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The Non-Crucifixion Iconography of the Pre-Viking Sculpture in the North of England: Carvings at Hovingham, Masham, Rothbury, Sandbach and Wirksworth

VOLUME II

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APPENDIX I

THE CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY OF (PRE-VIKING) ANGLO-SAXON ART

APPENDIX I(A): MANUSCRIPTS (C7th.-C9th.)

References are to Alexander 1978 (cf.Ohlgren 1986)

*: Refers to the scenes thought to have existed in the late C8th./C9th. Bible (*B.M.Royal I.E.vi*), a Canterbury manuscript whose illuminted pages have been largely removed, but whose original decoration has been reconstructed by Budney 1984 (Alexander 1978,cat.32; cf.Ohlgren 1986,28-30)

Adoration of the Magi:

*late C8th./C9th:	-?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (before f.7)	

Agnus Dei:

late C7th./C8th:	-Codex Amiatinus f.VI (Florence, Bibl.Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Amiatino I)	cat.7, ill.24
*late C8th./C9th:	-B.M. Royal I.E.vi (before f.1)	

Angels:

late C7th./C8th:	-Codex Amiatinus, f.796v (with Christ in Majesty)	cat.7, ill.26
	-Durham Gosp. (Durham Cathedral Library, A.II.7), f.38(3)v (with Crucifixion)	cat.10, ill.202
C8th:	-St.Gall Gosp. (Stiftsb.Cod.51) p.266 (with Crucifixion)	cat.44 ill.203
	p.267 (with Last Judgement)	ill.206
	-Trier Gosp.(Domschatz Cod.61) f.9	cat.26, ill.109
	-Würzburg Epistles (Univ.Cod. M.p.th.f.69), f.7v (with Crucifixion)	cat.55, ill.265

Angels (continued):

C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College, ms.58(A.I.6))	cat.52
	f.1v (over canon tables)	ill.234
	f.7v (with Virgin & Child)	ill.233
	f.29 (opening page of Matthew)	ill.242
	f.32v (with Christ in Majesty)	ill.243
	f.202v (Temptation)	ill.255
	f.285 (Initial Page)	ill.254
	f.183 (in margin)	Ohlgren 1986,49

Annunciation to Zacharius:

*late C8th./C9th:	-?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between ff.42-4)	

Apostles:

C8th:	-Maaseik Gospel (Church of St. Catherine Trésor, s.n.) ff.2-5 (over canon tables)	cat.22, ill.88-95
	-Maaseik Gospel fragment (Church of St.Catherine Trésor, s.n.) ff.6-9v (over canon tables)	cat.23, ill.96-103
	-Trier Gospel ff.10-14v (over canon tables)	cat.26, ill.108

Ascension of Christ:

*late C8th./C9th:	-?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (before f.42)	
C9th:	-Turin Gospel (B.N. Cod. O.IV.20), f.1a v	cat.61, ill.279

Baptism of Christ:

*late C8th./C9th:	-B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.29-30)	

Christ Calming the Storm:

C8th:	-Würzburg Epistles, f.7v	cat.55, ill.265

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Christ in Majesty:

late C7th./C8th:	-Codex Amiatinus, f.796v	cat.7, ill.26
C8th:	-Trier Gospel, f.1v	cat.26, ill.114
C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells, f.32v	cat.52, ill.243
	-B.M. Royal I.E.VI, f.43	cat.32, ill.161

Christ Calling the Apostles:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.48-9)

Christ Casting out Demons:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.10-11)

Christ Healing the Blind Man at Bethesda:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.35-6)

Christ Healing the Centurion's Servant:

*late C8th./C9th: -B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.10-11)

Christ Healing the Leper:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between ff.10-11;48-9)

Christ Healing the Man Born Blind:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.75-6)

Christ and the Jews:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.75-6)

Christ and the Scribes:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.38-9)

Christ Sending out the Apostles:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (before f.42)

Christ Teaching:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.35-6)

Christ and the Woman with the Nard:

*late C8th./C9th: -B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.39-40)

Crucifixion of Christ:

late C7th./C8th:	-Durham Gospel, f.38(3)v	cat.10, ill.202
C8th:	-St.Gall Gospel, p.266	cat.44, ill.203
	-Würzburg Epistles, f.7v	cat.55, ill.265
*late C8th./C9th:	-B.M. Royal I.E.vi (before f.42)	

David Being Annointed:

C8th./C9th:	-Leningrad Paulinus (Pub.Lib. Cod.Q.v.XIV.1), f.1	cat.42, ill.179

David and Goliath:

C8th./C9th:	-Leningrad Paulinus, f.1	cat.42, ill.179

David and Jonathan:

C8th:	-Vespasian Psalter (B.M. Cotton Vespasian A.I), f.31	cat.29, ill.143

David and the Lion:

C8th:	-Vespasian Psalter, f.53	cat.29, ill.144

David the Psalmist:

C8th:	-Durham Cassiodorus (Durham Cathedral Lib.ms.B.II.30), f.81v	cat.17, ill.74
	-Vespasian Psalter, f.30v (with musicians)	cat.29, ill.146

David the Warrior:

C8th:	-Durham Cassiodorus, f.172v	cat.17, ill.75

The Deposition:

*late C8th./C9th:	-B.M. Royal I.E.vi (before f.42)	

Evangelists/Evangelist Portraits - Full Length:

late C7th./C8th:	-Codex Amiatinus, f.796v (with Christ in Majesty)	cat.7, ill.26
	-Lindisfarne Gospels (B.M. Cotton Nero D.IV), ff.25v,93v,137v,209v	cat.9 ill.28-31
C8th:	-Lichfield Gospel/Book of Chad (Cathedral Library), pp.142, 218	cat.21 ill.80,82
	-Maaseik Gospel, f.1	cat.22, ill.87
	-Trier Gospel, ff.18v,80v,125v	cat.26, ill.111-3
	-Codex Aureus (Stockholm, Royal Library A.135) ff.9v,150v	cat.30 ill.153,147
	-Barberini Gosps. (Rome, Vat.City, Bibl.Apost. ms.Barberini lat.570) ff.11v, 50v, 79v, 124v	cat.36 ill.174, 176-8
	-Cutbercht Gospel Book (Vienna, Nat.Bibl. Cod.1224) ff.17v, 71v, 165v	cat.37 ill.181,184,186
	-St.Gall Gospel pp.2, 78, 208 p.128 (with Last Judgement)	cat.44 ill.204,207-8 ill.206
	-Book of Mulling (Dublin, Trinity College ms.A.I.15(60)) ff.12v, 35v, 81v	cat.45 ill.210-2

Evangelists/Evangelist Portraits - Full Length (Continued):

C8th:	-B.M. Add.ms.40618, f.21v	cat.46, ill.213
	-Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, D.II.3, f.11v	cat.47, ill.209
	-Book of Dimma (Dublin, Trinity College, ms.A.4.23(59)) pp.2, 30, 54	cat.48 ill.222-4
	-Cadmug Gospels (Fulda, Landesb. Cod.Bonifatianus 3) ff.1v, 19v, 33v, 51v	cat.49, ill.228
C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells, f.291v	cat.52, ill.251
	-St.Gall Gosp. fragment (Stiftsb.Cod.1395), p.418	cat.57, ill.281
	-Codex Usserianus Secundus (Dublin, Trinity College, A.4.6(56)) ff.1, 22	cat.59, ill.274-5
C9th:	-Rushworth Gosp. (Oxf. Bodl.ms. Auct.D.2.19 (SC.3946)) ff.51v, 84v, 126v	cat.54, ill.262-4
	-St.Gall John (Stiftsb.Cod.60) p.4	cat.60, ill.284
	-Macdurnan Gospels (Lambeth Palace Lib.ms.1370) ff.4v,70v,115v,170v	cat.70 ill.326-8,354
C9th./C10th:	-Book of Deer (Camb.Univ.Lib. ms.1i.6.32) ff.1v,16v,29v,41v,86	cat.72 ill.329,332,335,337,339

Evangelists/Evangelist Portraits - Half Length:

C8th:	-Maaseik Gosp., ff.2v, 4, 4v (over canon tables)	cat.22, ill.93-5
	-Cutbercht Gosp.Bk., f.18 (over canon table)	cat.37, ill.182
C9th:	-Book of Cerne (Camb.Univ.Lib. ms.L1.1.10) ff.2v,12v,21v,31v	cat.66, ill.312-5

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Evangelist Symbols - Full Length:

C7th:	-Book of Durrow (Dublin, Trinity College ms.A.4.5(57))	cat.6
	f.2 (four symbols' page)	ill.13
	ff.21v, 84v, 124v, 191v (symbol pages)	ill.14-17
late C7th./C8th:	-Codex Amiatinus, f.796v (with Christ in Majesty)	cat.7, ill.26
	-Lindisfarne Gosps., ff.93v,137v (with Evangelists)	cat.9, ill.29-30
C7th./C8th:	-Echternach Gosps. (Paris, B.N.lat.9389)	cat.11
	ff.18v, 75v, 115v, 176v (symbol pages)	ill.54-6,59
	-Gospel fragments: (B.M. Cotton ms.Otho C.V.) f.27	cat.12, ill.57
	(C.C.C.C.ms.197B) f.1 (symbol pages)	cat.12, ill.58
C8th:	-Lichfield Gospels	cat.21
	pp.142, 218 (with Evangelists)	ill.80,82
	p.219 (four symbols' page)	ill.81
	-Trier Gospel	cat.26
	f.1v (with Christ in Majesty)	ill.114
	f.5v (Tetramorph)	ill.110
	-St.Gall Gospel	cat.44
	pp.128, 208 (with Evangelists)	ill.205,208
	p.78 (4 symbols round Evangelist)	ill.207
	-Book of Dimma p.104 (symbol page)	cat.48, ill.225
C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells	cat.52
	ff.1v-4 (over canon tables)	ill.234-9
	f.28v (symbol page)	ill.241
	f.187v (two symbols' page)	ill.248
	ff.27v,129v,290v (4 symbols' pages)	ill.231,246,250
	-St.Gall Gosp. fragment p.418 (with Evangelist)	cat.57, ill.281
C9th:	-Book of Armagh (Dublin, Trinity College ms.52)	cat.53
	f.32v (four symbols' page)	ill.230
	ff.53v, 68v, 90v (symbol pages)	ill.226,229

Evangelist Symbols - Full Length (Continued):

C9th:	-Rushworth Gospels ff.51v, 84v, 126v (with Evangelists)	cat.54 ill.262-4
	-St.Gall John, p.4 (with Evangelist)	cat.60, ill.284
	-Book of Cerne, ff.2v,21v,31v,12v (with Evangelists)	cat.66, ill.312-5
	-Macdurnan Gospels, f.1v (four symbols' page)	cat.70, ill.325

Evangelist Symbols - Half Length:

late C7th./C8th:	-Lindisfarne Gospels ff.25v, 209v (with Evangelists)	cat.9 ill.28,31
C8th:	-Maaseik Gospel, ff.2-5v (over canon tables)	cat.22, ill.88-95
	-Maaseik Gospel fragment ff.10-11v (over canon tables)	cat.23, ill.104-7
	-Trier Gospel, ff.80v, 125v (with Evangelists)	cat.26, ill.112-3
	-Codex Aureus, ff.150v, 9v (with Evangelists)	cat.30, ill.147,153
	-Barberini Gospels, f.1 (over canon table)	cat.36, ill.173
	-Cutbercht Gospel Book f.71v (with Evangelist) f.166 (facing Evangelist page)	cat.37 ill.184 ill.187
	-St.Gall Gospel,p.2 (with Evangelist)	cat.44, ill.204
	-Dublin, Royal Irish Academy ms.D.II.3, f.11v (with Evangelist)	cat.47, ill.209
C8th./C9th:	-B.M. Royal I.E.VI, f.43 (opening page to Luke)	cat.32, ill.161
	-Book of Kells ff.1,3,5 (over canon tables) f.28v (with full length symbol/ portrait)	cat.52 ill.234,237,232 ill.241

Evangelist Symbols - Half Length (Continued):

C8th./C9th:	-Codex Usserianus Secundus ff.1, 22 (with Evangelists)	cat.59 ill.274-5
C9th:	-Macdurnan Gospels, f.70v (with Evangelist)	cat.70, ill.354

Ezra:

late C7th./C8th:	-Codex Amiatinus, f.V	cat.7, ill.27

Figures Holding Crosses:

C8th:	-Leningrad Bede (Pub.Lib.Cod. Q.v.I.18) f.26v (nimbed Saint with book & cross)	cat.19, ill.84
	-St.Gall Gospel, f.267 (Last Judgement)	cat.44, ill.206
C9th:	-Turin Gospel, f.2a (Last Judgement)	cat.61, ill.280

Figures (Miscellaneous):

late C7th./C8th:	-Lindisfarne Gospels, f.25v (Evangelist page)	cat.9, ill.28
C8th:	-Codex Aureus, f.9v (Evangelist page)	cat.30, ill.153
C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells ff.3, 4 (Busts over canon tables) ff.7v, 285 (groups in margins) ff.12, 29, 292 (initial pages)	cat.52 ill.237,239 ill.233,253 ill.242,252 (cf.Ohlgren 1986,47)
C9th./C10th:	-Book of Deer ff.1v, 41v, 85v, 86	cat.72 ill.329,331-2,335

The Gadarene Swine:

*late C8th./C9th:	-B.M. Royal I.E.vi (before f.33)	

God The Father:

late C7th./C8th:	-Codex Amiatinus, f.VII	cat.7, ill.25

The Holy Spirit (as a dove):

late C7th./C8th:	-Codex Amiatinus, f.8	cat.7, fig.27

Judas Iscariot:

*late C8th./C9th:	-?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.39-40)	

Last Judgement:

C.8th:	-St.Gall Gospel, p.267	cat.44, ill.206
C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells, f.202v (Below Temptation)	cat.52, ill.255
C9th:	-Turin Gospels, f.2a	cat.61, ill.280

Last Supper:

*late C8th./C9th:	-?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.39-40)	

Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes:

*late C8th./C9th:	-B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.35-6)	

Miraculous Draught of Fishes:

*late C8th./C9th:	-B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.48-9)	

Parables of Christ:

*late C8th./C9th:	-B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.38-9) (Fruits of the Vineyard &/or The Tribute Money)	

Paul:

C8th:	-Maaseik Gospel fragment, f.6 (over canon table)	cat.23, ill.97

Peacocks of Immortality:

C8th:	-Würzburg Epistles, f.7v (with Crucifixion)	cat.55, ill,265
C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells, f.32v (with Christ in Majesty)	cat.52, ill.243

Peter:

C8th:	-Maaseik Gospel fragment, f.6v (over canon table)	cat.23, ill.96
	-Trier Gospel, f.10 (over canon table)	cat.26, ill.108

Peter's Brother:

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.10-11)

Resurrection:

*late C8th./C9th: -B.M. Royal I.E.vi (before f.42)

Sermon on the Mount:

*late C8th./C9th: -B.M. Royal I.E.vi (between f.10-11; ?before f.33)

Temptation of Christ:

C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells, f.202v	cat.52, ill.255

Trinity:

late C7th./C8th:	-Codex Amiatinus ff.VI, VII, 8 (Agnus Dei, God the Father, Dove)	cat.7 ill.24,25,fig.27
C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells, f.2v (figure with 3 crosses in halo)	cat.52, ill.236

Virgin and Child:

C8th./C9th:	-Book of Kells, f.7v	cat.52, ill.233

*late C8th./C9th: -?B.M. Royal I.E.vi (before f.7)

APPENDIX I(B): IVORIES (C7th.-C9th.)

References are to Beckwith 1972

Abraham and Isaac:

C8th:	-Diptych (Paris, Musée de Cluny) (Beckwith identifies as Christ & Mary Magdalene)	cat.6, ill.19

Adoration of the Magi:

c.700	-Franks Casket (London, B.M.)	cat.1, ill.4

Annunciation to the Virgin:

C8th:	-Diptych	cat.6, ill.19
	-Genoels-Elderen Diptych (Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire)	cat.3, ill.15

Ascension of Christ:

C8th:	-Plaque (V.&.A.no.257-1867)	cat.5, ill.20
	-Diptych	cat.6, ill.18
	-?Plaque (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum no. MA 164)	cat.9, ill.24

Assumption of the Virgin:

C8th:	-?Plaque	cat.9, ill.24

Baptism of Christ:

C8th:	-Plaque	cat.5, ill.20
	-Diptych	cat.6, ill.18

Christ in Majesty:

C8th:	-Plaque (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, no. MA 158)	cat.7, ill.21

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Christ Trampling the Beasts:

C8th: -Genoels-Elderen Diptych — cat.3, ill.14

Crucifixion of Christ:

C8th: -Diptych — cat.6, ill.19

Evangelist Symbols:

C8th: -Plaque (half-length, in medallions with ?Ascension/?Assumption) — cat.9, ill.24

Last Judgement:

C8th./9th: -Plaque/Diptych (V.&.A., no.253-1867) — cat.4, ill.1,16

Visitation:

C8th: -Genoels-Elderen Diptych — cat.3, ill.14

APPENDIX I(C): SCULPTURE (C7th.-C9th.)

For References (which are to illustrations) see Bibliography.

The dates assigned, are in most cases very general, and for those not discussed in this thesis, are the datings generally suggested for the piece in question.

See also Appendix III (Corpus of Pre-Viking Figural Sculpture)

Adam and Eve:

C9th:	-Newent, Gloucs.	Heighway 1988,132

Adoration of the Magi:

C9th:	-Sandbach, Ches.	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.5

Adoration of Christ:

C8th:	-Rothbury, Nthblnd.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1207,1210

Adoration of the Virgin (with Child):

C9th:	-Sandbach, Ches.	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.7B

Agnus Dei:

C8th:	-Bewcastle, Cu. (with John the Baptist)	Bailey & Cramp 1988,ill.95
	-Ruthwell, Dumfries. (with John the Baptist)	Collingwood 1927,fig.101
C9th:	-Hart, Co.Dur.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.417
	-Hoddom, Dumfries.	Radford 1952-3,pl.IV

Agnus Victor/Majestas Agni:

C8th:	-Wirksworth, Derbys. (with Evangelist Symbols)	Routh 1937,pl.VIB
C9th:	-Ramsbury, Wilts.	Coatsworth 1979,II.pl.13a-b

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Angels:

C8th:	-Auckland St.Andrew, Co.Dur.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.5
	-Hoddom, Dumfries.	Radford 1952-3,pl.IV
C9th:	-Bakewell, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.IIC (cf.no.27)
	-Bradbourne, Derbys.	(Routh 1937,20)
	-Breedon, Leics.	Cramp 1977,fig.58c
	-Cundall, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.32
	-Dewsbury, Yks. (with figure)	Collingwood 1915,166h
	-Eyam, Derbys. (Last Judgement)	Routh 1937,pl.XIVA-C
	-Fletton, Cambs.	Cramp 1977,fig.56b
	-Heysham, Lancs.	Collingwood 1927,fig.89
	-Hornby, Lancs.	Collingwood 1927,fig.71
	-Otley, Yks. (with figure)	Collingwood 1915,225h
	-Rugby, Warwicks.	Cotterill 1935,pl.75v
	-Sandbach, Ches.	Bu'Lock 1972,(46),pl.7A,B

Annunciation to the Virgin:

C8th:	-?Aldborough, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,134j
	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101
	-Wirksworth, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VIB
C9th:	-?Bakewell, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.IIB
	-Hovingham, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.54
	-Sandbach, Ches.	(Bu'Lock 1972,46)

Apostles:

C9th:	-?Bakewell, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VIA
	-?Collingham, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,156a-d

Apostles (Continued):

C9th:	-Masham, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.55
	-?Otley, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,225c,227o,q
	-Peterborough, Cambs. (with Christ and Virgin)	Fisher 1959,pl.45
?	-Reculver, Kent	Kozodoy 1986,pl.XXXVIa,b

Archer:

C8th:	-Auckland St.Andrew, Co.Dur.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.12
	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101
C9th:	-Bakewell, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.IIA
	-Bradbourne, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VIIIA,B
	-Sheffield, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,238b

Ascension of Christ:

C8th:	-Wirksworth, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VIB
	-Rothbury, Nthblnd.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1218
?	-Reculver, Kent	Kozodoy 1986,pl.XXXIIa

Burial of the Virgin:

C8th:	-Wirksworth, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VIB

Christ Healing the Blind Man:

C8th:	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101

Christ with Mary Magdalene:

C8th:	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101

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Christ in Majesty:

C8th:	-Hoddom, Dumfries.	Radford 1952-3,pl.II,III
	-Rothbury, Nthblnd.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1213,1220
C9th:	-Dewsbury, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,162a
	-Easby, Yks. (with two figures)	Collingwood 1927,fig.53
	-Hanley Castle, Hereford & Worcs.	Brown 1931,pl.XXVII
	-Hoddom, Dumfries.	Radford 1952-3,pl.X
	-Ilkley, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,186a
	-Masham, Yks. (with apostles)	Collingwood 1927,fig.55
	-?Peterborough, Cambs. (with Virgin and apostles)	Fisher 1959,pl.45
?	-Reculver, Kent (with apostles)	Kozodoy 1986,pl.XXXIa,b

Christ Over the Beasts:

C8th:	-Bewcastle, Cu.	Bailey & Cramp 1988, ill.90,94
	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101

Christ Raising Lazarus:

C8th:	-?Aldborough, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,134j
	-Rothbury, Nthblnd.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1215
C9th:	-Gt.Glen, Leics.	(Cramp 1984.i,221)
	-Heysham, Lancs.	Collingwood 1927,fig.89

Crowd of the Blessed:

C8th.	-Rothbury, Nthblnd.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1216,1221

APPENDIX I(C)

Crucifixion of Christ (with non-crucifixion iconography):

C8th:	-Rothbury, Nthblnd.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1206
	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101
C9th:	-Bakewell, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.IIB
	-Bradbourne, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.IXA
	-Newent, Gloucs. (symbolic)	Coatsworth 1988,pl.139
	-Sandbach, Ches.	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.5
?	-Reculver, Kent	Kozodoy 1986,pl.XXXIVc,d

Crucifixion of St.Andrew:

C8th:	-Auckland St.Andrew, Co.Dur.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.6

The Damned in Hell:

C8th:	-Repton, Derbys. (Hell Mouth)	Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1985,pl.VII
	-Rothbury, Nthblnd.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1223-4

David with the Lion:

C9th:	-Masham, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.55

David the Psalmist:

C9th:	-Masham, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.55

?Entry into Jerusalem/Journey to Bethlehem:

C9th:	-Bakewell, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VB
	-?Burford, Oxf.	Guest 1930,fig.1
	-?Eccleshall, Staffs.	Pape 1946,pl.f.35

Evangelists:

C8th:	-Bewcastle, Cu. (?John the Evangelist)	Bailey & Cramp 1988,ill.90,96
	-Rothbury, Nthblnd. (in Ascension)	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1218
	-Ruthwell, Dumfries. (with symbols)	Collingwood 1927,fig.101

Evangelist Symbols:

C8th:	-Ruthwell, Dumfries. (with Evangelists)	Collingwood 1927,fig.101
	-Wirksworth, Derbys. (with Agnus Victor)	Routh 1937,pl.VIB
	-?Stapleford, Notts.	Du Boulay Hill 1916,pl.III
C9th:	-Hart, Co.Dur. (with Agnus Dei)	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.417
	-Ilkley, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,187c
	-Sandbach, Chesh. (with Crucifixion)	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.5

Figures with Crosses:

C9th:	-Bakewell, Derbys. (Rd. to Calvary)	(Unpublished)
	-Leek, Staffs. (Rd. to Calvary)	Pape 1946,pl.f.41
	-Sandbach, Ches. (Rd. to Calvary)	(Bu'Lock 1972,46)
	-Wirksworth, Derbys. (Ascension)	Routh 1937,pl.VIB

Figure with Vine:

C9th:	-Codford St.Peter, Wilts.	Swanton 1979,fig.7.1
?	-(Ingleby, Derbys.)	Routh 1937,pl.XVC

APPENDIX I(C)

Figures (Miscellaneous) - Full Length:

C8th:	-Hoddom, Dumfries.	Radford 1952-3,pl.VI
C9th:	-Alstonefield, Staffs.	Pape 1946,pl.I
	-Bradbourne, Derbys.	(Routh 1937,19)
	-Breedon, Leics.	Cramp 1977,fig.55,57a,59a-c
	-Castor, Cambs.	Cramp 1977,fig.57b
	-Checkley, Staffs.	Pape 1946,pl.II
	-Collingham, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,156a-d
	-Dewsbury, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,162b-c
	-Eccleshall, Staffs.	Pape 1946,pl.f.35
	-Fletton, Cambs.	Cramp 1977,fig.56
	-Halton, Lancs.	Collingwood 1927,fig.92
	-Hoddom, Dumfries.	Radford 1952-3,pl.VI
	-Hope, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.XVA-B
	-Ilam, Staffs.	Pape 1946,pl.f.37
	-Lypiatt, Gloucs.	Heighway 1988,99
	-Masham, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.55
	-Melsonby, Yks.	Collingwood 1907,368d
	-Peterborough, Cambs.	Cramp 1977,fig.58b
	-Sandbach, Ches.	Bu'Lock 1972,(46),pl.6A
?	-Reculver, Kent	Kozodoy 1986,pl.XXXVIb,d

Figures (Miscellaneous) - Half Length:

C8th:	-Auckland St.Andrew, Co.Dur.	Cramp 1984.ii, ill.9-10,13,15
	-Brompton, Yks.	Collingwood 1907,301g,h
	-Crofton, Yks.	Collingwood 19267,fig.64
	-Dalton-le-Dale, Co.Dur.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.156

Figures (Miscellaneous) - Half Length (Continued):

C8th:	-Hoddom, Dumfries.	Radford 1952-3,pl.VI,VII
C9th:	-Bakewell, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VB
	-Bradbourne, Derbys.	(Routh 1937,19-20)
	-Collingham, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,156a-d
	-Dewsbury, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,162c
	-Eyam, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.XIVB
	-Hoddom, Dumfries.	Radford 1953,pl.VI,VII,X
	-Ilkley, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,191i
	-Norham, Nthblnd.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1162
	-Otley, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,225c,227o,q
	-Rugby, Warwicks.	Cotterill 1935,pl.75v

Flight to/Return from Egypt:

C8th:	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101
C9th:	-?Burford, Oxf.	Guest 1930,fig.1

Harrowing of Hell:

C8th:	-Wirksworth, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VIB
C9th:	-Masham, Yks. (Samson with the Gates of Gaza)	Collingwood 1927,fig.55

Holy Ghost (as dove):

C9th:	-?Bradbourne, Derbys.	(Routh 1937,19)
	-Sandbach, Ches. (Transfiguration)	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.5

John the Baptist:

C8th:	-Bewcastle, Cu.	Bailey & Cramp 1988, ill.90,95
	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101

APPENDIX I(C)

?John the Evangelist:

C8th:	-Bewcastle, Cu.	Bailey & Cramp 1988, ill.90,96
C9th:	-?Bradbourne, Derbys.	(Routh 1937,19)

Last Judgement/Second Coming:

C9th:	-Eyam, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.XIVA-C
	-Lindisfarne, Nthblnd.	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1050-1
	-Lindisfarne, Nthblnd. (symbolic)	Cramp 1984.ii,ill.1132
	-Newent, Gloucs. (symbolic)	Coatsworth 1988,pl.139

Mary and Martha:

C8th:	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101

Miracle at Cana:

C9th:	-Dewsbury, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,164f

Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes:

C9th:	-Dewsbury, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,164f
	-Hornby, Lancs.	Collingwood 1927,fig.71

Nativity:

C9th:	-?Bedale, Yks.	Collingwood 1907,296b
	-Sandbach, Ches.	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.5

Paul:

C8th:	-Hoddom, Dumfries. (with Peter)	Radford 1952-3,pl.V
C9th:	-?Breedon, Leics.	Cramp 1977,fig.59b
	-Sandbach, Ches. (Traditio Legis cum Clavis)	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.5

APPENDIX I(C)

Paul and Anthony:

C8th:	-Ruthwell, Dumfries.	Collingwood 1927,fig.101

Peacocks of Immortality:

C9th:	-Masham, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.55
	-?Knells, Cu.	Bailey & Cramp 1988, ill.425-6

Pedilavum:

C8th:	-Wirksworth, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VIB

Peter:

C8th:	-Hoddom, Dumfries. (with Paul)	Radford 1952-3,pl.5
C9th:	-Peterborough, Cambs. (with Christ, Virgin and apostles)	Fisher 1959,pl.45
	-Sandbach, Ches. (Traditio Legis.)	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.5

Presentation in the Temple:

C8th:	-Wirksworth, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.VIB

Resurrection:

C8th:	-Wirksworth, Derbys. (Harrowing of Hell)	Routh 1937,pl.VIB
C9th:	-Hovingham, Yks. (Women at the Sepulchre)	Collingwood 1927,fig.54
	-Masham, Yks. (Samson with the Gates of Gaza)	Collingwood 1927,fig.55

Road to Calvary:

C9th:	-?Bakewell, Derbys.	(Unpublished)
	-Leek, Staffs.	Pape 1946,pl.f.41
	-Sandbach, Ches.	(Bu'Lock 1972,46)

APPENDIX I(C)

Samson with the Gates of Gaza:

C9th:	-Cundall, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.32
	-Masham, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.55

Three Women at the Sepulchre:

C9th:	-Hovingham, Yks. (Resurrection)	Collingwood 1927,fig.54

Traditio Legis cum Clavis:

C9th:	-Sandbach, Ches.	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.5,7B

Transfiguration:

C9th:	-Sandbach, Ches.	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.5,7B

Tree of Life:

C8th:	-?Hoddom, Dumfries.	Radford 1952-3,pl.VII
C9th:	-?Eccleshall, Staffs.	Pape 1946,pl.f.35
	-Ilkley, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,189e
	-Urswick, Cu.	Bailey & Cramp 1988, ill.568

Virgin Mary:

C9th:	-Breedon, Leics.	Cramp 1977,fig.58a
	-Peterborough, Cambs. (with Christ and the Apostles)	Fisher 1959,pl.45
?	-Reculver, Kent (with Apostles)	Kozodoy 1986,pl.XXXVIa

Virgin and Child:

C9th:	-?Bedale, Yks.	Collingwood 1907,296b
	-Dewsbury, Yks.	Collingwood 1915,164d
	-Eyam, Derbys.	Routh 1937,pl.XIVB
	-Sandbach, Ches. (adoration)	Bu'Lock 1972,pl.7B

APPENDIX I(C)

Visitation:

C9th:	-Hovingham, Yks.	Collingwood 1927,fig.54

Unknown:

C9th:	-Urswick, Cu. (two figures in secular dress facing each other, flanking a cross)	Bailey & Cramp 1988, ill.564-5
	-St.Mary Bishophill, Yk. (two figures in secular dress)	Collingwood 1909,173b

APPENDIX I(D): METALWORK (7th.-C9th.)

For References see Bibliography

Christ and Aangels:

C8th:	-Casket (Mortain)	Hubert 1969, ills.313

Ecclesiastical Figures:

C7th:	-Hexham plaque	Wilson 1984,pl.51

Evangelist Figures:

C9th:	-Brandon plaque	Wilson 1984,pl.123

Peter:

C7th:	-Portable Altar (Cuthbert Relics)	Battiscombe 1956,fig.2,pl.XIX

Symbolic Figures:

C9th:	-Alfred Jewel (Ashmolean, Oxf.)	Hinton 1974, no.25,pl.X-XI
	-Fuller Brooch (B.M., London)	Wilson 1964, no.153,pl.XLIV

Virgin and Child with Apostles:

C8th:	-Casket (Mortain)	Hubert 1969, ills.313

APPENDIX I(E): WOODWORK

References are to Battiscombe 1956

late C7th:	Cuthbert Coffin:	
	-Archangels (side & end)	pls.VIII, X
	-Christ in Majesty (lid)	pl.VII
	-Cross with stepped base (base)	Bailey 1989, fig.14
	-Evangelist Symbols (lid)	pl.VII
	-Twelve Apostles (side)	pl.VIII
	-Virgin and Child (end)	pl.X

APPENDIX II

THE CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY OF SOME MANUSCRIPTS ASSOCIATED WITH (PRE-VIKING) ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

The following list of manuscripts shows the presence of iconographic forms known in Anglo-Saxon England for a variety of reasons:

C6th: -Augustine Gospels (C.C.C.C. ms.286)
South Italian Provenance, thought to have been in England from the seventh or eighth century. (Wormald 1954)

early C9th: -Carmen Paschale (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, ms.M.17.4)
Copy of a Northumbrian ms. dating to c.700. (Alexander 1978, cat.65)

early C9th: -Valenciennes Apocalypse (Bibl.Mun. ms.99)
North French ms. based on a Northumbrian copy of a C7th. Italian Apocalypse. It contains 38 miniatures (ff.3-40), 8 of which are illustrated in Alexander 1978, cat.64

Abraham & Isaac:
-Carmen Paschale, f.8 ill.286

Adoration of the Magi:
-Carmen Paschale, f.15v

Agnus Dei:
-Carmen Paschale f.33 (symbolic betrayal) ill.299
-Valenciennes Apocalypse, f.12 (lamb of the Apocalypse) ill.305

Agony in the Garden of Gathsemene:
-Augustine Gospels, f.125 pl.IV

Annunciation to Zacharias:
-Augustine Gospels, f.129b pl.VIII

Apocalypse:
-Valenciennes Apocalypse, f.3-40 (ff.3,7,10,12,19,23,31,37) ill.302-9

APPENDIX II

Arrest of Christ:
-Augustine Gospel, f.125 pl.V

Betrayal of Christ:
-Augustine Gospel, f.125 pl.V
-Carmen Paschale, f.33 (symbolic) ill.299

Buffetting of Christ:
-Augustine Gospel, f.125 pl.V

Christ: in Majesty:
-Carmen Paschale, f.1 ill.285
-Valenciennes Apocalypse, f.10 ill.304

: Before Caiaphas:
-Augustine Gospel, f.125 pl.V

Christ: Calling Levi:
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b pl.VIII

: Command to Peter (Feed My Sheep)
-Carmen Paschale, f.38 ill.301

: and the Doctors:
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b pl.VIII

: Hailed by a Woman:
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b pl.IX

: Healing the Blind Man (and the woman with the crooked spine)
-Carmen Paschale, f.22v ill.293

: Healing the Dropsical Man:
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b pl.IX

: Healing the Woman with the Crooked Spine and the blind man)
-Carmen Paschale, f.22v ill.293

APPENDIX II

Christ: and the Lawyer:
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b — pl.IX

: Raising Lazarus:
-Augustine Gospel, f.125 — pl.IV
-Carmen Paschale, f.30v — ill.296

: Teaching from the Boat:
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b — pl.VIII

: and the Woman Taken in Adultery:
-Carmen Paschale, f.30 — ill.295

: and Zachaeus:
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b — pl.IX

Daniel and the Lions:
-Carmen Paschale, f.10v (with the angel) — ill.289

The Entry to Jerusalem:
-Augustine Gospel, f.125 — pl.IV
-Carmen Paschale, f.31v — ill.297

Evangelist Portrait (Full Length):
-Augustine Gospel, f.129 — pl.VII

Evangelist Symbols (Full Length):
-Valenciennes Apocalypse, f.10 — ill.304

Evangelist Symbols (Half Length):
-Augustine Gospel, f.129v — pl.VII
-Carmen Paschale, f.13 — ill.290
-Valenciennes Apocalypse, f.12 — ill.305

Jonah:
-Carmen Paschale, f.9v (thrown out of the boat) — ill.287
-Carmen Paschale, f.10 (regurgitated by the whale) — ill.288

APPENDIX II

The Last Supper:	
-Augustine Gospel, f125	pl.IV
Massacre of the Innocents:	
-Carmen Paschale, f.16	ill.292
Parables of Christ:	
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b (The Fig Tree and The Foxes)	pl.IX
Pedilavum:	
-Augustine Gospel, f.125	pl.V
-Carmen Paschale, f.32	ill.298
Peter Catching Fish:	
-Carmen Paschale, f.25	ill.294
Peter at Christ's Feet:	
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b	pl.VIII
Peter's Denial and Grief:	
-Carmen Paschale, f.33v	ill.300
Pilate Washing his Hands:	
-Augustine Gospel, f.125	pl.VI
The Road to Calvary:	
-Augustine Gospel, f.125 (Christ & Simeon carry the cross)	pl.VI
The Son of the Widow of Nain:	
-Augustine Gospel, f.129b	pl.VIII

APPENDIX III

CORPUS OF THE NON-CRUCIFIXION FIGURAL SCULPTURE OF (PRE-VIKING) ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

Aldborough (Yks.):
- -Unknown ?Annunciation ?Christ Raising Lazarus

Auckland St.Andrew (Co.Dur.):
- -Angels
- -Archer
- -Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
- -Crucifixion of St.Andrew

Bakewell (Derbys.):
- -Angels
- -?Annunciation
- -?Apostles
- -Archer
- -Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
- -Crucifixion
- -?Entry to Jerusalem/Journey to Bethlehem/Flight to or Return from Egypt
- -Figure Bearing Cross (Possibly Christ on the Road to Calvary)
- -Miracle Scene
- -Rider

Bedale (Yks.):
- -?Nativity ?Virgin and Child

Bewcastle (Cu.):
- -Christ over the Beasts
- -John the Baptist
- -?John the Evangelist

Bradbourne (Derbys.):
- -Angel
- -Archer
- -Assorted Miscellaneous Figures in Paris
- -Crucifixion
- -?Inspiration of the Holy Spirit ?John the Evangelist

APPENDIX III

Breedon (Leics.):
-Angel
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
-?Paul
-Virgin Mary

Brompton (Yks.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Burford (Oxf.):
-?Entry to Jeruslem/Journey to Bethlehem/Flight to or Return from Egypt

Castor (Cambs.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Checkley (Staffs.):
-Assorted Figures with Interlace Bodies

Codford St.Peter (Wilts.):
-Figure with Vine

Collingham (Yks.):
-?Apostles/Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
-Christ

Crofton (Yks.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Cundall (Yks.):
-Angels
-Samson with the Gates of Gaza

Dalton-Le-Dale (Co.Dur.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Dewsbury (Yks.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
-Christ in Majesty
-Figure with an Angel
-Miracle at Cana
-Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes
-Virgin & Child

APPENDIX III

Easby (Yks.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
-Christ in Majesty

Eccleshall (Staffs.):
-?Entry to Jerusalem/Journey to Bethlehem
-?Figures in the Tree of Life ?Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Ely (Cambs.):
-Figure on Horseback

Eyam (Derbys.):
-Angels of the Last Judgement
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
-Virgin and Child

Fletton (Cambs.):
-Angel
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Gt.Glen (Leics.):
-Christ Raising Lazarus

Halton (Lancs.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Hanley Castle (Hereford & Worcs.):
-Christ in Majesty

Hart (Co.Dur.):
-Agnus Dei with Evangelist Symbols

Hexham (Nthblnd.):
-Christ (fragmentary)
-(Crucifixion)

Heysham (Lancs.):
-Angel
-Christ Raising Lazarus

APPENDIX III

Hoddom (Dumfries.):
-Agnus Dei
-Angels
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
-Christ in Majesty
-?Figures in the Tree of Life
-Peter and Paul

Hope (Derbys.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures in Pairs

Hornby (Lancs.):
-Angel
-Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes

Hovingham (Yks.):
-Annunciation to the Virgin
-Three Women at the Sepulchre (Resurrection)
-Visitation

Ilam (Staffs.):
-Assorted Figures with Interlace Bodies

Ilkley (Yks.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
-Christ in Majesty
-Evangelist Symbols
-?Figures in the Tree of Life

Knells (Cu.):
-Peacocks of Immortality Flanking a Cross

Leek (Staffs.):
-Figure Bearing Cross (possibly Christ on the Road to Calvary)

Lindisfarne (Nthblnd.):
-Last Judgement
-Symbolic Last Judgement
-Soldiers

Lypiatt (Gloucs.):
-Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

APPENDIX III

Masham (Yks.):
- -Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
- -Christ in Majesty with Apostles
- -David and the Lion
- -David the Psalmist
- -Peacocks of Immortality
- -Samson with the Gates of Gaza (Harrowing of Hell/Resurrection)

Melsonby (Yks.):
- -Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Monkwearmouth (Co.Dur.):
- -?Christ

Newent (Gloucs.):
- -Adam and Eve
- -Symbolic Crucifixion/Second Coming

Norham (Nthblnd.):
- -Unidentified Figure

Otley (Yks.):
- -Figure with Angel
- -Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Peterborough (Cambs.):
- -Christ with the Virgin and Apostles
- -Assorted Miscellaneous Figures

Reculver (Kent):
- -Ascension of Christ
- -Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
- -Christ with Apostles
- -Crucifixion of Christ
- -Virgin with Apostles

Repton (Derbys.):
- -Man on Horseback (?Offa)
- -Hell Mouth

Rothbury (Nthblnd.):
- -Adoration of Christ
- -Ascension of Christ
- -Christ in Majesty
- -Christ Raising Lazarus
- -Crowd of the Blessed
- -Crucifixion of Christ
- -Damned in Hell

Rugby (Warwks.):
- -Angel
- -Unidentified Figure

Ruthwell (Dumfries.):
- -Annunciation to the Virgin
- -Archer and Eagle
- -Christ Healing the Blind Man
- -Christ and Mary Magdalene
- -Christ over the Beasts
- -Crucifixion
- -Evangelists and their Symbols
- -John the Baptist
- -Mary and Martha
- -Paul and Anthony
- -Return from Egypt

Sandbach (Ches.):
- -Adoration of the Magi
- -Adoration of the Virgin and Child
- -Angels
- -Annunciation to the Virgin
- -Assorted Miscellaneous Figures
- -Crucifixion of Christ
- -Nativity
- -The Road to Calvary (Christ bound and led away; Simon of Cyrene with the Cross)
- -Traditio Legis cum Clavis
- -Transfiguration

Sheffield (Yks.):
- -Archer

Stapleford (Notts.):
- -?Evangelist Symbols

St.Mary Bishophill (Yk.):
- -Pair of Unidentified Figures

APPENDIX III

Urswick (Cu.):
- -Figures in the Tree of Life

Wirksworth (Derbys.):
- -Agnus Victor with Evangelist Symbols (Second Coming)
- -Annunciation to the Virgin
- -Ascension of Christ
- -Burial of the Virgin Mary
- -Harrowing of Hell (Resurrection)
- -Pedilavum
- -Presentation in the Temple

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A.A.: Archaeologia Aeliana

Acta ad Arch.: Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artum Historiam Pertinentia

Acta Arch.: Acta Archaeologia

Am.J.Arch.: American Journal of Archaeology

Amp.J.: Ampleforth Journal

A.N.F.: The Ante-Nicene Fathers, 10 vols., ed. A. Roberts & J. Donaldson, Michigan (1977)

Ant.J.: Antiquaries Journal

Ant.: Antiquity

Arch.: Archaeologia

Arch.Camb.: Archaeologia Cambrensis

Arch.J.: Archaeological Journal

Art B.: Art Bulletin

Art Hist.: Art History

Art Stud.: Art Studies

A.S.E.: Anglo-Saxon England

A.S.P.R.: The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records

B.A.R.: British Archaeological Reports

Bull.Mon.: Bulletin Monumental

Burl.Mag.: Burlington Magazine

C.B.A.: The Council for British Archaeology

C.C.C.C.: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

C.C.S.L.: Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Turnhout (1954-)

C.S.E.L.: Corpus Christianorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna (1866-)

Ches.Hist.: Cheshire Historian

C.S.I.R.: Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani

C.W.: Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society

C.W.(2): Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 2nd. series

D.A.C.L.: Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, 12 vols., ed. F. Cabrol & H. Leclercq, Paris (1907-)

D.A.J.: Derbyshire Archaeological Journal

De Art.: De Artibus Opuscula

D.O.P.: Dumbarton Oaks Papers

Dumfriess.Gall.Nat.Hist.Ant.Soc.: Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society

E.E.M.F.: Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile

E.E.T.S.: Early English Text Society

E.H.D I: D. Whitelock (ed.) English Historical Documents I, (c.500-1042), London 1979 (2nd.ed.)

E.H.R.: English Historical Review

Eng.Stud.: English Studies

Garrucci I-VI: R. Garrucci Storia Della Arte Cristiana nei Primo Otto Secoli Della Chiesa, 6 vols., Prato (1873-1881)

Gent.Mag.: Gentleman's Magazine

Goldschmidt I, II: A. Goldschmidt Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der zeit der Karolingischen und Sachsischen Kaiser VIII-XI Jahrhundert, I: Berlin/Oxford (repr.1969)
II: Berlin (repr.1970)

H.E.: Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum (Plummer 1896; Colgrave & Mynors 1969)

Hist.Abb.: Bede's Historia Abbatum (Plummer 1896)

Hist.T.: History Today

J.B.A.A.: Journal of the British Archaeological Association

J.Bibl.Lit.: Journal of Biblical Literature

J.Ches.Arch.Soc.: Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society

J.Co.Louth Arch.Hist.Soc.: Journal of the Co.Louth Archaeological and Historical Society

J.Derbys.Arch.Nat.Hist.Soc.: Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society

J.des Sav.: Journal des Savants

J.Gal.Arch.Hist.Soc.: Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society

J.R.Hist.Arch.Assoc.Ireland: Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland

J.Rom.Stud.: Journal of Roman Studies

J.R.S.A.I.: Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

J.Th.Stud.: Journal of Theological Studies

J.W.C.I.: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes

J.W.I.: Journal of the Warburg Institute

Kolloquium: Kolloquium uber Spätantike und Frühmittelalterliche Skulptur

Lancs.Arch.J.: Lancashire Archaeological Journal

Med.Aev.: Medievum Aevum

Med.Arch.: Medieval Archaeology

Med.et Hum.: Medievalia et Humanistica

M.G.H.: Auct.Antiq.: Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctorum Antiquissimorum

M.G.H.: Script.: Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores

M.L.Q.: Modern Language Quarterly

Mü.Jb.: Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst

N.C.E.: New Catholic Encyclopedia

Notes 1928: "The Missing Hartlepool Gravestones", Ant.J. 8, 524

1931a: "The Cross in Frankish Jewellry", Ant.J. 11, 63-4

1931b: "An Anglo-Saxon Reliquary in France", Ant.J. 11, 161-2

1935: "Carved Stone in South Cerney Church, Gloucestershire", Ant.J. 15, 203-4

Notes 1939: "Broad Chalke, Wiltshire", Ant.J. 19, 83-4

1941: "Gourd Bottles from Sutton Hoo", Ant.J. 21, 73-4

1942: "An Early Christian Object from Icklingham, Suffolk", Ant.J. 22, 219-220

1943: "Trumwine's Diocese", Ant. 17, 212

1953: "Roman Lead Coffin Lead", Ant.J. 33, 74-5

N.P.N.F.(1): The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 1st. series, 14 vols., ed. P. Schaff, Michigan (1956)

N.P.N.F.(2): The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd. series, 14 vols., ed. P. Schaff & H. Wace, Michigan (1957)

p.comm.: personal communication

P.Gr.: Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne

P.L.: Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne (1844-91)

P.P.T.S.: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society

P.R.I.A.: Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy

Proceedings 1855: "Donations to the Society", A.A. 1s. 4 (1855) 14

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Proc.8th.Viking Cong.: Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress

Proc.Prehist.Soc.: Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society

Proc.Soc.Ant.Newc.: Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne

Proc.Soc.Ant.Scot.: Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

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Rev.Arch.: Revue Archéologique

Rev.Nums.: Revue de la Numismatiques

Schiller I: G. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art, trans. J. Seligman, London (1971)

Schiller II: G. Schiller Iconography of Christian Art, trans. J. Seligman, London (1972)

Schiller III: G. Schiller Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst, Gutersloh (1971)

Schiller IV(1): G. Schiller Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst, Gutersloh (1976)

Schiller IV(2): G. Schiller Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst, Gutersloh (1980)

Sean.Ardm.: Seanchas Ardmhacha

Stud.Ch.Hist.: Studies in Church History

Stud.in Icon.: Studies in Iconography

Toal I-IV: M.F. Toal (ed.) The Sunday Sermons of the Great Fathers, 4 vols., London (1958)

Trans.Hist.Soc.Lancs.Ches.: Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Chesire

Trans.Lancs.Ches.Ant.Soc.: Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society

Trans.N.Staffs.Field Club: Transactions of the North Staffordshire Field Club

Ulster J.Arch.: Ulster Journal of Archaeology

V.& A.: Victoria and Albert Museum

V.C.H.: Victoria County History

V.Cuth.: Bede's Vita Cuthberti (Colgrave 1940)

Vis.Lang.: Visible Language

Y.A.J.: Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

NOTES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1. Collingwood 1907; 1908-9; 1911; 1914-15; 1927. cf. Browne 1885; 1886; 1887a; 1887b; 1910.

2. "Preface" to Cramp 1984.i.

3. Hulme 1909,1-3; Lasarreff 1938,26; Panofsky 1939,3-32; Maquet 1986,96.

4. eg. Origen, "De Princ." IV.26 (A.N.F. 4,375-6); Augustine, "De catech.rudibus" IX,13 (N.P.N.F.(1) 3,291-2); "De Civ.Dei" XVI,26 (N.P.N.F.(1) 2,326).

5. I Cor.10,11 (see verses 1-10).

6. Ps.37,39.

7. Hulme 1909,5; Milburn 1954,97.

8. Augustine "De Civ.Dei" XV,27 (C.C.S.L. 48,497); trans. N.P.N.F.(1) 2,308.

9. Exod.20,4.

10. For this background see eg. Martin 1930; Vasiliev 1956; Laistner 1957,289; Bullough 1970,110; Chadwick 1967; Hubert 1969,315-20; Southern 1970,59-65; Mango 1970,150-77; Beckwith 1979,160-201; Coatsworth 1979,I.67-82; McKitterick 1983,163-4.

