finds its metaphoric counterpart in other perceived 'containers' of these ages, for example, buildings, books, wombs, or the whole of the human body itself.[5] The tiny interior spaces of these containers, and their oft-ornamented exteriors, connect to some of the great anxieties of life in the late medieval and early modern world; for example, the frailty and fallibility of the human form and the unpredictability of birth, life, and death.[6] I consider these objects from an interdisciplinary perspective, drawing on approaches and themes found in Archaeology, Art History, History, Anthropology, and Material Culture Studies. This research will be of interest to a wide scope of individuals including academics or students of any of the aforementioned disciplines, religious or faith-based communities, as well as museum curators, Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) Finds Liaison Officers, or metal detectorists, who all might engage with this kind of material.[7] In sum, this research contributes to our understanding of the ongoing and potent human relationship with things, which remain and outlast us long after we are gone.[8]

[5] Salvador-González 2020, 55-68. Le Pousard 2019, 316-25. Baker, Nijdam, and van't Land 2012. Carruthers 2008, 18-55.
[6] Capp 2023, 5-21; 2018, 13. Lahtinen and Korpiola 2018, 1-17. Tomaini 2018. Appleford 2015. Akbari and Ross 2013. Gilchrist 2012, 340-427. Speakman 2010. Duffy 1992, 299-368. Stone 1979, 54-66.
[7] Portable Antiquities Scheme.
[8] For discussion of materiality and 'Thing Theory' in relation to this study see Sec. 1.3.a. Brown 2003, 2001.

1.1.a Research Aims and Questions

This thesis aims to:

- Identify and collate a dataset of wearable container objects in use in England dating to c.1400-1700;
- Investigate the medieval and early modern relationship of container jewellery with the body;
- Assess the strategies medieval and early modern people used to collect, contain, or enshrine using container jewellery;
- Analyse the changes or continuities of this object type, as well as its use, function, and reception in pre- and post-1534 England;
- Examine if and what these items tell us about the human use of materiality for comfort, protection, memory, or health.

The main research questions are:

- In what ways were these types of objects in dialogue with the body?
- How is religion and/or belief expressed through this object type in the period under consideration; how and why might this have changed over time?
- What perceived power and meaning did these objects possess; to what was this attributed?
- What types of relationships, power structures, or worldviews did these objects materialise or reinforce?
- What did the interior spaces hold, and what was the significance of this material?
- Are all container jewellery objects 'reliquaries'? In the context of these objects, should all contained materials be understood as 'relics'?

1.1.b The Material Evidence

I have defined the scope of material for inclusion in this project as: objects made from metal, able to be worn on the body, and with the affordance to contain a secondary object or material, with evidence of origin or use in England between c.1400 and 1700 (for examples of this object type see Fig. 1.1). The choice to limit the scope of the research to metal objects is in part due to the nature and biases of the PAS database, which is dominated by metal detected finds and from which 44% of the objects studied in this thesis are recorded.[9] I also include incomplete or fragmentary artefacts as evidence of container objects, where they display shape, form, size, material, and/or ornamentation in line with other contemporaneous artefacts within the assemblage. The study includes objects that are both sealed or unable to be opened without significant intervention, as well as ones that provide visual or haptic access through openwork, translucent materials like rock crystal or glass, as well as those with the affordance of opening and closing mechanisms such as hinges or sliding plates. Ultimately, the collation of this project has resulted in a catalogue of 243 total objects (Appendices I and II).

While medieval ampullae may fit the criteria of metal container objects that could have been worn on the body, they are not included within this thesis. Rather, they occupy and merit their own consideration and study as an adjacent, but unique object type in their own right. Since ampulla use peaked prior to 1400, and they were not commonly used post-1534 in England, they do not fit with the main aims of this study.[10]

---

[9] For more on the data sources including the PAS see Sec. 1.1c-d.

[10] Spencer 1998, 3. Additionally, due to their much greater numbers, ampullae would be incompatible with, and eclipse, the scope and purpose of this study. A survey of the PAS reveals records of at least 1,000 ampullae, while the collated datasets central to this study contain 243 objects. PAS Database search for recorded ampullae as of November, 2024. I have also excluded objects like purse hangers, as these also represent an adjacent, but different class of artefact whose containing feature (now lost) would have been predominantly comprised of textile or leather, which are non-metal materials.

1.1.c Terminology

Terminology is another challenge in approaching, writing, discussing, or studying this specific object type. In databases and catalogues, terms for this object type are not applied consistently even within the same collections: 'reliquary', 'locket', 'capsule pendant', or 'religious/ritual equipment' are all terms that are used as descriptive object titles.[11] While great effort has been exerted to capture and collate all relevant objects, the possibility of unexpected, inconsistent, or unusually applied terms could present a barrier to the identification and inclusion of relevant objects from catalogues and databases. In this section, I acknowledge and examine issues in terminology in relation to this study, and propose and define the key terms to be used.

In the historical context, there was a different applied vocabulary and varying orthography for the types of objects discussed here. Particularly in the late medieval context, this is further complicated by the use of French in courtly circles or Latin for more official or functional documents like wills and inventories. Historic terms for jewellery could be applied fluidly, varying from source to source even within the same time period or region, and it can often be difficult to identify precisely what type of object is being referred to in historic documents. For example, the terms 'ouche' or 'nouche' could refer to a brooch or clasp, but also other types of jewellery.[12] Similarly, the terms 'devys' or 'tablet' could be broadly applied to refer to an ornament or decorative object that might be made of precious metals or stones, and could refer to a pendant.[13] Use of the word 'tablet/tablett' is a particularly helpful clue that a jewellery object may have been hinged or used for containment, as this word becomes

[11] For example, see 'Pendant Capsule in the Form of a Tau Cross', MET; 'container; religious/ritual equipment; disc', BM. For a definition of 'jewellery' see Sec. 1.1.
[12] Hinton 2012. 'ouch', The Lexis of Cloth and Clothing Project.
[13] Scarisbrick 1994, 4, 20, 30, 34, 53. Tait 1985, 29-57. Davis 1971, 250. Evans 1921, 52.

consistently applied in connection to hinged pendants and items known to contain portraits, clocks, or even small books.[14]

Ensuring that the terms used are recognisable, consistent, and comprehensible to contemporary audiences is of key importance. I refer to the object type examined in this thesis as wearable container objects or container jewellery. I also use 'container' as a modifying term in addition to the general form or type of object such as 'pendant' or 'ring'. Referring to an object as a 'container pendant' or 'container ring' identifies that the object has a hollow space for containing something, and indicates the type of form the object takes. It does not make assumptions, however, as to what it contains (or once contained) or its potential meaning. This is particularly important, as nearly half of all objects, and most of the late medieval objects, lack material evidence of their original contents.

Other common terms found in catalogues or databases in relation to these objects are the words 'reliquary' or 'locket'. The Getty Art and Architecture Thesaurus, a source for controlled vocabulary in the museum context, defines 'reliquaries' as religious, and 'lockets' as personal mementoes.[15] This, however, can present a limited perception of the diversity and complexity of different kinds of container jewellery, as well as the overlap between the memento and the spiritual. 'Reliquary' is often used in association with medieval objects, though the term 'reliquary' was only first recorded in use in the mid-sixteenth century in English.[16] Referring to container jewellery objects as 'reliquaries' is not the most useful term in connection with this study, in part because it assumes a function and purpose for an object (a container for 'relics')

---

[14] Scarisbrick 1994, 72, 76, 84. Tait 1985, 29-57. The term 'tablet' probably stems from earlier medieval diptych writing tablets. Cruse 2007, 57-69. Brown 1994, 1-16. Lalou 1989, 123-40. Rouse and Rouse 1989, 175-91.

[15] 'reliquary', AAT, Getty. 'lockets', AAT, Getty.

[16] 'reliquary', OED. However, Latin and French versions of this term were in use by British sources by the thirteenth century. This is an example of a term that is technically 'anachronistic' applied to objects from before the mid-sixteenth century, but still widely used and understood in scholarly circles. Hahn 2012, 2017. Bagnoli et al. 2011.

that can limit our perception of other possible uses and significance of these artefacts. The terms 'relics' and 'reliquaries' are also somewhat vague and unhelpful, especially as they can be understood and defined as any wide-ranging memorial material and their containers from any time period, and need not be religious in nature.[17]

Nevertheless, a brief discussion of the term 'relic' in the context of this study is important to include and define. The term relic is derived from the Latin *reliquiae*, meaning remains or remnant.[18] Relics can take a wide range of forms; however, Christian religious relics can be defined as one of three types, captured in the categories recorded in more recent canonical law of the Catholic Church.[19] This includes primary relics that were part of the bodies of saints or holy persons like bones, teeth, hair, blood, breast milk, or even foreskin. Items associated with the life and death of Christ are also often included amongst primary relics like fragments of the True Cross or Crown of Thorns.[20] Secondary relics included materials once in contact or close proximity with a holy body, which could include items like the staff of a saint or the cloak of a martyr.[21] Finally, tertiary relics are objects that have come into contact or significant proximity with a primary or secondary relic, holy person, or site. It is through tertiary 'relics' that anyone could become the maker and recipient of their very own relic. In the medieval world, this could include pieces of fabric touched against a tomb, a mirror used to reflect and 'absorb' the power of a shrine, as well as water or oil collected from a sacred site, thus ritually transforming

[17] 'relic, n.', OED. 'reliquary', OED.
[18] 'relic, n.', OED.
[19] The hierarchy of relics throughout the history of the church is a complex topic that varied through time, geographic region, and preference. The three types discussed here are not necessarily reflective of medieval definitions, but provide a useful framework through which to approach relevant attitudes towards a hierarchy of bodily proximity in relics. Regarding the current classification of relics see 'Instruction 'Relics in the Church: Authenticity and Preservation', Vatican, 2017.
[20] The bodies of Christ and the Virgin Mary are believed to have ascended into heaven without leaving complete mortal remains, which may explain the elevation in status of their contact relics. Walsham 2010(a), 9-36.
[21] Walsham 2010(a), 9-36.

mundane material into something charged and of greater social and ritual value.[22] While 'reliquary' is not the preferred term for objects in this study, it will be used to refer to container jewellery where the contents (formerly or presently) are primary or secondary religious relics, identifiable through inscriptions on the container or preserved contents.[23]

'Locket' is another common descriptive term for these kinds of objects, which was not used to refer to container jewellery until at least the seventeenth century.[24] Initially, the word 'locket' referred to a small lock of hair.[25] It is likely that a fluidity developed between the container and the contained. This may be demonstrated in the 1679 *London Gazette* reference to 'A Hair Locket set in Gold, with a cristal over the Hair'.[26] Ambiguity regarding whether a locket refers to the container, or the hair lock within, may also be exemplified in the 1684 poem title 'On a locket of hair wove in a true-loves knot, given me by Sir. R.O.' by Aphra Behn.[27] While it is evident the object mentioned includes hair woven into a knot, it is less clear if it is set into an object of jewellery. By 1691, the English physician and diarist Claver Morris would refer to a 'Locquet' containing the hair of his daughter and his wife.[28] In the context of this study, I use the term 'locket' to describe seventeenth-century objects that commonly contained tokens of hair, especially those with evidence that they were used to fulfill an interpersonal or memorial purpose. Some objects can, of course, fit within these overlapping outlined definitions of

[22] Browett 2017, 493-509. Koopmans 2016, 535-58. Walsham 2010(a), 9-36. Bynum 2004, 227-41.
[23] For example, as with the objects: Appendix I: 1.62; Appendix II: 2.172, 2.177.
[24] 'locket, n.', OED.
[25] 'locket, n.', OED.
[26] 'Locket' has a much older history used in relation to hair rather than containers, and was a term applied to locks of wool, used at least by the thirteenth century in Britain. 'locket, n.', OED. *The London Gazette*, 1684, no. 1987, 2.
[27] Behn 1697.
[28] Hobhouse 1934, 148.

'reliquary' and 'locket', particularly in the case of materials associated with Charles I, the English king framed as a martyr in the seventeenth century (see Chapter 5).

The term 'sentimental' is also used throughout the thesis to describe objects that represent, materialise, or communicate personal feelings or emotional states, often in the context of relationships.[29] This is meant in the present-day sense of the word as expressive of sentiments or of sentimental significance, rather than the specific philosophic and literary connotation connected with the eighteenth century and its cultural movement of Sentimentalism.[30]

This discussion demonstrates how difficult it can be to find, choose, and apply terms to this object type. It also sheds light on the tension between anachronism and contemporary recognition and parlance. These issues open the door to more complex semiotic considerations in the perception, adoption, and use of words to categorise, represent, and communicate the identity of objects.[31] The in-depth examination or resolution of this is not within the aims or scope of this study. However, I have identified and set out what will be used consistently in the context of this thesis.

---

[29] Clare Phillips, a Curator of the Decorative Art and Sculpture Department at the V&A (as of 2019) adopts this term and describes seventeenth-century jewellery as sentimental. Phillips 2000, 45. Bury 1985. 'Jewels and Jewellery', Thames & Hudson. Many terms we use to effectively communicate in the present day about the past are anachronistic, because we ourselves are anachronisms to the past. While acknowledging the shortcomings of certain terms, many terms are commonly used and accepted 'anachronistically'. This includes the word 'reliquary', which according to the OED is first recorded in use in the mid sixteenth century.

[30] Eighteenth-century Sentimentalism refers to a cultural, literary, and philosophical movement emphasising emotion, feeling, and moral sensibility, often counter to purely rationalist thought. Frazer 2010. Mullan 1988. Rosenberg 1968. While the term 'sentimental' took on new meaning in the eighteenth century, many jewellery types expressive of sentiment in the seventeenth century (especially those containing hair) remain widely-used forms throughout the eighteenth century (See Sec. 1.2.a).

[31] See also Sec. 7.1.e.

1.1.d Data Sources[32]

This research draws largely upon chance finds located by metal detectorists and recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), and available on their database.[33] It also utilises information from major collections such as those held by The British Museum, V&A, London Museum, the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology (University of Oxford), the Fitzwilliam Museum (University of Cambridge), and the Royal Collections Trust. Auction catalogue listings have been included where they represent a unique or important object not otherwise represented. Smaller regional or county museums have been consulted where their collections have been made accessible in published or online catalogues.

1.1.e Issues in the Data Sources

It must be noted that this is not a comprehensive catalogue of all examples of this object type from England, but a sample set. Many more exist in private collections, for example, or remain buried awaiting the chance of recovery. While Appendices I and II are sample sets of these objects, many more of these objects will not have survived due to the iconoclasm of the Reformation, or the re-use and melting down of metal objects to be re-crafted into more fashionable jewellery objects or other effects through time. For those that have survived, a large proportion of object data is represented by chance metal-detectorist finds recorded in the Portable Antiquity Scheme database.[34] The potential problems or biases within this method of finding and recovery of artefacts must be addressed and acknowledged.[35] The Treasure Act 1996

[32] The inclusion of these objects does not equate to an opinion on authenticity, valuation, or assurance to private collectors, buyers, or sellers in relation to objects offered to sale on the art and antiquities market. The author and the University of Oxford cannot be liable for opinions expressed in this thesis that relate to objects offered for sale on the art and antiquities market.
[33] PAS Database. The data includes PAS finds recorded up until April 26, 2025.
[34] Portable Antiquity Scheme (PAS).
[35] Robbins 2014. 2013, 54-5.

generally dictates that any object found has the potential to be 'Treasure' if it has metallic content of which at least 10% by weight, is precious metal (gold or silver), and at least 300 years old.[36] This means that there is no legal requirement to report objects found that are of base metals like copper alloy, which contributes to fewer recordings for these types of objects in the PAS database. The act of metal detecting itself, which accounts for a large proportion of finds in the PAS, also privileges the recovery of metal objects rather than finds like those of wood, bone, ceramic, or ivory. The practices and methods of metal detectorists contributing to PAS documentation cannot be readily consulted or reviewed through published or publicly-accessible documentation.[37] Due to the nature of the practice, chance detectorist finds cannot be securely dated based on wider contextual site stratigraphy.[38] Private non-urban agricultural land is subject to a higher traffic of metal detecting, and is therefore more likely to yield higher numbers of finds within the database. Factors that may impact the higher numbers of finds in a particular locale or region may include the number of active metal-detecting individuals and clubs, or the popularity for the activity in an area. Metal detecting is further constrained by geographical bias, as it is prohibited on protected sites such as National Parks and impractical in densely built and paved urban areas like central London. While recorded PAS finds are an invaluable source of information and add greatly to the number of artefacts we have at our disposal for study, there are also other ongoing limitations working with this type of data presents. Some PAS entry photographs depict limited detail or angles of an object, which can make understanding small-

[36] Treasure Act 1996. This is the most relevant requirement with regard to the material here examined. There are other stipulations relating to coins and prehistoric artefacts, and a 2023 amendment has broadened the definition to include an artefact that 'provides exceptional insight' into Britain's past.

[37] Abramsson highlights recording survey lines via GPS as a method for amateur detectorists, which can be done using inexpensive fitness tracking devices. Abramsson 2012.

[38] Common metal detecting find locations include pre-disturbed plough soil or foreshores, which often cannot provide secure dating contexts due to the distribution and movement of ploughing and tides over time. Henrikson and Horsnaes 2015, 237-45.

scale details of the form, ornamentation, or inscription of an object difficult. Furthermore, many artefacts are returned to their finders after being recorded and remain in private ownership. Unlike large public collections, this means that they are largely inaccessible to be viewed, studied, or photographed in person, and are unavailable for further physical scientific analysis. The same is true for many auction catalogue entries, as private collections are the destination for a large number of these artefacts that come to market.

Biases are also present in museum collections and collecting practices past and present, particularly with regards to what is acquired and how. Current collecting of PAS-recorded material is subject to the discretion and budgets of curators and museums. Other collecting factors include the research interests of major historic donors, as well as those of present or historic keepers or curators of collections. For example, many objects recorded in this dataset were part of the collections of the former Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum, Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, who left a large personal collection of rings to the British Museum upon his death in 1897.[39] Similarly, the scholar and author Dame Joan Evans is responsible for bequeathing a large personal collection of jewellery to the V&A and British Museum, which also includes many objects recorded in Appendices I and II.[40] Museum collections are also subject to the historic narrative of connoisseurship, which places favour on objects of very fine materials, value, or workmanship, and in this way may not be representative of what was actually in more widespread regular use by non-elite people of the past.[41]

[39] Dalton 1912.
[40] Evans 1964. 'Dame Joan Evans' British Museum.
[41] Miller 2017, 45-63.

1.1.f Geographic and Temporal Limits

I have limited the geographic range to present-day England in part due to my research focus on the effects of the Reformation in England, and in part due to the nature and limitations of the data sources. While England is subject to the Treasure Act of 1996, Scotland follows the principle of treasure trove under its common law. Reported finds from Scotland are not collated within the PAS. While Wales is covered by the PAS, only a few objects that fit the stipulations of this project are recorded from that region, and are insufficient in number to comprise a significant sample set.[42] As small, portable, itinerant objects made by goldsmiths or craftspeople who could be similarly mobile, these objects are resistant to any definitive association with a single geographic location. I have not attempted to identify particular artisans, workshops, or centres of production, though some styles and forms unique to England do emerge. Evidence for 'use in England' has been defined as constituting a find location within present-day English borders, evidence of ownership, use, or the containment of materials associated with a person residing in England, or a documented and reliable long-term provenance within an English collection.

The temporal range was chosen with the intent to trace this object type through a period that bridged both the late medieval and early modern periods, and which included the Reformation as well as notable political and intellectual changes and developments in the early modern period. Here, I use the chronological term 'late medieval' to refer to c.1400-c.1534 and 'early modern' to refer to c.1534-c.1700.[43] The scholarly definition of these terms expresses

[42] For examples of finds from Wales see PAS: NMGW-221F3A, NMGW-9E8024.

[43] This is in line with other scholarly sources, journals, and publications such as *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, which defines the later medieval period as between c.1066-c.1550. Scholars such as Alexandra Walsham align the Reformation with the early modern period in Britain in their studies (c.1500-c.1750). Keith Wrighton's economic and social study of Britain similarly situates and understands the early modern period in Britain as c.1500-c.1750. It is important to emphasise that these terms are widely accepted and understood

some flexibility in describing and capturing an approximate date range, rather than an exact number of years. I have not used terms like post-medieval or pre- and post-Reformation as these imply a more definite understanding of when these periods of time ended. As many scholars have argued, the Reformation in England and wider Europe was a process rather than a single, pivotal, fully-accepted, or transformational event.[44] Part of the aim of this study is to identify to what extent Reformation-minded legislation actually influenced the practices and material devotional lives of both elite and more everyday people through the physical evidence and functionality of their possessions. I define the Reformation in the context of this study as the theoretical and practical movement to reform the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church of Rome, particularly driven by the efforts and reforms of the new Church of England, formally founded in 1534.[45]

While container jewellery existed in England prior to c.1400, the fifteenth century marks an influx in the manufacture, use, and ownership of greater quantities of this kind of small-scale, personal, material culture.[46] Applying definite dates to many of these objects can be challenging as they are often chance finds lacking stratigraphic context, and hallmarks and maker's marks did not become common on jewellery objects until the latter seventeenth century.[47] In light of this, the style, material, form, and method of production are taken into overall consideration when considering the date or date range of an object. Applying a more secure typology or dating

heuristic terminological tools rather than absolute dates. Gerrard and Gutiérrez (eds.) 2018, vi. Walsham 2011. Wrightson 2000.

[44] Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003, 1-9. Haigh 1993; 1987. Duffy 1992, 5. Scarisbrick 1984.

[45] This is in line with the widely accepted and understood OED definition of the term. 'reformation', n.', OED. For more on the nuances of the historiography of this term see Guyer 2022.

[46] Notable examples include: MET: 63.160 (c.1174-77) and probably Ashmolean: AN1940.228 (c.1350). While the latter's production is dated to the fourteenth century, it was likely in use and ownership into the fifteenth century. Standley 2016(a), 117-142. Evans, Leeds, and Thompson 1941, 197-202.

[47] Taylor and Scarisbrick 1978, 22. Clifford 1908, 358-9.

for this object type is not within the aim or scope of this project, nevertheless, some clear patterns and progressions do appear through time, which are drawn out in the relevant chapters.

1.1.g Ethical Considerations

Some objects examined as part of this thesis study are sensitive, particularly in regard to their contained materials. This is due to their sacred, religious meaning to some present-day Roman Catholic or Protestant communities, as well as the presence of possible human remains. As such, the material studied in this thesis requires due care and consideration. For example, the continued veneration of objects included in this study is evident within Stonyhurst College.[48] Stonyhurst College is a Catholic, Jesuit-affiliated educational institution with a significant collection of medieval and early modern religious material from Britain.[49] In this community, the active veneration of relics and reliquaries is not expressed as incompatible with their academic study, public exhibition in secular museum settings, or online exhibitions.[50] The current Keeper of Stonyhurst College Collections has published numerous scholarly works that include objects within the Stonyhurst collections.[51] Stonyhurst College has also permitted its relics and reliquaries, including those with visible preserved human tissue, to be photographed and circulated by prominent news media outlets, and have lent such objects to major public exhibitions including the British Museum's *Shakespeare: Staging the World* and *Treasures of Heaven.*[52] Other objects included in this study, such as materials relating to King Charles I, continue to be venerated by some Protestants. Relics of Charles I are held by the Anglicans of the

[48] For objects held in Stonyhurst College Collections included in this study see Appendix I: 1.65; Appendix II: 2.177.
[49] The College reports that it displays and venerates a small freestanding reliquary of thorns purported to be connected with the crucifixion annually during Holy Week in the College Chapel. 'Easter Meditation' and 'Stonyhurst Museum, Archives & Historic Libraries', Stonyhurst College.
[50] Graffius et al. 2021.
[51] Graffius 2022, 2015, 2012, 147-69. Graffius et al. 2021.
[52] Bate and Thornton 2012. Clark 2012. Bagnoli et al. 2011. 'Shakespeare's Restless World: Eye Relic', BBC, 2012.

Society of King Charles the Martyr who advocate for his commemoration as a martyr and observance of the date of his execution, and who express interest in acquiring further relics.[53] Recent works have highlighted the ethical issues as well as shared interest in religious objects held by both religious affiliates and secular museum or academic professionals, such as the Catholic Material Culture Research Group, founded in 2022 under the British Art Network.[54] Such research endeavors demonstrate that interested groups can work together towards respectful and ethical approaches to the study of sacred objects and human remains.[55]

This study does not utilise any destructive or non-destructive scientific analyses of the objects or contents. The extent of physical interaction with a sample of these objects has included viewing, handling, measuring, and photographing them in museum study rooms, for example in the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum.[56] Of the late medieval objects in this study, only two contain what is possibly hair.[57] Of the early modern objects, 87 contain hair (or possibly hair), three contain what is possibly bone or tooth material, and three are believed contain presently (or formerly) soft tissue.[58] Very few of these container objects have received scientific testing for the identification or analysis of their material contents, and therefore it is difficult to definitively determine what they hold inside.[59] It is not accepted as evident that all of these materials are derived from human bodies. In this study, hair (believed to be human hair) is

[53] 'Relics', Society of King Charles the Martyr. The veneration of corporeal relics is a less prominent practice amongst Protestants.
[54] Wright et al. 2024.
[55] Biers and Stringer 2024. Kostova et al. 2020. Buggeln, Paine, and Plate 2017. Fletcher, Antoine, and Hill 2014. Scarre, Coningham, and Young, 2013. Bell 2010, 29-34.
[56] Many objects in Appendix I-II are privately owned and not available to be viewed.
[57] See Appendix I: 1.3, 1.12.
[58] See Graphs 3-4. Appendix II: 2.92, 2.172, 2.177.
[59] For objects whose contents have received scientific analysis see Appendix I: 1.3, 1.9, 1.66.

the most common material contained, most often in the case of early modern interpersonal or memorial objects.[60]

According to the *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums*, published in 2005 by the UK Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS), 'In line with the Human Tissue Act 2004, the definition [of human remains] does not include hair and nails, although it is acknowledged that some cultural communities do give these a sacred importance.'[61] The act only includes hair as relevant material where the roots or follicles are still attached, not clipped or cut locks of hair like those included in many objects examined in this study. It is also worth noting that in early modern Britain, the period to which most of the hair-containing objects in this thesis date, hair was understood on a literal level as waste material and expelled bodily humours.[62] The 2005 DCMS document constitutes ethical guidelines for museum stewardship, rather than a legal framework, and as such not all museums or institutions share the same policies or views in relation to these kinds of materials. For example, the British Museum, whose collections spans a broad global and temporal breadth of human history, does include cuttings of hair and nails in its definition of 'human remains'.[63] Hair as human remains has generally presented a more challenging and pressing ethical issue for study in relation to indigenous communities, where hair locks or objects incorporating human hair were acquired and collected within the framework and power dynamics of colonialism, often removed from their original geographic or cultural contexts.[64] In contrast, the focus of this study is jewellery made and used in England, and the

[60] See Graphs 3-4.
[61] DCMS, *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums*, 2005. The Human Tissue Act 2004, c.30, sec. 53, 45. The policy on human remains held by University of Oxford's museums is based on this DCMS guidance. University of Oxford, *Policy on Human Remains held by the University of Oxford's Museums,* 2006.
[62] Snook 2021. Snook 2015, 27.
[63] BM, *British Museum Policy: Human Remains in the Collection*, 2025.
[64] Alemu 2024, 29-49. Kumar Kanungo and Sumi 2024.

objects and their contents (where present) are held predominantly within English institutions. Access to these kinds of objects for research or education in England is normally provided through museum displays, inventories, and documentation, or within supervised contexts like study rooms, which are governed by the institutions' policies and codes of practice.[65]

In the European context, and the context of this study, relics of saints could be considered as mortuary representations of whole human individuals (including hair) and venerated akin to graves or tombs containing whole bodies, despite extreme or minute fragmentation.[66] However, Christian religious relics and reliquaries may be more compatible with display and exhibition than other types of human remains, due to their long history as the portable foci of ostension, procession, and pilgrimage, as well as the nature of many reliquary forms themselves, which invite and facilitate visual access through glass, rock crystal, or other window-like openings.[67] In a different but related context, non-religious and interpersonal cut locks of hair, particularly in the early modern period in this study, might have personal or emotional meaning and be metaphorically proximate to religious materials, but not understood as sacred in quite the same way.[68]

There are no well-documented public or legal actions requesting a return of these kinds of objects or changes in their handling, display, or study by descendants or other stakeholders.

---

[65] For example, the Ashmolean Museum, see University of Oxford, *Policy on Human Remains held by the University of Oxford's Museums,* 2006; BM, *British Museum Policy: Human Remains in the Collection*, 2025. The MET, Massachusetts Historical Society, and global private collectors like Japan-based Albion Art also hold relevant material.

[66] On the fragmentation of relics see Bynum 2012, 1995. Levy, Macy, and Ausdall 2012. MacKendrick 2008, 106-131. On issues and ethical debates on the study of relics, reliquaries, and the sacred from similar contexts see Nilsson Stutz, Peyroteo Stjerna, and Tarlow 2025. Di Lazzaro et al. 2020, 926. Gilchrist 2020. Kazan and Higham 2019, 142-67. Kazan 2018, 570-2. Čavka, Škrobonja, and Petaros 2011.

[67] Milicia 2020, 246-259. Hahn 2017, 88-149. Werronen 2017, 120-144. Duffy 1992, 24. The Stonyhurst College reliquary of Edward Oldcorne compounds these dimensions of visuality and viewership as a relic of an eye, made visible within a reliquary in the guise of an eye socket. Appendix II: 2.177.

[68] The nuances of these two kinds of 'relics' is explored further throughout the thesis. In particular, hair as a prominent contained material is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 6.

Rather, there is good evidence for stakeholders cooperating with museums by bequeathing, selling, donating, or loaning objects to public museums, which actively enables them to be more closely viewed, exhibited, or studied. This is true of a pendant lent to the V&A by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brentwood; pendants and an embroidered casket donated to the V&A by the original owner's descendants; a pendant said to have held an infant's caul, sold by a family descendant to the V&A; and a pendant known as the 'Blundell Pyx', which is currently on loan to the British Museum by descendants of the former owner. [69]

Despite evidence for religious community and descendent cooperation with the study, display, and photographing of these kinds of objects and materials, it is still important to acknowledge the spiritually or emotionally-charged resonances that these objects can have as heirlooms and religious objects, and to approach their discussion and analysis with respect and consideration. While these objects and their present or former material contents may present ethical considerations, their study through images, records, and museum visits also presents opportunities for the expansion of a shared understanding of material belief and religious or personal practice in the past. Such study has the potential to deepen collective knowledge of England's spiritual heritage, benefiting religious affiliates, academics, and the public alike.[70]

[69] For relevant objects that have been acquired or loaned through families or religious communities see Appendix I: 1.58; Appendix II: 2.92, 2.105-6, 2.134, 2.154. The Diocese of Brentwood spans Essex and East London. None of these currently contain hair or human remains, as is the case with the majority of objects in this study. See Sec. 1.5.e. Blundell et al. 2018, 29-76.

[70] The productive relevance of this can be witnessed through the creation of the Faith Museum in Bishop Auckland, County Durham (opened October 2023), which explores the history and material legacy of faith in Britain over 6,000 years through approx. 250 objects.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.a Current State of Scholarship

Container jewellery (c.1400-1700) in England has been the subject of scholarly study through its inclusion in broad catalogues and surveys of jewellery, rings, dress accessories, art, archaeological artefacts, and material culture.[71] These are usually descriptive and enumerative in nature, and do not closely analyse individual objects or contextualise them within a broader corpus of material culture. However, some more detailed catalogues do offer helpful contextual information, such as the citation of these objects in historic wills and inventories and their use or ownership by elite persons.[72] Other thematic studies or surveys of material that include this object type are likewise often more limited to the interests or research questions of the particular project, which may deal more broadly with adjacent themes such as domestic devotion, health and healing, amulets, daily life, relics and reliquaries, pilgrimage paraphernalia, objects of dress, religious ritual practice, or mourning traditions.[73] Most studies have utilised these objects as supporting material evidence for their wider-reaching arguments, rather than the initial source and focus of their study.

Specific, rare, and exceptional high-status examples of this artefact type have also been studied and written about. These individual objects constitute the sole focus and close study of articles or monographs such as the Middleham Jewel, Thame Ring, or the Winteringham Pendant, and have been powerful in colouring the wider field of study and conception of this

[71] Key catalogues or thematic surveys that contain or mention this object type include: PAS Database, Middlemass 2018. Standley 2013. Gilchrist 2012. Nehama 2012. Dicks 2010. Bagnoli et al. 2010. Campbell 2009. Hinton 2005. Scarisbrick and Henig 2003. Phillips 2000. Luthi 1998. Egan and Pritchard 2002. Murdoch 1991. Lightbown 1992. Scarisbrick 1994. Hinton 1982. Evans 1921,1922, 1953. Bury 1985. Burgess 1919. Kunz 1917. Dalton 1912. Smith 1908.
[72] Campbell 2009. Lightbown 1992. Scarisbrick 1994.
[73] French 2021, 162-4. Hallam and Hockey 2020, 131-141. Blick 2019, 392. Standley 2013. Jones 2009, 194-199. Jones 2007, 92-107. Scarisbrick 1990, 58-60.

object type.[74] The Middleham Jewel, in particular, caused a sensation that extended to the more general public when it was found by a metal detectorist outside Middleham Castle, North Yorkshire, in 1985, due to its richness and the price it fetched at auction: £1.3 million in 1986 (Figs. 1.2a-f).[75] It is the Middleham Jewel I first read about during my Master's studies, and which inspired this work and broader research on this kind of jewellery, when I realised further questions I had about this material were not addressed by existing publications in the scholarly literature. Research on the Middleham Jewel by experts including John Cherry, Peter Murray Jones, and Lea T. Olsan has done much to further the theoretical conception of the functionality of this object type as a dynamic and ritual object for health, healing, and spirituality, which is activated by use, and which draws on the interplay of its own material, iconography, and inscription.[76] This consideration of the dynamic connection between ritual action, material, image, and textual inscription has set forth a useful framework through which I will approach other objects of this type, which is particularly relevant in Chapter 2. However, this present study is a departure from these works focused on singular and monolithic objects as individual masterpieces or works of art, and is novel in that it incorporates a broader corpus of material objects to further understand the variety and diversity of the material practices of people on a wider social scale. In particular, the dataset includes objects that could have been owned by more everyday people, which are made from more affordable materials like copper alloy or lead. Since the discovery of the Middleham Jewel, many comparable objects have been recovered, and this project incorporates these finds into its analysis.

---

[74] On the Middleham Jewel see Jones and Olsan 2000, 249-90. Cherry 1994.
On the Thame Ring see Standley 2016(a), 117-142. Evans, Leeds and Thompson 1941, 197-202.
On the Winteringham Cross: Husband 1992, 19-35.
[75] Jones and Olsan 2000, 249-90. Cherry 1994. Farrar 1986.
[76] Jones and Olsan 2000, 249-90. Cherry 1994.

The prominence and scholarly attention given to certain well-known objects has, at times, eclipsed and distorted interpretations of other similar objects. A common misconception and over-simplification of the nuance and diversity that these objects present, is that all objects bearing religious inscriptions or iconography were reliquaries, uniformly intended to contain saintly corporal remains or materials associated with holy figures. For example, many catalogues label late medieval (c.1400-1534) objects as 'reliquaries', even when no interior contents remain. This is problematic, as it can cast an assumption for the use and purpose of these objects without proper evidence. For example, when a late medieval lozenge-shaped container pendant was recovered near Wragby, Lincolnshire, it drew considerable attention, and was compared in its form to the Middleham Jewel and the Hockley Pendant (Figs. 1.2-4), which likely prompted greater attention and interest.[77] When its contents were opened and scientifically analysed (rare treatment for any such similar object) a museum professional remarked that, 'The contents of such pendants are of course of extreme interest, and the hope that a piece of the true cross may be contained within is ever present'.[78] Instead, the pendant was found to contain two medieval coins and other traces of biological materials nestled inside (Figs. 1.3a-c).[79] The actual contents of the Wragby pendants subverts a more traditional understanding of the purpose and function of a reliquary and its relics. This study provides further investigation and contextual explanation into why materials like coins or plant matter might be meaningfully contained within these types of objects, and how they contribute to the overall presence and purpose of the object.

Despite their similarity in form and iconography, the Middleham Jewel and Wragby Pendant differ substantially in quality and execution. The Middleham Jewel was received in

[77] Lee 2014, 26-7.
[78] Lee 2014, 26-7.
[79] Cartwright and Higgitt 2013.

scholarly circles as the finest piece of English goldsmith work of the fifteenth century, and suggested to have belonged to a duchess.[80] In contrast, the Wragby pendant engravings do not approach the same level of skilled artistic workmanship or careful attention to detail. In particular, the latter's engraved lines are unevenly or quickly rendered. It also lacks the expensive addition of jewels and is made of gilded silver rather than gold. Even humbler versions of container pendants could be made from joining two mass-produced cast-alloy pilgrim tokens.[81] Considered together, these variations indicate that container jewellery objects could have been owned by a broad social spectrum, not only by elites. This research will be the first dedicated study to this object type that considers a large number of objects and wide-ranging evidence through objects that range in calibre of workmanship. Through a consideration of remaining identified material, this study queries how these objects, and their contents, could be incorporated into the lives their owners, both elite and non-elite, as well as how they were actually used in practice.

Literature on the early modern material also has similar gaps and room for further research, which this study addresses. As in the late medieval period, there have been one-off studies on wearable containers found in the early modern period in England. This includes a container pendant commissioned and owned by the Lancashire squire and Catholic recusant William Blundell, created from a hoard of Anglo-Saxon silver coins that he discovered on his property, which he had melted down.[82] Material relics of executed victims of the Reformation that appear in wearable containers and other container jewellery items are also considered by historians such as Alexandra Walsham, as part of broader historical research on British Catholic

[80] Jones and Olsan 2000, 249-90. Cherry 1994.
[81] Spencer 1998. Appendix I: 1.14, 1.15.
[82] Davidson et al. 2018, 29-76.

identity, practice, and materials throughout the Reformation.[83] Relics, or wearable relic containers, also appear in an online exhibition published in tandem by British Jesuit Archives and Stonyhurst College Collections.[84] These are approached both as historic artefacts that illustrate the history of Catholicism in Britain, but also as actively charged religious objects that still function as the holy remains of saints and memorials of martyrdom within the context of religious devotion. The Stonyhurst College Collections are perhaps the most significant collection of early modern Catholic material in Britain, however, as a private collection and part of a functional Catholic Jesuit institution, its study, accessibility, and research is subject to different considerations and limitations than those that govern artefacts held within large public or university collections.[85]

At the end of the date range addressed within the scope of this project, particularly in the latter half of the seventeenth century, interpersonal mourning rings or other jewellery set with hair rise in prevalence and popularity (see Chapter 6). The practical and theoretical considerations of hairwork as wearable mourning apparel and *memento materia* has been studied more readily in the Georgian and Victorian contexts, often in connection to literature and literary motifs from these periods.[86] Hairwork jewellery of the Stuart era in late seventeenth-century England has received far less attention and scholarship, despite the significant presence of material in collections.[87] Chapter 6, therefore, represents a novel study devoted to this topic.

---

[83] Walsham 2025. Walsham 2010(b), 126. Alexandra Walsham has recently published an article that surveys Catholic material devotional objects in use in England, connecting them to the idea of tactility and touch within the context of the Reformation and recusant practice. The article includes a consideration of container pendants.
[84] Graffius et al. 2021.
[85] 'Stonyhurst Museum, Archives & Historic Libraries', Stonyhurst College. According to Stonyhurst College, their collection holds 35,000 objects and 75,000 books. While I requested a research visit to view and consult their collections, this was not possible likely due to the ongoing restrictions and backlogs created by the pandemic as well as limited staff to support external research. Whitehead 2008.
[86] Zigarovich 2023, 131-156. Hind 2020, 31-47. Yan 2019, 123-139. Pointon 2017, 39-57. Wildgoose 2018, 699-726. Lutz 2011, 127-142. Sheumaker 2011.
[87] See Appendix II and Table 1 in Sec. 1.5.

In sum, the purpose of this research and dissertation is to build upon the present literature available, whilst filling the gaps identified. This dissertation will also present new research and perspectives on existing material informed by previous scholarship, and will contribute to an understanding of the changing or continued function of these objects within social matrices as dynamic repositories for material, memory, and meaning through time.

1.2.b Contextualising the Object Type in Time and Place: Pre-1400

The creation and use of jewellery objects as containers for special, amuletic, or religious materials is not a practice that was uniquely novel to the late medieval period in England. A detailed in-depth study of the history of this object type pre-1400, or outside of England, is not within the defined scope of this project.[88] However, this section will provide a brief overview of the use of this material outside of the defined geographic and temporal limits, in order to introduce and contextualise the material explored within the collated dataset. This will also serve to demonstrate the long-enduring human desire to create and use this object type for containment, even throughout periods of religious conversion, migration, or major upheavals in belief-systems, which will be more thoroughly examined in the context of the Reformation in England.

The creation and use of container jewellery in England may extend as far back as prehistory, and Bronze Age hollow, precious metal objects of personal adornment have been recovered in English soil.[89] By the time of the Roman settlement in Britain, container pendants known as *bullae* (A Latin term for 'bubble') were in use in England, just as they were throughout

[88] See Sec. 1.1.e.

[89] For possible examples of this object type from prehistory, found in England see BM: 2020,8005.1. Reavill et al. 2018. Garrow and Wilkin 2022, 244-5. La Niece and Cartwright, 2009, 307-312. For Irish Late Bronze Age container pendants see Cahill 2018, 18-23. Folds 1832, 180-1.

the Mediterranean and wider Roman Empire in Europe (Fig. 1.5).[90] Described by some present-day Roman scholars as a 'locket', these *bullae* were small, bulbous, hollow pendants that could be made from precious or base metals, and even take the form of leather cases.[91] Ancient Roman sources describe them as being worn by male children to symbolise both their status as free-born, and also to function as a protective, health-preserving amulet to aid survival through the dangers of childhood.[92] It is thought that elite Romans adopted this style of object from the Etruscans, and the use of this object type subsequently permeated wider levels of Roman society, extending beyond the elite.[93] Like the exterior materials of their containers, archaeological evidence demonstrates that these could be used to hold a wide variety of material contents including textile, plant matter like the seed pod of a snapdragon, raisin, rose thorns, coriander seeds wrapped in leaves, pieces of wood, sand, and one *bulla* has been identified to contain a coin of Trajan and a folded silver plate with a Greek inscription.[94]

Another form of container jewellery known as 'bucket pendants' were also in use in Roman Britain (Fig. 1.6).[95] Pendants of this kind resembled miniature buckets or baskets made of open metal cylinders with a looped attachment 'handle' that could be used for suspension. These have been identified by present-day scholars of late antiquity as a kind of amulet from areas beyond the Roman frontier and have been associated with 'broadly Germanic groups', also

[90] For Roman *bulla* pendants found in England see BM: 2009,8025.1. PAS: ESS058E5B, YORYM:CBED34. Crummy, Henig, and Ward 2016, 1-28. See also Parker 2022, 112-7.
[91] On Roman *bullae*: Vojvoda, Golubovic and Mikic, 2021, 82. Faraone 2018, 193. Migotti 2015, 269-282. Bradley 2005, 89-90. McConnell 1991, 38. Palmer 1989. Despite their common association with male children, archaeological evidence reveals that these were also buried with female children or adults.
[92] Stevenson et al. 1889, 147.
[93] McConnell 1991, 38.
[94] Szilagyi 2005, 17-8.
[95] Bârcă 2021, 411-438. Eckardt 2015, 35-45.

demonstrating strong association with women in their deposition in graves.[96] Continental examples have been found to contain traces of wool, twine, or animal fats, and it has been suggested that these were filled with sweet-smelling substances for aromatic purposes.[97] An example from Roman Egypt was identified to be filled with 'textile/fibre fragments, possibly with other vegetable matter'.[98] Bucket pendants may have been believed to possess protective, healing, magical, or apotropaic purposes, and within a settlement in present-day Poland a skeleton was found with bucket pendants placed on four different parts of the body, all places that displayed healed fractures.[99]

Container jewellery such as *bullae* and bucket-shaped pendants were also used in Anglo-Saxon England, despite their differences in ethnic composition and belief-systems in comparison to Roman Britons (Fig. 1.7).[100] Another wearable container jewellery form particular to Anglo-Saxon England is the cylindrical copper-alloy 'canister' type of container pendant dating from between the seventh to eight centuries AD, commonly associated with female burials (Fig. 1.8).[101] The meaning and purpose of these objects has been a subject of scholarly debate and it has been suggested that these might have functioned as early portable Christian reliquaries, amulet pendants, workboxes, or the portable repositories of medicinal 'cunning women' and

[96] Swift, Stonor, and Pudsey 2021, 55-6. Schulte 2021, 206-247. Skóra 2008, 7-26. These were also in use north-east of the Black Sea and in Central Europe. Bârcă 2021, 411-438. Banatului 2019, 167-176. Bârcă 2018, 37-63. Ursulescu et al. 2021, 165-199.
[97] Bârcă 2021, 411-438. Eckhardt 2014, 44. Kokowski 1995, 73-4. Beilke-Voigt 1998, 83-8. Matthes 1931, 68-9.
[98] Beilke-Voigt 1998, 83-8. Matthes 1931, 68-9.
[99] Eckardt 2015, 44. Kokowski 1995, 180.
[100] Eckhardt 2014, 36, 42. Sherlock and Welch 1992, 44. Dickinson 1993. Hines 1984, 13, 306. Meaney 1981, 166. For a sixth-century Anglo-Saxon bucket pendant found in North Yorkshire see PAS: NCL-838996. British Museum: 1876,0504.1. Baker 1880, 466-71. For other examples of sixth-seventh century *bulla* pendants found in England see PAS: NMGW-A87643, NMS-8FBAC6, NLM-BE64D7, LEIC-80B505, HAMP-5F4441, KENT-C7854D, NMS-5C65E9, SF-71F723. CAM-379F45, NARC-09F5D2, SWYOR-2B14B6, and Find 104a of BUC-3395A5.
[101] Gibson 2022. Gannon 2021, 213-26. Blair and Hills 2020, 67. Lunnon and Martlew 2016, 235-7. Hills 2011, 14-20. For examples of these see object type see British Museum: 1897,1223.1, 1878,0131.1. PAS: OXON-1A54A6, SF-686A1F.

have been found to contain pieces of textile, or small metal objects like silver pins and dress hooks.[102]

As demonstrated, the use of container jewellery is a practice that pre-dates Christianity and the Christian conversion of Britain. However, as Christianity spread in the late antique and early medieval periods, material evidence indicates that there may have been some fluidity in the use of these objects resistant to their identification as 'Christian' or 'pagan'. For example, both a silver *bulla* pendant and an ivory plaque with a Christian inscription were found in the grave of an adult female, buried in Roman-settled York in the late fourth century AD (Figs. 1.9a,b).[103] The combination and adaptation of Christian and pagan practices within a single object is also represented in the Viking Age (c.1000 AD) bronze, hinged container pendant that depicts the Christian martyr St. Theodore on one side, popular amongst the Byzantine Empire, whilst the other side depicts the pagan Norse cataclysmic and apocalyptic event of Ragnarok (Figs. 1.10a,b).[104] The famous early seventh-century Anglo-Saxon ship burial at Sutton Hoo also includes an important example of container jewellery in the form of the great gold buckle (Figs. 1.11a-c). While stylistically and contextually the buckle reflects an Anglo-Saxon origin with Scandinavian and Germanic influences, its form follows what have been referred to as 'reliquary buckles' that were in use at this time, and earlier, on the continent and throughout the Christian Merovingian kingdom (Fig. 1.12).[105] However a buckle or belt may have held further significance in pagan tradition, as in Norse mythology *megingjörð* is a magical belt belonging to Thor, and was thought to amplify his powers of strength when worn.[106]As an object, this form

---

[102] Hills 2011, 14.
[103] Leach et al. 2010, 131-145. Known colloquially as the 'Ivory Bangle Lady', her remains and grave goods are now held by the York Museums Trust.
[104] Apollo Art Auctions: November 24, 2019, Lot 152.
[105] Cartron and Castex 2018, 209-224. Young 2009, 339-354. Martin M. 2001, 360-5. Clovis I, renowned as being first King of the united Franks and founder of the Merovingian Dynasty was baptised into Christianity in 508 AD.
[106] Orchard 1997, 111-2.

references cross-channel connections and the amalgamation of parts of Christian material belief and practice as well as those of the Anglo-Saxons, and their Scandinavian influences.

Within Christianity, the practice of venerating the remains of holy persons, martyrs, or saints grew out of the early use of their tombs as altars, shrines, and cemeteries, and the veneration of relics gained significant traction in the late fourth century AD.[107] The early Christian practice of celebrating the eucharist at altar-tombs, borne out of the tradition of late antique funerary banquets, initially and permanently entwined the materials as well as the concepts of relic, eucharist, and interred body together.[108] Some of the first portable reliquaries were in fact also portable altars, which allowed for burgeoning liturgical rites outside of the funerary or tomb context.[109] Other early mass-produced Christian pilgrim tokens used for taking away relic-materials were earthenware ampullae flasks, used to contain the oil or holy water as from the shrine of St. Menas near Alexandria, Egypt.[110] A sixth-century example of one of these flasks was discovered in 1954 at Meols, Cheshire, as well as one in Norfolk, England, demonstrating the wide-ranging and cross-continental distribution of early Christian relic-materials and pilgrim mementoes far from their Mediterranean origins (Fig. 1.13).[111]

In the late antique and early medieval Christian Byzantine Empire, wearing container pendants also known as '*encolpion*' or '*enkolpion*' in the form of hinged pectoral crosses (amongst other forms) became a widespread practice. [112] An early sixth-century Byzantine gold, octagonal container pendant from Constantinople is adorned with a nativity scene, and girded

---

[107] Castello 2019, 30.
[108] Freeman 2011, 109.
[109] Smith 2012, 143-168. Freeman 2011, 109.
[110] Metin 2025, 64-78. For examples of this type of flask in collections see BM: EA69839. V&A: 1987-1901. MET: x.197.
[111] Anderson 2007, 235. Bangert 2006. Thompson 1956, 48-9.
[112] On Byzantine or Eastern-style 'enkolpion' pendants see Dell'Acqua 2023, 74-87. Drpić 2023, 289-317; 2020, 309-334; 2018, 197-224; 2011, 51-61. Jeffery 2023, 193-218. O'Hea 2023, 123-156. Pitarakis 2006. Klein 2004, 283-314. Cutler 2001, 247-78. Panzanini 2001, 60-82. Vikan 1984, 65-86.

with religious apotropaic text, sharing much in common with the famous late medieval English 'Middleham Jewel' in its form, iconography, and textual programme, despite the latter's creation over a thousand years later (Figs. 1.2a-f, Fig. 1.14).[113] The lid of a copper-alloy Byzantine reliquary cross (c.1100 AD) has been recovered in Essex, indicating the possible presence, exposure, and influence of the Byzantine iteration of this object type in medieval England (Fig. 1.15).[114]

What may be the earliest identified Christian container pendant in England is the gold and garnet Anglo-Saxon cross found in the tomb of the early Christian saint, Cuthbert, in Durham Cathedral, County Durham. Behind the central garnet is a small cavity, which may have held a relic or other meaningful material (Fig. 1.16).[115] By c.1000 AD, a more overt Christian iconography can be found in the form or ornamentation on container jewellery in Britain. The few other survivals from the edieval period prior to c.1400 include a walrus ivory cross pendant c.1050 (Fig. 1.17), a reliquary pendant that was a gift from Bishop Reginald of Bath to Queen Margaret of Sicily containing relic-fragments of St. Thomas Becket c.1174-77 (Figs. 1.18a,b), as well as a pearl and rock crystal pendant from Scotland c.1200 (Fig. 1.19).[116]

Overall, the creation and use of wearable container objects prior to 1400 in England represents a long-standing and deep-rooted ancient practice. In addition to very early objects that present the affordance and possibility of containment practices, cultural contact in Roman Britain and later with Frankish, Scandinavian, and Byzantine people or materials resulted in the importation or adaptation of container object types including *bullae*, bucket pendants, and

---

[113] British Museum: AF.354. Mango 1994. Bagnoli et al. 2010, 33. Dalton 1901, 284.
[114] PAS: ESS-7AB096.
[115] Lucy 2016, 18-21. Rollason 1989, 29. Bruce-Mitford 1974, 281-302. Kendrick 1937, 283-93.
[116] V&A: A.6-1966. Webster 2012, 204. Williamson 2010, 248-53. Backhouse 1984, 122-4. Beckwith 1974, 117. BM: 1946,0407.1. Overbey 2015, 242-258. Robinson 2008, 76. Bagnoli et al. 2010, 72, 186-7. Zarnecki et al. 1984, no. 310. Radford 1955, 119-23. Tonnochy 1952, 77. MET: 63.160. Bagnoli et al. 2010, 186-7. Zarnecki et al. 1984, no. 303. Hoving 1965, 28-30.

container buckles that drew on local as well as cross-channel and cross-continental influences in form, style, use, function of the object. As evidenced here, wearing special materials contained in jewellery is a practice that is older than the concept of Christian relics. In many instances Christian beliefs were incorporated and accumulated alongside existing beliefs and material practices surrounding container jewellery, rather than immediately or completely eclipsing or revoking longer-held material belief systems as incompatible with one another. The idea of multiple channels of knowledge and belief co-existing and entangling will be central to the interpretation of the late medieval material found in Chapter 2.

1.2.c Contextualising the Object Type: Europe c.1400-1700

Container jewellery was also being made in used in continental Europe c.1400-1700, and have been included in pan-European studies of jewellery.[117] There are also a number of studies on specific iterations of these object types in Europe, particularly (but not limited to) France, Spain, Germany, and Italy.[118] In many cases, European countries that continued with the official practice of Catholicism into the early modern period produced a wide variety of religious container jewellery that emphasised display, in contrast to England, where Catholicism was repressed. However, comparable studies on the same type of material and date range, as carried out in this thesis, does not yet exist for the European continent or individual European countries. Topics which could be further pursued for study in connection to these objects in continental Europe may include the explosion in popularity of the Confraternity of the Rosary in late fifteenth-century Cologne, Germany, that rendered Cologne a centre of production for container

[117] Smith 2012, 143-68. Campbell 2009. Lightbown 1992. Scarisbrick 1994. Somers Cocks 1980. Evans 1953. Smith 1908.
[118] In particular, there are many studies on the *agnus dei* container pendant in Europe. For more on the *agnus dei* see Chapter 3. Sundmark 2023, 194-211. Cooper 2020, 220-43. Crispi 2020, 72-104. Lahti 2019, 122-7, 170-4. Dauge-Roth 2018, 137-168. Keane 2016, 151-177. Nowiński 2011, 245-267. Musacchio 2005, 139-56. Muller 1972.

pendants that could be strung onto prayer beads.[119] Another example could be the Spanish colonisation and mission in Mexico and Latin America, which precipitated the production of container pendants that incorporated New World materials like pearls or iridescent bird feathers.[120]

Widespread legal metal detecting in England, the established PAS database, and uniquely English historical events such as Henry VIII's separation with Rome and the execution of Charles I, suggests that England has its own unique source of archaeological evidence and historical contexts in which the material culture of this study is positioned for study and analysis. The relatively recent development of the Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands (PAN) and the Danish Digitale Metaldetektorfund (DIME) database provide schemes for recording similar small finds, and thus facilitating possible future studies, though they are still in their infancy (compared with the PAS) and are not replicated throughout Europe.[121] For example, in France, Spain, and Germany metal detecting is highly regulated.[122] Furthermore, the religious, social, cultural and economic contexts differ between countries and regions in Europe. Thus, it is beyond the scope of this project to carry out a pan-European survey of evidence and to fully contextualise it. Such a project would be desirable but would merit a separate study with different limitations and considerations.[123]

---

[119] Fricke 2012, 46. Büttner 2000, 69-98. Husemann 1999. Winston-Allen 1999, 4. See the late medieval religious German-origin container pendants in, for example, the collections of the Cologne Cathedral Treasury, Museum Schnütgen (Cologne), Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Munich), and the V&A.
[120] Porras 2024, 238-77. McMahon 2021, 770-96. Sánchez Reyes 2021. Egan 2020. Espinosa Martín 2004.
[121] Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands (PAN). Digitale Metaldetektorfund (DIME).
[122] Deckers, Lewis, and Thomas 2016, 426-9.
[123] See also Sec. 7.1.e.

Despite these issues, as portable objects, the historic exchange and movement of container jewellery objects across the English Channel was inevitable; Chapters 3 and 4, in particular, address some of these trans-continental connections.

1.3 Theoretical Frameworks

The theoretical frameworks that will inform this study include an engagement with ideas of materiality, object biography, the senses, memory, and the concepts of framing, containment, and enshrinement as they relate to 'relics' and practices of 'relic-making'.

1.3.a Materiality

The idea of the 'Material Turn', and the deeper philosophical consideration of material culture and the nature and attributes of material things has been a key millennial movement within the social sciences and humanities including the here-entwined disciplines of Archaeology, History, History of Art, Material Culture and Medieval and Early Modern Studies, inaugurating numerous studies that shift a focus to the thing itself.[124] Contributing to movements like 'New Materialism' and 'Object-Oriented Ontology', the idea of materiality has inspired challenges to a human-centered worldview and has emphasised the cultural interaction and entanglement with material as active and agentive.[125] 'Thing theory', as conceptualised by Bill Brown, has been a meaningful addition to the approach of materiality in its identification of things as more than the sum of their parts, and important actors and materialised embodiments of

[124] For more on this 'Material Turn' in the social sciences and humanities see Ivanič, Laven, and Morrall 2019. Olsen, Shanks, Webmoor, and Witmore 2012. Ingold 2012, 2000, 1992. Bynum 2011. Olsen 2010. Brown 2003. Latour 2005, 1993. Gell 1998.

[125] Key authors on these themes include: Harman 2018. Hodder 2012. Bennett 2010. Hicks and Beaudry 2010, 1-19. Barad 2007. De Landa 2006. Green and Lowry 2006. Tilley 2006. Miller 2005, 8-14. Tilley and Bennett 2004. Wylie 2002. Shanks and Tilley 1992.

meaning, symbolism, or memory in their relationship with people.[126] Building upon the philosophical works of Martin Heidegger, Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory, and Walter Benjamin's concept of aura and material culture, Brown identifies and proposes a differentiation between *objects* as utilitarian, and *things* as more alienated or perhaps symbolic in their identity and relationship to people.[127] Though intensely focused on materials, Brown's proposed approach is applied to immaterial examples described in literature, thus, further separating him from actual confrontation with material things. In this way, he differs from theorists like the anthropologist Alfred Gell, who contextualises his approach by identifying and highlighting the agentive and active qualities of art objects and grounding this with actual material from South Pacific Trobriand canoe prows to European medieval sculptures.[128] This study similarly germinates from specific objects themselves, contributing towards narrowing the bridge between theory and material.

This study is also informed by Ian Hodder's conception of 'Entanglement'.[129] A relevant example of the entangled materialities of person and thing, in the instance of jewellery, would be the fact that human bodies can create and craft jewellery objects, and bodies can act on them through repeated use-wear. However, jewellery objects can change our physical appearance, can shape our movement and gesture due to their weight, feel, or affordances, and can impact our choices and behaviour whilst wearing them due to their presence and social signaling. The idea of clothing or dress accessories as socially significant and phenomenologically-engaged mediators in how people experience and socialise in the world has been an ongoing focus of

[126] Brown 2003; 2001.
[127] Brown 2003; 2001. Latour 2005; 1993. Heidegger 1971, 165-86. Benjamin 2008; 1968.
[128] Gell 1998, 71, 141-3.
[129] This dynamic is central to the idea of 'Entanglement' in human-object relations. Hodder 2020, 389-411; 2012.

anthropology, gender, and historical studies.[130] Pertinent examples of studies and materials that are well-poised within this field for this kind of enquiry include Matthew Ward's monograph on late medieval livery collars, Natasha Awais-Dean's on Tudor and Jacobean male jewellery and adornment, and Nicola Tallis's on English Queen's jewellery, 1445-1548. [131] However, it must be noted that these works focus more on the jewellery object as an external-facing symbol projecting from the body, as witnessed and experienced by an external viewer, rather than the inward or bodily experience and connection of the wearer to the object and its surrounding material adornments. Ward, in particular, bypasses the opportunity to highlight the idea that livery collars could not only communicate and symbolise political or familial allegiance, but also materialise the interlocking and linked bonds of these relationships into a physical experience felt through the object's weight, as the social import or restraint attached to one's role, dignity, or office.[132]

At the most basic level, materiality is key to this project in relation to the materials that the objects are made of, situated alongside, or contain. Many of these materials were (and are) understood to be deeply meaningful, ritual, or socially constructed and contextualised. The transcendence and transmutation of materiality in both what the material *is* and *means*, particularly within the context of historic Christianity and sacramentals such as relics, prayer beads, and the eucharist, is notably explored by Caroline Walker Bynum, Miri Rubin, and Rachel King amongst other contemporaries.[133]

Consideration of materials, their nature, meaning, and presence, informs the other important approaches of this project that will be discussed, including the ideas of object

[130] Cifarelli 2019. King 2017. Vincent 2009. Johnson and Foster 2007. Eicher, Evenson, and Lutz 2000.
[131] Tallis 2023. Awais-Dean 2017. Ward 2016.
[132] Ward 2016.
[133] King 2022; 2019, 193-210. Bynum 2012, 2011. Rubin 2012, 1991.

biography, sensory archaeology, memory, and 'relics', 'reliquaries', and 'relic-making' as they all consider or incorporate the relationship of the individual or the body alongside the object. Materiality can also open the door to questions about the personhood of objects, as well as the role of *things* in important relationship-defining social rituals like gift giving.[134] The idea of materiality is particularly well-poised to interrogate the objects included in this study due to their identity as small-scale, personal, portable, jewellery objects which were intended to be worn, handled, or carried in close contact to the human body and their important and frequent status as gifts or bequests. This is most eloquently captured in objects that contain and gift part of the self or another, both figuratively and literally, as in jewellery set with locks of hair, where the objects hover between and transgress the boundaries of person and thing. Similarly, relics, charms, amulets, or medicinal materials also tap into the agentive quality of things as materials intended to create or prevent an intended outcome in the world around one. Materiality can also imply an object's 'nature of being' in space and time, and the habitus of an object.[135] This is the phenomenological profile of an object, which impacts the way a thing is perceived and interacted with, and relates closely to the sensory presence of the thing, which is expanded upon in 1.3.c.

1.3.b Object Biography

Object biography is a method used to examine and investigate the dynamic relationship between person and object, and how they can alter and shape one another.[136] The concept of object biography presents the idea that as people and objects move through time they are

---

[134] Important foundational authors on these themes include Marcel Mauss and Alfred Gell. Mauss 2016, 53-46. Gell 1998.

[135] 'Habitus' is a term coined by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and can be understood as the deeply and socially entrenched habits, world-views, or practices enacted by people. Gesture, dress, and the collated materials of this dissertation relate closely to habitus. Bourdieu 2013, 1990.

[136] Foundational works defining object biography include Harris and Cipolla 2017. Joy 2009, 540-556. Gosden and Marshall 1999, 169-178. Appadurai 1986. Kopytoff 1986, 64-91.

constantly transformed, and these transformations are bound up in one another.[137] The second part of this statement, referring to the inseparable relationship of people to things, highlights the idea of 'entanglement', which has been interrogated by archaeological and anthropological theorists such as Ian Hodder and Daniel Miller.[138] This consideration of the person/object relationship, including its boundaries, liminalities, and potential to be re-interpreted and transformed, contributes to the idea of ascribed personhood or agency in an object, building upon the foundational works of Mauss and Gell.[139] The terminology of 'object biography' recasts the object as protagonist with a narrative to offer (as in the way of a human biography), allowing for a different vantage point in the interpersonal relations of people and things. This brings into orbit an ecology inclusive of material that can absorb and retain social meaning, rich for study.

A simplified approach to object biography might consider the life arc or life course of an individual object in a narrative format with a beginning, middle, and end, taking as its model the classic Western course of human biography; birth, life, and death, which was initially suggested as a point of access in writing about things by Igor Kopytoff.[140] This 'life cycle' of a thing can include the gathering of materials, design, production, use-life, modification, and the item's disposal or deposition into the archaeological context.[141] However, identifying a singular object that embodies and communicates all phases of an object's narrative, or even all the possibilities within a single phase is not often possible. Due to this, the biography of a collective object type is a more effective means to investigate issues of the object type's meaning within a culture

[137] Gosden and Marshall 1999, 169.
[138] For more on object/person entanglement see Jones 2021, 38-42. Harris and Cipolla 2017. Der and Fernandini 2016. Hodder 2012. Miller 2008, 2010.
[139] Regarding personhood and agency in objects see Mauss 2016. Gell 1998. Fowler 2004. Budja 2012. Harris and Cipolla 2017. Harrison-Buck and Hendon 2018. Jurkowlaniec, Matyjaszkiewicz, and Sarnecka 2018. Brück and Jones 2018, 237-262.
[140] Kopytoff 1986, 64-91.
[141] Holtorf 1998, 23-38.

through time. Successful scholarly interpretations of this biographic model include the investigation into the transport and social re-contextualisation of pearls between the Americas and Europe, as well as the re-use of British-Romano bracelets for rings and their social recalibration following their alteration.[142] Similarly, a process of material re-definition during the Reformation includes the transformation of rock crystal reliquaries into table salt-cellars and embroidered vestments stitched into seat cushions for everyday use and intentional de-sacralisation.[143] Not only did this re-purpose valuable raw materials that could not easily be 'un-made', this practice served to reinforce Protestant theological belief in adiaphora or 'things indifferent', which actively denied power and re-contextualised these formerly sacred items through the practice of repeated quotidian use within a new social context.[144]

1.3.c The Senses

The practice and application of sensory archaeology surfaced, as many of the theoretical concepts discussed here, at the twilight of the twentieth century. A key player in the establishment of sensory studies as a scholarly focus was the Concordia Sensoria Research Team (CONSERT) of Concordia University, which has aimed to carry out research on a multidisciplinary cultural approach to sensory studies rooted in the humanities fields of sociology and anthropology.[145] In part a response to the *zeitgeist* of the new aims of post-processual archaeology, as well as the problematic construction of 'material culture as text', a series of key works emerged that brought into sharp focus the issues of experience, the sensory, and the emotive in archaeology that could speak to the personal or intimate individual, rather

[142] Swift 2012, 167-215. Saunders 1999, 243-57.
[143] Yeoman 2018, 176-198. Walsham 2017, 1121-1154. Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003.
[144] Walsham 2010(b), 121-143.
[145] Centre for Sensory Studies, 2025.

than generalised experience.[146] This fits alongside phenomenological approaches advanced by scholars such as Christopher Tilley, who focused particularly on the experience of place and landscape in the prehistoric world.[147] Early engagement with the sensory in archaeology primarily took the form of thematic approaches including work on time and memory, emotions, performance and ritual, as well as embodied corporeality.[148] The aims of sensory archaeology can be represented within the broader framework of theoretical archaeology as aiming to challenge the privileging of the visual through occularcentrism or 'viewsheds' (as Frieman and Gillings have termed it), and the conflation of 'seeing' with knowledge, as well as asserting that the senses are culturally variable and culturally constructed.[149] Approaching the materials of this project through a consideration of the senses is important as many of these objects are highly sensually evocative or stimulating. Jewellery itself is oriented in close proximity and contact with the body, which can cause it to be habitually sensed or felt when worn. Some affordances of these objects purposefully facilitate sensing through tactility or visuality (or lack thereof). The idea of containment that these objects represent inherently links them to the visual or haptic means by which an interior and its contents are accessed through an exterior. This can be represented through openwork, glass or rock crystal-settings, or the opening mechanism that presents a dynamic of 'revealing and concealing' the interior space.[150]

---

[146] This includes: Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002. Houston and Taube 2000. Tarlow 2000.
[147] Tilley 1994.
[148] Inomata and Coben 2006. Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002. Pearson and Shanks 2001. Gosden 1994.
[149] Day 2013. Frieman and Gillings 2007.
[150] For more on the dynamic ritual, social, or allegorical process of 'revealing and concealing' things in the late medieval and early modern period see Guiderdoni, Melion, and Dekoninck 2020 (particularly chapter 8). Akbari 2019. Turner 2019, 101-122. Bucklow, Marks, and Wrapson 2017. Baert and Rudy 2007 (particularly the 'veiling' section).

1.3.d Memory

While materiality concerns itself with the existence of an object in time and space, sensory archaeology focuses on experiential engagement, closely linking itself to memory and mnemonics as a process-based theoretical framework, which Hamilakis intertwines in his conception of the cyclical interactions of time/memory/material.[151] Like the senses, memory has been an important focus in the field of archaeology evidenced by key works in the early millennium, including those by Hodder and Meskell.[152] The form of the container jewellery object is particularly well-suited to an interpretation through memory practice or mnemonics due to its ability to enclose, protect, and store. In Carruthers' study of memory in the medieval period, she points out that memory was often metaphorically linked to containment in the form of caves, strong boxes, and vaults.[153]

1.3.e Relics and Relic-Making

Relics, their reliquaries, the relationship between the container and the contained, as well as the strategies for interpreting and enshrining important materials, impact my approach to the container jewellery artefacts I analyse. Relics and reliquaries incorporate issues of visual/haptic access and materiality, situating them within a broader discussion and theoretical framework of how and why people contain and enshrine things, and how they interact with them. While I argue that not all of these artefacts were 'reliquaries' in a traditional or restricted sense, the containment practices of reliquaries and their treatment in existing literature still benefits the enquiry into this artefact assemblage.[154]

---

[151] Hamilakis 2014, 111-128.
[152] This includes: Hastorf 2003; Hodder and Cessford 2004, 17-40; Meskell 2001, 229-249.
[153] Carruthers 2008, 46-51, 181.
[154] For a definition of the terms 'relic' and 'reliquary' in relation to this study see Sec. 1.1.c. Regarding further materials that expand a traditional definition of 'relics' see Chapters 1 and 2.

As material, relics occupy a particularly liminal space bordering both person and object, exhibiting the social construction of non-human personhood, particularly in the case of human remains.[155] The concept of this kind of active person/object in space has been investigated in other temporal and geographic contexts as with the Viking Age identification of swords as possessing interior lives or identities, or Iron Age re-worked skulls deposited in domestic settings.[156] In Julie Lund's study of what she terms 'animated objects' in early medieval northern Europe, she bridges earlier Norse pagan animism with Carolingian Christianity. In this way, she traces how cross-cultural worldviews are inherited through time, embodied in the construction of material sentience.[157] Lund's study is more successful in its aim to identify a potential heritage of social belief surrounding materials than other more ambitious treatments of relics, for example, Steven Hooper's effort to craft a cross-cultural theory of relics, which lacks an appropriate consideration of cultural nuances.[158] According to medieval sources, relics could act with great autonomy and were important social tools that could be invoked as agentive actors in social spheres, particularly in relation to cities, but also in the case of guilds, monastic orders, or even individuals.[159] A relic could itself 'request' to be moved or express preferences of ownership, worship, or presentation, thus, conferring the social perception of authority, divine favour or protection and object agency.[160]

The idea of the sustained power of objects or materials even through extreme fragmentation is another key concept to medieval relics and reliquaries that also incorporates conceptions of materiality and material presence.[161] Unlike large, corporately-owned

---

[155] Geary 1994, 1990. Bagnoli et al. 2010.
[156] Eriksen 2020, 103-119. Jackson 2019, 31-44. Lund 2017, 89-108.
[157] Lund 2017, 89-108.
[158] Hooper, 2014, 175-207.
[159] Finucane 1977.
[160] Finucane 1977.
[161] On the fragmentation and multiplication of relics see Bynum 2012, 2007, 1995. MacKendrick 2008.

freestanding reliquaries, the personal, portable container jewellery examined here all have very small interior spaces that could only accommodate similarly small materials, often rendering the fragmentation of a thing for containment necessary. Fragmentation also allowed for the social dispersion and circulation of objects or materials, and allowed things to become portable and practical to be worn on the body. Fragmentation is also relevant to the containers themselves, and many that survive today are not whole or complete, potentially impacting their identity, identification of purpose, and perception through time.

Medieval attitudes and present-day scholarship on relics and large-scale or stationary reliquaries have particular relevance to my investigation into personal, portable container jewellery. This includes what Cynthia Hahn refers to as the 'Reliquary Effect', or the means by which a reliquary can communicate, frame, and assign meaning to the contained relic.[162] Hahn ultimately concludes that the reliquary makes and creates the relic.[163] In my own approach, I consider how a reliquary, or other kind of wearable container object, can focus or magnify the social meaning of contained material through framing, but acknowledge that interior contents may still possess meaning in their own right. Hahn's argument that the identity of interior contents is dependent on their container privileges the idea that the exterior is more important than the interior, and glosses the complexities of relic-making practices that have the social power to imbue material with meaning through ritual and memory.

Ultimately, relics, reliquaries, and their containment practices reveal how material objects can embody belief, memory, and social identity across time. By extending these concepts to portable container jewellery, it can be demonstrated that even small, personal artefacts participate in larger traditions of material veneration and meaning-making. This perspective

[162] Hahn 2017.
[163] Hahn 2017.

underscores the enduring relationship between materiality, embodiment, and the human impulse to enshrine significance within objects.

1.3.f Summary

In sum, complex theoretical questions regarding the relationship between people and the objects and materials that they might have valued, cherished, enshrined, handled, and wore can be posed. Using an approach that draws on both close-analysis of the artefacts themselves, additional source materials from the period, and the theoretical frameworks of past scholarship, this project will address key questions regarding the journey of container jewellery objects through the latter days of the Middle Ages and into early modernity.[164]

1.4 Methods

This study draws primarily upon the collated assemblage of relevant artefacts (Appendices I and II) and their material evidence as the core focus of research. The Appendices are divided into two parts, Appendix I and Appendix II. Appendix I contains late medieval artefacts dated to c.1400-1534, while Appendix II contains early modern artefacts dated c.1534-1700. The date 1534 was chosen, as this is the date that England formally and legally separated from Rome, a key moment in England's Reformation.[165] It should be noted, however, that the Reformation was an ongoing process through time, rather than an immediate transformation. This division of the data allows for closer analysis of the changes or continuities of this object type, as well as its use, function, and reception throughout the Reformation in England, one of the key aims of this project. Date ranges, often between 50-100 years, have been relied upon where they are given by reliable

[164] For a full list of the research aims and questions see Sec. 1.1.a.
[165] Act of Supremacy, Public Act, 26 Henry VIII, c. 1, 1534.

data collection sources such large public museums and the PAS. Where an object may bridge these two time frames, and indeed have been continuously used across these temporal boundaries, I have best placed it based on its style, material, form, and iconography in comparison with other objects in the dataset. As discussed previously, creating secure dating methods and typologies are not the aims of this project, rather it is examining and analysing broader themes, adaptations, and transitions that appear over time and within the overall material, which a wider time range allows for.

Due to limitations of accessibility to objects recorded in the PAS and in private collections, this project will not include any novel scientific analysis of these artefacts. However, recommendations are made for future areas of research that may prove fruitful within the concluding chapter (Section 7.1.e). Where scientific analysis has been performed on these artefacts, or their contents, the relevant results are incorporated into the study.[166] Other primary sources that are drawn upon for evidence as to the use, function, ownership, cost, or appearance of these objects includes contemporary wills, inventories, letters, legal proceedings, broadsheet prints, as well as other historical documentation. I also utilise art historical and visual representations of the objects in the form of manuscript illumination, prints, and paintings. It must be noted that these sources possess limitations as historical documentary sources.[167] They may present, in some instances, biased, satirised, romanticised, or idealised representations of these objects and their wearers. However, the lens of these biases can be useful in its own right in understanding past people's perceptions, self-presentation, or emotionally-charged connections

[166] This is particularly relevant in regards to testing and identifying interior content materials. For objects that have received analysis see Appendix I: 1.3, 1.9, 1.66.

[167] For an engagement with, or analysis of, this methodology in academic writing see Yip and Clifton 2025 (particularly Chapter 7). Strong 2023. Eaker 2018, 650-79. Southcombe 2010, 954-64. Burke 2001. Bloch 1992. Woodall 1997. McGann 1981, 269-88. Greenblatt 1980. Greenblatt's New Historicist model demonstrates how literary sources participate in social practices and power, representative of self-presentation and ideology.

to these objects within their social worlds.[168] In addition to consideration of the aggregate data in Appendices I and II as an assemblage, this study also develops case studies and object biographies of specific objects. This contributes to an understanding of their use, meaning, significance, functionalities, as well as their inalienable and unique identities as material possessions embedded with personal meaning through time.

1.4.a The Datasets

The datasets (Appendices I and II) contain the collated information on the artefacts that are the focus of this study. This includes metal, wearable jewellery objects with negative space capable of containing secondary material(s), made or used in England, dating from c.1400-1700. These appendices include the following information: the thesis catalogue number, find location (where known), material(s), a brief description, thumbnail image, estimated date range, dimensions, and a reference to the original collection or database source.

1.5 Introducing the Data

Two hundred and forty-three objects have been recorded in this thesis and are presented in the catalogues of Appendices I and II. They have been divided by objects of late medieval or early modern date, with 66 in the former and 177 in the latter (Table 1). The breakdown of the object types is presented in Table 2; the majority of the 243 are pendants, forming 63% of the dataset.

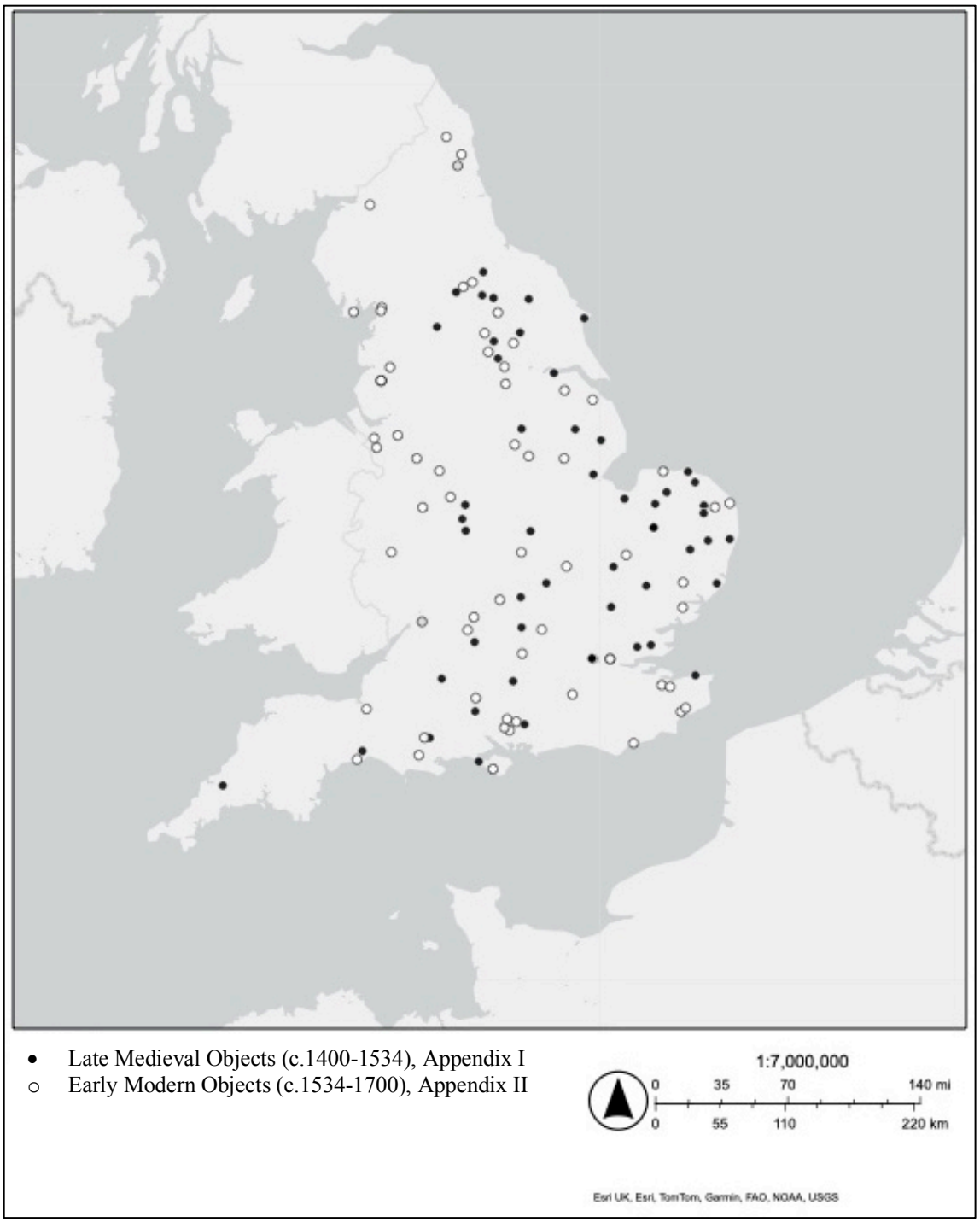
[168] Regarding the issues or biases in the use of artistic representations as historic sources see Burke 2001. Freedberg 1989. Berger 1972.

Sub-period	Number of Objects
Late Medieval (c.1400-1534)	66
Early Modern (c.1534-1700)	177
Total	243

Table 1 Total Objects in Appendices I and II by period (c.1400-1700) as of April 26, 2025

Object Type	Object Type Frequency	
	Number	Percentage of Total
Pendant	154	63%
Ring	70	29%
Slide	14	6%
Necklace	3	1%
Buckle	1	<1%
Sleeve-link	1	<1%
Total	**243**	

Table 2 Total Object Types in Appendices I and II (c.1400-1700)



Map 1 Object Find Location Distribution in England (c.1400-1700), Appendices I and II. Objects in the dataset are included where find locations are known and recorded. Black circles are those of later medieval date (59 out of 66 [89%] have recorded find locations). White circles are those of the early modern period (only 67 out of 177 [38%] have recorded find locations).

