

**RECONSIDERING TUSK AND BONE:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE FORMS, FUNCTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF
ANGLO-SAXON IVORIES, c.500-1066**

Three Volumes, Vol. II

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CONTENTS

Volume II

Appendix I: Preliminary Catalogue of Elephant, Whalebone and Walrus Ivory on Pre-Norman Conquest Sites in England	248
Appendix II: Elephant, Whalebone and Walrus Ivory: The Archaeology	257
Appendix III: The Literary Evidence for the Articulation of Ivory Value and an Inventory of Manuscripts	262
Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Ivories	268
Abbreviations	371
Bibliography	372

Appendix I:
Preliminary Catalogue of Elephant, Whalebone and Walrus Ivory on
Pre-Norman Conquest Sites in England

Note: All entries are copied directly from published sources unless otherwise noted. Citations are complete to the fullest extent possible and are placed at the end of each entry. See Fig. App.1.1 at the end of this appendix for a map of each point listed below.

Elephant Ivory

BOSS HALL: GRAVE 93 (seventh or eighth century)

Scientific examination of composite disk brooches and other jewellery, revealed that the white domed inlays were ivory; normally made of shell or magnesite, the jewellery was examined using optical microscopy and radiography. (Scull, 2009: 80-82)

BUCKLAND (late fifth to early eighth century)

Old Park Hill, Dour Valley: uncarved ivory plaques from a casket. (Evison, 1987: 170)

Graves: 5 ivory rings (fairly complete or fragmentary) found in female graves 1/8, 38/10, 53/6, 75/4, 160/7. Diameter varied from 10.2-14cm. (Evison, 1987: 170)

BUTLER'S FIELD (mid fifth to early eighth century)

Inhumation grave 17: Gilt bronze keystone, garnet brooch with large central setting, XRF examination suggests that the material is bone/ivory however it is too deteriorated to declare either way. (Boyle, 1998: 60)

Inhumation grave 18: ivory bag ring, diameter 14.5-15cm. (Boyle, 1998: 61)

Inhumation grave 81/1: ivory bag ring, est. diameter 12cm. (Boyle, 1998: 89)

Inhumation grave 164: ivory bag ring. (Boyle, 1998: 123)

CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH (sixth to seventh century)

Ivory recorded in 5 of 300 cremations. (Hills, 2001: 140)

Cremation Urns

N52 (Fig. 1) 1542. Found badly shattered and much missing. Depth 31 in. (79 cm). [...]

Contents: **A.** Burnt bones. **B.** Two fragments of burnt elephant ivory ring. Original diameter about 4 in. (10 cm). **C.** Three fused glass beads, two fused together. [...] Four fragments of fused clear glass, possibly part of a cone beaker. Several fragments show the characteristic ridging. **E.** Four fragments of fused glass, some of which may belong to **D.** **F.** Incomplete iron ring. Minimum diameter 1.15 in. (2.9 cm). **G.** Two fragments of rectangular iron clip, 1.05x0.4 in. (2.7x1.0 cm.) Corroded at one corner only. **H.** Sheep's rib. (Myres & Green, 1973: 158)

P12 (Fig. 22) 1709. Found almost complete. Depth 31 in. (79 cm). [...] Contents: **A.** Burnt bones. **B.** Numerous fragments of a burnt elephant ivory ring; it is not possible to determine its diameter. (Myres & Green, 1973: 171)

P25 (Fig. 11) 1621. Found shattered. Depth 26 in. (66 cm). [...] Contents: **A.** Burnt bones. **B.** Fragments of burnt elephant ivory ring, D-shaped in section. Diameter approx 4.25 in. (10.8 cm). (Myres & Green, 1973: 173)

P53 (Urn Fig. 2) 1544. Found shattered. Depth 22 in. (56 cm). [...] Contents: A. Burnt bones. B. Pieces of burnt elephant ivory ring, too fragmentary to determine diameter (not illustrated). (Myres & Green, 1973: 178)

Stray finds, probably from cremations (Fig. 60)

2. Fragment of burnt elephant ivory ring. (Myres & Green, 1973: 207)

CHATHAM LINES, KENT (third quarter of the sixth century)

Summary: A female burial in Tumulus XVIII in the cemetery of Chatham Lines, Kent.

Archaeological context: Gold threads found in situ on the wrist, eleven strips of gold foil, mostly unraveled with impression lines. There is evidence for the textile organic fibre used in the weaving process. Other finds associated with this burial: a silver-gilt radiate brooch, a silver-gilt square-headed brooch; silver and bronze fingerrings; two bronze belt-studs; a necklace of amber and glass beads; an ivory ring; fragments of glass and sheet silver; an antler ring; a lead spindle-whorl. (Magoula, 2008: 59)

DOVER (early to mid-seventh century)

Ivory recorded in 2 graves dated to *c.*600, others to the mid seventh century. (Evison, 1987: fig. 118)

Disc brooch: elephant ivory domed inlay. London, British Museum: 1963,11-8,826. (La Niece, 1988: 236)

Composite brooch: found at Priory Hill, decayed ivory domed inlay. London, British Museum: 79,10-13,1. (La Niece, 1988: 236)

Plated disc brooch: unclear if shell or ivory due to decay. London, British Museum: 1963,11-8,758. (La Niece, 1988: 236)

ILLINGTON (early fifth to mid seventh century)

Ivory recorded in 13 of 200 cremations. (Hills, 2001: 140)

LACKFORD (early fifth to seventh century)

Ivory recorded in 13 of 500 cremations. (Hills, 2001: 140)

NEWARK-ON-TRENT (fifth and sixth century)

While there were 400 listed cremations, only 220 urns still contained cremated bones by the time the report came to be written, 39 of which included ivory. (Hills, 2001: 140)

SANCTON, YORKSHIRE (sixth century)

1976-80 Excavations gave evidence for 15 of 73 urns containing ivory (20%); but from earlier excavations there are an additional 24. (Hills, 2001: 140)

SPONG HILL, NORTH ELMHAM (fifth and sixth century)

Of the 2,400 cremations, 205 contained ivory, amounting to about 8.5%, but rather more if only the reasonably complete burials are counted. (Hills, 2001: 140)

LITTLE ERISWELL, SUFFOLK (fifth to seventh century)

Grave 28/36.7: fragments of an ivory ring. (West, 1998:

WEARMOUTH-JARROW

WB22 H21mm Diam.17mm, Roman or early medieval.

Small cylindrical box and lid produced from elephant ivory. (Cramp, 2005-6: 275)

WINCHESTER, OLD AND NEW MINSTER (sixth and seventh century)

Cat. 18: Fragment of a spoon. Found in archaeological excavations of the Old and New Minster, Winchester. Winchester Cathedral Museum: WINCM:CG62-70SF610.

UNPUBLISHED SITES

Elsham: Ivory occurred in 13.7% of 205 urns.

Loveden Hill: Ivory occurred in 2.8% of 251 urns.

Mucking: Little or none was found. (Richards, 1987: table 18; Hills, 2001: 140)

Chessel Down cemetery (Isle of Wight): 3 square headed brooches with bone/ivory inlays. (La Niece, 1988: 235)

“Yorkshire”: 2 gold pendants with bone/ivory inlays. (La Niece, 1988: 235)

Keppmston, Bedfordshire: Buckle with bone/ivory inlays. (La Niece, 1988: 235)

Whalebone

BEVERLEY, YORKSHIRE: LURK LANE (eighth to eleventh century)

Thirteen fragments of whalebone were found in eleventh- or twelfth- century contexts, including a piece of jaw-bone. These had evidently been brought to the site to make artefacts. The site was probably part of the collegiate buildings of Beverley Minster. The buildings here may have housed officers of the church or provided guest accommodation. (Scott, 1991: 222, fiche I/F 14; Foreman, 1991: 194; Gardiner, 1997: 189)

BLOOMOOR HILL CEMETERY, SUFFOLK (sixth to seventh century)

Whalebone chopping boards: 5 segments of whale vertebrae were recovered from four separate contexts; none are complete, most fractured into fragments. Two species of whale can be identified: one (nos. 233 & 234) is a large cetacean, 18-30 metres in length, most likely a sperm whale; two other vertebrae (nos. 236 & 237) stem from at least one mid-sized cetacean, 6.5-9.5 metres, most likely a beaked whale. (Lucy, 2009: 199-200)

Whalebone vertebral blocks dated to the sixth to seventh century. (Riddler, 2014)

BRAMBER, WEST SUSSEX: BOTOLPHS (c.450-550)

A small piece of whalebone was discovered in a sunken-featured building dated to the period AD 450-550. It bore numerous knife marks on its flat surface. (Gardiner, 1990: 262; Gardiner, 1997: 189)

CANTERBURY, KENT: AULA NOVA

Excavations by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust recovered a rectangular fragment of whalebone from deposits, which can be dated broadly to the medieval period. The site lay in the medieval precincts of the Cathedral. (information from Ian Riddler; Gardiner, 1997: 189).

FLIXBOROUGH, LINCOLNSHIRE (seventh to ninth century)

Preliminary examination has confirmed the presences of cetacean bone from both Middle and Late Anglo-Saxon deposits at the high-status site of Flixborough. (Gardiner, 1997: 190).

-Further excavations have extended these records, including 600 fragments recovered from Flixborough. Almost all of the fragments stem from smaller cetaceans (bottlenose dolphins) with two or three fragments from a minke whale, one fragment from a pilot or killer whale, suggesting active whaling with the assemblages dating to between the seventh and ninth century. (Riddler, 2014)

HINXTON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE (eleventh to mid-twelfth century)

A casket mount of whalebone was recovered from a context dated to the eleventh to mid-twelfth century (information from Ian Riddler; Gardiner, 1997: 190).

IPSWICH, SUFFOLK (seventh to twelfth century)

-Buttermarket and Greyfriars Road have each produced two small fragments of whalebone waste of late Anglo-Saxon date. Thirteen objects of whalebone have been found from nine sites in the town dating from the ninth to the twelfth century, several of them almost certainly of Scandinavian origin (Gardiner, 1997: 190)

-Further excavations have extended these records, including eleven fragments (including clamps and floats) from five sites at Buttermarket, Greyfriars Rd and Tower Ramparts in Ipswich (two undated, three from c.650-870, six from c.870-1150). (Riddler, 2014)

LARLING, NORFOLK (late eighth century)

A carved panel fragment of whalebone dating to the late eighth century, perhaps from a book cover found near to Larling church. (Webster and Backhouse, 1991: 179; Gardiner, 1997: 190, cat. 3 in this study)

LEWES, EAST SUSSEX: LEWES PRIORY (tenth to eleventh century)

Five porpoise vertebrae and one skull from an immature individual were found in a late Anglo-Saxon shaft set within a square building. The shaft was identified as a *sacrarium* for the disposal of holy water, ritual food and other consecrated material. The species represent in the shaft are extremely unusual. There is a very high representation of fish with cod, plaice and herring forming 90 per cent of the total number of bones. (Stevens, 1997: 140; Gardiner, 1997: 190).

LONDON, WESTMINSTER ABBEY (mid-eighth to eleventh century)

A maxilla of a dolphin, identified as either a Bottle-nosed or White-beak dolphin, was found in a ditch fill dated to late in the first half of the eleventh century. (information from Alan Pipe, Museum of London Archaeological Service; Gardiner, 1997: 191).

-Further excavations have extended these records, including four fragments from Middle Saxon London, two pieces at Hare Court, one at Royal Opera House, whalebone tooth segment at Bedford Street (mid-late eighth century). (Riddler, 2014)

LYDD, KENT: DENGEMARSH (eighth to ninth century)

Bones from two North Right Whales were found on a buried foreshore. Both had cut-marks indicating that their flesh had been removed. The bones had been left on the shore where they had been covered by shingle. The bones are dated to the middle Anglo-Saxon period on the evidence of the geomorphology. (Gardiner, 1997: 191; Gardiner, Stewart and Priestley-Bell, 1999: 100).

RAMSGATE, KENT (sixth to seventh century)

Whalebone fragment dated to the sixth to seventh century. (Riddler, 2014)

SANDTUN, KENT (sixth to seventh century)

Whalebone vertebral blocks dated to the sixth to seventh century. (Riddler, 2014)

SOUTHAMPTON, HAMPSHIRE: *HAMWIC* (seventh to eighth century)

-The vertebra of a large whale, possibly a sperm, black right or humpback whale was found in a middle Saxon pit at *Hamwic*. The vertebra had been used as a sawing block. Bone-working waste indicates the use of whalebone for the manufacture of artefacts (Morton, 1992: 144, 146, 182-3). Fige fragments of whalebone, all apparently worked were found on three sites in Melbourne Street (Bourdillon and Coy, 1980: 114). A pit at Six Dials contained a number of fragments indicating local working of whalebone. A total of just over 60 fragments representing at least two whale carcasses have now been found at *Hamwic*, all dated to the eighth or ninth century. (Gardiner, 1997: 191)

-Further excavations have extended these records, including 209 fragments recovered from rubbish pits across thirteen different sites in Hamwic most belong to the same phase of activity suggesting a singular stranding (late seventh/early eighth century). (Riddler, 2014)

WALLINGFORD, BERKSHIRE (fifth to sixth century)

Inscribed weaving batten (Anglo-Saxon). (Okasha, 1971: 119, no. 118; Rogers, 2007: 33-34; MacGregor, 1985: 188; Riddler, 2014)

WEARMOUTH-JARROW (seventh century)

31.5 Small group of objects and waste material of antler, bone, ivory and whalebone recovered from both sites, majority from Jarrow. (Riddler, 2005-6: 267-81)

WB2 L108mm W45mm thickness 20mm, Anglo-Saxon or medieval.

Sub-rectangular block of cetacean bone tissue, sawn at one end with some traces of faceting by knife. (Cramp, 2005-6: 269)

WB21 L63mm W6mm thickness 6mm, Mid-Saxon (c.650-870).

Two conjoining sections of whalebone forming a square sectioned ring; can be calculated to extend to a diameter of approximately 125mm, placing it within the 100-150mm range of ivory rings common to the earlier period (see Hills, 2001). (Cramp, 2005-6: 273)

WEST HYTHE, KENT: SANDTUN (ninth to eleventh century)

Remains of middle and late Anglo-Saxon date were excavated by Gordon Ward and J.P.T. Burchell in 1947-48. A large fragment of whale vertebrae with chopping marks was found in 1949 after formal excavation had ceased. (Gardiner, 1997: 191; Riddler, forthcoming).

WHITBY, NORTH YORKSHIRE: WHITBY ABBEY (sixth to mid-ninth century)

A whale's vertebrae was found beneath paving supposedly of Saxon date in the excavations of 1920-25 (Cramp, 1976: 457; Gardiner, 1997: 191).

-Further excavations have extended these records, including vertebral blocks all dated to the sixth to mid-ninth centuries. (Riddler, 2014)

WITCHAMPTON, DORSET (tenth to twelfth century)

Whalebone chess pieces were found during excavation. Although their association suggests a twelfth century date, they could be as early as the tenth century. (Dalton, 1928; Gardiner, 1997: 191, cat. 20 of this study).

YORK: 46-54 FISHERGATE (ninth or tenth century)

-Two objects of waste material: Fishergate was the site of the Priory of St Andrew.

8141. Offcut of neural spine or transverse process of whale, irregularly shaped, tapering from one end which has been cut to other, sides cut, part of one face split off laterally.

L.103.1, W.85.6, T.48.6mm. (MacGregor et al., 1999: 2058)

8142. Whalebone, sub-rectangular, of sub-planano-convex section, having been split longitudinally. One end has been cut, the other end is unmodified. L.88.9, W.52.9, T.35.3mm. (MacGregor et al., 1999: 2058)

-Further excavations have extended these records, including four fragments from Fishergate (medieval). (Riddler, 2014)

YORK: 16-22 COPPERGATE (ninth or tenth century)

-Combs: Composite double-sided

6787: Made from cetacean bone. Incomplete, broken away through a rivet hole at one end, the other cut square; four tooth plates survive, including one end plate. There are two trapezoidal side plates joined by three surviving iron rivets and decorated with a median line of ring-and-dot motifs. There are three detached teeth. L.82.3, W.32.0, T.8.7mm (MacGregor et al., 1999: 2011, Fig. 894)

-Sword Pommel

6810: Made from cetacean bone, of ovoid section with a large axial perforation. The upper end is in the form of five lobes, the middle lobe being larger than the outer pairs. A circumferential pair of lines are incised below the lobes. L.71.0, W.41.0, T.21.0mm (MacGregor et al., 1999: 2012)

-Riddler dates the whalebone sword pommel and comb as typologically ninth or tenth century. (Riddler, 2014)

UNPUBLISHED

Birsay (Orkney) and Dublin (Ireland)

Gaming pieces and fragments of a pegged gaming board in Birsay and Dublin (pre-Viking); clamp and floats, like that found in Ipswich. (Riddler, 2014)

New Graveyard, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly

Small fragment of a whale bone game board. (Riddler, 2014)

Walrus

ALCESTER, WARWICKSHIRE (late tenth century)

Cat. 21: Alcester Tau-Cross, late tenth century. Found in the Rectory garden at Alcester Warwickshire. Possibly belonged to Evesham Abbey, which was founded in Saxon times. London, British Museum: 1903,0323.1.

LEWES, EAST SUSSEX: LEWES PRIORY (late tenth or eleventh century)

Cat. 39: Crucifixion, late tenth or eleventh century. Found near Lewes Priory, East Sussex in 1851. London, British Museum: 1887,1025.14.

LONDON, CITY OF (late tenth century)

Cat. 25: *Agnus Dei* Tau-Cross, late tenth century. Found in "Water Lane in the City [of London] in 1893." London, V&A Museum: A.1-1914.

Cat. 57: Zoomorphic Pen Case, mid-eleventh century. "Found in the City of London." London, British Museum: 1870,0811.1.

NORTH ELMHAM, NORFOLK (late tenth century)

Cat. 24: Resurrection with Mary and St Peter, late tenth century. Found at North Elmham, Norfolk in 1847. Cambridge, Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology: 1883.736.

TOMBLAND, NORWICH: CATHEDRAL CLOSE (late tenth or early eleventh century)

Cat. 38: Crucifixion, late tenth or early eleventh century. "Found at Tombland, outside Norwich Cathedral close on the west side of the Cathedral in 1878 by a workman while digging up some park land." London, V&A Museum: A3-1961.

WALLINGFORD, BERKSHIRE (c.1040-1050)

Cat. 51: Seal-die of Godwin & Godgytha, c.1040-50 made, recarved c.1060 or later. Found with a whetstone and a small walrus ivory double-comb in a garden on the west side of the market place at Wallingford, Berkshire. London, British Museum: 1881,0404.1.

WINCHESTER, ST CROSS (late tenth or early eleventh century)

Cat. 26: Two angels, late tenth or early eleventh century. Found in a garden near St Cross, Winchester; a modern inscription states that it was found in the garden of 'Landour'.

Winchester, Winchester City Museums: WINCM:ARCH817.

UNKNOWN (late tenth to mid-eleventh century)

Cat. 46: Crucifixion, late tenth or early eleventh century. Archaeological contexts (?), no written evidence to prove this however the staining might give some clue as to it being underground for some time however this could easily have been purposefully stained.

Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet: D13324.

Cat. 52: Seal-die of Wulfric, mid-eleventh century, no later than c.1061. Discovered in a box in a garden shed in Sittingbourne, Kent in 1976. The Schøyen Collection: MS 2223/14.

Cat. 55: Virgin and Child Crosier fragment, mid-eleventh century. Found/aquired in Kensington or Chelsea. London, British Museum: 1868,0805.27.

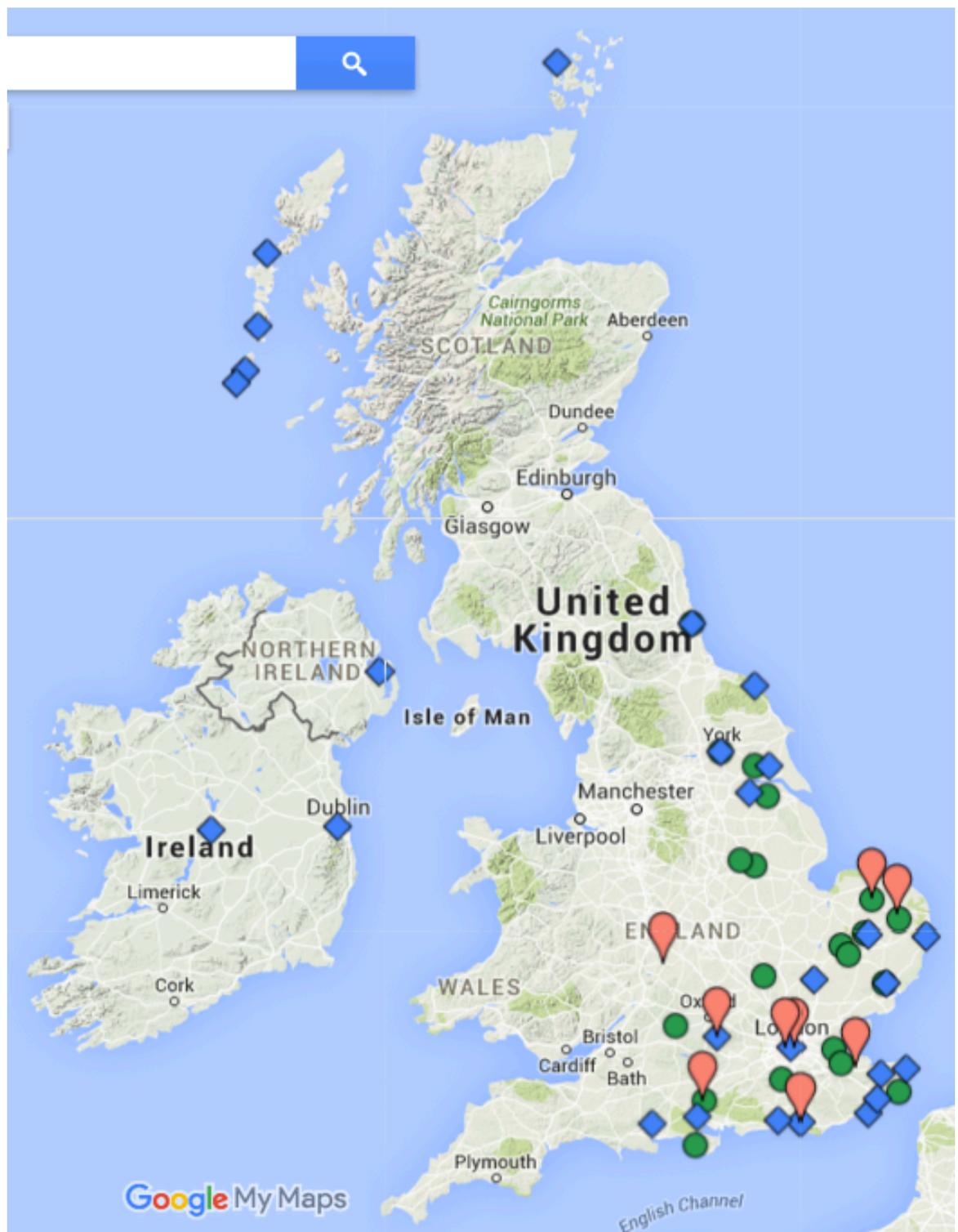


Fig. App.1.1: Archaeological sites in Britain and Ireland that produced Elephant, Whalebone and Walrus Ivory objects (carved and un-carved). (Green dots = Elephant ivory; Blue diamonds = Whalebone; Red pinpoints = Walrus ivory.) *Source:* Lyndsey Smith, 2015.

Appendix II:

Elephant, Whalebone and Walrus Ivory: The Archaeology

While much of the archaeological material relating to elephant, whalebone and walrus ivory was brought together and generalised in chapter 3 in relation to (briefly) how, why and when these materials were brought to Anglo-Saxon England, more specific information and studies are to be found here.

Elephant Ivory

The elephant ivory rings, which were usually placed on the left side of the body, near the hip and leg,¹ were found with other gendered objects such as glass beads, spindle whorls and combs (as opposed to the more masculine razors, shears or playing pieces), supporting the argument for their constituting some sort of bag handle, of which the bag itself has long since disintegrated.² Although there is no information on how exactly the ivory rings became so widespread in England, let alone how the material made its way across the Channel, it is fruitful to analyse the frequency curve constructed by Huggett.³ Producing an irregular curve, the repeated steep fall-off points suggest trade with certain localised centres. The highest concentration lies at Lackford, with several peaks corresponding with the sites at Illington (30km), Caistor-by-Norwich and Spong Hill (60km), followed by clusters at approximately 50km intervals, including the sites at Sleaford, Dover and the Yorkshire group at Sancton and Driffield.⁴ This distribution suggests elephant ivory was integral to the trade routes, source availability and relationships between inhabited places within England and their associations with the Continent, as set out in Hodges' exclusive exchange systems.⁵ It also contradicts the evidence apparently suggested by the carved elephant ivories, which seem to cluster in the seventh to early ninth centuries.⁶ In fact, the continued presence of the rings and their wide-spread distribution indicates that there was a long-standing tradition of the use of elephant ivory, and that it was used for personal belongings, before being deposited as

¹ See Chapter 3, p. 91-92. Hills, 2001: 133, fig. 6.1.

² Hills, 2001: 141-2. It must also be noted that due to differences in soil types and organic preservation there may have been higher numbers of the rings buried in Anglo-Saxon graves than are known today.

³ Huggett, 1983: fig. 10b.

⁴ Huggett, 1988: 80.

⁵ *Ibid.*: 91.

⁶ See below, Fig. 3.29.

funerary goods.⁷ A deliberate choice in the medium of ivory for the rings (as opposed to metal, rope or fabric) was being made, placing it firmly in the lives and deaths (thereby reducing the number of rings available and necessitating further acquisition) among the early Anglo-Saxons.⁸ Recognised in Anglo-Saxon graves since the nineteenth century,⁹ these rings are now identified as bag handles, and due to their overwhelming presence in female graves (only two have been identified in male inhumations), it has been suggested that they functioned as some sort of “purse” handle. Their widespread presence in archaeological record has led Hill to describe them as being a “persistent part of the equipment buried with women in England and on the Continent over a period of some centuries”.¹⁰ Most importantly, they indicate a continuum in the supply of elephant ivory in Anglo-Saxon England from the Mediterranean between the later fifth and early seventh/eighth centuries, contradicting the usual view that trade with that region was almost non-existent after the Roman departure.¹¹

Along these same lines, it is perhaps unsurprising that at Jarrow Monastery, a small lidded cylindrical box (H2.1cm Diam. 1.7cm) made of elephant ivory was found in an archaeological deposit giving rise to the possibility of these early ivory objects were part of a group of celebrated objects being carried from the late Roman world, perhaps alongside other *spolia*, seen in other hoards.¹² Seemingly emulating Roman and Byzantine *pyxides*, this ivory is unusual, as small objects of this type were not made in northern Europe during the Anglo-Saxon period, but rather belong to the first century AD and made of bone rather than ivory.¹³ The box from Jarrow therefore suggests that it was of southern or eastern Mediterranean origin, with a secondary use in Anglo-Saxon England, representing a purposeful reuse of an ivory object and an awareness of its history as an imported luxury item. The fact that the *pyxide* found its way into a high-status site such as Jarrow only enhances this notion, as well as its placement as part of a prestige burial object.