11. Tertullian "De Idolatria" V; "De Spectaculis" X; "Adv.Marcionem" II,22 (A.N.F. 3,63-4; 84; 314); see also Clement of Alexandria, "Discourse to the Gentiles" IV (P.Gr. 8,131-63); Origen "De Princ." IV,11 (A.N.F. 4,359-60); Irenaeus, "Adv.Heres." I,25 (A.N.F. 1,350-1). Against these early egs. see in C5th. Paulinus of Nola, "Poema XXVI" (cited Didron 1886,4-5).

12. Gregory the Great c.600, Epistle 13 to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, "Letters XI,xiii" (P.L. 77,1128).

13. eg. C7th. Arculfus "De Loc.Sanct." I,xxiii (C.S.E.L. 39,248); Trans. Macpherson 1889a,24; C8th. Germanus "Epistolae" (cited by Henderson 1980,14,n.90); C12th. Abbot Suger of St.Denis (quoted by Calkins 1979,123,201).

14. "Adv.Constantium" cited & trans. Didron 1886,3;

15. H.E. V,24 (Colgrave & Mynors 1969,566-9).

16. "De Templo" II (C.C.S.L.119A,212-3); trans. Meyvaert 1979, 68-9.

17. Hist.Abb. 6 (Plummer 1896,369-70); trans. Knowles 1978,353. cf.Bede's "Homily on Benedict Biscop" (Hom.I.13, C.C.S.L. 122,93).

18. Martin 1930,235-251; Laistner 1957,289; McKitterick 1983,163-4.

19. Martin 1930,250-5, 270-1.

20. Henderson 1980,16; cf. Stone 1972,11.

21. Lang 1983,187.

22. Saxl 1943; Schapiro 1944.

23. For Ruthwell see eg. Saxl 1943; Schapiro 1944; 1963; Kantorowicz 1960,57-9); Mercer 1964; Raw 1967; Howlett 1974; Cramp 1978a; Farrell 1978b; 1986; Ó Carragáin 1978; 1986; 1987; 1989; Meyvaert 1979; Haney 1985; Henderson 1985.
For complete Bewcastle bibliography see Bailey & Cramp 1988,71-2.

24. Kozodoy 1976; 1986,fig.3-4.

25. Calvert 1984,551; cf. Kurth 1943.

26. Kurth 1945; Cockerton 1961; 1962; cf. Routh 1937; Radford 1961; see below p.435f.

27. Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1985.

28. Wood 1987.

29. Cramp 1984: The figural pieces are found at Hexham (2 Crucifixions and 1 putti, the latter possibly Roman); Lindisfarne (1 Last Judgement and one later, C.9th., symbolic Last Judgement); Norham (a small fragment); Rothbury (remains of cross-shaft). See p.137f.

30. Cramp 1984: The figured pieces are found at St.Andrew Auckland (remains of one cross-shaft); Jarrow (putti from architectural frieze); Monkwearmouth (remains of figure on church tower).

31. Bailey & Cramp 1988: The figural pieces are found at Bewcastle (cross-shaft); Knells (fragment); Urswick (fragment).

32. Bailey 1980,24,n.2 (eg. St.Albans, Winchester).

33. For C16th. Reformation activities see Bailey 1980,25,n.3.

34. Sandbach: Lysons (1810,459-62) assumes the crosses were destroyed by Puritan iconoclasts, but Radford (1956b,1) points out that although iconoclasts were brought before the Star Chamber for destroying a number of monuments in the area, Sandbach is not mentioned. For Ruthwell see eg. Brown 1921,102-21; Henderson 1985,3.

35. The sculpture of Wales has also been documented but the lack of any significant figural sculpture explains the lack of discussion of its treatment (Macalister 1939; Nash Williams 1950). For the Isle of Man see Kermode 1907; this material is largely from the Viking period.

36. Stuart 1856-67; Allen & Anderson 1903; Mowbray 1936; Curle 1939-40; 1961-2; Radford 1942; 1952-3; 1953; 1955; Henderson 1967; 1978; 1986; 1987; MacLean 1986. cf.Macalister 1928; Stevenson 1955; 1956; 1958-9; 1970.

37. Porter 1931; Sexton 1946; Roe 1949; 1954; 1955; 1956; 1958; 1965; 1966; Flower 1954; Henry 1963; 1964; 1965; 1967; 1970; Harbison 1977; 1984; 1987; Hamlin 1982; 1987. cf.Macalister 1932; 1946; Hunt 1951; Calvert 1978.

38. Brøndsted 1924; Kitzinger 1936; Cramp 1967; 1972; 1975; 1978b. cf.Collingwood 1927.

39. Brøndsted 1924; Kendrick 1938; Clapham 1930; Cramp 1975; 1976a; 1977a-b. cf.Rix 1960; Jewell 1986.

40. Collingwood 1927; Adcock 1974; Cramp 1984.i; Bailey & Cramp 1988.

41. Coatsworth 1979.

42. eg.Cramp 1977; cf.Clapham 1928; Casson 1932; 1933; Rice 1947; Wright 1986.

43. eg.Longhurst 1931; Cramp 1970b.

44. See eg. the early works of Brøndsted 1924; Collingwood 1927; Kendrick 1938.

45. Sexton (1946) suggested sculpture should be viewed as a regional phenomenon but this approach has only gained popularity in the last ten years or so. See Lang 1983 for general comments and bibliography.

46. Kendrick 1938,127.

47. Temple 1976; Alexander 1978.

48. eg. Lindisfarne Gospels (Nordenfalk 1942; Kendrick 1960; Guilmain 1985); Codex Amiatinus (Bruce Mitford 1967; Nordhagen 1977; Corsano 1987); Book of Durrow (Doran 1908; Nordenfalk 1947; 1968; Nees 1978; Stevick 1986; O Croinin 1987; Roth 1987); Book of Kells (Picton 1938; Friend 1939; Werner 1969; 1972; Brown 1972; Henry 1974; Brown 1981; Henderson 1982; 1987; Harbison 1985); Vespasian Psalter (Wright 1967); Durham Cassiodorus (Bailey 1978a).
For references to manuscripts see Appendix I(A)
cf. Ohlgren 1986.

49. Beckwith 1972; Wilson 1964; Hinton 1974.

50. Battiscombe 1956; cf. Bonner 1989.

51. eg. Henderson 1986 on the David iconography found in all media in the British Isles.

52. See fig.1. The geographical boundaries chosen follow Hill 1981, and are those generally believed to coincide with the Anglo-Saxon dioceses of Lindisfarne, Hexham, York, Lichfield, Lindsey and Leicester which were themselves set within the political boundaries of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria and Mercia during the seventh to ninth centuries. These boundaries are those which approximately enclose the areas containing the pieces of sculpture under discussion, and the sculptural material relevant to them. It is recognised that the positions of these boundaries are open to debate and that they did change during the period (Hill 1966; Hart 1977; Hill 1981).
For wider discussions on the changes of boundaries see eg. Levison 1946; Wainwright 1948; Rice 1952; Loyn 1962; Wallace-Hadrill 1967; Dodwell 1971; Stenton 1971; Mayr-Harting 1972; Stone 1972; Webster 1982; Tweddle 1983; Arnold 1988; Bailey 1988; Hodges & Moreland 1988). See below p.22, fn.75.

53. See eg. Calverley 1899; Seaver 1939; Bu'Lock 1958; Lang 1972; 1977; 1978b; 1978c; 1984; Bailey 1974; 1977; 1978b; 1980; 1984; 1985a; 1987; Coatsworth 1978a; 1979; 1988; Cramp 1984; Hall 1978; Morris 1978; Wilson 1978b; Brown & Gallagher 1983; Bailey & Cramp 1988.

54. See Appendix I.

55. H.E. I.xxv (Plummer 1896,45-6; Colgrave & Mynors 1969,74-7).

56. Bede: Hist.Abb. 9 (Plummer 1896,373); trans. Knowles 1978,355. cf. Meyvaert 1979; Dodwell 1982.

57. Ehwald 1919,528-33 ("Aethilwaldi Carmen de Transmarini Itineris Peregrinatione" 1.172-6); cf. Dodwell 1982,107.

58. Battiscombe 1956, fig.2, pl.XIX.

59. Campbell 1967 ("De Abbatibus" 1.436, 641-5).
The metalwork which has survived is small-scale and its decoration is almost entirely limited to non-figural ornament (see Appendix I(D)). Aeðelwulf does give indications that small-scale metalwork of the pre-Viking period could be decorated with figural ornament when describing the paten and chalice of the cell (Campbell 1967, "De Abbatibus" 1.649-51), but again, no details are given of the identity of the figures, and none of this type of work has survived. There are late references to earlier Anglo-Saxon metalwork of larger scale decorated with figural ornament, but the reliability of these records, given their post-Conquest date is dubious. William of Malmesbury describes the shrine of Aldhelm, made between 839-58 and lost to the Danes, as having been decorated in relief with miracles of the saint ("Gesta Pontificum" 389; cf. Dodwell 1982, 200,n.119). The Records of the Monastery at Ramsey, also describe a pre-Conquest shrine decorated with figures of the Virgin, Christ treading on the asp and basilisk, the twelve apostles and the four evangelists (Hart & Lyons 1886,II,274 - cf. Dodwell 1982, 200 n.120).

60. De Abbatibus 1.202-5 (Campbell 1967; cf. Dodwell 1982,121).

61. De Abbatibus 1.631-5 (Campbell 1967). cf. The C7th. Irish Life of St.Bridgit which describes the interior of the church where she was buried as decorated with pictures, carved doors, partitions decorated with painted pictures and covered with linen hangings (Henry 1965,89-90).

62. eg. The Maaseik embroideries (Budny 1984b; Budny & Tweddle 1984; 1985). These are backed with a silk decorated with a repeated image of King David (see p.106-7,114-19; pl.83).
Later Anglo-Saxon textiles such as the Cuthbert stole and Maniple show figural work but are of a late C10th. date (Battiscombe 1956,375-432). There are other literary references to embroidered textiles which indicate that their decoration was figural, but the identity of the figures is not described: eg. C7th. Aldhelm "De Virginite" XV (Lapidge & Herren 1979,71; Ehwald 1919,244); C8th. Alcuin "De Pontificibus" 1.1267 (Godman 1982).

63. See Appendix I(A),(B); cf. Appendix II (Valenciennes Apocalypse).
See also p.168-84.

64. Cuthbert Coffin (Battiscombe 1956,pl.X); Dewsbury (Collingwood 1927,164d); Book of Kells (Alexander 1978,ills.233); Sandbach cross (see p.244f.; pls.38,40).

65. Cuthbert Coffin (Battiscombe 1956,pl.VII); Munich ivory (pl.101); Reculver (Kozodoy 1986,fig.3-4); for Masham see p.80f.
The subject matter of the Munich ivory (pl.101; see Appendix I(B)) is problematic: it could depict either the lower portion of

an Ascension scene, or the Assumption of the Virgin. Alternatively the central figure may simply be an Orant surrounded by the Evangelists and Apostles of the Church. (see p.445-9).

66. See Bede's Eight Questions (P.L. 93,456) trans. Mayr-Harting 1972,191 (Dodwell 1982, 96, n.70) cf. Levison 1946,133,n.1; Henderson 1980,7-8.
See Appendix I & II.

67. The Life of St.Paul does not seem to have survived in Christian art, although he is included in scenes of the confrontation with Simon Magus before Nero, in the company of Peter (see eg. Müstair in Birchler 1954).
For "Carmen Paschale" see Alexander 1978, cat.65; cf. Appendix II.

68. See Appendix I(A), I(C), II-III. See further below p.586f.

69. Dodwell 1982,115-118,n.137 (P.L. 171C,1700).

70. Dodwell 1982,122-8,n.166 (P.L. 155,16); Bede H.E. II,iii (Plummer 1896,245; Colgrave & Mynors 1969,142-5).
For the practice of reusing Roman sarcophagi see Bede H.E. IV,xi,xix (Plummer 1896,227-8; 245; Colgrave & Mynors 1969,364-9; 392-7); cf. p.579f.

71. "De Templo" (C.C.S.L. 119A,213); trans. Meyvaert 1979,69; cf. p.6-7,fn.16.

72. See below p.586f.; cf. Appendix I(C).

73. Cramp 1965. See further discussion in Conclusion, p.615f.

74. See eg. p.244-434 on the Sandbach crosses.

75. See above p.15,fn.52. Boundaries are based on those assigned by Hill 1981.

76. See Hill 1981.

CHAPTER II: THE HOVINGHAM PANEL

1. Goldie 1849; Taylor 1965,328.

2. Lang (forthcoming/p.comm.) identifies the stone as sandstone, perhaps from near Aisleby (near Whitby, Yks.), but since all the carvings at the site, both Viking and Anglian, are of the same geological type, there may have been a less distant supply.

3. Each slot is approximately 4cm. deep and 9x10cm. in plan. The left slot is 10.5cm., and the right slot 18 cm. from the edges of the slab.

4. When photographed by Baldwin Brown (1937,pl.LVI) prior to its removal from the tower wall the panel was shown set beneath, and slightly overhung by, a long thin bevelled stone of similar length. Bailey (1983) considered that this might have been part of the same structure as the panel (perhaps the roof of the shrine) with a possible analogy being the sarcophagus cover at Wirksworth (see p.435f.). However the bevelled piece has since been found to be geologically different to the Hovingham panel and so is unlikely to have been part of the same structure (Lang forthcoming/p.comm.).

5. Goldie (1849), Collingwood (1907,337), Pevsner (1973,caption to pl.16) and Brown (1937,188) saw the piece as an altar front. Peers & Radford (1943,34) suggest it was once part of the long side of a composite shrine. This is the view taken by Bailey (1983) and Lang (forthcoming/p.comm.).
Bailey (1983), citing Thomas (1971b,167-191) and Braun (1924) demonstrates that while the length of the slab is comparable with altar frontals elsewhere, the height of 62cm. is much lower than the average height of 78cm. for contemporary altars in Britain and on the Continent. (cf.Thomas 1973).

6. Collingwood (1907,337), Brown (1937,189), Kendrick (1938, 194), Cramp (1978b,9). cf. Lang (forthcoming).

7. Collingwood (1907,337), Kendrick (1938,194), Lang (forthcoming/p.comm.) See below p.80-2.

8. C12th: Goldie (1849); C10th: Brown (1937,189); mid C9th: Kendrick (1938,194); early C9th: Cramp (1978b,9), Lang (forthcoming/p.comm.); C8th: Collingwood (1907,337), Taylor (1965,326-8), Clapham (1928,237).

9. Goldie (1849), Collingwood (1907,337), Brown (1937,188), Taylor (1965,327), Bailey (1983), Lang (forthcoming/p.comm.). See below (no.1, p.34-43) for further discussion.

10. D.A.C.L.I(2) 2255f; Bréhier (1928); Morey (1942,78f.); Schiller I,34.

11. D.A.C.L.I(2)2255f; Morey 1942,102f; Weitzmann 1976,45; Schiller I,35f. Found in Western art of C8th. at Sta.Maria Antiqua and S.Peters (Rome) (Nordhagen 1968,78-9,pl.XCVIII; 1965,pl.XVIII).

12. Schiller I,35f. There are exceptions eg.Müstair frescoes, Switz. c.800 (Birchler 1954,208,fig.89).

13. See further below pp.360-2, 504-8.

14. Luke 1,38.

15. James 1924, 43.

16. eg. early C6th. Vienna Dioscurides (Cod.Vindobonensis med.gr.1) f.5v; C6th. Vienna Genesis (Nat.bibl.cod.theol.gr.31) f.31 (Weitzmann 1977,pls.17,26), where servants, male and female, are shown on cross-legged stools without cushions.

17. Volbach 1976,nr.174. cf.nr.184 (C6th. pyxis from Ravenna) where Mary is seated on a similar stool turning to look over her shoulder as the angel approaches her from the left.

18. For instance, the Annunciation depicted on a C5th. Roman sarcophagus shows Mary seated spinning on a low bench (Schiller I,pl.68).

19. For Evangelists on stools see eg. the early C9th. Coronation Gospel Book from Aachen believed to have been produced by a Greek artist from N.Italy/Ravenna working under Hellenistic/Alexandrian influences (Hubert 1970,fig.81).
For monarchs on cross-legged stools see Temple (1976,pls.275,306) and Wilson (1957,fig.14). This iconography may have been due to the inheritance of the cross-legged folding chair among the Anglo-Saxons from late imperial practices (see Wilson 1957). cf. early C5th. Virgilius Vaticanus, ms.lat.3225, f.73v. (Weitzmann 1977,pl.4).

20. Schiller I,38. cf. below p.360-2.

21. Sta.Maria Maggiore (Schiller I,pl.66); Silk (Schiller I,pl.73).

22. For silk and mosaics see references in fn.21.

23. eg. overall repetition of flanking angels (figs A & H); seated figures (B & G) and folds of drapery (figs.A,C,F). See further below p.70-1.

24. The iconography of Mary enthroned at the Annunciation is present in Anglo-Saxon art at Sandbach and on the Genoels-Elderen diptych. See pls.34,69.

25. Genoels-Elderen Diptych (Beckwith 1972,21); Harrach Diptych (Hubert 1970,229). A curtain is also featured in an Annunciation scene on a mid C9th. ivory from Metz where the Virgin is shown standing on the right (Beckwith 1969,ills.55).

26. Schiller I,38. Lang (forthcoming) interprets this object as a lily. However the lily did not become part of the Annunciation iconography until well into the later Middle ages (See eg. Schiller I on The Annunciation).

27. For Sta.Maria Maggiore see Schiller I,pl.66. Compare with Porec mosaics (pl.72) and C5th.Roman sarcophagus (Schiller I,pl.68).

28. D.A.C.L.I(2), 2107-8; Volbach 1976,nrs.15,23,4,31,38,109; cf. archangel on C7th. Cuthbert coffin carrying a flowering rod over his shoulder (Battiscombe 1956,pl.IX), and angel on left arm of Great Cross Head from Hoddom (Dumfries.) dated to C8th (Radford 1953,pl.IV).

29. Genoels-Elderen Diptych, throne and Mosaics (pls.69,160,72); Rabula Gospels and silk (Schiller I,pls.70,73).

30. Williamson 1986,48; cf. pl.74. For Wirksworth, see further below p.504-8.

31. Schiller I,55.

32. Beckwith 1969,65-6; Goldschmidt I,nr.95.

33. For this reason Collingwood's suggestion (1907,337) that C & D were two of four evangelists (C,D,E & F) will not be considered. D & E are turned away from each other and so C & D are a single group and E one of the next group. cf. Brown (1937,188f) for argument against Evangelist figures and below, p.46,fn.41.

34. Goldie 1849,189.

35. Weitzmann 1976,pl.B.27. Sometimes called "The *Noli Me Tangere*" or "The Chairete" (Weitzmann 1976,50-1).

36. Schiller III,pl.277; cf. C9th. Metz ivory and C10th. Trier Egbert ms. (Schiller III,pls.276,278).

37. Bréhier 1928; Schiller I,55. It was not separated from the Annunciation until the late middle ages due to the late introduction of the Feast of the Visitation into the church calendar.

38. Medallion (Schiller I,55,pl.56); Ivory (Goldschmidt I, nr.52).

39. Schiller I,pls.67,58.

40. For Berlin ivory see fn.38.

41. Collingwood (1907,337). See above p.43,fn.33 on The Visitation.

42. Radford 1976,53; Brown 1937,188f.

43. See Lang (forthcoming/p.comm) who argues for this interpretation.

44. For the iconography of The Presentation in the Temple, see p.508-14. For the iconography of John the Baptist see Reau II(i) 431-6. On The Circumcision of Christ see Schiller I,88-9. The scene exists, rarely from the C10th. and consists of one or two figures, standing or seated, holding the child, while another (male) figure approaches to perform the operation (see eg. Schiller I,pls.225,227).

45. For the Dream of Joseph see eg.Müstair, Switz. c.800 (Birchler 1954,188-9). Exceptions to the usual iconography are found; an early Christian sarcophagus does show a young man standing beside another seated with his head in his hand, but the scene consists of only these two figures and it is far from certain that it depicts the dreaming Joseph (Smith 1918,fig.154; Schiller I,56-7). The C5th. Werden Casket shows a reclining Joseph and angel watched by a pregnant Mary, but there is no fourth figure and the gestures of the figures do not resemble those of the Hovingham figures (Schiller I,pl.67).

46. eg. Sta.Maria Maggiore, Rome (Schiller I,pl.520; St.John, Müstair, Switz. (Birchler 1954,figs.88-98). Exceptions are found in the decoration of the C5th. columns in St.Marks, Venice (Soper 1938).

47. eg. Sarcophagi (Allen 1887,Milburn 1988, Rice 1956, Bréhier 1928; Morey 1942; Gough 1973); cf. Maximian Throne which had an Infancy Cycle set against the Old Testament Joseph story (Volbach 1977).

48. Pictish sculpture (Henderson 1986,100-2); Irish sculpture (Henry 1967).

49. Cuthbert Coffin (Battiscombe 1956); see above p.9 & Introduction fn.22-23 for Ruthwell and Bewcastle. See also the St.Andrews Sarcophagus (Radford 1942; 1955; Stevenson 1955; 1970; Henderson 1967; 1978; 1986); the Franks Casket (Webster 1982); the Genoels-Elderen Diptych (Beckwith 1972); and the stone sculpture at Rothbury, Sandbach and Wirksworth (below pp.138-586). cf. the Agilbert sarcophagus at Jouarre (Grabar 1974).

50. See below "Discussion", pp.67-72.

51. Goldie 1849,189.

52. Bréhier 1928; Cook 1928,335; Morey 1942,127f; Gough 1973,31; Osborne 1984; Schiller II,90.

53. Schiller III,pl.4.

54. Cook 1928,335. The variation did depend to some extent on the differing accounts of the resurrection in the Bible (see below p.63-4), but the different views on how many persons were required by law as witnesses to prove an event were also relevant. The number varied between two and three depending on the sex of the witness; more women were needed than men (Cook 1928).

55. Maguire 1977,132-4,140-2,151-2; cf. Kitzinger 1963,107-113; Shorr 1940. For examples of mourning women at the Crucifixion see eg. Sta.Maria Antiqua and the Rabula Gosps. (Schiller II, pls.327,328).

56. Schiller III,pls.4,12,6,9; cf. Goldschmidt I, nrs.84,9,30, 132a,139,147d.

57. Goldschmidt I,nr.147d.

58. The Quedlingburg casket is dated to C9th. by Harbison (p.comm.).

59. See below p.64-5.

60. Schiller III,pls.7,5-6,9.

61. Schiller III,pls.16,18,19-20. For discussion of the Utrecht Ps. see Benson & Tselos 1931; Tselos 1956; 1957; 1959; 1967.

62. Goldschmidt I, nr.9.

63. Although the sleeping soldiers were often included in depictions of the Women at the Sepulchre, they were originally, and did remain, a separate iconographical scene. This is the scene most commonly featured in Irish sculpture as symbolic of the Resurrection (Porter 1931; Sexton 1946; Roe 1954; 1966; Henry 1967).

64. Schiller III,pls.13,18,20.

65. St.Marks (Soper 1938,fig.64).

66. Theoretically it is possible that a sepulchre <u>was</u> present, but was less deeply carved than the figural decoration and has since worn away, or it could have been painted on. There are, of course, no fragments of paint remaining on the Hovingham panel, but as Anglo-Saxon sculpture seems to have been highlighted with paint, it is possible that the stone may once have been decorated

in this way and the background details picked out with paint. However, as there is very little space between the angel and the seated woman (A & G) the tomb would have had to be positioned behind or between the other two women (E & F) and this is without precedent in Resurrection scenes, and so not likely to have been the case at Hovingham.

67. Battiscombe 1956; Bonner 1989.

68. See p.566f.

69. See p.504-8.

70. Luke 1,30-5.

71. See eg. Warner 1976.

72. Augustine "De Trinitate" XIII,xviii,23 (C.C.S.L.50A,414) Trans. in N.P.N.F.(1) 3,180. cf. Sermon I on the New Testament (N.P.N.F.(1) 6,245).

73. See eg. Leo the Great "Sermon XXII on the Nativity" (N.P.N.F.(2) 12,130); Gregory the Great "Epistle 67" (N.P.N.F.(2) 13,83); Jerome "Perpetual Virginity of the Virgin" (N.P.N.F.(2) 6,334f.); John Chrysostom "Homily 7 on Matthew" (N.P.N.F.(1) 10,45).

74. "In Lucae"I,i (P.L.92,317-19); "Homily I in Festo Annuntiationis B.Mariae" (P.L.94,9-14).

75. "Annunciatio S.Mariae" (Thorpe 1844,194).

76. Jerome "Perpetual Virginity of the Virgin" (N.P.N.F.(2) 6,330f).

77. Ambrose "On the Holy Spirit" III,xi,78-9 (P.L.16,828-9). Trans. in N.P.N.F.(2) 10,146.

78. Early hymns by Ephraem Syrus C4th. (N.P.N.F.(2) 13,165f.); Sedulius C5th. (Lapidge & Herren 1979; Lapidge & Rosier 1985); Venantius Fortunatus C6th. (Warner 1976,37).

79. Lapidge & Herren 1979,39,108f.

80. Kuypers 1902,56-8. Cynewulf is questionable.

81. 1.51-2,66,206-7 (Cook 1970) The attribution of this part of the poem to

82. Homily I "Annunciatio S.Mariae" (Morris 1967,9). See also the O.E. Creed, 1.203-15 (Ure 1957,87-8): "Ic on sunu þinne soðne gelyfe, haelende cyning, hider asendne of ðam uplican engla rice, þone Gabriel, Godes aerendraca, Sanctan Marian sylfre gebodode. Ides unmaene, heo þaet aerende onfeng freolice, and ðe faeder

sylfne under breostcofan bearn acende. Naes ðaer gefremmed firen aet giftum, ac þaer halig gast handgyft sealde, þaere faemnan bosm fylde mid blisse, and heo cuðlice cende swa maerne eorðbuendum engla scyppend, se to frofre gewearð foldbuendum." (I believe in thy true son, The Saviour King, who was sent hither, from the kingdom of angels on high, when Gabriel, God's messenger, commanded St.Mary herself. The virgin woman received that message freely, and the father himself begat the child under the breast. No sin was performed at that marriage, but the Holy Ghost gave the wedding gift, filled the virgin's bosom with bliss, and she humbly brought forth gloriously as an earth-dweller, the Lord of angels, who came to comfort the men of earth.).

83. Homily 9 "Crist se Goldbloma" (Morris 1967,105).

84. See p.552-9 and Clayton 1984.

85. Luke 1,41-2.

86. Luke 1,46-8.

87. eg. Ireneus "Against Heresies" (A.N.F.1,453,470); Ambrose "Of Christian Faith" (N.P.N.F.(2) 10,277).

88. Bede "In Lucae" I (P.L.92,320); Hom.II "In Festo Visitationis B.Mariae" (P.L.94,15-22) cf. References in Toal IV,411-4.

89. Ambrose "In Lucam" II,22 (P.L.15,1641). Trans. Toal IV,412.

90. Aelfric: Homilies on Annunciation and Birth of John the Baptist (Thorpe 1844,200-2,352). cf. Blickling Homily 14 on Birth of John the Baptist (Morris 1967,165).

91. As the Bible account of the Visitation ends with the promise of future salvation ("for there shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the Lord" - Luke 1,45), so does The Magnificat ("He hath holpen his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy, As he spake to our fathers, to Abraham and his seed forever" - Luke 1,54-5).

92. Matthew 27,60-1.

93. Matthew 28,1-6.

94. Mark 16,1.

95. Mark 16,5-7.

96. John 20,11-12; Luke 24,4-10; cf. Warner 1976, Appendix 1.

97. Mark 16,5.

98. Sermo 21,2 (P.L.76,1170-1). Trans. Toal II,242.

99. Thorpe 1844,220-2.

100. eg. Augustine "On the Trinity" IV,iii,5; "The Enchiridion" 84; "On Faith and The Creed" X,23; "Concerning Faith of Things Not Seen" 7; "On The Creed" 9,17; "Reply to Faustus the Manichaean" XXVI,8; "The Letters of Petilian The Donatist" XLVI,55; "On the Spirit and The Letter" 10,51 (N.P.N.F.(1) 3,71-2;264;332;341;372,375; 4,323;619; 5,86,105). Ambrose "Sermo 34" (P.L.17,671). Leo "Sermo 72" (P.L.57,390).

101. Sermo 21,2,5 (P.L.76,1171,1172). Trans. Toal II,242,243.

102. Bede's Homilies 1 & 2 on Easter (P.L.94,133-144); Aelfric's Sermon on Easter (Thorpe 1844,220-2); cf. Blickling Homily 7 (Morris 1967,82f.).

103. O.E. Creed, 1.21-8 (Ure 1957,88).

104. See above on Annunciation pp.56-60, and fns.75,82,100.

105. Augustine "De Fido et Symbolo" V,11 (P.L.40,187) Trans. in N.P.N.F.(1) 3,326, cf. "On the Gospel of John" CXX,5 (C.C.S.L.36, 662-3).

106. Augustine "On the Gospel of John" CXXI,4 (C.C.S.L.36,667) Trans. N.P.N.F.(1) 7,438.

107. eg. Ambrose "Liber de Virginitate" I,iii,14 (P.L.16,283).

108. Homilies on Easter Sunday and Palm Sunday (Thorpe 1844,220-2; 1846,262).

109. Breckenridge 1957,13-14,n.20,25. The canticle, introduced by the cleric-poet Romanos, describes Christ on the cross promising his mother that he will appear to her first at the tomb after the resurrection. The notion was expanded in the C9th. by George, the Metropolitan of Nicomedia.

110. Breckenridge 1957,16; Ambrose "Liber de Virginitate" I,iii,14 (P.L.16,283). cf. Origen and Jerome (Budge 1915,187-92); Tatian's Diatessaron (Breckenridge 1957,12); Sedulius "Opera V" (Humer 1885); Apocryphal accounts in "The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles" and "The Book of the Resurrection by Bartholomew" (Budge 1915,187-92).

111. The Virgin is found at the sepulchre in the C6th. Rabula Gospel, the Palestinian painted reliquary box and Leningrad Petropolitanus XI, an C8th. Cappodocian ms. reflecting Constantinopolitan art (Breckenridge 1957; Morey 1929,69-70).

112. Pope 1967,219-20; Jerome's account is "Adversus Helvidium" (P.L.23,183f.); Haymo of Auxerre "Commentary on Mark 16,1" (P.L.118,823f; cf.238). cf. Pope 1967,217-8.

113. Romans 6,3-4 (cf. Klauser 1979,13-14; Underwood 1950).

114. Leo "Sermo 24,12"; "Sermo 63,vi" (P.L.54,206,356; cf.211) cf. Underwood 1950,63,71.

115. Underwood 1950,58-64.

116. Ó Carragáin 1987,121-2.

117. Beckwith 1969,29-71; Dodwell 1971,22-3,26-40; Rice 1957,111-123; Oakeshott 1959.

118. See p.28,fn.8.

119. Sandbach (Ches.): Nativity and Crucifixion; Wirksworth (Derbys.): Presentation and Ascension; Rothbury (Nthbd.): Crucifixion and Ascension (see below pp.138-573).

120. See below p.566f.

121. De Abbatibus 1.202-5 (Campbell 1967,19).

122. See Levison 1946,260-4 for lists of churches dedicated to Mary (19) and those dedicated to Peter (22+); cf. Hunt 1901,49,92,134.

123. Levison 1946,263-4; Hill 1966,133; Hunt 1901,134.

124. Bréhier 1928; Krautheimer 1980,90; Avery 1925; Nordhagen 1968,88-91; Verzone 1968,56. Irish sculpture shows very little interest in Marian iconography (Henry 1967; Porter 1931; Sexton 1946, Roe 1954 etc.).

125. Henderson 1972,30; see above p.54.

126. See fns.98,101,103,114.

CHAPTER III: THE MASHAM COLUMN

1. Measurements taken from Collingwood (1907,363) and Bailey (1972,145).

2. There are the remains of a cross-head in the church (see Collingwood, 1927,fig.133), but only two arms and part of the central boss remain; it cannot be determined if it was originally part of the column as reconstructed by Collingwood 1927,fig.13(5), although the knotwork in the spandrils of the fourth register is a repetition of that carved on the cross-head. For Wolverhampton see Wilson (1984,fig.124-5).

3. The hole was in-filled during 1985-6; the metal sheet was added in 1988-9.

4. The lack of drill-holes indicates the bands were not inset with metal plates carrying inscriptions as eg. Reculver (Kozodoy 1986).

5. For illustrations see Collingwood 1907,364-5; 1927,fig.55; Brondsted 1924,fig.53a; Smith 1925b,fig.6; Clapham 1930,pl.19; Kendrick 1938,pl.lxxxvii; Wilson 1984,fig.131.

6. Collingwood 1907,364-5; 1927,43; Brøndsted 1924,56; Smith 1925b,239; cf. Prior & Gardner 1912,125-6.

7. Clapham 1930,65; Kendrick 1938,194-7.

8. Cramp 1965,9; Bailey 1972; Wilson 1984,105; Henderson 1986,110; cf. p.26-8.

9. See Henderson 1986,97-8 where a clearer picture can be found (pl.5.8b).

10. Lawson 1981,229; figs.1-2.

11. Lawson 1981,229; Henderson 1986,98; cf.Bailey 1972.

12. Bailey & Cramp 1988, 61-72, ills.90-117,119.

13. Other round shafts from pre-Viking England do not provide any information in this matter (eg. the remains from Collingham, Dewsbury (Yks.), Reculver (Kent) and Wolverhampton which is a later, C10th. monument). See Collingwood 1927, Kozodoy 1986, Rix 1960. For a discussion of round cross-shafts in Anglo-Saxon England, see Kozodoy 1986,89-90. There was also the description of the pillar surmounted by a cross outside Jerusalem, recorded by pilgrims in the late eighth century, commemorating the site where the Jews attempted to interfere with the burial of the Virgin (Talbot 1954,166-7; see also p.478-87.

14. Collingwood 1907,363, fig.on p.364.

15. eg. Didron 1886,241; Árnason 1938.

16. Morey 1942,58-77; Burke 1930,165-7.

17. Morey 1929,62-5; Nordhagen 1968,37; Burke 1930,168-70.

18. Burke 1930,171f; Beckwith 1979,125; Gough 1973,84; Rice 1957,65,73-4,78,94.

19. Burke 1930,figs.11-12.

20. C5th. Mosaics at Cathedral (Ravenna); S.Apollinare in Classe (Ravenna): Burke 1930,171,figs.19-20. cf. Allen 1887,41-5,52,314-5; Rice 1957,65,73-4,78,94.

21. S.Lorenzo, Milan (Gough 1973,85,fig.73); Ravenna Baptistries (Rice 1957,78); cf. Ravenna mid C5th. & early C6th; Poreč early C6th; Ravenna mid C6th. (Morey 1942,figs.165;170;186;166). cf. C5th-C6th. mosaic at La Daurade,Toulouse (Woodruff 1931).

22. eg. Ravenna C6th. sarcophagi (Oakeshott 1959,pls.42a,b); cf. Burke 1930,164; Lawrence 1927,figs.2-5,1,607,9-12. cf. C5th.ivory pyxis (Volbach 1976,nr.161); C6th. ivory pyxis (Oakeshott 1959,pl.42c).

23. Burke 1930,figs.1-3.

24. Lasko 1971,117,fig.114.

25. Moone Abbey (Sexton 1946,fig.3); cf. Castledermot, Monasterboice, Donaghmore, Ahenny (Sexton 1946,91-6; 236-45; 118-9; Roe 1958).

26. Krautheimer 1980,116,figs.88,89 (Triconium); Allen 1887,45; cf. Gough 1973,84; Beckwith 1979,125. Mid C8th. frescoes produced under Paul I (757-67) at Sta.Maria Antiqua (Rome) show Christ enthroned and flanked by figures of Greek and Latin fathers carrying books (Hubert 1969,124,pl.137).
The image may have given some impetus to the secular compositions found in later Carolingian art which showed the king enthroned between attendants which was immediately inspired by late imperial art. Here the iconography refers to the king's authority based on the institutions of Church and State (see eg. McKitterick 1988). eg. Charles the Bald in Codex Aureus of S.Emmeran c.870, f.5v; Solomon in the Bible of S.Paolo fuori de Mura, c.870, f.188v (Mütherich & Gaehde 1977,pls.37,44).

27. Oakeshott 1967,90-4, 203-7.

28. Bede, Hist.Abb. (Plummer 1896,369-70,section 6). See p.7 cf. a pre-conquest account (date uncertain) in the "Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia" (Hart & Lyons 1886,II,274; referred to by Dodwell 1982,200,n.120) which describes a shrine decorated with

images of the Virgin, Christ, four evangelists and twelve apostles.

29. Adamnan "De Locis Sanctis" (C.S.E.L. 39,239). Trans. Macpherson 1889,16.

30. Kozodoy 1986,68,70-1,75-7, figs.3,4.

31. Routh 1937, pl.VI A.

32. Fisher 1959,pl.45.

33. Cramp 1965; Henderson 1986,97.

34. Allen 1887,202-5; Buchthal 1938; Porter 1931; MacAlister 1946; Roe 1954; 1955; 1956; 1966,17; Wright 1967; Henderson 1986,88. cf. Vespasian Ps., f.53r. (Wright 1967,pl.IIb); mid C10th. Bodlian ms.Junius 27, f.118 (Temple 1976,cat.7,pl.26); Aberlemno no.3 (Henderson 1986,pl.5.4a); Irish egs. are found in early C11th. Southampton Ps. f.4v (Alexander 1978,cat.74,pl.350), and at Old Kilcullen, Kells (South & Market Crosses), Arboe, Durrow, Monasterboice (West Cross) and Killamery (Roe 1949,fig.2.7,9,14,10,12,13,15) cf. Porter 1931; Sexton 1946; Roe 1954; 1955; 1956; 1958; 1966; Henry 1965,150; 1967,107.

35. See above, p.85. See also pl.5.8b in Henderson 1986.

36. Buchthal 1938; Henderson 1986,89-90; cf. D.A.C.L.4(1) fig.3624.

37. Mowbray 1936; Buchthal 1938; Curle 1939-40; Henderson 1986,88. For Donaghmore see Roe 1949,fig.3.18. For Pictish egs. see St.Andrews, Nigg, Kinnedar, Aldbar, Kildalton and Dupplin (Henderson 1986,pls.5.2b; 5.5a; 5.3b; 5.6b; Allen & Anderson 1903,III,391; 319); cf. Mowbray 1936; Henderson 1967,144-57. Henderson (1986,108-9) has argued that the St.Andrews scene of David and the Lion may not have derived from a "Gilgamesh" type model, but is in fact a refashioning of the third, "Mithraic" type found in the Vespasian Psalter.

38. Buchthal 1938; Curle 1939-40; Henderson 1986,89.

39. eg. Vespasian Ps. (Alexander 1978,ill.144); Crosses at Kells, Arboe and Monasterboice (Roe 1949,fig.2).

40. See eg. Vespasian Ps; Southampton Ps. (Alexander 1978, ills.144,350).

41. Lamb at feet of lion on C6th. silver Byzantine dish from Cyprus (D.A.C.L.4(1) fig.3624). The C9th. Paris Ps. shows the lamb hanging from lion's jaw where David prepares to hit the lion with a club (Buchthal 1938,fig.2). The Irish "Mithraic" scenes which show David kneeling on the lion's back show the lamb at the

lion's feet at Old Kilcullen and Arboe (Roe 1949,fig.2.7,10).

42. Wright 1967,77-80; Henderson 1986,108-9.

43. Henderson 1986, pls.5.4a,5.2b.

44. cf. C9th/C10th. ivory comb from Metz (Goldschmidt I,nr.91a).

45. eg. St.Andrews, Vespasian Ps., Cyprus Dish show the lion with its tail tucked between its legs. A few Irish egs. show the lion's tail turned upwards: eg. Old Kilcullen, Kells (South Cross), Arboe. The lion on the episcopal throne at Monkwearmouth also bears comparison with the Masham lion, although it is not part of a David scene (Cramp 1967,24,fig.45b).

46. eg. Augustine "De Civ.Dei" XXI,4 (C.C.S.L. 48,762). Trans. N.P.N.F.(1)2,454.
cf. Allen 1887,22; Hulme 1909,191; Bréhier 1928; Gardner 1928,172; Underwood 1950,88; Gough 1973,18.

47. C4th. S.Sabina (Volbach 1961,fig.102); Ravennate sarcophagi (Morey 1942,102-26).

48. Woodruff 1931, Davis-Weyer 1986,59-66.

49. C6th: Maximianus throne (Volbach 1977,fig.57a; cf. Gough 1973,167); decorated reliefs (Beckwith 1979,pl.99; Schiller III,pl.547; Farioli 1977,pl.76); mosaics (Volbach 1961,fig.181); cf. sarcophagus (Beckwith 1979,pl.100).

50. Allen 1887,54-5; cf. C6th amphora imported to Reask, Co.Kerry (Ireland) from N.Africa, engraved with two peacocks facing each other over a cross (C. Thomas, unpub.lecture, Durham, March 1989).

51. C7th: Italian Sarcophagus (Schiller III,pl.590); Merovingian sarcophagus (pl.79); C8th: tomb reliefs - Italy (Schiller III,pl.548); Gaul (Hubert 1969,pl.119A); Gelasium sacramentary (pl.148).

52. C9th: marble ambo, Brescia (Hubert 1970,pl.203); Sta.Maria in Cosmedin, Rome (Schaffran 1941,taf.33c). cf. Gray 1935,197-8.

53. Throne (Volbach 1977,fig.57a); ambo (Hubert 1970,pl.203).

54. Godescalc Gosp. (Hubert 1970,fig.279; Bullough 1970,pl.18); Gosp. of S.Medard of Soissons (Hubert 1970,fig.75); cf. Underwood 1950,88,fn.186. cf. Peacocks confronting each other on C8th. baptismal font of the Patriarch Callistus (Rice 1965,166(28)).

55. Beckwith 1979,ills.99.

56. Schiller III,pl.548.

57. Schaffran 1941,taf.33c; cf.Gray 1935,197-8.

58. John 15,1-7; cf. Bailey 1980,148.

59. Ravenna sarcophagus (Beckwith 1979,ills.99).

60. Beckwith 1979,ills.100.

61. Schiller III.pl.590.

62. Beckwith 1979,ills.99.

63. Schiller III,pl.548.

64. It is also possible that the boss may represent a piece of eucharist bread as is believed to have been depicted on the later, C10th. Durham cross-heads in scenes of baptism and the lamb (Coatsworth 1978a,pls.5.1,5.3). However there is no pictorial precedent for associating the bread of the eucharist with peacocks, even where the iconography is specifically eucharistic, as it is when the birds are associated with a chalice (cf.Henry 1974).

65. Beckwith 1979,ills.100.

66. Schaffran 1941,taf.33c; cf. Baptismal font of Callistus (Rice 1965,166(28)).

67. Underwood 1950,88.

68. Porter 1931,92; Wright 1967,72,n.3; Bailey 1972,145; Lawson 1981,229; Henderson 1986,98.

69. Lawson 1981,232-7.

70. Wright 1967,71-2; Lawson 1981,238.

71. Wright 1967,73-5.

72. For other egs. of the "aulic" arrangement where David is seated at the centre of the scene see: late C8th Ivory cover of Dagulf Ps.; C9th Cosmas Indicopleustes (Vat.gr.nr.699,f.63); mid C9th Paris B.N.lat.1,f.423r; Khludov Ps. f.1v; late C9th Golden Ps. of S.Gall (cod.22,p.2); C9th/C10th ivory book cover in the Louvre, Paris; C10th Munich lat.343,f.12r; C11th Psalter (Camb. Univ.lib.ms.F.f.1.23) - Hubert 1970,pl.208 (cf.Gaborit-Chopin 1978,45-6); Steger 1961,taf.1 (cf.Grabar 1968,27,pl.1b); Wright 1967,pl.VI.b;c;g (cf.Hubert 1970,ills.157); Steger 1961,taf.8; Wright 1967,pl.VI.h; Temple 1976,pl.249.
The mid C8th. Durham Cassiodorus shows David centrally enthroned but without his attendants (Alexander 1978,pl.74); cf.C9th.

B.M.add.ms.nr.37768,f.5; C11th. B.L.Cotton Tiberius C.VI,f.17v (Steger 1961,taf.2; Temple 1976,ills.306) and possibly a cross-slab at Kirriemuir, Scotland (Henderson 1986,pl.5.6a).
There is another version of the "aulic" arrangement with shows David standing at the centre of the scene: mid C9th. Bible and Psalter of Charles the Bald (Hubert 1970,pls.128,134; cf. Dodwell 1971,37); late C9th. Bible of S.Paolo fuori le mura (Steger 1961,taf.7).

73. Porter 1931; Curle 1939-40; Sexton 1946; Roe 1949; 1958; 1966 Henry 1965,130; 1967,107,150-1; Henderson 1967,144-57; 1986; Calvert 1978.
Not included among comparative material in this discussion are figures seated in profile on the ground or figures standing in profile playing a harp; ie.Scottish sculptures at Iona (S.Oran's & S.Martin's Crosses), Ardchattan Priory and the Tower of Lethendy (R.C.A.H.M.S. 1982,196-7,207; cf. Wilson 1984); Allen & Anderson 1903,III,377; Fisher and Greenhill 1972). These seem to derive from pastoral scenes, although being accompanied by one or two pipe and horn players they do have something in common with the harpists and pipers found in Irish Last Judgement scenes at Monasterboice, Durrow & Clonmacnoise, where David, and sometimes the Sybil, are depicted as prophets foretelling the Second Coming (Henry 1967,pls.106,109,110).
The harpist seated in profile with an accompanying scribe at Sockburn (Co.Dur.) is Viking-age and so derivative rather than comparative with the Masham scene (Bailey 1980,fig.36). cf. C12th. sculpture at S.Michele, Pavia (Porter 1931,fig.146).

74. Monifieth & Dupplin (Allen and Anderson 1903,III,265,319). Monifieth shows two horn players facing forwards in a panel above the seated harpist. For another possible eg. see Kingoldrum (Allen and Anderson 1903,III,226).

75. Kells, Tower Cross (the figure is surrounded by loaves and fishes); Castledermot, N. & S. Crosses (Henry 1967,150-1, pls.75,66,71); Cardonagh slab (Porter 1931,fig.275; cf. Henry 1965,130); B.L. Psalter Cotton Vitellius F.XI,f.2 (Alexander 1978,ills.348; cf. Henry 1967,107).

76. Roe 1949,54-9. It is possible that such images did provide the ultimate imspiration for some of the Irish images - eg. Clonmacnoise; Kells (Roe 1949,fig.12.43-4); B.L. Ps. Cotton Vitellius F.XI,f.2 (Alexander 1978,ills.348). However the pastoral image more often showed the harpist sitting on a rock - eg. Paris Ps. (Buchthal 1931,pl.I); Khludov Ps. f.147v (Henderson 1986,pl.5.2a; Wright 1967,pl.VI.i). cf. eg. Garrucci II,tav.4.1, 25, 34.2.

77. Henderson 1986,102f.

78. Monasterboice, Durrow, Castledermot, Kells (Roe 1949, figs. 11.38-9,12,45-8).

79. Monifieth and Dupplin (Allen and Anderson 1903,III,265,319); Durham Cassiodorus (Alexander 1978,ills.74); Kirriemuir (Henderson 1986,pl.5.6a).

80. Henderson 1986,102-6.

81. For further discussion of the type of chair see below (2F) p.118-119 & fn.100.

82. For paired arrangements elsewhere on the column see 1B-G; 2A; 2C; 2F-G; 3B?; 3G?; 4A-G (see above pp.84-5,87-90; pls.5,7, 10-11).

83. Collingwood 1927,72. For Cundall see Collingwood 1927, fig.32.

84. Kendrick 1938,197; Cramp 1965,9.

85. Collingwood 1927,72f,fig.32. Kendrick (1938,197) describes it as a figure under a canopied arch who turns towards a group of figures outside the arch.

86. Pictish Samson iconography is found at Inchbrayock where Samson is found killing the Philistine with the jawbone of an ass, and having his hair cut by Delilah (Curle 1939-40; Henderson 1961,110-114; Henderson 1967,144-57). On the Byzantine Homilies see Der Nersessian 1962 (cf. Henderson 1961,110-4; Henderson 1967,144-57).

87. Malmesbury (Lucas 1980,pl.14); Oxford ms.(Pächt & Alexander 1973,no.359c,pl.XXX).

88. Henderson 1961,110-4 (cf. Henderson 1967,144-57).

89. See occurrence of David iconography in frescoes of the synagogue at Dura Europa (early C3rd.) - Gough 1973,31; Milburn 1954,99.

90. S.Ambrogio doors, Milan (Buchthal 1938,pl.XXII.59-61); Byzantine dishes (D.A.C.L.4(1) figs.3623-3630); cf. Dalton 1906; 1906-7; 1911; D.A.C.L.4(1) 297-301; Baur 1928,48-9; Mowbray 1936; Rosenbaum 1954; cf. Coptic sculpture and frescoes (Torp 1965).

91. eg. Manuscripts: C8th. Vespasian Ps; C9th. Khludov Ps, Byzantine Ps; C10th. Cotton/Camb. Ps. etc. (Dalton 1911; Buchthal 1938; 1974; Morey 1942,58; Rice 1957,101-2; Wright 1967; Grabar 1968,93f,136f; Beckwith 1979,182).
Ivories: covers of Dagulf Ps. and ps. of Charles the Bald (Bullogh 1970,pl.28; Hubert 1970, ills.230-1).
Pictish Sculpture: St.Andrews, Nigg, Aberlemno, Kirriemuir, Dupplin, Monifieth, Iona etc. (Mowbray 1936; Curle 1939-40; Henderson 1967; 1986; Wilson 1984).
Irish Sculpture: Monasterboice, Armagh, Arboe, Kells, Drumcliffe,

Seir Kieran etc. (Allen 1887; Porter 1931; Macalister 1946; Sexton 1946; Roe 1949; 1954; 1955; 1956; 1966; Henry 1967; Edwards 1983,21-30).

