VISUALISING THE OLD TESTAMENT IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND: FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE MID-ELEVENTH CENTURY

VOLUME 1 OF 2

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ABSTRACT

This study will provide a complete account of the ways in which the Old Testament was visually articulated in Anglo-Saxon England between the seventh and mid-eleventh centuries, in order to establish the extent of the surviving Old Testament imagery in early medieval England. This is vital as, to date, no attempt has been made to establish what survives of such scenes across all media and "time periods" (pre-Viking, Viking and Reformation).

The lack of scholarly interest is explained, in part, by the understanding that the Old Testament was not a popular subject to depict in Anglo-Saxon England, especially when compared to the survival of New Testament subjects and the seeming abundance of Old Testament imagery found elsewhere in the Insular world. This perception is further supported by the frequent invocation of the Old Testament in the surviving poetry, exegesis and texts of Anglo-Saxon England; the popularity of the Old Testament in the textual culture seems to emphasise its absence in the visual. With the resulting scholarly focus on a particular "time period" or medium, engagement with how the Old Testament was visualised in Anglo-Saxon England as a whole remains unchartered.

By providing an overview of the extant material, this study will establish the accuracy of these perceptions. It will also examine the motives informing the selection of certain Old Testament scenes by considering their iconographic significance/s. This will provide insight into issues of continuity and change in the way the Old Testament was visually articulated from the pre-Viking Period into the Viking and Reformation Period and set these findings within the context of its portrayal elsewhere in the Insular world. By examining the visualisation of the Old Testament in this way this study will reappraise and resituate this largely ignored aspect of Anglo-Saxon art.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Why Study the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon Art

1.1 General Overview

The origin of this study begins with Hawkes and her 1997 article on 'Old Testament Heroes: Iconographies of Insular Sculpture.' Here, Hawkes states that:

> [The] apparent paucity of Old Testament iconography [in Anglo-Saxon England], is of course, very different from the situation elsewhere in the insular world […] even if accidental survival is taken into account, Old Testament imagery was probably always a rare phenomenon on Anglo-Saxon sculpture.[1]

To date, this article is the only scholarly attempt to examine the survival of Old Testament imagery on Anglo-Saxon sculpture, asserting what, up to that point, had been implicitly regarded by scholars examining the depiction of the Old Testament across the various regions of the Insular World: that Anglo-Saxon England was unusual in the way it visually engaged with the Old Testament. This paucity of Old Testament imagery is further explicated as being unusual when compared to the abundant survival of texts recording, expounding or invoking Old Testament subject matter in Anglo-Saxon England.[2] On the surface, it appears that the Anglo-Saxons deliberately did not engage with the Old Testament visually, which is at odds with both the literary tradition of the region and the visual tradition of the rest of the Insular World.

This study sets out to examine if there is in fact a dearth of Old Testament imagery in Anglo-Saxon England, and establish why this might be the case. It will, for the first time, bring together all known Old Testament scenes, across all media, surviving from the region from the beginning of the seventh century to the mid-eleventh century, surveying not only what survives, but providing iconographic readings of the scenes in order to more fully

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[1] Hawkes, 1997b: 149-51; Bailey makes a similar assertion in his article on the Dacre cross-shaft, as does Cramp in her 1965 Jarrow lecture. See, Bailey, 1977: 64; Cramp, 1965a: 9

[2] For example, it provides the basis for over one third of all surviving Old English poetry. See, Godden, 1991: 206

understand how the Anglo-Saxons used and understood the Old Testament in their art. It aims to provided possible reasons for the inclusion of certain Old Testament scenes on certain pieces of art; if there are any clear preferences for specific episodes and whether these preferences are confined to a specific medium or are present across all media; how the visualisation of the Old Testament continued and changed from the pre-Viking into the Viking and Reformation Periods; and how, when considered as a whole, the visualisation of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon art compares to the rest of the Insular World and to early Christian and continental depictions.

1.2 Literature Review

Before reviewing the relative paucity of scholarship surrounding the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon art, it is perhaps worthwhile considering the origins of the scholarship in general. The earliest records of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, for example, were included in county histories. This unconsciously divided sculpture from the rest of the art of Anglo-Saxon England, as it was presented isolated, belonging to a specific place or region, often included as a curiosity or as confirmation of the "ancient history" of a location, rather than being regarded as art. This in part explains the fragmented and indifferent interest in the Old Testament in this aspect of the study of Anglo-Saxon art.

The origins of the study of Anglo-Saxon art (which impact that of the Old Testament) are generally accepted as lying in the sixteenth century with the publication of William Camden's *Britannia*.[3] Originally written in Latin and first published in 1586, it presented a topographical and historical survey of Britain and Ireland and proved so popular that it ran for multiple editions,[4] expanding with each one. In its first (expanded) English translation by Philemon Holland in 1610,[5] *Britannia* set out to "search out the most ancient British

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[3] Camden, 1586; Hawkes, 2013b: 372-84
[4] Editions include those in 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607; Holland, 1610; Gibson, 1695; Gibson, 1722; Gough, 1789
[5] Holland, 1610

people and the origins of the English and to bring forth from the shadows the old British cities mentioned in Ptolemy, the Antonine Itinerary, and other sources."[6]

In this context the Anglo-Saxons are given a brief history divided into sections covering the Anglo-Saxons (*Anglo-Saxones*) and Scandinavians (*Dani*) whose arrival and settlement in Britain and Ireland are presented as general surveys, rather than providing insight to their visual culture.[7] In fact, the only time Camden seems to really engage with the visual – or rather material – culture is when inscriptions are recorded (fig1.1). Here, however, the focus is clearly on the contents of the inscription, not the object on which it is preserved.[8]

In later expansions of the book, alongside the additions to the text, is also an increase in the number of images, with Gibson (in 1722) going so far as to improve the illustrations.[9] For example, Camden had provided an illustration of an inscription at Crawdundale Waith, Cumbria, historically Westmorland (fig. 1.2a),[10] with the damage to the stone presented epigraphically, as a series of dashes, with the letters being uniform in size and design; Gibson, however, perhaps unsatisfied with these inaccuracies, altered the representation to illustrate the stone itself, so that the break is depicted as such, while the position of the letters is rendered accurately, as is the depth of the carving, with the more deeply carved letters highlighted in bold (fig. 1.2b).[11] But it was not until Gough's edition of 1789 that a marked shift in the representation of and interaction with the visual culture of the "ancient British people" began to emerge. For Gough not only included illustrations of the inscriptions, but also depicted many sculptural pieces that contain no text, using them to bolster historical

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[6] "*Ad hoc opus elimandum, id est, ad antiquissimam Britannorum, and Anglorum originem indagandam, and vestustas Britanniae urbes, quarum meminerunt Ptolemaeus, Antoninus, and alii, e tenebris eruendas, omne industriae meae curriculum, hos aliquot annos subcisivis horis, elaboratum est.*" Camden, 1586: Sig. A 2r; Trans, Rockett, 1995: 831

[7] Camden, 1594: 72-81; 82-84

[8] For example, the archway depicted on p. 230 is reduced to single lines, whereas the inscription is filled out, emphasising the importance of the inscription over the object. On reading the accompanying text, the archway is from the doorway of a church and Camden uses the inscription in his discussion of the Danes in Sussex. Camden, 1594: 230

[9] The full title of Gibson's volume is: *Britannia: or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain & Ireland, together with the Adjacent Islands. Written in Latin by William Camden, Clarenceux, King at Arms: & Translated into English, with additions & improvements.* Gibson, 1722

[10] Camden, 1594: 688

[11] Gibson, 1722: 995

locations by providing visual examples of the "ancient" heritage of a location in lieu of any textual evidence. It is here that the Old Testament is first "visualised" in the scholarship. At Masham, for instance, Gough significantly expanded the entry on the site (which had previously only mentioned the existence of the Scropes),[12] to include information such as the presence of a monument in the church for Sir Marmaduke Wyvill and, more importantly for this discussion, the fact that "in the yard [is] the lower half of a cross adorned with compartments of reliefs of men and animals,"[13] which he depicts alongside a mixture of other "ancient" sculpture (fig. 1.3), including four other "crosses" all of which are fragmentary and betray no sign that they may indeed have once been crosses.[14] This further implies knowledge of the form of the monuments beyond what is written in the text. This is the first known depiction of the ninth-century Masham column which includes Old Testament subject-matter among its "reliefs of men and animals", although these are not depicted accurately, the emphasis being on the "ancient" nature of the column rather than any precision in the depiction of it.

Gough's interest in the visual culture of the Anglo-Saxon period is complemented by the work of another eighteenth-century antiquarian, Joseph Strutt.[15] He, however, did not depict stone sculpture, choosing instead to illustrate the antiquities of England by "replicating" the illuminations of manuscripts – held largely at the British Museum.[16] These were very loose copies of Anglo-Saxon images, often bearing little resemblance to the original. For example, in his work regarding the dress and habits of the Anglo-Saxons he produced a series of engravings to demonstrate the clothes they wore, with one of these images, "The Anglo-Saxon Monarch of the Ninth Century in His State Habit" (fig. 1.4) clearly presenting an amalgamation of two portraits of the Old Testament Psalmist, David, preserved in the Tiberius Psalter: the throne, sceptre and seated position of David are taken

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[12] Ibid.: 920; Camden, 1594: 655
[13] Gough, 1789: 90
[14] Ibid: pl. II
[15] Sweet, 2004: 214-15
[16] Ibid.: 214

from folio 10r (fig. 4.62) while David's head and crown are taken from folio 17v (fig. 4.65).[17] Like Gough, Strutt's interest seems to not be in the art itself, but rather in how these manuscripts could be used to aid the construction of a history of the Anglo-Saxons beyond the use of text.

This method of integrating visual culture into histories continued into the nineteenth century, with county histories, such as those by Whitaker and Longstaffe on Richmondshire,[18] demonstrating the ancient history of Masham through the presence of a "cross" in the churchyard – which Whitaker, like Gough, also chose to illustrate (fig. 1.5).[19] Expanding on Gough, both men provided a rough date for the column, with Whitaker identifying it as Saxon,[20] while Longstaffe identified it as Norman.[21] The engraving of the column in Whitaker's book is (like Gough's) inaccurate and whimsical in its approach, again in an attempt to represent the "ancient" nature of the column, rather than present an accurate depiction of it. It seems that during this period the manuscript images and sculptural carvings of Anglo-Saxon England functioned as curiosities or tools to strengthen the evidence for the early history of a place, such as Cundall (which preserves one Old Testament scene on its cross-shaft), where Whitaker points out that:

> The choir has a narrow single light window, contemporary, as appears, with the foundation of the church; and over the choir door has been laid, as an impost in later times, a cross, once, no doubt, erected in the churchyard, and adorned with scrolls and other ornaments generally considered as exclusively Saxon. But this is the second instance in which I have met with a cross of this pattern, where it is known that there was no church there before the Conquest, it follows, therefore, that the practice of thus adorning crosses had not wholly ceased even in the reign of Henry I., and that even in the silence of written records, no positive conclusions can be drawn as to the existence of a church at an earlier period where such are found.[22]

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[17] Strutt, 1776: pl. XVII
[18] Whitaker, 1823; Longstaffe, 1852; Longstaffe's volume was intended to be an update of Whitakers work, which he thought to be inaccurate and "unnecessary [in its] bulk". Longstaffe, 18 April 1871. See also, Whitaker, 1818; Whitaker, 1878; Whellan, 1859; Bulmer, 1890
[19] Whitaker, 1823: 103
[20] Ibid.: 102
[21] Longstaffe, 1852: 67
[22] Whitaker, 1823: 195

As the nineteenth century progressed, these local histories evolve into more specific histories including studies on individual churches or the churches of a region.[23] It was also during this period that the scholarship surrounding Anglo-Saxon art began to change. Led by John Romilly Allen, George Forrest Browne and Joseph Anderson, the art itself began to be collated and studied.

As early as 1885 Romilly Allen and Forrest Browne had begun to group Anglo-Saxon sculpture, providing a "List of stones with interlaced ornament in England" appended to Romilly Allen's article on the crosses at Ilkley, West Yorkshire.[24] The succeeding generation of scholars continued to catalogue Anglo-Saxon sculpture, with an increased focus on the style of the ornament.[25] This helped to establish sculptural schools, cultural trends and provided the framework within which dates for individual pieces could be proposed.[26] This was frequently accompanied by discussions on metalwork and manuscript art.[27] With the focus being on the style of the ornamentation, the figural scenes tended not to be explored in any great detail, but others, such as William Gershom Collingwood did propose identifications for the various figural scenes. These, however, were not part of in-depth iconographic studies; rather they were passing comments, in the tradition of the nineteenth-century antiquarians who suggested identifications but provided little to support their insights.[28]

Cataloguing the various media of Anglo-Saxon art continued in the latter half of the twentieth century, with the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture being the most thorough and detailed of these. Begun in 1977 with the first volume on County Durham and

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[23] For examples of studies on individual churches, see Lukis, 1875; Pritchett, 1888; Rowe, 1870; for regional studies, see: Hodges, 1894; Cranage, 1894-1912; Crowther, 1888

[24] Allen, 1885; Allen and Browne, 1885: 351-58

[25] Brönsted, 1924; Clapham, 1930; Collingwood, 1927; Brown, 1937; Kendrick, 1938; Kendrick, 1949

[26] For an example of this see Kendrick's discussion on Bewcastle. Kendrick, 1938: 133-34 and Baldwin Brown's chapter on chronology. Brown, 1903: 272-308

[27] Kendrick, 1934; Kendrick, 1938; Brönsted, 1924; Clapham, 1934; Leeds, 1949

[28] For example, Collingwood identifies the scenes on the Masham column as potentially relating to the life of a saint, possibly Cuthbert. Collingwood, 1927: 6-7. For an example of a nineteenth-century antiquarian identifying a scene off their opinion rather than a detailed iconographic study see Longstaffe and his identification of the David Accompanied by Musicians as the Virgin Mary on the Masham Column. Longstaffe, 1852: 67

Northumberland appearing in 1984, and due to be completed in 2020,[29] the project presents a full account of all surviving Anglo-Saxon sculpture (as far as is possible), and provides geological, historical, archaeological, art historical and bibliographic information for each entry according to an established set of conventions, classifying the form and typology of the monuments and the style of their ornament,[30] and providing summaries of their iconographic significances where relevant or possible. Similar surveys, albeit not in such depth, have been carried out on manuscripts by Alexander and Temple, and ivories by Beckwith.[31] These also present iconographic studies of the figural scenes, to various degrees, citing works by others who have discussed the scenes.[32] As with the Corpus project, where there is either an absence of scholarly analysis or it is problematic, the authors of these surveys offer their own interpretations, often serving as the only source of iconographic analysis for certain art pieces – many of which include mention of the Old Testament images.[33]

Complementing this phenomenon of cataloguing, the twentieth century also saw the emergence of large surveys of Anglo-Saxon art.[34] Due to their nature these only provide an overview of the material culture of Anglo-Saxon England, and so tend to reference only "significant" pieces. For monumental sculpture this almost always means invoking the monuments at Bewcastle, Cumbria, Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, and the Lichfield Angel, Staffordshire, following its discovery in 2003.[35] Metalwork is also "reduced" to the finds

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[29] http://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/publications.php. I am grateful to Jane Hawkes for information about the anticipated completion of the project (Jane Hawkes, pers. comm., 14 July 2017).

[30] Cramp, 1984a: 13, 14-21, 24-46

[31] For manuscripts, see Alexander, 1978a; Temple, 1976; for ivories, see Beckwith, 1972. To date no detailed survey exists for Anglo-Saxon metalwork, likely due to the sheer volume of surviving pieces, however, the British Museum and Ashmolean Museum do have catalogues of the metalwork in their collection. See, Wilson and Bruce-Mitford, 1964; Hinton, 1974

[32] Alexander, for example, when discussing the decoration of a fragmentary Gospel Book (Durham, Cathedral Library MSS A. II. 10, fols 2-5, C. III. 13, fols 192-95, and C. III. 20, fols 1-2) cites Nordenfalk when discussion its decoration. Alexander, 1978: 29-30 no. 5

[33] For example, prior to the publication of CASSS 10 there had been no in-depth study of the iconography of the cross as Newent. See Bryant, 2012: 232-36

[34] Brown, 1903; Kendrick, 1938; Kendrick, 1949; Dodwell, 1982; Backhouse, et al., 1984; Wilson, 1984; Ayres and Bindman, 2008; Karkov, 2011; Webster, 2012

[35] For Bewcastle, see: Dodwell, 1982: 41, 115; Wilson, 1984: 70-84; Karkov, 2011: 69-79; for Ruthwell: Dodwell, 1982: 11, 41, 109, 115; Wilson, 1984: 70-86; Karkov, 2011: 80-95, 136-67; Webster, 2012: 87-88; for Lichfield: Karkov, 2011: 79-81; Webster, 2012: 26-28

from Sutton Hoo, and the Staffordshire Hoard after its discovery in 2009,[36] while the Franks Casket "stands in" for bone and ivory carvings.[37] Manuscript art, in contrast, tends to be more represented, with the pre-Viking manuscripts of the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatino 1), Vespasian Psalter (London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A 1) and Lindisfarne Gospels (London, BL, Cotton MS Nero D IV), receiving considerable attention,[38] and Junius 11 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius XI [S.C. 5123]), the Harley Psalter (London, BL, Harley MS 603), Benedictinonal of Æthelwold (London, BL, Add. MS 49598) and Old English Hexateuch (London, BL, Cotton MS Claudius B IV) being only a fraction of Reformation manuscripts frequently cited.[39] Due to the nature of these studies, when pieces containing Old Testament imagery are discussed they are only briefly mentioned, with no detailed study of the images. Historically, therefore, the way in which the scholarship has developed explains the general dearth of interest in the Old Testament in the study of Anglo-Saxon art.

In fact, no extensive study has been carried out on the depiction of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England, an absence notably contrasted with interest in depictions of the New Testament, with Coatsworth conducting a study of sculptural Crucifixion iconography in 1979,[40] complemented by Hawkes' non-Crucifixion iconographic study in 1989,[41] and Raw's examination of the Crucifixion iconography of Reformation manuscripts in 1990.[42]

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[36] For Sutton Hoo, see: Dodwell, 1982: 4, 134, 155; Wilson, 1984: 13, 16, 26-27, 33-34, 113-14, 117; Karkov, 2011: 20-28; Webster, 2012: 120-22; for the Staffordshire hoard, see Karkov, 2011: 99-102; Webster, 2012: 122-25

[37] Dodwell, 1982: 2-4; Wilson, 1984: 85-86; Karkov, 2011: 146-53; Webster, 2012: 91-97; see Smith, 2016 for a recent summary.

[38] For Codex Amiatinus, see: Dodwell, 1982: 96-97, 157; Wilson, 1984: 40, 49, 61, 94; Karkov, 2011: 3, 38-42, 46, 52-53; Webster, 2012: 25, 72-73, for the Vespasian Psalter: Dodwell, 1982: 169; Wilson, 1984: 63, 91, 94, 96, 114; Karkov, 2011: 185, 205; Webster, 2012: 85-86, 136; and the Lindisfarne Gospels: Dodwell, 1982: 11, 39, 51, 55, 97-98, 202; Wilson, 1984: 28-30, 38-40, 62-63, 86-91, 117; Karkov, 2011: 3, 5, 9, 13, 29-42, 92, 175, 178-83; Webster, 2012: 20-24, 75-76, 234, 238

[39] For Junius 11, see: Wilson, 1984: 180, 187, 209, 226-28; Karkov, 2011: 133-34, 235-43, 287; Webster, 2012: 193, 223; for Harley 603: Dodwell, 1982: 171, 225; Wilson, 1984: 182-87; Karkov, 2011: 176-78, 189-90, 205, 245; Webster, 2012: 181-82, 190; the Benedictional: Dodwell, 1982: 30, 34, 107, 183, 192, 225-26; Wilson, 1984: 154, 160, 169, 174, 190; Karkov, 2011: 7, 88-89, 129-30, 220-8, 231-33; Webster, 2012: 24-25, 187-88; and the OE Hexateuch: Dodwell, 1982: 70, 141, 171, 175; Karkov, 2011: 243; Webster, 2012: 191-93, 223

[40] Coatsworth, 1979

[41] Hawkes, 1989b

[42] Raw, 1990

These studies led to a significant body of subsequent scholarship surrounding the visualisation of the New Testament – particularly on Anglo-Saxon sculpture.[43]

Of the limited work that has engaged with the visualisation of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon art, only three scholars have carried out any in-depth iconographic work on the sculptural material: Bailey, Lang and Hawkes.[44] They have, however, focussed predominantly on one monument: the Masham column, with all carrying out iconographic studies of the identifiable scenes and Hawkes examining the ideas potentially informing the shape of the monument.[45] Bailey has also examined 'The Meaning of the Viking-Age Shaft at Dacre', and briefly discussed pieces with Old Testament imagery in his studies of *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* and *England's Earliest Sculptors*.[46] Hawkes is the only scholar to have attempted to survey what survives of the Old Testament, in her article on 'Old Testament Heroes: Iconographies of Insular Sculpture'. This, however, is limited to pre-Viking sculpture, and focusses heavily on Samson and how the visualisation of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England differs from that of the rest of the Insular World.[47] The vast majority of sculptural pieces containing Old Testament imagery have not received any in-depth study, with the majority of the references being fleeting. For example, the cross-shaft at Newent, which is in a remarkably good state of preservation, bears three Old Testament scenes, each one filling an entire face, with the forth face containing highly stylised animals and interlace, but has attracted little scholarly attention and no study of its iconographic programme has been undertaken.[48]

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[43] For some examples see: Coatsworth, 1988: 161-96; Coatsworth, 2000: 156-176; Hawkes, 1989b: I, 208-10; Hawkes, 1993: 254-60; Hawkes, 1995: 246-89; Hawkes, 1996b: 73-90; Hawkes, 1997a:107-35; Hawkes, 2001: 131-54; Hawkes, 2003b: 351-70; Raw, 1997; Raw, 2007: 1-15

[44] Bailey, 1972: 145-46; Bailey, 1996: 6, 114; Hawkes, 1989b: I, 80-136, 361, 417, II, 59-68; Hawkes, 1997a: 149, 153, 155-56; Hawkes, 2002b: 337-48; Lang, 1999: 271-82; Lang, 2000: 109-19; Lang was also responsible for the CASSS entry on the Masham column. See Lang, 2001: 168-71

[45] Hawkes, 2011a: 29-42

[46] Bailey, 1977; 61-74; Bailey, 1980; Bailey, 1996

[47] Hawkes, 1997a: 149-58

[48] See appendix 1 in volume II of this study for a list of references to the Newent cross, which pales in comparison to the Masham column, the only other piece of monumental sculpture to contain three identifiable Old Testament scenes. For Masham, see, App. 1.5a(ii) and for Newent, App. 1.2a(iii)

When compared with the paucity of scholarship surrounding the depiction of the Old Testament on Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, the scholarship surrounding its depiction in manuscripts seems copious. Kauffman's *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England 700-1550* has an entire chapter dedicated to 'The Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon Art', however this only examines post-Scandinavian, specifically southern English, non-Psalter manuscripts, e.g. the Junius 11 and OE Hexateuch.[49] He does also examine Anglo-Saxon Psalters in Chapter Four, in which he does include pre-Viking alongside Reformation manuscripts, but as this is a survey of Psalters surviving from 700-1550 these are cursory mentions, with the bulk of the chapter examining the twelfth-century Shaftesbury Psalter.[50]

As for studies of individual manuscripts containing Old Testament imagery, perhaps the most detailed and in-depth have been carried out on the two miniatures in the Codex Amiatinus: the portrait of Ezra and the plan of the Tabernacle. In part, this is likely due to the manuscript's importance as the earliest complete Vulgate Bible to have survived, along with clear evidence of where and when it was produced.[51] Detailed studies have also been carried out on the Durham Cassiodorus (Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B II 30), Vespasian Psalter, Tiberius Psalter (London, BL, Cotton MS Tiberius C VI), OE Hexateuch, and Junius 11 manuscripts,[52] but again there are some gaps in the literature. For example, the St Petersburg flyleaf (St Petersburg, Public Library, Cod. Q. V. XIV. I) is almost completely ignored in the scholarship, beyond Alexander's entry in his catalogue of Insular manuscripts,[53] and the focus of the scholarship surrounding Harley 603 focusses almost exclusively on the style and decoration of the manuscript, rather than the significance of the

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[49] Kauffman, 2003: 33-72
[50] Ibid.: 105-46
[51] O'Brien, 2015: 90. See the appendix entries for the Codex Amiatinus for a substantive list of articles and books which engage with the manuscript. App. 1.3a(i)
[52] Bailey, 1978; Wright, 1967a; Wormald, 1960-62: 1-14; Openshaw, 1989: 14-33; 1990; Withers, 2007; Karkov, 2001; Raw, 1976: 133-48; Raw, 1984: 187-207
[53] Alexander, 1978a: 65-66

divergences between it and its source model, the *c*. 800 Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32).[54]

As for metalwork evoking the Old Testament, these were recovered too recently to have attracted any significant body of scholarship, although the interest surrounding the Staffordshire hoard does mean some studies are emerging.[55] The only surviving ivory with Old Testament imagery is almost completely ignored, aside from Beckwith, who misidentifies it as Christ meeting with Mary Magdalene after his resurrection.[56] The scholarship on the Cuthbert stole tends to have considered only on its materiality or significance as a gift, over its iconographic programme.[57] Overall, what little scholarship there is on the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon art is partial, limited in its focus on individual pieces of specific media, and not always interested in the iconographic significance/s of the schemes.

To antiquarians the visual culture of Anglo-Saxon was only regarded useful if it could be used to strengthen the pre-existing knowledge of the history of the period. Thus, for local histories that entailed the surviving stone sculpture of an area to demonstrate its history of a location beyond the textual: manuscript depictions of "Anglo-Saxon" dress and customs manuscript depictions were used to supplement the documentation, as was the jewellery.[58] While this changed in the twentieth century, the new focus on style and ornament served to date the pieces, and so continued to prioritise an historical framework. While crucial, this focus on visual history has led to the almost complete lack of any detailed iconographic study of the art until the latter half of the twentieth century. Here, however, the sheer volume of surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and carvings has resulted in the tendency (in the sculptural scholarship) to focus on the larger, more complete, stone

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[54] Backhouse, 1984: 97-113; Gameson, 1990: 29-48; Noel, 1995
[55] See the appendix entry on the Staffordshire Hoard for a list of studies. App. 1.4a(i)
[56] Beckwith, 1972: 24, 119
[57] Coatsworth, 2001: 292-306; Owen-Crocker, 1986: 192-94; Plenderleith, 1956: 375-96; For a study of its iconographic programme see, Hohler, 1956: 396-408
[58] Hawkes, Thursday 13th July 2017

monuments, such as the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses, as due to their more complete iconographic programmes presenting more fruitful scholarly potential.[59] This is likely the reason for the "larger" body of scholarship regarding the Masham column, with its unusual columnar shape also playing a part.[60] Exacerbating the situation has been the tendency, in stylistic analyses, to compare schemes considered similar, like the Samson scenes as Masham and Cundall, which has limited the discussion to individual scenes on individual monuments, rather examinations of iconographic types across a range of monuments, an approach that has been carried out for other parts of the Insular world, such as Roe's and Henderson's articles on the 'David Cycle' in Ireland and Scotland respectively.[61] Furthermore, while the scholarship devoted to Old Testament imagery in manuscripts is greater than that on stone sculpture, ivories and metalwork, it too has not focused on how the Old Testament is visualised across manuscripts and other media, tending, on the whole, to focus on either a singular type of manuscript illumination or New Testament images across a range of manuscripts.[62]

1.3 Rational for this Study

Due to this lack in detailed iconographic study of individual scenes relating to the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England, this study will examine the various iconographic scenes and their potential significance/s, preserved on a range of monuments, manuscripts, ivories, metalwork and textiles. Of necessity, it thus aims for complete coverage of the entire range of images, rather than in-depth analysis in each instance, seeking to lay the foundations for future studies by establishing the commonalities and divergences between the iconographic types extant in Old Testament Anglo-Saxon art, so that each representation can be

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[59] See above, p. 55
[60] Lang, 2001: 168-71
[61] Roe, 1949: 39-59; Henderson, 1986: 87-123; In the scholarship surrounding the Irish material there has also been a detailed study of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace by Hourihane, as well as Harbison's detailed breakdown of scene-types, which includes a section on the Old Testament in his monograph on the High Crosses of Ireland. See, Hourihane, 2001: 61-82; Harbison, 1992: 186-229
[62] For examples of articles examining New Testament themes, see Raw, 1990; Raw, 1997

understood within the wider context of Anglo-Saxon art as a whole. To this end, each scene type will be examined individually (e.g. the Fall of Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Isaac, David Combatting the Lion), first in the pre-Viking period, before turning to examine how they were adapted and expanded after the arrival and settlement of the Scandinavians in the north of England and the reform of the Church in the south, from the late ninth century through to the period when Norman Conquest and settlement significantly impacted the style of the art being produced in the later eleventh century. Due to the significant expansion of Old Testament images being produced in the south during this later period, the focus will be on how interest in those that existed in the pre-Viking period subsequently continued/changed, only briefly examining any significant additions to demonstrate how the Old Testament was being used and adapted in the south during the Reformation period. Furthermore, this study will focus on clear depictions of Old Testament episodes, and therefore, more abstract illusions to the Old Testament (such as the Solomonic columns of the crypt at Ripon alluding to the Temple),[63] will not be examined. Following this extensive survey of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon art, from the seventh through the eleventh centuries, the material will be considered in the light of the ways in which these visualisations compare with those produced in the rest of the Insular world, thus, providing a wider context within which to situate the Anglo-Saxon images. While insight into continental approaches will also be considered in the course of explicating the Anglo-Saxon and wider Insular examples, presenting a study of the art of the Old Testament in the early medieval period as a whole lies beyond the remit of this study. By these means, the presumed dearth of Old Testament imagery in Anglo-Saxon art (when considered alongside the overall body of art produced during the period) will be seen to contrast significantly with the use of and allusions to the subject surviving in the contemporary textual material.

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[63] Boulton, 2011: 151

1.4 Problematic Terminology

Before embarking on this study, it is worth establishing the use of the potentially problematic terms deployed in this study, frames of reference of a number of terms that are commonly invoked in the established scholarship surrounding the study of Anglo-Saxon England, but require some clarification as to their usage throughout this study.

Anglo-Saxon: This is an umbrella term used to group several distinct socio-political regions of England across the entire period discussed here, the boundaries of which fluctuated widely over time. Furthermore, the art produced during the Anglo-Saxon period encompasses that which was produced under the influence of several distinct Germanic and Scandinavian groups after their arrival in the region during the latter half of the ninth century. Therefore, the term Anglo-Saxon can refer to the people/s who came to inhabit "England" following the Germanic settlement in the late fifth century (the Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Hwicce, among others),[64] as well as encompassing all people/s that lived in England from this period until the Norman Conquest in the eleventh century. Similar problems are faced when discussing the inhabitants of early medieval Ireland and Scotland (especially regarding the Picts), where several distinct socio-political groups have been gathered together for convenience.[65] The term is thus employed here as overarching and extremely generalised and deployed with these considerations in mind.

Viking and Scandinavian: The term Viking is extremely loaded, with Gibson's 1695 addition of *Britannia* providing one of the earliest examples of its use: "the Latin-writers of the history of England call them *Wiccingi*, from their trade of piracies, *Wiccinga* (as we are assur'd by Ælfric) signifying in Saxon a *pirate*."[66] By the nineteenth century Viking came to denote murderous pagan raiders, who had also been strangely romanticised as merchant adventurers, ardent lovers, and writers of complex poetry.[67] Thus, the term came to denote the Scandinavian people/s who, following a period of raiding and seizure of territory, settled

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[64] Bede, *HE*, 1.15; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 50-51
[65] See discussion at the beginning of Chapter 5, pp. 255-60
[66] Gibson, 1695: 153
[67] Wawn, 2000: 3-5

in England from the latter part of the ninth century onwards as oddly romanticised yet negative, rather than what was more likely to have been the case: people/s who, once settled, quickly assimilated into Anglo-Saxon society. Therefore, when discussing these people's migration into the region the term Scandinavian will be used, to deflect any negative connotations. Like Anglo-Saxon it is to be understood as an umbrella term, which in this instance encompasses all the people/s who moved to the island from (Ireland and) the Scandinavian homelands: modern-day Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland. When discussing the raids carried out in the early stages of occupation and settlement the term Viking may be used to denote the difference between those individuals that came to Britain and Ireland primarily to extract its wealth, with those Scandinavians that chose to migrate and settle. Thus, this study will use the term Viking raids and Scandinavian settlement in an attempt to traverse the difficulties embedded within them.

Viking-age and Reformation Period: These two terms suggest there are two distinct periods in Anglo-Saxon England, but in fact they refer to overlapping periods that occurred simultaneously, with the Viking-age occurring in the northern "half" of England and the Reformation occurring in the south. Their use in this study, therefore, is not to denote separate time periods; rather, for convenience, they are used to refer to the regions of England that witnessed Scandinavian raids, settlement and fell under the Dane Law (Viking-age Period), and those that are documented as having witnessed a large reform of the Church and which did not affect the Dane Law in the same way (Reformation Period), both "periods" occurring simultaneously during the latter part of the ninth century to the mid to late eleventh century.

Pagan: This is an extremely fraught term that has often been employed to suggest a distinct "religion" for those people who are not considered Christian in Anglo-Saxon England (as it is in modern censuses), rather than an overarching term to denote any belief system that is not fully understood, such as those of the Scandinavians prior to their arrival

in England or conversion to Christianity. Thus, it is used sparingly in this study and is to be understood as an umbrella term to denote unknown belief system/s that are non-Christian.

1.5 Other Issues Relating to the Study of Anglo-Saxon Art

Alongside such problematic terminology are some additional issues that need to be addressed relating to the art: namely, the fragmentary nature of the material, the issues surrounding the circulation of models and the dependence on the works of Bede to aid understanding of the iconographic significances of the pieces discussed.

The issue of fragmentation largely affects the whole sculptural corpus of Anglo-Saxon England, the majority of which survives in small pieces, frequently heavily worn, to the point that the carving has been all but lost. This obviously means that for the large part, the full iconographic programme of the original monuments is impossible to recreate, and often, especially regarding those Old Testament scenes surviving on sculptural fragments, they are isolated and incomplete. As this study concerns the depiction of the Old Testament by grouping and discussing narratives individually, across a range of objects and media, rather than the way/s in which the scenes contributed to the overall iconographic programme of the monument on which they are preserved, some of the concerns regarding the fragmentary nature of the sculpture are negated. As previously mentioned, this study is intended to provide the foundations for further studies and so those Old Testament scenes that survive in a sculptural context that includes other figural or non-figural schemes will not be discussed in relation to these, unless, the iconographic significance of a given scene can be further expounded by such relationships. In taking this approach there will inevitably be a large scope to expand the study of individual scenes once they are considered as part of a whole in future studies.

Furthermore, the severely fragmentary nature of some of the sculptures that will be discussed here unfortunately means that much of the iconographic nuances have been lost, with certain pieces so fragmented that it is impossible to state decisively that they even depict

Old Testament narratives. This study will, therefore, only discuss those pieces deemed to have a strong case for being identified as Old Testament in subject, and confirming what is believed to be the most likely layout for these representations in lieu of a complete scene. Those scenes proposed as depicting Old Testament events by previous scholars, but whose identification is doubtful due to iconographic inconsistencies, will not be discussed in the main body of this study, instead being acknowledged and discussed in the appendices, so not to distract from the discussions of the scene being examined and the potential sources for its model.[68]

Knowledge of the circulation of particular models is almost impossible. Without a detailed record, alongside the fortunate survival of the model itself, it is difficult to propose with any certainly what model may have been used for any given piece. Perhaps the clearest example of the use of a model is in the Reformation Period, were those responsible for the early eleventh-century Harley Psalter who almost meticulously copied the *c.* 800 Carolingian Utrecht Psalter (figs 4.15a-b) – which was itself the copy of an earlier, eastern Mediterranean, prototype.[69] There is also some evidence for the sharing of models, with the most famous pre-Viking example being the shared "model" of the Ezra page of the Codex Amiatinus (fig. 3.46)[70] and the St Matthew's page of the Lindisfarne gospel (fig. 3.48),[71] thought to one of the Cassiodoran manuscripts imported to Jarrow-Wearmouth by Ceolfrith as recorded by Bede in his *Historia abbatum*, where he indicates that the Codex Amiatinus, alongside its two sister pandects, were derived from a pandect that Ceolfrith had obtained while on a trip to Rome.[72] This, in addition to Bede's description of the objects brought back from Benedict Biscop's fifth excursion to Rome,[73] and the use of the Utrecht Psalter, suggest that objects were transported from the continent to be used as models by the Anglo-Saxons.[74]

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[68] See Appendix 4
[69] See discussion in Chapter 4, p. 245
[70] Fol. 5r
[71] Fol. 25v; Michelli, 1999: 345-58; See discussion of the Ezra page in Chapter 3, pp. 168-74
[72] Bede, *H. Abb.* 15; Grocock and Woods, 2013: 56-59
[73] Bede, *H. Abb.* 9; Grocock and Woods, 2013: 42-45
[74] See summary in Hawkes, 2007: 19-36

Due to issues of survival and, in the majority of cases, the lack of any textual record of what models may have been used, especially regarding the construction of Anglo-Saxon Old Testament imagery, this study will propose potential types/sources for these models, as has been done by previous scholars working on the iconography of other Anglo-Saxon Christian imagery,[75] but it is recognised that these proposals cannot be demonstrated by the survival of the models actually used. This study therefore aims to provide likely model types for the scenes lying behind Anglo-Saxon Old Testament imagery, suggesting the potential sources those responsible for the design of individual schemes could have drawn on for their designs.

Similar issues exist when considering the use of exegesis to aid in understanding of the iconographic significance of Old Testament imagery during the period. Bede is the only exegete in Anglo-Saxon England that engages with the Old Testament in any meaningful manner,[76] especially in the pre-Viking period, with the addition of Ælfric during the Reformation Period (although he frequently drew upon Bede for his expositions).[77] Like with the circulation of models, it is unknown to what extent Bede's texts circulated around England,[78] but the prevalence of multiple copies of his works attests to the frequency with which they were copied and distributed.[79] Within only a few decades of his death his works had become a central component of Carolingian education and literacy; his texts copied and preserved in such quantities that some were re-imported to Britain in the ninth century, when there appears to have been a marked decline in manuscript production in the region.[80] Therefore, aside from works by the Church Fathers known to have been circulating in Anglo-

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[75] See, for example, Bailey, 1977: 61-74; Bailey, 1978; Bailey, 1996; Baker, 2015: 264-77; Hawkes, 1993: 254-60; Hawkes, 1996b: 77-94; Hawkes, 1995: 246-89; Hawkes, 1997a: 107-35; Hawkes, 1997b: 149-58; Hawkes, 2008: 198-225; Lang, 1999: 271-82; Raw, 1976: 133-48; Raw, 1984: 187-207

[76] He devoted ten out his eighteen exegetical works to Old Testament subjects, as well as two (exegetical) letters and an abbreviated Psalter. See, DeGreggorio, 2010b: 129; and discussion in chapter 2, pp. 81-86

[77] According to the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database Ælfric makes over eight hundred references to Bede's works. *Fontes* Anglo-Saxonici Project, Accessed 10/08/2017; Rowley, 2010: 225

[78] There is evidence of early circulation of text through Bede's own writings, with letters to both Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria (729-31 and 732-37) and Albinus (d. 732), abbot of the monastery of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Canterbury. Meyvaert, 2002: 79-89; Westgard, 2010: 203-204

[79] Parkes suggests that the demand was so great for copies of Bede's works that the scribes of Wearmouth-Jarrow created Insular minuscule to keep up with it. Parkes, 1982: 22-30

[80] Westgard, 2010: 201, 209-10

Saxon England during the period (although, again, there are questions about the extent to which this occurred),[81] Bede provides the most (and frequently only) detailed account as to the significance of certain Old Testament passages and likely most accurately reflects Anglo-Saxon understandings across the whole of the period. Therefore, in the absence of other exegetical works on the Old Testament extant from Anglo-Saxon England, Bede's writings, alongside those of earlier Church Fathers known to have existed in England, will be used to reflect what was likely to have been the current understanding of the significance of certain Old Testament episodes.[82] When examining art of the later ninth century to the mid-eleventh century Ælfric's exegesis, homilies and sermons will also be referred to.

Finally, it is important to address ideas of patronage and function, and their relationship to the depiction of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England. The most significant issue when discussing patronage is that, throughout the early medieval period in England, it is rare to have a clear understanding of who commissioned and created the pieces discussed in this study. In fact, only a handful of pieces provide clear evidence for the patron/creator of the object and a clear understanding of its original intended function. The early tenth-century Cuthbert Stile is one such 'exception to the rule' with its end panels preserving two inscriptions which demonstrate that Ælfflaed commissioned, not only the stole, but also the maniple and girdle for Bishop Frithestan, and so provide information regarding both the patron and the original recipient.[83] At the other end of the period, the early eighth-century Codex Amiatinus was known to have been created by the Wearmouth-Jarrow community, possibly at the instigation of Ceolfrith, to function as a gift for the Pope Hadrian.[84] Less certain is the patronal attribution of the OE Hexateuch (*c*. 1050), for which Ælfric is generally accepted as the likely 'creator' due to inclusion of his Preface at the

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[81] For the most up-to-date list of manuscripts known to be circulating in Anglo-Saxon England, see Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014.

[82] For the use of this methodology elsewhere, see Bailey, 1977: 61-74; Hawkes, 1997b: 149-58; Hawkes, 2003b: 351-70; Hawkes, 2003c: 12-24; O' Carragáin, 2005; O'Reilly, 1993: 106-14; O'Reilly, 1998: 49-94

[83] Ref to discussion

[84] Bede, *H. Abb.*: 15-21; Grocock and Woods, 2013: 58-73; See forthcoming essays in Boulton and Hawkes, 2019

beginning of Genesis, where it stated that he had translated the Latin text up to Isaac at the request of Æthelward.[85] These remain the exceptions; for apart from these works it is unknown who was responsible for the objects containing Old Testament imagery and in several cases (especially in the case of the portable objects, such as metalwork and manuscripts) it is often uncertain as to which monastery or location the object was produced in.

The monumental stone sculptures which contain Old Testament imagery, for example, all survive in locations where they provide the only evidence of ecclesiastical activity during the period, aside from Breedon-on-the-Hill (*Briudun*), which is known to have been a cell of the religious foundation of Peterborough (*Medeshamstede*)[86] and Reculver, where the remains of St Mary's Church are recorded in the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* as having been founded in the seventh century when King Ecgberht of Kent gifted the land to a priest from the Canterbury community named Bassa.[87] Furthermore, most of the sculpture is not located close to any large secular foundations, meaning it is unlikely that they were a product of secular patronage, implying that they were most likely constructed under ecclesiastical instruction (of unknown origin).[88] Work undertaken in the 1960s to 1980s which focused on stylistic similarities and established common 'workshop' links, demonstrated relationships between monuments such as those at Ruthwell, Bewcastle, Jedburgh and Rothbury with Wearmouth-Jarrow,[89] but non of these display Old Testament scenes.

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[85] Ælfric, *Incipit prefatio Genesis Anglice*; Crawford, 1922: 76-78; trans, Raffel, 1998: 173-74; Marsden, 1991: 320-21; Flood, 2011: 50

[86] Bede, *HE*: 4.6; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 386; Plunkett, 1998: 207

[87] ASC A 669; Bately, 1986: 31

[88] Hawkes makes a similar assertion for the Sandbach crosses. Plunkett has proposed that the sculptural friezes at Breedon-on-the-Hill were a product of Mercian elite (presumably royal) patronage, due to its geographical position near the centre of Mercian power. However, this is an assertion based off the high-quality carving evoking early Continental sources, which could equally have been the result of elite ecclesiastical patronage, especially given that these sculptural fragments are located within a known ecclesiastical foundation. See, Hawkes, 2002a: 145; Plunkett, 1998: 217-20

[89] For links between Rothbury, Ruthwell and Wearmouth-Jarrow see, Cramp, 1984a: 115; Rothbury, Ruthwell, Bewcastle, Wearmouth-Jarrow and Jedburgh see, Cramp, 1965; Cramp, 1983: 269-84; Cramp and Bailey, 1988: 61-72; Bewcastle, Wearmouth-Jarrow and Jedburgh see, Adcock, 1974: I, 168; Ruthwell and Bescastle see, 1964: 282; Lang, 1983: 177-89

The portable nature of ivory and the lack of any evidence regarding the centres of production of objects such as the ivory diptych mean that nothing can be deduced about its patron or function, aside from the fact that at some point in its history it may have served as the cover of a book and that due to its subject matter it was likely to have been a product of an ecclesiastical centre, but even these are speculations. Similar problems are faced when dealing with metalwork, with the Honington clip being discovered in an unknown location near Honington, Lincolnshire, which may or may not be close to the location where it was made or used. Linguistic analysis of its inscription indicates that it presents both Northumbrian and Mercian dialects, which might be expected from the now lost Lindsey dialect but this does not refine the potential provenance of the piece.[90] The text of the inscription, on the other hand, does suggest that it likely functioned as a liturgical object, but due to its unique nature, the exact manner in which it was used remains uncertain.[91] Likewise, the inscribed strip from the Staffordshire Hoard was found in a collection of militaristic objects, providing some context for its function, but it is uncertain who commissioned the piece and what it would have been attached to;[92] whether it formed part of a secular object or an ecclesiastical object used in conjunction with secular military activities is unknown.

There is admittedly better knowledge of the patronage and function of the manuscripts which contain Old Testament imagery, but this too is still incomplete. The Vespasian Psalter, for example, is thought to have been produced at Canterbury based on stylistic analysis of its decoration and booklists from St Augustine's Abbey which place it in Canterbury by the eleventh century.[93] Its contents (the Psalms) combined with its likely (Canterbury) provenance means it could have emerged from any one of the several well-known high-status Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical foundations in and around Canterbury.[94]

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[90] Hines, 2015: 270
[91] Ibid.: 271-72; see discussion on pp. 174-76
[92] See discussion on pp. 138-43
[93] James, 1903: 234; Alexander, 1978: 55
[94] Blair, 2005: 61-62

Similar assumptions can be made about the Junius 11 manuscript, which is also thought to have originated from Canterbury based on stylistic analysis and a fourteenth-century booklist which places it at Christ Church,[95] again suggesting that it was produced within an ecclesiastical centre. However, for those manuscripts whose place of production cannot be firmly or even tentatively proposed, the only deductions that can be made about their patronage or function are based on the contents themselves, which are either biblical in nature (such as the Winchcombe Psalter) or relate to biblical narratives (such as the Prudentius manuscripts, which contain a poem regarding Christian faith and the Durham Cassiodorus, a copy of Cassiodorus's exposition on the Psalms), again suggesting an ecclesiastical provenance for these manuscripts.