⁷ They occur in continental burials between the fourth and seventh centuries, Hills, 2001: 132.

⁸ *Ibid.*:137-8.

⁹ Thomas, 1887: 383-406.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*: 143, 137.

¹¹ Hodges, 1990: 208.

¹² Barber & Bowsher, 2000: 133, 188, fig. 95; Cramp, 2005-2006: II, 275, WB22 (image not available); Riddler, 2006: 275. See for example, the Hoxne Hoard, see Bland & Johns, 1993.

¹³ Riddler, 2006: 275. For more information on these objects generally, and their significance, please see Clair, 2003.

Nevertheless, as the earliest Anglo-Saxon (carved) elephant ivory object is dated to the late seventh century and the earliest ivory ring is dated to the later fifth or early sixth century, this indicates an absence of carved ivory from Roman Britain between *c.*43-410; if so, this would imply a situation in stark contrast to the abundance of extant carved (Roman) examples of ivory panels on the Continent.¹⁴ The clear and continuous presence of ivory rings in Anglo-Saxon burials from the fifth century thus remains a substantial piece of evidence for desire for the material. While it is possible that some of the ivory rings found were imported to Britain and Ireland between *c.*500-675 as part of a network of supply and demand, it is not unlikely that a portion were brought to early medieval England as markers of personal status and wealth, having already been acquired on the Continent or in the Mediterranean where elephant ivory was more readily available and commonly used as adornment or personal embellishment. Hills has argued the possibility of the rings being markers of wealth due to their comparative rarity and pointed out that the supply coincides largely with the time when the amount of ivory available in the Mediterranean, most likely through Aksum, was at its highest.¹⁵

Whalebone

In 1997 Mark Gardiner listed thirteen Anglo-Saxon sites yielding evidence of cetacean bones,¹⁶ but since his publication more have come to light either through further archaeological activity or the re-identification of material due to scientific advancements.¹⁷ Ian Riddler thus brings together information from archaeological reports increasing both the number of sites and the numbers of whalebone artefacts; the number of known whalebone fragments in Hamwic for example rose from around sixty to over 200, and new

¹⁴ See for example the Archangel panel (London: British Museum, OA 9999); the St Menas pyx (London: British Museum, 1879,1220.1); the Milan Diptych (Milan: Cathedral Treasury); the Barberini ivory (Paris: Louvre Museum, OA 9063) For more see Cutler, 1994.

¹⁵ Hills, 2001:135, 136, 143. This ancient site in Ethiopia is known to have provided substantial amounts of ivory for the Mediterranean and beyond between the third and seventh centuries, having been shipped across the Indian Ocean or from southern Africa. The links between Aksum, Europe, the Red Sea region and the Indian Ocean are confirmed by the finds of cowrie shells and amethyst beads (known to originate from these regions), in graves in England, predominantly in the seventh century, alongside the major portion of dated ivory rings.

¹⁶ Gardiner, 1997: 189-95. For more see Appendix I.

¹⁷ Riddler, 2014: 337-354. I am grateful to Dr Ian Riddler for the opportunity to access this information prior to its publication, and I thank him for his many emails concerning the topics of archaeology and stranding records.

artifacts were found in London, Sandtun (Kent), Carlton Colville (Suffolk)¹⁸ and Jarrow Monastery.¹⁹ The two sites of Hamwic (a high traffic trading and production site) and Flixborough (a more 'sedate' rural settlement site) alone have shown over 800 fragments of worked and un-worked whalebone, highlighting that both types of economic environments utilized whalebone and specifically selected it as a raw material resource.²⁰

Jaqui Mulville's study of cetaceans in Norse Atlantic Scotland adds over 220 pieces to this total from seven sites in Sout Uist, Western Isles, all of which were recovered from domestic contexts, with the majority being worked or burnt, suggesting more utilitarian purposes.²¹ The high degree of modification and fire damage makes identification difficult and there are further small fragments that still remain on the sites, but the most abundant object found across these seven sites were whale vertebrae.²²

Having said this, it must be noted that scarcely any whalebone has ever been C14 dated,²³ and while being able to date early medieval ivories to a specific century would be helpful, and indeed desirable, the major problem of C14 dating is the extreme invasiveness and ease with which the tests can be contaminated, thus explaining why most whalebone artefacts from the Anglo-Saxon period are not subjected to such testing but are rather dated according to archaeological context. This means that fragmentary remains and waste material from recent sites are most often the easiest to date, simply by association with other (recognisable) materials within the same dig layer, and can be reasonably placed within a given century or part-century. Fortunately, this is a practice that can be applied to

¹⁸ Riddler, 2014: 337-354. For more see Appendix I.

¹⁹ Cramp, 2005-2006: 273. For more see Appendix I.

²⁰ Riddler, 2014: 337-354.

²¹ Mulville, 2002: 38. She goes on to state that cetacean bone has been recorded on Atlantic Scotland sites since the Mesolithic period onwards, encompassing over seventy sites across Scotland. The sites at South Uist date back to the Late Bronze Age and include 568 pieces of whalebone (including those discussed above, dated to the Norse period). See further, Childe, 1931; Callander & Grant, 1933; Hamilton, 1968; Curle, 1982; Harman, 1983; Finlay, 1984, 1991; Grigson & Mellars, 1987; Hedges, 1987; Campbell, 1991; McCormick, 1991; Hallén, 1994; Morris et al., 1995; Smith, 1998; Mulville, 1999, 2002: 39, Table 2; Halstead, forthcoming.

²² Mulville, 2002: 39. Her study prioritises the identification process; as a result eight different species of cetacean are recognised among the fragments found.

²³ This is a radiometric dating technique that involves pieces of organic materials like wood, leather, paper, and skeletal material and by destroying them estimates the decay of C14 to estimate their age.

most of the carved whalebone pieces as all but two (cat. 2 and 6) have emerged from archaeological contexts.²⁴

Walrus Ivory

Unlike elephant and whalebone objects, the archaeological record of walrus ivory is incredibly limited, so much so that the carved pieces excavated from different sites (11 objects, see Chapter 3, Table III) represent nearly every archaeological occurrence of the material during the Anglo-Saxon period. As briefly stated, this notable lack of surviving evidence is in keeping with the initial general availability in the late ninth to early tenth century, leaving little time for the use and discarding of the material in Anglo-Saxon England before *c.*1066. As there is so little material to explore, the archaeological discussion found in Chapter 3 will not be repeated or expanded upon here.

²⁴ Longhurst, 1926: xi; Gardiner, 1997; Szabo, 2008; Riddler, 2014.

Appendix III: The Literary Evidence for the Articulation of Ivory Value and an Inventory of Manuscripts

Note: Each manuscript listed here has been taken from the text of this study in vol. I; the first group (Appendix III.A) are from Gneuss' *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* and the page numbers in which the manuscripts can be found are listed at the end of each entry in parentheses. Every effort to give additional information, such as provenance or additions, has been attempted according to the information found in researching this topic. Other manuscripts, used for the purpose of visual comparative analysis, are listed with their illustration numbers (Appendix III.B); full information can be found in the Comparative Figures List (vol. I) or Comparative Figures (vol. II) as to the folio numbers used for illustration.

Appendix III.A

Of the classical or late antique authors, Pliny is the most heavily represented with four copies (one of which is incomplete) of his *Naturalis Historia* having English provenance.

- Three copies at the British Library, London:
 - o Cotton 373e, eleventh-century. Canterbury Christ Church or Winchester? (69)
 - o Harley 423e, ninth-century. England, Canterbury St Andrews? (75)
 - o Harley 428.4e, tenth-century. England. (76)
- One copy at the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden: 838e, dated to the eighth century. (128)

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Amores* give significant mention to the concept of the preciousness and beauty of ivory, and several manuscripts can be found to have had Anglo-Saxon provenance in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

- *Metamorphoses*
 - o Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: 919e, tenth century. Worcester. (140)
- *Amores*
 - o Oxford, Bodleian Library: 664e, eleventh century. (104)
 - o Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève: 903e, tenth century. Canterbury Christ Church or St Andrews. (138)

Vergil can be found even more commonly than Pliny or Ovid, with most copies being kept in the south of England post-dating the ninth century.

- *Aeneid*
 - o Cambridge, University Library: 12e, eleventh century. Canterbury. (27)
 - o London, British Library: Royal 4778, eleventh century. Bury St Edmunds. (82)
 - o London, College of Arms: 503f, tenth century. Bury St Edmunds. (86)
 - o Oxford, Bodleian Library: Lat. Bib., Lat. Class., Lat. Liturg., Lat. Misc., Lat. Th. 648f, ninth century. England. (102)
 - o Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: 919e, eleventh century. Worcester. (140)

- *Georgica*
 - Exeter, Cathedral Library: 258e, tenth century. S England, Exeter, Canterbury Christ Church or Sherbourne? (54)
 - Oxford, Bodleian Library: Lat. Bib., Lat. Class., Lat. Liturg., Lat. Misc., Lat. Th. 648f, ninth century. England. (102)
 - Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: 919e, eleventh century. Worcester. (140)

Biblical references are numerous, expounding perceptions of beauty, value and luxury and there are many fragmented and complete bibles that have Anglo-Saxon provenances, dating from the sixth century, which no doubt helped to fuel the desire for the material in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical contexts.

- Old Testament (fragments):
 - *Regum* (Kings)
 - Hereford, Cathedral Library: 265.5, eleventh century. (55)
 - London, British Library: Add. 293f, seventh or eighth century Wearmouth-Jarrow or Worcester? (59)
 - *Ezechiel* (Ezekiel)
 - Cambridge, University Library: 6e, eleventh century. Canterbury Christ Church. (27)
 - Hereford, Cathedral Library: 265.5, eleventh century. (55)
 - *Canticum Canticorum* (Songs of Solomon)
 - Canterbury, Cathedral Library and Archives: 212.2, eleventh century. Canterbury St Andrews. (47)
 - London, British Library: Add. 289f, eleventh century. (59)
 - London, British Library: Egerton 410, eighth century. Northumbria. (73)
 - London, British Library: Royal 456.6, eleventh century. Rochester. (80)
 - Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale: 919.3, ninth century. England. (141)
- Bible (complete):
 - Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College: 121f, eighth century. (39)
 - Cambridge, Magdalene College: 126f, ninth century. Northumbria. (40)
 - Dublin, Cathedral Library: 217, eleventh century (before 1096). Durham. (49)
 - Dublin, Cathedral Library: 245f, sixth century. Italy, Northumbria. (52)
 - Dublin, Cathedral Library: 249f, eighth century. Northumbria. (53)
 - Hereford, Cathedral Library: 265.5e, eleventh century. (55)
 - Lincoln, Cathedral Library: 270, eleventh century. Lincoln. (57)
 - London, British Library: Add. 289f, eleventh or twelfth century. (59)
 - London, British Library: Add. 293f, seventh or eighth century Wearmouth-Jarrow or Worcester? (59)
 - London, British Library: Egerton, 410e, eighth century. Northumbria. (73)
 - London, British Library: Royal 448e, ninth century. S England, Canterbury Christ Church. (79)

- London, British Library: Royal 449, tenth century. Canterbury Christ Church. (79)
- London, British Library: Sloane 498.5f, eleventh century. (85)
- London, British Library: (Manuscripts on permanent loan) 501.3f, seventh or eighth century. Wearmouth-Jarro or Worcester? (86)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library: Lat. Bib., Lat. Class., Lat. Liturg., Lat. Misc., Lat. Th. 645.5f, eleventh century. (101)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library: Lat. Bib., Lat. Class., Lat. Liturg., Lat. Misc., Lat. Th. 646f, ninth century. Mercia, Salisbury?. (102)
- Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: 825, seventh or eighth century (before c.716). Wearmouth-Jarrow. (125)
- California (San Marino), Henry E. Huntington Library: 934, eleventh century. Canterbury Christ Church or Rochester? (143)

As a collection of classical, biblical and exegetical information, it is Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* that survives, perhaps not unsurprisingly, in the largest numbers from within Anglo-Saxon libraries.

- There are four copies that are earlier in date:
 - London, British Library: Cotton 311e, eighth century with ninth and tenth century additions. NE France, England by ninth century. (61)
 - The Library of the Marques of Bath: 524.4f, seventh or eighth century. Ireland or Glastonbury. (89)
 - Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek: 821f, eighth century. Northumbria. (124)
 - Paris, BnF: 885f, eighth or ninth century. Northumbria? (136)
- Fifteen copies (both complete and incomplete) with connections to Anglo-Saxon England survive from the ninth century:
 - Cambridge, St John's College: 154.5f, ninth century. (43)
 - Cambridge, Trinity College: 176e, tenth century. S England, Winchester? (45)
 - Cambridge, Trinity College: 185e, tenth century. Canterbury St. Andrews. (45)
 - Cambridge, Trinity College: 188.8e, eleventh or twelfth century. Southwark, Augustinian Priory of St Mary Overy. (46)
 - London, British Library: Harley 442.4e, tenth or eleventh century. Continental, in England by c.1100. (78)
 - London, British Library: Royal 460e, eleventh century. Salisbury. (81)
 - London, British Library: Royal 469, eleventh or twelfth century. Canterbury St. Andrews. (81)
 - London, British Library: Royal 497.2e, eleventh century. Salisbury. (84)
 - London, British Library: Sloane 498.1f, eleventh century. (85)
 - Oxford, Bodleian Library: Bodley 561, eleventh or twelfth century. Exeter. (93)
 - Oxford, Queen's College: 682, tenth century. Canterbury? (107)
 - Oxford, Trinity College: 690e, eleventh century after 1066, Old Minster Winchester. (108)

- Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek: 784.5e, tenth century. England? Bamberg Cathedral. (117)
- Paris, BnF: 889, ninth century (France) and tenth century (England). (137)
- Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale: 919.3e, ninth century. England. (141)

The influence of Ælfric's *Colloquy* and *Catholic Homilies* were profound on the spiritual and secular mindset of Anglo-Saxon England and copies of his texts can be found in a range of Anglo-Saxon contexts, all dating from the eleventh century:

- *Catholic Homilies*
 - Cambridge, University Library: G.g.3.28, tenth or eleventh century. Durham. (27)
 - Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (188), eleventh century. Hereford Cathedral. (32)
 - London, British Library: Cotton Tiberius A.iii, eleventh century. Canterbury Christ Church. (67)
 - London, British Library: Cotton Vitellius C.v, tenth century with eleventh century additions. SW England/Tavistock. (73)
 - London, British Library: Cotton Vitellius D.xvii, eleventh century. (73)
 - London, British Library: Harley 2110, eleventh century. Castle Acre, Norfolk. (76)
 - London, British Library: Harley 5915, eleventh century. (78)
 - London, British Library: Royal 7.Cxii, c.990. SW England. (82)
 - Oxford, Bodleian Library: Bodley 340 [2404] & 342 [2405], eleventh century. Canterbury or Rochester. (93)
 - Oxford, Brasenose College: Latham M.6.15, eleventh century. (105)
 - Copenhagen, Det Arnamagneanske Institut: s.n., eleventh century. (123)
 - Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet Aftagne Pergamentfrageter: 637-664, 669-671, 674-698, eleventh century. (123)
 - Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmerica: 2, eleventh century. (125)
 - The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: 133.D.22, eleventh century. (126)
 - The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek: 363, eleventh century. (126)
 - British Library (Cotton Tiberius a.iii), prov. Canterbury CC;
 - Oxford, St John's College (154), prov. Durham;
 - Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (M.16.2, prov. N/A).
- *Colloquy*
 - Oxford, St John's College: 154, eleventh century. Durham. (107)
 - Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum: M.16.2, eleventh century. (116)

Appendix III.B

This index of manuscripts is listed by country and includes their figure numbers found in the Comparative Figures List (vol. I) and Comparative Figures (vol. II). For more, refer to these for confirmation and visual analysis of the illuminations found in the folios itemised there.

- United Kingdom:
 - Durham
 - Cathedral Library: B.II.30 (Illus. 4.7, 5.13)

- Cathedral Library: MS A.II.17 (Illus. 4.109)
 - Dublin, IRE
 - Trinity College Library: MS 58 (Illus. 4.5A, 4.100B)
 - Cambridge
 - Corpus Christi College: MS 23, fol. 21v (Illus. 4.77B)
 - Corpus Christi College: Lib. MS 286 (Illus. 4.98A)
 - Trinity College: MS B.10.4 (c. 1020); MS B.34 (c. 1030); (Illus. 4.49A,B)
 - Trinity College: MS O.3.7 (Illus. 4.123B)
 - University Library, MS Ll.1.10 (Illus. 4.11, 4.101A,B, 4.112)
 - London
 - British Library: Add. 34890 (Illus. 4.33A, 4.48A, 4.130B)
 - British Library: Add. 37517 (Illus. 4.53B)
 - British Library: Add. 49598 (Illus. 4.32, 4.48B, 4.119A, 4.120B, 4.130B, 5.44A-C)
 - British Library: Cotton Claudius B.IV (Illus. 4.44B)
 - British Library: Cotton Nero D.IV (Illus. 4.24A, 4.99B)
 - British Library: Cotton Tiberius A.III (Illus. 4.127B)
 - British Library: Cotton Tiberius C.VI (Illus. 4.77A, 4.126A,B)
 - British Library: Cotton Tiberius C.II (Illus. 4.99A)
 - British Library: Cotton Vespasian A.I (Illus. 4.8A, 4.110)
 - British Library: Cotton Vespasian A.viii (Illus. 4.26B, 4.44A, 4.120A, 4.122, 4.129A, 5.27C, 5.84A)
 - British Library: Harley MS 603 (Illus. 4.129B)
 - British Library: Harley 1117 (Illus. 4.53A, 4.121A)
 - St Cuthbert Gospel, on loan to the British Library, Loan MS 74. (Illus. 4.24)
 - British Library: Stowe 944 (Illus. 4.47B, 4.77A, 4.128B, 5.84C)
 - British Museum: Cotton Caligula A.XV (Illus. 4.83B)
 - British Museum: Cotton Galba A.xviii (Illus. 4.47A, 4.113A-B, 5.27D, 5.28B)
 - British Museum: Cotton Titus D.xxvii (Illus. 5.84B)
 - British Museum: Harley 2904 (Illus. 4.39A, 5.83A)
 - Misc.
 - Lambeth Palace Library: MS 200, part II. (Illus. 4.35)
 - Lichfield, Cathedral Library: MS I, p. 218 (Illus. 4.111A)
- Oxford
 - Bodleian Library: MS Auct.F.4.32 (Illus. 4.115A)
 - St John's College: MS 28 (Illus. 4.115B)
- Sweden
 - Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket: MS A.135 (Illus. 4.8B, 4.100, 4.110B)
- Austria
 - Cutbercht Gospels. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: Codex 1224 (Illus. 4.9)
- Netherlands
 - Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek: MS Bibl. Rhenotriectinae 1 Nr.32 (Illus. 4.73)

- Russia
 - St Petersburg Gospels. St Petersburg, State Public Library, Codex F.V.I.8 (Illus. 4.10)
- Italy
 - Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Barb. Lat. 570 (Illus. 4.9A-B, 4.97A-C)
 - Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: MS Reg. Lat. 12 (Illus. 4.12)
 - Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: Amiatino 1 (Illus. 4.72, 4.98B, 5.28A)
 - Rossano, Biblioteca Capitolare: 042 (Illus. 5.59)
- France
 - Boulogne-ser-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale: MS 11 (Illus. 4.84)
 - Paris, BnF: Cod. Gr. 510 (Illus. 5.56A)
 - Paris, BnF: Lat. 1203 (Illus. 4.65)
 - Paris, BnF: Ms Lat. 8850 (Illus. 5.40B)
 - Paris, BnF: Latin 9428 (Illus. 5.45)
 - Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine: H.409 (Illus. 4.69A)
 - St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek: Cod. 22, fol. 2 (Illus. 4.90)
- Germany
 - Munich, Staatsbibliothek: Clm. 4453 (Illus. 4.91A)
 - Munich, Staatsbibliothek: Clm. 4456 (Illus. 4.91B)
- USA
 - New York, Morgan Library and Museum: MS. 333 (Illus. 4.79A)
 - New York, Morgan Library and Museum: M. 708, M. 709 (Illus. 4.78B)
 - New York, Morgan Library and Museum: MS M.827 (Illus. 4.77B)

Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Ivories

Note: The following gathering of fifty-seven ivories constitutes, in the opinion of this study, the entirety of *known*, carved Anglo-Saxon ivory objects made from elephant, whale bone and walrus material. Due to limited space, not every item here was able to be discussed in full in the text dissertation, but in each entry below comments on style, iconography and provenance will attempt to fulfil any missing information not included in volume I of this study. Acknowledgements, in the form of footnotes, highlight any information that has been found in more recent studies, whether the conclusions of those texts agree with the opinions of this study or not, as is the case with several of the ivories. All images, unless otherwise noted, belong to the museums in which the ivories are held; the assistance by each museum in providing me with information files, photographs and personal commentary by the curators has been invaluable to my conclusions here, and my appreciation is sent out to each of them in turn.

1. Cuthbert's Comb

(Illus. 3.8B)

Date: Late seventh century

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H16.3cm, W11.85cm

Current Location: Durham Cathedral Treasury, Durham

Provenance: Possibly Northumbrian

Biography: Found with the remains of Cuthbert at Durham Cathedral. Possibly Northumbrian, as the *scriptoria* would have had the skills implicit to make this design as a special commission for the burial of a saint (in this case Cuthbert) not out of the question. It is also possibly a late antique *spolia* or gift from the Mediterranean or even of Coptic origin, where such combs were commonly made.²⁵



Condition: Fair condition, some staining and a few of the 'fine' teeth have been broken.

Description: Devoid of ornament. Cut as a longitudinal section of the tusk, on one side it displays features that show the ivory's original proximity to the pulp cavity while the ends show traces of the outer 'bark'.²⁶ With coarse teeth on one side and fine on the other, the depth at which the fine teeth are carved diminishes towards the centre, leaving an arched central handle, which includes a large circular hole. The teeth show signs of having been sawn obliquely, with the base of each cut being filed flat.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Lindisfarne Gospels Exhibition, 2013.

Bibliography: Hegge, 1816: 47; Raine, 1828: 59, 81, 92, 197; Mackenzie & Ross, 1834: 363; Jupp & Gittings, 1999: 77; MacGregor, 2014: 78-81, fig. 45; Ashby, 2014: fig. 17.

²⁵ Macgregor, 2014: 78-81.

²⁶ See Chapter 2 for more details.

2. Franks Casket

(Illus. 2.2A-D, 6.2A-D)

Date: c.700

Material: Whalebone

Size: H10.5cm, W23cm
D18.5cm

Current Location: British Museum, London* [1867, 1-20.1] *Right panel, Museo Nazionale, Florence

Provenance: Northumbrian



A.

Biography: Previously belonging to the church of Saint-Julien at Brioude (Haute Loire), in the early-nineteenth century the casket came to be in the possession of a family at Auzon, near Bioude, being used as a work box. The silver mounts that kept the casket together were removed and the box fell apart, with the right panel being mislaid from the rest of the sides. The top and remaining three sides were acquired by a Professor Mathieu of Clermont-Ferrand, then bought by a Parisian dealer who sold them in 1857 to Sir Augustus Franks of the British Museum. Ten years later Franks bequeathed the casket to the museum and therefore it now bears his name. The missing right panel was found at Auzon and bought by M. Carrand of Lyons who would in turn bequeath it and his entire collection to the Museo Nazionale at Florence.



B.

Condition: The casket is made of whalebone and is carved on the sides and lid in high relief with a variety of scenes and inscriptions that include runes and Roman alphabets, and in both Old English and Latin. The original silver fittings that attached a handle, locks, and hinges to the casket were removed at some time in its history, leaving dark scars that mark their original position. There is a part of the plain base that is missing and the non-decorated part of the lid likely replaces a lost carved panel. Held together today by museum grade mounts, the casket is in relatively good condition.

Description: (A) Whalebone ivory casket.²⁷

(B): The front panel is separated into two scenes: on the left, a depiction from the Germanic legend of Weland the Smith, while the right shows the Adoration of the Magi who are labelled 'mægi' in runes. The main runic inscription encircling these two scenes

²⁷ All translations of inscriptions are from Webster, 2012b unless otherwise noted.

does not refer to either, rather it is a riddle in Old English relating the origin story of the casket: *Fisc flodu ahof on fergenberig warþ ga: sric grorn þær he on greot giswom, hronæsban.* (The fish beat up the seas on to the mountainous cliff; Gasric²⁸ became sad when he swam aground onto the shingle. Whale's bone.) The answer to the riddle therefore informs the audience that the casket was made of the bones of a beached whale.

(C): The rear panel shows the capture of Jerusalem by the Roman Emperor Titus in AD 70 and includes an inscription in mixed languages and scripts: *her fegtaþ Titus end Giuþeasu, hic figiant Hierusalim afitatores* (Here Titus and a Jew Fight: here its inhabitants flee from Jerusalem.)

(D): The left panel shows the image of two boys suckling from a wolf while four spearmen and another wolf surround the scene, referring to the foundation myth of Rome. The two brothers are identified in the accompanying text as Romulus and Remus, with the Old English inscription reading: *Romwalus on Reumwalus twægen gibroþær afæddæ hiæ wylif in Romæccæstri oplæ unneg* (Romulus and Remus, two brothers. A she-wolf nurtured them in Rome city, far from their native land.)

(E): The right panel is displayed at the British Museum as a cast of the original that due to not being acquired at the same time/place, has ended up in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. While it is difficult to interpret, the scene tells a lost Germanic legend with a text partly in encoded runes describing a person called Hos. Sitting on a 'sorrow mound' the scene likely recalls some lost Germanic legend, but exudes themes of oppression and grief.

(F): The only remaining decorated panel on the lid displays another Germanic legend about a hero named Ægili, the famous brother of Weland the Smith, identified by the runes above his head, is shown here with his bow and arrow raised in defence of a fortified structure from armed raiders.