92. Birchler 1954,180.

93. Samuel Anointing David: C6th. Coptic sculpture, Byzantine dish; C9th. Paris Ps, Irish sculpture at Monasterboice and Kells (Torp 1965,pl.I,IV-V; D.A.C.L.4(1) fig.3626; Buchthal 1938,fig.3; Roe 1954; 1966).

94. eg. Paris Ps. (Buchthal 1938,fig.27).

95. Buchthal 1938,fig.8 (cf.figs.51-5).

96. Dish (D.A.C.L.4(1) fig.3624); Vespasian Ps. (Wright 1967,pl.IIa).

97. Ireland: Kells, Arboe, Armagh (Sexton 1946; Roe 1955; 1956; 1966). Scotland: Fowlis Wester, Dunfallandy, St.Vigeans, Nigg (Henderson 1967,144-7). cf.Ó Carragáin 1989.

98. Sexton 1946; Roe 1966; O Carragain 1989.

99. Alexander 1978,fig.87; cf.Ohlgren 1986,18 (no.22).

100. Budny 1984b, 124-6, fig.2; see above p.119,fn.81.

101. Hubert 1969,fig.205.

102. eg. Ps. of Louis the German from S.Omer, c.814-40 (Hubert 1970,pl.154).

103. Wilson 1984,figs.49-78.

104. Collingwood (1907,364-5) shows three such motifs on this register. However the third corresponds with 3A which seems more likely to have been a single standing figure.

105. See Bailey & Cramp 1988,149.

106. See p.331-40.

107. eg. Castledermot & Monasterboice (Sexton 1946,figs.5,17-18).

108. Buchthal 1938,fig.7.

109. D.A.C.L.4(1) fig.3630.

110. see eg. Bailey 1980,148-9; Bailey & Cramp 1988,149.

111. see above p.81. Comparison is with such pieces as those found at Ilkley, Cundall and Aldborough, Hovingham, Collingham (Yks.) and Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leics.); cf. Calvert 1978,232-4.

112. see above pp.91-6.

113. eg. Isaiah 11,1. See Allen 1887,150-1; Torp 1965,117; Baur 1928; Dalton 1906; 1911,651; Bailey 1978a,20; Milburn 1954,111-2; Mowbray 1936; Vriezen 1962; Nordhagen 1968,68.

114. I.Sam.17.34-7.

115. Augustine on Ps.7.2, sectn.2 (P.L. 36,98). Trans. N.P.N.F.(1) 8,21. cf. Augustine on Ps.9.9, sectn.7 (P.L. 36,127-8). Trans. N.P.N.F.(1) 8,39; and Augustine on Ps.57.7, sectn.14 (P.L. 36,684). Trans. N.P.N.F.(1) 8,233.

116. Aldhelm eg; "De Virginitate" (Lapidge & Herren 1979,122); Bede: Commentary on Ps. (P.L. 93); Aelfric "Lives of the Saints" XVIII, 1.12-17 (Skeat 1881-5,384-6); on the Durham Cassiodorus see Bailey 1978a.
Eastern writers cf. Ephraim of Syria C4th. and John Chrysostom C4th-C5th. Other Western writers include Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose and Jerome.

117. Aelfric "On the Old and New Testaments" 1.463-86 (Crawford 1922,35-6). See below, p.127,fn.128.

118. Underwood 1950,fn.186.

119. "De Civ.Dei" XXI.4 (C.C.S.L. 48,762). Trans. N.P.N.F.(1) 2,454.

120. Aldhelm prose "De Virginitate"IX (M.G.H.: Auct.Antiq.15, 237) Trans. Lapidge & Herren 1979,66. cf. "Carmen de Virginitate" (Lapidge & Rosier 1985,108).

121. Aldhelm, Riddle XIV (M.G.H.: Auct.Antiq.15,103-4). Trans. Lapidge & Rosier 1985,73.

122. eg. Anthony of Padua, referred to by Underwood 1950,fn.186.

123. II.Sam.7.

124. Isaiah 11.1, cf. fn.120.

125. eg. Vriezen 1962; Wright 1967; Bailey 1978a,5.

126. Augustine "De Civ.Dei" XVII,8-20; Comm. on Ps.24;55;57;132 (trans. in N.P.N.F.(1)2,348-58; 8,61,209-18,225-9,616-7); Eusebius "Ch.Hist." I,iii,6-21 (trans. in N.P.N.F.(2)1,86-7); Jerome eg.letter 53,8 (trans. in N.P.N.F.(2)6,100-1); Hilary of Poitiers eg. Homily on Ps.53 (trans. in N.P.N.F.(2)9,243-8).

127. Bede comm. on Ps.55;57 (P.L.93,764-71;778-82); Alcuin eg. "On the Bishops, Kings and Saints of the Church of York", 1.601-5 (Godman 1982); Letters (Allott 1974).

128. Aelfric "On the Old and New Testament" 1.463-86 (Crawford 1922,35-6); cf. 1.270-4 (Crawford 1922,26) and "Hom.XVI in Memory of the Saints" 1.55-9 (Skeat 1881-5,340-2). See above p.124, fn.117.

129. Aelfric "Sermon for the second Sunday after Epiphany" (Thorpe 1844,64).

130. Bailey 1978a,5.

131. Judges 16,103.

132. eg. Augustine "To Faustus the Manichaean" XII,32 (N.P.N.F.(1)4,193-4); Ambrose "On the Holy Spririt" II,5-9 (N.P.N.F.(2)10,115-6).

133. Gregory "Hom.21, sectn.7" (P.L.76,1173); Trans. Toal II,244-5.

134. cf. Hulme 1909,126.

135. "The Old English Heptateuch" (Crawford 1922,414; cf.412) cf. "Sermon on Easter Sunday" (Thorpe 1844,226-8).

136. On the knowledge of this apocryphal text in Anglo-Saxon England see p.541-8.

137. James 1924,132.

138. James 1924,130.

139. On Descent see further p.541-8.

140. see fn.128.

141. cf. Christ and Satan 1.502-95 (Krapp 1932,151-4).

142. eg. McKitterick 1988.

143. See Benson & Tselos 1931; Tselos 1956; 1957; 1959; 1967 on Utrecht Ps. and its influence.

144. See above pp.26-79.

145. See p.72-75.

146. eg. Lawson 1981,232,242; see also above p.81,fns.6-8.

CHAPTER IV: THE ROTHBURY CROSS

1. Proceedings 1855; Charlton 1855.

2. Hodges 1925; Cramp 1984,i.220.

3. Cramp 1984,i.fig.20. Reproduced in fig.5.

4. cf. Composite construction of Hovingham shrine (H.p.26-7) and Masham column (M.p.80).

5. See Prior & Gardner (1912,112) and Howorth (1917,316-19) on the figural style; Howorth (1917,319), Brown (1921,168) and Cramp (1984,D.9) on the shape of the cross-head; Brondsted (1924,41-2) and Kitzinger (1936,70) on the vine-scroll ornament; and Clapham (1930,68), Kendrick (1938,154-8) and Stone (1972,21) on the figural style. See also Hodges (1925,159) and Cramp (1965,10-11; 1977a; 1984) for a consideration of the overall design of the cross-shaft.
For a C10th. date see Charlton (1855); C9th. see Kitzinger (1936,70), Kendrick (1938,154-8), Radford (1955,52-4), Pevsner (1957,282-5), Stone (1972,21) and Cramp (1965,10-11; 1977a; 1984,i.221); C8th. see Brøndsted (1924,41-2); C7th. see Clapham (1930,68).
For studies of the iconography see Coatsworth (1979,I.200-7), Cramp (1984,i.221) and Bailey (1985b).

6. Cramp 1984,i.217-21, fig.20.

7. See Cramp 1984,i.218-19.

8. Cramp 1984,i.219.

9. Cramp 1984,i.219; cf. Schapiro 1980,270.

10. Cramp 1984,i.220.

11. For full description see Cramp 1984,i.220.

12. Haigh 1857,173; Hodges 1925,166; Radford 1955,54; Cramp 1977a; 1984,i.220; Coatsworth 1979,I.201 (see p.142-3).

13. Didron 1886,50,79; Hulme 1909,63-5; Coatsworth 1979,I.20.

14. Coatsworth 1979,I.203. Moscow, Historical Museum, Cod.gr.129,f.54v (Schiller II,pl.162).

15. C.C.C.C.ms.286,f.125,129b. See Appendix II. Compare eg. pl.111 and pl.142. The motif is also found in a C7th. fresco in Naples produced under Byzantine influence, where it adorns the figure of Christ in Majesty (Cilento 1969,fig.on 131).

16. See Wormald 1954; Alexander 1978.

17. Bailey 1985b,21; Bailey & Cramp 1988,71; Wilson 1984,pls.69,70; Hubert 1969,ills.94.

18. For Yorkshire pieces see Cramp 1970b,63,taf.44-47; Newgate shaft Lang 1988,40.

19. Bailey & Cramp (1988,71) summarise the scholarship that demonstrates the derivation of the Bewcastle and Ruthwell figures of Christ from a classical model such as that lying behind the figure of Christ on the late C7th. Cuthbert Coffin (pl.96); this is based on an Italian model produced under Eastern influence (Kitzinger 1956,229).

20. Coatsworth 1979,I.202-3,207; cf. Cramp 1984,i.220.

21. cf. Coatsworth 1979,I.177f.

22. Cramp (1984,i.176-7). She describes the garment as "a straight knee-length robe" but it is shorter than knee-length, and robes worn by the crucified Christ, whether sleeved or sleeveless, were full-length.

23. See p.302-12. It should also be noted that the Crucifixion scenes at Bakewell and Bradbourne in Derbyshire (dated to the early C9th.) may have been influenced by Northumbrian art (Cramp 1977,224-5; Routh 1937,17-20). The evidence from Reculver (Kent) is uncertain on two counts: it does not survive, except in a C16th. description (Coatsworth 1979,I.187; Kozodoy 1976,17; 1986,68-9) and the date of the sculpture is still not settled. Kozodoy (1986,67) gives a summary of the conflicting arguments regarding the date, and she herself argues for an C8th.- C9th. date, but more recently doubt has been raised concerning the date and type of stone, suggesting that it may have been imported from the Continent, and is in fact a late Romano-Gallic product (E.Cambridge, p.comm.).
The Crucifixion at Ruthwell (Dumfries.) shows Christ wearing a loincloth, but his body is sagging, not upright, which suggests that it was a later addition (in the mid C9th.) to the cross-shaft which is dated to the mid C8th. (Bailey & Cramp 1988,19-22).

24. Coatsworth 1979, I.177f.

25. See eg: Wall painting at Trier (c.850-875); Harmony of the Gospels of Otfried von Weissenburg, Vienna (c.868); gold book-box cover, Sachingen (late C.10th.); ivory relief, Trier (983-991); Cologne Gospel (c.1020-40); Echternach Gospel (c.1050); Codex Egberti, Reichenau (c.980); Gospel of Otto II or III, Aachen (c.990) - Schiller II,pls.347,363,370,378,386-7,392-4.

26. Schiller II,pl.368.

27. See above p.155 & fn.23.

28. Schiller II,pls.335,346.

29. Paris, B.N.ms.lat.12048, f.143v. (Schiller II,pl.350).

30. See eg. two ivory reliefs from Metz dated to the second half of the C9th. and the early C10th. (Schiller II,pls.371,373). cf. Schiller II,pls.354,356,357-9,364 dated between the early and mid C9th.

31. Schiller II,102,pl.330; see also Nordhagen 1968 (pl.LIII).

32. Durham, ms.A.II.17, f.38 3 v (Alexander 1978,ills.202); St. Gall Gospels and Dublin plaque (Schiller II,pls.349,351).

33. eg. West Frankish ms. dated 755-787 (Schiller II,pl.350).

34. On the iconography of the Majestas Domini see further below p.302-12.

35. Schiller II,102-3.

36. The positions varied; the angels could face forwards, hold an attribute, fly towards the cross, or hold it as though exhibiting it as they do in the C9th. Stuttgart Ps. (Schiller II,pl.356).

37. Coatsworth 1979,I.203-4; cf. Cramp 1984,i.220.

38. Bede Hist.Abb. (Plummer 1896,373,sectn.9). See Nordhagen (1962; 1965; 1968; 1977) for example, for the influence of Eastern art on Rome in the late C7th. and early C8th; cf.Krautheimer 1980.

39. See A.2 below, p.163-4.

40. Schiller II,103.

41. Du Boulay Hill 1916,203,pl.II.

42. In Pictish sculpture (at Forteviot, Benvie and Duplin) the moustache is a stylistic feature and is not used in an iconographic or Christian context (Stuart 1856,pls.1,57-8,126; Allen & Anderson 1903,figs.260B,334C-D,336; Henderson 1978,57).

43. Sexton 1946,figs.17-19,49. Haloes are not found in Irish sculpture and so this attribute (plain or cruciferous) could not be used as a distinguishing feature as it is in early Christian art (see Volbach 1977,ills.3,7a,13,15a,21,26).

44. Brown 1921,130-1,pl.XVII.

45. Collingwood 1927, fig.101.

46. See below p.163-9.

47. Brown 1921,131; cf.Casson 1932,26-7.

48. For references to coins see Brown 1921,131. This feature was later adopted by Charlemagne in his own coinage (Henderson 1972,106).

49. Charlton 1855,14; Stuart 1856,45; Prior & Gardner 1912,112; Howorth 1917,316; Hodges 1925,165; Kendrick 1938,155-6; Cramp 1984,i.219.

50. Henry 1967,159.

51. Hubert (1969) describes the casket as Merovingian but it has also been ascribed it to Northumbrian workmanship (Notes 1931; Elliot 1959,97).
The fact that the triple cruciform halo at Ruthwell, Bewcastle and Rothbury is described by incisions indicates that it was inspired either by manuscript art where the detail is shown by three lines, or by a carved model which also incised the detail. If it had been inspired by a model such as the metalwork casket the Northumbrian motif may well have been more reminiscent of an embossed model.

52. See above p.158-160.

53. D.A.C.L.II(i)746-58; Battiscombe 1956,246; Warren 1881,100; cf. p.504-8.

54. Henry 1967,163-8.

55. This should not be confused with Christ Pantocrator, a specific iconographic type which originated in the East and usually showed Christ half-length. The Pantocrator is differentiated from the Majestas by always being bearded; the Majestas could be either bearded or clean-shaven, but tended to be clean-shaven in the half-length images of the early Middle Ages (Schiller III,230-3; eg.pl.655; Beckwith 1979,92,156; Longhurst 1924).

56. Longhurst 1924.

57. eg. C7th. Codex Amiatinus, Cuthbert Coffin; C8th. ivory; c.800 Book of Kells, Hedda Stone; C9th. Sedulcius ms., Easby, Masham, Dewsbury (Alexander 1978,ill.26; Battiscombe 1956,pl.VII; Beckwith 1972, ill.21; Alexander 1978, ill243; Wilson 1984,pl.93; Alexander 1978, ill.285; Collingwood 1907, figs. on 315 & 360; 1915, fig.'a' on 162). It is not certain whether the figure at the centre of the Rothbury cross-head (C.1) had a book and was therefore a Majestas Christi. Christ at the centre of the C8th. Hoddom cross-head (Radford 1952-3,pl.III) held a book, but the figure at the centre of the Easby cross-head does not.

58. Trier Gospels & Royal I.E.vi (Alexander 1978,ills.114,161). These portraits of Christ in Majesty in a circular frame are different from those half-length portraits within a circular medallion held by angels. This latter is a separate iconographic type derived from imperial and funerary art of the classical period where the portrait of the emperor or the deceased was elevated in a wreath of victory. In the case of early Christian art the motif was adopted as a symbol of victory over death and the elevation into immortality for the faithful Christian (Goodenough 1946,142,145,156). The three insular examples within the circular surround, however, seem to be adaptations of the Majestas Christi to the specific needs of the manuscript page or the cross-head.
The image of Christ in the Valenciennes Apocalypse (Alexander 1978,ills.304; see Appendix II) has a different iconography; although half-length and in a circular frame Christ "floats" in the frame and holds out an open book in his right hand in the manner of an outflying scroll while his left hand is not held in blessing or speech. The book itself has the remains of broken seals and the position in which is is held, as well as the presence of the four evangelist symbols, indicate that the symbolism refers more to the Last Judgement than to a Majestas Christi.

59. For references see fn.57.

60. Budny 1984a,3,455f.

61. The figure of Christ at the centre of the C8th. cross-head at Hoddam (pl.91), although described as pointing to the text with an extended index finger, does in fact hold an open book in his left hand while blessing it, or gesturing towards it with the first two fingers of the right hand extended and slightly parted (Radford 1952-3,186).

62. Another (non-iconographic) feature which is used for emphasis are the plants placed within the arch, flanking the figure of Christ. Plants are sometimes placed within the spandrils of an arch, growing from the capitals of the columns on which the arch rests, much as they do at Otley in Yorkshire (Cramp 1970b,taf.41), but the use of plants within the frame enclosing a figure is not found elsewhere. The long-stemmed buds flanking the Rothbury Christ are purely ornamental, but their position exploits an added sense of depth; placing the stems behind the roll moulding and the figure effectively moves the figure of Christ into the foreground on the same plane as, or slightly in front of, the surrounding plane.

63. eg. Cuthbert Coffin (see Kitzinger 1956,229), and Royal I.E.vi (see above fn.60).

64. Oakeshott 1959,17; Milburn 1954,112-3.
For egs. of clean-shaven figures with short hair in Mediterranean art of the C4th.- C.6th. (in both East and West) see Beckwith 1979,ills.27-30,35-7'67-8,84 (C4th. sarcophagi, Brescia casket, C4th.-C5th. Ivory panels, C6th. Diptychs, Silver Plate).

65. Morey 1941; 1942,58f,127f; Rice 1952,65-6; 1957,77,123.
eg. C3rd.- C4th. *fondi d'oro* (Morey 1942,127f.); C4th. Brescia casket; late C5th. ivory diptych (Beckwith 1979,figs.35,38).

66. See eg. Battiscombe 1956, pls.VIII, X.

67. In the C9th. the detail is extended to the evangelists in the Book of Cerne (Alexander 1978,ills.312-315; cf. Levison 1946,302).

68. Bibl.Univ.ms.409,f.2v (Durliat 1984,figs.240,317). The early C9th. Corbie Psalter shows the infant Christ at The Presentation with his long hair tied in a knot (Hubert 1969,ills.210). This detail, as well as the use of diadems adorning the hair of the Corbie figures, has been interpreted as signs of Lombardic influence on the Corbie scriptorium (Dodwell 1971,42). See below p.211-213.

69. See above fn.62.

70. Proceedings 1856,181; Stuart 1867,46; Dixon 1886,267; 1909-10,112; Kendrick 1938,155; Radford 1955,52; Pevsner 1957,282; Calvert 1978,193-4; Cramp 1984,i.219. Hodges (1925,165) was less specific; he described the scene only as Christ in glory surrounded by angels while numerous figures look on in adoration.

71. See further p.494-504.

72. See for example, Dewald 1915,283-4; Mildenberger 1948; Schapiro 1980,267; Osborne 1984.

73. Weitzmann 1976,31-2,pl.XII; cf.pl.XXVIII; Beckwith 1979,ills.44 (cf. Allen 1887,52; Morey 1942,102f).

74. Schiller III,pl.461.

75. Dewald 1915,282; Schiller III,pl.459 (Syrian Ascension in C6th. Rabbula Gospel); cf. Beckwith 1979,136; Rice 1965,217. See further below p.494-504.

76. (Rev.4,2; 14,1; 19,4; 20,11). Dewald 1915,284-6,291-4; Henry 1967,163-8; Schiller III,12; Badaway 1978; Rosenthal 1967; Rice 1965,166,204.

77. Beckwith 1972,ills.21 (A.S. ivory of Christ in Majesty); pl.128 (C8th.Syrian reliquary); Dewald 1915,fig.7 (C9th. mosaic, Constant.); cf.Cook 1923b,40-6; Didron 1886,107f; Hulme 1909,68f.

78. Dewald 1915,280,281-2; Bréhier 1928; Rice 1957,74-5; Schiller III,244f.

79. Schiller II,pls.451-2; cf. Bréhier 1928; Morey 1942,127f; Rice 1957,74-5.

80. Taylor 1968,291-6; cf. fn.23 above on the date of Reculver.

81. Schiller III,pl.466.

82. Schiller III,pl.468; cf. Utrecht Psalter, Reims (c.830); S.Paolo Bible, Corbie (c.870); Bible of S.Callisto, Reims (c.870) Schiller III,pls.469,472; Beckwith 1969,ills.44.

83. See Henry 1967,98. The Ascension is not attested in the iconography of Irish sculpture (Henry 1967,188), but the East face of the cross at Arboe contains a scene composed of a half-length figure of Christ flanked by two half-length angels; Christ carries a staff in his left hand and raises his right hand in blessing. Below are the heads of eleven figures grouped in three superimposed rows of 3 - 4 figures each (Roe 1956). cf.Roe 1954.

84. cf. Carolingian Ascension ivory, c.800 (Christe 1982,fig.175).

85. eg. C6th.- C10th: Rabbula Gospel (pl.102); Palestinian reliquary box; Khludov Psalter; S.Clemente Fresco; Ivory plaque (Schiller III,pls.462-3,466,329).

86. This will be examined below (pp.218-225).

87. Alexander 1978,ills.233; cf. Henry 1967,78; Werner 1972,8-9.

88. Stiftsbibl.Cod.51,p.267 (Alexander 1978,ills.206); Beckwith 1972,ills.24.
It should also be noted that the bowman on the St.Andrews Auckland cross-shaft (Co.Dur.) has his head tilted backwards at the same awkward angle (Cramp 1984,ii.pl.14).

89. Schiller III, pl.461.

90. eg. C6th. & C9th.- C10th: Ampulla (pl.97), Rabbula Gospel (pl.102), Khludov Psalter, S.Clemente fresco, Drogo Sacramentary, Utrecht Psalter, S.Paolo Bible, Metz ivory, Byzantine ivory (Schiller III, pls.462-3,467-9,472-3).

91. Schiller III,pl.472 (cf. pls.97,102).

92. See fn.78 above. The relationship between the Ascension and Last Judgement will be examined below (pp.219-226).

93. See p.465-78.

94. See Nordhagen (1968) for explanation of why Lamb of the Apocalypse may have been replaced by the Crucifixion at S.Maria Antiqua in early C8th. Rome.

95. egs. include SS.Cosma e Damiano c.530, S.Apollinare Nuovo, 530-6, S.Vitale 547 (Schiller III,pls.593,629,631. For Christ in the mandorla see Beckwith (1979,ills.139 - a C6th. mosaic at Hosios David, Salonika).

96. The position of Christ's legs (pl.21) indicates that he is seated, although there is no indication of a throne, chair or hill. There is however, the structure at his feet which seems to have been composed of 2 or 3 slightly curved steps. These may have formed part of an elaborate footrest, such as is found in the C6th. Eastern Ascension scenes (eg. Ampulla (pl.97), Bawit fresco, ivories - Schiller III,pls.461,463,473), but in their present, somewhat damaged condition, it is not possible to be certain of their original appearance. The position of Christ's feet resting on them is common to images of the ascending Christ enthroned within the mandorla. In the C6th. Coptic fresco he has the left foot drawn up higher than the right, as he does in the C9th. ivories from Byzantium and Metz (Schiller III,pls.461,463,473; cf. Beckwith 1979,ills.55). It is the position of Christ's feet, enthroned in Majesty in the C9th. Lorsch Gospels from Aachen and of Mary enthroned on the cover of the same Gospel Book (Beckwith 1969,ills.77,29). It is also found in the miniature of Christ in Majesty in the late C8th. Godescalc Gospel and Mary in a Constantinopolitan ivory of mid C6th. date (Beckwith 1969,ills.22; 1979,ills.67). Thus although there is no indication of seat, be it throne, hill or rainbow, and the footrest is somewhat unclear, the position of Christ's legs and feet demonstrate that he was originally depicted as enthroned within the central surround.

97. See below p.222.

98. Christ striding up the hillside in the very early Western Ascensions was shown with a scroll. See p.464-78.

99. An apocalyptic reference in the Rabula Gospels is clear in the portrayal of the wheels of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek.1,15-21). See further pp.362-7, 494-504. cf. Jouarre (pl.137; Grabar 1974) and door of Sta.Sabina at Rome (Schiller III,pl.458).

100. Alexander 1978,ills.26.

101. This is described by Cramp (1984,i.195) as Christ seated cross-legged.

102. See further Identification of upper figure in C.1 and crowd scene of D.2 (p.189-92, 210-213 below). See eg. S.Maria Antiqua (pl.103; Nordhagen 1968).

103. The Last Judgement is referred to in the iconography of the Ascension found in the frescoes at Müstair, Switzerland (c.800) (Birchler 1954,180; Dodwell 1971,19). cf.Didron 1886,241.
See also the text accompanying the Ascension scene in the Turin Gospel (pl.93 and Schapiro 1980,270f). cf. Bede's reference to the image of the Apocalypse brought to England by Biscop (H.Abb.6 in Plummer 1896,369-70). cf.p.7.

104. Hodges (1925,168) identified them as figures in adoration with musical instruments of a very arachaic form. This was the only interpretation until Kendrick (1938,155), followed by Cramp (1977a; 1982,19; 1984,i.220) and Coatsworth (1979,I.203-7) identified them as carrying the instruments of the Passion.

105. Cramp 1984,i.220-1; see also fn.57 above.

106. It is unlikely that the figure was a woman. There are no instances of a female figure being given such prominance in Anglo-Saxon art or elsewhere. When the Virgin does appear on a Cross it is on the shaft and not the head (eg. Sandbach: Bu'lock 1972,46; Eyam: Routh 1937,27-8,pl.XIV B). The C9th. cross of S.Martin on Iona does have an image of the Virgin on the cross-head but here she is very much the symbolic throne of Christ, placed within a mandorla, holding the Christ Child and flanked by four angels (Wilson 1984,pl.145); the scheme is not comparable to the small bust proposed for the cross-head at Rothbury.

107. Coatsworth 1979,I.203-5; Cramp 1984,i.219.

108. Schiller II,98,244-6,pls.298-300,347. The C6th. mosaics from the apse of S.Michele in Affricisco, Ravenna, now in Berlin, show 2 angels holding the lance and the sponge, however these are not the instruments of the Passion claimed for the Rothbury cross-head (Schiller III,pl.633). It is possible that the angels on the small square grave slab at Newent in Gloucestershire (dated to the C11th.) carry the symbols of the passion (Coatsworth 1979,II.pl.139).

109. Schiller II,189-90; Hulme 1909,88.

110. See p.465-78. egs. Schiller II, pls.397, 399,401,406.

111. See Benson & Tselos 1931; Tselos 1956; 1957; 1959; 1967.

112. McEntire 1986; Henderson 1972,237.

113. Swanton 1970,l.15; Gradon 1977,l.1022-8. The late C8th./ea. C9th. poem Elene attributed to Cynewulf describes the elevation of the True Cross and the nails in the C4th. (Gradon 1977). Here the emphasis is placed on the glory of the cross as a symbol of Christ's life-giving victory over death. This is the message found in the earlier Dream of the Rood carved on the Ruthwell Cross and recorded in the C10th. Vercelli ms. (Swanton 1970).

114. Ferber (1966,324), followed by Coatsworth (1979,I.204-5) identified the objects held by the angels on the C10th. ivory cover of the Pericopes of Henri I (Munich, Staatsbibl.Cod.lat.4452) as the cudgel and the whip (Schiller II,pl.365) but this identification is rather dubious; the objects have more in common with the short sceptres or rods of office found in imperial art (see p.190).

115. For instance, the arm of the C9th. cross-head from Hoddom shows figures holding attributes which are not the instruments of the Passion; half-length figures of Peter and Paul in the left lateral arm hold the keys and the book (Radford 1952-3,pl.V).

116. Wilson 1984,ills.121-2. cf. Clarke & Hinton 1984.

117. Linder 1981; cf. angel in Virgin and Child miniature in the Book of Kells (Alexander 1978,ills.233).

118. Backhouse 1981; Linder 1981.

119. Domschatz.Cod.61,f.5v (Alexander 1978,53,ills.110).

120. Schiller I,163; Morey 1922; eg. Beckwith 1979,ills.38.

121. Brilliant 1963,65,93,112,204.

122. eg. Brilliant 1963,figs.4.115,4.116,4.117; Volbach 1976, nos.2,3,5,12,13,15,23,31-2. Nos.2 & 3 are very plain and date to 423 A.D. & 449 A.D. respectively. The sceptre was a very ancient symbol of royal dignity and by the early Christian period had become a common symbol of dignity (Hulme 1909,152,155; cf. Werner 1972,11-12).

123. Coatsworth 1979,I.204. The example she cites (the C10th. Metz ivory - pl.100) is not really comparable. Cloths held by angels at the Crucifixion are not shown falling in coils; instead the cloth falls in open folds much like the clothing of the ascending Christ (Goldschmidt I,pls.XXXVI,XXXVII,XLVc).

124. See above p.182-3.

125. Metz Sacramentary c.870 (Hubert 1970,ills.141); First Bible of Charles the Bald c.846 (Hubert 1970,ills.128-9).

126. Hubert 1970,127,ills.114; Alexander 1978,cat.7. cf. Moutier Grandvall Bible from Tours (mid C9th.), and Gospel Book of Celestines (mid C9th.) Hubert 1970,ills.124,108; Alexander 1978,cat.7.

127. An alternative, but less likely possibility is that the curves represent clothing; the *pallium* of the central figure on the C9th. Fuller Brooch (pl.107) is rendered as a series of broken curves below the double sceptre. However there the wands

are held in front of the curves while at Rothbury they are half hidden behind them, as is the figure.

128. At Eyam in Derbyshire (Routh 1937,27-8) the head of the C9th. cross-shaft depicts half-length angels holding sceptres over their shoulders (pl.65). On the other side of the cross-head, angels blow the last trump. There are no clouds but the angels have clearly been adapted from half-length figures emerging from behind clouds in the way that half-length evangelist symbols were sometimes adapted (eg. the Codex Millenarius - Wright 1964). The implication of the scheme at Eyam is that of an extended apocalyptic scene of the Last Judgement with Christ appearing in the sky with his angels as attendants and heralds of the Second Coming.

129. Matt.27,29; Mk.15,18.

130. Constantius II (333); Valentinian I (367-75). Brilliant 1963,figs.4.122,4.123; cf.fig.4.133; Christe 1982,fig.98 (dated 409-10).

131. Goodenough 1946,142.

132. Kantorowicz 1947,77-8,figs.21-23; Grabar 1961,fig.165.

133. Allen 1887,29; Morey 1942,127f; Rice 1957,68; Kantorowicz 1947,77-8,figs.26a,d (cf. Huskinson 1982).

134. Hulme 1909,151; Kantorowicz 1947,77-8; Goodenough 1946,145.

135. cf. Christe 1982, fig.60 (diptych of Areobindus c.506).

136. Rice 1965,86(4,7),159(1).

137. Le Gentilhomme 1936,pl.III; Oman 1931,pl.1.5.

138. Goodenough 1946,145,151-3; Schiller II,107; Kantorowicz 1947,fig.26d. cf. I.Cor.9,25; II.Tim.4,8; I.Pet.5,4; James 1,12; Philpns.3,14; Rev.2,10;

139. M. King at Durham is currently researching the influence of Romano-British art on early A.S.art. He has argued that wreaths held by standing figures which contain an inscription, such as that at Risingham in Northumberland (Phillips 1977,no.295) may have provided the inspiration for the iconography of David holding a circular frame which contains his name in the C8th. Durham Cassiodorus (Alexander 1978,ills.75). (p.comm.).

140. Bruce-Mitford 1975,I.352,362-4,figs.277-9.

141. Gradon 1977,l.1134. cf. l.1062,1102,1108,1127; Dream of the Rood (Swanton 1970,l.46); Aelfric (Thorpe 1844,146,216; 1846,254,306).

142. Maskell 1905,47-81; Gough 1973,124-33; Capps 1927b,62-3. The *mappa* was not limited to consular diptyches; eg. coins of Leo I, Phocas, Justinian II - see Rice 1965,86(2,6,9).

143. Capps 1927b,68-9; compare Volbach 1976,nos.5,6,8,10,11,13,15 (dated 430-513) with nos.16,17,18,20,21,23,24,28,32,33 (dated 515-540).

144. Volbach 1976,nos.18-21,28,32-3; 5,6,8,10-11,13; cf. C6th. diptych at Monza palimpsested into David and Gregory the Great c.900 (Volbach 1976,no.17). cf.late antique example of sacrificial napkin in Brilliant 1963,fig.4.101. The less well-defined object is found in C5th. ivories as well, particularly in the more worn diptychs.

145. eg.Volbach 1976,nos.124,111,112-113,119,125,137,142,145.

146. Beckwith 1979,ill.66.

147. Volbach 1976,nos.15,28 (cf.Beckwith 1979,80-6; Maskell 1905; Allen 1887,60-2; Gough 1973,133; Gaborit-Chopin 1978,22-4).

148. Allen 1887,60-2; Beckwith 1979,80-6; McKitterick 1983,210; Levison 1946,101; Maskell 1905,717f.; Ladner 1942,182.

149. Klauser 1979,61; cf. Maskell 1905,47-87. In addition the official robes worn by the consul on the diptychs were the origins of the ecclesiastical costume.

150. De Palol 1967,fig.33.

151. Roe 1949,fig.9; cf.Henderson 1986,97.
On a later C9th. or C10th. ivory plaque from Metz (now in Agram), Christ is enthroned in the manner of a Roman consul flanked by four angels; one presents him with a wreath and the others hold a scroll, a short plain sceptre and a spear (Goldschmidt I,pl.XLVI,nr.98).

152. The following section forms part of a forthcoming article in A.A. (1989).

153. Proceedings 1856,181; Stuart 1856,45; Hodges 1925,160; Cramp 1982,18; 1984,i.220.

154. See eg. Bewcastle, Ruthwell and St.Andrews Auckland.

155. See Cramp 1984,ii.pl.1214.

156. Matt. 9,27-31; 20,29-34; Mk. 8,22-6; 10,46-52; Luke 18,37-43.

157. eg. The Blind man healed at the gates of Jericho (Luke 18,35-43; Mk. 10,46-52).

158. See Allen 1887,21,38; Avery 1925; Bréhier 1928; Smith 1928,94-101; Morey 1942,78f;102f; Beckwith 1979,132-3; Schiller I,181-6. The blind men are generaly depicted as diminutive with walking sticks (eg.Schiller I,pls.423-4). In the C6th. a second compositional type developed to depict the healing of the blind man at the pool of Siloam (John 9,1-2) but it adhered closely to the text and did not resemble the Rothbury scene (Kitzinger 1976a,1-31; Schiller I,171-2,pls.514-5,518).
For attested examples of Christ healing the Blind Man in insular sculpture, see Ruthwell, Dumfries. (Howlett 1974) and the Market Cross at Kells (Roe 1966).

159. Cramp 1984,i.220.

160. eg. Schiller I,pls.57,506,550.

161. eg. Schiller I,pl.506.

162. C9th. copy of C8th. Anglo-Saxon Carmen Paschale shows Christ healing the blind man in the same scene as the woman with the crooked spine (Alexander 1978,ills.293; See Appendix II). However the blind man is not swathed or seated and the woman does not have the same disposition as the Rothbury woman.

163. Allen 1887,21,23,38,298-9; Smith 1918,108f;159f; Capps 1927a,332; Bréhier 1928; Soper 1937,180; Arnason 1938; Morey 1939; 1941; 1942,78f,102f,127f; Borg 1969,27-9; 1972; Gough 1973,42,129; Beckwith 1979,132; Kitzinger 1976,1-31; Schiller I,182-3.

164. Gough 1973,fig.41; cf. Catacomb frescoes (Garrucci II,tav.82.2); gold-glass (Garrucci III,tav.171,177).

165. Cramp 1984,i.220 describes the Gt.Glen carving as the Healing of the Blind man, however on this fragment Christ is shown performing the miracle with a short staff; the iconography of this scene only shows Christ healing the blind man with his hand; a sceptre is never involved (see above fn.156).
The Raising of Lazarus is probably also depicted on the base of a C9th. cross-shaft at Heysham, Lancs. (pl.113). This is carved with an elaborate sepulchre in the doorway of which stands a heavily swathed figure; this may well represent Lazarus. However the 3 busts in the apertures above the doorway have led to the scene being interpreted as the three women at the sepulchre, but this interpretation in no way conforms to the iconography of this event (see above p.45-55). The 4 other "empty" apertures in the sepulchre suggest the bust may represent other dead members of the family in the mausoleum from which Lazarus emerges. For early Christian examples of this iconographical type see eg. Garrucci II,tav.38.2.
The scene does not appear in Irish or Pictish sculpture although Sexton (1946,105-14) suggests it may have been depicted on the South side of the West Cross at Clonmacnoise.

166. Henderson (1972,178) has demonstrated that in late English Medieval art the head of a sacred person was sometimes mitted deliberately as a result of copying from Jewish manuscript art (cf. Leveen 1944,23,n.4). However, there is no evidence of Jewish influence on Anglo-Saxon art.

167. See below p.226-231.

168. Martha was not featured in Lazarus scenes until the C4th. After the C6th. she was not commonly included again until the C10th. (see fns.161,167).

169. eg. C6th. St.Augustine Gospel (pl.111) shows the two sisters in profile and kneeling upright, as does a C5th. silver pyxis cover from the East. The C10th. Ottonian Gospels of Otto III from Reichenau show Martha bowed at the waist before Christ and held in Mary's arms (Schiller I, pls.562,569). cf. C6th. Sarcophagi and Ravenna ivory (pl.112 & Schiller I, pls.476,243). See further Soper 1937,180,figs.15,21,22,33-5; Der Nersessian 1962,fig.5.
A possible exception in the C8th. is the lost mosaics from St.Peters (Rome) produced under John VII (705-7). The early C17th. drawing of these mosaics shows the two sisters crouched before Christ in a very hunched-up position (Nordhagen 1965,142,pl.XVIII,XX). There was also a Lazarus scene in the Müstair frescoes (c.800) but it is largely destroyed and its details are unknown (Birchler 1954,210).

170. See Milburn 1988,pls.34,36-9 for C4th. Roman sarcophagus egs of Martha behind Christ, crouched at his feet with her face half-turned (cf. Garrucci III,tav.307,312-13,318). By contrast the late C6th. Eastern Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, produced in Constantinople, shows Mary and Martha prostrated horizontally with their faces in profile (Schiller I,pl.565).

171. Such an alteration of the relative positions of the figures in a Lazarus scene does seem to have taken place on the C12th. lintel at the Holy Sepulchre (Jerus.) where the scene is also based on the sarcophagus art of the early Christian period (Borg 1969,28-9; 1972 fig.62c; cf. Maguire 1977,143).

172. The positioning of Christ's left hand over his body is less unusual; in many scenes he stands on the left, half-turned towards Lazarus, his left hand held over his stomach, and sometimes it passes over his body as it does at Rothbury (eg. Beckwith 1979,ill.34; Schiller I, pls.560-1;564;569; cf. Garrucci II,tav.57,65,83; III,tav.177; V,tav.313).

173. Rice 1963,ills.70 (Der Nersessian 1962,fig.5); cf. Garrucci V,tav. 364.2).

174. The only similar action is found on the C5th. Andrews diptych at the V.& A. where Christ heals the leper with his index finger extended (Volbach 1976,no.234).

175. See above p.165-7.

176. cf. Schiller I, pl.476 & C5th. Syrian pyxis pl.563.

177. See further below p.225-30.

178. Lazarus was generally shown completely swathed in the East, but in the West was originally shown with his head uncovered; the completely swathed figure was introduced into the Western repertoire during the C6th. (eg. St.Augustine Gospel; cf. C9th. Heysham cross-shaft - pls.111,113). In the West funerary art often depicted figures with one hand emerging from a cloth wrapped over the shoulder binding the arm to the body (Brilliant 1963,figs.1.76-77, 2.1-3).

179. Schiller I,pl.568 (C12th.); pl.577 (C.11th.).

180. This overlayer of grave-clothes has been arranged at Rothbury so that they not only fall away from Lazarus, but also frame his body in a manner reminiscent of the doorway of a sepulchre. This may have been a deliberate attempt to compensate for the lack of a tomb, due either to the model, or to the narrow confines of the panel (see above p.203-4). However many early Western depictions of Lazarus show him with the shroud passing behind his head (Garrucci III, tav.177-8; V, tav.301, 307,311, 313,332).

See further p.351 f.

181. Bailey (1985b,14) suggested as one possibility, Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet which in late C9th. art, dependent on early Christian works such as the early C6th. Augustine Gospels, showed the disciples watching Christ from "above" (Volbach 1976,taf.107,no.232). However, when the iconography of this scene was expanded to include a larger number of figures, they were still limited to the 12 disciples and would not have resulted in the 18 figures found on the Rothbury cross-shaft. (See further p.494-504).

182. Cramp 1984,i.221; cf.Kendrick 1938,156.

183. Antwerp, Mus.Plantin-Moretus ms.M.17.4, f.31v (Alexander 1978,83,ills.297); cf.Bailey 1985b,14; pp.18-19 above; Appendix II.

184. See Nordhagen 1968,46-9,pls.LIII,LVI,LXV; cf. the crowd of apostles in the scene of The Incredulity of Thomas, and that of The Appearance of Christ on Lake Tiberias (Nordhagen 1968,pls.XXXIV,XXXV). cf.Krautheimer 1959,fig.231 for an earlier drawing of the crowd scene which once existed in an C8th. fresco at S.Maria in Cosmedin, Rome.

185. Krautheimer 1980,130f.

186. Hubert 1969,202-6,figs.204,209,214; Dodwell 1971,42 (see fn.68 above); cf.Mütherich & Gaehde 1977,pls.4,11,19,20,33,45.

187. See eg. C6th. silver plates from Byzantium (Schiller II,pl.6; Dalton 1906).

188. Paris, B.N.lat.ms.8850, f.1v (Hubert 1970,ills.74). It may also be significant that the newly baptised wore a thin linen fillet round the head for a week after baptism to preserve the unction (Hunt 1901,166).
cf. Bailey 1985b,14; Charlton 1855,62; Proceedings 1856,181; Stuart 1867,45.

189. The small piece of plain moulding which survives on the right of the scene above the break may have been a cloud (see discussion on A.3 & C.1).
The fact that the Hell scene below, at the base of the shaft, continued further up the Cross than it does now, may suggest the two scenes may have been more closely related than they appear in at present.

190. Cramp 1984,i.221; Proceedings 1856,181; Stuart 1867,46; Hodges 1925,162; Kendrick 1938,157; cf.Stone 1972,21; Fyson 1951-6; Dixon 1886,267.

191. Dewald 1940,f.3a-b,9a,15b,16b, 50a,57a,59b,67a,178b,79. cf.Hulme 1909,107-111.

192. Utrecht Ps. illustration (Dewald 1940,46-7,f.59r); for Harley 603 copy see Bailey 1985.

193. cf.Gollancz 1927; C11th. Eastern ivory (Longhurst 1926b).

194. Roe 1958; Cramp 1984,ii.pls.1430,1432; Durham, Cath.lib.ms.B.II.30, f.81r (Alexander 1978,ills.74,173,178); cf.late C7th. Lindisfarne Gospels f.138v; C8th. Lichfield Gospels p.220; C8th. S.Gall Gospel Book p.6; C8th. Book of Mulling f.12v,35v,81v; late C8th. Leningrad Gospels f.12v,13,16,17 (Alexander 1978, ills.34,77,188-191,200,210-212, 188-191), and the side panels of the C9th. St.Andrews Sarcophagus (Henderson 1986,pl.5.1a).

195. Wilson 1978a,pl.II; Beckwith 1972,ills.10-13; cf. late C8th. sculpture at Brompton-in-Allerton, Yorkshire (Stone 1972,17, pl.8A); cf.Harbison 1977; Gaborit-Chopin 1978,41; Wilson 1964,11; 1984,fig.98 (Green 1971).

196. It has been suggested that these 2 creatures represent the evangelist symbols of Luke and Mark (the ox and the lion) within the vine of the Church. However, the presence of at least 2 other fantastic creatures at the base of the shaft argues against

this. If the creatures are evangelist symbols, they would be comparable in form (but not in style) to the full-length symbols without attributes found in the earliest insular manuscripts, such as the C7th. Book of Durrow, the Echternach Gospel and the Cambridge Gospel fragment, and the C8th. Trier Gospel Book (Alexander 1978,ills.14-17,54-6,57,114).

197. Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1985,246-8,274-9.

198. See below p.231-3.

199. See p.122.

200. For example, while the Majestas is an image of Christ which expresses his power and authority, at Rothbury it has been varied to highlight the Gospel. The figures in the arms of the cross-head communicate a general theme of adoration, emphasising the power and glory of the Son of God. The attributes found on the cross-head do not figure in any church writings as specific symbols of Christ's power and authority. They should probably be seen in the light of such phrases as the following in Alcuin's late C8th. poem on the Church of York:

> O sancti, populus fortis, gens diva...victrices aquilas caeli qui fertis in arcem aethereo regi regalia dona ferentes.
> (O saints, valiant host, divine race...who bear the standards of victory to the heights of heaven, carrying royal gifts to the heavenly king).

(Godman 1982,l.9-11).
The possible reference to the double nature of Christ and his status as the second person of the Trinity may have had some interest in the C8th. The double nature of Christ was declared in 451 A.D. at the Council of Chalcedone when it was decided that Christ was one person with two natures, unchanging and indivisible, which were revealed in Jesus (Christ incarnate) and the Eternal Word, The Second Person of the Trinity (Bréhier 1928; cf. Coatsworth 1979,I.67f.).
In the late C8th. the Spanish bishops maintained that Jesus Incarnate was the Son of God only by adoption. Alcuin, at the Council of Frankfort in 794, passed a resolution against this "heresy" maintaining that Jesus, the Son of God, was consubstantial with the Father (Laistner 1957,286-9,291-2; Bullough 1970,112; Dodwell 1971,98-9; Rice 1974; Schiller I,4-12).

201. A discussion of the Crucifixion scene will not be included as it has been covered by Coatsworth (1979,I.67f). As already argued, the iconography stresses the majesty of Christ and his victory over death on the cross (See above p.158-60).

202. See above p.213-17.

203. Raw 1967,393.

204. This is contrasted with the scene at Wirksworth (Derbys.) where the iconography expresses and emphasises the divine power of the Risen Christ; the apostles and notions of the Last Day have been reduced to a minimum (see p.494-504).

205. See above p.169-84.

206. Acts 1,7-11.

207. Leo the Great "Sermo 74 in Ascensione" (P.L.54,399); trans. in N.P.N.F.(2) 12,188-9; cf. John 1,51.
In his Sermon on the Ascension Bede saw the angels not as supporting the ascending Christ, but only as escorting him (P.L. 94,180). In his Commentary on Acts he describes the angels as indicative that Christ ascended to heaven and not just into the sky (P.L. 92,942). Compare with Gregory and John Chrysostom fn.211 below.

208. 1.523-6 (Cook 1970,20-1); cf.1.650-3 & Christ & Satan 1.562-4 (Krapp 1931).

209. Rev.1,7; It is this point which is highlighted in the Turin Gospel, for instance, where the Ascension miniature is accompanied by an inscription referring to the angels words at the Ascension (pl.93) cf. Schapiro 1980,270-7. Other Biblical references to the Son of Man coming on the clouds at the Second Coming include Mark 13,26; 14,62 and Luke 21,27.

210. I.Thess.4,17; cf. Augustine "Sermo LXXVII on John 5.23"; "Tractate XCIV on John 16,4-7"; "Tractate CI on John 16,16-23" (N.P.N.F.(1) 7,490,367,389).

211. John Chrysostom "In Ascensione D.N.J.C." (P.Gr.50,450); trans. in Toal II,438-9; cf.Gregory the Great "Hom.29" (P.L.76,1213f.; Toal II,429). Chrysostom's writings were known in Anglo-Saxon England through the writings of Ambrose and Cassiodorus, and the translations of Rufinus. A copy of his works was kept in the C8th. Library at York, and Bede used his sermon on the nativity (Laistner 1972a,94-116). The notions found in the writings of Chrysostom and Gregory regarding the clouds of the Ascension were repeated by Bede in his Sermon on the Ascension where he invokes Ps.103,3 and Isa.19,1 (P.L. 94,178) and in his Commentary on Acts where he refers to the clouds which "take him [Christ] up when he ascends and will escort him when he returns for judgement (P.L. 92,941).

212. 1.527-9 (Cook 1970,21).

213. Morris 1967,121; cf.91-2,123-4.

214. Thorpe 1844,298-300; cf.26-8. See Schapiro (1980,270f.) for Bede's works on the Ascension which are in keeping with the themes expressed in the vernacular homilies of the C10th.

215. Mark 16,19.

216. Gregory the Great "Hom.29 in Evang." (P.L.76,1217); trans. in Toal II,430.

217. Gregory the Great "Hom.29 in Evang." (P.L.76,1214); trans. in Toal II,427.

218. See Bede in Jones 1969,125-131. cf.Meyvaert 1979,69 quoting Bede's "De Templo II" (C.C.S.L.119A,212-3).

219. 1.481-8 (Cook 1970,19).

220. Morris 1967,119-21.

221. Thorpe 1844,298; cf.310.

222. Aelfric (Thorpe 1846,526-7); cf.Jones 1978,330.

223. Allen 1887,21; Gough 1973,41-2; Maguire 1977,143; Schiller I,162,181-4.

224. John 11,20-7.

225. Hilary of Poitiers "De Trinitate,VI,47" (P.L.10,195) trans. in N.P.N.F.(2) 9,115.

226. Ambrose "De Excessu Fratris sui Satyrii II,77-79" (P.L.16,1395-6) trans. in N.P.N.F.(2) 10,186-7.

227. Augustine "Tractate 49 on John 11" (P.L.35,1756) trans. in N.P.N.F.(1) 7,274.

228. Augustine, "Tractate 49 on John 11" (P.L.35,1756-7) trans. in N.P.N.F.(1) 7,277-8.

229. P.L.92,777-8; cf. Laistner 1972a,94f.

230. Morris 1967,75.

231. Thorpe 1844,234; cf.496,498.

232. Rev. 20,2 (cf.Matt.5,22; 13,42,50; 18,8,9; 25,41; Mark 9,43f; Rev.2,10; 9,1; 14,10; 19,20; 20,14,15. In the Old Testament see Deut.32,22; ps.16,10; 55,15; 116,3; 139,8; Isa.14,15; Ezek.1-10; 31,16-17; 32,27; Amos 9,2; Prov.9,18; Job 24,19; Dan.7;8;10).