Similar issues are faced when considering the patronage and function of objects containing Old Testament imagery found elsewhere in the Insular world. While more monumental sculpture is found on known monastic sites in early medieval Ireland,[96] firmly placing these pieces within ecclesiastical contexts, there are several examples where, as in Anglo-Saxon England, the evidence for an ecclesiastical foundation is the sculpture itself. Furthermore, little is known of the provenance of the two manuscripts containing Old Testament scenes. It has been proposed that the Vitellius Psalter[97] was produced at Monasterboice based on the – now lost – colophon: "The blessing of God on Muiredach …the scholar".[98] Again, in the absence of further evidence, it is the content of the manuscripts (the Psalms) that suggests they were produced under ecclesiastical patronage. The situation in early medieval Scotland is, however, slightly different, as while there are still issues with a lack of evidence for ecclesiastical or secular foundations for some of the sculpture, there are pieces for which there is clear evidence that they would have been either created for or viewed by elite secular individuals. The St Andrews Sarcophagus, for

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[95] James, 1903: 51
[96] See discussion on pp. 273-76
[97] London, BL, Cotton MS Vitellius F. XI
[98] For a discussion on this lost colophon see, Alexander, 1978: 349; O'Sullivan, 1966: 179-80

example, is generally accepted to have been constructed under secular patronage to house the body of a ruler.[99] Furthermore, it has been argued that the high crosses on Iona, despite being located within a monastic settlement, would have been viewed by secular individuals as it was the burial site of the kings of Dál Riata and also the place they came to be 'invested' in the ninth-century.[100] At the very least St Martin's Cross could have been designed with this in mind.[101]

Overall, therefore, it seems that the majority of the Anglo-Saxon pieces discussed in this study were created in ecclesiastical, rather than secular contexts. Those few pieces where patron and function have been identified have understandably attracted considerable scholarly attention[102] and can be further addressed in this study where appropriate. It remains the case, however, that for most of the pieces considered here the lack of evidence relating to patronage and function, and the absence of any implications relating to these issues in the iconography of the images, means this aspect of works containing Old Testament scenes cannot be addressed further.

1.6 Overview of this Study

In order to contextualise and examine the ways in which the Old Testament was visualised in Anglo-Saxon art this study will therefore commence (Chapter 2) with a general overview of the survival rates of the Old Testament scriptures, alongside their use by Anglo-Saxons in their poetry, homilies, sermons and exegesis. It will detail what survives of the text of the Old Testament in the late seventh to the late eleventh centuries and how this compares to the survival of New Testament texts, such as the Gospels. It will establish how Bede differed

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[99] Henderson, 1994: 80; Henderson, 1998: 156; Foster, 1998b: 42-43; Broun, 1998: 80-82; Plunkett, 1998: 226; Edwards, 1998: 227; James, 1998: 249; Foster, 2016: 167
[100] Stancliffe, 2005: 455; Márkus, 2017: 171-73, 185
[101] Hawkes, 2005: 272; For further discussion of questions of patronage in relation to sculptural production in early medieval Scotland, see Geddes, 2017: 85-106, 119-40, 141-66
[102] See, for example, The Cuthbert Stole: Coatsworth, 2001: 292-306; Coatsworth, 2012: 190-93; Coatsworth, 2006a: 43-68; Gajewski and Seeberg, 2016: 36; Owen-Crocker, 2002: 1-27; Miller, 2011: 90-102; Codex Amiatinus: White, 1890: 273-308; Chazelle, 2003: 129-57; Chazelle, 2009: 15-59; Meyvaert, 2005: 1087-133; Meyvaert, 2006: 295-309; Gorman, 2003: 863-910; Gameson, 1992b: 2-9; Boulton and Hawkes, forthcoming 2018; OE Hexateuch: Marsden, 1991: 319-58; Wither, 1999b: 111-39

from other Anglo-Saxon writers in his use and exposition of the Old Testament, demonstrating how he used and understood this section of the Bible, not only in his exegesis, but also in works not directly related to the text of the Old Testament (such as the *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*), before moving on to explore how Reformation figures wrote and used the Old Testament in the later part of the Anglo-Saxon period. The remainder of this chapter will examine a selection of poetry, alongside other manifestations of the Old Testament, such as genealogy lists, to demonstrate how the Anglo-Saxons used and adapted the text of the Old Testament to provided social commentaries on contemporary affairs.

Following this, the art of the Old Testament will be discussed: Chapter 3 will survey what survives in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon art, and Chapter 4 will survey that found in Viking-age and Reformation art. By examining each scene type in turn, Chapter 3 will provide a detailed iconographic reading for each of the individual scenes, and establish the iconographic types and potential sources in each instance. It will also examine, where appropriate, how the Anglo-Saxon scenes correlate with early Christian representations, highlighting where they continue or diverge from what were, by the early medieval period, established visual traditions. Chapter 4 will then outline how the visualisation of the Old Testament continued and changed in the later Anglo-Saxon period. Beginning by examining what survives in the Scandinavian controlled north, before moving on to consider the south, it will examine how the scene types found in the pre-Viking period were adapted during a period of change for the Anglo-Saxons, due to the arrival and settlement of the Scandinavians in the north and the reform of the church in the south. This period saw rapid expansion of the scenes being produced in southern manuscripts, and so, while charting how certain scene types continued to be depicted in the later period, the discussion will also elaborate on the abundant nature of new Old Testament imagery by looking at a few key examples.

Setting this in context, Chapter 5 will examine how the depiction of the Old Testament in the wider Insular world conforms to and differs from its treatment in Anglo-

Saxon England. It will briefly survey what survives in early medieval Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man and from the Iona School,[103] comparing each scene to its counterpart in Anglo-Saxon England and the Insular world as a whole. It will situate the visualisation of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England within a wider context, establishing whether there is indeed a marked difference in the way the Anglo-Saxons depicted and visually engaged with this part of the Bible. It will also address issues of identification, highlighting that some of the divergences between the scene types chosen by other regions of the Insular world and Anglo-Saxon England could be a product of scholarly misinterpretation, demonstrating that there may be more in common between the ways Anglo-Saxon England and the rest of the Insular World visualised the Old Testament than previously thought.

Having contextualised the visualisation of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England textually and art historically, the Conclusion (Chapter 6) will draw the findings together and reassess the opening premise that the Anglo-Saxon visualisation of the Old Testament was unusual when compared to the rest of the Insular, continental and early Christian worlds, and consider explanation/s for the relative interest in the subject of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England.

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[103] Wales is not included, as there is an absence of Old Testament imagery in the region. See, Edwards, 2007: 82-83; Redknap and Lewis: 2007: 113-14

CHAPTER 2

The Old Testament and its Texts in Anglo-Saxon England

2.1 Introduction

From the number of surviving texts in Anglo-Saxon England alone, it is clear to see that the Old Testament had a significant influence on Old English literature.[1] It is the basis for around one-third of all extant poetry and is a significant contributor to the body of Anglo-Saxon prose.[2] However, the survival rate of Old Testament biblical texts is relatively small, with at most, eighteen examples of (presumed) full- and part-Bibles (such as Pentateuchs) remaining,[3] and approximately sixty-nine of manuscripts containing either single books or small collections of single books surviving, but more than half of these are Psalters.[4] This is supplemented by a limited number of book lists which add to this number of known copies of the Old Testament during the Anglo-Saxon period, but even this brings the approximate total to far less than the number of New Testament texts surviving from Anglo-Saxon England of which over 100 can be estimated.[5]

Set against such survivals the largest contribution to our knowledge of the Old Testament and its use in Anglo-Saxon England comes from exegetical writers of the period. There are ten surviving Old Testament commentaries by Bede and evidence for a further six.[6] Of what remains of Ælfric's body of work we have nine examples of texts which are either homiletic, narrative or in the case of Genesis, a translation of part of the text into Old English, as well as snippets of information surviving in his letters and a prose version of the first five books of the Old Testament that is thought to have been complied by him.[7] Even

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[1] Godden, 1991: 206
[2] Ibid.
[3] Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 898
[4] Ibid.; Towsell, 1995-96: 1;
[5] Marsden, 1995a: 105
[6] At the end of the *HE* Bede lists all of his works. See, Bede, *HE*: 5.24; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 566-69
[7] Godden, 1991: 207; Lee, 1999: II; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 888

writers who do not seem to have written commentaries on the Old Testament, still used and adapted it: such as Alcuin, for example, in his poem *De clade Lindisfarensis Monasterii*.[8] There is a sufficiently large body of works by exegetes spanning the entire Christian period of Anglo-Saxon England to suggest that these individuals had relatively easy access to the text of the Old Testament, as well as exegesis by the Church Fathers.[9] This is not to say that everyone had access to these texts, but it does suggest that the larger ecclesiastical centres would certainly have had copies or shared the Old Testament relatively easily.

As previously mentioned, around one-third of all extant poetry in Anglo-Saxon England used the Old Testament to some extent. Whether it was an adaptation of a biblical story, as in *Genesis*, or employed concepts and themes surrounding the Old Testament, such as Cain being the father of giants, found in *Beowulf* (lines 104b-114a).[10] However, in the majority of cases there is only one known example of the poem surviving, possibly skewing our perception of the prevalence of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon poetry. The survival rate of full-Bibles is high compared to that of part-Bibles, whose rarity and expense perhaps encouraged people to take better care of them.[11] This could also be true of Old Testament poetry or the manuscripts in which they are found. The majority of Old Testament poetry survives in just three manuscripts: Junius 11, the Exeter Book (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501) and the Nowell Codex (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius Axv). It is possible that the nature of these manuscripts ensured that a larger proportion of Old Testament poetry survives than

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[8] London, BL, MS Harley 3685. Alcuin, *De clade Lindisfarensis Monasterii*; Dümmler, 1881: 229-35; translated in Allen and Calder, 1976: 141-46

[9] There is manuscript evidence for Ambrose (*De Abraham patriarcha; De apologia propheta Dauid; De Jacob et uita beata; De Isaac et Anima; De Paradiso; Expositio de Psalmo CXVIII*), Augustine (*De Civitate Dei; De Genesi ad litteram; Enarrationes in Psalmos*), Cassiodorus (*Expositio psalmorum*), Gregory the Great (*Homiliae in Hiezechielem; Moralia in Iob*); Isidore (*Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum; De ortu et obitu partum*), Jerome (*Comm. in Danielem; Comm. in Ecclesiaten; Comm. in Esaiam; Comm. in Ezechielem; Comm. in Hieremiam; Comm. Prophetas minors; Liber quaestionum hebraicarum in Genesin; Tractatus .lix in Psalmos*), pseudo-Jerome (*Breuiarium in Psalmos; Decem temptationes populi Israel; Expositio in Canticum canticorum; Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae; Hebraicae quaestiones in libros Regum; Hebraicae quastiones*); Origen (*Hom. in Genesin; Hom. in Exodum; Hom. in Numeros; Hom. in I Regum; Hom. in Caticum canticorum; Hom. in Isaiam; Hom in Heiremian; Hom. in Ezechielem*). Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 887-937. See also the works of: Hrabanus Maurus (*Comm. in Hester; Comm. in Iudith*), Haimo of Auxerre (*Expositio in Canticum canticorum*) and Remigius of Auxerre (*In Psalmos praembula*). Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 887-937

[10] Chickering, 1977: 54-55

[11] Marsden, 1995a: 105

was actually representative of its presence in the original corpus of Anglo-Saxon poetry. As with many aspects of Anglo-Saxon society, we can only guess at its importance and influence on the Anglo-Saxon people. But, through a close inspection of the texts and distribution of Old Testament works, it is possible to gain an insight into what the Old Testament might have meant to the Anglo-Saxons.

2.2 Bibles and Biblical Texts

As previously stated, what survives of the text of the Old Testament from Anglo-Saxon England is only a fragment of what originally existed. Aside from the Psalter manuscripts, which survive in large quantities due to their use in the liturgy as well as for private devotional use,[12] there are only twelve known examples of manuscripts containing Old Testament book/s for the whole period up to the monastic reforms of the tenth century.[13] Eight of these emerged from Northumbrian centres (one coming originally from Italy), one from Mercia, one from Wales and a further two from unknown centres. A further eighteen examples are known to have been in or created in England from the tenth century onwards.[14]

Overall, there is evidence for the remains of seven full-Bibles,[15] these include pandects (including the earliest complete Vulgate Bible to have survived anywhere, the Codex Amiatinus),[16] two almost complete two-volume Bibles,[17] and the fragmentary evidence of four possible complete Bibles,[18] indicated by the large size of their pages.[19] In addition to these there are eleven possible part-Bibles, as their page sizes are smaller.[20]

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[12] Openshaw, 1993: 17
[13] Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 124, 126, 149, 195, 198, 223, 336, 405, 430, 498, 585, 603
[14] Ibid.: 18, 83, 170, 207, 213, 220, 233, 243, 315, 374, 376, 384, 401, 455, 504, 580, 623, 664
[15] Ibid.: 177, 212, 368, 370, 549, 589, 674; Marsden, 2012: 414, 417, 426
[16] Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 589
[17] London, BL, Royal 1. E. VII + VIII and Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 1 (A. 1. 2) + Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 5. 2.
[18] London, BL, Royal 1. E. vi + Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Add. 16 + Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Bib. b. 2 (p); Worcester, Cath. Lib., Q. 5, fol. 80; San Marino, California, Henry E. Huntington Library, HM 62; Durham, Cathedral Library, A. II. 4
[19] Marsden, 1995a: 41
[20] Durham, Cathedra; Library, B. IV. 6, fol. 169r (fragment; Maccabees); London, BL, Add. 37777 + Add. 45025 + Loan 81 (twelve leaves and fragments of another: III-IV Kings, Sirach); Durham, Cathedral Library, C. IV. 7, flyleaves (fragment: Leviticus); London, BL, Egerton 1046 (two manuscripts: [a] fols 1r-16r, 32r-48r, Proverbs [incomplete], Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Sirach [incomplete]; [b] fols 17r-31r, Wisdom,

Although there seems to be a fairly even split between the survival of part- and full-Bibles, Marsden considers the smaller part-Bibles (which includes the OE Hexateuch) to have originally been more frequent in number, but due to the rarity and precious nature of the larger full-Bible, more of these full-Bibles have survived.[21] This theory seems to be confirmed by the attention paid by the house chroniclers of Wearmouth-Jarrow to the production of three pandects at the turn of the eighth century.[22] If this type of biblical manuscript had been more common, it is unlikely that they would have received the attention they did. Furthermore, two Anglo-Saxon book lists written in 1069 and 1072 seem also to confirm that full-Bibles were indeed a rarity.[23] Alongside the survival of these eighteen full- and part-Bibles, there are other examples of books of the Old Testament surviving in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: such as a copy of Proverbs in a volume of patristic and devotional texts from the mid-tenth century; and a copy of Tobit, again in a tenth-century manuscript of patristic and devotional texts; providing an additional twenty witnesses. If we compare the thirty-eight manuscripts containing the text of the Old Testament (plus the forty-nine Psalters) to the number of gospel books surviving – an impressive ninety-eight manuscripts, plus eleven gospels not in complete gospel books, six gospels translated into OE and eleven gospel lectionaries – it is clear to see that the Old Testament was something of a rarity in Anglo-Saxon England compared to the New.[24]

As well as this physical textual evidence, there are also accounts of the Old Testament and its use in Anglo-Saxon England, which together testify to its circulation and reception in the region. There is of course the account of the three complete Bibles produced

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[opening of] Sirach); Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, 820 (h) (fragment: Minor Prophets); Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, Pepys 2981 (4) (fragment: Daniel); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Bib. C. 8 (P) + Salisbury, Cath. Lib., 117, fol. 163r-64r + Tokyo, T. Takamiya private collection 21 (*olim* Cheltenham, Phillipps Collection 36183; Geneva, M. Bodmer private collection) (four leaves: Numbers, Deuteronomy); Columbia, Missouri, University of Missouri-Columbia Libraries, Fragmenta Manuscripta 4 (fragment: Minor Prophets); London, BL, Add. 34652, fol. 6r (leaf: Song of Songs, Wisdom *capitula*); London, BL, Sloane 1086, no. 109 (fragment: Numbers); Hereford, Cath. Lib., O. IX.2 (fragment: Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Minor Prophets). For discussion, see Marsden, 1995a: 41

[21] Ibid.: 105
[22] Bede, *H. Abb.:* 15; Grocock and Woods, 2013: 56-59
[23] Marsden, 1995a: 105
[24] Ibid.: 39-40; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 911

at Wearmouth-Jarrow, one of which, the Codex Amiatinus, was sent to Rome, ending up in the Monastery of San Salvatore at Monte Amiata outside of Florence, where it survived intact before being moved to the Laurentian Library in Florence in the eighteenth century.[25] One of the other two seems to have survived in Worcester for some eight centuries before it was broken up and largely lost, with only a few folios still surviving.[26] The third has disappeared without trace, presumably lost when the monasteries of Wearmouth-Jarrow were raided in the later ninth century.[27] In addition, there is Bede's reference to what was possibly the nine-volume Old Latin Bible, the Codex grandior,[28] and a letter by Boniface to Daniel, Bishop of Winchester in 742-46, asking for the *Liber prophetarum*.[29] It is also more than likely that Italian texts reached Canterbury with the Augustinian Mission in the late sixth century and there is firm evidence for the use of the Old Testament in a series of biblical glosses which originated in the teachings of Theodore and Hadrian during the last decade of the seventh century at Canterbury.[30]

Out of all the books of the Old Testament, by far the most frequently copied was the Book of Psalms. In Gneuss and Lapidge's 'Handlist' of around 4000 manuscripts either produced or owned in England up to 1100AD, there are forty-nine extant Psalters, fourteen of which are either fully or partly glossed in Old English and one – the Paris Psalter – which survives as a complete translation.[31] The Paris Psalter consists of the first fifty Psalms in Old English prose and the remaining 100 in verse; it has been proposed that Alfred was responsible for the translation of the prose section of the book.[32] Each of the prose Psalms are furnished with brief introductions, which not only relate to the situation of David, but also Hezekiah and Christ. The wording of these has been understood to imply that they were

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[25] Hawkes, forthcoming 2018
[26] London, BL, Add. 45025; Plate 23; London, BL, Add. 37777; London, BL, Loan 81
[27] Marsden, 1995a: 88-90
[28] Bede, *H. Abb.*: 15; Grocock and Woods, 2013: 56-59
[29] Marsden, 1995a: 1
[30] Ibid.
[31] Paris: BnF, lat. 8824; Towsell, 1995-96: 1; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 928
[32] Godden, 1991: 207; Emms, 1999: 179

composed not only with the Bible in mind, but also the life and difficulties of Alfred, echoing as they do the lament of the decay of wisdom articulated in the 'Preface' to his translation of the *Pastoral Care* and the *Chronicle* entry recounting his taking refuge in the marshes after an attack by the Vikings.[33] Apart from this introduction, the Paris Psalter provides a good example of why the Psalter manuscripts survived in such large numbers from the tenth century: not only were they important for the celebration of the liturgy, but they were also used for private devotion. The struggles and difficulties of contemporary society (then undergoing ecclesiastical reform) were seen to have parallels with events mentioned in the Old Testament; David had experienced difficulties with "heathens" and the Psalms provided the perfect model of how to live a good life and ultimately succeed in the face of such difficulties.

Taken together, the evidence shows that the Old Testament was known and used widely in Anglo-Saxon England. Although not as popular as the gospel books, which outnumber the Old Testament codices (minus Psalters) by around three to one,[34] there is still evidence for a large distribution of the texts throughout England during the period. After the Book of Psalms, the books of the Heptateuch, Wisdom and the Prophets were the most frequently copied.[35] The expense and consequent rarity of the full-Bible means that only the larger ecclesiastical sites would have had access to these, with the rest more than likely having access to part-Bibles. From what survives it seems that there was significant Bible production in pre-Viking Northumbria (*c*.600-850) and in the south during the Reformation period (*c*.850-1000). This is not to say that there was no biblical manuscript production elsewhere during these periods, just that the surviving evidence seems to point towards a larger rate of production in these areas at these times. Overall, there seems to have been a general decline in manuscript production that had begun in the decades prior to the arrival of the Scandinavians,[36] and during the Viking-age (*c*.850-1066), there appears to be little

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[33] Godden, 1991: 224; Orton, 2015: 478
[34] Marsden, 1995a: 39
[35] Ibid.: 444
[36] Dumville, 1992: 96; Marsden, 1995a: 95-98

evidence for biblical book production in the North, no doubt due to many of the estates of the large monastic sites being redistributed among secular land owners,[37] thus removing the most likely sites and means of producing such items during this period.

2.3 Anglo-Saxon Exegesis and Exegetical Approaches to the Old Testament

Although there are few surviving examples of the actual text of the Old Testament, there are numerous exegetical works on the various subjects of the text. Again, the majority of these survive from the pre-Viking and Reformation periods, probably due to the decline of the larger monasteries during the Viking-age removing the resources for scholars to produce such works during the period. Bede's *On Genesis* is one example of an exegetic work of pre-Viking date: it provides a verse-by-verse explanation of the significance behind the text of the first part of Genesis and deals directly with the source material. There are in addition, many non-exegetical works from the pre-Viking period, such as Chronicles and Saints Lives, that refer both directly and indirectly to the Old Testament, often employing an exegetical approach. *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* (*c*. 709-20) by Stephanus of Ripon, for example, depicts Wilfrid as both an Old Testament figure and the Apostle Paul in an attempt to establish his status; it therefore uses the Old Testament in an indirect, metaphorical way.[38]

As noted, Bede was by far the main exegetical writer on the Old Testament in the pre-Viking period as evidenced by the extent of his output and the number of extant examples of this work.[39] However, Alcuin also wrote on the subject, as in his poem, *De clade Lindisfarensis Monasterii*, which is both a lament for Lindisfarne and the earthly Jerusalem

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[37] Cambridge, 1989: 385

[38] Stephanus of Ripon, *V. Wilf.;* Colgrave, 1927: 9

[39] Bede lists all of his works including 16 works of exegesis on the Old Testament. See, Bede, *HE*: 5.24. Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 566-69; Apart from three works from Alcuin, *De clade Lindisfarensis Monasterii*, *De Laude Dei* and *quaestiones in Genesim* (which was a lightweight primer not an in-depth piece of exegesis, see Fox, 2003); and the references to the Old Testament made in *V. Wilf.* there appears to be little else regarding the Old Testament during the pre-Viking period. See, Alcuin, *De clade Lindisfarensis Monasterii*; Dümmler, 1881: 229-35; Stephanus of Ripon, *V. Wilf.*; Colgrave, 1927; Jullien and Perelman, 1999; Alcuin's *De Laude Dei* to date has no printed edition, for a summary of the text see, Ganz, 2004: 387-92

of the Old Testament.[40] But the body of his works contains nowhere near as much on the Old Testament as was produced by Bede, from whom we have ten biblical commentaries on the subject of the Old Testament: *In principium Genesis*; *De Tabernaculo*; *In primam partem Samuelis*; *De aedificatione templi*; *Item in Regum librum*; *In Prouerbia Salomonis*; *In Cantica Canticorum*; *In Ezram et Neemiam*; *In Canticum Habacum*; *In librum beati patris Tobiae*.[41] There is also evidence that he produced a further six works on the Old Testament, but unfortunately none appears to have survived.[42] And in addition to his extant biblical commentaries we also have homilies, letters and the abstract use of the Old Testament and its prophets in his *Historia*. These texts were firmly cemented in the social and political happenings of the time in which Bede and others, such as Stephanus of Ripon, were writing.

De Templo, written *c*.729-31,[43] provides a clear example of this. Not only does the commentary on the description of the building of Solomon's Temple seem to fill a gap in patristic legacy, it also presents teaching material for the purpose of monastic development and education of spiritual teachers.[44] Its text is a verse-by-verse commentary on I Kings 5-7, with the addition of the description given in the apocryphal Book of Paralipomenon.[45] Thus Chapter 5 deals mainly with the provision of building materials and the organisation of the workforce; Chapter 6 details the construction of the Temple, its outer porch, floors, walls, doors, windows and roof, its dimensions and embellishment of the interior surfaces; and Chapter 7 discusses particular features of the building, such as the two monumental pillars at the entrance, many various Temple furnishings and the treasure chamber. The whole of Bede's commentary establishes the Temple as an allegory of the Universal Church.[46] As O'Reilly succinctly puts it, the building of the Temple of Solomon took seven years to complete and was presumably dedicated in its eighth, which "facilitated its

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[40] Scheil, 2004: 148
[41] Bede, *HE*: 5.24; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 566-69
[42] Bede, *HE*: 5.24; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 566-69; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014
[43] Laistner and King, 1943: 75
[44] Ibid.
[45] This is the name given to 1 & 2 Chronicles in the Vulgate text of the Bible. See, Japhet, 1993: 1
[46] Morrison, 2007: 256; O'Reilly, 1995: xxx

allegorical application not only to the spiritual growth of the individual faithful, but to the whole historical development of the universal Church and its future completion and dedication in the eighth age of the world."[47]

Certainly, the Universal Church is by far the most predominant theme of the text. One example of how this was achieved lies in the account of how the Gentiles, represented by Hiram of Tyre, helped in the construction of the Temple, making it a joint venture between Jews and Gentiles, as opposed to the Tabernacle which had been made solely by the Jews.[48] As Bede put it:

> it was not only Solomon's masons but also those of Hiram that hewed the stones because there were teachers of the holy Church from both groups. In fact there were some from both groups so eminent that they were rightly teachers even of the eminent teachers and as it were, by squaring them, prepared them to erect the building of the house of the Lord.[49]

However, the Gentile woodcutters were at first supervised by Solomon's workmen because even though they were more experienced, they needed to be shown how to cut the planks of wood to the right length. Bede explains this by showing that:

> What this symbolises is plain, namely, that the apostles had a surer knowledge of how to preach to others the word of the Gospel which they were privileged to hear from the Lord, but the gentiles, converted from error and brought into conformity with the truth of the gospel, had a better knowledge of the actual errors of the gentiles, and the surer their knowledge the more skilfully they learned to counteract and refute them.[50]

These passages illustrate that as far as Bede was concerned, not only did the Gentiles play an integral role in the building of the Temple but they also signified that the Temple was a symbol of the Universal Church. Bede had this interpretation in mind while constructing the text as he chose to exclude some passages, namely I Kings 5:7-12, 6:11-14 and 7:1-12.

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[47] O'Reilly, 1995: xxx
[48] Ibid.: xxxiv
[49] *Dolauerunt autem lapides non solum caementarii Salomonis sed et caementarii Hiram quia ex utroque populo doctors fuere sanctae ecclesiae, immo tam sublimes ex utropque Dei populo fuere non nulli qui ipsorum quoque doctorum sublimium iure doctors existerent et quasi quadrantes eos ad subleuandum domus domini aedificium pararent*. Bede, *De Temp.*: I, 4.2; Hurst, 1969: 155; trans., Connolly, 1995: 15
[50] *Cuius rei figura in promptu est quia nimirum apostoli certius uerbum euangelii qoud a domino audire meruerunt aliis praedicare nouerunt, sed gentiles ab errore conuersi atque ad ueritatem euangelii transformati Melius Ipsos gentium errores nouerant et quo certius nouerunt eo artificiosius hos expugnare atque euacuare didicerunt*; Bede, *De Temp.*: I, 2.4; Hurst, 1969: 150; trans., Connolly, 1995: 8-9

Chapter 5:7-12 relates how Hiram negotiated with Solomon to provide goods and skills for the building of the Temple in return for payment in food.[51] As Bede used Hiram as an example of how the Temple was built with the help of the Gentiles, it would have been contradictory to his message and difficult to explain how Hiram took part in both the construction of the Temple for God and the future Church while at the same time receiving payment for his services.[52] The second exclusion, Chapter 6:11-14, where God states that if Solomon executes his judgement and keeps the commandments God will dwell among the Children of Israel, does not include mention of the Gentiles and proselytes;[53] Bede probably decided to remove the passage as it weakened his message of the universality of the construction of the Temple. Chapter 7:1-12 was cut for other reasons; the passage deals with the construction of Solomon's house, not the Temple.[54]

But the concept of the Universal Church was not the only theme Bede asserted in these passages. He was also stating that to fully comprehend the word of the Lord it is necessary to recognise that the Old Testament is integral to fully understanding the New Testament; it is the teacher that is ultimately superseded by its student. And the only way to gain a surer knowledge and avoid errors was by reading and understanding not only the text of the Bible, but also the works of exegetes, such as Bede himself. In *De Templo* he was instructing spiritual teachers to ensure that they fully understood the message they were passing on to others, while at the same time showing that the Temple can be used as an allegory of the Universal Church. This further supported his argument that the English Gentiles were the new chosen people of God,[55] the theme that he developed further in his *Historia* written around the same time as *De Templo*, in *c*.731.[56]

In *Historia*, Bede provides a detailed account of the history of England, from the invasion of 55BC by Julius Caesar to the time in which he was writing (*c*. 731). In this text,

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[51] I Kgs 5:11
[52] Morrison, 2007: 253
[53] I Kgs 6:13
[54] I Kgs 7:1-12
[55] DeGreggorio, 2010b: 132
[56] Laistner and King, 1943: 75

Bede uses the Old Testament to illustrate parallels between the Anglo-Saxons and the Israelites. He specifically uses the Books of Kings to show how events relating to the English kings were paralleled in the Bible. For example, he writes of how Æthelfrith of Northumbria:

> ravaged the Britons more extensively than any other English ruler. He might indeed be compared with Saul who was once king of Israel, but with this exception, that Æthelfrith was ignorant of the divine religion […] To him […] could fittingly be applied the words which the patriarch said when he was blessing of his son, 'Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night shall divide the spoil.'[57]

Here Bede refers to the Old Testament books of Samuel and Genesis in order to portray Æthelfrith as a strong and courageous warrior who nevertheless committed many cruelties (because he was ignorant of the true religion), akin to Saul from the tribe of Benjamin.

Frequently in *Historia*, Bede also plays on the parallels between Old Testament passages about the wrath of God and the past and current events of his own times. He details the sinful corruption of the Britons prior to the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons as justification for the events that followed, for "the fires kindled by the hands of the heathen executed the just vengeance of God on the nation for its crime. It was not unlike that fires once kindled by the Chaldeans which consumed the walls and all the buildings of Jerusalem."[58]

In this section the Anglo-Saxons are the Chaldeans, whereas the Britons are depicted as figures from Old Israel, consumed by fire and conquest. Later however, the Anglo-Saxons are shown as representations of the New Israel when, for example, the heavenly light appears over Oswald's tomb,[59] or when Cædmon is blessed with God's gift of poetry,[60] showing the Anglo-Saxons as the chosen people of God. This paradox ties in closely with Bede's perception of the Jews themselves. He had to simultaneously show that these people were both chosen by God and were responsible for crucifying Christ. In *Historia* he does this by

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[57] "*qui plus omnibus Anglorum primatibus gentem uastauit Brettonum, ita ut Sauli quondam regi Israheliticae gentis conparaandus uideretur, excepto dumtaxat hoc, quod diuinae erat religionis ignarus.* […] *Cui merito poterat illud, quod benedicens filium patriarcha in personam Saulis dicebat, aptari: 'Beniamin lupus rapax; mane comedat praedam et uespere diuidet spolia.'*" Bede, *HE*: 1.34; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 116-17; Gen. 49:27

[58] "*Siquidem, ut breuiter dicam, accensus manibus paganorum ignis iustas de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones expetiit, non illius inpar qui quondam a Chaldaeis succensus Heirosolymorum moenia, immo aedificia cuncta consumsit.*" Bede, *HE*: 1.15 Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 52-53; 2 Kgs 25.8-10

[59] Bede, *HE*: 3.11; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 246-47

[60] Bede, *HE*: 4.24; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 416-17

showing that when people follow the word of the Lord correctly they are blessed with his good grace, but when they sin against him, they are shown the full force of his power. Through the combination of presenting the Anglo-Saxons as akin to, rather than as the Israelites themselves, and emphasising the punishment of sins, Bede seeks to traverse the difficult subject of the Israelites. He uses the Old Testament to show that the events of England have their parallel in the Bible and therefore, its people are chosen, much like the Israelites had been. However, the Israelites fell from God's grace as they failed to follow the correct faith, thereby denying Christ. So, in *Historia* there is an underlying current that only through the correct understanding and following of the Bible will the English retain God's grace, this being the only way to avoid the same fate as the Israelites.

At the time the Israelites were a useful tool to explain why certain events both had and continued to take place (such as the invasion of England by the Anglo-Saxons), a subject fraught with danger as they were chosen by God and failed to recognise his son. Bede frequently addressed this subject attempting to show their merit, their flaws and how they could be used as exemplars. The masterful way he juggled this theme is brought into relief when his work is considered alongside that of his near contemporary, Aldhelm (*c.*639-709) who appears to avoid the subject altogether, only rarely referring to the Israelites in order to vilify them for crucifying Christ.[61] This indicates what a minefield discussing the Israelites could be during this period.

In the later Reformation period, scholars again attempted to navigate the issues presented by the Israelites as being both good and evil. Alfred was one such individual for whom the Old Testament could be used to reflect on current events. As mentioned, he furnished the prose section of the Paris Psalter with introductions that not only expanded on each of the Psalms, but also gave insight into how the current climate could be viewed as akin to that of David and Hezekiah.[62] Furthermore, he used the Old Testament when

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[61] Scheil, 2004: 200
[62] Foot, 1996: 31

composing his law codes, rooting them firmly in Old Testament and historical tradition. By drawing on Mosaic law as well as earlier Anglo-Saxon laws established for the kingdoms over which he now had lordship, he was uniting them under a common and shared law with biblical and historical precedence.[63] His law codes open with Mosaic law, taken mainly from Exodus and beginning with the Ten Commandments. Then moves on to discuss how these Old Testament laws were adapted for Christian nations.[64] Thus in his laws Alfred, like Bede, was presenting the Anglo-Saxons as akin to the Israelites, sharing their laws and through this showing the Anglo-Saxons to be the new chosen people of God.[65]

Ælfric was another Reformation figure who attempted to negotiate the tricky subject of the Israelites. Like Bede, he wrote extensively on the subject of the Old Testament in homilies, letters and biblical commentaries, with a preface to Genesis written by him as an opening to the OE Hexateuch. One of his homilies, with the modern-day title of *Maccabees*,[66] shows that the difficulties faced by Bede and his contemporaries on how to view the Israelites, did not get any easier.

Maccabees is in fact a condensed translation of the Vulgate text of I and II Maccabees, arranged in unique order by Ælfric. He chooses passages such as the martyrdom of Eleazar in II Maccabees 6, where the heathens seize the aging scribe Eleazar and force him to eat meat which had been forbidden by Moses. Ælfric then goes on to describe the significance of this, stating that the Old Law defined unclean beasts as those with uncloven hooves or those that do not chew their cud. This meant, for him, that men who meditate on the teachings of God and contemplate his words are like the clean beasts who chew their cud, while those that do not understand his words are like the unclean beasts.[67] He further expands this point by stating that the cloven hoof signifies the faithful Christian who believes

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[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.: 32
[66] BL, MS Cotton Julius E. vii, fols139v–53r; CCCC, MS 303, fols 341r–62r; CCCC, MS 198, fols 328r-42v; and Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.i.33, fols 185r–93v
[67] Scheil, 1999: 74-75

in both the Old and New Testaments, while the unclean beast signifies those who only believe in] one or the other Testament.[68] What starts out as an example of the heroism and virtue of a Jewish martyr, ends as a vilification of the Jews for their belief in only the one Testament.[69]

Nevertheless, throughout the text of *Maccabees* Ælfric seems confused as to how to view the Jews. In the Old Testament they are courageous, heroic believers in the one true God, but in the New Testament they were responsible for the death of Christ. In Jewish history the Maccabees in particular faced up to overwhelming heathen opposition in order to protect their laws and beliefs, a virtue that probably appealed to Ælfric, who was writing at a time when the Anglo-Saxons were experiencing analogous events with the Scandinavians alongside the reform of the Church in the southern England. In fact, in a *Letter to Siegeweard* Ælfric explains that he had translated Maccabees into English: "Because they fought mightily with weapons against the heathen army, which fought mightily against them and to supress the love of God…read them (if you wish) for your own instruction."[70]

This clearly implies that he believed the Jews of the Old Testament could be used as examples of how to deal with modern-day foes. However, at the same time Ælfric felt that while it was right for the Israelites to fight, a Christian should not. Although Judas Maccabeus was right to fight for his people and their beliefs, he felt that a spiritual warrior was far more virtuous than a worldly one, Christ's arrival changed the way people should fight, the important battle was not the physical one but the spiritual battle against the Devil, perhaps involving church reform.[71] It is thus difficult to establish whether *Maccabees* was written as a response to the Scandinavians, or as an attempt to rally people to maintain the recent reforms of the Church. Ælfric clearly finds it difficult to reconcile the Jews, chosen by God, with the crucifiers of Christ, and the heroic Israelites fighting for their beliefs against

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[68] Ibid.: 75
[69] Ibid.
[70] "For ðan Þe heo wunnon mid wæpnum Þa swiðe wið Þone hæðenan here […] God geaf,; Godes lof alecgan […] rædon gif ge wyllað eow sylfum to rædel!" Ælfric, *Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Novo*; Crawford, 1922: 49-51; trans., Scheil, 1999: 78. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343)
[71] Scheil, 1999: 80-81

a heathen foe, with contemporary Christian beliefs on warfare. With the arrival of the Scandinavians the use of the Jews in Anglo-Saxon literature became far more complex than it had been for Bede. Bede's Israelites, although still confusing, were more clearly defined that those of Ælfric. It seems unclear from *Maccabees*, whether Ælfric meant that aggression was justified against the heathens (either referring to the Scandinavians or those who were not part of the Reform), as it had been in the Old Testament, or whether they should attempt to convert the heathens to the true religion; perhaps even he did not know the answer to this conundrum. The Scandinavians had certainly created a problem for Ælfric; trying to marry justified conflict against a heathen foe, with Christian notions of peace harmony and reform, was in no way an easy feat and probably explain why there appear to be so many mixed messages in *Maccabees*.

2.4 Old Testament Poetry in Anglo-Saxon England

The heroic battle imagery presented in *Maccabees* certainly recalls that of the heroic poetry which survives from the period, so perhaps this was an attempt by Ælfric to justify war through the use of the Old Testament. The positive battle imagery presented in such poems as *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel* – all preserved in the Junius manuscript – certainly shows military action against a heathen foe as righteous and supported by God. It is probable that Ælfric was aware of vernacular Old Testament poetry and its portrayal of war and strong military leaders in a positive light and used this to his advantage, linking exegetical work with the culturally popular heroic poetry.[72]

There are only four surviving examples of poems which directly take books of the Old Testament and adapt them to suit the purpose of the Anglo-Saxon composer or commissioner. Three of these survive in Junius 11 and the other, dealing with the Book of Judith, survives in the Nowell Codex.[73] These, however, are not the only examples of the

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[72] Ibid.
[73] fols. 202r-209v

direct use of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon poetry; there are also surviving poems which blend Psalms with Anglo-Saxon verse, such as the late-ninth to tenth-century poem *Solomon and Saturn*,[74] which takes the figure of Solomon, exemplifying wisdom, and pits him in a battle of wits against the god Saturn.

The first of the three poems in Junius 11 is the Old English *Genesis*, which comprises of two poems merged into one: *Genesis A*, which consists of an original introduction by the poet, spanning 111 lines, followed by an adaptation of the Vulgate version of Genesis 1-22; and *Genesis B* – embedded in lines 235-851 of *Genesis A* – which does not follow the biblical text of Genesis, choosing instead to depict the fall of the Angels and the fall of man.[75] Therefore, the poem *Genesis* is in no way a faithful rendition of the first twenty-two chapters of the Book of Genesis; there are almost 150 verses omitted and over 300 additions of content that span more than an OE poetic half-line.[76] Of these, three episodes in particular depart dramatically from the biblical text. First, is the poet's introduction in *Genesis A* (lines 1-111), which explains what happened prior to the opening lines of the Book of Genesis. Second, is the whole of the *Genesis B* text, which again deals with the subject of the fall of Angels. Both serve to combine the creation of earth, heaven, hell and humanity into a single narrative.

The third major divergence from the biblical text is of a very different nature. Lines 1960-2095 present a dramatic expansion of Abraham's martial exploits recounted in Genesis 14, beginning with the battle between the kings and the capture of Lot (lines 1960-2017), before moving on to Abraham's preparations to rescue Lot (lines 2018-2059), and finishing with the battle against the kings and the final rescue (lines 2060-95). In these lines the poet has consciously chosen to dramatically alter the focus of the narrative from the biblical text, which predominantly consists of a list of names and places, to a presentation of combat at

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[74] Nowell Codex, fols 86v-93v; For a discussion regarding the date of the poem see, Anlezark, 2009: 49-57
[75] *Genesis B* is thought to have been composed around 840, with a fragment of an Old Saxon version of the poem providing confirmation of this hypothesis, which now survives in the Vatican library (Rome, Vatican Library, MS Palatinus Latinus 144). See Sievers, 1875: 36; Capek, 1971: 89; Doane, 1991: 11-12
[76] Orchard, 2002: 120

which the Bible merely hints.[77] But not only does *Genesis,* deliberately refocus the narrative in this section it also remodels the story to appeal to the contemporary audience, by inserting motifs such as the use of birds of battle (lines 1983-85; 2059-61; 2088). There is also a deliberate stress on geographic affiliation, where the south is shown in a favourable light and the north is shown as evil. This has no biblical precedence but would have perhaps appealed to a contemporary late tenth to early eleventh audience.[78]

Between lines 1960-2095 there are ten examples of this insistence on the negative north positive south divide which Salmon and Hill have both demonstrated was associated and a disjuncture popularised by patristic authorities such as Augustine and Gregory and was adopted by Anglo-Saxon writers such as Bede.[79] And this is not the only occurrence of non-biblical, yet exegetical, ideas being incorporated into the text of *Genesis*. Further examples feature the sons of God of Genesis 6, identified as the children of Seth (lines 1245-52) and the naming of the four women aboard Noah's ark (lines 1546-49).[80] Such passages show that the poet was well versed with the works of the patristic fathers and used them to modify the story of Genesis to appeal to the anticipated Anglo-Saxon audience, perhaps even using Abraham as an example of a successful leader chosen by God overcoming a "northern" foe.

The poem ends with the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, which can be seen as an allegorical account of the Crucifixion.[81] Following the association well-established in the works of Augustine,[82] Isaac was understood to have carried the wood that was to be used for his sacrifice, just as Christ carried his wooden cross. This was also set out in the Old English wording of the Creed where the obscuring of subject or object, "wude bær sunu*"* (line 2887b), meant both "the son bore wood" and "wood bore the son", encapsulating grammatically the fact that Christ bore the cross and the cross bore Christ.[83] This almost

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[77] Ibid.: 122
[78] Ibid.: 123-124
[79] Salmon, 1963: 118-23; Hill, 1969: 303-11
[80] Orchard, 2002: 125
[81] McKill, 1978: 5; Bede, *H. Abb.* 9: Grocock and Wood, 2013: 44-45
[82] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 16.32; Dombart And Kalb, 1955: 536
[83] Creed, 1967: 80

canonical association makes the *Genesis* passage rich in symbolic meaning and a fitting way to end the poem, as it not only foreshadows the Crucifixion, but also associates the epitome of faith and obedience to God.[84]

Immediately following *Genesis* in Junius 11 is the poem *Exodus* which, like *Genesis*, is not a faithful representation of the biblical text. The poem concentrates mainly on Exodus 13-14: the Israelites escape from Egypt (lines 30a-53b), their wandering in the desert (lines 54a-97b), and the crossing of the Red Sea (lines 98a-515b). The poem begins with the statement:

> Lo! Far and wide throughout the world we have heard men tell of the laws of Moses, a wondrous code for the race of men – reward of life for all the blessed after the fateful journey, and lasting instruction for every living soul. Let him hear it who will![85]

This passage contains two calls to attention, an unusual device employed by this poem. The first – "Hwæt!" – is found at the beginning of many OE poems, including *Beowulf, Juliana, Vainglory,* and *Dream of the Rood,*[86] and appears to be a relatively common poetic device in Anglo-Saxon poetry. It is the second call to attention – "Gehyre seðe wille!" – that is unusual. The words, "seðe", referring to truth, and "wille", being the active verb, willing something to be, emphatically demands the audience to actively seek the truth conveyed by the poem. This active seeking for the truth in *Exodus*, can immediately be seen, as it introduces itself as being concerned with the Mosaic laws; however, the content of the poem focuses on the events leading up to the crossing of the Red Sea, prior to Moses receiving the laws, which occurs after the Israelites reach Mount Sinai.[87] The reason for this lies in the fact that the poem was intended to be read as an allegory of man's journey from the earthly

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[84] McKill, 1978: 11
[85] "Hwæt! We feor and neah   gefrigen habað
ofer middangeard   Moyses domas,
wræclico wordriht,   wera cneorissum, –
in uprodor   eadigra gehwam
Æfter bealusiðe   bote lifes,
lifigendra gehwam   langsumme ræd, –
hæleðum secgan.   Gehyre seðe wille!" *Exodus,* lines 1a-7b; Krapp, 1931: 91; trans., Earl, 2002: 139
[86] *Beowulf:* Nowell Codex, fols 132r-201v; *Julianna*: Exeter Book, fols 65v-76r; *Vainglory*: Exeter Book, fols 83r-84v, Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Cathedral Library, MS CXVII), fols 104v-106r
[87] Earl, 2002: 139

to the heavenly by means of the sacrament of baptism.[88] Thus, the second call for attention can be seen as alerting the audience to this fact and that *Exodus* is actually about the saving rite of Baptism. The events prior to the crossing of the Red Sea therefore signify or refer to man suffering from his sins; the crossing of the Red Sea symbolise the rite of Baptism and the washing away of sins enabling salvation.[89] And the only way to reach salvation is to follow the word of the Lord, which in the Old Testament are the Mosaic laws. This interpretation is further supported by the inclusion of the stories of the Flood and the sacrifice of Isaac immediately after the Israelites cross the Red Sea. The Flood is another prefiguration of the rite of Baptism, while the sacrifice of Isaac, as noted, prefigures the Crucifixion, in which Christ died for the sins of the world. At the end of these two interspersions the poem then re-joins Moses and the Israelites rejoicing at the defeat of the (Egyptian) enemy washed away in the waters of the Red Sea.