C.

D.

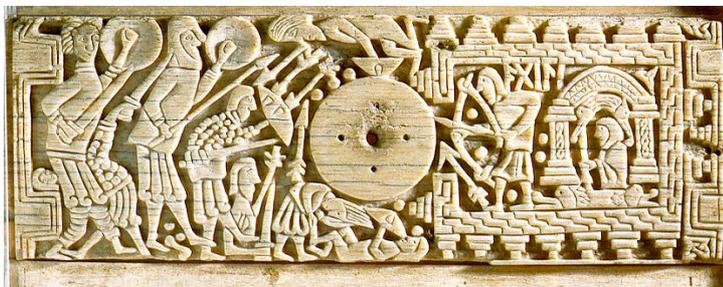
²⁸ The term 'Gasric' has been generally translated to the 'King of Terror', but Waxenberger has proposed that it was the name of the whale, translating to something like 'the one strong in life or power'. Karkov, 2011: 147. For more see Waxenberger, forthcoming, 2009, 2011.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Dalton, 1909: cat. 30; Goldschmidt, 1918: vol. II, cat. 186, 187; Longhurst, 1926: cat. 1; Beckwith, 1972: 13-18, cat. 1, figs. 3-7; Bagnoli, Klein, Mann & Robinson, 2010: 120, cat. 59; Webster, 2012b.

Select Bibliography: Kendrick, 1938: 122; Souers, 1943: 106; Bouman, 1965: 241; Hauck, 1968: 415; Davidson, 1969: 216; Wolf, 1969: 227; Okasha, 1971: 50, no. 6; Wilson, 1984: 85-6, pl. 34-7; Webster & Backhouse, 1991: 101-03; Page, 1999: 172-9; Webster, 1999: 227-46; Lang, 1999: 247-55; Neuman de Vegvar, 1999: 256-266; Webster, 2006: 314-30; Neuman de Vegvar, 2008: 141-59; Karkov, 2011: 146-53, figs. 41 a & b; Webster, 2012a: 91-7, fig. 66; Marzinzik, 2013.



E.



F.

3. Larling Panel fragment

(Illus. 3.20)

Date: Eighth century

Material: Whalebone

Size: L7.2cm W4.8cm

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon.



Biography: Found in 1970 less than a hundred metres from St Æthelberht's Church, in the parish of Roundham, Breckland, Norfolk. The owners of the land donated the panel to the Norwich Castle Museum and Art Gallery.

Current Location: Norwich, The Castle Museum [1970.184]

Condition: A whalebone panel broken in half along its long axis; the lower border of which is undecorated and displays three drilled holes for attachment. Above this, the decoration would have originally consisted of two panels with inhabited vine scroll carved in relief; in the centre, the remains of a cross subdivide a raised rectangular panel surrounded by a plain border. The back is flat and undecorated.

Description: A broken fragment of an elaborately decorated carved whalebone plaque (Fig. 8). The two surviving areas of carving between the arms of the cross depict (left) the Romulus and Remus motif and (right) a winged and maned biped biting its tail; on either side remains two border panels of inhabited vine scroll carved in relief. Connected to Æthelberht's church as it is, it has been generally associated with the cult (if not his political agenda) of Æthelberht that sprung up after his execution in 794; his (and Offa's) coins also portray the Romulus and Remus motif, strengthening the link between the ivory and this period. The panel is thought to have originally been a casket mount or from a book cover, but this is uncertain.

Catalogues and Exhibitions: Beckwith, 1974: cat. 3; Webster & Backhouse, 1991: 179, cat. 139.

Bibliography: Green, 1971: 321-3; Wilson & Hurst, 1972: 129; Campbell, 1982a: 67; Wilson, 1984: 86, pl. 97; Neuman de Vegvar, 1999: 258, fig. 21.2; Karkov, 2011: 106-7, fig. 34; Webster, 2012b: 42, fig. 32.

4. Blythburgh Writing Tablet

(Illus. 3.21)

Date: Eighth century

Material: Whalebone

Size: H9.5cm W6.5cm

Current Location: British Museum, London
[1902,0315.1]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

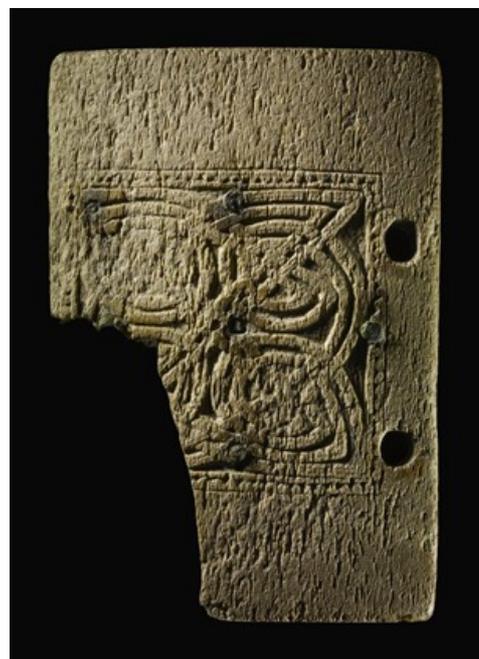
Biography: Found at Blythburgh, Suffolk before 1902 with three styli.

Condition: One corner is missing; some evidence of staining. This panel was most likely part of a pair, as there remain two large holes for the purpose of lacing leather thongs through to fasten to another panel.

Description:²⁹ Small ivory writing tablet. Related to late Roman and early medieval writing-tablets,³⁰ seen similarly to those found in the Springmount bog,³¹ the traces of letters follow the long axis (like the Roman and Springmount examples). It has been suggested that the decorative nature of the front of the leaf proposes a more valuable position, following the kind of diptychs used in masses of the early Church, where the names of important people deserving of commemoration were inscribed in the wax or written directly onto the ivory in ink only to be read during the Canon of the mass.³² Due to its find spot at the priory site, which has also produced Ipswich ware, it is likely that this area was the site of a wealthy Anglo-Saxon church.

Front: On the outside face of the panel is carved a beaded square frame, within is an interlaced pattern of very low relief.

Reverse: On the inside face is a sunken space for wax. There are remains of runic inscriptions cut in the upper surface of the writing side of the tablet; what remains (found in a small group by the broken corner) seems to read “u n Þ [”. The rest of the runes are



²⁹ Much of the following description is inspired by the information given in the online catalogue entry for the tablet on the British Museum's website.

³⁰ Bowman, 1983: pl. 9.

³¹ Dublin, National Museum of Ireland: 5.A.1914.2, 5.A.1914.4, 5.A.1914.6.

³² Lapidge, online catalogue entry, British Museum website; Bishoff, 1990: 14.

cut into the recess that held the wax layer and is less clear than the others; set in irregular rows, possibly suggesting trial letter forms rather than continuous text, there is the following: “o c u a t * * p [. . .]” (the asterisks represent visible but unidentifiable forms), “l s u n t” and “m a m æ m æ m”. While the third is nonsensical, the first two attempts suggest that the writer was attempting Latin verbal forms.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt, 1923: vol. III, cat. 137; Longhurst, 1926: cat. 5; Christian Art and Culture in Northumbria Exhibition, 1967; Beckwith, 1972: 120, cat. 12, fig. 191; Tyne and Wear, Jarrow, Bede’s World the Museum, 1995; London, British Library, 2003; Woodbridge, Suffolk, Sutton Hoo Visitor Centre, 2008; Paderborn, Germany, Diözesanmuseum, 2013.

Bibliography: Waller, 1902: 40-2; Smith, 1923b: 112-3; Webster & Backhouse, 1991: 65; Scarfe, 1977: 155; Page, 1998: 259; Neuman de Vegvar, 2013: 83-102.

5. Genoels-Elderen Diptych

(Illus. 2.12)

Date: Last quarter of the eighth century

Material: Elephant ivory, blue glass

Size: (each leaf) H30cm W18cm

Current Location: Musees Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels [1474]

Provenance: Northumbrian

Biography: St Martin's Church, Genoels-Elderen

Condition: Overall good condition considering the delicacy of such an ornate diptych.

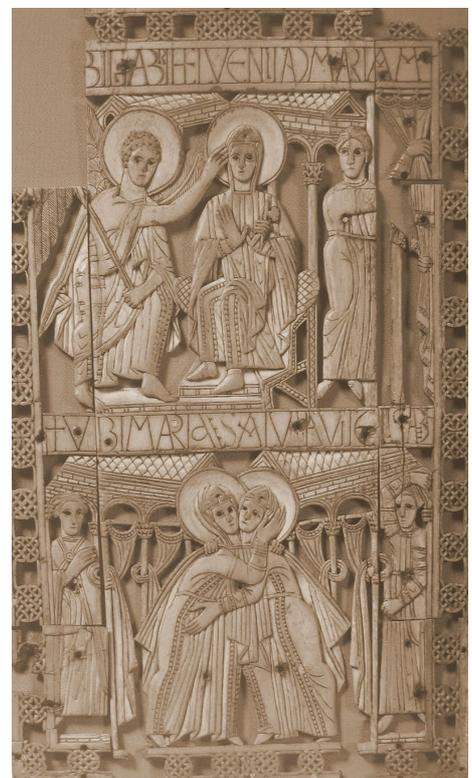
Left: Made of a large central panel and six side pieces, the top right-hand corner of the central panel is broken off. Various pin-holes.

Right: Made of a large central panel and six side pieces, the top left-hand piece is missing and there are several breakages.

Description: A pair of ivory open work panels, carved in flat relief with all eyes of man or beast set with bright blue opaque glass.

Left: A long-haired and beardless Christ wears a halo inscribed with a cross and REX; bearing a cross staff over his left shoulder and holding a codex in his right hand, Christ tramples the beasts (a lion, dragon, asp and basilisk) flanked by two angels. The entire scene is set against a background of columns within an outer border of double angular meandering ornament and an inscribed inner framework, reading: "+VBI DOMINVS AMBVLA VIT SVPER ASPIDEM ET BASILICV(m) ET CONCVLABIT LEON (m) ET DRACONEM" (Psalm 91:13).

Right: Two panels enclose the Annunciation (the Virgin is seated holding a distaff in her left hand before an architectural background with the Angel blessing her from her right, and a servant observing the scene from the Virgin's left), and the Visitation (the Virgin and St Elizabeth in the centre are embracing in front of an architectural background



hung with curtains, and are flanked by servants on either side). Both scenes are framed by interlace and inscribed inner framework: above the Annunciation, “(V)BI GABRIHEL VENIT AD MARIAM”; above the Visitation, “+VBI MARIA SALVTAVIT ELISABETH”.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Destrée, 1902: 9; Goldschmidt, 1914: vol. I, cat. 1 & 2; Volbach, 1922: cat. 217; Ibid, 1923: 12, cat. 8 (right panel only); Baum, 1937: 99, cat. 41, fig. 123, 124; Volbach, 1953: 44, cat. 2; Elbern, 1956: no. 276; Braunfels, et. al, 1965: cat. 534; Schnitzler, 1965: cat. 534; Steenbock, 1965: 80, cat. 13; Lasko, 1972: Beckwith, 1972: 20-22, cat. 3, figs 14-15; Volbach, 1976: 129-30, cat. 217, pl. 101.

Bibliography: Weale, 1859; Schaepkens, 1862: 449; van Drival, 1865: 62; Westwood, 1868: 150, pl. 52; Ibid, 1876: 479; Rohault de Fleury, 1883: pl. 165; Reusens, 1885: 245; Helbig, 1890: 14; Clemen, 1892: 125; Maskell, 1909: 396; Goldschmidt, 1905: 57; Laurent, 1912: 26, pl. 2, 3; Smith, 1919: 156, fig. 143; Cabrol & Leclercq, 1924-?: vol. VI, 1, 1003, fig. 5230; Baum, 1930: 51, fig. 4; Hinks, 1935: 195; De Borchgrave d’Altena, 1946: 29, Ibid., 1949/50: 63; Bovini, 1956: 77, 78; Schwartz, 1960: 145; Fillitz, 1966: 42; Bruce Mitford, 1967: 797, fig. 820; Bischoff, 1967: 306-7, fn. 65; Hubert, Porcher & Volbach, 1967: 200, 201; Fillitz, 1969: 158, fig. 83; Schiller, 1971b: 44, figs. 72, 75, 130, 131; Lasko, 1972: 13, fig. 10; Quacquarelli, 1975: 14, fig. 12; Lafontaine-Dosogne, 1977: 4; Gaborit-Chopin, 1978: 41, fig. 48; Budny, 1984: 118-19; Wilson, 1984: 138, pls. 165, 166; Owen-Crocker, 2010: 148, 150, 158, 279, figs. 105, 109-10; Neuman de Vegvar, 1990: 8-24; Brown, 1996: 35, 83-4; Neuman de Vegvar, 1998: 302-04; Thunø, 2002: 70, 72; Webster, 2012a: 167, fig. 127.

6. Gandersheim Casket

(Illus. 2.13A-B, 6.1A-C)

Date: Late eighth century

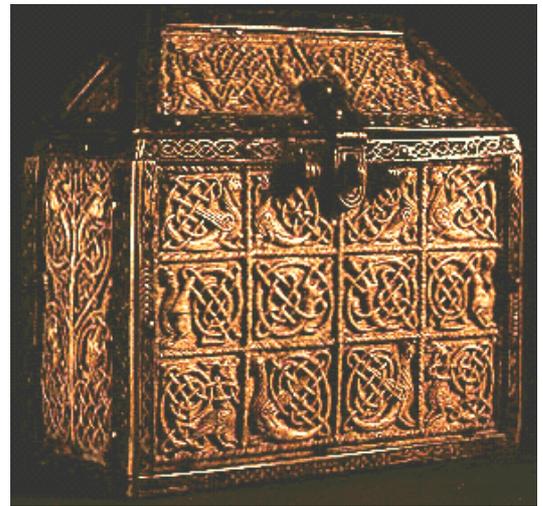
Material: Whalebone, copper-alloy

Size: H12.6cm W12.6cm D6.8cm

Current Location: Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig [MA58]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon, Germany (?)

Biography: Formerly at Gandersheim however after the secularization of the convent in 1815, the casket was passed to the museum in Braunschweig. Linked to the Abbey and Cathedral of Ely due to inscription on the bottom mentioning the diocese.



Condition: Good condition, no evidence of staining. The distinguishable rivet holes down the vertical edges of each base panel may suggest crude repair work in the past. Other holes can be found on the side panels along the lower edge, likely for the original base mount that has been replaced by the current fitting, a square bronze frame with no attachments, in which the casket rests.

Description:³³ Whalebone ivory casket with lock and mounts of bronze, consisting of a rectangular base with a hinged gabled lid (consisting of four whale's bone panels). The panels are carved in high relief; the bronze mounts are decorated with interlace patterns and all framework between squares is a spiral columnar border; all, except the base mount, are contemporary with the main frame consisting of cast L-shaped strips of copper-alloy soldered together. The clasp and hinges are also of a contemporary date, with cast interlace and linear decoration; each are connected to the panels with original rivets. Unlike the contemporary fittings, this base mount has crude cast decoration, and on its underside, is incised with runes.

(A & B):³⁴ The front and back panels are divided into squares (twelve and six square fields respectively), and most consist of monsters confronted, addorsed or single with interlace issuing from their bodies; only one, (rear panel, bottom row, middle square) contains a circular design of late Celtic spirals with the corners of the square showing the emerging heads of lizards creeping out of the roundel.

(C): On either end are winged bipeds and lizard-like creatures with long necks that are entwined with Anglian scrolls, their tails making up part of the interlace; similar beasts decorate the lid which is also divided into two (front) and three (back) square fields.

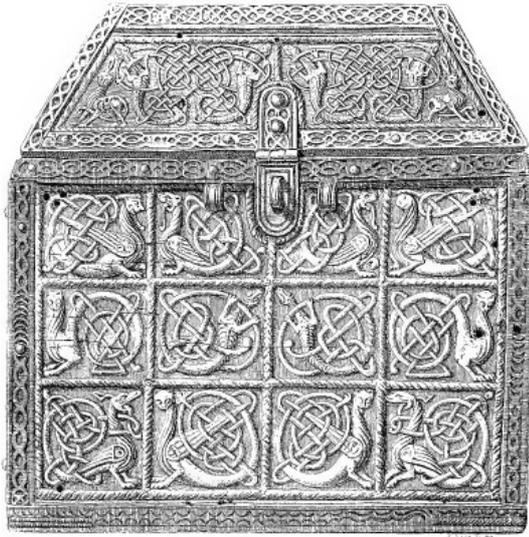
(D): The bottom of the casket includes a runic inscription which reads "*Hoelig Aelie auritne Pü sig lüumu-*" ('Holy Virgin be thou a light to thy Ely').

³³ Much of this description is inspired by Webster & Backhouse, 1991: 177-79, cat. no. 138.

³⁴ Figures A-D have been taken from Stephens, 1863: 267-76.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt, 1918: II, cat. 185; Longhurst, 1926: cat. 2; Lubke, 1965: cat. 230; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 2, figs. 10-13; Beckwith, 1974: cat. 2.

Bibliography: Brønsted, 1924: 139, fig. 115; Scherer, 1931: 1; Kendrick, 1938: 169-70; Fink, 1957: 227-81; Hendergott, 1981: 4, pl. 1-2; Budney, 1984: 117-18; Wilson, 1984: 65, pl. 60; Marth, 2000.



A.



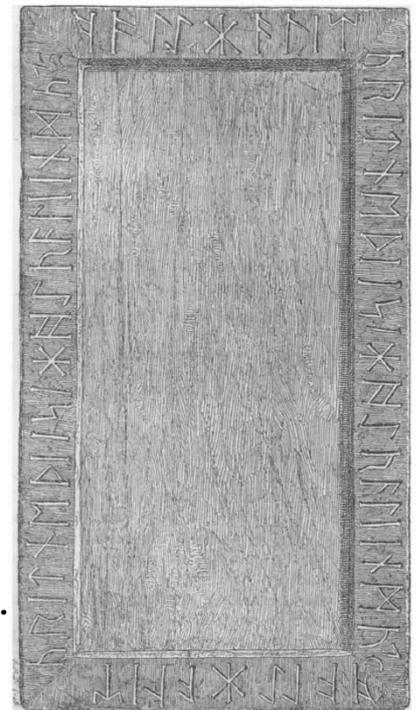
B.



C.



D.



7. The Last Judgement³⁵

(Illus. 3.12A, 4.74B)

Date: Late eighth or early ninth century

Material: Elephant ivory, glass bead

Size: H13.2cm W8.1cm

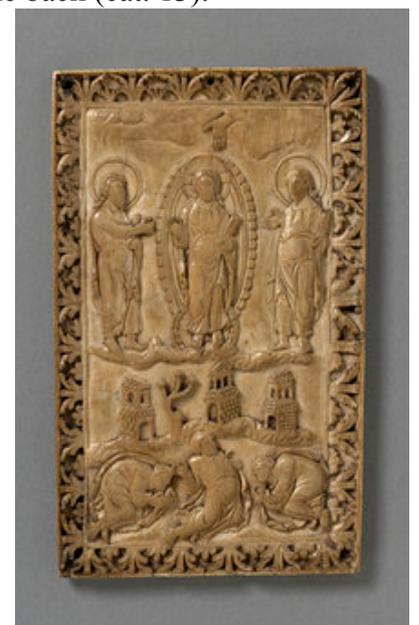
Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [253-1867]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: John Webb Collection, London
1862, purchased from Webb in 1867.

Condition: The surface of the ivory is very rubbed: the beaded border around the entrance to Heaven was likely once inlaid with glass beads, of which only one survives, set in the gable on the right side of the circular tower above the gate below. The glass bead is turquoise in colour, and the remaining beaded surfaces within the wider composition would suggest that the glass beading might have been incorporated elsewhere. The top border of the plaque has been cut down and the sides slightly reduced, likely when the panel was re-carved on the back (cat. 13).

Description: The panel is segregated compositionally into three registers: in the uppermost third, Christ is shown sitting in a nimbed mandorla holding a scroll in each hand while six angels blowing trumpets flank either side; by way of the scrolls, two caskets and the figure of the Archangel Michael standing on a crescent, the middle register is connected in a hexagonal shape, with Christ's foot resting on Michael's head and doves (representing souls) awaken the bodies in four sarcophagi; finally, the lowest register is divided in half, with the blessed, clothed souls being welcomed into heavenly Jerusalem by an angel on the left, while the naked and cowering damned are devoured by the mouth of Hell on the right. The scroll in his right hand still contains an inscription: "VENITE BEN[edicti



³⁵ The recto of cat. 7 is the *Transfiguration*, making use of the verso. See cat. 13 below for more information.

p]ATR[is] / MEI P(er)CIPIT[E REGNUM] VO(bis) ('Come, blessed of my father, be gathered into your kingdom')"³⁶ It is assumed that the other scroll would have held the words of Christ to the Damned: "DISCEDETE A ME MALEDICTI IN IGNEM AETERNUM ('Descend now quickly, you accursed, into the house of pain; I know you not')".³⁷ The border of the plaque is decorated with a series of pierced circles with dots in between. It is possible that the ivory represents, alongside cat. 8, a pair of ivory book covers, likely attached to the front and back of an early Apocalypse manuscript having the same physical dimensions. At some point in the ninth century, the plaques were re-carved and transformed into the inside faces of a pair of doors, attached to what remains a mystery, before being converted back into a pair of book covers, with the 'newer' carvings acting as the outward facing images.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: London, 1862: cat. 45; Westwood, 1867: 116, cat. 259; 17-18; Goldschmidt, 1914: vol. I, cat. 178, pl. LXXXIII; Longhurst, 1927: 64-5, pl. XLV; Grodecki, 1947: 43, 50; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 4, figs. 1, 16; Beckwith, 1974: cat. 5; Challier & Caille, 2004: cat. 32.

Bibliography: Maskell, 1872: 99-100; Voss, 1884: 38; Griggs VI, 1904-07; Von der Mülbe, 1911: 7; Beckwith, 1960a: 241; Brenk, 1966: 118-20, fig. 35; Henry, 1967: 169, 183, pl. VIII; Fillitz, 1974: 432; Denny, 1982: 536; Dodwell, 1982: 88-9, pl. 17b; Sheingorn, 1985: 25-8, fig. 3; Wright, 1985: 12; Bynum, 1995: 191, pl. 10; Alexander, 1999: 48, fig. 4; Christe, 1999: 174; Holcomb, 1999: 128-9, fig. 69; Michelli, 2003: 103-9, III, fig. I; Pace & Angheben, 2006: 28-29, fig. on p. 26; Bolton, forthcoming.

³⁶ Matthew 25.34.

³⁷ Matthew 25.41.

8. Zoomorphic Panel³⁸

(Illus. 3.13A, 4.16A)

Date: Late eighth or early ninth century

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H13.2cm W8.1cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [254-1867]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: John Webb Collection, London 1862, purchased from Webb in 1867.

Condition: Overall good condition, the top of the panel has been reduced to fit it to the design of the 'new' re-carved surface on the reverse.

Front: The surface, while deeply carved, is very rubbed and many details within the border are missing; the re-sizing of the top edge has made the panel smaller, it would have originally measured H13.8cm W8.1cm. Two vertical recesses for hinges, with three now-plugged pin-holes, are found on the left with a third rectangular recess with four pin-holes and a cruciform key-hole is found on the right of the plaque.

Reverse: Due to the re-carving, the background of the plaque is dangerously thin and there are several perforations. See more below, cat. 14.

Description: Elephant ivory plaque with two double-framed small panels are surrounded by borders of scroll ornament with birds and animals with goat-headed terminals in the lower corners. The upper panel (H4.4cm W4cm), consisting of two birds, and the lower panel (H4.4cm W4.3cm) with two goats, create a field of interlacing ornament issuing from their bodies.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: London, 1862: cat. 45; Maskell, 1872: 101; Westwood, 1876: 115, cat. 257; Goldschmidt, 1914: vol. I, cat. 179, pl. LXXXIII; Longhurst, 1927: 66, pl. XLV; Beckwith, 1972: 24, cat. 8, fig 23; Beckwith, 1974: cat. 7; London, 1991: cat. 140; Williamson, 2010: 154-55, cat. 37, fig. 1.



³⁸ The reverse of cat. 8 is the *Ascension*, a re-carving of the original plaque. See cat. 14 for more information.

Bibliography: Brønsted, 1924: 90, fig. 76; Beckwith, 1960a: 241, fig. 4; Wilson, 1984: 67, pl. 61; Wright, 1985: 12; Michelli, 2003: 103, 106, 109, fig. 2.

9. *Majestas Christi*

(Illus. 4.49, 5.16A)

Date: c.870-880

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H10.2cm W9.8cm

Current Location: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich [MA158]³⁹

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Acquired in Welschellen, Post St. Lorenzen (Pustertal, Tyrol) in 1870.

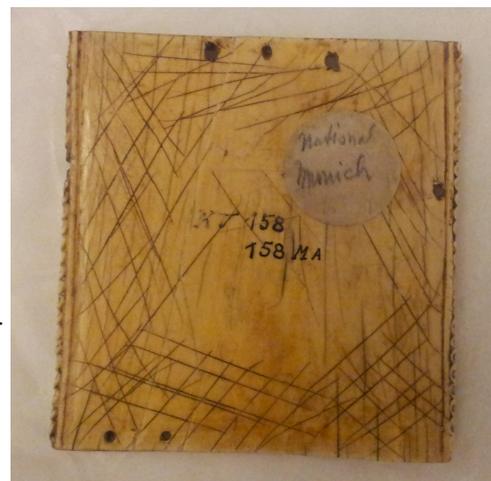
Condition: Overall good condition.

Front: Six drill-holes are evident on the front and back but these do not correspond to each other: on the front, there are four visible in the upper register (one under each angel and two flanking Christ's head), and two in the bottom right corner.

Reverse: There are four holes in the upper register, however only one of the holes from below the angels (on the front) shows through, and a drilled hole behind Christ's head (between the two from the front) is visible, however it does not pierce the front. The verso is completely scratched, no evidence of re-carving but rather frame downsizing. Dr. Charles Little has suggested that the piece was a comb due to the spaced (and clearly cut off) bumps on each side of the plaque (that would have been the teeth of the comb), however seeing the visible tooling marks on all four sides, this might suggest that the piece had several lives with more than one re-sizing incidents to bring it to its current size and shape.

Description: Square ivory panel depicting the *Majestas Domini* surrounded by four angels.

Front: A beardless and cross-haloed Christ is seated in a mandorla supported by four angels; in his left hand he holds a codex inscribed with a cross, his right hand is raised in blessing and beneath the mandorla is a cross. All the haloes are beaded.