233. cf. Swanton 1979,139.

234. Bede H.E.III,xix; V,xii (The visions of Fursey and Drihthelm) Colgrave & Mynors 1969; cf. Healey 1978.

235. For an account of these insular visions of hell see Becker 1978. Henderson 1972,73-85 sees this as a result of the Christian imagery being reinforced or stimulated by Germanic mythology (cf.Becker 1899/1978).

236. Aldhelm: M.G.H.: Auct.Antiq. XV,489 (trans. Lapidge & Herren 1979,160 "Epistola V").

237. Elene 1.762-6 (Gądon 1977); cf. Christ & Satan 1.71-3;97-8;101-2 (Krapp 1931); Solomon & Saturn 1.491f. (Dobbie 1942,48). cf. Judith 1.119 where hell is described as "wyrmsele" (Timmer 1982). Irish literature of the C9th. and C10th. refers to similar images; in an Old Irish Homily, Hell is described first in terms of a dark sorrowful dwelling with everlasting mośters, and later as a place that "devours like a monster" (Strachan 1907). A C10th. Irish poem on the Day of Judgement describes Hell with "its many fearful monsters, its groaning, its...vile devilish faces" (O'Keefe 1907).

238. Christ & Satan 1.132-5 (Krapp 1931, 140); cf. Christ III 1.1547-8 (Cook 1970).

239. Healey 1978.

240. Morris 1967,208-11; cf. Aelfric "Life of S.Sebastian" 1.75-7 (Skeat 1881-5,120); "Visio Pauli" (Healey 1978).

241. Aelfric "Homilies 20, 21" in Godden 1979.

242. "Hom.46" 1.165-6; 242-3 (Napier 1967,238,241).

243. See Old English Creed, 1.256-7 (Ure 1957,89): "...and ic þone aerest ealra getreowe, flaesces on foldan on þa forhtan tid." (in the rising of all the faithful flesh in the earth, and in the future time).

244. The same procedure was followed at Repton in Derbyshire in the C8th. where the picture of Hell is also associated with a scene inspired by imperial art. But there the iconography being developed was that of the Damned swallowed by a Hell-Mouth; the iconography which became normal in later medieval art and which is found in the C8th. ivory of the Last Judgement (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1985; Beckwith 1972). See above p.213-7.

245. Rosenbaum 1954; Grabar 1974,36-8; Beckwith 1974; Morey 1929,5-7,fn.2.

246. Volbach 1976, taf.61,nr.116.

247. Volbach 1976,nr.218.

248 cf. Brescia Casket (Volbach 1976,taf.57,nr.107; Beckwith 1969,fig.25; 1972,ills.24) See also Andrews Diptych (Beckwith 1979,fig.38).

249. Grabar 1974,38.

250. Volbach 1961,337-9,figs.132,143; Rice 1957,112.

251. Rice 1965; Gray 1935,198; cf. Jouarre (Grabar 1974,38) The sculpture at Breedon, in Leicestershire, dated to the late C8th. or early C9th., includes a portrait of the Virgin with extremely large hands, one of which is placed over a book that she blesses with two extended fingers (cf. A.2). The inspiration for the sculpture is believed to lie in Eastern/Byzantine art (Clapham 1928,232; Rice 1946,12; 1952,17,86-8; 1957,139; Stone 1972,23-4; Jewell 1986).

252. Rosenbaum 1954; cf. Nordhagen 1965; 1968; Krautheimer 1980.

253. The iconography of the ascending Christ does not show the influence of Western art so clearly. The details which can be identified, such as the composition of the scene, the angels' wings and the way they pull back the central surround, are all features of C6th. Syro-Palestinian Ascension scenes. The naturalistic treatment of the clothing of Christ and the 2 angels may indicate a Western influence on this upper group of figures. The fact that apocalyptic scenes similar to early Eastern Ascensions were found in Italy in the late C7th. and early C8th. suggest that the model for the Rothbury Ascension may have shown the influence of Western art. However Christ's head has been broken off, and without this detail the role of Western art in the transmission of the scene cannot be certain. If the ascending Christ was long-haired and bearded an Eastern provenance for that part of the scene would have been clear, but if Christ was portrayed as he was in the Majestas, the influence of the West may have been indicated.

254. cf. the deep dished, triple cruciferous halo and the long hair tied with a knot; the double sceptre of C.1, if not inspired by a consular diptych, may have derived from the crossed sceptres of eighth-century insular manuscript art.

255. eg. Cramp 1984,i.220; Coatsworth 1979,I.203-7.

256. For a full account of the references to this subject see Bailey & Cramp 1988,19-22,71-2.

257. Collingwood 1927,81; cf. Radford 1953 on animals in vine-scroll and their parallels at Ruthwell and Hoddom (Dumfries.).

258. Bailey & Cramp 1988,19-22.

259. Cramp 1965,10-11; 1977a; 1978a,118; 1978b; Bailey & Cramp 1988,19-22.

260. Bede Hist.Abb. 7, 9 (Plummer 1896,369-70). Apart from these earlier, direct links between Northumberland and Italy in the late C7th. and early C8th., relations continued between Northumbria and Gaul, which had close contacts with Italy throughout the C8th. Links between Northumbria and Gaul were not as close as between Gaul and Mercia during this period but Alcuin, who moved to Gaul in the late C8th, was a Northumbrian monk and remained in touch with England. There were also exchanges of gifts between Eadbert of Northumbria and Pippin (737-58 A.D.), and sporadic political exchanges between Charlemagne and the Northumbrian king in 773 and 796 A.D. (Levison 1946,113-4,153-5; Hughes 1971).

CHAPTER V: THE SANDBACH CROSSES

1. "In the market place do stand hard together two square crosses of stone, on steps, with certain Images and Writings thereon graven..." W. Smith The Vale-Royall of England, London (1565) pt.i,46 cited by Radford (1956b,1; 1957,1) and Page (1969,28,n.2). This was probably not the original position of the crosses, but one to which they were removed prior to the sixteenth century (Radford, 1956b,3).

2. Lysons (1810,459-60), records the pieces as being "scattered about the town", at a well "below" the town, in Lyme Pk. off the Disley/Macclesfield Rd., in a field near Whaley, Stockport, and at Oulton. The lower part of the south cross and two sockets remained in the market place. It is presumed that the crosses were broken up during the iconoclasm of the early to mid seventeenth century. (Radford, 1956b,1). See p.11.

3. There were also the much-weathered remains of at least one further cross-shaft (and possibly two), fragments of another broken cross-head, two grave-covers and a small head-stone. The shaft fragments seem to have been decorated with draped figures set in niches, but are too badly weathered to decipher with any certainty. The grave-covers also show human figures and animals set in niches, while the headstone is of the plain type such as were found at Whitby, Yks. (Radford, 1957,5-6); cf. Peers & Radford 1943.

4. Radford 1956b,2-3.

5. Harris & Thacker 1987,276.

6. See fn.2 above.

7. Measurements are taken from Lysons 1810,460; Radford 1956b,3; 1957,3, and confirmed where possible. The holes for the shafts are slightly larger than the dimensions of the shaft bases.

8. Measurements are taken from Radford 1956b,3; 1957,3.

9. I would estimate that no more than 15cm. are missing.

10. Coatsworth 1979, I.253-8; cf. Westwood, 1853,156; Hunt 1956,14; Radford 1956,4; 1957,3; Bailey 1966,15; Bu'Lock 1972,46; Cramp 1978a,126. The terminology used to describe the cross of the Crucifixion is that adopted by Coatsworth 1979 and Cramp 1984.

11. Browne's rubbing of the cross-shaft (1910,287,fig.C) shows a cruciferous halo of the same type as surrounds the head of the Crucified Christ in G above.

12. See below, Stone V. (p.272).

13. The measurements are taken from Radford 1956b,5. He suggests that the cross-head belonged to another cross-shaft represented by the other shaft fragments located in and around Sandbach in the nineteenth century.

14. See below p.341-53,377-81.

15. Bu'Lock 1972,46.

16. Schiller I,100; eg. C6th: silver ampulla, Palestine; ivory, Syro/Palestinian/Coptic (Schiller I, pls.258,259; cf. Morey 1941,fig.18); cf. Smith 1918,35f.; Cook 1928,310-13; Morey 1942,78f.,102f. The type is believed to have developed from The Adoration of the Virgin and the Child (Schiller I,100; see below p.370-4).

17. Schiller I,100, pls.246-7,249; cf. D.A.C.L.10(1) 989; Allen 1887,21-38; Bréhier 1928.

18. Schiller I,100, pl.253; cf. D.A.C.L.10(1) 980f.; Avery 1925; Woodruff 1931; Nordhagen 1965,134-7; 1968,23f.; Gough 1973,39.

19. Gaborit-Chopin 1978,42; Webster 1982,21.

20. eg. Grabar 1974,12.

21. Schiller I,105, see eg. pls.260,263,261.

22. eg. The Cross of Muiredach (South Cross, Monasaterboice) see Henry 1967,157,pl.85; cf. Allen 1887, 137,195; Sexton 1946; Roe 1954; 1955; 1956; 1966.

23. See above fn.21.

24. Brown 1980, pl.4; cf. Henry 1967,78-9; 1974; Werner 1969 (see below p.370-4).

25. See eg. (C4th.-C9th.) Schiller I, pls.251,255,260,262-3; cf. D.A.C.L.10(1) 990-1; Smith 1918,35f; Bréhier 1928.

26. eg. C4th. sarcophagus (Schiller I, pl.254).

27. Schiller I,103.

28. This attitude is possibly due to Philipn.2,10 (that "at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow") see D.A.C.L.10(1) 1003,1043.

29. Schiller I, pls.260, 427; cf. late C9th. eg. in Goldschmidt I,nr.67a.

30. cf. C5th. pulpit, Salonica (Rice 1957,87); C8th. & C9th. ivories (Schiller I, pls.144,263,427; Goldschmidt I,nr.72).

31. See fn.29 above.

32. cf. f.7v, f.124r (Henry 1974,pls.10,47).

33. cf. non-circular gifts - C4th. sarcophagi; wall painting (Schiller I, pls.147,46-7,249;245); C9th. ivory; Stuttgart Ps. (Schiller I, pls.263-4).

34. Thierry 1963, figs.11,12,27; cf. C9th. & C10th. - figs.32,40.

35. Schiller I,97; cf. D.A.C.L.10(1) 992; Bréhier 1928; Cook 1928,317; Richter & Smith 1953,183.

36. Schiller I,105; C4th. sarcophagi (Schiller I, pls.246-7,249,251); C5th. mosaics, Sta.Maria Maggiore (Schiller I, pl.250); C6th. silver ampulla; ivory (Schiller I, pls.258-9); C8th. altar (Schiller I, pl.262); C9th. ivories, Stuttgart Ps. (Schiller I, pls.260,263;264).

37. For Sutton Hoo & Coppergate helmets see Wilson 1984, pls.2;63-4; cf. the Benty Grange helmet (Campbell 1982, pl.57).

38. Wilson 1984, pls.34,36; cf. Webster 1982, 26-7.

39. Sockburn (Cramp 1984,I.ii,pl.715); Norbury (Owen-Crocker 1986,fig.102).

40. Metcalf 1977,89-90, cf. figs.13;15-17 (dated between 730-40 A.D.).

41. Hulme 1909,54.

42. See below p.341-53.

43. Henry 1967,79.

44. Henry 1967,pls.2,17; cf. Tower Cross, Kells (Henry 1967,pl.75; Calvert 1978,121); Gold solidus of Louis the Pious, 814-40 (Campbell 1982,pl.133).

45. Coatsworth 1979,I. 253-8; cf. fn.10 above.

46. Coatsworth 1979,I. 108f., 177f. Other figures on the cross-shaft are robed so the carver did have the ability to depict Christ in this way. Use of the brief loincloth demonstrates strict adherence to the model (see p.157-62).

47. Schiller II, 91; Coatsworth 1979, I. 67,177f.,185f.

48. eg. W.Frankish ms. c.755-87; Prayer Book of Charles the Bald c.846-69; Stuttgart Ps. c.820-30 (Schiller II, pls.350, 354, 356-7).

49. Coatsworth 1979,I.253-8.

50. Schiller II, 96-8; Coatsworth 1979,I.67-85; cf. fns.45-7 above and p.157-62.

51. Coatsworth 1979,I.253f.

52. Utrecht Ps. Crucifixion (Schiller II, pl.357).

53. cf.The Stuttgart Ps., an early C9th. work which shows a solid body; this is considered to depend closely on a late antique Roman work (Schiller II, 104; pl.359).

54. Coatsworth 1979,I.177f.,253f.; cf. Allen 1887,155-6; egs. in Schiller II, pls.321,324-5,330-4.

55. Schiller II, 8,99,106-7.

56. Coatsworth 1979,I.253-8.

57. C7th.-8th. painted casket, Palestine; mid C8th. wall-painting, Rome; C9th. Khludov Ps., Byzantium; Stuttgardt Ps., Gaul; C10th. ivory, Gaul; C11th. mosaics (Schiller II, pls.329,328, 335, 355, 338, 341-2).

58. eg. C10th. book-cover; C11th. Theodore Ps. (Schiller II, pls.340, 336-7).

59. Ps. of Louis the German; Stuttgardt Ps.; Tours ivories (Boinet 1913,pl.CLX.B; Schiller II, pl.356; Goldschmidt I, nr.160a, 161e).

60. Henry 1967,64-6; Hubert 1970, 163f.

61. See fn.50 above; cf. Schiller II,104; Henry 1967,64-6; Dodwell 1971,42; McKitterick 1983,143.

62. Dodwell 1971,34; Hughes 1971.

63. Werner 1969,10; cf. Talbot 1954,165; Rice 1965,101; Nordenfalk 1968,119-24; Beckwith 1979,80.

64. eg. C7th. coin of St.Eligius (Henderson 1972,106,fig.61A); C7th. Rotondo of S.Stephano, Rome (Krautheimer 1980,90).

65. Wilson 1984,pl.18; cf. Bruce-Mitford 1956.

66. eg. Grierson 1979,VII (for English coins); De Palol 1967,fig.24 (for Visigothic material); Le Gentilhomme 1936, pl.III (for Merovingian France); cf. Bailey 1989,241.

67. Bailey 1989,238-43; Cronyn 1989; cf. Kitzinger 1956, 218,n.1.

68. Beckwith 1972,pls.68,74. It is argued below that Wirksworth does not depict a crucifixion cross p.465-78.

69. Ez.1,5-10. See Kitzinger 1956; Werner 1969; Nees 1978 for bibliographies on this subject.

70. Rev.4,6-8.

71. This association follows that adopted by Jerome "Comm.Ez." (P.L.25,21); cf. Aelfric in Skeat 1881-5 (p.389 below; fn.292) and in Thorpe 1846,430. Irenaeus had earlier suggested a slightly different correspondence in "Adv.Her." XI (A.N.F.1,428-9); cf.references in fn.69 above.

72. Wright 1964,43-4; cf. Allen 1887,41 (Chapel of Galla Placidia, Ravenna c.440).

73. For Four-symbols' pages see eg. Book of Durrow; Lichfield Gospel; Book of Kells and the MacDurnan Gospel (Alexander 1978, ills.13; 81; 231, 250; 325).

74. Kitzinger 1956, 228-40; Werner 1969, 7f.

75. See eg. Alexander 1978, ill.13; Werner 1969,3-5; Kitzinger 1956, 228.

76. Wright 1964,43-5; Nees 1978,4-5.

77. See Dodwell 1971,42; McKitterick 1983,143,155-6; Henry 1967,64-6. Also of interest is the Majestas Domini featured in the frescoes at Müstair where the bust of Christ is set in the central medallion of the cross, and bust-length portraits of the evangelists are set in terminal medallions at the end of each cross-arm (Birchler 1954,fig.97).

78. Werner 1969, 9-10, figs.13,14,16.

79. See further below p.387-92.

80. The use of the earlier Majestas Agni iconography at Wirksworth may suggest more strongly that the derivative iconography of the symbolic Majestas Domini was used at Sandbach. (see further below p.466-79).

81. Schiller II,104f.

82. eg. Hunt 1956,14; Radford 1956b,4; 1957,3-4; Bailey 1966,15; Bu'Lock 1972,46; Coatsworth 1979,I.253-8.

83. Allen 1887,38; Bréhier 1928; Árnason 1938; Gaborit-Chopin 1978,56; Beckwith 1979,175; Schiller I,59,61. The Nativity is never found in Irish art (Henry 1967,188).

84. Schiller I,59.

85. Smith 1918,13-52,159f.

86. Allen 1887,295; Smith 1918,31-2; Bréhier 1928; Morey 1942,78f.,102f.

87. For other sarcophagi see Schiller I, pls.144, 147, 150.

88. Woodruff 1931; Davis-Weyer 1986,59-66. cf. Allen 1887,38,52.

89. Schiller I,63.

90. cf. Thierry 1963, fig.12 (C5th./6th. fresco in Egri Tas, Cappadocia).

91. Schiller I. pl.161.

92. Schiller I, 64, eg. pls.161-3.

93. The midwife or attendants always accompany Mary because together the women constitute a scene iconographically idependent from The Nativity, although the two could be fused (Schiller I, 63-4; eg. pls.152,156,158).

94. Schiller I,60-2. For Mary seated or reclining at the Nativity, see eg. Schiller I, pls.146, 149, 151-6 (C4th.-C9th.). For Mary standing by the manger, see Schiller I, pl.167 (C10th. Codex Egberti).

95. eg. Schiller I, pls.145-7,151.

96. Beckwith 1979,133; cf. Capps 1927a,333; Morey 1941; Schiller I, 59-60.

97. Schiller I. pl.148.

98. Schiller I. pl.164.

99. Schiller I,60. For egs. of Joseph, empty-handed, at the Nativity, see Schiller I, pls.153-4, 156, 161-2 (C6th.-C9th.); cf. Sta.Maria Antiqua (Avery 1925; Nordhagen 1968,16-38).

100. John 19.26-7.

101. Schiller II, 93; cf. Shorr 1940; Coatsworth 1979,I.253-8.

102. See Schiller II, pls.328-9,331,338,346,361,364 for various egs. from C7th.-C10th.

103. Schiller I,63,65; see further below p.386-91. The identification of j-k as Mary and John of the Crucifixion is also given by Cramp (1977b,210) and Coatsworth (1979,I.83-107,317).

104. Radford 1956b,4; 1957,4; Bailey 1966,15; Bu'Lock 1972,42,46.

105. For possible explanations for the rarity of this scene see eg. Réau II(2), 576; D.A.L.C.15(2),2693.

106. Réau II(2),576; Schiller I,145; Toal I, 103-121; cf. below p.394-9.

107. Birchler 1954,201; Krautheimer 1980 (on Roman churches); cf. Badaway 1978; Rice 1957,95; Gough 1973,157,160; Beckwith 1979,105,119,121,175; Calkins 1979,31.

108. See eg. Schiller I, pls.406-9,412,416 for Transfigurations from C6th.-C11th.; cf. Allen 1887,43-4.

109. Réau II(2),576.

110. Compare Matt.17,1-9 with Mk.9,2-9 and Luke 9,28-36; cf. Schiller I,146.

111. eg. Rabbula Gospel (Garrucci III,pl.133); cf. Morey 1929,89.

112. See Schiller I, pls.405,412,414,416 for Transfigurations depicting "The Voice of God"; for those without the "Voice of God" see eg. Schiller I, pls.406-7,410. cf. Allen 1887,160-1.

113. eg. Rice 1965,207,fig.34; cf. Allen 1887,168-9.

114. For egs. of Christ giving the benediction at the Transfiguration, see Schiller I, pls.407,410; for egs. of him holding a book or scroll see Schiller I, pls.406,408-9.

115. For egs. of the prophets speaking with Christ at the Transfiguration see Schiller I, pls.406-9; for egs. of them holding a book or scroll see pl.412; Goldschmidt I, nr.103.

116. Schiller I,152.

117. See above fn.111.

118. Arboe & Armagh (Henry 1967,pls.1,36). cf. Sexton 1946; Henry 1969,154. Doubt surrounds this interpretation of the scenes because, as at Sandbach the disciples are absent. In the Irish versions however, the flanking figures are in sharp profile, facing Christ, and make animated gestures of speech, gestures repeated in C9th. Continental examples of the Transfiguration which do include the disciples (eg. Schiller I, pls.406,412; Goldschmidt I, nrs.103,105,147c; cf. Harbison 1984). It thus seems likely that a Transfiguration interpretation is applicable.

119. See above fn.118 for Irish egs; cf. Goldschmidt I, nr.147c for Carolingian ivory.

120. Wilson 1984,131. cf.Durham Cassiodorus, Trier Gosp., S.Gall Gosp., Echternach Gosp. (Alexander 1978, ills.74, 80, 111-114, 204-5, 54) cf. Henry 1965.

121. See eg. Christ seated on very reduced throne on C5th./6th. bronze casket from Strood, Kent (Leeds 1936,14; Evison 1965,fig.14.1).

122. Linder 1981, 18f. eg. Alfred Jewel (Wilson 1984, pl.121-2). See above p.184-99.

123. Alexander 1978, ills.110-114.

124. Didron 1886,451-61; Allen 1887,22; Hulme 1909,44,184-7; Bréhier 1928; Gough 1973,18; cf. Adamnan in the late C7th. cited by Anderson 1961,180.

125. See below p.394-9.

126. See eg. Schiller I, pls.349-361; cf. Casson 1932,274.

127. See eg. Schiller III, pls.580, 559, 614; Kitzinger 1976, 218,fig.13.

128. Radford 1956b,3-4; 1957,4; cf. Levison 1946,259.

129. eg. Schiller III. pls.559, 601-2, 638. The association of keys with Peter is based on Matt.16.19, but in Christian art the earliest extant portraits of Peter show that the key was not a specific attribute outside the Traditio Clavis scene until the mid C5th. when he appears on his own with the key (eg. Schiller III,pl.586; D.A.C.L.14(1) fig.10230; cf. Kinder-Carr 1978,16). In the C6th. he appears with two keys (eg. Schiller III, pl.559; cf. Kinder-Carr 1978,16). There seems to have been no set formula governing the number of keys Peter carried, or the position in which they could be held; these details usually depended on the model (Kinder-Carr 1978,61).

130. Battiscombe 1956, pl.VIII.

131. Radford 1952-3,pl.V; cf. C10th. Daglingworth, Gloucs. (Heighway 1988, pl.on p.144; Allen 1887,246,315); and see further Beckwith 1972,ills.49,51; 1979,94; Alexander 1978, ills.96,108.

132. eg. Schiller III. pl.575.

133. Matt.16,19; cf. Allen 1887,313.

134. eg. Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome. For references see Kinder-Carr 1978, 61.

135. Kinder-Carr 1978,69-73; cf. Didron 1886,241; Allen 1887,32-8,41; Lawrence 1927; Bréhier 1928; Morey 1942; Rice 1957,70; Davis-Weyer 1961,29f.; Henry 1967,184-5; Gough 1973,107; Beckwith 1979,84,104,125.

136. Schiller III. pl.586; cf. pl.559.

137. Huskinson 1982,96-8,114-23; Kitzinger 1976,1-31.

138. For various arguments see eg. Burke 1930; Rosenthal 1967; Kinder-Carr 1978; Huskinson 1982.
It is possible the scheme was known earlier (Henry 1967,185). A late C7th. inscription attributed to Cellach, abbot of Péronne, describes paintings in the monastic chapel:
"Justus apostolicos aequat Salvator amicos
clavibus hic Petrum, hic Paulum legibus ornat"
(The just Savior shows an equal friendship to the two apostles/ To Peter giving the keys, to Paul the Law).

139. eg. Goldschmidt I. nr.119c; Schiller III. pl.602; Beckwith 1972, no.23.

140. eg. Goldschmidt II. nr.15.

141. Kinder-Carr 1978,88. For egs. see Schiller III, pls.601-2; Beckwith 1972, ills.49,51. For Irish egs. see Roe 1954; 1966; Henry 1967,147,157 (at Moone, Monasterboice & Kells) cf.fn.146 below.

142. Henry 1967,157; Raw 1967,393; Schiller II,3-5.

143. Kinder-Carr 1978,82.

144. P.L.86,1141-8; cf. D.A.C.L.6(2) 1393-1425; Ladner 1942,181.

145. See Levison 1946,109; Birchler 1954; Rice 1957,122; 1965,294; Beckwith 1964,24-5; 1969,24-5; Bullough 1970 140-56; Hubert 197028; Dodwell 1971,19-20.

146. eg. Schiller III, pls.635,638. Irish egs. are found at Clonmacnois & Monasterboice (Roe 1954; Henry 1967,pl.82). On both cross-shafts Christ stands in the centre and commits the keys to Peter and the law to Paul: all three are full-length figures. The scene is found beneath the Crucifixion.

147. See eg. A above on 1.E.

148. Goldschmidt I. nr.160b.

149. Henry 1967,pl.37; Alexander 1978, no.61.

150. Schiller III, pl.505; cf. Rice 1965,217.

151. Higgit 1989; cf. O Maille 1907,194-9; Hulme 1909,13. The carvings of Peter at Peterborough (pl.89) and Hoddom (Radford 1952-3,pl.V) are very worn but they do not seem to feature Peter with a beard.

152. See p.233-5.

153. See above p.327, fn.121.

154. Bréhier 1928; Casson 1933,26; Ratkowska 1964; Cramp 1975,195-6.

155. Mitchell 1923a,162-9; Bréhier 1928; Nordhagen 1968,45-7; Cramp 1975,195; Calkins 1979,38.

156. Brown 1980,pl.36; cf. Henry 1974.

157. Wilson 1984,pls.196,238,241,252,261 & Harbison 1977 for other examples.

158. Bu'Lock 1972, 46; Harris & Thacker 1987, 276-7.

159. Compare eg. Alexander 1978,ills.74; Brown 1980,pls.24,25,45; Ryan 1983, no.51e; and Wilson 1984, pls.60, 99.

160. Schiller IV(1), pls.1,3-4,18; See further Morey 1929,73-4; Milburn 1954,6-7; Weitzmann 1976,73-6; Beckwith 1979,136 for iconography of Pentecost.

161. Schiller IV(1), pls.7-8, 15, 17, 26.

162. Schiller IV(1), pls.3-4, 7, 14, 26.

163. Schiller IV(1), pls.1, 14, 17, 29.

164. Schiller IV(1), pls.1, 3-5, 8-9, 14-16, 18, 20-1, 24-5, 27-8.

165. Schiller IV(1), pls.3, 7, 10-11.

166. Acts 1,14; cf. eg. Augustine "Sermo 267" (P.L.38) cited by Toal III,26.

167. Schiller IV(1), pls.1-62.

168. Schiller IV(1), pls.2, 25, 30, 33-5, 37-9, 41, 45, 49-50.

169. Schiller IV(1), pl.15.

170. See p.212-7.

171. See above p.291-302.

172. For egs. from C4th.-C9th. see Schiller I, pls.246, 248-50, 253, 255-7, 259, 262-4.

173. For egs. from C4th.-C10th. see Schiller I, figs.246-7, 249, 251, 254, 258, 260-4.

174. Owen-Crocker 1986, 109-29.

175. Owen-Crocker 1986,122.

176. The figures at Alstonfield, Staffs. & Norbury, Derbys. (Pape 1946-7,pl.f.21; Owen-Crocker 1986,122) wear similar skirts, but these Viking-age egs. are interpreted as "protective clothing such as divided mail skirts" (Owen-Crocker 1986,117).

177. Wilson 1984,pl.257. The date of this piece is disputed; it may be of C9th. or C10th. date (Swanton 1979); cf. Bishophill, York (Collingwood 1909,pl.172).

178. The Alstonfield & Norbury figures (see fn.176 above) have swords hanging across their bodies but the shape of these weapons differs from the fronds at Sandbach and the figures themselves stand in very different positions.

179. Routh 1937,31.

180. Longhurst 1924,8.

181. See 2.S below p.378-82. The Kings of Rev.4 are not a possible alternative because they are 24 in number and always hold crowns (see eg. c.870 Codex Aureus of S.Emmeran, f.6r (Adoration of the Lamb) in Mütherich & Gaehde 1977,pl.38).

182. Cramp 1970b,taf.41,44-5,47; cf. taf.48 (Tülln, Austria) and Irish egs. at Moone & Castledermot (Henry 1967,147-8).

183. Cramp 1970b, 62.

184. Schiller I,12; Bréhier 1928.

185. Battiscombe 1956, pl.XXIV; See Schiller I,13; Hohler 1956, 396-401; cf. Beckwith 1979,104.

186. Bréhier, 1928; Hohler 1956, 397-401, 405-8.

187. See Battiscombe 1956, pl.XXIV.

188. Hohler 1956, 405.

189. Wood 1987,30-2; cf. Cramp 1970b,taf.42-5.

190. In addition to Wood 1987, see references to Jerome, Ambrose & Hilary of Poitiers in Toal I,342-8.

191. Hulme 1909,124.

192. Hulme 1909,121.

193. See eg. C5th. mosaics at Sta.Sabina (Rome), C9th. & C11th. ivories (Schiller IV(1) pls.93, 100, 102-3).

194. Allen 1887,203; Radford 1956b,4; 1957,4; Bailey 1966,14. Bu'Lock 1972,46 was the exception (see below fn.196).

195. Radford 1956b,4; 1957,4.

196. Bu'Lock 1972,46.

197. John 18,12.

198. Matt.27,2; Mk.15,1.

199. C10th. & C11th. egs. of Christ bound at trial (Schiller II, pls.188,200); C5th.-C9th. egs. of Christ giving benediction at trial (Schiller II, pls.184-5,211); see also egs. of Christ held by the arms at the trial- C10th. & C11th. (Schiller II, pls.186,189,212).

200. Schiller II, pl.1.

201. Schiller II, pls.206-7, 209; cf. Gough 1973,108,129.

202. Schiller II, pl.11; see further Soper 1938,187-9; Milburn 1954,113.

203. Lawrence 1927; Bréhier 1928; Morey 1942,127-55.

204 Although the scene is set next to Pilate Washing his Hands, it portrays both Christ and Simon, with Simon carrying the cross.

205. Schiller II,78-9.

206. Schiller II. 79, pl.283.

207. Schiller II. pl.282.

208. Schiller II. pls.240, 284; cf. Dodwell 1971, 58-62.

209. See Birchler 1954,204-6 and fn.145 above.

210. Another scene possibly derived from the East is that at Sta.Maria Antiqua dated to 705-7 where Christ stands in the centre making a gesture of speech while behind him stand a group of 7-10 Jews and a soldier. Christ is not bound and led, but beyond him stands a Jew half-turned towards him, and next to this figure Simon of Cyrene stands stooped under the cross he carries over his shoulder (Avery 1925; Nordhagen 1968,29-30;pl.XXVI).

211. See Ohlgren 1986. The Irish material depicts only the arrest of Christ from the Passion sequence (Sexton 1946; Roe 1954; 1956; Henry 1967,159,181-2).

212. The cross-bearing figure is also flanked by two snake-like twists; if viewed in conjunction with these, rather than the upper figure, the cross-bearer may well represent a version of Christ trampling the beasts. cf. Hope, Derby (Routh 1937,28-9, pl.XV.A-B). A similar programme may have existed at Bakewell, Derbyshire (see Appendix I(C)).

213. See above p.291-302.

214. Henderson 1972, 184, figs.120-1.

215. Webster 1982,21; cf. Lawrence 1927. The Mark portrait page in the C8th. Book of Cerne may demonstrate a similar process (Wheeler 1977,241; Alexander 1978, ills.315).

216. cf. Schiller II, pls.11, 281.

217. Schiller II. pls.209, 284, 238, 240.

218. Radford 1956b,4; 1957,4.

219. See for eg. Schiller II, pls.204-213.

220. Bailey 1966,15; Bu'Lock 1972,46; cf. p.34-43.

221. See p.34-43.

222. Schiller I,39.

223. The Annunciation scene at Ruthwell, Dumfries., although showing Mary on the right, depicts her standing rather than seated (see pl.70).

224. p.34-43.

225. See p.114-19.

226. See above p.291.

227. Radford 1956b,5-6; 1957,5; Bailey 1966,15; Linder 1981,14; Harris & Thacker 1987,276-7.

228. See pp.45-55, 488-94.

229. Grabar 1974,29f; Birchler 1954,225f.

230. eg. Matt.25.31-46; Apocalypse of Peter (James 1924,519; cf.26-44).

231. Allen 1887,168-9, 174-6.

232. Birchler 1954, 226 (eg.fig.88); Grabar 1974, 34. See eg. miniature in C9th. Cosmas Indicopleustes which is copied from the late antique Christian Topography (Beckwith 1979,182,fig.152).

233. Grabar 1974, 29-32.

234. cf. Birchler 1954,226; Rice 1965,210; Verzone 1968,140.

235. A similar, but more complex version to those best known in Irish art, is found at Müstair, Switz. c.800 (Birchler 1954,225-33,figs.88f.).

236. Henry 1967, pls.106-7, 110; cf. Allen 1887,137; Macalister 1946; Sexton 1946; Roe 1954; 1956. At Durrow and Termonfechin they have been reduced to a human head placed beside the trumpeter and Christ (Henry 1967, pls.109, 108).

237. See above p.321-31.

238. There is a written reference linking Peter and Paul with the Last Judgement (Thorpe 1846, 558. Aelfric "In Natale Unius Confessoris") where Peter is described leading forth the Jews, and Paul the rest of the world, but there is no comparable pictorial tradition (cf. James 1931,31).

239. Henry 1967,pls.106-7 (see above fn.236).

240. cf. Longhurst 1926; Birchler 1954,229; Henry 1967,168-172; Gough 1973,98; Beckwith 1979,118.

241. cf. Eyam, Derbys. (pl.65 & Routh 1937, 27-8, pl.XIV.A-C) where the Last Judgement has been reduced to angels blowing the last trump.

242. See above p.321-31.

243. See below p.374-7.

244. See below p.411-15.

245. Bu'Lock 1972,46.

246. cf. Schiller I, pls.58, 259. See further Allen 1887,21,43,283; Lawrence 1925; Brehier 1928, Morey 1942,78f.; Beckwith 1979,88-141. It was to this central image of Mary and the Child seated facing forwards that the Magi were added in the Eastern version of The Adoration of the Magi (eg. C6th. Etshmiadzin Gosp. in Beckwith 1979,fig.117); see above p.291-302 & Morey 1942,102f; Gough 1973,131,163.

247. Shepherd 1969,91f; cf. Beckwith 1979,88-94; Calkins 1979, 15; Rice 1957,67; Badaway 1978; Lasareff 1938.

248. eg. S.Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna; Bawit (Shepherd 1969,figs.3,13); Berlin diptych (pl.136); gold Medallion (pl.123); textile panel (pl.134); cf. Shepherd 1969).

249. See Beckwith 1979,140-1. Another C6th. Diptych in Berlin also shows Mary and the angels on one leaf (pl.136) and Christ flanked by Peter and Paul on the other (Schiller III,pl.636).

250. See Shepherd 1969 for other egs.

251. Allen 1887,43; Smith 1918; Longhurst 1924; Rice 1957,81,95,112-3; Krautheimer 1959; 1980,128; Nordhagen 1965,124-8; Blair 1970,204; Gough 1973,86; Beckwith 1979,84-94,121-7,140-1; Calkins 1979,27.

252. Nordhagen 1968,85,pl.CIII; Beckwith 1979,94.

253. Henry 1974,pl.10; cf. 1967,78-9,188; Kitzinger 1956; Rosenthal 1967; Werner 1972.

254. Routh 1937,pl.II.B; Brown 1972,237-9; Calvert 1978; Wilson 1984; MacLean 1986,176.

255. Schiller IV(2) pl.438-9 (Avery 1925; Nordhagen 1968,16,75-6,pl.XCIII).

256. See Allen 1887,43.

257. eg. S.Pudenziana, Rome; S.Lorenzo, Rome; S.Maria Antiqua, Rome; S.Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna; Poreč Cathedral (Gough 1973,84,fig.69; Schiller III, pl.634; Avery 1925; Allen 1887,44; Schiller III, pl.635).

258. eg. Sarcophagus of Bishop Liberius (d.387), Ravenna; ivory diptych (pl.141).

259. See above p.341-53.

260. Radford 1956,6; 1957,5; Bailey 1966,15.

261. Bu'Lock 1972,46.

262. Batiscombe 1956,pl.XXIV; See above p.342-54.

263. Schiller I,12-14.

264. Schiller I. pl.17; cf. Walker 1948; Beckwith 1979,85-6.

265. Temple 1979, pl.147.

266. They also hold stylised palm fronds.

267. Schiller I. pl.18.

268. Isa.9,5; Luke 1.52; See Allen 1887,23; Hulme 1909,201; Coomaraswamy 1929,217; Dodwell 1971,99-100; Gough 1973,18; Tsuji 1975,188-201; Schiller I, 14-15.

269. Matt.1.1-17; Luke 3.23-38.

270. eg. Schiller I. pls.19, 20.

271. See discussion of Majestas Domini and Ascension iconography on pp.163-84,302-12. It is possible that the figures depict Donors or Patron Saints, but there is nothing which identifies them in this context with other known images of this type (eg. S.Benedict at Malles in Dodwell 1971,20) cf. Allen 1887,243,316,318; Levison 1946,160.

272. Matt.2,1-12; cf. D.A.C.L.10(1) 981.

273. D.A.C.L.10(1) 986; cf. Smith 1918,35f; Gough 1973,39; Schiller I,95.

274. Ambrose "In Luc.II,44" (P.L.15,1650); Prudentius "Hymn XII" (D.A.C.L.10(1) 988; cf. references in 986-9); cf. Dodwell 1971, 100.

275. Leo the Great "Sermo 32,ii" (P.L.54,236) trans. Toal I,227; cf. D.A.C.L.10(1) 987.

276. Augustine "De Temp. CCII, CC" ("In Epiph. iv, ii) in P.L. 38, 1033,1030; trans. Toal I,198; cf. Schiller I,95.

277. Aelfric "Epiph.Dom." (Thorpe 1844,104-6; cf. 116-18; 1846,36).

278. Thorpe 1844, 106.

279. See commentaries on the gospels in P.L.92.

280. Ambrose "Ex.Luc.II,41,43" (P.L.15,1649f.); Augustine "Sermo 190,194" (P.L.38,1008,1016); Gregory the Great "Hom.8" (P.L.76,1104); cf. Toal I,100-107,120-2.

281. Bede (P.L.92); Rabanus Maus (P.L.107,760).

282. Nilgen 1967,311,n.8.

283. Nilgen 1967,311,n.9; eg. Ambrose "Hymn" (P.L.16,1474); Augustine "Sermo 136" (P.L.39,2013); cf. Eucharistic prayer cited by Klauser 1979,16.

284. See below "Crucifixion" p.386-91.

285. Coatsworth 1979.

286. Ferber 1966,328.

287. See Coatsworth 1979,I,24-7,67-82 for references; eg. Augustine "In Johan." (C.C.S.L.36,657).

288. Bede "In Johan." (P.L.92,913).

289. Alcuin "De Div.Offic." (P.L.101,1208); cf. Macpherson 1889,17,71-2; Ferber 1966,327; Henderson 1972,73; Schiller II,93.

290. Aelfric "De Pass.Dom." (Thorpe 1846,254-6).

291. Matt.27,45; Mark 25,33; Luke 23,44; Gospel of Nicodemus 8,10 (James 1924,94f.); cf. eg. Allen 1887,155-6; Hulme 1909,214; Schiller II,107. Ferber (1966,329) argues that the sun symbolises the new Law and the Moon, the Old Law.

292. Aelfric "Epiph.Dom." (Thorpe 1844,108); cf. Gregory the Great "Hom.10,ii" (P.L.74,1110).

293. Swanton 1970.

294. Aelfric "On the Old & New Testament" 1.188 (Crawford 1922, 53).

295. Aldhelm "De Virginitate" (Ehwald 1919,235) trans. Lapidge & Herren 1979,64.

296. Coatsworth 1979,I.37.

297. Bede "In Luc.I" (P.L.92,312); cf. Ó Carragáin 1982,494-7; Okasha & O'Reilly 1984,44.

298. Okasha & O'Reilly 1984,45.

299. See eg. Aelfric "Nat.Omn.Sanct." (Thorpe 1844,338).

300. Okasha & O'Reilly 1984,45.

301. Aelfric "S.Mark, Evang." 1.197-202 (Skeat 1881-5,334).

302. Coatsworth 1979,I,20,67-82; cf. Stone 1972,193-207,210-11.

303. Ambrose "In Luc.II,43" (P.L.15,1650) trans. Toal 1,212; cf. Hulme 1909,127,177; Schiller I,60-1.

304. See above p.313-21.

305. Ambrose "In Luc.II,43,52" (P.L.15,1650,1653) trans. Toal I,212,117.

306. For egs. see Toal I,100-103.

307. See above p.383-6.

308. Bede "In Luc.I,ii" (P.L.92,331) trans. in Toal I,103.

309. See eg. Toal I,100-103.

310. Aelfric "Sermo Nat.Dom." (Thorpe 1844,34; cf.42); cf. Nilgen 1967,314; Cross 1973.

311. Matt.17,1-9.

312. Mark 9,1-9.

313. Luke 9,31.

314. Schiller I,151.

315. Leo the Great "Sermo 51,ii" (P.L.54,310) trans. Toal II,70 (cf. Sermo 51,vi in Toal II,71).

316. Bede "In Matt.III,xvii" (P.L.92,80).

317. Augustine "Sermo 79,78 (P.L.38,493,491) trans. N.P.N.F.(1) 6,349,348; cf. Leo the Great, Remigius, Jerome, John Chrysostom (Toal II,69-71,43,41,40); Aelfric "Dom.Palm." (Thorpe 1846, 242); Schiller I,146.

318. The presence of Moses in the scene may have had a further, Eucharistic relevance due to the association of Moses as Lawgiver and Deliverer of the Israelites, with Christ the New Lawgiver and Deliverer of Mankind. The association was furthered by Moses' institution of the first Paschal Feast of the slaughtered Lamb, celebrated by Christ at the Last Supper (the first Eucharist) before the Crucifixion (see Parsch 1957,3-5 for references). However, if this association was latent in any image of Moses, it was certainly not primary in The Transfiguration, and does not appear in the exegetical material.

319. Bede "In Matt.III,xvii" (P.L.92,81).

320. See above p.321-31.

321. Matt.3,16-17; cf. Mark 1,10-11; Luke 3,21-2 (John 1,33-4).

322. Bede "In Matt.III,xvii" (P.L.92,81); cf. Macpherson 1889,46-7; Thorpe 1846,242 for other Old English references to the Transfiguration.

323. Augustine "Sermo 78" (P.L.38,491) trans. Toal II,63; cf. Hilary of Poitiers in Toal II,43.

324. Leo the Great "Sermo 51,viii" (P.L.54,313) trans. Toal II,72.

325. See above pp.331-40.

326. Matt.16,18-19; see above fn.133.

327. Kinder-Carr 1978,54-6,70-3,81-8; cf. Hunt 1901,160; Hughes 1965; Henry 1967,157; Henderson 1972,73.

328. eg. C6th. Gildas cited by Hughes 1965,8; early C7th. Gregory the Great cited by Krautheimer 1980,106,cf.115; early C8th. Boniface cited by Hughes 1965,15; Bede cited by Mayr-Harting 1972,43,75, and by Meyvaert 1979,69; cf. Hunt 1901,160; Levison 1946,115f.; Sullivan 1959; Bullough 1965,30-9; Southern 1970,93-9; Klauser 1979,61,88; McKitterick 1983.

329. Augustine "Sermo 78" (P.L.38,490) trans. Toal II,62.

330. Leo the Great "Sermo 51,i" (P.L.54,309) trans. Toal II,69.

331. Bede "In Luc.III,ix" (P.L.92,455).

332. For Old English references other than those mentioned below see eg. Thorpe 1844,384; 1846,218,250,389-90,520-2,558; Colgrave 1940,77 (V.Cuth.II,ii); Colgrave & Mynors 1969, 306-7; 378-81; 528-31; 548-9 (H.E.III,xxv; IV,xiv; V,xix; xxi); Morris 1967,171.

333. Bede H.E.III,xxv (Colgrave & Mynors 1969,306-7).

334. Lapidge & Herren 1979,159; cf.82; Lapidge & Rosier 1985,46.

335. Aldhelm "In Duod.Apost.Aris" (I "in S.Petri") in Ehwald 1919,19, trans. Lapidge & Rosier 1985,50.

336. Aldhelm "Carmina Eccl.I" (In Basilica S.Petri et Pauli) l.17 (Ehwald 1919,12) trans. Lapidge & Rosier 1985,46.

337. Aldhelm "De Virg." 1.501-2 (Ehwald 1919,374) trans. Lapidge & Rosier 1985,114.

338. 1.13 (Skeat 1881-5, 220; cf.1.82-106).

339. Thomson 1875.

340. Aelfric "On the Old & New Testament" 1.938-44 (Crawford 1922,57; cf.1.213-17).

341. See eg. Laistner 1972,94-149.

342. Hilary of Poitiers (Toal II,43).

343. See p.34-43.

344. See p.552-9.

345. See above p.34-43,361-3.

346. See p.56-61; cf. Blickling Hom.I (Morris 1967,9).

347. Aelfric "Annunc.S.Mariae" (Thorpe 1844, 200).

348. See above p.341-53.

349. See above p.383-6,394-9.

350. Ambrose "In Luc.VII,185-6" (P.L.15,1838) trans. Toal I,348.

351. Tsuji 1975,188,200-1.

352. See above p.362-7.

353. Matt.17,9; cf. p.396, fn.311.

354. For Bede see above p.397, fn.316.

355. Hilary of Poitiers "In Matt.XVII,2" (P.L.9,1014) trans. Toal II,45.

356. See Taft 1980-1 (cf. Brightman 1908).

357. Ó Carragáin 1978; 1982; 1987.

358. Klauser 1979, 45-6, 61-3; cf. Parsch 1957,39.

359. Taft 1980-1; cf. Ó Carragáin 1978.

360. See eg. Rice 1957; Demus 1970; Southern 1970; Krautheimer 1980.

361. I am grateful to Gerald Bonner for his help and advice in this matter. His research confirms that Germanus' Commentary was latinised by Anastasius (d.878) and that this version exists in two C9th. mss - one in the Municipal Library at Cambrai, and the other in the Bibl.Nat. (Paris). His feeling is that the English liturgy of the C9th. would have been the Western rite of Rome, Gaul and Spain (cf. Klauser 1979), and given the survival of the Western mss. from the C9th., that Anastasius' version of Germanus' work could well have been available in England by the mid C9th. (p.comm).

362. Taft 1980-1, 51, n.46. The following references to Germanus will be given in the English translation provided by Taft (1980-1) as Anastasius' Latin version has not been published (cf. Brightman 1908).

363. Taft 1980-1, 51.

364. Taft 1980-1, 52.

365. Taft 1980-1, 52.

366. cf. Gardner 1928; Parsch 1957,39; Henry 1967,152-7; Nordhagen 1968,22-38.

367. Browne 1910,296.

368. See above p.302-12.

369. See above p.313-21.

370. See above p.291-301.

371. See above p.302-12.

372. See above pp.114-19,360-2.

373. See above pp.321-31,362-70.

374. See above p.353-60.

375. See above p.331-40.

376. See p.370-4.

377. See Description pp.245-89, and relevant plates (27-48).

378. See p.233-44.

379. See eg. Casson 1932; Rice 1946; 1952; 1957,76f.; Kitzinger 1958; Oakeshott 1959; Nordhagen 1968; Demus 1970; Gough 1973; Badaway 1978; Beckwith 1979; Krautheimer 1980,90-107.

380. The Sta.Sabina doors are believed to have been produced in Rome by Syrian craftsmen (see above p.356,fn.203).

381. See p.291-301.

382. Henry 1965,pl.85; 1967,pl.75.

383. Calvert 1978,121; Henderson 1967,157; 1978; 1982,94; Wilson 1984.

384. See p.341-53.

385. cf. Alexander 1978,ills.209-213; Henry 1965.

386. Wilson 1964,11,31.

387. Wilson 1964,14, pls.IIIb, IVa-b, V; 1978, 11,pl.III.

388. Wilson 1964, 13-14,pl.IIb; cf. Wheeler 1977,236,240.

389. MacDermott 1955; de Paor 1964, 116-9; Wilson 1964,22,31.

390. Wilson 1964, 28,fig.1.

391. Wheeler 1977,236. For illustrations of Book of Cerne, Cotton Tiberius C.II, Royal I.E.VI, see Alexander 1978, ills.311; 134, 165; 161-2; for Cropthorne see Kendrick 1938, pl.LXXX; cf. C8th. Whitby book mounts (Wilson 1964, 14, nos.105-6, pl.XXXVIII).

392. cf. pl.122.

393. Alexander 1978, ills.280; 314.

394. Walton, Irton & Closeburn (Collingwood 1927,figs.63,100,68; cf. Bailey & Cramp 1988,117). Also found, with figural ornament, at Reculver, but the date of this piece is uncertain (Kozodoy 1986,pl.XXXVI.d). A possible analogy with the masks may lie in the plaitwork bodied figures found on sculpture in Staffordshire (eg. Checkley, Ilam - see Pape 1946, 24-31,36-8, pls. to face 29,37), but these are not really comparable with the Sandbach motif because they decorate panels on the main face of the Staffs. cross-shafts, and are not a border ornament as they are at Sandbach; neither does the plaitwork of these Staffs. men extend beyond their bodies.

395. Wheeler 1977,241; for illustrations of sculpture see Kendrick 1938, pls.LXXIX, LXXIV, XXXI; Clapham 1928, pl.XXXIX; for Book of Cerne see Alexander 1978, ills.312.