The image of the leader rejoicing with his followers over the defeat of the enemy, however, might well present another meaning lying behind the poem. Moses is shown from the outset as a great law-giver and an exceptional military leader whose success is predominately due to his having been chosen by God.[90] This image of the ideal military leader would certainly have had some impact on the audience, especially during the recording of the poem in the tenth century, when the north had succumbed to Viking attack and the example of a successful (biblical) military leader would possibly have been appealing and comforting. It is conceivable that at the time of composition a similar conflict could have occurred, where the success of Moses was used as an exemplar for a prosperous leader in times of difficulty.

There is a heavy militaristic feel to *Exodus*; a poem set before the organisation of the Israelites into an army, which does not occur until the Book of Numbers.[91] Furthermore, the

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[88] Herman, 1976: 2-3; Earl, 2002: 140; Zimmerman, 1995: 62-63
[89] Earl, 2002: 140
[90] Wyly, 1999: 221
[91] Earl, 2002: 155; Remley, 1996: 184

poet when describing the militaristic aspects of the Israelites does so in a very Germanicising way.[92] For example, the poet describes the battle standard carried by the tribe of Judah as they prepare to cross the Red Sea as, "[a] golden lion, bravest of all beasts, amid that spear host".[93] Although the tribe of Judah is not mentioned in association with the lion standard, there are examples of the standards of each of the twelve tribes of Israel preserved in the Anglo-Saxon manuscript, the Bury Psalter (fig. 4.72).[94] The adorning of standards with animal imagery appears to be an Anglo-Saxon tradition with the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* detailing a banner with the image of a raven on it.[95] The inclusion of the battle standard in *Exodus* could thus have been a device to reveal parallels between the Anglo-Saxons and the Israelites. Not only that, the choice of the lion, the emblem of the tribe of Judah from which Christ was descended, shows that the composer of the poem must have had knowledge of the exegesis surrounding the tribes of Israel and their emblems. *Exodus* therefore, is not only a poem based on the text of the Book of Exodus, but it blends in the exegesis surrounding the text and brings in elements of Anglo-Saxon traditions to make the subject matter more readily available and accessible for the audience.

This theme of accessibility for the audience is also distinct in the final Old Testament poem of the Junius 11: *Daniel*. Like the two poems that precede it, *Daniel* is not a faithful rendition of the biblical Book of Daniel. However, unlike *Exodus,* it does not deal so much with the qualities of a great leader and military success, as with the consequences of vice. It takes as its subject matter only the first five chapters of the Book of Daniel, leading some scholars to think that the poem may once have been longer;[96] although others have argued that the first five chapters provide a balanced narrative and the poet would not necessarily

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[92] Wright, 2002: 188

[93]   "Gyldenne leon,
    Drihtfolca mæst, deora cenost." *Exodus* lines 321b-322b; Krapp, 1931: 100; trans., Wright, 2002: 188

[94] Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, MS reg. Lat. 12, fol. 109r-v; Wright, 2002: 191

[95] "þar wæs se guðfana genumen þe hi ræfen heton." ASC E 878; Irvine, 2004: 50

[96] Krapp, 1931: xxxi; Gollancz, 1927: lxxxix; Anderson, 2002: 230

have needed or wanted to include the sixth chapter as its subject matter is of a different nature to the first five.[97]

The first thirty-two lines of the poem, however, have no biblical source. Their purpose is to highlight the fact that the people of Israel that had once prospered and enjoyed great military strength thought their observance of the covenant made with God, had fallen from grace as: "Pride and drunken thought took control of them at their feasting with devilish deeds".[98] The consequence of their debauchery was that God allowed the Babylonians, led by Nebuchadnezzar, to sack the city of Jerusalem (lines 41b-55b), plunder the temple of Solomon and imprison the Israelites (lines 56a-74b). The poem then goes onto detail how Nebuchadnezzar erects an idol and continues to worship false gods even after a young Israelite – Daniel – manages to successfully interpret the king's dreams (lines 158a-674b) as a warning against the ill-advised nature of his actions. The rest of the poem details the persecution of the Israelites for their beliefs and the hardships endured of Nebuchadnezzar and his descendants prophesised by Daniel (675a-764b).

Whether the poem was composed before or after the Viking raids and Scandinavian settlement, its recording in Junius 11 places it directly in keeping with the events of current Scandinavian activities and the reform of the Church in the south. It must thus have held some special relevance for the compiler of the manuscript, as it provides an explanation for the invasion and ransacking of nations that believe in God by "heathen" foes. Bede, following Gildas, had thought that the Britons had succumbed to invasion through their sinful and wicked ways;[99] it is quite possible that the composer of *Daniel* or the compiler of the manuscript felt the same way, seeing the biblical narrative as an explanation of the events happening around them. Accordingly, the reason the Anglo-Saxons were "continually attacked" by the Scandinavians was due to their corrupt and sinful ways; God however, would ultimately seek vengeance on their heathen ways unless they too converted to the true

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[97] Farrell, 2002: 205
[98] "[…] hie wlenco onwod   æt winÞege
deofoldædum,   druncne geðohtas." *Daniel,* lines 17a-18b; Krapp, 1931: 111; trans in Farrell, 2002: 208
[99] Bede, *HE*: 1.15; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 52-53

faith (specifically that of the Reformation). While Ælfric seemed to be torn between the ideas of fighting the heathen foes and attempting to convert them, *Daniel*, manages not only to explain why the believers in God should be punished, but shows that the best way to fight the enemy is to stay strong in belief and show the opponent the error of his ways.

As noted Ælfric experienced some difficulty in trying to reconcile fighting against foes to protect the faith with contemporary Christian notions on warfare in his work on *Maccabees.* It was a theme he encountered further in his exegesis on the Book of Judith,[100] which is thought to have been composed around the same time as the late tenth- to early eleventh-century poem *Judith*, preserved in the Nowell Codex.[101] It is unknown whether Ælfric ever came into contact with the poem or was even aware of its existence and the two versions differ on many points.[102] Nevertheless, the survival of two examples of literature related to the Book of Judith, from the same period in Anglo-Saxon history, surely points to its importance during the period.

The poem *Judith* is in fragmentary form, with only 349 lines surviving and it is placed immediately after *Beowulf*. Like the poems in Junius 11, the narrative has been changed to adapt the biblical story to the message the composer wished to present. For example, the description of the feast in the Vulgate has Judith present, where she calmly accepts the offer from Holofernes to drink, and the text remarks that he drinks more than he had ever drunk before. In the poem, however, Judith is absent from the feast altogether, with detailed attention being given to the drunken festivities of Holofernes and his men. Astell has argued that Judith's absence from the feast was an attempt by the poet to reflect exegetical writing, where importance is placed on Judith's sobriety and the Assyrians' drunkenness. [103]

Furthermore, before the beheading, Judith prays to the Trinity, while Holofernes continues to star in the role of the villainous drunk: yet another divergence from the Vulgate

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[100] CCCC, MS 303, fols 341r–62r and fragments in BL MS Cotton Otho B.x , fols 29r-30r
[101] Fols 202r-209v; Liuzza, 2000: 11; Astell, 1989: 117
[102] For example, the poems depiction of Judith as an unblemished heroine, verses Ælfric's portrayal of Judith as must more of an Eve-like character, deceiving and tempting Holofernes. Lee, 1999: 3c
[103] Astell, 1989: 122-23; Lee, 1999: 3b

text which presents Holofernes as a great war leader. The demonization of Holofernes contrasted with Judith at prayer, helps to overcome the issue of how killing can be a righteous act.[104] After the beheading, in the Book of Judith, the Assyrians are shown fleeing only after discovering Holofernes's headless body, with Judith's army following them and cutting them down from the rear. The poem changes this dramatically, with Judith and the Israelites boldly confronting the desperately hung-over Assyrian army barely aware their leader has been executed, and with God on their side they are victorious (lines 212b-311a).

This change in narrative, highlighting Judith's sobriety and faith, and the Assyrians' drunkenness, and the change from the potentially cowardly cutting down of the Assyrian army from behind, to a battle, sends a specific message. If the poem is correctly dated to the late-tenth to early-eleventh century, then the Assyrians can be seen as representative of the Scandinavians, who were notorious in the literature for their drinking and feasting, while the Israelites can be understood as representative of the Anglo-Saxons, who, as obedient and faithful servants of God, will succeed in overcoming their heathen foes.[105]

Thus, the seeming popularity of the Book of Judith during the period of the poem's apparent composition and Ælfric's homily, could possibly be due to the close parallels perceived to exist between the Scandinavians and the Assyrians and the Anglo-Saxons and the Israelites. Although Ælfric chose to emphasis the chastity and faith represented by the figure Judith, rather than the slaughter and defeat of the enemy, his message is a similar to that presented in *Judith*: that with strong faith and the avoidance of sin, God will ultimately reward his followers and punish those who strike against them.

The four surviving poems based on biblical books, all use and adapt their respective texts to create something new that would be relevant to their contemporary audiences. *Solomon and Saturn,* despite not being based on a biblical book, also functions in this way. In the poem Solomon, the wisest of the kings of Israel, is presented in dialogue with Saturn,

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[104] Lee, 1999: 3c
[105] Astell, 1989: 130; some of the poem pre-dates the tenth century, suggesting it had been circulating prior to its recording in the tenth century. See Griffith, 1997: 47

one of the gods of Roman mythology, in what is essentially a riddle contest between the two. The text survives in three versions: one prose[106] and two verse, one of which is interspersed with prose.[107]

It belongs to a genre of Old English writings known as wisdom literature,[108] a term also used to describe a major literary tradition in the Old Testament. Although the term was not used until the nineteenth century, the Anglo-Saxons would have been well aware of the tradition.[109] By using the figure of Solomon, the poet takes this biblical tradition and links it emphatically with the Anglo-Saxon tradition of wisdom literature in a far more obvious way than any other extant Anglo-Saxon wisdom poem.[110] The content of the poem sees Solomon and Saturn in a heated debate, using riddles and riddle-like descriptions to both ask and answer questions. Throughout, Saturn appears to be not only intrigued about esoteric subjects, such as the *Vasa Mortis* (lines 271a-272b), but also questions why suffering and injustice exist in the world (lines 434a-440b). Solomon repeatedly states that they are inevitable conditions and invokes biblical precedence, such as the fall of angels (lines 450a-466b), to show that there is historical antecedence for evil in the world. These questions would surely have had some relevance to the audience of the poem, which was again recorded in a manuscript during the period immediately following the Viking attacks. *Solomon and Saturn* takes the biblical character of Solomon and shows that through his wisdom and faith in God he is able to understand and explain the world around him.

And by taking an Old Testament "prophet" and presenting him in a riddling context, the poem also deals with the ways in which the Bible could be read and understood. It demonstrates that the only way in which to have a fuller understanding of the Word of God is after much thought and mediation upon the paradoxical words of the sacred text. Only

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[106] Which is found in the Nowell Codex after a translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus. Fols 86v-93v
[107] CCCC, MS 422; and CCCC, MS 41
[108] See Hansen, 1988: 3-7 for a discussion on the origins of the term wisdom literature.
[109] Hansen, 1988: 12
[110] The Exeter Book contains a large number of these poems, which include: *The Wanderer, The Ruin* and *The Seafarer*.

then can the full meaning behind the stories be unlocked. This is especially relevant for the Old Testament, as it was long established that only through deep and careful reading of the text that one could fully understand how the Old foreshadows the New and how contemporary problems ultimately have their precedence in the Bible.[111]

2.5 Other Manifestations of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England

Alongside the poetry, biblical commentaries, letters and homilies there are a collection of works that reference the Old Testament in a more abstract way. Like Bede's *Historia*, these use the Old Testament in a relatively loose way, predominately referencing ideas and concepts, rather than providing a commentary on the physical text of the Bible.

Creation poetry certainly seems to have had a certain appeal in Anglo-Saxon England, possibly due to the societies' need for origins and the emphasis on kin.[112] A further example demonstrating the probability of this motivation can be found in the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*. The Winchester manuscript[113] entry for the year 855 details the genealogy of Æthelwulf who:

> was Egbert's offspring, Egbert Ealhmund's offspring, Ealhmund Eafa's offspring, Eafa Eoppa's offspring, Eoppa Ingeld's offspring; Ingeld was the brother of Ine, king of Wessex…and they were the sons of Cenred; Cenred was Coelwald's offspring, Ceolwald Cutha's offspring, Cutha Cuthwine's offspring, Cuthwine Ceawlin's offspring, Ceawlin Cynric's offspring, Cynric Cerdic's offspring, Cerdic Elesa's offspring, Elesa Esla's offspring, Esla Gewis' offspring, Gewis Wig's offspring, Wig Freawine's offspring, Freawine Frithugar's offspring, Frithugar Brand's offspring, Brand Bældæg's offspring, Bældæg Woden's offspring, Woden Frithuwald's offspring, Frithuwald Freawube's offspring, Freawine Frealaf's offspring, Frelaf Frithuwulf's offspring, Frithuwulf Finn's offspring, Finn Godwulf's offspring, Godwulf Geat's offspring, Geat Tætwa's offspring, Tætwa Beaw's offspring, Beaw Sceldwa's offspring, Sceldwa Heremod's offspring, Heremod Itermon's offspring, Itermon Hrathra's offspring – he was born in the ark: Noah, Lamech, Methuselah, Enoch, Jared, Mahalaeel, Cainan, Enos, Seth, Adam the first man, *and our father who is Christ*.[114]

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[111] Jonassen, 1988: 5

[112] Wehlau, 1997: 9

[113] CCCC 173

[114] "wæs Ecgbrehtin'g′, Ecgbryht Ealhmunding, Ealhmund Eafing, Eafa Eopping, Eoppa Ingilding; Ingild wæs Ines broþur Westseaxna cyninges, […] 7 þær eft his feorh gesealde; 7 hie wæron Cenredes suna, Cenred wæs Ceolwalding, Ceowald Cuþaing, Cuþa Cuþwining, Cuþ'wine′ Ceaulining, Ceawlin Cynricing, Cynric Cerdicing, Cerdic Elesing, Elesa Esling, Elsa Giwising, Giwis Wiging, Wig Freawining, Freawine

The Abingdon manuscripts also preserve this genealogy,[115] although they differ slightly by adding a further three generations between Hrathra and Noah, naming Scef as the offspring of Noah.[116] The extension of a royal line back to Woden was long established, and likely has its own origin in the oral poetry. This was usually the point at which the genealogies tended to stop, although in the first half of the ninth century some genealogies were extended back to Geat.[117] It is not until the entry of 855 (which was possibly added around 892),[118] that we see genealogies being taken back even further to the first man in the Judeo-Christian tradition: Adam. By tracing their ancestry back to Woden, chieftains and kings originally legitimatised their authority by demonstrating their descent from a god (following a Christianisation process), or a great king. In the early ninth century, this was extended back to Geat following the Carolingian rediscovery of their Germanic roots demonstrating one's ancestry from Geat served as a propaganda tool for the English kings.[119] Æthelwulf's descendants however used this to bolster their status even further, by linking Æthelwulf to the first man (Adam), and so ultimately to Christ and God himself. Thus, the ruler was presented as descended from legendary (Germanic) figures such as Scef, Sceldwea (also known as Scyld) Beaw and Heremod, as well as the Christian God.[120]

Again, written in England following the Scandinavian settlement, we see Æthelwulf and his descendant Æthelweard, using Old Testament figures, and more importantly, blending these with legendary Germanic figures as means of validating their royal

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Friþogaring, Friþogar Bronding, Brond Bęldæging, Bęldæg Wodening, Woden Friþowalding, Friþuwald Freawining, Frealaf Friþuwulfing, Friþuwulf Finning, Fin Godwulfing, Godwulf Geating, Geat Tętwaing, Tętwa Beawing, Beaw Sceldwaing, Sceldwea Heremongind, Heremond Itermoning, Itermon Hraþraing, se wæs geboren in þære earce, Noe, Lamech, Matusalem, Enoh, Iaered, Maleel, Camon, Enos, Sed, Adam *primus homo; et pater noster est Christus* […]" ASC A 855; Bately, 1986: 45-46; italics to represent the change in language from OE to Latin.
[115] ASC B: London, BL, MSS Cotton Tiberius A. vi, fols 1-35 and Tiberius A. iii, fol. 178; ASC C: London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius B. I, fols 112-164
[116] ASC A 855; Bately, 1986: 45-46
[117] Frank, 1991: 95
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.

authority.[121] It was a method later adopted by Alfred in his laws, where he blended Germanic tradition with Old Testament authority as a way to validate his own position as king.[122] It seems, especially in the south after the Scandinavian settlement, that the ultimate way for a king to demonstrate his authority and influence was to show his succession from Old Testament leaders. Not only was the text of the Old Testament seen as an authority on how to understand a world that had suffered attack from a heathen foe, but the only way in which to establish one's success as a ruler in this world was to show a direct blood relation with the leaders of the Old Testament.[123]

One such example of this "indirect" use of the Old Testament can also be found in various Anglo-Saxon poems that discuss the creation of the world. These can take the form of biblical poems, wisdom poetry and riddles. Bede preserved one such example in his *Historia* 4.24 where he recounts how Cædmon, a cowherd on the Whitby monastic estate, was honoured by God in order that he could make Christian songs. When asked to sing about Creation, after some hesitation, he burst into song:

> Now we must praise the Maker of the heavenly kingdom, the power of the Creator and his counsel, the deeds of the Father of glory and how He, since he is the eternal God, was the Author of all marvels and first created the heavens as a roof for the children of men and then, the almighty Guardian of the human race, created the earth.[124]

Bede then goes on to mention that Cædmon was responsible for the creation of other poetic works, including poems on the biblical subject matter of Genesis, Exodus, Christ's incarnation and ascension, the decent of the Holy Spirit and Judgement Day.[125] The only poem preserved however, is his supposed first poem, on Creation.

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[121] Meaney, 2003: 33
[122] Jolliffe, 1937: 50
[123] Ibid.: 50-51
[124] "*Nunc laudare / debemus auctorem regni caelestis, potentiam Creatoris et consilium illius, facta Patris gloriae: quomodo ille, cum sit aeternus Deus, omnium miraculorum auctor extitit, qui primo filiis hominum caelum pro culmine tecti, dehinc terram Custos humani generis omnipotens creauit.*" Bede, *HE*: 24; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 416-17
[125] Bede, *HE*: 24; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 419

While this clearly owes its preservation to Bede's *Historia*, it had survived for some fifty years before it was recorded/translated into Latin by Bede.[126] It is possible that one reason for its survival over that of the others was its subject matter. The Germanic roots and oral culture of the Anglo-Saxons meant that knowledge of origins was key.[127] This was often preserved through poetry, where a scop used poetry to preserve genealogies and general histories. *Widsith* and *Deor* are two such examples of this preservation of past events and people.[128] *Deor* lists several figures who had experienced troubles, ending with the line "That was overcome, so may this be".[129] The poet does not go into detail as to what their troubles were, merely hinting at stories and so implying a group knowledge of the events alluded to. In *Widsith* the poet appears to use three mnemonic lists to detail rulers, their people, and the culture of gift-giving by rulers to poets for their work, again, implying a group interest in and knowledge of historic people and their rulers. The references to gifts, such as land, which is present in both poems,[130] shows that the poet was held in high regard in Anglo-Saxon society; the poet in *Beowulf* is even described as "glorying in words" (guma gilp-hlæden),[131] and is seen literally weaving Beowulf into a poem concerning the heroic figures of legend, beginning with Sigemund.[132] It is possible, therefore, that the recording of Creation poetry was yet another example of this preservation of history and origins, explaining the survival of Cædmon's poem on the subject and not his others compositions.

The emphasis on history and the apparent interest in it by the Anglo-Saxons is further highlighted by laws surrounding succession and birth-rights. The rank, privilege and birth-right of a man was only valid if he could establish his inheritance from four generations and point to a full kindred, extending from the four degrees of decent,[133] thus, before

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[126] Wehlau, 1997: 9

[127] Ibid.

[128] Both are preserved in the Exeter Book

[129] "Þæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg!" *Deor*, line 42; Krapp and Dobbie, 1936: 179

[130] Opland, 1980: 216. *Deor*, line 40b; Krapp and Dobbie, 1936: 179; *Widsith*, line 95b; Krapp and Dobbie, 1936: 153

[131] *Beowulf,* line 868a; Chickering, 1977: 98-99

[132] *Beowulf,* lines 874b-924b, Chickering, 1977: 98-101

[133] Jolliffe, 1937:2; William, 1982: 7

Christianisation they had their own version of origins and the creation of the world,[134] which possibly made the story of the Christian Creation more resonant, and therefore popular, to a newly converted people.[135]

Furthermore, the poem's emphasis on the Creation being for "the sons of the Earth" and heaven being a roof, appears to suggest that the earth was built as a house for God's people. This concept also appears in *Beowulf* where "[t]he victorious one set the sun and moon, gleams, as light for the land-dwellers, and decorated the regions of the earth with limbs and leaves".[136]

It is a metaphor found again in *The Order of the World*:[137] "Therefore he joined everything thus, each with the other, as he knew how".[138] In these poems God is seen as both the architect and builder of the earth,[139] creating a home specifically for man to dwell in. This again ties the story of Creation to Anglo-Saxon society, with its lords in their halls, a theme so evident in poems such as *Beowulf* and *The Wanderer*. However, in Cædmon hymn the hall and lord are not earthly, but heavenly, and rule over all the earth.

The Order of the World, as well as containing the metaphor of the heavenly hall, also plays on the idea of Creation and the Word of the Lord. In a passage that links Creation with poetry, the poem opens with a statement about how wisdom is to be achieved in what seems to be a direct response to someone asking about creation: "Therefore, he should inquire about the mysteries of created things, he who lives in courage, the deep-minded man, write in his mind the craft of the word-treasury, fasten his mind, think forth well."[140] This opening makes

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[134] For example, Snorrri Surluson records one such early oral Germanic creation myth in his *Edda* in the twelfth century. Snorri Sturluson, *Gylfaginning,* 4-19*;* Faulkes, 1988: 9-21

[135] Gregory the Great even suggests using the familiar when converting the Anglo-Saxons, to make the transition to Christianity easier. Bede, *HE*: 1.30; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 106-107

[136] "gesette sige-hreþig   sunnan ond monan
   leoman to leohte   land-buendum,
   ond gefrætwade   folden sceatas
   leomum ond leafum. *Beowulf,* lines 94a-97a; Chickering, 1977: 54-55. Wehlau, 1997: 20-21

[137] Exeter book, fols 92v-94r

[138] "Forþon eal swa teofonade,   se þe teala cuþe,
   æghwylc wiþ oþrum." *The Order of the World,* lines 43-44a; Krapp and Dobbie, 1936: 164; trans., Wehlau, 1997: 20-21

[139] Wehlau, 1997: 24

[140] "Forþon scyle ascian,   se þe on elne leofað,
   deophydig mon,   dygelre gesceafta,

the following section read like a poem within a poem, providing an example of how to praise Creation, loosely based on Psalm 18.[141] The poem finishes with the metaphor of the heavenly hall metaphor. As a whole therefore, the poem plays cleverly on the idea that God's Creation sprang from his Word, making the connection between language and Creation all important.[142]

2.6 Conclusion

It is almost certain that the vast majority of Anglo-Saxons came into contact with the Old Testament – after the (re)Christianization of England – at some point during their lives. It is unlikely that this would have been in the written form, as the text of the Old Testament was a relative rarity and seemed to circulate mainly between ecclesiastical centres. The same can be said for biblical commentaries surrounding the texts of the Old Testament. These were written for those who were already well versed in the Old Testament, and their purpose was to aid a fuller understanding of the text, strictly following established concepts, set out by the Church Fathers, of how to read and understand the Old Testament. Bede, noticing a lack of biblical commentaries around certain subjects, such as the Temple of Solomon and the Tabernacle, sought to fill the gap in patristic legacy, but only by following guidelines already established by writers such as Augustine and Gregory. It appears that much of contact with either the written text of the Old Testament or the commentaries on it was reserved for either the ecclesiastical community or the secular elite, as both had the power and resources to commission and request such items. Alfred only had a translated version of the Psalms as he had the money and influence to commission such a project; the majority of the Anglo-Saxon population did not have this luxury.

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bewritan in gewitte   wordhordes cræft,
fæstnian ferðsefan,   Þncan forð teala." *Order of the World*, lines 17a-20b; Krapp and Dobbie, 1936: 164; trans., Wehlau, 1997: 34
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.:10

Most Anglo-Saxons, therefore, would have experienced the Old Testament orally. Those that attended church services would have heard the stories of the Old Testament, and there are examples of homilies by ecclesiastical writers, such as Ælfric,[143] which would have informed them of its Christological significance, as well as potentially referencing contemporary events. However, it appears, from what survives, that the most prominent way that the Anglo-Saxons encountered the Old Testament was through its use in poetry. The four poems surviving concerning stories from the Old Testament, as well as creation poetry, wisdom poetry and genealogy lists all attest to the fact that the Old Testament was used widely in Anglo-Saxon England. Not only was Cædmon's hymn circulating some fifty years before being transcribed, but Bede also writes of how he composed other poems concerning Genesis and Exodus, giving two further examples of Anglo-Saxon poems dealing with Old Testament subject matter. The genealogy list of Æthelwulf, would also have survived orally (at least in part) until its recording some thirty to forty years later in the Winchester *Chronicle* entry for 855,[144] possibly in much the same way that *Widsith* was used as a mnemonic device to nations and leaders. And it has been proposed that *Beowulf* was, at least in some form, circulating as early as the eighth century,[145] possibly changing and being adapted until being transcribed in the eleventh century.

It is clear that the Old Testament was used and transmitted orally throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and one possible reason for its prevalent use could have been its resonance within England. Bede in his *Historia*, Ælfric in his homilies, the four major Anglo-Saxon Old Testament poems, the Creation and Wisdom poems, the Psalms embellished with Anglo-Saxon verse, as well as many other forms of Anglo-Saxon literature, all used the Old Testament as a tool to understand and explain contemporary events and society as a whole.

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[143] For example, see Ælfric's homilies on Esther (only survives in a seventeenth-century manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 381, fols 140v-148r); Maccabees; and Judith. See previous discussion, p. 99

[144] ASC A 855; Bately, 1986: 45-46

[145] Tolkien, 1958: 127; Hieatt, 1983: xi-xiii

Bede showed that the reason for the Anglo-Saxon invasion was due to the sinful and wicked ways of the Britons; essentially, they had brought on God's wrath and the Anglo-Saxons were their punishment. Ælfric confusingly showed that success in battle (whether physical or metaphysical) was down to faith in the one true God. By reflecting the Anglo-Saxons in the Israelites these writers were demonstrating that all events have their precedence and solution in the Old Testament and that ultimately faith in the true God would lead to the ultimate salvation of the Anglo-Saxon nation.

The Pentateuch, especially, contains many aspects that would have appealed to the Anglo-Saxons in this way. From the story of creation, to genealogies, successful leaders and stories of exile, it detailed many episodes which would have appealed to a Christian Germanic people. Poems such as *Widsith* and *Deor* highlight an interest in the history of both people and events, while exile appears to have been a popular subject in Anglo-Saxon society with *Beowulf*, *Christ and Satan*, *The Wife's Lament* and the *Seafarer*, being just a few examples of stories concerning this theme.[146]

However, the Israelites themselves provided not only Bede and Ælfric with somewhat of a quandary, but probably the English populace as a whole. How could a nation once chosen by God, come to crucify Christ? This issue seems to have prevented Aldhelm from dealing with the tricky subject of the Old Testament and its people, making it easier for him to attack the Jews for their condemnation of Christ. But Bede and Ælfric, who both frequently used the Old Testament in their exegetical works, had to deal with this issue, especially when they were using the Old Testament to help explain contemporary events. Bede's approach appears to have been an easier one: he seems to have drawn a fairly straight line between the chosen nation of the Old Testament and those responsible for Christ's Crucifixion in the New. For Ælfric the issue was more complex. The arrival of the Scandinavians coupled with the reform of the Church from the ninth century onwards meant the Anglo-Saxons were under constant threat of attack (both physically and metaphysically)

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[146] See, Greenfield, 1955: 200-206

and the best insight in how to deal with an attack on a Christian nation by a "heathen" foe lay in the Old Testament. Even though Ælfric may have viewed bloodshed as contrary to Christ's teachings, he would also have been aware of the need to protect his community. Bede could use the Old Testament to explain *why* events had taken place, showing the Anglo-Saxons as akin to the Israelites, and avoid using them as a direct example to be followed. Ælfric, especially in *Maccabees*, implied a far more direct use of the Old Testament, suggesting that Siegeweard should use the homily for his own instruction,[147] and implying its application in a military sense. But in doing so he blurred the line between the heroic Israelites of the first covenant and their justified military action, with New Testament deniers of Christ who transgressed Gods second covenant. By implying the value of the Israelite's military actions as an example to be followed, he justifies the killing of men, an action not advocated by Mosaic law, or Christ and the second covenant. Sanctioning murder in defiance of the second covenant ultimately led the Jews to commit deicide.

Ælfric was not the only one to look to the Old Testament in southern England at times of Viking raids. All the major poems concerning the Old Testament, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Judith* and *Beowulf*, were recorded in manuscripts in either the late ninth or early tenth century. This conscious antiquarianism possibly served two functions: first to record poems concerning ancient subjects as a way to preserve history, in much the same way that Chronicles recorded the history of the current people; second, the poems provided examples of how nations facing similar threats from "heathen" foes (both in terms of the Scandinavians but also in terms of those who did not follow the Reformed Church) were not only successful in defeating them, but also helped to explain why such events had occurred in the first place. It is this application of the Old Testament, to explain contemporary events, that most likely resulted in its prevalence in Anglo-Saxon literature.

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[147] Ælfric, *Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Novo*; Crawford, 1922: 51; Scheil, 1999: 78

CHAPTER 3

Visualising the Old Testament in the Pre-Viking Art of Anglo-Saxon England

3.1 Distribution of Old Testament Imagery[1]

Key

✚   Stone Sculpture

♥   Manuscripts

●   Metalwork

★   Ivory

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[1] For a breakdown of the scene-types and numbers of instances of each scene-type, see App. 1.1
For those manuscripts where the place of production is unknown, the centre deemed most likely in the scholarship has been used.

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3.2 Introduction

Having examined the literary contexts for understanding potential approaches to the Old Testament across the Anglo-Saxon period, this chapter will turn to consider, in some detail, the various iconographies of the Old Testament imagery that have survived from the pre-Viking period in Anglo-Saxon England – in all media: stone sculpture, metalwork, ivory and manuscript illustration. It will examine the likely art-historical sources lying behind the Anglo-Saxon scenes, as well as the liturgical, exegetical and literary traditions from the region that invoke the episodes illustrated. This will demonstrate the rich responses to this material among those appropriating the varied source material to which they had access, and the manner in which they adapted it to suit different symbolic purposes.

Before doing so, however, it is perhaps prudent to briefly examine the socio-political environment of pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England. During the fifth to sixth centuries several groups of Germanic tribes arrived and settled in Britain.[2] These groups formed a number of small kingdoms, the boundaries of which changed and shifted over time, with some kingdoms merging into others.[3] By the end of the seventh century, these kingdoms were still in a state of flux, but had begun to settle into the larger kingdoms of Northumbria (encompassing most of modern day northern England and some of southern Scotland),[4] Mercia (most of central England), the West Saxons (south-east England), East Saxons (south-west England), East Angles (the central eastern side of England), the South Saxons (roughly the size and position of the modern county of Sussex) and Kent (roughly the size and position of the modern county).[5] By the beginning of the ninth-century it appears that only four kingdoms remained (Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia and Wessex), the others being absorbed into these, yet perhaps retaining some autonomy over their regions as

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[2] Bede, *HE*, 1.15; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 50-51
[3] The kingdom of Northumbria, for example, encompassed the two earlier royal houses of Bernicia and Deira, alongside several British kingdoms. See Yorke, 1990: 9-15, 74-80
[4] Ibid.: 80
[5] Ibid.

subkingdoms.[6] During the late seventh and early eighth centuries it is the kingdom of Mercia that appears to have dominated the political landscape, with many of its kings seemingly enjoying overloadship (*Bretwalda*) or influence over neighbouring kingdoms.[7] During the ninth century Mercia's power seems to have waned, weakening further after the arrival and settlement of Scandinavians in the later ninth century.[8]

The majority of the pre-Viking sculpture containing Old Testament imagery survives in locations that fell under Mercian and Northumbrian control, with the majority of the manuscripts being produced in either Northumbria or Lindisfarne and the metalwork in Mercia. There appears to be much more limited survival of Old Testament imagery, across all media from the south of England during the period, but perhaps this is due to greater urbanisation in the south, coupled with the expansion and rebuilding of monastic sites in the centuries following the pre-Viking period, leading to the destruction of more material and the more limited scope for excavation of sites that may harbour Anglo-Saxon sculpture. It is clear from the ecclesiastical remains at Reculver, Kent, and the Vespasian Psalter, likely written in Canterbury,[9] that the Old Testament could potentially have been visualised more frequently in southern England during the pre-Viking period, but whether these now lost images represented a large body of works paralleling that of Northumbria and Mercia is unclear.

3.3 Visualising the Book of Genesis

Only two episodes from the Book of Genesis narrative survive from the pre-Viking period in the art of Anglo-Saxon England: The Temptation/Fall of Adam and Eve and the Sacrifice of Isaac.

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[6] Lapidge, et al., 2013: 276
[7] Yorke, 1990: 103-17
[8] Ibid.: 117-23
[9] Alexander, 1978a: 55

Of these, the Adam and Eve images have survived in three different versions, all of which are located within Mercia, and have been dated to the ninth century.[10] The concentration of these scenes within this defined geographical area could hint at a preference/popularity for this image type within Mercia during the time period, or could simply be due to poor survival rates elsewhere in England, creating a skewed perception of popularity. However, current distribution and rates of survival of Anglo-Saxon sculpture are generally considered to reflect the situation in the pre-Viking period, even if greater numbers may have originally been produced;[11] this suggests, but does not, of course, prove that an apparent interest in Adam and Eve images in Mercia might be accepted.

The fact that all three versions of the subject are stylistically and iconographically distinct, suggests wide-spread access to varying image types. One of the scenes survives on a cross-shaft fragment inset into the wall of the church vestry at Eccleshall, Staffordshire (fig. 3.1), with no accompanying images. Another example, also preserved on a cross-shaft fragment, is set in concrete in the north aisle of the church at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire (fig. 3.2); here, the lower portion of the scene is lost due to the break in the stone, but the scene above survives in full. The third extant example, in the church porch at Newent, Gloucestershire (fig. 3.3), fills one side of an almost complete free-standing cross shaft (only the cross head is missing), with most of its iconography still intact.

While all three carvings depict Adam and Eve, they each illustrate different points in the biblical narrative: Eccleshall appears to feature The Fall, specifically Adam and Eve covering their nakedness; at Breedon, in a conflation of the Temptation/Fall episodes, both Adam and Eve are illustrated in the process of plucking apples from the tree after being tempted by the serpent, while at the same time covering their nakedness; Newent, by far the most complex of the three, shows Eve in the process of being tempted by the serpent, with both Adam and Eve covering their nakedness, while several symbolic references to Christ

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[10] Bailey, 1977: 63; Bryant, 2012: 236; Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017
[11] Hawkes, 2003b: 353

and the Crucifixion are represented by crosses sprouting from the tree, and a putative cross in the lower left-hand corner, thus providing a conflation of the Temptation/Fall narrative, which includes a set of references to the entire biblical account of salvation. Therefore, despite all three being geographically related, they diverge significantly in their iconographic treatments of the Adam and Eve story.

Almost the opposite is true for the other Genesis scene surviving from the period. The four extant examples of the Sacrifice of Isaac share a number of similarities despite being geographically distant and preserved in different media: in sculptural form at Reculver (fig. 3.4), and Newent (fig. 3.5), in manuscript form in a ninth-century Carolingian copy of a Northumbrian version of Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale* (fig. 3.6);[12] and in ivory, on an eighth-century plaque now housed at the Musée national du Moyen Âge. Paris (fig. 3.7). Of these four scenes, the Sacrifice illustrated in the Antwerp Sedulius, is almost complete, with only slight damage on the lower right. This has resulted in the loss of the lower half of the altar and whatever was possibly below it, but aside from this the scene is largely complete. Likewise, those at Newent and on the ivory diptych remain intact and remarkably well preserved, albeit slightly worn.[13] By contrast that from Reculver, now housed in Canterbury Cathedral, is extremely fragmentary. Having once formed part of a stone column,[14] it preserves only part of what was probably once the lower left corner of the scene. There is a break in the stone across the torso of the main figure and the right side of the scene has been lost due to a break in the stone just beyond the sacrificial altar.

In these scenes, three feature a long pillar-like altar topped by a flame, while a figure bent over the altar is present in all four and in the three complete examples Abraham is shown holding a sword while a hand emerges from the sky to prevent the sacrifice. From

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[12] Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus MS M. 17. 4; Grabar, 1957: 122; Pächt, 1962: 19-20; Bischoff, 1965: 235

[13] In the case of Newent, this is partially due to the shaft only being discovered in 1907 after being buried for a long period of time. Dobson, 1933: 272; Bryant, 2012: 232

[14] Worssam and Tatton-Brown, 1990: 54; Hawkes, 2006: 249; Tweddle, Biddle, and Kjølbye-Biddle, 1995: 151-62

these surviving examples, it appears that there was a relatively standardised way to depict the Sacrifice of Isaac in Anglo-Saxon England during the period.

It seems likely, therefore, that in the case of the depiction of the Sacrifice of Isaac there was access to a widely accepted model type, but for the depiction of Adam and Eve, while all surviving examples are constructed in the same medium and geographically speaking all are close, they present dramatically different treatments of the subject, with the scene at Newent being the most complex of the three.

The majority of early Christian depictions of The Fall of Adam and Eve survive in a funerary context on sarcophagi, catacomb frescoes and gold glass originally affixed to the *loculi* within the catacombs (3.8a-c); some non-funerary depictions also survive in lapidaries (figs 3.8d). All tend to show the pair standing on either side of a cypress tree, frequently with a serpent wound round the tree trunk. There is a variant which depicts God reprimanding the couple, standing either between or to the side of the pair, occasionally handing Adam wheat and Eve a lamb, representing the tools of labour (figs 3.9a-c). It appears that all the pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon examples preserve this established early Christian layout of Adam and Eve flanking a central tree, albeit with some iconographic variances.

Of these, as noted, the scene at Newent (fig. 3.3) has an extremely complex iconography.[15] Adam and Eve both stand covering their nakedness, beneath a tree that sprouts crosses from its branches; a serpent twists round the tree, holding an apple in its mouth, which it passes to Eve, just above her right shoulder; Adam stands next to what appears to be a double-barred cross which is set atop a triple-stepped base (fig. 3.10). Every one of these elements serves a specific symbolic function.

With this in mind it is worth recalling the biblical story of Adam and Eve, which opens with Adam's creation by God, his placement in the Garden of Eden, and his being granted dominion over all living things.[16] In the following chapter, Adam is put to sleep and

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[15] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.2a(iii)
[16] Gen. 1

Eve is created from one of his ribs to be his companion, after which both are given free rein of the Garden, but forbidden to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge;[17] however a serpent persuades Eve to do just this, whereupon she persuades Adam also to eat it.[18] With this act, they recognise their nakedness and cover themselves with fig leaves,[19] then, hearing God approaching, they hide among the trees.[20] When asked to explain themselves Adam replies: "I heard thy voice in paradise; and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself."[21] Admonishing them for breaking his commandment, God banishes the pair from Eden to live a mortal life removed from the comforts of paradise.[22]

Clearly the Newent scene presents a conflation of this entire narrative, but it diverges from it in one significant respect. In the biblical account, Eve takes the fruit from the tree and eats it,[23] however at Newent she is not shown reaching for the apple (something the Breedon panel faithfully represents); rather, the serpent is depicted passing her the apple. The carving makes visible the act of temptation to sin. In this, it echoes the account preserved in the Old English *Genesis B*,[24] that part of the OE *Genesis*, thought to have been composed around 840, which comprises an Old English version of an Old Saxon poem.[25] It provides a detailed account of the temptation of Adam and Eve and their subsequent fall from grace. The account opens with a demonic creature in the form of a snake that:

> wound himself round the tree of death through devil's craft. There he took up one of the fruits and turned himself again to where he knew the hand-labour of the Heaven-King to be. Then he began to ask the first man, the loathsome with lying words.[26]

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[17] Gen. 2:16-17
[18] Gen. 3:1-6
[19] Gen. 3:7
[20] Gen. 3:8-9
[21] "*Qui ait: Vocem tuam audivi in paradiso, et timui, eo quod nudus essem, et abscondi me.*" Gen. 3:10
[22] Gen. 3:10-24
[23] Gen. 3:6
[24] Oxford: Bodleian Library 5123; see above, Chapter 2.
[25] Sievers, 1875: 36; Doane, 1991: 11-12; Capek, 1971: 89; See previous discussion, pp. 89-92
[26]   "and wand him þa ymbutan
Þone deaðes beam   þurh deofles cræft,
Genam þær þæs ofætes   and wende hine eft þanon
Þær he wiste handgeweorc   heofoncyninges.
Ongon hine þa frinan   forman worde
Se laða mid ligenum:" *Genesis B*, lines 491b-495; Krapp, 1931: 18; Doane, 1991: 218; trans.,
https://anglosaxonpoetry.camden.rutgers.edu/genesis-ab/

With the serpent plucking the fruit from the tree in order to tempt Adam and Eve to eat it, the *Genesis B* account of the Fall emphasises the role of the tempter, rather than Eve,[27] in the Fall of humanity. This stands in direct contrast with the exegetical account found, for example, in Bede's *In principum Genesis*, where, following Augustine, he suggests that Eve persuades her husband to sin "with a seductive word" (*uerbo suasorio*).[28] In this respect, Bede's account presents an explanation of events that becomes mainstream in the exegetical tradition of the Fall. That presented in *Genesis B*, which also follows Augustine (in a different account from that referenced by Bede) and Gregory the Great,[29] clearly preserves an alternative account which the panel at Newent seems also to reflect, suggesting its circulation in Mercia during the ninth century.

Those responsible for the design of the Newent scene deliberately chose to depict and emphasise the serpent/devil's temptation of Eve, showing the serpent passing Eve the fruit, rather than actively plucking it from the tree. The text of *Genesis B* suggests the reasons lying behind this. In the poem, the forbidden tree is referred to as "deaðes beam" (the tree of death).[30] At Newent the tree is depicted as a thick central stem which branches out at the top into two stems both of which further sub-divide into branches terminating in crosses. If, as in *Genesis B*, this tree was intended to be viewed as the tree of death, in that the eating of its fruit resulted in the mortal condition of humanity cast out of Eden, then the branches ending in crosses can be seen as providing direct references to the Crucifixion: a death that paradoxically became the means to (everlasting) life in Paradise. The tree thus visually represents how, through Christ's death, descent and resurrection, the Original Sin, committed by Adam and Eve's transgression in the paradisiacal Garden of Eden, was

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[27] Hall, 1981: 139-45
[28] Bede, *In Gen.*, I, 3.6c; Jones, 1967: 61; trans, Kendall, 2008: 127
[29] Augustine, *De Genesi,* 2.14.21, 2.15.22; Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, 29.8.18; Cole, 2001: 175-78; Bede in his *Historia* also records a letter from Gregory the Great suggesting the serpent persuaded Eve to sin. Bede, *HE*: 1.27: Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 100-101
[30] Lines 478b; 492a; 528a; 593b; 638b; Krapp, 1931: 18, 19, 21, 23

absolved, allowing eternal life in Paradise; or as Bede in the homily '*In octatvo Epiphania*' explains it:

> the first Adam, deceived by an unclean spirit through a serpent, lost the joys of the heavenly kingdom, [while] the second Adam [Christ], glorified by the Holy Spirit through a dove, opened the entrance to this kingdom […] where one went out with his wife, having been conquered by his enemy, the other might return with his spouse [the Church], as conqueror over his enemy.[31]

Through breaking God's commandment to not touch the fruit on the tree of death, Adam and Eve condemned humanity to a mortal life, and it was not until God sent his only son to die on the cross that this sin was absolved and humanity was once again able to live eternally. However, this eternal life was not freely available; it depended on the faithful being baptised and regularly participating in the Eucharist, while avoiding the temptation to sin. This is perhaps the reasoning behind showing Eve being tempted by the serpent (representing the devil), rather than Adam and Eve actively sinning by plucking the fruit themselves. Eve, being tempted by the serpent, is presented as a reminder to the viewer that transgression from Christian doctrine leads, as it did for Eve, to exile from Paradise: damnation.