Map 1 displays the find locations (where known) of objects included in the dataset. The objects lacking find locations are all non-PAS objects recorded in museum collections, private collections, or auction catalogues (see Appendix I and II). Overall, of late medieval objects, 62% (41) are from the PAS, while 38% (25) are from these other sources. Of these 25, 16 have find locations, but most are only a place name, rather than specific coordinates. Where find locations are not recorded in the data, this may reflect either longer ownership within collections without reliable provenance, or the fact that these were never depositions or losses in the archaeological record, but rather descended through subsequent owners. This is represented in the descriptive provenances of some objects (for example, Appendix I: 1.58, 1.65).[169]

Despite issues of provenance details, Map 1 reveals a fairly even distribution of late medieval objects throughout England, with some concentration in Norfolk and Suffolk and a paucity of finds in the northwest region. The relative rarity and small sample size of extant container jewellery objects may limit the amount that can be inferred from the data depicted. This is in contrast to other more common types of portable materials like dress fittings or pilgrim badges, that are recorded in the hundreds and thousands throughout Britain, and which present a greater sample set demonstrating more recognisable and substantial geographic trends.[170] Other limitations to inference from the find location data include biases in the data collection methods associated with the practice of metal detecting, collection practices of museums, recording via the PAS, and the legal framework of the Treasure Act 1996.[171] It is also important to note that unlike castles, holy wells, or henge sites, the material examined is indeed portable and the find locations themselves do not necessarily indicate a static site where the objects were created or

[169] Graffius et al. 2021. 'Pectoral Cross', V&A.
[170] PAS Database. Standley 2013. Spencer 1998; 1990.
[171] For more on data sources, issues and biases in the data, and geographic limitations of the project see Sec. 1.1.d-e.

where they existed throughout their useful lives. Unlike other types of devotional tokens, there is no strong evidence for intentional deposition in watery locations like rivers or wells, or intentional destruction and dispersal in fields.[172] Indeed, a large number of these small-scale objects bear broken or missing attachment loops, which supports the assertion that many of these are accidental losses with no clear intentionality linked to their deposition and find location. As such, the geographic find locations are not the central route of investigation into the purpose, use, and lives of these objects in this project. However, mapping the find locations of these late medieval objects is useful in establishing a lack of a definitive regional concentration, and visualises how these kinds of objects were used and owned throughout England, from Cornwall to Northumberland.

1.6 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 introduces the material artefacts captured in the appendices, lays out the aims and research questions of the project, and situates the place this work takes amongst the current literature, as well as methods and theoretical frameworks through which the objects will be approached. The body of this thesis is structured temporally in line with the datasets, Appendix I (c.1400-1534) and Appendix II (c.1534-1700). Chapters 2-3 are devoted to analysing and addressing new evidence and recurrent themes in relation to the use, function, and meaning of wearable container objects in late medieval England. In turn, Chapters 4-6 consider the object type after England's formal separation with Rome and in light of the changing spiritual, sentimental, and emotional geographies of the country and its inhabitants.

[172] Anderson 2010, 182-203. Spencer 1998.

Chapter 2 considers the presence of the object and how its composite components of image, text, and material (both container and contained) work together to create a functional object with the potentiality of agency and efficacy in the world, as well as over the body. This chapter offers new evidence for the interpretation of the use of Tau cross-shaped pendants, as well as identification of their plant motifs as possible contents. This offers an expanded view of what these 'reliquaries' could contain, and proposes that these objects were actively used in ritual and health at the intersection of religion, classical learning, and folk-practice. Chapter 3 focuses on the most prominent recurrent motif that appears both iconographically and textually: the *agnus dei* or Lamb of God. This motif is considered as significant in relation to sacrificial offering, votive exchange, and as a simulacrum representation of the eucharist and the Body of Christ. Chapter 4 addresses the immediate and long-term social effects of the Reformation on the use, perception, and form of this object type, as *agni dei* are rejected and campaigned against through polemical text and image in England. Chapter 5 addresses the effects of the execution of Charles I, King Charles 'the martyr', and the significance that this event holds in the popularisation of mourning material both for monarchs and on an interpersonal level in England. Chapter 6 concludes the body of the thesis with an investigation into the interpersonal use of early modern jewellery objects. This chapter focuses on hair as a prominently contained material, exploring its use within jewellery as memorial, romantic, or sentimental matter, and tracing the development of the object type into their identity as 'lockets'. Finally, Chapter 7 offers a discussion of the key themes and issues addressed throughout the thesis, suggesting further areas for investigation, and provides the conclusions reached through the research of this thesis.

Chapter 2. Objects, Materials, Bodies, and Ritual Entanglement:The Case for Vervain

2.1 Introduction

In the late medieval period in England, the use of container jewellery objects builds upon a long tradition of the amuletic application of materials, and the wearing of things with the aim to protect the body, enhance health, focus religious belief, or tap into and connect to supernatural powers.[173] The following chapter will focus on late medieval container jewellery artefacts in England, their contents, and the ways that meaning, power, and efficacy is enacted through their composite parts. Adopting the framework of Jones and Olsan in their examination of the Middleham Jewel, this will consider materiality, form, iconography, proposed contents, as well as text, as dynamic contributors to the overall meaning, function, power, and use of the object within its historical context.[174]

Rather than surveying and describing the overall material, this chapter identifies and offers new evidence for a specific type of late medieval container pendant, and its use as a repository for enclosing and wearing medicinal, meaningful, plant matter, such as the herb vervain, on the body. Plant matter is not traditionally identified or understood as a common 'relic' material within Western Christianity. However, this chapter will explore the multiple and entangled symbiotic channels of knowledge, belief, and ritual that inform the 'creation' of materials, which draws upon Christian religion, Classical knowledge, and popular folk-

[173] For an overview and discussion of container jewellery in England and its influences prior to c.1400 see Sec. 1.2.b. On the use of special materials, amulets, or talismans through history see Thwaite 2019. Cadbury 2016, 188-208. Lecouteux 2014. Budge 2001. Hodges 1987. Villiers 1973. Rodkinson 1893. Blumler 1887.
[174] Jones and Olsan 2000, 249-90.

practice.[175] Even though plant material might not have been brought into contact with the body of a saint or shrine, like some tertiary relics, plant material could still be sacralised or made special through narrative memory, ritual, prayer, or blessing, and take its place alongside relics and other sacramentals as important and portable conduits of effective, protective, and health-giving power. This chapter will contextualise the use of the objects discussed within the widespread and commonly accepted practice of wearing materials on the body as *ligaturas,* which could incorporate plants, stones, textual amulets, and many other kinds of materials (both contained and un-contained) for the purpose of healing, protection, and overall social and spiritual wellness.[176] This chapter will also explore the metaphoric potential of the 'flowering cross' as a key image through which medieval people paralleled relics, like the wood of the cross, with living plant life, and expressed a belief and understanding of inanimate objects or materials as holding the innate potential for action and agency as sources of healing, new life, and living things.

In sum, this chapter offers a re-consideration of these objects as 'reliquaries', their ability to frame and mediate special materials for wellness, and the artefact's capacity to materialise and condense late medieval worldviews into tiny spaces, for the expression of beliefs in relation to religion, the body, and the active and engaged role of earthly materials in human lives.

[175] Folk-practice in this context can be defined as the informal, customary, and vernacular set of rituals used by laypeople outside the official Church or medical establishment to diagnose, treat, prevent harm, or promote wellness in the household or community. See Davies 2007, ix-x, 35, 79. Rawcliffe 1995, 184, 201, 203. Thomas 1971, 178, 229, 265.

[176] Harris 2022, 266. On classical writings regarding ligatures as a key application method of medical materials see Wilcox and Riddle 1995, 1-50.

2.2 The Winteringham Pendant

The gold Winteringham Pendant is an exceptional object that exemplifies the intersectionality of belief and materiality. This pendant takes its name from where it was found, a field at Winteringham, North Lincolnshire in 1989 (Appendix I: 1.63, Figs. 2.1a-c).[177] It is comprised of two cast pieces that form a T-shaped tau cross, both exterior sides of which are engraved. Out of the total 66 artefacts recorded in Appendix I, 27 are cross-shaped in total, eight of which are tau crosses. This is demonstrated in Table 3, which shows that late medieval container jewellery was made in a variety of shapes, with round forms being by far the most common, followed by cross and tau-cross shapes, while all other forms—such as lozenges, rectangles, hearts, hemispherical/oblong shapes, hexagons, and irregular designs—appear less frequently. While none of the tau-shaped pendants were recovered with recorded interior contents, plant matter in the form of unprocessed flax was identified within a hollow late medieval lozenge-shaped object known as the Hockley Pendant (Appendix I: 1.9, Figs. 1.4a-c). In the Winteringham Pendant, the front plate (side I) forms a shallow walled container with an attachment loop and a chain link still connected. The front plate features empty rivet stems, likely to have once held pearls.[178] Also present on the front plate is a small hole at the bottom edge, which could have accommodated a suspended pendant, drop pearl, or even a small bell. This is a feature that is represented in contemporary portraiture depicting tau-shaped pendants (Figs. 2.2-5).[179] The back plate (side II) is a *repoussé* sheet with a flanged tongue and a small tube soldered to its interior side. The flanged tongue can be slid under a small sheet soldered to

[177] MET: 'Winteringham Cross'. Appendix I: 1.19.
[178] For examples of pendant containers with pearls still present on their rivet stems see Appendix I: 1.62, Rijksmuseum, Br. 558.
[179] Portraits of Tudor Queens wearing the pearl drop tau-pendant, probably a real historic jewellery object: NPG: NPG 4682, NPG 4861. RCT: RCIN 405750. Sudeley Castle Collections miniatures. Scarisbrick 1994, 64-9. Continental portraits: Husband 1992, 28-31.

the front plate, and then secured by a latten pin, fastened through its insertion into the corresponding holes in the lower walls of the base section, and threaded through the interior tube.[180]

The possibility of a suspended bell on the Winteringham Pendant introduces a dimension of acoustic phenomenology, transforming it into a dynamic, multisensory artefact. The jingling, activated by the wearer's subtle, *habitus*-driven movements, would have made the pendant an audible presence in the late medieval soundscape, marking the body and the pious devotion of the wearer not only to the eye but also to the ear of those nearby.[181] This sound, a subtle but insistent noise, would have functioned as an embodied, continuous aural indicator of faith, constantly articulating the wearer's relationship to the sacred within the everyday rhythms of life.[182] The material of the pendant container itself could also have held meaning and engaged the senses in other ways. Pearls were symbolically dense matter in the late medieval period, and could be understood as representative of purity and redemption, the Body of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and was also utilised by elites as a costly medicinal material.[183] Gold, silver-gilt, and silver (the most common materials for these tau cross container pendants) were also symbolically-laden. Gold and silver were favoured for use in eucharistic vessels or freestanding reliquaries, and were seen as appropriately fine and suitable to be in direct contact with

[180] For a container pendant with a similar closure method and an intact latten pin see Appendix I, 1.43.
[181] For a definition of Bourdieu's '*habitus*' see Sec. 1.3.a. Bourdieu 2013, 1990.
[182] Small bells were popular pilgrimage souvenirs and understood to be apotropaic both in their small-scale formats, as well within churches. They played important roles in medieval liturgical, secular, and popular rituals, and sacring bells were rung at the elevation of the host, the climax of the mass. For a consideration of bells and sound in the medieval period see Greenia and Sanchez 2021, 209-243. Pelletier 2017, 240-53. Blick 2019, 19-21. Gilchrist 2012, 365. Jones 2007, 102. Bruna 2006, 263-8. Koldweij 2006, 171-5. Spencer 1990, 62-3, 123. Scribner 1987, 22. Bells could also be portable contained relics themselves: Caldwell et al. 2012, 201-244. Erskine 2012, 74-85. Stevick 2008, 26-46.
[183] On the materiality and late medieval symbolic meaning and use of pearl see Nødseth 2017, 173-87. Harkaway-Krieger 2016, 161-80. Overbey 2015, 242-58. Fricke 2012, 35-53.

spiritually-charged, valued materials like relics or the eucharist.[184] The Bible is full of metaphoric references to gold, silver, and pearls, which would have laid a foundation for a late medieval understanding and application of these materials in a Christian religious context.[185] In particular, gold was prized for its incorruptibility through time.[186] These metal materials were luminescent, reflective, and would have been eye-catching as dress accessories if worn externally on clothes in social settings, drawing attention to the conspicuously displayed and materilaised wealth of the wearer. The consideration of sound and material as part of the sensory-engaging presence of this object in the past underscores the utility of materiality and the senses as part of the crucial theoretical underpinning of this project.[187]

Shape	**Shape Frequency**	
	Number	**Percentage of Total**
Round	27	41%
Cross	14	21%
Tau Cross	8	12%
Lozenge	6	9%
Rectangular	6	9%
Heart	2	3%
Hemispherical/Oblong	1	1.667%
Hexagonal (modified lozenge)	1	1.667%
Irregular	1	1.667%
Total	**66**	

Table 2 Late Medieval Object Shapes (c.1400-1534), Appendix I

[184] Medieval canon law affirmed and reinforced the use of precious metals for eucharistic vessels: Izbicki 2015, 21-85. Exceptions were made for very poor parishes or for Catholics in England during the Penal Laws period (the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries). Webb 1986, 352-62.
[185] For example Job 23:10; Psalms 12:6; Proverbs 10:20; Malachi 3:3; Matthew 13:45-6; Revelation 21:18, 21.
[186] Harbison 1995, 27-9.
[187] See Sec. 1.3.a, 1.3.c.

The Winteringham Pendant displays a dense *horror vacui* iconographic programme. The front plate includes haloed God the Father and Christ crucified on a plinth in the vertical axis of the cross. The figures are framed by leafy branches that fill the horizontal length of the cross with jagged-edged cordiform leaves terminating in budded stalks, rendered with a cross-hatched pattern and fringed with frilled petals. This central figural icon of God and Christ is often referred to as the 'Seat of Mercy' or the 'Throne of Grace'.[188] This iconographic representation appears in numerous late medieval representative art forms including illuminated manuscripts, early prints, wooden and alabaster statues, and appears on other English jewellery artefacts and material culture as on iconographic rings.[189] The Godstow ring (Fig. 2.6) is a closely analogous piece to the Winteringham Pendant and includes the Seat of Mercy, and Virgin and Child, as paralleled figural images set within lozenge frames on the wide gold band of the ring.[190] Filling the space outside of these lozenge frames are flowers, leaves, and sprouting pointed stalks, similar to those found on the Winteringham Pendant.

The back plate of the Winteringham Pendant possesses a similar iconographic layout, featuring a crowned figure of the Virgin and Child on a plinth situated in the central axis of the cross. The plinths are a compelling inclusion, and provide the figures with more dimensionality, perhaps taking inspiration from sculpture or reliefs found in churches or private homes, and recalling stone spaces and niches where painted alabaster or wood statues stood.[191] If donned as a pendant or pinned to clothing, wearing the detachable back plate (depicting the Virgin and Child) against the body may have been more desirable in terms of added security for the object's

---

[188] Regarding this iconographic iteration of the Trinity see Thiessen 2009, 10-14.
[189] For English iconographic rings featuring the Seat of Mercy see PAS: WMID-439C61, KENT-CF69CE. V&A: 693-1871, M.241-1962, 686-1871.
[190] The Godstow ring found in Oxfordshire, BM: AF.1075.
[191] For similar extant sculptures or depictions of them see Museo del Prado: P001514. BM: A.140-1946; 2016,8041.1 Sotheby's: Old Master Sculpture, Lot 14, July 5, 2016. Cheetham 2003, 147-153.

contents. While in theory, either side could be displayed outwardly, the significant sustained wear on the Trinity image includes pock-marks and losses, suggesting that this may have been more regularly exposed to the external world. The back plate is in a better condition and only displays some minor surface scratches at the base of the Virgin's plinth. This pattern of use-wear or damage is consistent with a silver gilt tau-shaped container pendant found in Selby, North Yorkshire, which will also be discussed, and which displays two notable gashes on the front plate of the object (Appendix I: 1.41, Figs. 2.7a-c). Both the Winteringham Pendant and the silver gilt tau pendant position depictions of the Virgin and Child on their back plates, closer to the potential body of the wearer. Again, the lozenge-shaped Middleham Jewel (Appendix I: 1.66, Figs. 1.2a-f) orients its Seat of Mercy trinitarian image on its outward-facing external side, with the Marian iconography of the nativity in the more intimate, concealed space against the body.[192]

I argue positioning the Marian iconography between the wearer's body and the image of God is significant, and reflective of belief in the mediating role of Mary (and the saints) as more human-connected intercessors, and an important gateway to Christ and redemptive salvation.[193] The paralleling of these two images in this object, and others like it, also condenses and captures all-encompassing ideas of birth, death, and the medieval life-cycle. This is evidenced in the paralleling of the infant Christ at birth with Christ at his crucifixion and death, and spiritual Ascension. This idea of Christian time and the divine temporal scope of Christ's life was marked and relived annually and infinitely through the liturgical calendar, and is here used to frame and encapsulate the contained space within this object.[194] Indeed, there is strong evidence that these kinds of containing objects were used or invoked during the transformative and liminal

[192] While the Winteringham Pendant does not feature a dove in its Seat of Mercy iconographic iteration, the Middleham Jewel does.
[193] Fastiggi and Maunder 2019, 303-19. Newman 1999, 77-101.
[194] Gilchrist 2012, 69-75, 346. Duffy 1992, 11-53. Hamilton and Spicer 2006, 19-42.

phases or moments of life and death. Another object (Appendix I: 1.46, Fig. 2.8) bears the inscription '+ A MON + DERREYNE', or 'at my end', indicating a desire for the object to be with its owner: to protect from sudden death (a common medieval anxiety), to ease pain or suffering at the end of life, or to provide for the *ars moriendi*, the 'good death', thereby disposing the soul toward the best possible afterlife.[195] These objects were also well-suited for ritual use during labour and childbirth (see Sec. 2.5) and tau crosses appear as important symbols on a number of late medieval English birth girdles or prayer rolls (large-scale textual amulets).[196] Like jewellery, these could be worn or placed on the body. Furthermore, pairing God the Father alongside Mary as Mother, the generative and divine male and female counterparts that conceived Christ, would have endowed the objects, and their contents, with special significance in support of successful conception, carrying, and delivering of children. Fittingly, the orientation of this form positions the special contents between representations of earthly incarnation and heavenly ascension, embodying its intercessory role as a material conduit and connector, guiding and structuring the space between the divine in heaven and the human body on earth.[197] This analysis contributes to key aims of this study including an understanding of the relationship between the object and the body, strategies for containment or enshrinement, the relationship between exteriority and interiority in the object, as well as how these particular pendants might have been used for comfort, protection, or health.

---

[195] Capp 2023, 5-21. Lahtinen and Korpiola 2018, 1-17. Tomaini 2018. Appleford 2015. Akbari and Ross 2013. Gilchrist 2012, 340-427. Speakman 2010. Duffy 1992, 299-368.

[196] Morse 2024. Fiddyment et al. 2021, 1-14. Morse 2014, 218. Gwara and Morse 2012, 33-63.

[197] Le Pouesard 2019, 316-25. Twomey 2019. Novacich 2017, 464-490. The popular *Legenda Aurea,* a widely disseminated late medieval text, circulated and reinforced the idea of Mary, saints, and special materials as powerful conduits and intercessors to God. Voragine 1941.

2.3 Containing Plant Matter: Vervain

In past scholarship, the form of tau-shaped container pendants has been highlighted for their association with St. Anthony and his role as a protector against ergotism and plague. Timothy Husband's article, 'The Winteringham Tau Cross and Igis Sacer', identifies the Winteringham Pendant (and others like it) as indications of devotion to St. Anthony, apotropaic action against ergotism, or a representation of support for Antonine institutions.[198] He suggests that they may have been used as a receptacle for herbs, which is echoed in the catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[199] Husband lists medicinal herbs including plantain, poppy, sage, or verbena as treatments of 'St. Anthony's Fire' due to their dry and cold humoral character, which were thought to counteract the burning sensation of this disease within the framework of the Galenic humoral system.[200] While Husband is extremely close to connecting the possible contents of the Winteringham Pendant with its exterior iconographic programme, he refers to the plant engravings on the cross as a 'decorative idiosyncrasy'.[201] The floral motif of a conical, cross-hatched stalk above petals, and elongated cordiform serrated leaves, is one that also appears in the designs of other contemporaneous objects such as the Godstow Ring (Fig. 2.6) and Raglan Ring (Fig. 2.9), as well as the Selby Pendant, found in North Yorkshire (Appendix I: 1.41, Figs. 2.7a-c).[202] Mark Redknap discusses the plant motif on the Raglan Ring and puzzles over the identity of the pointed plant.[203] He identifies and collates a number of other analogous engraved jewellery objects from this period, some very convincing in their similarities as with the signet ring of John Devereux and the Winteringham Pendant, and some less so, as with the

[198] Husband 1992, 19-35.
[199] 'Winteringham Cross', MET.
[200] Husband 1992, 31.
[201] Husband 1992, 21.
[202] BM: AF.1075. Amgueddfa Cymru: 2000.22H.
[203] Redknap 2022, 206-227.

episcopal ring of William Wytlesey, which appears to display pointed leaves, rather than the distinct conical bud that appears on other jewellery objects.[204] Redknap considers this plant motif and writing about the crosshatching effect infers 'the pattern on engraved pointed flowers is more likely to be stylistic rendering rather than a realistic portrayal of actual features on petals'.[205] He proposes a few plants as possible candidates for the pointed plant, and posits that the buds might represent *Fritillaria meleagris*, or strawberries, which he muses could symbolise Christ's sweetness or the Blood of Christ.[206] While this article very usefully ties together a number of contemporary objects bearing this floral motif, it does not arrive at a satisfactory and convincing conclusion as to what actual plant this motif could represent.

Based on the visual representation of this plant motif, and the contextual identity of the most popular herbs used as panacea for medicinal or spiritual ritual use, I suggest these engravings represent *Verbena officinalis*, or common vervain, which bears a close visual resemblance in the pointed arrangement of its flower buds (Fig. 2.1b). Vervain has been used for medicinal, religious, or ritual purposes since ancient times. A notable reference to vervain is made by Pliny who writes of it in his famed work, *Naturalis Historias,* one of the best-known and most widely copied and circulated Western classical texts in the late medieval period.[207] This text was considered a foundational reference for understanding the natural world and its materials throughout Europe, and its authority only waned in the eighteenth century. Of vervain Pliny writes:

---

[204] Redknap 2022, 211-217.
[205] Redknap 2022, 216.
[206] Redknap 2022, 216-7.
[207] Chavannes-Mazel 2023, 210-38. Neville 2017, 321-5. The most widely known and consulted sources on plants in this period were often texts from antiquity transcribed and circulated, rather than newly authored works.

> *With this the table of Jupiter is swept, and homes are cleansed and purified…Both kinds are used by the people of Gaul in fortune-telling and in uttering prophecies, but the Magi especially make the maddest statements about this plant: that people who have been rubbed with it obtain their wishes, banish fevers, win friends, and cure all diseases without exception… They say too that if a dining-couch is sprinkled with water in which this plant has been steeped the entertainment becomes merrier.*[208]

Here, Pliny's somewhat incredulous recitation of vervain's applications includes its use for religious ritual both in public and domestic settings, as well as its medicinal or practical function, for the body and mind, including its use to promote social wellness. Notably, he also recounts its magical use by the ancient peoples of pre-Christian northern Europe claiming 'It was much used in philtres, and was as highly esteemed as the mistletoe by the people of Gaul'.[209]

Late medieval sources continue to attest to the wide-ranging abilities of this herb, enumerated in a late medieval German medical miscellany manuscript:

> *This plant is now useful for women about to go into labor. If they carry it on their person, they will not suffer any pain but will instead feel quite comfortable. Suspend it around a newborn's neck, and he will not be timid and lead a peaceful life. No one will ever be able to cast a spell on him. Whoever has trouble sleeping and is restless during the night, if he places some vervain nearby, he will fall asleep at once. If someone wears vervain on his person, whomever he touches, this individual will be favorably disposed toward him. And whoever holds vervain on his person never needs to fear any act of sorcery against him. Whoever must ride a long distance, if he ties some vervain and mugwort to the mane of his horse, I assure you that it will never tire or experience any*

[208] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XXV: 105-7.
[209] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XXV: 250.

> *stiffness. Whoever suffers from demonic delusions, if he fumigates himself with vervain, will no longer be oppressed by them. And he who carries vervain on his person will neither tire nor ever get lost on the way. Vervain makes people pleasant, likeable, and happy at all times. Macer insists in his book that vervain has as many virtues as it has branches.*[210]

This passage describes vervain as a panacea wunderplant emphasising the power of its scent, and its use through attachment and proximity to the body, human or animal. This source also records a ritual involved in the collection of vervain as a medicinal herb, drawing upon religious belief and folk-practice traditions. The ritual connected with gathering this plant serves to activate and summon its effectiveness, as well as transform it into a sacramental material. The writer reports that:

> *Whoever wishes to harvest this plant must first encircle it with gold and silver and recite a Pater Noster and creed. Then he must say, 'I command you, noble herb vervain,* in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti *and by the seventy-two names of the almighty God, by the four angels Michael, Raphael, and Antoniel, and by the four evangelists John, Matthew, Luke, and Mark, not to leave any of your virtues in this earth and to place all these virtues with which God has created and endowed you under my power. Amen.' Throughout the night until the next morning you must leave that silver and gold with the plant, but before sunrise dig up the roots, making sure not to touch them with an iron*

[210] Bayerische Staatsbibliotek, cgm 92, fols. 13vb-14rb composite c.13th-15th century, published by Pfeiffer in German 1863, translated into English and published by Brévart 2008, 10. This is a vernacular medical miscellany and was most likely used as a working medical book. This kind of text reflects a place between scholastic medicine and oral folk practice. Notably, the text references 'Macer' or Macer Floridus. This is the Latinised alias of a late-eleventh-century French cleric who wrote on the medical uses of plants. Macer Floridus is widely cited and copied throughout medieval Western Europe. In turn, Macer Floridus drew upon Pliny the Elder, Dioscorides, and other late antique medical writers in his well-known *De Viribus Herbarum*. Moreno Olalla 2013, 931-57. Flood 1976, 62-6.

implement. After that, wash the plant with wine, consecrate it on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and take great care of it.[211]

This ritual for gathering would have prepared the herb to be carried, worn, consumed, or used in a ritual way. Gathering rituals for plants can be found recorded in the works of some of the best-known medical men of late medieval England such as John of Gaddesden (c.1280-1361) and John of Arderne (c.1307-1392).[212] In the commonplace book of English medical practitioner Thomas Fayreford (c.1400-1450), he records a similar ritual that can be used for collecting any medicinal herb, which involves circumambulating the plant thrice and a religious-inspired recitation.[213] The time, effort, and significance of the gathering ritual itself would have indeed rendered the vervain material meaningful and have transformed it from mundane plant matter to something special, particularly through its consecration. The Latin invocation in this recorded ritual, and Thomas Fayreford's, is imitative of the transformative power of the celebrant at mass, as he turns the bread and wine into the ultimate relic, medicine, and protection—the Body of Christ.[214] The author's urging to 'take great care of' the plant would have been met if enshrined, contained, and protected in a container pendant. This prescriptive rite also offers a possible explanation for how medieval jewellery may have been lost, if the charm's practitioner were unable to relocate the gold and silver the following morning.

Vervain did not only retain an identity as a near-perfect and mystical medical substance, it was also incorporated into Christian myth, narrative memory, and was closely and intimately identified with Christ's body, the Cross, his wounds, and the relics of the Passion. The mythic

---

[211] Bayerische Staatsbibliotek, cgm 92, fols. 13vb-14rb composite c.13th-15th century, published by Pfeiffer in German 1863, translated to English and published by Brévart 2008, 10.
[212] Olsan 2003, 359-60.
[213] Fayreford was an itinerant medical practitioner who treated patients in southwestern England including Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Devon. Jones 1998, 42-60. Harley MS 2558, fol. 63v, 15th century.
[214] Bloomfield 2018, 34-48. Rubin 2012, 1991. Duffy 1992, 91.

understanding of vervain as growing in the Holy Land and being placed *inside* the wound and body of Christ on the Cross, dipping into his blood, would have cast and aligned the understanding of this plant as a kind of powerful relic-material in its own right. Another recitation prescribed in gathering vervain recounts and invokes its mythic Christocentric past:

> *Hallowed be thou Vervain, as thou growest on the ground*
>
> *For in the mount of Calvary there thou was first found.*
>
> *Thou healedst our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and staunchesdst his bleeding wound,*
>
> *In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,*
>
> *I take thee from the ground.*[215]

These verses reiterate the worldview that true and eternal healing is centered on the sacrifice of the Crucifixion, which could be channeled through earthly materials. The objects that depict vervain or other prominent plant matter, particularly on the tau cross pendants discussed here, closely associate and orient the growth of plants with the material of the cross, wounds of Christ, and holy bodies, as they span the length of the arms of the cross, or spring from behind or above the holy persons, their sources. A fifteenth-century English charm for staunching blood, plays on the name of the plant vervain, and probably indicates a healing ritual and spoken or written charm that could incorporate the plant materials.

> *Forto staunche blood a charm la verrey dame set enson bank son verray fiz enson*
>
> *deuaunt verray est la dame verrey est le fauaunt verray voine estaunche ore ton sank*
>
> *treis foiz le dietz 7 treis pater noster*

[215] Thomas 1971, 214. White 1608. This is included in a 1608 text by John White who recorded and critiqued common folk-practices in Lancashire. It may reflect older gathering rituals and a traditional understanding of vervain as an herb useful in staunching blood.

> *(A charm to staunch bleeding: the true Lady sat on her bench, her true Son on her lap. True is the Lady; true is the Child; true vein staunch now your blood. Say it three times, and three Pater Nosters).*[216]

Here, I identify and suggest the French term in the charm's original text, 'verry voine' or true vein, as a term applied with double meaning, also indicative of the plant vervain. The text that this charm was included within is an English fifteenth-century miscellany that also includes odes to the medicinal virtues of plants like rosemary and betony, as well as a number of assorted medical charms and treatments for horses as well as humans. Edited and added to over years by a number of different hands, the text reflects elements of a more practical, informal, and oral tradition.

A recurring theme in the history of the discussion of vervain is either an eager faith in its properties or a cynical doubtful eye cast on its reputation. In *The Herbal or Generall Historie of Plants* (1597) by John Gerard (1545-1612), it is recorded that the reputation of vevain is overwrought, and at worst is identified as a material entwined with evil magic. The work states: 'Many odde olde wives fables are written of Vervaine tending to witchcraft and sorcerie, which you may read else where, for I am not willing to trouble your eares with reporting such trifles, as honest eares abhorre to heare'.[217] It continues on to warn against its use by physicians to cure plague claiming it is 'no remedie at all; for it is reported, that the divell did reveale it as a secret and divine medicine'.[218] This aversion and fear may be representative of shifting attitudes towards the folklore and folk-practices surrounding the plant, and its magical identity during the

---

[216] Cambridge University Library, Ms dd.4.44, fol. 18r, 15th century. As cited, transcribed, and translated in Hindley 2024, 194-5. This is from a non-literary practical manuscript that may represent the copying and compilation of practices known more widely through oral practice and dissemination.
[217] Gerard 1597, 581. John Gerard's *The Herbal or Generall Historie of Plants* was one of the most popular and widely circulated English botany books during the seventeenth century. Neville 2022, 237-62.
[218] Gerard, 1597, 582.

Reformation. Particularly, the invocation of the word 'witchcraft' perhaps indicates early modern anxiety and the preoccupation with identifying practices as the products of 'superstition' or suspicion that rituals and materials drew on dark, demonic powers, rather than Godly ones.[219]

The identity of vervain as a proposed interior content and exterior motif on these container pendants contributes to an understanding of potential strategies for 'relic-making' and the enshrinement of materials in container jewellery, as well as the purported origins of their effectivity. Worn or used in close connection with the body, these container pendants (and their possible contents) can materialise and contextualise late medieval worldviews, including ideas connected with special effective materials, religious devotion, health, and the body.

2.4. Other Container Tau Cross Pendants

Two other tau-shape container pendants further exemplify the potential for an integrative, conceptual and iconographic relationship between healing plants and religious symbolism. The Selby Pendant, a silver, once gilt, tau cross found in Selby, North Yorkshire (Appendix I: 1.41, Figs. 2.7a-c) is comparable to the Winteringham Pendant (Appendix I: 1.63, Figs. 2.1a,c) in both its imagery and form. Like the Winteringham Pendant, it is composed of a front plate and back plate with an attachment loop soldered onto the top. This silver pendant cross also possessed rivet stems jutting from the perpendicular angles of the cross's arms, the left of which has broken off, which may have once held pearls or other adornments. The front plate of the Selby Pendant displays an image of an unidentified, bearded, haloed figure. The Yorkshire Museum and PAS database entry suggest this is a representation of St. Anthony due to his association with the symbol of the tau cross.[220] However, the figure does not appear with any hagiographic signifiers,

[219] Davies 2007, 29-66. Clark 1990, 45-81. Thomas 1971, 469-507.
[220] Griffiths 2015.

or attributes associated with St. Anthony, such as the tau-shaped staff, pig, or bell.[221] The figure on the front plate of the pendant may be interpreted at Christ gesturing towards the wound at his side, which is consistent with the orientation of Christ's wound in medieval representations. The pairing of a Christological image with a Marian one would also be in line with the other objects examined here, including the Godstow ring (Fig. 2.7) and Winteringham Pendant (Appendix I: 1.61, Figs. 2.1a-c).

Directly above the halo of this figure on the front plate of the Selby Pendant is a pouch, out of which vines sprout and intertwine, terminating in leaves and four pointed, budded stalks in the corners of the horizontal bar of the cross, fringed with petals. The budded stalks are rendered with a cross-hatching pattern similar to the engravings on the Winteringham Pendant, suggesting a representation of the plant vervain. The back plate features a similar design, with the exception that the figure in the vertical axis of the cross is an image of the Virgin and Child. Another tau cross pendant that makes use of this pouch and plant icon is the Matlaske Pendant (Appendix I: 1.52, Fig. 2.10). This gold pendant decorated with niello is an enlarged iteration of the tau cross. The edges of the cross have been rounded off and allow for a larger surface on the front plate as well as a larger interior containment space. The Matlaske Pendant has an attachment loop on the top edge, which displays considerable wear and thinning of the upper part of the metal loop suggesting sustained use over time. The Matlaske's front plate is engraved with a crucifixion image flanked by John the Baptist on the left holding a lamb roundel, and the image of a bishop saint on the right, with mitre, crozier, and holding what appears to be either a book or reliquary casket. Directly above the cross, as on the Selby Pendant, is a pouch out of which are sprouting tendrils as well as long, textured, lachrymiform leaves. Around the figures, the negative space

[221] Foscati 2020. Battin 2009, 1925-36. Husband 1992.

has been filled with these leaves and eight four or five-petaled flower blossoms. Leaved stalks also sprout out of the perpendicular corners of the cross, centering on the head and body of Christ, though the engraver has struggled to show this within the limited space of the lower angles of the cross. A further container pendant of a similar modified tau-cross form is known as the Bridlington Pendant (Appendix I: 1.47, Figs. 2.11a-c), which is also densely decorated with plant matter, and depicts the Annunciation.

Though not a representation of vervain, the plants on the Matlaske and Bridlington pendants may serve to represent a type of geranium, perhaps *Geranium robertianum,* mentioned in medical texts by the great English surgeon John of Arderne (1307-1392) as 'Herb Robert', and thought to be 'cleansing and binding, stopping blood and helping ulcers' (Figs. 2.12a,b).[222] These small, rendered pouches positioned over the wood of the cross, the length of the tau cross arms, and above the Body of Christ or the Virgin and Child serve to parallel the power of potential contained plant matter with the miraculous and relic-working power of the True Cross. This orientation of the iconography also effectively frames the source of the power of the plant as issuing from the divine bodies of Christ or Mary, and which was brought into close physical contact with the wearer's body through containment practices.

The leather or textile pouch of contained, effective, health-giving materials represented here, likely mirrors the very real practice of wearing special materials on the body. However, unlike these tiny metal containers, their more quotidian, unmarked ritual container counterparts may not survive or be identifiable within the archaeological record. Despite this, historic documentation supports the widespread practice of wearing ligatures of special materials

[222] Arderne 1910, 121-2. Recent studies have investigated the long global ethnobotanical tradition of the medicinal use of the plant 'Herb Robert'. Scientific analysis has revealed that it possesses real antibacterial properties and applications. Haj Ali et al. 2025, 918. Bawish et al. 2023, 1-19. Świątek 2023, 1561. Alhage and Elbitar 2019, 127-133. Catarino et al. 2017, 3355-65. Graça, Ferreira, and Santos 2016, 363–78. Amaral et al. 2009, 1876-83.

attached to the body as charms, or sources for the administration of medicine, throughout the ancient and medieval world.[223]

The belief of Christ as the source of healing power can also be observed in an English alabaster figure of the Sunday Christ (c.1500), which depicts Christ as a 'wound man', physically harmed by the tools of parishioners who work on Sunday (Fig. 2.13).[224] Despite his wounding, Christ remains spiritually unscathed, his cloak and body miraculously absorbing the ills of the wounding tools. Rather than a susceptible and fallible human 'wound man' as can be found in the illustrated pages of medieval medical treatises, Christ is here presented as *Christus Medicus* and his body can heal and protect.[225] This figure of Christ displays an engagement with what would have been commonplace healing or protective practices around 1500, such as wearing a small pouch of materials around his neck, a tau-shaped pendant or badge on his cloak, and a tau inscribed on his left leg. Below the figure is positioned a mortar and pestle, which was associated with the creation of medicines from crushed plant matter, a practice that can be observed in an illustrated English fifteenth-century medical text (Fig. 2.14).

Previous scholarship on tau pendants, and particularly Husband's article centering on the Winteringham Pendant, has focused on the tau cross pendant as a symbol representative and connected to St. Anthony, the Order of Hospitallers of Saint-Antoine-de-Vienne, as well as the Antonine's perceived role as healers devoted to treating ergotism in late medieval patients.[226] The tau crosses have also been positioned as possible evidence for patronage of the Antonine orders, guilds, or hospitals, though Husband has cited most of his examples from Dutch or

---

[223] Wilcox and Riddle 1995, 1-50.
[224] Pollick et al. 2021. Kirkham and Warr 2016. Hartnell 2017.
[225] Outhwaite 2024, 1-26. Kalas 2020, 54. Yoshikawa 2015, 1-24. Martin T. 2001, 219-56. St-Jacques 1991, 111-127.
[226] Husband 1992.

German contexts.[227] There is less evidence to support the commissioning of tau container pendants as symbols of Antonine patronage in England, though pilgrim badges and small simple bells are reported to have been sold to support the larger Hospital of St. Anthony in London.[228] There were a limited number of Antonine hospitals in late medieval England and the hospital near Threadneedle street in London was perhaps the only significant one.[229] Indeed, the 1414 suppression of alien priories had severed ties between foreign-based orders, such as the Hospitallers of Saint-Antoine-de-Vienne, and their influence, authority, and financial ties to foundations located on English soil.[230] None of these tau crosses recorded in Appendix I can be linked in proximity with any particular Antonine foundation sites or buildings in England.[231] A two-dimensional silver gilt tau cross pendant engraved with the wounds of Christ was located at the medieval hospital site of Thornton Abbey in North Lincolnshire, though this was run by an Augustinian order of Black Canons, and the Bridlington container pendant (Appendix I: 1.47, Figs. 2.11a-c) was likewise recovered on the site of Bridlington Priory, inhabited by Augustinian Canons Regular in the East Riding of Yorkshire.[232] Ergotism was also not as widespread in England as it was in mainland Europe. While in 1418 the outbreak of *ignis sacer* in Paris is alleged to have claimed fifty thousand lives in one month, there were no significant reported outbreaks of ergotism in England in the late medieval period, which is attributed to the climatic conditions as well as the less widespread use of rye in England compared with some German or

[227] Husband 1992, 25-33.
[228] Page 1909, 581-584.
[229] Knowles and Hadcock 1972, 373, 404. Hussey 1921, 621. Clay 1909, 278-339.
[230] Morgan 1941, 204-212.
[231] Husband 1992, 21. Husband includes a useful map of the distribution of the Matlaske, Bridlington, and Winteringham tau pendants. The silver tau pendant (Appendix I: 1.53) was found more recently in Sherburn in Elmut, North Yorkshire in 2016 and is therefore not included in his 1992 article.
[232] Daubney 2014. The pendant was found below the floor surface sealed by dissolution period rubble, so the date of deposition is thought to be before the dissolution of the monasteries was begun in 1536.

French regions.[233] The association of St. Anthony with the tau symbol and the *ignis sacer* as part of his hagiography is indisputable. However, the English tau container pendants examined here display little evidence to connect them to the orders or hospitals of St. Anthony and ergotism.

Plants depicted on the Winteringham, Matlaske, and Bridlington tau pendants all have reputations as protective, panacea materials, specially noted for staunching blood, rather than herbs specifically or exclusively used in the treatment of ergotism or plague. Rather than linked specifically to St. Anthony, Antonine orders, or curing ergotism, I argue the tau cross was applied as a more flexible symbol that was widely and popularly used and understood as a magical, religious, and health-giving symbol throughout late medieval material and visual culture. However, as Husband suggests, its origins may lie in the medieval idea that the tau cross was the symbol marked in the blood of lambs over the door of the Hebrews; this allowed them to avert the wrath of God and his plagues which ravaged the Egyptians. Thus, it has a connection with the idea of the prefiguration of Christ's blood-sacrifice and that esoteric magic has its roots in eastern and early biblical cultures. This is supported by evidence of German printed paper amulets bearing tau crucifixes, which were meant to be posted on lintels or doorways to deflect disease, and whose Latin headings read in translation, 'Let these sealed posts frighten away the enemies' (Fig. 2.15). The tau cross is a symbol and form that was used widely on late medieval objects of personal dress such as two-dimensional pendants, pilgrim badges, purse frames, buckles, as well as on the shoulders or bezels of rings.[234] In the English context, these are

[233] Husband 1992, 31, 33.

[234] For a selection of relevant material culture inscribed with the tau cross see the following—(Rings) BM: AF.762, AF.780. PAS: DEV-52E404, DEV-F63675, DOR-0071E4, DOR-3EC81E, ESS-EBE784, HAMP-2670A7, KENT-A5C863, LIN-38C44E, NLM-188832, NMGW-02EBA6S, SOM-C1BEF1, SUR-3A55D1, SUR-67EEA7, WMID-7F5906. (Two-dimensional pendants) PAS: BERK-F12F65, ESS-185565, HAMP-1D689C, LIN-D1EFDA, NMS-5D5A28, OXON-164904, SF-071631, WILT-B4CF25. (Purse frames) PAS: DEV-64BBB7, HAMP-000352, NMGW3396, NMS1617, WILT-22DED4, WILT-EEBDA1. (Buckle) PAS: SWYOR-2CCCA2. (Pilgrim badges) PAS: LON-043B88, LON-943E53, SUR-33030A.

commonly found to be associated either with flora and plants or the wounds and blood of Christ in their iconography. A silver-gilt iconographic ring recovered in Dorset illustrates this: its shoulders depict a tau cross that serves as the stem from which a flower blooms (Fig. 2.16). In this way, the tau cross is paralleled with the wood of the Cross and the Body of Christ as a flowering source of medicine, protection, and life.

Rather than specifically representing St. Anthony in all instances, the tau cross was a flexible symbol with dense and layered associations that could more generally connect to themes of the crucifixion, wounds or Body of Christ, the relics of the True Cross, healing medicinal plants, and overall protection. Tau crosses regularly appear inscribed in textual amulets in the form of prayer rolls or birth girdles in late medieval England.[235] Here, as in some devotional texts, they are understood and applied as 'metric relics' capturing the length of the body of Christ or the True Cross, and useful against an arsenal of ills, particularly in contact with, or carried on the body.[236] Printed on the shaft of a tau cross on a late medieval (c.1533) English birth girdle is the text:

> *This crosse .xv. tymes moten is the length of our lord I[hesu Chryst. And]*
> *what day thou lokest theron / or blysse the therwith / or ber[e it vpon the with]*
> *deuocyon / no wycked spiryte nor enemyes shall haue pow[er to hurte the]*
> *slepynge ne wakyng / nor thonder or lyghtnynge / wyndes [nor wedirs on]*
> *lande or water / nor slayne with ony wepen / nor dye with[out confessyon]*
> *And yf a woman at her trauayle of chylde haue it on her / [the chylde & she]*
> *shall be departed without peryll of deth by the grace of g[od. Saynt Cy]*

[235] Morse 2024. Morse 2014, 218. Gwara and Morse 2012, 33-63.
[236] On devotional metric relics see Allen 2022, 219-251. Mandziuk 2017, 73-92; 2014, 199-219. Skemer 2006. Areford 1998, 211-238.

riace and saynt Iulyte his mother opteyned this petycyon [of god. As it is]

registred in Rome at saynt Iohn Latranence[237]

Textual amulets were another important material that could approach, parallel, and channel similar powers to those attributed to relics. These are known to have been carried on the body and contained in these types of jewellery objects. In another rectangular container pendant found in Kirton, Lincolnshire (Appendix I: 1.24, Fig. 2.17), under a rock crystal panel, the mark of a tau cross can be seen. This is thought to indicate the use of a small tau-inscribed piece of parchment, which alone could carry power, like the German tau-shaped textual amulet (Fig. 2.15). As with the Middleham Jewel, which packs an impressive number of saints and meaningful iconographic motifs onto its small surface, the tau crosses examined here might also have been used to invoke multiple useful channels of effectivity that drew on the depiction of holy personages and special plants, the protective power of its form, as well as the beneficial properties of any special materials or plants contained inside. Medieval people may have been less concerned with the specific prescriptive use of one object, but desirous of something that could function as a veritable amuletic swiss-army knife, to combat and protect against an unpredictable and wide assortment of fears.

2.5 The Flowering Cross

These pendant containers depict the Cross not as two lifeless planks, but as a living growing thing—represented iconographically through the dense flora and vines that branch out

[237] The text of British Library, Harley 5919, items 143-4 (STC 14547.5) as cited and transcribed in Gwara and Morse 2012, 60. The square brackets indicate where text is missing or illegible and has been reconstructed from similar contemporary sources by Gwara and Morse. The commercialisation of this textual amulet through the medium of print indicates a wider level of circulation and demand for these objects, accessible beyond very elite circles.

around it. The close association between Christ's wounds and the healing power of herbs is evident in the English physician John of Gaddesden's (c.1280-1361) authoritative medical text *Rosa Anglica* (c.1305-1317).[238] He describes a remedy for nosebleeds in which the patient must perform a special ritual to gather herbs that will be worn around the neck. The instructions direct the patient to uproot the herb known as shepherd's purse while reciting *Our Father* and *Hail Mary*, and then to chant a versicle invoking Christ's holy blood to activate the plant's healing properties.[239] Here the healing power of Christ, and particularly the conceptual curative matter of blood from his wounds, is necessary to ritually unlock the capabilities of the medicinal plant. The image of the flowering cross also appears both in iconographic representations such as stained glass and liturgical textiles.[240] By the late medieval period in England, a hymn praising the wood of the cross as a living tree can be found included in breviaries of the Sarum Rite, the standard source for the English church liturgy at this time.[241] A stanza of the hymn declares:

> *crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis,*
> *nulla talem silva profert flore, fronde, germine,*
> *dulce lignum, dulce clavo pondus sustinens*
>
> The faithful cross, one noble tree amongst all,
> no such forest produces flower, leaf, bud,
> sweet wood, sweet nail supporting the weight that hung on thee[242]

---

[238] *Rosa Anglica Practica Medicinae* was a highly influential and authoritative medical text that was used and circulated widely in the fifteenth century. It formed part of the core curriculum that underpinned medical practice for centuries. Pearn 2013, 3-7. Olsan 2003, 343-66. Cholmeley 1912.
[239] Rider 2011, 99-100. Hunt 1990, 27.
[240] Brooks et al. 2020, 274-303. In these representations the cross is a blooming, potted lily plant. On the development of the medieval Christian iconography of the sacred tree see O'Reilly 2019, 340-69.
[241] Harper 1991, 145. Wordsworth and Littlehales 1904, 120.
[242] Merton College MS 248, fol. 167r contains both a Latin and Middle English translation of the stanzas. The translation here is my own.

Traditionally associated in liturgy with the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, this *Pange lingua* hymn was originally composed in sixth-century France for a procession that celebrated Queen Radegunda's reception of a relic of the True Cross.[243] The redemptive life-giving qualities of Christ's body and the Cross are once again portrayed as one entity that is symbolically florid and thick with the richness of vegetation. The writings attributed to English mystic, Richard Rolle, similarly contemplate this in the context of the Passion: 'And yit, swet Jhesu, þy body is lyk to a medow / ful of swete flours and holsome herbes; so is þy body / fulle of woundes, swet savorynge to a devout soule, / and holsome as herbes to euch sinful man'.[244] Rolle is noted as amongst the most widely read and transmitted spiritual English authors of the later medieval period.[245] These allegorical descriptions of the flowering of the cross, and plants more generally, no doubt closely relate to the springtime festival of Eastertide, and Christ's body as a site of resurrection and budding re-growth.[246] 'Flowering the Cross' or decorating church altar crosses with flowers for Easter is still a popular ritual practice amongst Western Christian parishes today.[247]

A container pendant that can be related to the 'flowering, budding cross' includes the silver tau-shaped cross with five sculptural flower buds, corresponding to the five wounds of Christ (Appendix I: 1.60, Figs. 2.18a,b). A gold hollow cross pendant with equidistant arms, each ending in a trefoil (Appendix I: 1.34, Fig. 2.19), also incorporates this motif. This shape is known as the 'cross bottony' or budded cross in heraldry. Found near Newport Pagnell in

[243] Tierno 2017, 195. George 1992, 162.
[244] McCann 2015, 53-83. Allen 1963, 114, ln. 298-301. This is quoted as it is transcribed in Allen's edition of Rolle's writings. It includes the 'þ' known as the thorn used to represent a 'th' sound in medieval texts.
[245] Hanna 2016, 105.
[246] Pollick 2021. Also on the 'flowering cross' in late medieval English material culture see Brooks et al. 2020, 274-303.
[247] Armiger 2024. Hawkins n.d.

Buckinghamshire, the pendant is adorned with five engraved flower buds, one within each trefoil, and one in the center, and each bud is radiating with small engraved lines. The Newport Pagnell Pendant is crossed with text engraved in blackletter gothic script, *'crux florat'* and *'amor malum'*, which may be interpreted as 'may the cross bloom' and 'may love fruit'.[248] The text here, and conception of the cross as a flowering fruiting tree, might be connected with a late medieval interest in meditative imagery in instructional treatises like St. Bonaventure's thirteenth-century *Lignum Vitae,* or 'The Tree of Life'.[249] In this, he draws on the image of a tree as a memory device to structure meditations on the incarnation and passion of Christ.[250] He writes:

> *From the trunk of this tree, imagine that there are growing twelve branches that are adorned with leaves, flowers and fruit. Imagine that the leaves are a most effective medicine to prevent and cure every kind of sickness, because the word of the cross is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes. Let the flowers be beautiful with the radiance of every colour and perfumed with the sweetness of every fragrance, awakening and attracting the anxious hearts of men of desire. Imagine that there are twelve fruits… this is the fruit that took its origin from the Virgin's womb and reached its savoury maturity on the tree of the cross under the midday heat of the Eternal Sun, that is, the love of Christ.*[251]

---

[248] Gilmore 2013.

[249] This was written c.1260 when Bonaventure was the Minister General of the Franciscan Order, at a time he could have been either in Paris or Rome. While initially conceptualised for a religious elite (Franciscan friars) the text was adapted and translated into Middle English for a fifteenth-century laity. This is representative of and participates in a wider movement towards the practice of personal, affective piety in late medieval England. McNamer 2010. Innes-Parker 2007, 199-206.

[250] Salonius and Worm 2014. McAvoy 2023, 139-58.

[251] Bonaventure 1978, 120-1. This quotation is taken from Cousin's translation and transcription of Bonaventure's writings. I have omitted Cousin's italicisation of lines of biblical origin and their parenthetical biblical citation. I have also used the standard U.K. variations of words here for consistency.

This passage illustrates the importance of the medieval theological construction of the cross as a flowering, fruiting source, as well as a source of spiritual and physical healing. Due to its reference to the flowering, fruiting cross, the Newport Pagnell Pendant would have been particularly well-poised for use by a woman desiring to conceive, carry, and deliver healthy children, as a benefit of devotion to the metaphorically rich substance of the *lignum vitae.* This pendant, and other container pendants like it, could have been incorporated in a performative manner during the process of birth. One ritual known to be practiced during women's labour was the opening of cupboard doors and chests to encourage the opening of the 'womb', and the swift and easy delivery of the child.[252] Containing objects that opened and closed, like this container pendant cross, would have been well-suited to this practice, and would have heightened its meaning through its own references to family, fruitfulness, and faith in Christ.

Through its form, it is possible to propose an owner of the Newport Pagnell Pendant. An atypical iteration of the cross within this dataset, the cross bottony was used in late fifteenth-century heraldry by the Beauchamp family, the hereditary Earls of Warwick, and prominent players in the dynastic conflict of the War of the Roses. Their coat of arms is described as 'gules a fess between six crosses crosslets or' and can be seen prominently displayed and worn in heraldic rolls on the ancestral figures of the *Warwick Roll* and *Rous Roll,* luxury illuminated scrolls that chronicle and celebrate the Beauchamp familial line (Figs. 2.20-1).[253] This form of the cross bottony can also be observed on the armour of the alabaster tomb effigy of Beauchamp ancestor, Thomas de Beauchamp, 11th Earl Warwick (d.1369) in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Warwick, Warwickshire (Fig. 2.22). It is possible a member of the Beauchamp family owned and lost the pendant in the area it was found in Buckinghamshire (near to present-day

[252] Hanawalt 1993, 42.
[253] Boutell 1867, 188. *Warwick Roll* c.1455, MS 6/33.

Milton Keynes and Newport Pagnell) while travelling, perhaps from Warwick to London. Harness pendants with the arms of the Beauchamp family have been recovered throughout southern England, evidencing the household's movement through the landscape (Fig. 2.23).[254] Ownership of the gold Clare Cross (Appendix I: 1.64) has been attributed to Cecily Neville, mother of Kings Edward IV and Richard III, due to the proximity of the find location to her residence, Clare Castle.[255] Cecily Neville was also known to have owned an impressive collection of religious jewels recorded in her will.[256] The Middleham Jewel is similarly thought to have belonged to a prominent Yorkist lady.[257] Given these connections, and its own telling form and text, the Newport Pagnell Pendant could have belonged to Anne Beauchamp, 16th Countess Warwick, wife of 'The Kingmaker' Richard Neville and mother of future queen Anne Neville. The dynastic Rous Roll praises Anne Beauchamp's assistance to kinswomen through the difficulties of childbirth asserting that she was 'Glad to be at and with women that traueld of chyld. full comfortable and plenteus then of all thing that shuld be helping to hem.'[258] Importantly, it was through Anne Beauchamp and the female line that the Earldom of Warwick descended to her husband, also noted in the *Rous Roll*.[259] This would have rendered this possession an important object of faith, family, allegiance and the struggle for dynastic control during the succession conflict of the War of the Roses, while also highlighting prominent women's key roles in producing heirs and securing their family lines, and the future of England.

[254] For a selection of Beauchamp heraldic harness pendants recorded in the PAS see PUBLIC-1DB3A2, WILT-D656F5, WMID-8664D7.
[255] 'Clare Reliquary Cross' RCT. Tonnochy 1936, 1.
[256] Nichols and Bruce 1863, 1-9. Due to the object's association with his mother Cecily Neville, a present-day copy of the Clare Cross was blessed by a priest at Clare Priory in Suffolk, then interred with the body of Richard III during his reburial at Leicester Cathedral in 2015. 'Richard III coffin rosary blessed at priory' 2015.
[257] Cherry 1994, 32-5.
[258] Pickering et al. 1845, no. 56.
[259] Pickering et al. 1845, no. 56.

2.6 Summary

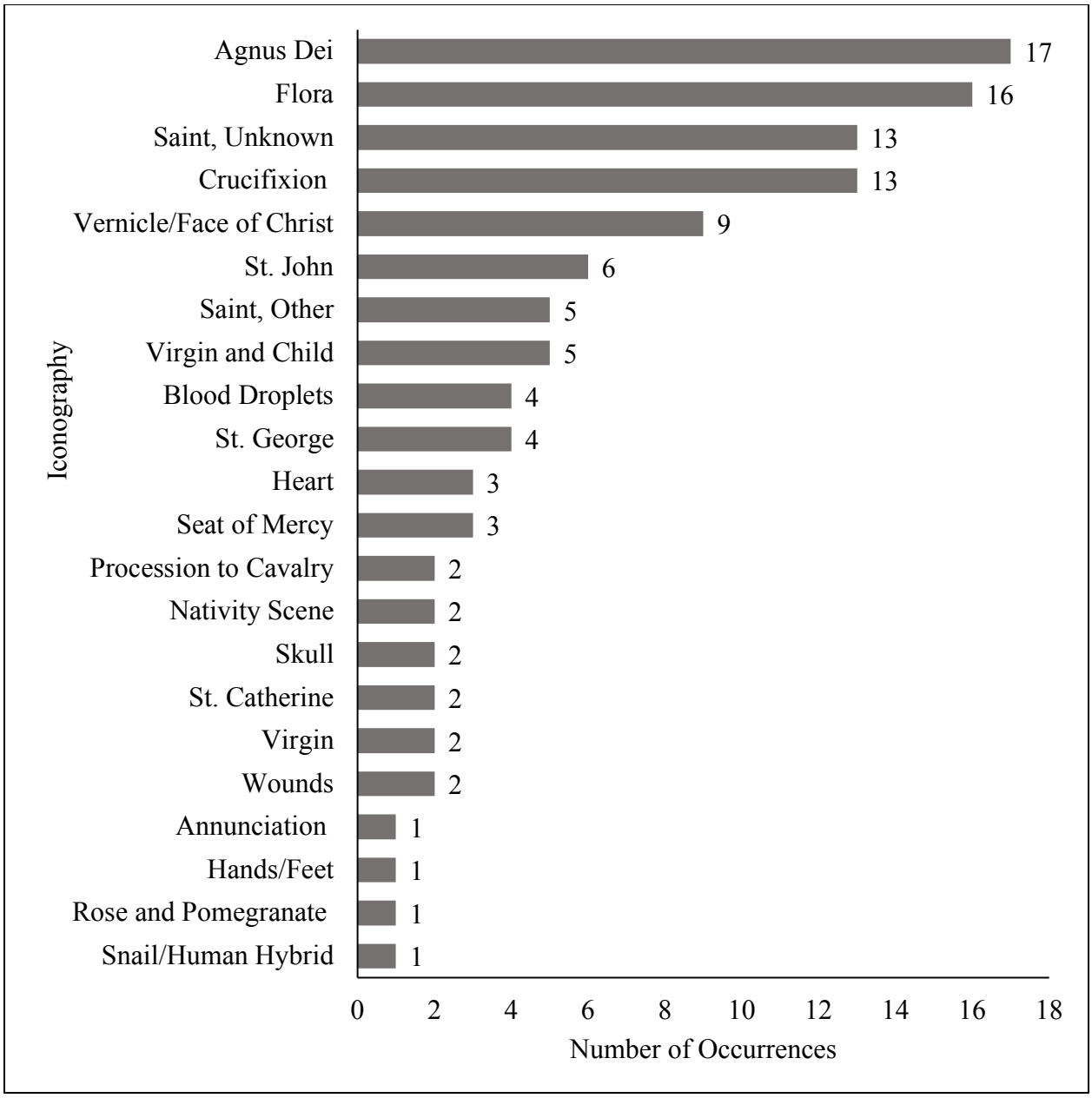
The container jewellery objects examined in this chapter represent the importance of the physical and metaphorical entanglement of past individual bodies with plants, objects, and other special materials. The use of plant motifs here extends beyond the decorative, and acts as a method of 'framing' the object and its contents, particularly in its symbolic paralleling to the wood of the True Cross and the wounds, blood, and body of Christ. These pendants demonstrate the ways that these objects are in dialogue with distinct elements of a late medieval mindset that emphasised piety, and the comfortable co-existence of religious, medical, philosophical, and folk belief in caring for the body. The possible identification of a prominent member of the Beauchamp family, key players in the War of the Roses, as an owner for the bottony cross pendant allows us potential insight into the life, beliefs, responsibilities, and material relationships of a prominent family in late medieval England. This Newport Pagnell Pendant represents how personal identity and status could potentially shape the form of these objects, and communicate outwardly as part of a busy public life. In turn, these objects have the power to gesture inward towards their own private materiality, and the desirable cultivation of an interior affective relationship to Christ. The entanglement of plants, objects, and people, here, both symbolically and literally demonstrate how dynamic and complex these objects could be in their layered meanings.

Chapter 3. *Agnus Dei* Pendants and Eucharistic Devotion

3.1 Introduction

The *agnus dei* or 'Lamb of God' figures prominently in the assemblage in Appendix I. Graph 1 and Tables 4-5 show that the *agnus dei* was a notable thematic feature of late medieval container jewellery, appearing in text, as an image, and as an interior content. It is the most common recurring exterior motif on the late medieval objects included here, occurring 17 times across 66 objects (Graph 1). It appears in textual inscriptions on three separate objects (Appendix I: 1.42, 1.44, 1.66; Table 4), including on the exterior front plate of the famous Middleham Jewel.[260] Furthermore, one object (Appendix I: 1.44) contained a wax disc also known as an *agnus dei*, a devotional object, which will be discussed and examined in further detail (Table 5, Sec. 3.4).[261] The focus and theme of this chapter is guided by the recurrent *agnus dei*, present in the material objects collated in Appendix I. The further examination and investigation of container jewellery objects known as *agni dei,* serves to support the main aims and research questions of the thesis. This includes strategies of containment, the human use of materiality for comfort, protection, memory, or health, as well as the expression of religion and belief through these objects. Whether the containers or contents known as *agni dei* could be understood as reliquaries or relics will also be assessed.[262]

[260] Jones and Olsan 2000, 256-260. Cherry 1994, 25.
[261] See Sec. 3.4.
[262] These data-driven considerations directly tie back to the research aims and questions of the thesis, incorporating key theoretical frameworks (Sec. 1.1.a, Sec. 1.3).



Graph 1 Late Medieval Occurrences of Iconography (c.1400-1534), Appendix I

Object Number	Inscription	Text Font
1.9	IASPAR / MELCIOR / BALTASAR	Lombardic
1.10	Amourc plet	Blackletter Gothic
1.34	crux florat / amour malum	Blackletter Gothic
1.35	+ de cuer	Blackletter Gothic
1.36	'H&K / + TOVS + IORS' / '+ TOVS + IORS'	Lombardic
1.42	'ave ♦ Maria / gratia ♦ plena ♦ d / ominus ♦ te / cum ♦ benedicta' / 'angnus ♦ d / ei ♦ qui ♦ tollit / [pe]cata ♦ m / undi ♦ don ♦ no ♦ pa'	Blackletter Gothic
1.44	'+AGNES: • DEIQVI • TOLLIS • PECCATA • MVNDI • MISERER' / '+.T.hOMASM / E • FECIT •' (same text, front and reverse)	Lombardic
1.46	+A MON + dERREYNE	Lombardic
1.51	'Salve sante facies nostris redeptori' / 'dei qui […] peccata' / 'ecce agnus dei' (partially obscured)	Blackletter Gothic
1.55	me tibi virgo pia genetrix […] ista Maria (partially recorded)	Blackletter Gothic
1.57	+ Iohes godefroy	Blackletter Gothic
1.58	'Cru/cis / Domne / Nos/tri / Coron / Spin / crucis / salua/toris Nos/tri / Sti / Ioseph / ab / Arama' / 'INRI'	Roman Serif (INRI)
1.59	' + espoir + de / my + sans + fyn' / 'INRI'	Blackletter Gothic
1.61	DOMINE MEMANTO MEI	Lombardic
1.66	Ecce agnus dei / qui tollis peccata mundi / miserere nobis tetragram/aton ananzap/ta .	Blackletter Gothic
15: Total Late Medieval Objects with Multi-Word/Phrase Inscriptions		

Table 3 Late Medieval Multi-word/Phrase Inscriptions (c.1400-1534), Appendix I

Object Number	Content Material(s)
1.3	Coins (2), Hair, Louse
1.9	Unprocessed flax root fibres
1.12	Fragments of Textile, Hair
1.19	White concretion
1.24	Lettered parchment
1.42	Chased gold, translucent film
1.44	Wax *Agnus Dei* disc
1.49	Wood, wax
1.53	Parchment
1.58	Crucifix
1.60	Wood fragments, red-stained textile
1.64	Wood, granite fragments
1.66	Gold embroidered *opus Anglicanum* textile roundels
Total Objects with Contents: 13	

Table 4 Late Medieval Interior Contents (c.1400-1534), Appendix I

3.2 The 'Lamb of God' or *Agnus Dei*

The use of the term 'Lamb of God' or *agnus dei,* is derived from the biblical passage John 1:29, where John the Baptist, upon seeing Jesus declares, '*ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum mundi'* or 'behold the lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world', thus equating Christ and his body with the symbolism of a sacrificial lamb offered to God in atonement for humanity's sin.[263] The symbol of the lamb also evokes the important and recurring Old Testament livestock sacrifices made to God as with Abel in Genesis and the Hebrew's use of the slain paschal lamb's blood in Exodus, symbolically prefiguring and prophesying Christ as God's own sacrifice in Christian theology and eschatology. The biblical excerpt of John 1:29 was included as a significant recitation in the ritual of late medieval liturgy, with ties to the host and the 'priest's communion', or when the celebrant fragmented and

[263] Latin Vulgate Bible, John 1:29. Torres Jimenez 2013, 49-93. Inman 1993, 174-228.

consumed his portion of the host.[264] The setting of this biblical text to music for incorporation into the liturgy has also been an important aspect of sacred music from the early Christian period into contemporary time.[265] Its prominence within the ritual of mass meant that parishioners would have been intimately familiar with these words and the paralleled symbolism of the host and Body of Christ as the *Agnus Dei*.

In the past, an academic understanding of the purpose of *agni dei* pendants has been predominantly limited to their use as containers for sacramental wax discs, also known as *agni dei*.[266] However, material evidence from more recent finds recorded in the PAS, along with documentary information from wills and inventories reveals that the medieval understanding and use of the term *agnus dei* may have been used more broadly as a catchall term to refer to any type of small, hollow container pendant, regardless of its exterior decoration or contents.[267] As will be demonstrated, even from this limited collection of extant artefacts, container objects with the decoration of the lamb could contain a wide array of significant material, and objects referred to as *agnus dei* could also bear a wide array of iconography other than the lamb, as evidenced by the example of Cecily Neville's collection amongst others.[268] Significantly, the use of the *agnus dei* as a descriptive term, image, or text applied to a containing object materialised a framework through which the object presented its contents as, or closely identified with, the material Body of Christ. As the eucharist was considered to constitute the appearance of Christ's body on earth, the *agnus dei* was also closely aligned with this liturgical rite and its associated ecclesiastical

---

[264] Duffy 1992, 96, 101.
[265] Buckley and Colton 2022. Barnwell, Cross, and Rycraft 2005. Atkinson 1977, 1-19.
[266] John Cherry's key text on late medieval English *agni dei* containers lays informative groundwork for the study of these objects, but focuses primarily on their identity as containers for wax *agnus dei* discs. His publication was in the nascent years of the PAS, and more recent documented finds offer further insight into the objects, their use, and contents. Muller 2021, 76-99; 2018, 1-28. Nowiński 2011, 245-67. Cherry 2003; 2001, 154-71.
[267] Cherry 2003.
[268] See Sec. 3.5. Nichols and Bruce 1863, 1-9.

tools and materials such as plate, chalices, altar vestments, ciboria, and of course the eucharist wafer itself.

3.3 *Agnus Dei* Pendants in the Assemblage

Most *agni dei* present in this project consist of a sealed object with no opening mechanisms, with an interior that could not be easily accessed without significant damage or alteration to the object. They are of relatively simple means of construction; many of these consist of two separate metal roundels, which are either soldered or fitted to an intermediary metal strip, which can then be decorated with twisted bands, beading, or other framework. This is demonstrated well by a silver-gilt pendant engraved with the *agnus dei,* which was found in Broughton, Hampshire (Appendix I: 1.32, Fig. 3.1). Due to this type of construction, it is not uncommon for these roundels to become loose, collapse together, or be separated from the rest of the original object. Thus, roundels or plates with the Face of Christ, trigram, or the lamb, can frequently be interpreted as lost elements of these once complete container objects. Evidence on the extant roundels themselves attest to this, for example, limited gilding present on the reverse of the object serves as a likely indicator that it was once fitted into a larger container object, where the interior was left untreated. This can be observed of a round disc engraved with the *agnus dei,* found in Normanby, North Yorkshire (Appendix I: 1.40, Fig. 3.2). Other separated plates that bear evidence of fittings for pin hinges that almost certainly would have formed one half of a containing pendant. A comparable example can be observed of a round disc found in Crays Hill, Essex, which also displays evidence of gilding on the obverse side of the plate only (Appendix I: 1.11, Fig. 3.3).

3.4 Eucharistic Origins and Connections

The roundel containing the *agnus dei* has a long history in the iconography of Christian art and devotional material culture. The depiction of the lamb on a roundel is most likely an associative image that references the eucharistic bread though, in early instances, this is perhaps representative of a larger round loaf, rather than small individual wafers that later became more common. The mosaics of Ravenna capture and represent the symbolic meeting and merging of the lamb and the bread roundel, as both appear as simultaneous altar offerings (Fig. 3.4). Significantly, the representation of the lamb merging with the eucharistic bread roundel weds the two separate symbols of the sacrificial lamb and the sacrifice of the memorialising eucharistic bread into one, together referencing the Body of Christ. The word 'host' itself is a referent to this concept, as it is derived from the Latin *hostia*, meaning 'a victim for sacrifice'.[269] By the late medieval period, the actual form of the eucharist wafer could quite literally take on the image and imprint of the *agnus dei*, as evidenced by extant moulds or irons that were used to pour and shape the batter of the eucharist wafers into individual roundels (Fig. 3.5). Other common iterations of the eucharist in the late medieval period can be observed on pilgrim badges that reference eucharistic miracles, such as the badge of Andechs Monastery (Fig. 3.6), which displays three round eucharist hosts bearing three separate images that may have been standard iterations for the eucharist including the Crucifixion, the *agnus dei*, and the holy trigram 'IHS' with an omega symbol over it.

The lamb depicted within a circle or on a flat roundel would remain a trope throughout the medieval period appearing on a wide variety of architectural elements, art, and material culture to represent the eucharist, Body of Christ, and Christ's role as sacrificial, yet triumphant

[269] 'host, n.', OED.

lamb. Late Saxon rings found in Britain (c.850-900) with the image of the *agnus dei* depict the lamb within the circular roundel, and this is also the case with a small, portable, hinged cruciform ivory container pendant (c.1050) (Fig. 1.17).[270] It is highly likely that the *agnus dei* image on round discs, whether of bread, base metal, gold, or wax, may have been immediately recognisable to the late medieval viewer as synonymous with the eucharist, the site of intense visual devotion in the parish, with all its associative miraculous mysticism and power.

The material culture of late medieval liturgy reveals evidence as to the close connection between the paired motifs of the Face of Christ and the *agnus dei* in containers or objects produced to be in intimate contact with eucharistic materials. In the late medieval material of Appendix I, the two-sided pairing of the Face of Christ with the *agnus dei* is a common trope, and appears on nine objects (this includes Appendix I: 1.32, Fig. 3.1). This iconographic pairing is also apparent on earlier medieval burses, or pouches that would have been used to store the corporal, a square of white linen cloth that is positioned beneath the chalice and the paten during mass.[271] A textile English burse (c.1290-1340) reveals the dual-sided pairing of the Face of Christ and the *agnus dei* lamb, similar to that which can be found on pendants in the assemblage (Fig. 3.7). Similarly, other eucharistic containers, such as the Malmesbury Ciborium (c.1160-1170) and the Swinburne Pyx (c.1310-1325), meant to contain eucharist wafers, perhaps for a private chapel, pair the Face of Christ and the *agnus dei* (Figs. 3.8a,b). Notably, the construction of the Swinburne Pyx is not dissimilar to that of many of the pendants, consisting of two roundels to contain the interior space.[272] It is very possible that liturgical container objects in

[270] These artefacts include: BM: AF.458, A.6-1966. PAS, SOMDOR-46E1A1.
[271] Pierce 2018.
[272] A 'pyx' is a small vessel, box, or pendant used to hold the consecrated host for safe-keeping and adoration. It could be suspended over an altar or worn/carried by a priest to deliver the sacrament to the old, sick, or dying. 'pyx, n.1', OED.

earlier medieval England (such as pyxes, burses, and ciborium), may have inspired the design of portable, wearable container pendants for personal use.[273] Drawing upon the form of these liturgical containers would have translated the importance of these sacred objects and their association with the eucharist to the form, space, and contents of the wearable *agnus dei* container pendants.

3.5 *Agnus Dei*: The Wax Roundel Discs

Agnus dei pendants most likely developed as protective and decorative wearable cases to contain materials closely aligned with the eucharistic host, such as small wax sacramental discs. The origin of this practice may be traced to parishioners who brought home fragments or remains of wax from the large Paschal Easter candle as religious mementoes beginning in the sixth century.[274] Between the eighth and twelfth centuries, these wax fragments were cut or fashioned into small lamb figures, representative of Christ and the festival of Eastertide.[275] By the twelfth century, the disc was made with a two-armed mould that imprinted on both sides, and it is likely then that the name *agnus dei* began to be regularly used in relation to the wax disc.[276] The Church adopted this para-liturgical practice on a more official basis, and in the fifteenth century, the practice of Popes blessing *agni dei* in the first and seventh year of their pontificates was established and was often accompanied by an inscription mentioning the date of the blessing and

[273] A burse is a case used to hold the cloth that covers the eucharist and eucharistic vessels. 'burse, n., sense I.1.b', OED. A ciborium is a vessel, often larger than a pyx, used to hold the eucharist. 'ciborium, n., sense 2', OED.
[274] On the identity, history, and use of wax *agnus dei* sacramental discs in Europe see Harbert 2022. Mänd 2022, 76-80. Nelles 2022, 218-53. Crispi 2020, 21. Zecchino 2019, 204-33. Cooper 2020, 223-43. Lepoittevin 2018, 87-117. Muller 2018, 1-28. Nowiński 2011, 245-67. Campbell 2009, 90-1. Musacchio 2005, 139-56. Cherry 2003, 171-84. Cherry 2001, 154-71. Brückner 1999, 89-134. Herradón Figueroa 1999, 207-37. Caspars and Brekelmans 1998, 61-80. Scarisbrick 1994, 35-6. Lightbown 1992, 228-30. Thomas 1971, 30-1, 47, 52-3, 72-4. Evans 1953 50-1. Evans 1921, 60. Smith 1908, 122. Lambing 1892, 211-26. Stonyhurst College 1867, 422-4. Panvinio 1656. Panfilo 1556.
[275] Crispi 2020, 21.
[276] Crispi 2020, 21.

the name of the pontiff, which authenticated the object of Papal and Roman origin.[277] Pope Urban V (r. 1362-1370) is often cited as having presented *agni dei* as a gift to Byzantine Emperor John V Palaiologos (r. 1341-1391) in the mid-fourteenth century, along with an accompanying poem that expounded on the virtues, attributes, and spiritual as well protective capabilities of the wax roundels:

> *Balm and pure wax with the water of the chrism*
>
> *Made the Agnus, that I give you as a great gift.*
>
> *Born from a font, mystically sanctified,*
>
> *It destroys ghosts and any malice,*
>
> *Helps pregnant women in childbirth,*
>
> *If carried with purity, it protects from the waves,*
>
> *Shutters sin and suffering with Christ's blood.*
>
> *It brings precious gifts, puts out fires,*
>
> *Protects against sudden death, and from Satan's ruin.*
>
> *If honoured, it wins trophies from enemies.*
>
> *The smallest part alone is worth the whole.*
>
> *Lamb of God, who takes away sins, have mercy on me.*[278]

This poetic composition, also known as the *Virtutes Agnus Dei,* survives in multiple manuscripts originating from late medieval England, attesting to its dissemination.[279] The ability attributed to the wax *agnus dei* to protect against fire, flood, as well as its panaceaic capabilities against the devil and spiritual onslaught may have been the impetus for the medieval incorporation of the

[277] Muller 2018, 4.
[278] Cooper 2020, 227. The Latin text of the letter is transcribed in Ceresole 1845, 34-35. The dates given for Emperor John V Palaiologos include interruptions in his reign.
[279] See BL: Arundel MS 334, Arundel MS 338, Harley MS 2406.

agnus dei, in its many forms, into architectural structures. For example, a wax *agnus dei* of Pope Gregory XI (1370-8) was found in the foundations of Poitiers Castle, which was recovered without a metal case, though thought to have once been in a silk or textile purse based on evidence in the surrounding soil.[280] In England, Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Albans (c.1235), reported and deplored the lack of efficacy of an *agnus dei* that was placed at the top of the church tower, as the structure had twice caught fire.[281] Many floor tiles have been also recovered that were imprinted or glazed with the image of the *agnus dei* c.1200-1600 in Britain and include examples from Whitland Abbey of Carmarthenshire, Wales, as well as Lilleshall Abbey in Shropshire, Chester Cathedral in Cheshire, Swinehead Abbey in Lincolnshire, and from Gloucester and Essex.[282] Similarly, in East Yorkshire, ceramic roofing tiles have been found imprinted with an *agnus dei*, believed to have been made from a personal medieval seal, that could have been intended either to bless or imbue the tile materials with protective attributes.[283] Certainly, the *agnus dei* was a popular seal matrix symbol in the late medieval period in England.[284] These matrices could not only be used for personally sealing documents or letters as a form of identification, but could also allow the owner to produce their own wax roundels reminiscent of the host or of wax *agnus dei* discs. The importance of the seal, imprintation, its connection with the *agnus dei* lamb, and its function as an identifying and protective mark also has origins in the biblical text of Revelation where, as with the blood of the paschal lamb in Exodus, the people of the Antichrist will bear the mark of the beast, while the Lamb's people

[280] Cherry 2003, 170.
[281] Cherry 2003, 171. Way 1872, 361-362.
[282] BM, 1947,0505.2316; 1947,0505.2140; 1947,0505.2806; 1947,0505.1720; 1887,0423.11095.
[283] McNaught and Webb 2005.
[284] A brief survey of the PAS on April 20, 2025 yielded results of over 100 seal matrixes with the *agnus dei*. Most of these are copper alloy stamps with loops that could allow them to be used as pendants, dating from between 1300-1500 A.D. For examples see PAS: NMS-59C90E, NLM-5E759E, NARC-699664, BH-C82257.

will bear God's sign and seal upon their person.[285] The idea of a malleable material, particularly wax, which can be imprinted upon also materialises and recalls the late medieval conception of memory as a mental process of imprinting upon a pliable substance, derived from Galenic and Aristotelian philosophy, which was expressed as part of humoral and cognitive theory in late medieval medical and philosophical texts.[286] The idea may have been derived, or at least closely linked to, the tradition and common practice of writing upon wax tablets.[287] Understood in this way, the conception of memory was connected to the preservation and retention of material, which could be sustained until the destruction, loss, or re-fashioning of the material it resided within.

Agnus dei wax discs occupied a place amongst special-status objects called sacramentals: these were blessed items that could confer positive effects on their bearers, analogous to the reception of the sacraments.[288] These could include holy water or oil, meant to reference the baptism, as well as blessed palm leaves, candles, or ash distributed to parishioners during the course of the liturgical year. Similarly this can include personal articles, objects, or effects, if they are appropriately transformed through the ritual of presentation for priestly blessing, and can also include wedding rings, rosary beads, or crucifixes.[289] Sacramentality has been recognised as central to understanding the medieval relationship with the material world, for it rests on the theological conviction that transcendent spiritual realities may genuinely manifest through material forms. [290] In the European Reformation, the distinction between *sacrament* and *sacramental*, the sources of their respective efficacy, and their proper place in religious practice

[285] Douay-Rheims, Revelation 7:4, 14:1.
[286] Cziganj 2025, 1-18. Schwedler 2021. Carruthers 2008.
[287] Brown 1994, 1-16. Rouse and Rouse 1989, 175-91.
[288] Muller 2018, 4.
[289] Cooper 2020, 221-223.
[290] See Bynum 2020; 2011, Sec. 1.3.a.

became highly contested, as reformers sought to restrict Church authority and the expanding trade in indulgences and devotional objects they condemned as superstitious or papist. [291]

Only one medieval *agnus dei* container pendant of English origin containing its original wax disc has been known to survive (Appendix I: 1.44, Figs. 3.9a,b). Cast of lead alloy and 48mm in diameter, this was recovered in London in 1989 and has been dated to the fifteenth century. The opening mechanism includes two pin hinges to the left and right (the pins, now missing) and is similar in this regard to the round silver-gilt plaque with the Face of Christ found in Crays Hill, Essex (Appendix I: 1.11, Fig. 3.3). The '*Agnus Dei*…' text and circular borders surrounding the lead alloy pendant renders it pseudo-nummular in style. Centrally, below the image of the lamb, is an unusual indicator of its maker, '*Thomas me fecit*' or 'Thomas made me'. The inexpensive material and the cast manufacture of the object suggests that the pendant was a token that could have been part of the popular trade associated with pilgrimage paraphernalia.[292] The wax disc inside is also made from a mould, rather than stamped, and bears the central image of the lamb with text surrounding its border (Fig. 3.9b). Notably, a section of the wax disc has been purposefully removed. The ellipse-shaped portion removed appears to have been cut away, as the edges of this section constitute a series of jagged, linear incision marks. The intentional fragmentation of this wax disc suggests that it was meaningfully engaged with and partially used, dispensed with, or consumed in some way. It was most likely fractioned and put to use to counteract some kind of misfortune or illness, while the rest could be kept as a reassurance against the possibility of future tribulation.

[291] For work regarding the changing fate and identity wax *agnus dei* discs and other sacramentals in the early modern period in England see Walsham 2023. Graffius 2022, 549-87. McClain 2022, 588-607. Muller 2018. This will be addressed in regards to container jewellery, particularly in Chapter 4.
[292] Spencer 1998.

Another pendant bearing the image of the *agnus dei* contains what has been referred to as 'white concretion' (Appendix I: 1.19, Fig. 3.10).[293] This unidentified white interior material is visible and able to be touched and interacted with through the openwork of the pendant. The interior substance is outlined by the object itself, significantly framing the material content as the Body of Christ and the body of the *agnus dei* lamb through the pendant's plates. In this object, the interior contents are made part of the external iconography, and the design of this particular object points to the identity of its contents as closely aligned with some kind of eucharistic material.