396. Harbison 1978,47,pl.12 (cf. Bailey 1986); cf. Tassilo Chalice (Wilson 1984, pl.161).

397. Smith 1914; Bruce-Mitford 1956; Wilson 1956; 1964, 9-13; de Paor 1962.

398. Wilson 1964, 21-31.

399. See above eg. fn.396.

400. Bailey 1980,187; see Wilson 1984, pls.124-5 for Wolverhampton pillar.

401. Cramp 1984,i.201; ii.pl.1105.

402. eg. MacDermott 1955, pls.XXVI-XXVIII, XXXI-XXXVI, XXXIX, fig.4; cf. silver strips from Trewhiddle (Wilson 1964, nos.94-5, pl.XXXVI).

403. See above p.206.

404. Coatsworth 1979,I.317.

405. See p.244.

406. For Ruthwell see eg. O Carragain 1987; For Wirksworth see below p.579f.

407. See fn.3 above.

408. See eg. Rice 1952; 1957; Blair 1970; Stone 1972;

409. See comments on Müstair and The Traditio Legis cum Clavis in eg. Levison 1946,109,141,165; Birchler 1954; Bullough 1970,140-56.

410. Bullough 1970,30-9,52,89,104,164-7 for links between Charlemagne's court and Mercia; cf. Hunt 1901,104f.; Stenton 1933,324-5; Levison 1946,111-2; Deanesly 1965; Mayr-Harting 1972,132f.; Whitelock 1972,115-7; Heath 1973; Hart 1977,43f.;

411. See eg. Levison 1946; Rice 1952; Blair 1970; Mayr-Harting 1972. For similar royal/ecclesiastical links in Mercia see eg. Hunt 1901; Stenton 1938; Simms-Williams 1975; 1976; Hart 1977.

CHAPTER IV: THE WIRKSWORTH SLAB

1. Cox 1892,23.

2. Rawlins 1821,401.

3. Rawlins 1821,401; Cox 1877,553; 1892,23.

4. Cox (1877,553) argues that it originally stood on another larger flat stone over the coffin but there is no way of verifying this while the slab is set in the wall, as indeed it was when Cox discussed it.

5. Cockerton 1961,230-1; 1962,4-5. A summary of Cockerton's reconstruction is provided in Fig.14.

6. See references in fns.1-3; cf. note by Cockerton in Guide and History of St.Mary the Virgin by M.R. Handley, available in the church.

7. Boddington 1980,373f; Boddington & Cadman 1981,103f; Stocker 1986,55. Most of the grave covers from Lincoln were placed on the ground and were not related to the size of the deceased (Stocker 1986,56). The majority are smaller than the present size of the Wirksworth slab, but this is probably the result of their slightly different function. See Stocker 1986,58,64-82 for catalogue of coped shaped grave markers and covers.

8. See Radford (1961,209) for suggestion that Wirksworth was originally a shrine. cf. Kitzinger 1956,297f; Thomas 1971,175f; Henderson 1972,30 on the use of sarcophagi and coffins as shrines. The stone has also been considered as an altar-piece or reredos (Cox 1877,553; 1892,29) but the dimensions and the coped shape of the slab argue against this (see Thomas 1971,175f.).

9. Kurth 1945,114-5. cf. Thomas 1971,158.

10. Kurth 1945,114. See Allen 1887,34-8,184-5; Lawrence 1927; Soper 1937; Morey 1942,55-78. See further below p.567f.

11. Cox 1877,553-4.

12. Radford 1976,45-6.

13. Ariès 1985,53.

14. Prior & Gardner (1912,116) related it to the Durham cross-heads and so dated it to c.1000. Clapham (1930,70) dated the stone to the late C8th. because of motifs he considered to be common to other Mercian pieces at Breedon - specifically the Greek blessing (see below p.504-8). Kendrick (1938,164-5) related the figure style to the cross-shaft at Rothbury (Nthbd.) and so dated it to c.800 while Stone (1972) saw it as a crude

copy of early Carolingian work and also dated it to the late C8th.

15. Rawlins 1821,401,pl.II.

16. Kurth 1945; Cockerton 1961; 1962. See below "Identification" and "Discussion" (p.459-571) for Cockerton's and Kurth's identifications. Cockerton's identification of the third scene led him to date the slab to the C7th., while Kurth followed Clapham and Kendrick. Coatsworth's discussion of the third scene (1979,I,50f.) neglected a treatment of the other scenes and settled on a C9th. date due to Carolingian influences. cf. Harbison 1987b for a C10th. date derived from Irish analogies.

17. See fn.5.

18. Cockerton 1962,7-8.

19. Early C.4th. sarcophagus cover, Rome (Schiller I,pl.147); late C.4th. sarcophagus, Gaul (Schiller I,pl.151).

20. See p.312-21 for Joseph (and prophet) at Nativity. Eg. seated Joseph: C.6th. painted reliquary from Palestine (Schiller I,pl.153); C.6th/7th. icon from Palestine (Schiller I,pl.154).

21. Rawlins 1821,402; Routh 1937,41; Kurth 1945,117; Cockerton 1961,230; 1962,8-9.

22. For discussion see eg. Allen 1887,38,306; Schiller II,44.

23. eg. Schiller II,pls.3,117.

24. eg. C.9th. Khludov Ps. (Schiller II.pl.120).

25. eg. Schiller II,pl.121.

26. Schiller II,44; Wormald 1954.

27. Eg: early C.13th. alabaster ciborium column at S.Marks, Venice (Schiller II,pl.118) based on Constantinople work of the C.5th. Action takes place from right to left (Brehier 1928; Morey 1942,102f; Schiller II,43); late C.10th. ms.Leningrad public library gr.21,f.6v (Schiller II,pl.122) based on pre-Iconoclastic Cappadocian or Armenian work. Action takes place from right to left (Morey 1929,83-4; Schiller II,235); c850 ivory from Metz now in Berlin (Schiller II,46,pl.127) Christ is bent double on the right; c.1100 wall painting, S.Angelo in Formis, nr.Capua (Schiller II,45,pl.126) Christ is bent double on the right.

28. cf. C10th. icon from Mt.Sinai. Christ is on the right, Peter on the left with both feet in the basin (Weitzmann 1976,91-3,pl.XXXV.).

29. eg. Schiller II,pls.69,119,126,127,129.

30. Schiller II,44.

31. eg. C.9th. Khludov Ps. (Schiller II,pl.120); C.9th. Carmen Paschale (Schiller II,pl.121); c.850 Metz ivory (Schiller II,pl.127); C.9th/10th. icon (Schiller II,pl.123); C.10th. Leningrad ms. (Schiller II,pl.122); C.10th. Byzantine ivory (Schiller II,pl.124).

32. Birchler 1954,24,fig.92; Schiller II,pl.129.

33. Bréhier 1928; Homburger 1963.

34. eg. the Müstair fresco and the Metz ivory (Schiller II,pls.129,127).

35. Raw 1967 (see also Allen 1887,258; Werner 1969,12).

36. Rawlins 1821,402; Routh 1937,41; Kurth 1945,117-8; Cockerton 1961,230; 1962,9; Thomas 1971,158; Coatsworth 1979,I,58.

37. Kurth 1945,118; Cockerton 1961,230; 1962,9; Coatsworth 1979,I,58.

38. Coatsworth 1979,I,58.

39. Taylor 1965,55,fig.1; Coatsworth 1988.

40. As in Isa.53,7 and John 1,29 developing the notion of the Agnus Paschalis (The Easter/Paschal Lamb) of Ex.12 and I.Cor.5,7 used in Christian art to portray the Risen Christ (Schiller II,117-8; Allen 1887,257).

41. Schiller II,124-5; Allen 1887,257; Dolley 1971,342-4; Okasha & O'Reilly 1984,40.

42. As described in Rev.5,6f.; 14.1f.; 21,23 (cf. Schiller II,117-8; Allen 1887,257). Dolley's claim (1971,336) that the iconography of the Agnus Dei in all its aspects has still to be worked out, remains largely true today.

43. As a symbol of Christ, the Lamb is first found in Western Christian art in contexts strongly influenced by Eastern art (eg. Ravenna sarcophagi, Sta.Maria Maggiore mosaics -Schiller III, pls.591,557). However, by the sixth century it was firmly established in the Western repertoire and was more commonly used in the West than the East (James 1927,26-44). Indeed the Acts of the Quinisext Council of 692 A.D. against the use of the Lamb as a symbol of Christ, have been interpreted as being specifically anti-Roman because they were directed at a symbol used extensively in the West, but comparatively little in the East (Nordhagen 1968,54).

44. Alcuin Bible 834-43 (Schiller II,pl.397); cf. Gauzelin Gosp.c.840 (Hubert 1970,pl.120); Codex Aemilianensis c.975 (Schiller II,pl.399). In these examples the central motif, taken in isolation, may be interpreted as the Agnus Dei. Hoever, even here, the overall context includes the symbolism of the Agnus Victor (cf. Budney 1984a,I,690).

45. Codex Aureus from St.Emmeran c.870 (Schiller II,pl.398); Lectionary c.980 (Schiller II,pl.400); Gospel c.1000 (Schiller II,pl.401). cf. Schiller II, pls.397,399.

46. Raw 1967,391; see below p.521-34.

47. The fact that the cross on which the Wirksworth Lamb is enthroned is a Greek cross may point to an Eastern source (Werner 1969,12-13; Ó Carragáin 1978; Coatsworth 1979,I.50), but the dimensions are just as likely to have been determined by the confines of the slab and it should be remembered that the cross at Wirksworth is not strictly equal-armed.

48. Beckwith 1979,fig.83.

49. Allen 1887,258 (for fondi d'oro); Schiller III,pl.591 (for C.5th. sarcophagus from Ravenna).

50. C.4th. mosaics of S.Pudentiana (James 1931,26-44); C.5th. mosaics in Oratory of John the Evangelist, Baptistry of St.John, Latern, Rome (Allen 1887,40,258); C.6th. mosaics of S.Vitalis, Ravenna (Allen 1887,41,258; Calkins 1979,34; L'Orange & Nordhagen 1966,pl.74).

51. Rev.5,6f. See Schiller III,pl.594. (cf. Allen 1887,41,261; James 1931,26-44; Beckwith 1979,125-6) cf. C.9th. S.Prassede, Rome (Schiller III,pl.595; Allen 1887,45,261; Beckwith 1979,118).

52. D.A.C.L.III(2),1914; Bréhier 1928.

53. eg. Sta.Maria Maggiore, Rome 432-40 (Schiller III,pl.557); Baptistry at Ravenna 449-58 (Schiller III,pl.558 - no flanking evangelist symbols); Arian Baptistry, Ravenna c.500 (Schiller III,pl.559).

54. cf. ivory casket c.420 - apostles flank the throne under which stands the Agnus Victor on Sion; a cross is suspended above (Schiller III,pl.561).

55. Although found in Eastern imperial art of the C4th., the nimbus was not common in religious art until the C6th. It appeared first in Christian art of the East and is markedly absent from the early Christian sarcophagi of Italy and Gaul (Didron 1886,22-5,66-79,89-99; Tavenor-Perry 1907-8,20; Hulme 1909,52-5; Bréhier 1928). The nimbus existed in Anglo-Saxon art by the late C7th. but in Ireland, sacred figures were not

67a. Examples of Mary's Funeral Procession do occur in later Medieval art from the late C12th onwards. In most instances the chief priest is shown standing by, and touching, the Virgin's bier (eg. the York Ps., c.1170, in Schiller IV(2) pl.621) but a C13th German ms. (the Berthold Missal, c.1220) shows him kneeling beside it (Schiller IV(2) pl.623). If the provence of this scene were known it might reveal something of the background of the scene at Wirksworth.

distinguished by a halo on the sculpture, although they were given this attribute in Irish manuscript art (Macalister 1946; Henderson 1972,216).

56. See p.302-12; (Rev.4). Stevens 1904/1977; Ameisenowa 1949,34-9; Henry 1967,163-8; McKitterick 1983,219.

57. See p.302-12; Werner 1969,8,12-13.

58. Hart (Cramp 1984,i.95; ii.pl.416-8); Hoddom (Radford 1952-3,153-60; 1954,174-97; Cramp 1959-60,14). cf. Ruthwell (Dumfries.) where there was possibly a Lamb at the centre of the eighth-century cross-head surrounded by evangelists and their symbols (Cramp 1978; Ó Carragáin 1986,395).

59. Coatsworth 1979,i.59; ii.pl.13a-b.

60. Ameisenowa 1949,39.

61. Schlunk 1972, taf.63; cf.Werner 1969,7,n.21.

62. Paris, B.N. ms.lat.12048, f.42v (Durliat 1985,84, fig.309).

63. Werner 1969,7,n.22; Durlait 1985.

64. Alexander 1978,51. See above p.114-19.

65. Wilson 1984,111; cf. Budney 1984a,685,788f.

66. The position of the hands of the Brandon symbol differs from these as it holds a pen (pl.153).

67. Routh 1937,41-2; Kurth 1945,118; Cockerton 1961,230; 1962,9-10. Rawlins 1821,401 saw the scene as depicting the Entombment of Christ. However the figures are so easily identifiable as those in the apocryphal account of the funeral procession of Mary that this latter seems the most likely explanation. The Bearing of the Body of Christ, as part of the iconography of the Entombment of Christ, is a rather late development; it appears first in the East in C.9th. mss. produced after the iconoclastic controversy, but never really flourished in Christian art. In the West it is found in a few examples dating from the C.10th. & C.11th. (Schiller II,168-9).
See James 1924,209-13 for text of Pseudo-Melito.
For Anglo-Saxon references, see below p.534-41.

← 67a

68. The Assumption seems to have enjoyed a wider popularity in the art of Western Europe than in the East (Duhr 1946, Osborne 1984), but the representations of the event in the East were largely destroyed during the iconoclastic controversies, so that the earliest surviving type in the East is that which eventually became universally popular: The Dormition. The Assumption usually consists of Mary *orans* acompanied by angels or the twelve

apostles; an iconographical scheme which took over the Syrian iconography of Christ's Ascension (Duhr 1946; Milburn 1954,182; cf. Rice 1957,97). The image is first found in textiles of the C7th. & C8th., but also appears on ivories of the C8th. and C9th., such as the late C8th. plaque of Anglo-Saxon provenance (now in Munich), which shows the Virgin *orans* flanked by candles, the four evangelist symbols, and the twelve apostles (pl.101). Similar is the C9th. ivory from S.Gall; this shows Mary *orans* flanked by four angels (Gaborit-Chopin 1978,6,76; Durliat 1985,fig.466; cf. Maskell 1905,99-127; Milburn 1954,183). That the scene was more widely known in N.W.Europe than is indicated by these few examples is suggested by the fact that the influence of northern artists has been detected in the fresco of the Assumption at S.Clemente (Rome) in the mid C9th. (Krautheimer 1980,41).
The Dormition consists of Mary lying on her bed at either end of which stand the apostles. At the side of the bed Christ is shown holding a small child, sometimes in swaddling clothes, representing Mary's soul, which he hands to an angel (Duhr 1946). The early examples are best represented in Ottonian art of the late C9th. (eg. Schiller IV(2) pls.607ff.). For Byzantine egs. see Maskell 1905, pl.XXI; Grabar 1961, pl.142. Sometimes the scene was modified by showing Christ holding the soul at the moment of death, while another angel took the soul to heaven (Milburn 1954,182).

69. Nordhagen 1968,91.

70. Weitzmann 1974,35.

71. M.G.H.: Script.15(1) 97-8, trans. in Talbot 1954,166-7.

72. Kurth 1945,117; cf. Smith 1918,61.

73. eg. Thierry 1963,fig.39; Schiller I,pls.299,300.

74. Allen 1887,297; Schiller I,pl.65,279. Irish egs. are found at Arboe, Kells and Castledermot (Roe 1956; 1966; Sexton 1946,53-7,94-6,176-81). Bakewell is as yet unpublished. The C9th. Antwerp Sedulius (Alexander 1978,ill.292) does contain an illustration of the event which shows a woman holding an infant, but no soldier is shown reaching for the child, as would have to be argued at Wirksworth; her it is clear that a man clutches the swathed child.

75. eg. Schiller I,pls.53,302-3. cf. Woodruff 1931; Morey 1942,127-55,174-96; Birchler 1954,190-1; Kitzinger 1963,figs.19,32.

76. Rawlins 1821,402; Cockerton 1961,230-1; 1962,10-11.

77. Cockerton 1962,10-11.

78. C11th. drawing in the Annals of St.Germain-des-Prés (Schiller I,pl.235).

79. See further below no.10 (p.508-14).

80. Compare for example, the full-length figures of Christ in scene 2 (pl.50), the stretcher-bearers in scene 4 (pl.52), the angels in scene 8 (pl.57) and the first figure on the left in scene 10 (pl.56), (all of whom are identified as men because of their short hair) with the Virgin in scene 9 (pl.55) and the other two figures in scene 10 who are identified as women because of the headdresses they wear.

81. See also in the lower register, scene 8 (pl.57) is clearly separated from the scenes on either side, even if the boundary is somewhat irregular. The last scene is also separated from the one before it by the backs of the seated figure in scene 9 (pl.55) and the standing figure in scene 10.

82. Central figure in The Pedilavum (scene 2; pl.50); central Christ in Ascension (scene 8; pl.58) and diminutive figure in scene 10 (pl.56). cf. the feet of Christ on the lid of the Cuthbert coffin, late C7th. Northumbrian work (pl.96).

83. Marruchi 1924,149, described by Kurth 1945,118, also considered the last two figures on the upper register to be a continuation of the preceeding scene. However he identified the complete scene as The Bearing of Christ's Body to the Sepulchre with the souls in limbo above. cf.Rawlins 1821,401 and fn.56 above.

84. Didron 1886,176-7; Hulme 1909,101; see eg. C10th. Schiller IV(2) pls.587-8; C11th. pl593.

85. cf. C11th. Farfa Casket in Schiller IV(2) pl.593.

86. James 1924,216.

87. Cockerton 1962,11 (see above fn.18).

88. It has also, more recently, been identified by Harbison (1987b) as 2 scenes: Christ Healing Salome's Withered Hand & the Bathing of the Christ Child. There are a number of problems with this identification: The Bathing and Healing scenes only feature together once, in the C9th. Drogo Sacramentary (Schiller I, pl.160) but here, as is usually the case, Mary heals Salome's hand, not Christ. Generally the Bathing scene and the Healing scene occur with the Nativity. While the Bathing scene does feature two women on either side of the Christ Child, the three figures are never shown in the bath together as would have to be argued for Wirksworth. Lastly, the distinction adopted on the slab for male and female figures indicates that Harbison's "Salome" figure is male, as are all three figures in the "bath".

86a. The C13th Berthold Missal (Schiller IV(2) pl.623) does depict Christ with Mary's soul at the Funeral (see fn.67a).

This identification of the scene as a combined Bathing and Healing scene is therefore unlikely.

89. Kurth 1945,117.

90. The iconography of the Annunciation to the Shepherds always included an angel and a sheep, although the number of shepherds could vary; the iconography of the arrival of the Magi in Bethlehem is not a recognised iconographic scheme. The event is depicted either by the Magi seeing the star on the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, or by the portrayal of them on horseback on the way to Bethlehem. In the first iconographic scheme the Magi are depicted in animated movement to express their joy, and the star is always present; from the C9th. onwards they see the star while on horseback (Schiller I,84-5; 98-100).

91. Marruchi 1924, described by Kurth 1945,117. For the iconography of the holy women at the sepulchre see p.45-55.

92. Routh 1937,41.

93. For these two types see eg. C6th.Murano bookcover, now in Ravenna (Schiller II,pl.424), and Garrucci V, tav.314.3; 318.2; 320.1; 334.2; 382.4; 383.3; 384.1; 397.1-4,6-7; 403.6; 404.3.

94. eg. Cappadocian fresco at Ala Kilise (Thierry 1963,fig.46).

95. The Three Hebrews are found on later Irish sculpture but the iconography is that of the Three Hebrews crouching under the angel's protecting wings while the flames surround them; an iconography derived from Coptic depictions of the scene (Macalister 1946; Sexton 1946; Roe 1954; 1955; 1956; 1966; Edwards 1983,21-30).

96. Cockerton 1961,231; 1962,11-12.

97. James 1924,183.

98. See eg. Grabar 1974; cf. p.363-6.

99. Nordhagen 1962,82-93,pls.C(b),CIII - Sta.Maria Antiqua (705-7) provides the first instance of the scene in the form which it later retained in Byzantine art. cf. C10th. eg. of icon from Mt.Sinai (Weitzmann 1976,pl.). For egs. of abbreviated Harrowing of Hell see Schiller III,pls.99-103,109-110,120-2,125,133.

100. Weitzmann 1976,89-91, pl.XXXIV.

101. Nordhagen 1968,82-93, pls.C(b); CCIII.

102. Schiller III, pl.105.

103. Grabar 1966, pl.4.

104. Schiller III, pl.11.

105. Morey 1942,35f.

106. See eg. Anglo-Saxon ivory (pl.92) and the dead in pictures of the Anastasis (pls.155-7 & fns.98-104); cf. p.362-7.

107. See eg. Nordhagen 1968.

108. Rawlins 1821,402; Routh 1937,41; Kurth 1945,118; Cockerton 1961,230-1; 1962,12-13; Raw 1967,392.

109. Acts 1,9-12; See p.168-84.

110. Dewald 1915,277-31. cf. Rice 1965,217; Henry 1967,163-8; Rosenthal 1967; Osborne 1984.

111. See Isa.6; Ez.1,10,28; Dan.7; Rev.4,3.

112. eg. C9th. Cosmas Indicopleustes, Paris, B.N.gr.510 (Beckwith 1979, ill.152).

113. Cook 1923,40-6. The circular Mandorla is used on the doors of Sta.Sabina C5th. (Schiller III,pl.458). cf. Codex Amiatinus c.700 copied from South Italian model; Gospel of Autun, 751-4 A.D., based on a late antique model; C8th. Cividale altar; C9th. Gospels of Lorsch and Ada, and the Beatus Apocalypse in the Pierpont Morgan Library, c.900 (Didron 1886,25,107-51; Tavenor-Perry 1907-8,21; Hulme 1909,68-70; Grabar 1974,23-6).

114. Morey 1922. cf. Capps 1927a,332; Allen 1887,169; Morey 1922; 1942,78-101; V.C.H.(Derbyshire). An C11th. oliphant in the Cluny Museum shows Christ with a cross-staff enthroned in a mandorla carried by six angels in a scene based on an earlier Egyptian model (Werner 1977,19). cf.C11th. ivory now in Munich (Schiller III,pl.490). Egs. of Christ with cross-staff on C4th.sarcohagi, C5th. Ravenna mosaics, late Roman mosaics, mosaics of S.Michele in Africisco, Ravenna c.545 (Beckwith 1979,118), C5th.-7th. ivories (Volbach 1976,nos.142,183,187,192). For symbolism of cross-staff as cross of resurrection see Allen 1887,169; Hulme 1909,77,187.

115. eg. Dewald 1915,figs.8-10; Schiller III.pls.468,472,474-5. cf. Osborne 1984; Bailey 1985,12-14 and above p.168-84.

116. eg. Schiller III,pl.456,459-60,462-4,467; Weitzmann 1976,pls.XIII (C6th. Sinai icon),XXVIII (C9th. Sinai icon).

117. eg. C6th. Rabbula Gospel (pl.102); C9th. Khludov Ps. (Schiller III,pl.462); C9th. frescoes at S.Clemente, Rome (Schiller III,pl.467); C9th/10th. ivory, Byzantine (Schiller III,pl.463). See p.168-84.

118. cf. pl.128.

119. See also p.168-84.

120. cf. C9th. frescos at S.Clemente, Rome; C9th/10th. Byzantine ivory (Schiller III,pls.467, 463).

121. Compare eg. C6th-7th. Syrian plate; C6th. Monza ampulla; C6th. Rabbula Gospels; C8th. Syrian Cross-reliquary (pls.98,97,102,128); C6th. Sinai icon (Weitzmann 1976,pl.XIII); cf. C5th. Sta.Sabina doors and C9th. Khludov Ps. (Schiller III,pls.457,462), with C9th/10th. Byzantine ivory; C9th. S.Clemente frescoes; C9th. Drogo Sacramentary and Evangeliary of S.Médard (Schiller III,pls.463,467-8,470).
121a. See further below p.503.
122. Schiller II, pl.662.

123. Vat.gr.699 (Schiller III, pl.668; cf. Beckwith 1979, 182-5).

124. Schiller III, pl.663.

125. Ascensions without two angels addressing apostles: Schiller III,pls.456,460,462-4,467. Ascensions with two angels addressing apostles, gesticulating and/or carrying rods: Schiller III,pls.471,473-5.

126. Schiller III, pl.457.

127. See below no.9 (p.504-14).

128. See p.56-61.

129. See p.168-84 for discussion of numbers of apostles and Virgin's presence at the ascension.

130. Schiller I,33-45.

131. Routh 1937,41; Kurth 1945,117; Cockerton 1961,230-1; 1962,13-14. Marucchi 1924, described by Cockerton 1962,13, identified the two figures as the angel visiting Peter in prison, and Rawlins 1821,401 saw them as part of the next scene which he identified as the return of the disciples to Jerusalem after the Ascension. Both of these are unlikely; the seated figure is female and so not likely to be Peter or one of the apostles, and she is clearly separated from the figures of the next scene.

132. See pp.34-43, 360-2. See for eg. Schiller I,pls.33-5,55,68-70,72,74,76-7,82-4,156; St.Peter's mosaics, Rome (705-70 A.D.) (Nordhagen 1965,pl.XVIII); Sta.Maria Antiqua frescoes (705-7 A.D.) (Nordhagen 1968,78-9,pl.XCVIII); C11th. ivory casket from Farfa (Bloch 1946,pl.250). cf. D.A.C.L.I(2),2255-67; Allen 1887,52; Avery 1925; Bréhier 1928; Morey 1942,78f.,102f.; Rice 1957,81; Schiller I,40-5.

133. See pls.3,35,69.

134. See p.34-43.

135. Smith 1918, fig.147.

136. Smith 1918,fig.145.

137. See p.34-43 for discussion of spindle and thread.

138. eg. Schiller I,pls.54-5,60,64,71,73-7.

139. cf. Lasko 1972, 13; Gaborit-Chopin 1978,44; Schiller I,pl.74; Bloch 1946,fig.250.

140. Cockerton 1962,13.

141. There was no other gesture in early Medieval art which featured three extended fingers (D.A.C.L.II(1),749-52; Didron 1886,407-8; Hulme 1909,34,n.1; Dalton 1906).

142. Rawlins 1821,401.

143. Routh 1937,41-2.

144. See p.291-301. Harbison (1987) has also interpreted the scene as The Adoration of the Magi, drawing parallels with the scene on the Irish cross at Monasterboice. However Mary is not seated in a chair as she always is in the processional type of Adoration, and the Wirksworth carver was able to portray her seated in a chair (see Annunciation). It is therefore unlikely that this interpretation is correct.

145. Cockerton 1961,231; 1962,14-15; Thomas 1971,70.

146. Acts 10.

147. Marucchi 1924, described by Cockerton 1962,14, identified the scene as Peter's departure from Joppa. Cockerton offers an alternative explanation for the figures on the left as a priest and two women.

148. cf. Schiller III,pls.522,528,531,574-6,580-8.

149. There was also the iconography of Christ's Mission to the Apostles (established by the C4th.) but this featured Christ with all twelve apostles (see p.91-6; Burke 1930).

150. Kurth 1945,117; Cockerton 1961,231; 1962,15.

151. Luke 2,22-40. See for example Schiller I,pl.230 (C5th. mosaic, Sta.Maria Maggiore); pl.54(C8th. enamel cross from Palestine); pl.232 (C10th. ms); pl.236 (C10th. Codex Egberti);

Nordhagen 1965,pl.XVIII (St.Peter's, Rome, 705-7); Thierry 1963,fig.40 (mid C10th. Cappadocian fresco); pl.160 & Bloch 1946 (C11th. Farfa casket).

152. Shorr 1946,17-32.

153. eg. Sta.Maria Maggiore, Rome C5th. (Schiller I,pl.230); St.Peters, Rome, 705-7 (Nordhagen 1965,pl.XVIII); C11th. Farfa casket (pl.160).

154. Ex.13.

155. eg. C8th.enamel cross (pl.74); C9th.altar front at S.Ambrogio, Milan (Lasko 1972,pol.46), C9th.Utrecht Ps. ff.87v,89r,v (Dewald 1940, 68-70); Codex Egberti C10th. (Schiller I,pl.236); C10th. Cappadocian fresco (Thierry 1963,fig.40). The Presentation is also found in Irish sculpture on the East face of the C10th. West Cross at Kells. Joseph stands on the left holding a staff, next to Mary holding Christ (a "bolster shaped object"). On the right the head and shoulders of Simeon appear above a rectangular altar with a fluted front. Next to him is a figure with two doves (Porter 1931,fig.192; Sexton 1946,6-3,124-6,129-31,202-4; Roe 1966,49).

156. Schiller I, fig.230.

157. Birchler 1954,188.

158. Bloch 1946,208-11.

159. Trier, Stadbibl. Cos.24 (Schiller I, pl.236).

160. Nordhagen 1968,pl.XXI; 1965,pl.XVIII.

161. Thierry 1963,fig.40; Schiller I, pl.232.

162. Christ held by Mary and Simeon (Schiller I,pl.232); held by Simeon alone (Schiller I,pls.234-5); handed by Simeon to Mary (Schiller I,pl.233); handed by Mary to Simeon (Schiller I, pls.231,236). Simeon with his hands veiled (Schiller I, pls.230, 232,234,236). Witnesses with their hands raised in acclamation (Schiller I,pls.230,233-6).

163. Simeon with long hair (white) and Joseph with shorter hair (dark): Schiller I,pls.230-3,235-6.

164. John 13,1-20. See particularly v.9-10 & v.8 (cf. Cullmann 1953,106).

165. Kantorowicz 1956,205,211.

166. John 13,34-5.

167. eg. it is described as a regular practise in the Rule of St.Pachomius (d.346) in Eastern Monasticism, and in the West in the Rule of St. Benedict (d.547) (Schiller II,41f.).

168. Bede V.Cuth. (Colgrave 1940,218-19); cf. Colgrave 1940, 77,177,219,253.

169. Schiller II,41f; Kantorowicz 1956,214-5.

170. cf. Origen P.Gr.14,742-3; Afrahat (d.c.345) Hom.XII; Cyrillonas (C4th.Syrian poet) Hymns; Anastasius Sinaita (c.700) Syrian writer of "In Hexaemeron" V P.Gr.89,922 (For references see Kantorowicz 1956,215-7).

171. Kantorowicz 1956,219.

172. Schiller II,41f.

173. Ambrose "On the Mysteries of Baptism" VI,32-3 (P.L.16,416-7) trans. in N.P.N.F.(2) 10,321.

174. Kantorowicz (1956,230) refers to the "Hibernensis", an Irish collection of canons dated to the C7th; the Bobbio Missal and the Malalianus Chronicle (Irish mss. of the C8th.); some C9th. mss. from St.Gall. (cf. Wilmart 1923,324f.); and the C9th. Stowe Missal (Warren 1881,217).

175. see Kantorowicz 1956,228-9 for examples.

176. Cited by Kantorowicz 1956,228 from Wilmart 1947,196-200.

177. Kantorowicz 1956,230.

178. Thorpe 1846,242.

179. See Klauser 1979.

180. "In Johann. 56,4" (P.L.35,1789) trans. in N.P.N.F.(1) 7,302; cf. "Tractate LVII"1, "Tractate LVIII"5, "Tractate LXXX"3 in .N.P.N.F.(1) 7,303,306-7,344; "Ep.IV" (C.S.E.L.34,208), cf. Kantorowicz 1947,223-4.

181. "In Johann. 58,4" (P.L.35,1794) trans. in N.P.N.F.(1) 7,306; cf. "Sermon on Ps.93,1"3, "On Holy Virginity"3,38,51 (N.P.N.F.(1) 8,457; 3,429,431,436).

182. Klauser 1979,83; cf. Shorr 1946,17.

183. Klauser 1979,77-8,81.

184. Klauser 1979,46.

185. Although the writings of the Syrian Church Fathers (see fn.170) interpreted the pedilavum with a baptismal association, the practice does not seem to have been introduced as part of the Baptismal service in the Syrian liturgy (Schiller II,41f.).

186. Ex.12,5.

187. Ex.12,43 - 13,16.

188. Matt.26,17ff.; Mark 14,12ff.; Luke 22,1ff.

189. Ia.53,7; cf. Jer.11,19.

190. I.Cor.5,7-8.

191. John 1,29.

192. Rev.5,6-13.

193. Henderson 1972,209-11; Ó Carragáin 1986,392.

194. Ó Carragáin 1986,391f.; cf.Raw 1967; Coatsworth 1979,I.50.

195. Dolley 1971,342; Hohler 1956,401.

196. Ó Carragáin 1978,131f.; 1986,391.

197. Ó Carragáin 1986,393.

198. I.Peter 1,18-19.

199. "Hom. on John 1,29-34" (C.C.S.L.122,105-6, 1.18-24) trans. in Ó Carragáin 1986,394. C.C.S.L.122,106, 1.28-32 relate the Agnus Dei to the lamb of the passover.

200. Thorpe 1846,264-6.

201. Acts 1,11.

202. Rev.5,4-7.

203. Ó Carragáin 1986,396.

204. I.Cor.11,27-32.

205. Warner 1906,II.13. Translated by Ó Carragáin 1986,396.

206. Tychonius saw the Apocalypse in terms of the strife of the Donatist Church with the false state church and world powers. The Beast was a symbol of this world power, and the lamb a symbol of the true church; the Millenium was the period between the first and second advents of Christ which he believed would end with the turn of the fifth century. The establishment of

Christianity as the State Religion made this specific interpretation somewhat unacceptable, but the notion of the Millenium as the period between the birth of Christ and the day of Judgement was retained by the Western Church until the eleventh century (Charles 1915,12-13; Feuillet 1965,11f.; Bonner 1966).

207. "De Civ.Dei" XX (C.S.E.L.40(2),424-512).

208. Charles 1915,15f.

209. Dolley 1971,342.

210. Charles 1915,13; Feuillet 1965,11; Bonner 1966; Meyvaert 1978,22.

211. P.L.93,145.

212. Bonner 1966,13.

213. Bonner 1966,5,9; cf. Augustine "De Doct.Christ."III,xxxi,44-xxxvii,55 (C.S.E.L.53,106-17).

214. P.L.93,172.

215. Dobbie 1942, lxxviii ff.

216. 1.22-5 (Dobbie 1942,87). Aelfric, in his sermon on the Nativity of John the Baptist (Thorpe 1846,358), speaks of John's proclamation of Jesus as the Lamb of God and expands the identification with a reference to Christ's names. These include Wisdom, The Word, The Lion of Judah and The Lamb. This last title was due because of the redemption granted to mankind through Christ's sacrifice, made to his father in the manner of a lamb. The overall tone is one of praise, but the actual reference to the lamb is to the sacrificial Agnus Dei.

217. Ez.1,5-14; 10,14; Dan.7,3-8.

218. Rev.4,7-8; cf. 5,6f.

219. "Ad.Her." (P.Gr. 7(1),889) trans. in A.N.F.1,428-9.

220. Irenaeus identified John with the lion, Luke with the ox, Matthew with the man, and Mark with the eagle (A.N.F.1,428). Jerome established the correspondence adopted by later Western church writers: John became the eagle, Luke remained the ox, and Matthew the man, but Mark became the lion ("Comm.Ez." P.L.25,20-5).

221. Origen "Hom.I" P.Gr.13,665-81; Jerome P.L.25,20-5,692-707; Gregory the Great P.L.76,785,815-6. cf. Ameisenowa 1949,38-9; Allen 1887,264; Hulme 1909,132; Henry 1967,163-8; Blair 1970,227;

Schiller II,108; Krautheimer 1980,93-4; McKitterick 1983,219; Okasha & O'Reilly 1984,41,44.

222. Okasha & O'Reilly 1984,44.

223. Bede "In I Sam." (C.C.S.L.119,159, 1.946-50); cf. Blair 1970,227.

224. Aelfric "On the Old and New Testament", 1.862-90 (Crawford 1922,52-4). cf. 1.185-202 (Skeat 1881-5,332-4); Thorpe 1846, 430. For Aldhelm see Lapidge & Rosier 1985,56,114 (on the Matthew and Mark symbols).

225. See eg. Didron 1886; Hulme 1909; Fleming 1966; Ó Carragáin 1978,138; Coatsworth 1979,I,21.

226. The Dream of the Rood (Swanton 1970) contains references to the dualism evoked by the cross; the feelings of sorrow and joy (see particularly 1.1-25).

227. Frere 1930,101; Swanton 1970,44-5; Coatsworth 1979,i.21-4.

228. Rev.5,6.

229. See eg. Philpns.2,8-11.

230. On the emotive use of the cross in Christian art see p.151-62.

231. It is not clear whether this discrepancy between the sacrifical/eucharistic role of the Agnus Dei, prominent in the writing, and the exalted role of the Agnus Victor, prominent in art, is a result of the research which has been done on the subjects. This has concentrated on the image of the lamb, commonly called "the Agnus Dei" (literally understood to be "the lamb of god"), which is then examined in the light of the Agnus Dei chant and other liturgical references which have a specifically sacrificial/eucharistic context, regardless of whether the image is that of the Agnus Dei or the Agnus Victor. As a result the writings on the Agnus Dei have been highlighted, and the writings on the more apocalyptic Agnus Victor have been neglected. (The distinction is recognised, but not explored, in Hohler 1956,401).

232. Henry 1967,163-8; Raw 1967,392; Coatsworth 1979,i.53; McKitterick 1983,219; Okasha & O'Reilly 1984,41.

233. Schiller II,108; Coatsworth 1979,i.24-7,53.

234. Milburn 1954,133-8. Osborne (1984) described the texts as originating in Syria or Egypt in the fifth century.

235. Clayton 1984,209.

236. Milburn 1954,177; Clayton 1984,211.

237. Milburn 1954,177-8; Clayton 1984,213.

238. Jugie 1944,200-1; Milburn 1954,133-8; Clayton 1984,218. cf. Gregory of Tours "Miraculorum de Gloria Martyrum" I,iv (P.L.71,708).

239. The Martyrologium Hieronymianum Epternacense (Paris, B.N.lat.10837) copied in the early C8th. and The Calendar of Willibrord (Wilson 1918) written by an Anglo-Saxon scribe at the beginning of the eighth century (see Netzer 1989; Ó Cróinín 1989).

240. Clayton 1984,214-6. There is a similar confusion in Aldhem's poem, dated c.690, on the dedication of the church built by Bugga (Lapidge & Rosier 1985,49, l.59-65; Clayton 1984,214-18).

241. Clayton 1984,221-2.

242. l.460-4 (Campbell 1967,37).

243. Milburn 1954,178; Clayton 1984,213.

244. C.S.E.L.39,240 trans. in P.P.T.S. 3,17. This part of Adamnan/Arculf's account is reproduced almost exactly by Bede (C.S.E.L.39,309; trans. in P.P.T.S. 3,74). He also describes as empty the tomb (monumentum vacuum) "in quo sancta Maria aliquandiu pausasse dicitur, sed a quo vel quando sit ablata nescitur" (in which St.Mary is said to have rested for some time; but by whom, and when the body was taken away is unknown).

245. M.G.H.: Script.15(1) 98 trans. in Talbot 1954,166-7.

246. Milburn 1954,180. A similar doubt is expressed in a contemporary letter "To Paula and Eustochium" attributed spuriously to Jerome (P.L.30,123). See above p.480,fn.71.

247. P.L.94,420-1.

248. P.L.94,421-2.

249. "Hom.lix" (P.L.94,422).

250. Pope 1968,II,799-808.

251. Morris 1967,158.

252. Morris 1967,159.

253. Morris 1967,159.

254. Matt.12,40.

255. James 1924,183; Der Nersessian 1954,210.

256. Osborne 1984 dates the texts to the C7th. at the earliest. Writers include Irenaeus "Against Heresies" IV,xxvii,xxxi (A.N.F.1,493-9,560); Clement of Alexandria "The Stromata" VI,vi (A.N.F.2,490-1); Origen "On John" VI (A.N.F.10,367-8); Athanasius "Discourse III Against the Arians" XXV (N.P.N.F.(2)4,406); John Damascene "Exposition of hte Orthodox Faith" ix (N.P.N.F.(2)9,73); Ephraem Syrus "On the Nativity" (N.P.N.F.(2)13,233,306); John Chrysostom "Hom.II on Matthew" (N.P.N.F.(1)10,9); Rufinius "On the Creed" (N.P.N.F.(2) 548f). For other, and later Eastern writers, see references in Der Nersessian 1954.

257. Ure 1957,58f,72f.

258. 1.7-15 (Ure 1957,82). cf. Christ and Satan 1.398-401,460-7 (Krapp 1932).

259. Bullough 1970,112; Klauser 1979,64,77. cf. Bede "Letter to Archbishop Egbert" (Plummer 1896,408-9).

260. 1.17-19 (Ure 1957,88).

261. "Ep.CLXIV,v,14" (P.L.33,715) trans. in N.P.N.F.(1) 1,519 "Letter CLXIV to Evodius" V,14 (c.414). cf. N.P.N.F.(1) 1,515-9; Ambrose "On the Christian Faith" III,xiv,111-2 (N.P.N.F.(2) 10,258).

262. Underwood 1950; Verzone 1968,174; Ó Carragáin 1987,121.

263. "Ep.CLXIV,iv,10" (P.L.33,713) trans. in N.P.N.F.(1) 1,518 cf. I Pet.4,1,6.

264. Underwood 1950; Verzone 1968,174-6.

265. Adamnan's version of Arculfus of Gaul's description of the Holy Places (C.S.E.L.39,233) trans. in P.P.T.S. 3,9; cf. Bede's version (P.P.T.S. 3,69).

266. Calkins 1979,31.

267. N.C.E.5,9; Klauser 1979,77-9.

268. Jones 1978,407-10; Tyrer 1932,147-74.

269. The extent of the integration is reflected in the iconography of C9th. Eastern Psalters which were an intrinsic part of the church service. Ps.81.8 which was used to conclude the office of Holy Saturday is illustrated in the Khludov Ps. (Moscow Historical Museum, Cod.gr.129,f.82v) by the Anastasis (cf.Ps.67,7 on f.63r). In the Western Stuttgart Ps. the Descent takes the form of Christ breaking down the gates of hell as a

literal depiction of Ps.23,7 (Dewald 1930,I,29,II,26); while in the Utrecht Psalter, Ps.15 and The Creed are illustrated by Christ raising Adam and Eve from the Pit of Hell while the devil is trampled under Christ's feet (Dewald 1940,10,71).

270. Didron 1886,241; Grabar 1961,125f; Schiller I,113f.

271. "De Ex.Fratris sui Satyri" II,102-3 (P.L.16,1403) trans. in N.P.N.F.(2) 10,191; cf. Ambrose "On the Christian Faith" III,iv,27 (N.P.N.F.(2) 10,246); Augustine "Tractate CXI on John" (N.P.N.F.(1) 7,413).

272. "Ep.CXXXIII" 12 c.415 (P.L.22,1160) trans. in N.P.N.F.(2) 6,279.

273. Augustine "On Ps.66" (N.P.N.F.(1) 8,275) and Gregory the Great in "Letter XV" (N.P.N.F.(2) 12,216-7).

274. Thorpe 1844,26-8.

275. Christ 1.576-81 (Cook 1970); Christ and Satan 1.366-664 (Krapp 1931).

276. Thorpe 1844,226-8. See also Aelfic "Sermon on the Beginning of Creation" in Thorpe 1844,26-8.

277. Acts 1,7-11.

278. "In Ascen." 3 (P.Gr.50,446) trans. in Toal II,435.

279. See Gregory the Great "Hom.29 in Evang." 5 (P.L.76,1216-7): "Quia is qui fecerat omnia nimirum super omnia sua virtute ferebatur. Illo etenim revertebatur ubi erat, et inde redibat ubi remanebat, quia cum per humanitatem ascenderet in coelum, per divinitatem suam et terram pariter continebat et coelum." (He who made all things is by his own power borne above them all. Thither he returned, where he had been; and from here he went back to where he had continued to be; for while in his humanity he ascended to heaven, in his divinity he was upholding both earth and heaven) Translated in Toal II,429.
cf. "Hom.29 in Evang." 10 (P.L.76,1218-9) Translated in Toal II,431. For Leo the Great see "Sermo 73 De Ascen.Dom.I" iv (P.L.54,396) Translated in Toal II,425-6.
cf. Augustine "Tractate CI on John" N.P.N.F.(1) 7,389.

280. see eg. Mildenburger 1948.

281. 1.651-3 (Cook 1970, 25). cf. Christ and Satan 1.562-4 (Krapp 1931).

282. Thorpe 1844,298-300. cf. Morris 1967,91.

283. See p.218-25.

284. Jones 1978,330.

285. Klauser 1979,86; Jones 1978,411. cf. for example Leo the Great's sermon on Ascension Day (fn.279).

286. Thorpe 1844,28.

287. For Bede's Homilies and Hymn on the Ascension see P.L.94,174-189,429-32,624-6.

288. Clayton 1984,210-11.

289. Frere 1930,98; Klauser 1979,70; Schiller I,33-45; Clayton 1984,213.

290. Quentin 1908,49-50; Clayton 1984,219. (Hom.I "In Festo Annunciationis Beatae Maria" P.L.94,9-13).

291. Clayton 1984,211. cf.221-2 (See above p.*).

292. 1.463 (Campbell 1967,37); Clayton 1984,212-3.

293. Luke 1,31-5.

294. P.Gr.7(1),919 trans. in A.N.F.1,440 (Irenaeus "Against Heresies"III,xvi); cf."Ad.Her." III,ix,x,xxi,xxii, V,i (A.N.f.1, 422-4, 452, 454-5, 527); Justin Martyr "The First Apology" xxxiii, "Dialog with Trypho" C (A.N.F.1,174,249); Origen "De Prinicipes" I,iii; II,vi; "Comm. on John" VI; "Comm. on Matt." X (A.N.F.4,252,284; 10,356;424).

295. Augustine "On Rebuke and Grace" 31; "Reply to Faustus the Manichaean" xxvi,15; xxix,3; "On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism" III,8; "On Nature and Grace" 22 (N.P.N.F.(1) 5,484; 4,225,327; 5,71; 128). cf. Leo the Great "Letter XXVIII" (N.P.N.F.(2) 12,39).

296. Warner 1976; See p.56-61.

297. Luke 1,38.

298. "De Virg." II,ii,9-11 (P.L.16,221) trans. in N.P.N.F.(2) 10,375 Ambrose "Concerning Virgins" II,ii,9-11. cf. Hilary of Poitiers "On the Trinity" II,26 (N.P.N.F.(2) 9,59).

299. Gregory the Great "Ep.LXVII" to Quiricus (P.L.77,1207) trans. in N.P.N.F.(2) 13,83.

300. Morris 1967,9.

301. Thorpe 1844,200.

302. 1.13-24 (Pope 1968,II,804-5).

303. Aelfric "Annunc.S.Mariae" (Thorpe 1844,200).

304. Luke 2,22-39.

305. Ex.13,12-15; Num.18,15-16.

306. Lev.12,2-8.

307. Luke 2,22-4.

308. Shorr 1946,17; Clayton 1984,209.

309. Shorr 1946,17; Clayton 1984,209-10; Schiller I,90.

310. Frere 1930,92-4; Shorr 1946,17f.

311. Clayton 1984,211.

312. Shorr 1946,17f.; Klauser 1979,90; Schiller I,90.

313. eg. "De Temp.Ratione" (P.L.90,351); "Hom. on Purification" (C.C.S.L.122,128-33); Bede's Martyrology (Quentin 1908,49-50).

314. Clayton 1984,221.

315. Clayton 1984,222 "Et quartas nonas Christus templo offerebatur".

316. C9th. Calendar (Oxf. Bodleian lib. Digby ms.63,40r-45r) Clayton 1984,223.

317. Thorpe 1844,146f.; Schiller I,90-1.

318. eg. Irenaeus "Against Heresies" I,viii,4; III,x,4; IV,vii,1 (A.N.F.1,328,425,441-2,470); Tertullian "On the Flesh of Christ", "On Fasting" (A.N.F.3,522; 4,107); Methodius "Oration Concerning Simeon and Anna" (A.N.F.6,383-93); Augustine "De Trinitate" IV,xx,29; "Harmony of the Gospels" II,v,17; "On Ps.40,10"; "On Ps.67,2" (N.P.N.F.(1)3,85; 6,111-2; 8,125,282).

319. C.S.E.L.39,241 trans.P.P.T.S.3,18.

320. Luke 2,30-2.

321. Luke 2,34-5.

322. Ps.104,18 (P.L.37,1397).

323. P.L.70, 716-7.

324. P.L.92, 346.

325. Thorpe 1844,146.

326. "Constitutions of the Holy Apostles" III,1; VIII,3 (A.N.F.7,426,492-3); Augustine "Letter CXXX" xvi,29; "On the Good of Marriage"; "On the Good of Widowhood" (N.P.N.F.(1) 1,468; 3,403;444); Jerome N.P.N.F.(2) 6,10,54,108,168,230,253,262,336-9,400.

327. Thorpe 1844,146.

328. Luke 2,30-2.

329. Cockerton 1962,7.

330. Philipn. 2,8-9.

331. John 13,14.

332. Morey 1942,55-78; Allen 1887,184.

333. See "Conclusions" below, (p.579f.).

334. Aries 1985,31-66; cf. Henderson 1972,30; Kitzinger 1956, 297f.

335. See for example Hunt 1901,7f; Southern 1970,215f; Thomas 1971,85f; Deanesly 1969,36-41,76-8; Chadwick 1967,174-183; Lawrence 1984,7-57. cf. below p.579f.