The rich symbolism of the Newent scene is further expounded by the representation of Adam. He stands, facing the viewer, his nakedness covered by the branches of the tree, while his right foot rests on an object emerging from a triple-stepped base (fig. 3.10), the top of which is articulated in such a way as to recall a double-barred cross: its lower "bars", however, droop to form two objects that resemble leaves. Overall, this element, which incorporates both plant and double-barred cross, not only recalls the cross of the Crucifixion, but its plant-like appearance perhaps suggests it was also intended to depict the Tree of Life itself. Furthermore, it has been argued by Werner that the double-barred cross was thought

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[31] "*Et congrua multum distantia quia primus Adam ab immundo spiritu deceptus per serpentem, gaudia regni coelestis amisit: secunsu Adam a spiritu sancto per columbam glorificatus ejusdem regni limina reseravit, flammamque vibrantem, qua ingressum paradise expulso Adam primo Cherub custos interclusit. Secundus Adam hodierna die per aquam lavacri renascentis extingui debere monstravit, ut unde ille cum sanctorum ecclesia, sponsa videlicet sua, de hoste victor redirect imo potiora redemtis a peccato vitæ immortalis munera pater future seculi princeps pacis donaret, quæ præsentis nostril seculi pater princeps discodiæ venumdatus sub peccato sua cum stirpe perdidit.*" Bede, *In octatvo Epiphania*: XXIII; Martin and Hurst, 1991: 116

to signify the True Cross,[32] while Bailey has demonstrated that the triple-stepped base was a feature commonly used to denote Golgotha, particularly in the art of Anglo-Saxon England.[33] Werner also argues that the True Cross came to be identified with the Tree of Life, referencing the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus,[34] Bede's commentary on Psalm 1,[35] and the poem the *Dream of the Rood*, as examples of Anglo-Saxon knowledge of the idea that the Tree of Life had been identified as the Golgotha cross.[36] It is not implausible, therefore, that those behind the design of the Newent shaft intended this detail to be understood both as the Tree of Life in the centre of Paradise, and the Golgotha cross. If this is the case then the placement of Adam's foot, adjacent to the cross-shaped "tree", was probably intended to point to the future absolution of Adam, through Christ's sacrifice, while the fruit hanging from the bars are perhaps best understood as signifiers of the Eucharist. According to Augustine in his *De Genesi*, "the tree of life was also Christ […] in the other trees he was provided with nourishment, in this one with a sacrament."[37]

The Adam and Eve scene at Newent thus presents a clear emphasis on the Christian message behind the Old Testament narrative being depicted: through Christ's death, descent and resurrection the Original Sin of Adam and Eve is overcome, allowing entry into heaven for those who follow the teachings of the Christian faith and partake in the sacraments. Adapted to convey this meaning the scene is completely unique, with no other comparable example surviving in either the Insular world or on the Continent. It is clear that those responsible for its design had access to a range of exegetical material, some of which was also circulating in the form of orally transmitted vernacular poetry, and carefully chose to incorporate various iconographic elements – such as Golgotha and "deaðes beam" sprouting

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[32] Werner, 1990: 178
[33] Bailey, 2003: 238-39; see also Hawkes, 2011b: 232
[34] Werner, 1990: 182
[35] Ibid.: 191 fn. 69
[36] Ibid.: 192 fn. 76
[37] "*Erat ergo et lignum vitae, quemadmodum petra Christus: nec sine mysteriis rerum spiritualium corporaliter praesentatis voluit hominem Deus in paradiso vivere. Erat ei ergo in lignis caeteris alimentum, in illo autem sacramentum.*" Augustine, *De Genesi*: 8.6-18; Hill, 2002: 351; trans, Hawkes, 2010: 11

crosses – to visually articulate a desired set of significances to the viewer. Furthermore, it seems likely that those responsible for the design had access to early Christian Adam and Eve imagery and chose to adapt this to what they wanted to portray.

Like Newent, the Adam and Eve scene preserved on the fragmentary cross shaft at Breedon (fig. 3.2),[38] is also unique within the Insular world, with its closest parallel being preserved on a sculptural fragment at Bride on the Isle of Man (fig. 5.75a).[39] Here Adam and Eve are both depicted in the process of plucking apples from the forbidden tree, around which a snake is twisted, while they use their spare hand to cover their genitals. This identifies the scene as depicting the moment when Adam and Eve are tempted by the serpent, while simultaneously representing the result of their submission to that temptation: becoming aware of, and covering their nakedness. Here, unlike Newent, both Adam and Eve are shown being tempted into sin by the serpent. This desire to show the moment that the Original Sin was committed perhaps led to the adaptation of an early Christian model, transforming the arrangement of the pair flanking the tree covering their nakedness to actively plucking the fruit while protecting their modesty. Another potential source model could have been a version where multiple scenes relating to the Fall were shown together, such as that preserved in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis (fig. 3.11),[40] where the couple are shown plucking the fruit on the far left, covering their nakedness in the middle and hiding in the trees on the right of the panel. It is possible that those responsible for the design of the Breedon Adam and Eve used such a model for their depiction, conflating the plucking and covering into one scene.

By contrast, the other surviving example of Adam and Eve in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon art (at Eccleshall), [41]does follow Insular and continental counterparts much more closely (fig. 3.1).[42] It does not present a conflation of episodes from the account of the Fall

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[38] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.2a(i)
[39] Bailey, 1977: 63; See discussion in Chapter 5, pp. 294-95
[40] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 1r
[41] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.2a(ii)
[42] Harbison, 1992: 189-93

(as at Newent and Breedon); rather, it seems to depict a specific part of the narrative: Adam and Eve covering their nakedness. The panel consists of the two figures standing under a stylised tree that merges into an interlace pattern, which itself seems to form a series of X-shapes and loops, which could have been intended to serve as a point of contemplation for the viewer,[43] with its connection to Christ's Crucifixion, and therefore, the redemption from Original Sin through Christ's death, descent and resurrection.

The highly stylised tree found at Eccleshall, while being unique to Anglo-Saxon England, is paralleled elsewhere in the Insular world in early medieval Irish art: at Drumcliffe, Sandstone Cross, County Sligo, for instance (fig. 5.38b). As at Drumcliffe, the trunk is formed by two parallel lines, which then divide into four swirling branches; it is possible that the branches at Eccleshall once resembled these (where the trunk divides into branches, two circular patterns are visible in strong cross-lighting). A similar version also survives at Boho, Co. Fermanagh (fig. 5.38a); like that at Drumcliffe, two parallel lines form the trunk of the tree, with a snake weaving between them, and instead of branches the top of the tree takes the form of an intricate interlace pattern.

The Adam and Eve scene at Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh (fig. 5.38d), again depicts a highly stylised tree with a central stem branching out into interlace, and although it is not comparable to the Eccleshall example, the two figures beneath it with their knees bent and the presence of a highly stylised tree with no serpent shows that despite not being influenced by one another, the Eccleshall and Lisnaskea examples likely had access to similar iconographic model types.[44] Geographically Boho, Drumcliffe and Lisnaskea are relatively close (all lie within a sixty-mile radius), so it is not unlikely that they shared common model types for the construction of their respective Adam and Eve scenes. It is perhaps possible, therefore, that those responsible for the design of the Eccleshall scene were either influenced by or had access to the model types circulating in north-west Ireland. Such observations can

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[43] For a detailed explanation of contemplation and compunction in Anglo-Saxon England see Baker, 2012: 79-137; Baker, 2015: 264-77
[44] Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017

never be more than speculation, but it remains the case that the highly stylised depiction of Adam and Eve found on the north-western Irish cross-shafts and the fragment at Eccleshall shows, at the very least, a desire to adapt and transform the established depictions found in early Christian catacombs and on sarcophagi to a form that complemented their local, long-established, visual traditions which prioritised linear patterning, including that of interlace.

While all three of the Adam and Eve scenes in Anglo-Saxon England seem to use and adapt their depictions from different source models, they all appear to link the Original Sin to Christ's death. The most explicit example is that on the cross-shaft at Newent, where the branches of Tree of Knowledge sprout crosses. However, the mere inclusion of the Temptation/Fall of Adam and Eve on a cross-shaft was likely widely understood to make such connotations without the need for any additional prompts, as it is clear from Bede's writing on the subject and the survival of the *Genesis B* poem, that there was an interest in the story in Anglo-Saxon England during the period.[45] Therefore, in the case of the Eccleshall cross-shaft fragment this widely understood connection between the Original Sin and Christ's Crucifixion would have allowed the viewer to seek out the implicit Christian message, leading them to contemplate the cross-shapes formed by the branches of the Tree of Knowledge. At Breedon this contemplation would have been expounded by the pairing of two Old Testament scenes – Adam and Eve and what is likely an Anointing of David (fig. 3.29) – which would have prompted the viewer to not only contemplate their respective Christian significance, but also how they related to each other.[46]

Given that all three representations of Adam and Eve use different models, it is possible multiple examples were in circulation (throughout Mercia at least); those responsible for the design of the respective scenes were thus able to select which specific version they desired to display. At Eccleshall, it appears that they made a conscious decision to align themselves with other Insular representations of the scene, with the design and layout

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[45] See previous discussions, pp. 89-92, 114-16
[46] See further below, pp. 150-52

closely following north-western Irish examples. Due to the extremely limited survival of information regarding the pre-Viking period at Eccleshall the historical significance of this decision has sadly been lost but the shared use of the image-type does imply some form of cultural contact between the two regions.[47] The decision at Breedon to use what was perhaps a manuscript containing a series of scenes, perhaps emerged from a desire to depict the active act of temptation by Adam and Eve, a detail that is not as explicit in the surviving early Christian examples, with the pair usually shown covering their nakedness, perhaps holding the tools of labor, with the serpent acting as the visual representation of temptation. The reverse of the shaft depicts a hellish demon (fig. 3.12), perhaps elaborating on the significance of the act of temptation/sinning, making explicit the consequences of disobeying God's command.[48] Finally, the amalgamation of various elements and possible source models for the depiction at Newent, show that those responsible for the design of the panel had a specific message they wished to convey, and indicates that the community at Newent had access to a large body of texts and visual representations from which they could pick and choose the various elements they wanted to include in this presentation of the Fall.

Unlike Adam and Eve, the four remaining Sacrifice of Isaac scenes are all relatively consistent, all depending on models closely related to early Christian depictions. The story of the Sacrifice of Isaac begins with God instructing Abraham to take his son Isaac to the mountain and offer him up in sacrifice.[49] Abraham, without hesitation, carries out God's command, taking a flame and sword to the mountain, while Isaac carries the wood. Wondering where the blood offering was, Isaac asks his father what he intended to sacrifice at the top of the mountain, to which Abraham replies that "God will provide for himself a sacrifice."[50] Once they reach their destination, Abraham raises his sword to sacrifice his son

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[47] Hawkes has argued for a similar phenomenon between Drumcliffe and Sandbach, see Hawkes, 1997a: 126, 128-29
[48] Geddes, 2017: 125
[49] Gen. 22:2
[50] "*Dixit autem Abraham: Deus providebit sibi victimam holocausti, fili mi. Pergebant ergo partier.*" Gen. 22:3-8

when an angel appears and tells Abraham to stop; seeing a ram caught in the thicket, he offers this up in sacrifice in place of Isaac.[51] This is the point in the narrative depicted by the majority of the surviving Anglo-Saxon scenes.

In early Christian examples (fig. 3.13a-d) Abraham usually looks skywards, with his sword raised, ready to strike Isaac, whom he holds down by placing his hand on Isaac's head; in some examples an angel – in the form of a man – holds Abraham's arm (fig. 3.13b).[52] Isaac is always bound, and frequently bent over a flaming altar, often depicted as a rectangular pillar surmounted by a swirling flame. In the majority of examples, a hand appears in the top left, as if emerging from the sky, and a ram is present, which does not have a standardised location or appearance (sometimes it is only partially shown; in other examples it is depicted full length). Nevertheless, the ram is often shown with its body facing away from the scene, but with its head turned backwards to look at Abraham. And while there are slight variations between the early Christian examples – such as the representation of the Sacrifice of Isaac on the sixth-century mosaic at San Vitale, Ravenna, where Isaac is shown kneeling on the altar, rather than bending over it (fig. 3.14) – it appears that the iconography was well-established in early Christian art across various media, including carved stone sarcophagi, catacomb frescoes, gold glass, oil lamps and mosaics (figs 3.13a-d, 3.14). From the four surviving Anglo-Saxon scenes, it seems that this fairly standardised depiction was known and invoked by those responsible for the production of these representations.

The copy of an Anglo-Saxon version of the Sacrifice preserved in the Antwerp Sedulius (fig. 3.6) certainly parallels the early Christian examples.[53] Abraham stands with a sword in his hand, raised above the head of Isaac in the act of offering him in sacrifice, with the flaming altar immediately to the right. Isaac is blindfolded, with Abraham holding the ends of the cloth, rather than placing his hand on Isaac's head. The hand of God appears in

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[51] Gen. 22:10-13
[52] Woerden, 1961: 223
[53] Gutmann, 1992: 80; For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.2b(i)

the sky above Abraham, signifying the instruction that he does not need to sacrifice his only son; the ram immediately below looks to Abraham – with an apparently worried stare.

These various elements are all commonplace within early Christian depictions of the scene, but although found on sarcophagi, frescoes and mosaics, it is very rare to find the Sacrifice of Isaac included in a manuscript, in either the early Christian or early medieval period.[54] One possible reason for the unusual decision to depict the event in the Antwerp Sedulius may lie in the content of the manuscript. It preserves the text of the *Carmen paschale*, a Latin poem written by Caelius Sedulius in the fifth century. Divided into five books this tells the story of the Gospels in verse, with the first book (which contains the miniature of the Sacrifice) presenting an appeal to heathens to throw aside their beliefs and listen to the story of the true God.[55] The passage immediately above the miniature relates to the story of Isaac's conception: how Sara's aged womb had prevented her from conceiving, but through the intervention of God she and Abraham were able to bring forth "hope for a fertile race" (*spem gentis opimae*),[56] and how Abraham then offered this miracle child to God in sacrifice, "but instead, a sacred ram was sacrificed, and the boy's throat was spared right at the altar".[57]

This is the point in the manuscript where the Sacrifice is depicted. On turning the page, however, the Christological significance of the passage is revealed, with the note that "with the help of figural bloodshed he teaches what is to come, since a pious lamb would die for the human race by the blood of Christ".[58] This would have called to the mind of the reader the idea of Christ as the *Agnus Dei*, proclaimed by John the Baptist;[59] Christ as the sacrificial lamb (the paschal lamb of the Old Testament Exodus),[60] who through his death

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[54] The only other examples include the Etchmiadzin Codex (Yerevan, Matenadaran, MS. 2374, formerly Etchmiadzin Ms. 229) a tenth-century Arminian Bible; and the Codex of Cosmas Indicopleutes (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. gr. 699) a seventh- or eighth–century Byzantine manuscript.
[55] Springer, 2013: xvii-xx
[56] Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale,* line 112; Springer, 2013: 8-9
[57] "*at sacer ipsam, Pro pueri iugulis aries mactatur ad aram*." Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale,* line 115; Springer, 2013: 8-9
[58] "*typicique cruoris Auxilio uentura docet, quod sanguine Christi Humana pro gente pius occumberet agnus*." Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale,* line 118-120; Springer, 2013: 8-9
[59] John 1:29
[60] Bede, 'Homily 15'; Hurst, 1965: 105-06; Ó Carragáin, 1986: 392

and resurrection absolved humanity of sin, directly parallels the sacrificial ram of the Sacrifice of Isaac story. The Antwerp Sedulius miniature, therefore, seems to link the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac directly with the Crucifixion, informing the viewer of the manuscript that this Old Testament narrative should be read as a symbolic 'Type' of the Crucifixion and future salvation.

This mode of "cross-referencing" was well-established in early Christianity, and was directly referenced in the writings of Anglo-Saxon churchmen. Not only does the Antwerp Sedulius link the story of Isaac with the Crucifixion, both Bede and Ælfric reference it in their exegetical and homiletic writings,[61] following the tradition of earlier exegetes, such as Ambrose and Augustine, whose exegetical works circulated in Anglo-Saxon England.[62]

Augustine, in his third exposition on Psalm 30, for example, provides a detailed account of how the Sacrifice foreshadows the Crucifixion. As he explains it, God gave Abraham a son through his "righteous and pleasing" (*iustus et placens Deo*) faith, born by his barren wife Sara. When told to offer this son in sacrifice, Abraham "neither doubted nor questioned" (*nec dubitavit, nec disceptavit*) God's command.[63] Therefore, as Augustine explains it:

> The story is a figure of Christ shrouded in mystery […] Isaac is the one beloved son, typifying the Son of God, bearing the wood for himself, just as Christ bore His cross […] the ram itself was a type of Christ, for what is being caught by the horns except, after a fashion being crucified?[64]

In his *De Civitate Dei*, while referencing the same set of Christological parallels, Augustine adds that the thickets in which the ram was caught, are symbolic of the crown of thorns worn by Christ for the Crucifixion.[65] Drawing on this tradition Bede, in his commentaries on

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[61] Bede, *De Temp.*, 1.5.3; Connolly, 1995: 20; Aelfric, 'Homily on the Second Sunday of the Lords Epiphany'; Thorpe, 1846: 62
[62] Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 887-937
[63] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 30, sermo 3; trans, Quasten and Burghadt, 1960: 38
[64] "*Quaere quid sit: figura est Christi involuta sacramentis. Denique ut videatur discutitur, ut videatur pertractatur, ut quod involutum est evolvatur. Isaac tamquam filius unicus dilectus figuram habens Filii Dei, portans ligna sibi, quomodo Christus crucem portavit. Ille postremo ipse aries Christum significavit. Quid est enim haerere cornibus, nisi quodam modo crucifigi?*" Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 30 sermo.3.2; Foley and Holder, 1999: 38
[65] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 16.32; Dombart And Kalb, 1955: 536; Bailey, 1977: 67

Tobias and the Temple, again links the Sacrifice with the Passion and Crucifixion, recalling Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and his *De Civitate Dei* and Ambrose's *De Abraham*.[66] Here, however, visual experience was also important, as a pictorial representation of the Sacrifice was placed next to the Crucifixion in the churches of the Wearmouth-Jarrow complex.[67] In his *Historia abbatum*, Bede describes the goods brought back from Rome by Benedict Biscop on his return from his fifth trip to the city in 679. These included:

> pictures which were intended for the adornment of the monastery and the church of the blessed apostle Paul about the agreement of the Old and New Testaments, painted with the utmost skill: for example, one painting juxtaposed Isaac carrying the wood with which he was to be burned and the Lord likewise carrying the cross on which he was to suffer, one image over the other.[68]

It was thus well understood in Anglo-Saxon England that the Sacrifice of Isaac prefigured the Crucifixion. At Wearmouth-Jarrow this was made explicit by the pairing of Isaac baring the wood with Christ bearing the cross, whereas in the Antwerp Sedulius the pairing is subtler, using the cumulative associations of text and image and finally the turning of the page to reveal the Christological significance of the scene.

The second representation of the Sacrifice of Isaac to survive from pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England is that at Newent, where it fills one of the broad faces of the cross-shaft (fig. 3.5): Abraham, gripping a sword, holds the bound Isaac over the burning altar. Like the Sedulius example, a hand emerges from the sky to stop the sacrifice and a ram stands to the lower right of the scene.

While the scene has been convincingly identified, further consideration of its layout (see App. 1.2b(ii)) demonstrates that deliberate adaptations have been made.[69] All the elements

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[66] Ambrose, *De Abraham* 1, 8, 71 and 77-78; Migne, 1845: 469B, 471BC; Augustine *De Civitate Dei* 16.32; Dombart And Kalb, 1955: 536-37; *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.30, sermo 2, 2.91; Dekkers and Fraipoint, 1956: 208-209; Foley and Holder, 1999: 62 fn. 1; Connolly, 1997: 43-44

[67] Foley and Holder, 1999: 62 fn. 1; Meyvaert, 1979: 66

[68] "*imagines quoque ad ornandum monasteriumn ecclesiaamque beati Paul apostli de concordia ueteris et noui Testamenti summa ratione compositas exbuit. Verbi gratia, Isaac ligna quibus immolaretur portantem, et Dominum crucem in qua pateretur aeque portantem, proxima super inuicem regione pictura coniunxit.*" Bede, *H. Abb.*: 9; Grocock and Woods, 2013: 44-45

[69] This study's interpretations of the layout of the scene differs from that given in the CASSS on several key points, such as the position (and presence) of each of the figures and the object held by Abraham. For the layout given in the Corpus see, Bryant, 2012: 232-36

recall early Christian versions of the episode; however, like the Adam and Eve scene on the opposite broad side of the same cross-shaft, those responsible for the design of the Newent scene adapted the established iconography to suit their own purposes. The slight divergences from the early Christian "standard" include Abraham looking towards the viewer (rather than standing in profile), and the hand of God physically grabbing the sword, which crosses the body of Abraham rather than being raised upwards. This latter detail could be due to the confines of the panel; it is not unknown for Anglo-Saxon artists to a adapt scene to fit specific spaces, such as the Raising of Lazarus scene preserved at the top of the late eighth-century Rothbury cross shaft (fig. 3.15).[70] However, the majority of early Christian examples also work within narrow borders (they are often contained within arches or occupy a small space where multiple scenes are depicted), and so it is more than likely that although those responsible for the design of the Newent panel could have represented an early Christian "standard" Sacrifice scene; they chose instead to retain certain elements while adapting others.

Isaac carrying wood on his back is one example of this adaptation. This detail is not common in the corpus of early Jewish, Christian or medieval depiction of the scene, but it is found within the Insular world, where another example is preserved on the east face of the West Cross at Durrow, Co. Offlay (fig. 5.40e), where Isaac is shown holding an axe and bent over a table-shaped altar with the wood strapped to his back. This differs from Newent, however, where he is shown carrying one large beam on his back. This detail was surely intended to visually reference the Crucifixion, where Christ bore the beam of the cross on his back. As with the depiction of The Fall on the other broad face of the cross, those responsible for the design of the Newent Sacrifice adapted the established early Christian iconography of the scene to draw out the Christological significance of the Old Testament episode, visually depicting complex exegetical themes.

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[70] Hawkes, 1996b: 85-87

The third Sacrifice scene is preserved on the top half of an ivory diptych now housed in the Musée national du Moyen Âge, Paris (fig. 3.7).[71] Misidentified by Beckwith as Christ Meeting with Mary Magdalene,[72] the ivory clearly depicts the relatively standardised iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac. The large figure on the left (Abraham) stands facing forwards, his head turned towards the top left-hand corner, from which the hand of God appears. His right arm is raised and holds a sword pointing downwards, which differs from the "standardised" depiction of the scene, where the weapon is brandished above his head. Abraham's left hand grips the head of a second smaller figure (Isaac), bent over a stone/pillar, presumably the altar, with his hands visibly bound. Immediately above Isaac and Abrahams left arm is the ram; it stands in profile, facing Abraham, and although heavily worn, it is possible to determine its curled horns. Above the ram is the top of a tree, its trunk running the length of the right-hand side of the panel. Beneath the scene, separated from it by an arch, is the Crucifixion, complete with sponge and spear-bearer, with the Annunciation below. In fact, the Sacrifice of Isaac scene is the only one on the diptych not to relate directly to Christ, with the other leaf containing the Baptism and Ascension of Christ beneath a similar arch, with Christ in Majesty above. The placement of the Sacrifice on a diptych concerning the Infancy and Passion of Christ was surely intended to emphasise the relationship between this Old Testament event and Christ, specifically his Crucifixion, which is depicted immediately beneath.

The fragmentary Sacrifice surviving at Reculver, Kent (fig. 3.4)[73] is one of five fragments that once formed part of a circular column, with the others preserving a possible Ascension scene (fig. 3.16a), and a series of unidentified figures perhaps standing under arcading (figs 3.16b-d).[74] The lower left corner is all that survives of the Sacrifice, preserving what is likely to be Isaac's hand placed across the sacrificial altar which has a swirling flame on top. To the left are the body and legs of another figure that is robed and winged,

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[71] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.2b(iii)
[72] Beckwith, 1972: 24, 119; Smith, 2015: 186
[73] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.2b(iv)
[74] Tweddle, 1983: 30-32; Hawkes, 2006: 247-50

identifying it as an angel. There is a third potential winged figure situated to the far left of the scene, but, the position of the wing as well as what is likely to be the top of the heel of the figures foot suggests that this figure faces away from Isaac bent over the flame. It is thus unlikely that it formed part of the Sacrifice scene; it is more likely to have been part of the adjoining scene that has now been lost due to the break in the stone.

While it is possible that the seemingly random open-palmed hand outstretched across the altar formed part of another lost scene, it has also been proposed that this is the hand of a kneeling Isaac in an orans pose, with the figure bent over the flame being Abraham.[75] However, if correct, this composition – consisting of Abraham standing over the altar (represented in keeping with early Christian depictions of such objects), with Isaac kneeling in an orans pose, essentially offering himself up to be sacrificed – is not consistent with early Christian versions of the scene. While a fourth-century fresco depicts Isaac in an orans pose (in the catacombs from San Callisto, Rome, fig. 3.17), he does not assume this pose in later depictions of the scene, once the iconography had become well established.[76] Furthermore, the position of the hand, pointing downwards, rather than being up-raised (the common attitude of the orans) argues against the identification of Isaac as being in this pose on the Reculver fragment. The inclusion of an early Christian altar in this scene clearly shows that those responsible for its design had access to/knowledge of representations of these altars. This implies that on balance the Reculver fragment most likely preserves the early Christian iconographic 'standard' of Isaac bent over and grasp the altar, rather than kneeling in the orans pose, an explanation that seems to be confirmed by the position of Isaac's hand, pointing downward.

If this explanation can be accepted, it follows that the Reculver scene likely depicted Isaac in profile on his knees bent over the sacrificial altar and that those responsible for the production of the scene were following the established early Christian type. Moreover, it

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[75] Tweddle, 1983: 30
[76] Smith, 1922: 160-61

strongly suggests that the missing right-hand portion of the scene would have shown Abraham standing over the kneeling Isaac, with one hand upon his sons' head and the other holding a sword; due to the break in the stone he is now completely lost. The preserved winged figure standing in profile, facing right, would have likely been the angel sent to stop the sacrifice, reaching across the flame to prevent Abraham from striking Isaac. If this was the intended layout of the Reculver scene, then it, like the Antwerp Sedulius example, provides the more biblically accurate depiction of the event, with an angel preventing the sacrifice, rather than a hand appearing from the sky.

Although fragmentary, it is thus possible to determine that like the Newent, Antwerp Sedulius and ivory scenes, that at Reculver is closely based on an early Christian depiction of the story. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the similarities between the four Anglo-Saxon examples point towards a relatively wide-spread acceptance of the iconographic layout for the Sacrifice of Isaac in the region during the pre-Viking period. They all appear to have been firmly based on, and adapted from, early Christian prototypes. This distinguishes them from the rest of the Insular world (specifically early medieval Ireland and the Iona School), where Isaac is bent over a table-shaped altar and a wingless figure, rather than the Hand of God, usually presents Abraham with the ram to sacrifice in his son's place.[77]

It is clear from all of the surviving examples of the Sacrifice of Isaac that those responsible for the depictions intended them to reference Christ's Crucifixion. At Newent this is accomplished by the addition of the plank of wood on Isaac's back – in addition to the overall highly complex iconographic scheme of the whole monument – inviting the viewer to draw parallels between the sacrifices of Isaac and Christ. This association is made even more explicit on the ivory diptych, where the Sacrifice of Isaac is placed immediately above the Crucifixion. There is no such obvious visual clue in the representation preserved in the Antwerp Sedulius, however, the revealing exercised in the turning of the page to read the Christological significance clearly shows that this scene was intended to be understood

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[77] See discussion in Chapter 5, pp. 279-80, 290

as a prefiguration of Christ's death. Finally, the Reculver column would surely have also held such connotations, as, although fragmentary, it includes both Old and New Testament imagery, which included the Crucifixion and the monument itself was topped by a cross.[78]

It appears that the relative popularity for these scenes from the Book of Genesis in the pre-Viking period repeats that of the early Christian. Through Christ's death, descent and resurrection the Original Sin committed by Adam and Eve was absolved. It is, therefore, no surprise that they are depicted on Christian monuments; something made explicit on the Newent panel through the inclusion of the cross motifs on both the Tree of Knowledge and the small plant-like feature by Adam's foot. As for the Sacrifice of Isaac it appears that its popularity spanned a variety of media, likely due to common associations of it and the Crucifixion.

Due to the large corpus of potential source models circulating in Anglo-Saxon England during the period for both Adam and Eve and the Sacrifice of Isaac, all the surviving images seem to at least hint to models derived ultimately from early Christian sources. However, it appears that in each individual case these had been adapted to serve the specific symbolic functions required by those responsible for each of the individual designs, demonstrating that the Anglo-Saxons were not only knowledgeable of established iconographic motifs, but that they were comfortable adapting these to fit the increasingly specific messages they desired to portray.

3.4 Visualising the Book of Exodus

Unlike the abundance of Genesis imagery, the only illustration relating to the book of Exodus surviving from the period is the Tabernacle in the Codex Amiatinus (fig. 3.18).[79] Now located on folios 2v-3r, it is likely that it was originally been unbound, allowing the viewer to rotate the page at ease.[80]

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[78] Toulmin Smith, 1964: xxxvii-xxxviii; Kozodoy, 1986: 67; Hawkes, 2006: 247-50; Hawkes, 2013b: 377
[79] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.3a
[80] Chazelle, 2003: 129-57; Chazelle, 2009: 22

The Codex Amiatinus was one of three pandects commissioned by the Wearmouth-Jarrow community and was intended as a gift for the Pope.[81] The 716 mission to Rome to deliver the book, was interrupted by the death of Ceolfrith in France,[82] but it is thought that the manuscript reached Rome before it was donated to the monastery of San Salvatore in Amiato at some point in the ninth century where it remained until the monastery was dissolved in 1786 and the Codex was placed in the Laurentian Library in Florence.[83]

Of all the surviving Old Testament imagery the Tabernacle page in the Codex Amiatinus is perhaps the most complex. This has led to considerable scholarly interest in the various nuances of its symbolic references.[84] The first, and perhaps the most important, question posed by scholars is whether this page depicts the Tabernacle, Temple or both. Many have argued that it depicts only the Tabernacle.[85] Its layout alongside the inscribed names of the twelve tribes of Israel around the outer edges of the complex and the hide curtain framing it strongly implies this subject matter. However, to view this page as *only* illustrating the Tabernacle misses the various nuances that makes this image visually complex and multivalent in its meaning. Thacker in his 2005 Jarrow lecture, building on the earlier work of O'Reilly,[86] addresses this issue, arguing that "Bede's descriptions of the layout and furnishings of the Tabernacle and its court and the inner court of the Temple both relate very closely to [the Codex Amiatinus] image."[87] For example, the positioning of the water laver in the south-east corner of the complex is its position in the Temple, not the Tabernacle.[88] Overall, therefore, it is likely that despite representing the Tabernacle, the Codex Amiatinus diagram was intended to be simultaneously viewed as presenting the Temple.[89] For the sake of simplicity in this discussion, the image will be referred to as the

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[81] Bede, *H. Abb.*: 15-21; Grocock and Woods, 2013: 58-73
[82] Bede, *H. Abb.*: 21; Grocock and Woods, 2013: 70-71
[83] Wordsworth, 1887: 263; White, 1890: 217-39; Hawkes, forthcoming 2018
[84] O'Reilly, 1995: lii-lv; Thacker, 2005: 28-32; O'Reilly, 2009: 388-98; O'Brien, 2015: 90-100;
[85] Alexander, 1978a: 33; Gorman, 2003: 868
[86] O'Reilly, 2001: 30-34
[87] Thacker, 2005: 26
[88] Bede, *De Temp.*: 2.20:15; Hurst, 1969: 221; Connolly, 1995: 103; O'Reilly, 1995: lxxx; O'Brien, 2015: 96
[89] Chazelle, 2009: 24

Tabernacle, while accepting that it alludes to the Temple in its layout and frames of reference.

The second question raised in the scholarship is whether, like the Ezra page found in the same manuscript, this representation is a product of the Vivarium or Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium.[90] It is generally accepted that the Codex is a "copy" of the Codex Grandior, a sixth-century bible made in Vivarium under Cassiodorus,[91] and from Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum* it is known that this Bible probably contained representations of both the Tabernacle and the Temple.[92] The question therefore arises as to whether the Tabernacle image of the Codex Amiatinus is a copy of a Cassiodoran exempla, a copy of another (lost) exempla, perhaps from the eastern Mediterranean,[93] or a completely original Wearmouth-Jarrow construct.[94] If, like the Ezra page, the answer lies somewhere in between,[95] with the Wearmouth-Jarrow community adapting a Cassiodoran model, perhaps alongside another analogous model,[96] it is impossible to say which specific elements were copied, adapted or added to the Tabernacle page by the Wearmouth-Jarrow community. Despite these considerations it remains the case that the layout of the Tabernacle page was a conscious and well considered decision by those responsible for its design, and so provides an accurate depiction of how the community viewed and engaged with the layout of the Tabernacle in the early eighth century.

Turning to the image itself, the Tabernacle is spread over a single bi-folium and presents the complex from two distinct perspectives: an aerial view and one from ground-level looking in from the south-east corner. It thus depicts from an aerial perspective the

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[90] For the discussion on Ezra see, pp. 168-74

[91] Chazelle, 2003: 132; Chazelle, 2006: 85; Chazelle, 2009: 18; O'Reilly, 2009: 373; Thacker, 2005: 25. However, it is not universally accepted, with a minority of scholars arguing that the Cassiodoran influence seen in the Codex Amiatinus is a result of having access to the *Insitutiones* rather than the Codex Grandior. See, Corsano, 1987: 22-30; Gorman, 2003: 869-72 and for the counter-argument see Meyvaert, 1996: 827-31; Chazelle, 2006: 85; Chazelle, 2007: 166; O'Brien, 2015: 93

[92] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*: 86, Adriaen, 1958: 789-90; Meyvaert, 1996: 833-34;

[93] O'Reilly, 2009: 388; Kühnel, 1986-87: 147-68

[94] Chazelle argues that if copied from the Codex Grandior then it must have merged the Temple and the Tabernacle pages. Chazelle, 2009: 25

[95] See further below, pp. 168-74

[96] Chazelle, 2006: 89; Chazelle, 2009: 21

columns surrounding the Tabernacle, from which the hide curtains hang, viewed side-on on the north and west sides; to the south and east the tops of the columns, which are paired and lined in two rows, represent a "straight-on" view from the ground level. The eastern row of columns includes a darker area in the centre, intended to represent the entrance. Surrounding the space articulated by these columns and hangings are the Latin names of the twelve tribes of Israel.[97]

Within the space is a series of objects, labelled in white. On the left, shown face-on, is the bronze laver (LABRUM). In the centre stands a square altar (ALTARE HOLOCAUSTI) supporting a round bowl from which flames emerge; immediately below are inscribed the names Moses and Aaron (MOSES ET AARON). The four cardinal directions are written in Greek along the inner edges of the outer sanctuary: DYSIS (west), ARKTOS (north), ANATOL (east) and MESEMBRIA (south). Surrounding the inner sanctuary on three sides are the names of the sons of Levi (GERSHON, KOHATH and MERARI) with the enumeration of their clans as listed in Numbers 3.[98]

The Altar of the Holocaust stands before an entrance to an inner room, which shares the same mode of presentation as the surrounding columns. It has thick walls (or more accurately thick fabrics creating a veiled enclosure), and is further sub-divided into two spaces. A doorway (INTROITUS) located in the middle of the eastern outer wall leads into the first room of the inner enclosure. This contains a seven-armed candelabra (CAND), the table of the showbread (MENSA) and the altar of incense (ALTAR THYM). Within the second inner sanctuary (SCA SCORUM) is the Ark of the Covenant (ARCA TEST), which is surmounted by two winged cherubim.

One interesting aspect of this layout is the fact that the cardinal directions spelling out 'Adam' (**A**NATOL, **D**YSIS, **A**RKTOS, **M**ESEMBRIA) are not evenly spaced, with

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[97] RUBIN; SIMION; LEVI; JUDA; ISSACHAR; ZABILON; DAN; NEPTHALIM; GAD; ASER; JUDAS; BENIAMIN

[98] "These were the names of the sons of Levi: Gershon, Kohath and Merari. These were the names of the Gershonite clans: Libni and Shimei. The Kohathite clans: Amram, Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel. The Merarite clans: Mahli and Mushi. (*et inventi sunt filii Levi per nomina sua, Gerson et Caath et Merari. Filii Gerson: Lebni et Semei. Filii Caath: Amram et Jesaar, Hebron et Oziel. Filii Merari: Moholi et Musi*) Num. 3.17-20

Anatol being placed at the very bottom of the outer sanctuary, while *Dysis, Arktos* and *Mesembria* are all in the upper half, so as to create a Latin cruciform as opposed to a central Greek cross-shape. Furthermore, as the viewer spells out 'Adam' their eyes travel from the bottom (*Anatol*; whose 'o' takes the form of a lozenge and so differs from that of the 'o' of *Arktos,* likely indicating that *Anatol* was the starting point from which to decipher the hidden message and shape), to the top (*Dysis*), then right (*Arktos*) and finally left (*Mesembria*) visibly tracing the form of this cruciform shape as you read. This, combined with the lozenge-shaped 'o' of *Anatol* appears to deliberately link Adam, the first man, with Christ whose Crucifixion freed humanity from the consequences of Adam's sin.[99] As noted, humanity had been cast out of Paradise through this sin to live a mortal life, but through Christ's sacrifice and resurrection this sin was atoned for and humanity was again able to enjoy eternal life in the heavenly kingdom.[100]

Furthermore, as O'Reilly has demonstrated, when constructed numerically, the Greek letters forming the cardinal direction add up to forty-six. This was a significant number for Bede as it was both the number of years it took to build the Temple, and the number of days it takes for the human body to form limbs in the womb.[101] Therefore, as he puts it:

> it was in every way proper that the house [the Temple] that was to have the figure of the Lord's body would be built in Jerusalem in the same number of years as the number of days that the Lord's body itself was to be created in the most holy womb of the Virgin.[102]

The inclusion of the Greek cardinal directions on the Tabernacle page thus appears to reference not only the first man, Adam, but also the Temple in Jerusalem, Christ's birth in human form and his salvatory death. The layout of the words in a cruciform shape, combined

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[99] The lozenge shape was understood to reference the Crucifixion due to the joining up of is four corners forming a long cross shape. See, O'Reilly, 1998: 49-94; O'Reilly, 2009: 384 and Ramirez, 2009: 5-6
[100] See above, p. 116
[101] O'Reilly, 1995: liv; O'Reilly, 2001: 33; Thacker, 2005: 29
[102] "*Et decebat omnimodis ut domus quae dominici figuram corporis erat habitura eo annorum numero conderetur in utero uirginis sacrosancto erat creandum quae uidelicet uirgo ueracissime uirgo Hierusalem.*" Bede, *In Ezram*: 2.6:14-15; Hurst, 1969: 300; trans., DeGreggorio, 2006a: 97

with the lozenge shape of the 'o' in *Anatol* invites the viewer to contemplate that Crucifixion and thus the ways in which the Tabernacle and Temple prefigure the heavenly Jerusalem to come.[103]

Again, turning to Bede, this time in his *In Regum*, it is possible that this hypothesis can be taken one step further. He writes that:

> […] it is agreed that the Temple's outer house designates the Church in pilgrimage on earth, while the holy of holies designates the inner happiness of the heavenly homeland. Likewise, the ark, which has been bought into the holy of holies, is a type of the humanity assumed by Christ and led within the veil of the heavenly court.[104]

Here, the outer section of the Temple complex is regarded as the Church on earth, the Holy of Holies as heaven, and the Ark is Christ. Given that Adam caused humanity to be cast out of Paradise to live and work the earth, it is interesting to note that the placement of the cardinal directions that spell out the name Adam in the Codex image are placed in the "earthly" portion of the page (which as mentioned can simultaneously be viewed as the Temple),[105] while the Ark, representing Christ is placed in the center of the cruciform shape drawn by the viewers eyes when reading the cardinal directions in the order that spells Adam. The viewer is thus actively instructed to recall the Original Sin and Crucifixion through the movement of their eyes, inviting them to contemplate the "hidden" message behind this Old Testament scheme.

Furthermore, the Ark can be seen as a visual representation of God's covenant (of the Old Testament) with his chosen people (the Israelites), while the traced cruciform shape presents the second covenant (of the New Testament) made through Christ and his salvation. The first covenant was given corporeal form by being recorded on the tablets housed in the

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[103] O'Reilly, 2001: 33-34; Thacker, 2005: 20, 28
[104] "*Constat enim quia domus templi exterior peregrinantem in terries ecclesiam sancta autem sanctorum internam supernae patriae felicitatem designat, item illata in sancta sanctorum arce assumptam Christi humanitatem et intro uelum regiae caelestis inductam, uectes uero quibus eadem arca portabatur praedicatores uerbi per quos ipse mundo innotuit typice denuntiant.*" Bede, *In Regum*: 14; Hurst 1962: 306; trans, Foley and Holder, 1999: 111
[105] See above, pp. 131-32

Ark of the Covenant, whereas the second covenant was made through Christ, or as Paul put it in his Epistle to the Hebrews:

> For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the second. For finding fault with them, he saith, Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah: Not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord. For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people: And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more. In that he saith, A new covenant, he hath made the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away.[106]

According to Paul, God's second covenant occurs metaphysically, rather than physically. The Tabernacle page subtly presents this distinction through depicting the (actual) Ark of the Covenant, while making the more implicit nature of the second covenant explicit through tracing the sign of the cross over the Ark; by this tracing the viewer is literally invited to draw over the first covenant with the sign of the second.

Moreover, building further on O'Reilly's work on the significance of the earthly and heavenly portions of the image, it is possible to see how the table and the candelabra, placed outside the entrance to the Holy of Holies, reference this reading of the Tabernacle image by returning to Bede and his *De Tabernaculo*:

> The table and the lampstand of the tabernacle designate the temporal benefits of God, with which we are refreshed and illuminated in the present time, that the grace of our merits might increase as a result of being strengthened and sustained by these things for a while, so that we may be enabled to come to eat the bread of the angels in heaven and see the true light of the world. Both

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[106] "*Nam si illud prius culpa vacasset, non utique secundi locus inquireretur. Vituperans enim eos dicit: Ecce dies venient, dicit Dominus: et consummabo super domum Israël, et super domum Juda, testamentum novum, non secundum testamentum quod feci patribus eorum in die qua apprehendi manum eorum ut educerem illos de terra Ægypti: quoniam ipsi non permanserunt in testamento meo: et ego neglexi eos, dicit Dominus. Quia hoc est testamentum quod disponam domui Israël post dies illos, dicit Dominus: dando leges meas in mentem eorum, et in corde eorum superscribam eas: et ero eis in Deum, et ipsi erunt mihi in populum: et non docebit unusquisque proximum suum, et unusquisque fratrem suum, dicens: Cognosce Dominum: quoniam omnes scient me a minore usque ad majorem eorum: quia propitius ero iniquitatibus eorum, et peccatorum eorum jam non memorabor. Dicendo autem novum: veteravit prius. Quod autem antiquatur, et senescit, prope interitum est.*" Hebrews 8:7-13

of these are outside the curtain, for only in this life do we need of the Holy Scriptures, or teachers, or other sacraments of our redemption [...][107]

Here, Bede links the table and the candelabra with the sacraments and Holy Scripture, the two fundamental aspects of a Christian's life if they desire to attain life everlasting. These are placed in the intermediary section of the inner sanctuary between the large outer sanctuary and the room containing the Ark. Their position is located in a transitionary space, between the least sacred space of the Tabernacle, the outer tent, and the most sacred part containing the Ark; they can perhaps be seen as the point where the earthly meets the divine, as the sacraments and the Holy Scripture were both seen as ways in which to draw close to God, as set out in the Gospel of John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."[108]

By this means, therefore, and building on O'Reilly's collective studies,[109] the outer tent can be understood to represent the earthly realm, where humanity resides after Adam's transgression caused them to be banished from paradise, living a mortal life. Then, through Christ's Crucifixion this sin was absolved and a new covenant made, which superseded the old. However, it is only through partaking in the sacraments and following the teachings of the Bible (represented by the outer section of the inner sanctuary) that one can achieve life everlasting in paradise (the innermost section of the veiled sanctuary). In this respect, the cross on the doorway to the inner sanctuary can be seen as yet another representation of how, through Christ's Crucifixion, passage was once again allowed through the 'veil' between heaven and earth by means of his death, but also through the correct understanding of the message behind the Scripture:[110] that the Ark of the Covenant, the Tabernacle and the Temple were *all* understood to prefigure the Universal Church.[111]

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[107] "*Mensa et candelabrum tabernaculi temporalia Dei beneficia designant quibus in praesenti reficimur et illuminamur ut his interim confortati et adiuti crescente gratia meritorum ad panem angelorum in caelis manducandum et ad uidendam ueram mundi lucem intrare ualemus. Quae sunt ambo extra uelum quoniam in hac solummodo uita uel scripturis santis ac doctoribus uel ceteris redemtionis nostrae sacrementis* […]" Bede, *De Tabernaculo*: 2.26:35; Hurst, 1969: 73; trans., Holder, 1994: 81; O'Reilly, 1995: xx-xxiii

[108] "*Quod fuit ab initio, quod audivimus, quod vidimus oculis nostris, quod perspeximus, et manus nostræ contrectaverunt de verbo vitæ:*" John 1:1

[109] O'Reilly, 1995: xvii-liv; O'Reilly, 2001: 3-34; O'Reilly, 2009: 367-73, 388-98

[110] Kessler, 1990-91: 53-77

[111] Boulton, 2013: 285-86; Chazelle, 2006: 104; O'Reilly, 1995: xii; O'Reilly, 2009: 388-89

The Tabernacle image in the Codex Amiatinus is thus an extremely complex and well-designed example of contemporary exegetical thought being made visual. It is clear through the writings of Bede on both the Temple and the Tabernacle, that the community of Wearmouth-Jarrow had a clear interest in and wished to portray the ways in which the Tabernacle prefigures the Church and the Christological significance behind its construction. Like the Ezra miniature this page intends to highlight the unity of the two Testaments of the bible, visually articulating to the viewer to contemplate Christ in everything they were about to read.

3.5 Visualising the Book of Numbers

Like the Tabernacle page (and the Book of Exodus), there is only one known example of a scene from the Book of Numbers surviving from the pre-Viking period. However, unlike the previous examples of Old Testament imagery examined here, the example found amongst the Staffordshire hoard is a textual representation of an episode from Numbers (fig. 3.19), rather than a figural image. This obviously raises the question of what can (or cannot) be regarded as a visual representation of an Old Testament narrative: to what extent can text be regarded as image?