The material, shape, size, and colour of the eucharist was similar to that of the *agnus dei* wax disc, making it an appropriate simulacrum representative of the power of the host, and the healing protective substance of the Corpus Christi. Specifications as to actual eucharists used in mass reveal what they would have looked, felt, and tasted like. In 1229, William of Blois, Bishop of Worcester (d.1236), stipulated that the host should be baked, not fried, and that wax, rather than oil or fat should be used to grease the pan or mould, which would have given hosts a waxy transluscent sheen, similar to their waxen *agnus dei* token counterparts.[294] He further implored only the use of those with 'appropriate whiteness and roundness', emphasising the symbolic importance of the shape and colour of the hosts.[295] A later description of the host by William Russell, Bishop of Sodor (d.1374) on the Isle of Man dictates that 'The wheaten host should be round and whole without blemish, like the lamb without blemish…'.[296] The synchronicity between the host and the *agnus dei* wax paschal disc demonstrates the wax disc to be a desirable

[293] Shoemark 2019.
[294] Rubin 2012, 453. Powicke and Cheney eds. 1964, 170.
[295] Rubin 2012, 453. Powicke and Cheney eds. 1964, 170.
[296] Schmidt 2017, 89. Christian 2004. Rubin 1991, 39.

and materially similar proxy for the parishioners who longed to retain the sacred power of the host as an object of possession, rather than destroy it through its consumption.[297]

The host has also been revered and adored with similar ritual treatment and enshrinement as relics in the late medieval period. Like relics, hosts (and wax paschal discs) were ensconced in elaborate monstrances that framed and presented their contents as important and sacred material. In discussions of the host and sympathetic magic during the late medieval period, it is noted that laypeople might typically believe the host could offer protection from harm and illness or even bring wealth, functioning like a kind of 'magical talisman'.[298] The host's material was seen as especially potent: because it contained the presence of Christ, it was considered alive, capable of miracles, and endowed with its own will. For the same reasons, people also believed they could use the delicate wafer, imbued with the presence of the Son of God, for magical or superstitious purposes.[299] In her assessment of round metal badges bearing images such as the *agnus dei* or holy trigram which have been stitched or painted into late medieval manuscripts, Kathryn Rudy has posited that such objects represent mementoes or souvenirs of taking the eucharist at Eastertide.[300] She notes that book owners stitched these round badges into locations relevant to eucharistic piety, and that doing so reconfigured the book as a shrine and record of the owner's pursuit and reception of communion, which many people only received once annually.[301] Rudy's examination of these objects focuses on their role as sources of material and visual devotion, as well as material mementoes to communion. However, the use of these *agnus dei* container

[297] Rudy 2016, 1-47.
[298] Maraschi 2017, 214.
[299] Maraschi 2017, 212.
[300] Rudy 2016, 1-47.
[301] Receiving communion annually at Easter was normal for most people and the minimum requirement for Christians. However, members of religious orders or elites could receive it more frequently than ordinary people. The wealthy, pious, and influential Lady Margaret Beaufort (d.1509), mother of King Henry VII, received the eucharist monthly. Orme 2021, 280-3. Rudy 2016, 1. Duffy 1992, 95-6, 124-5.

pendants may incorporate and extend beyond a representative, memorialising function of the consumed host, taking on a dynamic and active role as a container for materials with effective capabilities. Hollow container pendants, which define and frame their interior as holding the Body of Christ, the ultimate relic, draw on references to Corpus Christi iconography, such as the *agnus dei* or the Face of Christ. In doing so, they frame their contents within a sacral space associated with Christ, regardless of whether or not the actual contents are eucharistic in nature, as the wax *agnus dei* discs have been shown to be.[302]

3.6 *Agni Dei* and Other Contents

While scholarship emphasises *agnus dei* pendants as containers for sacramental wax discs, recent material and documentary evidence shows that they enclosed a much wider range of meaningful materials in the late medieval period.[303] These included materials such as hair, textiles, bones, textual amulets, and even coins. Although wax discs were common and gave the pendants their name, by the fifteenth century *agnus dei* pendants could include iconography and contents beyond manifestations of the lamb and flag.

The Middleham Jewel, considered the archetype of late medieval container pendants, has been identified in scholarship as an *agnus dei*, and it has been suggested that it originally was used to hold a wax sacramental disc, despite its complex, layered identity, and actual material contents (Appendix I: 1.66, Figs. 1.2a-f).[304] This association with *agni dei* is predicated on the text surrounding the edge of the lozenge-shaped front plate which begins, '*Ecce agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis*…', as well as the engraved image of the lamb and flag in the

[302] This ties directly back to the theoretical idea of 'relics' and 'relic-making' introduced in Chapter 1 (see Sec. 1.3.e).
[303] Cherry 2003; 2001, 154-171.
[304] Cherry 1994.

bottom corner of the back plate, below the nativity scene.[305] However, these elements are part of a much larger and dense textual and iconographic programme that includes the primary motifs of a Seat of Mercy and a nativity scene on the front and back respectively, as well as the inclusion of numerous engraved images of saints girding the edge of the reverse and the magical words '*ananizapta*' and '*tetragrammaton*'.[306] However, the Middleham Jewel was not found to contain any evidence of a sacramental wax disc. Rather, it contained small pieces of gold embroidered textile in the *opus Anglicanum* style (Figs. 1.2e,f).[307] Despite not containing a wax disc, the medieval owner still may have identified this object as an *agnus dei* based purely on the nature of its function as a small, wearable, hollow pendant. This is further demonstrated in contemporary wills and inventories which report devotional iconographic programmes that divert from *just* images of the lamb or other eucharistic references. Such is the case with Cecily Neville's 'greate Agnus of gold with the Trinite, Saint Erasmus, and the Saultacion of our Lady' or Thomas Cromwell's 'gold Agnus Dei, graven with Our Lady and St. George'.[308]

A common use for *agni dei* by the late medieval period, other than for wax discs, was as portable, wearable, containers for materials identified as relics. A Papal inventory of 1371 lists *agni dei* in its collection; one of these is described as mounted in enamelled silver and containing relics.[309] This evidence may indicate that *agni dei* were considered appropriate by church officials as containers for relics or other sacramentals blessed by the Church. Other examples of privately-owned *agni dei* containing relics include one of Charlotte of Savoy, Queen of France, whose 1483 will reveals her possession of an *agnus dei* containing parcels of the bones of St.

[305] Cherry 2001, 157, 160. Cherry 1994, 30-31.
[306] Cherry 1994. For more on the meaning of these words see Jones and Olsan 2000, 256-268. They can also be found in late medieval healing charms and prayers. Duffy 2009, 164-170.
[307] Cherry 1994, 29-30.
[308] Brewer 1875, 1457. Nichols and Bruce 1863, 6.
[309] As cited in Lightbown 1992, 229.

Theodore as well as another purported to contain a piece of Christ's robe.[310] In England, wills reveal that this type of use of *agnus dei* objects also occurred amongst the gentry, as well as smaller ecclesiastical institutions. The widow Ela Brewse of Suffolk bequeathed 'an agnus Dei of gold, with relicks' in 1456 to the wife of the King's justice.[311] Similarly bequeathed to the College of St. Mary-on-the-Sea by its Master in 1525 was 'an Agnus dei that hynges abowte our ladyes necke of sylver and guylte wt certen reliques therin'.[312] This is a particularly interesting example, as it demonstrates the identification and exercise of ownership over an object that appears to have already been given and dedicated as a votive object to the statue and shrine of the Virgin at this particular church, and manifests some of the tensions of giving and keeping present in the identity of many of these *agnus dei* objects.

Another record of an *agnus dei*, illustrating the variety of possible contents, appears in the 1415 will of Isabella de Wyleby, daughter of Sir Hugh de Annesley, who bequeathed, '*unum par de bedes de byrell cum gaudiis deauratis, et j Agnus Dei, super quo est ymago Sanctae Annae, et interius unum billet*' or 'a pair of beryl beads with gilded gauds, with an Agnus Dei bearing the image of St. Anne, containing one billet'.[313] This would have situated the *agnus dei* as a pendant included on a string of prayer beads, an important site of haptic devotion and memory as an heirloom.[314] The 'billet' referred to here could be a textual amulet in the form of a small piece of parchment or paper, bearing a written prayer or protective formula. In the 1555

[310] Lightbown 1992, 230. Cherry 1994, 31.
[311] Blomefield 1808, 266-269.
[312] Salzman 1948, 312-314.
[313] Raine 1836, 382.
[314] I originally intended to have an additional chapter on prayer beads and their connected use with container pendants and/or pomanders, but had to omit this due to limitations of length and scope of this project, as well as the wide-ranging time period and materials covered in the thesis. For more on this and other omitted topics see Sec. 7.1.e. This idea of the *agnus dei* container pendant as incorporated within a broader site for haptic memory and devotion ties directly back to the theoretical frameworks introduced in Chapter 1, including materiality, memory, haptics, and the senses (see Sec. 1.3.a-d). Croasdaile 2024(a). King 2019 193-210.

English translation of a treatise on the practices of Jewish peoples wearing phylacteries for prayer it is noted that, 'Thei carried vppon their foreheads, and on their lefte armes, pretie billettes of Paper, facioned for the place, wherein ware written the tenne preceptes of ye two Tables.'[315] Still practiced by Orthodox Jews today, this references the use of small boxes also known as tefillin which contain biblical text worn wrapped around the body during prayer, not unlike devotional container pendants, particularly when attached to prayer beads as discussed here. The fact that the 'billet' was identified as the contents, rather than relics or other materials, highlights the billet itself as the important, active, and enshrined interior material.[316] In the late medieval period, wearing roundels inscribed with the gospel of St. John was popular, and these could have fit neatly within the predominantly round *agnus dei* pendants.[317] While *agni dei* container pendants may originally have been created to resemble and enshrine wax sacramental discs, by the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the term 'agnus dei' clearly came to denote any small container pendant capable of holding bone, textile fragments, or written amulets, and which could be adorned with a wide range of devotional iconography.

The material and residual evidence for contents of *agni dei* in this assemblage, as with other container pendants, is largely limited due to factors that include their deposition in the ground for lengths of time, the nature of their discovery by amateur metal detectorists (rather than formal archaeological excavations or surveys), damage and disarticulation of the containers over time, as well as the lack of timely lab-based analysis of many of these objects and their contents upon their recovery.[318] However, a few rare examples do illustrate the possibilities for more diverse or composite contents of *agni dei* pendants. This includes a silver gilt *agnus dei*

[315] Boemus 1555.
[316] Smith 2020, 388-424. Turilov 2015, 511-525. Smith 2012, 143-168.
[317] Skemer 2001, 200, 212.
[318] See Sec. 1.1.d. for more details on data limitations. For reccommendations to rectify this issue see Sec. 7.1.e.

roundel, though missing its opposite side, which was identified to contain textile fragments and 'thick layers of fine white strands', believed to be hair (Appendix I: 1.12, Fig. 3.11).[319] The hair in this instance could constitute a relic in the form of bodily material of a holy personage, or could be personal or animal hair associated with a form of healing charm. Another use of a containing object with hair is a small folded lead parcel of brown animal hair, which was found on the lower leg of an adult male buried in the cemetery of St. Mary Spital, and thought to represent a medicinal charm.[320] Much like the copper-alloy openwork pendant found in Suffolk that contained an unidentified white substance, (Appendix I: 1.19, Fig. 3.10), the silver-gilt pendant from Gloucestershire possibly containing hair (Appendix I: 1.12) would benefit from testing to confirm whether it is indeed animal or human in origin.

Another agnus dei pendant with surviving interior contents, which has undergone laboratory analysis, is the silver-gilt, lozenge-shaped Wragby Pendant, unearthed in Lincolnshire (Appendix I: 1.3, Figs. 1.3a-c). This was found to contain two coins (Figs. 1.3b-c) as well as a human hair, rabbit hair, and part of a louse.[321] The latter materials of rabbit hair and the louse may represent less intentional inclusions, and instead may hint towards the interaction and impact of the human body that wore it, one that may have been clothed in a rabbit-fur-trimmed cloak and who suffered from the ubiquitous infestation of lice on medieval bodies. Thomas Becket (c.1119-1170), the famous English saint and martyr, was reported to have intentionally worn 'a hair shirt covered in little creatures' or severely infested with lice and other vermin as a symbol of his dedication to an ascetic, holy lifestyle.[322] As his body was being prepared for

[319] PAS 2013. Cartwright and Higgitt 2013.
[320] Gilchrist 2012, 136.
[321] Lee 2014, 26-27. Cartwright and Higgitt 2013. Atherton 2010.
[322] Bollermann and Nederman 2021, 131. This article draws on medieval biographical accounts of Becket, including John of Salisbury (c.1110-1180) and Edward Grim (died c.1189). For more on the cult and relics of Thomas Becket see De Beer, Speakman, and Koopmans 2021.

burial one of his medieval biographers reports that 'Under the seams of the hair garments, little vermin [were] gushing up', which was seen as proof of his self-mortification and saintliness.[323] While it is not suggested that the inclusion of the louse in this particular context was intentional, according to the medieval concept of contact or proximate transference in 'relic-making', even a humble louse, which once feasted on the blood of a saint's body, and absorbed it into its own body, could (in theory) take on an identity adjacent to that of a sacred relic.[324]

The coins contained within the Wragby Pendant provide insight into the history, meaning, and use of the object as significant materials. The first coin is tentatively attributed to the second reign of Edward IV (1471–1483), while the second appears to be a penny from Henry VI's rosette-mascle issue of the late 1420s or early 1430s, minted at York.[325] Both coins are heavily worn and clipped, making identification difficult, but also suggesting they circulated for some time before being placed in the pendant. This implies that the coins are likely older than the pendant itself, or that the pendant remained in use over an extended period. Based on their wear, it is possible they were added as late as the mid-sixteenth century, well into the Tudor period.[326] The presence of these coins raises compelling questions about the broader function and significance of agnus dei container pendants, the nature of their contents, and their intersection with coins as votive or apotropaic objects.[327]

Coins played an important role as offerings and amuletic objects in a number of important life course rites in the late Middle Ages, some of which were directly connected with

---

[323] Bollermann and Nederman 2021, 131.
[324] This directly relates to the theoretical consideration of 'relics' and 'relic-making' introduced in Chapter 1 (see Sec. 1.3.e). Creating new 'contact relics' through contact or proximate presence of materials is well-documented in late medieval England. Browett 2017, 493-509. Koopmans 2016, 535-58. Bynum 2004, 227-41.
[325] Lee 2014. Atherton 2010.
[326] Atherton 2010.
[327] The *agnus dei* also appears on earlier coins as in *agnus dei* pennies of the English King Aethelred 'the Unready' (968-1016 AD). Late medieval coins known as *moutons d'or* were struck by Henry V in Normandy. Keynes and Naismith 2011, 175-223. Longpérier 1849, 6-19.

ecclesiastical practice and some which could be considered more popular or folk practices. According to the Sarum Rite, a coin was to be given alongside the wedding ring as an offering to the church when the ring was presented to be blessed by the priest for use in the marriage ceremony.[328] Coins were regular offerings at medieval pilgrim-sites and shrines, and overlapped in their identity as material votive objects and offerings as well as financial cash support for the church.[329] Pennies hold a special identity as the most common offering to shrines, and the low denomination, and cross on the reverse, may have rendered them particularly accessible and suitable offerings by pilgrims.[330] The identity of coins as votive objects and material offerings, rather than simple alienable currency, is underscored by the types of coins offered as well as the manner in which they were offered. Ritual methods of depositing coin-offerings could purposefully destroy or 'lose' the coin making them inaccessible for access, use, or circulation by humans in a worldly context. This could include throwing them in watery deposits such as rivers or holy wells, slipping them into the crevices of saint's tombs, nailing or attaching coins to shrines, or bending coins as part of a vow or pledge.[331] These acts essentially dedicated, sacrificed, and 'delivered' the coin to the divine personage called upon as an act in exchange for aid or blessing. The difference in the container pendant here, as with pierced coins, is that they represent a common votive object that was kept (at least for some time) rather than immediately given or deposited. This act of keeping, wearing, and carrying coins as meaningful objects also destroyed their original identity and purpose as common objects, or as valuable silver material, by removing them from worldly circulation as things of an alienable identity. In this way, they invert the classic anthropological model of keeping-while-giving, as things that are given-while-

[328] Gilchrist 2012, 124, 188. McSheffrey 2006, 45.
[329] Allen 2017, 160.
[330] Allen 2017, 162.
[331] Allen 2017, 163.

keeping, or objects that take on the identity as dedicated votive offerings and sacrifices, despite their deliberate retention by their owner.[332] This is demonstrated through the purposeful creation of container objects with layered meaning in form and iconography of what is symbolically sacrificial (as with the lamb image in its pseudo-nummular form) which echoes the eucharist roundel. Like coins and eucharist wafers, *agnus dei* pendants were also arguably embedded as 'currency' or offerings in the late medieval economy of salvation.[333]

In the late medieval period, coins were also incorporated into ritual practices surrounding birth and death, serving as protective, symbolic, or memorialising objects for these significant life events. Coins were commonly placed in the hand or cradle of infants as well as deposited alongside corpses in graves, further suggesting a healing or protective significance.[334] Roberta Gilchrist's study 'Magic for the Dead? The Archaeology of Magic in Later Medieval Burials' specifically identifies deposits of coins of medieval date associated with later medieval burials in Britain.[335] These include the use of coins of Edward IV, one of which was contained in the *agnus dei* pendant discussed here. At Kirkstall Abbey in West Yorkshire, a silver farthing (1461-83) of Edward IV was found placed near the head of a burial.[336] At Merton Priory in Greater London, two coins (1465-76) of Edward IV were found placed near the shoulder of an elderly male.[337] The significant inclusion of two coins deposited together in a burial occurs in at least four of the twelve instances listed, similar to the two coins found contained together within the Wragby pendant. It appears that the patina and age of older (though not ancient) coins in these contexts was enough to render them meaningful, special, and effective in their use and inclusion. The

[332] Kjaer 2019. Sweetinburgh 2004. Weiner 1992. Mauss 2016.
[333] On the medieval economy of salvation see Davis 2019. Sweetinburgh 2004.
[334] Gilchrist 2012, 142. Cressy 1997, 81.
[335] Gilchrist 2008, 134.
[336] Gilchrist 2008, 134. Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, 101.
[337] Gilchrist 2008, 134. Miller and Saxby 2007, 233.

mere appearance of age may have been sufficient to render them interesting or effective, regardless of any specific association with a previous time period or English King.

Another healing method using coins involved curing what was known as the 'King's evil' or scrofula which is an infection of the lymph nodes that causes painful sores or lumps around the neck.[338] Throughout the medieval period, English kings would perform a ceremony that involved touching the infected supplicants and presenting them with pennies as amulets.[339] By the reign of Henry VII the coins presented were those specifically known as gold 'Angels' and under his reign the ceremony involved the king making the sign of the cross over the sufferers' sores, and then placing the pierced gold coin around the neck of the supplicant with a white ribbon.[340] At the time of the pendant's deposition, pennies were no longer used in these ceremonies. However, it is possible they might have retained a legendary association with the practice, due to their age and connection to earlier reigns. Either way, this long-reaching ceremonial practice sheds light on the attitudes towards coins, their use in healing rituals, wearing them for healing purposes, and the connection between the identity of touch, bodies, and image as holding the potential as conduits for healing grace.

3.7 Offering and Exchange

The desire to 'keep-while-giving' and the tension this provoked in objects of a votive nature such as the *agni dei*, their containers, and other sacramental materials like them are captured in miracle stories relating to the virtue of their efficacies. The widely-ciculated medieval devotional collection, *Legenda Aurea* (The Golden Legend), tells the story of a woman

[338] Bloch 1973, 7-10.
[339] Brogan 2015, 31. Bloch 1973, 52-6.
[340] Flattun 2021, 76-101. Brogan 2015, 48.

who faces such a dilemma on the Feast of Candlemas.[341] Falling asleep at prayer, she has a dream-vision of a mass led and attended by Christ, Mary, and the saints, at which candles were distributed amongst the parishioners.[342] Upon singing the offering during the mass, each attendant reverently presented their candle to Christ who stood as the priest.[343] However, the aforementioned lady refused to offer up her candle to Christ and a messenger was sent to take it from her.[344] She held fast to the candle, and it broke into two pieces between her and the messenger.[345] At that moment, she awoke to find the piece of candle still in her hand. The story concludes that 'all the days of her life after she kept that piece of candle much preciously, like an holy relic, and all that they were touched therewith were guerished and healed of their maladies and sicknesses'.[346] Much like this tale, later miracle stories of the wax *agni dei* of Pope Pius V tell of their use, and how they were able to be thrown into burning buildings to extinguish the flames and retrieved unscathed.[347] Their usefulness in storms at sea was also emphasised in a story of a Franciscan friar who broke off pieces of the wax disc and cast them into the water in an effort to calm a tempest.[348] Reluctant to part with the final fragment of his wax *agnus dei*, the friar tied the wax to a piece of string which trailed alongside the boat in the water.[349] Finally, successful at quelling the storm and safely returning to port, the friar retrieved the wax to see it had miraculously been restored whole again.[350] The tales of applying *agni dei* to fire and water

[341] Voragine 1941, 152-3. On the circulation and dissemination of *Legenda Aurea* in late medieval England see Erler 2002, 95-123. Reames 1985, 15-40.
[342] Voragine 1941, 152-3.
[343] Voragine 1941, 152-3.
[344] Voragine 1941, 152-3.
[345] Voragine 1941, 152-3.
[346] Voragine 1941, 152-3. Guerish or guarish is an obsolete term meaning to heal, cure, or return to health. 'guarish, v.', OED.
[347] Cooper 2020, 228. Tinassi 1672, 237-251.
[348] Cooper 2020, 228-229.
[349] Cooper 2020, 228-229.
[350] Cooper 2020, 228-229.

reward the use and faith in these objects by restoring the deposited pieces to their owners, and in this way the offering given to assuage disaster is repaid twofold, through the aversion of disaster as well as the restoration of the object to its owner for further reverence and possible future use for protection. The former tale of the woman and her wax candle-relic is more puzzling. While she deliberately disobeys the order to present her wax candle in offering to Christ, she is rewarded nonetheless by keeping a fragmented piece of miraculous relic-like wax. This tale may parody the liturgical practices involved the presentation and blessing of wax and candles at Candlemas which might be later returned to parishioners remade in the guise of *agnus dei* wax discs. This story captures the essence of the medieval practice that in keeping blessed objects they belonged both in part to the person who enshrined and revered them, and in part to the holy persons to whom they were dedicated and used to petition. The candlestick that snapped between the women and the acolyte of Christ fittingly represents how sacramentals like *agni dei*, and their containers, were understood to have one foot in the material world of the here-and-now, and the other existing in the 'dream-world' realm of the divine.

3.8 Summary

The *agnus dei* is an incredibly dense and compact symbol favoured for centuries as a representation of a key concept underpinning Christian theology. Much like a semiotic *matryoshka* doll, the *agnus dei* pendant container bearing this symbol developed as a protective case for the wax *agnus dei* roundel. This, in turn, served as a representation and proxy for the eucharistic material of the host, which in turn served as a symbol for the Corpus Christi on earth. Thus, identified as both divine and earthly, the *agnus dei* was a powerful symbol and substance revered like a miracle-working relic in the later medieval world. While by the fifteenth century

containing pendants referred to as *agni dei* could bear a wide range of religious motifs and special material contents, their functional identity as frameworks that created and presented holy space devoted to the presence of the divine remained conisstent. Though some medieval people struggled to part with sacramental materials through ritual donation or deposition, the creation of a sacred space where precious materials could be kept away from the world, allowed the object's owner to partake in the language of offerings and exchange, which has defined human relationships with God(s) for many centuries. As the Reformation took hold over England, *agni dei* would transform in their meaning from a relatively common object owned at wide-ranging levels of society, to symbols directly associated with the hegemony of Papal Catholicism. The *agnus dei* container pendant soon became an outlawed and highly politicised object, worn concealed on the body and used to identify or signal dangerous political enemies as well as trusted spiritual allies.

Chapter 4. The Reformation in England, Recusant Practice, and Wearable Container Objects

4.1 Introduction

The Reformation in England not only re-ordered the religious, political, and ideological hegemonic frameworks of the nation, it also transformed the embedded meaning and use of material things in the context of a changing social world. In past decades, scholarship surrounding the Reformation and recusant material culture has highlighted the adaptation of devotional and liturgical objects to the evolving social needs and mores of the divisive sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England.[351] English people constructed and maintained personal or familial identities, either through the preservation of memory associated with a Catholic England or through the crafting of new confessional identities, as seen in Protestant practices of de-sacralisation and the alteration or adaptation of images and objects.[352] Present in this period is the maintenance, retainment and use of devotional things for their personal or familial resonance and memorialisation as heirlooms, their fulfillment of a practical and functional purpose, or the valuable materials of the objects themselves. It was in this environment where new social boundaries and spheres of the sacred, and sacred materiality were drawn, that the bones of saints were removed from cathedrals into bedchambers, former church vestments re-stitched into bed hangings, and rock crystal reliquaries converted into salt cellars.[353]

---

[351] For more on the material culture of the Reformation and Catholicism in England and Scotland see Brooks et al. 2020, 274-303. Gomulkiewicz 2020. Graffius 2022, 549-587. Johanesen 2020. McClain 2022, 588-607. Yeoman 2018, 176-198. Ludwikowska 2017, 103-145. Raguin, 2006. Dransart and Bogdan, 2004. Gaimster and Gilchrist, 2003. Tarlow 2003, 108-121.

[352] The practice of disentangling objects from their former meaning and sacred status through habitual mundane use was justified and explained through theological underpinnings that have been described as 'adiaphora' or 'things indifferent'. On adiaphora see Walsham 2017, 1121. Coolidge, 1970. Bynum 2016, 88-112.

[353] Yeoman 2018, 176-198. Walsham 2017, 1121-1154. Walsham 2016, 566-616. t

Alexandra Walsham, in particular, has carved out a place in the field of literature on recusant material culture, focusing on the theme of memory in connection to Catholic-owned objects and their biographies and 'afterlives' in the English climate of politically-charged confessional faiths.[354] Early modern debates on issues intertwined with the Reformation (imperative to personal devotional practices) such as the intercessory role of saints, the use of relics, the question of transubstantiation, and the necessity and role of material sacramentals all have great impact on the social lives and adaptation of container jewellery objects into the early modern period.

This aim of this chapter is to examine and interrogate the changes, innovations, or continuities of the specific artefact type of container jewellery in the climate of the English Reformation. In this way, I establish and interrogate the relationships and meanings these personal items may have embodied for the people that crafted, carried, exchanged, and wore them. In departing from the medieval material, this chapter shifts the focus to the 177 artefacts collated in Appendix II (c.1534-1700). In the early modern assemblage, some objects are a notable departure from previous iterations, while others remain familiar to those of the late medieval era, such as the *agnus dei*.[355] Widely represented in the late medieval material, the *agnus dei* as a type of container jewellery that continues in use in the early modern period, but within very different contexts.[356] Seven early modern objects are recorded in Appendix II bearing the *agnus dei* iconography.[357] As a specific, widely-used, and named type of container jewellery the *agnus dei* is particularly well-

[354]Walsham's relevant research includes: Walsham et al. 2020. Walsham 2018, 77-105; 2017, 1121-1154; 2016, 566-616; 2010(b), 121-143.
[355] For new and different kinds of early modern container jewellery see Chapters 4-6.
[356] On the *agnus dei* as container jewellery in late medieval England see Chapter 3.
[357] See Appendix II.

suited to being identified and traced in its use and object biography in the years before and after 1534.

Like the *agnus dei,* signs, symbols, forms, and imagery that may have been commonplace and quotidian in previous years could now be rebellious, incendiary, and dangerous – a tangible profession of religious practice, confessional identity, or political allegiance. This could include devotional materials focused on the five wounds of Christ, which were taken up as the banner and worn as badges during the 1536 northern English rebellion known as the 'Pilgrimage of Grace'.[358] Similarly, the cult of the Holy Name, identifiable by a stylised Christogram 'IHS', became closely associated with the Catholic Jesuit movement and the Counter-Reformation in England.[359] Both movements supported Catholicism as the dominate faith-power in England either militantly or clandestinely. While confessional tensions offer a tempting duality, attitudes surrounding Protestant and mainstream practices of memory-making through material, such as collecting and curating Protestant martyr relics during the Marian years (1553-8), demonstrates that distinctions in attitudes and approaches to materials cannot be so easily drawn.[360]

In this chapter, I address the impact of the English Reformation on container jewellery, and the changing legal, social, and material contexts. This includes an examination of the perceived meaning and significance of these charged objects in the context of a changing social landscape and their functional role as active, social, effective, memory-retaining devices in this period. The chapter begins with an examination of the official legal changes introduced that sought to restrict and regulate the circulation of this object type. It then considers the popular reaction to and

[358] On the Pilgrimage of Grace see Bush 2007, 47-72. Fletcher and McCulloch 2015, 28. Hoyle 2001. A sixteenth-century embroidered banner displaying the wounds of Christ is held in the Arundel Castle Collections. See Friedrich 2022, 3, 5, 14. Lutton 2019(b), 412-439. Blake et al. 2003, 175-203.
[359] Early association of the Jesuits to their symbolic emblem include its prominent placement on the façade of their mother church in Rome, Chiesa del Gesù, and its use as printed frontispiece in early Jesuit publications. Ignatius of Loyola, 1548, BX2179.L7 A2 1548.
[360] Walsham 2010(b), 121-43.

reception of these objects through the evidence of broadsheet prints, plays, and other forms of public social commentary. While these sources contain polemical and prejudicial biases, this methodology serves to frame change in the social environment within which these objects were used, acquired, and exchanged. This particurarly focuses on vocal Protestant rejection of the *agnus dei,* and new anxieities surrounding these objects.[361] The considerations of this chapter contribute to a critical understanding and comparative analysis of objects in the two datasets of this study. Incorporating key observations and analysis of the changing social biography of the object type, this chapter supports the key aims and research questions of this project, particularly the changes or continuities of this object type pre- and post-1534, and the types of beliefs, relationships, power structures, or worldviews these objects were perceived to materialise or reinforce.

4.2 Changing Social Contexts: Illicit and Illegal

It is necessary to acknowledge and establish that the Reformation was not a single pivotal event, but a process that was embraced, rejected, or ignored to varying degrees by different people throughout England.[362] However, it was the Act of Supremacy of November 1534, which formally and legally replaced the Pope with King Henry VIII as the head of the Church through legislature.[363] This Act paved the way for the Ten Articles and the See of Rome Act in 1536, cementing change in the function, practice, authority, and ideologies of the Church in England on an official, legal level.[364] I have chosen this date to divide the Appendix data in order to examine

[361] For external work on English recusant Catholic material culture see Graffius 2022, 549-87. McClain 2022, 588-607. Walsham 2017, 1121-54.
[362] Authors who argue for a broader, more nuanced, and comprehensive view of a long Reformation in England include: Marshall 2009, 564-586. Tyacke, 1998.
[363] Act of Supremacy, Public Act, 26 Henry VIII, c. 1, 1534.
[364] The Ten Articles, 1536.
An Act Extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, 1536, Public Act 28 Henry VIII c. 10.

the possible divergence or adherence to official mandated religion in England through practice alongside record.[365] While the Act of Supremacy did not specifically enumerate or outlaw objects of religious devotion, it provided the formal severance with Rome that precipitated later legal actions, which do focus on the specifics of permissibility regarding the materiality of religion in England.

Of the 177 early modern objects in Appendix II I have identified 23 objects with recorded find locations that can be understood as 'Catholic-Coded' material; Map 2 shows the distribution of these objects. I have defined 'Catholic-coded' as any object with direct iconographic or textual reference to practices or beliefs associated with Catholicism in this era including *agni dei*, the cult of saints, devotion to the wounds of Christ, *arma christi*, crucifixes, and Marian reverence. Although few in number, clusters of finds in Map 2 are concentrated in the north as well as coastal regions of England. This is in line with historical documentation of the more forceful retention of recusant practice in the north of England and the political and religious movement of the Pilgrimage of Grace, which sprang out of Yorkshire in 1536, and which spread to other regions of northern England. The finds in the north might represent a more open use and practice involving 'Catholic-coded' objects. Their appearance on the coasts of southern England could represent a defiance of legal limitations on the importation of specific devotional materials, which will be discussed and examined within this chapter.

[365] For sources that examine material evidence and popular faith during the English Reformation in comparison to official didactics of the English church and state see Blake et al. 2003. Jones 2017, 141-154.



Map 2. Early Modern 'Catholic-Coded' Object Find Location Distribution in England (c.1534-1700), Appendix II – Possible Recusant Practice Evidence.

An important consideration in examining the social and functional transition of this artefact type during the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is the way that Parliament and the Crown sought to limit the importation and ownership of specific objects. Their efforts also extended to defining the boundaries of which material devotional objects were deemed distinctly 'Roman Catholic' and which could be considered permissible, forbidden, or strategically overlooked. A key statute relating to the limitation of personal devotional material in England, which references a known container jewellery object type and/or contained material (the *agnus dei*), was passed in 1571 under Queen Elizabeth I. In effect, this outlawed the importation of Catholic devotional material linked with Rome, the Pope, or other figures of authority within the Catholic religion:

> *And be it further enacted by the authorities aforesaid, That if any person or persons shall at any time after the said first day of* July *bring into this realm of* England*, or any the dominions of the same, any token or tokens, thing or things, called or named by the name of* agnus dei*, or any crosses, pictures, beads or such like vain and superstitious things from the bishop or see of* Rome, *or from any person authorized or claiming authority by or from the said bishop or see of* Rome*, to consecrate or hallow the same … the dangers, penalties, pains and forfeitures ordained and provided by the statute of* praemunire *and provision made in its sixteenth year of King* Richard *the Second*.[366]

While other authors have glossed this statute as simply outlawing 'Catholic' devotional material as a whole in England, this statute is notable, particularly in the specificity of its approach and reliance and reference to praemunire as legal precedence.[367] The end of the statute invokes praemunire as the justification for its legal precedence, a concept that predates the

[366] Pickering 1763, 260. (1571, 13 Eliz. 1, c. 2). The text is copied as it appears in this edition.
[367] Graffius 2022, 549.

Reformation in England. Praemunire is the term assigned collectively to a fourteenth-century series of statutes passed successively in 1353,1365, and 1393 regarding specifics of the precedence of the English Crown over Papal powers in particular legal instances.[368] The penalties for praemunire were not as extreme as those of treason, and invoked the potential of loss of goods and property to the Crown and imprisonment at the king's pleasure, rather than an immediate threat of execution.[369] The legal language of this statute does not concern itself with attacking the pre-existing ownership of these objects by individuals or households, nor does it address the production, use, or sale of these items domestically by professional craftsmen (English or foreign), cottage industries, or homemade craftsmanship. Rather, it is significantly a denial and attack on the *connections* to religious, political, and popular power and authority of Rome through the guise of charged material culture, and the Catholic relationships forged and reinforced through their networks of trade. Specifically, it aims to subvert the power instilled and imbued in these objects from abroad that have received blessings by Roman Catholic clergy or elites, thus, rendering them 'hallow' or 'consecrate'. With regard to the types of items banned it is both specific and vague. It can be suggested that this list enumerates objects that were viewed as the most common; *agni dei*, crosses, pictures, and beads, but adds in any 'vain or superstitious thing', so long as it had been touched by Papal authority. The goal stated here, it appears, was to snap the invisible cords of affective power that these objects held in connection to Rome. This may also have been levelled strategically at Catholic missionaries, priests, or Jesuits who were entering the country at this time with the goal of illegally ministering to existing recusant Catholics, and turning popular sentiment, devotion, and political allegiance back to the nation's

[368] 'Praemunire', *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2013.
[369] 'Praemunire', *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2013.

former faith with their tools of devotion.[370] In this way, the re-ordering of hegemonic power in England's church directly impacted the permissibility of the material culture of container jewellery objects, primarily based on one source of their effective power—ritual papal or priestly blessings. The reliance on the idea of praemunire and the treatment of these objects as tools of politico-religious propaganda is reinforced through contemporary texts that attack and satirise the use of specific container jewellery objects in England as anti-patriotic acts of fealty to the Pope, participation in economic support of Rome, and reinforcement of trans-channel relationships to other Catholics.[371]

4.3 Popular Commentary and Public Reception

Anxieties and tensions regarding devotional container jewellery objects post-1534 were not limited to elite lawmakers, but were also apparent in popular public commentary of this time and are present in broadsheets, plays, and print circulation of this era. Often satirical or prejudicial, these Protestant polemics also highlight a concern with the material presence and embodiment of foreign Papal power, rather than a concern rooted in issues of theology and religious ideology regarding the material practice of faith. The treatise *A newyeares gifte, dedicated to the Popes Holinesse, and all Catholikes addicted to the Sea of Rome* by Bernard Garter, published in London in 1579, is one such printed text which presents container jewellery objects within this new framework of social perception.[372]

[370] For more on Jesuits, the Catholic mission, and Counter-Reformation in early modern England see McClain 2015, 437-462. Kelly 2017. Kelly and Thomas 2019. Scully 2011.
[371] For works that highlight the importance of trans-continental Catholic relationships and the role of material culture in maintaining these see Cogan, 2021. Corens 2019. Kelly and Royal, 2017. Kelly and Thomas, 2019. Smith, 2022.
[372] Garter 1579, 72.

Most likely printed as a pamphlet for inexpensive and widespread distribution, Garter's treatise is a source that documents and commenting upon wearable container objects.[373] The text enumerates, describes, and illustrates specific 'hollow' objects that may have been familiar and visually recognisable to the English public in 1579. Garter further offers a discussion of the origin, purpose, use, and interior contents of these types of objects. The depictions of the objects refer to their origin from intercepted packages being sent to individuals in England, and they are depicted in an illustration that accompanies Garter's 1579 text (Fig. 4.1). The depiction includes items that are mostly miniature or of diminutive size, easily secreted away. Visible in the illustration are a papal bull with attached *bulla* (Nos 5 and 15), a portable cross (No. 2), portable altar (No. 1), container pendants (Nos 3, 4, and 10), coin-like tokens (No. 9), a print-sheet (No. 11), and a small paper heart containing a jet rosary bead (No. 6).[374] It is particular in displaying a full visual repertoire of the objects including front and back views of (Nos 4, 9, and 10), as well as glimpses of the interiorities of the objects including cross sections of a bead (No. 14). It also displays the hollow, containing affordance of a bead that can be opened up (No. 12), and a bead is shown contained within the paper heart (No. 6).

Relevant to the discussion of early modern container objects are the following descriptions of the 'IHS' and *agnus dei* pendants as well as the paper heart charm:

[373] On the physical production, distribution networks, and the economic and social impact of these kinds of texts see Pettegree 2005. Watt 1991. Eisenstein 1979, 113-5.
[374] The Papal *bulla* here refers to a Papal seal attached to a document, rather than the bubble-like container objects discussed in Sec. 1.2.b.

3 IHS. This pendent, with the charme aforesaide, be/gining Vado & venio ad vos. &c. [375] *written and inclosed with/in the same, and borne about man, woman or child, defen/deth them from théeues, and all other daungers in trauaile, either by water or lande*

4 The Agnus Dei, was sent to the Emprour of Grecia by the Pope, and hath as gret vertue as the bloud of Christ it selfe, it is composed of Balme, Uirgin waxe, and Font water, it suppresseth thunder, lightning and tempest, and helpeth women in their trauaile, and saueth the infant &c. and nowe is conueyed into Englande with promisses of like effect

6 This figure of a pierced contrite & torne heart, was cutte out in faire white paper, wherein was folded a little Iette beadstone, & in the middest of the hearte, lengthwise, was written, Bauariae granum benedictum, and directed with these wordes: To his louing friende E.D. with graunte of fiue hundreth dayes of pardon.[376]

The *agnus dei* container jewllery types are clearly represented in the archaeological record, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, and reflected in the early modern illustration here (Fig. 4.1). The paper heart, as a form, while not present in databases of

[375] This charm is printed earlier in the text both in Latin and in a vernacular English
Garter 1579, 38: 'I Doe goe, and I doe come vnto you with the loue of God, with the humilitie of Christ, with the holynesse of blessed Marie, with the faith of Abraham, with the iustice of Isaac, with the vertue of Dauid, with the might of Peter, with the constancie of Paul, with the worde of God, with the aucto/rity of Gregorie, with the prayer of Clement, with the floud of Iordane, {per}. {per}. c. p. 9. L. e. g. a. q. q. est. p. t. i. K. a. b. 9. L. K. 2. a. x. T. 9. t. b. a. m. 9.2, 4.2.1. {que}. p. x. c. 9. K. {que}. A. 9.9. p. . qq. 3. Oh only father ✚ oh only Lord ✚ oh only beginning and end: our Lord ✚ & Iesus ✚ passing through the middest of thē went ✚ In the name of the father ✚ & of the son ✚ &c.'

[376] Garter 1579, 47. '*Bauariae granum benedictum'* can be translated and interpreted as 'a blessed rosary bead from Bavaria'.

metal finds such as the PAS, is perhaps linked to the hollow heart-shaped pendants also referential of devotion to the wounds of the heart of Christ. Appendix II demonstrates six early modern objects of hollow heart form that indicate some evidence of 'Catholic-coded' use as with inscriptions of 'IHS' or 'MA'.[377] The 1579 depiction of a jet rosary bead inside a paper heart offers a potential explanation for what is held inside, a hollow heart-shaped silver pendant found in Norfolk. This pendant is engraved on the front with a wound bleeding tear-shaped drops of blood and is inscribed horizontally with the letters, 'IESU' (Appendix II: 2.41, Fig. 4.2). The PAS entry states that 'an unidentified object is sealed inside the pendant which rattles'; a devotional bead provides a credible and fitting interpretation of this feature. [378]

The descriptions of these artefacts in Garter's text also illustrate the ways that gift-giving and interpersonal relationships and networks played an important social role in the purpose, meaning, and function of these items. It also demonstrates how they could be used as memory repositories in addition to their role as objects of devotion. The name of the text itself satirically references the function of devotional artefacts as gifts, framing the book as a New Year's gift to the pope. The artefacts referenced in the diagram and corresponding descriptions reinforce the role of these objects as gifts and active agents in social relationships. The paper heart is addressed to an individual 'To his louing friende E.D. ', while one of the rosaries depicted is described as 'sente from a Catholike friende to an auntient Gentlewoman in England', and a few loose beads contained in a paper parcel deemed 'likewise hallowed' was accompanied by the inscription on the paper: 'Of these foure graines, two are for Maister G.L. and the other two for

[377] See Appendix II: 2.2, 2.6, 2.22, 2.28, 2.33, 2.41.
[378] Shoemark 2017.

Maister I.B. sent thē by Sir P.S. who also requested of the receiuers to haue saide a Pater noster for his fathers soule, another for his mothers, & the third for himselfe'.[379] These notes offer insight into the means by which container jewellery objects and their material contents were dispersed, exchanged, and circulated across the channel and throughout England via personal networks in addition to travelling on individual bodies as wearable articles.

In the absence of formal public church communities, interpersonal relationships between Catholics and private personal devotion became more important than ever for the maintenance of real or virtual faith-based community during the Reformation.[380] Accessed through prayer, with the support of material objects, these faith-based communities could serve to reinforce interpersonal relationships.[381] The Confraternity of the Rosary assumed particular importance in England, where, during the late sixteenth-century Counter-Reformation, Jesuit missionaries restructured and promoted it as an instrument for ministering to recusant communities and establishing straightforward, accessible modes of Catholic devotion.[382] As mentioned previously, the container object type itself could be strung as part of the larger programme of the material haptic devotion of prayer beads.[383] The beads themselves were useful as meaningful material to be exchanged, reformatted, or kept and contained as material contents in container jewellery. In this way, beads and other objects could evoke not only client/patron relationships with saints or

[379] Garter 1579, 45.
[380] Scully 2022. Kelly and Royal 2017.
[381] Cogan 2021, 69-127.
[382] Dillon 2003, 451-471.
[383] See Sec. 3.5 for mention of the inclusion of this object type on prayer beads, recorded in a will. This idea of the *agnus dei* container pendant as incorporated within a broader site for haptic memory and devotion ties directly back to the theoretical frameworks introduced in Chapter 1, including materiality, memory, haptics, and the senses (see Sec. 1.3.a-d). Croasdaile 2024(a).

the divine, but also personal and familial connections.[384] These served to represent participation in a larger, cross-channel confessional faith community.[385]

Another pamphlet in circulation regarding Catholic material culture in England is the broadsheet poem *A discovery of the Jesuits Trumpery, newly packaged out of England* (1641), which serves to satirise and condemn the sale of Catholic materials [386]

'Trumpery' was a term popularly applied as a derogatory catch-all descriptor of Roman Catholic material culture in England, which would have included wearable devotional container objects.[387] This is exemplified in the pamphlet *A discovery of the Jesuits Trumpery, newly packaged out of England* (1641), which states:

> *If any man shall question what this sacke / Containes, I'll tell him; tis a Popish pack, / A Trusse of Trinkets, holy Crosses, beades, / Religious Reliques, Ave-Maries, Creedes; / Our Ladies Image, Images of Saints, / That waxen Lamb, that the shav'd Priest depaints / By th'name of* Agnus Dei, *Indulgences*…[388]

This passage and its corresponding illustration (Fig. 4.3) identify further anxieties over the concealment and containment of devotional material objects and focuses on identifying and creating a corpus of socially illicit (and as imported objects) illegal materials. The evidence for grouped lists of devotional materials in the prints and pamphlets discussed here also serves to exemplify a larger corpus of devotional materials. These objects would have been sold and

---

[384] Croasdaile 2024(a).
[385] Muller 2021, 76-99. Duffy 2017, 206-25. Mitchell 2009, 152-236. Dillon 2003, 451-71. Bucke 1971. Garnet c.1593-4.
[386] Gossen 1641.
[387] Gossen 1641.
[388] BL Sat 230, 1641. Similar to Garter's text, this would have been inexpensively-produced and with potential for wide circulation. It is a polemical anti-Catholic pamphlet designed to incite Protestant popular outrage by exposing alleged foreign plots of the Jesuit order. It may have been penned by Parliamentarians interested in undermining Charles I through anti-Catholic rhetoric. Walsham 2015, 370-409. Tompkins 2010.

possibly used alongside each other within a larger programme of devotion. *A discovery of the Jesuits Trumpery* goes on to state 'you pray by'th Eye, we by the Soule and Heart. / Packe, with your *Agnus Dei*, (goodly Knacks) / Balme, Holy-Water, and pure Virgins wax' thus creating a duality of confessional identities through bodily synecdoche.[389] While the author criticises praying through the 'eye', the things included in their list go beyond visual material and include multi-sensory substances such as holy water and balme, which is most likely the aromatic balsam resin use to create chrism, an oil used in Catholic sacramental rites. This perhaps extends the authors' critique of prayer to incorporate the forms of materiality, like the *agnus dei* or other wearable articles of containment, that engaged or focused the senses in a significant way beyond seeing.[390]

4.4 Summary

The legal records and popular broadsheet materials examined serve to delineate and contextualise shifts not only in legal and hegemonic frameworks, but also in the social and interpersonal worlds within which container jewellery was made, used, worn, and circulated. These prints and texts demonstrate the hostility to the circulation and sale of Catholic devotional materials, which extended from the didactics of elites in government to bawdy satirical broadsheet prints that might have been found, consumed, and circulated in alehouses or taverns by more everyday people.[391] Recognising this artefact type as actively involved in cycles of fragmentation and recreation, as seen with beads and pendants, enables a more integrated understanding of these objects that better reflects their historical use. Ultimately, these texts offer

[389] BL Sat 230, 1641.
[390] Baum 2018, 13.
[391] Hsueh 2016, 27-57.

a foundation for understanding how social, religious, and political contexts can change the meaning of a type of object within the trajectory of their object biography.

Chapter 5. Stuart Monarchs: Martyrdom, Memory, and Devotion

5.1 Introduction

On January 30, 1649, the English public were met with the news of the bloody beheading of Charles I, and what seemed to be the unsettling end of a tradition of monarchy in England that had spanned over 800 years.[392] The death of the monarchy, the sheer drama of the scene, the king's last words to his subjects, and the gore of his head held aloft all contributed to a shocking and climactic moment in English history. Contemporary print depictions of the event relay an emotionally-charged environment at the execution, where women faint and grown men weep.[393] The art and personal material culture produced during this period in support of the former king reflects a strong sympathetic and emotional pull that the King's execution elicited from his subjects who harboured loyalist sentiments. At the time of his death, Charles I's own self-fashioning as a 'Martyr of the People', the exact words he used to describe himself on the scaffold, framed his execution and body within a hagiographical and Christological context of martyrdom that would also inform the burgeoning cult around his death, and the relationship of those supportive of him with his relics.[394] Container jewellery memorialising Charles I include pendants and rings made in a variety of forms and materials including luxurious, bespoke, and finely crafted objects made of gold, gems, and enamels, as well as more mass-produced objects such as heart-shaped pendants

[392] On the execution of Charles I: Wedgwood 1981, 155-181. Cowie 1972, 105-119. The date given here is according to the Julian calendar still in use in England at this time, known as Old Style. The date is often transcribed as 30 January 1648/9 or given as 9 February 1649, New Style. For explanation of Old Style/New Style and dual dating, see Cheney and Jones 2000, 1, 17.

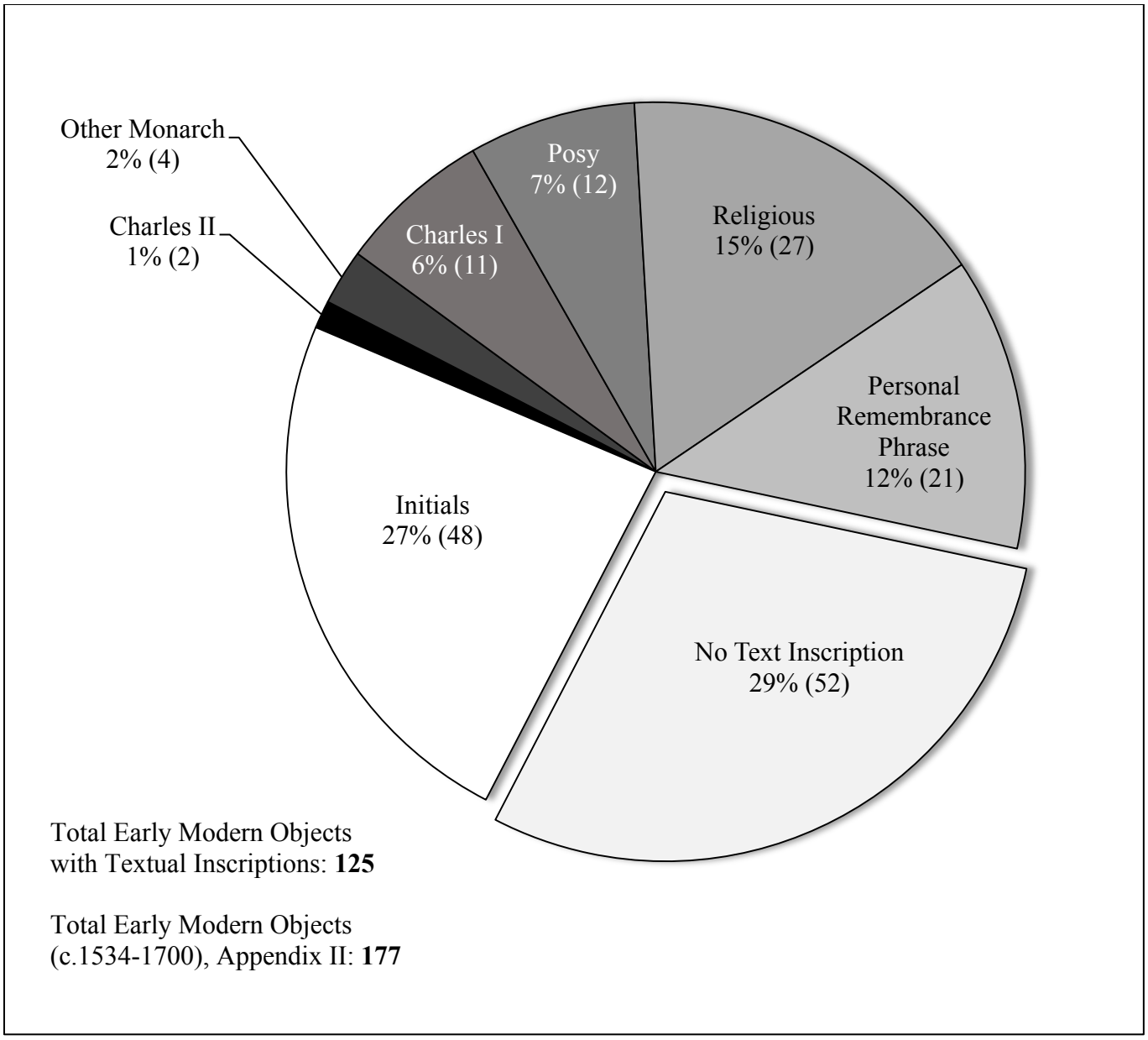
[393] The earliest engraving appeared weeks after the execution published in Amsterdam within the book, *Tragicum Theatrum* by Du Moulin, 1649, 184-185. A later copy of this print with Dutch text is held in the National Gallery UK, NPG D26372. Muckart 2023, 117-138. Roberts 1999, 32-34.

[394] Cole 1649. Lacey 2003. Lacey 2001.

which feature quickly made additions like stamped images or 'scratch-work' engravings. These container jewllery objects made use of, framed, and cast his hair, blood-stained clothing, and his image as relic-objects to be treasured and enshrined, and which were believed by some to possess and transmit miraculous and healing virtues. However, these were more readily drawn upon to demonstrate political loyalty and community identity both in the Interregnum (1649-1660) and Restoration (1660-1688) periods.

The creation of this corpus of royal mourning and memorial material drew on the earlier practices of reliquaries, relic-making, and affective devotion familiar to the medieval period. These objects also tapped into new contexts of martyrdom and relic-framing practices of *new* saintly relic materials hat resulted from religious persecution during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.[395] In this context, such objects mediated the public's relationship with a monarchical political figure, standing in for the more distant historical or biblical saints who had traditionally occupied this role. This treatment can be observed not only in material connected with Charles I, who is the most widely represented Stuart monarch in mourning materials, but also in small, portable container jewellery pieces devoted to his Stuart predecessors, such as Mary, Queen of Scots, and to his successors, including Charles II, James II and VII, and Mary II (see Graph 2, Table 6).

[395] Walsham 2010(b), 121-43.



Graph 2 Early Modern Inscription by Type (c.1534-1700), Appendix II. The 'Other Monarch' section refers to textual references of Queen Mary II and James II and VII.

Early Modern Iconography	Occurrences
Cherub	47
Crown	21
Heart	18
Skull and Crossbones	17
Heart Crossed by Arrows	13
Skull	13
Flora (flower)	12
Crucifixion	11
Charles I Portrait	10
Nails	10
Cross	9
Agnus Dei	7
Blood Droplets	7
Skeleton	7
Bird	6
Eye	6
Tears	5
Crossbones	4
Flora (other)	4
Sunburst	4
Arma Christi	3
Charles II Portrait	3
Hourglass	3
Katherine of Braganza Portrait	3
Virgin Mary	3
Crests	2
Heart pierced by sabre/dagger	2
Mary II Portrait	2
Orb	2
Scepter	2
Unknown Saint	2
Candle	1
Child's Face	1
Coffin	1
Eucharist	1
Fede Hands	1
Lion	1
Portrait, Unknown	1
Rock	1
Rope	1
St. John the Baptist	1
Vernicle/Face of Christ	1
Virgin and Child	1
Total	**270**

Table 5 Early Modern Iconographic Occurrences (c.1534-1700), Appendix II

Graph 2 and Table 6 demonstrate the prolificacy of Stuart-dedicated container jewellery in the early modern period, evidenced through textual inscription and iconography. Of 125 early modern objects with textual inscriptions, 14% (17) indicate a Stuart monarch (Graph 2). Of 35 identifiable human figures that appear on the early modern material 51% (18) are depictions of Stuart monarchs. The remaining 49% (17) are of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist (Table 6). This graph and table present possible sub-sets of these objects that can be understood as religious, interpersonal, or monarchical. However, these sub-divisions cannot always be understood as truly distinct, and on further investigation some reveal to be entangled and entwined in many ways, as will be demonstrated.

Significantly, the container jewellery dedicated to Charles I captures a convergence of styles and themes present in the jewellery and dress accessories leading up to and during his reign (1625-1649), including courtly miniature portraiture, *memento mori*, mourning, and interpersonal sentiment in jewellery and other wearable objects. Through examining and analysing container objects devoted to Stuart monarchs, it is possible to bridge and trace (in part) the object biography of container jewellery and their transformation in use, from the medieval period into modernity in England. Ultimately, this form is adapted into the 'lockets' that are familiar today, which memorialise, mourn, or materialise interpersonal relationships (romantic, familial, or otherwise) and which became a prominent and meaningful type of material culture in the Georgian and Victorian ages. The focus of this chapter directly links to key theoretical frameworks and overarching research aims and questions including changes or continuities of this object type, as well as its use, function, and reception in pre- and post-1534 England, the practices of relic-

making, the early modern relationship of container jewellery with the body, and how beliefs, relationships, and worldviews could be expressed through these objects.[397]

5.2 Stuart Container Jewellery: Mary, Queen of Scots and the Blairs Jewel

An earlier reliquary pendant jewel (c.1610) that memorialises and frames a Stuart monarch as a martyr and saint is the Blairs Jewel of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587) (Fig. 5.1a,b). The front of this pendant contains a portrait miniature of the queen. Her image is surrounded by a painted, cut paper framework and surmounted by a Catholic trigram emblem. In the context of this pendant, the image is presented as a relic, as well as a memorial device dedicated to the executed monarch.[398] On the reverse, the painted cutwork paper forms the crowned emblem 'MRA' suitably doubling both for the name of Queen Mary, as well as the Virgin Mary, queen of heaven. A number of seventeenth-century pendants recorded by the PAS feature a crowned 'MRA' paired with the Jesuit 'IHS' trigram, and 'MRA' was a common abbreviation for Marian devotion on religious objects at this time, and before (Appendix II: 2.51, Fig. 5.2).[399] Lettered in gold on the reverse are the names of a number of female saints and martyrs. Within the lettering of the 'MRA' emblem are the Latinised names of more contemporary martyrs associated with the Counter-Reformation in England such as Edmund Campion, Henry Walpole, and Henry Garnet. The text at the top of the crown '*ex ligno crucis*' labels the tiny inset wood-fragment cross on the crown as a relic of the True Cross, which is accompanied by other tiny framed fragments of materials, most likely other relics associated

[397] See Sec. 1.1a, 1.3.
[398] 'The Blairs Jewel (Mary Queen of Scots Miniature Reliquary)', ArtUK.
[399] See Appendix II: 2.12, 2.36, 2.51, 2.53, 2.54, 2.58.

with some of the named saints and martyrs on that side of the pendant, and perhaps even of Mary, Queen of Scots, herself.

The Blairs Jewel has been traditionally associated with Elizabeth Curle, one of Mary's ladies-in-waiting during the last years of Mary's life.[400] Curle was also responsible for commissioning a memorial portrait of the queen known as the Blairs Portrait, which also presents and memorializes Mary as a martyr for the Catholic faith.[401] The surrounding painted paper floral scrollwork of the Blairs Jewel is visually similar to paperwork known as *paperolle* or 'quilling' in English. This kind of work has often historically been linked with women, and has a long association with female craftwork for reliquaries within convents in continental Europe.[402] It is possible that this paper border could have been created by Curle or another of Mary's female companions. Through the reliquary pendant, Mary is paralleled, presented, and elevated as one in the company of important female saints, English martyrs of the Reformation, as well as the Virgin Mary herself. [403] Her reliquary pendant bridges the material culture devoted to the martyrs of the Counter-Reformation, and foreshadows the material and visual strategies of relic-making and enshrinement that would be drawn upon in the material dedicated to and memorialising Charles I.

5.3 Wearing Relics of Charles I: Blood, Hair, Textile, Image

A luxury and unique reliquary dedicated to Charles I is a useful object for understanding what materials were transformed into relics of the executed king, how these materials were

---

[400] 'The Blairs Jewel (Mary Queen of Scots Miniature Reliquary)', ArtUK.
[401] Tassi 2013, 101-133.
[402] Berthod and Geuna 2012. Olalquiaga 2010, 151-157.
[403] This directly relates to the key theoretical considerations introduced in Chapter 1 including object biography, memory, and 'relics' and 'relic-making'. See Sec. 1.3d-e. The idea of reliquaries presenting, framing, and 'making' the identities of relics directly ties to Hahn's identified 'Reliquary Effect'. Hahn 2017.

acquired, circulated, and engaged with, as well as the ways in which they were presented and framed within their containers. This first object to be considered is a book-shaped reliquary pendant (Appendix II: 2.160, Fig. 5.3). The exterior bears a floral motif out of which springs red and blue enamelled flowers, as well as three table-cut diamonds. When opened, the book-shaped object reveals two glass or crystal-set compartments to the left and right in the place of the 'pages' of the book, and three round portrait gems in the centre portion of the book's spine. An exceptional object, it exemplifies how the collection of blood, textile, hair and images of the king could all be used, worn, and framed as relics, as well as the particular significance of the book as a containing device for knowledge or memory.[404]

When opened, the left side reveals a profile portrait of Charles I, which is based on the Royalist medals of the 1640s by the engraver Thomas Rawlins, set on a background of crimson velvet. [405] The central spine of the reliquary-book holds what is thought to be hair (or formerly hair) secured below the settings. To the right, another compartment reveals red-stained textile. The exterior of the book pendant initially may have been plain. The open-work ornament on the exterior cover that identifies the contents as related to King Charles I was most likely added added post-1660, after the Restoration and during the reign of Charles II. Sprouting from the crowned royal cipher 'C R', is a stylised fleur-de-lis plant from which blossom a thistle at top, blue forget-me-nots, and red roses set with table-cut diamonds. The plant is highly symbolic and embodies ideas central to the claims, growth, and perpetuation of monarchy in England. The thistle and roses may reference the Stuart claims to the thrones of England and Scotland, while the fleur-de-lis might pay homage to Charles II's close connections to France, the homeland of his mother, and where

[404] Carruthers 2008.
[405] Dicks 2010, 9.

he spent many years of his exile before returning to England and resuming the monarchy. The forget-me-nots reinforce the memorial quality of the object and its contents, while the three roses may represent the three sons of Charles I, sprouting from the Jesse-like tree as royal issue. A panel painting c.1660 depicts the royal house of Stuart in this way, with an ancestral tree replete with portraits and arms of the different ancestors, sprouting in the form of spiny thistle stems and leaves from a slumbering medieval ancestor.[406] The Jesse Tree, a widely-used medieval motif rich in biblical symbolism, foretold Christ's coming through his lineage and gains a striking Christological resonance when paralleled with Charles I, whose image crowns the top center of the panel painting.[407] Other enamelled memorial rings, pendants, and small personal objects dedicated to Charles I also make use of floral motifs for their significant connection with the King. These include a gold tobacco box dedicated to Charles I, ornamented with engraved passion-flowers, a favoured symbol of the Crucifixion and Passion of Christ, which parallels Charles I's own death as a martyrdom in the style of Christ's sacrifice.[408]

The floral configuration on the book-shaped pendant is also reminiscent of earlier medieval reliquary ornamentation and inscriptions referring to the flowering cross, a symbol of regeneration watered by the Blood of Christ (see Sec. 2.5). The thaumaturgic qualities of the flowering cross or other significant plants engraved on medieval reliquaries may also be invoked here. The body of Charles I was interpreted by Royalists as a well-spring of growth and healing. A poem devoted to the ceremony of the Royal Touch for the king's evil describes Charles I's hand as 'the branch of heaven's fair tree', a 'magic bough', and a 'tree of life whose fruits did feed / And leaves did heal

[406] National Gallery of Scotland, 'Stewart Family Tree. Genealogy of the Royal House of Stewart', PG 749.
[407] On the iconography of the Tree of Jesse: Wilcox 2023, 1-26. Green 2019. Decker 2017. Salonius and Worm 2014.
[408] V&A, 'Tobacco Box', LOAN: GILBERT.545:1,2-2008.

all sick of human seed'.[409] The author continues to describe the touch of the king, from the king's body as 'high enchantment' and claims that, 'in your bless'd hand, which has the powers / Of all those suppling-healing herbs and flowers'.[410] Here, the literary language used to describe the miraculously healing effect of the king's body in the world around him is no less florid than the exterior addition to the book-shaped pendant. The Restoration, and the reign of Charles II would have provided the appropriate context for the re-framing and re-contextualisation of this reliquary and its contents with the addition of this openwork ornament as a more public and outward-facing profession of enduring loyalty to the crown. The form of the book is a significant shape for this small-scale reliquary to take, both in referencing the medieval origins and forms of reliquaries and the increased interest in textual and visual content as testaments of truth, knowledge, and memory in the context of the Reformation and print revolution, in (officially) Protestant England.

Ornate, jewel-encrusted cases were created to enshrine precious early medieval illuminated gospels, and similar treasure-like containers were fashioned in imitation of luxury books to hold corporal relics.[411] In some instances, these cases combined both functions, housing gospel pages and saints' relics together within a single sacred vessel. [412] Girdle books held in leather or textile pouches that could be tucked into or affixed to the belt were widely-used, personal portable items throughout the Middle Ages.[413] While devotional texts may have been the most common choice

[409] Barlow 1980, 26. Herrick 1891, 74. The poem was written by the Royalist poet and cleric Robert Herrick around July 1644 to celebrate King Charles I's arrival in Exeter during the British Civil Wars; it was primarily intended for King Charles I himself and the Royalist elite in the West Country, serving as a piece of ceremonial praise and political propaganda.
[410] Barlow 1980, 26. Herrick 1891, 74.
[411] Early medieval book-shaped reliquaries or treasure-bindings were produced in Germany as well as Ireland c.877-1100. See Cleveland Museum of Art: 1930.741. National Museum of Ireland: NMI, R.4006; NMI: 1883:614a; NMI, R.2834. MET (reproductions): 08.23.3, 08.233.3.
[412] In the Irish tradition these are known as *cumdach,* meaning 'cover'. Pearson 2010. Mitchell et al. 1977, cat. nos. 57-58, 65, 66.
[413] Smith 2017. Smith and Bloxam 2006, 15-24.

for girdle books, such as Books of Hours, evidence of philosophical and medical girdle texts also survive.[414] At the more luxurious end of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century spectrum, some girdle books were crafted as miniature volumes encased in richly ornamented precious metal covers.[415] These objects served not only as readable texts but also as jewel-like accessories that signified wealth, literacy, and piety, and could also function as amulets, drawing on the spiritual potency believed to reside in illuminated images and in the very material of sacred writing.[416] By the seventeenth century, imitative miniature metal book-cases were also being used as pomanders, reliquaries, and containers of religious images.[417]

Eikon Basilike: The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings was published ten days after the execution of Charles I. The text presented itself as the king's spiritual meditations and autobiography and became one of the bestselling books of the mid-seventeenth century.[418] Regardless of its actual authorship, it served as a compelling and effective piece of royalist propaganda. It encouraged public sympathy by portraying Charles as a gentle, forgiving and Christ-like martyr (Fig. 5.4). The title, *Eikon Basilike*, meaning 'image of the king', makes the use of a book-shaped reliquary particularly appropriate, especially one that contains an image of the king presented as a relic. The discreet use of a possible modified pomander to house relics is comparable to a small and unobtrusive silver head reliquary of St. Thomas Becket, described by the English Jesuit missionary Father Gerard in his memoirs, and

[414] For an extant c. fifteenth-century girdle book thought to be from the north of England see National Library Scotland: Acc.12059/3. This holds medical and astronomical treatises and charts.
[415] Tait 1985, 29-57. For portraits of elite women wearing or using precious metal-cased girdle book cases see Fitzwilliam Museum: Minneapolis Institute of Art: 87.6. 'Lady Philippa Speke' 1592, Private Collection. For an example of a precious metal girdle book case see V&A: LOAN: MET ANON.2:4-1998.
[416] Skemer 2006, 50-4, 160, 269. Thomas 1971, 31, 45, 52-3, 187, 249, 494. Garter 1579, 47.
[417] Ebenhöch 2023. For examples of early modern book-shaped container pendants see Wellcome Collection, A641827, A642182. Delieb 2002, 76, plate 116. Smollich 1983, no. 56.
[418] *Eikon Basilike,* 1649. Lacey 2003, 76-128.

similar to the contemporary head or skull pomander pendants that were popular at the time.[419] In a similar way, a book-shaped pendant dedicated to Charles I could have passed as a decorative pomander when worn in public prior to the Restoration (1666). This book-shaped reliquary pendant functioned as both a celebration of Charles I as a Christ-like, divinely appointed monarch and a statement of political support for the restoration of the monarchy, as well as the continued expansion and consolidation of its dynastic authority throughout Britain.

Relic-making and relic-gathering was a practice present at the execution of Charles I, and followed a framework similar to those persecuted for their religious or confessional identity in Reformation and Counter-Reformation England. An investigation into the process of 'relic-making', particularly pre and post-1534, is a key consideration and methodological underpinning of this study (Sec. 1.3.e). Spectators rushed to mop up the blood of Charles I using handkerchiefs or other small pieces of fabric just after his beheading. A detail from a painting by an unknown Dutch artist, said to be made after an eyewitness account, depicts well-dressed individuals (two women and a man) soaking up blood below the king's funeral bier with pieces of textile (Fig 5.5). The man in the foreground appears to be rushing to do so, and is shown mid-stride. On the collection of the king's blood at his execution one anonymous primary account claims 'His blood was taken us by divers persons for different ends: by some as trophies of their villany; by other as relics of a martyr; and in some hath had the same effect, by the blessing of God, which was often found in his sacred touch when living'.[420] It is significant to note that this account emphasises that people of both royalist and non-royalist sympathies were keen to take up his blood as memorial tokens, whether they viewed the execution as a positive or negative event.

[419] Gerard 1962, 76. For a head-shaped pomander see Appendix II: 2.173. For other skull-shaped pomanders see BM, 1978,1002.219; 1978,1002.162.
[420] Dicks 2010, 5. Robinson 1906, 245. Nalson 1684, 118.

Those that did view him as a martyr could have invested in more elaborate reliquaries for these blood-relics caught on textile, which the book-shaped reliquary and a rock crystal heart-shaped reliquary devoted to Charles I allegedly present (Appendix II: 2.160; 2.162, Figs. 5.3; 5.6a,b). The royalist narrator of this relic-collecting scene is particular in mentioning that the source of any powers attributed to these relics originally emanates from God's blessing, and is conducted *through* the conduit of the blood-relic.[421]

Within the context of a Protestant England, the purported relics of Charles I did not function as conduits of intercession like earlier medieval or Catholic relics and reliquaries, but were thought to possess remnants of divine power bestowed on the king as a divinely anointed monarch.[422] Indeed, the gold ampulla used to hold the anointing oil for Charles I's coronation has been kept and altered with the addition of an engraved label, identifying it as an important participant in the creation of the king's divine status as anointed monarch.[423] The power attributed to the king was thought to allow him to heal those that suffered from scrofula, also known as the king's evil, an infection of the lymph nodes causing large lumps, sores, or abscesses on the neck, though the royal touch was also at times thought to cure blindness and rickets.[424] This power was formally enacted through a ritualised ceremony where sufferers were presented to the king, who then touched them and presented them with a pierced coin to wear around their neck as an amulet, known as a 'touch-piece'.[425] It has been argued that the importance placed on this ritual of contact with the king's body had a direct relationship with increase in political strife during his reign, and the ritual was

[421] Dicks 2010, 5. Robinson 1906, 245. Nalson 1684, 118.
[422] Lacey 2003, 64-65.
[423] 'Coronation Ampulla of Charles I', H.KJ 164, National Museums Scotland.
[424] Bird 1661.
[425] Turrell 1999, 12-17. Toynbee, 1950, 1-14.

invoked as an important tool in performing the political validity of the king's claims to divine right.[426]

Blood relics of Charles I were particularly capitalised upon by royalists as instruments of political propaganda, and they framed the loss of a royal, healing body as a great blow to the public. This is captured in the anonymous pamphlet of 1649 lengthily entitled and prefaced 'A Miracle of Miracles: Wrought by the Blood of King Charles the First, Of Happy Memory, upon a Mayd at *Detford*, foure miles from *London,* who by the violence of the Disease called the *Kings Evill* was blinde one whole yeere; but by making use of a piece of Handkircher dipped in the Kings blood is recovered of her sight. To the comfort of the Kings friends, and astonishment of his Enemies'.[427] The treatise is specific in noting that the man who owned the bloody handkerchief fragmented the original relic, giving the maid a *piece* of it. That the fragmented part was no less effective than the whole is in line with medieval concepts of fragmentation in holy relics.[428] On the direct use of the handkerchief the account reports that, 'the mayd tooke, [the handkerchief] and applied [it] to her sores, and wiping her eyes with the bloody side of the Handkircher, hath through Heavens providence recovered her eyesight'.[429] Later in the text, it states that she did this repeatedly, 'morning and evening', as an antidote. The author claims that the availability of these relics was scarce, and not a viable substitute for the living body of a king. The author writes that such relics were 'not to be had for love or money; for where any is they either keepe it secretly, or if it be known, they will not part with it.'[430] If kept secretly during the Interregnum Period (1649-1660),

[426] Toynbee, 1950, 2.
[427] Anonymous 1649. This royalist pamphlet (1649) also known as 'chapbook literature' was likely intended for a broad audience, including the less-educated and rural population, to cultivate a cult of martyrdom for King Charles I and encourage continued royalist resistance immediately following his execution. These type of texts could have been read aloud to the non-literate. Lacey 2003, 62. Holmes 2001, 106.
[428] MacKendrick 2008.
[429] Anonymous 1649.
[430] Anonymous 1649.

the small, wearable, portable container pendants examined would have been fitting for even the smallest effective fragment.

The re-framing and re-fashioning of objects through time, as part of their object biography, is also apparent in a pendant containing the purported hair-relic of Charles I from c.1650 (Appendix II: 2.76, Fig. 5.7). The hair, within a gold case, is surmounted by a gold wire crowned 'C R' cipher, and surrounded by a rope-work border. On the reverse of the pendant is a further identification of the object as devoted to Charles I in the neatly rendered engraving 'C R / REX'. However, below this inscription is another additional word, scratched into the surface by a more unpracticed hand, the word 'Martyr'. The addition of 'Martyr' to this object, most likely by the hand of one of its successive owners, is a deeply personal addition which elevates the pendant from an object of royal memorialisation and mourning to a reliquary. The inscription is on the reverse of the object, and would have been hidden when worn, representing a more personal conviction of the owner. It was not added with outward re-framing or social presentation in mind (as with the exterior addition to the book-shaped pendant discussed previously) but alters the more intimate connection of the owner to their object and its contents, mediated through the actions of the body. This is an excellent example how meaning in the biography of an object can change and be reinterpreted through time. It is also a key representation of a connection and relationship between body and object in the early modern period in its inscription and its contents of supposed body-materials (hair). Other similar pendants and rings with glass or crystal set over hair and gold wire ciphers can be observed related to royal deaths as with Charles II (d. 1685; Appendix II: 2.88) and Mary II (d. 1694; Appendix II: 2.99).

Another remarkable reliquary pendant devoted to Charles I, which represents a convergence of reliquary, royal miniature, *memento mori* and memorial is held in the National Museum of Scotland (Appendix II: 2.162, Figs. 5.6a,b). The heart-shaped pendant (c.1650) is of gold, enamel, and pearl, and contains a miniature of Charles I, crowned by putti above a skull and cross-bone, mounted on what are purported to be fragments of the king's hair and part of the blood-stained linen shirt worn at his execution. Above the tripartite chain that connects the pendant to its attachment loop is the emblem of an eye weeping three tears. The pendant is recorded to have once been in the possession of Lady Jane Murray (née Johnstone), the daughter of the 1st Earl of Hartfell and wife of Sir William Murray of Stanhope.[431] While not much is known of her, her father and husband were known royalists and supported Charles I and Charles II.[432] Similar to this heart-shaped reliquary pendant in the National Museum of Scotland is another stylised heart-shaped pendant devoted to Charles I, held in the British Museum (Appendix II: 2.112, Fig. 5.8). This pendant is of rock crystal, a significant material in the history of medieval reliquaries, which was prized for its ability to allow visual access to interior spaces while protecting their contents. It was also valued for its purity and was thought to be a kind of petrified water that could contribute to the effective preservation of its contents.[433] The rock crystal heart is framed by gold wire filigree work, which mimics the effects of *paperolle* or paper quilling, a common decorative framing effect used for small-scale reliquaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in continental Europe.[434] Inside this pendant is a gold medallion of Charles I, which is further framed by another gold wire frame, perhaps of an earlier date. The

[431] Thomson et al. 1990, 71.
[432] Thomson et al. 1990, 71.
[433] Gerevini 2014, 92-100.
[434] Bernard and Geuna 2012. Olalquiaga 2010, 151-157. The Blairs Jewel displays a similar mimetic *paperolle* effect. See Sec. 5.2.

medallion's oval rock crystal frame similarly resembles other reliquary pendants as with the Charles I pendant from the Berkeley Collection (Appendix II: 2.176, Fig. 5.9a,b) and other continental Catholic devotional pendants of rock crystal such as a Spanish example held in the V&A (Fig. 5.10).

Hitherto in this examination, the consideration of the material culture of container objects in relation to Charles I and Stuart monarchs has been limited to exceptional objects of luxury materials, some of which belonged to noble or wealthy individuals. Despite this, less expensive container pendants were produced during the Stuart period, which were less bespoke and which relay a semblance of 'mass-production' due to relatively high number of surviving objects that are similar, if not identical in form and appearance (Figs. 5.11-3). The decoration on many of these is rendered through stamped designs or 'scratch-work' engravings which could be completed quickly. Most of these pendants are small, silver or silver-gilt, and heart-shaped. They also feature text and emblems common to mourning or *memento mori* jewellery as with the weeping eye, the heart shot through with arrows, and skulls and crossbones. Phrases that appear on these objects include 'Prepared be to follow me', 'I live and dy in loyaltye', 'I Morne for Monarchie', or 'Quis temperit A lacrymis'.[435] The latter meaning 'who can refrain from tears', a proximate extraction from the Aeneid, a line which declares more or less 'who of Ulysses' warriors can withhold his tears, to hear of such things told?'.[436] A similar exclamation 'Quis talia fando!', probably derived from the same quotation, can be found in the account of John Evelyn, a contemporary diarist, copied in relation to the king's execution.[437] Quoting a classical text, instead of a biblical one, sets this object apart from medieval reliquaries and underscores the

[435] See Appendix II: 2.13, 2.101, 2.108, 2.109, 2.32, 2.155.
[436] Fairclough and Goold 1916, 316-317.
[437] Bowle 1983, 13.

changing humanist ideals and values of the era. Not all small heart-shaped container pendants were devoted to Charles I, although perhaps a larger number of these survive due to their associations with the king. Other similar silver heart-shaped pendants adorned with more general religious, romantic, or sentimental phrases exist as with the one that declares on its exterior 'Love God in Hart'.[438]

Despite their form and ability to contain, none of these more common silver heart-shaped pendants examined retained any remnants of materials like blood or hair, as in the other more richly ornamented jewellery objects. It is possible that these less costly pendants may have been intended to contain a very tiny bit of fabric that was dipped in blood, or which came in contact with or proximity to Charles I's body or funeral pall. An earlier account of the execution of a Jesuit priest tells of a woman bringing with her to the scene a large bolt of silk which she had the condemned priest bless.[439] She then distributed it in small fragments throughout the crowd, which many people kept, or tucked into their hatbands.[440] This represents a more accessible kind of relic-making that wasn't dependent on managing to wade through the crush of thousands to draw close enough to collect some kind of memento. If the pendants themselves were sold by hawkers at the execution, it may be that their presence was enough to render them special material witnesses to that event. A last possibility is that the image of Charles I within many (but not all) of these types of pendants was enough to be considered a relic or special contents, as demonstrated through the aforementioned portrait miniatures and portrait medallions worn and enshrined in container pendants, elevated in many instances to the status of relic in its presentation. If the pendant was not meant to contain any material, its form at the very least served to symbolically enshrine the

[438] Appendix II: 2.74. These types of objects are expanded upon in Sec. 5.4 and Sec. 6.5.
[439] Foley 1875, vol. II, 541.
[440] Foley 1875, vol. II, 541.

king within the emotive form of the heart, to create a private and secret space of memorialisation, and to facilitate the ability to meditate upon, honour, or remember the king through the action of revealing and concealing the interior space and its image.[441]

5.4 The Pendants and Workbox of Martha Edlin

The embroidered stumpwork casket (1671) and small personal effects of an eleven-year-old Restoration girl, Martha Edlin, was continuously passed down the female line for over 300 years until it was acquired by the V&A in 1990 (Figs. 5.14-5).[442] Amongst this acquisition were two small, silver heart-shaped pendants. One bears the images of Charles II and Queen Katherine of Braganza on opposite sides (Appendix II: 2.105, Figs. 5.16a,b), whilst the second is an amatory pendant with an image of cupid surrounded by the inscription, 'NOE HEART MORE TRVE THEN MINE TO YOV' (Appendix II: 2.106, Fig. 5.17). Both of these lockets were made of stamped silver and other similar examples exist, which supports the idea that, like the Charles I memorial pendants, these were made for a mass-market.[443] Their inclusion amongst Martha's possessions suggests that less expensive trinkets and tokens, such as this, were available and kept by children of the well-off, not just by middling or less-affluent adults as might be assumed by their associations with courtship and romantic love.[444] The casket, which may have once been used to contain these personal possessions, is a suitable metaphor for the private interior life (or mind) of a young woman, as it would have been one of her few purely personal spaces of ownership.[445]

---

[441] Muckart 2023, 117-138.
[442] Ashton 1928, 215. 'Embroidered Casket', T.432-1990, V&A.
[443] For a near-identical cupid pendant also held in the V&A see Appendix II: 2.174. A similar cupid locket pendant was sold by Wartski with a different inscription that reads, 'TAKE THIS IN PART WITH IT MY HEART', Appendix II: 2.175.
[444] Hannesdóttir 2022, 72-4. Hurl-Eamon 2011, 181-6.
[445] Rosner 2018, 140-63.