³⁹ I must thank Dr. Matthias Weniger for his generous hospitality, comments and extensive efforts in gathering the objects and files for my viewing while at the Bayerisches Museum in Munich. The image of the reverse of this panel was taken by myself.

Reverse: The reverse of the plaque shows heavy scratching and the ribbed edges that indicate a tool, likely a saw, cutting down the original size of the panel. Heavy cross-hatching implies that the ivory was adhered to a surface at one point, while the six drilled holes give evidence for further attachment, likely to a book cover, supporting the hypothesis that this ivory 'lived' multiple lives.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Graf, 1890: vol. V, 1, cat. 158, fig. 7; Goldschmidt, 1914: I, 88, no. 185a, fig. 87; Berliner, 1926: 4, cat. 2, pl. 2; Volbach, 1922: no. 160; Longhurst, 1927: cat. 34; Beckwith, 1972: 25, cat. 7, fig 21; Volbach, 1976: 103, cat. 160, pl. 81.

Bibliography: Weale, 1859; Lethaby, 1908: 236; Volbach, Salles & Duthuit, 1933: 43, pl. 23b.

10. Virgin and Apostles

(Illus. 3.9, 4.16B)

Date: Late ninth century

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H10.8cm W30.7cm

Current Location: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich [MA164]⁴⁰

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Previously in the collection of Andreas Ulrich Mayr (b. 1732, d. 1802), a councillor and chaplain at the court of the Regensburg prince-bishops. The sale of his collection in 1803 included this panel, listed as lot 176, which was purchased by the museum.

Condition: Beyond some staining and small chips, this panel is in remarkable condition considering its size.

Front: Evidence of downsizing as shown by cutting marks on frame sides.

Plaque has numerous drill points, a total of 23 but 10 do not pierce through to the reverse. Some staining, most to the Virgin's immediate lower left and upper right. A large plaque, it is in incredible shape considering its size and date.

Reverse: Evidence of resizing on sides and around edge of reverse. The left third of the panel shows cross-hatched scratches on the surface, however the general structure of the tusk is seen through the middle. The drill holes show darkly against the ivory, with the groupings along the long axis showing what is likely staining from metal clasps that attached to the panel to create either a book cover, or more probably, part of a casket. According to the records accompanying its sale in 1803, this panel originally had silver *hafte* or (translating from what is an older German word) silver attachments.⁴¹ While there are drilled holes, there is no evidence of where, or what, these attachments were or functioned as.



⁴⁰ I must thank Dr. Matthias Weniger for his generous hospitality, comments and extensive efforts in gathering the objects and files for my viewing while at the Bayerisches Museum in Munich. The image of the reverse of this panel was taken by myself.

⁴¹ Mayr, 1803: 37.

Description: Elephant ivory panel depicting the Virgin and Apostles in what is likely an Ascension scene.

Front: An orante female figure stands between two tall candlesticks. On either side are two roundels each holding symbols of the Four Evangelists, and six Apostles set within a background of small, stylised trees; the whole composition is framed by three borders: a beaded border, an inner border of inhabited and stylised vine-scroll, and an outer border of conventional stylised acanthus ornament. The sophisticated use of plant interlace and biting zoomorphic figures is typical of ninth century Anglo-Saxon art, seen in much of the metalwork, manuscript illumination and stone sculpture, see Chapter 4 for more.

Reverse: Six museum labels are seen on the right side, while in the centre, the number 76 can still be made out, likely part of the '176' lot number from its sale in 1803.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Mayr, 1803: 36-7, cat. 176; Goldschmidt, 1914: I, cat. 180; Berliner, 1926: cat. 6; Beckwith, 1972: 25, cat. 9, fig. 24.

Bibliography: Brønsted, 1924: 90, fig. 77; Beckwith, 1960a: 241.



11. The Baptism and the Ascension⁴²

(Illus. 3.14A, 5.26B, 5.27B)

Date: c.870-880 (made)

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H13.5cm W8.5cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [257-1867]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased from the Soltykoff Collection, Paris by John Webb (Sale 1861, lot no. 14), purchased from Webb in 1867.

Condition: Overall good condition considering that the panel has been cut down from its original size.

Front: Carved in low relief, this panel has been re-sized, causing the upper part of the Ascension (which would have shown Christ rising into the sky) to be lost. Four drilled holes can be seen in each corner, with a fifth just behind the Baptist's head. A small triangular piece of ivory, at the bottom left corner, seems to have been a later addition to create a totally square panel, which may either indicate early damage or that it was an oddly shaped piece to work from, as flat ivory panels had a tendency to show curved corners that followed the shape of the tusks from which they were carved).⁴³

Reverse: The panel was subsequently re-carved on the reverse in the late-ninth century and the original face became the back, and was likely set into a recess on a book cover. Such treatment has consequently abraded and rubbed much of the front of the plaque at its highest points, specifically on the faces and bodies of the Virgin and John the Baptist.



⁴² On the reverse is *The Entry into Jerusalem*, a re-use of the original plaque. See cat. 15 below for more information.

⁴³ Williamson (2010: 149, cat. 35) has suggested that this was formerly a "Late Antique diptych", however this has no grounds as the ivory could not be carved in the manner it has (both front and back) after being carved a first time (as a 'late antique' piece), otherwise the plaque would be much thinner, more frail, and likely have points of puncture between each side. This is not to say that the panel (pre-Anglo-Saxon carving) could not have been from a late antique tusk, that was divided up to create panels, but in this case, it is much more likely considering the socio-political and ecclesiastical wealth of the time, that the un-carved ivory was purchased, traded for or gifted to Anglo-Saxon England, where it was carved firstly showing the Baptism-Ascension scene, and later, the Entry into Jerusalem reverse.

Description: Elephant ivory panel that has been carved on either side with multiple scenes in different styles.

Front: The upper register presents what remains of an Ascension scene where to the left, a full-length Virgin stands with her arms upraised (in a orant profile image) with the remaining space being covered with the crowded heads and shoulders of apostles. In the lower register, the Baptism is shown, with St John the Baptist standing over a youthful Christ half submerged in a shallow basin while an angle looks on from the right. The halos of each figure are all beaded, except for Christ who has a nimbed cruciform halo. The lower border displays a narrow guilloche, while the sides have been cut down, presumably for making the ivory more suitable for its re-carved reverse.

Reverse: In two registers are scenes depicting (upper) the Entry into Jerusalem and (lower) Christ in the House of Simon. For more, see below, cat. 15.



Catalogues & Exhibitions: London, 1862: cat. 47; Maskell, 1872: 101-2; Westwood, 1876: 114; Graeven, 1898: cat. 58; Goldschmidt, 1914: vol. I, cat. 186, pl. LXXXVII; Berliner, 1926: 4; Longhurst, 1926: 34, fig. 11; *ibid*, 1927: 34, pl. XI; Metz, 1966: cat. 157; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 5, fig. 20; Volbach, 1976: cat. 159, pl. 81.

Bibliography: Labarte, 1872-75: vol. I, 73, pl. 13; Lethaby, 1908: 236; Conway, 1916-17: 9; Fillitz, 1974: 433; Melzak, 1983: 64-5; Caillet, 1985: 130; Neuman de Vegvar, 1990: 15, fig. 13; Holcomb, 1999: 125, 245 (no. 13), fig. 63; Michelli, 2003: 103, 107, fig. 3.

12. Life of Christ Diptych

(Illus. 3.10, 5.16B, 5.26A, 5.27A)

Date: Late ninth century

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: (each leaf) H34.3cm
W10.7cm

Current Location: Musée de Cluny, Paris [Cl. 391A], (the reverse panel is known as [Cl. 391B]).

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Formerly in Beauvais Cathedral, belonged in the Sommerard Collection. Purchased by the museum in

Condition: Two ivory panels in poor condition, holes are apparent in many areas due to the thinness of the panel (from the re-carving) as well as it likely being used as a large cover for a book, casket or reliquary. Both leaves are abraded with small fragments broken away; the abrasion is due

to the re-carving of each panel's reverse. The re-carving of the reverse has caused serious damage to the Cl.391A, not only in allowing the panels to become dangerously thin, as seen in ill. B when the ivory is backlit, but it is likely that this side was smoothed over (with an abrasive material, probably not unlike sand paper) to allow for this panel to lay flat. This hypothesis is supported by the overall loss of the carved details, which is symmetrical on both panels, whereas the daily rubbing of the faithful on the faces of holy figures (seen for example on cat. nos. 29, 36, 37 or 44) would not have made such uniform damage. It is likely therefore that this ivory was carved in high relief.

Description:

(Fig. 22): On one leaf is carved (from top to bottom): Christ's meeting with Mary Magdalene after the Resurrection (Christ is pictured as much larger than Mary Magdalene, who prostrates herself on the right); the Crucifixion (Christ is cross-haloed, wearing the colobion, flanked by Longinus, Stephaton and two Roman soldiers); and the Annunciation (the Virgin is seated next to a work-box holding a spindle with the Angel carrying a cross-



A.

staff over one shoulder, his arm raised in blessing). The only separation between scenes is an architectural arch between the Crucifixion and Christ's meeting with Mary Magdalene. All halos are beaded.

(Fig. 23): On the other leaf is carved (from top to bottom): Christ in Majesty (Christ is seated in a mandorla, supported by four angels); the Ascension of Christ or Mary (the details are too degraded as to make a positive identification of either holy figure, but the overall placement of a central figure surrounded by a group that is likely the Apostles makes this an Ascension scene); and the Baptism of Christ (Christ is standing in a tub with John the Baptist to his right). The same architectural arch is repeated in this panel as the previous one, however this arch is topped with a cross. All halos are beaded.

(C): The carved reverse of both panels displays a dazzling array of living interlace, zoomorphic borders, and large medallions depicting zodiac signs (specifically Sagittarius and Taurus) in the left panel while the right shows much the same interlace and border decoration while acanthus leaves form medallions around hunting scenes. These re-carvings are very much the secondary compositions in terms of dating, suggested by the museum as *ca.* 900, which is in keeping with the apparent trend of Anglo-Saxon ivories being re-carved at later dates in vastly different styles (see cat. nos. 7, 8, 11, 13-15).

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Cambry, 1803: II, 195; Westwood, 1868: cat. 149-50; *Catalogue*, Paris 1884 nos. 1041, 1042; Goldschmidt, 1914: vol. I, cats, 183, 184; Volbach, 1922: cat. 158; Del Medico, 1951-1953: vol. II, 111, pls. 22, 23; Athens, 1964: cat. 98; Beckwith, 1972: 24, cat. 6, figs 18-19; Volbach, 1976: 102, cat. 158, pl. 81.

Bibliography: Delvoye, 1965: 188; Coatsworth, 1998: 16, fig. 2.



B.



C.

13. The Transfiguration⁴⁴

(Illus. 3.12B)

Date: Mid tenth century

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H13.2cm W8.1cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [253-1867]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: John Webb Collection, London 1862, purchased from Webb in 1867.

Condition: The surface of the ivory is very rubbed, there are four drilled holes, one in each corner likely for the purpose of attachment to a book cover.

Description: Ivory panel depicting the Transfiguration, found in Matthew 17.1-7.

Front: Divided into three zones, the uppermost features a central figure of Christ, surrounded by a decorative double mandorla, one encircling his feet and ankles while the larger circumscribes the rest of his body. Bearing a nimbed cruciform halo Christ stands, below the hand of God descending from the clouds, on a ground that is indeterminably both clouds and/or Mt Tabor, which serves to separate the Divine from the earthly in the register below. Flanking Christ are Moses and Elijah who gesture to him in conversation. In the lowermost register are the disciples, their bodies contorted, signifying their fear: the central figure, likely Peter, looks up at the scene above him, leaning back on his haunches and gesturing in speech; the two figures flanking him cower, or perhaps even sleep. Above them, in the middle register, are carved three small architectural structures and a singular tree standing on a ground similarly ambiguous to that on which Christ, Moses and Elijah stand. It is likely that these three structures are the three tabernacles which Peter suggested should be set up for the figures they has seen transformed before them.⁴⁵ It is possible that the ivory represents, alongside cat. 14, a pair of ivory book covers, likely attached to the front and back of an



⁴⁴ The reverse is the *Last Judgement*, the original carved side of the plaque. See cat. 7 above for more information.

early Apocalypse manuscript having the same physical dimensions. At some point in the ninth or tenth-century, the plaques were re-carved and transformed into the inside faces of a pair of doors, attached to what remains a mystery, before being converted back into a pair of book covers, with the 'newer' carvings acting as the outward facing images.

Reverse: See above, cat. 7.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: London, 1862: cat. 45; Westwood, 1867: 116, cat. 259; Maskell, 1872: 99-100; Voss, 1884: 38; Griggs VI, 1904-07; Von der Mülbe, 1911: 7, 17-18; Goldschmidt, 1914: vol. I, cat. 178, pl. LXXXIII; Longhurst, 1927: 64-5, pl. XLV; Grodecki, 1947: 43, 50; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 21, figs. 1, 16; London, 1974: cat. 5; Paris, 2004: cat. 32.

Bibliography: Beckwith, 1960a: 241; Brenk, 1966: 118-20, fig. 35; Henry, 1967: 169, 183, pl. VIII; Fillitz, 1974: 432; Denny, 1982: 536; Dodwell, 1982: 88-9, pl. 17b; Sheingorn, 1985: 25-8, fig. 3; Wright, 1985: 12; Bynum, 1995: 191, pl. 10; Alexander, 1999: 48, fig. 4; Christie, 1999: 174; Holcomb, 1999: 128-9, fig. 69; Michelli, 2003: 103-9, III, fig. I; Pace & Angheben, 2006: 28-29, fig. on p. 26.

⁴⁵ Matthew 17.4.

14. The Ascension⁴⁶

(Illus. 3.13B)

Date: c.900 (made)

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H13.2cm W8.1cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [254-1867]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: John Webb Collection, London
1862, purchased from Webb in 1867.

Condition: Two vertical recesses for hinges, with three now-plugged pin-holes, are found on the left with a third rectangular recess with four pin-holes and a cruciform key-hole is found on the right of the plaque. Due to the re-carving, the background of the plaque is dangerously thin and there are several perforations.

Description: Ivory panel depicting the Ascension, found in Mark 16:19, Luke 24:50-52, and Acts 1:9-11.

Front: The ivory is divided into two registers, the uppermost features a central figure of Christ, surrounded by a decorative double mandorla. Bearing a nimbed cruciform halo Christ leaps from the ground below, the mandorla serves to separate the Divine from the earthly in the register below. Flanking Christ are two angels, one which bows to him, the other gestures to the crowd below, likely referring to the angels who spoke to those at the scene, telling of Christ's future return. In the lower register are the disciples and a central orante Virgin standing amongst two trees, gesturing towards the scene above them. It is possible that the ivory represents, alongside cat. 14, a pair of ivory book covers, likely attached to the front and back of an early Apocalypse manuscript having the same physical dimensions. At some point in the ninth or tenth-century, the plaques were re-carved and transformed into the inside faces of a pair of doors, attached to what remains a mystery,



⁴⁶ The reverse is the *Zoomorphic Panel*, the original carved side of the plaque. See cat. 8 above for more information.

before being converted back into a pair of book covers, with the 'newer' carvings acting as the outward facing images.

Reverse: See above, cat. 8.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: London, 1862: cat. 45; Maskell, 1872: 101; Westwood, 1876: 115, cat. 257; Goldschmidt, 1914: vol. I, cat. 179, pl. LXXXIII; Longhurst, 1927: 66, pl. XLV; Beckwith, 1972: 24, cat. 22, fig 23; London, 1974: cat. 7; London, 1991: cat. 140; Williamson, 2010: 154-55, cat. 37, fig. 1.

Bibliography: Beckwith, 1960a: 241, fig. 4; Wilson, 1984: 67, fig. 61; Wright, 1985: 12; Michelli, 2003: 103, 106, 109, fig. 2.

15. Entry into Jerusalem⁴⁷

(Illus. 3.14B)

Date: c.900 (made)

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H13.2cm W8.6cm

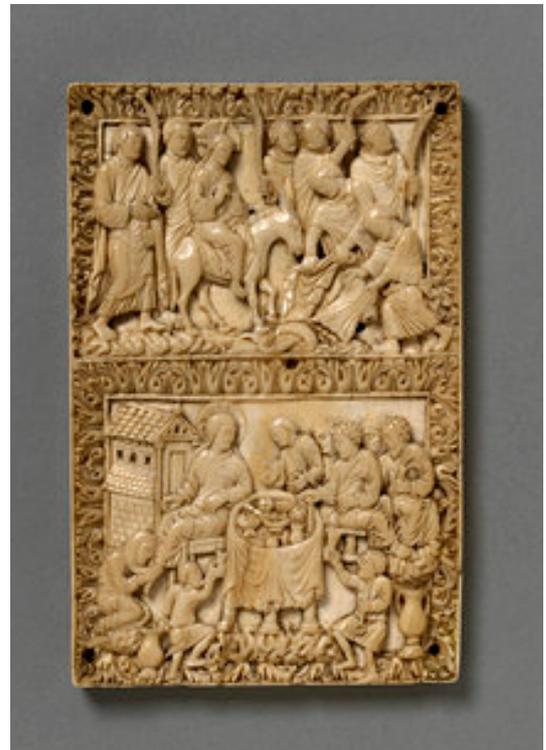
Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [257-1867]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased from the Soltykoff Collection, Paris by John Webb (Sale 1861, lot no. 14), purchased from Webb in 1867.

Condition: Carved in a deeper relief than its reverse, this panel was been cut down from its original size to full encapsulate this side's compositional purpose, causing the upper part of the Ascension on the earlier side (which would have shown Christ rising into the sky) to be lost. The panel was originally carved in the late-ninth century (Ills. A) and the original face became the back, and was likely set into a recess on a book cover. There are five holes, one in each corner, as well as a central hole (for unknown purposes) that were likely drilled when the panel was put into use on a book-cover.

Description: Separated by a strict border of acanthus foliage, which also forms the border around the entire ivory, two scenes are carved into an upper and lower register: in the upper composition, Christ rides forward from the left on an ass while two youths place their garments on the ground in front of him and the crowd behind carry palm branches; the lower image shows Christ in the house of the Pharisee Simon, where he sits at a table in front of an architectural feature, across from a group of guests (likely the Apostles), while the 'sinful' woman washes his feet with her tears/oil/ointment and dries them with her hair and two servants serve the large circular table in the centre. Interestingly, both scenes show figures that do not conform to the acanthus boundaries and stretch out or spread beyond those borders, pushing out into the audience's spatial realm. While Christ is immediately recognisable from his central



⁴⁷ The reverse is the *Baptism & Ascension*, the original carved side of the plaque. See cat. 11 above for more information.

figure and halo in both scenes, the only other figures that are promptly known are the sinful woman and Judas, with his bag of money in hand in the lower register.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: London, 1862: cat. 47; Maskell, 1872: 101-2; Westwood, 1876: 114; Graeven, 1898: cat. 58; Goldschmidt, 1914: vol. I, cat. 186, pl. LXXXVII; Berliner, 1926: 4; Longhurst, 1926: 34; *ibid*, 1927: 34, pl. XI; Metz, 1966: cat. 157; Volbach, 1976: cat. 159, pl. 81; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 5, fig. 20.

Bibliography: Fillitz, 1974: 433; Melzak, 1983: 64-5; Caillet, 1985: 130; Neuman de Vegvar, 1990: 15, fig. 13; Holcomb, 1999: 125, 245 (no. 13), fig. 63; Michelli, 2003: 103, 107, fig. 3.

16. Nativity

(Illus. 2.4, 6.15B)

Date: tenth century

Material: Walrus ivory, black glass

Size: H8cm W6.5cm

Current Location: Walker Art Gallery,
Liverpool [M8060]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Formerly in the possession of Mr. William H. Rolfe at Sandwich (*Publications of the Antiquarian Etching Club* V (1854): pl. 32; belonged to the Mayer Collection, no. 43, and presented by Mr. Mayer to the Liverpool Free Public Museum (now the Walker Art Gallery) in 1867.



Condition: Fair condition overall.

The panel is damaged at the top left and bottom right corners. The upper and lower borders have been cut down while the right border might also have been trimmed. A later hole drilled in the upper centre of the scene and the reverse shows clear striation marks usually found in the cross section of walrus ivory. The eyes of the three adult figures and the two animals are drilled and set with black glass.

Description: The Virgin lies on a wooden bed with her turbaned head supported on a pillow held by a midwife. Her right hand gestures to the Child below, while the finely-rendered folds of the sheets draw attention to the strange perspective of the bed itself, made further problematic by the additional leg to the right of the animals (the lower part of the leg at the bottom right has been broken off). Joseph sits on a stool with a cushion in the top right, moodily looking on the scene. The swaddled Child in the crib below upon a rocky ground is watched closely by the ox (left) and ass (right).

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Maskell, 1872: 171; Longhurst, 1923: cat. 73; Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. 6; Longhurst, 1927: cat. XIII; Maclagan & Victoria & Albert Museum, 1930: cat. 76; No Author, 1954: 506, cat. 27; Catedral de Santiago de Compostela, 1961: cat. 555; Lasko, 1972: 293, cat. 17; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 26, fig. 56; Beckwith, 1974: cat. 21; Backhouse, Turner & Webster, 1984: 115, cat. 115, colour plate XXIV.

Bibliography: Gatty, 1883: 18, fig. 43; Graeven, 1898: 7; Nelson, 1909: fig. 4; Homburger, 1912: 13; Talbot Rice, 1952: 62; Campbell, John & Wormald, 1981b: 197, fig. 4; Wilson, 1984: 190, fig. 242; Castelfranchi Vegas, 2000: 170, fig. 1; Webster, 2012a: 148, fig. 160.

17. Baptism of Christ

(Illus. 5.30)

Date: tenth century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H9cm

Current Location: British Museum, London [1974,10-2,1]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Previously in the collections of Stanislas Baron and Martin-Le-Roy. Purchased with the assistance of the National Art Collections Fund and the Pilgrim Trust.

Condition: Walrus ivory fragment carved in high relief and polished, signs that it was cut down and the original untrimmed panel was likely mounted on a book cover or casket. Christ's left elbow and lower arm are missing while John the Baptist's right foot is lost.



Description: This particular portrayal of the Baptism of Christ shows him as a youth, standing in the waters of the River Jordan. Christ's stance suggests restraint and a quiet response to the events unfolding. The larger, haloed figure to the left is John the Baptist, whose hand is raised in blessing above the young Christ, and is shown standing on the bank of the River Jordan, his full length garment skilfully carved into a dynamic collection of folds. Before it was cut down, there was likely an image of a dove, representing the Holy Spirit above the two figures. The flowing lines of John's garment and the River Jordan as well as the figural posing is very characteristic of later Anglo-Saxon art, typifying the Winchester style of the tenth-century that was produced for the decoration of luxury illuminated manuscripts in the royal capital of Winchester.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Koechlin, 1906: pl IX, no. 17; Volbach, 1923: 6, cat. 45b; Longhurst, 1926: cat. XVII; Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. 18; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 14, fig. 35; Backhouse, Turner & Webster, 1984: cat. 117.

Bibliography: Mitchell, 1923: 303; Talbot Rice, 1952: 168, pl. 35a; Wilson, 1984: front cover, 190, pl. 266; Roesdahl & Wilson, 1992.

18. Fragment of a Spoon

Date: Late tenth century

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H5.9cm W2.6cm

Current Location: Winchester Cathedral Museum [WINCM:CG62-70 SF610]⁴⁸

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Found in the archaeological excavations of the Old and New Minster, Winchester.

Condition: Good condition, there is no damage other than lacking a handle.



Description: this piece is extraordinary considering its material and obvious mundane use as a spoon; the ivory would have only been available to those of high status, either ecclesiastical or secular. Such contexts in the late tenth century would likely suggest a royal patron, close to the artistic school at Winchester (considering its find spot), however its use and subsequent abandonment is curious and uncertain.

Front: Bowl of a spoon with carved biting (feline?) head.

Reverse: Bottom of a bowl of a spoon, no decoration.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Beckwith, 1972: 30, cat. 10, fig. 26.

Bibliography: Biddle, 1990: 830-31, no. 2621; Middle, M., Collis, J., & Kjølbye, B., 1979: vol. LIX part II, 384-85, fig. 4, C.

⁴⁸ I must thank Dr Denford and Mrs Hatton of the Winchester Museums for their letting me view this ivory in person as well as their kind hospitality and comments. The photographs were taken by myself.

19. Three-Beasts Comb

(Illus. 3.28)

Date: Late-tenth century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H5.4cm W4.1cm

Current Location: British Museum
[1957,1002.1]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased from
H.E.Bäcker in 1957.

Condition: Fair condition; double-edged, fine teeth on one side (of which four are missing), coarse teeth on the other (of which three are missing). Deep staining covers the entirety of the comb.



Description: Carved with pair of cat-like animals and a serpent.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: 1982 3 Apr-31 Oct, York, Yorkshire Museum, The Vikings in England; 1981 5 Sep-31 Dec, Århus, The Prehistoric Museum, The Vikings in England; 1981 11 Apr-16 Aug, Copenhagen, The Danish National Museum, The Vikings in England.

Bibliography: Biddle, 1990: 830-31, no. 2621; Middle, M., Collis, J., & Kjølbye, B., 1979: vol. LIX part II, 384-85, fig. 4, C.

20. Whalebone Chess pieces

Date: late tenth century

Material: Whalebone

Size: H5.9cm W2.6cm

Current Location: British Museum [1927,0404.1 and 1927,0404.2]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Excavated at Witchampton Manor. Donated in 1927 by Mrs. McGeagh.

Condition: Minimal damage other than normal wear and tear, some chipping, degradation of the bone material that now shows cellular structure.

Description: Four whalebone ivory chessmen.

(A): Whalebone chess piece with two animalistic heads with drilled eyes.

(B): are two five celtic crosses carved in the centre, Museum marking in bottom left.

(C): Group of three plain whalebone chess pieces, while two have heads (simplified versions of B above), neither have drilled eyes; the third is smaller and completely undecorated.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Musee de Cluny, Paris “Jeux de la Babylone Antique” 2012-13; Museum Nan Eilean, Stornoway 2011; Shetland Museum & Archives, 2011; Aberdeen Art Gallery, Scotland 2010; National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh 2010; Kentucky Horse Park, Lexington USA “All The Queen’s Horses” 2003.

Bibliography: Unpublished.



A.



B.



C.