The Staffordshire (Ogley Hay) hoard was found on Sunday 5 July 2009, by Terry Herbert, a metal detectorist who had been searching on arable lands in the Parish of Ogley Hay.[112] Its relatively recent discovery means that the scholarly debate on the significance and date of the hoard is still in its infancy, but most seem to agree that the nearly 4000 pieces of mainly gold and silver alloy date from the late-sixth to the early-eighth century.[113]

There are several conflicting interpretations of the reasons lying behind the burial of such a large hoard of precious metal. One is that it was buried as a form of offering with the topographical spot being chosen for symbolic reasons. This helps to explain why ninety-four

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[112] Dean, Hooke and Jones, 2010: 139
[113] Brown, 2010; Dean, Hooke and Jones, 2010; 139; Ganz, 2010; Høilund Nielsen, 2010; Leahy, et al., 2011: 220; Okasha, 2010; Webster, et al., 2011: 224

richly decorated sword pommels were included, as they suggest that a careful selection of objects was made, like a "trophy hoard", such as those found at Prittlewell and Sutton Hoo.[114] However, the apparent lack of human remains and the unelaborate arrangement of the burial at the Ogley Hay site render this hypothesis unconvincing.[115]Another, plausible, explanation for the burial is that it was deposited in a hurry – with a view to recover it at a later date; this would imply that the decision to bury it beside the Watling Street thoroughfare, on a visible mound, was partly due to the necessity to quickly deposit the artefacts, perhaps during a time of upheaval, and the particular topographical location was chosen to aid its recovery.[116]

Alongside the pommels and other military pieces are a selection of metal crosses (figs 3.20a-c) and other pieces of ornate metalwork such as an object identified as a seahorse (fig. 3.21). Included is one piece that contains an Old Testament inscription (fig. 3.19).[117] This gold strip, carefully folded in half, is inscribed on both sides with the same passage. The outer text reads:

[S]URGE:DNE:DISEPENTURINIMICITUIE/T

[F]UGENT QUIODERUNTTEAFACIETUA[118]

which when expanded reads: "[*S*]*urge domine disepentur inimici tui et* [*f*]*ugent qui oderunt te a facie tua*" (Rise up, O Lord, and may thy enemies be dispersed and those who hate be driven from thy face).[119] This corresponds to the prayer of Moses when he raised the Ark of the Covenant, recorded in Numbers 10:35: "When he had lifted up the ark, Moses said 'Rise up, Lord, and may your enemies be dispersed and those who hate you flee from your face."[120]

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[114] Dean, Hooke and Jones, 2010; For scholarship on the Sutton Hoo and Prittlewell burials see: Bruce-Mitford, 1975; Hirst, 2004; Webster, forthcoming 2018
[115] Dean, Hooke and Jones, 2010
[116] Ibid.
[117] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.4a
[118] Letters within brackets represent the probable interpretation of damaged letters; a full stop within brackets denotes an illegible letter, while three dots within brackets shows that several letters have been lost; a forward slash represents a ligature; see, Okasha, 2010
[119] Okasha, 2010
[120] "*Cumque elevaretur arca dicebat Moses surge Domine et dissipentur inimici tui et fugiant qui oderunt te a facie tua.*" Num. 10:35

The inner side of the gold strip's text and animal head closely parallels the outer inscription, although it is set upside down in relation to the outer text and is not infilled with niello. It reads:

SURGE DNE DISEPINTUR […MIC]ITUIE/TFUGIU[N/T]QUIODE

[R]UNTTE AF ACIE T[..] DIUIE NOS[.R.]

When expanded this can be read as: "*surge domine disepintur* […*mic*]*I tui et fugiu*[*nt*] *qui ode*[*r*]*unt te a facie tu*[*a*] [*a*]*diuie nos*[.*r*.]". The additional letters "a" and "r" completing, "[*a*]*diuie nos*[.*r*.]", are lightly incised and cursive in form. According to Michelle Brown this addition does not seem to have exact parallels in scripture or devotional texts of the period and would have likely formed an extra invocation, familiar to the writer, to round off the biblical quotation, citing the Vulgate Psalm 67:1 as the closest scriptural parallel.[121] As the letters of this text are less uniform in size, less carefully arranged and not infilled with niello, it is unlikely that this face was intended as primary. Indeed, it has been suggested that the text for the inscription was chosen by a cleric or religious and was written on a piece of vellum or a wax tablet for the goldsmith to copy.[122] This goldsmith conceivably decided to use the back of the gold strip as practice, planning the layout and look of the text.[123]

It is more than likely – despite the addition of the extra invocation to the reverse inscription – that the primary source for the two inscriptions was Numbers 10:35. Nevertheless, there is another potential biblical point of reference: Vulgate Psalm 67:1: "Let God arise and his enemies be dispersed and those who hate him flee from his face."[124] While not as close a match as Numbers 10:35, it is not inconceivable that the composer of the inscription was aware of and played on the similarities between the two passages.

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[121] Brown, 2010
[122] Okasha, 2011: 23-35; Okasha, 2010
[123] Okasha, 2010
[124] "*Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici eius et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius*." Ps. 68/67:1; Brown, 2010; Ganz, 2010; Leahy, 2010; Okasha, 2010; Leahy, et al., 2011: 216

The story preceding Numbers 10:35 relates to God commanding Moses to make two silver trumpets,[125] which were to be used to unite the twelve tribes of Israel, allowing Moses to easily gather the people together for meetings and religious ceremonies; and to raise an alarm against any attacks by their enemies.[126] Vulgate Psalm 67, on the other hand, relates in relatively graphic detail how the "wicked perish in the sight of God",[127] whereas those who believe in him will have their "foot […] dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and the tongue of thy dogs in the same".[128] It is perhaps no surprise that despite not being overtly militaristic in its current state as a detached inscribed strip, the inscription was included in a hoard of military paraphernalia. It is likely therefore, that whatever the function of the object of which this inscription was originally part – be it a shield, weapon or book cover,[129] or (perhaps most probably) an ecclesiastical object,[130] such as a cross or reliquary – the purpose of the inscription was intended to provide symbolic protection for the user/s, demonstrating a belief that their faith in the true God would ensure a quick and decisive victory.

Furthermore, if the dating of the inscription to the early eight century is correct,[131] it places it in a position that enables it to be compared with the contemporary *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, composed by Felix around 730-40.[132] Although this is a hagiographic text, Felix also uses both Numbers 10:35 and Vulgate Psalm 67:1 as examples of vanquishing foes. In Chapter 34 (How by singing the first verse of the sixty-seventh psalm he put flight the phantasmal bands of the devil's train),[133] Felix recalls the story of how the sleeping Guthlac was awoken by "the shouts of a tumultuous crowd".[134] Realising that this was the sound of the British host approaching, Guthlac left his cell to see what was happening. He saw that

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[125] Num. 10:2
[126] Num. 10:10
[127] "*sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei.*" Ps. 68/67:3
[128] "*ut intingatur pes tuus in sanguine, lingua canum tuorum ex inimicis, ab ipso.*" Ps. 68/67:24
[129] Webster proposes this is highly implausible; see, Webster, 2011: 222; Webster, 2012: 215
[130] Webster, 2011: 222; Webster, 2012: 215
[131] Okasha, 2010; Leahy, et al., 2011: 220
[132] Colgrave, 1956: 7
[133] "*Quomodo fantasticas turbas satellitum cantata primo versu sexagesimi septimi psalmi fugavit.*" Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*: 34; Colgrave, 1956: 108-109
[134] "*Visum est sibi tumultuantis turbae audisse clamores*". Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*: 34; Colgrave, 1956: 110-11

all the buildings were on fire and that the Britons were approaching his dwelling. They managed to capture Guthlac, "and began to lift him into the air on the sharp points of their spears";[135] Guthlac, realising that they were some kind of devilish creation began to sing the first verse of Psalm 67. Upon hearing this "all the hosts of demons vanished like smoke from his presence".[136] While presenting a rather literal retelling of Psalm 68/67:2-3, with Guthlac taking the place of David and the Britons transformed into the enemy, Felix colourfully illustrates the power of the psalm in vanquishing those who do not believe in the true faith.

Later, Guthlac is visited by Æthelbald, an exile "of famous Mercian stock" (*inclita Merciorum prole*),[137] who had long been in search of refuge from the dissolute ruler, King Ceolred.[138] Seeking divine council, Æthelbald asked for Guthlac's advice. Guthlac:

> as if interpreting a divine oracle, began to reveal to [Æthelbald] his future in detail […] He will bow down the necks of your enemies beneath your heel and you shall own their possessions; *those who hate you shall flee from your face* and you shall see their backs; and your sword shall overcome your foes (italics added).[139]

Here Felix takes a passage about Moses and the tribes of Israel in exile and applies it to the exile Æthelbald who, having succeeded in becoming king after the death of Ceolred, was likely at the height of his power during the period in which Felix was composing his Life of Guthlac.[140]

Whether Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* inspired the Staffordshire Hoard's inscription (both the manuscript and the inner text use the spelling *fugiunt* instead of *fugient*),[141] both texts demonstrate that Numbers 10:35 could be invoked in Mercia during the eighth century as a perceived means of overcoming the enemy.

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[135] "*Illum quoque intercipientes acutis hastarum spiculis in auras levare coeperunt*". Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* 34; Colgrave, 1956: 110-11

[136] "*Omnes darmoniorum turmae velut fumus a facie eius evanuerunt.*" Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* 34; Colgrave, 1956: 110-11

[137] Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* 40; Colgrave, 1956: 124-25

[138] Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* 49; Colgrave, 1956: 148-49

[139] "*Velut divini oraculi interpres, pandere quae ventura essent sibi, ex ordine coepit* […] *cervices inimicorum tuorum subtus calcaneum tuum rediget, et possessions eorum possidebis, et fugient a facie tua qui te oderunt, et terga eorum videbis, et gladius tuus vincet adversaries tuos.*" Felix, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* 49; Colgrave, 1956: 148-51

[140] Colgrave, 1956: 7

[141] Okasha, 2010

While being a strictly textual example of the use of the Old Testament, fitting comfortably with the literary tradition of the use of the passage in Mercia, its placement on a piece of embellished metalwork shows that the piece was intended to be understood visually, as well as textually. While the intended function of the piece is still very much open to debate, its discovery amongst the hoard of militaristic objects, and its embellishment with what was likely a jewel or precious stone, alongside a representation of an animal head, clearly intended to reflect the status of the object/user in the context of warfare. Whether its purpose was to offer the user protection against a real enemy, like the Britons,[142] or to ward off the devil (or perhaps even to do both simultaneously), the object and inscription was clearly intended to both visually and textually safeguard the user from evil through the use of the Old Testament.

3.6 Visualising the Book of Judges

As with Exodus and Numbers only one representation from the Book of Judges survives in the material record of pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England: Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza. However, two versions of this scene survive: one on the Masham column (fig. 3.22); the other on the remains of a cross-shaft at Cundall, North Yorkshire (fig. 3.23); both date to the early-ninth century.

It is clear from the similarities between the scenes that they share the same source model; however, because they are mirror images of one another – in the Cundall scene Samson is turns to the right, while at Masham he faces left – Bailey has argued convincingly that they were produced from the same template, reversed on one of the monuments, strongly suggesting that there was a common centre of production for the two scenes. [143]

The narrative to which both the Cundall and Masham scenes pertain is recounted in Judges 16:1-3 where Samson travels to Gaza. The citizens are not exactly welcoming

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[142] Bryant, 2012: 7-12
[143] Bailey, 1996: 114; Collingwood, 1927: 72-73; Cramp, 1965a: 9; Hawkes, 1997b: 149; Hawkes, 1999: 206-207; Lang, 1983: 185

(probably because he slaughtered a thousand Philistines with a jawbone of an ass prior to his visit),[144] so they conspire to kill him in the morning, lying in wait at the gates of the city.[145] Samson, aware of this, awakens at midnight and goes down to the city gates, breaks down their doors, along with the two gate posts, and carries them on his shoulders to the top of the hill that is before Hebron.[146]

The Masham and Cundall panels both depict this episode, showing Samson standing in profile, one arm raised to hold the arch supported by columns, which rests on his shoulder.[147] While this version of the scene is unique in the extant corpus of Insular art, it is also infrequent in Jewish, early Christian and early medieval art.[148] Furthermore, most of the Samson imagery found in the Insular world tends to survive in isolation, with only one monument in Scotland – a cross slab at Inchbrayock in Angus – preserving Samson imagery (Samson and Delilah and Samson Slaying the Philistine, figs 5.22a-b);[149] and two monuments in Ireland depicting Samson Slaying the Lion on the Cross of St Patrick and Columba, Kells, County Meath and on the cross at Old Kilcullen, County Kildare (figs 5.57a-b).[150]

It appears that in the Insular world Samson was an unusual subject to depict, with each region selecting a different episode from Judges, no doubt for specific iconographic purpose. The overall lack of surviving examples of Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza before the twelfth century, likely implies limited access to potential sources for those responsible for the Masham and Cundall scenes.[151] In the light of this Hawkes proposed that the most plausible iconographic source for the scene lies in the art of the eastern Mediterranean, in depictions of Samson Destroying the Temple, such as that found in a

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[144] Judg. 15:15-17
[145] Judg. 16:2
[146] Judg. 16:3
[147] For a detailed description of the scenes see, App. 1-5a(i) and 1.5a(ii)
[148] Hachlili, 1998: 259-62; Hachlili, 2013: 413
[149] See discussion on Inchbrayock, pp. 266-67
[150] Although Harbison doubts this identification due the statement in Judges 14:6 that Samson had nothing in his hand when slaying the lion. See, Harbison, 1992: 216
[151] Hawkes, 1997b: 151-52

ninth-century illustrated copy of the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (fig. 3.24) itself based on an earlier version.[152] Here, as at Cundall, Samson stands wearing a short tunic; however, unlike the Anglo-Saxon examples he stands facing forwards with both arms outstretched to grasp the columns of the arch that he stands beneath,[153] leading Hawkes to conclude that a model such as this was adapted to produce the scenes illustrating Samson with the Gates of Gaza in Yorkshire.

During recent excavations of a synagogue at Huqoq, Israel, in 2011-12 (and so unavailable to Hawkes), a late fifth- or early sixth-century mosaic depicting Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza was recovered (fig. 3.25). While only fragmentary and depicting the events at Gaza rather than the destruction of the temple, the layout appears to be much the same as that featured in the later manuscript: Samson stands beneath the arch of the gate which is supported by two columns, with his arms raised above his head, gripping both columns. The top of the gate is visible above his head; it appears to be closed and four square panels can be identified. Given the close relationship between this arrangement and that preserved in the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, it seems likely that Samson Destroying the Temple and Carrying the Gates of Gaza shared a very close iconography in and around the eastern Mediterranean.

Due to the similarities between the Anglo-Saxon depictions of Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza and the eastern Mediterranean images – Samson dressed in a tunic standing under an arch, supported by columns – it is plausible that the source for Masham and Cundall came from either an eastern example of Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza or Samson Destroying the Temple, which was adapted to render it a more literal depiction of the biblical account of Samson carrying the gates on his shoulders, turning Samson to one side and lowering the arch onto them.

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[152] Paris, BnF gr. 510, fol. 347v; Hawkes, 1997b: 153
[153] Hawkes, 1997b: 153

It is possible that the reason behind adapting the scene in such a way lay in the intended symbolic message behind the choice of portraying Samson actually carrying the gates rather than breaking them. Samson appears to have been viewed as a Christ-type figure, with the story of him carrying the Gates of Gaza being associated with Christ's descent into hell. In Gregory the Great's Homily for Easter Sunday, which appears to have been extensively used by Ælfric for his similarly entitled Sermon on Easter Sunday in the tenth century,[154] Gregory argues:

> Whom does Samson symbolise, if not our Redeemer? What does Gaza symbolise, if not the gates of Hell? and what the Philistines, if not the perfidy of the Jews, who seeing the Lord dead and his body in the sepulchre, placed guards before it, rejoicing that they had him in their power, and that he whom the Author of life had glorified was now enclosed in the gates of hell, as they had rejoiced when they thought they had captured Samson in Gaza. But in the middle of the night Samson not only went forth from the city, but also bore off its gates, as our Redeemer, rising before day, not only went forth free from hell, but also destroyed the very gates of hell. He took away the gates, and mounted with them to the top of a hill; for by his resurrection he bore off the gates of hell, and by his ascension he mounted to the kingdom of heaven.[155]

It is clear from this sermon that not only do the Masham and Cundall scenes portray Samson, but the narrative behind the depiction foreshadows Christ's death, descent and resurrection; specifically, Christ's descent into hell and his ascension into heaven. It is perhaps for these specific Christological associations that those behind the creation of the Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza at Masham and Cundall chose to depict something that only occurs infrequently in the visual corpus of early religious art. Furthermore, at Masham, Samson is one of three identifiable Old Testament scenes, being included alongside David Combatting

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[154] Ælfric, 'Homily on Easter Sunday', Thorpe, 1844: 226-229; Hawkes, 1997b: 156
[155] "*Quem [...] hoc in facto, quem nisi Redemptorum nostrum Samson ille significat? Quid Gaza civitas nisi infernum designat? Quid per Philisthaeos nisi Judaeorum perfidia demonstratur? Qui cum mortuum Dominum viderent, eiusque corpus in sepulcro iam positum, custodes illico deputaverunt, et eum qui auctor vitae claruerat, in inferni claustris retentum, quasi Samsonem in Gaza se deprehendisse laetati sunt. Samson vero media nocte non solum exiit, sed etiam portas tulit quia videlicet Redemptor noster ante lucem resurgens, non solum liber de inferno exiit, sed et ipsa etiam inferni claustra destruxit. Portas tulit, et montis verticem subiit, quia resurgendo claustra inferni abstulit, et ascendendo coelorum regna penetravit.*" Gregory the Great, *Homiliarum in Evangelia Lib. II* : 21.7; Migne, 1857: 1173; trans, Toal, 1958: 244-45; Hawkes, 1997b: 156

the Lion and David Accompanied by Musicians, which were also intended to reference David's Christological roles.[156]

3.7 Visualising the Books of 1 Samuel and Psalms

Of all the Old Testament figures represented in the art of pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England, David was by far the most popular. With eleven examples surviving and evidence of another lost scene, David appears to have been the most frequently depicted Old Testament character and 1 Samuel the most commonly chosen book from which to select Davidic events for depiction. It is possible that the survival rate of these scenes is so high due to Psalters having survived better than most biblical manuscripts (other than gospel manuscripts), due to their liturgical role.[157] However, just one Psalter[158] and one Commentary on the Psalms exist,[159] which between them preserve less than half the surviving images (five); the remaining six images are preserved on the flyleaf of a manuscript of Paulinus of Nola's *Carmina*[160] and three carved stone monuments.[161] This implies that the subject may not have been solely, or even primarily, considered important from liturgical points of view.

Whether this was indeed the case, two of the images are associated with the earliest historiated initials to have survived in Europe (in the Vespasian Psalter),[162] while two others are preserved in the earliest extant copy of Cassiodorus' *Expositio Psalmorum*.[163] Because of the interwoven nature of the Psalms with the story of David, contained within 1 Samuel, it is necessary to examine the scenes from the two books side-by-side, despite the conventional ordering of the Bible which sees them separated.

The first episode taken from the life of David to have survived pictorially from Anglo-Saxon England is that recounted in 1 Samuel 16:1-13 and concerns Samuel anointing

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[156] See below, pp. 153-54, 163-64
[157] Gneuss, 1985: 114
[158] Alexander, 1978a: 55-56
[159] Alexander, 1978a: 46
[160] Alexander, 1978a:
[161] Masham, North Yorkshire, Lang, 2001: 93-97; Newent, Gloucestershire, Bryant, 2012: 232-36; Eccleshall, Staffordshire, Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2018
[162] Rickert, 1954: 18; Brown, 2007: 61; Webster, 2012: 85;
[163] Bailey, 1978: 3

David. The narrative opens with Samuel being asked by God to seek out one of Jesse's sons and anoint him king of Israel, to replace Saul after he had fallen out of favour with God. Fearing that he would be killed by Saul for carrying out this command, Samuel is instructed to take a heifer as if intending to sacrifice it to the Lord. With this remit Samuel travels to Bethlehem, where he meets Jesse and asks him to bring his sons out so that they can be sanctified for the sacrifice. Seven sons are brought forward, and each is rejected by God. When asked if he has any more sons, Jesse responds that his youngest, David, is looking after the sheep. Brought before Samuel, David is confirmed as God's chosen leader, and is duly anointed king by Samuel in front of his brothers, with oil poured from a horn.

It is this moment which is depicted in the late eighth- or early ninth-century flyleaf of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript containing the *Carmina* by Paulinus of Nola, now preserved in St Petersburg (fig. 3.26).[164] However, involving just David and Samuel, it would appear to present a simplified version of the event, rather than a full illustration of the biblical account which includes David's brothers witnessing the anointing.[165] Placed above another Davidic scene – the contest with Goliath – the *Carmina* flyleaf image consists of only the two large figures labelled DAUID (David) and SAMUEL PROFETA (the prophet Samuel) and a third half-length figure, who, based on the style of the drapery, is accepted to be a later, possibly a tenth- or eleventh-century addition.[166] Putting this later addition to one side for a moment, the original scheme illustrated Samuel standing on the right, in profile, facing David, with his left hand gesturing down towards David and his right extended above David's head, holding the horn filled with oil ready to anoint him. David faces Samuel on the left and holds his right arm out towards the prophet, while bowing his head slightly below the horn.[167] What renders this depiction unusual in the context of the early Davidic iconographic tradition is the portrayal of David as an adult, indicated by his full beard, height

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[164] Alexander, 1978a: 65-66
[165] Like that found on a Byzantine silver dish (Metropolitan Museum 17.190.398) and at a Synagogue from Dura Europos.
[166] Alexander, 1978a: 65-66
[167] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.6a(ii)

and stature, rather than the youth described in the biblical account. Earlier and other near contemporary depictions of the scene generally show David as a young man, who is considerably smaller in stature than Samuel.[168]

It may well be that this (apparent) iconographic discrepancy explains the later addition of a more youthful David placed between the two figures. Considering the scene incomplete, the tenth- or eleventh-century scribe perhaps inserted a half-length David between what was understood to be the representations of Samuel and Jesse (due to his full beard and adult stature). Alternatively, although less likely, what was deemed a mistake made by the earlier scribe in depicting David as a mature man, was "corrected" by transforming the labelled David into Jesse and adding a youthful David between them. The former seems to offer the more likely explanation as the inserted David lines up with both the gesture made by Samuel's left hand and "Jesse's" right, implying that the later scribe believed this was the position intended for David.

Nevertheless, it is possible that, rather than making a mistake, the Anglo-Saxon artist deliberately chose to depict David as a grown man. Augustine of Hippo, in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* linked the anointment of David in his commentary on Psalm 45/44 with an explanation of Christ's name meaning "Anointed One" (*unctum audis, Christum intellege*).[169] In the light of this understanding, it is not unlikely that the creator of the scene intended to draw on the parallel between the anointment of David and his descendant, Christ the Anointed One. In this case, the viewer would be expected to see the mature man, not only as the youth David being anointed – made clear by the labelling above his head – but also as Christ, the chosen one, who, in human form, came to earth to die for humanity's sins – as a man in his thirties.

This is not the only instance in Anglo-Saxon art of an ambiguous representation of David which was labelled to aid understanding of the full iconographic significance of the

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[168] St Gallens, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. sang. 22, fol. 59; Met. Museum 17.190.398; Monasterboice, Tall Cross, Co. Louth, Ireland
[169] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 44.19; Dekkers and Fraipoint, 1956a: 507; Walsh, 1990: 445

scheme. One of the David miniatures preserved in the Durham Cassiodorus (fig. 3.27), for instance, which shows the figure standing over a double-headed creature, includes the label DAVID REX, enabling the viewer to understand that in this case they were not (only or primarily) contemplating a representation of Christ treading on the beasts.[170] Furthermore, the Anointing scene itself is placed immediately above a depiction of David and Goliath (fig. 3.28), which was interpreted by Augustine of Hippo as symbolically referencing Christ overcoming the Devil.[171] Without frames separating these two scenes they can be read together as providing a conflated symbolic narrative of the salvation brought about by Christ's death and resurrection.

A second tentative scene of Samuel Anointing David survives on the cross-shaft fragment at Breedon-on-the-Hill (fig. 3.29).[172] It has been previously proposed by Bailey that this image was another Sacrifice of Isaac;[173] however, there are certain iconographic discrepancies that cast doubt over this identification. It is clear from the surviving Sacrifice at Reculver, Newent, the Antwerp Sedulius and the Cluny ivory, that Anglo-Saxon artists had access to and used early Christian depictions of the scene as models for their own.[174] All four preserve the standard early Christian/late antique altar with a swirling flame on top; Isaac portrayed as a child, is shown bent over the altar; and either the hand of God or an angel stopping the sacrifice; with the two non-fragmentary representations showing Abraham with his sword raised up and a ram waiting to be sacrificed in Isaacs's stead. While at Breedon there are two figures with an altar between them, they are the same height, and both stand upright. Bailey identified the figure on the left as Abraham,[175] however, he is hooded and appears to be holding a horn rather than a sword; the right-hand figure, "Isaac," is not only similar in height to "Abraham," but he is unbound and appears to be reaching up

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[170] See discussion below, pp. 156-57
[171] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 143.1; Dekkers and Fraipoint, 1956c; Schaff, 1886: 1304
[172] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.5a(i)
[173] Bailey, 1977: 64-66; Bailey, 1980: 173-74; Cramp makes a similar assertion in her 1965 Jarrow lecture, however this is not explored in detail. See Cramp, 1965a: 9
[174] See above, pp. 118-19
[175] Bailey, 1977: 64-66

towards the horn; and while the rectangular object in the background has been explained as a pile of faggots, this and the altar do not resemble early Christian prototypes. These divergences from the early Christian "standard," discussed above,[176] combined with the lack of ram and hand of God/angel stopping the sacrifice makes this identification debateable at best and therefore, other identifications must be pursued.

The curved-shaped object held by the two figures perhaps holds the key to a more convincing identification of the scene as that of the Anointment of David by Samuel. It most closely resembles a horn, an object included in the majority of early Christian and early medieval depictions of the Anointment (figs 3.30a-c).[177] The episode is only rarely depicted in early religious art and does not appear, from what little survives, to have a fixed iconography – despite the common inclusion of the horn of anointing oil. Approximately half the surviving examples show Samuel and David accompanied by David's family,[178] while the others, including the St Petersburg flyleaf show only Samuel and David.[179] While Samuel is depicted as the largest figure in all but one of the examples, it is interesting to note that the exception is the Anglo-Saxon *Carmina* flyleaf, which deliberately depicted David as a grown man to strengthen the association between him and Christ. It is thus possible that the Breedon example, designed to illustrate the Anointing, could also have been intended to draw on the same set of references by portraying the two figures as the same height.

In this respect it is notable that the Anointing scene preserved on an early sixth-century Byzantine silver dish (fig. 3.30a) includes below the figural scene, a flaming altar, a heifer and a ram, invoking Samuel's visit to David under the guise of sacrificing a heifer. Access to a model such as this would explain the presence of the altar and faggots on the Breedon shaft, and serve a similar iconographic function, reminding the viewer that the Anointment of David occurred under the pretext of a sacrifice. Thus, the presence of an altar

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[176] See above, pp. 124-31
[177] See the mosaic at the Synagogue at Dura Europos; and the manuscripts: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek cod. Sang. 22 fol. 59; Paris Psalter, BnF gr 139, fol. 3v
[178] Dura Europos; Paris Psalter; Byzantine Silver Dish, Met. Museum 17.190.398
[179] St Gallen, St Petersburg *Carmina*

at Breedon could have been intended to visually link David being anointed under the pretext of a sacrifice, with Christ the "anointed one" being sacrificed in order to absolve man of the Original Sin, represented in the panel immediately below.

Whether such a model was available to those responsible for the production of the Breedon scene, it remains the case that the confusion over its identification as Samuel Anointing David or Abraham Sacrificing Isaac is due primarily to the lack of a single model-type for the Anointing illustrating the two protagonists as of equal height, with an altar and pile of faggots. The apparent rarity of such images in the corpus of early Christian and early medieval art, means that a depiction of the episode may not have been readily available in Anglo-Saxon England. The Sacrifice of Isaac, on the other hand, was circulating widely in the region and it is possible that one such model was adapted it to illustrate Samuel Anointing David. By replacing the sword with a horn and adding a hood, the left-hand figure is transformed from Abraham to Samuel; and the increase in stature and upright position of the figure on the right not only strengthens the associations between Christ and David, as on the *Carmina* flyleaf, it also helps to distinguish the figure as David rather than Isaac; finally the inclusion of the altar and faggots, but the removal of the ram, perhaps was intended to aid the viewer in understanding that this was a representation of Samuel and David, not Abraham and Isaac with the sacrificial ram. While removing the altar and faggots completely would have helped to firmly identify the Breedon scene as a depiction of this event, their inclusion served a very specific function: that through Christ's sacrifice on the cross humanity was absolved from sin. This is particularly pertinent if this scene is viewed alongside the scene depicted directly below: The Fall of Adam and Eve.

Alongside the two surviving examples of Samuel Anointing David in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England at Breedon-Upon-The-Hill and in the *Carmina* manuscript, at least one other is thought to have existed. The fifteenth-century chronicler, Thomas of Elhelm, records the existence of a depiction of the priest Samuel at the beginning of the Vespasian

Psalter: "*incipit textus psalterii cum imagine Samuelis sacerdotis*";[180] it is not unlikely that this would have depicted Samuel Anointing David, as the only visual representations of Samuel in early Christian/early medieval art involve him performing this act.[181] At the start of the Vespasian Psalter the scene would have functioned as the frontispiece to a manuscript featuring three other Davidic miniatures, announcing his status as the King of Israel and the fore-father of the King of Heaven.[182] Indeed, Psalm 1 concerns that which constitutes a godly man (David being chosen by God to be king) and an ungodly individual (the king, Saul, being punished for breaking the commandments set out by God).

It is unclear whether the putative image of Samuel was a full-page miniature, like that depicting David dictating the Psalms on fol. 30v (before Psalm 26) or an historiated initial, like those of David and Jonathan, and David and the Lion at the beginnings of Psalms 26 and 52 respectively. Both options are possible, as some text is missing from the opening of the manuscript which could have been accommodated onto the *verso* of the missing leaf, leaving the *recto* free to create a full-page frontispiece;[183] alternatively, the initial B[eatus] of the Psalm could easily have contained an image of the two men. Such questions will, of course, remain unanswered in the absence of the missing folio, but the three images that do survive in the manuscript include one from the next part of the David narrative commonly depicted in Anglo-Saxon England: David Combatting the Lion.

Unlike Samuel Anointing David, David Rending the Jaws of the Lion was relatively commonly depicted, but perhaps more so in the Insular world than in early Christian art in general. Easily identifiable, David and the Lion scenes are preserved across the Insular world with multiple examples surviving in Ireland, Scotland and England, all identifiable by a figure rending the jaws of a lion while a lamb looks on (figs 3.32-33, 5.6a, 5.7-10, 5.13, 5.44a-h, 5.45). These were likely based on early Christian/eastern Mediterranean prototypes, such as a Byzantine dish that belongs to the same collection as that depicting Samuel

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[180] Sisam, 1956: 3
[181] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.6a(iii)
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.; Mynors, 1939: 22

Anointing David (fig. 3.31a). Here David kneels on the back of the lion about to kill it, while below a lamb lies on its back. The arrangement of David on the back of the lion is repeated in many of the Irish examples,[184] suggesting that they had access to a similar model type for their production. The alternative layout of the lion standing on its hind legs while David rends its jaws is seen more frequently in early medieval Scotland,[185] with a close parallel being found in an eastern Mediterranean silk (fig. 3.31b). Although this lacks the lamb, and may not, therefore, depict David, it attests to this layout circulating outside the Insular world.

Despite a lack of early Christian depictions of David and the Lion it is quite easy to identify the scene on Insular sculpture due to its layout closely following the biblical account where, after David's anointing, he is summoned to Saul's court to play the harp, as a means of allaying the evil spirits troubling Saul. After his arrival the Philistine army appears, with the aim of conquering Saul's kingdom, and David asks to join the fight.[186] Told that he is "but a youth" (*est ab adolescentia*) and therefore too young to fight, [187] David replies that:

> Thy servant kept his father's sheep, and there came a lion […] and he took a lamb out of the flock: And I went out after him, and smote him, and delivered *it* out of his mouth and when he arose against me, I caught *him* by his beard, and smote him and slew him.[188]

The depiction of this remembered event is one of the most frequently portrayed in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England, with three extant examples surviving: folio 172v of the Durham Cassiodorus (fig. 3.27); an historiated initial on folio 53r of Vespasian Psalter (fig. 3.32); and a panel on the column at Masham (fig. 3.33). The examples at Masham and in the Vespasian Psalter show David standing behind the lion, his hands gripping its jaws, rending them apart, with a lamb either at the feet of the lion (at Masham) or displaced above the head of the lion, in the Psalter.[189]

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[184] Ardboe, Market Cross, Co. Tyrone; Armagh, Market Cross, Co. Armagh; Durrow, West Cross, Co. Offlay; Kells, Market Cross and Cross of St Patrick and Columba, Co. Meath; Monasterboice, Tall Cross, Co. Louth; and Old Kilcullen, West Cross, Co. Kildare

[185] Kincardine, Sutherland; Kinneddar, Moray; Nigg, Easter Ross; and St Andrews, Fife

[186] 1 Sam. 17

[187] 1 Sam. 16:15-17:33

[188] "*Pascebat servus tuus patris sui gregem, et veniebat leo vel ursus, et tollebat arietem de medio gregis: et persequebar eos, et percutiebam, eruebamque de ore eorum: et illi consurgebant adversum me, et apprehendebam mentum eorum, et suffocabam, interficiebamque eos.*" 1 Sam. 17:34-35

[189] For a detailed description of the scenes see, App. 1.6b(ii) and 1.6(iii)

Nearly all the surviving Insular examples include a lamb placed somewhere within the scene, which, while being in keeping with David's account, would be unnecessary if the scheme was intended to represent David's skills as a warrior (implicit in the context of the biblical narrative). The inclusion of the lamb thus demonstrates that the scene was intended to reference the understanding that David's slaying of the lion foreshadowed Christ's salvation of humanity: that through his death, descent and resurrection he saved humanity from the devil.[190] So common was this appreciation, that at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period it was still being invoked by Ælfric, in his *Treatise on the Old and New Testament*, where in his account of David saving the sheep, he notes that this action represents Christ who vanquished "the cruel devil, and got away from him all the faithful into his church."[191]

Furthermore, the placement of David and the Lion in the historiated initial at the beginning of Psalm 52 in the Vespasian Psalter (fig. 3.32), invites the viewer to situate the biblical narrative of David Combatting the Lion within the larger David and Saul story: to search for the Christological significance within the episode and simultaneously examine these two concepts alongside the text of the Psalm itself, which concerns the relationship between God and humanity.[192] The Psalm examines humanity's lack of faith in God and in turn God's lack of faith in humanity, a point reversed with the arrival of Christ, who redeems humanity by dying for its sins and in turn saving them from damnation through defeating the devil. Furthermore, it can also be examined in the light of the story of David and Saul, as Saul was set aside by God, because of his wicked deeds, in favour of David, considered to be a good man and a great warrior because he slayed the lion, which in turn was seen as foreshadowing Christ overcoming the devil.

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[190] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*: 17; Adriaen, 1955: 150-69; Augustine, *Ennarationes in Psalmos*: 7.9; Dekkers and Fraipoint, 1956: 42-43; Hawkes, 1999: 210
[191] "He hæfde getacnunge þæs Hælendes Christes, þe ys stanghynde, þa geleafullen on his gelaðunge, swa swa Dauid gelæhte þæt scep of þam deorum." Ælfric, *Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Novo*; Crawford, 1922: 36
[192] Karkov, 2011: 185

With these associations in mind, it may be possible to take them one step further in the Durham Cassiodorus (fig. 3.27).[193] While the Masham and Vespasian scenes appear to follow an established iconographic tradition of David and the Lion, the Durham Cassiodorus does not. David is not shown clubbing or rending the jaws of the lion, no lamb is present and the proposed lion itself is a highly stylised serpentine creature with a leonine head at each end.[194] Holding a spear and an orange circle that contains his name, David stands on the long, thin scaled double-headed body; the background is filled with concentric circular dots. If the ring containing the name David had been absent, it would have made it extremely difficult to identify the figure as David and the scheme as David and the Lion. In the context of the early iconography of Christ triumphant over death,[195] Christ is illustrated with a staff-cross upraised, standing over two or more creatures, one of which was a lion, and the other a serpent. The sixth-century mosaic in the archiepiscopal chapel in Ravenna (fig. 3.34a), for instance, shows Christ with his right foot on the head of a lion and his left on the head of a serpent; the eighth-century Northumbrian Genoels Elderen Diptych (fig. 3.34b), on the other hand, shows Christ in the same arrangement with a further serpent below the lion and a 'bird' on the lower right. The parallels between these schemes are far greater than those of the Vespasian and Masham scenes and perhaps go some way towards explaining the decision to illustrate the creature below "David" as serpentine *and* leonine-headed, subsuming into one creature those trampled by Christ triumphant.[196] Furthermore, Bailey has proposed that the concentric dots could have been intended to reference Christ set in Majesty in the cosmos, as is the case in Sta Maria Antiqua and San Clemente in Rome (figs 3.35a-b).[197]

Nevertheless, the figure identified as David, who overcome the lion, just as Christ, triumphant in death, overcame the devil. It is more than likely, therefore, that the artist responsible for the Durham Cassiodorus scheme intended to invoke both the Old Testament

[193] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.6b(i)
[194] Hilmo, 2004: 38
[195] Bailey, 1978: 11; Webster, 2012: 81; Openshaw, 1992: 41-48; Cochrane, 2007: 29-36
[196] Openshaw, 1993: 19
[197] Bailey, 1978: 11; Hawkes, 2011b: 232

Davidic victory and Christ treading on the beast. By invoking both actions iconographically, while labelling the figure DAVID REX and adapting the trampled beast into a double-headed leonine serpent, the artist invites the viewer to see this image as depicting not just David and a creature representing the lion, but also Christ triumphant. Like the Vespasian Psalter's inter-related use of visual and textual symbolic references, the Durham Cassiodorus miniature achieves a similar matrix of symbolic references without the preceding psalm providing the key to unlocking the full meaning. David saving the lamb from the lion offers a direct foreshadowing of Christ overcoming the Devil. This is not the only David scene to have this significance; the next part of the David narrative was also understood to reference Christ overcoming the Devil, with David again representing Christ, but this time Goliath is used to represent of the devil.

Like the previous two Davidic scenes, David Combatting Goliath is not a common episode in early Christian art. Yet another of the silver Byzantine dishes illustrates the story (fig. 3.36a), also a third-century wall painting at Dura-Europos (fig. 3.36b) and a ninth-century Carolingian *sacra parallela* manuscript (fig. 3.36c).[198] In all three examples, David is shown about to decapitate the fallen giant with his sword.[199]

The account of David Combatting Goliath follows David's assertion of his warrior-like capabilities in the biblical narrative. Saul, upon hearing the tale of the lion, allows David to fight the Philistine champion and arms him with a helmet, sword and chain mail – all of which David rejects, claiming he has not yet earned such gifts. Instead he goes into battle armed only with his staff, sling and, in his shepherd's bag, five smooth stones from the river. After some taunting on both sides, David takes his sling and casts a stone at the champion,

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[198] Paris, BnF. MS. Grec 923, fol. 91r
[199] David combatting Goliath also exists on the sculpture of early medieval Ireland, where Goliath is shown falling to his knees, with David stood adjacent to, and not interacting with, the giant in two examples (Ardboe, Market Cross and Monasterboice, Muiredach's Cross), while at Drumcliffe, Sandstone Cross, David is shown gripping the head of Goliath as he decapitates him. See discussion in chapter 5, pp. 277-78

the giant Goliath, which hits him in the forehead, causing him to fall to the ground. David then takes Goliath's sword and uses it to decapitate him.[200]

As noted, this episode is depicted on the St Petersburg *Carmina* flyleaf (fig. 3.28), but it is also preserved on one side of the stone cross-shaft at Newent (fig. 3.37).[201] Both scenes illustrate the same moment in the story: David beheading Goliath. The *Carmina* image (fig. 3.28) shows David standing on the left, gripping the crest of Goliath's helmet with his left hand, and wielding the sword to remove the giant's head with his right. Goliath's stance is extremely awkward: his legs are bent upwards, his arms bend outwards, and his head is pulled forwards. The effect is such that he could be seen either as falling down prior to being decapitated, while actually being beheaded (the two parts of his death being 'telescoped' into one); or he is intended to be viewed as lying on the ground after being hit by the stone – in which case David is depicted raising the head in order to remove it. Here, unlike the Anointing scene above, David is shown as a youth, with diminutive features and limbs (further substantiating the suggestion that he was depicted as an adult in the earlier scene to foreshadow Christ), while Goliath is shown with a full beard, large features, thick legs and large feet, emphasising the mismatching of opponents and highlighting the feat achieved by the youthful David in killing him.

At Newent (fig. 3.37), Goliath is also shown in an awkward bent pose, this time gripping his spear, while only David's upper torso and head are shown above the giant, gripping the sword, as he decapitates him. Like the manuscript drawing, it is unclear whether the carved panel is intending to illustrate Goliath in the process of being decapitated while falling or whether his awkward pose is intended to indicate that he is already lying on the ground, with David standing over his body. The narrow confines of the shaft must have dictated to a certain extent how this scene could be presented, but it is clear that it was intended to emphasise the gargantuan size of Goliath by contorting his body to squeeze it

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[200] 1 Sam. 17:38-51
[201] For a detailed description of the scenes see, App. 1.6c(i) and 1.6c(ii)

into the space and using his large spear to provide another visual aid to illustrate the unequal measure of the two opponents.

Sharing this detail, both scenes were clearly intended to highlight the immense size of Goliath and David's achievement at being able to use the giant's own sword to decapitate him. It was certainly a sentiment articulated in commentaries on the episode, with Ælfric, in his sermon on the Book of Kings continually using language to express Goliath's stature and power. Drawing on earlier commentaries, such as those by Augustine,[202] Ælfric described how:

> [David] overthrew […] the mighty giant, Goliath the cruel, who blasphemed God's name, and with threats cried shame upon God's people, armed for single combat with exceeding great weapons.
> Lo then! David went against the giant, and with his sling struck the unbelieving giant above the eyes, so that he bowed to the earth. Then he took from the giant his own sword, and struck off his huge head therewith, and so won victory for his people.[203]

Furthermore, in Ælfric's abbreviated version of Saul's fall from favour it is at this moment that he chooses to introduce David, not at his anointing, and, as in the biblical account, he introduces the story by presenting David as the brave youth who had saved the lamb from the lion and bear with his own hands, deliberately drawing parallels between David protecting the lambs by killing the lion and killing Goliath to protect Israel.[204] This

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[202] Augustine in his Commentary on Psalm 143 recounts the episode as: "David put five stones in his scrip, he hurled but one. The five Books were chosen, but unity conquered. Then, having smitten and overthrown him, he took the enemy's sword, and with it cut off his head. This our David also did, He overthrew the devil with his own weapons: and when his great ones, whom he had in his power, by means of whom he slew other souls, believe, they turn their tongues against the devil, and so Goliath's head is cut off with his own sword." (*accepit quinque lapides de flumine, et posuit in uase pastorali. His armatus corporaliter, nomine autem Dei spiritaliter, processit, et uicit. Hoc quidem ille Dauid: sed mysteria perscrutemur. Proposueramus enim titulum istum breuem numero uerborum, sed grauem pondere mysteriorum. Veniat in mentem aposolica illa sententia: Omnia haec in figura contingebant in illis, ne impudenter uideamur quaerer aliquid absconditum, ubi possit dici totum sine mysterii profunditate simpliciter dictum. Habemus ergo auctoritatem facientem nos intentos ad quaerendum, uigiles ad inuestigandum, deuotos ad audiendum, fideles ad credendum, impigros ad faciendum. In Dauid Christus: sed sicut soletis intellegere eruditi in schola eius, Christus caput et corpus. Non ergo sic audiatis aliquid ex persona Christi, quasi ad ous non pertineat, qui estis membra Christi. Hoc tamquam fundamento posito, uidete quae sequantur*). Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 144/143.1; Dekker and Fraipont, 1956: 2073; Schaff, 1886: 1304

[203] "He ofwearp eac syððan þone swyþlican ent, goliam þone gramlican þe godes naman hyrwde, and mid gebeote clypode bysmor godes folce, gearu to anwige mid ormettre wæpnunge. Hwæt þa dauid eode togeanes þan ente, and ofwearp mid his liþeran þone geleafleasan ent, bufon ðam Eagan þæt he beah to eorðan. Gelæht þa of ðarn ente his agen sword, and his ormæte heafod mid þan of asloh, and hæfde ða gewunnen sige his leode." Ælfric, *Sermo excerptus de libro regum,* lines 18-27; Skeat, 1881: 384-385

[204] Anderson, 2007: 134

juxtaposition sharply implies that Ælfric was aware of the implied symbolic significance of these two acts of David's heroism. As already noted, the narrative of David and the lion held certain connotations relating to Christ defeating the Devil and therefore saving humanity, and the same can be said for David's defeat of Goliath. Earlier, Augustine, in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos,* had recounted how David had overthrown the devil with his own weapons,[205] implying that Goliath was a type of devil and consequently David was intended to be viewed as Christ overcoming him. If the two David and Goliath scenes surviving in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon art are viewed in this light, it follows that they both represent good triumphing evil: David, a king chosen by God, defeats a blaspheming Philistine enemy as Christ, the king of Heaven, overcame the devil who had blasphemed against God prior to being cast out of heaven.

After the defeat of Goliath, the narrative of 1 Samuel continues with the account of David delivering the head of the giant to Saul; it is at this point that Saul's son Jonathan first sees David and is immediately drawn to him. So much so that he strips himself of his robe, sword, bow and girdle and gives them to David as gifts – which David is now free to accept, having proved himself a warrior in the field of battle.[206] With his continued military might and his ability to inspire the devotion of all Saul's children – including his daughter who had been offered to David in marriage as a means of exerting control over him – Saul grows increasingly jealous and plots to kill David, attempting to use Johnathan for this purpose. However, because of his love for David, Jonathan is unable to fulfil his father's desire, and instead tries to persuade Saul to forgive David.[207] As Jonathan is unsuccessful in this venture, David is forced to flee.[208]

It is generally accepted that one episode from this narrative survives in the pre-Viking art of Anglo-Saxon England: in the historiated initial D[avid] of Psalm 26 in the Vespasian

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[205] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 144/143.1; Dekker and Fraipont, 1956: 2073; Schaff, 1886: 1304
[206] 1 Sam. 18:1-4
[207] 1 Sam. 18:5-20:42
[208] 1 Sam. 21:1-24:22

Psalter, which consists of two male figures holding spears and shaking hands (fig. 3.38).[209]

Abbreviated to this extent, it is unclear whether the scheme relates to a specific episode in the David and Jonathan story, such as Jonathan making a covenant with David,[210] or whether it is intended to represent the narrative as a whole if it does indeed portray David and Jonathan. Certainly, it is unclear which figure is to be identified as David, but the handshake certainly implies a relationship between the two, and may even denote the close friendship between them. The large part this uncertainty is due to the fact that apart from another of the Byzantine dishes (fig, 3.39),[211] there seems to be no iconographic tradition of David and Jonathan in early Christian art within which to compare the scene.