Fittingly, Martha Edlin has left her mark on the exterior lid of the box, initialing it in tiny pearls, 'M E'. The casket features locking keyholes on the exterior, an inset mirror within, a series of box compartments, as well as a secret, hidden, compartment. Inside, a compartment box is papered with a hand-coloured print of David slaying Goliath, a testament to the triumph of the miniature over the gigantic.[446] This can perhaps be read as an ode to the mastery and industry demonstrated by Martha whilst still a girl, through her detailed, skilled, small-scale stitch-work, which captures grand ideas about the world and its order in a small space. In turn, the layered, hidden interiority of the casket reflects and amplifies the function and identity of her lockets as containers for personal inner spaces. Also amongst Martha's personal effects were miniature toy tea and dish sets, a miniature pair of gloves, a small plush toy swan, pin cushions, purse, quill-holder, manicure toilet set, and other small personal possessions alongside the lockets.[447] The inclusion of Martha's lockets as possessions alongside her casket stages an alternative possibility to the use of locket pendants as objects that were habitually worn. Rather, their inclusion alongside, and perhaps once within her casket, suggests that part of the pleasure they provided could be found in the knowledge of keeping them safe, separate, and private, and Martha could have engaged with them in tandem with her other miniature posessions in the imaginative world of play.[448]

It can also be surmised that this casket, and its paraphernalia of childhood, would have contributed to the education and preparation of Martha for a future and idealised role as wife and mother.[449] The exterior needlework, depicting the moral virtues of Hope, Faith, and Charity

[446] Stewart 1993.
[447] On Martha's casket, its contents, and her lockets see McShane 2009, 876-877. Staples 2008, 26-7. Ward et al. 1981, 54-9. Swain 1990, 9-10. Parker 1984, 87-8. Sebba 1979, 48-9. Kendrick 1967, 128-30, 132. Ashton 1928, 215-223.
[448] Larson 2016, 67-86.
[449] Reeves 2018, 35-57.

embodied as mothers nurturing young children, would have served as a visible, material exemplification of her qualifications for the role to future suitors, and as a testament of her education, refinement, and accomplishment with skilled needlework. While in youth she could preside over a miniature space of tiny household artefacts, doll-like clothing, and inexpensive jewellery, it is presumed that she would, in some years time, trade these for real life-size counterparts. Little is known of Martha Edlin, save that she married a London apothecary named Richard Richmond, and was a prosperous widow later in life with four daughters and grandchildren.[450] Martha's ownership of a pendant of Charles II and his queen and a pendant of an amatory nature might suggest that, as in the embroidered mirrors and designs atop other caskets produced at this time, the king and queen were cast in an idealised space, to be perceived as a model of romantic devotion and marital union (despite any incongruent realities), and to preside over the natural order of the world wherein Martha's own identity and role in this social matrix was solidified and cast before her in her future life.

5.5 Summary

In 1813, the tomb of Charles I was rediscovered and opened in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, witnessed by George, the Prince Regent, and Henry Halford, the Royal Physician.[451] Taken from the grave at this time were certain 'relics' including a vertebra which bore the mark of the axe, a tooth, and a portion of hair from Charles I's beard.[452] The Royal Collection still possesses a locket pendant containing a lock of Charles I's hair, taken in 1813. [453] The desire to

[450] Swain 1990, 9-10. Bristol Archives 31963/15.
[451] Halford 1831.
[452] Halford 1831.
[453] Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 43778.

take, collect, and memorialise parts of the dead monarch had clearly not faded in over 160 years, although their motivations may have shifted. The relic-makers of 1813 may not have expected to retain miracle-working substances akin to the dynamic remains treasured during the medieval period, or even seventeenth-century, but their interest and desire in possessing these fragments remains clear through time, nonetheless.

The seventeenth-century framing of Stuart monarch relics and images in small-scale wearable forms, discussed in this chapter, drew upon traditional strategies and materials employed by later medieval people, whilst representing new developments in the use and understanding of the object type. The relic-making and relic-enshrinement of Stuart monarchs often cast them as saints or martyrs, which drew upon similar strategies applied to the relics of martyrs of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, as well as the relic-materials treasured in the later medieval period. Significant materials with a long history of use in religious reliquaries and devotional objects such as rock crystal, continued to be applied to wearable containers to present, frame, or re-frame their interior contents as meaningful. The relic-making practices connected with the contents of these objects also continued to place value on similar relic-materials identified within medieval objects, such as hair and textile, albeit with a new emphasis on contained images or portraiture. By creating container jewellery memorialising Charles I (or other Stuart monarchs) the relationship between subject and monarch could be cast as one of devotion and patronage, similar to the relationship between saint and supplicant. Charles I's identity as a divinely anointed king, as well as a self-proclaimed martyr, also served to further bridge and domesticate the concept and practice of relic-making and relic-enshrinement of a known and recently living individual. As I have argued in the case of Martha Edlin's pendants, objects that memorialise royal life-course events like death or marriage allowed the object's owner to insert, engage, or identify themselves

on a personal and affective level alongside the concept or image of monarchy. This could be reflective of, or contribute to, one's own understanding and expectations of a place and role in the world, whether that role was a divinely-appointed king's subject or a wife and mother. It is in these ways that this object type began to draw towards a greater emphasis and consideration of selfhood and interpersonal relationships, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter.

Chapter 6. Love, Locks, and Mourning: Interpersonal Jewellery

6.1 Introduction

In 1633, a poem 'The Relic' by John Donne (1572-1631) was published posthumously and immortalised the shift in seventeenth-century thinking about emotion, love, death, relics, and meaningful materials in verse. He writes:

When my grave is broke up again

Some second guest to entertain,

(For graves have learn'd that woman head,

To be to more than one a bed)

And he that digs it, spies

A bracelet of bright hair about the bone,

Will he not let'us alone,

And think that there a loving couple lies,

Who thought that this device might be some way

To make their souls, at the last busy day,

Meet at this grave, and make a little stay?

If this fall in a time, or land,

Where mis-devotion doth command,

Then he, that digs us up, will bring

Us to the bishop, and the king,

To make us relics; then

Thou shalt be a Mary Magdalen, and I

A something else thereby;

All women shall adore us, and some men;

And since at such time miracles are sought,

I would have that age by this paper taught.

What miracles we harmless lovers wrought.[454]

Donne's 'bracelet of bright hair about the bone' also referred to in his poem 'The Funeral' as 'That subtle wreath of hair, which crowns my arm' is more than a poetical device or metaphor. It serves as a primary example of how material objects can act as affective anchors, communicating and transcending the space between the living and the dead. By examining the poem through the lens of the archeology and history of emotions, the physical 'relic' is not just a symbol, but a site where intense affection or grief can be preserved and re-excavated across centuries, especially through the latent remains of human bodies and their materials.[455] The objects examined in this chapter (particularly jewllery set with hair) are particularly well-poised to elicit affect, or an intense, visceral, unnamed reaction —in people's material enounters with them, past and present.[456] Affect can also be understood as an interaction of materiality and the senses; when the

[454] Redpath 1956, 284-288. The two first stanzas. Donne's literary reputation soared after the posthumous publication of his poetry in 1633, followed by several more editions throughout the century. This publication cemented his influence as a preeminent metaphysical poet on subsequent generations, making his verse widely known and influential among the educated reading public in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Nace 2019, 401-12. Marotti 1986. For more on the methodological use of literary or artistic sources to interpret material culture see Sec. 1.4 and later in Sec. 6.1.

[455] On the archaeology of emotions: (b)2020, 742-59. Tarlow 2023; 2012, 169-85; 2010; 2000, 713-46.

[456] This ties directly to the theoretical framework of Affect Theory and the Affective Turn in the humanities. Affect can be defined as a pre-conscious response to stimuli, prior to internalising or rationalising the reaction. On affect see Frykman and Frykman 2016. Ahmed 2010, 21-49. Sedgwick 2003. Massumi 2002. Tomkins 1962-1992, vols. 1-4.

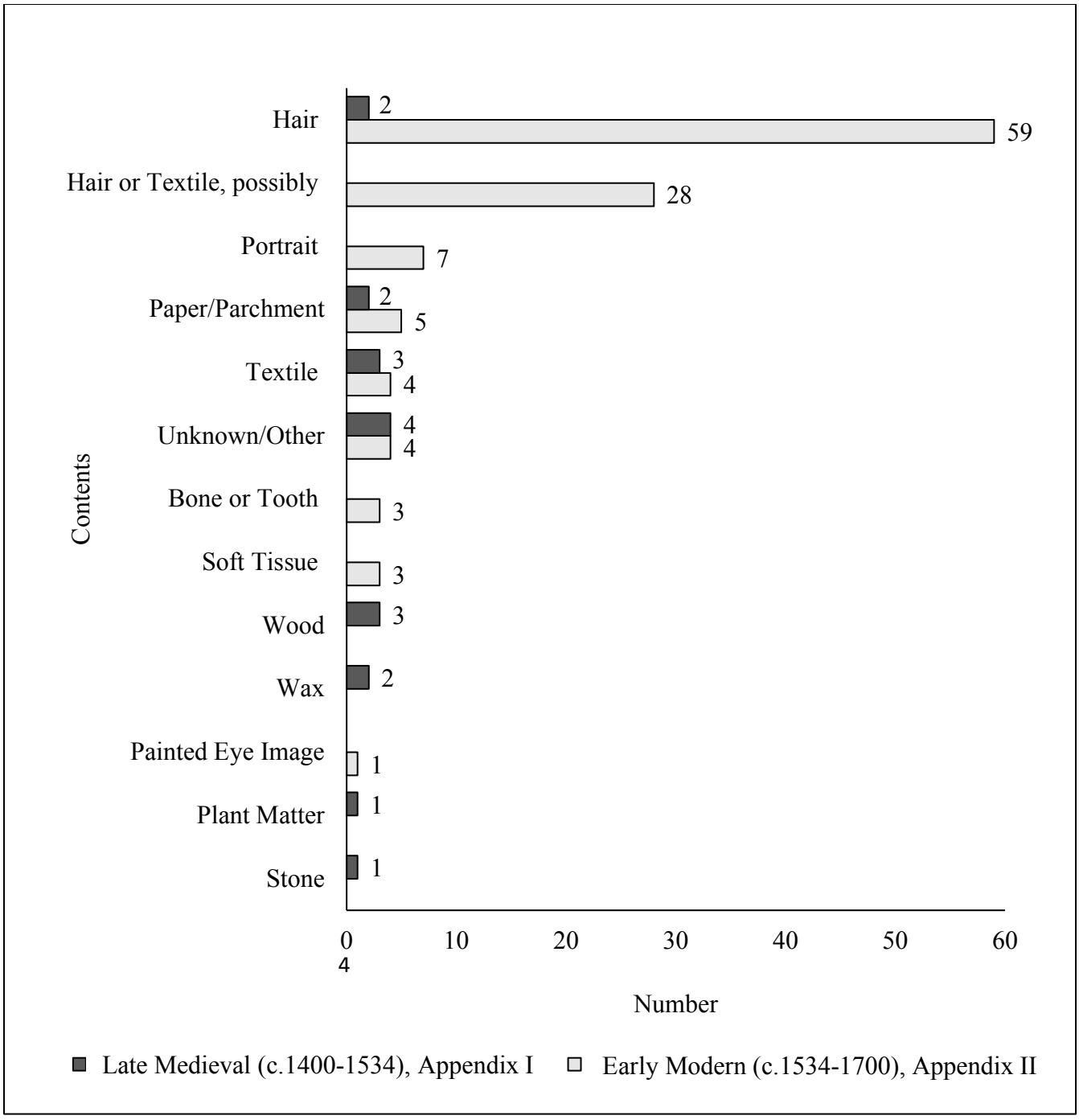
body is met and confronted with the phenomenological profile of the thing in time and space.[457] The methodology of this chapter is underpinned by these theoretical frameworks including materiality, affect, emotion, the senses, memory, and 'relic-making' and enshrinement. Interpersonal and hair-set jewellery objects could inspire excitement or anguish (key responsive examples of affect), as will be demonstrated through primary documentary and literary sources within this chapter, contextualising the past use, meaning, and identity of these artefacts.

In particular, the seventeenth-century use of hair in affective and emotive jewellery exemplifies the dynamic relationship between person and object central to the ideas of 'relics' and 'relic-making', entanglement, and object biography, where the biological material of the wearer is transformed into the material subject. As with the physical relics of saints, personal materials set in to jewellery often transgressed the boundaries of 'person' and 'thing', embodying non-human personhood. By enshrining meaningful interpersonal material within a ring, pendant, or other jewellery object, the object itself is imbued with the potential to act as a mnemonic device for an absent individual. This directly reflects and materialises Mary Carruthers' observation that memory was often historically and metaphorically linked to ideas of containment and contained spaces.[458]

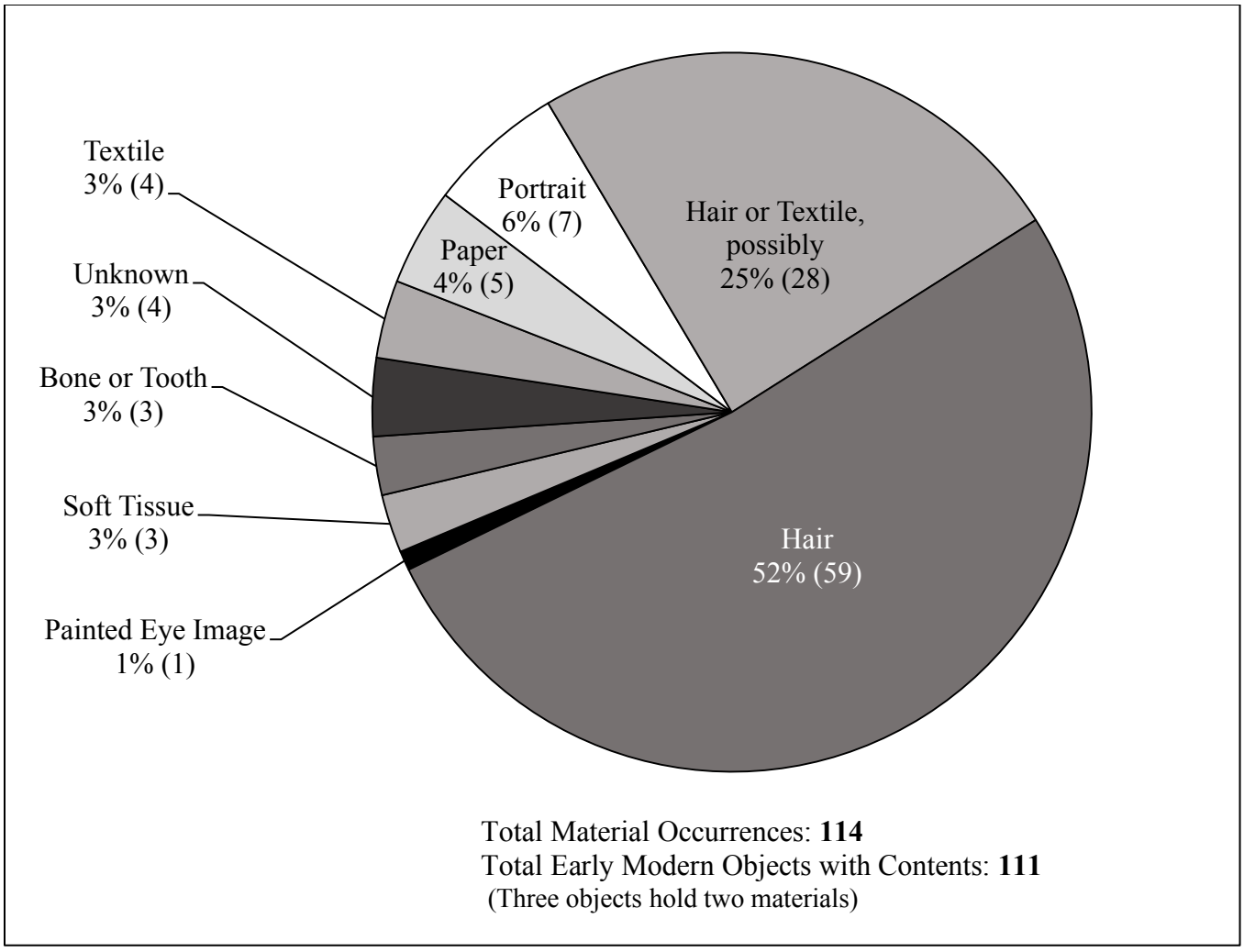
Donne's 'bracelet of bright hair about the bone' references and presents the very real early modern practice of knitting and weaving the hair of loved ones into decorative devices to be further preserved and framed in jewellery objects that could be gifted, exchanged, and worn about body as symbols of affection or used in the life-stages of courtship or mourning.[459] The use of these as love-objects and gifts in courtship finds its roots in the courtly tradition of medieval

[457] This connects to the theoretical frameworks of materiality and the senses introduced in Sections 1.3.a and 1.3.c.
[458] Carruthers 2008, 46-51, 181.
[459] Smith 1908, 165.

romances and chivalry. Meanwhile, the material mourning culture of Reformation and Counter-Reformation martyrs, and to a great extent Charles I, domesticated and bridged the practice of relic and reliquary-making into more immediate, personal, social, and civic spheres, changing the nature and use of wearable remains or 'relics' of the dead. These interpersonal memorial materials rose in popularity amongst wide sections of the populace and were well-positioned to supplement the loss of the rites, rituals, and material sacramentals connected with death and dying in pre-1534 English Catholicism. All of this points to the adaptation and transformation of this form to suit the social needs and worldviews of early modern people within the evolving cultural and social landscape of early modern England.



Graph 2 Interior Material Contents by Date Range (c.1400-1700), Appendices I and II. Total Material Occurrences: 132, Total Objects with Interior Contents: 124, Overall Total Objects: 243.



Graph 3 Early Modern Interior Contents (c.1534-1700), Appendix II [461]

A notable aspect of seventeenth-century container jewellery is the use of hair as the contained material, illustrated in Graphs 3 and 4. Graph 3 comparatively displays the occurrences of material contents both pre- and post-1534.[462] Graph 4 demonstrates the proportion of material occurrences only amongst the early modern objects (c.1534-1700). Of the

[462] In Graph 4, the 'Portrait' section refers to contained images, predominantly of Charles I, as medallions or tokens, often soldered to the back plate. These are typically held within interior spaces that could also accommodate other small or fragmentary materials (see Sec. 5.2). The 'Painted Eye Image' is a unique outlier. This represents a paste-set ring that once likely held hair or textile beneath the bezel, which was replaced at a later date with an eighteenth-century eye portrait Appendix II: 1.21 (see Sec.6.4.b).

13 late medieval objects with recorded interior contents 15% (2) contain what is believed to be hair. In contrast, of the more widely-surviving 111 early modern objects that have contained materials 52% (59) contain hair and a further 25% (28) contain what could be hair.[463] In sum, 77% (87) of early modern objects with material contents contain what may be hair. The data for this collated assemblage clearly indicates an increase in surviving container jewellery objects with hair in the early modern period, as well as a large proportion of early modern objects that contain (or may contain) hair overall. The focus of this chapter will be guided by this finding, in examining how and why people set hair into objects of jewellery in this period, and how this might be a continuation or departure from earlier practices. In this way, the chapter supports the main thesis aims and questions including an analyisis of the use and function of these objects pre- and post-1534, the significance of these objects and their contents, as well as their relationship to the body.

Section 6.2 begins with a brief introduction to the medieval courtly history of the exchange of hair tokens, in order to more fully contextualise this early modern practice. This history of hair-exchange offer insight into the social life of these affective artefacts, their sexual undertones, connection to bodies, and their role in gift-giving, romance, and the social ritual of courtship exchange. Section 6.3 then examines evidence for the ownership, use, and presentation of hair lock pendants, often worn as solitaire earrings in the early seventeenth century (c.1600-1649). This includes an investigation into the material qualities of these objects, the lives and identities of the people that wore them, and their appearance and representation on the body.

[463] For an assessment of why more objects survive from the early modern period see Sec. 1.1.e. Objects were assessed through visual analysis either in-person or via catalogue/database photography. When this information was not recorded in the catalogue/database it was often impossible to definitively identify contained materials, particularly when they are sealed or possess interior damage, water logging, or degradation. See for example: Appendix II: 2.1, 2.8, 2.11, 2.104.

Given the lack of surviving hair lock pendants, portraiture and literary evidence will be significantly drawn upon in order to explore the use and meaning of these objects. It must be noted that these sources possess some limitations as historical documentary sources.[464] They may present, in some instances, biased, satirised, romanticised, or idealised representations of these objects and their wearers. However, the lens of these biases can be useful in its own right in understanding past people's perceptions, self-presentation, or emotionally-charged connections to these objects within their social worlds.[465] This methodology supports the key aims and research questions of this study, which will be addressed in this chapter such as the connection of these objects to the body, and changes or continuities in the reception and the perceived meaning and power of these objects pre- and post-1534 (Sec. 1.1.a).

Section 6.4 investigates the forms of hair tokens that were more popular in the latter half of the seventeenth century (c.1649-1700). This includes finger rings that contain hair set within the hoop as well as rings, pendants, or slides wherein hair (most commonly) is set below a layer of glass or crystal. These were frequently used to memorialise and materialise interpersonal relationships.[466] Finally, Section 6.5 touches on less costly pendants and hair tokens that were accessible to more everyday people. These, however, are less well-documented materially, textually, and art historically. The chapter concludes with a brief summary and reflection on the use, importance, and significance of these dynamic social container jewellery objects as markers of personal and community biography, and their role in materialising and solidifying social

[464] For an engagement with, or analysis of, this methodology in academic writing see Yip and Clifton 2025. (Particularly Chapter 7). Strong 2023. Eaker 2018, 650-79. Southcombe 2010, 954-64. Burke 2001. Bloch 1992. Woodall 1997. McGann 1981, 269-88. Greenblatt 1980. Greenblatt's New Historicist model demonstrates how literary sources participate in social practices and power, representative of self-presentation and ideology.
[465] This reiterates and emphasises the methodological approach introduced in Sec. 1.4.
[466] Textile fragments are sometimes present, and this could represent a piece of clothing that belonged to and was worn by a loved one, or fabric associated with their funeral and memory as with a piece of the pall cloth that covered their coffin. See Ashmolean, WA1897.CDEF.F657, which contains a fragment of black textile.

relationships and networks of seventeenth-century life across the dividing forces of distance or death.

6.2 Medieval and Early Modern Courtly Hair Tokens: Leading to the Seventeenth Century

Popular medieval courtly romances tell of locks of hair treasured and exchanged as love tokens, particularly in cases of departure or physical separation. This is the case in the late twelfth-thirteenth century tales of *Aucassin et Nicolette* and *Castelain de Couci et de la Dame de Fayel.* In the latter, the lady cuts off her braids and presents them to the Castelain before he sets out to join the Crusades.[467] He then wears her hair on his helmet into battle as a kind of love token and talisman, perhaps intended to protect him and allow the lovers to reunite upon his return home.[468] In a similar vein, the Old French *Queste del Saint Graal* tells of a swordbelt made of stitched silk, gold thread, and her own golden hair, presented to Galahad by Percival's sister.[469] This was to provide an encircling protective object to be worn on his journeys.[470] Within the same legend it is indicated that due to her great purity, her blood (another bodily material and extension of her) could be used to heal wounds.[471] Interaction with medieval hair tokens could be highly charged emotional experiences, and in Chretian de Troyes' twelfth-century *Knight of the Cart,* wherein Lancelot finds a comb containing strands of the hair of Guinevere. Overcome with his desire for her, he kisses the hair and presses it to his face.[472] Hair also featured prominently as an important material in medieval medicine, charms, and magic, as

[467] Knight 2016. Sleeman 1981, 329. Roques 1936, 15. Matzke and Delbouille 1936, 237.
[468] Knight 2016. Sleeman 1981, 329. Roques 1936, 15. Matzke and Delbouille 1936, 237.
[469] Knight 2016. Sleeman 1981, 329. Roques 1936, 15. Matzke and Delbouille 1936, 237.
[470] Sleeman 1981, 331. Pauphilet 1949, 226-7.
[471] Sleeman 1981, 331. Pauphilet 1949, 226-7.
[472] Knight 2016. Rogers 1984.

it did in the early modern period.[473] Adam Stratton (d. c.1292), Edward I's chamberlain of the Exchequer was accused of witchcraft to gain the king's favour, and was said to have been found in possession of a silk pouch containing parings of nails, hair and other *alia diabolica* for the practice of witchcraft.[474] The French Cathars, a much-persecuted non-orthodox Christian enclave of the twelfth and thirteenth century, are reported to have valued and cherished the hair and nail clippings of their dead as potent materials.[475] These examples demonstrate how medieval attitudes cast hair as an amuletic, synedochal, and intimate, often sexually-charged, material that was deeply meaningful, treasured, and affective in nature. As noted by many present-day scholars of the early modern period, the Reformation did not effectually eradicate the well-established medieval foundation of a world outlook that understood and privileged special materials, hair amongst them, as particularly potent and meaning-laden.[476] The courtly practice captured in medieval romances of gifting, keeping, and re-fashioning hair into wearable objects continued into the early modern period when hair tokens were identified amongst the important assortment of gifts given or exchanged within the ritual of courtship to establish, strengthen, and materialise a relationship.

Decorative hairwork and accessories were part of the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts, as were craftspeople with the skills to produce many woven or ornamental objects from human hair. Dorothy Speckard, a courtier, wife of Queen Elizabeth I's milliner, and skilled craftswomen herself known as an 'artificer', produced 'cc [200] devises made in heare' including 12 in the

---

[473] The use of hair in love-magic is described in a fifteenth-century English sermon. Rider 2012, 205-206. Cambridge MS Ii.iii.8, f. 69r. On this MS see Wenzel 2005, 175-81.
[474] Saunders 2010, 74.
[475] Sennis 2018. Pegg 2001, 181-195. Ladurie 1978, 31. The term 'Cathars' is hotly debated, as this was the term used by persecutors of this group. Albigensians is also used, a reference to the group's origins in the French city Albi.
[476] Thomas 2003, 94, 194, 219, 241, 244. Cherry 2001, 154-171.

shape of pyramids, 12 in the form of leaves, and nine shaped as globes in 1602.[477] Her work in 1603 also included 'Two heare Cawles [veils] curiouslie made in works of haire'.[478] While perhaps not for memorial purposes, these were likely made as dress accessories to ornament the queen's wigs. Such pieces made from human hair allowed courtiers to achieve the height and sculptural quality of their coiffures, which can be particularly appreciated in Elizabeth I's Rainbow Portrait, amongst others.[479] The inclusion of these hairwork items in court inventories and financial records indicates the presence and visibility of hairwork at the late Tudor court, as well as skilled individuals willing to work with human hair as a decorative material. In the Stuart period, young girls like Martha Edlin (see Section 5.4) could use human hair as a material worked into their elaborate multimedia stumpwork embroidery pieces. Hair, like shreds of old silk, were used to a practical function to stuff embroidery figures giving them a more dimensional appearance. It could also be worked into pieces as the hair of embroidered human figures in tableaux that celebrated the five senses or memorialised King Charles I, literally inserting the self or the hair of siblings, family, or friends into the scene, and further adding to the tactile quality of a memento of their youth and girlhood.[480]

Hair, as the meaningful material and contained component of these objects, was a widely favoured material for interpersonal tokens in the seventeenth century.[481] It recommends itself in its practicality as a generally abundant, light, malleable, and a deeply social, often sexually-coded, substance and proxy for the body, that can be fragmented into the smallest possible parts.

---

[477] TNA, LC 5/37 ff. 273-4, warrant dated 27 September 1602 as cited in Arnold 1988, 226.
[478] TNA, LC 5/37 f. 287, warrant dated 18 May 1603 as cited in Arnold 1988, 226.
[479] Attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, c.1600-2, *Rainbow Portrait,* oil on canvas, In the collection of the Marquess of Salisbury, at Hatfield House.
[480] Geuter 2008, 68-69, 118. Roberts 1999, 46, cat. no. 139. Nevinson 1965, 313. Gibson 1929, 39. The Five Senses: Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, 1981-28-118. Charles I Portraits: Bourgeault-Horan Antiquarians, Collection of Susan MacKay and Peter Field: Aug. 18, 2018, lots. 129,130. Royal Collection Trust: RCIN 63733.
[481] See Appendix II.

Already a charged material, a lock of a lover's hair worn, for example, as an earring, co-mingled the subject and object's hair, symbolically unifying the material of the two bodies. Wearing the lock of hair from a loop or interlocking 'chained' loops of metal that pierced the skin further added to the sexually-charged quality of the token. In many portraits, it is indeed difficult even to tell where the subject's hair ends and the hair of the love-lock token begins. In the portrait of Lady Mary Erskine, Countess Marischal (Fig. 6.1, 1626; Table 7) the pendant in the form of a crowned heart is worn with the hair inserted and threaded directly through her pierced ear, an incredibly intimate gesture and site of encounter between her body and the body-materials of another.[482] In seventeenth-century understanding, hair was perceived as a kind of excremental material that was a result of expelled vapours from the body, and in this way held both a fascination and a repulsion that many of us may be familiar with in reaction to jewellery made from hair.[483] This is closely related to the idea of 'fetish' in anthropological circles, and the cultural attribution of religious or transcendent qualities to material objects which inspire devotion.[484] The unique status of hair as a social material, and the ritual cutting of hair, particularly in connection to mourning, has also been a focus of anthropological studies that seek to understand the role that hair has in disparate cultures.[485] Scholarship has remarked on the inherent sexual symbolism of hair across societies and how it is veiled, revealed, cut, grown, or

[482] Both English and Scottish portraiture are drawn upon as visual evidence of the ways that hair tokens were worn, presented, or interacted with the body. As Appendix II: 2.162 demonstrates, Scottish people may have owned and wore hair tokens of English people and vice-versa. Scholarship has shown that English and Scottish aristocratic fashion and material culture began to converge during the Stuart dynasty following the Union of the Crowns (1603). Hayward 2020. Pearce 2016, 119-49. Payne et al. 2011, 43. Brown 1993, 543-76.
[483] Snook 2021. Snook 2015, 27.
[484] On the idea of 'fetish' in material culture: Sansi 2024, 145-157. Pels 2012, 613-633. This idea has been explored in relation to hair and hair jewellery in the later periods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, often in the context of literature. See Zigarovich 2023, 131-156. Smith 2015, 353-357. Lutz 2011, 127-142. Oliver 2010, 35-60. Miller 1982, 89-107.
[485] Kloß 2025, 1-24. Tassie 1996, 59-68. Leach 1958. Berg 1951.

styled to demonstrate identity in connection with sexual availability or restriction.[486] Due to the seventeenth-century medical understanding of hair as emanating from the body, and embodying the unique humoural makeup of its corresponding person, hair was also thought to possess the signature of the person it grew from. Its identifying colour and texture was also believed to be a result of a person's humoural makeup.[487] In this way, hair was understood in a similar way to the present-day knowledge of hair as a source of DNA, the unique genetic code that makes a person who they are.

6.3 Hair Lock Earrings and Love-locks: (c.1600-1649)

A form of container jewellery used in the early seventeenth century is the cut lock of hair set into a pendant and worn, most often as a solitaire earring pendant, but which could also function as a brooch or pendant worn elsewhere on the body. Few extant material examples of these hair lock earrings remain from this period; only five are recorded in this dataset (Appendix II: 2.165-8; 2.154, Figs. 6.2-6). The ones that do survive bear a close resemblance to those depicted in portrait paintings from this period (Table 7). This table demonstrates the period over which these objects were depicted within elite portraiture (based on the portraits identified), which may reflect when the real material objects were most widely used and owned. A visual record of a hair lock pendant can also be found in (Fig. 6.7), which is an illustration of an object included in a Victorian exhibition of 'relics of the Stuarts'.[488] The pendant was alleged to contain hair belonging to Charles I.[489] Of the extant material examples included in this study, two are

[486] Barak-Brandes and Kama 2018. Evans and Withey 2018. Mageo 1994, 407-32. Leach 1958. Berg 1951.
[487] Snook 2015, 27-32.
[488] Gibb 1890, plate X.
[489] Gibb 1890, plate X.

held in the Portland Collection of the Harley Foundation at the Welbeck Estate, historic property of the Dukes of Portland and their families in Nottinghamshire (Appendix II: 2.165-6). Two more are in the collection of Ham House in Surrey, under the purview of the National Trust (Appendix II: 2.167-8) and another is held in the London Museum (Appendix II: 2.154). All of these pendants are hollow and cordiform, made of gold, and decorated with primarily red or black enamel. These colours reflect the duality of use of these affective objects. Black is the traditional colour of mourning in this period and red is, of course, the literal colour of a living heart and heart's blood.[490] Understood as the seat of feeling, selfhood, and the body, the red heart held connotations of romance, affective passion, or intense feeling in the early modern word.[491] In contemporary lapidaries the similarly red ruby was likened to a flame and thought to restrain the intense negative emotions of fury, wrath, and lust, as well as drive away sadness and to warm and cheer the mind.[492] In these pendants, the hair lock itself is partially contained within the hollow space of the pendant and extends out a small opening at the base of the pendant, tied, knotted, or coiled within to secure it. Three of these pendants are further set with colourless stones, either diamond, rock crystal, or cut glass.

The fashion for 'love-locks', which transformed hair into a sentimental material or object, appeared in courtly circles at least by the 1590's in England.[493] During the seventeenth century the term 'love-lock' could refer to a method of fashioning one's own hair (still attached to the head), or token of a cut lock of hair, as with these earring pendants. The former could be a braid, curl, or swathe of hair, grown long over the left shoulder, the 'heart' side, as a symbol of chivalry

[490] Houlbrooke 2000, 220-295. Cressy 1997, 438-443.
[491] Barclay and Reddan 2019.
[492] Nichols 1652, 58, 61.
[493] The English play *Midas* by John Lyly, performed before Queen Elizabeth I in 1590 makes use of the term 'lovelock' in reference to hair. A cabinet portrait by Nicholas Hilliard of Sir Robert Dudley, son of Elizabeth I's court favourite, shows him sporting a longer section of hair worn over his left shoulder (c.1591-93). National Museum, Stockholm.

or devotion to a loved one.[494] These 'love-locks' could be adorned with ribbons or other ornaments as seen in the portraits of Sir Thomas Hanmer and Lady Margaret Livingstone (Figs. 6.8-9). A satirical text of the late seventeenth century pokes fun at elaborate male hairstyles of the age; a barber asks if his client would like his hair styled in 'a Love-lock down to your shoulders, wherein you may wear your Mistriss Favour?'.[495] These 'favours' or ribbons might have been the garter of their lover or mistress, ribbons or strips of fabric worn in the intimate, hidden space beneath the skirts to secure stockings which were also a popular love token for gifting or exchange.[496] The inclusion of these tokens on love-locks could further add a sexually-charged quality to this hair style and elicit the excitement of physical closeness to the intimate body of another through the proxy contact of a material object. The portrait of Sir Thomas Hanmer shows him with a small red ribbon tied into his lovelock (Fig. 6.8) and the portrait of Lady Margaret Livingstone, 2nd Countess of Wigtown, shows the sitter with an elaborately braided, interlinked, hair-token set into an earring, wherein she has included and attached a gold ring, perhaps a meaningful gift from a loved-one (Fig. 6.9).[497]

This fashion for ornate hairstyles, particularly on men, was a source of moral panic amongst those of a more anti-aristocratic, anti-royalist bent, who felt this was problematic source of feminisation. In 1628 William Prynne published his fiery pamphlet, *The Unlovelinesse, of Lovelockes*, in which he railed against the 'Loue-lockes, or Ear-lockes' and the, 'Viewing, Ordering, Platting, Frouncing, Poudring, and curling of these goodly Eare-jewels' as unnatural,

---

[494] Hall 2008, 278-287.
[495] Dunton 1683, 92.
[496] Cunnington and Cunnington 1972, 63-4, 121, 160, 189. Garters worn by both men and women of all social ilk in the seventeenth century. While men's were outwardly visible, often worn tied below the knee, women's were located in the intimate and hidden space beneath their skirts. In 1660 Samuel Pepys records purchasing his wife a pair of silk stockings and garters for her Valentine's Day gift. Warrington 1983, 140.
[497] Tate Britain, 'Portrait of Lady Margaret Livingstone, 2nd Countess of Wigtown', T13440.

shameful, and effeminate in men.[498] Prynne also believed, and persuaded others, that this fashion had its roots in contact with the peoples of North America, many of whom traditionally wore their hair in a long plaits, and about whom new reports had recently been reaching England. This was a source of alarm for him, as it was seen to represent a fashioning of the self in the image of non-Christians who Prynne referred to as, 'the Heathenish and Idolatrous Virginians'.[499] By the late seventeenth century, this style seems to have waned and a 1693 moralist text declares that 'About three-score years since, or more, some Men wore Love-locks [I think they called them so] the *Indians* do so all that I saw'.[500] According to this author, by 1693 love-locks had been out of fashion for some 60 odd years.[501] Despite passionate diatribes against love-locks, royals and royalists were not deterred from adopting the style and King Charles I is depicted with his long love-lock hanging down his shoulder in many of his famous portraits by Anthony van Dyck.[502] Indeed, the long luxurious love-lock would come to symbolise royalist sympathies as much as the cropped style that gave name to the 'Roundheads' would become synonymous with republicans.

The two pendants held by the Harley Foundation in the Portland Collection (Appendix II: 2.165-6, Figs. 6.2-3) are both composed of gold, with polychrome enamelling that has survived relatively well, and are set with colourless stones. Both are in the shape of hearts, though the former is a red heart surmounted with a blue and white enamelled crown, set with a heart-shaped stone, while the latter is a black heart wherein the diamond forms the centre of an eye, which

[498] Prynne 1628, 3, 30. Prynne's polemical pamphlet was aimed at a pious reform-minded audience He was a radical opponent to Charles I's early rule and perceived religious and cultural 'decadence'. Lamont 1963.
[499] Prynne 1628, 4.
[500] Firmin 1693, 5.
[501] The hair token worn set into an earring pendant is a dress accessory that was fashionable from the late Tudor period (c.1590) to the mid-seventeenth century. Its reasons for falling out of fashion were likely connected to changing hairstyles and necklines.
[502] For example see Royal Collection Trust: RCIN 404420, RCIN 405322. National Gallery, UK, NG1172. Louvre: INV 1236.

weeps two tears of gold enamel. This mourning pendant effectively references three parts of the body combined into one—the heart and the eye represented, and hair, materially present. These pendants fittingly convey the possibilities represented in this object's form, and the dual use of these affective tokens as representative of materialising living relationships and sexual partnership, as well as their use in memorialising and mourning the deceased. According to the Harley Foundation, both of these belonged to Elizabeth Cavendish (*née* Basset), who is notably depicted in a 1624 portrait by Daniel Mytens (Fig. 6.10) wearing a hair lock earring in the form of a long light-coloured curl set in a pendant of a crowned heart.[503] It has been suggested that the artist intended to depict this specific jewel, and this pendant is reported to contain the hair of her second husband William Cavendish.[504] While hearts or crowned hearts are a more typical setting for love-locks, signifying loyalty and love, the second ear pendant is more unusual.[505] It is clearly a mourning and memorial object, and its inscription in white enamel on the reverse confirms this. It reads 'MY DEARE MOTHER IN […] LAWES HEARE OF 56 YER OLD'.[506] Elizabeth Cavendish's mother-in-law Catherine Ogle was an important matriarch in the family. Catherine Ogle petitioned and successfully inherited the baronetcy of her father in her own right, an unusual outcome in a system that relied upon primogeniture inheritance, thus adding greatly to the estate of her eldest son and his wife.[507] In life, Ogle and her family were patrons of the poet Ben Jonson, who wrote a glowing epitaph to her, referring to her as 'magnetic'. He nods to her triumph in ascending the baronetcy:

> Her soul possessed her flesh's state

[503] Murray 1894, 103.
[504] Wildgoose 2022. Harley Foundation, 'Memorial Jewellery', 2022.
[505] See Appendix II: 2.154, 2.165-8; Table 11.
[506] Harley Foundation, 'Memorial Jewellery', 2022.
[507] Clay 1913, 155. British Library, 1628, Harleian MSS. 7609, 148.

In fair freehold, not an inmate;

And when the flesh, here, shut up day,

Fame's heat upon the grave did stay[508]

Though Catherine Ogle died April 18, 1629, in the year after she received her formal Letters Patent declaring her Baroness, her title and wealth descended through her eldest son and his wife, William and Elizabeth Cavendish, rendering her a significant familial link to be represented and memorialised in this pendant by her daughter-in-law.[509] The exact date of Catherine Ogle's birth is unverified, so it is unclear if this token was taken in life and made into a pendant after her death, or if the hair pendant was fashioned in year of her death. Elizabeth Cavendish seems to have been fond of collecting hair tokens, and in addition to these two hair pendants she also owned a hair-lace bracelet of a foliate design, made from her own mother's hair, Judith Basset.[510] It is noteworthy that the hair from the two Portland Collection pendants has been clipped and possess blunt ends, differing to the other hair pendants and those depicted and worn in portraits. These have been trimmed at a later date to the time of their creation, further fragmenting the hair token, perhaps to be included or set on other jewellery objects, or retained as a keep-sake.

The two enamelled parts of the pendants in the collection of Ham House are also of varying colour and style. The first is a red, enamel, heart-shaped pendant set with a similarly heart-shaped opening set with crystal or glass, while the other is a crowned heart of black enamel with accents of green, blue, and red (Appendix II: 2.167-8, Figs. 6.4-5). According to tradition,

---

[508] Jonson 1629. Epitaph of Katherine, Lady Ogle 1629, British Library, Harley MS 4955, 55r. The 'Epitaph on Catherine Ogle' (d. 1629) was a piece of occasional poetry initially intended for a highly specific, elite, restricted audience: the family and friends of its subject.
[509] Clay 1913, 155.
[510] Hammons 2010, 37.

these are both commemorative pendants containing the hair of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex who was executed in 1601 for mounting a coup against Elizabeth I.[511] It is said these locks were taken before his death on the scaffold.[512] If true, this would indicate the collection of interpersonal and familial 'relics' at secular executions, prior to the execution of Charles I. The pendants were owned by the Earl's daughter, Frances, Duchess of Somerset, who indeed appears in a c.1640 portrait wearing a red heart-shaped pendant earring set with a long curling lock of hair (Fig. 6.11).[513] Like Elizabeth Cavendish's portrait, Frances wears a pendant with a much longer, darker curl of hair in comparison to the hair that survives in the present-day objects. These hair pendants are reported to have been passed down through the female line to Frances's three-times great-granddaughter Lady Grace Carteret, Countess of Dysart (1713-1755), who brought them with her to Ham House upon her marriage to the 4th Earl of Dysart.[514] The provenances and material of both the pendants of Ham House and the Portland Collection highlight the use of these objects not only as romantic tokens, but as filial memorial devices, and their important role as female heirlooms re-asserting family ties and women's connections across generations.

Of the last two hair-set earring pendants here discussed, one is an object in the collection of the London Museum (Appendix II: 2.154, Fig. 6.6) and the other a recorded image of a hair-set pendant in an 1890 illustrated book of Stuart 'relics' (Fig. 6.7). Both are purported to be set with the hair of Charles I. The former is the simplest of the ear-pendant designs in this study: a red enamelled heart that still retains an additional gold attachment loop from its former setting.

---

[511] National Trust, 'Hair', NT 1140215.1-2.
[512] Ibid.
[513] This is based on a painted portrait by Anthony van Dyck where Frances also wears the hair earring pendant. It is a mourning portrait and she is depicted in a black silk mourning dress shown with eyes red and swollen, presumably from weeping. While the lock of hair from the pendant is clearly visible in this painting, the enamelled part is only a shadow within her own hair, perhaps even painted over at a later date. Sotheby's 2014.
[514] Ibid.

The object was bequeathed to the London Museum in 1947 by a member of the Creyke family with what has been described as a 'circumstantial' provenance.[515] It is alleged to have been given by Queen Henrietta Maria to her page Ralph Creyke and preserved in the Creyke family line since.[516] The other pendant (Fig. 6.7), a record of an object rather than an actual object, displays a gold hoop connected to an inverted red heart pendant with what appears to be a colourless stone set centrally. A large lock of chestnut hair emanates from the hollow pendant and has been tied twice with red thread and placed on a piece of paper or parchment, ostensibly to protect and preserve it. This belonged to the Hon. Mrs. Eycke, and was also exhibited at the London Stuart Exhibition of 1889, which displayed 'relic' and memorabilia of many Stuart royals.[517] Despite the Catholic identity of Stuarts like Mary, Queen of Scots, these historic figures inspired keen interest in later years, probably due in part to the fact that Queen Victoria traced her own royal lineage through the Stuart line.[518]

One of the earliest Stuart-era depictions of a love-lock earring can be observed in the portrait miniature of William Lord Compton (1568-1630), first Earl of Northampton (Fig. 6.12, c.1600) where he cuts a figure as a dashing courtly knight perhaps wearing a 'ladies' favour' in his ear.[519] This is a gold hoop, from which hangs another interlocked hoop, connected to a red inverted heart pendant out of which extends a waving, curling lock of light brown hair. The portrait miniature itself is contained in a black cloisonné enamel hinged case. The front cover of the miniature case is no longer attached, and was probably removed to be sold, pawned, or reset

[515] Dicks 2010, 14.
[516] Dicks 2010, 14. Gere, 1991, 43-45, 121, fig. 5.5, cat. no. 267.
[517] Hope and Gibb 1890, plate X. Grueber, Jenner and Ward, 1889, 96, cat. no. 446.
[518] Betts 2025, 1-27. Lang 1995. Hope and Gibb 1890.
[519] He was styled Sir William Compton, Baron Compton from 1589-1618, after which he was created Earl of Northampton.

and fashioned into a different jewellery object.[520] At the time it was painted, Compton was around twenty-one years old, and an athletic, energetic, and theatrical courtier who competed in tilting tournaments staged for the royal court. Not known for thrift, he was laden with mortgages and thousands of pounds of debt by 1599.[521] This is exemplified by the extravagance of the expensive suit of armour he wears in the portrait, which was a bespoke commission he actually owned in life.[522] Lacking funds, he pursued the daughter of a rich London Alderman through a tempestuous courtship, and against the wishes of her disapproving and wealthy father.[523] Compton married his wife Elizbeth Spencer in 1599 or 1600. It is entirely possible that this miniature pendant, and the real hair-lock earring pendant it depicts, contributed to the courtship that won him her hand, functioning as image-objects that presented him as a heroic, chivalric knight.

Another intriguing hair token earring can be observed in the ear of Anne Vavasour, depicted in a portrait on a very different scale (Fig 6.13, c.1605). Here, she wears an artfully knotted earring of hair woven with pearls in her grand, life-size, painted portrait. Similar to William Compton, Anne Vavasour entered relationships that could be the subject of courtly gossip or criticisim amongst her contemporaries.[524] As a Maid of Honour to Elizabeth I, she surprised the court when she gave birth to the illegitimate son of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of

---

[520] This portrait miniature has been recorded in the following catalogues: Reynolds 1999, 46. Cust 1910, supplement 15. Holmes 1881, 2.iii; 1870, 2.A.3.
The subject was initially thought to be James I, but has since been identified as Sir William Compton based on his unique suit of armor, which is documented by the Royal Greenwich Workshop. The artist has also been a point of scholarly debate and has been ascribed in the past to Nicholas Hilliard, Isaac Oliver, and more recently Sir James Palmer and Edward Norgate. RCT: RCIN 420895.
[521] Stone 1961, 50.
[522] HMC Report 1904, 259-63. The identification of Compton was based on documentation of the custom suit of armour he wears in the image.
[523] Stone 1961, 48-55.
[524] Hammons 2010, 89. Stone 1961, 50.

Oxford in the Maiden's Chamber.[525] Both were banished to the Tower of London for a time, and her male relatives clashed with the Earl throughout the streets of London in deadly duels. [526] Around 1590, Vavasour wed a sea captain (likely for appearances sake) and about the same time became the mistress to the widower Sir Henry Lee.[527] She had another son by Lee, and became his partner until his death in 1611, living openly with him at his manor.[528] The portrait, created during this time, is part of a pair and was displayed alongside a portrait of Lee in the full courtly regalia of his baronetcy. Certainly, the portraits seek to legitimise the couple as partners and establish them as Master and Mistress of the space within which they were hung, despite any legal or moral barriers to their illegitimate union. The elaborate chain of looped hair she wears is almost identical in hue to her own hair, in contrast to the greying colour of Lee's in his corresponding portrait. It is possible the hair is from her sons, other family members, or from her own head. If it is made from her own hair, the pearls—which seem to be threaded with silver, or possibly grey hair—might in fact represent her hair intricately intertwined and richly combined with Lee's. The symbolic display of their hair tokens entwined and linked together would be a fitting message of their unity, contained within these large-scale manifestations of self-fashioning and self-representation. If this hair earring indeed represents her own hair, the pearls wrapped around this hair earring body-object would further mirror the bejewelling and be-decking of her own body, presented as *thing.* Within the painting, her body more or less functions as the heavily-laden medium for the display of precious pearls and jewels of many kinds as well as feathers, silk bows, and lace: all kinds of material wealth and grandeur.

[525] Chambers 1936, 155-156.
[526] Bell 1998, 80-3. Chambers 1936, 155-6.
[527] Davidson 2011, 78-79.
[528] Colbert 2016, 129-130.

The portrait of Frances Devereux reveals why this type of earring may have gone out of style and faded from more regular or formal use and wear (Fig. 6.11). The great, white, starched ruffs of the earlier seventeenth century, along with the high-piled hairstyles in the case of high-status women, provided a dramatic backdrop and frame for the earring to be displayed alongside the subject's face in isolation from the rest of the body. While Frances Devereaux wears her hair in the current and symmetrical fashion of curls on either side of the face with a more natural neckline instead of a ruff, the artist has had to move the earring much further down the right side of her face to the base of her neck, in contradiction to natural proportions. This allows Frances to accommodate and display both her hair-token as well as her coiffure and large pear-shaped pearl earrings. Though many of these emotive and deeply intimate hair pendants may have been lost over time, the details of portraits provide a source of evidence as to the object's relationship and presentation as a fragment of a body, alongside the body that it adorned.

In the poetry of the period, lover's hair was often likened to Cupid's piercing darts—a connection vividly embodied in the portrait of Anne Wortley, later Lady Morton (Fig. 6.14, 1620), who wears a hair-lock pendant shaped as a crowned heart pierced by a delicate gold arrow. Other popular metaphors and literary devices refer to hair as nets or chains and a double meaning was often placed upon the word 'lock'. A reference to a love-lock earring can be found in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing,* where the comedic and bumbling Dogberry reports that, 'They say he wears a key in his ear and a lock hanging by it'.[529] The 'lock and key' of this love-lock carries with it its own set of romantic and sexual overtones. Henry Bold's 1664 poem similarly plays on this theme:

> *Come! let thy* locks *(whose every* Hair
> *A willing* Lover *doth ensnare)*

[529] Shakespeare, Act V sc. 2, 303-304.

Fetter my Soul *in those soft* Chaines*,*
Where Beauty *link't with* Love*, remains!*[530]

It is possible that this poem references a lover's acceptance and wearing of a love-lock earring or other such hair token. The phrase '*Beauty* link't with *Love*' may serve to flatter the subject of the poem as the beauty to which the love token, and the lover himself, has become attached. Another poem declares:

Sweet nets, which doe all Hearts enchaine,
Strings, deadly strings, with which Love bends his
bows:
How are ye hither come? Tell me, O hair!
Dear armelet, for what thus were ye given
I know, a badge of bondage I you wear... '[531]

The comparison of hair tokens to chains or links is further underlined in the form of some of the depicted hair pendant earrings, which employ elaborate braiding and knotting to achieve an effect that renders the hair itself as a series of interlocked links, as in the portraits of Lady Margaret Livingstone, Anne Vavasour, and in a portrait by Cornelis Janssens van Ceulen (Figs. 6.9, 6.13, 6.15). In Lady Margaret Livingstone's portrait, two strands (or braided strands) of hair have been tied into elaborate interlocking consecutive 'love-knot' chains. Ornate knots of hair set into brooches, slides and rings can also be found in this period, such as the brooch thought to contain the hair of Elias Ashmole (d. 1692).[532] Like chains and locks, knots are a form that fasten

[530] Bold 1664, *Poems Lyrique Macaronique Heroique,&c.* This is an excerpt of the poem 'Upon the Tiring of a Lady'. Bold's poetry, published in print, participated in a wider post-Restoration print culture that targeted a Royalist and gentry audience. The poem's tone is one of light social satire, particularly with its hyperbolic praise of hair. Koscak 2020.
[531] Drummond 1790, 50.
[532] Elias Ashmole was the founder of the Ashmolean Museum. Appendix II: 2.146. See also V&A: 1110-1864.

and bind, and are important and ancient devices. They are symbolic of the joining of two bodies in physical or spiritual union, or of a binding promise made. As important symbols of connecting relationships, knots figure prominently within the iconography of familial heraldry as well as the corpus of the cultural material of courtship gift-giving.[533]

Earrings were not the only manner in which hair-set pendants could be worn. In the 1635 great tableaux portrait *Sir Thomas Aston at the Deathbed of this Wife* (Fig. 6.16), all of the figures are in black silk mourning attire. Thomas Aston, centre-left, wears a hair pendant strung through a broad, black silk sash worn across his body. This pendant is heart-shaped, framing a skull or 'death's head' below which hangs a pear drop and a blonde curl. It has been suggested the female mourner in the bottom-right corner represents his wife in life. Scholarhsip on John Souch has remarked that his work recalls the family imagery on tombs and church monuments, where it was typical to depict scenes of birth and death, as well as the deceased and living within the same image.[534] Pinned to the woman's gown with a small black bow on the right side of her breast is another hair-set pendant, this one with a lock of brown, rather than bright blonde hair. Not only does this provide us with a view of how these objects were worn, it also allows us to visualise them in the spaces they were worn and as parts of dress, in this case brightly punctuating otherwise entirely black and white mourning garb. In terms of who each lock of hair belongs to, the light blonde is most likely that of the deceased infant son, whose empty cradle Thomas Aston stands next to. Children's hair is typically lighter in infancy and youth, as his surviving son in the bottom left corner of the painting demonstrates. Then whose hair does the

[533] For heraldic knots see Eve 1907, 278-279. Parker 1894, 132-134. Knots figure commonly on other rings that do not function as special containing objects in the early modern period, including on the 'fede' style ring. For example, see PAS: LIN-84E855, DUR-CC57A4, LVPL-ACFEEB, BERK-7BCFFC, NMS-2C5DA4. BM: AF1397. V&A: 927-1871.
[534] Steer 2002, 46-47.

woman wear? It could be her husband's, but set with the black ribbon against her mourning clothes, it is clearly framed within the context of grief, memory, and mourning. Other possibilities include hair of one of the other of her children who died young (none of the four ultimately survived childhood). Or, the lock could be a reference to her own hair as a body-object created from her deceased body, itself depicted in the bed.[535]

Text included throughout the portrait indicates the heightened emotional state of sorrow that these pendants were contextualised within in their life as active, worn objects. The young son, Thomas, gestures to a message scrawled on the wood of the cross he grasps which reads, 'The seas can be defined, the earth can be measured, grief is immeasurable'. This cross-staff was an early tool used in surveying and navigation and was employed by measuring the angle between the horizon and a celestial body. In tandem with the Christological symbolism of its cruciform shape, this is a potent object and symbol of looking to heaven for guidance, as well as the transitory connection between heaven and earth—this world and the next—which is also exemplified by the cradle and the deathbed, situated in a parallel manner in the painting. To the left of Sir Aston is another Latin message which can be translated 'The griefs of death surround me; in the year of grief September 30, 1635, aged 35.' Here, Sir Aston indicates that he measures the world, as well as time, by grief, and that his emotional state is presented and all-encompassed by this sentiment. For Sir Aston, and others who wore love-lock pendants, the container objects could materialise inner emotional states and memories outwardly, throught the physical remnants of their loved ones. In this way, the act of containing a material performed by the object mirrors the process through which the whole object serves as a containing site for memory and emotion.

[535] Why this differs in hair tone from the figure in the bottom right is less clear, however, I suggest this may indicate a difference in the state of the bodies and the timescapes that that they occupy.

Date	Subject/Sitter	Artist	Materials	Collection	Accession Number
1600	Sir William Compton	Unknown artist	watercolour on vellum in a black cloisonné locket	Royal Collection Trust	RCIN 420895
1605	Anne Vavasour	John de Critz	oil on canvas	Collection of the Armourers and Brasiers of the City of London	Not listed
1613	Princess Elizabeth Stuart, later Queen of Bohemia and Electress Palatine	Unknown artist	oil on panel	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 5529
1620	Anne Wortley, Later Lady Morton	Paul van Somer	oil on canvas	Tate	T03033
c.1623	Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia and Electress Palatine	Studio of Michiel Jansz van Miereveldt	oil on panel	National Portrait Gallery	NPG 71
1624	Elizabeth Cavendish (née Basset)	Daniel Mytens	oil on canvas	Portland Collection	cat. no. 364
1624	Unknown, Perhaps Elizabeth Sedley (née Savile)	Cornelis Janssens van Ceulen (Cornelius Johnson)	oil on panel	Royal Collection Trust	RCIN 402978
1625	Lady Margaret Livingstone, 2nd Countess of Wigtown	Adam de Colone	oil on canvas	Tate	T13440
1626	Lady Mary Erskine, Countess Marischal	George Jamesone	oil on canvas	National Gallery of Scotland	NG 958
1631	Sir Thomas Hanmer	Cornelis Janssens van Ceulen (Cornelius Johnson)	oil on canvas	National Museum of Wales	NMW A 40
1632	Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, and Countess of Somerset	Attributed to Paul van Somer	oil on canvas	Portland Collection	cat. no. 330
1635	Sir Thomas Aston and Family	John Souch	oil on canvas	Manchester Art Gallery	1927.15
c.1640	Lady Frances Deveraux	After Anthony van Dyck	oil on canvas	National Trust	NT 1175931

Table 6 British Portrait Paintings with Hair Lock Earring Pendants (1600-c.1640)

6.4 Rings, Pendants, and Slides (c.1649-1700)

Hair-set jewellery used in mourning was not limited to the cut locks displayed in the portraiture of the seventeenth century; hair could also be transformed and incorporated into rings, slides, and pendants, where they were better-protected to stand the test of time. Although only five surviving English pendants are known to contain freely set locks of hair (Appendix II: 2.165–8; 2.154; Figs. 6.2-6), many additional pendants and slides recorded in Appendix II incorporate hair enclosed within their bands or set behind crystal or glass. This speaks both to the increased durability of these forms of hair-set container jewellery, which incorporates fuller encasement, as well as their more widespread popularity and ownership in the latter half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

6.4.a Rings with Hair Set into the Band

A silver-gilt ring in the collection of the V&A has been described as the earliest English memorial ring (Appendix I: 1.57, Fig. 6.17).[536] The exterior of this ring is ornamented with a heart between two stylised skulls and is engraved with the Latinised name 'Iohes godefroy' next to a cross icon. The use of blackletter font suggests an earlier date for this ring, as Roman serif and italic fonts predominantly replaced this style on jewellery objects in the early modern period.[537] The construction of the ring is unusual. It appears to be made out of two strips of metal, which have been soldered together to form a D-shaped hoop, but it also has two vertical seams (particularly visible on the interior of the ring) which divide the ring into two semi-circular parts. A hollow form of this construction would be conducive to the incorporation of a special material deposit for which hair could be suitable. The novelty of including a name would

[536] Oman 1993, 110, cat. no. 718. Ward et al. 1981, 82, cat. no. 188. Oman 1974, cat. no. 85a.
[537] Nehama 2012, 15.

suggest that it was a special, custom-made object, and a hollow form would be a further deviation from the more typical methods of fashioning rings in the late medieval period, which included hammering and soldering a strip of metal into a shank, often thinner, flatter, and solid.[538]

Elaborate, openwork rings made to contain hair appear more widely in the seventeenth century as part of a growing material mourning culture that both embraced the distribution of mourning rings, and in which hair and other personal materials were becoming more of a mainstay for the memorialisation of close relations.[539] The openwork form that contained hair in the band of the ring was less common than those that had hair displayed and set into the bezels, and there are only seven of these seventeenth-century openwork rings included in Appendix II.[540] The colour and texture of hair was significant to understanding the identity of the person remembered (as discussed in Sec. 6.3) and some containers potentially reference this in their design and form. One such openwork ring, found in Staffordshire, is engraved with swathes of wheat ears (Appendix II: 2.61, Figs. 6.18a,b).

The use of the wheat on the gold ring also alludes to the identity of a person who died young, or was 'cut down' in their youth, as wheat typically symbolised new growth, abundance, and fertility. Ploydore Vergil, a papal diplomat living between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, describes English brides wearing garlands of wheat on their heads or carrying small sheaves of wheat in place of flower nosegays.[541] The wheat field throughout the seasons was understood as a symbol of the life cycle, and the cutting down of wheat was equated with death,

[538] Ogden 1994, 173-175.
[539] On openwork hair rings: Hindman 2014, 193. Church 2011, 46. Llewellyn 1997, 95-96. Oman 1974, 41. Evans 1931, 84.
[540] Openwork rings: Appendix II: 2.14, 2.57, 2.61, 2.100, 2.102, 2.110, 2.111, 2.115, 2.161.
[541] Gere 1991, 42. Legg 1905, 186-188.

as is paralleled and presented in the 1635 emblem book of George Wither (Fig. 6.19). The wheat is also indicative of the personification of death or time as 'the reaper' wielding a scythe. Evidence for this association can be found in other contemporaneous objects such as a gold and enamel toothpick in the form of a white arm holding a scythe, topped with a gold skull (c.1630-1660, Fig. 6.20).[542] The choice of wheat as a motif on the openwork ring from Staffordshire could suggest the appearance of what was once held inside. The golden wheat ears may be a reference to a blonde, braided hair lock that was once held inside. The form as well as the text frames its former interior contents a jewel and precious material. The exterior of the ring includes four lozenge-shaped openings resembling those similar to cut gemstone settings of the period. Rather than gemstones, these would have served as windows to frame and present the hair as the jewel within. The interior band of the ring is inscribed, 'Death hath Supris'd my Chiefest Jewell T.H.'. The use of the word 'surprised' indicates that this was made in remembrance of someone who died young or unexpectedly.

The seventeenth-century papers of the Verney squires of Middle Claydon in Buckinghamshire further documents and elaborates the emotional resonance of these kinds of objects and their material presence. When Mary and Ralph Verney's daughter Anna Maria died at age four in 1638 they distributed hair tokens to their relations. Ralph wrote to his brother 'You shall herewithal receive a ringe filled with my deare gerle's haire; shee was fond of you, and you loved her therefore I now send you this to keepe for her sake'.[543] When their other daughter Margaret, fondly known as 'Peg', died at age eight in 1647 Mary wrote to Ralph 'if you have enough of my deare girles haire to make braceletts I know you could nott send a more acceptable

[542] V&A: M.32-1960.
[543] Verney and Verney 1892 vol. 2, 9.

thing then every one of your sisters a bracelet'.[544] The emotions behind these objects, felt by the parents and relatives, is movingly expressed. Of young Peg, her father Ralph waxes:

> *I ever concealed what passion I had for her… lest our over fondnesse should spoyle her, or make the others jellous; but I must needes say, I loved her at least equall too (if not above) any childe I had, and truly she deserved it, for there was never a better, more patient Babby borne. Till now I never knew what a griefe it was to part with a childe.*[545]

Sadly, as these excerpts, Sir Thomas Aston's portrait, and other jewels dedicated to small children testify, infant mortality was high in this age, and it is estimated that nearly a quarter of early modern children in England died before they reached the age of 10.[546] Hair tokens and hair jewellery were common and emotionally-charged mementoes to those who died in infancy.[547]

Another ring recorded by the PAS (c.1625–1675; Appendix II: 2.57) and found in Worcestershire has retained fragments of hair within its band, demonstrating the form's capacity to both protect and reveal its interior contents over time. This was made out of two cast parts, an interior and an exterior pierced, engraved, D-shaped band, which have been soldered together. The openwork band extends only 2mm from the internal band, which demonstrates how rings did not have to be significantly larger or bulkier to accommodate hair as an interior material. One of the most well-known examples of the openwork hair ring is held in the V&A and commemorates a Samuel Nicholets (Appendix II: 2.84, Fig. 6.21). Its elaborate openwork exterior displays enamelling that has survived very well and its iconographic programme includes a skull and crossed bones as well as two coats of arms. The interior reads in the typical

---

[544] Verney and Verney 1892 vol. 2, 316.
[545] Verney and Verney 1892 vol. 2, 316.
[546] Capp 2018, 13. Stone 1979, 54-66.
[547] For early modern British rings commemorating children aged between eight months and nine years see BM, AF.1648. PAS, BH-4B0E12; NMGW-6DAA23. V&A, M.28-2006; M.351-1927; M.373-1923. On early modern child memorialization see Phillippy 2016, 17-37.

seventeenth-century italic ‘Samuell Nicholets obijt 17 July 1661 Christ is my portion’. It is one of the few surviving openwork hair rings to include a named individual. Another is dedicated to Henry Hammond (Appendix II: 2.161, Fig. 6.22), personal chaplain to Charles I, and which reflects a typical kind of ring with an engraved oblong skull on the band, a style which remained popular as a mourning ring from c.1660-1730.[548]

In considering the significance of this form, wherein the hair wraps around the finger, the power of the ring as an encircling, endless, symbol of eternity is amplified. Its prominent use as an object which socially and symbolically binds two bodies together in the rites of marriage underlines its use as tool for the sustained connection of two individuals in separation of physical distance or death. The wrapping of hair around the finger, like wearing the hair-token as an earring, enmeshes two bodies, draws them into proximity, and calls to attention bodily presence through fragmentation and absence.

6.4.b Behind Rock Crystal or Glass

This type of jewellery includes rings, pendants, slides, or other objects like buckles that possess bezels set with rock crystal or glass. Often, these have visible contents held below their colourless stone settings, such as woven hair or textile. Many major museums have not identified or do not definitively specify in their collections catalogues whether these types of items are set with rock crystal or glass.[549] It is not likely that lead-crystal glass was used in these objects, as

[548] Most rings of this design were not openwork or container-type rings. For a later dated example of this style see PAS: OXON-FF5C2D (1730).

[549] While large-scale material identification is beyond the scope of this study, these materials could be initially differentiated through microscopic inspection by a trained eye or with non-invasive tools used by gemologists, such as a polariscope. Methods like Raman spectroscopy or X-ray fluorescence (XRF) can provide more definitive results, but they also require access to more costly equipment. Maestro-Guijarro et al. 2025, 277-87. Jin and Smith 2024, 518-35. Shigley 2024, 443-55.

late-seventeenth century English manufacturing issues rendered the material unsuitable for small faceted gemstone settings.[550] Common attributes of this type of jewellery may include black enamelled folate-patterned bands, gold wire initials or 'ciphers' laid over hair, silk, or foil, as well as the inclusion of small painted or enamelled figures such as skeletons, hearts, or putti.

Rings of this kind are generally dated c.1690-1720—an attribution that relies in part on the analysis of O.M. Dalton's 1912 publication, and his cataloguing of the bequest made by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks to the British Museum (cat. nos.1495-1527).[551] This date range may also have been influenced by Harold Clifford Smith's estimation of this specific type of ornament spanning the reign of Charles II to the last reigning Stuart monarch, Queen Anne c.1685-1714.[552] The date range was slightly amended by Charles Oman who proposes c.1685-1721, working more from the collections of the V&A, which he catalogued.[553] This date range generally holds true for an estimation of when rings of this type of ring set with hair were at their height of popularity. However, it should be noted that the creation of rings set with hair, wire initials, and/or other figures like skulls or skeletons behind transparent stone settings extended into the latter half of the eighteenth century. In 1752 a ring containing a gold wire cipher set below a colourless stone was dedicated to a Roger Franks, and in 1766 a hair-set mourning ring beneath an octagonal colourless stone was crafted in memory of an Elizabeth Wild who died on February 7th, 1766 at the age of 65.[554] Likewise in Samuel Richardson's novel *Clarissa,*

---

[550] George Ravenscroft is historically recognised for developing and introducing lead-crystal glass in the 1670's in England. However, this was initially used for tableware, not gemstone settings. Early production issues like 'crizzling' rendered it unsuitable for use in jewellery settings. Further development of this material allowed its use in jewellery by the mid-eighteenth century. Rasche 2018, 63-70. Noble 2016, 185-95. Dungworth and Brain 2009, 111-37. MacLeod 1987, 776-803. Charleston 1968, 156-67.
[551] Dalton 1912, 207.
[552] Smith 1908, 368.
[553] Oman 1946,71-73.
[554] British Museum: AF.1702, AF1674. The scope of this study is limited to the seventeenth century, and therefore does not represent a significant foray and investigation into eighteenth-century material. However, it is still useful to establish that this type of glass or rock crystal-set container jewellery did extend in its creation and use to later dates.

published in 1748, the heroine instructs rings to be given in her memory of this kind, 'with the cipher CL.H with my hair in crystal and round the inside of each, the day, month and year of my death, each ring with the brilliants to cost 20 guineas'.[555]

The fashion for rock crystal or glass-set container jewellery emerged around the time of Charles II's death and the mourning that followed in 1685, though its origins can be traced earlier to the death of his father, Charles I, and the material mourning culture associated with it (see Chapter 5). It is Charles I's death and execution that jewellery scholars often cite as an important inspiration and source of influence for a more widespread popular practice of wearing tokens of hair of their loved-ones within reliquary-like mourning jewellery.[556] One ring that provides evidence for this close connection between Charles I and hair token 'relics' or mementoes made by families for non-royals is the openwork hair ring that commemorates royal chaplain to Charles I, Henry Hammond, who died in 1660 (Appendix II: 2.161, Fig. 6.22).[557] Hammond's ring features a skull motif as part of its openwork exterior design, with his name and date of death engraved on the interior. Many other mourning rings followed in the style and suit of Charles I memorial tokens as with those engraved with the phrase 'Prepared be to follow me' a phrase found on lockets dedicated to Charles I, demonstrating the influence of the 'Martyr King' on the material culture of mourning for a broader, more general populace.[558]

After the restoration of Charles II in 1660, there was a more public display of Charles I mourning jewellery material (see Sec. 5.3).[559] During the Interregnum (1649-1660), jewellery

---

[555] Oliver 2010, 35-60. These would have been costly mementoes in their day. In 1750, 20 guineas (or £21) would have been worth an approximate equivalent value of three horses or 210 days of skilled labour. The National Archives, Currency Converter: 1270-2017.
[556] Middlemass 2018, 88-117. Nehama 2012, 14. Luthi 1998, 4. Becker 1987, 84.
[557] Christies, November 19, 2009, Auction 5896, lot 83. This ring is part of a lot that included later hairwork rings of other members of the Hammond family.
[558] For examples engraved with this phrase see PAS: ESS-CFFF26 (1667), NCL-E32C71 (1680), CAM-5E4296. On Charles I pendants see Sec. 5.3.
[559] Nehama 2012, 14.

pieces dedicated to mourning Charles I had to be covert, very small, or contained, in order to avoid attracting attention during the Commonwealth.[560] However, at the Restoration (1660), Charles II invested in revitalising and restoring the memory of his father as a righteous king and martyr. He declared the day of his father's execution a day of national mourning, and had a special service added to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.[561] Some jewellery objects paired the image of Charles I alongside Charles II, and wearing sentimental pieces of jewellery dedicated to the executed king was looked on favourably by Charles II and within court circles.[562] While the design and forms of objects dedicated to Charles I emphasised secrecy and containment between 1649-1660, display and visibility by contrast would have been more valued in the post-1660 Restoration period.[563] Many rings with the portrait of Charles I proudly displayed on the exterior are dated to the post-1660 Restoration era, and even as late as the eighteenth century these portrait-rings continued to be worn and adopted by supporters for a return to Stuart rule.[564] The mourning ring set with hair was still considered a novel style to be used in dedication to wealthy non-royal individuals around 1690 when Rear Admiral Sir John Chicheley's will specifies these should be made following his death referring to them as the 'new fashion'. [565]

Records of making and commissioning these objects reveals attitudes towards the material of hair as well as the re-use and adaptation of existing jewellery objects. In the National Archives (U.K.) today is a letter (c.1693-1710) from an Elizabeth Adams to a goldsmith containing a bundle of dark hair wrapped within, which was never returned to her.[566] She writes 'I beg you

---

[560] Bury 1985, 9. See examples of 'hidden' mourning jewellery for Charles I see BM: AF.1439, AF.2963. V&A: M.9-2015.
[561] Scarisbrick 1994, 189.
[562] See V&A: M.253-1975. A slide pendant with a double portrait of Charles I and Charles II. Scarisbrick 1994, 188-192.
[563] Scarisbrick 1994, 188. Smith 1908, 367-368.
[564] See V&A: M.207-1930, M.1-1909.
[565] Dalton 1912. TNA, PROB 11/501/376, Will of Sir John Chicheley. Emphasis is my own.
[566] C 104/197, COPE v. COPE: Papers. Iglikowski-Broad 2015.

this last favour…that you would take this diamond out of the Ring and make the most for me you can. I desier the Ring may have some of my Dear son Johns haire & a Christall in the Roome of the Diamond'.[567] Changing hair in the former place of a diamond speaks to the value of hair as personal material and the precious jewel-like identity attributed to it in its setting, similar to the likely conception of hair as 'Chiefest Jewell' in the openwork ring engraved with wheat (Appendix II: 2.61, Figs. 6.18a,b). There is also evidence that this type of ring setting was reused and reset to suit changing tastes and desires for owners of interpersonal, memorialising jewellery. A ring in the British Museum (Appendix II: 2.121, Fig. 6.23) is set with the painted image of an eye on a tiny roundel of paper or vellum below its rock crystal or glass bezel. The practice of wearing jewellery with a painted eye portrait of loved ones out of passion or mourning did not appear until the late eighteenth century, indicating that this is likely a later re-setting of a ring that could have been as old as one hundred years in age when it was altered.[568]

The woven or intricately knotted hair found within many glass or rock crystal-set objects is a significant form for this material to take, particularly in relation to its strong theoretical connection to ideas of memory, materiality, entanglement, and social relationships. Some instances, as I have proposed in the case of the portrait of Anne Vavasour (Fig. 6.13), demonstrate and document that the hair from two or more individuals could be 'knit' or entwined together in these hair token objects. In 1691, the seventeenth-century diarist Claver Morris documents a payment of 15s for a 'Locquet' containing the hair of both his daughter and his deceased wife.[569] The reverse of one surviving slide pendant is engraved 'My Father & My

[567] C 104/197, COPE v. COPE: Papers. Iglikowski-Broad 2015.
[568] Shushan 2021. Boettcher 2012. Grootenboer 2012.
[569] Hobhouse 1934, 148. In 1690 15s would be approximately equivalent to the value of one stone of wool or eight days of skilled labour. The National Archives, Currency Converter: 1270-2017.

Husband' and most likely combined hair from these two relations.[570] In 1667, a member of the Verney family bequeathed 'To my neece Nancy Nicholas my Haire Knot made with her father's and my husbands's haire'.[571] Similarly, another ring clearly displays light and dark hair woven together under the cipher initials T and H (Appendix II: 2.114, Fig. 6.24). The co-mingling of hair, whether through wearing a hair-lock earring amongst one's own hair, or weaving together the hair of two or more people to be kept within rings or slides, demonstrated that hair played a special role as a binding agent and proxy body material occupying a role of body-as-object and object-as-body, which continued to enact proximity and social relationships despite distance, death, or time.

Jewellery with ciphers and hair set beneath paste stones were not confined to the form of a ring, but could take the shape of many different accessories to dress such as cufflinks, buckles, buttons, or clasps. Claver Morris also records a payment for a pair of buttons set in gold containing his deceased wife's hair, along with the pendant previously mentioned, which together cost him £2 10s.[572] Also used were small decorative buckles, as with the one that memorialises Elizabeth Harman who died in 1698, aged 27 (Appendix II: 2.103, Fig. 6.25).[573] This style and form continued in use into the eighteenth century and were suitable for use as decorative shoe buckles, fastening the breeches knee band below the knee, or the hatband.[574] As a fastening device it is similar to the lock or knot as a motif. The buckle has a long history of symbolic appropriation of binding and promises, as with buckle rings which were popular from

[570] Luthi 1998, 4-6.
[571] Verney 1899 vol. iv, 180.
[572] Hobhouse 1934, 148. See also a similar form of crystal cufflinks: PAS, SUSS-E7F384. In 1690 £2 10s would have been approximately equivalent to one quarter of wheat or 27 days of skilled labour. The National Archives, Currency Converter: 1270-2017.
[573] Bury 1982, 85, cat. no. 15.
[574] Bury 1982, 85, cat. nos. 17,19. V&A: 1581-1902, M.136-1975. For jewelled seventeenth-century fastenings see Scarisbrick 1994, 216-217. Whitehead 1996, 96-115.

the medieval into the early modern period (and beyond).[575] Fashioning the memorialising rock crystal or glass-set articles into buckles, buttons, cufflinks, clasps, or any other binding and fastening parts of dress would have not only have stood out against otherwise dark mourning clothes, but would have the effect of keeping a part of the loved one tightly and securely to the body.

6.4.c Necklaces

Some of the most spectacular items of mourning jewellery from this period are necklaces made or re-worked from multiple slides and pendants that memorialise individuals, thus stringing together a collection of memorial objects dedicated to multiple people. These necklaces showcase the wide spectrum of designs in the period including different methods of braiding and weaving hair, and decorative motifs relating to death, dying, love, and memory such as skulls, skeletons, putti, and hourglasses. These necklaces are rare, and most reside in private collections; only two of this kind feature in the catalogue of this study (Appendix II: 2.171, 2.159, Figs. 6.26-7).[576] Inventories reveal ownership of these by the elite. For example, the Duchess of Marlborough owned one 'with sixteen collets, each with hair under the crystal and sixty brilliants set in the spacers between them'.[577] Significantly, these surround and position the wearer at the centre of a materially represented social web and network. An object of conspicuous display, this would have framed the wearer as a person who was socially valued and important enough to be remembered by numerous friends or relations who may have given these luxury items as

[575] Scarisbrick 1994, 221.
[576] Albion Art, 'Memorial Necklace'. Scarisbrick and Ohashi 2003, 66-67. Scarisbrick 1994, 196-200. Christie's 1989, 46-47, lot. 474.
[577] Scarisbrick 1994, 198.

expensive gifts or bequests. The physical sensation of wearing a linked chain made up of the materials of loved ones, encircling the neck, may have provided the wearer with feelings of sentimental comfort and closeness to the absent individuals represented, or afforded comfort through their protective representation of social embeddedness and material wealth.[578] The collecting and connecting of these objects together is significant. In the early modern period, intellectuals often likened memory to the collection of contents for 'Cabinets of Curiosities'.[579] Just as a collector placed intriguing specimens in the contained space of a cabinet to preserve, compile, or chronicle, a person could collect and link hair-set pendants in order to 'index' the identities of the memorialised subjects. In this way, the object could transform into a technology for the storage of memory and remains of the past. The collection of these pendants also has the potential to provide a reflective object biography, not only in the people they individually represent, but of the person who has collected them.

While some of the slides clearly reference death, or *memento mori*, others display hearts and cupids more closely associated with romantic love and affection. In particular, (Appendix II: 2.159, Fig. 6.27) displays a slide with two putti crowning a death's head, above a Queen Mary II (d.1694) portrait memorial pendant. Other slides in the necklace show emblems of a more romantic character such as two lovebirds at a nest with two sets of initials and a cupid holding a flaming heart.[580] These interpersonal sentiments are also reflected in two individual slides held in the V&A which display elaborate emblematic motifs (Appendix II: 2.90, 2.82, Figs. 6.28-9). In the former, two cupids proffer one another a flaming heart above the phrase 'Mine for Yours'. This emphasises the idea of exchange of self and the body in gift-giving, which is particularly

[578] This analysis draws on ideas of materiality, phenomenology, haptics, and the senses introduced in Sections 1.3.a, 1.3.c.
[579] Davies 2021, 227-54. Silver 2015. Kuwakino 2013, 303-24.
[580] Scarisbrick 1990, 58-60. Christie's 1989, 46.

materialised and enacted in an object like this that contains hair.[581] The latter object is a slide that clearly represents a memorial hair token, and in this object a skeleton reclines in a manner very similar to the attitude of many seventeenth-century memorial monuments found in church parishes. Marcia Pointon highlights that jewellery objects containing hair under colourless stones mimic the similar encasing effect of the museum, the mausoleum, or the tomb in miniature.[582]

6.5 Less Costly Love Tokens

Small silver amatory pendants, often heart-shaped and hand-engraved, can also be found in the seventeenth century, for example, the kind found in Martha Edlin's workbox described in Section 5.4, though less numerous than the surviving royalist container pendants dedicated to Charles I.[583] These pendants, which might also be referred to as lockets (see Sec. 1.1.c), often display posy phrases and some appear to clearly communicate romantic sentiment as with those stamped with a cupid and the phrase 'noe heart more true then mine to you', (Appendix II: 2.94, 2.106). In a slightly separate vein, a small silver heart-shaped container pendant appears to express sentiments of friendship, perhaps female friendship, or a gift from or to a woman, and is engraved with the phrase 'a frends gift' on one side, while the other is embossed with the profile image of a woman with the ringlet curls, a hairstyle popular during the reign of Charles II (Appendix II: 2.133, Figs. 6.30a,b). The off-centre embossed image of the woman and uneven engraved lines suggest that this was a more hastily made object created to some degree of mass-production, and available for purchase, ownership, or exchange by young people (like Martha Edlin), or less affluent members of society. Apart from these, other container pendants are more

[581] Mauss 1925.
[582] Pointon 2017, 39-57.
[583] McShane 2009, 876-877.

ambiguous in their meaning as with one embossed with a heart pierced by two arrows. This was a popular royalist motif, but also one used in the context of divine or romantic love, and its reverse is engraved *'yours to use'*, which does not clarify to whom this love and loyalty is offered.[584] It is important to emphasise the minute size of these, the former (Appendix II: 2.35) is only 16.2mm in length with a depth of 3.1mm (about 1.5cm in length), comparable to the area dimensions of a fingernail.

As to what they contained, they may have made an attractive and durable container for tiny rolled up love notes, or small tokens of hair. Unlike their more ornate, courtly counterparts, there is no evidence to demonstrate that personalised images of the beloved were used, and rather meaningful materials or words continued to be favoured, as in the medieval period (see Chapters 2-3). In comparison to openwork rings, or rings and pendants set with glass or rock crystal, very few of these maintain their original contents, as they were less permanently secure, but did allow more ease in the interchangeability of their interior contents. A rare example, one unadorned, unmarked, seventeenth-century silver, heart-shaped locket pendant was opened by its finder, and was observed to contain 'tightly rolled-up fragments of paper with ink still visible, along with human hair'.[585] These contents can be compared to a seventeenth-century container pendant engraved with a crucifixion on one side and the *agnus dei* on the other, which was identified by the finder to contain, 'a folded sheet of paper with much worn handwriting on it as well as small fragments of, possibly, bone'.[586] Given the abundance of evidence for hair as a material of courtship in this period, and the use of these heart lockets as amatory tokens, it is very likely that this was the purpose of the unmarked locket. However, the similarity between the contents of

[584] Lewis 2013, 1-8.
[585] Noon 2017.
[586] Boughton 2016.

these two pendants represents the meaningful fluidity between relics of saints and interpersonal relics, and the influence of the memory the former over the latter into the early modern period.