336. See above p.460-4.

337. See above p.494-504.

338. See above p.504-8.

339. See above p.559-66.

340. See above p.488-94.

341. See above p.478-87.

342. See above p.464-78.

343. Morey 1924,41f; 1942,102f.

344. Gaborit-Chopin 1978,34-5.

345. Capps 1927a,334; Gaborit-Chopin 1978,34-5; cf. Bloch 1946,208-11; Rice 1952,169.

346. Burke 1930,174; Soper 1937; Morey 1942,127f; Gaborit-Chopin 1978,26-7.

347. Smith 1918,192-205; Gaborit-Chopin 1978,37; Hodges 1982,31-9

348. Lasko 1971,79f.; Grabar 1974,38. cf. Lasko 1971,79-120: Radegund's writing/reading desk c.569, stone carving of the early-mid C7th. and the earliest Merovingian mss and reliquaries.

349. See above fn.347-8.

350. See above p.437; cf. Allen 1887,34,184; Morey 1942,55f.; Kurth 1945,114; Webster 1982,21-2.

351. Rice 1952,169; Henderson 1967,149; 1972,122-39; Grabar 1974,16; Webster 1982,21-2. cf. Farfa Casket (Bloch 1946).

352. Dodwell 1982,122-8; Bede H.E.II,iii (Colgrave & Mynors 1969,142-5).

353. Bede H.E. IV,xi (Colgrave & Mynors 1969,367).

354. Bede H.E. IV,xix (Colgrave & Mynors 1969,395-7).

355. Bede V.Cuth. xxxvii (Colgrave 1940,273).

356. Bede V.Cuth. xliii (Colgrave 1940,296-7). cf. Toynbee (1964,210) on the reuse of Roman sarcophagi in Anglo-Saxon period.

357. Dodwell 1982,126-8; cf. Colgrave & Mynors 1969,394, Toynbee 1964,210-12. Goscelin's C11th. description of Augustine's coffin demonstrates that it was decorated; and it is unlikely that Aethelthryth's coffin would have been described as "beautifully made" if it had been plain (see Dodwell 1982,122-8).

358. Grabar 1974.

359. This apparent change in burial practises may be due to no more than a discrepancy resulting from the vagaries of documentary evidence and its survival. However, there may be other reasons: the supply of Romano-British material may have diminished, although the surviving material suggests this is not likely (Toynbee 1964,210). Alternatively ecclesiastical strictures against the practise may have begun to be observed in Mercia during the C8th. (Dodwell 1982,126).

360. For references see Appendix I(C).

361. Bede V.Cuth. xxxvii (Colgrave 1940,278-81).

362. Bede H.E. III,xxx; IV,xi (Colgrave & Mynors 1969,322-3; 364-9).

363. Rollason 1984; Bentley 1984,89f.; Campbell 1989; Thacker 1989.

364. See Bailey 1980,81-4 for the stone cross-shaft as a monastic art form in pre-Viking England.

365. Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1985,234-5; cf. Andrews 1892b,33; Cox 1892,19. Land for Repton granted was to Aedda, abbot of Breedon, so the monastery was under the influence of Medeshamstead to a certain extent. Associations with the royal house of Mercia: Guthlac, royal Mercian nobleman, took his vows there; son of Penda/brother of Wulfhere buried there; Aethelbald (d.757) buried there, also Wiglaf (d.839) and Wiglaf's grandson Wigstan (d. before 873). See further Harbison 1987b.

366. Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1985,283-90.

367. Stenton 1933; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1985; Harbison 1987b.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSIONS

1. Adoration of Christ (Rothb.); Adoration of the Magi (Sandb.); Adoration of the Virgin and Child (Sandb. cf.Virgin at Breedon & Dewsbury); Annunciation (Hov., Sandb., Wkswth. cf.Ruthw.); Ascension (Rothb., Wkswth.); Burial of the Virgin (Wkswth.); Christ and the Apostles (Mashm. cf.Reculver & Peterborough); Christ in Majesty (Rothb. cf.Dewsbury); Crowd of the Blessed (Rothb.); Crucifixion (Rothb., Sandb. cf.Ruthw., Bakewell, Bradbourne); Damned in Hell (Rothb. cf.Repton); David and the Lion (Mashm.); David the Psalmist (Mashm.); Harrowing of Hell/Resurrection (Wkswth.); Majestas Agni/Second Coming (Wkswth. cf. Agnus Dei at Hart and Second Coming at Eyam); Nativity (Sandb.); Peacocks of Immortality (Mashm. cf.Knells); Pedilavum (Wkswth.); Presentation in the Temple (Wkswth.); Raising of Lazarus/Resurrection (Rothb. cf.Heysham, Gt.Glen); Road to Calvary - Christ Bound; Simon of Cyrene (Sandb. cf.Bakewell, Leek); Samson with the Gates of Gaza/ Resurrection (Mashm. cf.Cundall); Three Women at the Sepulchre/ Resurrection (Hov.); Traditio Legis cum Clavis (Sandb.); Transfiguration (Sandb.); Visitation (Hov.).
From Bewcastle and Ruthwell can be added: Christ Healing the Blind Man; Christ with Mary Magdalene; Christ over the Beasts; The Evangelists and their Symbols (cf.Hart, Ilkley); John the Baptist; Mary and Martha; Paul and Anthony; The Return from Egypt cf. Appendix I(C) for other scenes.

2. Exceptions to this are the Samson scenes at Masham and Cundall, and the figures of John the Baptist, and Christ over the Beasts at Ruthwell (pl.59) and Bewcastle.

3. See eg. Ó Carragáin 1986.

4. See Garrucci II, tav.38.2; 67.2; Garrucci III, tav.178.5 for egs. of Lazarus scenes without Christ; cf.p.199-209 above.

5. **Scenes Repeated in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture:** Annunciation (4); Ascension (3); (Crucifixion); John the Baptist (2); Lazarus (3); Entry to Jerusalem (2); Loaves and Fishes (2); Second Coming (2); Road to Calvary figure with cross (3); Damned in Hell (2); (Adoration of) the Virgin (4); Christ and the Apostles (2); Christ in Majesty (5); Peacocks of Immortality (2); Evangelists/ Symbols (5); Christ over the Beasts (2); Tree of Life (4); Samson with the Gates of Gaza (2).
Scenes found only once in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture: Adoration of the Magi; Nativity; David and the Lion; David the Psalmist; Mary and Martha; Christ and Mary Magdalene; Pedilavum; Presentation in the Temple; Return from Egypt; Road to Calvary (Christ Bound); Three Women at the Sepulchre; Transfiguration; Visitation; Christ Healing the Blind; Miracle at Cana; Burial of the Virgin; Harrowing of Hell; Paul and Anthony; Traditio Legis cum Clavis; Crucifixion of St.Andrew; Adoration of Christ; Majestas Agni; Agnus Dei.

6. ie. Samson with the Gates of Gaza; Nativity; Presentation; Return from Egypt; Three Women at the Sepulchre; Transfiguration; Visitation; Loaves and Fishes; Miracle at Cana; Majestas Agni; Burial of the Virgin; Harrowing of Hell; Damned in Hell; Paul and Anthony; Traditio Legis cum Clavis; Crucifixion of St.Andrew; John the Baptist; Adoration of Christ; Adoration of the Virgin and Child; Mary and Martha; Christ and Mary Magdalene.

7. See Cramp 1984,ii.pl.6 for Crucifixion of St.Andrew.

8. See p.465-78 for Agnus Victor; p.331-40 for Traditio Legis cum Clavis & p.371-5 for Adoration of the Virgin and Child; p.184-99 for Adoration of Christ.

9. For reference see Dodwell 1982,96,n.70; cf. p.19.

10. Henderson 1967,144-7.

11. Henderson 1967,144-7.

12. Der Nersessian 1962; See eg. pl.84 & p.111-14.

13. See eg. Bibles and Psalters of Charles the Bald; St.Gall Psalter (Hubert 1970,137,174f.).

14. Insular illustrated Commentaries on Job (by Philip the Presbyter), Isaiah (by Jerome) and the Psalms (by Cassiodorus & the Pseudo-Theodore of Mopsuestia) survive from the early Anglo-Saxon period (see Alexander 1978,nos.40,2,17,62), so an illustrated Commentary on Judges may be a possibility.

15. Henderson (1986) has most recently argued that this is a result of the emphasis placed on David in the Psalters. See Appendix I for Old Testament scenes in other insular media.

16. See Schiller I,26-33 for contents of Infancy Cycles.

17. See Appendix I-III.

18. For Dewsbury and Hornby see Collingwood (1915; 1927); for Ruthwell Healing of the Blind Man see eg. Howlett 1974. cf.Appendix I(C).

19. Loaves and Fishes: Arboe, Donaghmore, Kells, Moone, Castledermot and possibly Camus-Macosquin.
Miracle at Cana: Arboe, Donaghmore and Kells (Roe 1955; 1956; Henry 1967, 150-1,180).

20. cf. Appendix I(B), I(D), I(E).

21. See Appendix I(A), II.

22. Dodwell 1971,4; cf.21-3.

23. See Schiller I,162-7 on significance of The Loaves & Fishes and The Miracle at Cana; cf. Allen 1887,29,225-6; Smith 1918; Bréhier 1928; Árnason 1938; Morey 1942,78f, 102f, 127f; Parsch 1957,7-9; Henry 1967,180-1; Gough 1973,45; Calkins 1979,6; Cutler 1980-1.

24. It is not certain that the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes was illustrated in Royal I.E.vi (see Budny 1984a; Appendix I(A)).

25. Schiller I,170-1 (171-3).

26. See Appendix I(C).

27. ie.Last Judgement ivory (pl.92); Repton stone (pl.114; see Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986).

28. For references to diversity of artefacts see eg. Allen 1887,29-70; Henderson 1972,110-6.

29. cf.Rice 1952,170.

30. cf.Weitzmann 1974.

31. cf.Schiller II,78-80.

32. cf.Demus 1970,12-24.

33. See eg. Morey 1942,127-55; Southern 1970,56; Krautheimer 1980, 106-111. For Eastern influence on Roman art see eg. Tselos 1956; Rice 1959,63f.; Wallace-Hadrill 1967,60; Nordhagen 1968,104-108; 1977; Demus 1970,47; Gough 1973,133; Beckwith 1979,149-51; Krautheimer 1980,90-106;

34. Brøndsted 1924.

35. See references in fn.33.

36. See eg. Macpherson 1889,16; Cason 1932,267; Rice 1946,19-20; 1952,29-43; Bullough 1970; Henderson 1972,110-16; Dodwell 1982, 107.

37. Boundaries are those of Hill 1982 (see Fig.1); cf. p.15, 21-2.

38. See eg. McKitterick 1983,225.

39. eg. Wood 1987; Campbell 1989; cf. Thompson 1969,267-308; Mayr-Harting 1976,11; Morris 1977,90; Wormald 1978.

40. Bailey 1980,81-4.

41. Wood 1987.

42. For various suggestions on this subject see eg. Maskell 1905; Collingwood 1927,184 Anderson 1935,16; Rice 1952,91-2,160; Chatzidakis & Grabar 1965,5-6; Hill 1966,135; Zarnecki 1966,90; Sjoberg 1967,23; Postan 1972; Stone 1972,3,10,12; Whitelock 1972,104; Wheeler 1977,236; Gaborit-Chopin 1978,16,76; Hodges 1982; Webster 1982,29; Maquet 1986,202-8.
The archaeological evidence in England is inconclusive due to the incomplete nature of the excavations so far undertaken. See eg. Cramp 1964; 1967,4; 1970a; 1973; 1975,184-6; 1976b,234-41; Blair 1970,168; Fowler 1976; Rahtz 1976; Wilson 1978,17.
For Ireland see eg. Henry 1965,79-81; 1967,42-4; de Paor 1967,74,96; Calkins 1979,61.

43. Collingwood 1927,184.

44. Bede V.Abb. 5 (Plummer 1896,368); H.E. V,21 (Colgrave & Mynors 1969, 532-3); Eddius Stephanus Vita Wilfridi 14 (Colgrave 1927,30-1).

45. See eg. Cramp 1964.

46. Higgitt 1986.

47. Cramp 1965. For various arguments on this subject see Allen 1887; Hunt 1901; Stevens 1904/1977; Collingwood 1927; Macalister 1946; Sexton 1946; Nordenfalk 1947; Rice 1952; 1957; 1965,216; Cramp 1967; 1977a; 1978b; 1983; 1984; Henry 1965; Saxl & Wittkower 1969; Blair 1970; Dodwell 1971; Thomas 1971; Mayr-Harting 1972; Stone 1972; Campbell 1973; Gough 1973; Hunter 1974; Calvert 1978; Harbison 1978; Wilson 1978; 1984,72f.,105f.; Henderson 1982,83-4,105; Parkes 1982,20-1; Lang 1983; McKitterick 1983,216; Wood 1986.

48. Bede V.Abb. 5 (Plummer 1896,368).

49. Meyvaert 1979,65.

50. Eddius Stephanus Vita Wilfridi 14 (Colgrave 1927,30-1).

51. Bede "De Templo" II (C.C.S.L. 119A,213); cf. trans. Meyvaert 1979,69; and above pp.5-6, 21.

52. McKitterick 1983,21. The distinction is the result of McKitterick's personal research, but does indicate that sculptors were seen as distinct from masons in C8th. and C9th. Gaul (p.comm.). Further research on this matter is forthcoming by David Parsons.

53. Higgitt 1986b.

54. Eg. Deanesley 1963; Strang 1970; Bieler 1976; Nordenfalk 1977; Alexander 1978,39; Clanchy 1979; Backhouse 1981; McKitterick 1983,225.

55. See Higgitt 1986b. For Urswick see also Bailey & Cramp 1988,148-51. A further example may be provided by the shaft at Alnmouth, Nthbd. (Cramp 1984), but this is dated to the C10th. and so may provide evidence of Viking-age practices.

56. Gray 1935,192; Bautier 1971,38.

57. See further Higgitt 1986.

58. Ó Carragáin 1986.

59. Gregory of Tours "Historia Francorum" II,17 (P.L. 71,215) Trans.Thorpe 1974,131-2.

60. cf. Wood 1986, 78-9.

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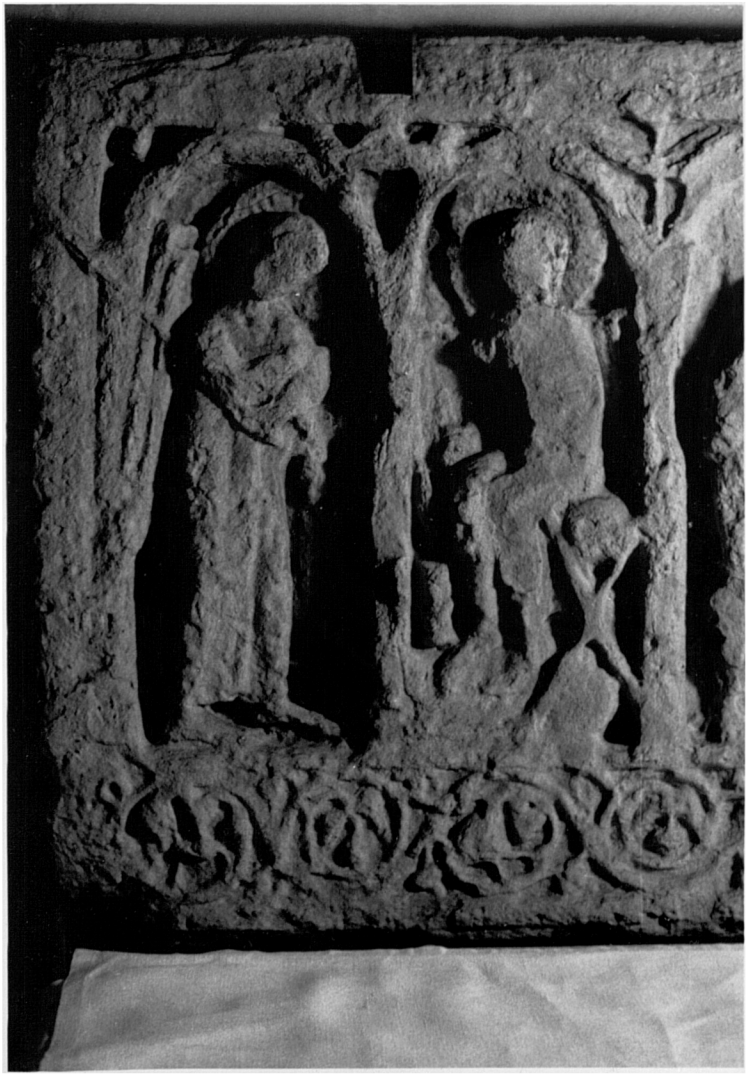

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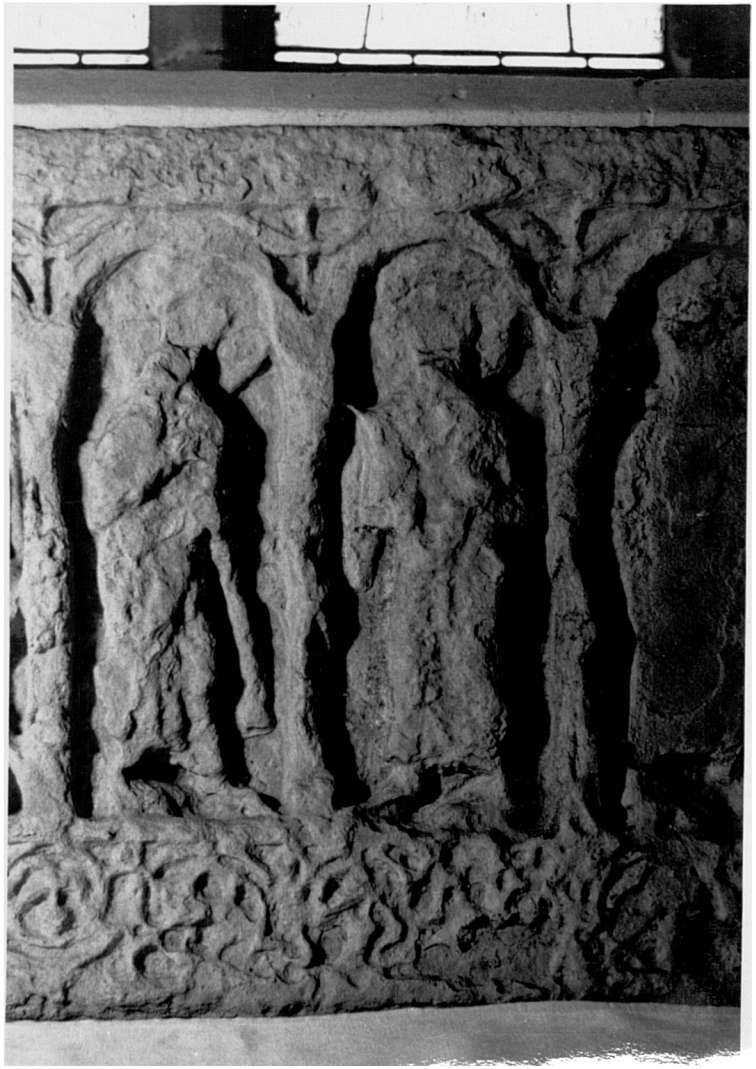

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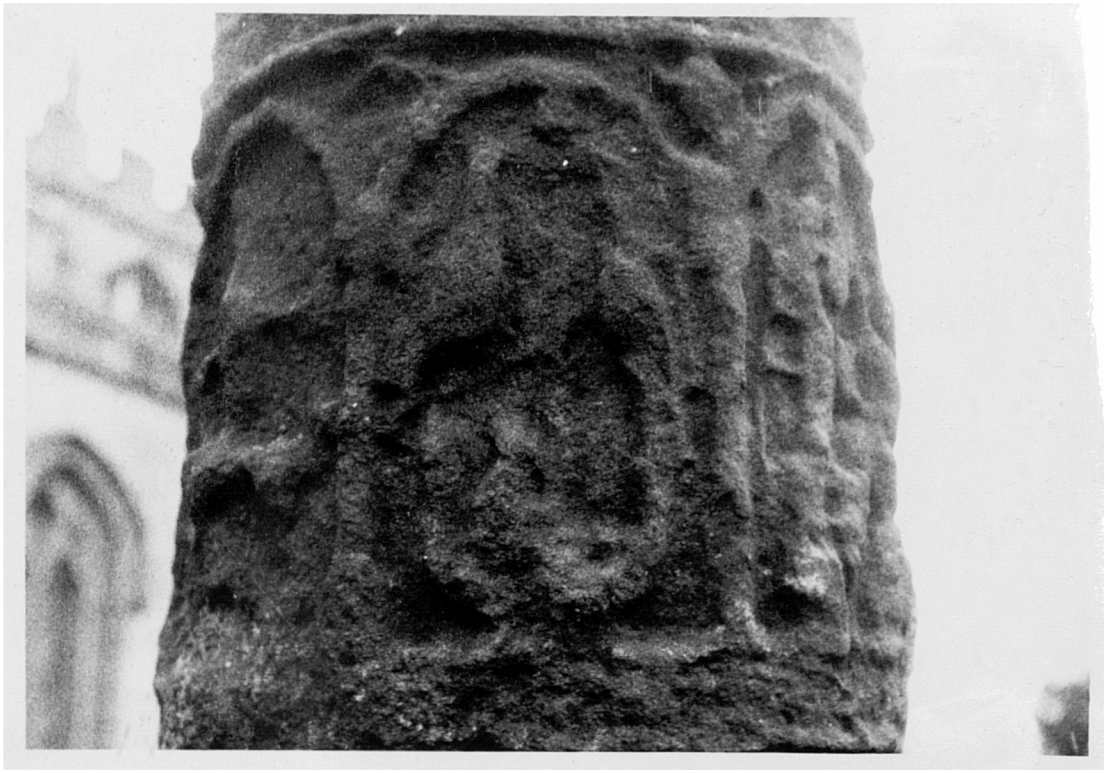

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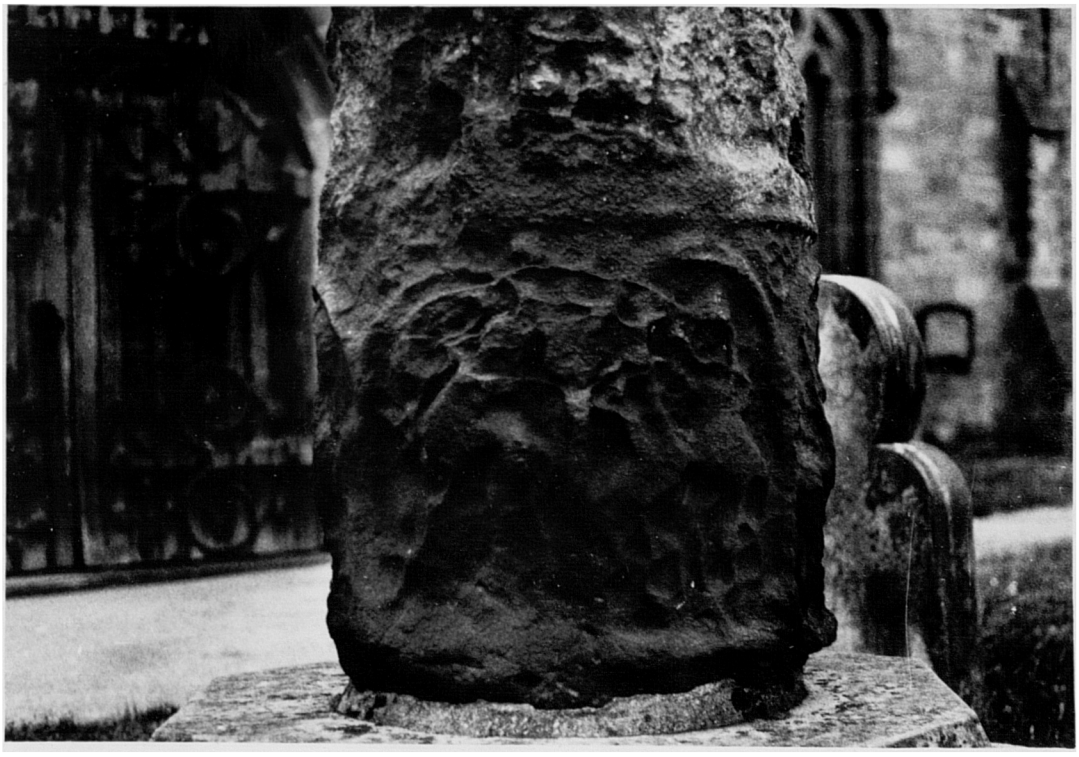

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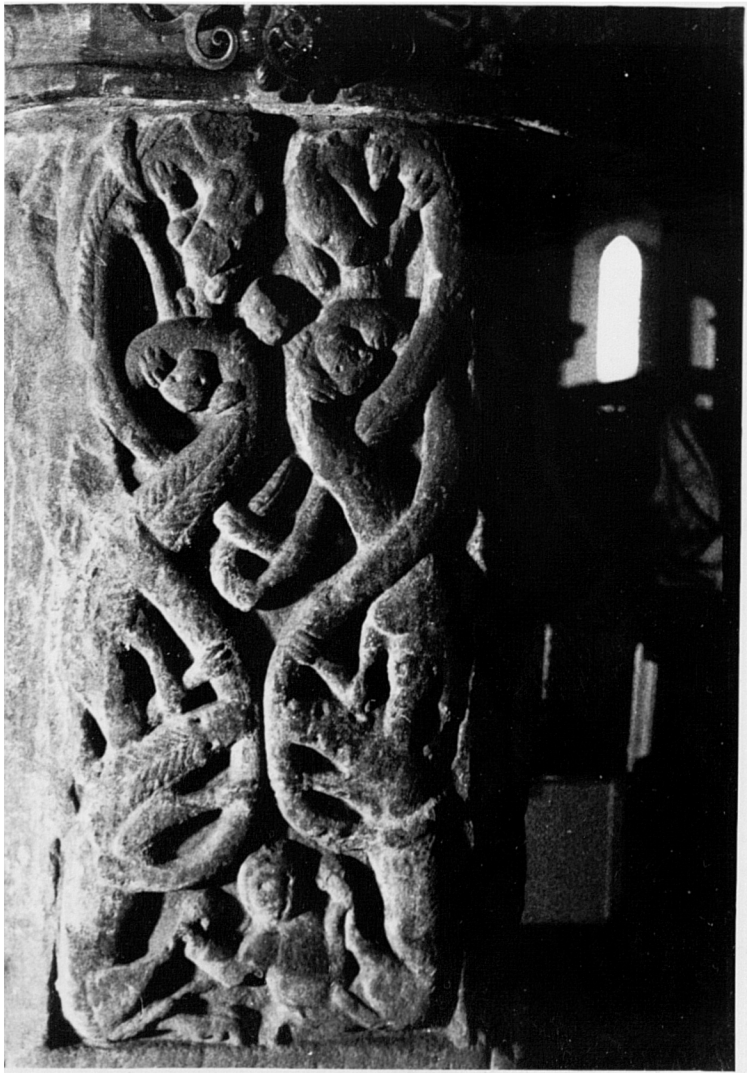

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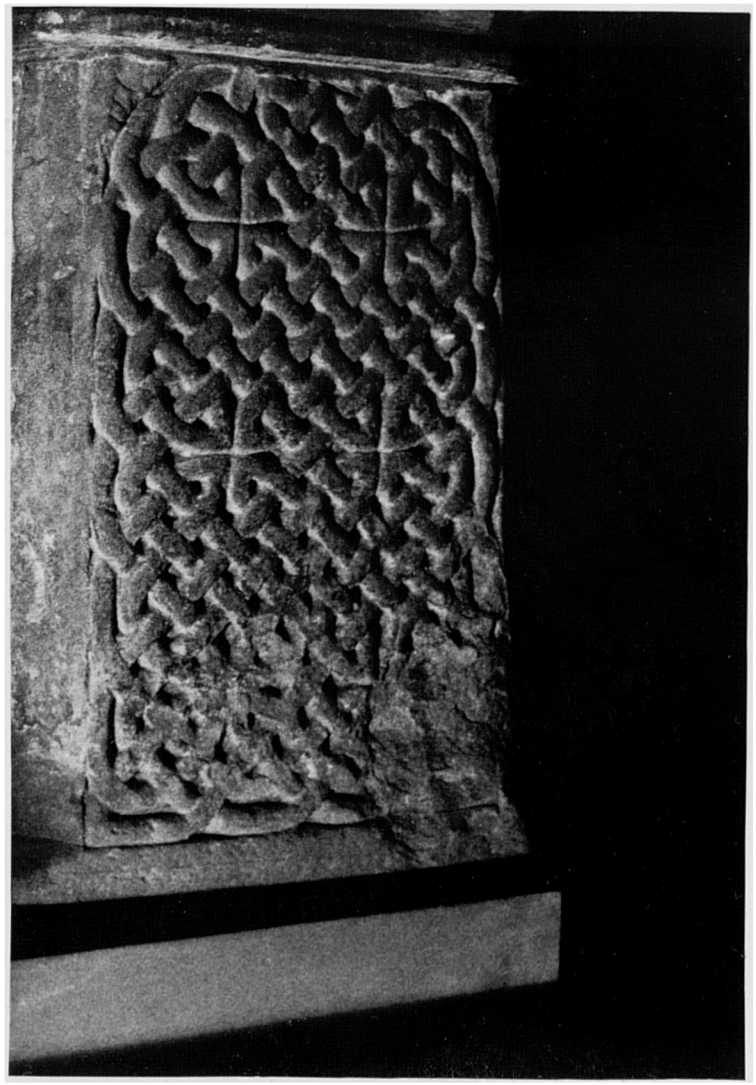

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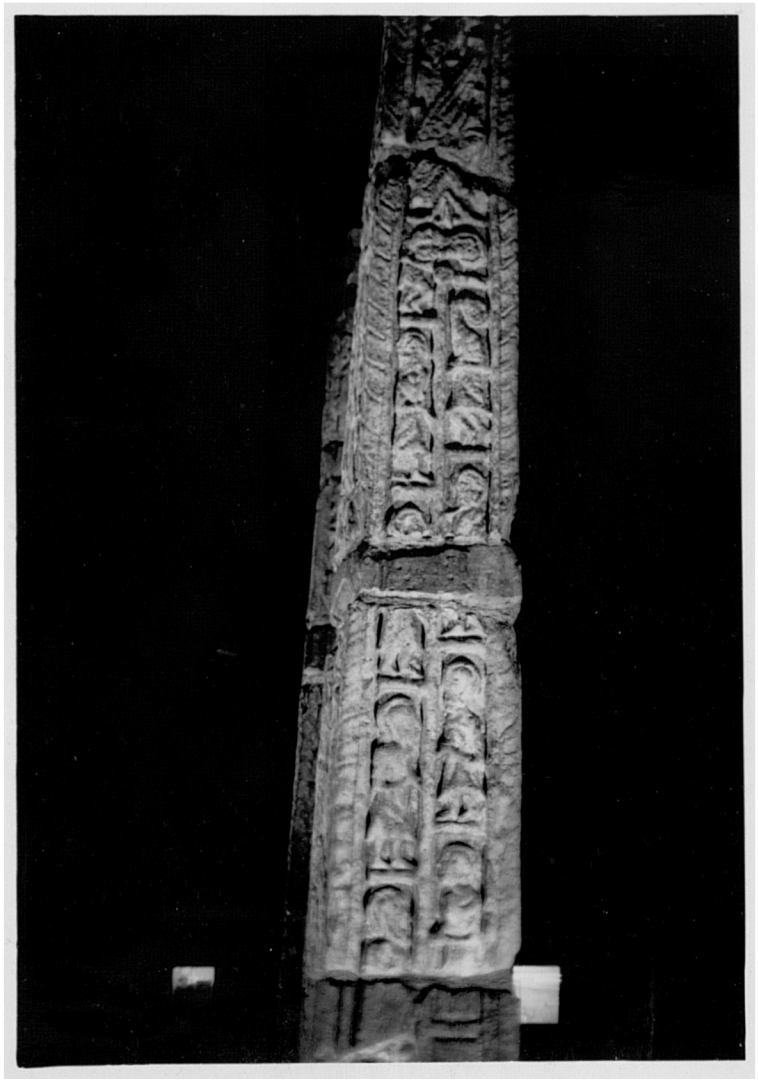

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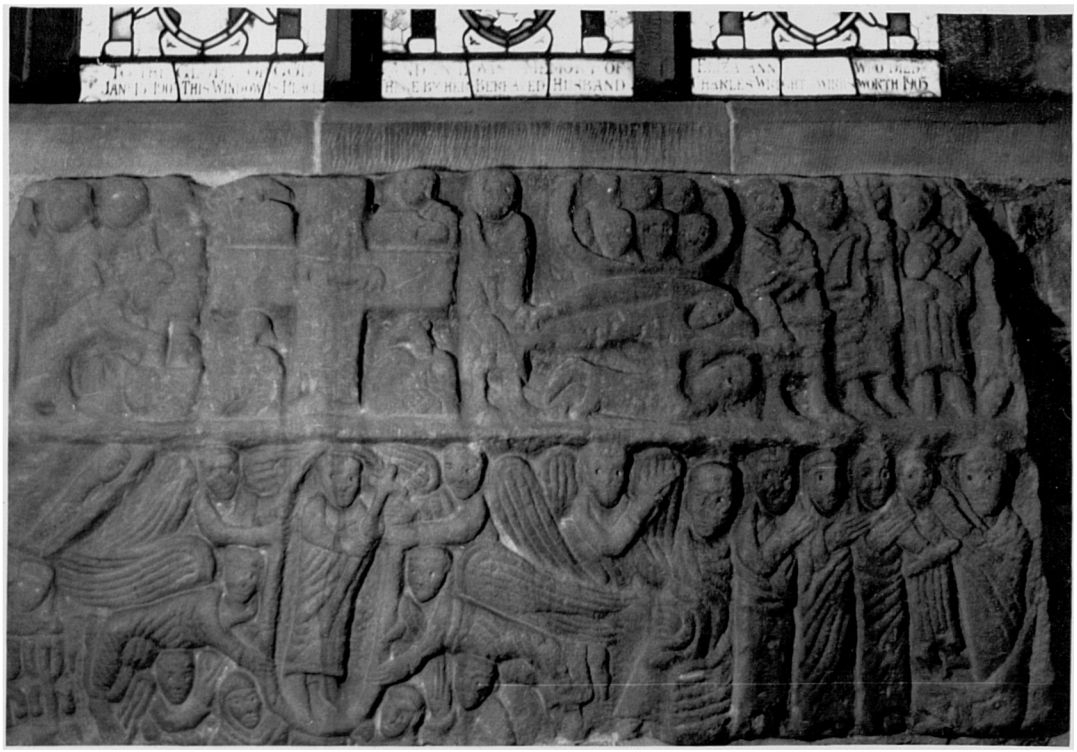

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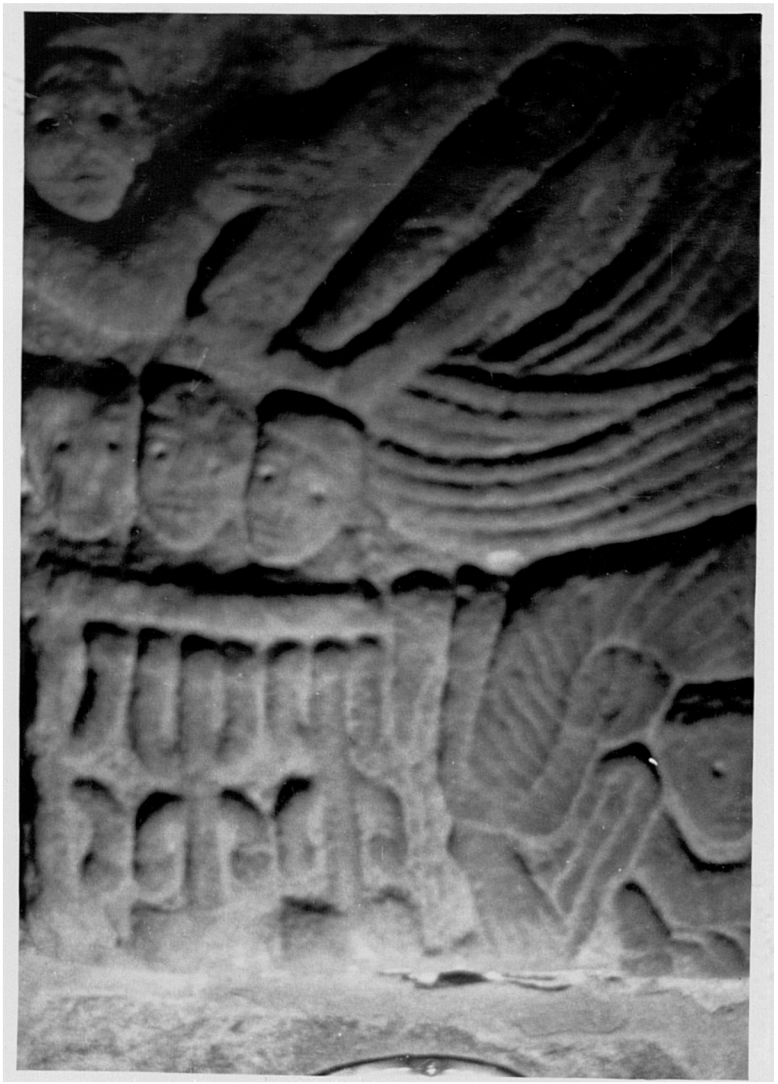

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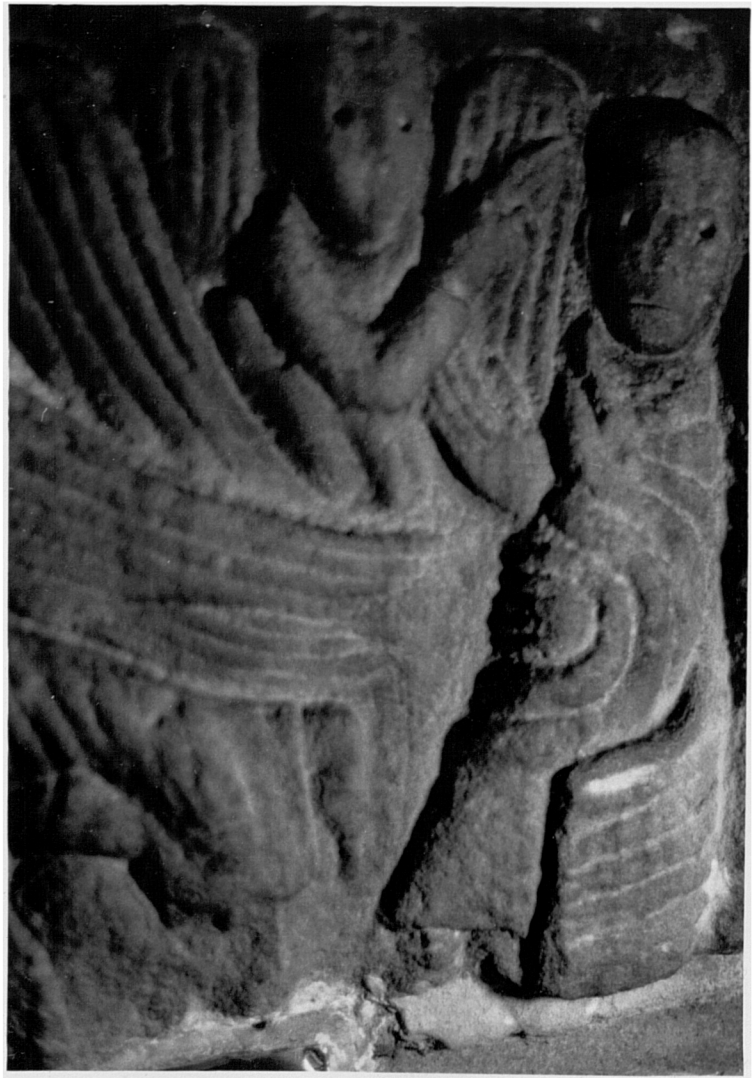

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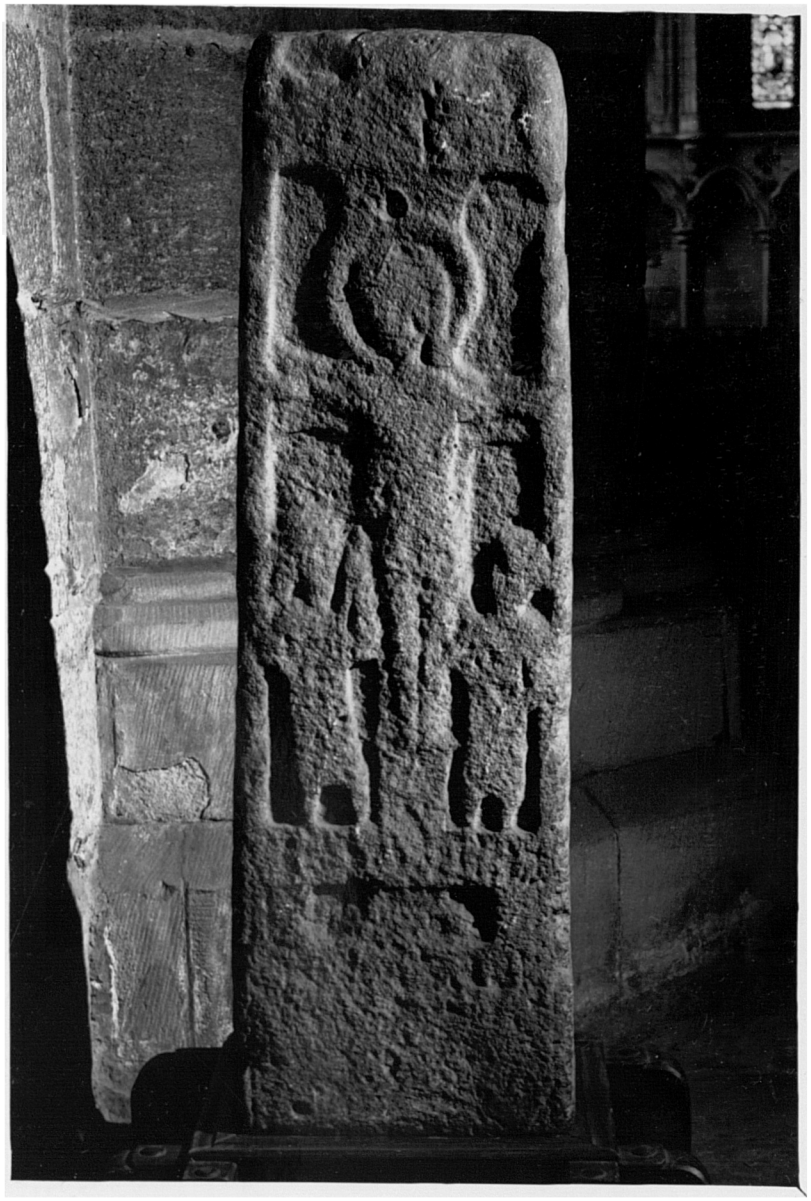

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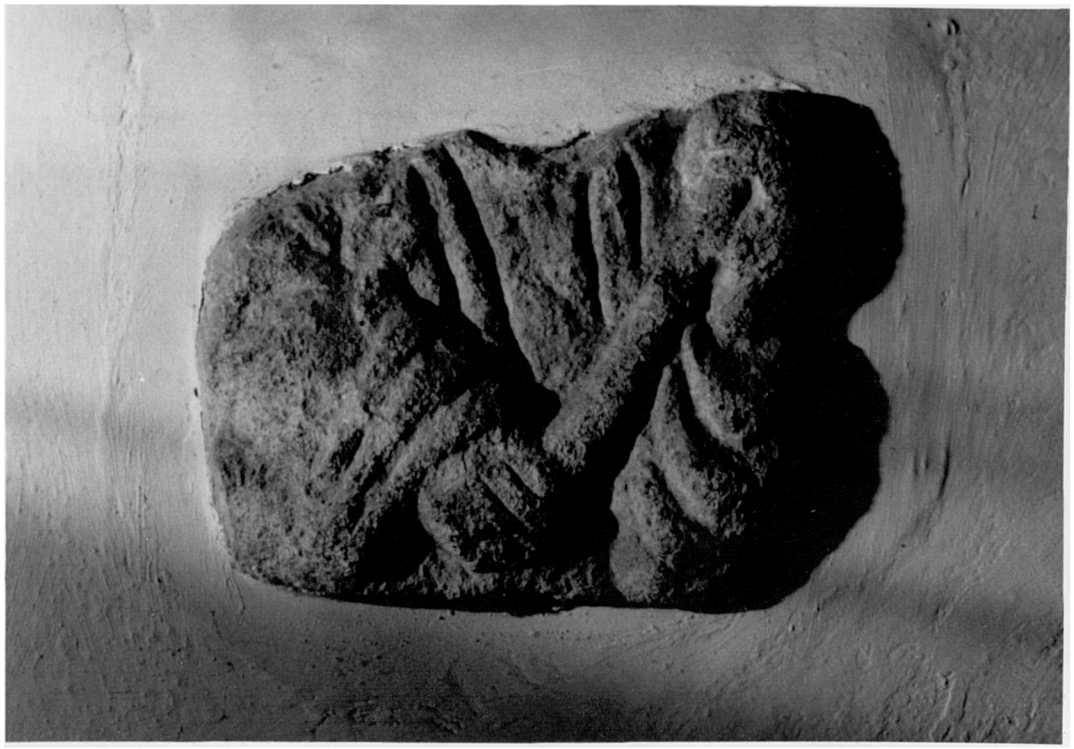

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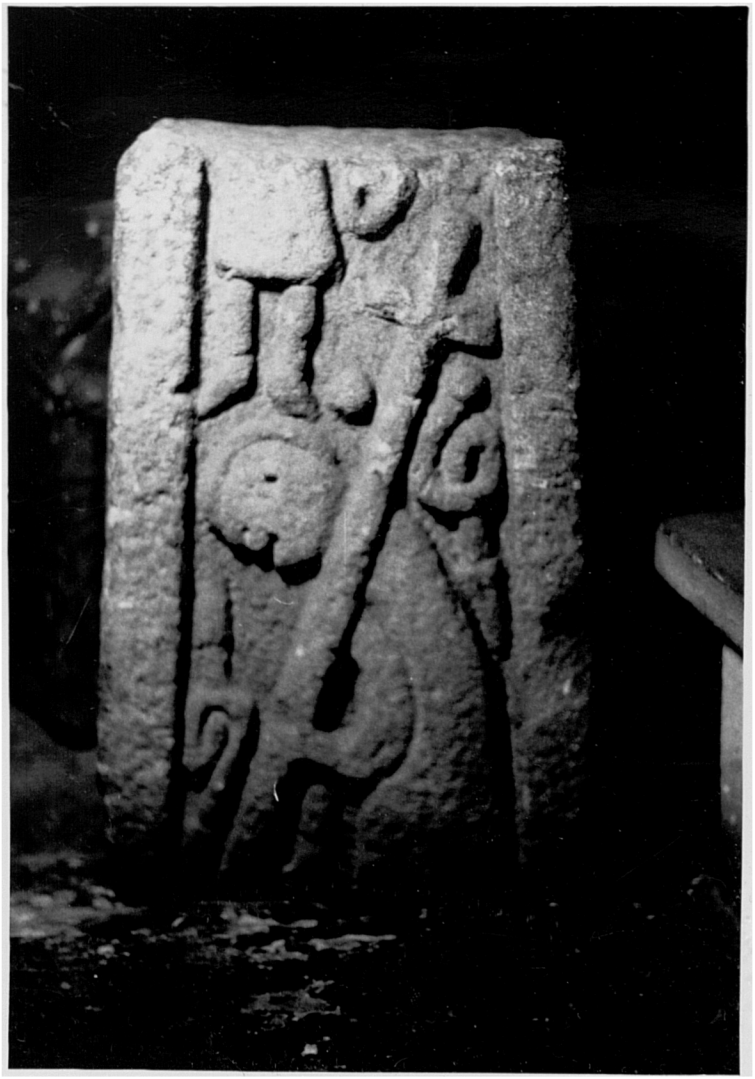

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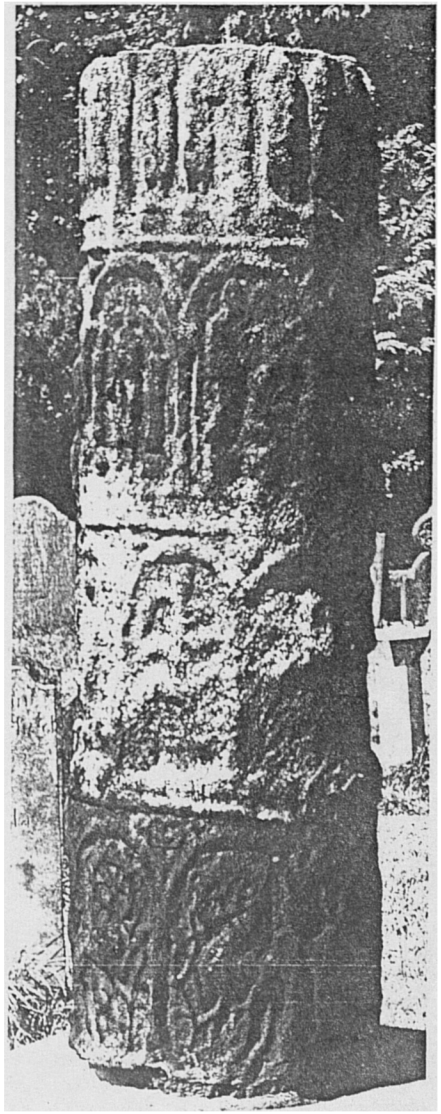