Tuning to examine the potential iconographic significance of portraying such a rarely invoked scenes Bede again provides us with some insight, making the observation in his commentary on the Book of Kings that:

> [Jonathan] loved David with so perfect a love [that] although death snatched him away so that he could not rule an earthly kingdom in common with David […] he doubtless received a partnership in the heavenly kingdom with [David] whom he always loved for his glorious virtues.[212]

Their "perfect love" and Jonathan's protection of David from his father's ruthless persecution certainly serve as a fitting illustration at the start of Psalm 26, which concerns strength in the face of an adversary. In the light of this, it is likely that the historiated initial at the beginning of Psalm 26 in the Vespasian Psalter was intended to draw the viewer's mind to the story of Saul's persecution of David and its relationship to the words of the psalm that follows, creating an idea on which the viewer of the page could meditate, and providing access to study the meaning behind this particular psalm.

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[209] Karkov, 2011: 185; For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.6d(i)
[210] Bradfield, 1999: 39-40
[211] The identification of the scene present on the dish is not certain, with it also being identified as David confronting Eliab. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/464376
[212] *Bene autem subiungitur*, et addidit Ionathan deierare Dauid eo quod diligeret illum, sict animam enim suam ita diligebat eum, *ut ille nimirum qui tam perfecto iuxta legem Dei amore complectebatur Dauid a perdition inimicorum euis ostenderetur immunis. […] absque ulla tamen contradiction regni caelestis consortium cum eo quem pro Gloria uirtutum tantisper dilexit cum esset et ipse uir uirtutum accepit.* Bede, *In Regum*: 5; Hurst, 1962: 300; Foley and Holder, 1999: 98

Alternatively, if the figures were intended to represent the covenant made between David and Jonathan, the scheme could also allude to the second covenant made between the two. In this case the taking of the sacraments might have been the topic for contemplation inspired in the mind of the viewer. In his second exposition on Psalm 26 Augustine discusses the manner in which the title of the psalm (A psalm of David, before he was smeared),[213] refers to the anointment of Christ, which is his death and resurrection, and how the faithful are anointed through the rite of baptism and the taking of the sacrament.[214] It is, therefore, just as likely that the viewer of the manuscript, seeing an image of the covenant made between David and Jonathan, would link it with the new covenant made through Christ, providing yet another route to the meditative potential of the meanings contained within the psalm.[215]

On the verso of the preceding folio (30v), facing the image of David and Jonathan in the Vespasian Psalter, is a full-page miniature of David Accompanied by Musicians (fig. 3.40). It is not the only example of this scheme to have survived in Anglo-Saxon art, with another example being preserved on the Masham column (fig. 3.41) and another, albeit iconographically distinct, full-page miniature of David the Psalmist illustrated on fol. 81v of the Durham Cassiodorus (fig. 3.42).

What makes the David Accompanied by Musicians iconographically distinct from that of David the Psalmist, who is alone, often seated and playing a harp, is the inclusion of a scribe, musician and dancer or any combination of these accompanying David. Found in Carolingian manuscript art of the ninth century (figs 3.43a-b),[216] David Accompanied by Musicians depicts the main protagonist, David, who dictates the divinely inspired words, surrounded by a harpist(s) who records the music of the song, a scribe who documents the

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[213] "*Psalmus David, priusquam liniretur.*" Ps. 26:1
[214] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 26.2; Dekkers and Fraipont, 1956: 154-55; Rotello, 2000: 274-75
[215] Karkov, 2011: 185
[216] Hawkes, 2011a: 35

words and a dancer(s) who indicates the spontaneity and divinely inspired nature of the text and its music.[217]

The Vespasian Psalter depiction (fig. 3.40) presents just this iconographic arrangement, with a large centrally enthroned David flanked by scribes, musicians on the lower right and left corners of the image, and two dancers placed centrally below David. The figure of David is significantly larger than those surrounding him, despite the 'dictates' of perspective which would require the two dancers in the foreground to be the largest figures. This "counter-intuitive" (but still perspectivally coherent) presentation can be traced back to *aulic* art where, in depictions of the court (fig 3.44), the central 'imperial' figure is represented as the largest (and therefore the most important), with the surrounding members of the court depicted in a size suited to their (lesser) status within the court.[218]

At Masham (fig. 3.41) the scheme is not arranged in this manner. Rather, David is shown in profile, facing the musician, who holds a harp; the dancer is placed in the lower right-hand corner of the panel, facing the scribe, who sits at a lectern on the left.[219] This appears to follow more closely other Insular examples of David Accompanied by Musicians, where David and usually only a singular musician face one another in profile: as on Iona (St Martins cross) and at Lethendy, Perthshire (figs 5.71b, 5.72).[220] Unlike these examples, however, the Masham David is enlarged compared to the other figures, and thus recalls the *aulic* arrangement in the Vespasian Psalter. It is possible, therefore, that the artist responsible for the Masham column combined the *aulic* characteristics of David the Psalmist, such as those found in the Vespasian Psalter and the later Carolingian examples (such as the St Gallen Golden Psalter, fig. 3.43a),[221] with the Insular tradition of the confronting pair of figures.[222] In this instance, the Masham scene seems to deliberately and seamlessly combine Insular and late antique/early Christian traditions to illustrate David Accompanied by

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[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.; For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.8a(i)
[219] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.8a(ii)
[220] Henderson, 1986: 87
[221] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 22, p. 2
[222] Hawkes, 2011a: 35

Musicians, no doubt to reference not only the kingly nature of David recounted in the Old Testament, while retaining Insular traditions. Hawkes has suggested that the Masham artist chose to depict confronting profile figures due to the restrictions of space within the panel, rather than the full-face arrangement of figures in a circle, found in the Vespasian Psalter.[223] However, if the artist was determined to recreate the *aulic* arrangement of the scenes they could perhaps have done so. There are numerous examples in Insular art of scenes being adapted to the confines of the space: such as the Adoration of the Magi at Sandbach, Cheshire (fig. 3.45);[224] the Raising of Lazarus at Rothbury, Northumbria (fig. 3.15);[225] and David Accompanied by Musicians at Ardchattan, Argyll and Bute (figs 5.5a-b). It is more than likely, therefore, that the artist behind the Masham scene intended to imply an *aulic* arrangement, representing David as larger than the surrounding figures, while still creating an image in line with the Insular 'standard' for this scene type.

The only abbreviated version of David dictating the Psalms to have survived in Anglo-Saxon art is that preserved in the Durham Cassiodorus (fig. 3.42).[226] Rather than being surrounded by musicians, scribes and dancers, David is shown alone, seated on a throne and playing a harp. He sits, however, facing the viewer, which is uncommon in depictions of this scheme within the Insular world, where David is normally shown in profile playing a harp.[227] Another unusual aspect is the green halo surrounding David's head, which is itself surrounded by a second cruciform nimbus in pink and yellow. This is an attribute given to Christ from the late-fifth century onwards in order to differentiate him from other biblical and saintly figures.[228] While this could be construed as a mistake on the part of the artist, it is far more likely that the scene, like the other David miniature, was intended to represent both Christ and David.[229] If this is the case, then the choice by the artis not to

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[223] Hawkes, 2011a: 35
[224] Hawkes, 2005b: 241-43
[225] Hawkes, 1996b: 86
[226] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.8b(i)
[227] See Castledermot, North and South crosses, Co. Kildare; Clonmacnoise, Cross of the Scriptures, Co. Offaly; Iona, St Oran's Cross, Inner Hebrides; Dupplin, Perthshire; St Andrews, fragment of cross shaft
[228] Bailey, 1978: 10
[229] Cochrane, 2007: 40

represent David the Psalmist in profile was conscious and did not involve the lack of a model type. By showing David face-on, the artist of the Durham Cassiodorus deliberately intended to present David and Christ in Majesty simultaneously; again, the concentric rings of dots filling the background space can be interpreted as the cosmos, and so be understood to refer specifically to Christ as heavenly ruler. Augustine succinctly states this in his commentary on Psalm 51:

> In David God was foreshadowing a reign of eternal salvation, and he had chosen David to abide for ever in his posterity. Our King, the King of the ages, with whom we shall reign eternally, was descended from David according to the flesh.[230]

Therefore, the artist of the Durham Cassiodorus Psalmist page was not only presenting the viewer with an image of David the composer of the Psalms, but also symbolically representing Christ the heavenly ruler, who is foreshadowed by David the earthly ruler, as alluded to in Psalm 51.

Thus, not only do all the Anglo-Saxon examples of the Psalmist and David Accompanied by Musicians refer to the composer of Old Testament Book of Psalms, they also refer to the words of Christ and the Church and the New Covenant brought about through his death, descent into Hell, and resurrection. As noted, the recitation of the psalms formed part of the daily liturgy of the Church, and so, an image of David the Psalmist would serve as a fitting reminder of Christ and his salvation and the Church founded on him.[231]

The extant images of David indicate the currency in Anglo-Saxon England of a very complex understanding of David and his role as both an Old Testament king/prophet and foreshadower type of Christ. It appears that the Anglo-Saxons, while likely having access to early Christian and continental examples of the Old Testament images they wished to represent, chose to adapt these to fit with the symbolic narratives they desired to represent. What can be seen through the depictions of David in the pre-Viking era are common themes

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[230] "*Dauid, in quo Deus praefigurabat regnum salutis aeternae, et quem Deus elegerat permansurum in semine suo; quandoquidem futurus erat rex noster, rex saeculorum cun quo regnaturi sumus in aeternum, ex semine ipsius Dauid secundem carnem.*" Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 51.1: Dekkers and Fraipont, 1956b: 623; trans, Rotello, 2000: 13
[231] Hawkes, 2011a: 35

of the earthly ruler David foreshadowing the heavenly ruler Christ and how episodes from the life of David symbolically represent the salvation brought about by Christ's death, descent and resurrection.

In both the Vespasian Psalter and the Durham Cassiodorus this is achieved by means of a complex use of iconographic references and a sophisticated pairing of text and image. At first sight, the Vespasian historiated initials do not appear to relate to the context of the psalms they precede; but, through a deeper understanding of the symbolic nature of these images the viewer would have been invited to examine the deeper significances of the psalm, leading to contemplation of both the narrative represented by the initial and the text of the psalm.[232] Both allow the viewer to consider how events in David's life foreshadowed the New Covenant made through Christ's death, descent and resurrection, and how salvation was made possible for humanity.

The placing of David Accompanied by Musicians as a full-page miniature facing David and Jonathan further emphasises this point. The enthroned David not only represents the earthly king (who was the psalmist), but also symbolically represents the heavenly ruler Christ and so references the way in which events pertaining to his death and resurrection were foretold in the divinely inspired words of the psalms. The daily use of these psalms in the Church's liturgy forms part of the New Covenant made between Christ and the Church, an event foreshadowed in the covenant made by Jonathan and David.

In the Durham Cassiodorus this relationship between David's life and the foreshadowing of Christ is taken even further. Without the labels identifying the scenes as relating to David, the viewer could easily mistake them to illustrate Christ in Majesty and Christ Trampling the Beasts. This again invites the viewer to meditate on the symbolic significance behind the events of David's life, how they relate to the life of Christ and therefore achieve a deeper understanding of the text.

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[232] Karkov, 2011: 185

The final manuscript containing Davidic imagery, the St Petersburg *Carmina*, though only a flyleaf, contains a complex and succinct narrative of how David's life foreshadowed future events, again labelled to remove any confusion – David shown as a man rather than a youth in the Anointing scene – and to allow the viewer to access a deeper meaning behind the image. Pairing David and Goliath with Samuel Anointing David means that the flyleaf presents a complex narrative of good overcoming evil. Saul having fallen from God's favour is replaced as king by the godly and obedient David, who is anointed by Samuel as king over all Israel. This is made apparent in Christ's symbolic name, the Anointed One, and his position as heavenly ruler. Both David and Christ protect their people through defeating great evil; in David's case this was the giant Goliath, and in Christ's it is the devil. Together the scenes present a parallel narrative of earthly and heavenly rulers each protecting their followers from evil.

The two David scenes preserved on the Masham column also form a complex narrative concerning the salvation brought about by Christ's death, descent and resurrection, when viewed not only together, but alongside the other identifiable scenes of Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza and Christ in Majesty with the Apostles. As previously mentioned Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza symbolically represents Christ's descent into hell; David saving the sheep from the lion, is yet another example of Christ overcoming the devil to save humanity, while David Dictating the Psalms, not only alludes to Christ as heavenly ruler (who is represented in the top register of the monument), but also the liturgy and the route to salvation.

Like the Masham scenes, the Newent scene when examined alongside its other identifiable scenes, the fall of Adam and Eve and the Sacrifice of Isaac, forms part of a complex overall iconography for its monument. As previously mentioned the representation of Adam and Eve on a panel with the tree of knowledge's branches terminating in crosses, underneath a large cross head, was intended to represent that because of the Original Sin,

God sent his only son to be sacrificed in order to save humanity.[233] The Sacrifice of Isaac is yet another continuation of this theme. With the ram offered up to the slaughter instead of Abraham's son, both representing how Christ was offered as a sacrifice to save humanity and of how obedience to God is rewarded.[234] David Combatting Goliath completes this narrative by symbolically representing the end result of Christ's death, his defeat of the devil. Therefore, the Newent cross's iconographic scheme represents the reason for Christ's sending to earth to save mankind from sin, his sacrifice, and finally his triumph over the devil.

3.8 Visualising the Book of Ezra

Visualisation of the Book of Ezra was very rare, with only one known example surviving in Anglo-Saxon England and no other known instances surviving from the early Christian period although a twelfth-century example has recently been identified which might have been influenced by an Anglo-Saxon image.[235] Preserved on folio 5v the Codex Amiatinus, the Ezra portrait (fig. 3.46), like the Tabernacle bi-folium, is now bound out of its original sequence within the manuscript.[236]

The image does not seem to relate directly to a specific scene from the Book of Ezra, portraying instead the Old Testament prophet as a scribe surrounded by books and writing equipment.[237] It is possible that the page relates to the story recorded in 4 Ezra where he rewrote, through divine inspiration, all of the Hebrew books that had been destroyed by fire during the Babylonian captivity.[238] If this is the case then the Codex Amiatinus preserves an

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[233] See above, pp. 113-17
[234] See above, pp. 126-27
[235] O'Reilly, 2001: 25. However, O'Reilly does demonstrate that the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek and Latin were pictured in biblical frontispieces, providing examples such as the depiction of Jerome learning Hebrew, translating the Hebrew scripture into Latin and dictating it to scribes surviving in two Carolingian pandect Bibles (the Vivian Bible and the San Paolo Bible), both of which were based on early Christian models. See Ibid. For the twelfth century image see Yawn, forthcoming 2019
[236] Meyvaert, 1996: 861
[237] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.7a(i)
[238] 4 Ez. 14:21-48

illustration of an event not included within its Vulgate text, the story only being recounted in the Septuagint.

The portrait generally accepted as that of Ezra preserved in the opening quire of the Codex Amiatinus has been much discussed in the scholarship, primarily in attempts to determine whether it depicts Ezra or Cassiodorus, the putative "author" of the Codex Grandior and novem codices deemed to lie behind the manuscript. As noted, the Codex Amiatinus is generally thought to have been an amalgamated copy of Cassiodorus' Codex Grandior and the novem codices, and it has been proposed that the image may, in its original source model, have been a frontispiece depicting Cassiodorus (as the "author" of the entire Bible, who considered it his role to preserve the scriptural texts), which the Anglo-Saxon artist then adapted to portray the figure of Ezra (the "author" of the Old Testament). Some have argued that the original image was itself ambiguous, representing both Ezra and Cassiodorus simultaneously;[239] while others have suggested that the original source model never held any Cassiodorian connotations.[240] While the implications of such arguments would impact any reading of the Ezra page, without further evidence it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the inscription at the top of the page reads "*Codicibus sacris hostile clade perustis / Esdra Deo feruens hoc reparuit opus*" (The sacred books having been burned by enemy destruction, Ezra, zealous for God, restored this work), a note attributed to Bede himself by Ian Wood.[241] Whether this is indeed the case, this text clearly indicates that the figure seated on the stool was deemed by those at Wearmouth-Jarrow to be identifiable with the Old Testament prophet, Ezra.

Turning from such considerations, the most recent interest in the miniature has focussed on the various iconographic elements of the scene – the scribal role of the figure, the bookcase and books. Ramirez, for example, saw the symbols present on the *armarium*

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[239] See, for example, Alexander, 1978a: 33; Meyvaert, 1996: 827-83; Meyvaert, 2005: 1087-133; Marsden, 1995b: 3-15; O'Reilly, 2001: 3-39
[240] See, for example, Corsano, 1987: 20-21
[241] Wood, 1995: 32-35; O'Reilly, 2001: 22; Darby, 2017: 346

(bookcase), as key to unlocking the Christian significance behind the Old Testament image, showing how the birds, chevrons, tessellated triangles, and arrows of the base of the cupboard and the lozenges, urns, quadrupeds, stars and encircled cross of the lintel can all be viewed as Christian symbols, culminating in the large cross with flanking peacocks present on the gable of the cupboard, which she believes represents the eternal life granted to the Christian faithful through Christ's death, descent and resurrection.[242] The placement of these Christian symbols in a miniature depicting Ezra at the beginning of the text of the Old Testament in the Codex Amiatinus, prompts the viewer to contemplate the Christian significance of the text they are about to read, stressing the unity of the two Testaments.[243]

O'Reilly, on the other hand, provides the iconographic history of the *armarium*, showing how it is known from late antique works (such as the St Lawrence mosaic in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, fig. 3.47) and is frequently found in Jewish representations of the Torah shrine.[244] These shrines housed the scrolls of the Pentateuch in Jewish synagogues, and were thought to be imitations of the Ark of the Covenant, where the Ten Commandments were placed.[245] The *armarium* of the Codex Amiatinus, therefore, references the Ark of the Covenant, where the Old Laws were housed, which has been literally overwritten by the arrival of Christ in the form of the symbols present on the case. It stresses the unity of the books of the bible by placing both the Old and New Testaments side-by-side on the shelves, while simultaneously showing that the first covenant was superseded by the second through the death, descent and resurrection of Christ.

These discussions have provided considerable insight into why Ezra was selected as a suitable prefatory image for the manuscript. However, the scene does not depict any known narrative relating to Ezra. As mentioned previously, the inscription at the top of the page certainly links the image with the account in 4 Ezra, where through divine inspiration Ezra

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[242] Ramirez, 2009: 3-11
[243] Ibid: 12
[244] O'Reilly, 2001: 7
[245] Ibid.

rewrote the sacred books that had been burnt by the Babylonians, but the miniature is not a faithful rendition of the event. In the apocryphal account, Ezra is instructed by God to drink a magical potion and dictate, to five swift-writing scribes,[246] "all that has been done in the world since the beginning of time."[247] The Codex Amiatinus Ezra, conversely, is shown alone, transcribing his own thoughts without any clear signs of being intoxicated by a potion. Therefore, though the inscription relates the image of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus with the story of the prophet transcribing the lost books from memory, it does not appear to directly reference the narrative preserved in 4 Ezra. A likely reason for this could lie in Bede's and possibly the community at Wearmouth-Jarrow's perception of Ezra.

Bede in his commentary on Ezra choses to present the prophet as a,

swift scribe in the Law of Moses, for having restored the Law that had been destroyed, rewrote not only the Law but also, as the common tradition of our forbearers holds, the whole sequence of saved scripture that had likewise been destroyed by fire, in accordance with the way that seemed to him to meet the needs of the readers. In this undertaking they say he added certain words that he considered useful such as the saying, *And no prophet that the Lord knew face to face like Moses has risen in Israel*, and so on, which could be said only by one who lived a long time after Moses; and in the Book of Samuel, *Formerly in Israel, if a man went to inquire of God, he would say, 'Come, let us go to the one who sees,' because he who is today called a prophet used to be called one who see*. But they say he left untouched some complete books that the people of Israel previously possessed [...][248]

It is clear that Bede saw Ezra as a divinely inspired prophet and editor of scriptural texts. He omits any reference to magical potions or the five scribes, despite likely having knowledge

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[246] 4 Ez. 14:21-48

[247] "*si enim inveni gratiam coram te, inmitte in me spiritum sanctum, et scribam omne quod factum est in saeculo ab initio, quae errant in lege tua scripta, ut possint homines invenire semitam, et qui voluerint vivere in novissimis vivant.*" 4 Ez. 14:22

[248] "*Scriba autem uelox inlege Moysi appellatur Ezraz eo quod legem quae erat consumpta reficeret non solum legem sed etiam ut communis maiorum fama est omnem sacrae scripturae seriem quae partier igni consumpta est prout sibi uidebatur legetibus sufficere rescripsit. In quo opera ferunt quia non nulla uerba quae oportuna arbitraretur adiecerit e quibus est illud,* Et non surrexit propheta in Israhel sicut Moyses quem nosset dominus facie ad faciem, *et cetera, quea uiueret dicere potuit, et in libro Samuhelis,* Olim in Israhel sic loquebatur unusquisque uadens consulere Deum, Venite et eamus ad uidentem, qui enim propheta dicitur hodie uocabatur olim uidens*, non nulla autem integra uolumina quae quondam in populo Israhel habebantur intacta reiquerit quorum ideo nunc nil aliud in sacra scriptura quam nominis tantum memoria habeatur u test illud in libro numerorum* [...]" Bede, *In Ezram*, 2.7:1-6; Hurst, 1969: 307-308; trans, DeGreggorio, 2006a: 109-110

of this account through Gildas's *De Excidio Britonium* (which was an important influence on his *Historia*).[249]

In this respect Bede appears to follow Jerome, who refers to Ezra as editor of the Pentateuch, and Isidore of Seville, who saw the prophet as a divinely inspired collator of books.[250] Expanding on these ideas Bede provides specific examples of inserted additional information into the text of Old Testament.[251] It is possible, therefore, that Bede and those responsible for the creation of the Codex Amiatinus saw Ezra as a learned historian, piecing back together and editing the books of the Old Testament under God's divine instruction, in order to protect and preserve them from obliteration. It is also a tentative presumption that they felt the same about themselves in their efforts to produce three complete pandects of the Vulgate. If the assumption that the text of these three pandect's came from the *novem codices* is correct, then they too could be viewed as being collators and preserves of the text of the Bible; while Bede's efforts in expounding multiple texts of the Old Testament that had been previously "ignored" by the Church Fathers,[252] shows him as being not only a learned historian, but also an "editor" of the sacred text in a manner similar to that of Ezra, aiding the readers of the Bible to fully understand its meaning and significance.

In addition to Bede's belief that Ezra was divinely inspired to save the sacred texts from destruction, he also viewed the prophet as a type of Christ, writing that:

> Thus [Ezra] prepared his heart to discover and rewrite the Law of the Lord that the devouring fire had destroyed; he also prepared his heart to first fulfil the Law himself by carrying it out and only then open his mouth to teach others. In the same way, this can manifestly apply to the Lord Jesus. For he prepared his own heart to discover the Lords Law because he divinely provided for himself a man to assume, such that he would be not only without sin but also full of grace and truth, because, with no law of sin fighting against him, he would keep God's Law without any contradictions of mind or flesh.[253]

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[249] O'Reilly, 2001: 22; For an example of Bede using Gildas compare: Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae*: 1; Winterbottom, 1978; 13; and Bede, *HE*: 1; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 14-15

[250] Jerome, *Prologus galeatus*; Weber and Gryson, 2007: 364; trans, Freemantle, 1892: 489-90; Isidore, *Etymologiae*: 6.1:3, 2:16 and 3:2; Lindsay, 1911: 6.1:3, 2:16 and 3:2; trans, Barney, et al., 2006: 135, 136, 138-38; O' Reilly, 2001: 24

[251] Bede, In *Ezram*, 2.7:1-6; Hurst, 1969: 307-308; trans, DeGreggorio, 2006a: 109-10

[252] See discussion in chapter 1, p. 82

[253] "*Parauit ergo cor ut inuestigaret ac rescriberet legem domini quam flamma uorax absumpserat, parauit etiam ut ipse prior hanc faciendo impleret et sic ad alios docendos os aperiret. Quod eodem modo de domino*

Ezra, like Christ, fulfilled the Law commanded by God. Through divine inspiration he writes down the Old Laws, saving them from destruction, likewise the four evangelists write down the New Law brought about through the arrival of Christ, over-writing the Old Covenant and making a New Covenant between those that follow the true faith and God. In many ways the depiction of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus can be seen as a representation of this, visually depicting the link between Ezra and the four evangelists. It has long been established that the Ezra page in the Codex Amiatinus shared a common model with the Lindisfarne Gospel's Matthew page (fig. 3.48).[254] The similarities in the posture, positioning of the held book and the bench the two figures sit upon alone show that they have much in common. Furthermore, the Matthew page sits firmly within the established tradition of evangelist portraiture during the period, so the visual link between this and the Ezra page implies that those responsible for the Codex Amiatinus image intended it to be understood to reference evangelist portraiture.[255]

Therefore, like the books and symbols of the *armarium*, the paralleling of evangelist portraiture in the Ezra page can be understood to be yet another visual clue to understanding the following text. revealing the unity of the Old and New Testaments, as Ezra, like the evangelists, was divinely inspired to record the Word,[256] the image allows the viewer to contemplate how both Testaments were part of the same plan; the text of the Old Testament is to be understood as a prefiguration of what was to come, just as Ezra's role as scribe prefigures that of the evangelists.[257]

Like the Tabernacle page of the Codex Amiatinus, those responsible for the design of the Ezra page chose to depict an unusual and uncommon scene in order to portray a very

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Iesu accipere in promptu est. Parauit namque cor suum ut inuestigaret legem domini quia talem sibi hominem quem susciperet diuinitus prouidit qui non solum sine peccato uerum etiam plenus esset gratiae et ueritatis quia, nulla sibi repugnante lege peccati lege Dei absque omni mentis siue carnis contradictione seruaret." Bede, *In Ezram*, 2.7:10; Hurst, 1969: 311; trans, DeGreggorio, 2006a: 116

[254] Michellli, 1999: 345-58
[255] Baker, 2012: 69; O'Reilly, 2001: 15
[256] The Word was understood to be God by John the Evangelist, whose gospel begins with the line: *in principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum* (In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God); John 1:1. See Baker, 2012: 42-69; Baker, 2013: 230
[257] O'Reilly, 2001: 15

specific message to the viewer. It appears as if their intention was to draw on evangelist parallels, by showing Ezra in a way that mirrors evangelist portraiture the page invites the viewer to contemplate the following text in a manner similar to that of an evangelist miniature presented at the front of a gospel book.

3.9 Visualising the Book of Daniel

Unlike representations from the book of Ezra, the book of Daniel was used heavily by early Christian artists, to feature frequently on sarcophagi and other funerary monuments (fig. 3.49a-f). However, this proliferation during the early Christian period, does not appear to have carried through into the pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon period, with just two depictions surviving: one preserved in the Antwerp Sedulius depicts Daniel in the Lions' Den (fig. 3.50), the other is a runic inscription of part of the Old English poem *Daniel* preserved on a piece of metalwork (fig. 3.51), and relates to the story of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace.[258]

Found on Tuesday 16 August 2011 by a metal detectorist in the vicinity of Honington, Lincolnshire, the small metal object (fig. 3.51), dating to the second half of the eighth century and inscribed with a runic inscription relating to a passage from the story of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace, is currently the most recent addition to the corpus of pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon objects referring to the Old Testament.[259]

Similar to a pair of tweezers in form, the object consists of a tightly folded strip of silver alloy,[260] with traces of gilding, lightly incised with Anglo-Saxon runic letters.[261] One of the arms is broken, making it shorter in length than the other, but both appear to taper towards the ends and both are missing their tips. Close to the head the object appears to have been pierced through by a copper rivet, of which only traces survive round the rivet stubs on

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[258] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.9a(i)
[259] Portable Antiquities Scheme Unique ID: PAS-6F2DA2
[260] Or possibly two strips of silver alloy riveted together;
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/511213 (accessed 25/03/15)
[261] Ibid.

both sides. John Hines has deciphered the inscription, proposing that the runes read as follows:

> Side A: +þecblœtsigubilwitfæddæ

> Side B: ondwerccagehwelchefænondecla[262]

Which he has translated as:

> + Let us praise Thee, gentle father […]

> and [= along with us] all [His] works, Heaven and angels […][263]

This inscription appears to closely parallel three lines of verse in the Old English poem *Daniel*, preserved in the tenth-century Junius 11 manuscript: "Let the glories of the created world and everything made, the heavens and the angels, and the pure water, [and all the power of creation upon Earth], bless Thee, kind father."[264] Like the rest of the *Daniel* poem, these lines are a vernacular paraphrasing of part of the biblical Book of Daniel, in particular Daniel 3:51-90 which relates to the story of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace.

In addition to the parallels with the *Daniel* poem the passage is a close paraphrasing of the *Benedicite* Canticle, which likewise invokes the biblical Book of Daniel 3:57-89 and was widely used in the liturgy by the seventh century, as attested to by its inclusion in the Vespasian Psalter.[265] It is likely, therefore, that the object served some form of ecclesiastical purpose. Whether this function was a pair of tweezers, a candle snuffer, a page turner for a book or used for another purpose, it is interesting to note that the object would have been held by its user, bringing them in to physical contact with text that held religious significance – that of creation – allowing the user to contemplate the significance of creation, while performing what was likely a common task. This is perhaps a reason behind the choice to inscribe the text in runes rather than Latin, signifying that the user should seek to contemplate

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[262] Ibid.
[263] Hines, 2015: 268
[264] https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/511213 (accessed 25/03/15); Oxford, Bodleian Library 5123
[265] Billett, 2014: 113

God's hand in the creation all things, including perhaps their own lineage, language and alphabet.[266]

The second testament to the depiction of the Book of Daniel in Anglo-Saxon England survives in the Antwerp Sedulius. Like the Honington clip it preserves a motif popular during the early Christian period – Daniel in the Lions' Den. However, unlike the Honington clip, which lacks any pictorial representations, the miniature does recall early Christian prototypes in its depiction of the event.

The story represented in the Antwerp Sedulius begins with Daniel being raised up to the high office by King Darius,[267] but due to jealousy in the court of Daniel's position, Darius is tricked into unintentionally sentencing him to death, having him cast into a den of lions.[268] After a worry-filled night, the king arises at dawn to check on the fate of Daniel, calling out to see if he is alive.[269] Daniel answers the king saying that "My God sent his angel, and he shut the mouth of the lions. They have not hurt me, because I was found innocent in his sight."[270] The king gives orders to have Daniel lifted out of the den and the men who tricked the king are put in instead, along with their families, where they all are instantly consumed by the lions.[271] Darius then decrees that the God of Daniel is to be followed,[272] meaning that through Daniel's ordeal and survival, the kingdom was converted to the one true God.

The point in the narrative that the Antwerp Sedulius scene (fig. 3.50) depicts is the point at which Daniel is left in the den, where, through his belief in God, he is spared from the lions' jaws. He stands, in the orans pose, while two lions bow in submission on either side of him, recalling the biblical account.[273] However, unlike the story recounted in the canonical the Book of Daniel, to the left of Daniel is an angel carrying a cross in his left

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[266] See previous discussion on genealogy, pp. 99-101
[267] Dan. 6:1-3
[268] Dan. 6:4-16
[269] Dan. 6:18-20
[270] "*Et Daniel regi respondens ait: Rex, in æternum vive! Deus meus misit angelum suum, et conclusit ora leonum, et non nocuerunt mihi: quia coram eo justitia inventa est in me: sed et coram te, rex, delictum non feci.*" Dan. 6:21-22
[271] Dan. 6:23-24
[272] Dan. 6:25-28
[273] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.9b(i)

hand and in his right a figure by the hair, who presents the prophet with an object. This mystery figure is another prophet, Habakkuk, whose book forms part of the twelve minor prophets section of the Bible. His inclusion in the scene, however, comes from an apocryphal account of the story of Bel and the Dragon where Habakkuk visits Daniel in the den, bringing him bread to sustain him,[274] Habakkuk, located in Jewry and having never travelled to Babylon, let alone the den in which Daniel was being kept, asked God how he was to travel there,[275] which is when "the angel of the Lord took him by the crown, and bare him by the hair of his head, and through the vehemency of his spirit set him in Babylon over the den."[276] Those responsible for the design of the Antwerp Sedulius Daniel scene faithfully recreate this moment, depicting Habakkuk being carried quite literally by his hair, over the den where Daniel is kept, to give him the bread he had been instructed to bring by God.

The inclusion of Habakkuk in the scene is not unique, he is frequently depicted passing bread to Daniel in early Christian representations of the Lions' Den (figs 3.52a-d), although he is shown standing to one side of Daniel rather than in flight. In fact, much of the Antwerp Sedulius scene recalls these early Christian examples, with Daniel standing in an orans position, with two lions flanking him in a submissive pose, their tongues protruding from their mouths. However, what is unusual about Daniel is that he is shown fully clothed, as opposed to naked as he is in the early Christian examples. A possible reason for this could be to emphasise Daniels role as prophet, he was regarded by Jerome as prophesising the coming of Christ,[277] a text Bede heavily draws upon in his *de eo quod ait Isaias*,[278] where he writes: "For surely Daniel the prophet testifies that the universal judgement will not come immediately after the annihilation of that *Man of Sin*, the *Son of Perdition*."[279]

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[274] Hab. 1:33-34
[275] Hab. 1.35
[276] Hab. 1.36
[277] Jerome, *In Dan.*, prologue; Glorie, 1964: 771-75
[278] Bede, *de eo quod ait Isaias*. Migne, 1862: 708; Foley and Holder, 1999: 49
[279] "*Namque quod non statim exstineto illo homine peccati filio peritionis universal sit adventurum judicium, Daniel Propheta testator, qui in ultima suæ prophetiæ vision regni illius acta describens cum cumdem regni tempora mille ducentis nonaginta diebus, id est, tribus semis annis, comprehenderit, repente intulit.*" Bede, *de eo quod ait Isaias*. Migne, 1862: 708; Foley and Holder, 1999: 49

If Daniel did indeed prophesise not only the coming of Christ, but the coming of the Antichrist as Bede argued, then the decision to depict him clothed in the Antwerp Sedulius was perhaps intended to emphasise to the viewer Daniel's prophetic qualities. This is further stressed by the cross carried by the angel in its left hand, prompting the viewer to contemplate the Christian significance behind the miniature. Moreover, the inclusion of the prophet Habakkuk further emphasises this point, with the line, "In the midst of two living beings you will be known,"[280] which was understood by Bede to reference Christ between two thieves at his Crucifixion.[281] It is not impossible therefore, to assume that those responsible for the design of the Antwerp Sedulius Daniel miniature were drawing on the same set of ideas; visually linking Daniels prophesy of the coming of Christ and the Antichrist, and the Crucifixion itself, through the inclusion of the angel bearing the cross and also perhaps the inclusion of Habakkuk, recalling to the viewer the passage of Habakkuk 3:2, which is played out visually in the form of Daniel standing amidst two living things.

To the right of Daniel there is a large sprawling tree, an unusual feature for a representation of Daniel in the Lions' Den. Perhaps the answer behind its inclusion lies in the symbolic nature of the fig tree. Bede, writing in his commentary on the Canticle of Habakkuk explains how: "the Fig-tree, the vine, and the olive tree were the Synagogue of the Jews, when in its dedication to God it preserved the sweetness of good works and the ardour of love [and] produced the rich abundance of a compassionate disposition."[282] Here Bede links the fig tree with the Synagogue and perhaps in much the same way that Daniel in the Lions' Den is seen as a prefiguration of Christ recognised between the beasts, the fig tree could be seen as the Synagogue prefiguring the Church, nourishing all who believe in the true faith.

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[280] "*in medio duorum animalium innotexens*." Hab: 3:2
[281] Bede, *In Hab*: 3:2; Hurst and Hudson, 1983: 383; Bailey, 2011: 246-48
[282] *Si quis autem hos etiam uersiculos figurate quando dulcedinem bonae operationis flagrantiam seruabat dilectionis, pinguedinemanimi misericordis deo deuota proferebat*. Bede, *In Hab.*: 3.17-18; Hurst and Hudson, 1983: 405; Connolly (trans), 1997: 89

It appears that representations from the Book of Daniel during the pre-Viking period parallel that of the early Christian in terms of theme, but differ – in the case of the Honington clip, dramatically – in terms of iconography. The repositioning of Habakkuk and the angel, alongside the addition of the cross, in the Antwerp Sedulius strengthens the link made in the early Christian examples between the Book of Daniel, the apocryphal account of Bel and the Dragon and the Book of Habakkuk, prophesising of the arrival of Christ. This is fitting for a manuscript containing a poem primarily concerned with the gospels and story of Christ. While the Honington clip symbolically links the written Word, with the spoken (its text formed part of the liturgy), and the tactile (as it would have likely been used while performing part of the liturgy). With the choice to transcribe the inscription in runes speaking to the universality of the Church and how the Word can be found in all creation.

3.10 Visualising the Book of Jonah

Like Daniel, the Old Testament prophet Jonah was a popular figure in early Christianity. This is due to Christ's comparison, recorded in the Gospel of Matthew,[283] between Jonah and his own death and resurrection: "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."[284] This passage immediately presents Jonah as a figure of the death and resurrection of Christ and an easy source of inspiration for artists to symbolically represent Christ's passion.

However, depictions of Jonah seem to have been less popular in the early medieval period than they were in the early Christian world; this is possibly due to a poor rate of survival or, more likely, changes in the contexts in which they initially featured. Thus, the majority of the early Christian Jonah scenes survive in considerable numbers in funerary contexts, either on sarcophagi or as frescos in catacombs (figs 3.53a-f), but only two possible

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[283] Matt. 12:40
[284] "*Sicut enim fuit Ionas in ventre **ceti** tribus diebus et tribus noctibus sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus*." Matt 12:40

examples of Jonah scenes survive from the pre-Viking period and neither is preserved in a funerary context. Rather they are preserved as copies of Anglo-Saxon miniatures in the Antwerp Sedulius (figs 3.54-55), where they depict Jonah on the Boat (fol. 9v) and Jonah Being Regurgitated (fol. 10r).[285] Although preserved as manuscript miniatures these form part of a greater pictorial narrative that replicates a high proportion of the scenes featured on early Christian sarcophagi and catacomb frescos which, as well as the two scenes of Jonah on the boat and being regurgitated, often included (occasional) depictions of him Embarking on the Boat at Joppa (fig, 3.53e) and (more often) at Rest Under the Gourd (fig. 3.53f).[286] While both the manuscript scenes closely resemble their early Christian prototypes, they also display several marked differences.

The normal opening to the Jonah cycle illustrates him boarding a boat at Joppa, depicting his flight from God's command to preach to the people of Ninevah. Following the resulting storm, and the discovery that Jonah is responsible for it, he asks the shipmen to "Cast me overboard then this affliction will cease".[287] This is the next episode of the cycle, and is that illustrated in the first of the Antwerp Sedulius scenes (fig. 3.54).[288]

In the early Christian examples, such as that of the Jonah Sarcophagus (fig. 3.56), Jonah is generally shown in the process of being lowered from the boat by the shipmen; he has his arms outstretched towards the mouth of a *ketos*,[289] emphasising his desire to sacrifice himself to calm the seas. The boat nearly always has a sail, which billows in the wind and the sea is shown in a manner suggesting turbulence, highlighting the storm sent by God because of Jonah's refusal to carry out his command. Usually one or more of the sailors hold oars, referencing the moment in the narrative where, before sacrificing Jonah to the sea, the shipmen attempt to row back to shore. The Antwerp Sedulius scene includes many of these

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[285] Cook, 1927: 253; Grabar and Nordenfalk, 1957: 122; Henderson, 1994: 253; Levison, 1966: 133-34; Pächt, 1962: 19-20; Springer, 1995: 7
[286] Crossen, 1992: 233
[287] Jon. 1:1-16
[288] Jon. 1:1-15
[289] The standard type for the sea creature that swallows Jonah during the period.

details – two sailors lower Jonah from the boat, one of whom holds an oar under his arms – but does not include the rough seas or billowing sails; nor does Jonah embrace his sacrifice, and there is no creature waiting for him. The shipmen and the boat are isolated with no background or sail, while Jonah is carefully lowered from the vessel.[290] The overall result emphasises Jonah being lowered from the boat; it is an emphasis highlighted by the sentence immediately above the scene, "*Ionas puppe cadens, coeto sorbente vorantus*" (Jonah falling from the ship, he was devoured).[291] Here text and image work together with the verbal statement "spelling out" Jonah's act of self-sacrifice.

It is almost certain that the viewers of this scene would have been aware of its significance as an allegory of Christ's passion. The passage from Matthew, as well as exegesis on the Jonah story by the early Church Fathers, such as Jerome,[292] all explicitly link Jonah being thrown to the sea with the Crucifixion. Jerome takes the comparison a step further, explaining that:

> the little boat of the whole human race, that is, the creation of God which is surrounded by peril, and after his passion the tranquillity of faith, and the peace of the world, and all things being free from care, and conversion unto God, and we shall see how after Jonah was thrown into it the sea ceased from its furore.[293]

Here the boat becomes humanity surrounded by sin, represented by the storm, which is calmed by Christ's Crucifixion; the implied sea in which Jonah is being lowered becomes the embodiment of sin and the devil that is destroyed through Christ's sacrifice. It is probable that the those responsible for the design of the Antwerp Sedulius were aware of this interpretation;[294] if this is indeed the case, then the lack of rough seas and billowing sails could be deliberate choices, highlighting the "tranquillity of faith" brought about by Christ's Crucifixion and resurrection. Sacrifice and its salvific effect are presented as one and the

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[290] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.10a
[291] Fol. 9v. Translated and transcribed by author.
[292] Jerome, *In Ionam*, 1.15; Adriaen, 1969: 392; trans, Hegedus, 1991: 25-26
[293] "*et nauiculam totumque humanum genus, id est creaturam Domini periclitantem, et post passionem eius tranquilitatem fidei, et orbis pacem, et secura omnia, et conuersionem ad Deum, et uidebimus quomodo post praecipitationem Ionae steterit mare a furore suo.*" Jerome, *In Ionam*, 1.15; Adriaen, 1969: 392; trans, Hegedus, 1991: 25-26
[294] Gneuss, 2001: 11.8, 161, 228, 620.3

same moment, as Jonah is lowered in sacrifice to the rough sea brought about by God's wrath, so is Christ offered in sacrifice to end the suffering of humanity brought about by the Original Sin.

At the top of the next page immediately following and facing Jonah Being Thrown from the Boat in the Antwerp Sedulius, is an illustration of the next part of the Jonah cycle: Jonah Being Regurgitated (fig. 3.55).[295] After the shipmen remove Jonah from the boat he is swallowed by a large sea creature that carries him in its belly for three days and nights before regurgitating him onto the land.[296] In the Hebrew text this creature is "*dag gadol*" (great fish); in the Greek Septuagint this is translated as "*mega ketos*" (big fish), as it is in the Vulgate where it is called "*piscis grandis*" (large fish). In the Vulgate version of Matthew 12:40, however, Jerome chose to Latinise the Septuagint's' *ketos* as *cetus*.

The Greek term *ketos* refers to a very specific type of sea creature, which has its visual origins in Greek art. It tends to be depicted as canine headed, with razor-sharp teeth, pointed ears, two front paws, and an elongated and twisted body that loops round on itself before ending in a tail. This creature was then adopted by late antique artists, featuring on frescos and sarcophagi depicting the Jonah narrative, where it was frequently shown waiting to devour Jonah as he was thrown from the boat (figs 3.53a-b). It was shown again regurgitating the prophet (fig. 3.53c-d), often in contexts where it formed part of a condensed narrative depicting the *ketos* vomiting Jonah head-first under the gourd (figs 3.57a-b). However, when not part of this conflated scene, Jonah is shown emerging from mouth of the creature with his arms outstretched.

The Antwerp Sedulius' creature recalls the *ketos* of late antique and early Christian art in many ways, particularly in its elongated and twisted body. However, there are differences: it has no front paws and the head is much closer to that of a fish than a canine with razor-sharp teeth. Jonah also differs slightly from the late antique examples that do not

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[295] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 1.10b
[296] Jon. 1:17-2:10

deposit Jonah under the gourd; his exit from the creature is more passive, he does not appear to rejoice with his arms outstretched, but slips out with his arms tucked in. Therefore, although the Antwerp Sedulius scene recalls the late antique examples in many ways, it is in fact iconographically distinct.

Jerome may again provide an explanation for these changes in his *In Ionam*:

The Lord ordered death and hell that it [sic] should catch the prophet […] the "bosom of hell" we understand to be the stomach of the whale, which was of such a great size that it relates to the appearance of hell. But this can be better referred to the person of Christ, who under the name of David sings in the psalm: "You will not abandon my soul in hell and you will not allow your Holy One to see corruption" (Psalm 15:10) […] Therefore, he "directed" this great whale both in the abyss and in hell, that it should restore the Saviour [….][297]

Here, Jerome describes the creature as both hell and belonging to hell, referring to it in relation to both the prophet Jonah and Christ. This concept of the *ketos* being a hell beast does find its way visually into contemporary Carolingian manuscripts. The ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter, for instance, contains an illustration of hell with a *ketos* (fig. 3.58),[298] while the early ninth-century Utrecht Psalter twice represents the *ketos* in hell (figs 3.59a-b).[299]

The Stuttgart Psalter illustration for Psalm 9 contains a representation of the dammed in hell.[300] In the foreground is a creature with a canine head, pointed ears, two front paws, and an elongated body that loops and ends in a tail. This closely resembles not only late antique examples of the *ketos* but also the *ketos* of the two Jonah scenes found elsewhere within the manuscript.[301]

The Utrecht Psalter is much subtler in its allusions to the *ketos* and its association with hell. Directly below a depiction of Christ in Majesty (fig. 3.59a), the illustration for Psalm 104 presents two ships on a body of water, both of which are empty.[302] One, however,

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[297] "*Morti et inferno praecepit Dominus, ut prophetam suscipiat […] Ventrem autem inferi, aluum ceti intellegamus, quae tantae fuit magnitudinis, ut instar obtineret inferni. Sed melius ad personam Christi referri potest, qui sub nominee Dauid cantat in psalmos: Non derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum uidere corruptionem. […] Praecipitur ergo huic magno ceto, et abyssus et inferno, ut terries restituant Saluatirem.*" Jerome, *In Ionam*, 2.1-11; Adriaen, 1969: 393-403; Hegedus, 1991: 28-45
[298] Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Bibl. fol. 23
[299] Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32
[300] Fol. 10v
[301] Fols 90v and 147v
[302] Fol. 59v

has a sail billowing in the wind, and the water, which looks rough, contains a sea creature with a long-twisted body reminiscent of a *ketos*. Even though Jonah is not present, there can be little doubt that the boats, rough waters and sea creature were intended to symbolically reference not only the Jonah narrative, but also Matthew 12:40. Allusions to this sea creature can also be found in two representations of hell in the Utrecht Psalter. One creature resembling the *ketos* of Psalm 104 is included in the illustration for Psalm 102 (fig. 3.59b),[303] where at the top of the page Christ in majesty is surrounded by a mandorla; below, offset to the left of centre is a depiction of the dammed in hell, which like the Stuttgart Psalter includes an elongated and twisted creature resembling a *ketos* in the foreground. The illustration for Psalm 6 (fig. 3.59c)[304] further depicts four twisted creatures almost identical to the hell beast of Psalm 102 and the *ketos* of Psalm 104. While these creatures resemble the *ketos*, it is much more probable that they are intended to be serpents. In other words, the Utrecht artist appears to combine the symbolic significance of the *ketos* with the symbolic significance of the serpent. The serpent would have immediately invoked for the viewer the Fall and the Original Sin brought about by Adam and Eve, while the *ketos* would have brought to mind Christ's death, descent into hell, and his resurrection, creating a very complex narrative for the viewer to contemplate when studying the manuscript.