6.6 Summary

In the early modern period, the wearable container transformed and adapted into an object type that draws more prominently on the power of earthly affections, loyalties, and emotions within one's immediate social and civic spheres. This included the commemoration of a king, a recent martyr, family member, lover, or friend, as opposed to relationships between the owners and more distant saints (geographically, physically, and temporally) in the later medieval period. The influence of Charles I's death and the material culture of his commemoration remains key in its impact on early English memorial jewellery.

The rise of interest in interpersonal memorial and hair jewellery in the seventeenth century has often been attributed to what has been identified as 'a post-Reformation preoccupation with mortality' unique to seventeenth-century England due to its high death rates as a result of war and disasters like the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London.[587] However, were seventeenth-century people any more preoccupied with death than their medieval forebears? Medieval people who produced art of the *Danse Macabre,* bone and ivory Janus-faced death's head rosary beads, and erected transi-tombs, and chantry chapels, and recited the Office of the Dead were no less interested in the *ars moriendi* and considering and preparing for the 'good death' than their later counterparts.[588] Rather, I support an argument that the development, enshrinement, and exchange of these interpersonal objects represents an adaptation

[587] Nehama 2012, 16. Gere 1991, 43. Evans 1953.
[588] Kinch 2013. Saul 2009, 311-334. Daniell 1997.

of an interest in ritual and material in connection with the transitional life-passage of dying and death in the absence of the familiar Catholic church-sanctioned sacramentals. Ralph Houlbrooke in *Death, Religion, and the Family in England 1480-1750* writes, 'The gap left by the abolition of Catholic intercessory rites…as a means of expressing a personal sense of loss help(s) to explain the growth of private rites of commemoration and the increasing popularity of personal mementoes of the dead such as rings and lockets.'[589] The creation of hair jewellery and other memorial pieces no doubt served to maintain a connection and relationship with a community of the departed, something so valued in the prayers, material culture, and even geography of gravesites in the medieval period, and which is particularly evidenced in the creation and appearance of the kind of grand necklaces that link together slides set with hair of numerous relations, a veritable community and a connecting device between the living and the dead.[590]

As Donne quipped, and moralists fretted, the cult and religiosity of romantic love and personal memorialisation had eclipsed the late medieval cult of religious affective devotion in many ways. The Church now had less all-encompassing power over the populace and its social organisation, and the miracle plays staged by confraternities, personal Books of Hours, and the religious opulence and ornamentation of churches gave way to the prominence of secular wealth and sentimental or bawdy theatre, poems, ballads, and broadside media. In the late medieval period a person might have presented someone a ring with a religious text or image, like the Coventry ring, understood as a sentimental or memorial token, which could then be worn or added to their rosary, where they could remember to pray for the dead or departed. Following the 1534 severance with Rome, Reformation religious objects were discouraged or banned through their association with Catholicism, especially those that could be identified as religious

[589] Houlbrooke 2000, 254.
[590] Harkes 2024, 1-26. Geary 1994. Rollason 2011, 187-223.

reliquaries (see Chapter 4). English people were now freer than ever to engage in the creation of romantic and memorialising interpersonal tokens with little or no outward association to religion, but which still relied on medieval strategies of relics and reliquary-making. The early modern development of a sense of the individual and humanism, in relation to a less theist world-view, also made these objects socially permissible and desirable in England at this time. The use of personal pronouns engraved in many of these objects in phrases such as 'you' yours' 'mine' and 'our', privileges and emphasises the importance of the individual and their unique relationship, often in ironically more mass-produced objects, indicating a society-wide movement towards privileging the self and the personal experience of relationships, sentiments, senses, and emotion, something which may have been taught and absorbed through the Christological affective devotion of the later medieval period.

Hair is a socially malleable material for courtship and memorialisation through the early modern period and well into the Georgian and Victorian eras, increasing in diversity of form, elaborateness of designs, and accessibility to the wider populace as an incorporated component of jewellery. While hairwork and lockets earlier than the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have traditionally received less scholarly attention, this chapter has illuminated the most popular forms, their materiality, significance, as well as the lives of some of the named individuals who used, wore, or were transformed into them. Functioning as devices to materialise, represent, and ritualise the transitory life-stages of courtship, marriage, death, and dying, these deeply personal and memory-laden artefacts continuously reinforce the experience and ephemeral nature of human connection and feelings. The objects examined continue to survive and journey into the ages as relics to the past.

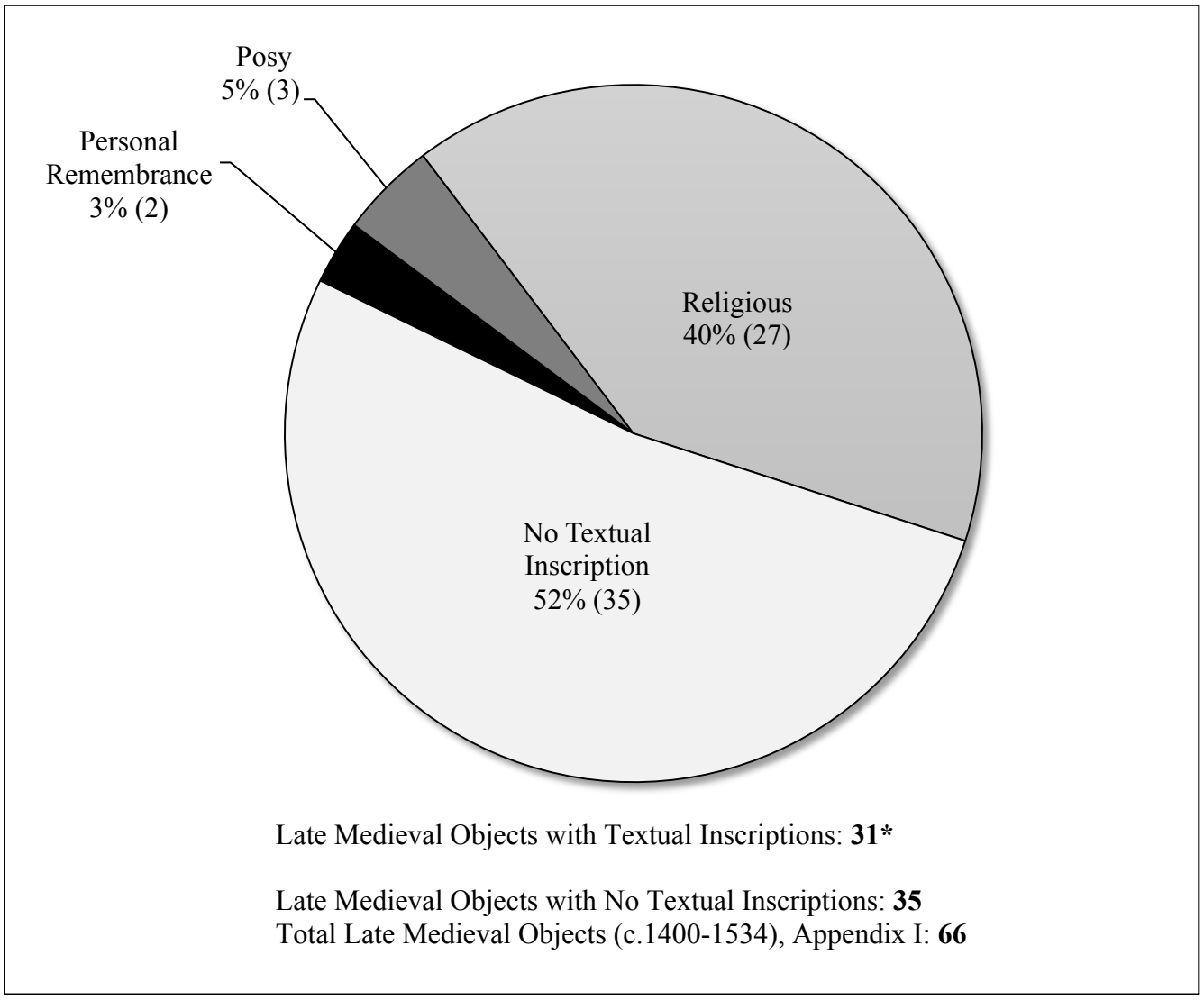
Chapter 7. Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Discussion: Container Jewellery, (c.1400-1700)

7.1.a Materialised Religion

The body of this research has traced some of the key themes and changes that container jewellery underwent in the transitional period between the medieval and early modern eras in England. Broadly, a shift occurs within the object type examined that illustrates a dis-entanglement of the materialisation and expression of religion and religious belief as an overarching and incorporative theme of everyday life in these portable possessions. In the objects themselves, this is evidenced in the overall changes in their iconography, textual inscriptions, and form before and after the 1534 English break with Rome (Appendices I and II). Of Appendix I: c.1400-1534, all of the objects bearing iconography, save one, display imagery explicitly linked to Christian religious belief including, most prominently, the *agnus dei* (Lamb of God), images of saints, or the crucifixion (Graph 1).[591] Textual inscriptions are also overwhelmingly religious in nature and include abbreviations for religious words, names, phrases, or prayers and including INRI, AVE, MA, IHC or IHS (Graph 5). Longer textual phrases also directly reference Christian belief and religion through the use of text drawn from the liturgy, Bible, as well as popular or personal prayers (Table 4). Where text is not explicitly religious in nature, as with posy phrases or an individual's name, these are either inscribed on a cross form, or a cross is included engraved alongside the text of the name (Table 4, Graph 5; Appendix I: 1.10, 1.34, 1.57), thus incorporating Christian religious reference through symbolism.

[591] This excludes depictions of flora (Graph 10). The outlier and exception to this is the recently recovered pendant bearing the entwined initials of Katherine of Aragon and Henry VIII, along with their symbols, the rose and pomegranate (Appendix I: 1.36).



Graph 4 Late Medieval Inscription by Type (c.1400-1534), Appendix I.[592]

Despite the fact that Christian religion is ubiquitously expressed through these late medieval objects, this does not necessarily mean the objects themselves only relied upon canonical Christian beliefs in their use, application, and frameworks of understanding. As Chapter 2 emphasises, these objects also drew on overlapping and entangled channels of power.

[592] One object has both an inscription of personal remembrance as well as religious one, Appendix I: 1.44. 'Personal Remembrance' is understood as the invocation of a named historic individual with a direct link to the object itself or its owner. See Appendix I: 1.44, 1.57; Table 10. For a definition of 'posy' see Sec. 4.1.

This includes the effective power of materials like stones, metals, or plants and their interaction with the body, which was also informed by classical knowledge inherited by the medieval West, as in the Galenic humoral system.[593] Magical, para-liturgical, or circulated folk beliefs and practices also lent layered power to the objects through their materials, contents, or the words inscribed on them. Words or phrases like 'Caspar, Melchior, Balthazar' indicate the names of the biblical wise men and the 'Tetragrammaton' is the Hebrew inscription of God's name.[594] However, these words also carried connotations of eastern hermetic knowledge (understood to be the origins of magical practice), and such words were readily incorporated into contemporary charms meant to heal or protect an individual.[595] For a further material example, a sapphire might represent the colour of heaven or Marian devotion, but it could also be understood as a stone that might protect the body according to the translated and circulated works of Pliny in the later medieval west.[596] Likewise, an herb like vervain was understood in folk belief as the 'herb of the cross', used to staunch the wounds of Christ at the Crucifixion, but also as a magical substance referenced in contemporary charms and a medical material written about in classically-influenced herbal texts, with a corresponding history of use in ancient ritual.[597] In this way, religion, classical learning, magic and folk practice could all be tapped into within the same object, and even within the same word, image, or material.

Other channels of power that these late medieval objects drew upon include those of narrative, memory, and sentiment. These were accumulated in the biographies of the object, and could be accessed or amplified through touch or other sense-based interaction. Container

---

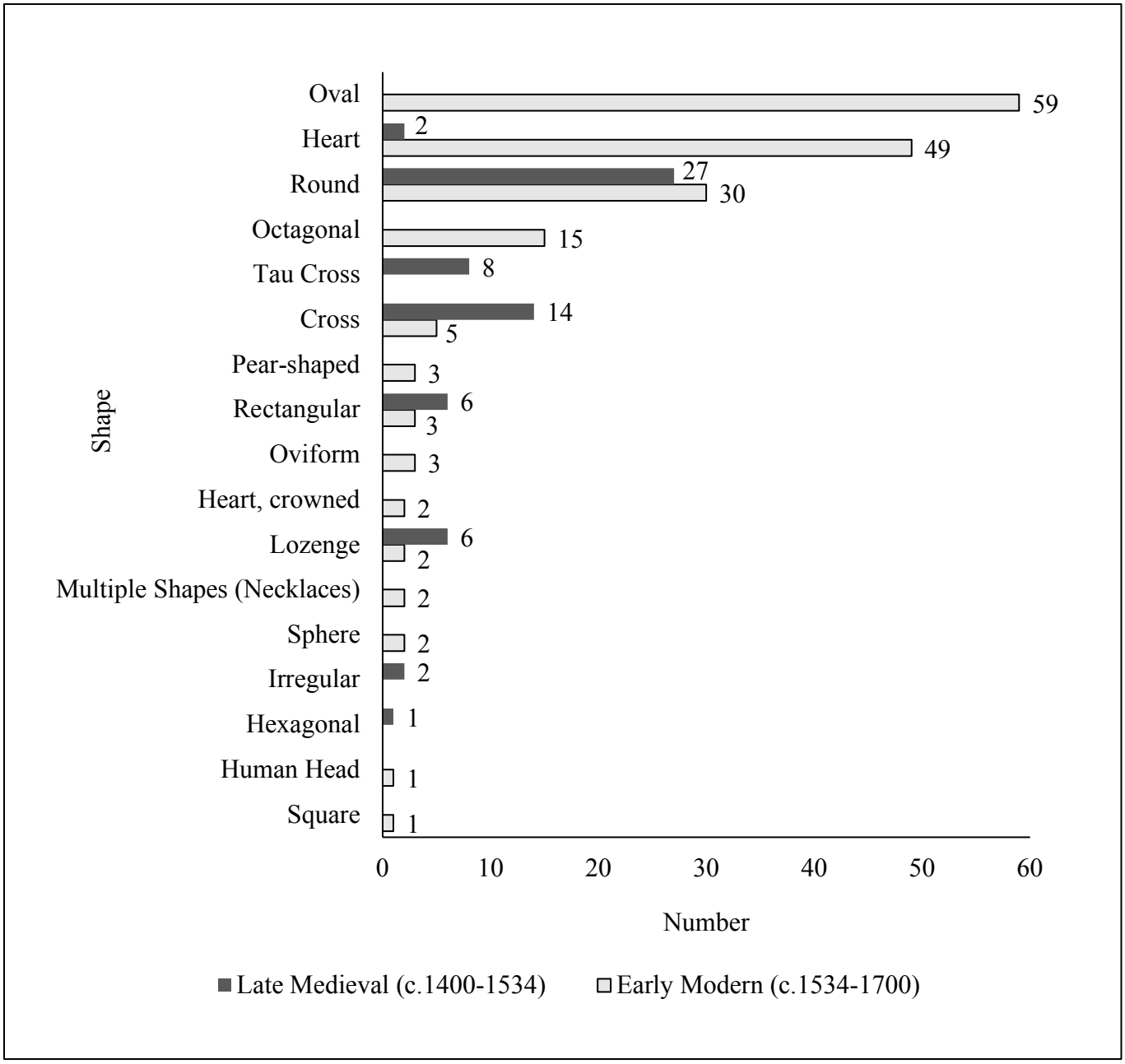
[593] Hankinson 2016, 21-37. Rawcliffe 1995, 30-57.
[594] Jones and Olsan 2000, 256-268.
[595] Hindley 2024, 46-7, 52.
[596] Jones and Olsan 2000, 268-271. Cherry 1994, 24. Gontero 2016. Evans 1933.
[597] Bayerische Staatsbibliotek, cgm 92, fols. 13vb-14rb composite c.13th-15th century, published by Pfeiffer in German 1863, translated to English and published by Brévart 2008, 10. Culpeper 1653, 364-5. Thomas 2003, 214. Pliny 1938, XXV: 105-107, 250.

jewellery and their contents had the potential to store and evoke memories of religious experiences closely linked to these objects, such as pilgrimages, special masses, the annual reception of the eucharist, as well as meaningful or transitional life-stages and events like marriage, pregnancy, birth, or death.[598] As common bequests and important heirlooms recorded in wills and inventories, these objects could also materialise, solidify, or memorialise relationships between individuals, even where one or all parties were deceased.[599] Though these objects overtly reference religion, this does not detract from their layered ability to act as dynamic and deeply meaningful, sentimental objects within an individual personal life and social matrix.[600]

The post-1534 material of Appendix II demonstrates a marked departure from the ubiquitous incorporation of religious representation in container jewellery objects. Of the recorded 177, 127 or 78% of the objects display no explicitly religious iconography, text, or form (Appendix II; Graph 2, 6; Table 6). Of the 36 or 22% of objects that do reference religion, there are notable changes in the workmanship calibre of the object. English early modern religious container jewellery can be broadly characterised as less masterful in execution, and lacks elite exceptional examples like the Middleham Jewel.[601] Instead of religious themes, the majority of the early modern material is devoted either to monarchical support or interpersonal relationships including objects that express mourning, romantic, or filial love between individuals (Graph 2, Table 6). This represents a shift towards the overt materialisation and representation of human-

[598] Barush 2021, 2, 4. Blick 2019, 1-26. Browett 2017, 493-509. Rudy 2016, 1-47. Goehring 2012. Montgomery 2012. For the association of the *agnus dei* container pendant with childbirth, pregnancy, and its likely use see Chapter 4. For use of interpersonal, romantic, or mourning material contained in jewellery see Chapter 7.
[599] For examples of bequests of these objects in wills see Sec. 3.5 and 5.2.
[600] This is evident in the inclusion of religious-coded memorial jewellery in wills, as with items like the 'Coventry Ring'. BM: AF.897.
[601] The famous and costly Middleham Jewel has been referred to as 'the finest piece of English goldsmith's work of the fifteenth century'. Jones and Olsan 2000, 249. (Appendix I: 1.64,1.59).

centric relationships, rather than religious devotion, and presents a separation and secularisation between religious and non-religious material, in light of the Reformation.



Graph 5 Shape Distribution by Period (c.1400-1700), Appendices I and II [602]

[602] Discussion and explanation of the purpose of tau-shaped cross pendants in the late medieval period can be found in Chapter 2.

7.1.b The Container Jewellery Object and the Body

The relationship of the owner's body with the object both changes and remains consistent in particular ways throughout the examined period in England. As previously mentioned, the ways that objects were worn or carried in connection with the body changes significantly between periods. Prior to a more formal denunciation of the *agnus dei* and rosary or prayer beads in England, these were a commonplace and highly visible mode of displaying and wearing container jewellery pendants. In this way, they travelled on the body into highly public social spheres like church, court, or marketplaces.[603] In contrast, the social and religious changes in the sixteenth century shifted the individual's relationship with religious container objects. This is vividly apparent when individuals were searched and discovered to be smuggling container objects like *agni dei*, hidden within their clothes or on their body, discussed in Chapter 4, thus, prioritising concealment over conspicuous display.[604]

Secrecy and concealment are important concepts and recurrent themes in the early modern objects both in consideration of their relationship to the body and in the negotiated spatial relationship between the object's interiority and exteriority. It also proposed that the changes in the nature of revealing or concealing the objects and their materials were influenced by shifting early modern ideas of selfhood, identity, individuality, and the changing politics of privacy and space of the body. Historians and literary scholars have often linked the development of 'subjective interiority' with the increasing possibility for domestic privacy reflected in the architectural compartmentalisation of early modern homes.[605] This idea of a

[603] Davis 1971, 250. Sneyd (trans.)1847.
[604] Walsham 2023, 167-8, 176, 181. Muller 2021, 76-99. Muller 2018, 1-28.
[605] Johnson 2015, 27-39. Johnson 2014. Crane 2009, 4-22. Friedman 1988. Greenblatt 1980. Stone 1979. Girouard 1978.

private emotional life or reflective selfhood can be observed and demonstrated in Martha Edlin's locking casket of concentric interior boxes with its mirrored lid and hidden compartments, which in turn held her heart-shaped container pendants (Sec. 5.4). Here, as in many of the other early modern objects, the new construction and cultivation of a self-reflective, secret, interior life and moral worldview could be cultivated and enjoyed through personal material possessions, independent of religious context and trappings.

Another important consideration is the connection of the object itself, and any contained materials, to bodies. Body relics like bone, tissue, blood, or hair, were originally contained in objects catalogued in Appendix I and II (Table 5, Graph 3). In some instances, these represent a process of fluidity between a body and material thing. The eucharist (and its representations) is a key example of this. The eucharist wafer is transmuted into the Body of Christ during the ritual and recitation of the mass, and then this body is consumed by the recipient, thus transferring, transforming, and absorbing this body-material within their own body.[606] Devotion to the Body of Christ through symbols such as the eucharist, *agnus dei*, and Face of Christ are amongst the most frequent recurring iconographic or textual referents that appear on container objects (Graph 1, Table 4) as discussed in Chapter 3. The other route of this body/thing transformation can be observed in the transformation of a person's once living body into body-relics that can possess agency, personhood, and represent presence in their absence. Particular container objects, such as those holding the relics of Mary, Queen of Scots, represent the eventual transformation of the body into an object, from individuals who themselves once wore and reverenced the materials of

[606] Rubin 1991.

body-relics in container jewellery, demonstrating the entangling capabilities of the process of body into thing and thing into body, witnessed through this object type.[607]

7.1.c 'Relic-Making' and 'Relic-Materials'

The research of this study has revealed that late medieval and early modern people carried a wide range of diverse materials within their container jewellery that extends beyond what is traditionally understood to be 'relics' within a Western Christian context (Table 5, Graph 3). In the late medieval period, documented and recorded evidence for contained materials reveals that textile, wax, hair, stone, inscribed parchment, coins, wood, and plant matter, amongst other materials were contained (Table 5). In particular, objects like old English coins or plant matter would not be classed or understood to be relics in most archaeological contexts. The containment, framing, and enshrining of these materials in the special delineated spatial context of a religious pendant forces us to extend our interpretation of what relic-materials can be, and the processes through which they are made. Proposed 'relic-making' practices like the use and production of 'contact-relics' or sacramentals created through the transformation of mundane materials into special ones as a part of pilgrimage to special sites, participation in mass, or transforming materials through blessings, prayers, or charms, offers a framework and set of likely explanations for how and why materials like coins, or any other materials, could be transformed into special things.[608] This also offers an explanation as to how more everyday people could create and curate their own relics if they did not have access to the body-relics of

[607] For reliquaries associated with Mary, Queen of Scots, see the 'Blairs Jewel'. Scottish Catholic Heritage Trust, T9109 and The Hunt Collection, MG 095 A. Hope and Gibb 1890. For a container pendant crucifix and relic-materials of Thomas More see Graffius et al. 2021.
[608] Barush 2021, 2, 4. Blick 2019, 1-26. Browett 2017, 493-509. Rudy 2016, 1-47. Goehring 2012. Montgomery 2012.

saints that were often closely guarded in church treasuries and inaccessible to most people by the late medieval period.[609] In this way, it is not the material itself that is special, but the set of practices, beliefs, and material enshrinements around it that make it so.[610] This is an extension and expansion of Cynthia Hahn's 'Reliquary Effect' theory that asserts that it is the reliquary that indicates, identifies, and makes the relic. I propose an expansion of the definition of relic to be interpreted as any thing or material that is transformed and made special and inalienable through ritual, narrative, or memory, and which can serve as a connective device to an absent or past person, place, power, or event. This interpretation would apply to both pre and post-1534 material, and would allow us to conceive of all of these containing objects as reliquaries of a kind, while extending and expanding our understanding of what a relic can be.

This study has also revealed that, in the early modern period, there was a great shift towards the creation and use of objects that contained human hair from a known person. These invoked a known individual and enshrined the material as a representation and materialisation of a relationship, and the memories and emotions connected to this (Graphs 3-4). Chapters 4-6 have traced the progress of this object type through time, and identified some of the key bridging moments of the temporally broad transition in the use of relics that were meant to channel or connect to religious power of some kind, to those meant to serve as representations of interpersonal relationships and connections between known individuals. These key developments include the post-1534 creation of relics from recent martyrs by both Catholics and Protestants (Chapter 4), and the execution of Charles I. The latter event, in particular, played a major role in popularising the wearing of mourning relic-materials in England (Chapter 5).

[609] Milner 2024, 1. Lynch 2022, 35-64. Bailey 2021, 203-229. Malo 2007. Geary 1990.
[610] In contrast to Hahn's argument. Hahn 2017.

When examined over the long period c.1400-1700, it is recognised that many of the materials within container jewellery objects remain the same across geographic and temporal boundaries. These materials included fragments of textile; bodily materials such as teeth, hair, and blood; plant matter; wax; and textual inscriptions on metal, vellum, or paper (Sec. 1.2.b). The evidence shows that there is a broad human impetus to collect, enclose, and wear special materials. Despite the consistency of the types of materials contained, the social, religious, political, and cultural contexts and connotations of meaning behind them shift through time as has been observed and exemplified in this study of this object type in England.

7.1.d 'Afterlives' of the Objects

It is argued by some scholars that once an artefact is out of its original, historic use-context it has ended its object biography life-cycle and is effectively 'dead' and in its afterlife.[611] In spite of this, historic jewellery objects demonstrate resistance to this conclusion of stasis. Objects like rock crystal or glass-set memorial rings can still very much be worn, and are common enough within museum collections as well as the stocks of antique jewellery dealers, auction houses, and within private collections. In many cases, the meaning and fascination of these jewellery objects in the present day shifts from a relic of a known loved one, to a relic of a past world and the imagined lives of former owners. In other instances, container jewellery might still be understood to hold the same religious, magical, protective, or healing qualities, even beyond c.1400-1700.

[611] Regarding the 'death' or 'afterlives' of objects and their destination in museums: Streeton, Froysaker and Bjerregaard 2024. Gygi 2023, 197-221. Azoulay 2019. Appadurai 1986, 3-63. Kopytoff 1986, 64-91. Objects as 'dead' in museums, particularly those with specific cultural or religious significance, has been an important facet in the debate surrounding museums and their collections as products of colonialism. Longair and Jeppeson 2020, 220-237. Karp and Levine 1991.

Empress Eugénie (1826–1920), widow of Napoleon III, played a significant role in shaping the object biography and later use of the early medieval reliquary pendant known as the 'Talisman of Charlemagne'. Her uncertainties about its bequest after her death further illustrates that objects often outlive the individuals who possess them.[612] She had used the reliquary pendant in an amuletic fashion whilst in childbirth reporting that 'This talisman, I held it as the apple of my eyes; I had it near my bed while I was giving birth to the Imperial Prince'.[613] At the outbreak of World War I she recounted that 'I was very perplexed when the war of 1914 broke out. The horror of the bombardment of Reims suddenly illuminated me. One fine morning I exclaimed: 'It is at Reims that I shall leave the Talisman of Charlemagne, and it will be the punishment for the barbarians!'.[614] The Empress Eugénie did indeed bequeath the reliquary to Reims along with 100,000 francs for the reconstruction of the cathedral.[615] In this way, she employed her personal, portable reliquary as a tool for her own bodily protection, as well as the future civic protection of the city of Reims. The Middleham Jewel was also understood and used by its finders within a framework that privileged a belief in its magical, religious, or healing capabilities (Appendix I: 1.66, Figs. 1.2a-f). Vera Seaton, partner of the finder Ted Seaton, believed Ted was able to tune into his psychic abilities in order to find antiquities, and that his finding the jewel in 1985 was in a way providential.[616] She recounts bringing the jewel to the hospital to visit an elderly friend who was being attended to and prayed for by a Reverend Father. Seaton recounts placing it in the patient's hand, which she believes effected a miraculous cure noting that the patient:

---

[612] Panczer et al. 2019, 34-6.
[613] Panczer et al. 2019, 34. Paléologue 1920, 236-9.
[614] Panczer et al. 2019, 36. Paléologue 1920, 236-9.
[615] Panczer et al. 2019, 36.
[616] Seaton 2014, 1.

> *slowly opened her eyes and looked at it [the Middleham Jewel] in wonder. The colour began to come back into her cheeks and she sat up in bed. She asked for a cup of tea and began to chat with her visitors, wanting to know all about the Jewel…A few days later, she had recovered so well that she was able to leave the hospital, much to the surprise and delight of her doctor and the nurses who had cared for her.*[617]

In the case of another Seaton friend, a retired lay preacher diagnosed with cancer, the Seatons allowed him to see, touch, and hold the Jewel, which they believed assuaged his pain and allowed him to achieve a 'good death' (Fig. 7.1).[618] Vera Seaton reports that 'From the moment he held it in his hands and said a silent prayer, the pain he was suffering went away and he felt really good. He knew his cancer would eventually take his life, but he said he would die painlessly and happy, having had a very interesting life.'[619] The Seaton's perspectives are not included or considered in any of the major studies on the Middleham Jewel, yet Vera Seaton's account of her experience, interactions, attitudes, and understanding of the object is no less interesting or relevant than the relationships of past people to the Middleham Jewel (Fig. 7.2).[620] Her account, and Empress Eugénie's, demonstrates that these objects continue to be used as active and agentive social things by both ordinary and elite people, and can continue to accrue chapters within their own long biographies well into modern and contemporary times.

---

[617] Seaton 2014, 22.
[618] Seaton 2014, 20-1.
[619] Seaton 2014, 22-3.
[620] Seaton's account was published in 2014, after two key works on the Middleham Jewel were published (Jones and Olsan 2000, 249-90; Cherry 1994). However, the finders were in contact with scholars at the British Museum where John Cherry was curator and met with Metropolitan Museum of Art Director Timothy Husband (who authored an article that includes the Middleham Jewel) prior to the Jewel's sale in 1986. Despite this, I know of no scholarly work on this artefact that has included or considered contemporary interactive perspectives in the biography of the object. Seaton 2014, 19, 23. Husband 1992, 19-35.

7.1.e Recommendations and Further Areas of Research

This research has led to further questions and the potential for continued research. The first recommendation is for cataloguers, museum professionals, or PAS Finds Liaison Officers to use the object form as a catalogue or database entry title (ring, pendant, slide, etc.) and be inclusive with many possible descriptive terms like 'container', 'reliquary', or 'locket' as key or searchable terms to make these objects as widely identifiable and accessible to researchers as possible. A study on the theoretical and semiotic issues of naming objects in museums, collections, or archaeological contexts and the tensions between anachronism and present-day understanding (particularly in relation to jewellery) could also be expanded upon and considered in greater depth.[621]

Another important recommendation from this study is that there should be intentional retention and stabilisation of the interior contents of container jewellery for the future. Currently, the guidelines provided by the PAS stipulate that 'Finds that may be potential Treasure cases should not be cleaned before reported', but this could be expanded upon to recommend that finders not attempt to open container objects in order to prevent loss or damage to their contents.[622] While it is understood that there are not resources available for the scientific analysis of every container jewellery object that comes to light, the retention of contents and acquisition of these objects by museums could allow their preservation for future research and the opportunity to gain greater insight into the incorporation of religious, interpersonal, magical, or healing practices and belief in the past. Examples of retained objects and their preserved contents awaiting further investigation in collections include the early modern pendants held in the British

[621] See Sec. 1.1.c.
[622] PAS; BM; Amgueddfa Cymru: 'Advice for finders of archaeological objects and treasure', 12; Care for finds is expanded upon in 'Conservation advice for finders'.

Museum, which were found close to one another in the same or adjacent fields in Lancashire (Appendix II: 2.23-5). Of one (Appendix II: 2.23), it is recorded that 'The finder opened the locket and found a folded sheet of paper with much worn handwriting on it as well as small fragments of, possibly, bone. They are back inside the locket now and it is hoped that they can be analysed in the future.'[623] While this seems to be a positive outcome, other instances may prove less than ideal. In the case of another early modern container pendant (Appendix II: 2.53), it is recorded that 'The finder reports that when found, both [interior material] objects were wrapped in paper, but the inclement weather during the discovery caused this to disintegrate.'[624] An attempt to have kept the object closed, dry, and protected, especially whilst still in the field, may have better preserved these delicate contents.

The research of this study provides both national and local museums the data and scholarly analysis to justify the acquisition of these kinds of objects, whether or not they are of especially fine workmanship. This would allow for better research potential into understanding how everyday as well as elite people used and incorporated these kinds of objects into their lives. While museum funding may limit the number of these artefacts that are able to undergo acquisition, conservation, or scientific analysis, the latter is indeed another area of research that could benefit from further future investigation. Scientific analysis of objects like the Middleham Jewel, Wragby Pendant (Appendix I: 1.66, 1.3), and container jewellery from other temporal and geographic regions has the ability to establish composite materials of an object such as its metal, stones, or interior contents. Non-invasive techniques can be employed to access the interior space without damage where an object may be sealed, crushed, or corroded close, and shed light

[623] Boughton 2016.
[624] Downes 2013.

on the more intimate aspects of the object's biography.[625] Microscopic inspection of the Middleham Jewel has demonstrated that the object was subject to use-wear over time due to extensive, and probably haptic bodily interaction, and that the engravings were refreshed at one point by a goldsmith for continued use.[626] The 'micro-excavation' of the interior contents of the Wragby pendant revealed that there were multiple coins within as well as micro-materials that included rabbit hair and a louse, which possibly indicates that the person wearing this object may have also donned rabbit-fur clothes while wearing the pendant, and suffered from a bodily infestation of lice, telling us more about the phenomenological profile of this object and how people experienced wearing or using it.[627]

Other scientific techniques such as X-ray, Prompt Gamma Neutron Activation Analysis (PGNAA), and neutron tomography have allowed researchers to visualise and ascertain interior contents in a non-invasive manner.[628] These techniques have been applied to successfully investigate the interior space and contents of a twelfth-century enamelled reliquary pendant that was found in Germany, which was corroded shut.[629] This enabled researchers to identify the form and materials of five tiny silk and linen packages containing bone fragments within the small interior space of the 60x60mm container pendant.[630] Finds recorded by the PAS indicate numerous opportunities for the further investigation and analysis of object interiors or interior contents. This includes objects that have been recorded which indicate unidentified interior contents due to internal rattling or considerable weight (Appendix II: 2.36, 2.41, 2.54), or objects

[625] Young et al. 2023. Cartwright and Higgitt 2013. Atherton 2010.
[626] Cherry 1994, 23.
[627] Lee 2014, 26-7. Atherton 2010.
[628] Iwanicka et al. 2016, 75-84. Saprykina, Kichanov, and Kozlenko 2019, 177-80.
[629] Heinzel et al. 2022, 1-8.
[630] Heinzel et al. 2022, 1-8. On the scientific study of relics, reliquaries, and the sacred from similar contexts see Nilsson Stutz, Peyroteo Stjerna, and Tarlow 2025. Di Lazzaro et al. 2020, 926. Gilchrist 2020. Kazan and Higham 2019. Kazan 2018, 570-2. Van Strydonck, Reyniers, and Van Cleven 2018. Čavka, Škrobonja, and Petaros 2011.

containing unidentified contents such described as ‘white concretion’ or ‘friable, crystalline material, something like a very fine lime plaster’ (Appendix I: 1.19 and Appendix II: 2.52).[631] Unfortunately, many of these artefacts remain unexamined or have been returned to finders, rendering them unavailable for future investigation. The retention, protection, and acquisition of container pendants and their contents for future study would allow for a more thorough investigation, which has the potential to reveal further patterns or diversity in the use-lives of these objects.

The research of this study has also highlighted other adjacent or untapped areas that could be pursued in future for further study. The introduction of an ethical framework and methodology for the acquisition, collection, care, and study of historical matter of the human body is an avenue that could be explored further by or in conjunction with the British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (BABAO).[632] Furthermore, the investigation of early modern objects has highlighted the lack of knowledge surrounding the materials of these objects, particularly to what extent glass or rock crystal was used in their settings.[633] A more detailed material examination of these objects in collections, from between the seventeenth and eighteenth century, could also reveal when lead crystal emerged in use in jewellery in England, and the chemical compositions used in production methods to create it.[634] Continental European material could also merit a closer comparative or thematic investigation based on historic events uniquely impactful to continental Europe and its regions.[635]

---

[631] Shoemark 2019. Cartwright 2014.
[632] British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (BABAO).
[633] See Sec. 6.4.b.
[634] On methods of analysis: Maestro-Guijarro et al. 2025, 277-87. Jin and Smith 2024, 518-35. Shigley 2024, 443-55. On lead-crystal glass: Rasche 2018, 63-70. Noble 2016, 185-95. . Dungworth and Brain 2009, 111-37. MacLeod 1987, 776-803. Charleston 1968, 156-67.
[635] See Sec. 1.2.c for highlighted European themes, regions, and useful parallel databases of archaeological materials.

Other topics, themes, and materials were initially envisioned as part of this study, but were later omitted to fully address the temporal and material breadth of the project. This included two case studies on the re-use or re-making of materials to be used as container pendants, connected to early modern recusant Catholics in England. The first focused on the eye reliquary pendant of Edward Oldcorne (1561-1606), likely made from an existing pyx, and the second, a pyx fashioned out of a hoard of melted and re-used Anglo-Saxon coins, found in 1611 by Lancashire squire William Blundell (1560-1638).[636] Another brief case study was initially included relating to possible Catholic recusant material, and focused on an assemblage of very similar pendants, some found in close proximity to one another in Lancashire as well as ones found in Staffordshire.[637] It is hypothesised these could represent the post-1534 itinerant sale and trade of this type of material at markets or fairs throughout England.[638] Two of these pendants now held in the British Museum contain tightly folded paper, one of which has visible writing present on it, and they may contain fragments of bone or wax.[639] The contents of these pendants have not yet been investigated or analysed by conservators, an endeavor which could shed more light on the types of content materials and texts associated with these objects (do these papers bear biblical passages, prayer petitions, protective formulae, relic labels, or something else?)—and could provide evidence as to whether contents were pre-prepared for sale or personalised and added at a later date. Findings of such a study could illuminate the interactive relationships people had with these objects, and highlight different phases of their object biographies. Further work on pomanders as scented, sensory-engaging, and health-giving objects could also merits

[636] For a definition of 'pyx' see Sec. 1.1.g. Blundell et al. 2018, 29-76.
[637] See Appendix II: 2.23-5, 2.60, 2.62.
[638] Watt 1991. Spufford 1984.
[639] See Appendix II: 2.23-4.

further attention.[640] These were notably used as beads or pendants on strings of prayer beads, which could be incorporated into a wider programme of devotional material culture that could include prints, books, prie-dieux, or pilgrimage tokens.[641] The manufacture and construction of container jewellery, as well as its interaction and relationship to other worn material culture like clothing or other dress accessories, and changing fashions or styles over time, are other avenues of interrogation that could be pursued.

The unique focus, analysis, and conclusions of this thesis are well-positioned to contextualise, support, and justify the purpose and merit of further study of container jewellery objects, or other similar material culture.[642] The methodology of this study could also be used and applied to extend beyond the geographic, temporal, and material focus of this work. This could include research on container jewellery pre-1400 and post-1700, container jewellery used in other parts of the world, as well as other portable objects of material culture with containing affordances.

7.2 Conclusion

In sum, this research has identified and collated 243 container jewellery objects of English use dating from c.1400 to c.1700, from data available in the PAS, national museums such as the British Museum and V&A, as well as local museums and auction records. This includes 66 late medieval objects (c.1400-1534) and 177 early modern objects (c.1534-1700).

---

[640] A pomander is a portable, and often wearable container for scented materials. 'pomander, n.', OED. On the use of late medieval or early modern pomanders see Robinson 2019, 167-171. Dugan 2011, 97-125. Possible early modern pomanders or container pendants for scented materials are included in the data of this study. For example, Appendix II: 2.7, 2.64, 2.107, 2.113.

[641] Croasdaile 2024(a). A 'prie-dieu' is a piece of furniture meant to be knelt upon, often with a cushion for the knees and a flat or slanted ledge for resting arms, hands, or a prayer book. These are regularly depicted in illuminated manuscripts and church monuments both pre- and post-1534. 'prie-dieu, n.', OED.

[642] Walsham 2025, 224-9.

Identified, recorded, material contents across this time frame includes materials such as wood, stone, hair, wax, inscribed paper or parchment, coins, and plant matter. From the information gathered and recorded across the period examined, it is clear that the materials, contents, forms and iconographies of these objects undergo broad and notable changes throughout this charted period in England of c.1400-1700. The late medieval material widely references religion in its iconography, form, or text, while in the early modern material there is a divergence and separation between religious and non-religious referencing material. Within the early modern material, there is a marked change in what the objects contain, and their broader contextual purpose. The majority of these objects are used for the sentimental enshrinement of hair from known, often named, individuals representing a shift in the use of container objects for the purpose of memorialising and materialising interpersonal and human-centric relationships. There is also a change in the manner in which the body of the wearer or interactant connects with the object itself. While in the late medieval period conspicuous external-facing social use would have been broadly beneficial, the early modern material embraces an element of privacy and secrecy, even where objects might be openly displayed. This study concludes with a proposal of a cross-cultural interpretation of the idea of relic and reliquary that emphasises narrative, memory, and ritual process for the creation of a special inalienable material, from which it derives its power. It is the personal and social contexts and constructs that change or assign meaning to the objects and contents themselves, often mitigated or mediated by their containers.

These findings demonstrate that container jewellery offers a powerful lens through which to observe societal change, revealing how shifting religious, emotional, and cultural practices became materialised in intimate, bodily objects. By tracing how these containers framed, transformed, and sometimes even created the meaning of their contents, the research shows that

objects were not passive accessories but active mediators of belief, memory, and identity across the late medieval and early modern periods. Methodologically, the study contributes a robust interdisciplinary model that integrates archaeology, art history, and material culture studies (amongst other) approaches to illuminate both the agency of objects and the entangled relationships between people and things. Historiographically, it challenges narratives that privilege focus on elite masterpieces or narrowly defined 'reliquaries' by demonstrating the broad social spectrum of users and the diverse, sometimes unexpected, materials enshrined within these forms. My own role in shaping the objects' biographies—through interpretation, contextualisation, and the identification of new thematic patterns—underscores how scholarly engagement itself becomes part of an object's evolving cultural memory, extending its life and significance into the present.

The biography of this object type, and the individual objects included in the appendices continues. This study itself is an added chapter in the narrative of these objects and their interpretation and meaning. In the present day, people continue to own and wear objects containing meaningful material, and embed significant stories and memory within them. Today, you can visit or view a historic container jewellery object in a museum, purchase online a newly made necklace pendant that contains a piece of textile touched to the shrine of Lourdes in France, or commission jewellery to enclose the ashes or hair of a loved one.[643] Contemporary scientific techniques can also be applied to extract the carbon from hair or ashes and transform these materials into something new, as in a lab-made diamond or gemstone, that can be set and

[643] Croasdaile 2024(b): In this article, I interview a contemporary jeweller who uses a variety of memorial materials including human remains like cremation ash. The jeweller reflects on her practice, and I compare and connect this to late medieval jewellery practices. 'Our Lady of Lourdes Relic Medal', The Catholic Store. See other collaborative exhibitions and projects that engage with jewellery, disease, and the body-as-object: A Working Model of the World. Kurze 2015. 'Tailor-made', UCL.

worn into an object of jewellery.[644] Thus, this process of body-into-object and object/body entanglement is continually reinvented and embraced within container jewellery objects today. Overall, this research on container jewellery has revealed the continued and powerful import of the human connection with things, and the ways that things can carry on a legacy of meaning and agency, even long after we are gone.

[644] McDonald 2019. 'The Creation of a Memorial Diamond', Algordanza.

Figures

Chapter 1.



Figure 1.1 A selection of English container jewellery objects examined in this study, c.1400-1700. From the York Museums Trust Collection Online,, BM Collection Online, and the PAS database. Not to scale. Full object details and image sources provided in Appendix I-II. From top, left to right: Appendix I: 1.66, 1.41, 1.24, 1.19. From bottom, left to right: Appendix II: 2.51, 2.112, 2.114, 2.63.



Figure 1.2a The Middleham Jewel, found near Middleham Castle in North Yorkshire (front view). English, c.1475-1499. Engraved and enamelled gold, sapphire, pearls (formerly), 64x48mm. Yorkshire Museum, Appendix I:1.66. Image credit: © York Museums and Gallery Trust (CC BY-SA 4.0).



Figure 1.2b The Middleham Jewel, found near Middleham Castle in North Yorkshire (reverse view). English, c.1475-1499. Engraved and enamelled gold, sapphire, pearls (formerly), 64x48mm. Yorkshire Museum, Appendix I:1.66. Image credit: © York Museums and Gallery Trust (CC BY-SA 4.0).

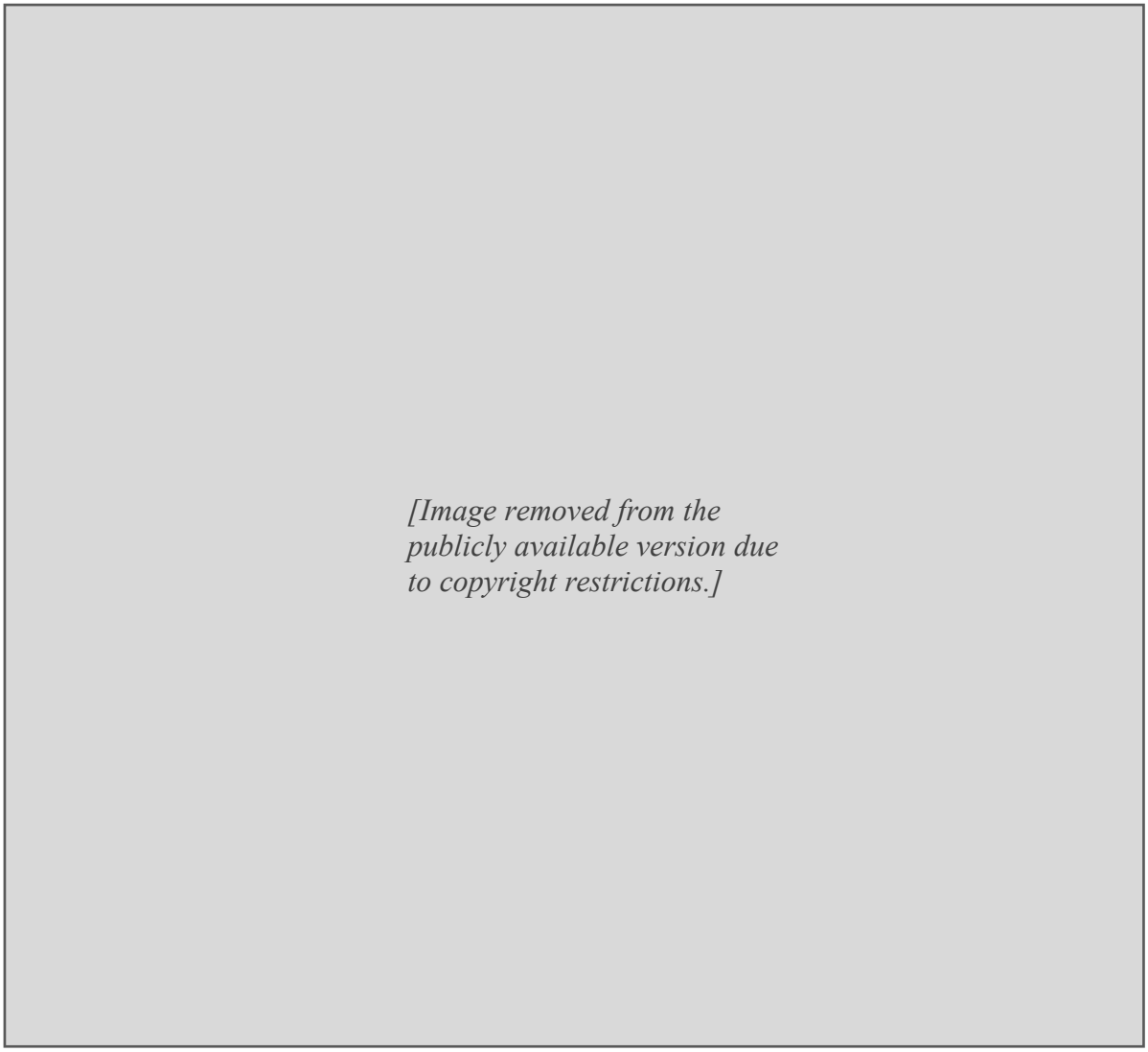


Figure 1.2c The Middleham Jewel, found near Middleham Castle in North Yorkshire (interior view I). English, c.1475-1499. Engraved and enamelled gold, sapphire, pearls (formerly), 64x48mm. Yorkshire Museum, Appendix I:1.66. Image credit: Sotheby's. Cherry 1994, 29. Image taken of interior contents when the pendant was first opened in 1986.



Figure 1.2d The Middleham Jewel, found near Middleham Castle in North Yorkshire (interior view II). English, c.1475-1499. Engraved and enamelled gold, sapphire, pearls (formerly), 64x48mm. Yorkshire Museum, Appendix I:1.66. Image credit: © York Museums and Gallery Trust (CC BY-SA 4.0).

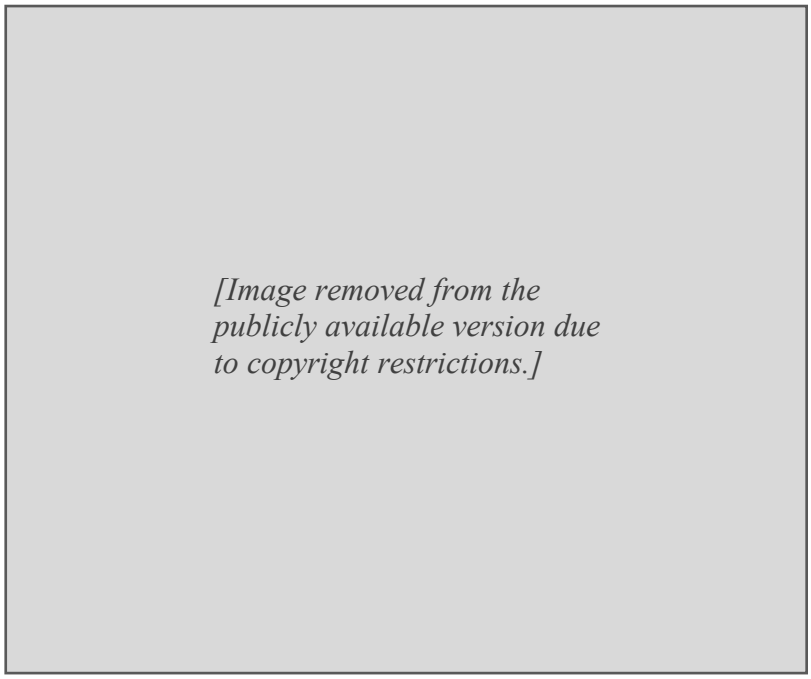


Figure 1.2e Detail of one of the opus Anglicanum *textile roundels found within the Middleham Jewel pendant. Appendix I:1.66 (interior contents). Image: Cherry 1994, 29.*



Figure 1.2f Detail of one of the opus Anglicanum *textile roundels found within the Middleham Jewel pendant. Appendix I:1.66 (interior contents). Image credit: Cherry 1994, 29.*



Figure 1.3a, Wragby Pendant, found in Wragby, Lincolnshire (side I-II views). English c.1300-1500. Engraved and gilt silver, 29x29mm. Lincoln Museum, Appendix I: 1.3. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).

[Image removed from the publicly available version due to copyright restrictions.]

Figure 1.3b Wragby Pendant found in Wragby, Lincolnshire (interior space and contents view, pre-conservation). English c.1300-1500. Engraved and gilt silver, 29x29mm. Lincoln Museum, Appendix I: 1.3. Image credit: Lee 2014, fig. 2.

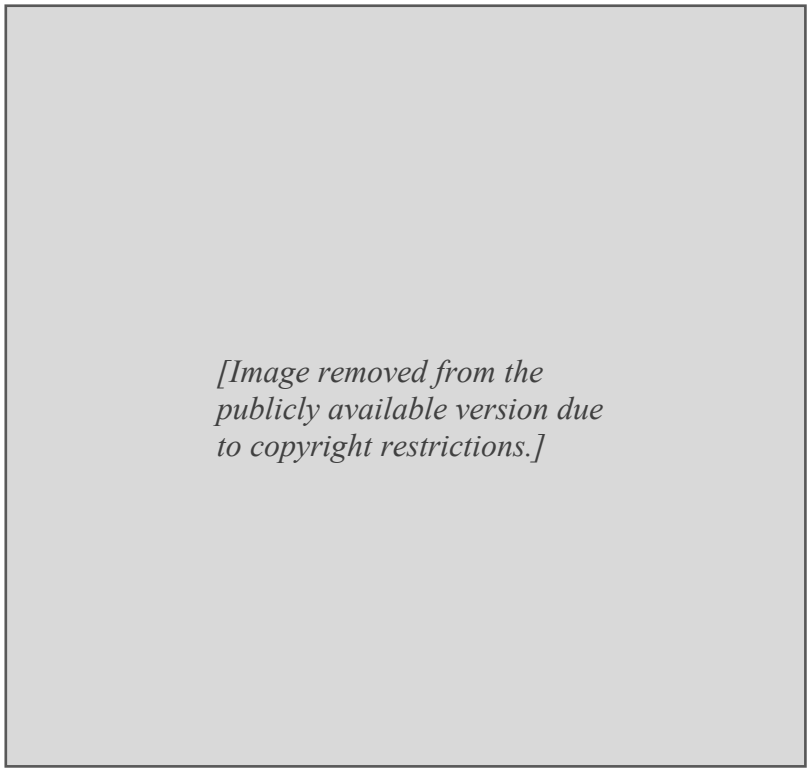


Figure 1.3c, Coins found inside the Wragby Pendant (front and reverse), found in Wragby, Lincolnshire. Lincoln Museum, Appendix I: 1.3 (interior contents). Image credit: Lee 2014, figs. 3-4.



Figure 1.4a Hockley Pendant, found in Hockley, Essex (front, reverse, and side views). Engraved gold, 33x25mm, 8.7g. Appendix I: 1.9. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0). The pendant is engraved with images of the bleeding wounds and heart of Christ, a female saint holding a cross, and the names of the magi: 'IASPAR / MELCIOR / BALTASAR'.



Figure 1.4b Hockley Pendant, found in Hockley, Essex (side I) depicting a female saint, possibly St. Helena, holding a cross. Engraved gold, 33x25mm, 8.7g. Appendix I: 1.9. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 1.4c Hockley Pendant, found in Hockley, Essex (side II) depicting the bleeding wounds and heart of Christ. Engraved gold, 33x25mm, 8.7g. Appendix I: 1.9. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 1.5 Bulla *Pendant. Roman, c. first – fourth century AD. Gold, repoussé. BM, 1872,0604.838.a. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).*

[Image removed from the publicly available version due to copyright restrictions.]

Figure 1.6 Detail of a selection of bucket-shaped pendants from Sarmatian graves in the north and north-west Pontic areas (Western Asia, near the Black Sea), c. first – early second century AD. Gold. Image credit: Bârcă 2018, p. 61, fig. 11.



Figure 1.7 Bulla *Pendant, found in Langton by Wragby, Lincolnshire (front and reverse views). Early Anglo-Saxon, c.650-700 AD. Gold, 19x16x3mm, 1.59g. PAS, SWYOR-2B14B6. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).*



Figure 1.8 Small Decorated Container with Chain Links, of a type often referred to as 'work-boxes' or 'reliquaries', found in Ascott-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire. Anglo-Saxon, c.620-700 AD. Copper alloy, 56mm height, 50mm diameter, 31g. PAS, OXON-1A54A6. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 1.9a Skull and grave goods of a late Roman woman, found in York, North Yorkshire, including a silver bulla*, coloured glass beads (lower-right), and bone plaque with Christian inscription (below blue glass vessel). Romano-British, c. later fourth century AD. Image Credit: © York Museums and Gallery Trust.*



Figure 1.9b Bulla *Pendant, found in a female burial in York, North Yorkshire. Romano-British, c. later fourth century AD. Yorkshire Museum, YORYM: H6. Image Credit: © York Museums and Gallery Trust (CC BY-SA 4.0).*

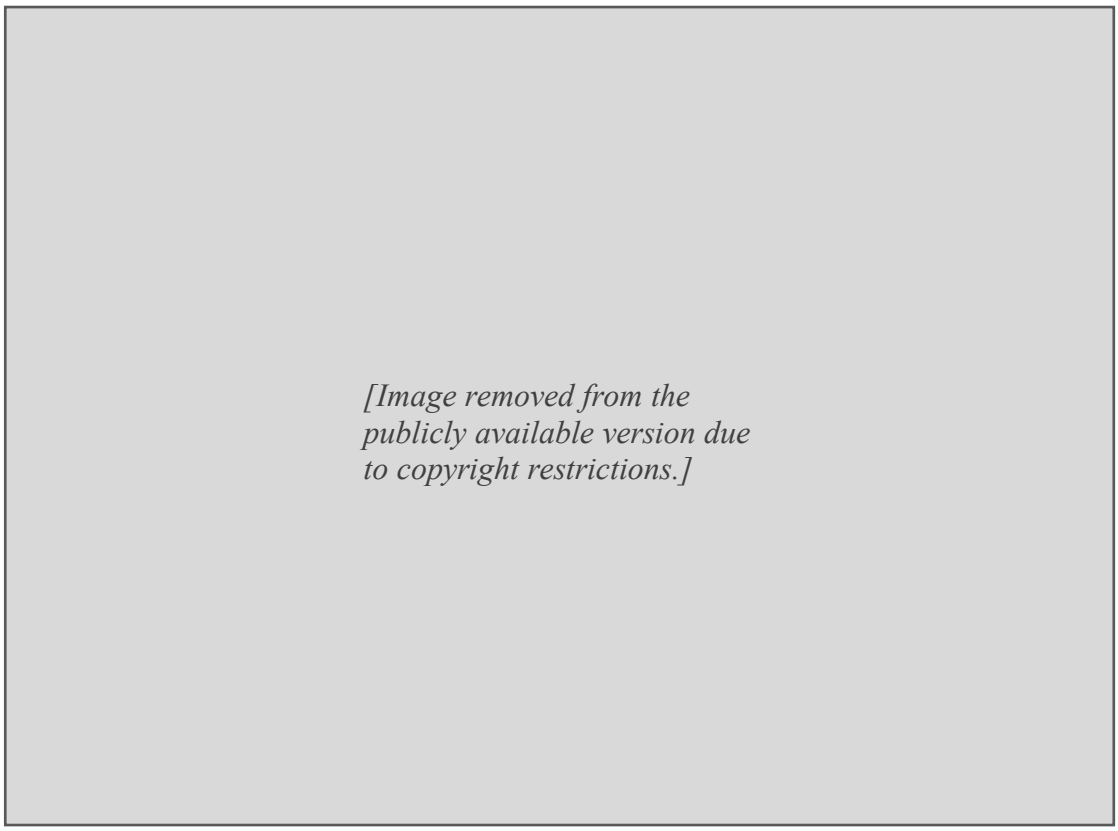


Figure 1.10a Hinged Container Pendant (side I) depicting St. Theodore. c.1000 AD. Bronze, 90mm length. Apollo Art Auctions, November 24, 2019, Lot 152. Private Collection. Image credit: Apollo Art Auctions, Invaluable.

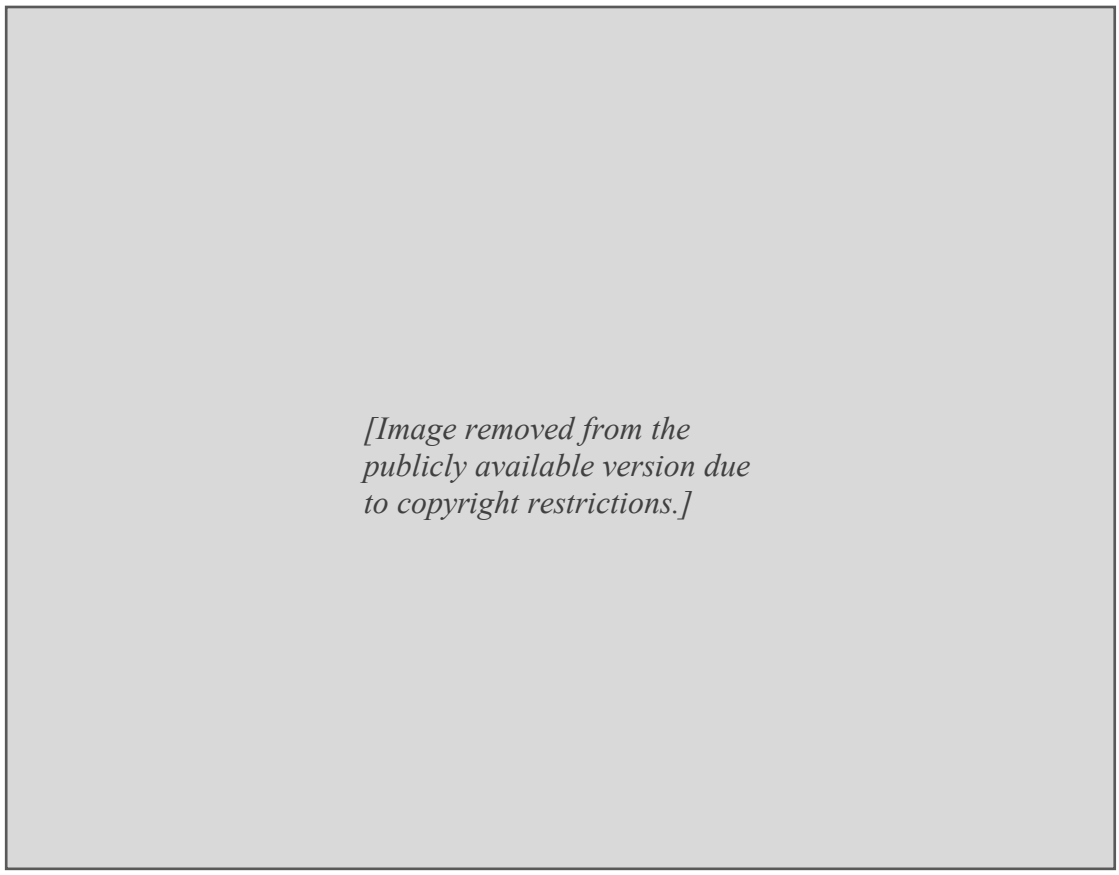


Figure 1.10b Hinged Container Pendant, (side II) depicting Ragnarok. c.1000 AD. Bronze, 90mm length. Apollo Art Auctions, November 24, 2019, Lot 152. Private Collection. Image credit: Apollo Art Auctions, Invaluable.



Figure 1.11a Great Gold Buckle of the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, found in Suffolk (front view). Anglo-Saxon, early seventh century. Gold and niello, 132x56mm, 412.7g. BM, 1939,1010.1. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). The three knob bosses can be turned to release the hinged back plate and reveal the internal compartment.



Figure 1.11b Great Gold Buckle of the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, found in Suffolk (reverse view). Anglo-Saxon, early seventh century. Gold and niello, 132x56mm, 412.7g. BM, 1939,1010.1. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

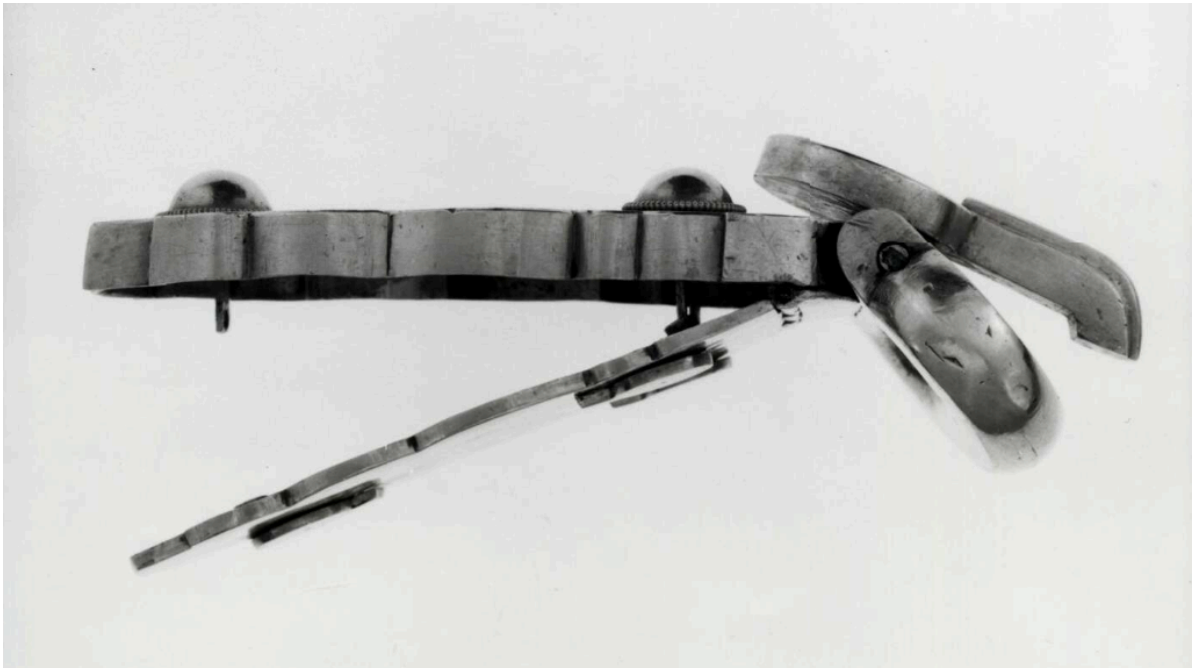


Figure 1.11c Great Gold Buckle of the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, found in Suffolk (side view). Anglo-Saxon, early seventh century. Gold and niello, 132x56mm, 412.7g. BM, 1939,1010.1. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). Side view demonstrating the open hinged back plate of the buckle.



Figure 1.12 *Container Buckle, found near Mâcon, France. Merovingian, c. end of sixth century. Bronze. Musée d'Archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France, MAN 17698. Image credit: © GPRMN / Gérard Blot. Inscribed: 'Daniel the Prophet' / 'Habakkuk the Prophet', depicting the Daniel in the Lion's Den and Habbukuk bringing food to him. Contains two partitioned compartments.*



Figure 1.13 St. Menas Ampulla, found in Dereham, Norfolk. Made at Abu Mina, near Alexandria, Egypt. c. 500-650 AD. Clay, 99x75x31mm, 113g. PAS, NMS-843E62. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 1.14 Container Pendant, found in Constantinople (present-day Istanbul, Turkey). Early Byzantine, before 626 AD. Gold, silver, niello, 11mm length. BM, AF.354. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0). Upper register: nativity scene; lower register: presentation of the magi. Translation of the Greek inscription girding the pendant edges reads, 'Secure salvation, and repulsion of all evil things'.



Figure 1.15 Hinged Cruciform Container Pendant front plate, also known as a 'pectoral cross' or 'encolpion' (front and reverse views), found in Tendring, Essex. Byzantine, after c.1100. Cast copper alloy, 47x23mm, 8g. PAS, ESS-7AB096. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).

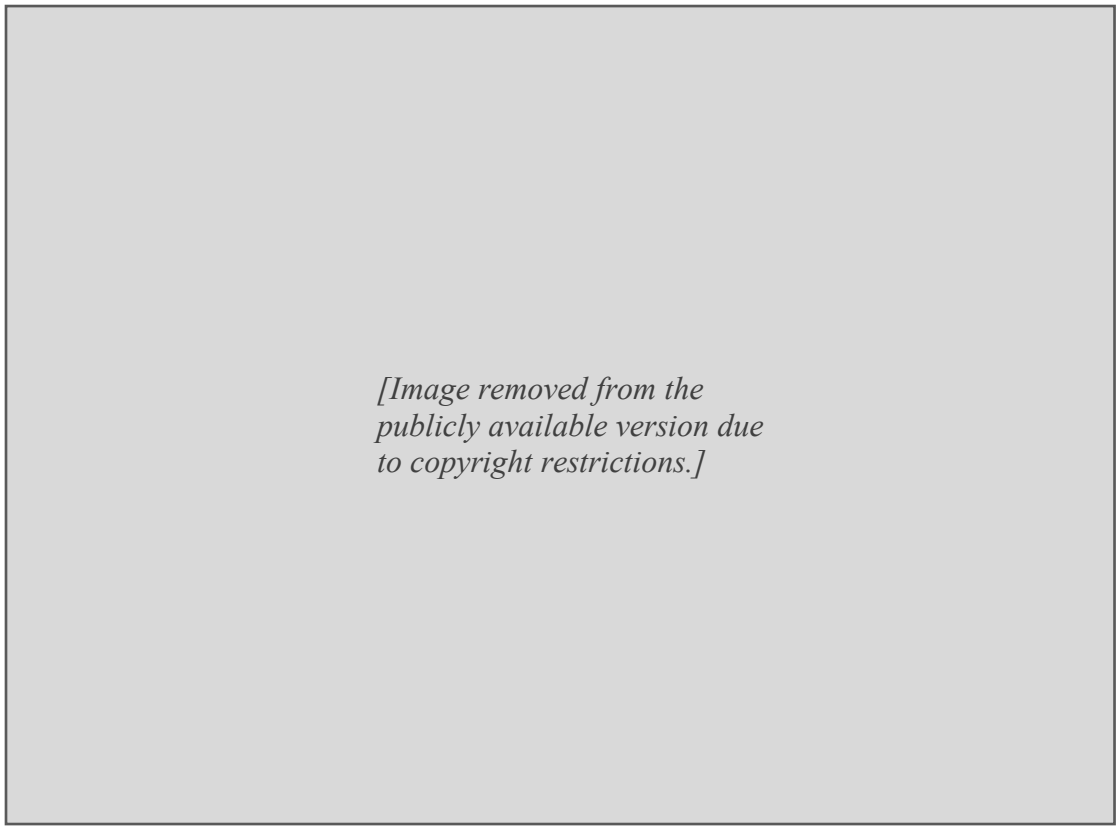


Figure 1.16 St. Cuthbert Cross Pendant, found in St. Cuthbert's coffin, Durham Cathedral, Durham, County Durham. Anglo-Saxon, c.687-98 AD. Gold, garnet, glass, shell. Durham Cathedral Museum. Image credit: Durham Cathedral. A small cavity exists behind the central garnet, which may have been used to store a relic or other meaningful material.

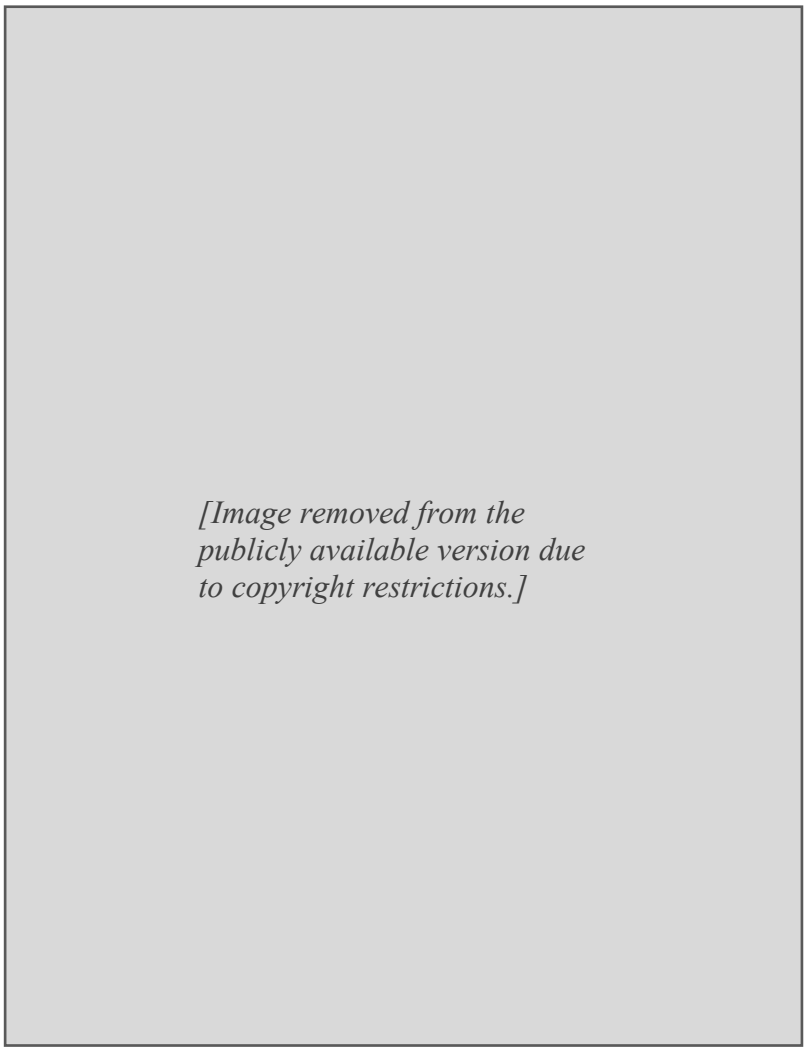


Figure 1.17 Container Cross Pendant. Anglo-Saxon, c.1050. Walrus ivory, silver, 119x47x25mm. V&A, A.6-1966. Image: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*



Figure 1.18a Reliquary Pendant with Queen Margaret of Sicily Blessed by Bishop Reginald of Bath (reverse). English, made in Canterbury, 1174-7. Engraved gold, 50x31x7mm. MET, 63.160. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (CC0).



Figure 1.18b Reliquary Pendant with Queen Margaret of Sicily Blessed by Bishop Reginald of Bath (front). English, made in Canterbury, 1174-7. Engraved gold, 50x31x7mm. MET, 63.160. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (CC0). The void may have once been set with a rock crystal panel. The inscription around the edges identifies the former contents as various relic-materials of St. Thomas Becket, including blood-stained clothing.



Figure 1.19 Container Pendant (left: back plate, right: front view). Scottish, c.1200. Gold, rock crystal, pearls, wood, bone, 50x48x49mm. BM, 1946,0407.1.a. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Chapter 2.



Figure 2.1a The Winteringham Cross, found in Winteringham, Yorkshire (exterior, side I and side II views). English, c.1485. Engraved gold, 35x29x3mm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Appendix I: 1.63. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (CC0).



Figure 2.1b Verbena officinalis *flowers, or common vervain. Image from Pixabay.*



Figure 2.1c The Winteringham Cross, found in Winteringham, Yorkshire (interior, side I and side II views). Engraved gold, 35x29x3mm. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Appendix I: 1.63. Image credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (CC0).



Figure 2.2 Katherine of Aragon miniature portrait, wearing a gold, jewelled tau cross with a suspended drop pearl pendant. Attributed to Lucas Horenbout (or Hornebolte), c.1525. Watercolour on vellum, 38mm diameter. National Portrait Gallery, NPG 4682. Image credit: © National Portrait Gallery, London.

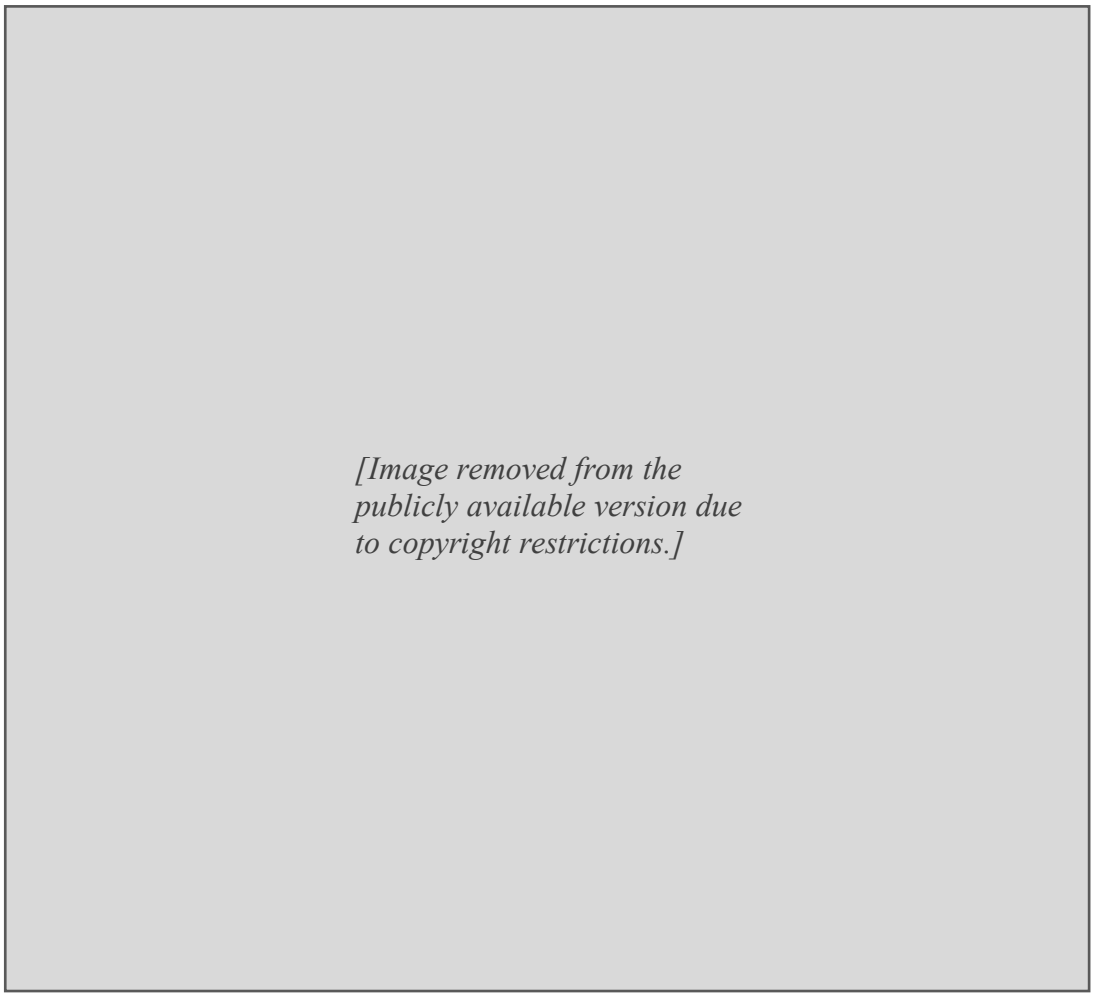


Figure 2.3 The Sudeley portrait miniature of Jane Seymour, wearing a gold jewelled tau cross pendant with a drop pearl pendant. Lucas Horenbout (or Hornebolte), c.1536-7. Vellum stuck to a playing card with three hearts, 45mm diameter. Sudeley Castle Collection. Image: Bolland et al. 2024, 110.



Figure 2.4 The Sudeley portrait miniature of Catherine Parr, wearing a gold jewelled tau cross with a drop pearl pendant. Lucas Horenbout, (or Hornebolte), c.1543-4. Watercolour on vellum. Sudeley Castle Collection. Image: Bolland et al. 2024, 179.



Figure 2.5 Portrait of Queen Mary I, wearing a gold jewelled tau pendant and reliquary girdle pendant. Hans Eworth, c.1554. Oil on oak panel, 1040x780mm. Society of Antiquaries, LDSAL336. Image credit: Online Collections, © The Society of Antiquaries of London.



Figure 2.6 The Godstow Ring, found at the site of Godstow Nunnery in Oxfordshire, (two views). English, c.1400-1500. Engraved gold, 20x15x11mm. The British Museum, AF.1075 Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 2.7a Tau-shaped Container Pendant, found in Selby, North Yorkshire (exterior, side, and interior views). English, late fifteenth century. Engraved gilt silver, 39.4x35.3x4.5mm. Yorkshire Museum, Appendix I: 1.41. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 2.7b Tau-shaped Container pendant, found in Selby, North Yorkshire (front plate). English, late fifteenth century. Engraved gilt silver, 39.4x35.3x4.5mm. Yorkshire Museum, Appendix I: 1.41. Image credit: The Yorkshire Museum.

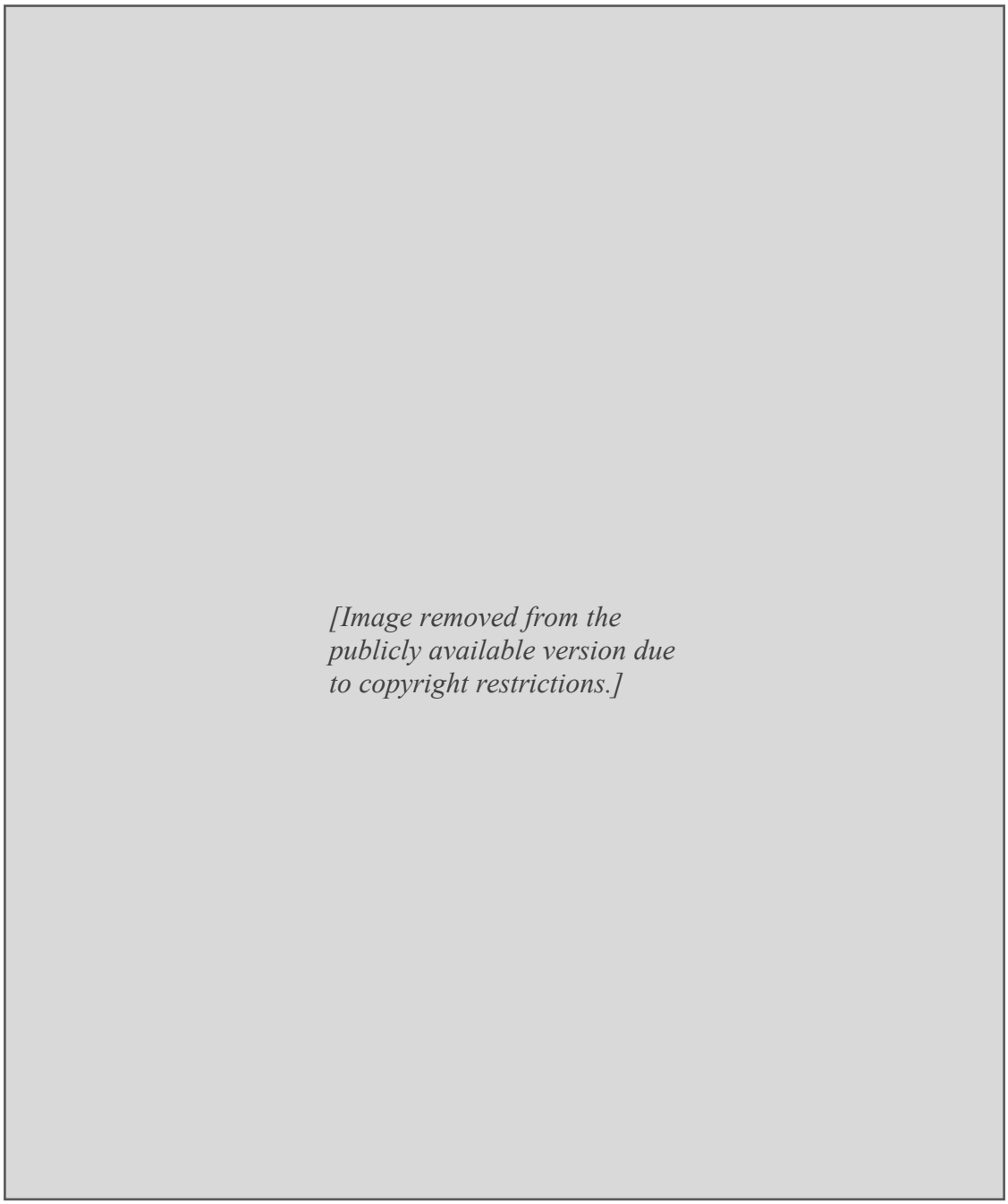


Figure 2.7c Tau-shaped Container pendant, found in Selby, North Yorkshire (back plate). English, late fifteenth century. Engraved gilt silver, 39.4x35.3x4.5mm. Yorkshire Museum, Appendix I: 1.41. Image credit: The Yorkshire Museum.