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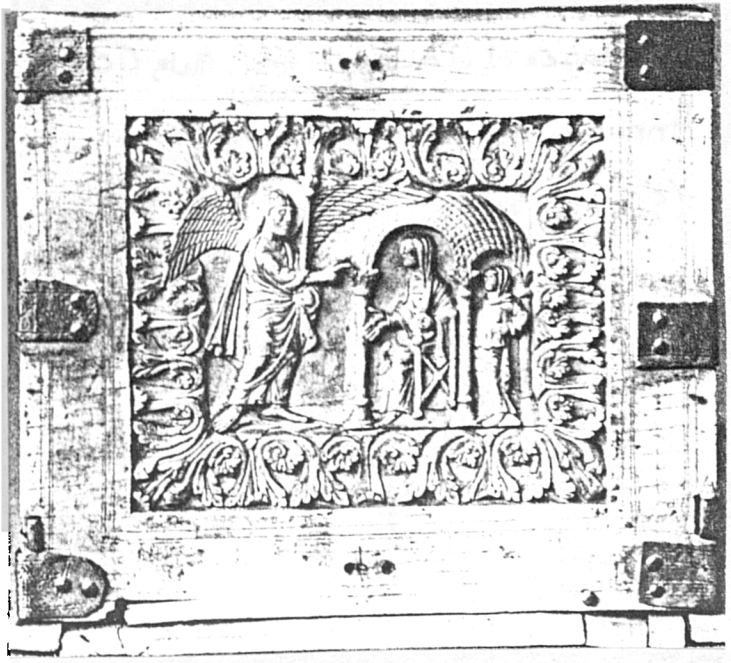

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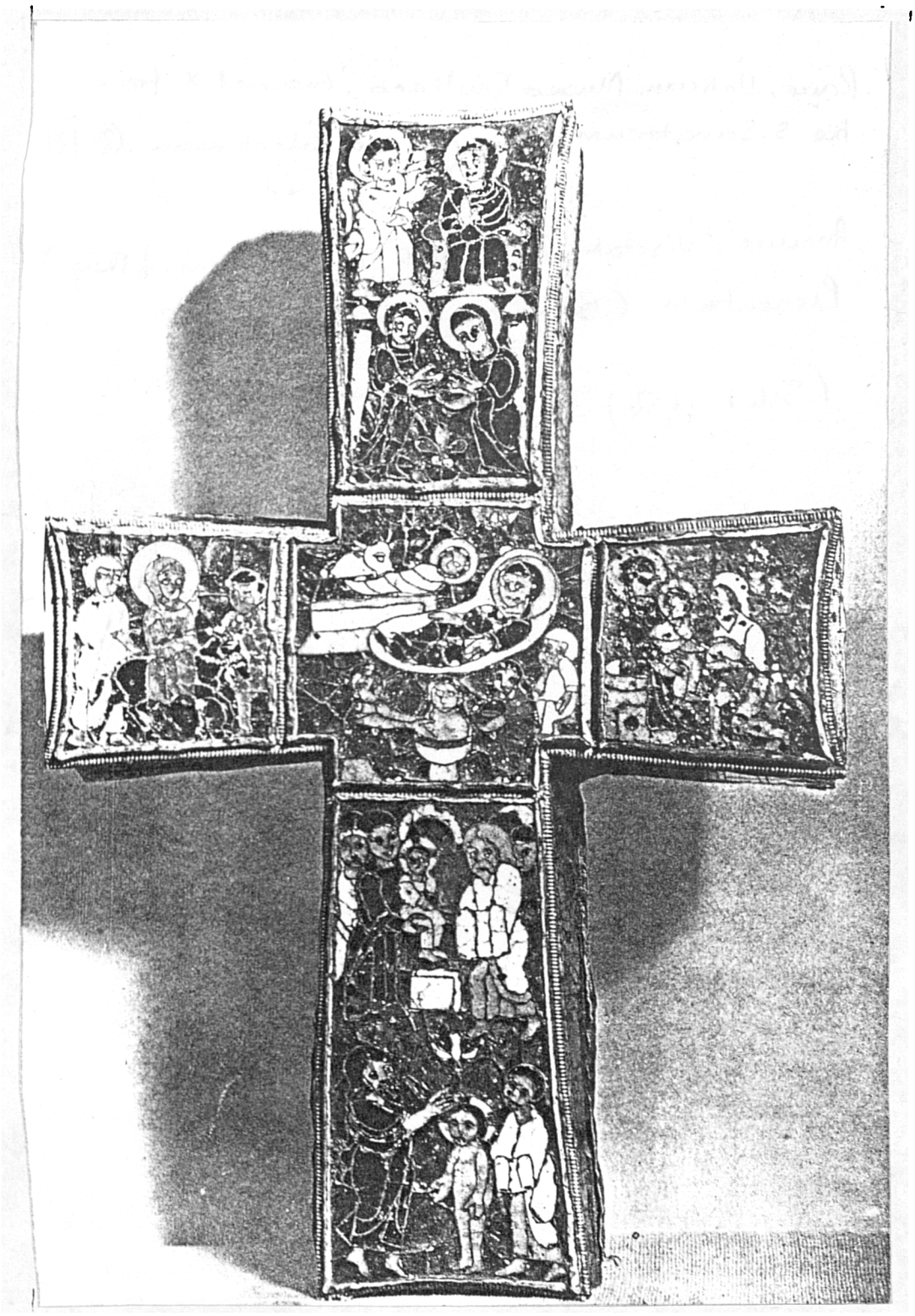

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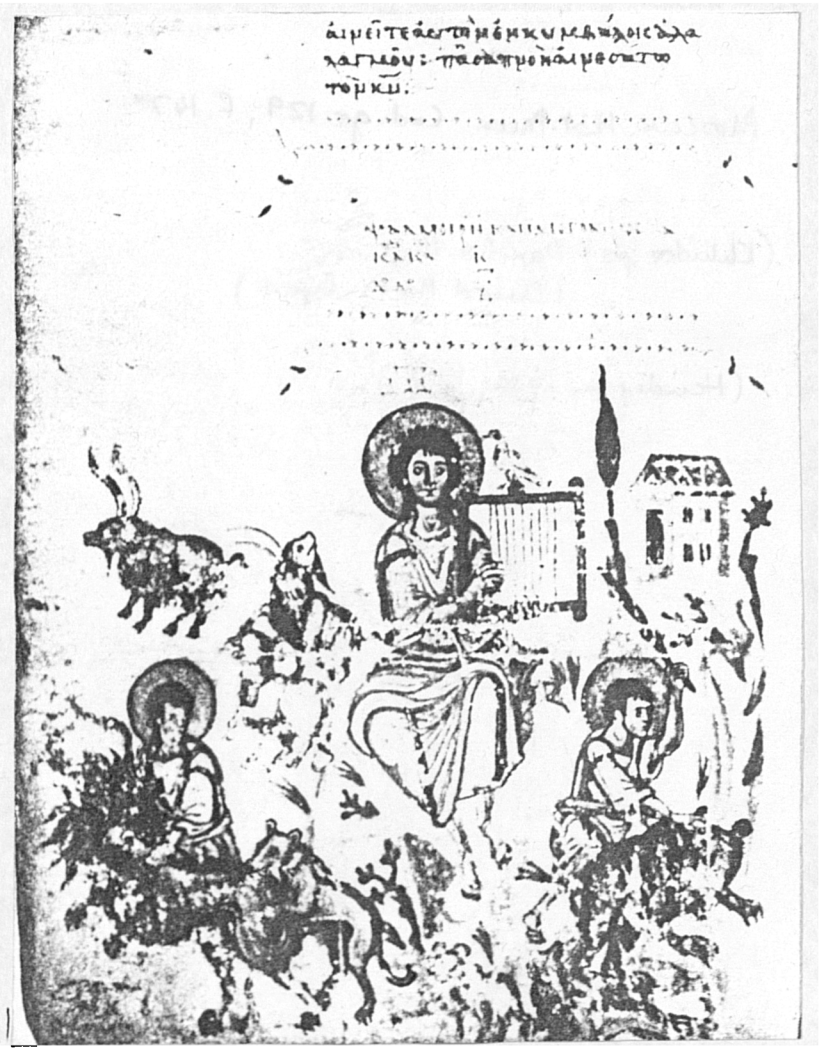


Plate 77

Plate 78

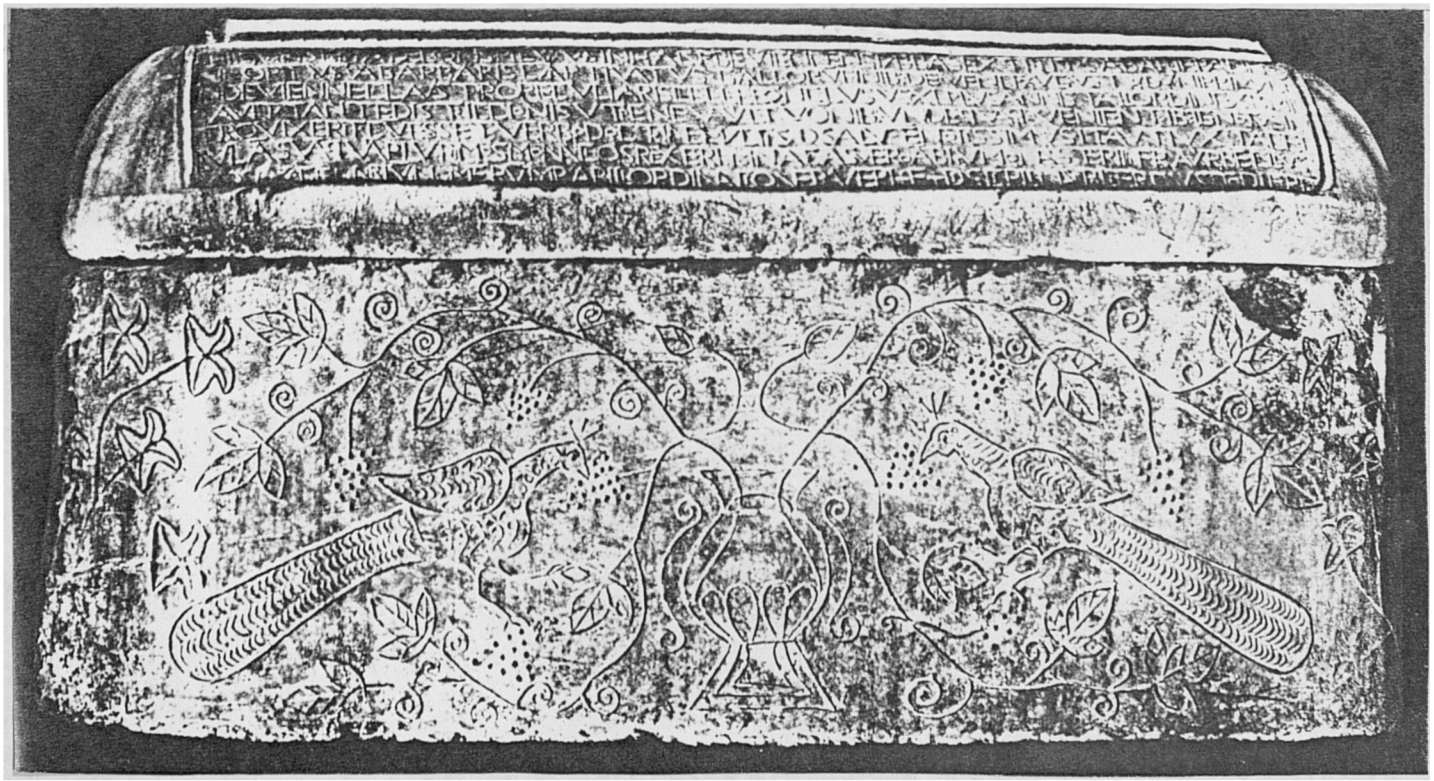


Plate 79

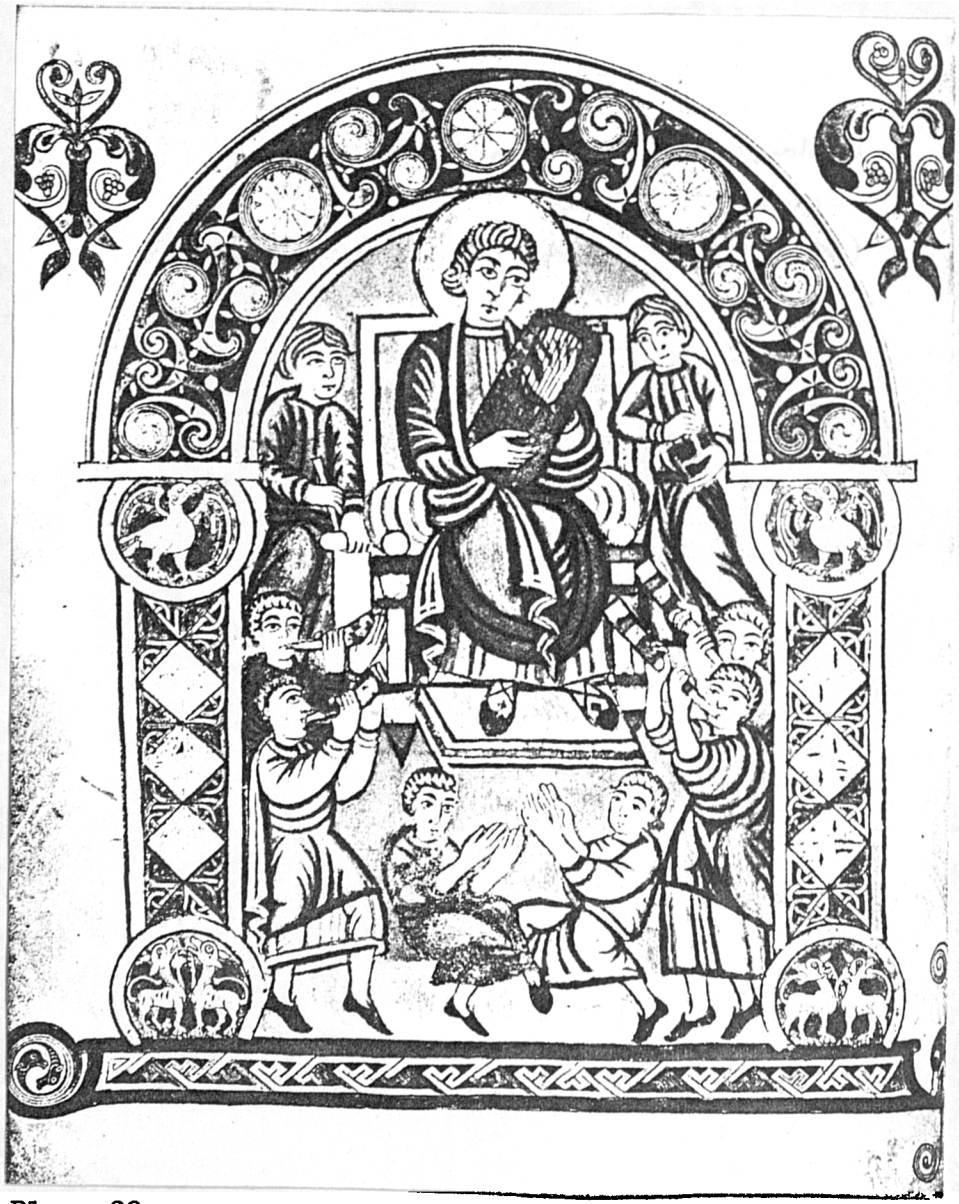
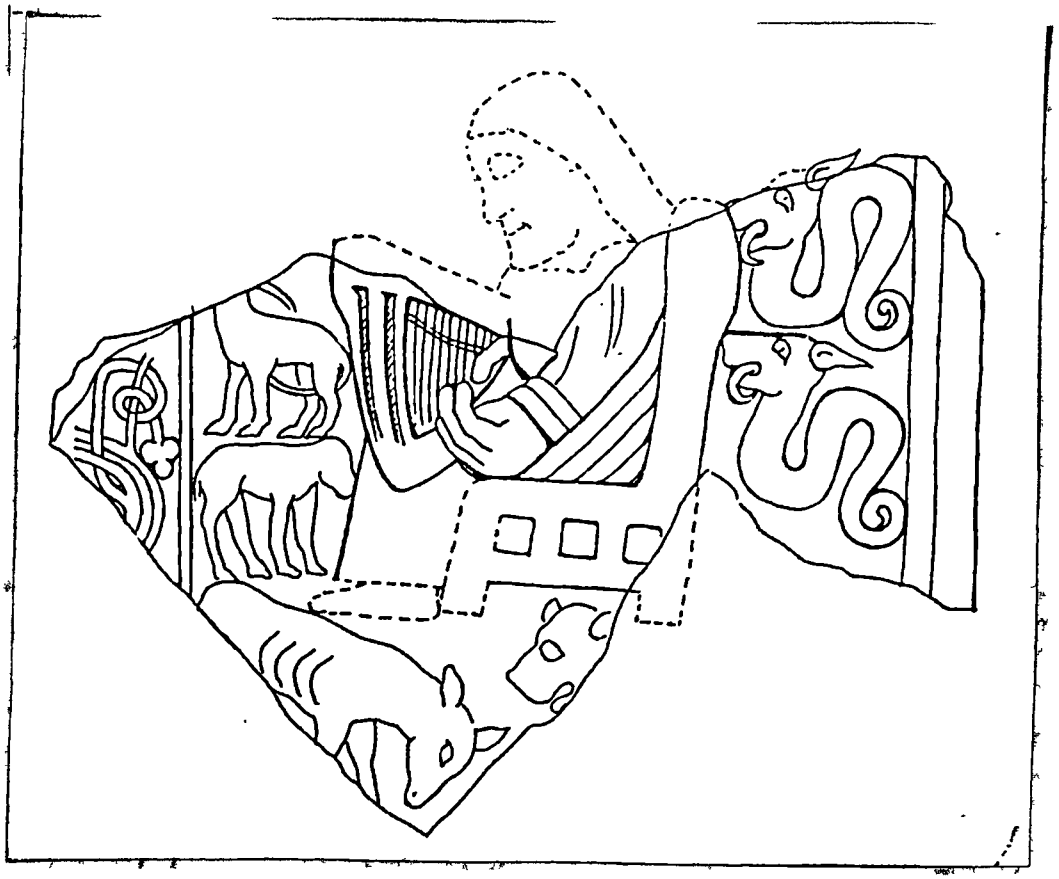


Plate 80

Plate 81



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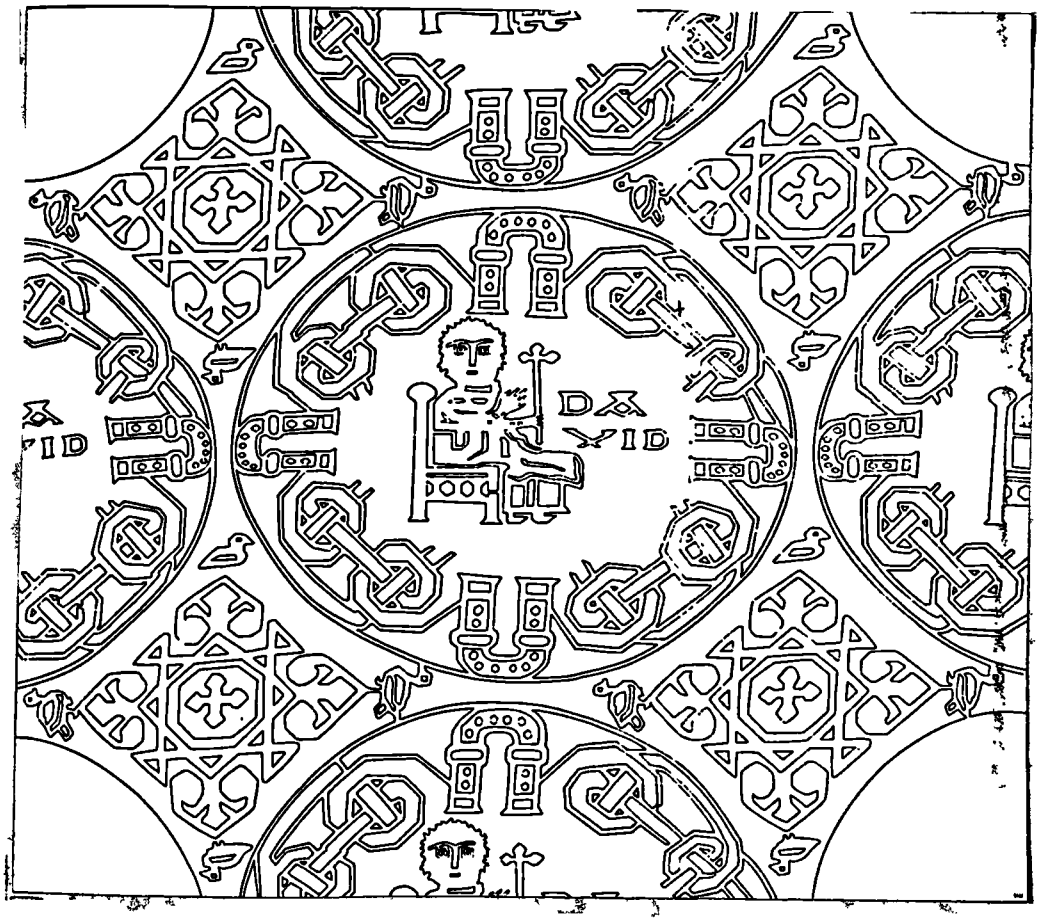
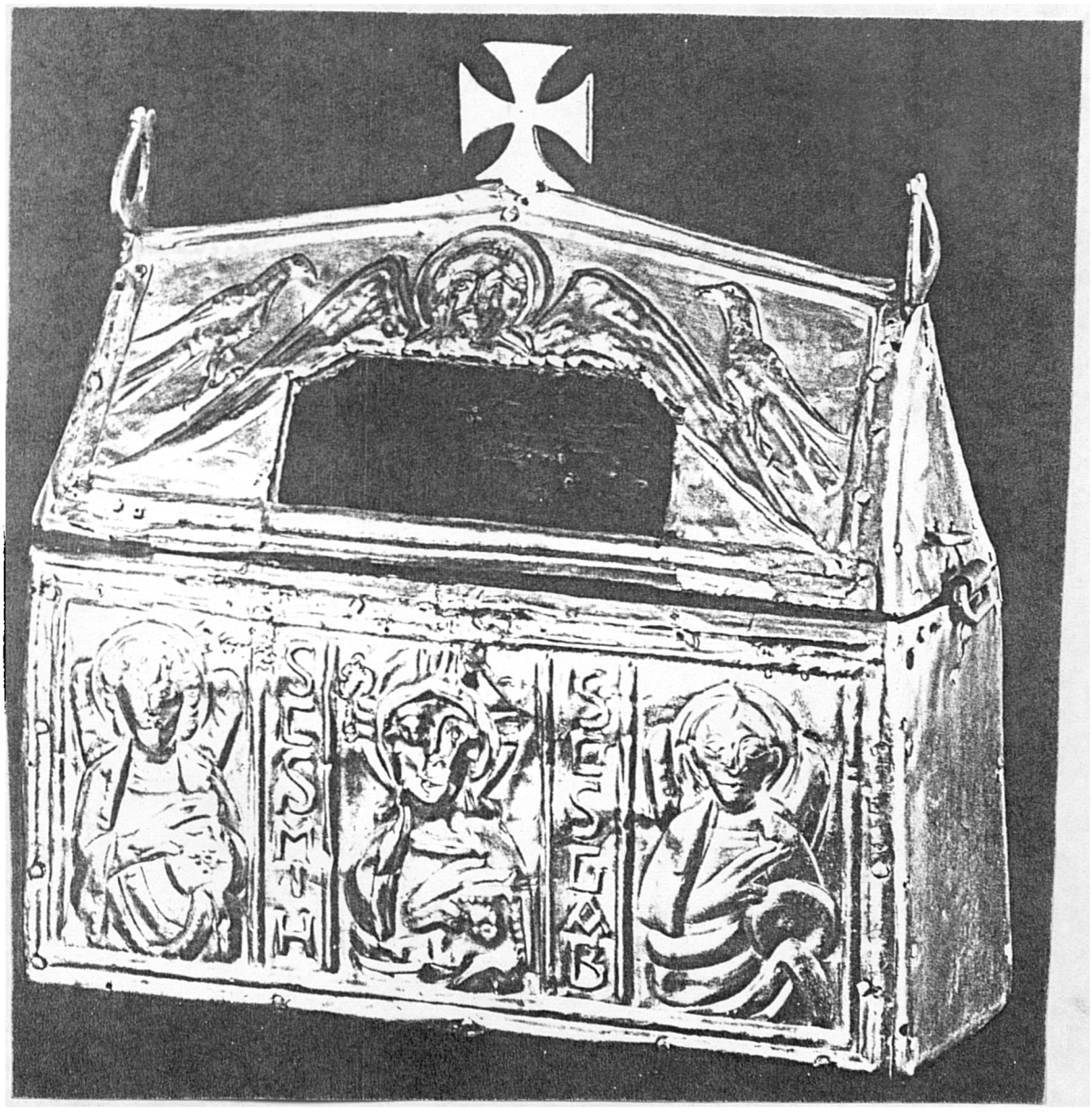


Plate 83

Plate 84



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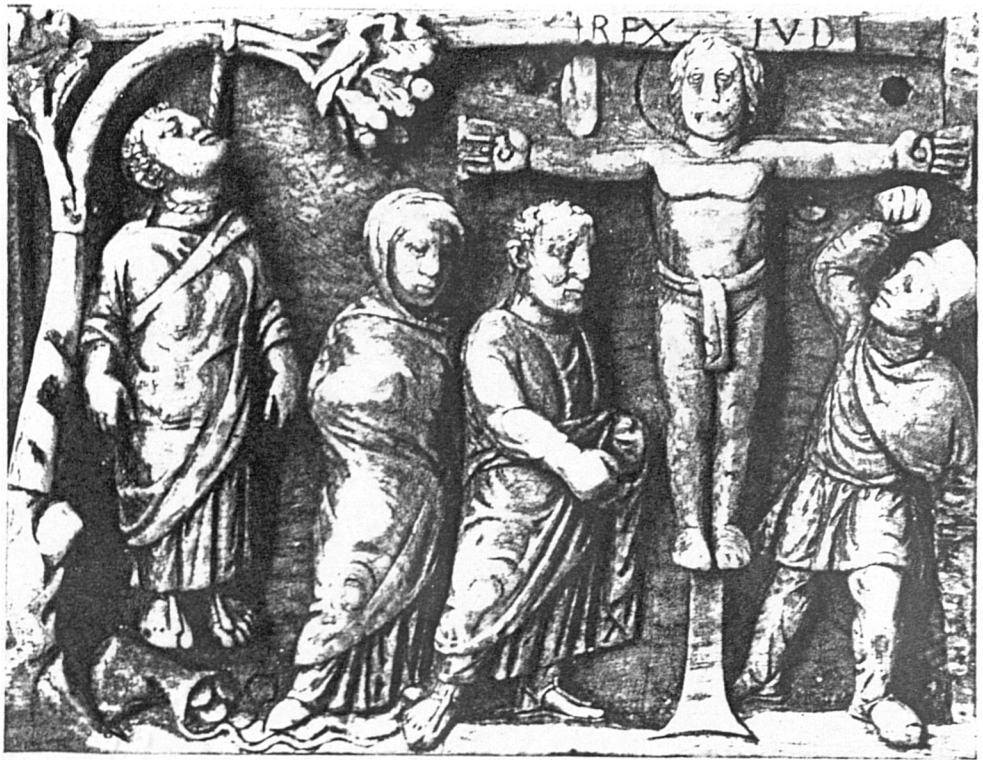

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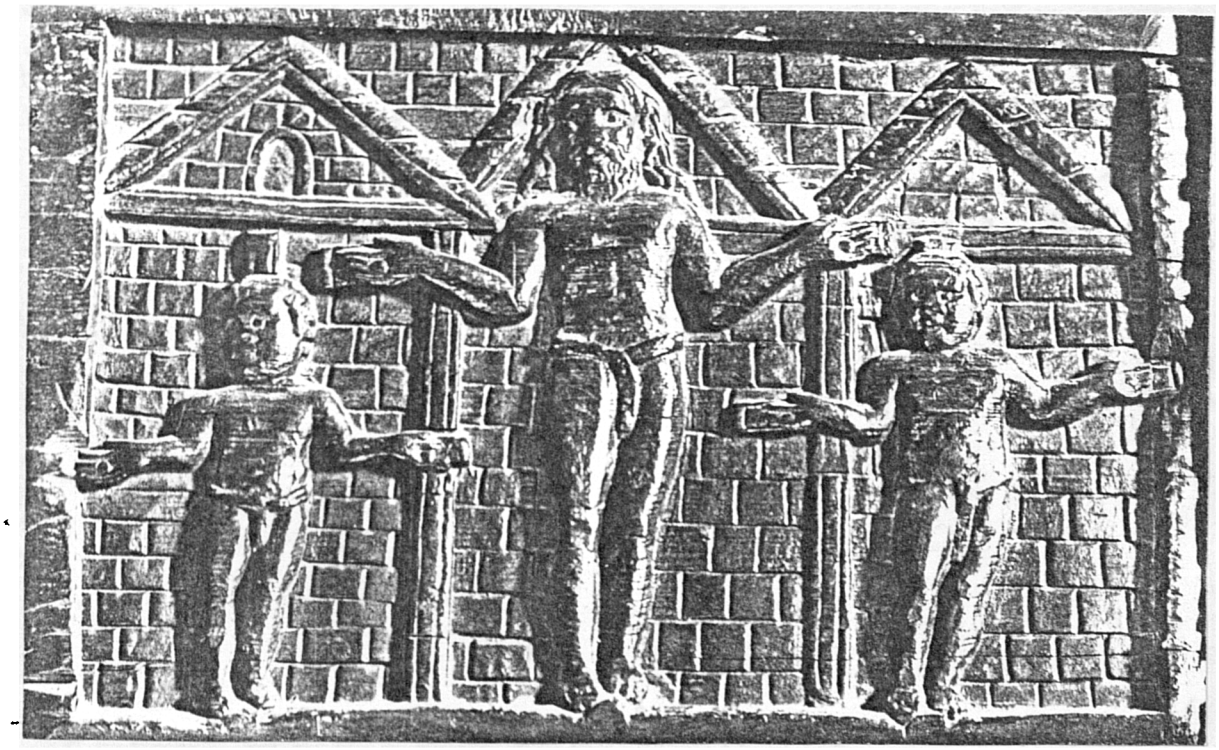

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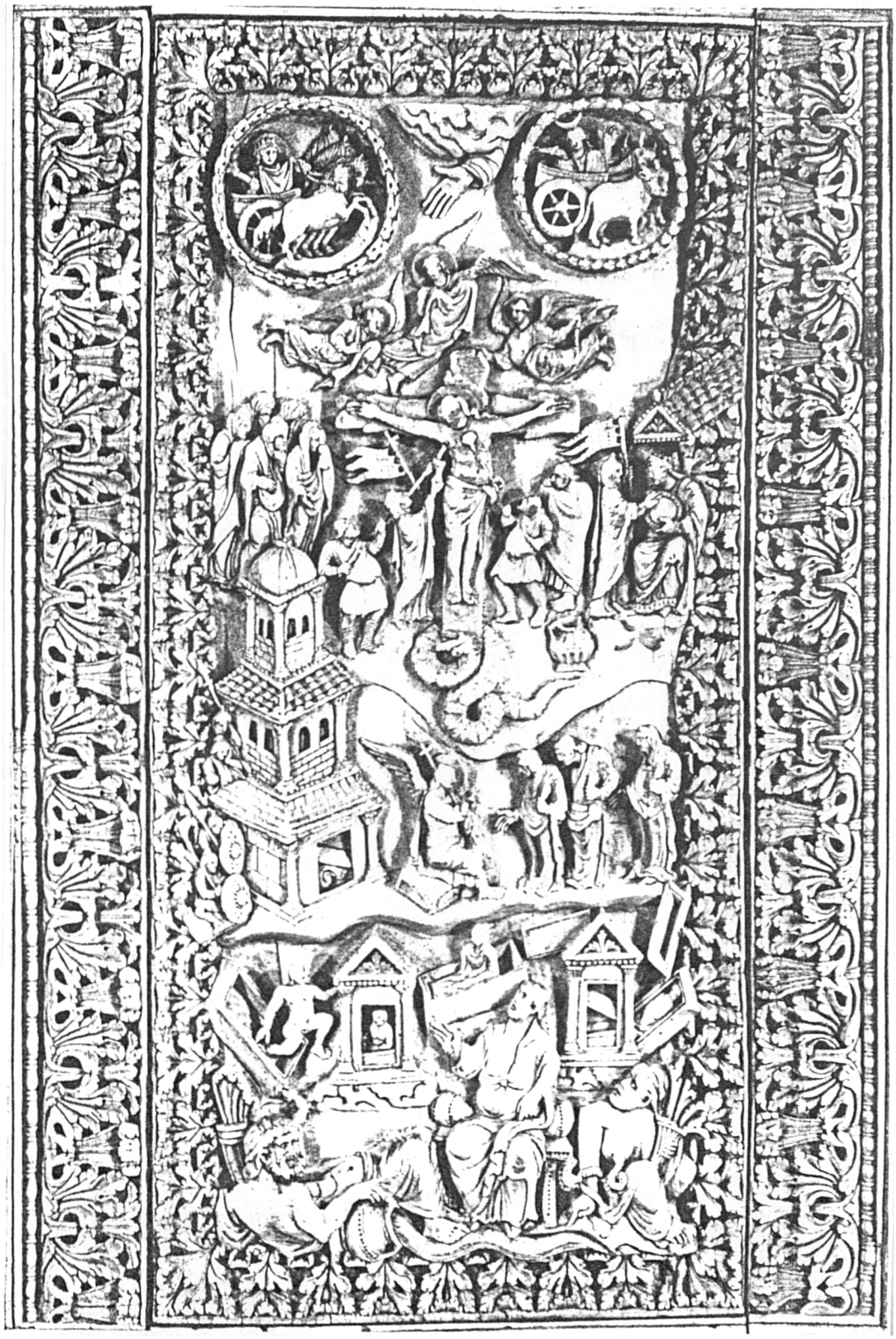

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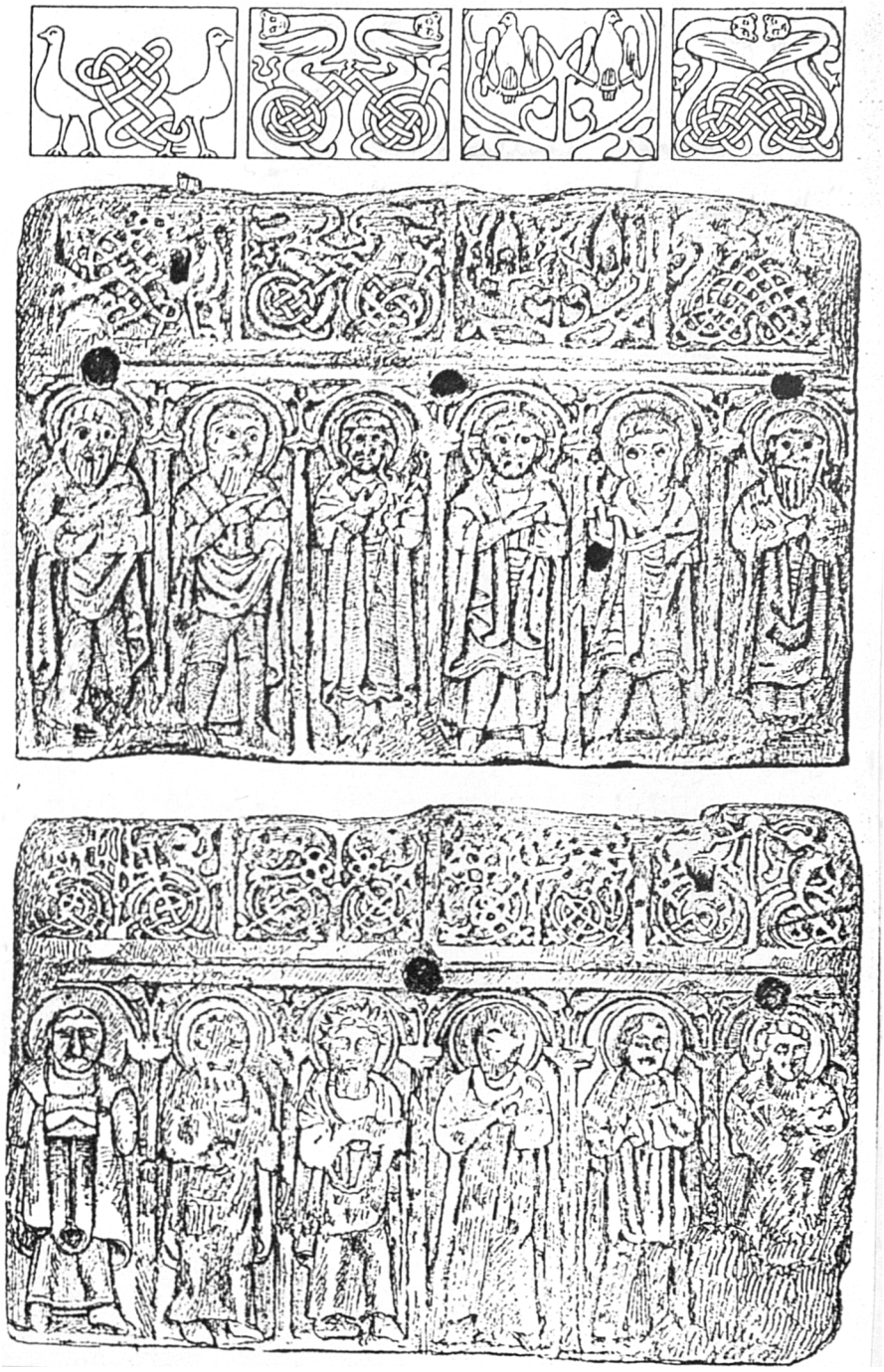


Plate 89

Plate 90

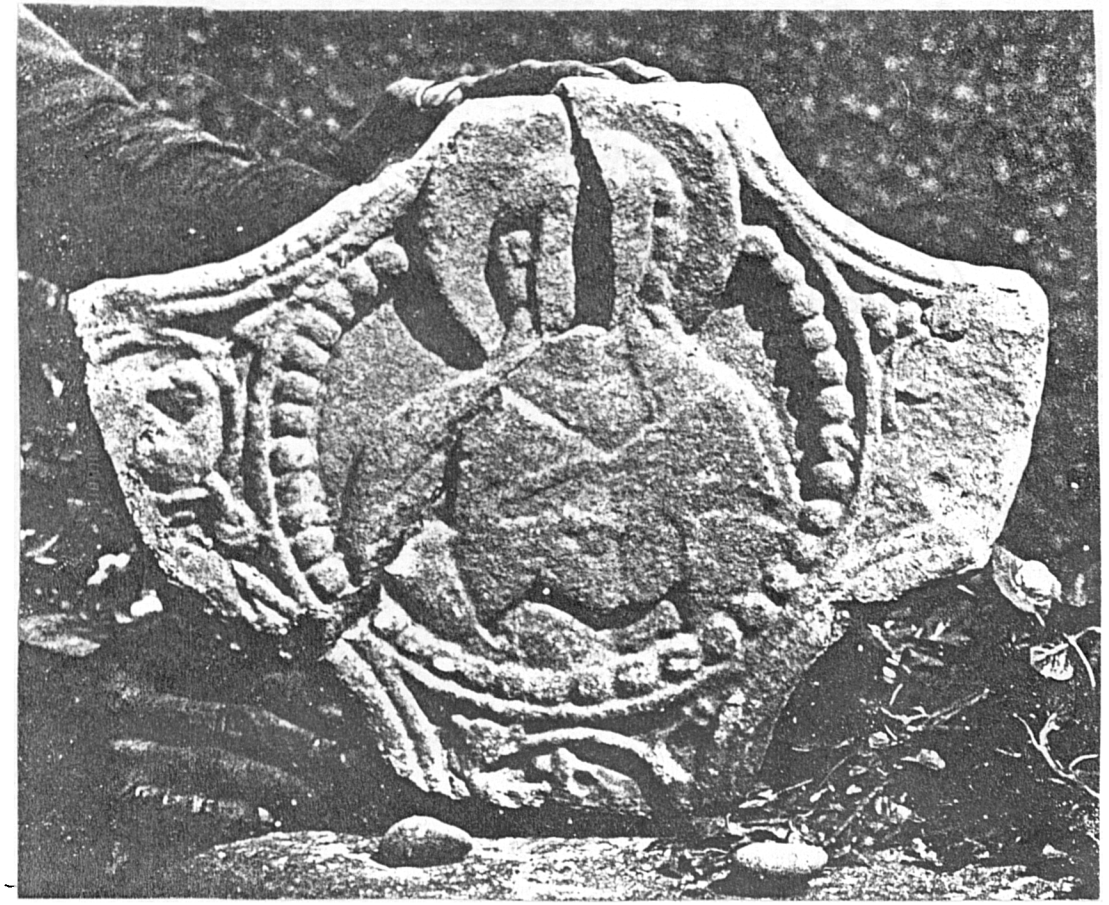


Plate 91

Plate 92

Plate 93

Plate 94

Plate 96

Plate 95

Plate 97

Plate 98

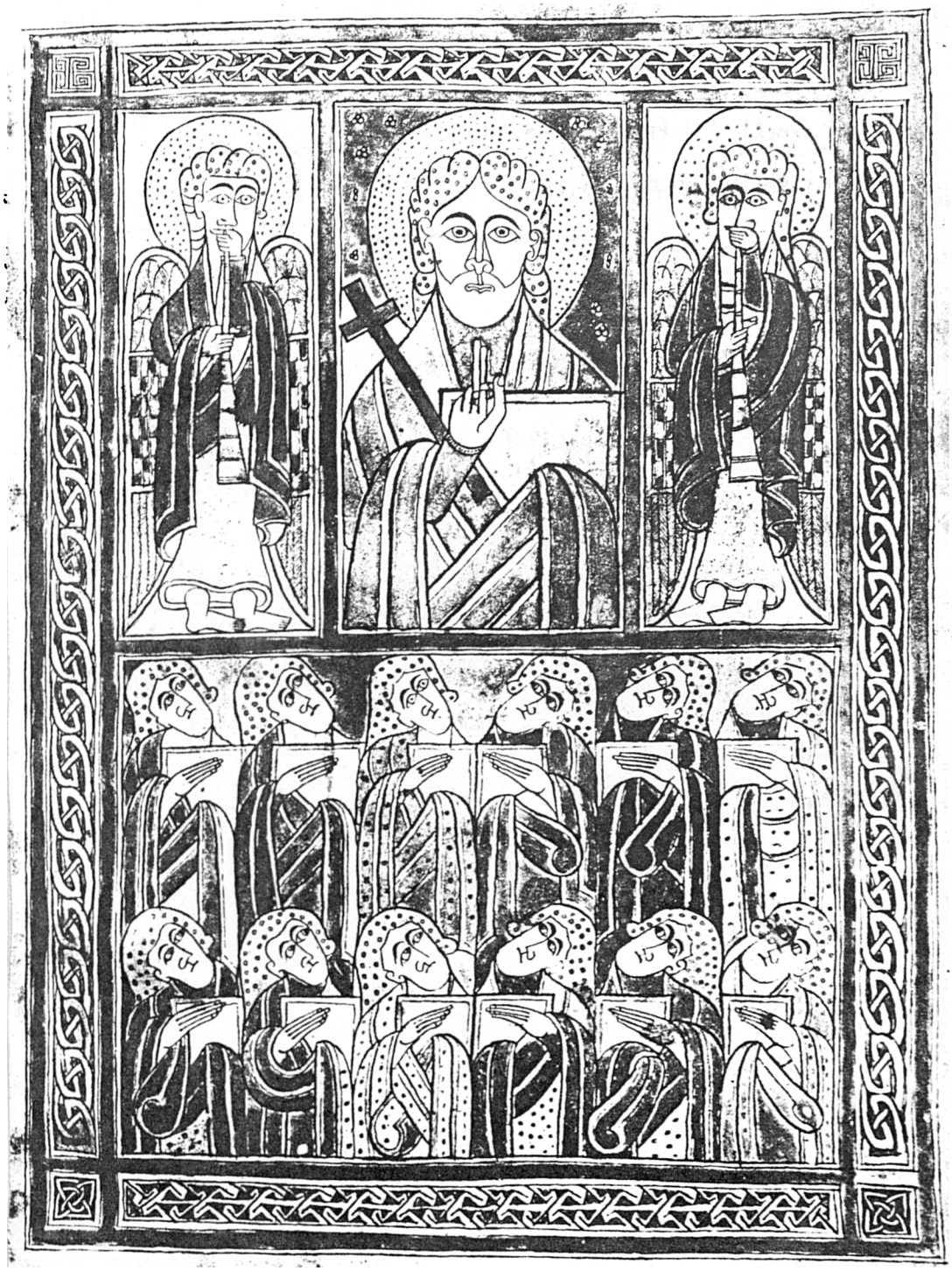


Plate 99

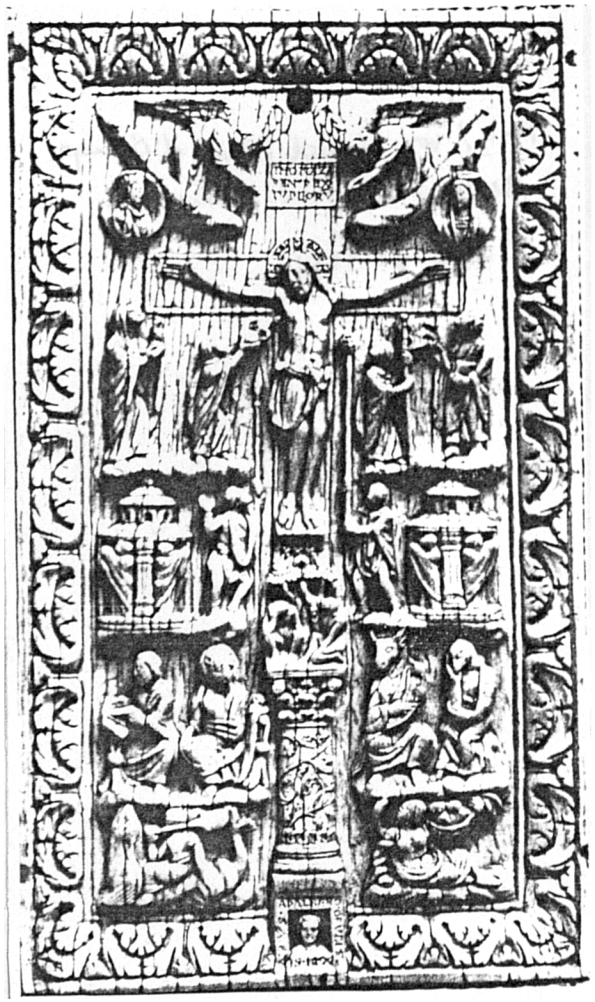


Plate 100

Plate 101

Plate 102

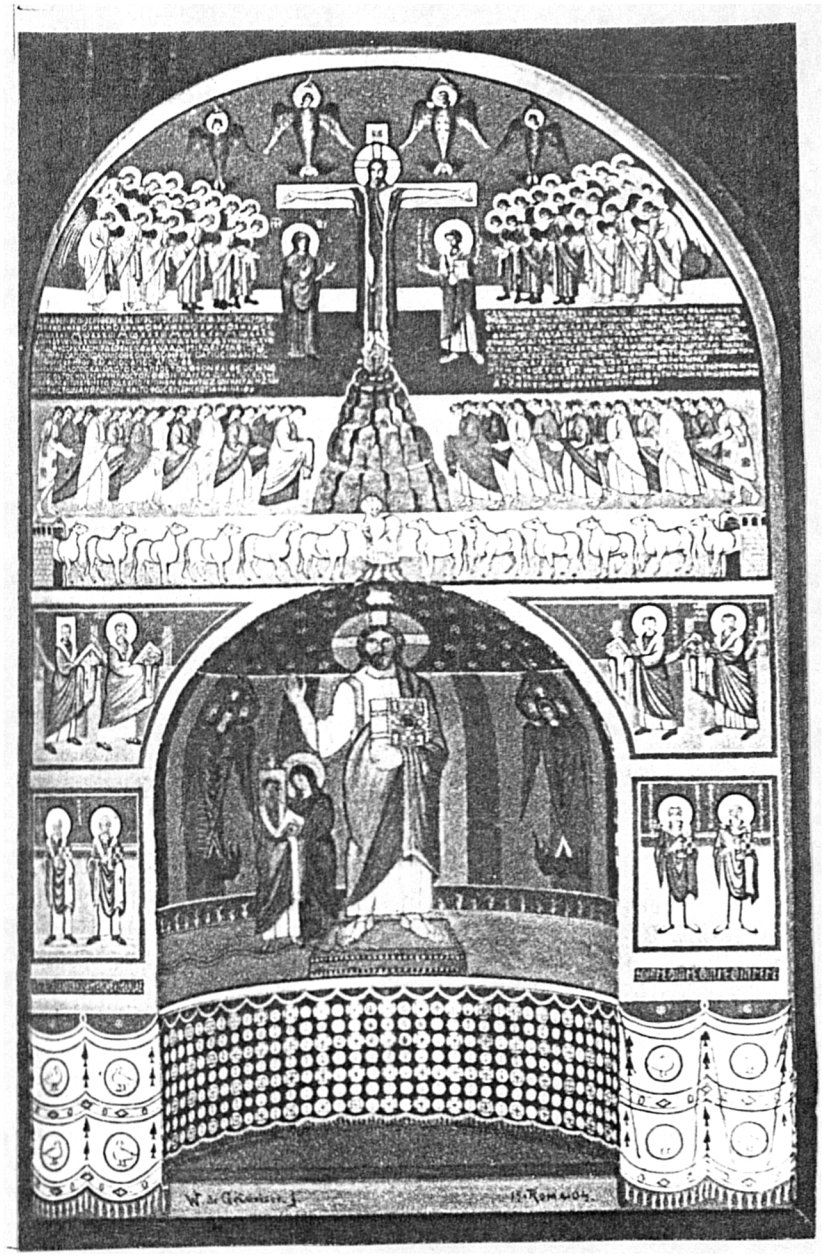


Plate 103

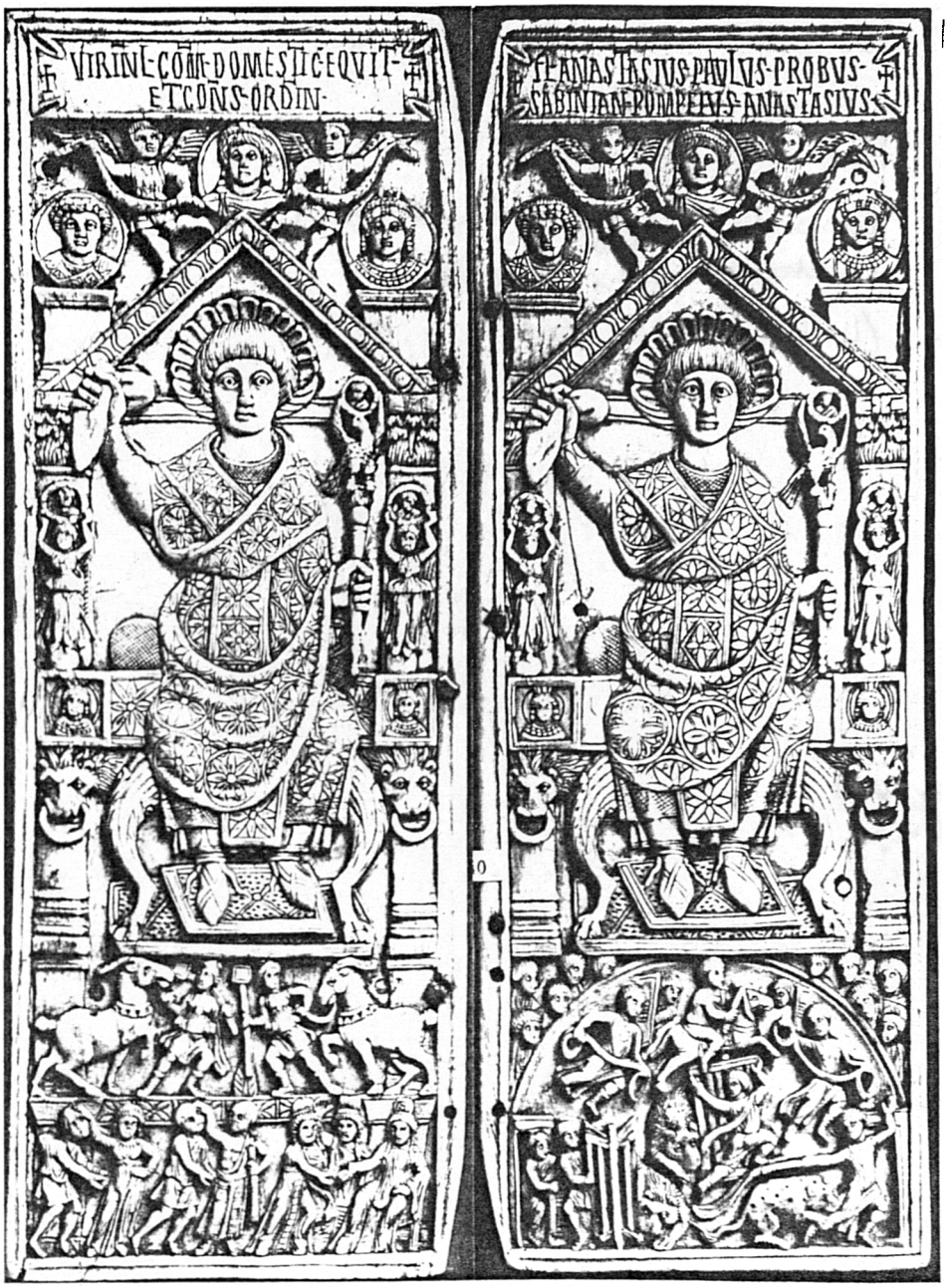
Plate 104

Plate 105

Plate 106

Plate 107

Plate 108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ET·CONS·ORDIN·
FL·ANASTASIVS·PAVLVS·PROBVS·
SABINIAN·POMPEIVS·ANASTASIVS·