It is not implausible, therefore, that a similarly complex narrative was being employed by the artist of the Antwerp Sedulius scene. It is possible that the representation of the creature that swallowed Jonah was intended to recall both the *ketos* of late antiquity, while simultaneously recalling the serpent of the Adam and Eve narrative. This would explain why the creature, while closely resembling its late antique counter-parts, also looks more serpentine than the traditional representations of the *ketos*. If this is the case then the figure exiting the mouth of the creature could be intended to portray both Jonah and Christ, who through his willing sacrifice, death, descent and resurrection absolved mankind of

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[303] Fol. 51v
[304] Fol. 3v

Original Sin. This interpretation may be further emphasised by the tri-fold twist in the creature's body, which could represent the trinity, but perhaps more likely refers to the three days Christ spent in hell, as well as the three days Jonah spent in the belly of the beast. Together, the Antwerp Sedulius Jonah scenes present a complex set of iconographic references, which closely follow the account of Matthew 12:40, illustrating how the events of the Old Testament story of Jonah foreshadow Christ's death (Jonah being lowered from the boat), descent (the three days spent in the body of the *ketos*, further emphasised by the triple loop and the links between the creature and the devil and hell), and resurrection (Jonah being regurgitated).

In closing, it is important to note the nakedness of Jonah throughout the two scenes. This is not an unusual feature; the majority of the late antique examples also depict Jonah in this unclothed state, despite the lack of biblical precedence. The decision to depict Jonah as naked is thus more than likely due to the inherited understanding of the symbolic significance of Christ within the Jonah narrative. Proposed by Plato and subsequently discussed by St Augustine in his De *Civitate Dei*, it was argued that the human soul returned to God pure, that is naked.[305] Thus, it is possible that by depicting Jonah as naked, the viewer was prompted to view Jonah's naked body as Christ's soul entering hell. Hell is represented by the *ketos* on the proceeding page, which according to Jerome was both hell and simultaneously a creature of hell. In this respect, even the placement of the images on the pages can be seen to have symbolic significance. The boat is positioned at the bottom of the page and has the shipmen lowering Jonah/Christ down into hell, while Jonah/Christ is regurgitated by the *ketos*/hell at the top of the facing page, completing the cycle of death and redemption of sin brought about by Christ's passion.

Together, the two Jonah images of the Antwerp Sedulius suggest access to, and a good understanding of late antique/early Christian representations of the Jonah cycle, particularly given the ways in which the scenes were subtly changed and adapted to create

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[305] Narkiss, 1979: 66; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*: 13.16; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 396-98

an even more complex symbolic narrative based around the Matthew 12:40 passage, and make explicit the references to Christ's death, descent and resurrection.

3.11 Conclusion

Overall, it appears that those responsible for depictions of the Old Testament scene in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England had knowledge of and access to a range of early Christian (and likely multiple other, continental and Byzantine) model types. However, it appears that in each individual case these were adapted to suit the needs of the people creating them. The majority of these changes to the 'established' form was to further emphasise the link between the Old Testament scene being depicted and its Christological significance, such as the repositioning of Habakkuk in the Antwerp Sedulius' portrayal of Daniel in the Lions' Den, or the addition of branches sprouting crosses on the Newent, Adam and Eve panel. It seems that during this period those behind the design of Old Testament imagery were comfortable reimagining established iconographic traditions, reflecting their acute knowledge and understanding of the Christian significance behind the episodes. At Wearmouth-Jarrow it is clear that this enhanced understanding of the text of the Old Testament was reflected in the two surviving manuscript miniatures, alongside with the proliferation of Bede's exegetical works on the subject. This does not, however, seem to be confined to the monastic community at Wearmouth-Jarrow, but through the surviving visual corpus it can be argued that this enhanced understanding was shared across Anglo-Saxon England.

CHAPTER 4

Continuity and Change: Visualising the Old Testament in the Late Ninth- to Mid-Eleventh-Century Art of Anglo-Saxon England

4.1 Distribution of Old Testament Imagery[1]

Key

+   Stone Sculpture

♥   Manuscripts

●   Metalwork

★   Ivory

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[1] For a breakdown of the scene-types and numbers of instances of each scene-type, see App. 2.1 and 3.1 For those manuscripts where the place of production is unknown, the centre deemed most likely in the scholarship has been used.

4.2 Introduction

Often seen as two distinct time periods, the Viking and Reformation periods in Anglo-Saxon England which together constitute the period covered roughly by the late ninth to mid eleventh centuries, were in fact two sides of the same coin; both occurred simultaneously in the North and South of the country respectively. This chapter will thus examine how *both* regions visually articulated the Old Testament during this period and consider the ways in which both the Viking (North) and Reformation (South) can be seen as continuing and diverging from their earlier (pre-Viking) roots.

Before turning to this, however, it is necessary to examine the socio-political situation of each "region" of England during the period: examining the conversion of the Scandinavian settlers to Christianity, before turning to examine the impact their arrival had on the inhabitants already living in Anglo-Saxon England, first on the northern ecclesiastical communities and then on the southern reaction to the events, alongside the impact the Benedictine Reform had on artistic output.

The Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* first records raids occurring on British shores in the last decade of the eighth-century.[2] Chronicles E and F record the first raid in the north occurring on Lindisfarne in 793,[3] stating that in:

> This year came dreadful fore-warnings over the land of the Northumbrians, terrifying the people most woefully: these were immense sheets of light rushing through the air, and whirlwinds, and fiery, dragons flying across the firmament. These tremendous tokens were soon followed by a great famine: and not long after, on the sixth day before the ides of January in the same year, the harrowing inroads of heathen men made lamentable havoc in the church of God in Holy-island, by rapine and slaughter.[4]

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[2] Irvine, 2004: 41-42; Stafford, 2009: 196

[3] ASE E 793: Irvine, 2004: 42; ASE F 793; Baker, 2000: 54-55; The first raid the south was at Dorchester in 787. ASC A 787; Bately, 1986: 39

[4] "Her wæron reðe forebecna cumene ofer Norðanhymbra land. þet folc earmlice bregdon: þet wæron ormete ligræscas, wæron geseowene fyrene dracan on þam lyfte fleogende. Þam tacnum sona fyligde mycel hunger. litel æfter þam þæs ilcan geares on ·vi· idus Ianr earmlice heðenra manna hergung adiligode Godes cyrican. in Lindisfarenaee. þurh reaflac mansleht." ASC E 793; Irvine, 2004: 42; trans, Earl and Plummer, 1892: I, 55-57; "Her wæran reðe forebycna cumene on Norðhymbra land ðæt folc ermlice drehtan. ðæt wæran ormete ligræscas. wæran gesawene fyrene dracan on ðam lifte fleogende. 'and' sona fyly'g'de mycel hunger. æfter ðam ðes ylcan geares earmlice hæðenra hergung adyligodan Godes cyrican in Lindisfarenaee. ður'h' reaflac manslyht." ASC F 793; Baker, 2000: 54-55; trans, Earle and Plummer, 1892: I, 54-56

By 794 the heathen armies had:

> spread devastation among the Northumbrians, and plundered the monastery of King Everth at the mouth of the Wear. There, however, some of their leaders were slain; and some of their ships also were shattered to pieces by the violence of the weather; many of the crew were drowned; and some, who escaped alive to the shore, were soon dispatched at the mouth of the river.[5]

These raids were clearly regarded as having a profound effect on the monastic communities they targeted, which continued sporadically for over seventy years. By the mid-860s these raids turned into heavier waves of attacks, with the Danish eventually settling in East Anglia and the Norwegians from Dublin in the north-west.[6]

While it is unlikely that these raids completely wiped out all monastic life in the North, as evidenced by the continued existence of the Cuthbert community, it is clear that the economic basis of their estates were disrupted.[7] As noted, the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* records that the Cuthbert community at Lindisfarne had witnessed the first wave of raids in 793, killing an unknown portion of its population,[8] but they did not leave the Holy Island

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[5] "[…] þa hæðenan on Norðhymbru*m* hergodon. Ecgferðes mynster slægen wearð. eac heora scipu sume þurth oferweder wurdon to brocene. heora feala þær adruncon. sume cuce to þam stæðe common. þa man cona of sloh æt ðære ea muðan." ASC E 794; Irvine, 2004: 42; trans, Earl and Plummer, 1892: I, 57

[6] 860AD Winchester stormed (abræcon Wintanceastre); ASC E 860; Irvine, 2004: 47; 865AD a heathen army lands at Thanet, where the men of Kent make peace with them, but they raid the lands regardless (Her sæt se hæðene here on Tenet, ge nam frið wið Cantwarum. Cantware heom feoh be heton wið ðam friðe. on þam feohbehate se here hine on niht up bestæl. oferhergode ealle Cent eastewarde); ASC E 865; Irvine, 2004: 48; 866AD heathens settle in East Anglia (And þy ilcan geare com mycel hæðen here on Angelcynnes land. wintersetle namon æt Eastenglum), ASE E 866; Irvine, 2004: 48; 867AD York and Northumbria conquered by the heathen army (Her for se here of Eastenglum ofer Humbre muðan to Eoferwicceastre on Norðanhymbre […] Osbryht […and…] Ęllan […] þone here sohton æt Eoferwicceastre on þa ceastre bręcon. hie sume inne wurdon. þær was ungemetlic węl geslægen Norðanhymbra, sume binnan, sume butan); ASC A 867; Bately, 1986: 47; 868AD the army attacks Mercia and make peace with the people within (Her for se ilca here innan Mierce to Snotingham, þær wintersetl namon […] þær nan hefelic gefeoht ne wearþ Mierce friþ namon wiþ þone here), ASC A 868; Bately, 1986: 47; 870AD Peterborough pillaged (Medeshamstede, beorndon bræcon. slogon abbot munecas. Eall þet hi þær fundon. macedon hit þa þet ær wæs ful rice. þa hit wearð to nan þing); ASE E 868; Irvine, 2004: 48; Blair, 2005: 292.

[7] It appears as if Wearmouth-Jarrow, at least in the initial stages, survived, as it is in a letter to the community from Alcuin in 793 warns the monks to: "trust in the prayers of your fathers, not in physical fight [...] pirate raids have penetrated the north of our island. Let us grieve for the suffering of our brothers, and beware that the same does not happen to us." (*Nolite in fuga confidere carnali, sed in prece patrum vestrorum* […] *Ecce fugax latro boreales insulae nostrae partes pervasit. Plangamus, quod fratres nostri perpessi sunt. Caveamus, ne nobis aliquid accidat tale.*) Dümmler, 1895: 54-55; trans., Allot, 1972: 39-40. This lack of direct confirmation by Alcuin and the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* seems to suggest that the community still existed in the years immediately following the first wave of attacks. See, Parker, 1985: 19-32

[8] Alcuin records in a letter to Æthelred in 793 that "The church of St Cuthbert is spattered with the blood of the priests of God, stripped of all its furnishings, exposed to the plundering of the pagans." (*Ecce ecclesia samctic Cuðberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa, omnibus spoliata ornamentis, locus cunctis in Brittannia venerabilior, paganis gentibys datur ad depredandum*); Dümmler, 1895: 42-42; Allott, 1972: 18

until 875 after the Scandinavians began to divide the land, no doubt in an attempt to demonstrate their right to hold onto their properties.[9]

In fact, contrary to the traditional notion of events, many of the pre-Viking churches in eastern England did survive the invasion and settlement.[10] Information recorded in letters and *Chronicle* entries show that the initial attacks targeted large ecclesiastical centres, likely due to their wealth and status, but they do not indicate that these attacks completely halted ecclesiastical life in the North: just disrupted it. Furthermore, more southerly ecclesiastical communities managed to salvage and collect objects, such as manuscripts, from the depleted communities of the North, meaning all was not lost by the attacks. Worcester, the principal Mercian church to weather the Viking attacks,[11] for example, managed to save one of the three pandects written in Monkwearmouth-Jarrow in *c*.716.[12] Acquired by King Offa in the second half of the eighth century "Offa's bible" was later gifted to Tilhere of Worcester;[13] where it was seen as one of the principle holy books of the church by the second half of the eleventh century, although there is no surviving evidence that those at Worcester knew of the manuscript's origins.[14] This is just one of a significant group of eighth-century manuscripts to have migrated south at some point before the tenth century, with up to eight gospel books and four biblical books being proposed.[15] Indeed, there seems to have been a conscious effort to collect, wherever possible, manuscripts once belonging to northern ecclesiastical communities. Whether this occurred immediately after the first wave of raids

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[9] Barrow, 2000: 161

[10] Ibid.: 169

[11] Dumville, 1992: 99-100

[12] London, BL, MSS Add. 37777 + Add. 45025 + Loan 81; Dumville, 1992: 100; Marsden, 1995a: 96-98; Karkov, 2001: 54 n. 25

[13] Marsden, 1995a: 96-98; Karkov, 2001: 54 n. 25

[14] Dumville, 1992: 100

[15] Gospel Books: Cambridge, University Library, MS. KK.1.24 + *disiectia membra* (provenance: Ely); CCCC, MS. 197B + *disiectia membra* (provenance: Eye?); Lichfield, Cathedral Library, MS. Lich. I (provenance: Llandeilo Fawr; Lichfield); Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS. 298(A) (provenance: Lincoln [from an unidentified binding]); London, BL MSS, Add. 37777 + 45025 + Loans 81 (provenance: Worcester); London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B. v., vol. I, fol. 75 (provenance: Exeter); London, BL, MS Royal I. B. vii (provenance: King Æthelstan's court, 924AD); London, BL, MS Royal 7.C. xii, fols 2-3 [possibly a fragment detached from CCCC 197B + *disiecta membra*] (provenance: Cerne Abbas?); Biblical Commentaries: Cambridge, St John's College, MS., Aa.5.I (267), fol. 67 [Cassiodorus] (provenance: Ramsey); Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS. P.2.x, flyleaves [*comm. in Matth.*] (provenance: Hereford?); London, BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra A. iii [Augustine] (provenance: St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury); Shewsbury, Shropshire Records Office, MS. 1052/I [Jerome] (provenance: Shrophire); Dumville, 1992: 104

in the eighth century or at a later date before the tenth century is unknown, but due to the amount of surviving manuscripts it can safely be assumed that this acquisition took place on a significant scale and represents a keen interest in preserving the legacy of pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England.

It is also unlikely that the arrival of the Scandinavians in the latter half of the eighth century spelt the end of manuscript production in the North; this is attested to, for instance, by a computistical manuscript, including an ecclesiastical Kalendar, which was written in Northumbria in 867-892 and found its way to Winchester at some point before the tenth-century.[16] Of more importance here, however, is that manuscript production had already been on the decline prior to the arrival of the Scandinavians; it is not entirely accurate to explain the lack of manuscripts being produced in the North in the latter half of the eighth and ninth centuries as the result of Scandinavian activities.[17] The decline is just as likely a product of the considerable export of books from England to the continental missions in the eighth century. As the scriptoria of the houses founded during these missions began to produce their own manuscripts in significant numbers, the demand for exported books from England would have fallen.[18] It is, therefore, plausible to assume that the arrival of the Scandinavians compounded the effect of declining manuscript production in the North.

In part, the perception of a decline in manuscript production, coupled with the impact of the raids and later settlement can be attributed to King Alfred who, in the prefatory letter of 896, attached to "his" translation of Gregory I's *Pastoral Care* claimed that:

> So general was its decay in England that there were very few on this side of the Humber who could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English; and I believe that there were not many beyond the Humber. There were so few of them that I cannot remember a single one south of the Thames when I came to the throne.[19]

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[16] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 63 (S.C. 1664)
[17] Dumville, 1992: 96
[18] Ibid.; Marsden, 1995: 95-98
[19] "Swæ clæne hio wæs oðfeallenu on Angelcynne ðæt swiðe feawa wæron behionan Humbre ðe hirora ðeniuga cuðen understondan on Englisc, oððe furðum an ærendgewrit of Lædene on Englisc areccean; and ic wene æt[te] noht monige begiondan Humbre næren. Swæ feawa hiora wæren ðæt ic furðum anne anlepne ne mæg geðencean besuðan Temese ða ic to rice feng."; Alfred, 'Preface to the Translation of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*'; Sweet, 1871: 3; Dumville, 1992: 97

Clearly Alfred's statement was intended to portray himself as the saviour of learning, and it likely represents a considerable exaggeration of the actual state of affairs, but it is interesting to note that he writes that learning had "decayed" (oðfeallenu) implying a process of slow decline, rather than an abrupt end. This is as much a reflection of a gradual decrease in ecclesiastic output in the North, as it is an account of the impact of the arriving Scandinavians but it is also evident that Alfred was more concerned about the lack of learning in the South (of the Humber), than the situation in the North which he rather glosses over. This account of Alfred as the saviour of learning in the South, however, has been picked up in the scholarship and combined with the *Chronicle* accounts of the North to paint a picture of how dreadful the situation was there, rather than regarding Alfred's account as a piece of propaganda intended to bolster his position in the south and is not necessarily a reflection of the North during the period.

The arrival of these "Viking raiders" is generally accepted as the beginning of the Viking age, when a series of different ethnic groups from Scandinavia and Ireland arrived and settled in England during the latter half of the ninth century. As noted, these groups (collectively referred to as Scandinavians)[20] are deemed to have arrived in Britain and Ireland each with their own unique sets of religious practices and beliefs, but were seemingly quickly converted to Christianity upon settlement. There is no surviving evidence for a missionary enterprise in Scandinavian England,[21] but there is evidence in the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* of some ninth-century diplomatic conversions, such as that of Guthrum and his followers in 878[22] and Hæsten's wife and children in 892.[23] However, the most compelling material evidence for the process of a relatively quick conversion of the Scandinavians can be seen at Repton, Derbyshire, the place where the 'Great Heathen Army' settled during the winter of 873-74.[24]

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[20] See discussion in Chapter 1, pp. 67-68
[21] Abrams, 2000: 138
[22] ASE E 878; Irvine, 2004: 50
[23] ASC E 892; Irvine, 2004: 53; Abrams, 2000: 138
[24] ASC E 874-75; Irvine, 2004: 49-50; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, 2001: 45

The army, using the church of St Wystan as a strategic place of defence, created a D-shaped enclosure of approximately 1.46 hectares, surrounded by a banked ditch 4m deep and 9m wide, in to which the church acted as the entrance.[25] Within this enclosure a large burial mound of at least 264 individuals was discovered within a modified Anglo-Saxon mausoleum, and a series of burials dated to the Scandinavian occupation were situated in, or surrounding, the fortified enclosure.[26] Those interred in Graves G511, G295 and G529 were found through isotopic analysis to have originated from west Denmark, north France or the Low Countries and south-east Sweden, the Baltics, Central Europe or south-west Russia respectively.[27] These graves were laid out in an east-west orientation in the Christian manner, but one (G511) was a heavily furnished warrior grave. The goods included a silver alloy Thor's hammer, while the cairn that covered it and the adjacent grave (G295) incorporated the remains of at least one pre-Viking stone cross.[28] The orientation of the burials, at the very least, hints at some knowledge of Christian burial practices among those who constructed the graves, and perhaps indicates the very early transitional stages of conversion showing the influence of Christianity on the Scandinavians in England even before settlement.

The nearby Anglo-Saxon mausoleum was first discovered (and its contents destroyed) in the seventeenth century. This sunken two-celled building was likely built in the late seventh or early eighth century and was later cut down to ground-level to serve as the chamber of the burial mound, which has been dated by coins to 873-74. It was first opened in *c.*1686 by Thomas Walter who recorded the presence of a large skeleton surrounded by others, their feet pointing towards the central figure.[29] When the mound was re-opened in 1787 the chamber looked to be filled with a heap of human bones, implying

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[25] Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, 2001: 45; Raffield, 2016: 313; Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017
[26] Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, 2001: 45; Raffield, 2016: 313; Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017
[27] Budd, et al.: 2004: 137
[28] Raffield, 2016: 314; Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017
[29] Pegg(e), 1727-8: 363-5; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, 2001: 67

that the previous dig had disturbed the layout of the remains;[30] this was confirmed in 1914, when the site was artificially trenched by the Derbyshire antiquary J. C. Cox, who recorded that whatever remained of the burial had been destroyed by previous excavations.[31] The final excavation in 1980-6 revealed not only that the mausoleum contained the remains of at least 264 people, whose bones had been originally stacked in a charnel manner against the wall, but that four of the five silver pennies recovered, had been struck no earlier than *c.* 872 while the fifth possibly belonged to 873/4; this potentially placed these burials within the context of the wintering of the "Great Heathen Army."[32]

Whether these graves indicate a convenient location that was adapted and used for burial of a "heathen" army, or the beginnings of the assimilation of the Christian faith into Scandinavian culture is difficult to ascertain, but the evidence seems to point at least to some minimal engagement with Christian burial practices, perhaps hinting at the beginnings of conversion from early on in the third quarter of the ninth century. What can be accepted is that by the tenth century conversion to Christianity had taken place amongst the Scandinavian population, as represented by monumental Christian stone sculptures constructed under Scandinavian influence, a re-established Church, Scandinavian ecclesiastical patrons and the careers of Anglo-Scandinavian churchmen, such as Oda who was the Bishop of Ramsbury (*c.*909 x 927-941) and Archbishop of Canterbury (941-958).[33]

Despite Alfred's protestations, the South of England fared better against the raids and eventual settlement of the Scandinavians. Canterbury was attacked in 851, but Christ Church and St Augustine's seem to have weathered the storm,[34] and while Chertsey, Surrey, preserved the tradition of Viking slaughter, it does not appear to have suffered unduly as it still had a religious community in 964 that retained both its relics and its earliest charters.[35]

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[30] Bigsby, 1854: n.243; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, 2001: 67
[31] Macdonald, 1929: 19; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, 2001: 67-68
[32] Pagan, 1986: 117; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, 2001: 68-69; Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017
[33] Abrams, 2000: 140
[34] Blair, 2005: 298
[35] Ibid.: 299

Worcester and Gloucester became the centres of a revived Mercia under the semi-autonomous rule of Æthelred (*c*. 881-911) and Æthelflæd (911-918) who, in the decades following the Scandinavian settlement of Mercia, began to extend their control over peripheral and more disrupted areas such as Staffordshire and Cheshire,[36] while Hampshire, Wiltshire and Berkshire, the core of the West Saxon kingdom, emerged the victors of the Viking raids.[37] Winchester and Malmesbury appear to have survived virtually unscathed, while Britford, Wiltshire, and Titchfield in Hampshire retain pre-Viking churches which are still visible as minster's in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[38] In fact, the Domesday survey records churches with monks of superior status being clustered more densely in Hampshire and Wiltshire than any other region,[39] suggesting that this area was allowed to grow virtually uninterrupted in the decades/centuries prior to the survey.[40]

Unsurprisingly perhaps, it is in these three regions (Hampshire, Wiltshire and Berkshire) that the main figures involved in the Reformation of the Anglo-Saxon Church in the mid-tenth century were based: Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (960-78), Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester (963-84), and Oswald, Archbishop of Worcester and York (Worcester 961-92; York 972-92). Their vision was to recreate the perceived (albeit unhistorical), view of the Golden Age of Benedictine monasticism drawn from the pages of Bede's *Historia*.[41] Furthermore, the success of the West Saxon kingdom in staving off the Vikings and its kings' increasing dominance during the tenth century seem to have led to a very close alliance between royal and ecclesiastical authority, with bishops providing the link between Church and Royal Court, becoming central figures in royal government and responsible for providing spiritual council for the king himself.[42]

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[36] Ibid.: 306
[37] Ibid.: 300
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Cramp, 2006: 9-11
[41] Cubitt, 2009: 377, 386
[42] Ibid.: 379

It was in or about 970 that high ranking ecclesiastics met with King Edgar of Wessex in his capital, Winchester, to agree on the key piece of legislation of the Reformation: the *Regularis Concordia*.[43] Originally drafted by Æthelwold, Dunstan and their continental associates, the *Concordia* represents a culmination of ideas taken from reformed abbeys in Gaul, especially Fleury in Lorraine and St Peter's, Ghent in Flanders, with which some refounded Anglo-Saxon abbeys had close links.[44] Among the concerns facing the reformers was the issue of secular clergy, who often lived with their wives and families and were deemed to represent a corruption of the ideal: the celibate life of a Benedictine monk.[45] Addressing this issue Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald sought to restore purity to the Church, while also addressing liturgical issues, such as the sacred status of the Eucharist,[46] and wider concerns in pastoral care. Thus, the primary focus of the *Concordia* was the observance of the liturgy, with increasingly elaborate prayers and chants; other activities viewed as secondary to be carried out in the Cloister (aside from agricultural work on monastic lands, which fell to the lay tenants), and included duties such as teaching the *oblates* (children given to the community by their parents to become monks), writing and illuminating books, handicrafts and domestic services within the monastery.[47] It also agreed on practices particular to Anglo-Saxon England, such as lay people attending Sunday Mass in the monastery church, bell pealing and monks processing through the streets on feast days.[48] It also stipulated that if monks, rather than a chapter of canons, served a cathedral, they would need to select a bishop, if possible from amongst themselves, who would continue to live as a monk while also serving as liaison between Church and State.[49] This formal articulation of the link between ecclesiastical and secular power was further emphasised through the provision of frequent prayers recited for the King and Queen.[50]

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[43] Butler and Given-Wilson, 1975: 27
[44] Ibid.; Cubitt, 2009: 386-88
[45] Cubitt, 2009: 386
[46] Ibid.: 387
[47] Butler and Given-Wilson, 1975: 27; Barrow, 2009: 142
[48] Barrow, 2009: 142
[49] Butler and Given-Wilson, 1975: 27
[50] Ibid.; Cubitt, 2009: 388

The Scandinavian settlement in the North, the Reform of the Church undertaken from the South, and the formalisation of relations between Church and State appears to have led to a profound shift in the depiction of the Old Testament in the south of Anglo-Saxon England between the latter half of the ninth to the mid-eleventh century. The decline in manuscript production witnessed in the latter half of the eighth and ninth centuries was dramatically reversed; in fact, manuscript production during the period seems to go into overdrive, not only producing religious texts, but also recording pre-existing oral traditions and poetry, in almost conscious attempts at antiquarianism. The rise in manuscript production not only coincides with the phase of significant Scandinavian settlement occurring in the latter half of the ninth century in the North, but also seems to correspond with the migration of eighth-century northern manuscripts to the South.[51] It appears that the southern Anglo-Saxons were simultaneously addressing two major issues: on the one hand the decline in manuscript production and monastic learning hinted at by Alfred in his "Preface,"[52] and on the other hand preserving the northern monastic output from the disruptive impact of the Scandinavian incursion and settlement. At the same time, conversely, the production of new monumental sculpture in the South appears to decline and is perhaps another manifestation of how the people of the south wished to identify themselves as distinct from the Scandinavian dominated culture of the North, although access to stone may have also been an issue, alongside the more limited survival of stone sculpture due to the increased urbanisation of the region in the following centuries and beyond.

4.3 Visualising the Old Testament in the Scandinavian North

With this background in mind it is now possible to examine what survives of Old Testament imagery in the north of Anglo-Saxon England between the late ninth to mid eleventh

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[51] See above, pp. 190-91
[52] See above, p. 191

centuries. Due to the limited survival of manuscripts from the Scandinavian controlled North, there do not appear to be any visual representations of Old Testament scenes in this medium, nor are there any survivals in metalwork or ivories from the area. Further, in stone sculpture only three Old Testament scene types can be identified with any certainty: the Fall of Adam and Eve; David Combatting the Lion; and David Accompanied by a Musician. A range of other scenes have been proposed (including: The Sacrifice of Isaac, Cain Killing Abel, Moses Receiving the Law and the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace, to name but a few), but their unusual iconography means identifications are tentative at best.[53] In part this apparent proliferation of perceived Old Testament images is due to the obscure nature of Viking-age figural carving, but without any clear comparative models for their design and layout it is not easy to substantiate such claims. The discussion here, therefore, will focus on those images that can be clearly identified as depicting an Old Testament subject matter, or which would have likely had strong Old Testament references.

4.2a Visualising the Book of Genesis

As with much of what survives from the Viking period the depiction of Adam and Eve can be seen as both a continuation of and divergence from earlier Anglo-Saxon/early Christian examples. However, the unusual iconography of some of the pieces, alongside the fragmentary and worn nature of many of the carvings have led to some debate over identification.

The extremely fragmentary and worn nature of the piece from Bilton-in-Ainsty, West Yorkshire (fig. 4.1) provides a clear example of the difficulties encountered in drawing any firm conclusions regarding iconographic issues. Missing the upper half of the scene, all that is now left is the torso and legs of two figures flanking two central vertical lines; that on the right appears to cover their genitals with their right hand. A swirling vertical pattern lies on

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[53] See App. 4.5-8

the right-hand side of the scene, which is possibly repeated on the left, but this is difficult to identify with any certainty.[54] Overall, however, the layout and component elements of the panel appear to closely mirror the ninth-century fragment at Eccleshall, Staffordshire (fig. 3.1), alongside Irish and Ionan depictions of the Fall (figs 5.37a-l, 5.67). At Eccleshall Adam and Eve cover their genitals with their arms while standing on either side of a tree, whose trunk consists of two vertical lines that branch out into an interlace pattern intended to represent the Tree of Knowledge; as already noted, this same type of tree can be found at Boho, Co. Fermanagh (fig. 5.38a) and Drumcliffe, Sandstone Cross, Co. Sligo (fig. 5.38b) in Ireland. Furthermore, the swirling pattern running down the right at Bilton-in-Ainsty is a detail frequently found on Insular examples of The Fall, including those on Iona, St Matthew's Cross (fig. 5.67) in Scotland and Armagh, Market Cross, Co. Armagh (fig. 5.37b), Kells, Broken Cross, Co. Meath (fig. 5.37g), Graiguenamanagh, North Cross, Co. Kilkenny (fig. 5.37f), Monasterboice, Muiredach's Cross, Co. Louth (fig. 5.37j), and Moone, Co. Kildare (fig. 5.37l) in Ireland where it can be identified as the branches hanging down around the two figures. It is possible that the Bilton-in-Ainsty scene represents a hybrid of both these types of tree and would have once included a tree with a double stem which divided into two branches that hung down the side of the panel, framing Adam and Eve in arched canopies made from the shape of the tree. If this was indeed the case, it appears that those responsible for the design of the Bilton-in-Ainsty fragment likely used either an Irish model or a lost Anglo-Saxon model, composed in a manner similar to that at Eccleshall for their depiction of Adam and Eve.

Of the more clearly identifiable Viking-age Adam and Eve scenes, that at Dacre, Cumbria (fig. 4.2), is perhaps the least contestable, with two figures plucking bulbous apples from a stylised tree and a snake with a coiled tail positioned under the tree near Eve, who stands on the left.[55] All these elements recall Insular and early Christian exemplars, although

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[54] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 2.2a(i)
[55] Bailey, 1977: 63; For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 2.2a(iii)

it does not seem to conform to the usual layout of Adam and Eve, seen in the majority of early Christian and pre-Viking examples where the two figures are depicted facing frontally on either side of the tree; rather, Adam and Eve stand in profile plucking the fruit off the tree in a manner analogous to the pre-Viking example at Breedon, Leicestershire, which also features the bulbous apples found at Dacre (fig. 3.2). It would appear, therefore, that as at Breedon, those responsible for the design of Dacre likely adapted a lost model of a different type of Adam and Eve scene where the two are shown standing in profile. Alternatively, it was an entirely new construct, which amalgamated the knowledge of other representations of conflated Adam and Eve narratives with a deep understanding of the text, implying that those responsible for the design desired to emphasise the act of sinning through having both Adam and Eve actively picking the fruit from the tree.

It is interesting to note that the bottom of the tree terminates in a rectangular base. While it is possible that this was purely an aesthetic decision, further emphasising the highly stylised nature of the tree, it is more likely that this detail was intended to hold symbolic significance, prompting the viewer to contemplate the Crucifixion. In other Insular representations of Adam and Eve, such as those at Newent, Gloucestershire (fig. 3.3), Bride, Isle of Man (fig. 5.75a), Boho, Co. Fermanagh (fig. 5.38a), Moone, Co. Kildare (fig. 5.37l) and Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh (fig. 5.38d) the tree is set atop a base, rather than growing out of the ground, which is best understood as a subtle reference to the Crucifixion. This is perhaps most clearly articulated in the Newent representation, where the Tree of Knowledge, whose branches terminate in a series of crosses, emerges from a triple-stepped base, deliberately recalling Golgotha and the Cross of the Crucifixion.[56] It is possible that those responsible for the design of Dacre likewise intended to recall Golgotha and by extension the Crucifixion through the inclusion of a rectangular base. If this is the case then the Dacre Adam and Eve scene was likely intended to represent the act of sinning that lead to

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[56] See discussion on Newent, p. 121

humanity's mortality, while simultaneously recalling the act that lead to their salvation: Christ's incarnation, death, descent and resurrection.

Furthermore, it is possible that the scene immediately above Adam and Eve represents the couple in Paradise before the fall.[57] If this is the case then it is likely that this face of the cross-shaft was intended to highlight the repercussions of the Original Sin: through temptation the couple were expelled from the paradisiacal Eden and it was only through Christ's Crucifixion that this sin was absolved and humanity was once again allowed entry into Paradise. This would represent a clear continuation of pre-Viking understandings of the Adam and Eve narrative and despite being unique in its iconography. It suggests that those responsible for the design of Dacre probably had an understanding of other Adam and Eve imagery circulating either in Anglo-Saxon England as evidenced in manuscripts such as Junius 11,[58] or the wider Insular world during the period,[59] but chose to adapt their model to fit their concerns.

Compared with the scene at Dacre the iconography of the Adam and Eve scene on the Diddlebury, Shropshire (fig. 4.4) fragment is very unusual. Standing either side of a central stem two figures reach up to grab bulbous objects from the plant, while its branches cover their lower genitals.[60] The pair do not appear to cover themselves in any way and no serpent seems to be present. In fact, the only detail of the scene shared with other Anglo-Saxon depictions of Adam and Eve is that the figures reach towards the fruit and flank a central tree. It seems that those responsible for the design of the Diddlebury fragment wished to portray the Fall, but did not have access to a source model, only a (vague) understanding of what it should look like. There is, however, a close parallel to the Diddlebury scheme in the representation of Adam and Eve hiding from God amongst the trees found in the OE

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[57] It has been proposed by Bailey that this scene is the Sacrifice of Isaac, however the position of the two figures standing upright, rather than one bent over a flaming altar, in addition to a lack of sword and Hand of God or angel preventing the sacrifice works against this hypothesis. See Bailey, 1980: 173
[58] See further below, pp. 218-28
[59] For example, the tree and its bulbous apples recalls examples at Breedon, Farnell, Angus and Donaghmore, Co. Down. See pp. 118, 262, 276, 287
[60] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 2.2a(iv)

Hexateuch (fig. 4.36).[61] Here the pair cower either side of a tree that recalls that at Diddlebury; its branches cover the lower genitals of the couple. This might well imply that the source for the Diddlebury scene may have been a manuscript illumination of Adam and Eve Hiding Amongst the Trees, which was adapted to fit the conflated narrative of the pair plucking the apples, realising their nakedness and hiding from God. This further implies the possibility that those producing images of Old Testament events in the tenth and early eleventh centuries in England, both North and South, may have had access to the same type of iconographic sources, or a shared access to such material.

Regardless of which explanation can be accepted at Diddlebury, the most likely explanation of the Adam and Eve scene at Elwick Hall, Co. Durham (fig. 4.4) is that it contains two episodes from the Genesis narrative, demonstrating that dependence on new iconographic types was informing sculptural scenes in the North.[62] The panel contains two figures standing with their backs slightly bent, covering themselves with their arms, underneath a tree with drooping branches and bulbous fruit. To the far left, in front of the tree trunk, stands another figure, its torso and head have been obliterated, but it is possible to determine the legs, lower back and right arm, which reaches upwards to pluck a piece of fruit from the tree.[63] Composed of these elements it is clear that this panel presents two scenes occurring side-by-side: Eve plucks the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge and Adam and Eve recognise their nakedness. In early Christian and pre-Viking art these two episodes are often conflated into a single image, with Eve (and sometimes Adam) plucking the fruit from the tree, while simultaneously covering their nakedness. It is a conflation that allowed those responsible for the design of the images to represent a large portion of the narrative in a confined space. However, at Elwick Hall those responsible for the design seem to have followed manuscript depictions of the story, where multiple scenes are shown alongside one another. For example, in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis, Adam and Eve eating from the

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[61] Fol. 7v
[62] Hawkes, 1997b: 151
[63] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 2.2a(v)

Tree of Knowledge, recognising their nakedness and hiding amongst the trees (fig. 3.11) are all shown consecutively within the same border, not separated by frames.[64] A similar layout occurs in ninth-century Carolingian Bibles (figs 4.5-6).[65] It is possible that Elwick Hall similarly depicted two episodes from the Fall of Adam and Eve side-by-side, with Eve plucking the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge and then Adam and Eve recognising their nakedness and going to hide among the trees. This explanation would elucidate the unusual iconography of this Fall scene, as all other Insular sculptural examples depict Adam and Eve flanking the tree rather than standing to one side of it as they do at Elwick Hall. The central image of the Vienna Genesis miniature shows the pair standing side-by-side, slightly bent over and holding leaves to cover their genitals; to the left and slightly arching over them is a tree. This layout is similar to that at Elwick Hall and it is, therefore, possible that those responsible for its design used a similar model for its construction. If this is the case then it would seem that at Elwick Hall a manuscript model of an early Christian type was used for the portrayal of Adam and Eve, rather than following the Insular tradition of the pair standing either side of the Tree of Knowledge, frequently shown covering their nakedness with a serpent twisting round the trunk of the tree. The emphasis is still on the act of sinning (Eve plucking the forbidden apple) and the repercussions (they recognise their nakedness), but it is articulated in a manner more analogous to that found in manuscript miniatures.

Less clear than the Dacre, Diddlebury and Elwick Hall is that preserved on the cross-shaft at Coverham, North Yorkshire (fig. 4.7). The inclusion of three figures, swirling lines instead of a tree, and an oversized central snake, make an identification of Adam and Eve tentative at best. The three figures standing with their arms raised recalls the orans pose found in other Viking-age schemes which, lacking the snake and swirling pattern (such as that at Checkley, Staffordshire, fig. 4.8) are unlikely to depict Adam and Eve.[66] This might suggest that the figures at Coverham were based on a similar model featuring orant figures.

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[64] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 1r
[65] Bamberg Bible: Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Msc. Bibl. I (A.I.5), fol. 7v; Vivian Bible: Paris, BnF, Lat. 1, fol. 10v
[66] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 2.2a(ii)

In fact, the nearby church of St Michael, Spennithorne, North Yorkshire (fig. 4.9), contains an almost identical scene, with four figures standing with their arms raised beneath a diamond shape that branches out into scrollwork, which could be either the decapitated head of a serpent or as a large serpent head with a small body. Above may be a fantastic beast, but due to the heavily worn nature of the stone this is impossible to determine with any certainty.[67] While Spennithorne recalls the Coverham scene in the layout of the figures and the possible inclusion of the serpent's head it lacks the organised spirals and the clear form of the serpent's body, further removing it from the possible inclusion of a highly stylised tree with the snake encircling its length. Nevertheless, the similarities between the two scenes remain, and so poses the question: does the Coverham scene depict Adam and Eve?

The inclusion of a third figure would be an unusual addition, but it would not be without precedent. Some early Christian representations of the Fall include a figure of God reprimanding the pair for their transgression (fig. 3.9b), so it is possible that the central figure at Coverham is intended to recall this, perhaps as a representation of Christ whose redemptive death reversed humanity's fate and allowed those adhering to the faith to attain life everlasting. Alternatively, the central figure could be explained as a representation of the devil in the guise of an angel and thus both the serpent and angel are represented as tempters. The lack of wings on the figure might be deemed to argue against this hypothesis but Peers has argued that angelic figures in early Christian art were not always depicted with wings, and there are representations of wingless angels on Irish Sacrifice of Isaac scenes, demonstrating they did exist in Insular contexts.[68] If there is a wingless angel at Coverham, which in turn references the devil, it would parallel that of the temptation of Eve by both the serpent and angel in the *c*.1000 Junius 11 manuscript (fig. 4.32),[69] and would emphasise the temptation element of the Fall narrative. However, the unusual iconography and parallels with other Viking-age scenes of figures with upraised arms, makes both these interpretations

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[67] For further on the Spenithorne scene see, App. 4.5b(iv)
[68] Peers, 2001: 38-40; See chapter 5, p. 272-73
[69] p. 20; Ericksen, 2001: 51-52

tentative at best. It is more likely that, at best, the Coverham scene was intended to be viewed as implying references to Adam and Eve rather than specifically depicting of the Fall.

As with much of the figural art in Viking-age England, there are several issues regarding the identification of The Fall. The most significant of these is that if all the carving considered here were intended to depict Adam and Eve, then the majority show a significant divergence from other surviving pre-Viking, Insular and early Christian examples.

The extremely fragmentary nature of the Bilton-in-Ainsty scene makes any firm identification impossible, but if it does depict Adam and Eve then its layout appears to conform with other Insular versions of the scene found both in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England (Eccleshall) and early medieval Ireland (Boho and Drumcliffe). Likewise, Dacre also appears to conform, to a certain extent, with iconographic types seen in pre-Viking representations of The Fall, with the tree especially paralleling other highly stylised trees found in other Insular scenes of the Fall (Breedon in Anglo-Saxon England, Bride on the Isle of Man and Moone in early medieval Ireland). Both perhaps demonstrate that during the Viking-age there was a process of continuation and adaptation of the "types" of Adam and Eve scenes found elsewhere on pre-Viking and other Insular sculpture.

While Bilton and Dacre both appear to conform, somewhat, to other Insular depictions, Coverham, Elwick Hall and Diddlebury, if all are accepted as depicting Adam and Eve, significantly diverge from established traditions. The most problematic identification is the scene at Coverham which is perhaps best understood as having Adam and Eve references, rather than depicting The Fall. If this is the case, then it appears that those responsible for the design of the scene were consciously adapting a representation of what is now a lost story to reference both it and The Fall, in a manner analogous to that of how the Ragnarök scenes on the Gosforth Cross are understood to reference the Christian Last Judgement.[70] While Elwick Hall and Diddlebury seem to diverge from the established sculptural traditions through what appears to be their use of alternative models for their

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[70] Bailey, 1980: 129-30; Bailey, 2000: 21-22

construction, it seems plausible that, rather than using either existing Insular sculptural models or the models lying behind their construction, those responsible for the design of the Elwick Hall and Diddlebury scenes used what was likely contemporary or near contemporary manuscript depictions as their source, similar to those found in Carolingian Bibles, where the Adam and Eve narrative is visually depicted as a series of friezes on a singular page, or the OE Hexateuch, where these friezes have been broken up over multiple pages. If this explanation can be accepted, it implies that, in these two locations at least, there was a dialogue between North and South or the North and the Continent, with those responsible for creating the Diddlebury and Elwick Hall scenes deliberately diverging from the established sculptural tradition of depicting Adam and Eve to reflect contemporary illustrations of the pair, which, judging from the OE Hexateuch, Junius 11 and Carolingian Bibles, were flourishing in manuscript art during the ninth and tenth centuries.

4.2b Visualising the Book of 1 Samuel and Psalms

The only surviving David scenes from the Viking period in the North are preserved on a single cross-shaft fragment from Sockburn, Co. Durham (fig. 4.10). The lower scene has always been regarded as depicting David Accompanied by a Musician,[71] but the upper scene (fig. 4.11a-b), has been less securely identified. Cramp has described it as depicting a man (left) facing a woman (right) and reaching up to touch her hair,[72] but due to the heavily worn and broken nature of cross-shaft this is difficult to substantiate and the photograph illustrated in the catalogue of the County Durham CASSS volume exacerbating this obscurity (fig. 4.11c). However, a detailed examination of the carving (made with the aid of favourable cross-lighting) indicates an alternative explanation.