Figure 2.8 Container Pendant, found in Wiltshire. English, c.1400-1500. Gold and enamel, 50x42x8mm. British Museum, Appendix I: 1.46. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 2.9 The Raglan Signet Ring, found in Raglan, Monmouthshire near Raglan Castle. British, c.1450-1500. Engraved gold. Amgueddfa Cymru (NMW), 2000.22H. Image credit: Amgueddfa Cymru (NMW), (CC BY-SA 4.0).

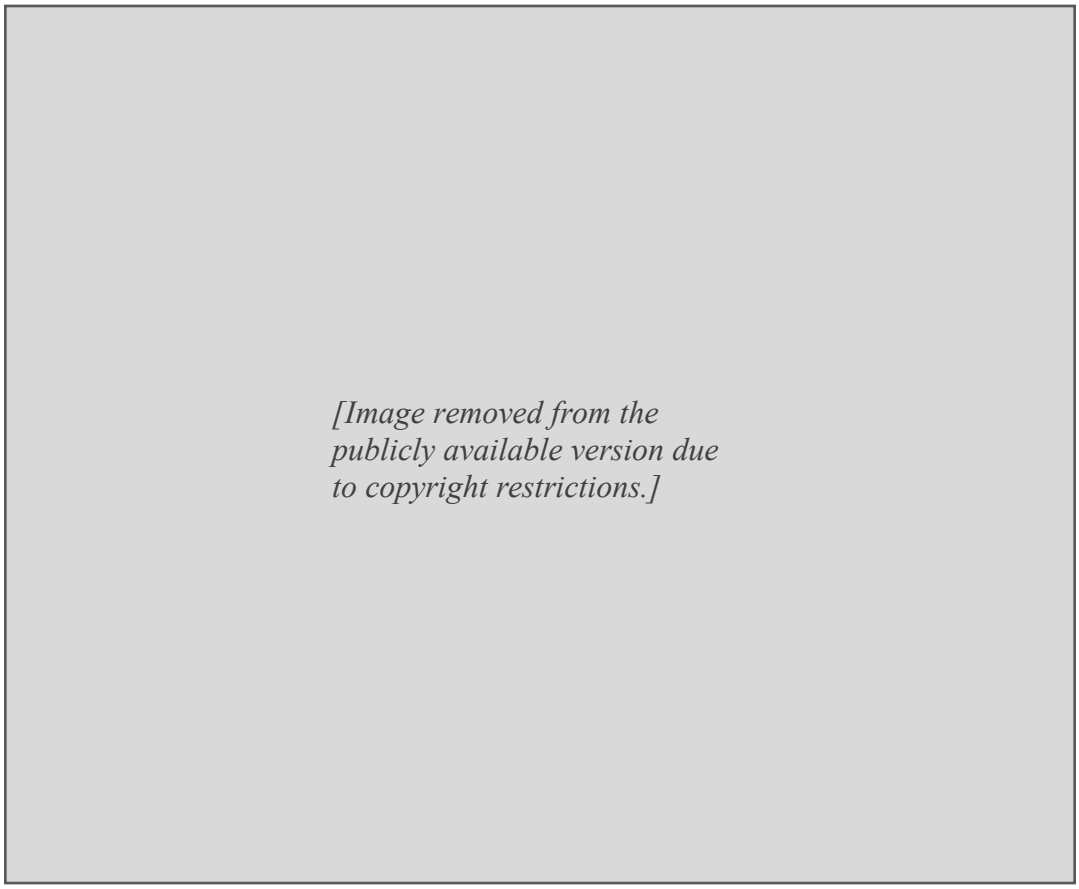


Figure 2.10 Matlaske Pendant, found in Matlaske, Norfolk, (front plate, exterior). English, late fifteenth century. Gold and niello enamel, engraved, 10mm. Norfolk Museums Collections, Appendix I: 1.52. Image credit: Norfolk Museums Collections.



Figure 2.11a Bridlington Pendant, found in Bridlington, East Riding of Yorkshire (front plate, exterior). English, c.1475-1485. Engraved gold, 34x23mm. British Museum, Appendix I:1.47. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 2.11b Bridlington Pendant, found in Bridlington, East Riding of Yorkshire (back plate, exterior). English, c.1475-1485. Engraved gold, 34x23mm. British Museum, Appendix I:1.47. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 2.11c Bridlington Pendant, found in Bridlington, East Riding of Yorkshire (front plate and back plate, interior). English, c.1475-1485. Engraved gold, 34x23mm. British Museum, Appendix I:1.47. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 2.12a Geranium robertianum*, also known as 'Herb Robert'. Image credit: © Achim Lammerts, Wikimedia Commons,"2026-04-25 Z5-6100E Achim-Lammerts Geranium-robertianum", (CC BY-SA 4.0). Due to copyright restrictions, this image replaces a similar one in the examined thesis.*



Figure 2.12b Jacob Sturm, Geranium robertianum*, showing the elongated beak-like fruiting structures that give geraniums their common name,'cranesbill'. From Johann Georg Sturm*, Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen, *1796. Hand-coloured botanical illustration, print on paper. Image credit: Wikimedia Commons, public domain. Due to copyright restrictions, this image replaces a similar one in the examined thesis.*



Figure 2.13 The Sunday Christ Relief. English, c.1500. Alabaster, 390x120x40mm. V&A, A.1-2010. Image: V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 2.14 'Two Young Men Crushing Plant Material with Mortar and Pestle to Make Medicines', detail from Sloane MS 6 175v, The British Library. England, c.1425-1450. Ink drawing. Image credit: BL Digitised Manuscripts.



Figure 2.15 Printed Amulet. German, c.1502. Hand-coloured woodcut print, 348x250mm. British Museum, 1852,0612.23. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum [(CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)](#).



Figure 2.16 Iconographic Ring with a blossom growing from a tau-shaped stem, found in Dorset. English, c.1440-1540. Engraved gilt silver, 24x8x3mm, 7.24g. PAS: DOR-3EC81E. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 2.17 Container Pendant with Tau Cross Symbol, found in Kirton, Lincolnshire. English, c.1400-1500. Gold and rock crystal, 19x15mm, 3.48g. Private Collection, Appendix I:1.24. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).

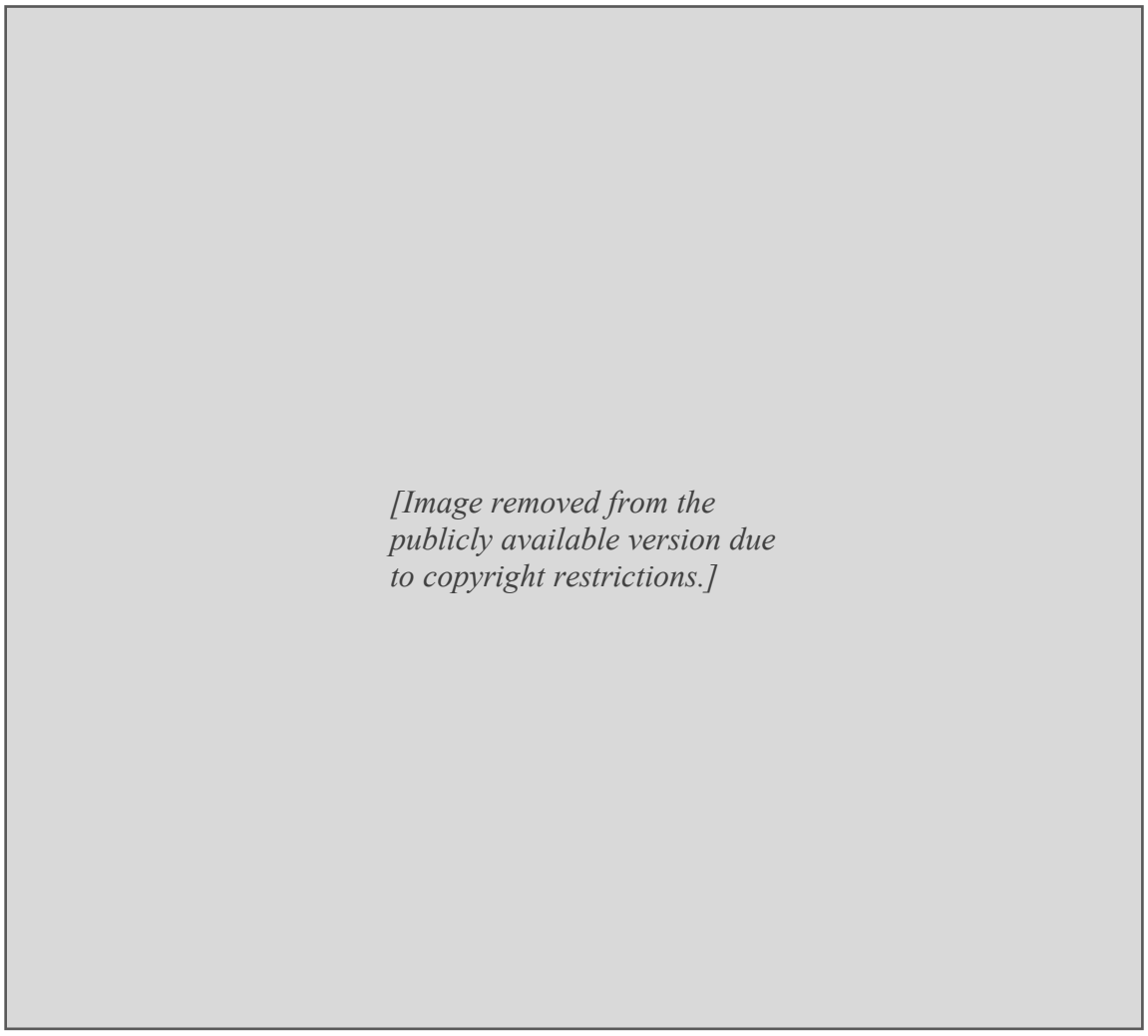


Figure 2.18a Tau-shaped Container Pendant, (side I). English, c.1450-1550. Engraved silver, 42x38mm, 13.5g. Private Collection, Appendix I:1.60. Seller: Artemis Fine Arts. Image: Bidsquare.



Figure 2.18b Tau-shaped Container Pendant, (side II). English, c.1450-1550. Engraved silver, 42x38mm, 13.5g. Private Collection, Appendix I:1.60. Seller: Artemis Fine Arts. Image: Bidsquare.



Figure 2.19 Cruciform Container Pendant, found near Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire (front, side, and reverse views). English, c.1400-1500. Engraved gold, 54x41x5mm, 14.3g. Discover Bucks Museum, Appendix I: 1.34. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 2.20 Rous Roll*, detail of Richard Beauchamp, 13th Earl of Warwick, holding the infant Henry VI. John Rous. England, c.1483-5. Ink and colour on vellum. British Library, Add MS 48976. Image credit: BL Digitised Manuscripts.*



Figure 2.21 Beauchamp ancestor Isabella de Mauduit, wife of William Beauchamp, wearing an armourial robe emblazoned with the Beauchamp gold cross bottony. After the Warwick Roll. *From Henry Shaw,* Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages, from the Seventh to the Seventeenth Centuries, *vol. II, 1858, 169. Colour lithograph, print on paper. Image credit: Internet Archive (Philadelphia Museum of Art), public domain.*



Figure 2.22 Tomb effigy of Thomas de Beauchamp, 11th Earl of Warwick (d.1369) wearing armour with the Beauchamp cross bottony. Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Warwick, Warwickshire. Alabaster. Image credit:Wikipedia user Editornado (CC BY-SA 3.0).



Figure 2.23 Beauchamp Horse Harness Pendant, found in Edlesborough, Buckinghamshire, English, c. late thirteenth or fourteenth century. Gilt and enamelled copper alloy, 44mm, 11g. Private Collection, PAS: PUBLIC-1DB3A2. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).

Chapter 3.



Figure 3.1 Container Pedant, found in Broughton, Hampshire (front, side, and reverse views). English, c.1400-1500. Engraved and gilt silver, 21.38mm diameter. Private Collection, Appendix 1: 1.32. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 3.2 Container Pendant Plate, found in Normanby, North Yorkshire, (front and reverse). English, c.1400-1500. Engraved and gilt silver, 28mm diameter. Yorkshire Museum, Appendix I: 1.40. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 3.3 Container Pendant Hinged Plate, found in Crays Hill, Essex, (front and reverse). English, c.1400-1500. Engraved and gilt silver, 24mm diameter. Appendix 1:1.11. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 3.4 The Sacrifice of Abel and Melchizedek. Byzantine, 538-545 AD. Basilica of St. Vitale, Ravenna, Italy. Mosaic mural. Image credit: Wikimedia Commons, Roger Culos, (CC BY-SA 3.0). Abel offering a lamb and Melchizedek offering a round bread loaf to God at an altar.



Figure 3.5 Eucharist Wafer Iron, c.1390-1410. Stockholm, Statens Historika Museum (Museum of National Antiquities). Image credit: SHM, (CC BY 4.0). Due to copyright restrictions, this image replaces a similar one in the examined thesis.

[Image removed from the publicly available version due to copyright restrictions.]

Figure 3.6 Three Hosts Badge of Andechs Abbey, found in Munich. German, c.1455-1499. Kunera Database, No. 06534. Image: Rudy 2016, fig. 13.



Figure 3.7 Embroidered Burse. English, c.1290-1340. Canvas embroidered in coloured silks, 285x260mm. V&A, 1416-1874. Image: V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

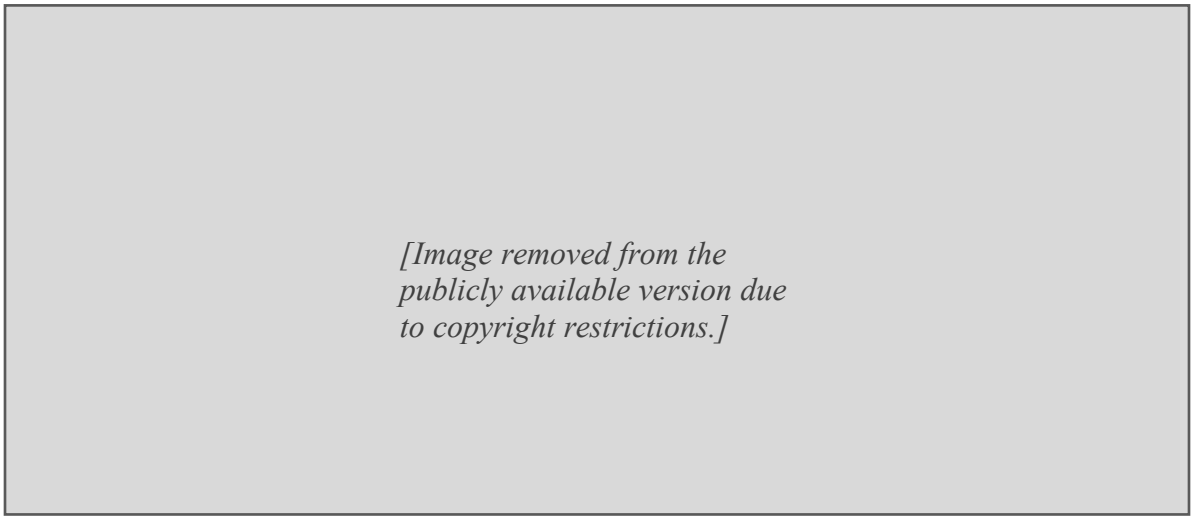


Figure 3.8a Swinburne Pyx (exterior views of container (left) and lid (right)). English, c.1310-1325. Engraved and parcel-gilt silver, originally enameled, 30x57mm. V&A, M.15&A-1950. Image: V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[Image removed from the publicly available version due to copyright restrictions.]

Figure 3.8b Swinburne Pyx (interior views of container (left) and lid (right)). English, c.1310-1325. Engraved and parcel-gilt silver, originally enameled, 30x57mm. V&A, M.15&A-1950. Image: V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 3.9a Agnus Dei *Container Pendant, containing original wax disc, found in London. English, c.1400-1500. Cast Lead, wax, 48mm diameter. British Museum, Appendix I:1.44. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).*

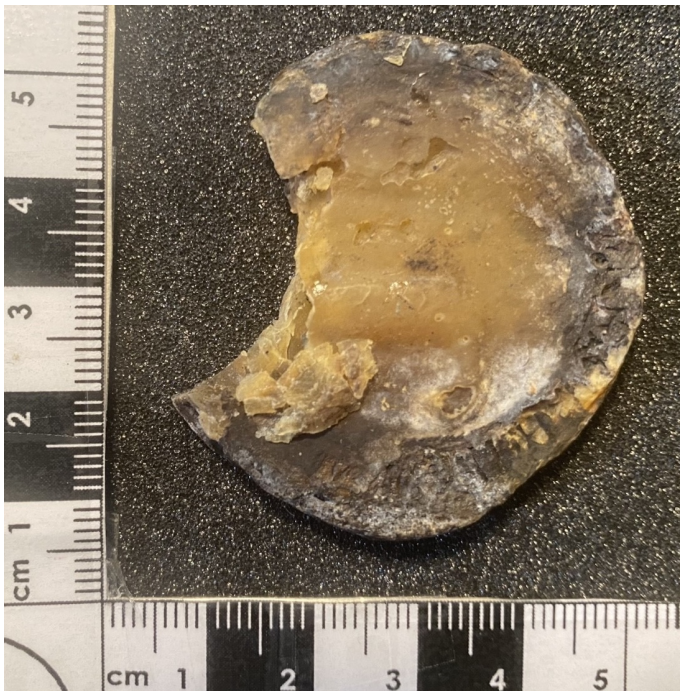


Figure 3.9b Wax Agnus Dei *Disc, contents of Appendix I:1.44, found in London. Moulded wax, 48mm diameter. British Museum. Photograph by the author, taken during a research visit to the British Museum.*



Figure 3.10 Openwork Container Pendant, found in St. Mary, South Elmham (otherwise) Homersfield, Suffolk (front and reverse views). English, c.1400-1600. Copper-alloy, containing 'white concretion', 23.3mm diameter. Private Collection, Appendix I:1.19. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).



Figure 3.11 Container Pendant (front, side, and reverse/interior views), found in Harescombe, Gloucestershire. English, c.1400-1540. Silver-gilt, 25mm diameter, .9mm depth, 6g. Appendix I: 1.12. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).

Chapter 4.

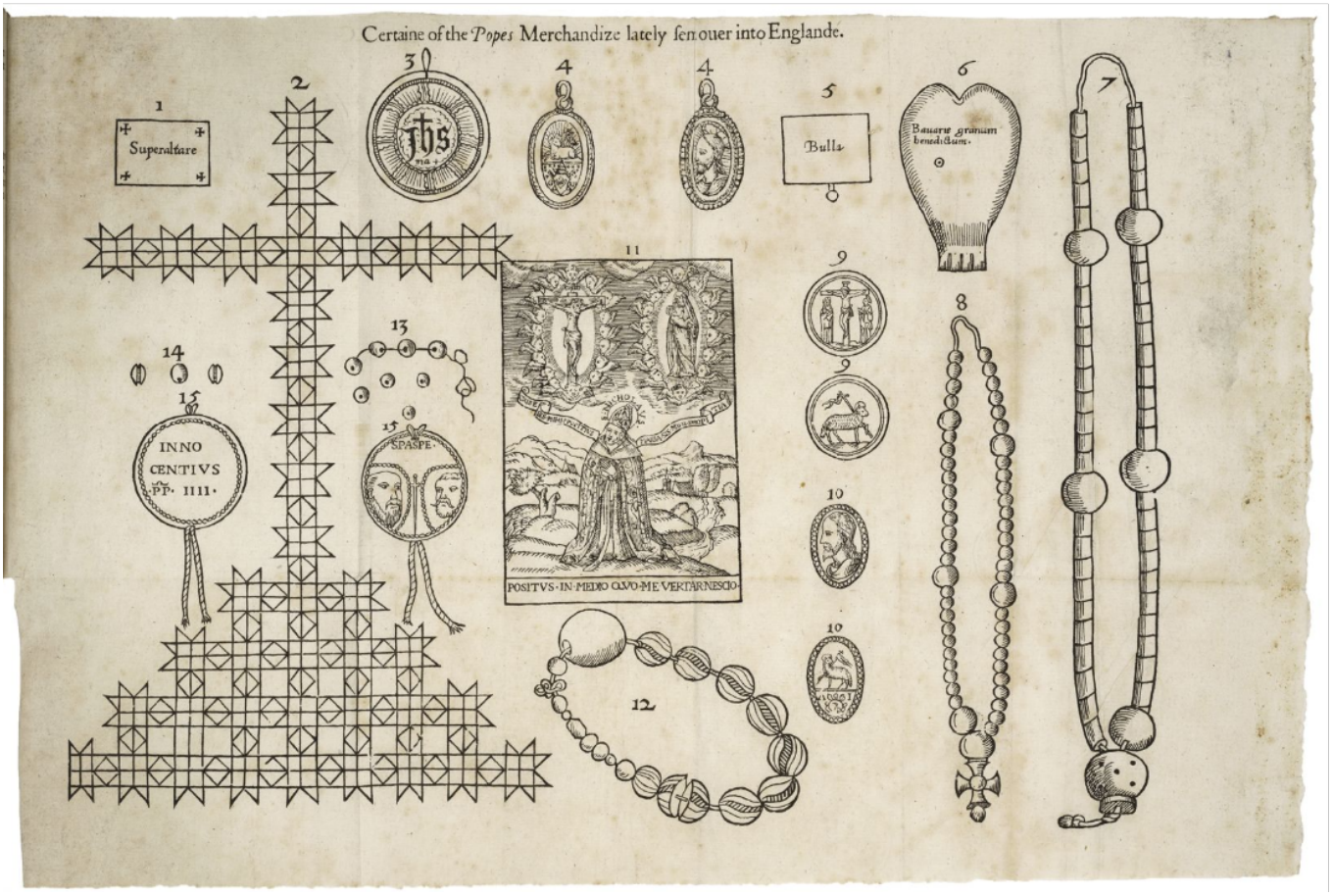


Figure 4.1 'Certaine of the Popes *Merchandize lately sent over into Englande.', in B[ernard] G[arter],* A newyeares gifte : dedicated to the Popes Holinesse, and all Catholikes addicted to the Sea of Rome*, London: Henry Bynneman, 1579, woodcut print. STC 11629 copy 1, foldout image between H1 verso and H2 recto. Image credit: Folger Shakespeare Library, (CC0).*



Figure 4.2 Heart-Shaped Container Pendant, found in Norfolk. English, c.1550-1600. Silver-gilt, engraved, 19x16x5mm, 1.9g. Norwich Castle Museum, Appendix II: 2.41. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0).

[Image removed from the publicly available version due to copyright restrictions.]

Figure 4.3 'A discovery of the Jesuits Trumpery, newly packed out of England', 1641, London: Printed for Henry Gosson; dwelling on London-Bridge. British Library, Thomason / 669.f.4[10]; Wing (2nd ed., 1994) / D1655. Image credit: EEBO, © 2019 ProQuest LLC. Image reproduced by courtesy of British Library.

Chapter 5.



Figure 5.1a The Blairs Jewel, Mary Queen of Scots Miniature Reliquary (side I). British, c.1610. Gold, silk, wood, bone, watercolour on paper, 80x60mm. Blairs Museum, T9109. Image credit: The Scottish Catholic Heritage Collections Trust, Blairs Museum (CC BY-NC-ND).



Figure 5.1b The Blairs Jewel, Mary Queen of Scots Miniature Reliquary (side II). British, c.1610. Gold, silk, wood, bone, watercolour on paper, 80x60mm. Blairs Museum, *T9109. Image credit: The Scottish Catholic Heritage Collections Trust, Blairs Museum. Tiny relics, including the wood of the cross (*ligno crucis), *and relics associated with the named saints are contained within the small circular spaces created and framed by the hand-coloured paperwork both within the crown and above the letters, MRA.*



Figure 5.2 Container Pendant, found in Barwick in Elmet, West Yorkshire. English, c.1600-1700. Silver, 32x21x5mm, 6.68g. Leeds Museum, Appendix II: 2.51. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0)

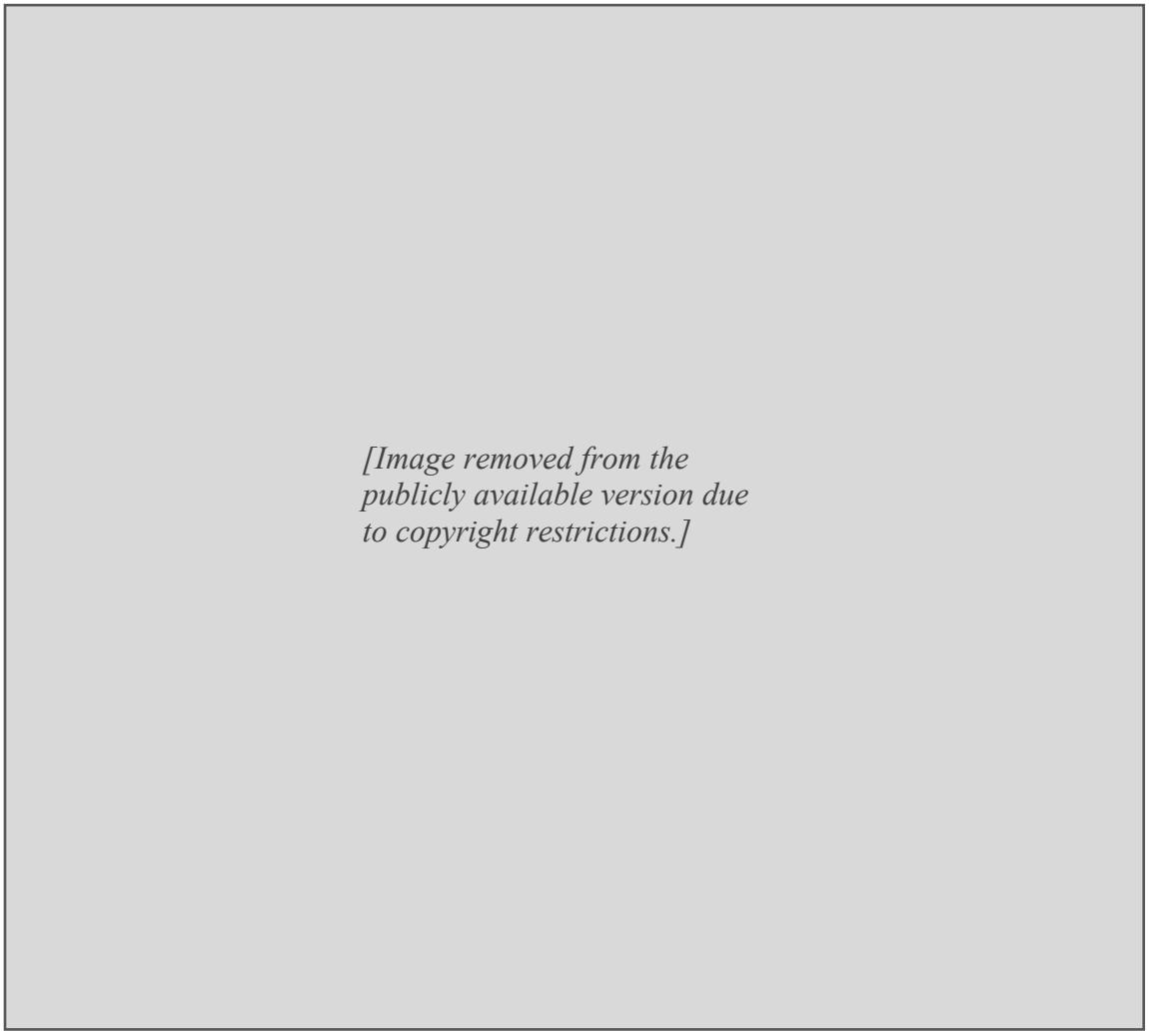


Figure 5.3 Charles I Book-Shaped Reliquary. English, c.1649. Silver-gilt, enamel, textile, and crystal, 53mm height. Sold at Christie's Live Auction 5929, Lot 171, March 29, 2009. Private Collection, Appendix II: 2.160. Image credit: Christie's.



Figure 5.4 William Marshall, Frontispiece of King Charles I *from* Eikon Basilike*. English, published 1649. Etching and line engraving, ink on paper. National Portrait Gallery, NPG D1305, Image credit: © National Portrait Gallery, London (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).*



Figure 5.5 Unknown Dutch artist, Detail of (bottom right) Charles I, 1600-1649. Reigned 1625-1649 (The Execution of Charles I)*, c.1649, Oil on canvas, 1632x2968mm. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, On loan from Lord Dalmeny, PGL208. Image credit: Reproduced courtesy ofo*



Figure 5.6a Charles I Reliquary Pendant, (front), British, c.1650. Gold, pearl, enamel, porcelain, linen, hair, 84x38x30mm. National Museums Scotland, H.NF 20, Appendix II:2.162. Image: © National Museums Scotland.

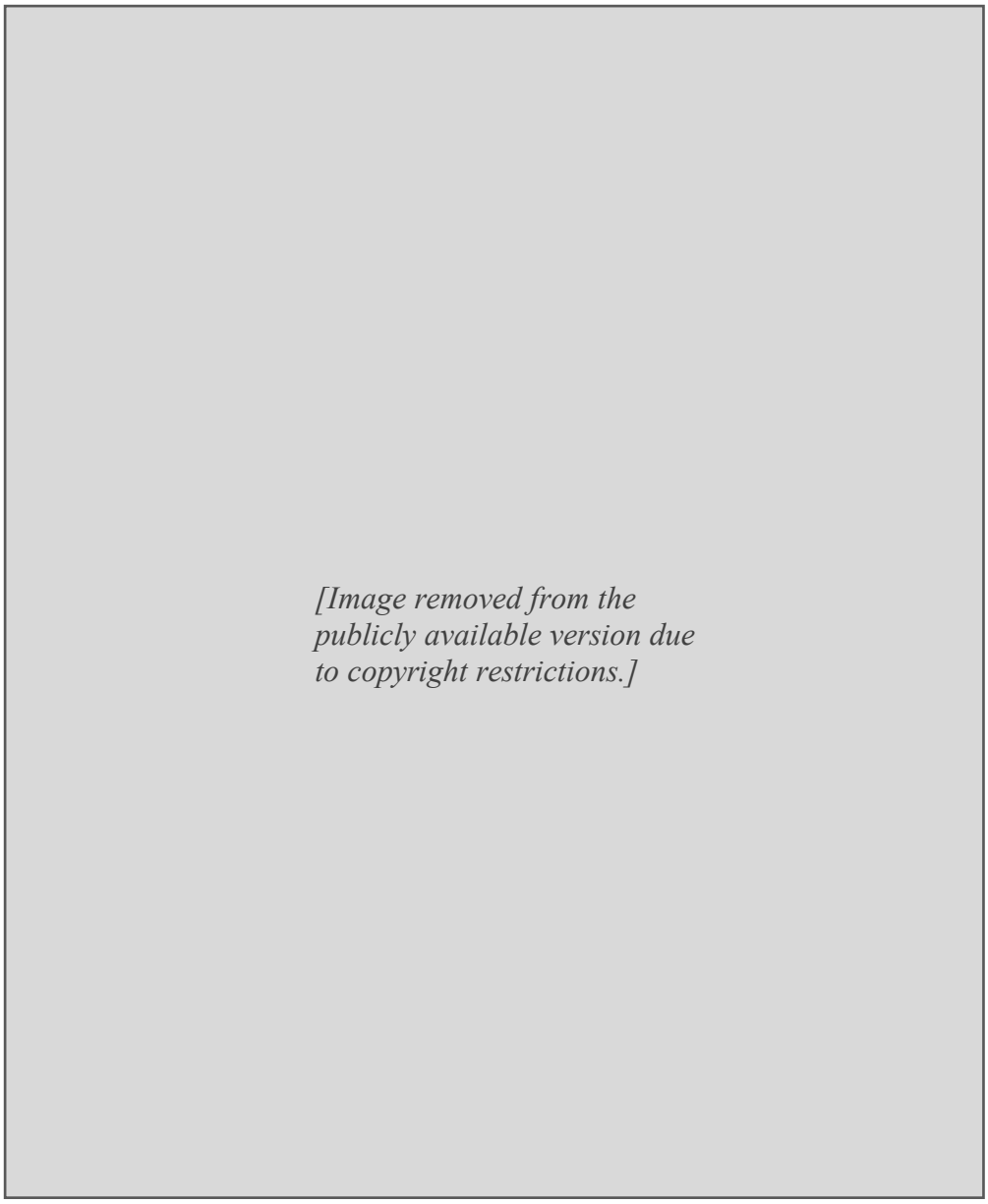


Figure 5.6b Reliquary Pendant, (reverse), British, c.1650. Gold, pearl, enamel, porcelain, linen, hair, 84x38x30mm. National Museums Scotland, H.NF 20, Appendix II: 2.162. Image: © National Museums Scotland.



Figure 5.7 Pendant (front and reverse views). English, c.1650. Engraved gold, glass, hair, 25x18x8mm. V&A, Appendix II: 2.76. Image: V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. An unprofessional hand has added the inscribed word 'Martyr' below the engraved title on the reverse, 'CR Rex'.



Figure 5.8 Medallion Pendant. English, exterior encasement: after 1660, medallion: 1625-1660. Gold and rock crystal, 84mm height. British Museum, Appendix II: 2.112. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 5.9a Charles I Reliquary Pendant (front), English, c.1650-1700. Gold, enamel, rock crystal, diamonds, pearl, gilt-copper relief. Pendant: 75mm, overall suspended: 550mm. Private Collection, Appendix II: 2.176. Image credit: Sotheby's.



Figure 5.9b Charles I Reliquary Pendant (reverse), English, c.1650-1700. Gold, enamel, rock crystal, diamonds, pearl, gilt-copper relief, pendant: 75mm, overall suspended: 550mm. Private Collection, Appendix II: 2.176. Image credit: Sotheby's. Central within the pendant are the entwined wire initials, 'CR'.



Figure 5.10 Pendant. Spanish, seventeenth century. Gold, enamel and rock crystal, 72x55x19mm. V&A, 346-1870. Image credit: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

.



Figure 5.11 Locket (front and reverse views). English, after 1649. Silver-gilt, engraved. V&A, Appendix II: 2.73. Image credit: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

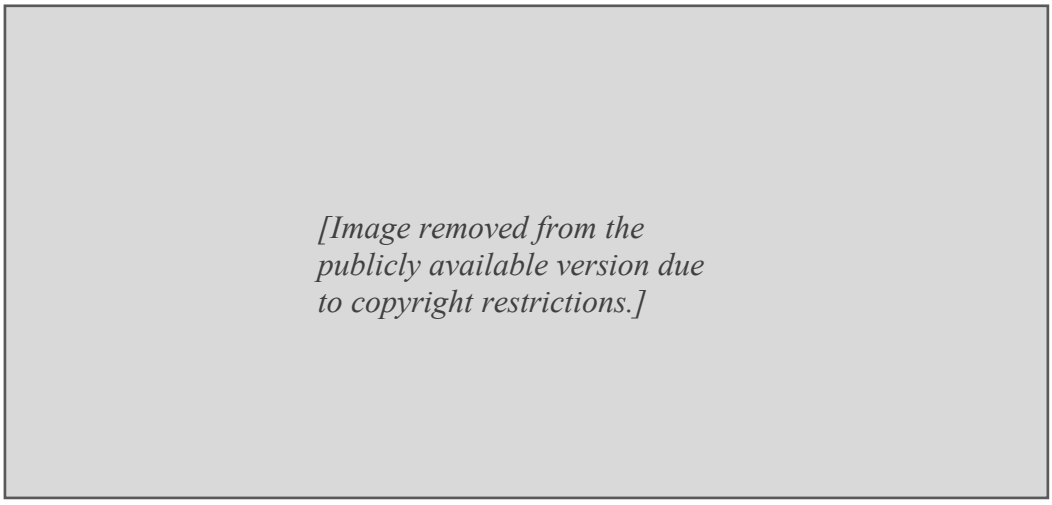


Figure 5.12 Locket (front and reverse views). English, after 1649. Engraved silver, 24x19x4mm. Appendix II: 2.101. Image credit: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

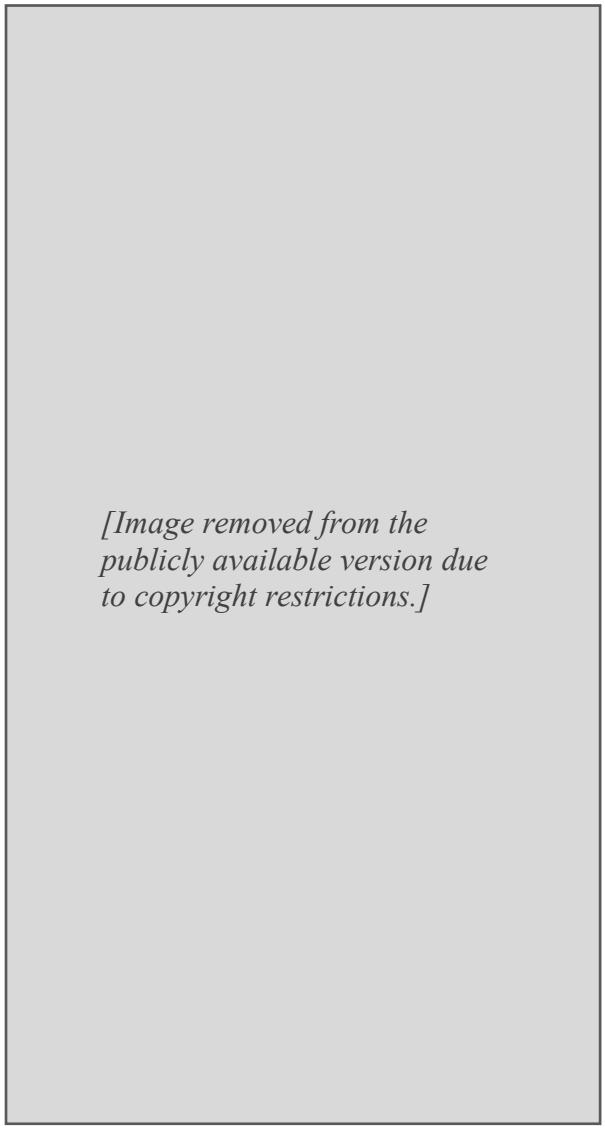


Figure 5.13 Locket (interior views, top to bottom: container and lid). English, c.1649-1660. Silver, 19x17mm. Rowan & Rowan, Appendix II:2.175, Image credit: Rowan & Rowan, Fine Antique Jewellers.

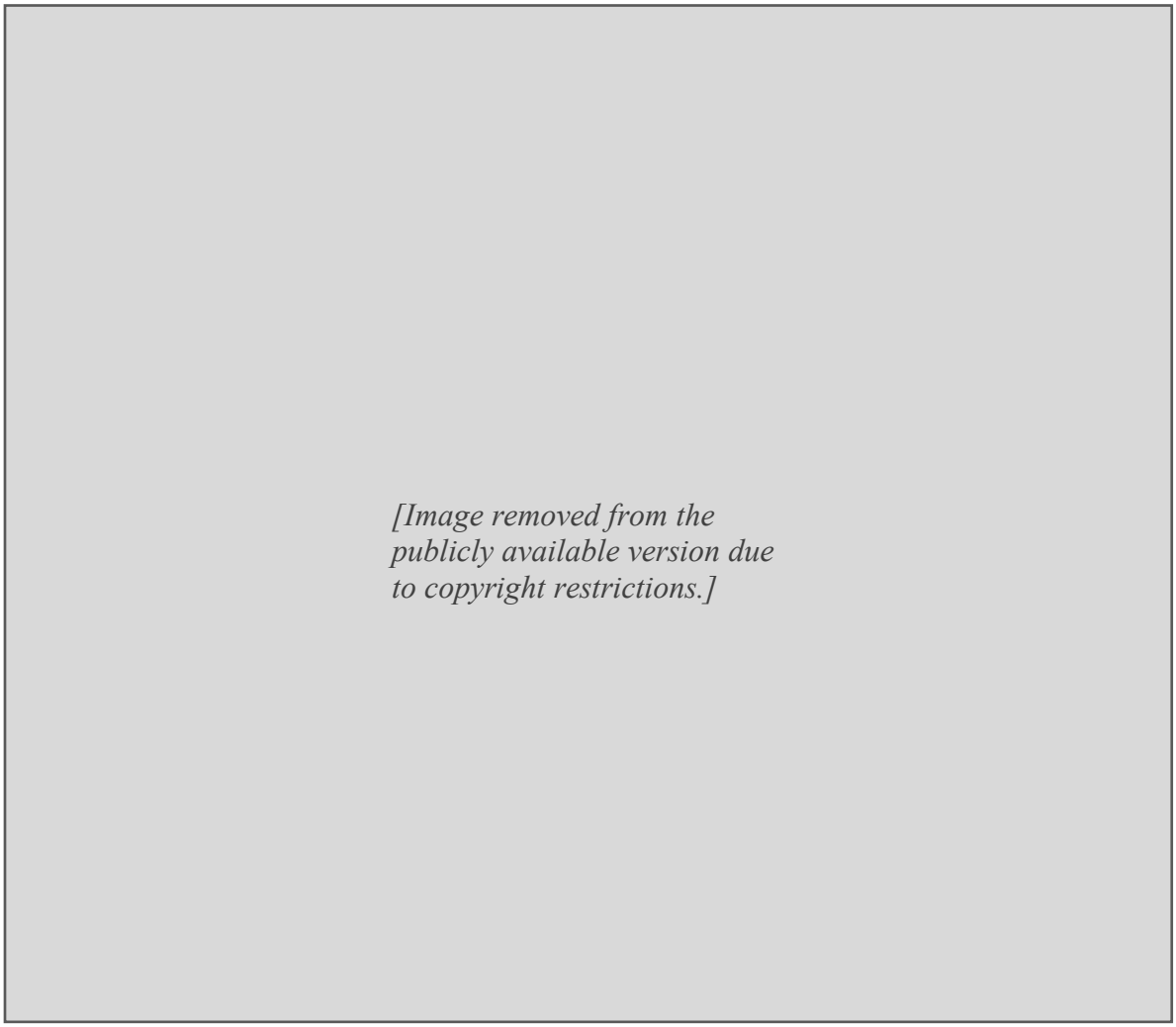


Figure 5.14 Martha Edlin's Embroidered Casket and Interior Contents. English, made in 1671, embroidered by Martha Edlin. Textile, wood, pearls, plaster, paper glass (casket), 310x290x245 (casket). V&A, T.432-1990. Martha's small heart-shaped lockets can be seen below the bottom-left corner of casket. Image credit: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

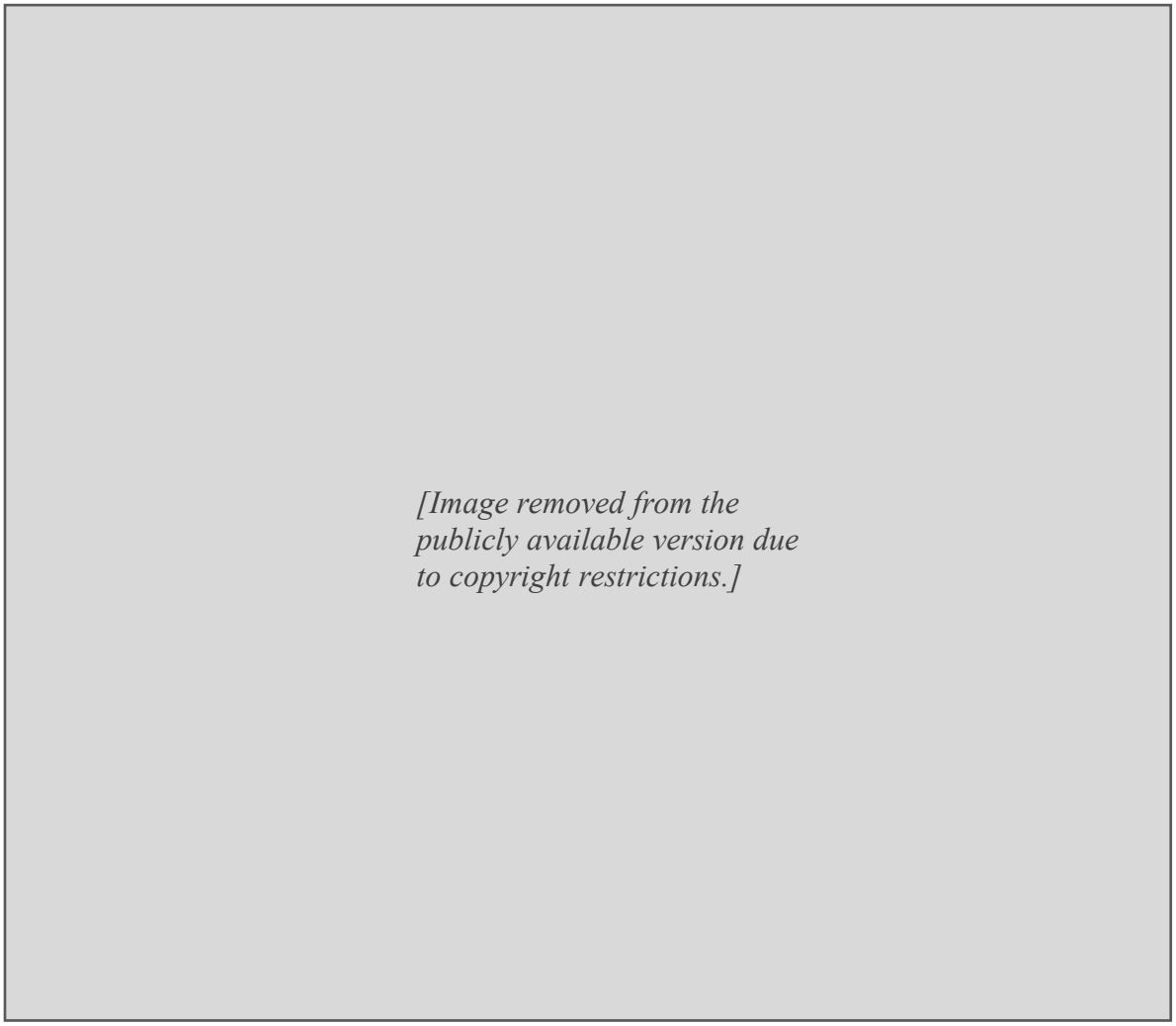


Figure 5.15 Martha Edlin's Embroidered Casket (exterior front view). English, made in 1671, embroidered by Martha Edlin. Textile, wood, pearls, plaster, paper glass, 310x290x245. V&A, T.432-1990. Image: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Left to right: the moral virtues of Faith, Charity, and Hope, embodied as idealised Restoration women and mothers. Martha's initials (ME) are embroidered in pearls in the upper register between the lion (who bears more than a passing resemblance to Charles II) and the unicorn.*

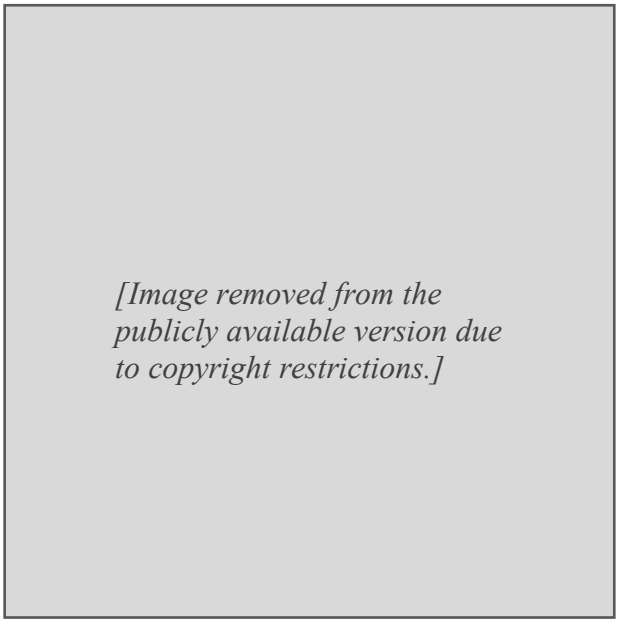


Figure 5.16a Locket (side I). English, c.1670-1680. Stamped and engraved silver, 15x15x17mm. V&A, Appendix II: 2.105. Image credit: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*



Figure 5.16b Locket (side II). English, c.1670-1680. Stamped silver, 15x15x17mm. V&A, Appendix II: 2.105. Image credit: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

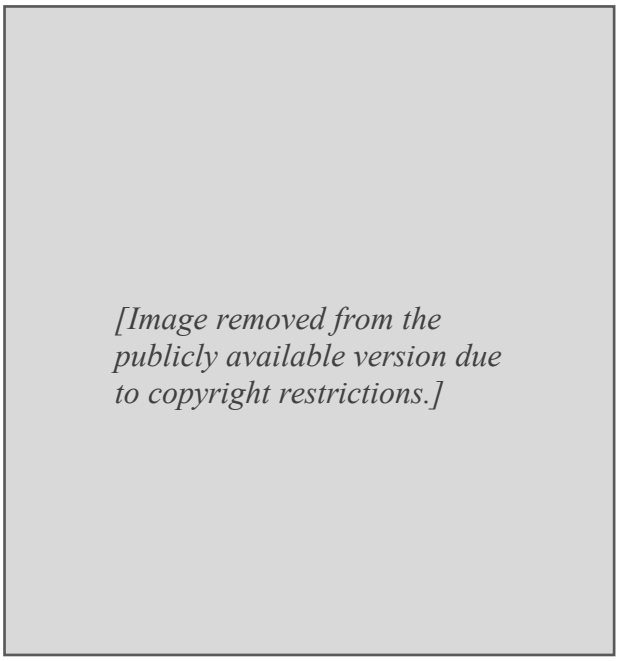


Figure 5.17 Locket. English, c.1670-1680. Stamped silver, 27x20x3mm. V&A, Appendix II: 2.106. Image credit: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Inscription reads: 'NOE HEART MORE TRVE THEN MINE TO YOV'.*

Chapter 6.



Figure 6.1 George Jamesone, Detail of Portrait of Lady Mary Erskine, Countess Marischal. Scottish, 1626. Oil on canvas, 673x546mm. National Galleries of Scotland, NG 958. Image credit: National Galleries of Scotland online catalogue. Photograph by Antonia Reeve. Reproduced under the National Galleries of Scotland personal use licence. Available at https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5060.



Figure 6.2 Hair Pendant. English, c.1624. Gold, enamel, colourless stone, hair. Harley Foundation, The Portland Collection, Appendix II: 2.165, Image credit: © Harley Foundation, The Portland Collection.

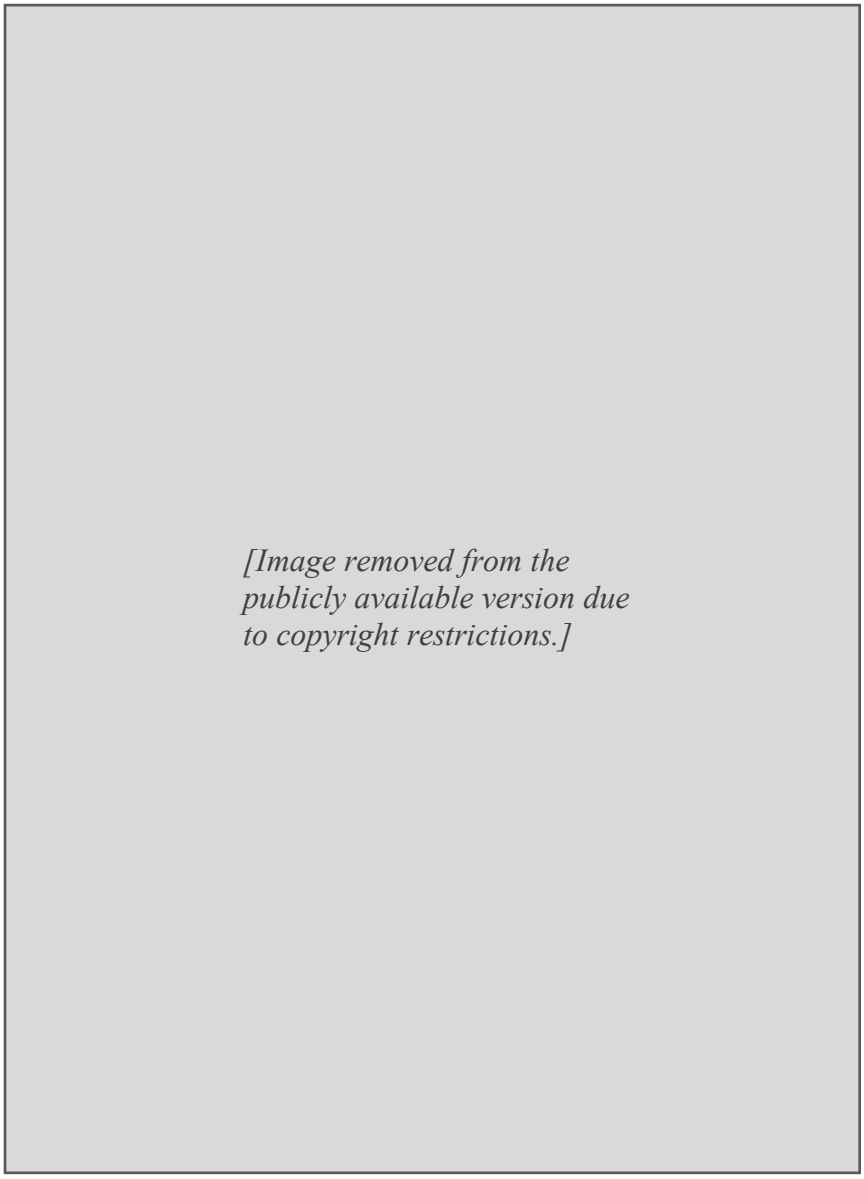


Figure 6.3 Hair Pendant. English, c.1626. Gold, enamel, colourless stone, hair. Harley Foundation, The Portland Collection, Appendix II: 2.166. Image credit: © Harley Foundation, The Portland Collection.

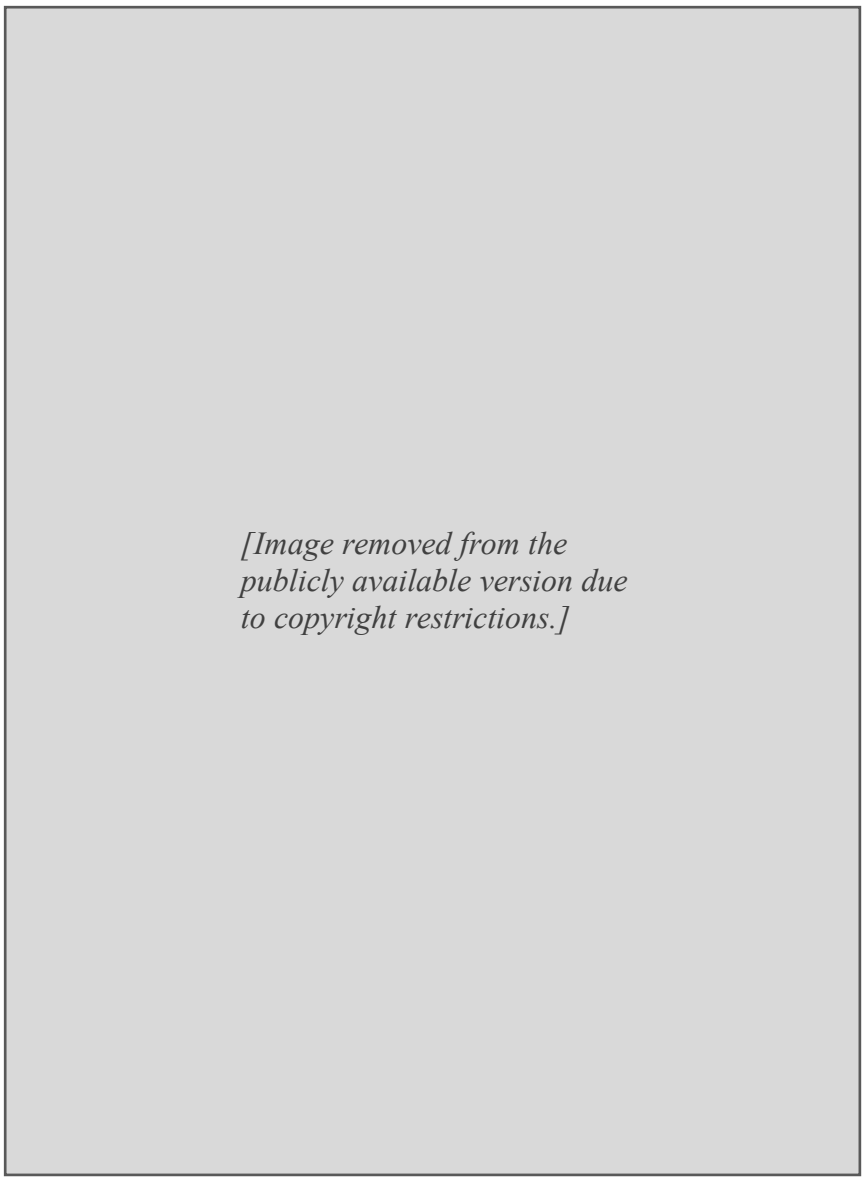


Figure 6.4 Hair Pendant. English, c.1600. Gold, enamel, hair, 60x8mm. National Trust, Ham House, Appendix II: 2.167. Image credit: Ham House © National Trust, Leah Band.

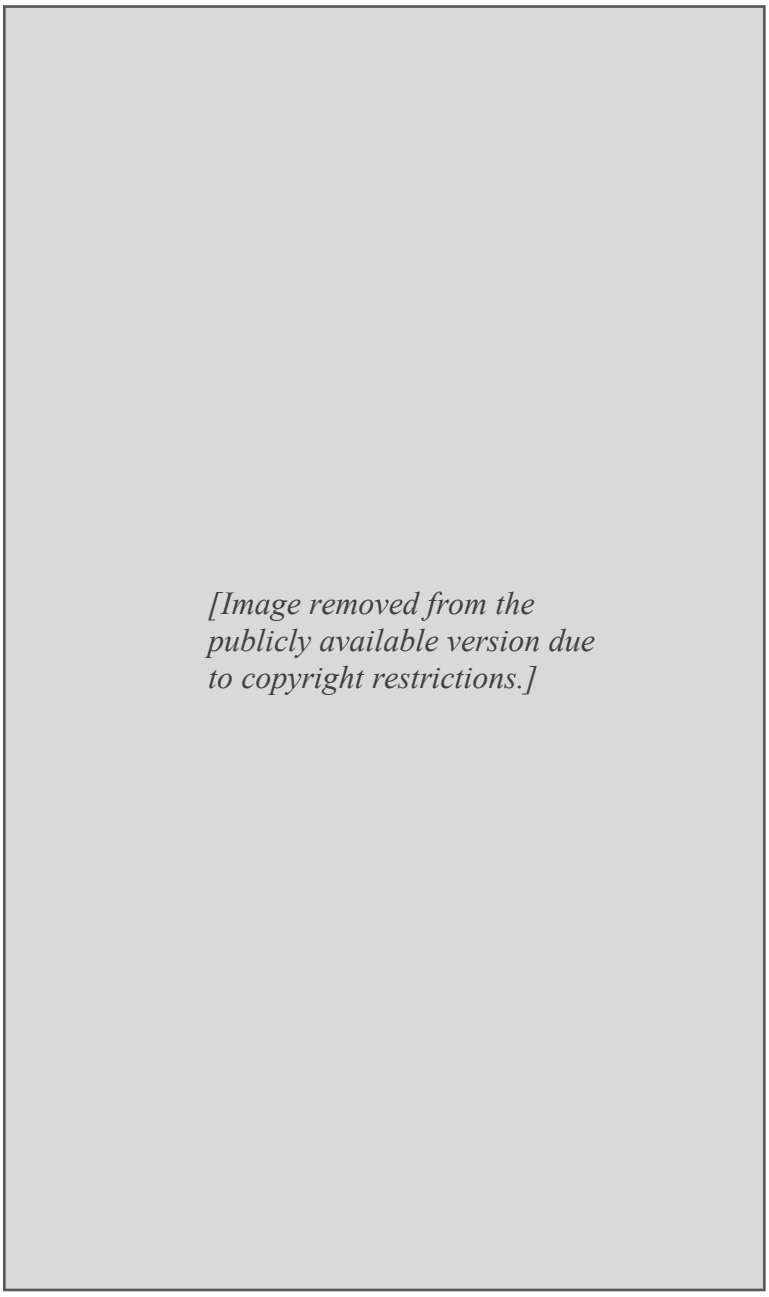


Figure 6.5 Hair Pendant. English, c.1600. Gold, enamel, hair, 95x8mm. National Trust, Ham House, Appendix II: 2.168. Image credit: Ham House © National Trust, Christopher Warleigh-Lack.

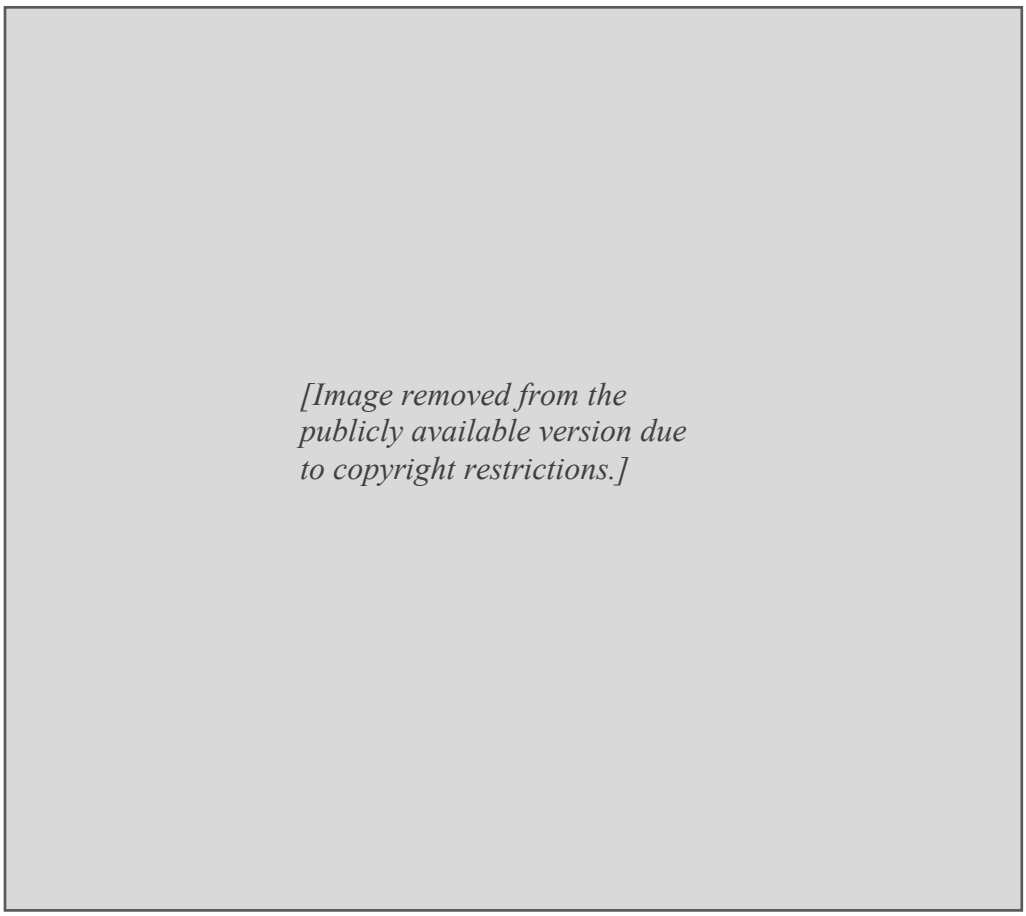


Figure 6.6 Hair Pendant. English, c.1640. Gold, enamel, hair, 40mm length. London Museum, Appendix II: 2.154. Image credit: Dicks 2010, p. 14, no. 12.



Figure 6.7 William Gibb, detail of Plate X from John H. Hope and William Gibb, The Royal House of Stuart, Illustrated by a Series of Forty Plates in Colours Drawn from the Relics of the Stuarts, *1890, showing a small colourless stone at the centre of the heart pendant. Colour lithograph, print on paper. Photograph by the author from a copy of the original publication.*



Figure 6.8 Cornelius Johnson. Detail of Portrait of Sir Thomas Hanmer. 1631. Oil on canvas, 775x622 mm. Amgueddfa Cymru (NMW), A 40. Image credit: Amgueddfa Cymru (NMW), (CC0).

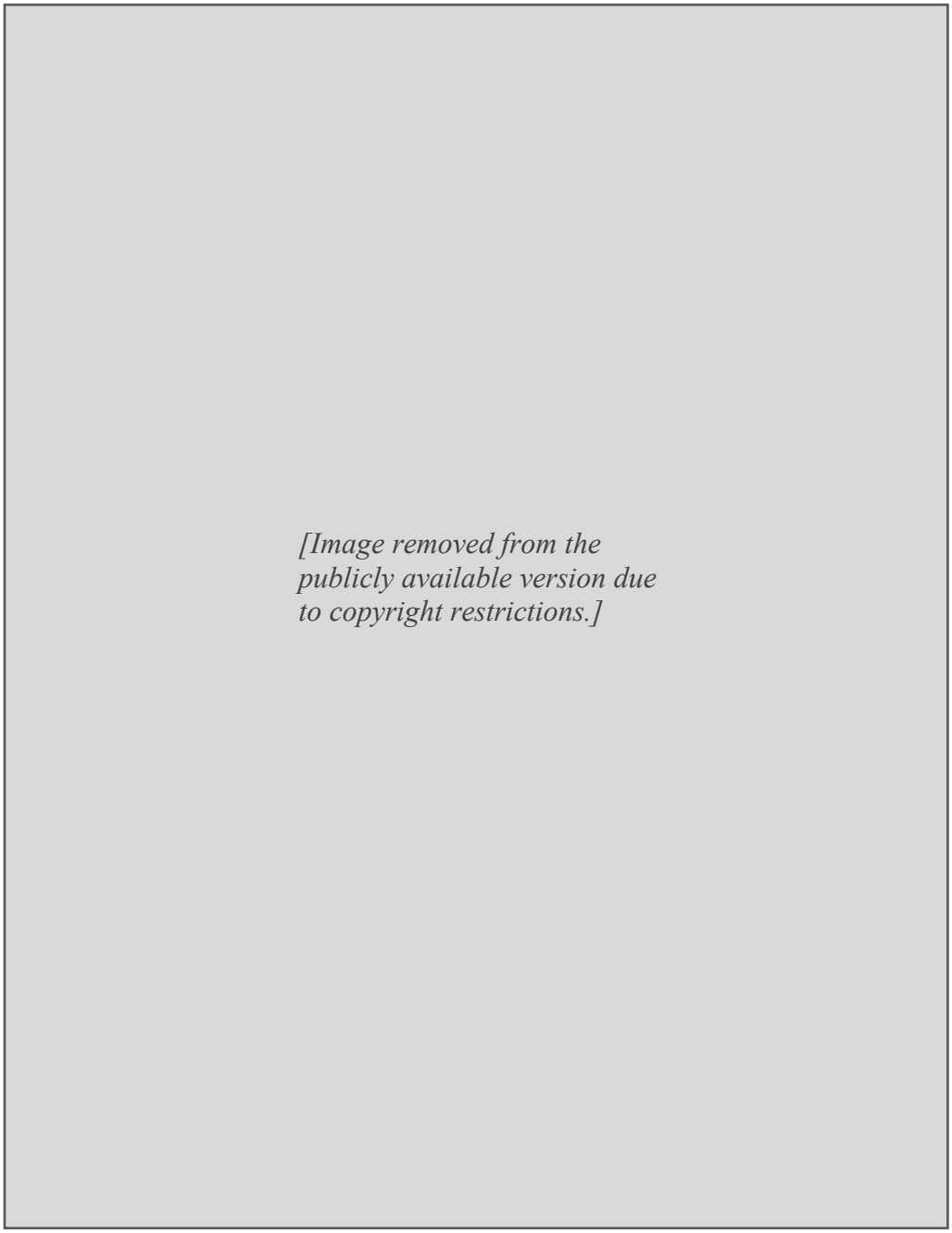


Figure 6.9 Adam de Colone. Detail of Portrait of Lady Margaret Livingstone, 2nd Countess of Wigtown. 1625. Oil on canvas, 1143x846x25mm. Tate Britain, T13440. Image credit: Tate.

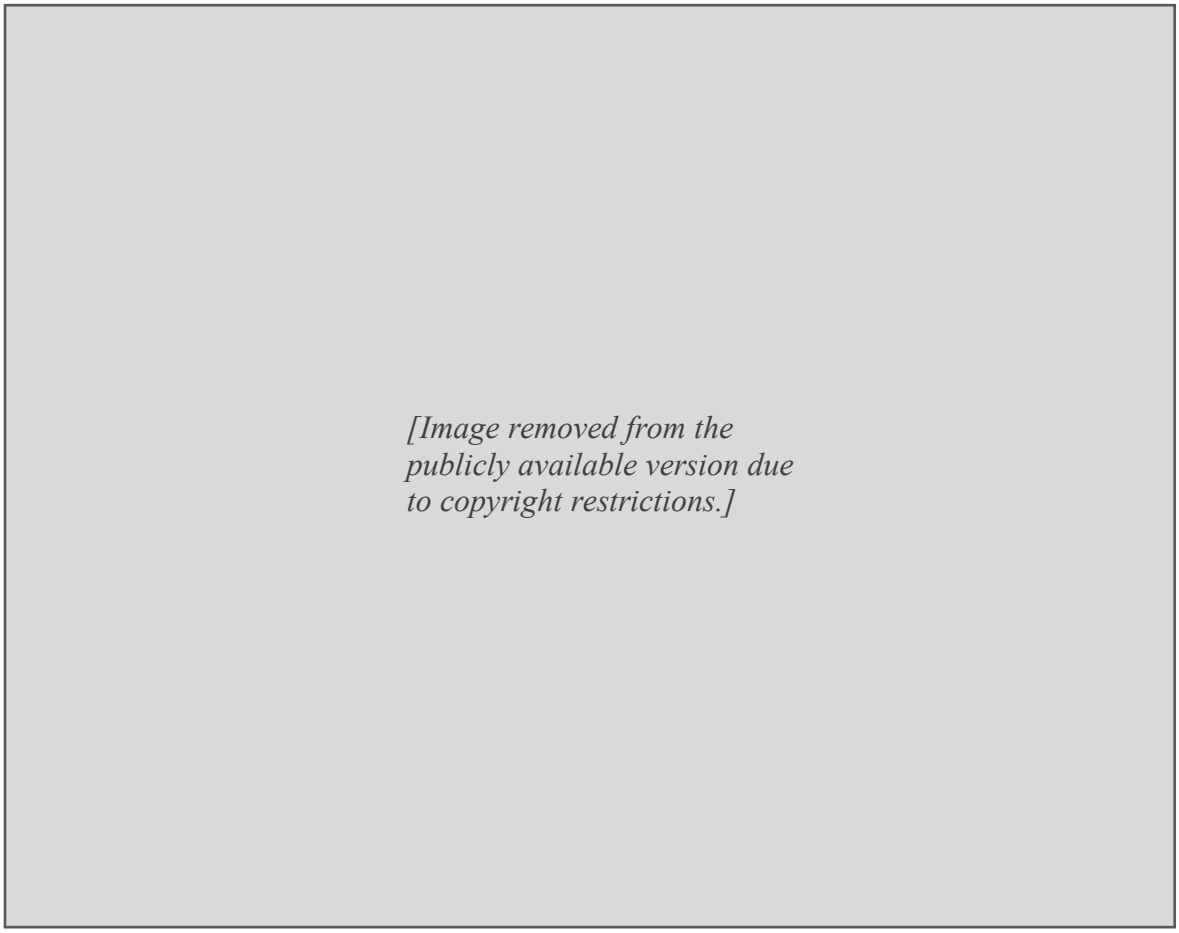


Figure 6.10 Daniel Mytens. Detail of Portrait of Elizabeth Cavendish (née Basset), Countess of Newcastle. 1624. Harley Foundation, Portland Collection. Image credit: © Harley Foundation, The Portland Collection.



Figure 6.11 After Anthony van Dyck, Detail of Portrait of Lady Frances Deveraux. English, c.1640. Oil on canvas, 1143x914mm. National Trust, NT 1175931. Image: Plas Newydd © National Trust.

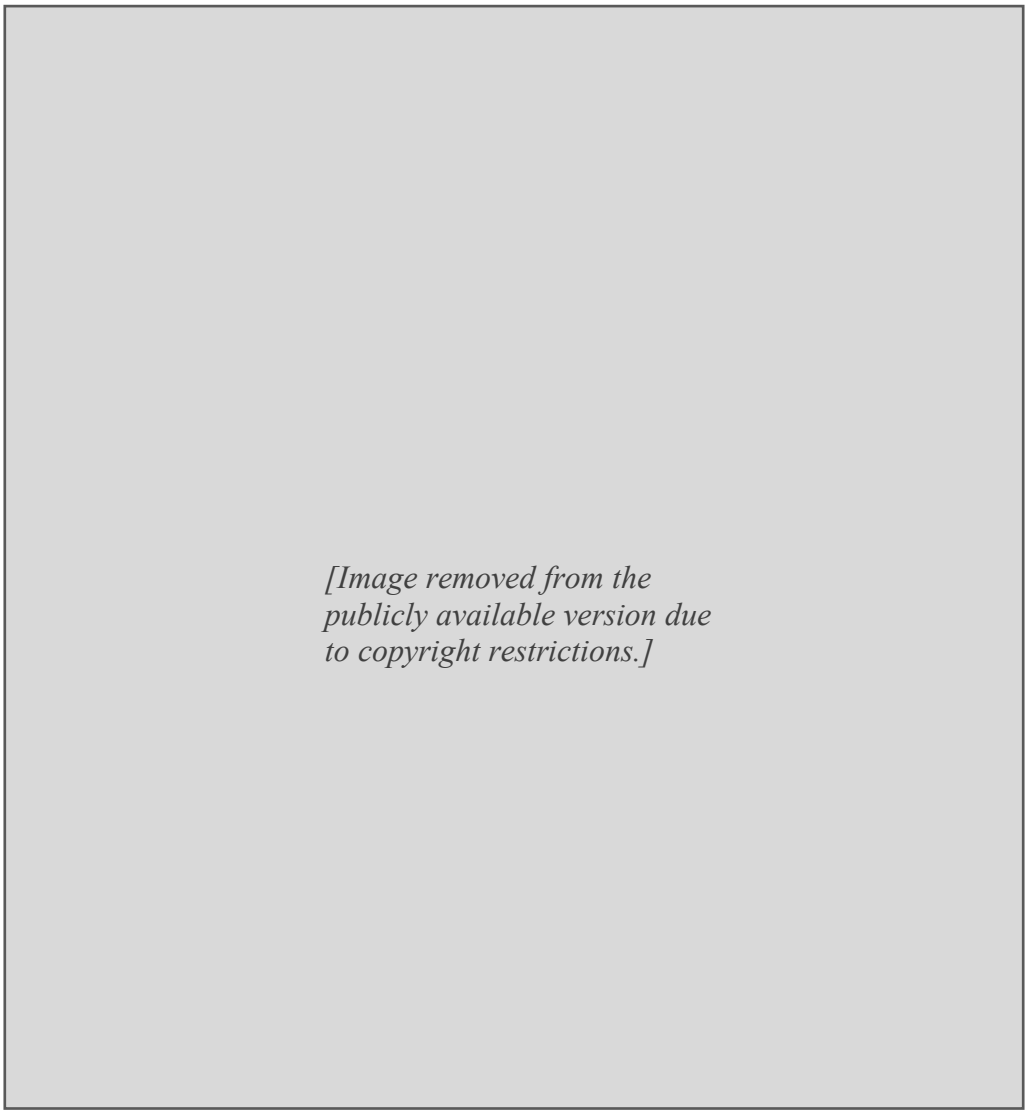


Figure 6.12 Portrait Miniature Locket of Sir William Compton. English, c.1600. Watercolour on vellum framed in a black cloisonné locket, 51x40mm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 420895. Image: Royal Collection Trust/ © His Majesty King Charles III 2022.

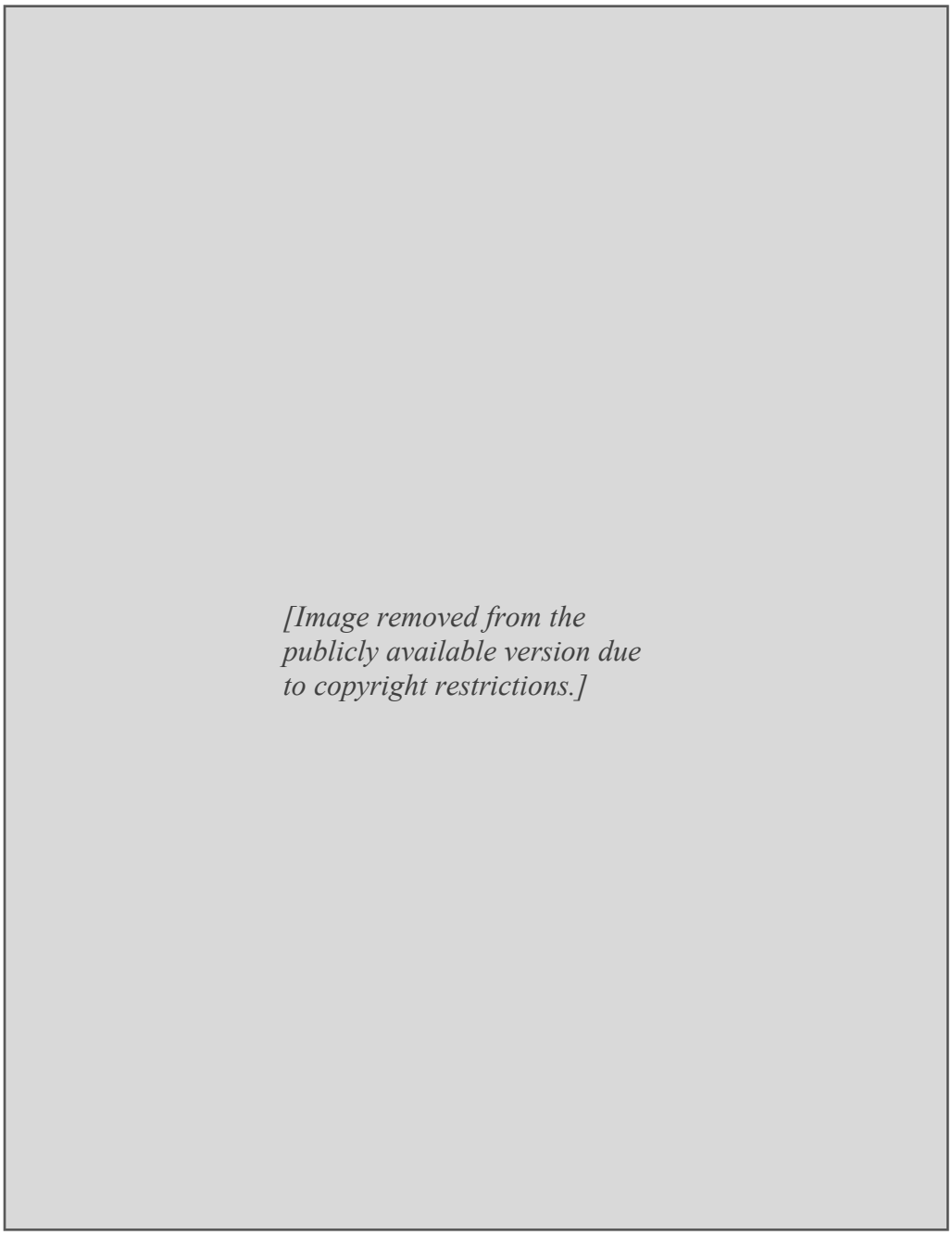


Figure 6.13 Attributed to John de Critz, Detail from Portrait of Anne Vavasour. English, c.1605. Oil on canvas. Collection of the Armourers and Brasiers of the City of London. Image by Evelyn Welch.