Plate 109

Plate 110

Plate 111

Plate 112

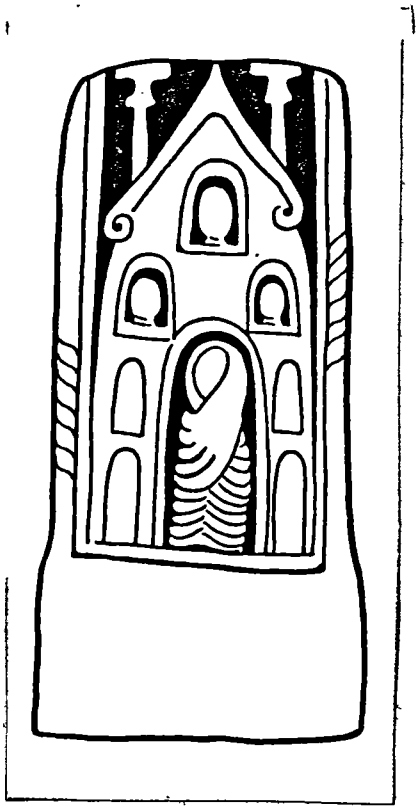


Plate 113

Plate 114

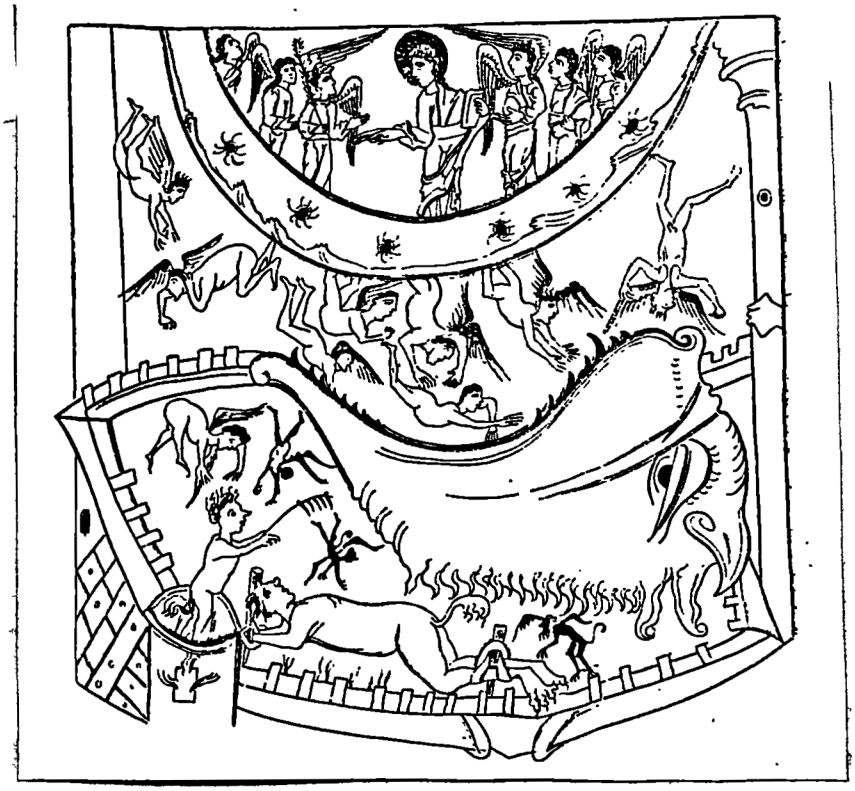


Plate 115

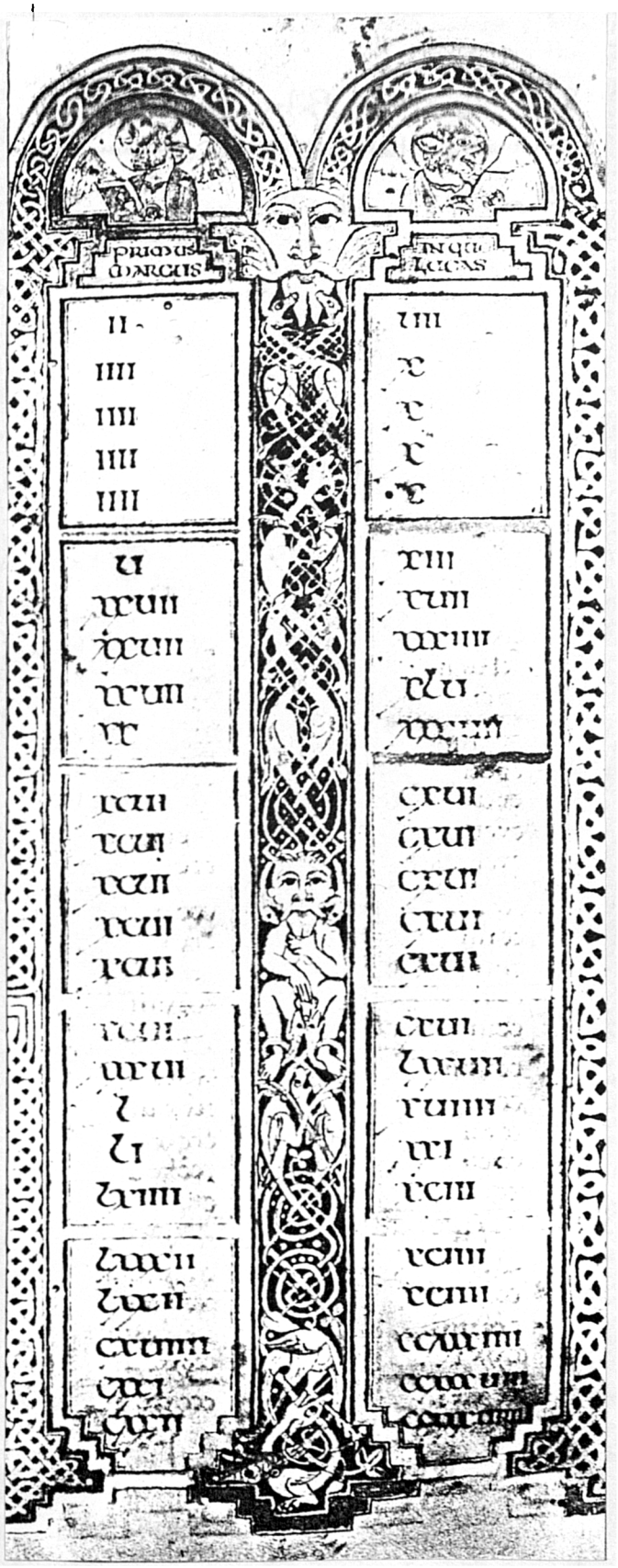


Plate 116

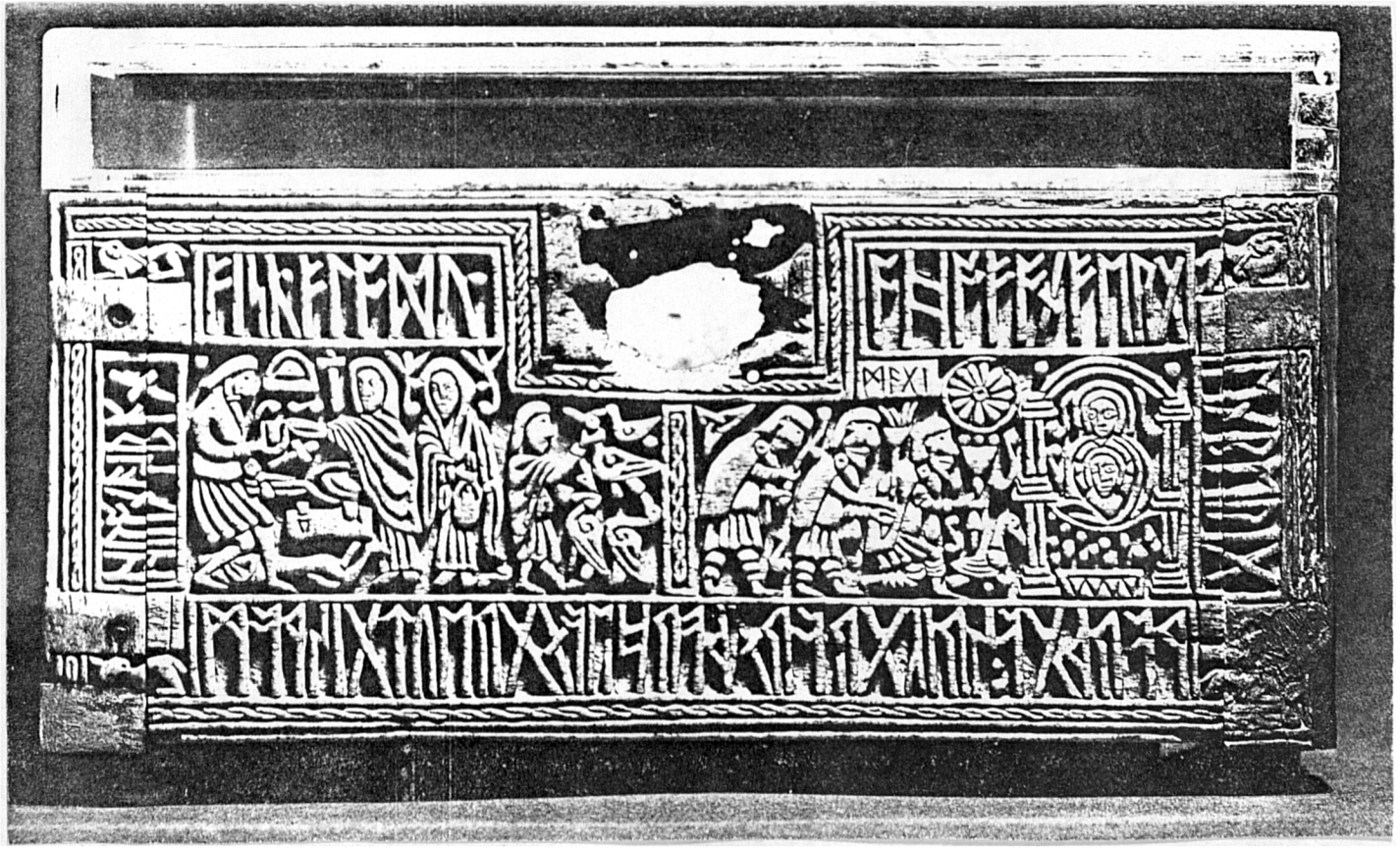


Plate 117

Plate 118

Plate 119a

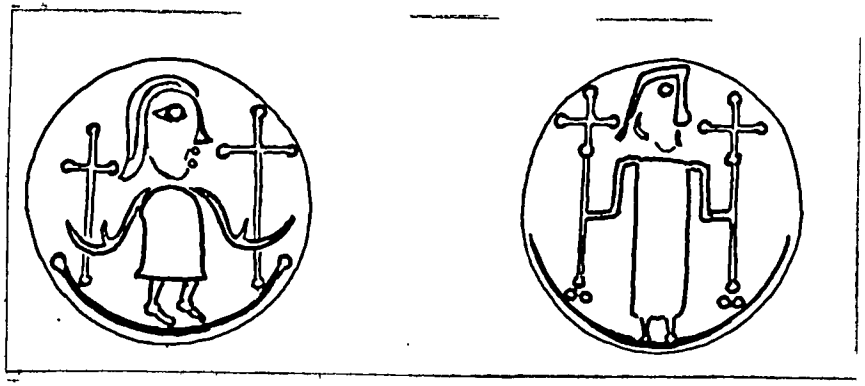
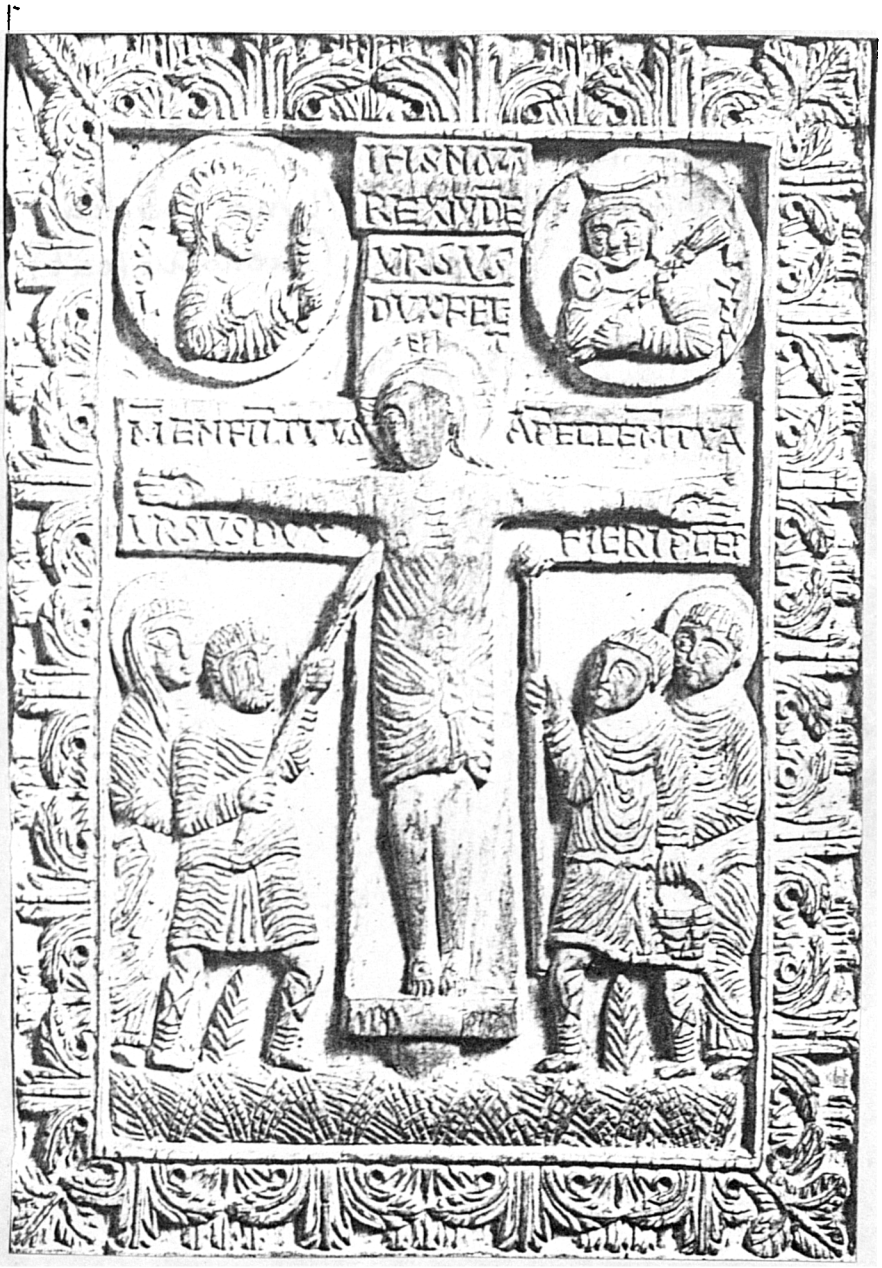


Plate 119b



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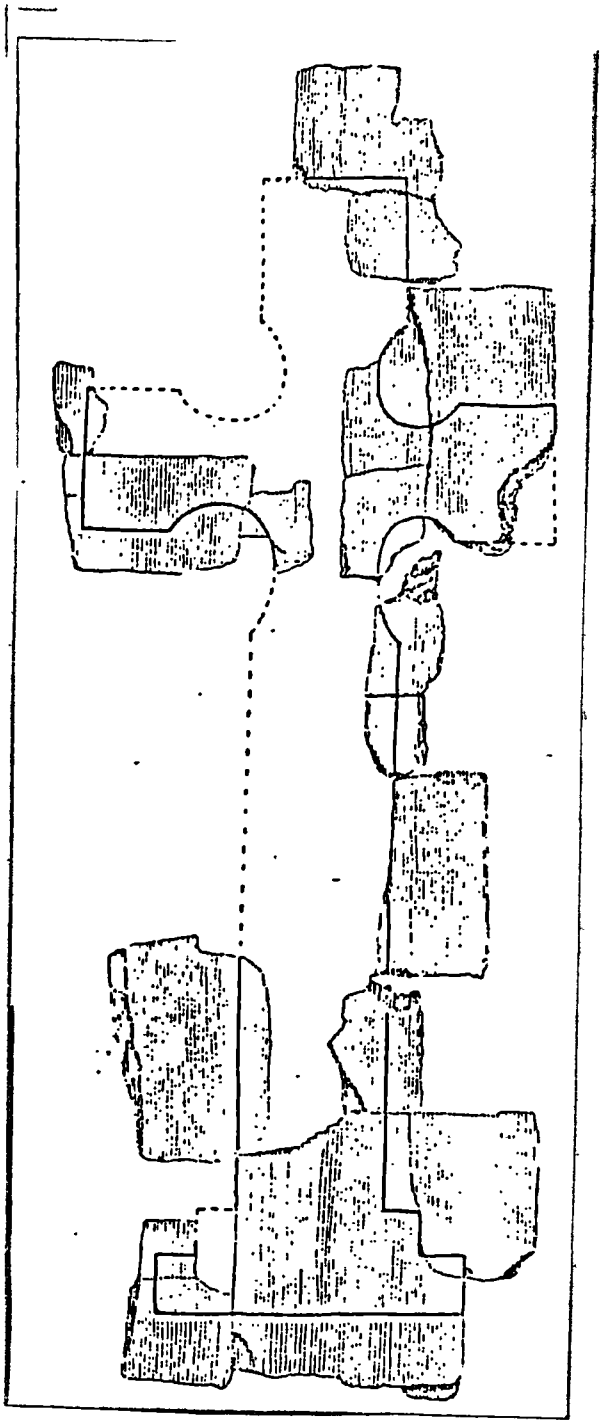

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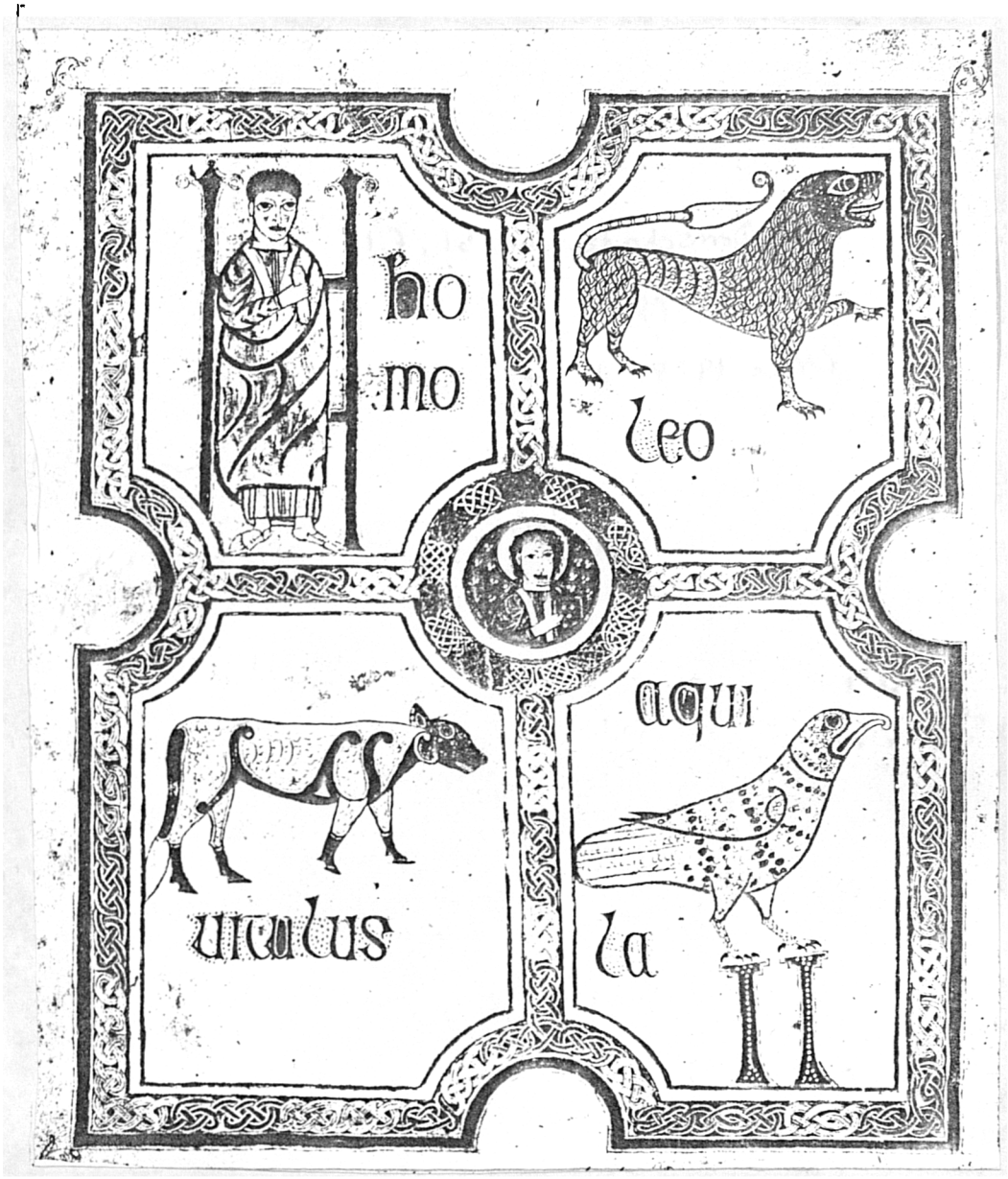

Plate 122

Plate 123

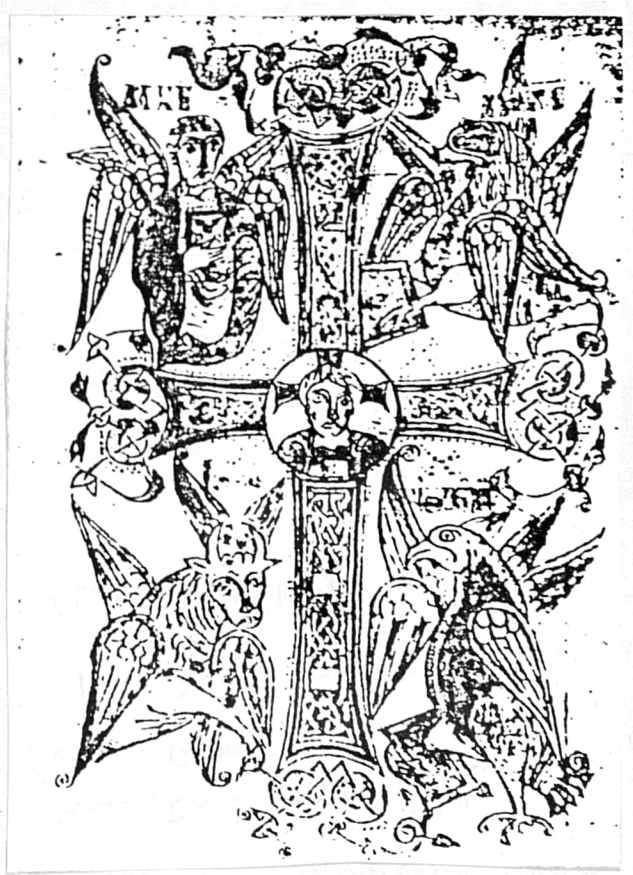

Plate 124

Plate 125

Plate 126

Plate 127

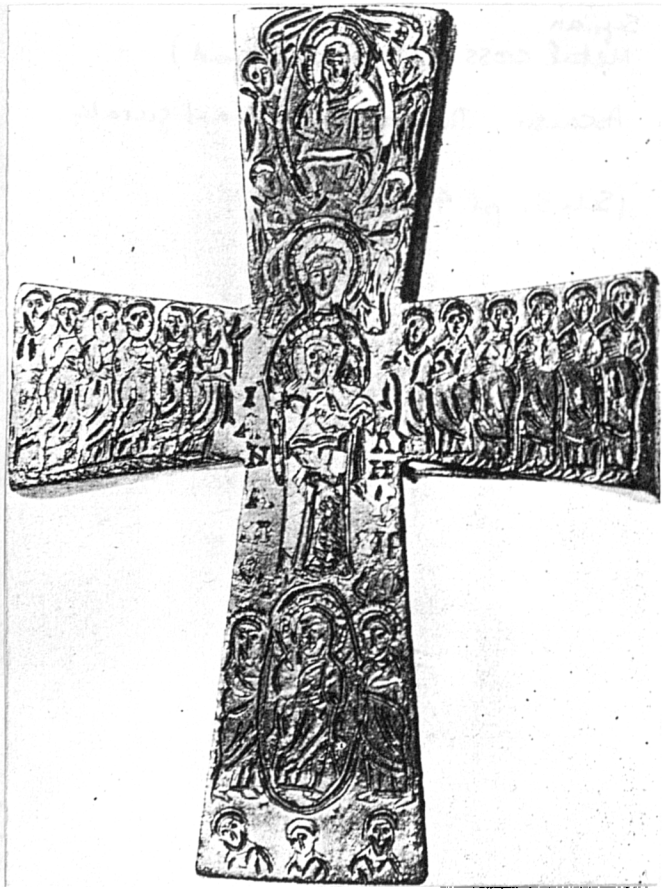

Plate 128

Plate 129

Plate 130

Plate 131

Plate 132

Plate 133

Plate 134

Plate 135

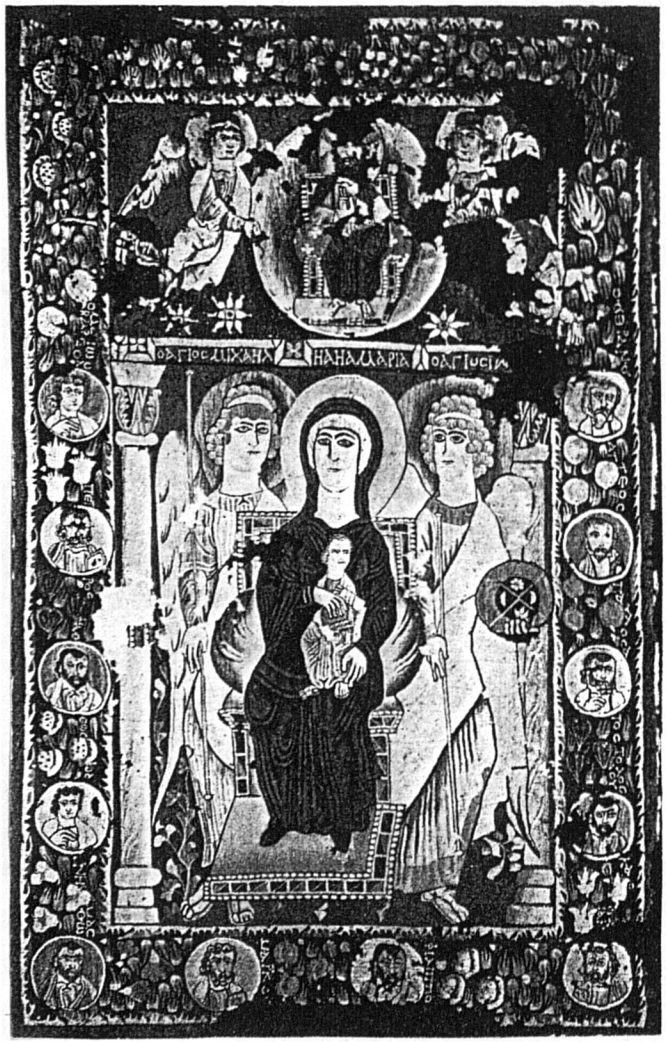

Plate 136

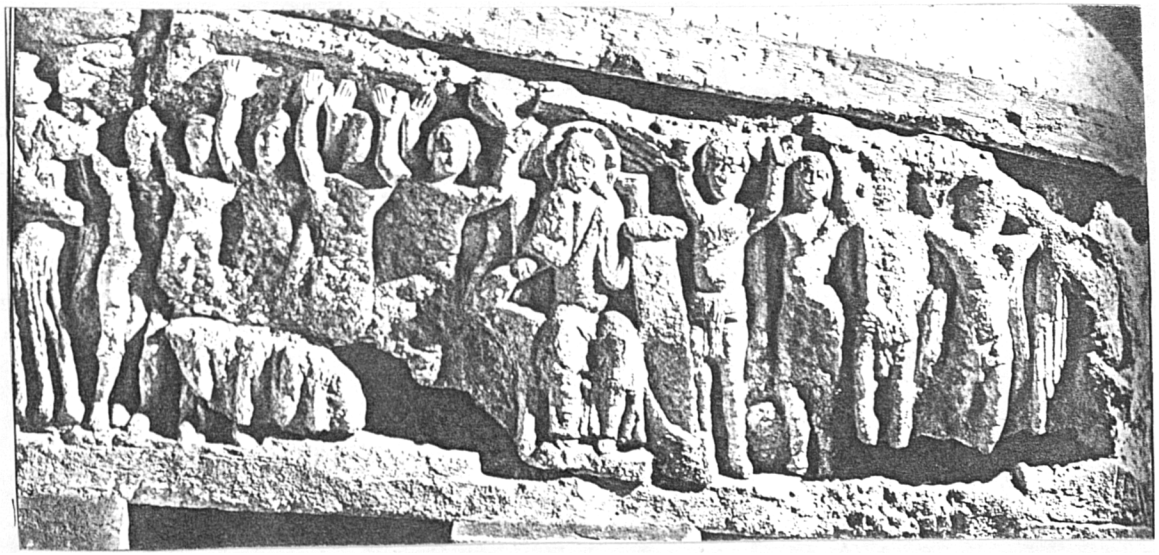

Plate 137

Plate 138

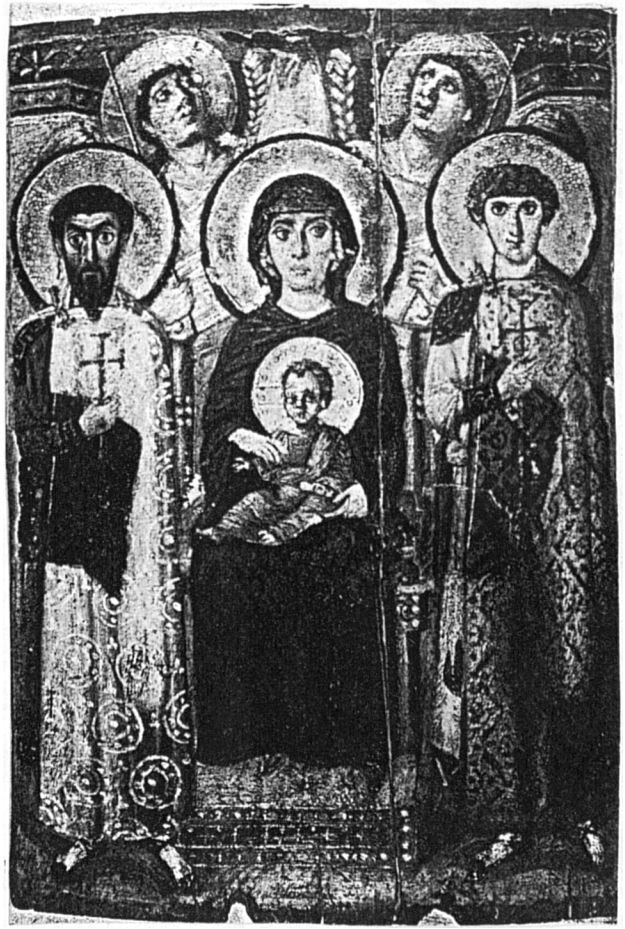

Plate 139

Plate 140

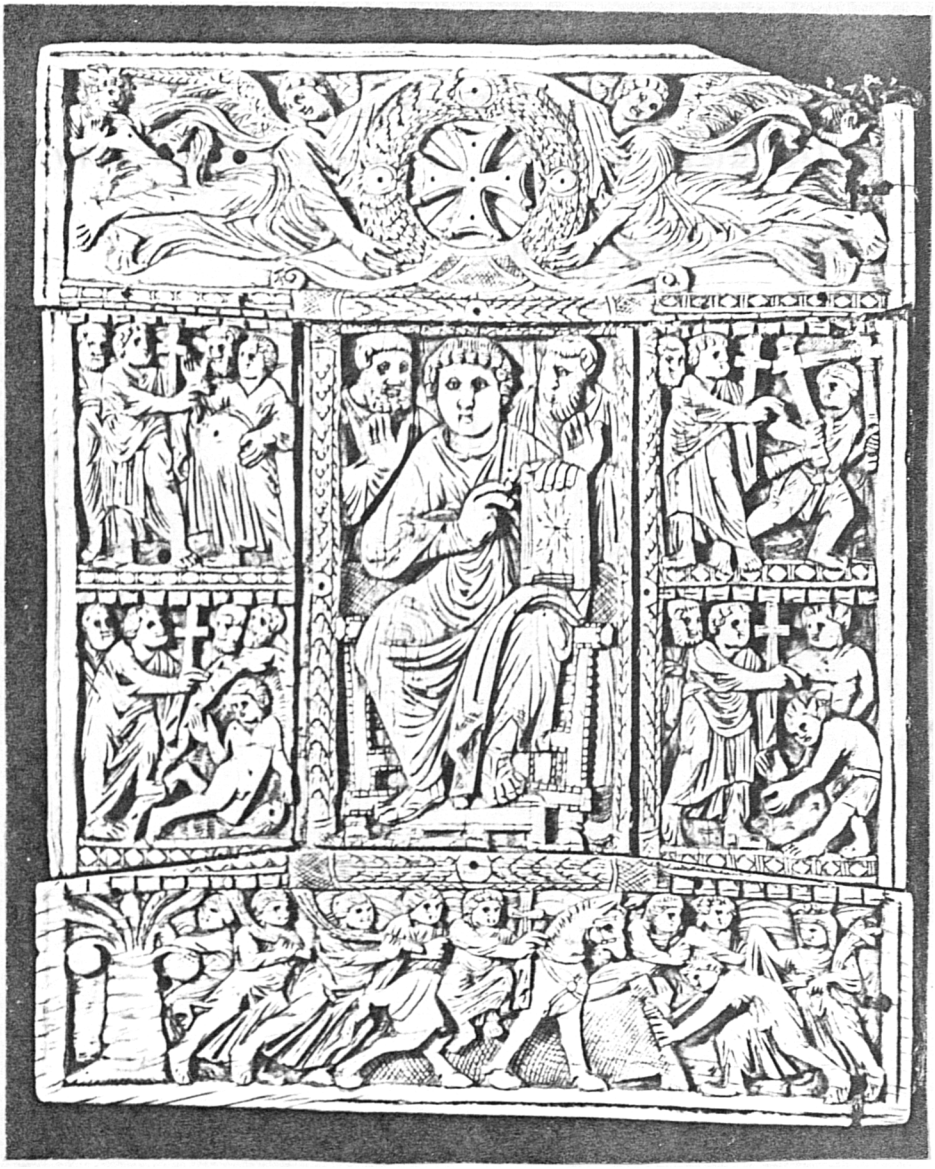

Plate 141

Plate 142

Plate 143

Plate 144

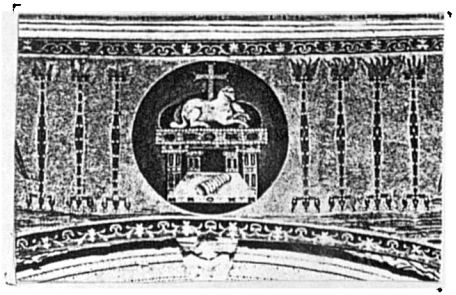

Plate 145

Plate 146a

Plate 146b

Plate 147

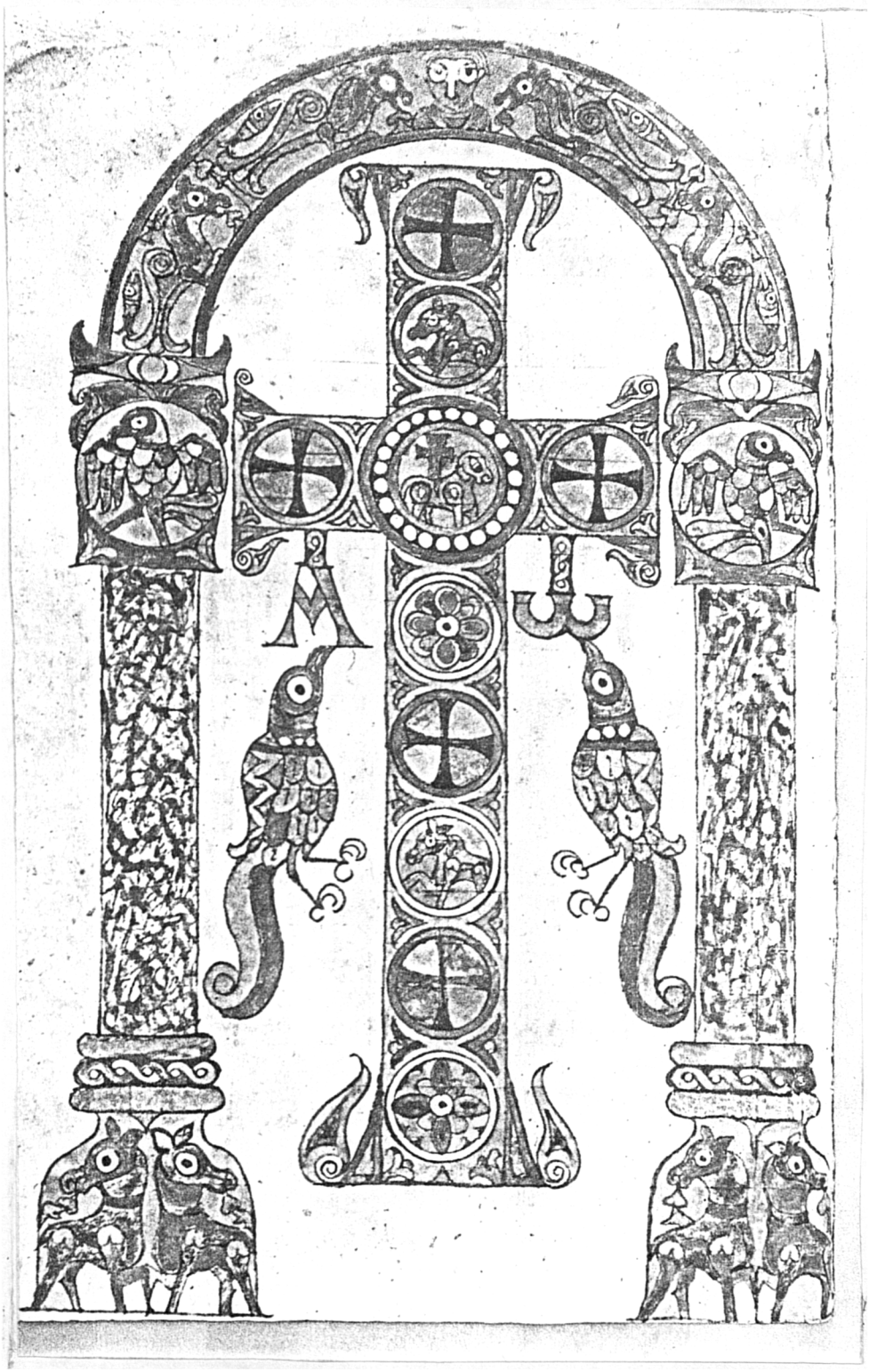

Plate 148

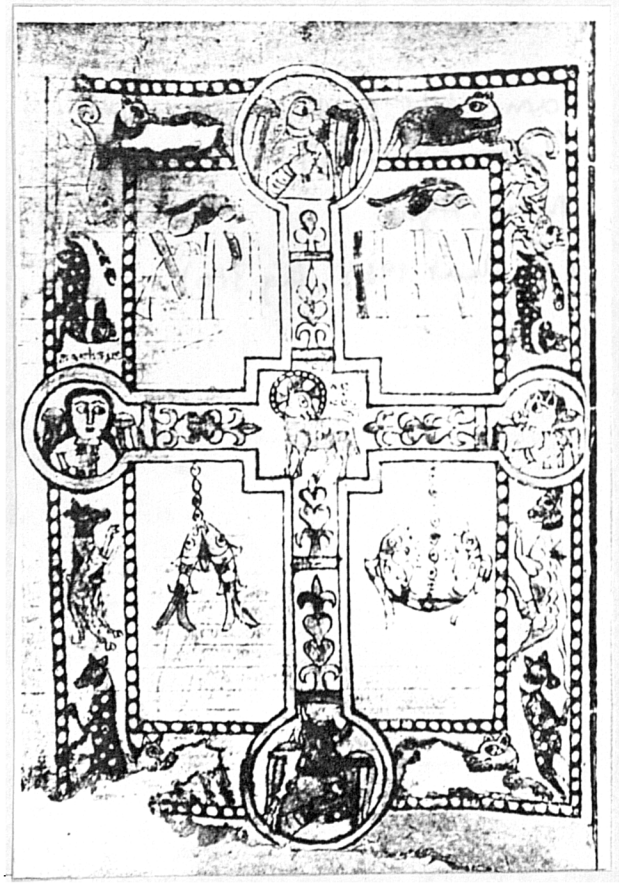

Plate 149

Plate 150

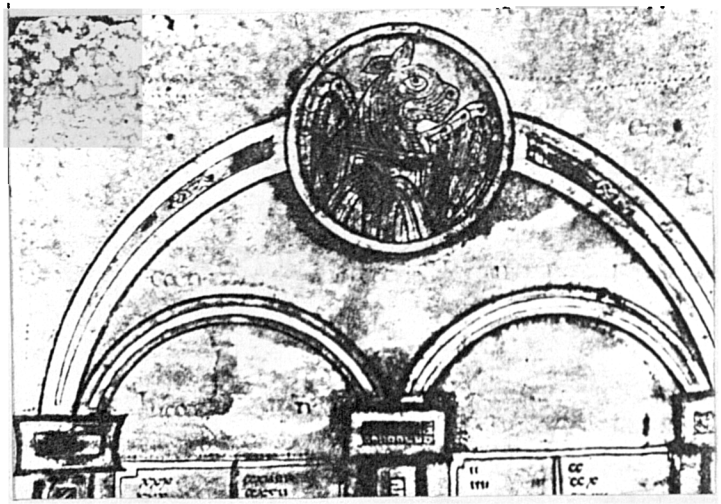

Plate 151a

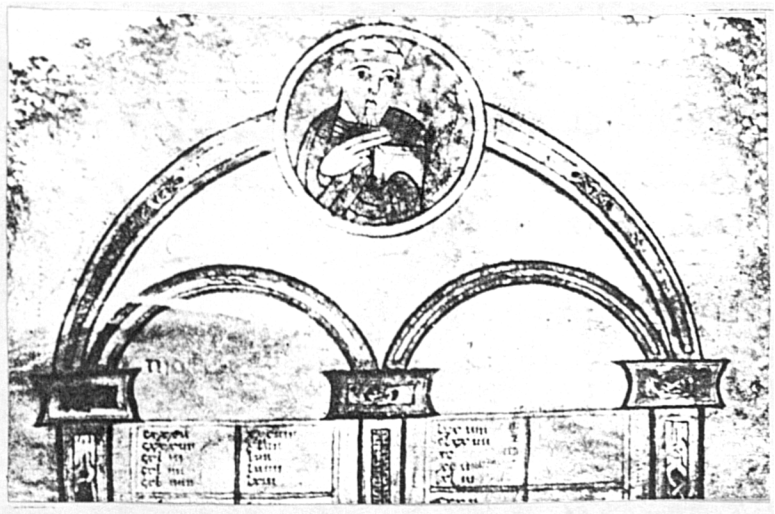

Plate 152

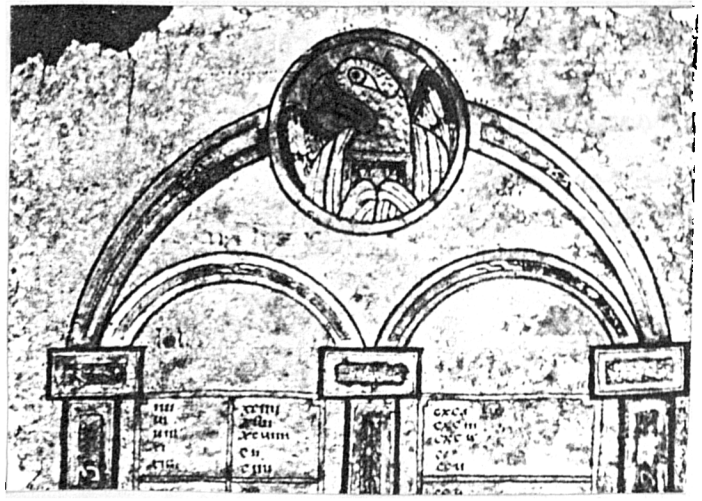

Plate 151b

Plate 153

Plate 154

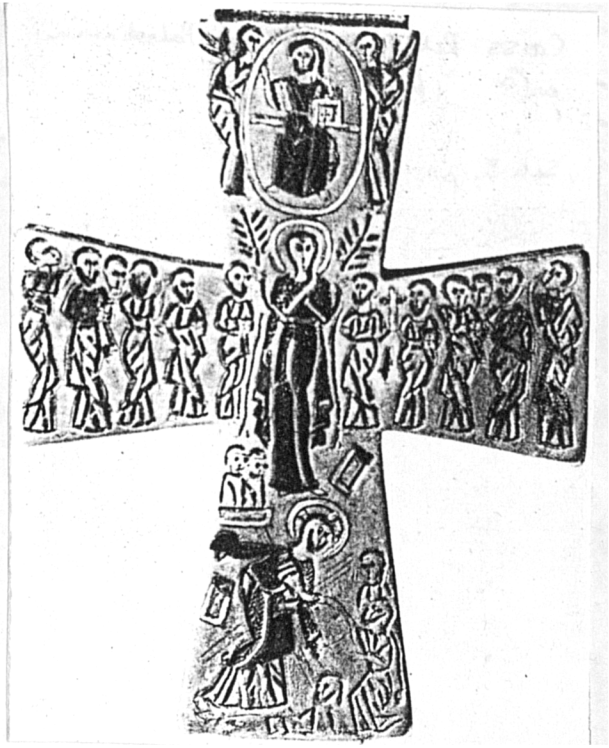

Plate 155

Plate 156

Plate 157

Plate 158

Plate 159

Plate 160