21. Alcester Tau Cross

(Illus. 2.9, 4.25A, 5.71A, 6.16)

Date: late tenth century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H5.15cm W14.3cm

Current Location: British Museum, London [1903,0323.1]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography:

Found in the Rectory garden at Alcester, Warwickshire. Possibly belonged to Evesham Abbey, which was founded in Saxon times. Given to the museum by the Friends of the British Museum in 1903 (now the National Art-Collections Fund).

Condition: Much of the detail in this piece is greatly rubbed, however the large amount of undercutting and deep relief carving has left much of the general detail intact.

The facial features of both images of Christ and the beasts show the greatest amount of lost of detail. The ivory is broken away above the figure of Christ, where it is likely that the staff had originally a finial at the top. There are several places that retain traces of gold foil which likely covered much of the surface. The pierced outer edges of the volutes may have also had precious stones or pearls inserted into or hung from them.

Description: An ivory cross head in the shape of a 'T' (the Greek letter 'tau'), it would have originally been fixed to the top of a wooden staff to form a crozier, the symbol of authority for a senior official in the Church. Deeply undercut, it has a hexagonal socket from which the two curled volutes originate, carved in high relief. Each side is decorated with flowers, interlaced panels and inhabited foliage, perhaps referencing the creation or the Garden of Eden.

Front: The end of each arm of the 'T' displays beast heads with open jaws, while the volutes end in griffin heads (only one of which survives) turning inwards and biting at the acanthus foliage. The front of the cross head displays a much rubbed image of Christ crucified, an example of the 'Isolated' Christ motif common in Anglo-Saxon England in the late tenth century (seen in cat. 35, 39, 42 below.)



Reverse: shows a risen Christ holding a cross staff and triumphantly trampling a lion and dragon, referencing Psalm 91:13.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Dalton, 1909: cat. 32; Longhurst, 1927: cat. XII; Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. 8 a-c; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 29, figs. 65, 66.

Bibliography: Kendrick, 1949: 45; Talbot Rice, 1952: 159, 166, fig. 234; Wilson, 1984: 194, pl. 269; Webster, 2012a: 203, fig. 169.

22. Heribert Tau Cross

(Illus. 4.24B, 5.44, 5.60A, 5.72A)

Date: c.999 – 1021

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H5.5cm W14.5cm
(length of entire staff, 135cm)

Current Location: Neu St Heribert Church, Cologne

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography:

Formerly belonging to the parish church of Deutz (suburb of Cologne), was transferred to Cologne Cathedral Treasury before finding a place at Neu St Heribert Church, Cologne in their treasury.



Condition: Fair with some very visible damage areas. The tau-cross head is still attached to a wood shaft and a silver fitting shows engraved scenes of women and Christ in Hell, above which is an inscription in an upper band with the words “REW QVIE SCE MARIE ET SCI CRISTO FORI.” This would suggest that the tau-cross was a repository for relics which were likely held in the cavity of the rod (where it attached to the ivory) or in the handle; no



evidence (to the author’s knowledge) survives in either case. There are two major breaks which happened at some point, likely during the war (1939-45).⁴⁹ the griffon terminal to the left of the Crucifixion scene (to the right of the *Majestas Domini*) was completely broken away at two points, one at the neck or base of the griffin’s decorative acanthus collar, the other seen at the snout of the griffin, which was also completely separated. Both breakages have been badly repaired with unknown materials and techniques.

Another breakage seems to have been started before Goldschmidt’s photographs in the 1920s and gotten worse by the images seen in Beckwith’s 1972 publication: the slim crack that can be seen in Goldschmidt (1926: vol. IV, cat. 10a) under Christ’s mandorla,

⁴⁹ This theory has been proposed due to other German-held ivories being seriously damaged in the war years, see cat. 47 below for more.

but not on the reverse under the Crucifixion (1926: vol. IV, cat. 10b) is now fully evident, (A). while I was unable to hand the ivory for closer inspection, the crack most certainly encircles the entire ivory at this point, but it is undertain if it was completely broken off and separated from the base, or if it is more of a superficial crack saved from further damage by its current circumstances in a large case in the cathedral treasury. Both griffin heads have drilled holes in their otherwise low relief carved mouths, this might suggest that precious stones or other matierla swere hung from the ends of each volute, enhancing the value of the tau-cross.

Front: Very much rubbed across the surface of the Crucifixion scene, but much of the detail is still discernable.

Reverse: Very much rubbed across the surface of a *Majestas Domini* image, but much of the detail is still discernable.

Description:

Front: In the middle is depicted the image of the Crucifixion; the Virgin and St John flank either side while above the arms of the cross, the personification of the sun and moon gesture towards the scene. Chris himself is standing on a *suppedaneum*, and the cross is represented by a thick border outline while Christ is seen within the borders but not nailed to it; this area could very well have been decorated with gold leaf.



A.

This stylistic choice of ‘laying’ Christ on the cross, rather than nailing him to it is very much in keeping with the other crucifixions of the late tenth and eleventh centuries in Anglo-Saxon England, see cats. 21, 22, 35-41 for more.

Reverse: an image of the *Majestas Domini* is seen in the central area, with a haloed Christ sitting in a mandorla with one hand raised in blessing and the other holding a book. Four angels surround and hold up the mandorla, much in the same fasion as cat. 9 of this study in their mannerisms and approach to the plain border of the mandorla.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Bock, 1856: cat. 85, pl. XXIII, fig. 85; Aus’m Weerth, 1868: 6-7, cat. 6a, b, pl. XLII; Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. 10a-b; Longhurst, 1927: 76; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 30, figs. 80-81.

Bibliography: Cahier & Martin, 1856: vol. IV, 175; Bastard D’Estang, 1860: 518; Labarte, 1864: vol. I, 227; Westwood, 1876: 446; Kraus, 1872: vol. II, 501; Maskell, 1905: 214; Legner, 1985: vol. II, no. E93; Parker & Little, 1994: 265, no. 34 (ch. 2).

23. *Majestas Christi* with Four Angels

(Illus. 4.41)

Date: Late tenth century

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: W8.5cm H15cm

Current Location: The Hermitage, St Petersburg [Ø3637]⁵⁰

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon (or Danish?)

Biography: Unknown

Condition: Fair, little major damage.

Front: the edge of the outer rim of the ivory is very worn, causing a loss of details in the limbs and dress of the angels as well as a breakage on the right side. There is a drilled hole at the apex of the mandorla, could suggest that the ivory was used as a pectoral 'cross' at one point, or merely hung as decoration.

Reverse: shows how the ivory was carved according to the curve of the tusk and shows (seen in the darker shades) the nerve canal of the tusk. Some scratching as well as museum labels, markings can be seen.

Description: Elephant ivory panel shaped in a mandorla.

Front: The composition displays a double mandorla in which several figures are depicted. In the inner mandorla, Christ sits on a simple arch for a throne, wearing a cruciform halo; he gestures with one hand in blessing, the other holds a book in his lap. Christ's eyes are deeply drilled, likely filled with glass or jet at one point, and the mandorla that surrounds him is carved with a double line broken only by flat, unadorned sections corresponding with the four stars in the outer mandorla. Christ, and his mandorla, are shown as different to the outer, secondary mandorla; the



⁵⁰ I must thank Dr. Marta Kryzhanovskaja and Dr. Katia Nekrasova for their kind hospitality, comments and assistance in my viewing this ivory in person in St Petersburg. The reverse image is a photograph taken by myself.

mandorla itself is raised above the outer section but Christ is seen seated in a convex space, carved in high relief within his space. The outer mandorla, while curved according to the shape of the tusk, is not shaped by choice like the inner mandorla; flanking Christ above and below are four adoring angels. While the angels are seen touching the mandorla, they do not assist it on its way to heaven, likely referring to the Anglo-Saxon exegetical belief that Christ ascended *unaided*, as discussed by late tenth century ecclesiasts. (See Ch. 5 for more.)

Goldschmidt labelled this piece as Spanish and of the twelfth-century, however gave no reasoning for such an identification beyond comparing it to two other mandorla shaped ivories (Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. nos. 85, 111) of which the resemblance is purely down to shape, while the style, iconography and carving technique is completely unlike; the Hermitage has labelled it in their online catalogue as English or Danish and of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, but no explanation is forthcoming. It is the opinion of this study however that the English, or more specifically Anglo-Saxon, provenance suggested by the Hermitage is of merit, with iconographic, stylistic and technical accomplishment supporting such a theory.

Reverse: The reverse is plain, with no markings other than two museum tags. The curvature and colouring really emphasize how close this ivory was taken to the nerve canal shown as the darker, inverted triangle stemming from the top of the ivory.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, 32, cat. 105bis, pl. XXXVI.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

24. Resurrection with Mary & St Peter

(Illus. 5.45)

Date: Late tenth century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H10cm W6.5cm

Current Location: Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Cambridge [1883.736]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Found at North Elmham, Norfolk in 1847 by the Reverend T.E. Kerrich. Donated to the Museum by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

Condition: The plaque is considerably degraded and the figures at the bottom of the composition are nearly obliterated. Drilled holes in the top and bottom suggest its attachment to something, likely a book cover or casket.



Description: Walrus ivory panel depicting the Last Judgment.

Front: Christ, with arms raised in blessing, is seated on simple arch for a throne, within a mandorla; to Christ's right stands the Virgin, veiled and crowned, to the left is St Peter holding a book and key. Around the upper half of the mandorla is the inscription: "O VOS OM(ne)S VID(e)TE MANVS ET P(edes meos)" (Luke 24.39) with a geometric pattern decorating the lower half of the mandorla. Below, two flying angels support the two arms of the cross, under which stand four figures on each side, likely either Apostles or representations of the blessed/damned. What remains of the frame is beaded, and along to top is the inscription S(an)C(t)A MARIA S(an)C(tus) PETRVS. None of the figures have halos, however there is a cross behind Christ's head. Christ in his mandorla resembles that seen in cats. 22, 23, 32 & 48.

Reverse: Unavailable for viewing at time of submission.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Westwood, 1876: cat. 304, fig. 138; Maclagan & BFAC, 1923: cat. 74; Longhurst, 1927: cat. VII; Golschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. 2; Maclagan & Victoria & Albert Museum, 1930: cat. 80; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 18, fig. 41.

Bibliography: Westwood, 1868: fig. 150; Maskell, 1872: fig. 164; Talbot Rice, 1952: 163, 166; Okasha, 1971: 104, no. 97.

25. Agnus Dei Tau-Cross

(Illus. 4.26)

Date: late-tenth century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H4.7cm W13.6cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London
[A.1-1914]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography:

According to E. Maclagan's note in the acquisition file (December 1913), and confirmed again in another letter from the vendor, the tau-cross "was found in Water Lane in the City [of

London] in 1893 and bought by Mr. George Allen the publisher"; purchased from a Mr. John Allen (Saltford, near Bristol) in 1914.

Condition: A dark brown stain covers the whole of the tau-cross, which is carved in a range of low to medium relief, but retains its highly polished surface. The upper surface includes a central rectangular recess set into a lightly incised frame which is flanked by two more rectangular panels that display some coarse transversal ribbing at the down curve, ending in a simple foliate scroll. Both rectangular panels are undecorated, though the left side has faint traces of erased lettering at the right-hand end, and the undersides of the arms are incised with a crudely drawn line that converge at the end. The volutes are now lost as they have broken away, while four attachment holes at both ends suggest an attempt to repair or the addition of attachments to them. The socket of the cross is visible from the bottom, and there is a singular hole in the middle, possible for an inserted pin to attach the head of the tau-cross to a staff. The dark stain might be due to its archaeological contexts of discovery, much like that seen in other ivories in this corpus, namely cats. 46, 56

Description: Walrus ivory tau-cross, enclosed with plain borders and missing volutes.

Front: displays a winged seraph whose hands are outspread encircled by a beaded mandorla, which is flanked by two beasts whose heads are bent downwards and wings pushed forward, with ribbed and bifurcated foliate tails. The winged seraph could be a reference to the vision of Isaiah where singing seraphim adore Christ in majesty, which is an apocalyptic image.

Reverse: Such an image is linked to the reverse which shows an Agnus Dei with a nimbed cross stepping out of a plain mandorla supported by two male figures, one in a short tunic,



the other in a full length garment. These images together might suggest that the Agnus Dei was meant to represent visually the theological motif of the *Agnus Victor*.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Watts, 1924: cat. 18, pl. 6; Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. 9, pl. II; Longhurst, 1926: 87-88, cat. XXVI, pl. 27; *ibid*, 1927: 88-89, pls. LXVIII, LXIX; Maclagan & Victoria & Albert Museum, 1930: cat. 76; Beckwith, 1966; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 57, figs. 107-8; London 1984a: cat. 121.

Bibliography: Review, 1914: 11, pl. 6; Williamson & Webster, 1990: 181, 183, Appendix A5, pl. 14; Gameson 1995: 113; Webster, 2008: 239-40, figs. 13-14.

26. Two Angels

Date: Late tenth or early eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H7.5cm greatest W5cm

Current Location: Winchester, Winchester City Museum [WINCM:ARCH817]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Found in a garden near St Cross, Winchester (according to the modern ink inscription on the reverse, found in the garden of 'Landour'.

Condition: Good condition overall.

Front: Damage to left frame, small chips visible on other sides. Vertical arrow shaped hole in centre of piece (below wings, between angels). Pinprick holes in top wings.

Reverse: Modern writing on verso in pen: "UP INTREC ART AT LANDOUR ... CROSS, WIN-... CHESTER ... I R I IENTEC ... MAY GALE... AT ENG... SAXON ... IITN...CENT"⁵¹

Description: Walrus ivory triangle depicting two censing angels within a plain border.

Front: Two angels with upraised hands in a triangular frame; carved to great depth, with complete under-cutting visible beneath the inner most ankles of each angel, the robes are shown flowing but gather close around the ankles, and the facial features of each figure are easily seen. The style of this plaque is done in the Winchester style seen in manuscripts (and other ivories) of this period.

Reverse: The ivory is shaped so that it likely fit into a specifically made slot, and there attached by a rivet in the middle. Beyond the writing in pen, there is no decoration.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: BFAC, 1923: cat. 75; Longhurst, 1926: cat. XIV; Goldschmidt IV, 1926: cat. 276; Victoria & Albert Museum, 1930: cat. 81; BFAC, 1939: cat. 140; Barcelona and Santiago de Compostela, 1961: cat. 557; Winchester, Cathedral Treasury, 1972: cat. 17; Beckwith, 1972: 34, 38, cat. 16, fig. 39; London, 1974: cat. 13; London, Hayward Gallery, 1984: cat. 191; Backhouse, Turner & Webster, 1984: 115, cat. 114, fig. 114.

⁵¹ I must thank Dr Denford and Mrs Hatton of the Winchester Museums for their letting me view this ivory in person as well as their kind hospitality and comments. The photograph of the reverse was taken by myself.

(Illus. 4.23)



Bibliography: Dalton, 1919-20: 45-6; Mitchell, 1923: 162-63; Saunders, 1932: 37; Kendrick, 1938: 44; Stone, 1955: 34-35; Talbot Rice, 1952: 165-66; Swarzenski, 1954: 48, fig 128; Wilson, 1960: 159-60, fig. 75; Cramp, 1972: 147, fig. 69; *ibid*, 1975: 196-7; Hinton, 1977: 94, pl. XIII; Gem & Tudor-Craig, 1981: 128, pl. IIIc; Campbell, 1982: 196, fig. 3; Wilson, 1984: 190, 193, fig. 241; Lasko, 1984: 222-5; Webster, 2012a: 199, fig. 161.

27. *Traditio Legis cum Clavis*

(Illus. 3.15A)

Date: late tenth century

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H15.8cm W11.3cm

Current Location: Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris [Codex Lat. 323]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: The plaque is mounted in a late Gothic silver frame and attached to a modern leather binding. The manuscript is an Evangelistary dated to the mid-ninth century, formerly belonging to the Maréchal de Noailles (Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits* I: 6).

Condition: The plaque is rubbed, but the details are still highly visible. Being attached to the codex still, the reverse of the plaque is unavailable for viewing. Eight drill holes are seen, two in each corner.



Description: Elephant ivory panel displaying the *Traditio Legis cum Clavis*. A cross-haloed Christ is seated in an ornate double-border mandorla, flanked by angels holding sceptres; Christ gives a book to St Paul and the keys to St Peter standing below who are both holding veils in their upraised arms. Between Sts Paul and Peter reclines Oceanus, wearing a horned helmet, holding a fish in one hand and a vase in the other while a serpent and an oar are tucked under each arm. The whole scene is framed with a stylised acanthus border.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt I, 1914: no. 71a & b; Beckwith, 1972: 47-48, cat. 23, fig. 53.

Bibliography: Beckwith, 1960a: 241; Dodwell, 1982: 203; Laffitte & Goupil 1991: 17, pl. 23-24; Laffitte, 2006: 279.

28. Enthroned Virgin & Child

(Illus. 3.15B)

Date: late tenth century

Material: Elephant ivory

Size: H15.4cm W11cm

Current Location: Bibliotheque Nationale,
Paris [Codex Lat. 323]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: The plaque is mounted in a late Gothic silver frame and attached to a modern leather binding. The manuscript is an Evangelistary dated to the mid-ninth century, formerly belonging to the Maréchal de Noailles (Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits* I: 6).

Condition: The plaque is rubbed, but the details are still highly visible. Being attached to the codex still, the reverse of the plaque is unavailable for viewing. Eight drill holes are seen, two in each corner.

Description: The haloed Virgin, wearing a turbaned veil that sweeps around her neck and rests on her right shoulder, sits on an arcaded throne decorated with lions' masks with her feet on an arcaded foot-stool. Holding the Christ-child on her knee with both hands, behind are two angels bowing in admiration holding sceptres. Shrubs emerge above the back of the throne and grow on either side of the footstool; a stylised acanthus border frames the entire composition.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt I, 1914: no. 71b; Beckwith, 1972: 48, cat. 24, fig. 54.

Bibliography: Beckwith, 1960a: 241.



29. Quatrefoil Virgin & Child Enthroned

(Illus. 4.26B, 4.64, 5.64)

Date: Late tenth or early eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H9.52cm W5.72cm

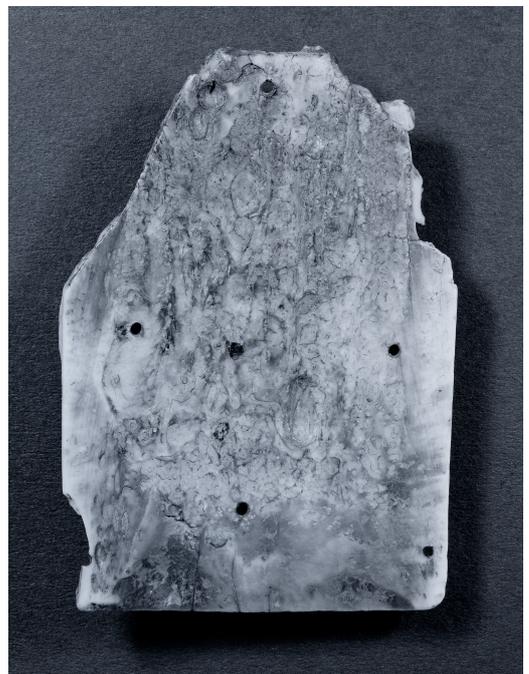
Current Location: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [AN1978.332]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Previously owned by Rev. Paul W. Wyatt, Bedford.

Condition: Fair condition, several breakages and clear evidence for a cutting down of size/shape of the original ivory.

Front: While much of the detail is still retained in this deeply carved piece, the outermost surfaces (the Virgin's face, arm and knee, the Christ-Child's face and arm, the angels' faces and arms) are very much rubbed; the Virgin's right hand is also lost. The upper right and left corners have been lost, the right sustaining more damage than the left, which retains the hand, arm, shoulder, torso and knee of a figure holding a covered bowl (while only the hand and bowl survive on the right). These two areas were clearly undercut as the background survives on the right and does not on the left, leaving the body of the figure 'hanging', and only attached to the ivory through slim areas connecting it to the quatrefoil frame. There is also a portion of the bottom right corner missing near the torso of the angel, which retains part of the pin-hole that once was carved into it (like that on the bottom left corner); in total, there would have been at least five pin-holes, including the one at the top of the mandorla between the figures holding covered bowls, likely for the attachment of the ivory to a book cover. Looking closer at the bottom edge of the ivory, there is a small head with a gaping jaw facing upwards towards the Virgin and Child; its placement is curious and suggests that there was a lower portion of this ivory that has been cut away.



Reverse: The reverse shows limited damage beyond the bottom left and upper right edges of the frame of the ivory; the pinholes visible from the front are found in corresponding places on the back.

Description:

Front: A haloed Virgin sits holding the Christ-Child on her lap within a raised border in the shape of a quatrefoil mandorla, supported by two angels; both the Virgin's and Christ-Child's right hands are raised in blessing, while the child holds a book in his left arm. The garments of both figures cling closely to their bodies, including around the feet of the Virgin, which are set upon a serpent. Drapery is seen entwined within the left and right lobes (surrounding what appears to be purpose-made pin-holes) and above the mandorla are the remnants of two figures (possibly Angels? Two of the three Kings?), holding out offerings in small containers. All figures are haloed.

The small head with a gaping jaw facing upwards towards the Virgin and Child at the bottom of the ivory is curious and the bulky circular shape to its immediate right, with a possible limb growing from the bottom of the circle, might suggest a body for the head, but again, there is little to go on to explain its place and purpose within the overall composition.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Royal Academy, 1934: cat. 1390; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 15, fig 36.

Bibliography: Talbot Rice, 1952:168, pl. 35b.

30. Virgin & St John the Evangelist

(Illus. 5.58, 6.15C)

Date: Late tenth century

Material: Walrus ivory, glass or jet beads, metal rod

Size: H12.6cm W2.7cm in both cases

Current Location: Musée Hôtel Sandelin,
Saint-Omer France [2822]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon; Saint-Omer, France.

Biography: From a group of the Crucifixion, said to have belonged to the Abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer. Acquired by the museum in 1839.

Condition: Both figures' eye are inlaid with black beads, possibly jet; the ivory of St John is a pinkish-grey colour, possibly resulting from patination. Three drill holes are seen on each ivory, one on the ground between their feet, another between their ankles and the final behind the heads of either figure within the space of their haloes; each shows staining of the immediate area, likely due to the metal rivets coming in contact with the ivory. This placement within the space of the bodies of the ivories suggests that they were attached to a surface that was not of ivory, but rather likely of precious metals and decoration, which makes these figures, along with cat. 34, special within this study as they were made specifically to this shape, rather than being cut down like some others (e.g. cat. 17). Recent conservation work has removed the metal rods from each ivory, illustrated below.⁵²



Description: Two walrus ivory figures of the Virgin and St John the Evangelist. The style of these ivories is standard Winchester style, however it has been suggested that an Anglo-Saxon craftsman who was living at Saint-Omer during the period, which is not out of the question, carved these ivories. In arguing for an Anglo-Saxon provenance, and thereafter gift exchange with Saint-Omer, it must be noted that the figures can be seen as similar to those illuminations in the ca. 1000 Ramsey Psalter,⁵³ as well as the general figural style of the Benedictional of Æthelwold.⁵⁴ Similarly, cat. 31 below has ties with Saint-Omer, and stylistically it is not hard to see homogeneity in these three objects, suggesting that these could have been made in the same workshop, in Anglo-Saxon England or Saint-Omer, before being gifted to the abbey there.

The Virgin: A haloed Virgin stands, looking towards her left with her cloak gathered in her clenched hands near her face; the rest of her garments cluster tightly about her entire body, her feet rest motionless on a leaf scroll base.

⁵² Musenor, Association des conservateurs des musées du Nord Pas-de-Calais website.

⁵³ London, British Library: Harley MS 2904, fol. 3v.

⁵⁴ London, British Library: Add MS 49598, fol. 90v.

St John the Evangelist: A haloed St John stands, looking towards his right with his right hand raised in blessing, his left hand clutching at the drapery of his cloak; the rest of his garments are more frantic than the Virgin's, flowing outwards instead of gathering close about St John's feet, which show signs of movement (one foot pointed towards the viewer, the other pointed towards St John's right, as if he is in the process of taking a step forward) standing on similar leaf scroll to that of the Virgin.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Longhurst, 1926: cat. nos. XV, XVI; Goldschmidt IV, 1926: cat. nos. 4, 5; Beckwith, 1972: 50, cat. 25, figs 57-58; Gaborit-Chopin, 1978: 89-90, cat. 112; Bourel, 2004; Blazy & Wintrebert, 1992: cat. 57.

Bibliography: Stone, 1955: 35; Talbot Rice, 1952: 120, 167; Swarzenski, 1954: 49, pl. 63, figs 143-44; Wilson, 1984: 195, pls. 247, 248.



Source: Lasko, 1994: 72, fig. 101.

31. Pectoral with Christ and the Lamb of God and the Symbols of the Four Evangelists (or the Pectoral)

(Illus. 4.32, 4.94D, 6.8)

Date: Early eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H14.9 W6.3 D3.5 cm;
width with iron pins: 6.9cm

Current Location: Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York
[17.190.217]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon;
Saint-Omer France.

Biography: Gift of
Pierpont Morgan (1917).
Previously owned by the Charles
Mannheim Collection (Paris), the
Quinson Collection (Saint-Omer
and Arras); possibly from the Abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-
Omer.

Condition: Both front and back are carved in high relief, due to breakage, some details have been lost on either side of each carved composition. Four drilled holes are seen along each side of the ivory, likely for attachment to arms of some sort, making this ivory the central panel of a larger crucifixion, much in the same fashion as the c.1150 Lady Gunhild or c.1180-90 Cloisters Cross,⁵⁵ or perhaps a tau-cross as there is no evidence of an upper shaft but breakage where a lower shaft would be. More drilled holes can be seen on the front and back of the ivory, above and below the central images which likely attached gilt metal panels; a larger drilled hole at the apex of the ivory could suggest that the piece, upon losing its arms, acted as a pectoral pendant, which may be supported by the extensive rubbing on the outermost surfaces of the ivory only, rather than the entire surface of either side.

Front: Certain areas heavily rubbed, specifically the face and knees of Christ, the Manus Dei; cracks throughout but these are minor, with chipping seen on the bottom right and upper left.



⁵⁵ Lady Gunhild Cross. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet; Cloisters Cross. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: 63.12.

There are remnants of a metal rod that are found through the middle, and gilded copper has been found under Christ's right side, as well as red pigments below the left knee of Christ. *Reverse:* Certain areas heavily rubbed, namely the face and chest of the Lamb. Some chipped areas show along the upper left border and similar chipping in the bottom left completes the damage found on the front in the same area. Pigments can be found within the acanthus leaves, of the same colouring as those found on the front.