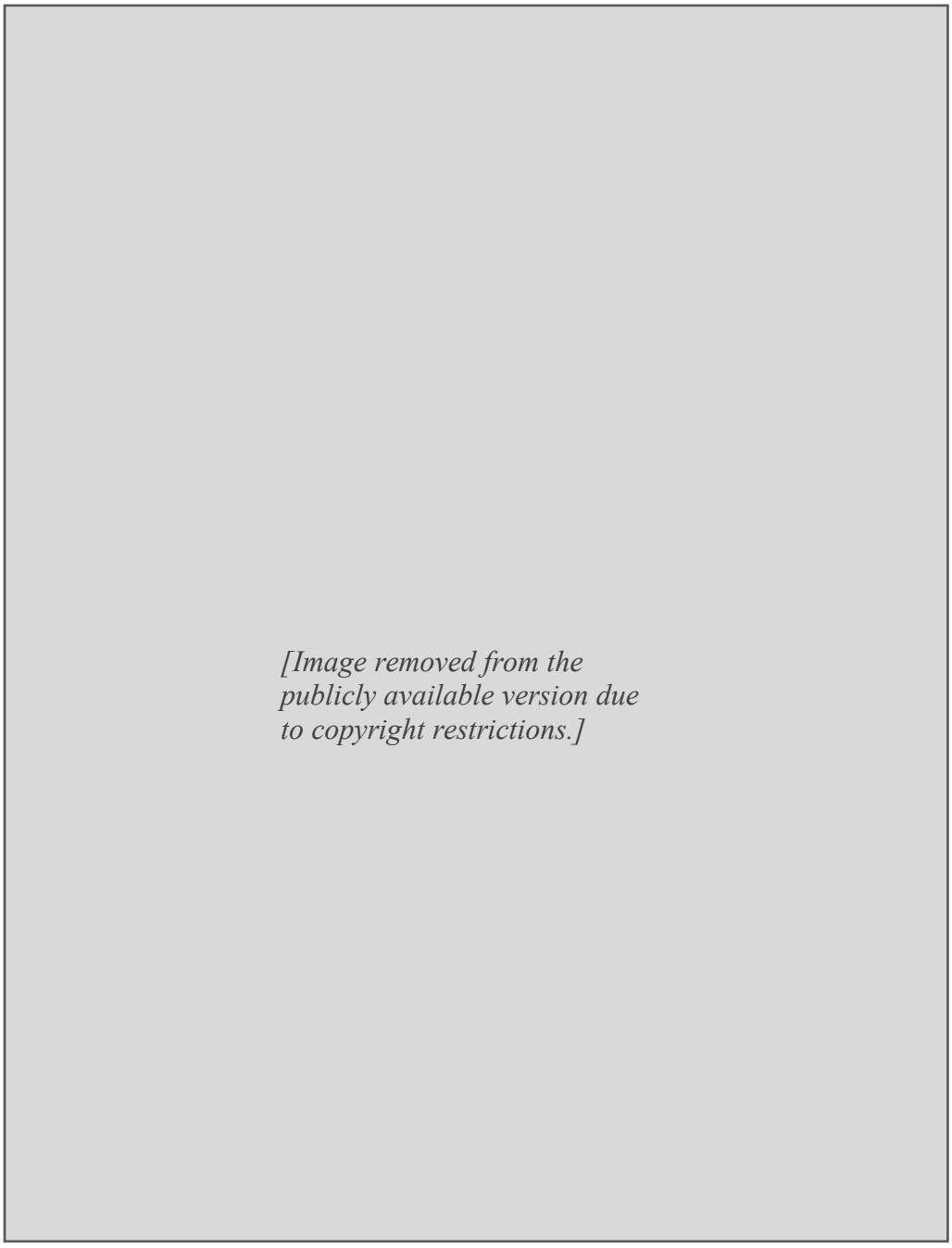


Figure 6.14 Paul van Somer, Detail of Portrait of Anne Wortley, Later Lady Morton. English, 1620. Oil on canvas, 2057x1270mm. Tate Britain, T03033. Image credit: Tate.



Figure 6.15 Cornelis Janssens van Ceulen, Portrait of a Lady (Perhaps Lady Elizabeth Sedley, née *Savile. Previously identified as Elizabeth of Bohemia)*[645]*. English, 1624. Oil on panel, 438x330mm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402978. Image: Royal Collection Trust/ © His Majesty King Charles III 2022.*

[645] The painting bears a strong resemblance to the sitter in another painting by Cornelis Janssens van Ceulen, wherein she is identified as 'Lady Sidley'. Bonhams, Old Master Paintings, Lot 1, July 5th, 2023. The artist's name has many orthographic variations and is often anglicised as 'Cornelius Johnson'.



Figure 6.16 John Souch, Sir Thomas Aston at the Deathbed of his Wife. English, 1635. Oil on canvas, 2032x2151mm. Manchester Art Gallery, 1927.150. Image: ® Manchester City Galleries, (CC BY-SA 4.0). Three hair-set pendants are visible here. Sir Thomas wears one as an earring in his left ear, and he wears another as a pendant on his sash. A third can be seen pinned to the bodice of the woman in the bottom-right corner.

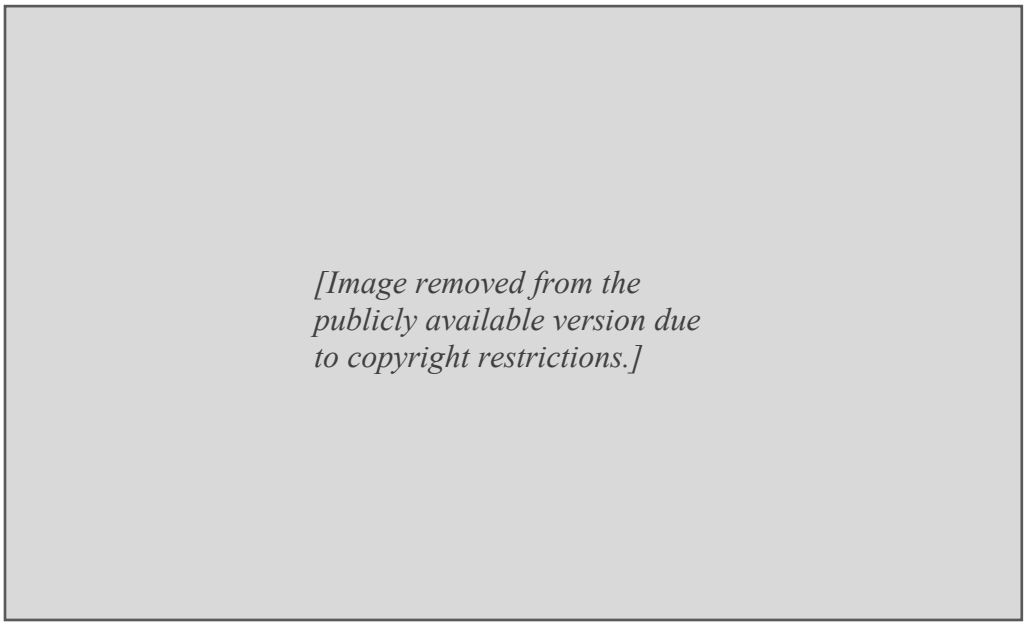


Figure 6.17 Ring. English, c.1400-1500. Silver-gilt, engraved, 29x26x6mm. V&A, Appendix I: 1.57. Image: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The exterior band is engraved with the name, '+ Iohes Godfroy', or John Godfroy.*



Figure 6.18a Openwork Ring, found in Newcastle-Under-Lyme, Staffordshire (view I). English, c.1660-1700. Cast and engraved gold, hair (formerly), 24.63x4.16x5.55mm. Potteries Museum & Art Gallery, Appendix II: 2.61. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0). Inscribed inside: 'Death hath Surpris'd my Cheifest Jewell T.H.'.



Figure 6.18b Openwork Ring, found in Newcastle-Under-Lyme, Staffordshire (views II, III, IV). English, c.1660-1700. Cast and engraved gold, hair (formerly), 24.63x4.16x5.55mm. Potteries Museum & Art Gallery, Appendix II: 2.61. Image credit: Portable Antiquities Scheme (CC BY 4.0). Inscribed inside: 'Death hath Surpris'd my Cheifest Jewell T.H.'.

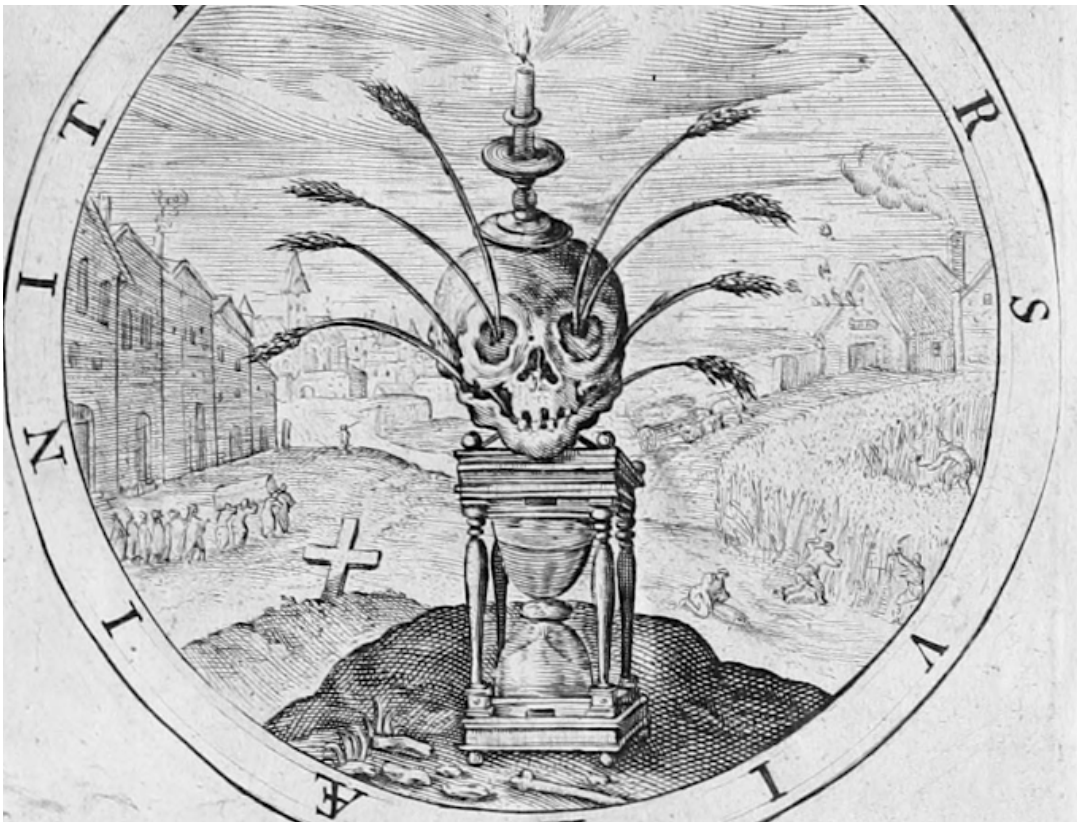


Figure 6.19 Detail of Illustration XXI, Book I, in George Wither, A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne, *London: Printed by A.M. for Robert Milbourne, 1635, 21. Engraving, ink on paper. Image credit: Internet Archive (Getty Research Institute), public domain. To the left, a coffin is carried in a funeral procession; to the right, labourers cut down wheat with sickles and bind it into sheaves.*

[Image removed from the publicly available version due to copyright restrictions.]

Figure 2.20 Toothpick. Possibly made in England, c.1630-60. Gold, enamel, ruby, 38x6x12mm. V&A, M.32-1960. Image: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*



Figure 6.21 Openwork Mourning Ring. English, 1660. Gold, enamel, hair, 22mm diameter, 6mm depth. V&A, Appendix II: 2.84. Image: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Inscribed inside: 'Samuell Nicholets objit 17 July 1661 / Christ is my portion'.*

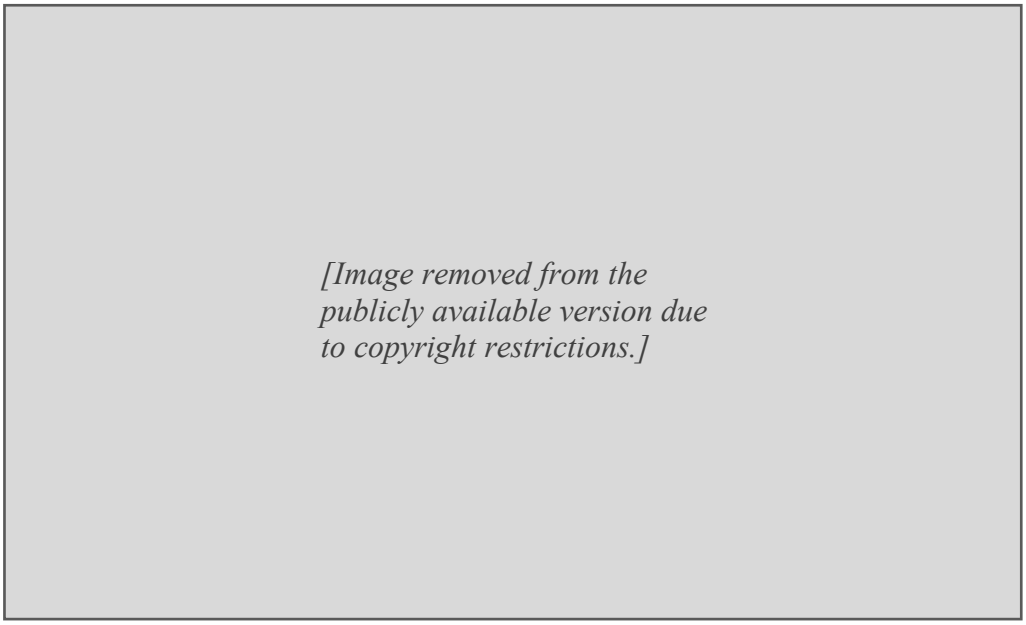


Figure 6.22 Openwork mourning Ring dedicated to Henry Hammond, chaplain to Charles I. English, 1660. Gold. Christie's, Appendix II: 2.161. Image credit: Christie's. Engraved on the interior: 'H Hammond D D obt: Apr: 25: 60 AE, 55'.



Figure 6.23 Ring. English, c.1690-1740. Gold, enamel, rock crystal or glass, watercolour on vellum or paper, 21mm diameter, 3.62g. The British Museum, Appendix II: 2.121. British Museum, Appendix II: 2.112. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 6.24 Ring. English, 1693. Gold, enamel, rock crystal or glass, hair, 20mm diameter. British Museum, Appendix II: 2.114. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

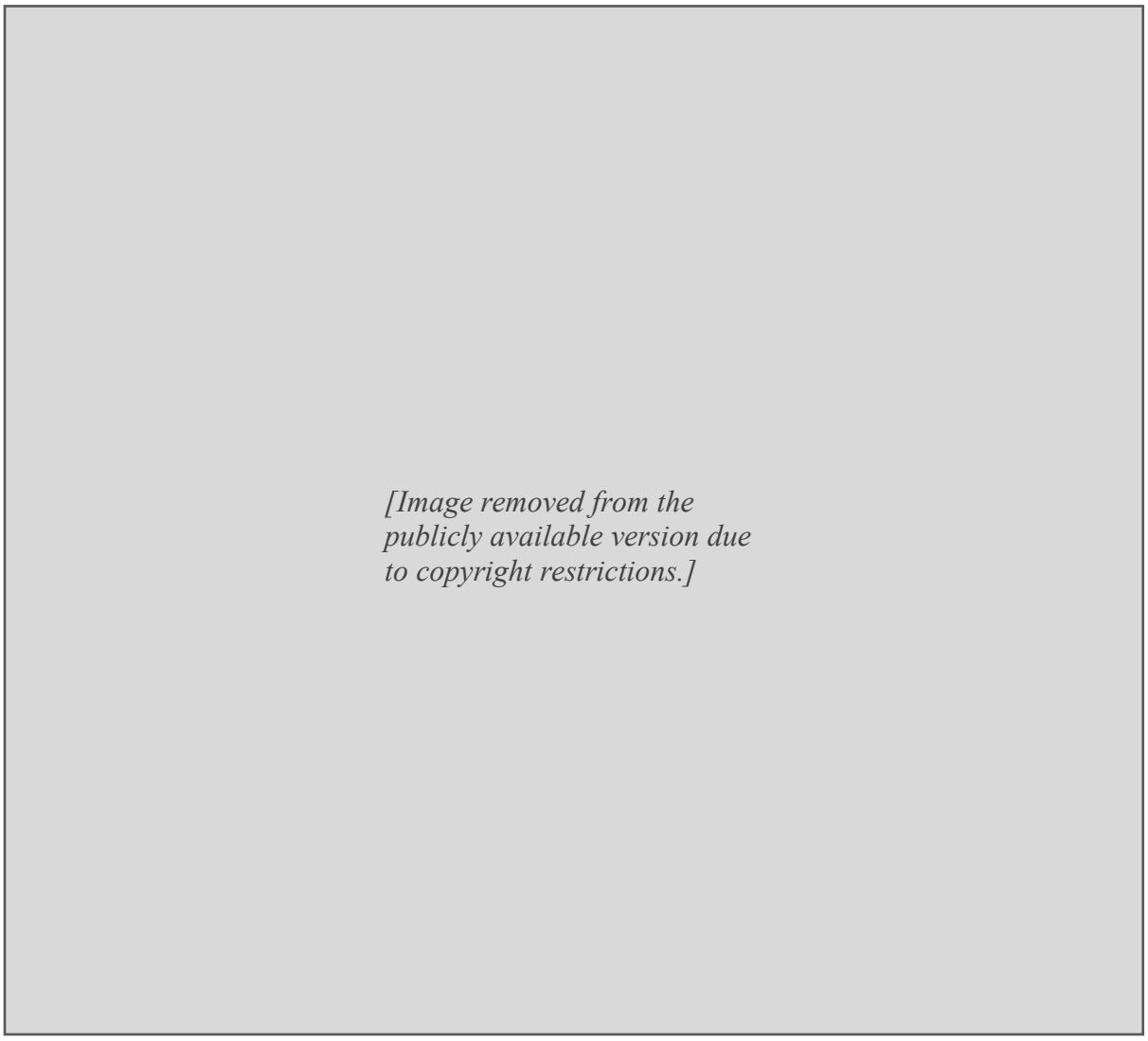


Figure 6.25 Mourning Buckle. English, 1698. Gold, rock crystal, hair, 34x50x7mm. V&A, Appendix II: 2.103. Image: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Inscribed, 'Eliz Harman / obt 11 Ap / 98 Ata 27'.*

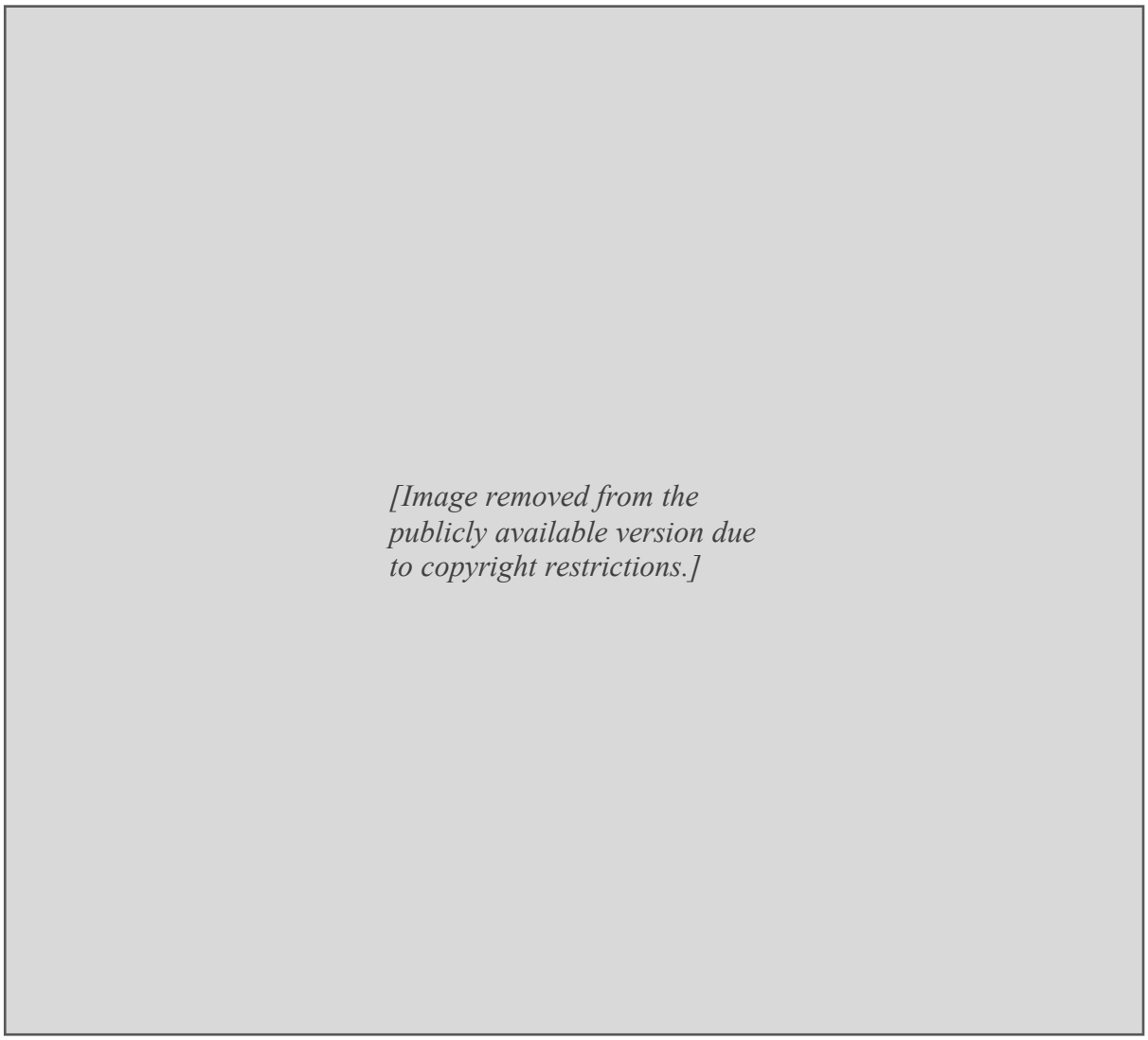


Figure 6.26 Memorial Necklace. English, late seventeenth century. to early eighteenth century. Gold, enamel, rock crystal, hair, pearls. Private Collection, Appendix II: 2.171. Image credit: Albion Art.

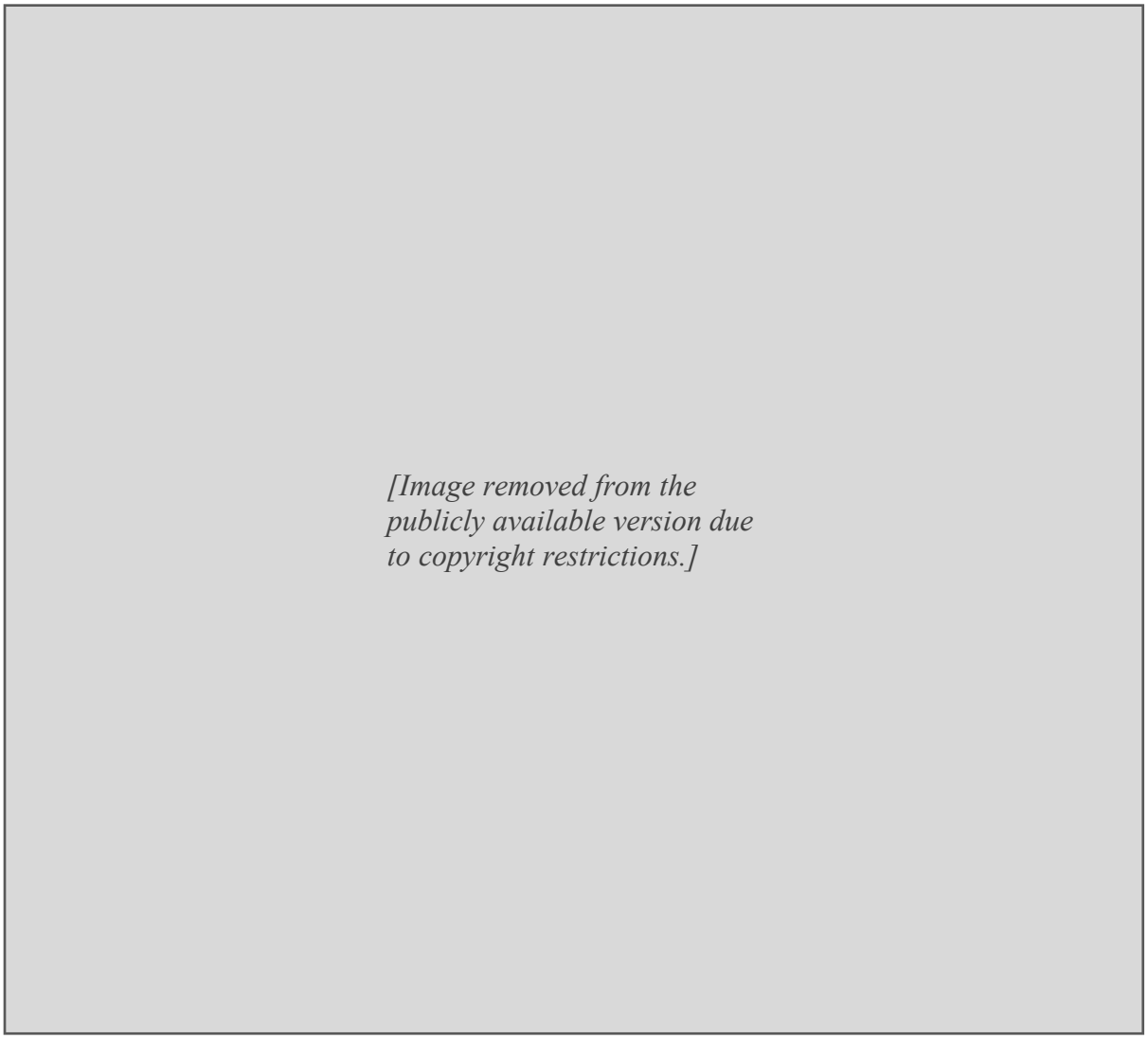


Figure 6.27 Memorial Necklace, The Phyllis Phillips Collection of Mediaeval, Renaissance and Later Antique Jewellery *(auction catalogue), 1989, London: Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd., Christie's Auction, December 13, 1989, lot. no. 474. Private Collection, Appendix II: 2.159. Image: auction catalogue, p. 47, no. 474.*

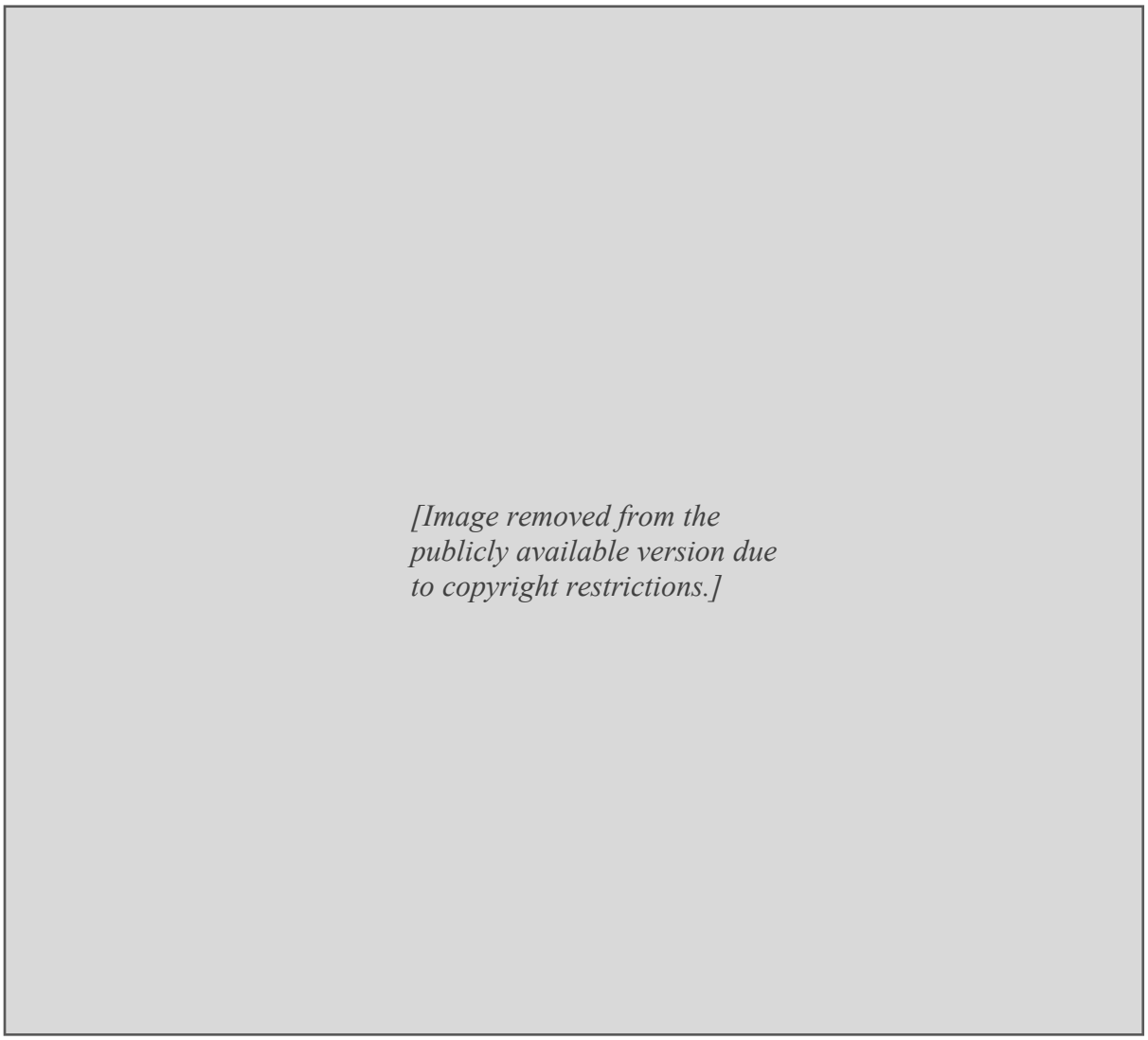


Figure 6.28 Slide-clasp. English, c.1700. Gold, rock crystal, foil, enamel, hair, 19x16x9mm. V&A, Appendix II: 2.90. Image: V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Inscribed, 'MINE FOR YOVRS'.

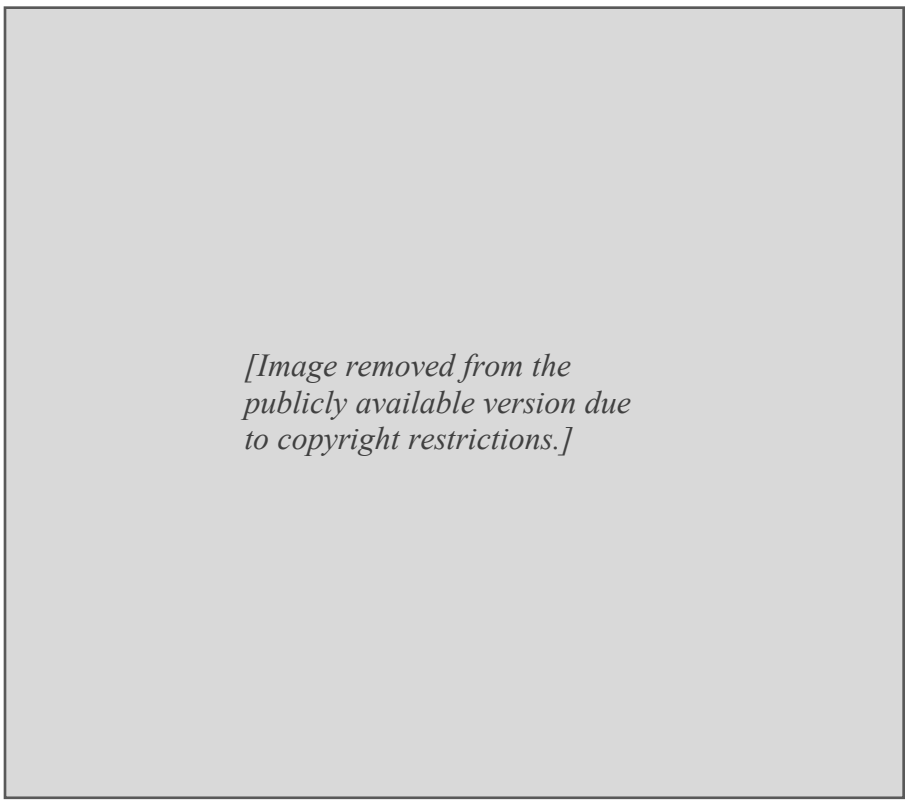


Figure 6.29 Slide. English, c.1700. Gold, rock crystal, foil, hair, 20x22x8 mm. V&A, Appendix II: 2.82. Image: *V&A online catalogue, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Inscribed, 'I REST'.*



Figure 6.30a Heart-shaped pendant (side I). English, c.1660-1685. Engraved and embossed silver, 18mm length, The British Museum, Appendix II: 2.133. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 6.30b Heart-shaped pendant (side II). English, c.1660-1685. Engraved and embossed silver, 18mm length, The British Museum, Appendix II: 2.133. Image credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Chapter 7

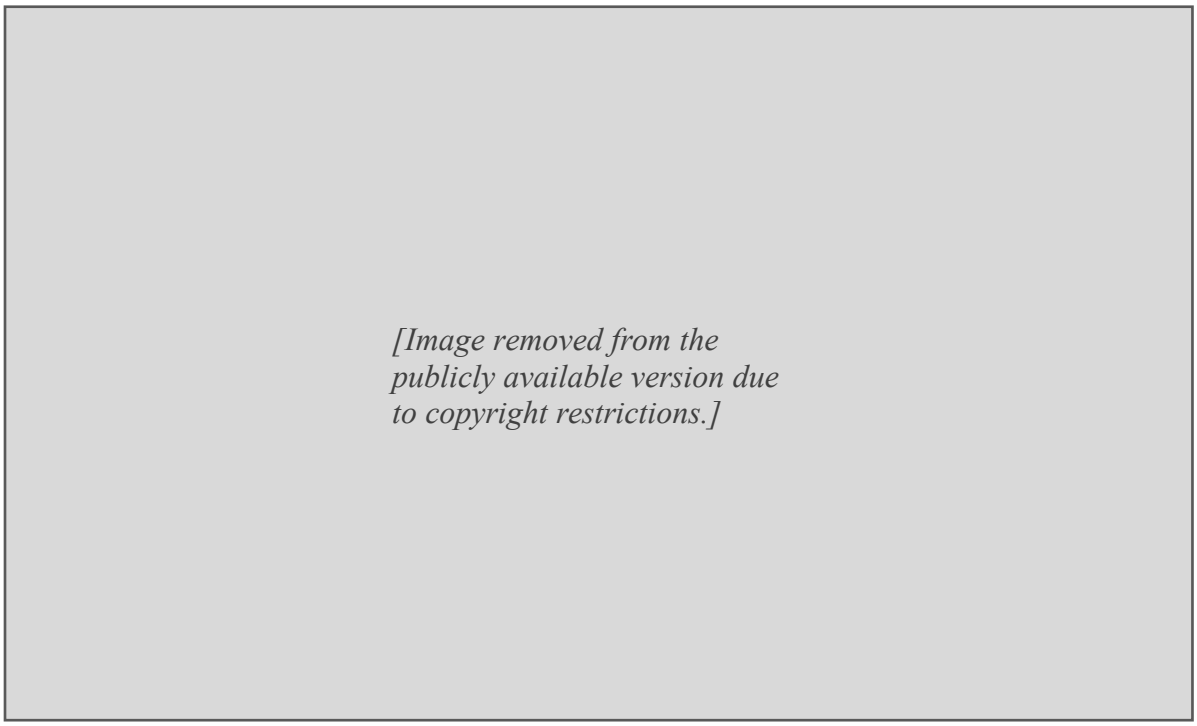


Figure 7.1 Retired lay preacher George Lister poses holding the Middleham Jewel (Appendix I: 1.66) next to its finder, Ted Seaton, in the mid-1980's. Diagnosed with terminal cancer, Lister had the opportunity to hold the Jewel and say a prayer, which he believed removed his pain and allowed him to die a 'good death' peacefully. Image: Seaton 2014, 21.

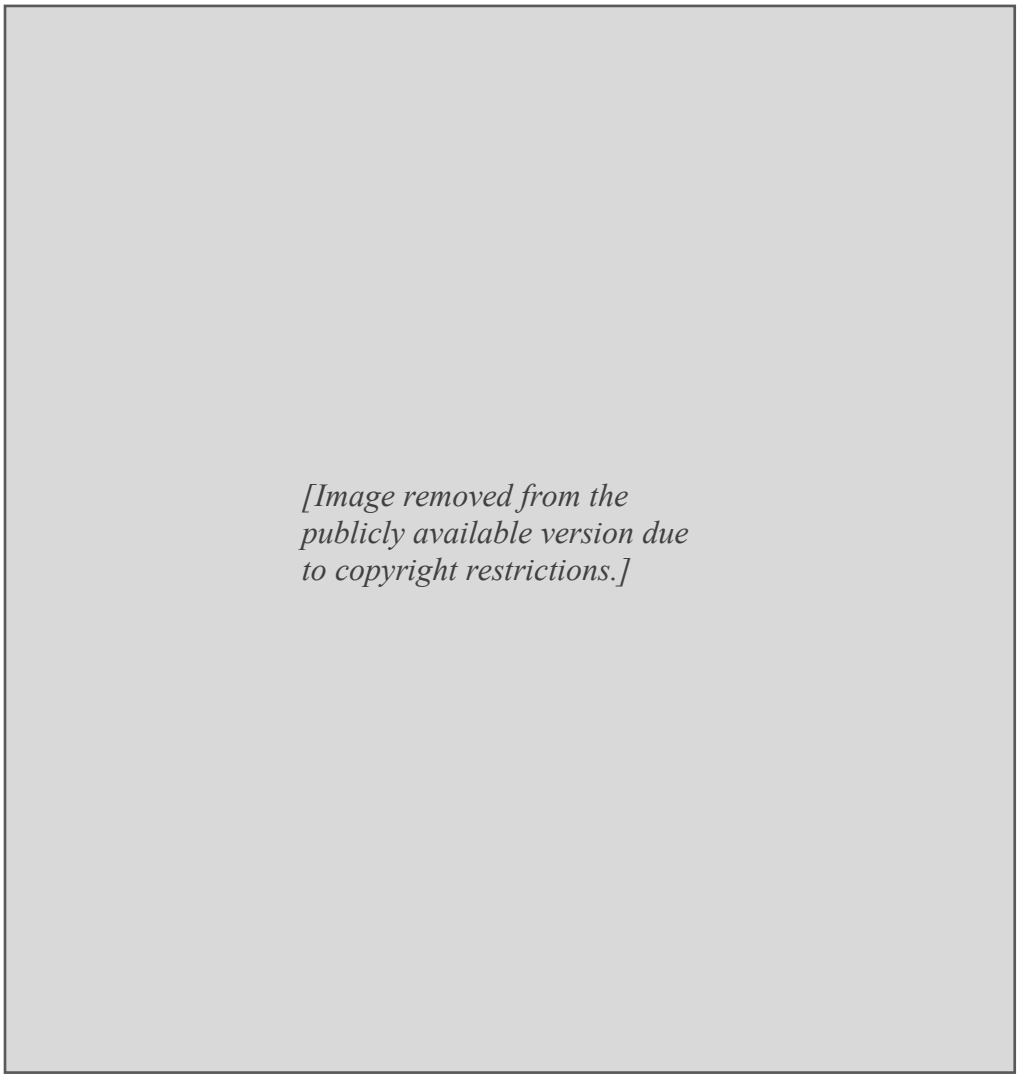


Figure 7.2 Dave Stewart of the pop band the Eurythmics poses with the Middleham Jewel (Appendix I: 1.66) in 1986. He was a high-status celebrity visitor to the Jewel calling in at the home of its finder, Ted Seaton, before it was sold at auction later that year. Image: Seaton 2014, 18.

Bibliography

‘A 17th century gold mourning ring for Henry Hammond, Royal chaplain to King Charles I’, Christie’s, https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-a-17th-century-gold-mourning-ring-for-5272089/?from=salesummary&pos=58&intObjectID=5272089&sid=c565d485-83da-490d-809d-edb17ee26645, Accessed April 5, 2025.

‘A Seventeenth Century Silver Reliquary, Italian c.1690-1700’, Wartski Collection, https://wartski.com/collection/a-seventeeth-century-silver-reliquary/, Accessed October 6, 2023.

‘Advice for finders of archaeological objects and treasure’, PAS; BM; Amgueddfa Cymru, https://finds.org.uk/documents/file/pa-and-t-leaflet.pdf, Accessed April 5, 2025.

‘Blairs Jewel, The (Mary Queen of Scots Miniature Reliquary)’, *ArtUK,* https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-blairs-jewel-mary-queen-of-scots-miniature-reliquary-311644, Accessed April 23, 2025.

‘Burse, n., sense I.1.b’, OED, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/burse_n?tab=meaning_and_use#11782879, Accessed December 14, 2025.

‘Chalice and Patent’, M.1A-1986, V&A, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O109515/chalice-and-paten-unknown/, Accessed April 25, 2022.

‘Ciborium, n., sense 2’, OED, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/ciborium_n?tab=meaning_and_use#9417757, Accessed December 14, 2025.

‘Clare Reliquary Cross’, RCT, https://www.rct.uk/collection/69738/clare-reliquary-cross, Accessed April 19 2025.

‘Conservation advice for finders’, PAS; BM; Amgueddfa Cymru, https://thedif.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/PAS_ConservationAdviceForFinders2018-all.pdf, Accessed April 5, 2025.

‘container; religious/ritual equipment; disc’, BM, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1999-1002-1, Accessed April 25, 2025.

‘Creation of a Memorial Diamond, The’, Algordanza, https://www.algordanza.com/en/, Accessed April 5, 2025.

‘Dame Joan Evans’, British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG26654, Accessed April 5, 2025.

‘Diptych’, 213-1874, V&A, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O105323/diptych-unknown/, Accessed April 7, 2025.

'Easter Meditation', Stonyhurst College, https://www.stonyhurst.ac.uk/our-news/easter-meditation, Accessed September 12, 2025.

'Finger-ring', SLRings.65, British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_SLRings-65, Accessed May 30, 2023.

'Guarish, v.[1]', OED, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/6303699423, Accessed January 10, 2024.

'Host, n.[4]', OED, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/9129143922, Accessed November 22, 2023.

'Instruction 'Relics in the Church: Authenticity and Preservation', Vatican, 2017, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/csaints/documents/rc_con_csaints_doc_20171208_istruzione-reliquie_en.html, Accessed April 7, 2025.

'Jewellery/Jewelry, n[1(a)]', OED, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2130911208, Accessed August 31, 2025.

'Locket, n[1]', OED, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/locket_n1?tab=etymology&tl=true, Accessed October 27, 2025.

'Lockets', AAT, Getty, https://www.getty.edu/vow/AATFullDisplay?find=locket&logic=AND&note=&english=N&prev_page=1&subjectid=300046004, Accessed October 27, 2025.

'Locket; pendant', 2017,8-15.1, The British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_2017-8015-1, Accessed April 25, 2022.

'Locket; pendant', 2017,8-15.2, The British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_2017-8015-2, Accessed April 25, 2022.

'Medallion; niello plate', AF.2899, British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_AF-2899, Accessed October 6, 2023.

'Memorial Necklace', Albion Art, www.albionart.com, Accessed June 10, 2024.

'Ouche', The Lexis of Cloth and Clothing Project, University of Manchester, http://lexissearch.arts.manchester.ac.uk/entry.aspx?word=ouche, Accessed August 13, 2025.

'Our Lady of Lourdes Relic Medal', The Catholic Store, https://thecatholicstore.com/products/our-lady-of-lourdes-relic-medal?srsltid=AfmBOoqqedyRvcBiD2ZFT1bfXB_UqI1SAg7UJfQwT0J5mnkQEluql0-D, Accessed April 5, 2025.

'pectoral cross', LOAN:MET ANON.15-2004, V&A, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O109489/pectoral-cross-cross-unknown/, Accessed April 8, 2025.

‘Pendant’, M.248-1923, V&A, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O33878/pendant-unknown/, Accessed April 23, 2022.

‘Pendant Capsule in the Form of a Tau Cross’, MET, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/469929, Accessed April 25, 2025.

‘Pendant with Virgin and Child’, 65.68.1, MET, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471929, Accessed April 7, 2025.

‘Pomander, n.’, OED, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/pomander_n?tab=meaning_and_use#29142332, Accessed December 12, 2025.

‘Praemunire’, 2013, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199659623.001.0001/acref-9780199659623-e-4646?rskey=xLwlJY&result=4722, Accessed April 27, 2022.

‘Prie-dieu, n.’, OED, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/prie-dieu_n?tab=meaning_and_use#28319136, Accessed December 12, 2025.

‘Pyx’, M.18-2012, V&A, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O115622/pyx-unknown/, Accessed April 7, 2025.

‘Pyx, n.[1]’, OED, https://www.oed.com/search/dictionary/?scope=Entries&q=pyx, Accessed December 14, 2025.

‘Reformation, n[3(b)]’, OED, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2852719266, Accessed September 1, 2025.

‘Relic, n.’, OED, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/relic_n?tab=etymology, Accessed April 7, 2025.

‘Relics’, The Society of King Charles the Martyr, http://skcm.org/gallery/relics/, Accessed April 6, 2025.

‘Religious reliques. Or, the sale at the Savoy; upon the Jesuits breaking up their school and chappel.’, 1688, The British Library, Cup.21.g.37/98, printed in London.

‘Reliquary, n.’, OED, https://www.oed.com/dictionary/reliquary_n?tab=factsheet#25996007, Accessed October 22, 2025.

‘Remarkable Impostures: Father Garnet’s Miraculous Straw’, November 1871, *The Gentleman’s Journal,* p. 307.

‘Richard III coffin rosary blessed at priory’, 2015, *BBC News, Leicestershire,* https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-30709683, Accessed April 19, 2025.

‘Stonyhurst Museum, Archives & Historic Libraries’, Stonyhurst College, https://www.stonyhurst.ac.uk/about-us/stonyhurst-college-historic-collections, Accessed April 6, 2025.

‘Storia della Chiesa’, Chiesa del Gesu, https://www.chiesadelgesu.org/la-chiesa/storia-della-chiesa/, Accessed April 28, 2022.

‘Shakespeare’s Restless World: Eye Relic’, 2012, *BBC,* https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00s39l0, Accessed September 13, 2025.

‘Tailor-made’, *Culture Online: Trellis 2021-22,* UCL, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/culture-online/trellis-2021-22/tailor-made, Accesed December 8, 2025.

‘Tobacco Box’, LOAN:GILBERT.545:1,2-2008, V&A, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O158174/tobacco-box-unknown/, Accessed April 7, 2025.

‘Trumpery’, OED, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/206935?redirectedFrom=trumpery#eid, Accessed October 30, 2022.

‘Winteringham Cross’, 1990.283a,b, MET, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/469929?ft=winteringham&offset=0&rpp=40&pos=1, Accessed May 28, 2023.

A discovery of the Jesuits Trumpery, newly packaged out of England, 1644, London: Printed for Henry Gosson; dwelling on London-Bridge, The British Library, 669.f.4.(10).

Abramsson, G., 2012, ‘Brødkrummespor’ (Bread crumb trail), *Fund og Fortid (Finds and Past),* vol. 1, no. 1., pp. 1-3.

Act of Supremacy, Public Act, 26 Henry VIII, c. 1, 1534, National Archives Transcript, C 65/143, m.5, nos.8 and 9 (1534), http://nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/rise_parliament/transcripts/henry_supremacy.htm, Accessed April 27, 2022.

Ahmed, Sara, 2010, ‘Happy Objects’ in *The Promise of Happiness,* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Akbari, S.C., 2019, *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Akbari, S.C., and J. Ross, eds., 2013, *The ends of the body: identity and community in medieval culture,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Alemu, Amsale, 2024, 'Exhuming the Narrative: Imagining Prince Alemayehu in the Ethiopian Diaspora', in *The Global Ethiopian Diaspora,* (eds.) Shimelis Bonsa Gulema, Hewan Girma, and Mulugeta F. Dinbabo, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Alhage, J. and H. Elbitar, 2019, 'In vitro screening for antioxidant and antimicrobial properties of three Lebanese medicinal plants crude extracts', *Pharmacognosey Research,* vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 127-33.

Allen, Hope Emily, 1963, *English Writings of Richard Rolle: Hermit of Hampole,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Allen, Martin, 2017, 'Coins and the Church in Medieval England: Votive and Economic Function of Money in Religious Contexts', in *Divina Moneta: Coins in Religion and Ritual,* London: Routledge.

Allen, Valerie, 2022, 'To Measure Is to Feel: The Mathematics of Middle English Metric Relics', *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 52, No. 2, pp. 219–251.

Amaral, S. et al., 2009, 'Plant extracts with anti-inflammatory properties- A new approach for characterization of their bioactive compounds and establishment of structure- antioxidant activity relationships', *Bioorganic & Medicinal Chemistry,* vol. 17, no. 5, pp. 1876-83.

An Act Extinguishing the Authory of the Bishop of Rome, 1536, Public Act, 28 Henry VIII, c. 10, Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/PU/1/1536/28H8n10.

Anderson, William, 2010, 'Blessing the Fields? A Study of Late-medieval Ampullae from England and Wales', *Medieval Archaeology,* vol. 54, no. 1, pp. 182-203.

Anderson, William, 2007, 'Menas Flasks in the West', *Ancient West & East,* vol. 6, pp. 221-43.

Anonymous, 1649, *A Miracle of Miracles: Wrought by the Blood of King Charles the First,* London.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed., 1986, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Appleford, A., 2015, *Learning to Die in London, 1380-1540,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Arderne, John, 1910, *Treatises of Fistula in Ano: Haemorrhoids and Clysters,* ed. Sir D'Arcy Power, London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd.; Oxford: by Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press.

Areford, David S., 1998, 'The Passion Measured: A Late-Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ', in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture,* ed. A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Ridderbos, and R.M. Schlusemann, Groningen: Egbert Forsten.

Armiger, Wendy, 2024, 'Flowering Of The Cross', *Luton Today,* *https://www.lutontoday.co.uk/arts-and-culture/flowering-of-the-cross-4556506,* Accessed November 16, 2025.

Arnold, Janet, 1988, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd,* Leeds: Maney.

Ashton, Leigh, 1928, 'Martha Edlin: A Stuart Embroidress', *The Connoisseur,* pp. 215-223.

Atherton, R., 2010, 'DENO-A1D5F6: A Medieval Locket', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/407329, Accessed April 5, 2025.

Atkinson, Charles M., 1977, 'The Earliest Agnus Dei Melodies and Its Tropes', *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 1-19.

Awais-Dean, Natasha, 2017, *Bejewelled: Men and Jewellery in Tudor and Jacobean England,* London: The British Museum.

Azoulay, Ariella, 2019, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism,* London: Verso.

Backhouse, Janet ed., 1984, *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966-1066,* London: BM.

Baert, B., and K. Rudy, eds., 2007, *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages,* Turnhout: Brepols.

Bagnoli, Martina et al., eds., 2011, *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe,* London: British Museum Press.

Bagnoli, Martina et al., eds., 2010, *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe,* New Haven; London: Yale University Press.

Bailey, Anne E., 2021, 'Reconsidering the Medieval Experience at the Shrine in High Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History,* vol. 47 no. 2, pp. 203-229.

Baker, P.A., H. Nijdam, and K. van't Land (eds.), 2012, *Medicine and Space: Body, Surroundings and Borders in Antiquity and the Middle Ages,* Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Baker, Rev. R. S., 1880, 'On the Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Desborough, Northamptonshire', *Archaeologia,* vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 466-71.

Banatului, Analele, 2019, 'The hidden magic of some amulets from pre-Roman Dacia. About a bucket-shaped pendant discovered in southern Transylvania', *Arheologie, Istorie,* vol. 27, pp. 167-76.

Bangert, S., 2006, 'Menas ampullae, a case study of long-distance contacts', *Reading Medieval Studies,* vol. 32, pp. 27-33.

Barad, Karen Michelle, 2007, *Meeting the universe halfway: quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning,* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Barak-Brandes, S. and A. Kama (eds.), 2018, *Feminist Interrogations of Women's Head Hair: Crown of Glory and Shame,* Boca Raton, FL: Routledge, an imprint of Taylor and Francis.

Bârcă, Vitalie, 2021, 'Bucket-shaped pendants from the sarmatae environment. A few notes on the origin, dating and use of these amulets in the barbarian world', *Cercetări Arheologice,* vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 411-438.

Bârcă, Vitalie, 2018, 'Notes on the use, dating and origin of bucket-shaped pendants from the Sarmatian environment of the great Hungarian plain' *Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology,* vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 37-63.

Barclay, Katie and Bronwyn Reddan eds., 2019, *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter.

Barlow, Frank, 1980, 'The King's Evil', *The English Historical Review,* vol. 95, no. 374, pp. 3-27.

Barnwell, Paul S., Claire Cross, and Ann Rycraft eds., 2005, *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York,* Reading: Spire Books Ltd.

Barush, Kathryn R., 2021, *Imaging Pilgrimage: Art as Embodied Experience,* New York; London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts.

Bate, Jonathan and Dora Thornton, 2012, *Shakespeare: Staging the World,* London: British Museum Press.

Battin, Jacques, 2009, 'Anthony's fire (gangrenous ergotism) and medieval iconography', *Bulletin de l'Académie nationale de médecine*, vol. 193, no. 8, pp. 1925-36.

Baum, Jacob M., 2018, 'Late Medieval Worship: A Sensory Production', in *Reformation of the Senses*, Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, pp. 13.

Bawish, Basma M. et al., 2023, 'Promising Effect of Geranium Robertianum L. Leaves and Aloe Vera Gel Powder on Aspirin®-induced gastric ulcers in Wistar Rats: Anxiolytic Behavioural Effect, Antioxidant Activity, and Protective Pathways', *Inflammopharmacology,* pp. 1-19.

Bayerische Staatsbibliotek, cgm 92, fols. 13vb-14rb.

Becker, Lucinda M., 2003, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman,* Aldershot, Hampshire; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Becker, Vivienne, 1987, *Antique and Twentieth Century Jewellery: A Guide for Collectors,* Colchester, Essex: N.A.G. Press Ltd.

Beckwith, John, 1974, *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England, 700-1200,* London: Arts Council of Great Britain.

Behn, Aphra, 1697, *Poems Upon Several Occasions; With A Voyage To The Island of Love,* London: Francis Saunders.

Beilke-Voigt, 1998, *Frühgeschichtliche Miniaturobjekte mit Amulettcharakter zwischen Britischen Inseln und Schwarzem Meer,* [Prehistoric miniature objects with amulet character between the British Isles and the Black Sea], Bonn: Dr. Rudolph Habelt.

Bell, Ilona, 1998, 'Anne Vavasour and Henry Lee', in *Elizabethan Women and the Poetry of Courtship,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bell, Liz, 2010, 'Museums, Ethics, and Human Remains in England: Recent Developments and Implications for the Future', in *The Long Way Home,* Michael Pickering and Paul Turnbull (eds.), New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Benjamin, Walter, 2008, *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media,* ed. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin, trans. Edmund Jephcott et al., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Benjamin, Walter, 1968, *Illuminations,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, New York: Schocken Books.

Bennett, Jane, 2010, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Berg, Charles, 1951, *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*, London: George Allen and Unwin.
Berger, John, 1972, *Ways of Seeing,* London: Penguin Books.

Berthod, Bernard and Elena Geuna, 2012, *Quilling: Devotional Creations from Cloistered Orders*, trans. Lucian Comony, Angela Maria Piga, and Ilaria Porotto, Mantova: Corraini.

Betts, Sarah, 2025, 'The Victorian Royal Family and the Body of Princess Elizabeth Stuart: Historical Culture and Heritage, Collection and Display', *Journal of Victorian Culture,* vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 1-27.

Biers, T. and K. S. Stringer (eds.), 2024, *The Routledge Handbook of Museums, Heritage, and Death,* Abingdon; New York: Routledge.

Bird, John, 1661, *Ostenta Carolina*, London: Printed for Fra. Sowle.

Blair, John and Catherine Hills, 2020, 'An Anglo-Saxon Relic-Box from Ascott-under-Wychwood, and the Geography of Seventh-Century Burial in the Middle Evenlode Valley', *Oxoniensia,* vol. 85, p. 67.

Blake, Hugo et al., 2003, 'From Popular Devotion to Resistance and Revival in England: The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus and The Reformation', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580,* eds. David R. M. Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist, Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.

Blick, Sarah, 2019, 'Bringing Pilgrimage Home: The Production, Iconography, and Domestic Use of Late-Medieval Devotional Objects by Ordinary People', *Religions,* vol. 10, no. 6, pp. 1-26.

Bloch, Marc, 1973, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France,* trans. J.E. Anderson, London: Routledge.

Bloch, Marc, 1992, *The Historian's Craft,* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Blomefield, Francis, 1808, 'Eynford Hundred: Stinton' in *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Volume 8,* London: W. Miller.

Bloomfield, Eleanor, 2018, 'Sacred Staging: Dramatic Magic in the Medieval Mass', *Platform,* vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 34-48.

Blumler, Martinus Fridericus, 1887, *A History of Amulets,* Edinburgh: the University Press.

Boemus, Johannes, 1555, 'Of Jewry, and of the Life, Maners, and Lawes of the Jewes', in *The Fardle of Facions Conteining the Aunciente Maners, Customes, and Lawes, of the Peoples Enhabiting the Two Partes of the Earth, Called Affrike and Asie,* trans. William Waterman, London: John Kingstone and Henry Sutton. (pages unnumbered)

Boettcher, Graham, ed., 2012, *The Look of Love: Eye Miniatures from the Skier Collection,* London; Birmingham, AL: Birmingham Museum of Art in association with D. Giles Ltd.

Bolland, Charlotte, et al., 2024, *Six Lives: the stories of Henry VIII's queens,* London: National Portrait Gallery.

Bollermann, Karen and Cary J. Nederman, 2021, 'Dirty Laundry: Becket's Hair Shirt and the Making of a Saint', in *The Intellectual Dynamism of the High Middle Ages,* ed. Clare Monagle, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bonaventure, Saint, 1978, *Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey into God; The Tree of Life; The Life of St Francis*, trans. Ewert Cousins, preface by Richard J. Payne, Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

Boughton, Dot, 2016, 'LANCUM-3C7098: A Post Medieval Pendant', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/822080, Accessed April 5, 2025.

Bourdieu, P., 2013, *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* trans. R. Nice, eds. E. Gellner et al., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P., 1990, *The Logic of Practice,* trans. R. Nice, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Boutell, Charles, 1867, *English Heraldry,* London; New York: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Bowle, John, ed., 1983, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bradley, Keith, 2005, 'The Roman Child in Sickness and in Health', in *The Roman Family in the Empire: Rome, Italy, and Beyond,* ed. Michele George, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brévart, Francis B., 2008, 'Between Medicine, Magic, and Religion: Wonder Drugs in German Medico-Pharmaceutical Treatises of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries', *Speculum,* vol. 83, no. 1, pp. 1-57.

Brewer, J.S., ed., 1875, 'Henry VIII: June 1527, 16-30', in *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 1524-1530,* vol. 4, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Bristol Archives, 31963/15, 'Marriage Settlement: Richard Richmond and Martha Edlin', June 8 1681.

British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (BABAO), https://babao.org.uk/, Accessed December 31, 2025.

British Library, 1628, Harleian MSS. 7609, 148.

Brogan, Stephen, 2015, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine, and Sin,* Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press.

Brooks, Mary, et al., 2020, 'Fragments of Faith: Unpicking Archbishop John Morton's Vestments', *The Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 100, pp. 274-303.

Browett, Rebecca, 2017, 'Touching the Holy: The Rise of Contact Relics in Medieval England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* vol. 68, no. 3, pp. 493-509.

Brown, Bill, 2003, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brown, Bill, 2001, 'Thing Theory', *Critical Inquiry,* vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 1-22.

Brown, Keith M., 1993, 'The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicization and the Court, 1603-38', *The Historical Journal,* vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 543-76.

Brown, Michelle P., 1994, 'The Role of the Wax Tablet in Medieval Literacy: A Reconsideration in Light of a Recent Find from York', *British Library Journal,* vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 1-16.

Bruce-Mitford, R.L.S., 1974, 'The Pectoral Cross of St. Cuthbert', in *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology: Sutton Hoo and other discoveries,* ed., R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, London: Victor Gollancz.

Brück, J., and A. Jones, 2018, 'Finding objects, Making Persons: Fossils in British Early Bronze Age Burials', In *Relational identities and Other-than-human Agency in Archaeology,* eds. E. Harrison-Buck, and J. Hendon, Louisville, CO: University of Colorado Press.

Brückner, Wolfgang, 1999, *Kult und Kultur der Amulette und Talismane: Religiöser Volksglaube im Alltag [The Cult and Culture of Amulets and Talismans: Religious Folk Beliefs in Everyday Life]*. Würzburg: Echter Verlag.

Brückner, Wolfgang, 1993, 'Christlicher Amulett-Gebrauch der frühen Neuzeit: Grundsätzliches und Specifisches zur Popularisierung der Agnus Dei' [Christian Amulet Use in the Early Modern Period: Fundamental and Specific Aspects of the Popularisation of the Agnus Dei], in *Frömmigkeit: Formen, Geschichte, Verhalten, Zeugnisse* [Piety: Forms, History, Behaviour, Testimonies], ed. Ingolf Bauer, Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

Buggeln, G.T., C. Paine, and S.B. Plate (eds.), 2017, *Religion in Museums: Global and Multidisciplinary Perspectives,* New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Büttner, Andreas, 2000, 'Die Kinder des Taus Spätgotische Perlmuttreliefs in den Museen der Stadt Köln' [The Children of the Dew: Late Gothic Mother-of-Pearl Reliefs in the Museums of the City of Cologne], *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch,* vol. 61, pp. 69-98.

Bruna, D., 2006, *Enseignes de Plomb et Autres Menues Chosettes du Moyen Âge* [Lead signs and other small things from the Middle Ages], Paris: Éditions du Léopard d'or.

Bucke, John, 1971, *Instructions for the Use of the Beades 1589,* ed. D.M. Rogers, Leeds: Scholar Press.

Buckley, Ann and Lisa Colton eds., 2022, *Music and Liturgy in Medieval Britain and Ireland,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bucklow, S., R.B. Marks, and L. Wrapson (eds.), 2017, *The Art and Science of the Church Screen in Medieval Europe: Making, Meaning, Preserving,* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Budge, E.A. Wallis, 2001, *Amulets and Magic,* Abingdon: Routledge.

Budja, Mihael, 2012, 'Interpretative Trajectories Toward Understanding Personhoods in Prehistory', *Documenta Praehistorica*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp.137–153.

Burgess, Fred. W., 1919, *Antique Jewellery and Trinkets,* London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.; New York: G.P. Putnam's Son's.

Burke, Peter, 2001, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence,* London: Reaktion Books.

Bury, Shirley, 1985, *An Introduction to Sentimental Jewellery,* Owings Mills, Maryland: Stemmer House Publishers Inc.

Bury, Shirley, 1982, *Jewellery Gallery: Summary Catalogue: Victoria and Albert Museum,* London: V&A.

Bush, M. L., 2007, 'The Tudor Polity and the Pilgrimage of Grace', *Historical Research: the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 80, no. 207, pp. 47–72.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 2020, *Dissimilar Similitudes: Devotional Objects in Late Medieval Europe,* New York: Zone Books.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 2016, 'Are Things 'Indifferent'? How Objects Change Our Understanding of Religious History', *German History*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 88–112.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 2012, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion,* New York: Zone Books.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 2011, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe,* Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 2007, *Wonderful Blood: theology and practice in late medieval northern Germany and beyond*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 2004, 'Bleeding Hosts and their Contact Relics in Late Medieval Northern Germany', *The Medieval History Journal,* vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 227-41.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, 1995, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336,* New York: Columbia University Press.

Cadbury, 2016, 'Amulets: The Material Evidence', in *Physical Evidence for Ritual Acts, Sorcery and Witchcraft in Christian Britain: A Feeling for Magic,* ed. Ronald Hutton, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cahill, Mary, 2018, 'The Man in the Bulla', *Archaeology Ireland,* vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 18-23.

Caldwell, D.H., et al., 2012, 'The Kilmichael glassary bell-shrine', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* vol. 142, pp. 201-44.

Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.iii.8, f. 69r.

Campbell, Marian, 2009, *Medieval Jewellery in Europe 1100-1500,* London: V&A Publishing.

Capp, B., 2023, 'Re-assessing the ars moriendi: good and bad deaths in early modern England', in *The Seventeenth Century,* vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 5-21.

Capp, B., 2018, *The Ties that Bind: Siblings, Family, and Society in Early Modern England,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carruthers, M. J., 2008. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 35-42.

Cartron, Isabella and Dominique Castex, 2018, 'Porter des reliques à la ceinture : la plaque-boucle du site de Saint-Martin de Bruch (Lot-et-Garonne)', [Wearing relics on the belt: the buckle plaque from the site of Saint-Martin de Bruch (Lot-et-Garonne)], *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* vol. 96, no. 1, pp. 209-224.

Cartwright, Caroline R., 2014, 'Reliquary Cross, SWYOR-7346E4', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/588932, Accessed April 5, 2025.

Cartwright, Caroline R. and Catherine Higgitt, 2013, 'Identification of the Organic Contents of a Medieval Silver-gilt Pendant Containing Coins from the Wragby Area, Lincolnshire', (unpublished), London: Department of Conservation and Scientific Research, British Museum.

Caspars, Charles and Toon Brekelmans, 1998, 'The Power of Prayer and the Agnus Dei. Popular Faith and Popular Piety in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times', in *Popular Religion, Liturgy and Evangelization,* ed. Jozef Lamberts, Louvain: Peeters.

Castello, Maria G., 2019, 'The Cult of Relics in the Late Roman Empire: Legal Aspects', in *Public Uses of Human Remains and Relics in History,* eds. Silvia Cavicchioli and Luigi Provero, New York: Routledge.

Catarino, Marcelo D. et al., 2017, 'Antioxidant and Anti-inflammatory Activities of Geranium Rovertianum L. Decoctions', *Food & Function,* vol. 8, no. 9, pp. 3355-65.

Čavka, Mislav, Ante Škrobonja, and Anja Petaros, 2011, 'Relics as Paleopathological Evidence from the Past: Tooth Relics', *International Association for Paleodontology,* vol. 5, no. 2, p. 28.

Centre for Sensory Studies, 2025, https://centreforsensorystudies.org/, Accessed April 7, 2025.

Ceresole, Ambrogio D., 1845, *Notizie Storico-Morali sopra gli Agnus Dei,* Rome: Tipografia Salviucci.

Chambers, E.K., 1936, *Sir Henry Lee: An Elizabethan Portrait,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Charleston, R.J., 1968, 'George Ravenscroft: New Light on the Development of his "Christalline Glasses"', *Journal of Glass Studies,* vol. 10, pp. 156-67.

Chavannes-Mazel, C.A., 2023, 'The Long Shadow of Antiquity: Medicine and Plants', in *The Green Middle Ages: The Depiction and Use of Plants in the Western World 600-1600,* eds. C.A. Chavannes-Mazel and L. IJpelaar, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Cheetham, F., 2003, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England*, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, pp. 147-153.

Cheney, C.R., and M. Jones, 2000, *A Handbook of Dates: For Students of British History,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cherry, John, 2003, 'Containers for Agnus Dei', in *Through a Glass Brightly: Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology, presented to David Buckton,* eds. Christopher Entwistle and David Buckton, Oxford: Oxbow Books, Ltd.

Cherry, John, 2001, 'Healing through Faith: The Continuation of Medieval Attitudes to Jewellery into the Renaissance', *Renaissance Studies,* vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 154-171.

Cherry, John, 1994, *The Middleham Jewel and Ring,* York: The Yorkshire Museum.

Cholmeley, H.P., 1912, *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa Medicinae,* Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press.

Christian, Emma, 2004, 'Russell, William (d.1374), Abbot of Rushen and Bishop of Sodor and Man', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-50618, Accessed November 18, 2025.

Christie's, 2009, 'Vintage and Modern Jewels at South Kensington, Including Fine Hermes Handbags', Live Auction 5896, 19 November 2009, Lot 83.

Christie's, 1989, *The Phyllis Phillips Collection of Mediaeval, Renaissance and Later Antique Jewellery,* London: Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd.

Church, Rachel, 2011, *Rings,* London: V&A Publishing.

Cifarelli, Megan, ed., 2019, *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity,* Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Clark, Nick, 2012, 'Horrible Histories', *Independent,* https://www.independent.co.uk/hei-fi/entertainment/horrible-histories-7978651.html, Accessed September 13, 2025.

Clark, Stuart, 1990, 'Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition, and Society (c.1520-c.1630)', in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries,* Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (eds.), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Classen, C. 1993. *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the senses in history and across cultures*. London: Routledge.

Clay, John William, 1913, *The Extinct and Dormant Peerages of the Northern Counties of England,* London: James Nisbet & Co. Ltd.

Clay, Mary Rotha, 1909, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England,* London: Methuen & Co., pp. 278-339.

Cogan, Susan M., 2021, 'Post-Reformation Kinship and Social Networks', in *Cathloic Social Networks in Early Modern England: Kinship, Gender, and Coexistence.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Colbert, Carolyn, 2016, 'Mistresses: Anne Vavasour Finch Richardson (c.1560-after 1622)', in *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Early Modern Englishwomen: Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts,* eds. Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet, and Jo Eldridge Carney, Abingdon: Routledge.

Cole, Peter (printer), 1649, *King Charles His Speech Made upon the Scaffold at Whitehall Gate, Immediately before his Execution, On Tuesday the 30. Of Jan. 1648. With a Relation of the manner of his going to Execution,* London: Peter Cole.

Coolidge, John S., 1970, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cooper, Irene Galandra, 2020, 'Investigating the 'Case' of the Agnus Dei in Sixteenth-Century Italian Homes', in *Domestic Devotions in Early Modern Italy,* eds. Alessia Meneghin, Marco Faini, and Maya Corry, Leiden: Brill.

Corens, Liesbeth, 2019, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cowie, Leonard W., 1972, *The Trial and Execution of Charles I,* London: Wayland Publishers; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Crane, Mary Thomas, 2009, 'Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies,* vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 4-22.

Cressy, David, 1997, *Birth Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crispi, Marta, 2020, 'The Use of Devotional Objects in Catalan Homes during the Late Middle Ages', *Religions,* vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 72-104.

Croasdaile, Caroline, 2024(a), 'Strings of Time: Prayer Beads as Customisable Sites for the Curation of Memory', *British Archaeological Association Postgraduate Conference,* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=865K4vl06bo, Accessed April 21 2025.

Croasdaile, Caroline, 2024(b), 'Reliquary Pendants Past and Present: In Conversation with Mickey Alice Kwapis, Contemporary Artist and Jeweller of Meaningful Material', *Oxford Medieval Studies Blog,* https://medieval.ox.ac.uk/2024/11/25/reliquary-pendants-past-and-present/, Accessed April 5, 2025.

Crummy, Nina, Martin Henig and Courtney Ward, 2016, 'A Hoard of Military Awards, Jewellery and Coins from Colchester', *Britannia,* vol. 47, pp. 1-28.

Cruse, M., 2007, 'Intimate Performance: An Ivory Writing Tablet Cover at The Cloisters', in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France,* (eds.) E. Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger, E.J. Burns, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Culpeper, Nicholas, 1653, *The English Physitian Enlarged,* London: Printed by Peter Cole.

Cunnington, C. Willett, and Phillis Cunnington, 1972, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century,* Boston: Plays Inc.

Cust, L., 1910, *Windsor Castle: Portrait Miniatures,* Privately printed for the Royal Collection.

Cutler, Anthony, 2001, 'Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of Byzantine, Arab, and Related Economies', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* vol. 55, pp. 247-78.

Cziganj, Natalia, 2025, 'Spiritual and Medical Dimensions of the Language of Memory in Middle English Texts', *Lexis: Journal in English Lexicology,* published online, https://journals.openedition.org/lexis/9471, Accessed December 19, 2025.

Dalton, O.M., 1912, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Early Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Mediaeval and Later: Bequeathed by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks,* London: British Museum.

Dalton, O.M, 1901, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnology of the British Museum,* London: British Museum Press.

Daniell, Christopher, 1997, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550,* London; New York: Routledge.

Daubney, Adam, 2014, 'LIN-D1EFDA: A Medieval Pendant', https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/628615, Accessed May 31, 2023.

Dauge-Roth, Katherine, 2018, 'Prêt-À-Porter: Textual Amulets, Popular Belief and Defining Superstition in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century France', Espacio, Tiempo y Forma: Historia del Arte, Serie 7, no. 6, pp. 137-68.

Davies, Owen, 2007, *Popular Magic: Cunning Folk in English History,* London; New York: Hambledon Continuum.

Davies, Surekha, 2021, 'Catalogical Encounters: Worldmaking in Early Modern Cabinets of Curiosities', in *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800,* ed. Paula Findler, Abingdon; New York: Routledge.

Davidson, Peter, et al., 2018, 'The Harkirk graveyard and William Blundell 'the Recusant' (1560-1638): a Reconsideration', *British Catholic history*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 29–76.

Davidson, Peter, 2011, 'Opposing Elizabeth', in *Queen and Country: the Relation between Monarch and the People in the Development of the English Nation*, ed. Petrina Alessandra, Bern: Peter Lang.

Davis, Adam, 2019, *The Medieval Economy of Salvation: Charity, Commerce, and the Rise of the Hospital,* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Davis, Norman, 1971, *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Day, J., 2013, 'Introduction: Making Senses of the Past', in *Making senses of the past: Toward a Sensory Archaeology*, J. Day ed., Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
De Beer, Lloyd, Naomi Speakman, and Rachel Koopmans, 2021, *Thomas Becket: Murder and the Making of a Saint,* London: The British Museum.

De Landa, Manuel, 2006, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity,* London; New York: Continuum.

Decker, Veronika, 2017, 'In the Vineyard of the Lord: Art, Imagination, and the Stained Glass Commissions of William of Wykeham in Fourteenth-Century English Colleges', in *British Art Studies: Invention and Imagination in British Art and Architecture, 600–1500*, eds. Jessica Berenbeim and Sandy Heslop, London; New Haven: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Yale University Press.

Deckers, P., M. Lewis, and S. Thomas, 2016, 'Between Two Places: Archaeology and Metal-detecting in Europe', *Open Archaeology,* vol. 2, pp. 426-9.

Delieb, Eric, 2002, *Silver Boxes,* Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club.

Dell'Acqua, Francesca, 2023, 'Invoking, Seeing, and Touching God during Byzantine Iconoclasm', *Word & Image,* vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 74-87.

Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2005, *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums,*https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/606215c0e90e072d91e8eb59/GuidanceHumanRemains11Oct_V2.pdf, Accessed September 13, 2025.

Der, L. and F. Fernandini, 2016, *Archaeology of Entanglement*, New York: Routledge.

Digitale Metaldetektorfund (DIME) Database, https://www.metaldetektorfund.dk/ny/, Accessed November 10, 2025.

Di Lazzaro, P. et al., 2020, 'Statistical and Proactive Analysis of an Inter-Laboratory Comparison: The Radiocarbon Dating of the Turin Shroud', *Entropy (Basel, Switzerland),* vol. 22, no. 9, p. 926.

Dickinson, T., 1993, 'An Anglo-Saxon "cunning woman" form Bidford-on Avon', in *In Search of Cult: Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz,* ed. M. Carver, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell.

Dicks, Sophia, ed., 2010*, The King's Blood: Relics of Charles I,* London: Wartski.

Dillon, Anne, 2003, 'Praying by Number: The Confraternity of the Rosary and the English Catholic Community, c.1580-1700', *History,* vol. 88, no. 3, pp. 451-471.

Dobranski, Stephen B., 2010, 'Clustering and Curling Locks: The Matter of Hair in Paradise Lost', *PMLA,* vol. 125, no. 2, pp. 337-353.

Downes, A., 2013, 'SWYOR-817B56: A Post Medieval Pendant', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/539672, Accessed October 3, 2022.

Dransart, Penelope and Nicholas Bogdan, 2004, 'The Material Culture of Recusancy at Fetternear: Kin and Religion in post-Reformation Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. 134, pp. 457–470.

Drpić, Ivan, 2023, 'The Burdened Body: Byzantine Enkolpia and the Weight of the Sacred', *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte,* vol. 86, no. 3, pp. 289-317.

Drpić, Ivan, 2020, 'Short Texts on Small Objects: The Poetics of the Byzantine Enkolpion', in *Inscribing Texts in Byzantium,* London: Routledge.

Drpić, Ivan, 2018, 'The Enkolpion: Object, Agency, Self', *Gesta*, vol. 57, no. 2, pp. 197-224.

Drpić, Ivan, 2011, 'Notes on Byzantine Panagiaria', *Zograf,* no. 35, pp. 51-61.

Drummond, William, 1790, *The Poems of William Drummond of Hawthornden,* London: J. Jeffery.

Dugan, Holly, 2011, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Du Moulin, Peter, 1649, *Tragicum Theatrum,* Amsterdam: Jodocum Jansonium.

Duffy, Eamon, 2017, 'Praying the Counter-Reformation', in *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory, and Counter-Reformation,* eds. James E. Kelly and Susan Royal, Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Duffy, Eamon, 2009, 'Two Healing Prayers', in *Medieval Christianity in Practice,* ed. Miri Rubin, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Duffy, Eamon, 1992, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580,* New Haven: Yale University Press

Dungworth, David and Colin Brain, 2009, 'Late 17th-Century Crystal Glass: An Analytical Investigation', *Journal of Glass Studies,* vol. 51, pp. 111-37.

Dunton, John, 1683, *The Informer's Doom: Or, An Amazing and Seasonable Letter from Utopia, Directed to the Man in the Moon,* London: Printed for John Dunton at the Black-Raven.

Eaker, Adam, 2018, 'The Scene of the Sitting in Early Modern England', *Art History,* vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 650-79.

Ebenhöch, Romina, 2023, Anhänger in Buchform: Eine Geschichte des europäischen Schmucks (1450—1650), Berlin: Reimer.

Eckhardt, Hella, 2014, *Objects and Identities: Roman Britain and the north-western provinces,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Egan, Geoff and Frances Pritchard, 2002, *Dress Accessories, c.1150-c.1450,* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Egan, Martha, 2020, *Relicarios: The Forgotten Jewels of Latin America,* Albuquerque: Fresco Books.

Eicher, J.B, S.L. Evenson, and H.A. Lutz, eds., 2000, *The Visible Self: Global Perspectives on Dress, Culture, and Society,* New York: Fairchild Publications.

Eikon Basilike. The Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings, [London], 1649.

Eisenstein, E., 1979, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eriksen, Marianne Hem, 2020, 'Body-objects' and personhood in the Iron and Viking Ages: processing, curating, and depositing skulls in domestic space', *World Archaeology*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 103–119.

Erler, Mary C., 2002, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Erskine, S., 2012, 'Is the Cloc ind Édachta St Patrick's oldest and most important medieval bell-relic?', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* vol. 142-3, pp. 74-85.

Espinosa Martín, M.C. (ed.), 2004, *Santuarios de lo intimo: Retrato en miniatura y relicarios* [Sanctuaries of Intimacy: Miniature Portraits and Reliquaries], Ciudad de Mexico: Asociacion Carso / Museo Soumaya.

Evans, J. and Withey A. (eds.), 2018, *New Perspectives on the History of Facial Hair: Framing the Face*, Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Evans, Joan, 1953, *A History of Jewellery, 1100-1870,* London: Faber and Faber.

Evans, Joan, 1964, *Prelude & Fugue: An Autobiography,* London: Museum Press.

Evans, Joan, E.T. Leeds, and Anthony Thompson, 1941, 'A hoard of gold rings and silver groats found near Thame, Oxfordshire', *Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 21, no. 3., pp. 197-202.

Evans, J. and Serjeantson, M.S., 1933, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries*, London: Published for the Early English Text Society by H. Milford, Oxford University Press.

Evans, Joan, 1931, *English Posies and Posy Rings,* London: Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford.

Evans, Joan, 1922, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Particularly in England*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Evans, Joan, 1921, *English Jewellery from the Fifth Century A.D. to 1800,* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Eve, George, W., 1907, *Heraldry as Art: An Account of Its Development and Practice, Chiefly in England,* London: B.T. Batsford.

Fairclough, H. Rushton and G.P. Goold, 1916, *Virgil. Eclogues. Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Faraone, Christopher A., 2018, *The Transformation of Greek Amulets In Roman Imperial Times,* Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Farrar, J.H., 1986, 'Auction of medieval 'Middleham Jewel' captures 1.3 million', *The Christian Science Monitor,* https://www.csmonitor.com/1986/1222/ijewel.html, Accessed April 5, 2025.

Fastiggi, R. and C. Maunder, 2019, 'Mary in the Work of Redemption', in *The Oxford Handbook of Mary,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fiddyment, Sarah, et al., 2021, 'Girding the Loins? Direct Evidence of the Use of a Medieval English Parchment Birthing Girdle from Biomolecular Analysis', *Royal Society Open Science,* Vol. 8, 3, pp. 1-14.

Finucane, R.C., 1977. *Miracles and Pilgrims: popular beliefs in medieval England*, London: J. M. Dent.

Firmin, Giles, 1693, *A Brief Review of Mr. Davis's Vindication: Giving No Satisfaction,* London: John Lawrence.

Flattun, John-Wilhelm, 2021, 'Angel and Soverign: Henry VII's Royal Coins, Legitimation, and Relics of Power', *Royal Studies Journal,* vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 76-101.

Fleischacker, Samuel, 2013, *What is Enlightenment?,* London; New York: Routledge.

Fletcher, Alexandra, Daniel Antoine, and J.D. Hill (eds.), 2014, *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*, London: The British Museum Press.

Fletcher, Anthony and Diarmaid MacCulloch, 2015, *Tudor Rebellions*, London: Routledge.

Flood, Bruce P., 1976, 'The Medieval Herbal Tradition of Macer Floridus', *Pharmacy in History,* vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 62-6.

Folds, John S., 1832, 'The Ancient Irish Bulla', *The Dublin Penny Journal,* vol. 1, no. 23, pp. 180-1.

Foley, Henry, 1875, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus,* vols. 1, London: Burns and Oates.

Foscati, A., 2020, *Saint Anthony's fire from antiquity to the eighteenth century*, trans. F. Gordon, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Fowler, C., 2004. *The Archaeology of Personhood: An Anthropological Approach*, London; New York: Routledge.

Frazer, Michael L., 2010, *The Enlightenment of Sympathy: Justice and the Moral Sentiments in the Eighteenth Century and Today,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Freedberg, David, 1989, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Freeman, Charles, 2011, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe,* New Haven; London: Yale University Press.

French, Katherine L., 2021, 'Praying Upon Beads', *Household Goods and Good Households in Late Medieval England,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 190-216.

Fricke, Beate, 2012, 'Matter and Meaning of Mother-of-Pearl: The Origins of Allegory in the Sphere of Things', *Gesta,* vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 35-53.

Friedman, Alice, 1988, *House and Household in Elizabethan England: Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Friedrich, Markus, 2022, trans. John Noel Dillon, *The Jesuits : A History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Frieman, Catherine and Mark Gillings, 2007, 'Seeing is Perceiving?', *World Archaeology*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 4–16.

Frykman, Jonas and Maja Povrzanović Frykman (eds.), 2016, *Sensitive Objects: Affects and Material Culture*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

G.J., 1649, *A Letter Sent into France to the Lord Duke of Buckingham His Grace: of a Great Miracle wrought by a piece of a Handkerchefe, dipped in His Majesties Bloud,* [London].

Gaimster, D.R.M. and Gilchrist, R., (eds.), 2003, *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480-1580*, Leeds: Maney.

Gannon, A., 2021, 'Guarding the Sacred: early Anglo-Saxon cylindrical containers', *Temporis Signa,* vol. 16, pp. 213-26.

Garnet, Henry, Fr., c.1593-4, *The Societe of the Rosary,* London: Fr. Garnet's First Press.
Garrow, Duncan and Neil Wilkin, 2022, *The World of Stonehenge,* London: The British Museum Press.

Garter, Bernard*,* 1579, *A newyeares gifte dedicated to the Popes Holinesse,* London, Henry Bynneman.

Geary, Patrick J., 1994, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages,* Ithaca: University of Cornell Press.

Geary, Patrick J., 1990, *Furta Sacra*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gell, A., 1998. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

George, Judith W., 1992, *Venantius Fortunatus: A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gerard, John, 1597, 'Of Vervaine. Chap. 235.', *The Herball, or Generall Historie of Plants Gathered by John Gerarde,* London: Imprinted by John Norton, Copy held by Getty Research Institute, pp. 580-582.

Gerard, John, 1962, *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest,* ed. Graham Greene, trans. Philip Caraman, S.J., New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

Gere, Charlotte, 1991, 'From the Fifteenth Century to the Victorians', in *Treasures and Trinkets: Jewellery in London from Pre-Roman times to the 1930s,* Tessa Murdoch, ed., London: Museum of London.

Gerevini, Stefania, 2014, in *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period,* (eds.) James Robinson, Lloyd de Beer, and Anna Harnden, London: The British Museum.

Gerrard and Gutiérrez (eds.), 2018, *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Geuter, Ruth, 2008, 'Embroidered Biblical Narratives and Their Social Context', in *English Embroidery from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700 'Twixt Art and Nature,* Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt (eds.), New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gibb, William, 1890, *The Royal House of Stuart, Drawn from Relics of the Stuarts,* London: Macmillan and Co.

Gibson, 2022, *Early Anglo-Saxon Christian Reliquaries,* Oxford: Archaeopress.

Gibson, Eugenie, 1929, 'Mr. Percival D. Griffiths Collection of Old English Needlework', *Connoisseur,* vol. 59, 39.

Gilchrist, Roberta, 2020, *Sacred Heritage: Monastic Archaeology, Identities, Beliefs,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gilchrist, Roberta, 2012, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course,* Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Gilchrist, Roberta, 2008, 'Magic for the Dead?: The Archaeology of Magic in Later Medieval Burials', *Medieval Archaeology,* vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 119-159.

Gilchrist, Roberta and Barney Sloane, 2005, *Medieval Monastic Cemeteries of Britain (1050-1600): A Digital Resource and Database of Excavated Samples,* York: Archaeology Data Service.

Gilmore, T., 2013, 'WMID-1006A0: A Medieval Reliquary Cross', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/583344, Accessed May 6, 2023.

Girouard, Mark, 1978, *Life in the English Country House,* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Goehring, 2012, 'Textile Contact Relics', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage Online,* Larissa J. Taylor ed., Leiden: Brill, https://referenceworks-brill-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/display/db/empo, Accessed April 4, 2025.

Gomulkiewicz, Abigail, 2020, 'Religious Materiality in Elizabethan Essex (1558-1603)', *Material Religion*, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 275–297.

Gosden, Chris, and Yvonne Marshall, 1999, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 169–78.

Gosden, C., 1994, *Social Being and Time*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Graça, Vânia C., Isabel C.F.R Ferreira, and Paulo F. Santos, 2016, 'Phytochemical Composition and Biological Activities of Geranium Robertianum L.: A Review', *Industrial Crops and Products*, 87, pp. 363–78.

Graffius, Janet, 2022, 'English Catholic Material Culture, 1558-1688', in *A Companion to Catholicism and Recusancy in Britain and Ireland,* eds. Robert E. Scully S.J. and Angela Ellis Leiden: Brill.

Graffius, Janet, et al., 2021, Jesuit Collections Online Exhibition, 'How Bleedeth Burning Love: Relics of the Forty Martyrs', https://www.jesuitcollections.org.uk/relics, Accessed August 23, 2023.

Graffius, Janet, 2012, 'The Stuart Relics in the Stonyhurst College Collections', *British Catholic History,* vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 147-69.

Green, Susan L., 2019, *Tree of Jesse Iconography in Northern Europe in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,* New York: Routledge.

Greenblatt, Stephen, 1980, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Greenia, G. and X.M.S. Sanchez, 2021, 'The rattle of time and travel: The acoustics of medieval pilgrimage', *Ad Limina,* vol. 12, no. 12, pp. 209-43.

Griffiths, R., 2015, 'YORYM-96F498: A Medieval Pendant', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/713628, Accessed April 25, 2025.

Grootenboer, Hanneke, 2012, *Treasuring the Gaze: Intimate Vision in Late Eighteenth-century Eye Miniatures,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Grueber, H.A., Esq., H. Jenner Esq. F.S.A., and T. Humphry Ward, Esq., 1889, *Exhibition of the Royal House of Stuart,* London: The New Gallery.

Guiderdoni, A., W. Melion, and R. Dekoninck (eds.), 2020, *Quid est secretum?:Visual Representation of Secrets in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700,* Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Guyer, Benjamin M., 2022, *How the English Reformation was Named*: *The Politics of History, c.1400-1700,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gwara, Joseph J. and Mary Morse, 2012, 'A Birth Girdle Printed by Wynkyn de Worde', *The Library,* vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 33-62.

Gygi, Fabio, 2023, 'The Afterlives of Dolls: On the Productive Death of Terminal Commodities', *Ars Orientalis,* vol. 52, no. 9, https://doi.org/10.3998/ars.3993, Accessed April 4, 2025.

Hahn, C., 2012, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa*

Hahn, C., 2017, *The Reliquary Effect: Enshrining the Sacred Object*, London: Reaktion Books. *1204,* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Haigh, C., 1993, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Haj Ali, D. et al., 2025, 'An Up-to-Date Review Regarding the Biological Activity of Geranium robertianum L', *Plants (Basel),* vol. 14, no. 6, p. 918.

Halford, Sir Henry, 1831, *Disinterment of the Relics of several Kings. Account of the opening of the Tomb of King Charles the First, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor,* London.

Hallam, Elizabeth and Jenny Hockey, 2020, *Death, Memory & Material Culture,* London: Routledge.

Hamilakis, Y., 2014, *Archaeology and the Senses: Human Experience, Memory, and Affect*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hamilakis, Y., M. Pluciennik, and S. Tarlow, 2002. *Thinking Through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*, London: Kluwer.

Hamilton, S. and A. Spicer, 2006, 'Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space', in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* Abingdon; New York: Routledge.

Hammons, Pamela S., 2010, *Gender, Sexuality, and Material Objects in English Renaissance Verse,* Abingdon: Routledge.

Hanawalt, Barbara, 1993, *Growing up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hankinson, R.J., 2016, 'Humours and Humoral Theory', in *The Routledge History of Disease,* ed. Mark Jackson, London: Routledge, pp. 21-37.

Hanna, Ralph, 2016, 'The Oldest Manuscript of Richard Rolle's Writings', *Scriptorium,* vol. 70, no. 1, pp. 105-15.

Hannesdóttir, S., 2022, 'Matters of the heart: depictions of the heart and the archaeology of emotion, c.1400-1700', *Post-Medieval Archaeology,* vol. 56, no. 1, pp. 68-79.

Harbert, Bert, 2022, 'Agnus Dei (wax medallion)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (4th ed.),* Andrew Louth (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/display/10.1093/acref/9780199642465.001.0001/acref-9780199642465-e-160. Accessed November 8, 2025.

Harbison, Craig, 1995, *The Mirror of the Artist: Northern Renaissance Art in Its Historical Context,* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc.

Harkaway-Krieger, K., 2016, 'Mysticism and Materiality: Pearl and the Theology of Metaphor', *Exemplaria,* vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 161-80.

Harkes, Rachael, 2024, 'Remembering the Dead: Postmortem Guild Membership in Late Medieval England', *The Journal of British Studies,* pp. 1-26.

Harley Foundation, 2022, 'Memorial Jewellery' https://harleyfoundation.org.uk/explore/entry/memorial-jewellery/, Accessed June 4th, 2024.

Harman, Graham, 2018, *Object-oriented ontology: A new theory of everything,* London: Pelican.
Harper, John, 1991, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Harris, Nichola E., 2022, 'The Protection of Innocents: Red Coral as a Lapidary Cure for the 'Children's Disease' and Conditions Related to Childbirth in Medieval and Early Modern England', in *Death and Disease in the Medieval and Early Modern World,* eds. Lori Ones and Nukhet Varlik, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, Oliver J.T. and Craig N. Cipolla, 2017, *Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium: Introducing Current Perspectives*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Harrison-Buck, E. and J. Hendon, (eds.), 2018, *Relational Identities and Other-than-human Agency in Archaeology,* Louisville, CO: University of Colorado Press.

Hartnell, Jack, 2017, 'Wording the Wound Man', *British Art Studies,* no. 6, https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-06/jhartnell, Accessed April 20 2025.

Hastorf, Christine A., 2003, 'Community with the Ancestors: Ceremonies and Social Memory in the Middle Formative at Chiripa, Bolivia', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 305–332.

Hawkins, Kevin, n.d., 'Why do we Flower the Cross at Easter', The Episcopal Chruch of the Redeemer (Ruston, Louisiana), https://www.rustonredeemer.org/easter-flowering-of-the-cross-meaning, Accessed November 16, 2025.

Hayward, Maria, 2020, *Stuart Style: Monarchy, Dress, and the Scottish Male Elite,* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Heidegger, Martin, 1971, 'The Thing', in *Poetry, Language, Thought,* trans. Albert Hofstadter, New York: Harper & Row.

Heinzel, M., 2022, 'Discovery of a 12th-Century Enamelled Reliquary Pendant: Elemental Analysis and Content Visualisation Using Prompt Gamma Neutron Activation Analysis and Neutron Tomography', *Proceedings of the Interim Meeting of the ICOM-CC Metals Working Group, September 5-9 2022, Helsinki, Finland,* pp. 1-8.

Henrikson, M.B. and H.W. Horsnæs, 2015, 'Detecting Vester Kærby: Problems associated with the interpretation of metal-detector finds from the plough soil', in *Small Things Wide Horizons: Studies in Honour of Birgitta Hårdh,* eds. L. Larsson et al., Oxford: Archaeopress.

Herradón Figueroa, Antonia, 1999, 'Cera y devoción. Los agnusdei en la colección del Museo Nacional de Antropología.' [Wax and devotion. The angusdei in the collection of the National Museum of Anthropology], Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares, [Journal of Dialectology and Popular Traditions], pp. 207-37.

Herrick, Robert, Alfred Pollard (ed.), 1891, *Works of Robert Herrick,* vol. 1, London: Lawrence & Bullen.

Hicks, Dan and Mary Carolyn Beaudry, (eds.), 2010, *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hills, Catherine, 2011, 'Work-boxes or reliquaries? Small copper-alloy containers in seventh century Anglo-Saxon graves', in *Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology: Papers in Honour of Martin G. Welch*, eds. Stuart Brookes, Sue Harrington and Andrew Reynolds, Oxford: Archaeopress.

Hind, Heather, 2020, 'I Twisted the Two, and Enclosed them Together': Hairwork, Touch, and Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*', *Victorian Review,* vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 31-47.

Hindley, Katherine Storm, 2024, *Textual Magic: Charms and Written Amulets in Medieval England,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hindman, Sandra, 2014, *Cycles of Life: Rings from the Benjamin Zucker Family Collection,* London: Paul Holberton publishing for Les Enluminures.

Hines, J., 1984, *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the Pre-Viking Period,* Oxford: BAR.

Hinton, David, A., 2012, 'Brooch: England (history, development and uses)', *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles of the British Isles c.450-1450,* eds., Owen-Crocker, Gale, Elizabeth Coatsworth, and Maria Hayward, Leiden: Brill.

Hinton, David A., 2005, *Gold & Gilt, Pots & Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hinton, David Alban, 1982, *Medieval Jewellery: from the eleventh to the fifteenth century,* Aylesbury: Shire Publications Ltd.

HMC Reports on Various Manuscripts: William Cleverly Alexander, 1904, vol. 3.

Hobhouse, Edmund, M.D., 1934, *The Diary of a West Country Physician,* Rochester, Stanhope Press.

Hodder, I., 2020, 'The Paradox of the Long Term: Human Evolution and Entanglement', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 389–411.

Hodder, I., 2012. *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships Between Humans and Things*, Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hodder, Ian and Craig Cessford, 2004, 'Daily Practice and Social Memory at Çatalhöyük', *American Antiquity*, vol. 69, no. 1, pp. 17–40.

Hodges, Doris M., 1987, *Talismen and Amulets in the History of Healing,* Melksham: Venton.

Holm, Christiane, 2004, 'Sentimental Cuts: Eighteenth-Century Mourning Jewellery with Hair', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* vol. 38, no. 1, pp. 139-143.

Holmes, M.M., 2001, 'The Science of Possession: Conscience and Hagiography in Early Stuart England', in *Early Modern Metaphysical Literature: Nature, Custom and Strange Desires,* New York: Palgrave.

Holmes, R., 1881, *Inventory of Miniatures: Royal Library Windsor Castle,* Privately printed for the Royal Library.

Holmes, R., 1870, *Inventory of Miniatures: Royal Library Windsor Castle,* Privately printed for the Royal Library.

Holton, Mark, 2020, 'On the geographies of hair: Exploring the entangled margins of the bordered body', *Progress in Human Geography,* vol. 44, no. 3, pp. 555-571.

Holtorf, Cornelius J., 1998, 'The Life-histories of Megaliths in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Germany)', *World Archaeology*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 23–38.

Hooper, Steven, 2014, 'A cross-cultural theory of relics: on understanding religion, bodies, artefacts, images and art', *World Art*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 175–207.

Hoskins, J., 1998, *Biographical objects: how things tell the stories of people's lives*, London: Routledge.

Houlbrooke, Ralph Anthony, 2000, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Houston, Stephen and Karl Taube, 2000, 'An Archaeology of the Senses: Perception and Cultural Expression in Ancient Mesoamerica', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, vol. 10 no. 2, pp. 261–294.

Hoving, Thomas, 1965, 'A Newly Discovered Reliquary of St. Thomas Becket', *Gesta,* vol. 4, pp. 28-30.

Howes, D., 2019, 'Digging up the Sensorium: On the Sensory Revolution in Archaeology', in *The Routledge Handbook of Sensory Archaeology*, eds. R. Skeates and J. Day, Abingdon: Routledge.

Howes, D., and C. Classen, 2014, *Ways of Sensing: Understanding the senses in society*. London: Routledge.

Howes, D., ed., 2005, *Empire of the senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*. Oxford: Berg.

Hoyle, Richard W., 2001, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hsueh, Vicki, 2016, 'Intoxicated Reasons, Rational Feelings: Rethinking the Early Modern English Public Sphere', *The Review of Politics*, 78(1), pp. 27–57.

Human Tissue Act 2004, c.30, https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/30/contents, Accessed September 16, 2025.

Hunt, T., 1990, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England,* Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.

Hurl-Eamon, Jennine, 2011, 'Love Tokens: Objects as Memory for Plebian Women in Early Modern England', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal,* vol. 6, pp. 181-186.

Husband, Timothy B., 1992, 'The Winteringham Tau Cross and Ignis Sacer', *Metropolitan Museum journal*, 27, pp. 19–35.

Husemann, Simone, 1999, *Pretiosen persönlicher Andacht Bild- und Materialsprache spätmittelalterlicher Reliquienkapseln (Agnus Dei) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Materials Perlmutter* [Precious Objects of Personal Devotion: Imagery and Material Language

of Late Medieval Reliquary Capsules (Agnus Dei) with Special Consideration of the Material of Mother-of-Pearl], Kromsdorf: VDG Weimar - Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften.

Hussey, Christopher, 1921, 'The Halls of York II: St. William's College and St. Anthony's Hall', *Country Life (London),* vol. 50, no. 1297, p. 616-23.

Iglikowski-Broad, Vicky, 2015, 'A Lock of Love', The National Archives, https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/lock-love/, Accessed June 20th, 2024.

Ingold, T., 2012, 'Toward and Ecology of Materials', *Annual Review of Anthropology,* vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 427-42.

Inman, Anne, 1993, 'This is the Lamb of God', *New Blackfriars,* vol. 74, no. 870, pp. 191-7.

Innes-Parker, Catherine, 2007, 'ÞE Passioun of Our Lord: A Middle English Adaptation of Bonaventure's Lignum Vitae in St John's College, Cambridge, MS G.20', *Forum for Modern Language Studies,* vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 199-206.

Inomata, T. and L.S. Coben, 2006, *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, Oxford: Altamira.

Ivanič, Suzanna, Mary Laven, and Andrew Morrall, (eds.), 2019, *Religious Materiality in the Early Modern World,* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Iwanicka, Magdalena, et al., 2016, 'On the application of optical coherence tomography as a complimentary tool in an analysis of the 13th century Byzantine Bessarion reliquary', *Microchemical Journal,* vol. 125, pp. 75-84.

Izbicki, T.M., 2015, *The Eucharist in Medieval Canon Law,* Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Jackson, Sarah E., 2019. 'Facing Objects: An Investigation of Non-Human Personhood in Classic Maya Contexts', *Ancient Mesoamerica*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 31–44.

Jeffrey, Hugh, 2023, 'Reliquary Crosses from Middle Byzantine Aphrodisias: Intimacy and Archaeology', *Anatolian Studies,* vol. 73, pp. 193-218.

Jin, Shiyun and Evan M. Smith, 2024, 'Raman Spectroscopy and X-Ray Diffraction: Phase Identification of Gem Minerals and Other Species', *Gems & Gemology,* vol. 60, no. 4, pp. 518-35.

Johanesen, Sarah, 2020, *Subversion, Resistance and Loyalty: the Politicisation of Catholic Material Culture in Post-Reformation England, 1559-c1625*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, King's College.

Johnson, D.C. and H.B. Foster, eds., 2007, *Dress Sense: Emotional and Sensory Experiences of the Body and Clothes,* Oxford; New York: Berg.

Johnson, Matthew, 2015, 'English Houses, Materiality, and Everyday Life', *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association,* vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 27-39.

Johnson, Matthew, 2014, *English Houses 1300-1800: Vernacular Architecture, Social Life,* London: Routledge.

Jones, Andrew Meirion, 2021, 'Disentangling Entanglement: Archaeological Encounters with the Concept of Entanglement', *Current Swedish Archaeology,* 29, pp. 38-42.

Jones, Jude, 2017, 'Being, Belief, Comprehension and Confusion: An Exploration of the Assemblages of English Post-Reformation Parochial Religion', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 141–154.

Jones, Peter Murray, 2009, 'Amulets and Charms', in *Medieval Christianity in Practice,* ed. Miri Rubin, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jones, Peter Murray, 2007, 'Amulets: Prescriptions and Surviving Objects from Late Medieval England', in *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Essays in Honour of Brian Spencer*, S. Blick, ed., Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Jones, Peter Murray and Lea T. Olsan, 2000, 'Middleham Jewel: Ritual, Power, and Devotion', *Viator,* vol. 31, pp. 249-290.

Joy, Jody, 2009, 'Reinvigorating Object Biography: Reproducing the Drama of Object Lives', *World Archaeology*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 540–556.

Jurkowlaniec, G., I. Matyjaszkiewicz, and Z. Sarnecka, 2018, *The Agency of Things in Medieval and Early Modern Art: Materials, Power and Manipulation*, Abingdon; New York: Routledge.

Kalas, Laura, 2020, *Margery Kempe's Spiritual Medicine: Suffering, Transformation, and the Life-Course,* Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Kant, Immanuel, 1784, 'Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklarung?' [Answering the Question: What is Enlightenment?], in *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, Book 4, 12, pp. 481-494.

Karp, Ivan and Steven Lavine, eds., 1991, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display,* Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kartsonis, Anna, 1994, 'Protection against All Evil: Function, Use and Operation of Byzantine Historiated Phylacteries', *Byzantinische Forschungen,* 20 73–102, at 79–80.

Kazan, Georges and T. Higham, 2019, 'Researching Relics: New Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Historic and Religious Objects', in *Life and Cult of Cnut the Holy: The First*

Royal Saint of Denmark, ed. Steffen Hope, Odense: Odense Bys Museer; Syddansk Universitetsforlag.

Kazan, Georges, 2018, 'Exploring the Past through Relics: The Oxford Relics Research Cluster', *Material Religion,* vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 570-2.

Keane, Marguerite A., 2016, 'Wearable Reliquaries, Metalwork, and Gems', in *Material Culture and Queenship in 14th-century France: The Testament of Blanche of Navarre (1331-1398),* Leiden: Brill.

Kelly, James E. and Hannah Thomas, 2019, *Jesuit Intellectual and Physical Exchange between England and Mainland Europe, c. 1580-1789: 'The World is our House?'*, Leiden; Boston: Brill Academic Publishers.

Kelly, James E. and Susan Royal, (eds.), 2017, *Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory, and Counter-Reformation*, Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Kelly, James E., 2017, 'English Women Religious, the Exile Male Colleges and National Identities in Counter-Reformation Europe', *College Communities Abroad*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 198-220.

Kendrick, A.F., 1967, *English Needlework,* ed. P. Wardle, London: Adam & Charles Black.

Kendrick, T.D., 1937, 'St. Cuthbert's Pectoral Cross, and the Wilton and Ixworth Crosses', *Antiquaries Journal,* vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 283-93.

Keynes, Simon and Rory Naismith, 2011, 'The Agnus Dei Pennies of King Aethelred the Unready', *Anglo-Saxon England,* vol. 40, pp. 175-223.

Kinch, Ashby, 2013, *Imago Mortis: Mediating Images of Death in Late Medieval Culture,* Leiden; Boston: Brill.

King, Ian W., 2017, *The Aesthetics of Dress,* Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

King, Rachel, 2022, *Amber: from antiquity to eternity,* London: Reaktion Books.

King, Rachel, 2019, 'The Reformation of the Rosary Bead: Protestantism and the Perpetuation of the Amber Paternoster', in *Religious Materiality in the Early Modern World,* eds. S. Ivanic, M. Laen, A. Morrall, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kirkham, A. and C. Warr, eds., 2016, *Wounds in the Middle Ages,* Abingdon: Routledge.

Kjaer, Lars, 2019, *The Medieval Gift and the Classical Tradition: Ideals and the Practice of Generosity in Medieval England, 1100-1300,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Klein, Holger A., 2004, 'Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* vol. 58, pp. 283-314.

Kloß, S.T., 2025, 'Hair as Sensory Skin: Sensitive Bodies, Ritual Shaving, and the Maintenance of Bodily Boundaries in Hindu Suriname', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* pp. 1-24.

Knight, Kimberly, 2016, 'Hair in the Middle Ages', *Internet Archaeology*, no. 42, http://dx.doi.org/10.11141/ia.42.6.10, Accessed June 9th, 2024.

Knowles, David and R. Neville Hadcock, 1972, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales,* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Kokowski, A., 1995, *Schätze der Ostgoten* [Treasures of the Ostrogoths], Stuttgart: Theiss.

Koldweij, J., 2006, *Foi & Bonne Fortune: Parure et Dévotion en Flandre Médiévale* [Faith & Good Fortune: Adornment and Devotion in Medieval Flanders], Bruges: Terra.

Koopmans, Rachel, 2016, ''Water mixed with the blood of Thomas': Contact Relic Manufacture Pictured in Canterbury Cathedral's Stained Glass', *Journal of Medieval History,* vol. 42, no. 5, pp. 535-58.

Kopytoff, Igor, 1986, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process' in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Arjun Appadurai ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koscak, S.E., 2020, *Monarchy, Print Culture, and Reverence in Early Modern England: Picturing Royal Subjects,* New York; London: Routledge.

Kostova, R., et al., 2020, 'AMS dating and ancient DNA analysis of bone relics associated with St John the Baptist from Sveti Ivan (Sozopol, Bulgaria)', *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports,* vol. 29.

Kumar Kanungo, Alok and Alino Sumi, 2024, 'Signifier, Signified, and Sign: A Case Study of Naga Ancestral Remains at Pitt Rivers Museum', in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Archaeologies,* (ed.) Claire Smith et al., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kumler, Aden, 2019, 'Counterfeiting the Eucharist in Late Medieval Art and Life', in Melion, W., Carson Pastan, E., and Palmer Wandel, L. (eds.) *Quid est Sacramentum? Visual Representation of Sacred Mysteries in Early Modern Europe, 1400-1700*. Leiden:Boston: Brill, pp. 57–81.

Kumler, Aden, 2011, 'Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages', *Anthropology and Aesthetics,* vol. 60, no. 59, pp. 179-191.

Kunz, George Frederick, 1917, *Rings for the Finger,* Philadelphia; London: J.B. Lippincott Company.

Kurze, Caroline, 2015, 'Sybille Paulsen Creates Jewelry for Cancer Patients Using Their Own Hair', *IGNANT*, https://www.ignant.com/2015/03/10/sybille-paulsen-creates-jewellery-for-cancer-patients-using-their-own-hair/#:~:text=Often%20her%20pieces%20evoke%20a,each%20client%20a%20bit%20better, Accessed December 8, 2025.

Kuwakino, Koji, 2013, 'The Great Theatre of Creative Thought: The *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi*...(1565) by Samuel von Quiccheberg', *Journal of the History of Collections,* vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 303-24.

La Niece, Susan and Caroline Cartwright, 2009, 'Bronze Age Gold Lock-rings with Cores of Wax and Wood', in *Metals and Societies: Studies in Honour of Barbara S. Ottoway,* Tobias L. Kienlin and Ben Roberts (eds.), Bonn: Habelt.

Lang, Timothy, 1995, *The Victorians and Stuart Heritage: Interpretations of a Discordant Past,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lacey, Andrew, 2003, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr,* Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer.

Lacey, Andrew, 2001, 'Elegies and Commemorative Verse in Honour of Charles the Martyr, 1649-60', in *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I,* ed. Jason Peacey, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Publishers Ltd.

Ladurie, Emmanuel Le Roy, 1978, *Montaillou,* Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd.

Lahti, Sofia, 2019, *Silver Arms and Silk Heads: Medieval Reliquaries in the Nordic Countries,* Åbo, Finland: Åbo Akademi University Press.

Lahtinen, A., and M. Korpiola, 2018, *Dying Prepared in Medieval and Early Modern Northern Europe,* Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Lalou, Élisabeth, 1989, 'Les Tablettes de Cire Médiévales, *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, vol. 147, pp. 123-40.

Lambing, Andrew Arnold, 1892, *The Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church,* New York: Benziger Brothers.

Lamont, W.M., 1963, *Marginal Prynne, 1600-1669,* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Larson, K.R., 2016, "Certein childeplayes remembred by the fayre ladies': Girls and Their Games', in *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood,* eds. N.J. Miller and N. Yavneh, London; New York: Routledge.

Latham, Robert and Willam Matthews, eds., 2016, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Vol. 9: 1668-1669,* London: Harper Collins; University of California Press.

Latin Vulgate New Testament Bible, John 1:29, https://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/john_1.htm, Accessed November 22nd, 2023.

Latour, Bruno, 2005, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leach, S. et al., 2010, 'A Lady of York: Migration, Ethnicity, and Identity in Roman Britain', *Antiquity,* vol. 84, no. 323, pp. 131-145.

Leach, E.R., 1958, 'Magical Hair', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* vol. 88, no. 2, pp. 147-164.

Lecouteux, Claude, 2014, *The High Magic of Talismans and Amulets: Tradition and Craft,* Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions.

Le Pouesard, E., 2019, 'By the skin of its teeth: Walrus ivory, the artisan, and other bodies', *Postmedieval,* vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 316-25.

Lee, Antony, 2014, 'A Late Medieval Reliquary Pendant from Wragby, Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Past and Present,* no. 96, pp. 26-27.

Lee, Antony, 2013, 'A Medieval Coin Brooch from Rauceby, Lincolnshire', *Lincolnshire Past and Present,* no. 92.

Legg, Wichkam J., 1905, *Ecclesiological Essays,* London: Alexander Moring Ltd., The De La More Press.

Lepoittevin, Anne, 2018, 'Picciolini, picolini et piccioli: La fabrique romaine des Agnus Dei (1563-1700), [The Roman manufacture of the Agnus Dei], *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions,* vol. 63, no. 183, pp. 87-118.

Levy, Ian, Gary Macy and Kristen Van Ausdall, 2012, *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages,* Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Lewis, Michael, 2013, "Crown and Heart' Buttons and Cufflinks', *The Finds Research Group AD700-1700,* Datasheet 46, https://findsresearchgroup.com/FRG46-datasheet.pdf, Accessed April 23 2025.

Lightbown, Ronald W., 1992, *Mediaeval European Jewellery: with a Catalogue of the Collection in the Victoria & Albert,* London: Victoria and Albert Museum with the assistance of the Getty Grant Program.

Llewellyn, Nigel, 1997, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500-1800,* London: Reaktion Books.

London Gazette, The, 1684, no. 1987, p. 2, London: Thomas Newcomb. https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/1987/page/2. Accessed October 26 2025.

Longair, Sarah and Chris Jeppesen, 2020, 'Domestic Museums of Decolonisation?: Objects, Colonial Officials, and the Afterlives of Empire in Britain', in *Decolonising Europe?,* Berny Sebe and Matthew G. Stanard eds., Abingdon; New York: Routledge.

Longpérier, Adrien de, 1849, 'Remarks on an unedited mouton d'or, struck in Normandy by Henry V. of England', *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society,* vol. 12, pp. 6-19.

Lowe, Scott, 2016, *Hair,* New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Loyola of, Ignatius, 1548, *Exercitia Spiritualia [Spiritual Exercises],* BX2179.L7 A2 1548, Doohue Rare Book Room, Gleeson Library, University of San Francisco Geschke Center.

Lucy, Sam, 2016, 'The Trumpington Cross in Context', *Anglo-Saxon England,* vol. 45, pp. 7-37.

Ludwikowska, Joanna, 2017. 'Objects, Words, and Religion: Popular Belief and Protestantism in Early Modern England'. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 52(1), pp. 103–145.

Lund, Julie, 2017, 'Connectedness with things. Animated objects of Viking Age Scandinavia and early medieval Europe', *Archaeological Dialogues*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 89–108.

Lunnon, Jane and Roger Martlew, 2016, 'An Anglo-Saxon Amulet Canister from Arncliffe, North Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 88:1, 235-237.

Luthi, Ann Louise, 1998, *Sentimental Jewellery: Antique Jewels of Love and Sorrow,* Princes Risborough: Shire Publications Ltd.

Lutton, Rob, 2019(a), 'Devotion to the Holy Name in the Medieval West', in *Illuminating Jesus in the Middle Ages,* ed. Jane Beal, Leiden: Brill.

Lutton, Rob, 2019(b), 'From Micro- to Macro-processes of Religious Change: The Holy Name of Jesus and Christocentric Devotion in the Long Fifteenth Century', *Church History and Religious Culture,* vol. 99, no. 3/4, pp. 412-439.

Lutz, Deborah, 2015, *Relics of Death in Victorian Literature and Culture,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lutz, Deborah, 2011, 'The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* vol. 39, no. 1, pp.127-142.

Lynch, Tom, 2022, 'Making Shrines', in *Making Miracles in Medieval England*, London: Routledge.

Machielsen, Jan and Michelle Pfeffer, 2023, 'A Work Out of Time: *Religion and the Decline of Magic* at Fifty', *Past & Present,* vol. 261, no. 1, pp. 259-96.

MacKendrick, Karmen, 2008, *Fragmentation and Memory: Meditations on Christian Doctrine*, Bronx: Fordham University Press.

MacLeod, Christine, 1987, 'Accident or Design? George Ravenscroft's Patent and the Invention of Lead-Crystal Glass', *Technology and Culture,* vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 776-803.

Maestro-Guijarro, L. et al., 2025, 'Spectroanalytical approaches for analysis of archaeological objects related to personal adornment from Teruel Museum', *Journal of Cultural Heritage,* vol. 76, pp. 277-87.

Mageo, J.M., 1994, 'Hairdos and Don'ts: Hair Symbolism and Sexual History in Samoa', *Man,* vol. 29, pp. 407-32.

Malo, Roberta, 2007, *Saints' Relics in Medieval English Literature,* (D.Phil. Dissertation, The Ohio State University) ProQuest.

Mänd, Anu, 2022, 'Prestige and Piety: Devotional Pendants in Late Medieval Livonia', *Revue d'Histoire Nordique,* no. 29, pp. 69-96.

Mandziuk, Natalie M., 2017, 'Drawn to Scale: The Medieval Monastic's Virtual Pilgrimage through Sacred Measurement', in *Binding the Absent Body in Medieval and Modern Art: Abject, Virtual, and Alternate Bodies,* ed. Emily Kelley and Elizabeth Richards Rivenbark, London: Routledge.

Mango, C. A., 1994, 'On the Cult of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Constantinople', in *Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα,* [Incense in Memory of Laskarina Boura], Athens: Benaki Museum.

Maraschi, Andrea, 2017, 'Sympathy for the Lord: The Host and Elements of Sympathetic Magic in Late Medieval Exempla', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures,* vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 209-30.

Marks, R. and P. Williamson, 2003, *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547,* London: V&A Publications.

Marks, R., 2004, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, Stroud: Sutton Publishing.

Marlow, Jeremiah, 1683, *A Book of Cyphers, or, Letters Reverst,* London: W. Rogers.

Marshall, Peter, 2009, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *The Journal of British studies*, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 564–586.

Martin, Max, 2001, 'Frühmittelalterliche Reliquiarschnallen' [Early medieval reliquary buckles], in *Sein und Sinn, Burg und Mensch,* eds. Falko Daim and Thomas Kühtreiber, St. Pölten : Niederösterreichisches Landesmuseum.

Martin, Thomas, 2001, 'Paul the Patient: Christus Medicus and the "Stimulus Carnis" (2 Cor. 12:7): A Consideration of Augustine's Medicinal Christology', *Augustinian Studies,* vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 219-56.

Massumi, Brian, 2002, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation,* Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press.

Matthes, W., 1931, *Die Germanen in der Prignitz zur Zeit der Völkerwanderung,* [The Germanic tribes in the Prignitz at the time of the migration], Leipzig: Curt Kabitzsch.

Matzke, John E. and Maurice Delbouille (eds.), 1936, Le Roman du Castelain de Couci et de la Dame de Fayel [The Romance of Castelain of Couci and the Lady of Fayel], Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français.

Mauss, M., 2016, trans. Jane I. Guyer, *The Gift: Expanded Edition*, Chicago: HAU Books.

McAvoy, L.H., 2023, 'Arboreal Articulation: The Testimony of Trees in the Late Medieval Religious Imagery', in *Women and Devotional Literature in the Middle Ages: Giving Voice to Silence. Essays in Honour of Catherine Innes-Parker,* eds. C. Gunn, L.H. McAvoy, and N.K. Yoshikawa, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

McCann, Daniel, 2015, 'Medicine of Words: Purgative Reading in Richard Rolle's Meditations on the Passion', *The Mediaeval Journal* (Turnhout, Belgium), vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 53-83.

McClain, Lisa, 2022, 'Underground Devotions: The Day-to-Day Challenges of Practicing an Illegal Faith', in *A Companion to Catholicism and Recusancy in Britain and Ireland,* eds. Robert E. Scully S.J. and Angela Ellis, Leiden: Brill.

McClain, Lisa, 2015, 'On a Mission: Priests, Jesuits, 'Jesuitresses', and Catholic Missionary Efforts in Tudor-Stuart England', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 101(3), pp. 437–462.

McConnell, Sophie, 1991, *Metropolitan Jewelry,* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulfinch Press, Little, Brown and Company.

McDonald, Glen, 2019, 'From diamonds to rockets, mourning the dead has gotten high-tech', *National Geographic,* https://www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/article/ashes-to-diamonds-reefs-rockets-how-we-will-memorialize-dead?fbclid=IwY2xjawJdxo1leHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHl_GgE5eOSoNG_vP0xL_U-cGRoHZrHGg8kpMx91vr-BTZU1HRiOlw916pYEv_aem_gUewmDyXMlw5Y9lAfu2pGA, Accessed April 5, 2025.

McGann, Jerome J., 1981, 'The Text, the Poem, and the Problem of Historical Method', *New Literary History,* vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 269-88.

McMahon, Brendan C., 2021, 'Divine Nature: Feathered Microcarvings in the Early Modern World', *Art History,* vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 770-96.

McNamer, Sarah, 2010, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

McNaught, R. and A. Webb, 2005, *Archaeological Investigations at Morton Lane, Beverley, East Yorkshire,* Morley: West Yorkshire Archaeological Services Publications.

McShane, Angela, 2009, 'Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies,* vol. 48, no. 4, pp. 871-886.

McSheffrey, Shannon, 2006, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in Late Medieval London,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Melzer, Sara E. and Kathryn Norberg eds., 1998, *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century France,* Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press.

Meaney, Audrey L., 1981, *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones,* Oxford: BAR.

Merrifield, Ralph, 1955, 'Witch Bottles and Magical Jugs', *Folklore,* vol. 66, no. 1, pp. 195-207.

Merton College Library, *MS 248,* Oxford: Merton College, [c.1175-1350].

Meskell, Lynn, 2001, 'The Social Life of Heritage', ed. I. Hodder, *Archaeological Theory Today*, Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers.

Metin, H., 2025, 'An Ampulla Flask of Saint Menas from Dara (Anastasiopolis)', *Art-sanat dergisi,* vol. 23, pp. 64-78.

Middlemass, Cara Sian, 2018, *Mourning Jewellery in England, c.1500-1800,* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Newcastle University), ProQuest.

Migotti, Branka, 2015, 'Apotropejska i rodna simbolika nakita iz groba 134 na Štrbincima kod Đakova' [Apotropaic and gender symbolism of jewellery from grave 134 in Štrbincima near Đakova], *Archaeologia Adriatica*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 269-282.

Milicia, Maria Teresa, 2020, 'Simulacra of Eternal Life: Ostensions, Exhibitions, and the Concealment of Human Remains', in *Public Uses of Human Remains and Relics in History,* (eds.) Luigi Provero and Silvia Cavicchioli, Abingdon: Routledge.

Miller, Daniel, 2010, *Stuff,* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Miller, Daniel, 2008, *The Comfort of Things,* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Miller, Daniel, 2005, *Materiality,* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Miller, Steven, 2017, 'Curating = Connoisseurship = Collecting', in *Anatomy of a Museum,* Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Miller, Pamela A., 1982, 'Hair Jewelry as Fetish', in *Objects of Special Devotion: Fetishes and Fetishism in Popular Culture,* ed. Ray Broadus Browne, Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press.

Miller, Pat and David Saxby, 2007, *The Augustinian Priory of St. Mary Merton, Surrey: Excavations 1976-1990*, London: Museum of London Archaeology.

Milner, Lesley, 2024, *Secret Spaces: Sacred Treasuries in England 1066-1320,* Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Mitchell, A.A., 1966, 'Charles I in Death', *History Today*, no. 17.

Mitchell, G. Frank, et al., 1977, *Treasures of Early Modern Art, 1500 B.C. to 1500 A.D.,* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Mitchell, Nathan D., 2009, *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism,* New York: New York University Press.

Montgomery, Scott, 2012, 'Contact Relics', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage Online,* Larissa J. Taylor ed., Leiden: Brill, https://referenceworks-brill-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/display/db/empo, Accessed April 4, 2025.

More, Thomas, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More,* 'De Tristitia Christi', Vol. 14, 1976. ed. Clarence H. Miller, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Moreno Olalla, David, 2013, 'The Textual Transmission of the Northern Macer Tradition', *English Studies,* vol. 94, no. 8, pp. 931-57.

Morgan, Marjorie M., 1941, 'The Suppression of the Alien Priories', *History (London),* vol. 26, pp. 204-212.

Morse, Mary, 2024, *English Birth Girdles,* Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH and Kalamazoo: University Press, Medieval Institute Publications.

Morse, Mary, 2014, 'Thys moche more ys oure lady mary longe': Takamiya MS 56 and the English Birth Girdle Tradition' in *Middle English Texts in Transition,* ed. Simon Horobin and Linne R. Mooney, York: York Medieval Press.

Muckart, Heather, 2023, 'Concealing and Revealing the Face of Charles the Martyr King', *Oxford Art Journal,* vol. 46, no. 1, pp.117-138.

Mullan, J., 1988, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Culture of Feeling in Eighteenth-Century England,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Muller, Aislinn, 2021, 'Catholics and the Underground Devotional Market in Post-Reformation England', in *Religion and the Early Modern British Marketplace,* Kristin M.S. Bezio and Scott Oldenburg eds., New York: Routledge.

Muller, Aislinn, 2018, 'The Agnus Dei, Catholic Devotion, and Confessional Politics in Early Modern England', *British Catholic History,* vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 1-28.

Muller, Priscilla E., 1972, *Jewels in Spain, 1500-1800,* New York: The Hispanic Society of America.

Murdoch, Tessa, ed., 1991, *Treasures and Trinkets: Jewellery in London from Pre-Roman Times to the 1930s,* London: Museum of London.

Murray, Athol, 2001, ''The Monuments of a Family': A Collection of Jewels Associated with Elizabeth of Bohemia', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries,* vol. 131, pp. 327-348.

Murray, Charles Fairfax, 1894, *Catalogue of the Pictures Belonging to His Grace The Duke of Portland, at Welbeck Abbey, and in London,* London: Chiswick Press.

Musacchio, Jacqueline, 2005, 'Lambs, Coral Teeth, and the Intimate Intersection of Religion and Magic in Renaissance Tuscany', in *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy,* eds. Sally J. Cornelison and Scott B. Montgomery, Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Nace, N.D., 2019, 'Donne in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *John Donne in Context,* ed. M. Shoenfeldt, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Nalson, J. 1684, *A true copy of the journal of the High Court of Justice, for the tryal of K. Charles I.* p. 118.

National Archives, The, Currency Converter: 1270-2017, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result, Accessed December 7, 2025.

National Archives, The, LC 5/37, f. 287, warrant dated 18 May 1603.

National Archives, The, LC 5/37, ff. 273-4, warrant dated 27 September 1602.

National Archives, The, PROB 11/501/376, Will of Sir John Chicheley.

National Gallery of Scotland, 'The Stewart Family Tree. Genealogy of the Royal House of Stewart', PG 749, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/3851, Accessed April 25th, 2024.

National Museums Scotland, 'Coronation Ampulla of Charles I', H.KJ 164.
National Portrait Gallery (U.K.), after unknown artist, c. seventeenth-century, 'The Execution of Charles I', NPG D26372.

National Trust, 'Hair', NT 1140215.1-2, https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1140215.1, Accessed June 20th, 2024.

Nehama, Sarah, 2012, *In Death Lamented: The Tradition of Anglo-American Mourning Jewellery,* Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society; distributed by the University of Virginia Press.

Nelles, Paul, 2022, 'Devotion in Transit: Agnus Dei, Jesuit Missionaries, and Global Salvation in the Sixteenth Century', in *Connected Mobilities in the Early Modern World*, eds. Paul Nelles and Rosa Salzberg, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Neville, Sarah, 2022, *Early Modern Herbals and the Book Trade: English Stationers and the Commodification of Botany,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Neville, Sarah, 2017, 'Referencing Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* in Early Modern England', *Notes and Queries,* vol. 64, no. 2, pp. 321-5.

Nevinson, J.L., 1965, 'The Embroidered Miniature Portraits of Charles I', *Apollo,* vol. 82, 310-313.

New, Elizabeth A., 1999, *The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England, with Special Reference to the Fraternity of St. Paul's Cathedral London c.1450-1558,* (Dissertation; University of London, Royal Holloway College) ProQuest.

Newman, B., 1999, 'Intimate Pieties: Holy Trinity and Holy Family in the Late Middle Ages', *Religion & Literature,* vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 77-101.

Nichols, John Gough and John Bruce eds., 1863, 'Cecily Duchess of York, 1495', *A Selection from the Wills of Eminent Persons Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1495-1695,* London: Camden Society.

Nichols, Thomas, 1652, *Lapidary or, The History of Pretious Stones,* Cambridge: Thomas Buck, printer to Universitie of Cambridge.

Nilsson Stutz, L., R. Peyroteo Stjerna, and S. Tarlow, 2025, 'Ethical Entanglements: Human Remains, Museums and Ethics in a European Perspective', *Antiquity,* vol. 99 no. 403, pp. 1-6.

Noble, Michael, 2016, 'The "Invencon" of Lead Crystal—Or Was It Flint Glass?', *Journal of Glass Studies,* vol. 58, pp. 185-95.

Nødseth, Ingrid Lunnan, 2017, 'Corals, Blood, and Precious Pearls: The Materiality of a Late Medieval Textile', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift,* vol. 86, no. 3, pp. 173-87.

Noon, S., 2017, 'LANCUM-717811: A Post Medieval Locket', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/842858, Accessed August 9, 2025.

Norfolk Museums Collections, 'Reliquary Pendant', NWHCM:1894.76.342, https://www.museums.norfolk.gov.uk/collections/collections-object-page?id=NWHCM+%3a+1894.76.342, Accessed 1/6/23.

Novacich, S.E., 2017, 'Transparent Mary: Visible Interiors and the Maternal Body in the Middle Ages', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* vol. 116, no. 4, pp. 464-90.

Nowiński, Janusz, 2011, 'Agnusków zapoznana moc, sława i piękno – rzecz o papieskim agnus dei' [Forgotten power, fame and beauty of the 'agnuses' – papal Agnus Dei], *Seminare. Poszukiwania naukowe [Seminare. Learned Investigations],* pp. 245-267.

Marotti, A.F., 1986, *John Donne: Coterie Poet,* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

O'Hea, Margaret, 2023, 'Early Byzantine *encolpia* and Images of Holy Sepulchre Shrines, from Tomb 39A at Pella in Jordan', *Byzantion,* vol. 93, pp. 123-156.

O'Reilly, Jennifer, 2019, 'The Trees of Eden in Medieval Iconography', in *Early Medieval Text and Image,* vol. 2, (eds.) Carol A. Farr and Elizabeth Mullins, London: Routledge.

Ogden, Jack, 1994, 'The Technology of Medieval Jewelry', in *Ancient & Historic Metals: Conservation and Research,* eds. David A. Scott, Jerry Podany, Brian B. Considine, Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Trust.

Olalquiaga, Celeste, 2010, 'Flore sacrée: les reliquaires à paperoles, ornements sublimes', *Perspective,* pp. 151-157.

Oliver, Kathleen M., 2010, ''With my hair in crystal': Mourning Clarissa', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction,* vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 35-60.

Olsan, L.T., 2003, 'Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice', *Social History of Medicine,* vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 343-66.

Olsen, B., M. Shanks, T. Webmoor, and C. Witmore, 2012, *Archaeology: The Discipline of Things,* Berkeley; University of California Press.

Olsen, Bjørnar, 2010, *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects,* Lanham: Altamira Press.

Oman, Charles, 1993, *Catalogue of the Rings in the Victoria and Albert Museum,* Ipswich: Anglia with the permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum

Oman, Charles, 1974, *British Rings: 800-1914,* London: Batsford.

Oman, Charles, 1946, 'Mourning Rings', *Apollo(London),* vol. 43, no. 253, pp. 71-73.

Orchard, Andy, 1997, *Dictionary of Norse Myth and Legend,* London: Cassell.

Original Douay-Rheims Bible, The (1582 & 1610), The Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle, 12:1-2,5, https://originaldouayrheims.com/revelations12, Accessed August 27, 2023.

Orme, Nicholas, 2021, *Going to Church in Medieval England,* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Outhwaite, Patrick, 2024, *Christ the Physician in Late Medieval Religious Controversy: England and Central Europe, 1350-1434,* Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Overbey, Karen, 2015, 'Seeing through stone: Materiality and place in a medieval Scottish pendant reliquary', *Res (Cambridge, MA)*, vol. 65-6, pp. 242–258.

Page, William ed., 1909, 'Alien Houses: The Hospital of St. Anthony', *A History of the County of London: Vol 1, London within the Bars, Westminster, and Southwark,* pp. 581-584.

Paites, B., 2014, 'ESS-058E5B: A Roman Hoard', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/634263, Accessed August 9, 2025.

Paléologue, Maurice, 1920, *The Tragic Empress: Intimate Conversations with the Empress Eugenie 1901 to 1911,* Hamish Miles trans., London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd.

Palmer, Robert E.A., 1989, 'Bullae Insignia Ingenuitatis', *American Journal of Ancient History,* vol. 14, pp. 1-69.

Panczer, Gerard et al., 2019, 'The Talisman of Charlemagne: New Historical and Gemological Discoveries', *Gems and Gemology,* vol. 55, no. 1. pp. 30-46.

Panfilo, Giuseppe, 1556, *L'origine del consacrare gli Agnus Dei con le virtu che in quelli si contengono,* Rome: Blado.

Panvinio, Onofrio, 1656, *De baptismate Paschali et origine ac ritu consecrandi Agnus Dei liber [A Book on Easter Baptism and on the Origin and Rite of Consecrating the Agnuse Dei]*, ed. Joseph Marie de Suarès, Rome: Bernabò.

Panzanini, Marcello, 2001, 'L'Estetica Teologica Nelle Reliquie Dei gilgrini: Gli *Encolpia*' [Theological Aesthetics in Pilgrims' Relics: The *Encolpia*], *Divus Thomas,* vol. 104, no. 3, pp. 60-82.

Parker, Adam, 2022, *The Materiality of Magical Practices in Roman Britian,* PhD thesis, The Open University, https://oro.open.ac.uk/84035/1/Parker_PhD_FINAL-ImagesRedacted.pdf, Accessed November 12, 2025.

Parker, James, 1894, *A Glossary of Terms Used in Heraldry,* Oxford; London: James Parker & Co.

Parker, Rozsika, 1984, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine,* London: The Women's Press Ltd.

Parsons, William, 1704, *A New Book of Cyphers,* London: Printed for the author and sold by W. Rogers, H. Rhodes, E. Harris, T. Newborough, and B. Barker.

Payne, S., D. Wilcox, T. Pardoe, and N. Mikhaila, 2011, 'A Seventeenth-Century Doublet from Scotland', *Costume,* vol. 45, pp. 39-62.

Pauphilet, Albert, ed., 1949, *Le Queste del Saint Graal, Roman du XIIIe siècle,* Paris: Edouard Champion.

Pearce, Michael, 2016, *Vanished Comforts: Locating Roles of Domestic Furnishings in Scotland 1500-1650,* PhD, University of Dundee, https://discovery.dundee.ac.uk/en/studentTheses/vanished-comforts/, Accessed December 4, 2025.

Pearn, J., 2013, 'Two medieval doctors: Gilbertus Anglicus (c1180–c1250) and John of Gaddesden (1280–1361)', *Journal of Medical Biography*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 3-7.

Pearson, David, 2010, 'Cumdach', *The Oxford Companion to the Book,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pearson, M. and M. Shanks, 2001, *Theatre/Archaeology,* London: Routledge.

Pegg, Mark Gregory, 2001, 'On Cathars, Albigenses, and good men of Languedoc', *Journal of Medieval History,* vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 181-195.

Pelletier, C.M., 2017, 'The pilgrim's badge: Water, air, and the flow of sacred matter', *Postmedieval,* vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 240-53.

Pels, Peter J., 2012, 'Magical Things: On Fetishes, Commodities, and Computers', *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies,* eds. Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pettegree, A., 2005, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pfeiffer, Franz, ed., 1863, 'Zwei deutsche Arzneibucher aus dem 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', *Wiener Sitzungsberichte,* vol. 62, pp. 150-151.

Phillippy, Patricia, 2016, 'A Comfortable Farewell: Child-loss and Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', in *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood,* eds. N.J. Miller and N. Yavneh, London: Routledge.

Phillips, Clare, 2000, *Jewels and Jewellery,* London: V&A Publications.

Pickering, Danby (ed.), 1763, '1571, 13 Eliz. 1, c. 2', in *The Statutes at Large, From The First Year of Queen Mary, To The Thirty-fifth Year of Queen Elizabeth, inclusive*, vol. 6, Cambridge: Joseph Bentham, Printer to the University for Charles Bathurst.

Pickering, W. et al., 1845, *This rol was laburd & finished by Master John Rows of Warrewyk,* London: William Pickering.

Pierce, Joanne M., 2018, 'Liturgical Vestments, Vessels, and Objects in Christian Worship', in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. John Barton, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pigot, James, 1705, *A complete alphabet of cyphers reversed & inverted,* London.

Pitarakis, B., 2006. *Les croix-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze [Byzantine Pectoral Reliquary-crosses in Bronze]*, Paris: Picard.

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History,* trans. H. Rackham, 1938, Loeb Classical Library: 330, Cambridge MA; London: Harvard University Press.

Pointon, Marcia, 2017, 'Materializing Mourning: Hair, Jewellery and the Body', in *Material Memories: Design and Evocation,* eds. M. Kwint, C. Breward, and J. Aynsley, pp. 39-57.

Pollick et al., 2021, *'Your Body is Full of Wounds': References, Social Contexts, and Uses of the Wounds of Christ in Late Medieval Europe,* Published online: Science Museum Group Journal https://dx.doi.org/10.15180/211503, Accessed April 1, 2024.

Pollick, Johanna, 2021, 'The Flowering Wound: Christ's Heart in Princeton University, MS Taylor 17' in *'Your Body is Full of Wounds': References, Social Contexts, and Uses of the Wounds of Christ in Late Medieval Europe,* Pollick et al. (eds.), Published online: Science Museum Group Journal, https://dx.doi.org/10.15180/211503, Accessed April 1, 2024.

Porras, Stephanie, 2024, 'Ivory and Feathers: St Jeromes Across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans', *Sillares: Revista de Estudios Históricos,* vol. 4, no. 7, pp. 238-77.

Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), https://finds.org.uk/, Accessed December 31, 2025.

Portable Antiquities of the Netherlands (PAN) Database, https://portable-antiquities.nl/pan/#/public, Accessed November 11, 2025.

Powicke, F.M. and C.R. Cheney eds., 1964, *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church II (1205-1313),* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Price, Richard M., 2005, '*In Hoc Signo Vinces*: The Original Context of the Vision of Constantine', *Studies in Church History,* vol. 41, pp.1-10.

Prynne, William, 1628, *The Unlovelinesse, of Lovelockes,* London.

Radford, C.A. Ralegh, 1955, 'Two reliquaries connected with South-West Scotland', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society for 1953-54,* vol. 3, no. 32, pp. 119-23.

Raguin, Virginia Chieffo, 2006, *Catholic Collecting, Catholic Reflection 1538-1850: Objects as a Measure of Reflection on a Catholic Past and the Construction of Recusant Identity in England and America*. Worcester: College of the Holy Cross.

Rasche, Adelheid, 2018, *Luxus in Seide: Mode des 18. Jahrhunderts [Luxury in Silk: Fashion of the 18th Century],* Nürnberg: Germanischen Nationalmuseums.

Rawcliffe, Carole, 1995, *Medicine & Society in Later Medieval England,* Stroud, England: Alan Sutton Publishing Limited.

Reames, Sherry L., 1985, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History in Late Medieval England,* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Reavill, Peter, et al., 2018, 'Bulla: HESH-43148A', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/902916, Accessed November 21, 2024.

Redknap, Mark, 2022, 'Love, Allegiance and Wealth in Fifteenth-Century Wales: The Raglan Ring and its Context', *Antiquaries Journal,* 102, pp. 206-227.

Redpath, Theodore (ed.), 1956, *The Songs and Sonnets of John Donne,* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Reeves, Margaret, 2018, "A Prospect of Flowers': Concepts of Childhood and Female Youth in Seventeenth-Century British Culture', in *Gendering the Late Medieval and Early Modern World: The Youth of Early Modern Women,* eds. E.S. Cohen and M. Reeves, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Regnier, Christian, 2009, 'The Heart of the Kings of France: Cordial Immortality', *Medicographia,* vol. 31 no. 4, pp. 430-439.

Reynolds, G. 1999, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Miniatures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen,* London: The Royal Collection.

Rider, Catherine, 2012, 'Women, Men, and Love Magic in Late Medieval English Pastoral Manuals', *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft,* vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 190-211.

Rider, Catherine, 2011, 'Medical Magic and the Church in Thirteenth-Century England', *Social History of Medicine,* vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 92-107.

Robbins, Katherine J., 2014, 'Portable Antiquities Scheme: A Guide for Researchers', Published online as part of the Leverhulme Trust funded project *'The Portable Antiquities Scheme as a tool for archaeological research',* https://finds.org.uk/documents/guideforresearchers.pdf, Accessed April 14, 2025.

Robbins, Katherine J., 2013, 'Balancing the Scales: Exploring the Variable Effects of Collection Bias on Data Collected by the Portable Antiquities Scheme', *Landscapes (Bollington, England)*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 54–55.

Roberts, 1999, *The King's Head: Charles I, King and Martyr,* London: Royal Collection Enterprises Ltd.

Robertson, Ritchie, 2020, *The Enlightenment: The Pursuit of Happiness, 1680-1790,* London: Penguin Books.

Robinson, 2019, *The Sense of Smell in the Middle Ages: A Source of Certainty,* London: Routledge.

Robinson, J., 2010, 'From Altar to Amulet: Relics, Portability, and Devotion', in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe,* Bagnoli et al., eds., London: British Museum.

Robinson, James, Lloyd de Beer, and Anna Harnden, eds., 2008, *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Early Medieval Period,* London: BM.

Robinson, James Harvey, 1906, *Readings in European History,* vol. 2, Boston: Ginn and Company.

Rodkinson, Michael Levi, 1893, *History of Amulets, Charms and Talismans: A Historical Investigation into their Nature and Origin,* New York.

Rogers, D.W. (ed.), 1984, *Lancelot, the Knight of the Cart: Chretien de Troyes,* New York: Columbia University Press.

Rollason, D., 1989, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Rollason, Lynda, 2011, 'Medieval Mortuary Rolls: Prayers for the Dead and Travel in Medieval England', *Northern History,* vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 187-223.

Roques, Mario (ed.), 1936, *Aucassin et Nicolette: Chantefable du XIIIe siècle [Aucassin and Nicolette: Chantefable of the thirteenth century],* Paris: Edouard Champion.

Rosenberg, B., 1968, *The Tradition of Sentiment: 1700-1800,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rosner, Isabella, 2018, "A Cunning Skill did Lurk': Susanna Perwich and the Mysteries of a Seventeenth-Century Needlework Cabinet', *Textile History,* vol. 49, no. 2, pp. 140-63.

Rous, John, c.1483-4, *Rous Roll,* The British Library, MS 48976, f.7br.

Rouse, Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, 1989, 'Wax Tablets', *Language & Communication,* vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 175-91.

Royal Collection Trust, 'Clare Reliquary Cross', https://www.rct.uk/collection/69738/clare-reliquary-cross, Accessed August 27th, 2023.

Royal Collection Trust, 'Portrait of a Man, Perhaps William Lord Compton (1568-1630), first Earl of Northampton', https://www.rct.uk/collection/420895/portrait-of-a-man-perhaps-william-lord-compton-1568-1630-first-earl-of-northampton, Accessed June 12th, 2024.

Rubin, Miri, 2012, 'Popular Attitudes to the Eucharist', in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, eds. Ian Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen Van Ausdall, Leiden: Brill.

Rubin, Miri, 1991, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rudy, Kathryn M., 2016, 'Sewing the Body of Christ: Eucharist Wafer Souvenirs Stitched into Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts, primarily in the Netherlands', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art,* vol. 8, no. 1, pp.1-47.

Salonius, P. and A. Worm (eds.), 2014, *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought,* Turnhout, Beligum: Brepols.

Salvador-González, José María, 2020, 'The temple in images of the Annunciation: a double dogmatic symbol according to the Latin theological tradition (6th-15th centuries)', *De Medio Aevo,* pp. 55-68.

Salzman, L.F., ed., 1948, 'Colleges: St. Mary-on-the-Sea, Newton', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely,* vol. 2, London: Victoria County History.

Sánchez Reyes, Gabriela, 2021, 'Relics and Reliquaries in Colonial Mexico', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion,* https://oxfordre-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/religion/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-964#acrefore-9780199340378-e-964-note-28, Accessed November 10, 2025.

Sansi, Roger, 2024, 'The Recursivity of the Fetish', in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Religion,* eds. Pooyan Tamimi Arab, Jennifer Scheper Hughes, and S. Brent Rodriguez-Plate.

Saprykina, I.A., S.E. Kichanov, and D.P. Kozlenko, 2019, 'Possibilities, Limitations, and Prospects of Using Neutron Tomography and Radiography for Preservation of Archaeological Heritage Objects', *Crystallography Reports,* vol. 64, no. 1, pp. 177-80.

Saul, Nigel, 2009, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Saunders, Corinne, 2010, *Magic and the Supernatural in Medieval English Romance,* Woodbridge; Rochester: D.S. Brewer.

Saunders, Nicholas J., 1999, 'Biographies of Brilliance: Pearls, transformations of matter and being, c. AD 1492', *World Archaeology*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 243–257.

Scarisbrick, Diana and Martin Henig, 2003, *Finger Rings: from Ancient to Modern,* Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.

Scarisbrick, Diana and Norio Ohashi, 2003, *Jewellery from Renaissance to Art Deco:1540-1940,* Tokyo: Nishinippon Shimbun.

Scarisbrick, Diana, 1994, *Jewellery in Britain, 1066-1837: A Documentary, Social, Literary, and Artistic Survey,* Norwich: Michael Russell Publishing Ltd.

Scarisbrick, Diana, 1990, 'A Becoming Mourning', *Country Life,* vol. 184 no. 3, pp. 58-60.

Scarisbrick, J.J., 1984, *The Reformation and the English People,* Oxford: Blackwell.

Scarre, G., R. Coningham, and J. O. Young (eds.), 2013, *Appropriating the Past: Philosophical Perspectives on the Practice of Archaeology,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schulte, Lothar, 2021, '"Mass Attitude of Things" or "Big Data"?', *Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, vol. 96, no. 1, pp. 206-47.

Schwedler, Gerald, 2021, *A Cultural History of Memory in the Middle Ages,* London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Scribner, R.W., 1987, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany,* London: The Hambledon Press.

Scully, R. E., ed., 2022, *A Companion to Catholicism and Recusancy in Britain and Ireland,* Leiden: Brill.

Scully, R. E., 2011, *Into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580-1603*, St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources.

Seaton, Vera, 2014, *The Saga of the Middleham Jewel,* Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse UK Ltd.

Sebba, Anne, 1979, *Samplers: Five Centuries of a Gentle Craft,* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, 2003, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity,* Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press.

Sennis, Antonio C. ed., 2018, *Cathars in Question,* York Medieval Press in association with Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer Ltd.

Shanks, Michael and Christopher Y. Tilley, 1992, *Re-constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice,* London: Routledge.

Shaw, Henry, 1858, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages,* vol. II, London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden.

Sherlock, S. J., and Martin G. Welch, 1992, *An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Norton, Cleveland,* London: Council for British Archaeology.

Sheumaker, Helen, 2011, *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Shigley, James E., 2024, 'Analytical Techniques in Gemology: A Historical Overview', *Gems & Gemology,* vol. 60, no. 4, pp. 443-55.

Shoemark, J., 2019, 'NMS-22D1CB: A Medieval Pendant', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/945289, Accessed April 5, 2025.

Shoemark, J., 2017, 'NMS-B4485E: A Medieval Pendant', PAS Database, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/845641, Accessed April 28, 2022.

Shushan, Elle, ed., 2021, *Lover's Eyes: Eye Miniatures from the Skier Collection,* Lewes, UK; Birmingham, AL: The Skier Collection in association with D. Giles Ltd.

Silver, Sean, 2015, *The Mind is a Collection: Case Studies in Eighteenth-Century Thought,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Skemer, Don C., 2006, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages,* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Skemer, Don C., 2001, 'Amulet Rolls and Female Devotion in the Late Middle Ages', *Scriptorium,* no. 55, pp. 197-227.

Skóra, Kalina, 2008, 'Z czym wędrowano w zaświaty? O niemilitarnym wyposażeniu grobowym wojowników "wielbarskich"', [What did they take with them to the afterlife? On the non-military grave equipment of the "Wielbark" warriors], *Acta archaeologica Lodziensia,* vol. 54, 7-26.

Sleeman, Margaret, 1981, 'Medieval Hair Tokens', *Forum for Modern Language Studies,* vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 322-336.

Southcombe, George, 2010, 'Reading Early Modern Literature Historically', *Literature Compass,* vol. 7, no. 10, pp. 922-89.

Spufford, Margaret, 1984, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century,* London: Hambledon Press.

Sloane MS 6, f. 175v, c. 1425–1450, The British Library.

Smith, Clifford H., 1908, *Jewellery*, New York: G.P. Putnams's Sons and London: Methuen & Co.

Smith, Julia M.H., 2020, 'The Remains of the Saints: Evidence of Early Medieval Relic Collections', *Early Medieval Europe,* vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 388-424.

Smith, Julia M.H., 2012, 'Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West (c.700-1200): 2010 Raleigh Lecture on History', *Proceedings of the British Academy,* vol. 181, pp. 143-168.

Smith, Margit J., 2017, *The Medieval Girdle Book,* New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press.

Smith, Megan Kathleen, 2015, 'Reading it Wrong to Get it Right: Sacramental and Excremental Encounters in Early Modern Poems about Hair Jewelry' *Philological Quarterly,* vol. 94, no. 4, pp. 353-375.

Smollich, Renate and Rudolf Schmitz, 1983, *Der Bisamapfel in Kunst und Wissenschaft [The Pomander in Art and Science],* Stuttgart: Deutscher Apotheker.

Snook, Edith ed., 2021, *A Cultural History of Hair in the Renaissance,* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Snook, Edith, 2015, 'Beautiful Hair, Health, and Privilege in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies,* vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 22-51.

Sneyd, Charlotte Augustsa trans., 1847, *A relation, or rather A true account of the island of England; with sundry particulars of the customs of these people, and of the royal revenues under King Henry the Seventh, about the year 1500,* Printed for the Camden Society, J.B. Nichols and Son.

Somers Cocks, A. (ed.), 1980, *Princely Magnificence: Court Jewels of the Renaissance, 1500-1630,* London: Debrett's Peerage in association with the V&A.

Sotheby's, Wilkinson, & Hodge, 1919, 'Catalogue of Silver, Jewellery, and Objets d'Art', 29 May 1919, London: William Clowes and Sons.

Sotheby's, 2014, *Old Master & British Paintings Evening Sale*, Lot 18, 9 July 2014, https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/old-master-british-paintings-evening-l14033/lot.18.html, Accessed July 10, 2024.

Speakman, Naomi, 2010, 'Reliquary Pendant', *Treasures of Heaven,* https://projects.mcah.columbia.edu/treasuresofheaven/relics/Reliquary-Pendant-73.php, Accessed April 20, 2025.

Spencer, Brian, 1990, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges. Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue, Part 2,* Salisbury: Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.

Spencer, Brian, 1998, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Medieval Finds from Excavations in London,* London: Museum of London.

St-Jacques, Raymond, 1991, 'Langland's Christus Medicus Image and the Structure of Piers Plowman', *The Yearbook of Langland Studies,* vol. 5, pp. 111-127.

Standley, Eleanor R., 2020, 'Love and Hope: Emotions, Dress Accessories and a Plough in Later Medieval Britain, c. AD 1250-1500', *Antiquity,* vol. 94, no. 375, pp. 742-59.

Standley, Eleanor R., 2016(a), *Hid in the Earth and Secret Places: A Reassessment of a Hoard of Later Medieval Rings and Silver Coins found near the River Thame*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Standley, Eleanor R., 2013, *Trinkets and Charms: The Use, Meaning, and Significance of Dress Accessories 1300-1700,* Oxford: Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford.

Staples, Kathleen, 2008, 'Embroidered Furnishings: Questions of Production and Usage', in *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700: 'twixt art and nature,* eds. Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt, New Haven; London: Yale University Press.

Steer, Isabella, 2002, *History of British Art,* Bath: Parragon.

Stevenson, Seth William, et al., 1889, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins: Republican and Imperial,* London: George Bell and Sons.

Stevick, R.D., 2008, 'St Patrick's Bell Shrine: Form and Layout of the Plates', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* vol. 138, pp. 26-46.

Stewart, Susan, 1993, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection,* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Stone, Lawrence, 1979, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800,* New York: Harper.

Stone, Lawrence, 1961, 'The Peer and the Alderman's Daughter', *History Today,* vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 48-55.

Stonyhurst College, 1867, *The Catholic's Manual of Instructions and Devotions,* Liverpool: Rockliff Brothers.

Streeton, Noelle L.W, Tine Froysaker, and Peter Bjerregaard, eds., 2024, *Sacred Medieval Objects and Their Afterlives in Scandinavia,* Leiden: Brill.

Strong, Roy, 2023, *The Stuart Image: English Portraiture 1603 to 1649,* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Sundmark, Stina Fallberg, 2023, 'Instruments of Devotion in Close Bodily Contact – Jewellery, Costume Details and Other Personal Belongings in Relation to Late Medieval Piety', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift,* vol. 92, no. 3, pp. 194-211.

Swain, Margaret, 1990, *Embroidered Stuart Pictures,* Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd.

Sweetinburgh, Sheila, 2004, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-giving and the Spiritual Economy,* Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Świątek, Łukasz et al., 2023, 'Herb Robert's Gift against Human Diseases: Anticancer and Antimicrobial Activity of Geranium robertianum L', *Pharmaceutics*, vol. 15, no. 5, p. 1561.

Swift, E., Stoner, J. & Pudsey, A., 2021. *A Social Archaeology of Roman and Late Antique Egypt: Artefacts of Everyday Life*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Swift, Ellen, 2012, 'Object Biography, Re-use and Recycling in the Late to Post-Roman Transition Period and Beyond: Rings made from Romano-British Bracelets', *Britannia (Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies)*, vol. 43, pp. 167–215.

Szilagyi, Magdolna, 2005, 'Late Roman bullae and amulet capsules in Pannonia', *Annula of Medieval Studies at CEU*, vol. 11, pp. 9-27.

Tait, Hugh, 1985, 'The Girdle-Prayerbook or Tablett: An Important Class of Renaissance Jewellery at the Court of Henry VIII', *Jewellery Studies,* vol. 2, pp. 29-57.

Tallis, Nicola, 2023, *All the Queen's Jewels, 1445-1548: Power, Majesty, and Display,* London; New York: Routledge.

Tarlow, Sarah, 2023, *The Archaeology of Loss: Life, Love and the Art of Dying,* London: Picador.

Tarlow, Sarah, 2012, 'The Archaeology of Emotion and Affect', *Annual Review of Anthropology,* vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 169-85.

Tarlow, Sarah, 2010, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tarlow, Sarah, 2003, 'Reformation and Transformation: What Happened to Catholic Things in a Protestant World?', in *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480-1580,* eds. David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist, Leeds: Maney.

Tarlow, Sarah, 2000, 'Emotion in Archaeology', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 41 no. 5, pp. 713-46.

Tassi, Margeurite A., 2003, 'Martyrdom and Memory: Elizabeth Curle's Portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, in *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship,* ed. Debra Barrett-Graves, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tassie, G. J., 1996, 'Hair-offerings: An Enigmatic Egyptian Custom', *Papers from the Isntitute of Arcaheology: PIA,* vol. 7, pp. 59-68.

Taylor, Gerald and Diana Scarisbrick, 1978, *Finger Rings: from Ancient Egypt to the Present Day,* London: Lund Humphries, Ltd.

Ten Articles, 1536, London, The British Library, Cotton MS Cleopatra E.V.

Thiessen, Gesa Elsbeth, 2009, 'Imaging the Dogma of the Trinity', *Communio Viatorum*, vol. 51, no. 1, pp. 4–21.

Thomas Keith, 2003, *Religion and the Decline of Magic, London: Penguin Books.*

Thomas, Keith, 1971, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Thompson, F.H., 1956, 'Pilgrim Flask from Meols', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society,* vol. 43, pp. 48-9.

Thomson, Duncan et al., 1990, *Dynasty: The Royal House of Stewart,* Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland and the National Museum of Scotland.

Thwaite, Annie, 2019, 'A History of Amulets in Ten Objects', *Science Museum Group Journal,* no. 11, https://dx.doi.org/10.15180/191103, Accessed March 30, 2015.

Tierno, Alanna Ropchock, 2017, 'The Lutheran Identity of Josquin's *Missa Pange Lingua:* Renaissance of a Renaissance Mass', *Early Music History,* vol. 36, pp. 193-249.

Tilley, C.Y., 2006, *Handbook of Material Culture,* London: Sage Publications.

Tilley, C.Y. and Wayne Bennett, 2004, *The Materiality of Stone,* Oxford: Berg.

Tilley, C.Y., 1994, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, Oxford: Berg.

Timeline Auctions Catalogue, 18 March 2011, 'Lot 760: Medieval Nativity Reliquary Pendant', London: Timeline Auctions, p. 140.

Tinassi, Nicolo Angelo (printer), 1672, 'Virtu mirabilia degli Agnus Dei Benedettidal Beato Pio Papa V', in *Ristretto della vita, virtu, e miracoli del beato Pio V. sommo pontefice dell'Ordine de'Predicatori,* Rome: Nicolo Angelo Tinassi.

Tomaini, T., ed., 2018, *Dealing with the dead: mortality and community in medieval and early modern Europe,* Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Tomkins, Silvan S., 1962-1992, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness,* vols. 1-4, New York: Springer Pub. Co.

Tompkins, A.K., 2010, *The English Catholic Issue, 1640-1662: Factionalism, Perceptions and Exploitation,* PhD dissertation, University of London.

Tonnochy, A.B., 1952, 'The Ninian Reliquary', *The British Museum Quarterly,* vol. 15, p. 77.

Tonnochy, A.B., 1936, 'The Clare Reliquary', *The British Museum Quarterly,* Vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 1.

Torres Jimenez, Raquel, 2013. 'Ecce Agnus Dei Qui Tollit Peccata Mundi. On the Symbols of Jesus Christ in the Middle Ages', *Hispania Sacra*, 65, pp. 49–93.

Toynbee, M.R., 1950, 'Charles I and the King's Evil', *Folklore,* vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 1-14.

Treasure Act 1996 (c.24), https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1996/24/contents, Accessed April 5, 2025.

Trustees of the British Museum, The, 2025, *Human Remains in the Collection: Policy of the British Museum,* London: British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/sites/default/files/2025-03/Human-remains-policy.pdf, Accessed October 16, 2025.

Turilov, Anatolij A., 2015, 'On the Palaeographic Dating of Two Reliquaries from the Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin', *International Journal of Slavic Studies,* vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 511-525.

Turner, P., 2019, 'Outside the Box: Relics and Reliquaries at the Shrine of St. Cuthbert in the Later Middle Ages', in *Insular Iconographies,* M. Boulton and M.D.J. Bintley (eds.), Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Turrell, 1999, 'The Ritual of Royal Healing in Early Modern England: Scrofula, Liturgy, and Politics', *Anglican and Episcopal History,* vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 3-36.

Twomey, L.K., 2019, *The Sacred Space of the Virgin Mary in Medieval Hispanic Literature,* Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.

Tyacke, Nicholas, 1998, *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800*, London: University College, London.

University of Oxford, 2006, 'Policy on Human Remains Held by the University of Oxford's Museums'*, Oxford University Gazette,* Supplement (2) to No. 4787, 15 November 2006, Oxford: University of Oxford. https://www.glam.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/glam/documents/media/oxford_university_human_remains_policy_nov_2006.pdf. Accessed October 16, 2025.

Ursulescu, Nicolae, et al., 2021, 'Mormintele sarmatice de la Prăjeni (județul Botoșani)', [Sarmatian Tombs from Prăjeni (Botoșani County)], *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice*, [Archaeological Materials and Research], vol. 17, no. 17, pp. 165-99.

Van Strydonck, M., J. Reyniers, and F. Van Cleven (eds.), 2018, *Relics @ the Lab: An Analytical Approach to the Study of Relics,* Leuven: Peeters Publishers.

Verney, Margaret, 1899, *Memoirs of the Verney Family: From the Restoration to the Revolution 1660 to 1696,* vol. iv, London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

Verney, Frances Parthenope and Margaret M. Verney, 1892, vol. 2, *Memoirs of the Verney Family: Compiled from the Letters and Illustrated by the Portraits at Claydon House,* London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

Vikan, Gary, 1984, 'Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* vol. 38, pp. 65-86.

Villiers, Elizabeth, 1973, *The Book of Charms,* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Vincent, Susan J., 2009, *The Anatomy of Fashion: Dressing the Body from the Renaissance to Today,* Oxford; New York: Berg.

Vojvoda, Mirjana, Snezana Golubovic, and Ilija Mikic, 2021, *Mors Immatura: Coinage and Apotropaic -Prophylactic Elements in Funerary Rituals – southern Viminacium cemetery,* Belgrade: Institute of Archaeology.

Voragine, Jacobus de, 1941, *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine,* trans G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Walsham, Alexandra, 2025, 'Tactile Piety: Devotional Objects, Underground Catholicism, and the Reformation of Touch in Early Modern England', *Reformation: A Publication of the Tyndale Society,* vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 224-9.

Walsham, Alexandra, 2023, 'Material Culture', in *The Oxford History of British and Irish Catholicism, Vol. I: Endings and New Beginnings, 1530-1640,* eds. James E. Kelly and John McCafferty, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Walsham, Alexandra, Bronwyn Wallace, Ceri Law, and Brian Cummings eds., 2020, *Memory and the English Reformation,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walsham, Alexandra, 2018. 'Relics, Writing, and Memory in the English Counter Reformation: Thomas Maxfield and his afterlives'. *British Catholic History*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 77–105.

Walsham, Alexandra, 2017, 'Recycling the Sacred: Material Culture and Cultural Memory after the English Reformation', *Church History*, vol. 86, no. 4, pp.1121–1154.

Walsham, Alexandra, 2016. 'Domesticating the Reformation: Material Culture, Memory, and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 69, no. 2, pp. 566–616.

Walsham, Alexandra, 2015, 'The Pope's Merchandise and the Jesuits' Trumpery: Catholic Relics and Protestant Polemic in Post-Reformation England', in *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe,* eds. Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger, Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Walsham, A., 2011, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Walsham, Alexandra, 2010(a), 'Introduction: Relics and Remains', *Past & Present*, vol. 206, no. 5, pp. 9–36.

Walsham, Alexandra, 2010(b), 'Skeletons in the Cupboard: Relics after the English Reformation', *Past & Present,* vol. 206, pp. 121-143.

Ward, Anne et al., 1981, *The Ring: from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century,* London: Thames and Hudson.

Ward, Matthew, 2016, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity, and Affinity,* Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Warrington, John, ed., 1983, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 1, made by Guildford, Surrey: Biddles Ltd., for London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd.

Warwick Roll, c.1455, College of Arms, London, MS 6/33.

Watt, Tessa, 1991, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Way, Albert, 1872, 'Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute: Notes on a Copper Matrix bearing the Holy Lamb', *Archaeological Journal,* vol. 29, pp. 361-362.

Webb, John, 1986, 'English Recusant Base-Metal Chalices', *Archaeological Journal (London),* vol. 143, no. 1, pp. 352-62.

Webster, Leslie, 2012, *Anglo-Saxon Art,* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Wedgwood, Cicely Veronica, 1981, *A Coffin for King Charles: The Trial and Execution of Charles I,* New York: Time Inc.

Weiner, Annette B., 1992, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving,* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wenzel, Sigfried, 2005, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Werronen, Stephen, 2017, 'The Ritual Year of the Minster and Parish', in *Religion, Time and Memorial Culture in Late Medieval Ripon,* Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer.

White, John, 1608, *The Way to the True Church,* London: Printed by R. Field for John Bill and William Barret.

Whitehead, Maurice, ed., 2008, *Held in Trust: 2008 Years of Sacred Culture,* Stonyhurst: St. Omers Press.

Whitehead, Ross, 1996, *Buckles 1250-1800,* Chelmsford: Greenlight Publishing.

Wilcox, Jack, 2023, 'A Reattribution of the Tree of Jesse Tomb Slab in Lincoln Cathedral', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* vol. 176, no. 1, pp. 1-26.

Wilcox, Judith and John M. Riddle, 1995, 'On Physical Ligatures', *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue,* vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-50.

Wildgoose, Jane, 2018, 'Beyond all Price: Victorian Hair Jewelry, Commemoration, & Story-Telling', vol. 22, no. 6, pp. 699-726.

Wildgoose, Jane, 2022, 'Memorial Jewellry with Dr. Jane Wildgoose', The Harley Gallery, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CL7MP4Elr6U&t=4s, Accessed June 4th, 2024.

Williamson, Paul, 2010, *Medieval Ivory Carvings. Early Christian to Romanesque,* London: V&A Publishing.

Winston-Allen, Anne, 1999, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages,* University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Wither, George, 1635, *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Modern,* London: Printed by A.M for Robert Milbourne.

Woodall, Joanna, 1997, *Portraiture: Facing the Subject,* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Wordsworth, Christopher and Henry Littlehales, 1904, *The Old Service-books of the English Church,* London: Methuen & Co.

Working Model of the World, A, https://workingmodeloftheworld.com/caraballo-farman, Accessed December 8, 2025.

Wright, A., et al., 2024, *Grace, Piety & Memory: The Material Culture of British Catholics 1534-1850,* London: British Art Network.

Wrightson, Keith, 2000, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain,* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Wylie, Alison, 2002, *Thinking from Things: Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology,* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yan, Shu-chuan, 2019, 'The Art of Working in Hair: Hair Jewellery and Ornamental Handiwork in Victorian Britain', *The Journal of Modern Craft,* vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 123-139.

Yeoman, Victoria, 2018. 'Reformation as Continuity: Objects of Dining and Devotion in Early Modern England', *West 86th*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 176–198.

Yoshikawa, N.K., ed., 2015, *Medicine, Religion and Gender in Medieval Culture,* Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Young, Bailey, 2009, 'The Imagery of Personal Objects: Hints of "Do-It-Yourself" Christian Culture in Merovingian Gaul?', in *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity,* eds. Andrew Cain and Noel Lenski, Farnham: Ashgate.

Young, Steven G., et al., 2024, 'Analysis of Coronado State Hisotric Site artifacts using X-rays', *X-ray Spectrometry,* vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 2-15.

Zarnecki, G. et al., 1984, *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200,* London: Arts Council of Great Britain, Hayward Gallery.

Zecchino, Mario Rosario, 2019, ‘Gli *Agnus Dei* di cera e le loro inedite matrici’ [The wax *Agnus Dei* and their unpublished matrices], vol. 8, *Historia Mundi,* pp. 204-33.

Zigarovich, Jolene, 2023, ‘Circulating Bodies: Secular Mementoes, Jewelry, and Hairwork’, in *Death and the Body in the Eighteenth-Century Novel,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.