Description: Ivory panel, carved on both sides, showing Christ enthroned and the Agnus Dei. Similarly, the figures from cat. 30 above have been tied to Saint-Omer, possibly being made there by an Anglo-Saxon artist, and stylistically it is not hard to see homogeneity in these three objects, suggesting that these could have been made in the same workshop, in Anglo-Saxon England or Saint-Omer, before being gifted to the abbey there.

Front: Christ is seen enthroned on a simple arch throne; bearded, wearing a head band and cruciform halo, he raises one hand in blessing, the other holds a book in his lap. His feet are drawn together and are set on a small foot rest. Enclosing Christ within the background are two 'U' shaped recesses that are unadorned but were likely covered in gilt metal used to highlight this central figure. Christ's drapery is in keeping with stylistic traditions in Anglo-Saxon England during this period, following Randall's suggestion that figural carving in early medieval Britain and Ireland tended to separate the upper and lower body, creating a heart shape of the knees and legs.⁵⁶

Reverse: The Agnus Dei lamb is seen with a cruciform halo in a central asymmetrical diamond shape, with the Eagle of St John above and the Bull of St Luke below. The Lamb holds a cross staff and book in its forelegs and appears to be set on a simplified acanthus background, similar stylistically to that seen in many of the borders of the Benedictional of Æthelwold, as well as a number of other ivories in this study. The Eagle carries in its beak an unrolled scroll that wraps around its body and creates a un-close medallion shape; the Bull carries a book in its forelegs, mimicking that of the Lamb above but due to the damage done to the lower portion of the ivory, is not enclosed in any way (like the Eagle is) and it can only be assumed that it would have been. Much like the front, two 'U' shapes are seen above and below the Eagle and Bull respectively, likely for decorative, gilding purposes. The broken, asymmetrical diamond shape that is seen half above and below the Lam likely acted as a connecting device between the central image and the four Evangelist symbols encircling it, as most certainly the Angel of St Matthew and Lion of St Mark likely flanked the Lamb. This Lamb is not unusual in the Anglo-Saxon ivory corpus, other examples can be seen in cats. 25 & 52.⁵⁷

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Molinier, 1898: vol. II, fig. 153; Ibid, 1896: fig. 162; Bachet, 1900: 263, no. 39; Migeon, 1900: 15; Goldschmidt 1926: vol. IV, 9, pl. I, no. 1a-b; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 27, figs. 63, 64.

Bibliography: De Linus, 1867: 274; Darcel, 1875: vol. I, 86; Westwood, 1876: fig. 420; Casson, 1935: 327-35; Randall, 1962: 159; Howard, 1983: 344, no. 17; Husband & Little, 1987: 54, no. 46; Howard, 1994: 378, no. 18; Wixom, *MMAB*, 2005: 9, no. 4, n.s. 62; Gaborit-Chopin, 2005: 304-05, no. 231; Webster, 2012a: 204, fig. 171.

⁵⁶ Randall, 1969: 59; see also, Ch. 4.

⁵⁷ See Ch. 5 for more.

32. Seated Figure in Majesty

(Illus. 5.46, 6.9)

Date: c.1000-1020

Material: Walrus Ivory

Size: H9.5cm W5.8cm (originally c. 7cm)

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [A.32-1928]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Evidence of Discovery: Purchased in London (1928) from Messrs Durlacher Brothers; previous history unknown.

Condition:

Front: Upon acquisition in 1928, the damaged left side of the mandorla was 'fixed' with coloured plaster to demonstrate what the panel would have originally looked like; this was removed from the ivory in 1984 and remains in the pictured state. At the plaster's removal in 1984, the panel was thoroughly cleaned and closely examined revealing substantial microscopic traces of paint over a wide range of the surface. This study allowed a reconstruction of the colour scheme (whether it was original to the eleventh-century, is still undetermined), as it is not unheard of for ivories to be painted both in the medieval and modern eras. The background had traces of blue, while the throne, footstool and cushion were painted gold, as was the figure's garments, hair, crown and the book in his left hand. His lips were painted red and his hands and feet pink. The figure's right hand and the staff it held are lost.

Reverse: The back of the ivory is plain, with the left side (opposite to the lost right side) being cut at an angle and the entire surface covered in cross-hatched lines, likely to rough up the surface before an adhesive was added to attach the ivory to a separate background. This adhesion, shown staining the ivory in the centre, is the probable cause of the damage/loss of the right side as the ivory was likely ripped from the secondary surface, however that history is not known.



Description: Walrus ivory panel in the shape of a mandorla, depicting an enthroned figure.

Front: A male figure is seated on a cushioned throne with his feet resting on a small ledge. Holding a book in his left hand and a staff (now partially broken) in his (now lost) right hand, the scene is surrounded by a plain mandorla. The figure is bearded and wears a crown but has no halo, giving rise to the suggestion that this figure may not be Christ as nearly all Anglo-Saxon Christ figures were haloed to varying degrees.⁵⁸ A similar ivory in the Museum (see cat. 33) shares some characteristics when looking at style and form however it is clear they were made by two different hands. The dense and wavy rendered drapery, fitted close around the ankles is recognisable as a product of the Winchester style. *Reverse:* the entire surface is scratched with lines, likely to rough up the surface before an adhesive was added to attach the ivory to a book cover or another surface. In the bottom left is a museum identification number in pen. Unlike cat. 33 below, which has clearly led two 'lives' (one as a reliquary, the second as a book cover), this panel gives no such evidence of doing so. It is perhaps likely that this ivory was carved after cat. 33 (giving it no chance for becoming a reliquary or maybe the only relic to hand for the carver was one linked with the Virgin rather than Christ), or it could be seen as an attempt at copying the style of the Virgin and Child Enthroned panel below specifically to be matched with it and placed together on a book cover, therefore leading this ivory to have a flat reverse and seemingly uneventful existence.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: London, 1930: cat. 77; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 39, fig. 76; London, 1974: cat. 24; London, 1984: cat. 177; London, 1984a; Williamson, 2010: 242-43, cat. 61.

Bibliography: Longhurst, 1928; Review, 1928: 5-6, pl. 3; Longhurst, 1929: 131-32, pl. XCVI; Swarzenski, 1954: 48, fig. 138; Randall, 1962: 163, pl. 31b; Gaborit-Chopin, 1978: 90, fig. 111; Williamson, 1982: 32, pl. 15a; Lasko, 1984: 216, 221, fig. 55; Williamson & Webster, 1990: 177, 180, 182, Appendix Ai, pls. 1-2; Lasko, 1994: 72, 148, pl. 102; Gameson, 1995: 21, 128, 130, pl. 5a; Williamson, 1996: 34, ill.; Trusted, 2007: 118, pl. 213; Webster, 2008: 237, fig. 2; Ibid, 2012a: 205, fig. 172.

⁵⁸ For more information, see Ch. 4.

33. Virgin & Child Enthroned

(Illus. 5.59, 6.10)

Date: c.1000-1020

Material: Walrus Ivory

Size: H9.9cm, greatest W6.5cm (originally c. 7 cm)

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [A.5-1935]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased from S.J. Demotte, Paris ca. 1920 by Mr. Alphonse Kann, (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Seine-et-Oise); bequeathed to the museum by Mr. Kann in 1935.

Condition: Good condition other than the break on the left side.

Front: The border and background are pierced with drilled holes and a portion of the left side is broken, similar to that of cat. 32 above. The drilled border likely held an attached band that would have acted as a decorative enclosing space, as well as connecting the ivory to a metal plate on the reverse which would have held the relic within its recess. The border with its attached embellishments would likely have been painted gold or covered in gold leaf, while the background was painted as a recent study has found pigments on the background. The remaining 5 drilled holes found in the background of the ivory were likely a later addition, attaching the ivory to a book cover much in the same way as cat. 32 above, suggesting that its use as a reliquary ended, the relic was lost and the ivory was reused in this capacity.

Reverse: The reverse shows a small recess, likely to hold a relic, and while the drilled holes could have certainly held extra materials to the front surface of the ivory, they could have also connected the ivory to a secondary surface such as a book cover or casket, as well as a metal plate on the back to safely store the relic. While it has been suggested that this ivory, and cat. 32 were likely similarly torn from a secondary surface (hence the similar loss to the left side), and both appeared on the art market within a decade of one another around 1920, there is no real evidence as to their previous history and this panel was certainly attached by other means than an adhesive as it has no cross-hatching marks to assist in that endeavour like cat. 32.

Description: Walrus ivory panel in the shape of a mandorla, depicting the Virgin and Child enthroned.



Front: The Virgin and Child are seated together, within a simple mandorla, on a triple rainbow arch throne (with a beaded central span flanked by two simple lined arcs), much like that seen in cats. 23, 24 & 31. Of the Enthroned Virgin ivories within this study, this is the least ornately carved in terms of border, throne or surroundings, but it was likely the most lavishly decorated in its role as a reliquary and decorative panel. The Virgin supports the Child on her left knee with her feet resting on a footstool, and holds a branch in her right hand while a diptych book is squeezed between the Child and her left arm. Christ also holds a diptych book in his hands while neither figure looks at each other or the viewer. A similar ivory in the Museum (cat. 32) shares some characteristics when looking at style and form however, it is clear they were made by two different hands. The dense and wavy rendered drapery, fitted close around the ankles is recognisable as a product of the Winchester style, like that seen the figure of Philosophy (*ca.* 970) in Boethius' *Consolation*,⁵⁹ or the illuminations of King Edgar, Dunstan and Æthelwold from the *Regularis Concordia*.⁶⁰

Reverse: The back of this panel shows a small cavity for holding a relic, however no trace of what it may have been survives; it is not unreasonable to assume that the relic would have been related to the Virgin. Being a reliquary in its first 'life', this ivory was likely made for a more grand setting than that of cat. 32 to begin with, but they had to be within the vicinity of each other (or the user had to have some knowledge of both pieces) to bring them together for this panel's 'second' life as book cover embellishments; it is possible that this ivory was carved first, and the Seated Figure in Majesty above is an attempt at copying this ivory's style so that they could be paired and placed on a book cover.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Longhurst, 1926: 17-18, 80, cat. XVIII, pl. 20; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 40, fig. 75; London, 1974: cat. 25; London, 1984a: 121, cat. 178.

Bibliography: Longhurst, 1928: 318-21; *ibid*, 1929: 131, Review, 1935: 5, pl. 3b; Talbot Rice, 1952: 168, pl. 34a; Swarzenski, 1954: 48, fig. 139; Randall, 1962: 163, pl. 31b; Gaborit-Chopin, 1978: 90; Williamson, 1982: 32, pl. 15b; Williamson, 1986: 98-99; Williamson & Webster, 1990: 178, 180, 182, Appendix Aii, pl. 6; Lasko, 1994: 72, 148, pl. 203.

⁵⁹ Cambridge, Trinity College: MS O.3.7, fol. 1.

⁶⁰ London, British Library: Cotton MS Tiberius A.iii, fol. 2v.

34. Crucifix Reliquary

(Illus. 6.17A-B)

Date: Late tenth or early eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: (Ivory) H12.2cm W10.9cm;
(Reliquary Cross) H18.5cm W13.7cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum,
London [7943-1862]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon ivory, Ottonian cross (?)

Evidence of Discovery: Purchased from the Soltykoff Collection (Paris) by John Webb (Sale 1861, lot 94), purchased from Webb in 1862. The ivory Christ was removed for examination in 1926 and the reliquary cavity was found to hold the relic of a human finger. While the ivory has been unquestionably connected with Anglo-Saxon origins, the cross has been arguably linked to Ottonian pieces of the tenth and eleventh centuries, most specifically to the crosses, sword and sheath found in the Essen Minster treasury made for/under the patronage of Abbess Matilda (973-1011).⁶¹

Condition: Overall the ivory figure is in good condition. The front of the cross is also in good condition, while the reverse gold sheets seem to have been made for a cross of a different size and don't fit the space properly. Some wear and tear to the sides of the cross have left the inscriptions only barely discernable. The arms of Christ were made separately and connected to his body with walrus ivory dowels; both of Christ's thumbs are missing and there are areas of high relief that have been rubbed significantly, while sections of the halo are missing on both the left and right; the surfaces of Christ's halo and *suppedaneum*, showing one and three pin-holes respectively, likely were originally covered with gold foil or paint (no traces survive). The gold sheets on the back of the cross have been suggested as having been reused from a similar object of a slightly different size/shape.



A.



B.

⁶¹ For more see: Mitchell, 1925: 329; Lasko, 1994: figs. 134-37, 140, 173; Williamson, 2010: 239-41, cat. 60; Karkov, 2011: 86.

Description: A walrus ivory crucified Christ on a reliquary cross made of a cedar core covered with gold sheets and enamels, with a relic of a human finger held inside.

(A): The front shows 'filigree' wire and cloisonné enamels of the evangelists as well as a pair of enamel plaques at the top above Christ's head that read "HIS Nasa/Renus". The sides, covered in gold sheets, contain badly damaged inscriptions that can be read as "HIS XPS" and the word *ligni* (of wood). Christ is 'nailed' to the cross with two later ball-headed metal pins, a unique instance in this corpus as all other Anglo-Saxon crucifixions do not nail Christ to the cross; this may be because this ivory was added to an Ottonian cross, therefore necessitating its being attached to the cross and what more appropriate way than interpreting the biblical description of the Crucifixion than using nails in Christ's hands. This might therefore suggest that the Anglo-Saxon ivory Christ was re-used in this instance, having been created for a different purpose altogether; or perhaps it was carved by an Anglo-Saxon craftsman within Ottonian artistic circles, to fit this specific cross. Either way, the style of the carving is very reminiscent of the Winchester style of the late tenth century, seen as similar to the knotted girdle of the Baptism ivory above (cat. 17) or the drapery found within the Benedictional of Æthelwold,⁶² or the Ramsey Psalter, specifically the illumination of the Crucifixion (fol. 3v).⁶³

(B): The front of the reliquary cross without the ivory shows the outline of Christ, the cedar wood core and the relic of a human finger. It has been suggested that given the subject matter of the cross, the original function of this reliquary was to hold a fragment of the True Cross, rather than a human finger, however the shape of a reliquary is not always linked to the relic it contains, the purpose/identity of the donor of the relic coming under question.

(C, D): A bearded and haloed ivory Christ, wearing a rope crown and an elaborately tied loincloth through a folded girdle, is nailed to the cross with his feet resting on the *suppedaneum*. Christ's head slumps to his right, with his long hair falling in seven sections on his shoulders. The reverse of the ivory figure is flat and a shows long oval-shaped hollow space has been carved out to hold in place the relic inside the cross.

(E): On the back, roundels of half length evangelists are at the end of each arm while at the centre, a roundel with the Agnus Dei is flanked by crosses.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Maskell, 1872: 34; Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. 3, pl. I; Longhurst, 1926: 9-10, 74, cat. X, frontispiece; *ibid*, 1927: 86-7, pl. LXI; Beckwith, 1972: 41, cat. 20, frontispiece and fig. 47; London, 1974: cat. 14; Winchester, 1984: cat. I; London, 1984a: cat. 118; Magdeburg, 2001: cat. VI.27; Winchester, 2008 (no catalogue).

Bibliography: Mitchell, 1925; Kendrick, 1949: 44-5; Talbot Rice, 1952: 161-2;

⁶² London, British Library: Add. MS 49598, fol. 90v

⁶³ London, British Library: Harley MS 2904, fol. 3v.

Swarzenski, 1954: 49, fig. 142; Stone, 1955: 41-2, pl. 25; Randall, 1962: 163, pl. 31d; Gaborit-Chopin, 1978: 90; Cambell, 1983: 16-17, fig. 9; Wilson, 1984: 194-5, pl. 270; Williamson, 1986: 96-7; Raw, 1990: 61, 111, 113-15, 128, 129, 224, pl. IVb; Williamson & Webster, 1990: 178, 186, Appendix B18, pl. 3; Lasko, 1994: 72, pl. 204; Gameson, 1995: 70, 76 (note 36), 127, 251 (note 103), pl. 32; Webster, 2012a: 200, fig. 163.



C.



D.



E.

35. Crucifix Reliquary

(Illus. 5.73)

Date: late tenth or eleventh century

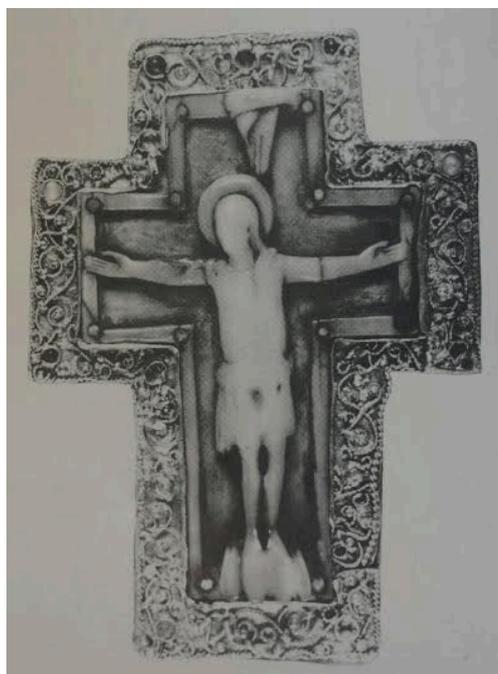
Material: Walrus ivory mounted in gold filigree, pearls and precious stones.

Size: height of the triptych 20cm; size of the ivory is unknown

Current Location: Cathedral Treasury, Chartres

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Formerly belonging to the Abbey of Coulombs; the ivory is the only part of the object that is of Anglo-Saxon origin, which rests on a cross (likely with a wooden core) covered in silver panels decorated with 'filigree' wire, similar to that found on cat. 34. This might suggest an Ottonian origin for the cross, but this is unknown; the ivory cross is then covered in rock crystal and mounted in a silver gilt triptych (not shown). The silver gilt triptych dates from about 1520, bearing the arms of Mile d'Illiers, dean of Chartres and abbot of Coulombs from 1518-1526, then Bishop of Luçon. The reliquary at one point held a relic of the Circumcision, which according to local legend, was brought back from two knights of the Morbier family who partook in the First Crusade. In 1422, the relic was sent to England on the request of Catherine of France, wife of Henry V and on its return, it was placed in Sainte Chapelle (Paris), and in 1427, it was at the abbey of Saint-Magloire, but did not return to Coulombs until 1445. In 1790 the reliquary was placed in the parish church (after the destruction of the abbey), then in 1906 in the town hall, and finally in 1947 it was moved to the cathedral treasury at Chartres.⁶⁴



Condition: The ivory, connected to its gold gilded cross, is in relatively good condition, despite the severe rubbing that has worn away any carved details on Christ's figure; his left arm is cracked at the elbow, however no other damage is discernable from Beckwith's image. Ivory rivets hold the crucifixion to the background cross in each corner. As no image, or general information, has been found by the time of submission, this is the only

Description: Depicting the typically Anglo-Saxon 'Isolated' Christ motif, what can be discerned is that Christ stands on a *suppedaneum* and is dressed in a loincloth; haloed and standing straight, the *Dextera Dei* descends from above Christ's head. Sitting within the frame of the cross, Christ is not nailed to the cross, much like that seen on every other ivory (with the exception of cat. 34), and the plain border corresponds with a number of other ivories within this corpus, namely cat. 21, 22, 35-41.

⁶⁴ Beckwith, 1972: 124, cat. 31

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Musées des Arts Decoratifs, 1965; cat. 123; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 31, fig. 67.

Bibliography: Beckwith, 1966b: 17; Taralon, 1966: 280.

36. Crucifixion Reliquary

(Illus. 5.49B, 5.73B, 6.12A)

Date: Late tenth or eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H9cm W5.5cm (at centre), D1.8cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [A.10-1921]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon (Gloucester, England)

Biography: Acquired by Thomas Gambier Parry (Highnam Court, Gloucestershire) before 1875 before passing onto his son, Major E. Gambier Parry who remarked that the only history he knew of the piece was from his father, who said he “got it from an old man in Gloucester”. Purchased under the bequest of Francis Reubell Bryan from Major Parry in 1921.

Condition: While in good overall condition, the piece is extremely rubbed and therefore the details on Christ’s head, and the two bottom Evangelists especially, are worn smooth. The reverse shows some staining along the centre of the panel, suggesting the shape of the metal plate that held in a relic; on the right is marked in pen the museum identification number.

Description: Pierced ivory pectoral reliquary cross.

Front: A haloed Christ is crucified, appearing to stand within the frame of the cross on the *suppedaneum*, rather than being nailed to it, a typical motif found in all but one of the Anglo-Saxon ivory crucifixions in this corpus; the *Dextera Dei* (Hand of God) is seen above. The spaces between the arms of the cross are pierced and show roundels holding images of the Four Evangelists, clockwise from the top right: the Eagle of St John, the Lion of St Mark (almost illegible), the Bull of St Luke, and the Angel of St Matthew. The recessed spaces of the cross were likely covered with paint or gold leaf (although no traces remain), and the borders of the cross were likely embellished with gilt copper strips held in place by the thirteen drilled pin-holes.

Reverse: The reverse of the plaque was probably covered with a gilt copper plate (held in place by the pins pierced from the front), and would have served to highlight the cross from a frontal view, as well as held in place a relic that was placed within the recessed space in the back. There is a fourteenth pin-hole at the apex of the cross, likely for a cord or chain, suggesting this ivory was worn about the neck.



Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt IV, 1926: cat. 54, pl. XIV; Longhurst, 1926: 7, 73, cat. VIII, pl. 16; *ibid*, 1927: 85-6, fig. 21, pl. LXV; London, 1930: cat. 89; Beckwith, 1972: 52, cat. 32, fig. 68; Williamson, 2010: 234-5, cat. 58.

Bibliography: Review, 1921: 8, fig. 7; Longhurst, 1925: 94, pls. A,C; Casson, 1932: 273-74, pl. II/c; Talbot Rice, 1952: 163, pl. 36a; Beckwith, 1961a, 437; Randall, 1962: 162; *Burl. Mag.*, 1967: 116; Redcalf, 1972: 124-5, cat. 32, fig. 68; Raw, 1990: 114, 224; Williamson & Webster, 1990: 179, 183, Appendix A4, pl. 10

37. The Crucifixion

Date: Late tenth or eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H7.9cm W5.9cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [A.80-1923]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased at Sotheby's (London) 11 July, 1923 (lot 88) along with an eighteenth-century silver-mounted horn cup (ca.1215); previous history unknown.

Condition: Good overall condition.

Front: The raised surfaces of the plaque are worn and the head of Stephaton is mostly missing while a section of the left side of Longinus's face has also been damaged. The eyes of all the figures were formerly inlaid with jet beads, and only one remains in the left eye of Longinus; thirteen drilled holes can be seen, likely to attach gilt-metal embellishments to the ivory, while a further four (one in each corner) likely were used to attach the ivory to a book cover or some other surface.

Reverse: Each small drilled hole from the front is seen on the reverse, highlighted by the staining caused by metal rivets coming in contact with the ivory; a larger area of staining is seen at the top of the ivory, near a cluster of three holes suggesting there might have been a larger metal clasp here.

Description:

Front: A bearded Christ, with a cruciform nimbus and elaborately tied loin cloth, is standing within the frame of the cross with arms rigidly outstretched and legs together resting on the *suppedaneum*, much like several other ivories within this study, namely cats. 21, 22, 35-41. Longinus and Stephaton (on the left and right respectively) have haloes and look up towards Christ with their spear and vinegar-laced sponge. Two angels holding wreaths flank the cross from above and the *Dextera Dei* (Hand of God) is seen over Christ's head. A triple-moulded border with stepped terminals frames the cross; the moulding is continued on the lower half of the outer rectangular frame. There are thirteen

(Illus. 5.73C, 6.12B, 6.15D)



pin-holes that pierce the recessed area of the cross, likely made for studs or pins to hold gilt-metal embellishments, a suggestion which is supported when considering how the outer figures (Christ, Longinus, Stephaton, and the angels) are a much lighter colour and the background is stained a darker shade, possibly due to any metal that came in contact with the ivory; while four smaller pin-holes are found in the corners, presumably to attach the plaque to a background, possibly a book cover. The cross was likely used as a pectoral piece, supported by the larger hole found pierced through the *Dextera Dei*, which was made for cord or chain and is extremely rubbed, suggesting prolonged use in this form. *Reverse*: The panel is unadorned and undamaged on the reverse other than the drilled pin holes.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt IV, 1926: cat. 55, pl. XIV; Longhurst, 1926: 6, 70-1, cat. VI, pl. 15; *ibid*, 1927: 84-5, pl. LXV; London, 1930: cat. 85; Beckwith, 1972: 52, cat. 33, fig. 69; London, 1984a: 125.

Bibliography: Review, 1923: 1, fig. 1; Baclagan, 1924: 210, note I); Longhurst, 1925: 93-4, pl. B; Casson, 1932: 274; Talbot Rice, 1952: 163-64, pl. 36b; Randall, 1962: 162, pl. 31a; Gaborit-Chopin, 1978: 90, 193-94, fig. 110; Raw, 1990: 150; Williamson & Webster, 1990: 179, 182, Appendix A3, pl. 13; Gameson, 1995: 21, 128, pl. 5b.

38. Crucifixion reliquary

(Illus. 5.73D, 6.11)

Date: Late tenth or eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H10.5cm W6cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [A.3-1961]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased from Mrs. CM Barber (Southwold, Suffolk) in 1961. According to Beckwith's report on the Museum Register, at the time of acquisition the cross was stated to have been "found at Tombland, outside Norwich Cathedral Close on the west side of the Cathedral, in 1878 by a workman while digging up some park land. The panel was sold shortly afterwards by an unknown person to Mr. E.J. Caley, J.P., of Norwich, the father of Mrs. C.M. Barber. The ivory carving has always been in the family's possession and, in fact, remained forgotten for many years in Mrs. Caley's workbox, out of which it tumbled when the daughters were going through their mother's property after her death." The ivory has been on long-term loan to the Castle Museum, Norwich, since 2004.

Condition: Good condition overall.

Front: Originally a pectoral cross, small holes around the edge of the cross indicate that it was previously framed with a strip of (likely) precious metal and the three larger holes around the body of Christ may have held nails which affixed to the back of the cross (also likely) made of precious metal to the front ivory piece. Overall, the cross is worn and the head of Longinus and the right foot of Stephanon are missing. The front of the plaque may have been embellished with gold leaf or foil glued to the roughened background which then would have concealed the three larger holes.



Reverse: There are two very small cavities in the back of the cross, a larger central rectangular space, and a smaller indentation only visible in photographs from the side; both could have been for relics, however it is likely that only the deeper, larger cavity held a relic, if either did at all.

Description:

Front: A bearded Christ is crucified between Longinus (left) and Stephaton (right). Christ has a cruciform nimbus and his feet are resting on a suppedaneum. Surrounding Christ's head are personifications of the Sun and Moon and the *Dextera Dei* at the centre; Christ is not nailed to the cross but rather is seen standing against it (which bears a plain border), in the typical Anglo-Saxon fashion seen in a number of other ivories in this corpus.

Reverse:

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Beckwith, 1972: 52, cat. 34, fig. 71; London, 1984: cat. 196; Norwich, 1994-95: 2, fig. I; Collins, 2013: 72-3.

Bibliography: Beckwith, 1961a; Randall, 1962: 161, note 9; Ayers, 1994: 31; *Ibid*, 1996: 71; Finch, 2006: 56-7, pl. 4.

39. The Crucifixion

(Illus. 5.71B, 6.11B)

Date: Late tenth or eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H6.1cm W3.9cm

Current Location: British Museum, London
[1887,1025.14]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Found near Lewes Priory, East Sussex in 1851. Formerly part of the Borlase Collection, purchased by Sir A.W. Franks for the Museum in 1887.



Condition: Overall good condition. Conservation treatments in 2012 found evidence of a range of pigments and possible decoration: on the front, pink/white layer, blue pigment, black pigment, brown resin/ layer, yellow resin; on the back, blue pigment, black pigment, orange/yellow resin.

Front: Plaque surface is highly polished. There are two attachment holes at the end of each arm of the cross, with traces of two others and a third uncompleted drilling present on the right arm of the cross. The upper right corner is lost, while the vertical frame edges on either right and left arms of the cross are lost as well. Significant overall rubbing to the face and body of Christ has lost much detail. Evidently not a pectoral cross, the ivory was attached to a larger metal covered object, such as a book cover, while the cavity at the back likely held a relic of the True Cross.

Reverse: The back of the plaque is undecorated with a rectangular cavity 1.3cm long cut down from the upper edge. A dark staining down the sides is seen, likely caused from contact with metal fixings.

Description: Christ is crucified on a cross with expanded terminals, while a plain frame runs around the edge intersecting a circular mandorla at its centre. Christ's body overlaps the mandorlas and his hands rest on it. Christ's head is highlighted by a cruciform halo while his feet rest on a trapezoidal incised suppedaneum with double arcs at its lower corners. The upper edge of the cross depicts the hand of God in a trapezoidal sleeve with three tiers of arches descending to touch Christ's head.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Dalton, 1909: 35-36, pl. XXIX; Longhurst, 1926: 8, 73-74, 133; Beckwith, 1972: no. 35, pl. 70; Webster & Backhouse, 1984: 128.

Bibliography: *PSAL*, 1859: 278, 281-82; Talbot Rice, 1952: 164, fig. 36c.

40. Crucifixion Reliquary

(Illus. 5.49C, 5.74A, 6.13A)

Date: late tenth or eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H6cm W4.1cm D0.8-0.9cm

Current Location: Hunt Museum, Limerick [BM005]⁶⁵

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Formerly the property of Mr. F.W.H. Roberts; sold at Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue*, 17 May 1963 (lot 10).

Condition: Good overall condition.

Front: Plaque surface highly polished but greatly rubbed, creating a loss of detail in the lower two Evangelist portraits and Christ's loincloth. Three (top two and lower left) of the four corners are chipped with nine small-drilled holes, eight of which extend through to the reverse of the panel.

Reverse: A small rectangular recessed area exists on the back within the frame with a deeper recession just behind Christ's head, which has damaged the area, creating a horizontal crack that allows light through. Beckwith has claimed that the number of holes drilled into the plaque was for the attachment of gold plating however unlike other panels in which such plating would have fit into recessed areas, it seems more likely that these holes were for another purpose. At most this piece was a small reliquary (with the holes being used for attachment to a rectangular plate, holding in a small relic) and at the very least, it was a decorative cover for a casket or book.

Description: Rectangular walrus ivory crucifixion scene carved in high relief.



⁶⁵ I must thank Dr. Naomi O’Nolan for her insightful comments and hospitality on my visit to the Hunt collection, and her patience in sending me more images when mine were lost due to technical failure.

Front: The crucified Christ rests on a *suppedaneum* beneath the *Dextera Dei*, which is visible despite the hole drilled there. The cross is carved with raised (but plain) borders, creating four corner spaces for the symbols of the four Evangelists in clockwise order from the top right: the ox of St Matthew, the lion of St Mark, the eagle of St John and the angel of St Luke. Christ's head leans forward out of the frame towards the viewer, giving a sense of depth and purpose of design as he looks down on the viewer from the cross; this purposeful carving detail is seen in cat. 42, and the placement of Christ on the cross, rather than being nailed to it, is similar to a number of other ivories within this corpus.

Reverse: The reverse of the ivory displays eight (of the nine) drilled holes seen from the front, with varying degrees of damage. There also a recessed area within the frame, shown in a darker grey colour, while a further recessed area behind Christ's head likely held a relic.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Sotheby's, 1963: lot 10; Beckwith, 1972: 126, cat. 37, fig. 74; Backhouse, Webster & Turner, 1984: cat. 127.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

41. The Crucifixion

(Illus. 5.60B, 5.74B, 6.13B)

Date: Late tenth or eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H6.7cm W5.5cm

Current Location: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge [M.24-1938]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Formerly in the Ransom Collection; given by the Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1938.

Condition: The panel is very worn and broken away on one side, leaving no frame, while the other sides have chips missing from those frames. There are small drilled holes in the two top corners and at top centre, and in the viewer's right corner.

Description: The Crucified Christ is seen with a halo and long hair; his feet rest on a *suppedaneum*, and the *Dextera Dei* appears above the head of Christ. The half-length figures of the Virgin and St John stand below the cross and express grief. The half-length angels, without wings, fly horizontally above the arms of the cross.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Longhurst, 1927: vol. II, 84, pl. LXV; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 38, illus. 72 (gives the museum number as M21-1938).

Bibliography: Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1931: 1, fig. 2.



42. The Crucifixion

(Illus. 5.71C, 6.14)

Date: late tenth or eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H8cm W5.50cm

Current Location: Louvre Museum, Paris
[OA11961]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon (or Norman)

Biography: Former Treasury of the abbey of Fécamp (reliquary of Saint Eligius), acquired by the Louvre in 2001.

Condition: Fair condition overall.

Front: the halo of Christ is chipped and the border in the upper right corner of the cross shaft has been broken away. Cracked corners have resulted in the loss of: the upper left corner of the cross shaft, neatly severing the wrist of the *Dextera Dei* above Christ's head; the upper corner of the left arm of the cross, which has caused damage to Christ's thumb and fingers of his right hand; and the right arm of the cross seems to have been dealt the most damage, nearly obliterating Christ's left hand. Some staining is seen around the drilled holes, likely due to any metals that came in contact with the ivory, as well as along the wrist, hand and outer edges of both cross arms, suggesting that these areas were somehow protected from the elements and leaving them lighter than the rest of the ivory. The remnants of 9 drilled holes (of which there were originally 12) suggests either attachment to a surface, or more likely, a metal plate that would have held the relic safely on the reverse.

Reverse: shows a slight recessed area following the outline of the cross where a metal plate was likely attached to protect the relic, the edges of which are stained a dark brown, while the remaining area, especially around the drilled holes, is also stained to varying degrees; the outer edges and lowest end of the cross shaft are free from staining.



Description: Walrus ivory crucifixion depicting the ‘Isolated Christ’ motif.

Front: Christ, bearded and having a cruciform halo, stands upright within a plain border in the shape of a cross (much in the same manner as cat. nos. 21, 22, 35-41), while the *Dextera Dei* blesses him from above. Standing on a thick *suppedaneum*, he is dressed in an elaborately carved loincloth, very reminiscent of to the stylistic renderings of the Benedictional of St Aethelwold, specifically that seen in the Baptism or Doubting Thomas illuminations (fols. 34v and 64v respectively). This image is an iconographic type, the ‘Isolated Christ’, seen very specifically in many of the late tenth or eleventh century ivories of Anglo-Saxon England, however this ivory is quite extraordinary considering the depth of the carving (see below);⁶⁶ the entire body of Christ is carved in such high relief that there is separation seen between his head and his halo. This ‘coming out’ of the frame is also typically Anglo-Saxon, as the other ivories attest; the predilection for not nailing Christ to the cross in *any* of the crucifixion ivories (therefore allowing Christ to ‘leave’ that death and be resurrected and provide salvation, i.e. ‘coming out’ of the cross, leaving the frame), as well as keeping the scenes very simple (not many figures) or completely ‘isolated’ is telling of a very Anglo-Saxon iconography. The overall ivory in this case is remarkably similar to that seen in the crucifixion illumination found in the *ca.* 1000 Ramsey Psalter (fol. 3v).

Reverse: The reverse was very clearly meant for a relic, and quite a large one at that considering how thick the ivory is as the high relief carving suggests in Figs. 94 and 95; the relic would have been held in this relatively large hollow found immediately behind Christ, forming the length of his body and ending in a shallow point. There is no evidence of what relic was held there, however it is not out of the way to assume it might have been related to the crucifixion (e.g. a splinter of the True Cross, a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, etc.).

Catalogues & Exhibitions: None.

Bibliography: Unpublished.



⁶⁶ These images were taken by myself through the glass case, hence their poor quality, however their usefulness in illustrating this point is not diminished.

43. The Crucifixion

(Illus. 5.60C, 5.74C)

Date: c.1000

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H7.7cm W5.5cm

Current Location: British Museum, London
[1980,1201.1]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased by Dr. Pierre Vilain in or near Amiens before 1939, purchased by the British Museum in 1980.

Condition:

Front: Heavily worn with damage at three of the four corners, the right side is broken away behind John the Evangelist, while cracks are visible vertically across Christ's arms and along his left side. The faces of each figure, including the sun and moon, are deeply rubbed, however due to the small drilled eyes it is likely that this panel is similar to that of cat. 44 below as well as a number of others (see cat. 34, 37 & 48) in the drilled eyes and figural carving technique. There are eight drilled holes along the edges that survive, with others only suggested due to the damage on the right side, likely these were for attaching the panel to a book cover or other surface.

Reverse: Unavailable at time of submission.

Description: Walrus ivory plaque showing a high relief carved Crucifixion group, nearly identical to that seen in cat. 44 below.

Front: Christ stands on a *suppedaneum*, dressed in a knee length loincloth with a plain halo but his head is broken off, there is evidence that he was long haired and bearded (as traces on the shoulders show). Standing on plinths below the arms of the cross are the Virgin and St John, gesturing towards Christ in grief; above the arms are the personifications of the sun and moon in medallions, nearly identical to those seen in cat. no. 44 below.

The carved style of the figures, with their bold gestures and wide hands has been suggested as being similar to other late tenth century ivories, namely cat. 34, 37, & 48 of this catalogue, as well as the illuminations seen in the Sherborne Pontifical (Paris, BnF: MS lat. 943, f.4v), dated to the last quarter of the tenth century.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the similarities between this and cat. 44 are remarkable, down to the serifs on the arms and upper end of the cross shaft. This flourish could suggest the place where the titulus was



⁶⁷ Webster, 1984: 126.

placed (here covered by the *Dextera Dei*), however it is more likely that both of these reliefs refer to the cross as a Living Cross, seen illustrated in cats. 34 and 35 (through their filigree decoration) as well as many other Anglo-Saxon works such as the late tenth century stone carving of the crucifixion at Romsey Abbey, the *ca.* 1050 Tiberius Psalter (fol. 13r) and the *ca.* 1060 Arundal Psalter (fol. 12v).

Reverse:

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Backhouse, Webster, & Turner, 1984: cat. 126.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

44. The Crucifixion

(Illus. 5.60D, 5.74D)

Date: late tenth or eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H6.3cm W3.6cm

Current Location: British Museum, London
[1986,0401.1]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased from Mr. Stephen Foster, 1986.

Condition: Fair condition bordering on poor due to heavy breakage and severe rubbing.

Front: Heavily worn with damage at each corner, the left side is broken away behind the Virgin, while cracks are visible vertically across the surface. The faces of each figure, including the sun and moon, are deeply rubbed, leaving little detail left. There are six definite holes with a suggested seventh lost due to the damage on the left side, likely these were for attaching the panel to a book cover or other surface.



Description: A rectangular walrus ivory carved in high relief depicting the Crucifixion, nearly identical to that seen in cat. 43 above.

Front: Christ stands on a *suppedaneum*, dressed in a knee length loincloth with a plain halo; the details of his face and hair are lost due to rubbing however he is carved so deeply that there is evidence of undercutting around his ankles and his head and lean forward out of the frame towards the viewer (seen in other ivories in this study). Standing on plinths below the arms of the cross are the Virgin (who is grieving) and St John, gesturing towards Christ on the cross; above are the personifications of the sun and moon in medallions flanking the *Dextera Dei*.

The similarities between this and cat. 43 above are remarkable, down to the serifs on the arms and upper end of the cross shaft. This flourish could suggest the place where the titulus was placed (here covered by the *Dextera Dei*), however it is more likely that both of these reliefs refer to the cross as a Living Cross, seen illustrated in cats. 34 and 35 (through their filigree decoration) as well as many other Anglo-Saxon works such as the late tenth century stone carving of the crucifixion at Romsey Abbey, the *ca.* 1050 Tiberius Psalter (fol. 13r) and the *ca.* 1060 Arundal Psalter (fol. 12v).

Reverse: Unavailable at time of submission.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: None.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

45. The Crucifixion

(Illus. 5.60E, 5.75A)

Date: Late tenth or early eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H8.8cm W5.5cm

Current Location: Brussels, *Private Collection*

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased in Liege

Condition: Fair condition (as of 1972 image from Beckwith).⁶⁸

There is a large, multi-veined crack above Christ's head that reaches outwards (below each angel) and upward (to the left of the *Dextera Dei*); five of the eight lobes are mostly or entirely broken away, and only three of the four drilled holes are seen, with the right side only half there and the bottom (suggested) hole lost due to breakage. Severe rubbing has lost many of the details on the Virgin's face, whereas most other details survive. The background is either carved too thin or has been cleaned at some point in the past as it is degrading to the point of the structure of the tusk is beginning to be seen (rather than a smooth, shiny surface). Beckwith describes a "sticky surface", which probably alludes to some of the staining seen in his photograph, and intimates that it is likely a varnish, which would support my statements about the degradation of the background and suggests possible attempts at cleaning or even 'adding' materials to the ivory.



Description: Carved in high relief, Christ is seen standing in a typical crucifixion pose, however there is no visible outline of a cross; wearing a loincloth and a cruciform halo, Christ appears young, with no beard and short hair. Above, two censing angels and the *Dextera Dei* drop in from the upper border, while below, the Virgin and St John flank the figure of Christ. This, and cat. 46 below, are unique in this corpus of Anglo-Saxon ivory crucifixions in their shape; while all the others take the form of a rectangle/square or the cross itself, these two have specifically eight lobed shapes, with this ivory being even more unique in that there is no physical (carved) cross present, rather Christ himself acts as the cross.

⁶⁸ It must be noted that the present whereabouts of this ivory is unknown, and considering Beckwith was in the habit of depicting ivories in his 1972 catalogue as completely undamaged (see cat. 47 below for more), it is uncertain as to what condition this ivory is in at this time. All comments are made on the image given by Beckwith, cat. 17, fig. 38.

Reverse: The reverse image of this ivory is unavailable and leaves much to the imagination as to whether it held nay relics or was merely a decorative panel added to a book cover or casket.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Beckwith, 1972: cat. 17, fig 38.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

46. The Crucifixion

(Illus. 5.60F, 5.75B)

Date: Late tenth or early eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H9.6cm W5.7cm

Current Location: Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen [D13324]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon or Danish

Biography: The museum notes suggest that it was found in archaeological contexts, but mentions that no other evidence backs this proposal.

Condition: Fair condition overall.

Front: The ivory is stained dark brown, much like that seen in cat. 25 and 38. Some traces of oxidation can be seen on the right side of the ivory surrounding St John and the right arm of the cross, likely due to contact with metal materials. Cats. 25 and 38 were also found through excavation, and combined with the overall staining of the ivories (rather than spotty or deliberate staining of certain areas over others), this supports the 'archaeological contexts' theory. The figures' pupils are drilled, but much of the facial detail of the Virgin, St John and Christ is rubbed away; there is a crack in Christ's left wrist.

Reverse: At the bottom chipping and a diagonal crack appears, however the crack seems more like a superficial scratch. Lighter areas on the right suggest that these were saved by another material from the complete staining seen on the rest of the ivory, and there is a small, misshapen cavity in the centre of the piece.

Description: Walrus ivory panel carved with eight lobes and a plain border that encompasses a crucifixion scene.

Front: Christ is seen standing upright on a



suppedaneum within a cross having a plain border; beardless with a plain halo, he nevertheless has a single plait running down his shoulder and left arm, and wears a knee length loincloth with a prominent knot. Above, two angels with cloths covering their hands and the *Dextera Dei* extend from the upper border; below the Virgin and St John flank either side of the cross, grieving and gesturing towards Christ.

This and cat. 45 are similar in many ways, specifically in their unique eight lobed shapes. While some carved details are different, each remains typically Anglo-Saxon in their iconographic and stylistic choices in keeping with other Anglo-Saxon ivory crucifixions of this study, namely cats. 21, 22, 35-41.

Reverse: Displaying the same breakages and drilled holes as the front of the ivory, the reverse nevertheless reveals a small, oddly shaped cavity which could suggest that this ivory acted as a reliquary, however it is the opinion of this study that it was not, as all other Anglo-Saxon ivory relic cavities are of purposeful shape and size, leaving this to be summed up as another instance of damage to the piece.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt, 1918: vol. II, cat. 70; Longhurst, 1927: 8; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 17a, illustrated on pg. 6 (before the title page) with no figure number.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

47. Four Symbols of the Evangelists

(Illus. 5.48A-D)

Date: Early eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size(s): *St Matthew* H4cm W3.8cm

St Luke H4.1cm W3.9cm

St Mark original: H4.2cm W4.2cm; present: H3.3cm W1cm

St John original: H4.2cm W4.2cm; present: larger fragment H1cm W1cm, smaller fragment H1cm W0.5cm



Current Location(s):

The Hermitage, St Petersburg [St Matthew: Ø2761]⁶⁹

Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich [St Luke: MA177]⁷⁰

Bode Museum, Berlin [St John: 2436; St Mark: 2437]⁷¹

A.

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography:

St Matthew: Plaque from a book cover. According to the museum notes, the ivory is suggested as being a production of twelfth century Flanders; the ivory was transferred from the Shuvalov collection in 1925.

St Luke: Purchased by the museum in 1876, and like the *St Matthew* ivory, is suggested as being a production of twelfth century Flanders.

St Mark & St John: Purchased in Munich in 1899, damaged by fire in 1945.

Condition: Varying conditions from very good to extremely poor.

St Matthew (A): No visible damage other than slight rubbing of the Angel's face.

St Luke (B, C): Some rubbing on the Bull's head, damage only to verso of ivory of unknown purpose or origin covered by a museum label.

St Mark (D, E): Only a portion survives due to fire damage in 1945, what remains shows fine detail and gives a sense of the high quality of the original piece.

St John (F, G): Only two small fragments survive due to fire damage in 1945, what remains shows fine detail and gives a sense of the high quality of the original piece.

⁶⁹ I must thank Dr. Marta Kryzhanovskaja and Dr. Katia Nekrasova for their kind hospitality, comments and assistance in my viewing this ivory in person in St Petersburg. The image is a photograph taken by myself, through its glass case. The piece was unavailable to be removed therefore there is no image of the reverse.

⁷⁰ I must thank Dr. Matthias Weniger for his generous hospitality, comments and extensive efforts in gathering the objects and files for my viewing while at the Bayerisches Museum in Munich. Both photos were taken by myself.

⁷¹ I must thank Dr. Julien Chapuis and Ms. Hiltrud Jehle for their generous hospitality, comments and willingness to let me handle such delicate pieces from their collections. Both photos were taken by myself.

Description: Four walrus ivory square panels, in varying conditions, which before 1945, depicted the Four Evangelists.

St Matthew (A): Walrus ivory square panel depicting the angel of St Matthew delicately carved in high relief. The Angel is seen in a central beaded medallion, one hand held up in blessing, the other holding a book. The Angel's wings, which are undercut and carved with great detail, venture out of the central space and onto the beaded medallion; this scheme is placed on top of a larger square base, which also shows a (simpler) beaded border and stylised acanthus leaves in each corner. The reverse of the ivory was unavailable for viewing.

St Luke (B, C): Walrus ivory square panel depicting the Bull of St Luke delicately carved with an identical medallion and square base seen in St Matthew above. The Bull is seen twisting its head in a rear facing position (likely towards a central image), and holding a book in its forelegs. The tips of its wings and hooves break the boundaries of the central space, and its wings are also under cut. The reverse retains a musum label, which covers a large area of damage; it is unclear whether this 'damage' was purposeful, as in attaching the ivory to a book cover, or accidental when it was removed from said cover.

St Mark (D, E): Small walrus ivory fragment from the upper right corner of what used to be a square panel depicting the Lion of St Mark. Showing an identical border patterning as described in the Matthew and Luke ivories above, the only remaining part of the Lion is the tip of one wing and its left foreleg wrapped around the edge of a book. For illustrative purposes, the fragment has been photographed on the museum's image of the original ivory. What is left of the fragment's reverse shows a plain surface.

St John (F, G): Two small walrus ivory fragments from the lowest curve of what used to be the central medallion of a square panel depicting the Eagle of St John. Showing only a small section of the medallion border, it is nevertheless identical to that seen in the ivories above; the only remaining parts of the Eagle are its talons and a portion of scroll carried within them. For illustrative purposes, the fragments have been photographed on the museum's image of the original ivory. There is not enough ivory left to display any part of the reverse, the fragments are too damaged.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt, 1923: III, cat. 19-22; Berliner, 1926: cat. 17; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 28, figs. 59-62.

Bibliography: Unpublished.



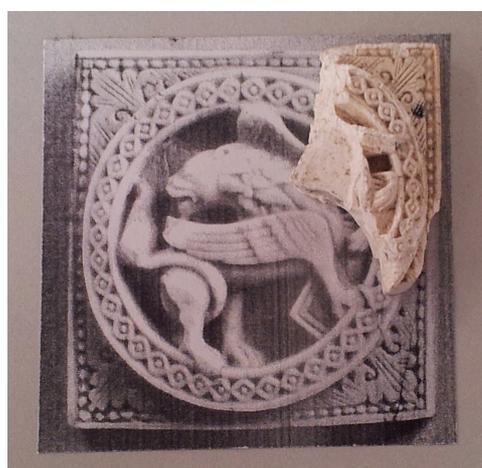
B.



C.



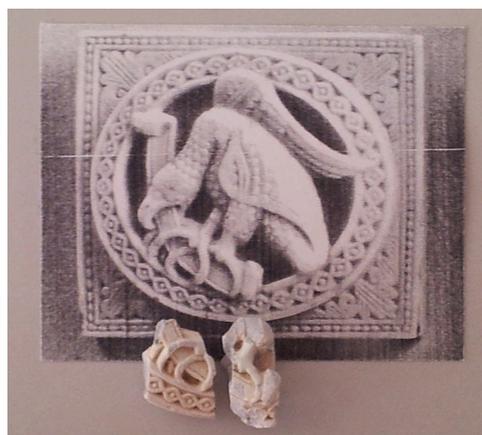
D.



E.



F.



G.

48. *Majestas Domini* and Four Evangelists

(Illus. 3.16A)

Date: early eleventh century

Material: Elephant ivory, glass inlays.

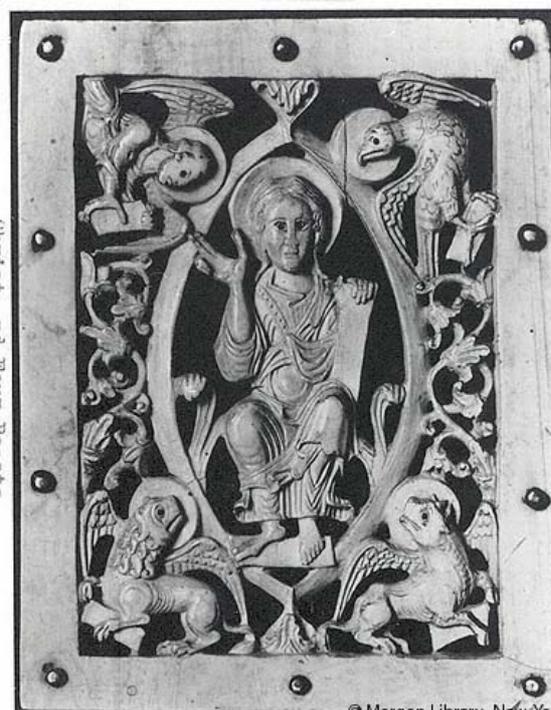
Size: H11.7cm W9.5cm

Current Location: The Morgan Library and Museum, NYC [M.319a]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Formerly in the collections of Prince Massimo, Rome and Prince Baucina Palermo; purchased in 1905 by J.P. Morgan from Godefroy Brauer, Paris. In 1973, the plaque was removed from the binding of manuscript M. 319 and mounted separately as M.319a.

Condition: The panel is in good condition; few minor cracks and some rubbing but no great loss of detail. The eyes of each figure are inlaid with glass.



© Morgan Library, New York

Description: Pierced ivory plaque carved with the image of the *Majestas Domini* and Four Evangelists. Christ, nimbed, beardless, scroll in left hand, right hand raised in blessing, feet on footstool, sits on arc decorated with foliate ornament, flanked by four beasts, nimbed (the angel represented as half figure), winged, holding books.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: New York Public Library, 1934: 5-6, cat. 10, pl. 9; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 49, fig. 93; London, 1974: 54, cat. 33; Backhouse, Turner & Webster, 1984: 39, cat. 21, fig. 21.

Bibliography: Swarzenski, 1954: 47, pl. 54, fig. 122; Needham, 1979: 54, no. 4, fig. 51; Verdier, 1981: p. 67; fig. 51; Gameson, 1995: 119, no. 6; Brown, 1996: 76.

49. Zoomorphic Disc

(Illus. 6.21)

Date: Early eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory, gold, copper-alloy

Size: Diameter 3.8cm

Current Location: British Museum, London
[1987,0305.1]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Purchased from P.W. Keeble
in 1987.

Condition: Disc attached by two rivets to a damaged sheet of copper alloy; the back plate is severely deteriorated and two dome-headed rivets remain from the attachment of this piece to a larger object (unknown size, shape, purpose). There are traces of heavy gilding, some staining of the ivory from the metal. Conservation treatment in 1993 found no pigment traces.



Description: Walrus ivory disc carved in high relief with a quadriform symmetrical design: four contiguous arcs with foliate flourishes are arranged within a plain border, at the point of contact between the arcs are finely carved zoomorphs with deeply drilled eyes; within the arcs the fields are filled with paired animals facing each other in the upper register, and in the lower, two addorsed beasts.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: None.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

50. The Lawrence Pyx

(Illus. 3.23)

Date: Early eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H6.6cm W5.9cm D3.7cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London [268-1867]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: In the possession of John Webb, London by 1862, purchased from Webb in 1867.



A.

Condition: Good overall condition, some staining and damage from metal fittings.

Front: A small pyx carved out of one tusk, without the need for a separate base plate, with a square hole in the base to possibly secure it to a later metal mount. As this was carved from one tusk, the general shape of the pyx follows that of the tusk, undulating in places which required the artist to adjust the simple roll-moulding at the top of the box to its counterpart at the bottom, which only extends across the back of the pyx, and not the entire way around.

Reverse: The lid is missing and there are remains of metal fixings and holes that demonstrate such a lid existed on both the front and back of the pyx.



B.

Description: Ivory pyx made of one piece of ivory tusk displaying a narrative scene, likely the Miracle of St Lawrence.

(A): The narrative, which begins at the front, where a monk is seen advancing towards a vested altar, set with a candlestick and candle from the right, carrying a chalice in his covered hands.

(B): Two tonsured figures are seen standing close together and gesture in animated discussion beneath a rounded arch.

(C): A prostrate, horizontal monk stretches out across the ground, with his legs still resting on the kneeler, is seen in front of another figure on the right.



C.

D.

(D); standing in front of a heavy curtain which is gathered up to reveal a large chalice placed on an arcaded dais, who is gesturing with his right hand to the monk at his feet. This reverse scene is placed before a small building with steps in front and a square tower between the figures.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: London, 1862: cat. 118; Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1867: 5; Maskell, 1872: 108-9; Westwood, 1876: 153-54, cat. 338; Longhurst, 1926: 31, 94, cat. XXXIV, pl. 34; Goldschmidt IV, 1926: cat. 73, pl. XVIII; Longhurst, 1927: part I, 90, pl. LXX; Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1930: cat. 40; London, 1966 (no catalogue); Beckwith, 1972: 41, cat. 19, figs. 25 (reversed), 42-45; London, 1974: cat. no. 15; Zarnecki et al, eds. Hayward Gallery, 1984: cat. 191; British Museum, London, 1984-85a: cat. 116; Victoria & Albert Museum, London: 1974; Williamson, 2010: 258-61, cat. 67.

Bibliography: Beckwith, 1966b: 25, fig. 32; Lasko, 1974: 429; Gaborit-Chopin, 1978: 90; Heslop, 1981a; Williamson, 1982: 32-33, pl. 16; Dodwell, 1982: 141, pl. 36; Lasko, 1984: 211, 221-22, figs. 57-59; Nilgen, 1984: 212; Lasko, 1994: 148-49; Williamson, 1994: 188, fig. 1; Gameson, 1995: 141; Webster, 2012a: 203, fig. 168.

51. Seal-die of Godwin & Godgytha

Date: c.1040-50 made; re-carved c.1060 or later.

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H8.5cm W4.4cm (diameter of disc)

Current Location: British Museum,
London [1881,0404.1]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Found with a whetstone and a small walrus ivory double-comb in a garden on the west side of the market place at Wallingford, Berkshire; given to the museum by Sir. A.W. Franks in 1881.

Condition: Walrus ivory in good condition. Some staining on lower edge of front; tip of handle is broken off along with part of the dove. Some general wear and tear.

Description: An ivory seal-die, used to make impressions into heated wax to seal or authenticate letters or other documents. A rare object for the Anglo-Saxon period, and while it does include Christian imagery, it shows that high quality carved ivories were not restricted to Church use alone. The identity of the figures is quite vague; the seal-die likely belonged to Godwin originally, but it is unlikely that it depicts Godwin the official of Cnut and Edward the Confessor, rather it might signify an earlier Godwin 'minister' who witnessed the charters of Eadgar in 967 and 972 (or a person of that name), or perhaps the same man as that who witnessed charters of Æthelred between 980 and 1016, which seems likely. The addition of Godgytha's inscription and image was added for her reuse, making it possible that Godwin may have been the founder or benefactor of a religious house, with Godgytha as his wife or daughter who used the seal, adding her own effigy and name. Linking the seal further historically, it is known that a Saxon monastery at Cholsey (near Wallingford) is said to have been founded by Æthelred, before being destroyed by the Danes in 1006. The B on the legend therefore may stand for BEATI, in reference to Godwin's good works.

(Illus. 2.7A-B, 6.3A-B, 6.4A-B, 6.5)



Front: Carved with a high relief image of God the Father and God the Son, their feet rest on a prostrate human figure. The tip of the handle is broken away but the remains of a damaged dove, symbolising the Holy Ghost, completes the Trinity image; the decoration on the handle likely represents the opening words of Psalm 109, “The Lord said unto my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.” Below the Trinity is the circular portion of the seal-die, carved to imitate a coin of King Hathacnut (Danish ruler of England 1039-42), showing a bearded man holding a sword, and therefore likely dates this carving of Godwin to *ca.* 1040. Reading both images together, the Trinity and Godwin’s portrait below, links closely with the second verse of Psalm 109, strengthening the perception of biblical authority behind the secular law and judgement of the land, “The Lord will send forth the sceptre of thy power out of Sion: rule thou in the midst of thy enemies.”⁷² Surrounding the image is the reversed inscription in Latin, translating to ‘The seal of Godwyn the minister’,

Reverse: The reverse of the handle of the seal-die is plain, and an inscription translating to ‘The seal of Godgytha, a nun given to God’ encircles a seated female figure in the central medallion of the seal-die. The re-carved verso likely dates to *ca.* 1060 or later due to the *ca.* 1040 dating of the front above.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Dalton, 1909: cat. 31; Goldschmidt, 1926: IV, cat. 59; Longhurst, 1927: cat. XI; Beckwith, 1972: cat. 41, figs. 78, 79; *ibid*, 1974: cat. 26; Zarnecki, Holt & Holland, 1984: cat. 368; Backhouse, Turner & Webster, 1984: 113, cat. 112, fig. 112a, 112b.

Bibliography: Ditchfield & Page, 1906: vol. I, 244; Kendrick, 1949: 45, pl. XXVIII, 2; Talbot Rice, 1952: pl. 36d; Tonnochy, 1952: cat. 2; Wilson, 1964: 195, figs. 267, 268, pls. 267-8; Okasha, 1971: 118-19, no. 117; Hinton, 1974: 50; *ibid*, 1977: 94, 100; Keynes, 1980: 138-40; Campbell, 1982: 197, pl. 5; Okasha, 1983: 118; Wilson, 1984: 195, pl. 267-68; Karkov, 2011: 130-31, fig. 38.

⁷² Karkov, 2011: 130-31.

52. Seal-die of Wulfric

(Illus. 6.3C, 6.6)

Date: mid-eleventh century, no later than c.1061

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H5.4cm W4cm, Diameter 4cm

Current Location: The Schøyen Collection
[MS 2223/14]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Belonged to a man named Wulfric, likely a thegn associated with the Kent area. Discovered in a box in a garden shed in Sittingbourne, Kent in 1976 before being sold by Christie's in 1977, lot no. 179. Displayed at the British Museum by the British Rail Pension Fund (1977-1996) before being sold by Sotheby's in 1996, lot no. 1 to the The Schøyen Collection.

Condition: Fair condition overall.

Front: A large chunk is missing from the left side, nearly obliterating the inscription. Some staining and a drilled hole is seen in the middle of the beasts that top the seal, giving rise to the suggestion that this was worn about the neck.

Reverse: There is considerable patination on this side of the seal, suggesting that it may have been carried as a talisman for a considerable time after the death of the original owner. The damage to the left side of the seal may give evidence to the deliberate removal of some of the ivory, which is in keeping with the medieval perception that ivory had medicinal properties. In the upper corner, "L44" is scratched into the surface.

Description: Walrus ivory seal-die.

Front: The small handle or flange above the circular face of the seal-die appears to depict either a pair of fighting beasts or an 'amphisabaena', a two-headed monster which consumes itself. Below, in the centre is an engraving of a bearded warrior brandishing a shield in his right hand. The inscription encircling the figure reads SIGILLVM WVLFRICI+ (translated to the seal of Wulfric) with the cross being above and to the left of the head. While there was an Abbot Wulfic II of St Augustine's in Canterbury at the



time of this seal-die, the aggressive warlike attitude of the figure suggests that the seal was not connected with a man of the Church. It could however belonged to a thegn associated with the abbot's family living in the Canterbury area, although Wulfric was a common name in that period.

Reverse: Completely unadorned other than the "L44" scratched into the surface in the upper right.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: British Museum, 1977-1996; London, Hayward Gallery, 1984: 317, cat. 369.

Bibliography: Tonnochy, 1952: no. 2; Wilson, 1964: no. 104; Hastings, 1977: 308-9; Heslop, 1980: 6-7; Okasha, 1983: fig. 176, pl. xb; Wilson, 1984: 195; Backhouse, Turner & Webster, 1984: 114, cat. no. 113, fig. 113; Cherry, 1997: 133, fig. 8.3; Braarvig, 2004: vol. IV

53. Pendant Reliquary Cross

(Illus. 5.50)

Date: c.1050

Material: Walrus ivory, with later metal fittings

Size: H11.9cm, W4.7cm, D2.5cm

Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London
[A.6-1966]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Displayed by Nathaniel Could, FSA, at a meeting of the British Archaeological Association, 24 May, 1854 ('having been found among a quantity of other things, without any particulars attached to them').⁷³ The item was lost until 1965 when it was put up for auction at Sotheby's (London, sale 22 March, 1966: lot 20, 'The Property of a Gentleman'). Reportedly belonging at one point to a Dr. Glaisher (whose collection of ceramics now belongs to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). A note in the acquisition file (December 1965) states that the cross was "sent in for sale at Sotheby's by a dealer at Bournemouth", and in a later letter that "the dealer had found the cross with a number of unrelated objects in a small shop selling antiques".⁷⁴ Purchased by the Museum from Sotheby's in 1966.



A.

Condition: In good condition other than the missing section on the side, the pierced ivory carving would have allowed the viewer to glimpse the inner contents.

(A): A thin flat lid covers the cross-shaped reliquary box, hinged at the top, and attached to the body of the cross by a brass hinge and small hook and projecting wire ring at the bottom, likely added in the nineteenth century. There is a clear difference in colouration between the centre, horizontal part of the cross and its arm shafts; Williamson has suggested that this is because it has been carved from the central secondary dentine of the walrus tusk, which produces a more patchy (and less sharp) carving. The remainder of the cross was not carved from this area, but rather the outer dentine with allows for better quality carving detail.

⁷³ *JBAA* X, 1855: 185; Williamson, 2010: 248

⁷⁴ Williamson, 2010: 248.

(B): The Agnus Dei image, as is much of the rest of this side, is rubbed losing much of its detail; this supports Beckwith's suggestion that the cross was used as a pectoral cross, with the faithful wearer rubbing the images in devotion.⁷⁵

(C, D): Decorated with openwork inhabited vine scroll, the left side was broken between 1855 and 1965 with the original shape still available through an illustration published in the *JBAA* in 1855.⁷⁶ The weakness from this break was 'corrected' by the insertion of a wooden cocktail stick, and the upper lateral arm reaching into the upper portion of the central shaft is also missing its upper border but no structural harm has come of this. The only damage to the other side is to the upper portion of the central shaft, where the lower border has been chipped.

Description: A cross-shaped reliquary box made of pierced walrus ivory, the four arms of the cross spread outward from a circular joint, which acts as a centre piece for either side's iconographic scheme. The cross reliquary originally acted as a case for a gold box which possibly contained relics of the True Cross.⁷⁷

(A): The lid of the box displays a carved archer crouching amongst foliage within the circular joint, aiming upwards at a bird biting a cherry, while below in the longest arm of the cross, an entangled quadruped bites at the foliage. The delicately carved archer has been suggested to represent a figure of Ishmael from the Old Testament (son of Abraham), but others have introduced other possibilities, including Raw saying that the arrows of the archer represented the Words of God and such an image should be related to the concept of preaching, an appropriate image for an Episcopal pectoral cross of such high-value material.

(B): The circular joint of the cross contains a central medallion containing an Agnus Dei image with a halo and cross staff sticking into the ground between the lamb's legs; the four winged and haloed evangelist symbols can be seen at the end of each of the cross arms within semicircular frames. This motif is very much in keeping with the themes presented on the rest of the ivory, and stylistically the carving can be seen as keeping with the illuminations found in the *ca.* 1020 Trinity Gospels.

(C, D): The two sides of the box are delicately carved with regular inhabited plant scrolls, with the right side showing biting quadrupeds and small flowers, while the left side displays a more vigorous scroll and a mixture of birds and quadrupeds. On the lateral arms, each end contains decoration: on the left, an eagle subdues a monster in its talons; on the right, a symmetrical acanthus scroll with lobed leaves can be seen. On the side with the broken area, three birds and a quadruped are seen within the vine scroll; on the other side, six quadrupeds are seen in the same manner in vine scroll medallions. Iconographically, such carvings are all representative of the Tree of Life, with the creatures and vines signifying two unions: one of God and his creation, being lord over all, and the second of Christ and the Church, being so unified as to encompass all living creatures on earth.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Longhurst, 1926: 8-9; Sotheby's 1966: lot 20, p. 11-12; Beckwith, 1972: 61, cat. 45, figs. 99-102; London, 1974: cat. 29; London, 1984a: cat. 125; Paris, 2008-9: cat. 34.

⁷⁵ Beckwith, 1966a: 118.

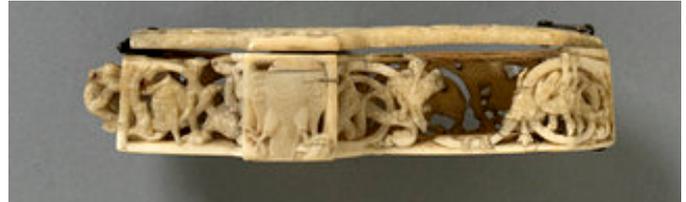
⁷⁶ See bibliography for full record.

⁷⁷ V&A website.

Bibliography: *JBAA* X, 1855: 185, pl. 22; Randall, 1962: 167, pl. 32d; Beckwith, 1966: 17; Taralon, 1966: 280; Beckwith, 1966a: 118; Raw, 1967; Coatsworth, 1978: 89; Gaborit-Chopin, 1978: 106; Williamson, 1982: 35, pl. 18; Raw, 1990: 61, 223-24; Williamson & Webster, 1990: 179, pl. 11; Kahn, 1991: 184 (note 20); Gameson, 1995: 119, 251 (note 103); Webster, 2008: 239, figs. 11-12.



B.



C.



D.

54. Beverley Crosier

(Illus. 4.27)

Date: Mid eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: H9.8cm W6.4cm D2.5cm (widest at top)
Circumference 8cm

Current Location: Hunt Museum, Dublin
[BM 002]⁷⁸

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: In connection with John of Beverley, who was the Archbishop of York 705-717, it is likely that the interest in creating such an ivory stemmed from his canonisation in 1037 when his relics were translated from York to Beverley.⁷⁹ It has been suggested that the crosier was likely a gift of Earldred, monk of Winchester and Archbishop of York 1060-69, to York or Beverley.⁸⁰ A note on an information card within the curatorial file notes that the crosier was purchased *ca.* 1945 at an auction in London.⁸¹ Formerly in the collection of Mr. John and Gertrude Hunt, whose collection founded the Hunt Museum in Limerick in 1974, and opened to the public in 1997.

Condition: A large walrus ivory crosier head with carved miracle scenes. The volute scenes, both involving high relief and undercutting techniques, are separate entities to the opposing side's figures. While there is severe rubbing damage to the heads of the figures, there is no loss of other carved details. The seated figure within the St John of Beverley composition is missing half of his face, right shoulder and right leg. On the outermost curve of the volute, there is a large section of un-carved space; it is unknown when this break happened, and when/what type of material it was replaced with. There is green staining at the base of the staff, most likely



⁷⁸ I must thank Dr. Naomi O’Nolan for her insightful comments and hospitality on my visit to the Hunt collection, and her patience in sending me more images when mine were lost due to technical failure.

⁷⁹ There was a second translation in 1197 due to a fire, his remains were discovered in 1664 and reburied in the nave of the Minster, again brought to life in 1736.

⁸⁰ From a reference card within BM 002 curatorial file, no author.

⁸¹ From a reference card within BM 002 curatorial file, no author.

from a metal attachment to the longer staff the crosier head would have been placed on top of; there is a hole to allow for attachment to a longer staff that reaches a depth up to St Peter's foot.

Description: Walrus ivory crosier with detailed and undercut scenes on either side; the images on the volute head have been much debated, as their content is vague. The details of the staff show a highly decorative zoomorphic interlace, the carving of which is very sophisticated in which the features of the vines and beasts look as if they were placed on the ground rather than being carved into it. The staff base is carved in relief with inhabited foliated scrolls, continuing to a lesser degree onto the volute, encircling the two main carved scenes.

Front: Two standing figures, one holding a cross staff, and one seated figure are carved to great depth, with the central individual touching the mouth of the seated, naked character. This scene could present two possible compositions: one, which could represent the miracle of St John of Beverley (d. 721), healing a dumb youth with the deacon Berethun as a witness; or second, as an image of St John the Baptist healing a cripple in the Temple (Acts 3:5) while St Peter looks on behind him.

Reverse: A standing figure holding a cross staff, bending over two seated figures, is also a composition with multiple possible interpretations: first, it could be the depiction of St John of Beverley's miracle described above (or just his general piety); or secondly, a scene that could represent the Harrowing of Hell. The problem of identification lies much in the fact that there are no halos that usually give distinction between the blessed and the mere mortals that accompany them. That being said, there is relevance between the possible choice of images as Bede recounts the miracle of John of Beverley which occurred in 685 and relates it to a miracle of St Peter and St John the Baptist who curing the cripple in the Temple mentioned above, arguably closing any case for the Harrowing of Hell image, and suggests that one side is definitely John of Beverley's Miracle and the other is the Healing of a Cripple by John the Baptist and St Peter.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Beckwith, 1972: cat. 44, ill. 88, 89; Backhouse, Turner & Webster, 1984: cat. 272.

Bibliography: Okasha, 1983: 165, pl. 5.

55. Virgin & Child Crosier Fragment

(Illus. 2.10)

Date: Mid eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: L7.8cm

Current Location: British Museum,
London
[1868, 0805.27]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Found/Acquired in Kensington or Chelsea, gifted to the museum by Sir. Augustus Franks in 1868.

Condition: The fragment, while obviously missing the remainder of the crosier, is in relatively good condition.

Front: High relief carving of the Virgin and Child Enthroned that displays little rubbing or staining; the Christ Child's eyes are drilled but no extra materials survive.

Reverse: Rather than showing a rough breakage, a flat surface is seen, suggesting the ivory was purposefully cut from its original shape. Above and below show rough edges, namely where the Virgin's head used to be and the lower part of what would have been the upright of the crosier, suggesting actual breakage there; in the centre is a round cavity, possibly for a relic but it unclear how it would have been inserted or held within the ivory, and two drill holes can be seen on the right. Museum numbers are seen carved in the top left ('34' likely from Dalton's catalogue) and bottom left ('68 8-5 27', its current identification number).

Description: Walrus ivory crosier fragment depicting the Virgin and Child Enthroned within an acanthus scroll.

Front: the front of the fragment shows the Virgin and Child within an elaborate acanthus scroll; the Virgin, who if her head and lower body were till



present would appear vast compared to the small child, holds him in one hand and a book in the other, while the Child holds a beaded cross staff in one hand and gestures in blessing with the other. The Child is seated in such a way that his legs are shown facing to the right, while his body twists, leans back and his face is directed out of the ivory to the left; this skilful representation takes into account the curvature of the crosier shape but also the shape of the tusk. The acanthus scroll is very similar to that found in the Beverley Crosier (cat. 53) and Pierced Zoomorphic panel below (cat. 56).

Reverse: There is the possibility that the ivory crosier was attached to metal plating, designed as such to follow the curve of the carved ivory and hold in the relic (or relics) as well as acting as further embellishment to an already costly material. The two drill holes seen on the right side might support this as possible attachment points for such an adorning feature.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. 7; Dalton, 1909: cat. 34; Longhurst, 1926: cat. XX; Beckwith, 1972: ca. 50, ill. 90.

Bibliography: Unpublished.

56. Pierced Zoomorphic Panel

(Illus. 3.16B)

Date: Mid eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory, glass beads

Size: H6.6cm L18.4cm

Current Location: Musée de Cluny, Paris [17049]

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Unknown

Condition: Overall good condition. The corners and borders are chipped in places. Drilled holes along the borders suggests that the panel was originally plated in gold; tool marks supports this and the hypothesis that a material was adhered to the surface before (or after) being attached with rivets. The eyes of the animals and the round berries of the vines are inlaid with tiny glass beads. The reverse of this panel was unavailable to view.

Description: A rectangular ivory panel with a plain border, in which a recess shows a number of drilled attachment holes; the border surrounds the central openwork carved area which consists of an asymmetrical composition of entangled acanthus plant scrolls, from which emerges two birds, two lions and five dragons whose eyes are inlaid with dark glass, as are the berry plant clusters.

Catalogues and Exhibitions: Goldschmidt, 1926: vol. IV, cat. 34; Beckwith, 1972: ca. 48, ill. 94; Backhouse, Turner & Webster, 1984: ca. 131; Anderson, Gundar & Posselle, 2009: cat. 36.

Bibliography: Westwood, 1876: fig. 397; Beckwith, 1966a: 121, fig. 10; Bayle, 1982: 94-5, 97, fig. 23.



57. Zoomorphic Pen Case

(Illus. 2.6A)

Date: Mid eleventh century

Material: Walrus ivory

Size: L23.5cm

Current Location: British Museum, London [1870,0811.1]



A.

Provenance: Anglo-Saxon

Biography: Found in the City of London and acquired in 1870

Condition: A highly polished sub-rectangular walrus ivory box with sliding lid displaying high relief carving on each side in which all the creature's eyes are inlaid with glass. The base of the box is made of two pieces connected in the middle by a dovetail joint secured by iron rivets that originally secured a metal band (now lost) around the external surface of the joint. The wider end, which has been cut away to make room for a closing device, has four rivets set in the corners for the attachment of a plate and there are traces of lost metal fittings. At the narrow end, and at the deep slots on either side, there are traces of riveting, as well as on the top surface that includes two drilled holes on either side likely to hold a plate or strip. The interior surfaces are scored with tool-marks while the lid is moderately hollow at the back and attached to the wider end is a three-pronged, trapezoidal copper alloy plate which acts as part of the box's closing mechanism. The decorative side (d) has damage to the centre of the carved composition.

Description: The decoration of this case covers the entire external surface, ornamented with plant and animal themes contained within plain borders. The overall scheme of the pen-box can be seen as a large metaphor or riddle,⁸² as all the creatures are hunting, the number of birds might suggest the contents of the box would be quills, the imagery of which can be compared with Riddle 51 from the Exeter Book, the solution believed to be a quill pen and the three fingers that hold it as it is dipped in ink or moved across the page. In a more general sense, the hunting and consuming could also be linked to the pursuit of wisdom or meaning in a text through the process of *ruminatio*, the consumption of words to gain nourishment from their deeper meaning; the scribe was therefore tasked with presenting spiritual truths that were both concealed and attainable, like the contents of the ivory box.

(A, B): The lid presents a symmetrical inhabited tree motif, with a slender central stem off which springs lateral acanthus fronds with paired birds, lions and dragons struggling and biting.

(C, D): The two long sides have four rectangular decorative panels, beginning at the wider end, these are: (a) A mounted warrior brandishing a spear (the heads of the warrior and his ride are now lost) defending himself against dragons, whose bodies are decorated with ribbing or beading and have long sinuous tails; (b) A man in a semi-crouch with his hand

⁸² Karkov, 2011: 218-20.

raised in defence is attacked by two lions while at the right-hand end a bird bites down at its own extended claw; (c) Two archers dressed in short tunics aim their arrows at two birds perched in the acanthus-like foliage of a slender tree with symmetrical branches; (d) Two men dressed in short tunics are digging at the roots of another slender tree with symmetrical branches and acanthus-like foliage, while the far right displays a bird pecking at an elaborate acanthus sprig.

(E, F): Both ends of the case are also carved, with the wider end displaying an open-jawed beast with a short mane and staring eyes, while two dragons protrude from its toothless mouth, their bodies ribbed and twisted backwards to that their heads confront the larger monster's, while with a hind-leg each they clasp their own necks. The narrow end includes a finger-hold for sliding the lid in and out of place, consisting of a semicircular moulding separated from the main panel by a plain border and carved at a declining angle. In the remaining space on the narrow end, another opened-jawed beast (likely a lion) this time with a curling stylised mane is carved, and head to head in his gaping mouth are two crouched downward-biting quadrupeds, with their forelegs clasped again across their own necks.

Catalogues & Exhibitions: Dalton, 1909: cat. 38; Longhurst, 1926: cat. XXXVI; Goldschmidt IV, 1926: cat. 28; Beckwith, 1974; Council of Europe Exhibition *Vikings and Christians: The Scandinavians and Europe 800 – 1200* (1992 – 1993)

Bibliography: Kendrick , 1942: pl. XXXVI, I; Beckwith, 1966: 120, fig. 8; Massarello, R. (MA paper); Wilson, 1984: 160, 195, 196, fig. 198; Karkov, 2011: 218-20, fig. 63.



B.



E.



C.



F.



D.

List of Abbreviations

ACMRS	Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
<i>Am. J. Arch.</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>Antiq. J.</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>Arch. J.</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
ASPR	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records
ASSAH	<i>Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
<i>Burl. Mag.</i>	<i>Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs</i>
CASSS	Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CCTC	Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries
EAA	East Anglian Archaeology
EETS	Early English Text Society
<i>JRSAI</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>Med. Arch.</i>	<i>Medieval Archaeology</i>
MMAB	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
MoLAS	Museum of London Archaeological Service
<i>PRIA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>

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