On the right a standing figure faces the viewer, his oval-shaped head clearly identifiable, as are his feet which emerge from what can be assumed to be a calf-length tunic;

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[71] Cramp, 1984a: I, 137-38
[72] Ibid.

all other details regarding this clothing have been lost, but it is possible to determine the flare of the tunic on the left. With lighting, it is also possible to discern the left arm crossing the body diagonally in a slightly downward position. An animal in profile is situated at the top left of the scene: its rear end is next to the figure's head, while its chest lies at the far edge of the panel. Its head turns back towards the figure in a pose similar to that adopted by the lamb preserved on the ninth century St Andrews sarcophagus Fife (fig. 5.13),[73] but at Sockburn the lamb appears to be in a crouching position with its legs bent and back arched, unlike the upright lamb of the sarcophagus.[74] Composed of three elements it is possible to identify them as David standing to the right with a lamb present on the upper left. The carving that once filled the space under the lamb, has been completely obliterated, but the size and location of the space would have been more than adequate to contain a lion standing on its hind legs, with David being shown in the process of rending its jaws. This would closely parallel the layout of several early medieval examples in Scotland, such as those at Nigg, Easter Ross (fig. 5.10), Kinneddar, Moray (fig. 5.12), Kincardine, Sutherland (fig. 5.9a-b) as well as that at St Andrews, Fife (fig. 5.13) and to a lesser extent (as the position of the lion differs slightly from the other examples) Aberlemno, Angus (fig. 5.7).[75]

The lower scene, of David Accompanied by a Musician (fig. 4.12) also recalls the layout of examples extant in Scotland where David is depicted playing a harp with a single musician: at Lethendy, Perthshire (fig. 5.72), Iona, St Martins Cross (fig. 5.71b), and to a lesser extent Ardchattan, Argyll (fig. 5.5a). In these instances however, the musician plays a pipe rather than a triangular-shaped harp,[76] which seems to be the case at Sockburn.[77]

Geographically closer to Sockburn is the musician playing a triangular-shaped harp rather than a pipe on the upper half of the *c*.800 Masham column (fig. 3.41), where the musician faces David playing a harp, perhaps suggesting that Sockburn, like Masham, was

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[73] Foster, 1998b: 45
[74] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 2.3a(i)
[75] Henderson posits that the Pictish "David Cycle" is dependent on English models. Henderson, 1986: 87
[76] Bailey, 1972: 146
[77] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 2.4a(i)

adapting a model with a musician playing a harp to recall "Scottish"/Ionan depictions of the scene.[78] Furthermore, the placement of the scene on the same face as David Combatting the Lion invites the viewer to contemplate the dual aspects of David and his roles as a warrior and king.

Apart from these two examples of Davidic scenes, no other Old Testament episodes are preserved in the art of the North in any way that is iconographically convincing; while the Fall seems to have enjoyed a more prominent role in the visualisation of the Old Testament at the time. Furthermore, taken together, the Old Testament images on Viking-age sculpture appear to present both a continuation of and divergence from previous Insular representations, with those responsible for the design of the images choosing and adapting their models to fit more closely with their aesthetic or symbolic preferences. There also seem to be links with contemporary southern examples, indicating there was likely to have been some kind of visual dialogue between the two socio-political regions of Anglo-Saxon England, alongside links with early medieval Scottish examples, perhaps suggesting that those responsible for the construction of Viking-age Old Testament imagery were not isolated from the rest of the Insular world; rather they appear to have fully integrated themselves with the visual culture of the region.

4.4 The Art of Giving: The Cuthbert Stole

One set of objects which were produced in the South and have survived in the Scandinavian-controlled North provide a unique insight into how such links between North and South may have occurred. These are the liturgical vestments commissioned by Ælfflaed for Bishop Frithestan, known through the two dedication panels: ÆLFFLÆD FIERI PRECEPIT (fig. 4.13a) and PIO EPISCOPO FRIDESTANO (fig. 4.13b), and donated by Æthelstan to the Shrine of St Cuthbert in Chester-Le-Street in Co. Durham during his expedition to Scotland

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[78] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 163-64

in 934.[79] These textiles were donated to the saint at a time of insecurity among the Cuthbert community, which had settled in Chester-Le-Street in 883.[80] Since relocating from Lindisfarne it is likely that community would have felt a continued threat to their extensive estates which lay between the Tyne and the Tees, with the southern estates being particularly vulnerable to the large-scale permanent settlement of Scandinavians from 876 onwards. Cambridge has explained that the community's progress around their estates in the seven years following their departure from Lindisfarne was in direct response to this situation, suggesting that their decision to settle at Chester-Le-Street was likely due to its strategic position (near a Roman fort in a central position relative to their other southern estates) and was likely a place that had periodically accommodated the bishop of Lindisfarne and the community for several years.[81] The donation of these vestments, along with a gospel book (London, BL. MS. Cotton Otho B.ix) and a copy of Bede's *Life of St Cuthbert* (CCCC MS 183),[82] to the shrine in 934, which lay well within the northern Viking Danelaw, provides a salutary reminder that the "general" history of the Vikings in the North has tended to focus on the more destructive aspects of Scandinavian settlement in the region, whereas, in reality there was a continuation of monastic life and communication between the two "halves" of Anglo-Saxon England during the period.

One of the vestments, the stole (figs 4.14a-h), is of particular interest here as it features Old Testament prophets: Hosea, Joel and Habakkuk, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah and Zachariah. These are accompanied by two New Testament apostles (James and Thomas, inscribed as IACOBVS APU and THOMAS APOST) and the *Agnus Dei* (AGNV DI) which was most likely the central panel of the stole. Both Thomas and James are individual fragment and it is likely that they were the two terminus panels of

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[79] Æthelstan donates a fine gospel book (London, BL. MS. Cotton Otho B.ix) to the Church of St Cuthbert in 934 and it is likely the textiles were gifted at the same time. See, Owen-Crocker, 2002: 33-35; Miller, 2011: 92; Lee, 2016: 115
[80] ASC E 793, 876, 883; Irvine, 2004: 42, 50, 51; Cambridge, 1989: 385
[81] Cambridge, 1989: 385
[82] Gretsch, 2005: 75

the stole, due to their subject matter (the only two New Testament figures on the vestment) and their depiction as half-length figures; the Old Testament prophets are all full-length and filled the portions between the central *Agnus Dei* (situated at the nape of the neck of the priest when worn) and the New Testament Apostles at each end.[83]

Of the twelve full-length figures six are complete and easily identifiable by their inscriptions: Hosea (OSE PROPHETA), Joel (JOHEL PRPHETA), Daniel (DANIEL PROPHETA), Amos (AMOS PROPHETA), Nahum (NAVVM PROPHETA) and Jonah (JONAS PROPHE…A). Of the six fragmentary full-length figures, only five are identifiable: Habakkuk (ABABACVC), Isaiah (ESAIAS), Jeremiah (…MIAS PROPHET), Obadiah (ABDIA) and Zachariah (ZACHA…); with only the second half of the inscription of the final figure surviving, identifying it as another prophet (PROPHETA).[84]

The fragmentary nature of the stole makes deciphering the order of the prophets problematic. This means that few scholars have engaged with the decision to include the prophets on a stole, focusing instead on the embroidery techniques, and the idea of the female maker (Ælfflæd).[85] Hohler, for instance, the first (and one of the very few) scholars to address the iconography of the vestments quotes two verses from Isaiah and Jeremiah,[86] before dismissing the remainder of the programme: "the remaining prophets, whose appearance on the stole at first sight seems so extraordinary, are then readily explained as a kind of supporting chorus for Isaiah and Jeremiah."[87]

Nevertheless, close observation of the scheme indicates that more can be said about this "chorus". First it is clear that the remaining six fragments contain the following figures:

Fragment 1: Hosea, Joel and Habakkuk (fig. 4.14c)

Fragment 2: Habakkuk (fig. 4.14d)[88]

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[83] For a detailed description of the scene see, App. 2.5a(i)
[84] Coatsworth, 2007: 193
[85] Coatsworth, 2001: 292-306; Coatsworth, 2012: 190-93; Coatsworth, 2006a: 43-68; Gajewski and Seeberg, 2016: 36; Owen-Crocker, 2002: 1-27; Miller, 2011: 90-102
[86] Isa. 53:7 and Jer. 11:19
[87] Hohler, 1956: 400
[88] This fragment is not displayed with the others, but instead, is displayed at Ushaw College, University of Durham; Bailey, 1989: 237-38

Fragment 3: Isaiah and the *Agnus Dei* (fig. 4.14e)

Fragment 4: Jeremiah, Daniel, Amos and Obadiah (fig. 4.14f)

Fragment 5: Jonah and Zachariah (fig. 4.14g)

Fragment 6: Unnamed prophet and Nahum (fig. 4.14h)

Of those who have engaged with the Old Testament subject matter of the stole Plenderleith has proposed that there would originally have been sixteen prophets present (the twelve minor plus four of the major prophets); she presumes Ezekiel would have been depicted above Hosea and a further three prophets would have been included.[89] Therefore, she hypothesises that the order of the figures would have been as follows: James (end panel), three lost prophets, Habakkuk, Joel, Hosea, Ezekiel (proposed), Isaiah, *Agnus Dei* (central panel), Jeremiah, Daniel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Zachariah, unnamed prophet, Nahum, and Thomas (end panel).[90]

While it is possible that Ezekiel and a further three prophets were additional inclusions, the survival of an even number of prophets, one of which is unidentifiable, means that it is equally likely there were only twelve prophets depicted on the stole, with the unknown prophet most likely being Ezekiel (the only absent major prophet). Nevertheless, the fragmentary nature of the stole does mean that the original order of the prophets is unclear; those fragments that preserve two or more figures together, demonstrates that their ordering does not follow the canonical order of their books in either the Septuagint or the Vulgate.[91] Depicting the prophets out of order suggests a specific iconographic message was intended, which is now unfortunately lost. However, through examining what remains it is possible to hypothesise what this may have been.

Perhaps the easiest fragment to unpick is that which includes the *Agnus Dei*. Only one prophet survives on this fragment, Isaiah, who was regarded by Augustine as an evangelist rather than a prophet, as he "prophesised much more than the rest about Christ

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[89] Plenderleith, 1956: 375
[90] Ibid.: Plate XXXIV
[91] Hohler, 1956: 399

and the Church, that is, about the King and that city which he founded."[92] Isaiah was also

one of two Old Testament writers (the other being Jeremiah) to prophesise the *Agnus Dei*:

"As a lamb that is led to the slaughter and as the sheep that before her shearers is dumb; yea

he opened not his mouth."[93] Given this, it seems plausible that Jeremiah, was positioned on

the other side of the *Agnus Dei*. Like Isaiah he was considered to be a prophet of Christ as

the sacrificial lamb.[94] This would mean that the central three panels of the stole likely

presented the two prophets foretelling Christ's role as sacrificial lamb, flanking the *Agnus*

Dei. Furthermore, Isaiah was believed to foretell the Last Judgement,[95] as was Jeremiah,

with Bede linking "The kite in heaven has known its time",[96] with the heaven that will be

replaced during the Last Judgement,[97] further confirming Isaiah and Jeremiah as the key two

prophets of the end of days and Christ's role in the overall salvation of humanity.

Jeremiah is on a fragment that also preserves the prophets Daniel, Amos and

Obadiah. And again, through turning to exegesis, it is possible to draw some conclusions.

Adjacent to Jeremiah is Daniel, who Bede links to the Last Judgement and the coming of the

Antichrist in his treatise *De eo quod ait Isaias*.[98] Furthermore, depictions of Daniel in the

Lions' Den were thought to visually reference Christ being Recognised Between Two

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[92] "*Esaias ergo inter illa, quae arguit iniqua et iusta praecepit et peccatori populo mala futura praedixit, etiam de Christo et ecclesia, hoc est de rege et ea quam condidit ciuitate, multo plura quam ceteri prophetauit, ita ut a quibusdam euangelista quam propheta potius diceretur.*" Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 18.29; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 620; Ælfric picks up on this stating that Isaiah "[…] prophesised of Christ so evident and assuredly, as if he were an Evangelist" (Þe witegode be Criste swiðe wislice, swylce he godspellere wære) Ælfric, *Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Nuvo*; Crawford, 1922: 40

[93] "*Vt ouis ad immolandum ductus est et ut agnus ante eum, qui se tonderet, sine uoce, sic non aperuit os suum. In humilitate iudicium eius sublatum est* (Isaiah 53:7)." Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*: 18.29; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 620; Augustine also demonstrates how this passage foreshadows the Crucifixion and the *Agnus Dei* in his Commentary on Psalm 64. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 64.14; Dekker and Fraipont, 1956b: 835

[94] "But I was like a gentle lamb that is led to the slaughter." (*Et ego quasi agnus mansuetus, qui portatur ad victimam)* Jer. 11:19

[95] 'So it will happen in that day, that the Lord will punish the host of heaven on high, and the kings of the earth on earth. They will be gathered together like prisoners in the dungeon, and will be confined in prison; and after many days they will be punished. Then the moon will be abashed and the sun ashamed, for the Lord of hosts will reign on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and His glory will be before His elders. (*Et erit: in die illa visitabit Dominus super militiam cæli in excelso, et super reges terræ qui sunt super terram; et congregabuntur in congregatione unius fascis in lacum, et claudentur ibi in carcere, et post multos dies visitabuntur. Et erubescet luna, et confundetur sol, cum regnaverit Dominus exercituum in monte Sion et in Jerusalem et in conspectu senum suorum fuerit glorificatus)* Isa. 24:21-23

[96] "*Milvus in cælo cognovit tempus suum*" Jer. 8:7

[97] Bede, *De Tabernaculo,* 2.26: 32; Hurst, 1969: 72

[98] Bede, *De eo quod ait Isaias*; Foley and Holder, 1999: 49; See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 177-78

Beasts,[99] which perhaps invites the viewer to contemplate the links between Daniel, the Last Judgement and the triumphant Christ through contemplating the words and actions of the prophet with the central *Agnus Dei* panel of the stole.

The prophet Amos, following Daniel does not feature frequently in early Christian exegesis, except for one significant occasion in Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 7 where he links the passage "I will command the serpent, and he shall bite him" with the Leviathan:[100] a serpentine creature that dwelt in the sea, who was thought to symbolise/be the embodiment of the Devil, specifically the serpent who tricked Adam and Eve to transgress from God's command.[101] Therefore, it is possible that Amos's position on the stole after Jeremiah and Daniel, who both were thought to reference Christ's sacrificial death and the Last Judgement, was to draw out Amos 9:3 and his associations with the Leviathan, Devil and Original Sin, all which were overcome by Christ though his death, descent and resurrection.

The final figure on this fragment is Obadiah. Augustine in *Dei Civitate Dei* writes of how Obadiah spoke against Idumea (the nation of Esau), positing that if:

> We take Idumea as put for the nations, we may understand of Christ what he says among other things, "*But upon Mount Sion shall be safety, and there shall be a Holy One*" [Obadiah 17]. And a little after, at the end of the same prophecy, he says, *"And those who are saved again shall come up out of Mount Sion, that they may defend Mount Esau, and it shall be a kingdom to the Lord"* [Obadiah 21]. It is quite evident this was fulfilled when those saved again out of Mount Sion – that is, the believers in Christ from Judea, of whom the apostles are chiefly to be acknowledged – went up to defend Mount Esau. How could they defend it except by making safe, through preaching of the gospel.[102]

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[99] See discussion in Chapter 3, p. 182
[100] "*ibi mandabo serpenti, et mordebit eos.*" Amos 9:3; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 7.11; Dekker and Fraipont, 1956a: 43-44
[101] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 104.36; Dekker and Fraipont, 1956b: 1550
[102] "*Apparet quippe id esse completum, cum resaluati ex monte Sion, id est ex Iudea credentes in Christum, qui praecipue agnoscuntur apostoli, ascenderunt, ut defenderent montem Esau. Quo modo defenderent, nisi per euangelii praedicationem saluos faciendo eos qui crediderunt, ut erurentur de potestate tenebrarum et transferrentur in regnum Dei?*" Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 18.31; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 622

Therefore, not only did Obadiah prophesise the fall of Idumea, his account foreshadows the Last Judgement, where all nations will be judged and those that will achieve salvation are those who follow the gospels.

Of the other figures surviving on other fragments it is again Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* that provides some insight into the possible reasons informing the decision to depict the Old Testament prophets on the stole. He demonstrates how Hosea foretold the resurrection of Christ on the third day: "He will heal us after two days, and in the third day we shall rise again";[103] as did Nahum;[104] whereas Jonah,

> prophesised Christ's death and resurrection much more clearly than if he had proclaimed them with his voice. For why was he taken into the whale's belly and restored on the third day, but that he might be a sign that Christ should return from the depths of hell on the third day?[105]

These three prophets therefore can be regarded as providing a clear link with Christ's resurrection. Furthermore, Augustine believed Habakkuk 2:2-3 to refer more generally to the advent of Christ,[106] while "in the midst of two living creatures you shall be recognised" in Habakkuk 3:2,[107] was thought to reference Christ between the two testaments, two thieves

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[103] "*Sanabit nos post biduum, in die tertio resurgemus. Secundum hoc enim nobis dicit apostolus* (Hosea 6:2)." Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 18.28; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 619; Bede following Augustine also makes the link between Hosea 6:2 and Christ rising on the third day. See, Bede, *In Ezram*, 2.6:14-15; Hurst, 1969: 299

[104] "I will exterminate the graven and the molten things: I will make your burial. For lo, the feet of Him that brings good tidings and announces peace are swift upon the mountains! Oh Judah, celebrate your festival days, and perform your vows; for now they shall not go on any more so as to become antiquated. It is completed, it is consumed, it is taken away. He ascends who breaths in your face, delivering you out of tribulation." (*Et præcipiet super te Dominus; non seminabitur ex nomine tuo amplius: de domo Dei tui interficiam sculptile, et conflatile; ponam sepulchrum tuum, quia inhonoratus es. Ecce super montes pedes evangelizantis, et annuntiantis pacem. Celebra, Juda, festivitates tuas, et redde vota tua, quia non adjiciet ultra ut pertranseat in te Belial: universus interiit*), Nahum 1:14-15; Augustine believes this prophesises Christs resurrection, where he ascended from hell and breathed the Holy Spirit into the face of Judah, that is of the Jewish disciples. See, Augustine, *De Civitate Dei¸* 18.31; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 622

[105] "*Ionas autem propheta non tam sermone Christum, quam sua quadam passione prophetauit, profecto apertius, quam si eius mortem et resurrectionem uoce clamaret. Vt quid enim exceptus est uentre beluino et die tertio redditus, nisi ut significaret Christum de profundo inferni die tertio rediturum?*" Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 18.30; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 621

[106] "And the Lord answered me, and said, Write the vision openly on a tablet of boxwood, that he that reads these things may understand, For the vision is yet for a time appointed, and it will arise in the end, and will not become void: if it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, and will not be delayed?" (*Ambacum de quo alio quam de Christi aduentu, qui futurus Ambacum de quo alio quam de Christi aduentu, qui futurus fescimus propter hoc testimonium, quod nobis inuiti perhibent eosdem codices habendo atque seruando, per omnes gentes etiam ipsos esse dispersos, quaqua uersum Christi ecclesia dilatatur.*) Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 18.31; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 622

[107] "*in medio duorum animalium innotexens.*" Hab. 3:2

or between Moses and Elijah at the transfiguration.[108] Regarding the prophet Joel, he singles

out a passage which is also cited by the Acts of the Apostles,[109] where the Holy Spirt

descends on the believers according to Christ's promise.[110] Finally, when discussing

Zechariah, Augustine believes that:

> Zechariah says of Christ and the Church, 'Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion; shout joyfully, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, your King shall come unto you, just and the Saviour; Himself poor, and mounting an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass: and His dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth' [Zechariah 9:9-10]. [...] In another place, speaking in the Spirit of prophecy to Christ Himself of the remission of sins through His blood, he says, 'You also, by the blood of Your testament, have sent forth Your prisoners from the lake wherein is no water' [Zechariah 9.11] Different opinions may be held, consistently with right belief, as to what he meant by this lake. Yet it seems to me that no meaning suits better than that of the depth of human misery, which is, as it were, dry and barren, where there are no streams of righteousness, but only the mire of iniquity.[111]

In this way Zechariah's prophecy is linked to the Crucifixion and its salvific nature, a theme

that appears to be common to all the passages used by Augustine to expound on the minor

prophets. While the order of these prophets on the stole has been lost due to the

fragmentation of the textile, it is clear from the Isaiah fragment with the *Agnus Dei* and its

likely placement alongside the fragment containing Jeremiah, that the order of the prophet,

which are out of sync with the biblical order, served a specific and well thought out

iconographic programme linking each of the Old Testament prophets to the *Agnus Dei*,

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[108] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 18.32; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 623

[109] Acts 2:17

[110] 'And it shall come to pass after these things, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream, and your young men shall see visions: and even on my servants and mine handmaids in those days will I pour on my Spirit.' (*Et erit post hæc: effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri et filiæ vestræ: senes vestri somnia somniabunt, et juvenes vestri visiones videbunt. Sed et super servos meos et ancillas in diebus illis effundam spiritum meum*). Joel 2:28-29. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 18.30; Dombart and Kalb, 1955;

[111] "*Zacharias de Christo et ecclesia*: Exulta, *inquit*, ualde, filia Sion, iubila, fila Hierusalem; ecce rex tuus uenit tibi iustus et saluator; ipse pauper et ascendens super asinum et super pullum filium asinae; et potestas eius a mari usque ad mare et fluminibus usque ad fines terrae. *Hoc quando factum sit, ut Dominus Christus in itinere iumento huius generis uteretur, in euangelio legitur, ubi et haec prophetia commemorator ex parte, quantum illi loco sufficere uisum est. Alio loco ad ipsum Christum in spiritu prophetiae loquens de remissine peccatorum per eius sanguinem:* Tu quoqu, *inquit,* in sanguine testamenti tui emisisti uinctos tuos de lacu, in quo non est aqua. *Quid per hunc lacum uelit intellegi, possunt diuersa sentiri etiam secundum rectam fidem. Mihi tamen uidetur non eo significari Melius, nisi humanae miseriae profunditatem siccam quodam modo et sterilem, ubi non sunt fluenta iustitiae, sed iniquitatis lutum.*" Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 18.35; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 629

playing off each other to highlight their Christological significance, such as Daniel's placement adjacent to Amos bringing out the theme of Christ overcoming the devil.

While providing an insight into the potentially complex theological references invoked by the depiction of the Old Testament prophets on elite southern Anglo-Saxon liturgical vestments which were gifted to one of the pre-eminent ecclesiastical communities flourishing in the North in the tenth century – the other being York – it can be seen that the arrival of the Scandinavians initiated change for the monastic communities of northern Anglo-Saxon England, it did not necessarily eradicate their way of life. For those that survived, the raids on their lands and the loss of support networks provided by the larger monastic community, coupled with the more general downturn in manuscript production in Anglo-Saxon England during the period, must have had a serious impact on their artistic output. To add to this Scandinavian activities led to the redistribution and likely loss of the previous generation's output, which can be seen through the "survival" of "Offa's Bible." What we are left with is a very small snapshot of what was created prior to and during the arrival and settlement of Scandinavian communities. Luckily one of the surviving objects – the Cuthbert Stole – provides us with a clear example of how there was still an artistic dialogue taking place between the two halves of Anglo-Saxon England.

4.5 Visualising the Old Testament in the Reformation South

In terms of visualising the Old Testament in the South, the dramatic increase in manuscript production has led to the survival of a large body of imagery in the manuscripts of Reformation England, but it appears not to have survived in any other medium. Some of these manuscripts contain extensive cycles of Old Testament scenes (Junius 11 x 48 scenes; Canterbury, Malmesbury and Bury Prudentius' x 89 scenes each; Old English Hexateuch x 400+ scenes),[112] so individual analysis of the scenes, as undertaken for the pre-Viking and Viking-age material is not feasible here. Events of each of the Old Testament books will be

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[112] See App. 3 for a breakdown of scenes

examined in turn, but the manuscripts that contain large numbers of scenes will be discussed as a whole, with key examples selected for particular consideration insofar as they relate to the surviving pre-Viking and Viking-age scenes (such as Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and Davidic imagery). In this respect it is interesting to note that all the manuscripts contain illustrations that either relate to the Book of Genesis or to the depiction of David (from both 1 Samuel and the Psalms), continuing the apparent preference for these three Old Testament books established during the pre-Viking period. Why this might have been the case will be considered further here.

One aspect of the Old Testament in Reformation art that is very clear is its almost encyclopaedic treatment in the manuscripts. In the OE Hexateuch and the Junius 11 manuscripts there are extensive episodic treatments of Old Testament narratives. However, the most frequently depicted Old Testament figures seem to correlate with those in the pre-Viking period, as well as that of the Scandinavian-controlled North (albeit in a different medium). The story of Adam and Eve appears in the two manuscripts where the narrative of the Fall is considerably extended, particularly when compared to the solitary scene often depicting a conflated narrative found during the pre-Viking period and the art of the Viking-age.[113] Abraham and the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac also enjoys considerable interest, largely due to the survival of two complete and one partially complete manuscript of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, alongside the depiction of the Sacrifice in the OE Hexateuch – again reflecting the pre-Viking preference for this event. David, as in the pre-Viking period is yet again the most commonly depicted figure, largely due to the high rate of survival of Psalters from the period.

Other than these there does not appear to be any further shared interests in the types of Old Testament scenes produced during the pre-Viking and Viking periods, but there is limited interest in the Jonah narrative, with Harley 603 deliberately using the iconography of the *ketos* for its illustration of the Leviathan of Psalm 104/103 on folio 51v (fig. 4.15a),

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[113] See above and chapter 2

no doubt in an attempt to visually link the Leviathan, a satanic beast, and the story of Jonah with Christ in Majesty depicted at the top of the scene with Matthew 12:40: "For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."[114] This is a direct copy of the corresponding page of the Utrecht Psalter (fig. 4.15b), the primary source of influence of Harley 603's,[115] and perhaps is an example of conscious antiquarianism by those that commissioned the text.[116]

Finally, we see an abundance of new Old Testament scene-types being invoked in the art of the South during this period. These are due, in large part, to a desire to illustrate text extravagantly. The OE Hexateuch and Junius 11 take this tendency to an extreme with their frequent depictions of the events mentioned in their texts,[117] but there also seems to be an increase in manuscript illustrations of Old Testament scenes across the board, with over half the surviving manuscripts containing multiple 'new' Old Testament scenes. Of these, two image types stand out: depictions of Creation (figs 4.16-4.20f),[118] and the Fall of Angels (4.21-4.22).[119] It seems that these two topics, which expand the Genesis narrative, appear to be direct responses to the socio-political situation in southern Anglo-Saxon England. They also represent a further expansion of the Genesis narrative seen across the early medieval world as attested to by the production of four large Carolingian Bibles.[120]

4.5a Visualising the Fall and the Sacrifice of Isaac

Apart from these "new" topics the Old Testament story that was the most expanded is that of Adam and Eve. Although preserved in only two manuscripts, between them they present

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[114] "*Sicut enim fuit Jonas in ventre ceti tribus diebus, et tribus noctibus, sic erit Filius hominis in corde terræ tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.*" Matt. 12:40
[115] Gameson, 1990: 29-48; Gameson, 1995: 12-13
[116] For a more detailed discussion of the illustration to Ps 104/103 in Harley 603 see, Alexander, forthcoming 2018.
[117] Gameson, 1995: 43-45
[118] Bury Psalter, fol. 66v; Tiberius Psalter, fol. 9v; Royal Bible fol. 1v; Junius 11, pp. 6-7; and the OE Hexateuch, fols 2v-4v
[119] Junius 11, p. 3; and OE Hexateuch, fol. 2r
[120] Bamberg Bible; Vivian Bible; Moutier-Grandval Bible; and Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura

twenty-eight scenes depicting the events of Genesis 2:7-3:24,[121] including: Creation (with the Fall of Angels), the Temptation of Adam and Eve, the Fall and the Banishment of Adam and Eve.

Alongside the Fall of Angels and general Creation episodes portrayed at the beginning of both the OE Hexateuch and Junius 11, the Creation of Eve is also depicted. The two examples of this scene appear to be unique in Anglo-Saxon England across the entire period. In the OE Hexateuch the event is shown within the same panel as God instructing the pair not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge (fig. 4.23).[122] It occupies the left half of the panel, with God lifting the first woman out of the side of the first man, illustrating the creation of Eve from the rib of Adam. In Junius 11 (fig. 4.24)[123] God is depicted placing Adam in a deep sleep in the bottom right-hand corner of the scene, and then accompanied by the fully-formed Eve, while a host of angels including the Archangel Michael look on from above. This addition to the Adam and Eve narrative can best be explained as the result of the artist exploiting the less restrictive nature of the space available in manuscript pages compared to the finite spaces of the sides of stone crosses; it thus appears as a unique feature within the corpus of Anglo-Saxon Old Testament imagery, with no other visual representations of the story surviving in manuscripts from either the Viking or pre-Viking periods. Earlier examples, such as the fifth-century Cotton Genesis,[124] an Eastern illuminated

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[121] Old English Hexateuch: Creation of Man, fol. 4r; Adam Names the Animals, fol. 6r; Creation of Eve (left), fol. 6v; God Warns the Couple not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge (right), fol. 6v; The Fall of Adam and Eve, fol. 7r; Adam and Eve Hide from God in the Trees (top), fol. 7v; Adam and Eve's Banishment from Eden (bottom left), fol. 7v; Adam and Eve work the Ground (bottom right), fol. 7v; The Cherubim and a Flaming Sword Guards the Entrance to Eden, 8r

Junius 11: Creation of Eve, p. 9; God Blessing Adam and Eve, p. 10; Adam and Eve Adoring God, p. 11; Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, p. 13; The Temptation of Adam and Eve by the Serpent, with the Devil in Hell below, p. 20; Eve Being Tempted to Eat the Apple by a Devil in the Guise of an Angel, p. 24; The Fall of Adam and Eve, p. 28; Eve Persuading Adam to Eat the Forbidden Fruit (top), p. 31; The Repentance of Adam and Eve (bottom), p. 31; Adam and Eve Knowing their Shame (top), p. 34; Adam and Eve Covering their Nakedness with Leaves (bottom), p. 34; Adam and Eve Covering their Nakedness, while the Devil in the Guise of an Angel returns to Hell to Inform Satan of his Success, p. 36; Adam and Eve Covering their Nakedness Gesture towards Each Other (top), p. 39; Adam and Eve Hide Seated Amongst the Trees (bottom), p. 39; God Condemns the Serpent (top), p. 41; God Addressing Adam and Eve (bottom), p. 41; God Pronouncing Separate Sentences on Adam and Eve, p. 44; Adam and Eve's Expulsion from Paradise, p. 45; An Angel Locking the Doors of Paradise, p. 46

[122] Fol. 6v

[123] p. 9

[124] London, BL, MS Cotton Otho B VI; Lowden, 1992: 50

manuscript of the Book of Genesis, do contain representations of the Creation of Eve (fig. 4.25) like those in the Old English Hexateuch and Junius 11, suggesting at the very least that this image type was circulating in the early Christian and early medieval world, and that it might thus have been available to pre-Reformation artists in Anglo-Saxon England. It was certainly available to early continental artists with examples of the scene appearing in Carolingian Bible manuscripts across the ninth century.[125] However, in all of these the Creation of Eve depicts God removing a rib from a sleeping Adam (figs 4.5, 4.6, 4.26, 4.27). Only in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura is Eve represented fully formed, with God shown in the process of breathing life into her, immediately following the removal of Adam's rib.

In both Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the Creation of Eve is followed by God prohibiting the couple from eating of the Tree of Knowledge. In the OE Hexateuch, this is shown in the same panel as Eve's Creation (fig. 4.23).[126] God, holding a book or tablet, blesses the pair, with the Tree of Knowledge on the far right. In Junius 11 the blessing and prohibition appear to have been separated into two scenes, with God blessing the couple on page 10 (fig. 4.28) and then, on page 11 (fig. 4.29), God, standing within an architectural enclosure, prohibiting the couple from eating of the Tree, while the rest of creation bows in submission. Included among the creatures is a peacock, placed at the foot of the Tree. This bird was thought to symbolise eternal life in the early Christian world, due to its promulgation from the world of antiquity by figures such as Augustine as a creature whose flesh was uncorrupted by death.[127] In this context, therefore, it is likely intended as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion brought about through Adam and Eve's transgression. This is not the only symbolic reference to the coming of Christ: on the Blessing page (p. 10),

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[125] Moutier-Grandval Bible (London, BL, Add MS 10546), *c*.830-840, fol. 5v; Bamberg Bible (Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Msc. Bibl. I [A.I.5]), *c*.834–843, fol. 7v; Vivian Bible (Paris, BnF, Lat. 1), *c*.845, fol. 10v; Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura (Rome, San Paolo fuori le Mura, Bible), *c*.870-875, fol. 7v; Henderson, 1962: 174-2; Kauffman, 2003: 49

[126] Fol. 6v

[127] Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 21.4; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 761-64; Underwood, 1950: 88; Hawkes, 2011a: 34; Bintley argues that the unmarked third tree, that appears in a large proportion of the scenes, is intended to represent the salvation of mankind through Christ's redemptive death. See Bintley, 2013: 217

Adam stands with one foot on a creature that resembles a lion, while a biped, with a long, curled tail occupies the lower right-hand corner of the frame, a beast best identified as a basilisk. The inclusion of a basilisk and a lion being trodden underfoot was clearly intended to prompt the viewer to recall Psalm 91:13: "The asp and the basilisk you will trample under foot/you will tread on the lion and the dragon."[128] As mentioned previously, this was interpreted as referencing Christ overcoming the Devil and was frequently depicted in early Christian and early medieval art as Christ standing on a lion and serpent.[129] It is possible therefore that the inclusion of the creatures on this page was intended to link Adam with Christ, for not only was he an ancestor of Christ, but he was responsible for the Original Sin, which ultimately lead to the Crucifixion, the means by which death and the Devil were overcome. Therefore, in both the Blessing and the Prohibition scenes, there are subtle references to Christ's death and resurrection.

Following these, but preceding the beginning of the Temptation cycle, there is also a representation of the couple enjoying Paradise (fig. 4.30).[130] Again, as in the Creation of Eve and the Blessing/Prohibition, this image of the couple enjoying Paradise is absent from the pre-Viking and Viking-age representations, something most convincingly explained by the restrictive nature of stone sculpture and the lack of surviving manuscripts surviving from the earlier "period" and from the Scandinavian North.

The first of the scenes that have parallels in both pre-Viking and Viking-age Anglo-Saxon England are those depicting the Temptation of Adam and Eve. In the OE Hexateuch, this is depicted in only one image (fig. 4.31)[131] and, like the majority of the sculptural examples in both the Insular and early Christian worlds, it depicts the serpent wound around the Tree of Knowledge persuading Eve to eat the forbidden fruit. In a slight conflation of the narrative, Eve is shown both plucking the fruit (as at Breedon, Newent, Dacre, Diddlebury and perhaps Elwick Hall) and simultaneously tempting Adam to eat. The couple appear

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[128] "*super aspidem et basiliscum calcabis conculcabis leonem et draconem*." Psalm 91:13
[129] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 156-57
[130] p, 13
[131] Fol. 7r

comfortable in their nakedness, with their modesty being preserved for the viewer through the careful arrangement of their legs, with extra coverage being provided by the placement of Eve's hair and a blemish on the velum providing similar coverage for Adam. As at Newent the emphasis is placed on the temptation of Eve by the serpent and the subsequent temptation of Adam. This again follows other early medieval and early Christian manuscript images where there are either two scenes which merge seamlessly into one another and show Eve plucking the fruit and then tempting Adam to eat (as in the Moutier-Grandval illustration, fig. 4.26), or a conflation of Eve eating the fruit while simultaneously tempting Adam (as in the Vienna Genesis, fig. 3.11, and Bamberg Bible, fig. 4.5).

Junius 11 takes a different approach: rather than merging Eve's and Adam's temptations, it expands the visual representations of the event to four distinct scenes: (1) Eve being tempted by the serpent (left) and then persuading Adam (right), with the Devil in hell (below); (2) a Devil in the guise of an Angel tempts Eve to eat; (3) a Devil in the guise of an Angel tempts Adam and Eve to eat; (4) Eve tempts Adam to eat the forbidden fruit.

The first temptation scene (fig. 4.32) consists of the familiar representation of the serpent wound around a tree persuading Eve to eat from it, while to the right she leads Adam to the tree. However, at the bottom of the scene Satan is fettered in a large architecturally enclosed Hell, sending one of his fallen angels to instruct the serpent to tempt Eve. This diverges significantly from the more common depictions of the event, which the OE Hexateuch follows more closely. The purpose of this addition is largely due to the text accompanied by the image: the OE *Genesis*, which devotes considerable attention to the Fall of the Angels and the devil's plan to corrupt the first humans (lines 403-451). The image immediately follows the speech delivered by the fettered Satan in Hell (lines 358-387).[132] When page 20 is viewed in this context, it is clear that those responsible for its design chose to highlight the role of Satan in the Temptation and set out to explain why the exiled and imprisoned fallen angel had embarked on his vendetta against the couple. The increased

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[132] *Genesis B*, lines 442a-451b; Krapp, 1931: 17

focus on Satan's plan is continued in the following three scenes, seemingly unique to Junius 11, where a devil in the guise of an angel is shown in the process of tempting the pair to eat. The first (fig 4.33) shows the angel in the process of persuading Eve to eat the fruit: Eve stands on the left, holding the apple, while an "angel" gestures towards the fruit. The pair are framed by trees, recalling Carolingian examples where trees are frequently used to separate individual scenes within the frieze (figs 4.5, 4.6, 4.26, 4.27);[133] however, the decision to depict the tempter as an angel appears to be unique to Junius 11.[134] The text above forms part of *Genesis B* describing the Tree of Death (Knowledge) and the consequences of eating from it (lines 476-490). By showing Eve in the process of being tempted directly below this, the reader is invited to contemplate the consequences of Eve's actions, before her temptation and the subsequent temptation of Adam is spelled out in the text that follows.

The next two representations of the Temptation continue to portray the tempter as an angel rather than the serpent of the first illustration in the series. On page 28 (fig. 4.34) the "angel" stands between the pair, his arms outstretched, offering them apples. Eve, on the left, takes one with her left hand, while simultaneously eating an apple with her right, showing that she has already been convinced to eat the fruit. Adam seems more hesitant, gesturing towards the 'angel' in a manner that suggests he is conversing with the creature over whether to eat the forbidden fruit. The text of *Genesis B* tells how, after failing to persuade Adam, the 'angel' turns his attention to Eve, convincing her to eat from the Tree of Knowledge (lines 585-598). Thus, when viewed in the context of the accompanying text, it is clear that this scene depicts Adam's resistance to temptation, while simultaneously showing the moment in which Eve succumbs.[135] The final image shows the moment where Eve persuades Adam to eat the forbidden fruit (fig. 4.35).[136] She passes him the apple with her left hand, while gesturing to him with her right, while Adam takes the fruit with his right

[133] Raw, 1976: 139
[134] Ibid.: 141-42
[135] Ohlgren, 1992: 91; Ericksen, 2001: 52
[136] p. 31

hand, gesturing towards her with his left. Behind her stands an 'angel', who gestures towards the couple, explicitly emphasising the role of Satan in the Fall. This illustration clearly makes visible the preceding text which describes in detail the successful temptation of Eve by the devil and her subsequent temptation of Adam (lines 628-663a).

Throughout the Temptation cycle the emphasis lies on the fruit, which is oversized and placed in prominent positions, a direct contrast to the other surviving Anglo-Saxon and early medieval manuscript illustrations of the Fall (such as the Carolingian Bible and Cotton Genesis examples).[137] This visual emphasis on the act of temptation, by means of the fruit, matches that placed on the temptation in the text of *Genesis B*. The desire to highlight the temptations of both Adam and Eve could also explain the inclusion of four illustrations of the event. These are not placed concurrently with the description of the Temptation in the poem, however, the first is found seven pages before the poetic account opens and while this has been explained as a premature placement or the results of the confines of the manuscript,[138] it seems more likely that this was a deliberate decision by those responsible for the design of Junius 11 in order to emphasise the role of Satan in the temptation and fall of humanity.[139]

After the Temptation in both Junius 11 and the OE Hexateuch comes the Fall. The OE Hexateuch depicts the event in a single image, while in Junius 11 the narrative is again expanded: into a series of six illustrations. The OE Hexateuch (fig. 4.36)[140] shows God, identified by a triple-cruciform nimbus halo, standing behind a tree on the far left. He holds a book with his covered left hand and a staff-cross in his right. Adam and Eve stand to the right hiding in a tree which differs from those illustrated in previous depictions; it is a delicate plant, with twisting branches each of which ends in three long leaves and, as

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[137] Ericksen, 2001: 48
[138] Henderson, 1975: 124; Ohlgren, 1972b: 207; Broderick, 1983: 170; Gameson, 1995: 44-45; Ericksen, 2001: 51
[139] Ericksen, 2001: 48-9, 54-55
[140] Fol. 7v

mentioned previously, recalls the layout of the Scandinavian sculptural fragment found at Diddlebury, Shropshire of Adam and Eve Hiding Amongst the Trees (fig. 4.3).[141]

Also significant is the fact that that the representation of God in this scene recalls images of Christ Triumphant, where he holds a staff-cross with his right hand, and a book in his left – sometimes with a covered hand – as in the sixth-century mosaic in the archiepiscopal chapel in Ravenna (fig. 3.34a) and Genoels Elderen Diptych (fig 3.34b).[142] It is also the first instance within the Adam and Eve cycle where God is shown with a triple-cruciform nimbus; with only one other example of this iconographic feature appearing prior to Adam and Eve Hiding Amongst the Trees,[143] which illustrates Light being divided from Dark (fig. 4.37). Hawkes has demonstrated that in the sculpture of pre-Viking England this is a rare attribute reserved specifically to denote Christ's majesty.[144] These details suggest that a deliberate attempt was being made to highlight the ultimate triumph of God's planned salvation at the moment of the Fall.

The first of the six Junius 11 scenes of the Fall is situated immediately below Eve Tempting Adam (fig. 4.35);[145] it shows the couple realising their mistake, while the devil responsible for the transgression looks on. Having successfully carried out Satan's command, the creature is shown in its true form, its hair now thin and twisted rather than ample flowing locks; the extravagant clothing of the previous scenes is replaced with a tattered loin cloth and belt, highlighting the all-seeing power of eating the fruit. The illusion is thus shattered and both the couple and the viewer can see the creature in its true form. On page 34 (fig. 4.38) there is another illustration of the couple realising their mistake, with Adam and Eve Covering Their Nakedness. Again, these depictions are preceded by the text which describes the pair lamenting their transgression, while the joyful devil returns to hell to inform his master of his success (lines 694b-730a). Like the previous scenes including a

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[141] See discussion above, pp. 126-27
[142] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 156-57
[143] Fol. 2v
[144] Hawkes, 1996b: 79-80
[145] p. 31

devil in the guise of an angel, the illustration at the bottom of page 31 seems to be unique to Junius 11, as does that at the top of page 34. The depiction at the bottom of page 34, however, has parallels with early Christian and early medieval scenes which show the couple covering their nakedness with leaves. While they are often slightly hunched-over on either side of a central tree in the early images, there is also a variant where they stand hunched-over, side-by-side. This implies at the very least that those responsible for the design of Junius 11 had knowledge of similar depictions of Adam and Eve Covering Their Nakedness, suggesting perhaps that they alternated between adapting an existing model and creating new images that suited the messages they wished to convey in keeping in the requirement of the accompanying text.[146]

The next scene illustrating the Fall narrative occurs on page 36 (fig. 4.39) and shows the triumphant devil returning to Hell to inform Satan of his victory, while Adam and Eve yet again contemplate what they have done. A small section of the poem is written above the scene, providing the viewer with a caption of sorts: "Both of the two, Adam and Eve made their sorrows, and often between them passed a miserable word" (lines 763b-765a).[147] Finally in the last two scenes (fig. 4.40), Adam and Eve are shown awaiting their fate, making visual lines 830-841 of *Genesis B* written above. The pair are shown conversing amongst the trees, covering their nakedness with leaves, while below they are seated apart, with their heads in their hands, again amongst the trees, covering their nakedness with leaves.

The final set of images relating to the Original Sin concern the couple's banishment from Paradise and, like the Creation of Eve, the depiction is seemingly confined in Anglo-Saxon England to the OE Hexateuch and Junius 11. In the OE Hexateuch, like the Carolingian examples (figs 4.5, 4.6, 4.26, 4.27), the couple are banished from the garden by God, and then shown labouring on the land as punishment (fig. 4.36).[148] The two scenes are

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[146] Weitzmann and Kessler, 1986: 16; Raw, 1976: 139
[147] "sceolde he þa bradan ligas
secan helle gehliðo,   þær his hearra læg
simon gesæled." *Genesis*, lines 763b-765a; Krapp, 1931: 26; trans.,
https://anglosaxonpoetry.camden.rutgers.edu/genesis-ab/
[148] Fol. 7v

placed at the bottom of the folio and show, on the left, God, again with a triple-cruciform halo and carrying a staff-cross, ushering Adam and Eve out of Eden and providing them with clothes to hide their shame. On the right, Adam tills the ground, while Eve stands behind him holding another tool, and an angel informs them they must now labour. In a slight divergence from the Carolingian examples the OE Hexateuch contains one more scene relating to the narrative: the Cherubim Guarding the Entrance to Paradise. In the Bamberg and San Paulo Bibles Adam and Eve are shown being chased from the garden by an angel wielding a flaming sword, thus hinting to the guarding of Paradise by the cherubim with the flaming sword referred to in Genesis 3:24. In the OE Hexateuch an angel is shown delivering the sword to the six-winged Cherubim who stands before an arch. Two trees stand on the other side of the arch, one with blue leaves, the other with grey, likely intended to represent the Tree of Life and the Tree of Death (Knowledge), providing an increased focus on the importance of humanity's banishment. Again, this is unique to southern England, however, there is perhaps an example of the Cherubim standing in the entrance to the garden (and/or guarding the Ark) preserved on the c. 900 cross-shaft at Shelford, Nottinghamshire (fig. 4.41), however, the context of the Shelford Cherubim is placed is that of the Second Coming, regarding Christ, rather than the Old Testament.[149]

Junius 11 carries its expansion of the visual narrative to the events surrounding the banishment in a set of four images: (1) God cursing the Serpent; (2) God Reprimanding the pair for their transgression; (3) God Passing Separate Judgements on Adam and Eve; and (4) Adam and Eve's Expulsion from Paradise. The first, at the top of page 41 (fig. 4.42), again appears to be unique to the manuscript and depicts God with a triple-cruciform halo, holding a book in his left hand while gesturing towards an upright serpent with his right; a second serpent slithers off to the left, likely representing its banishment from Eden and its post-fall land-hugging condition.[150] Again, by turning to the text of the poem it is possible to explain

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[149] Everson and Stocker, 2015: 155-58
[150] Cambridge, Saturday 11 January 2014

these details, as lines 903-917 specifically discuss the condemnation of the serpent by God. It again serves to shift the focus from the sin committed by the couple to Satan as bearing responsibility for the transgression. Immediately beneath God Cursing the Serpent is a second image of the deity, carrying a scroll, standing above Adam and Eve, who are positioned on either side of a tree, and flanked by two further trees that frame the scene. Adam uses his right hand to cover his genitals with leaves, while gesturing to God with his left; Eve, kneeling, uses both hands to hold leaves to her body and looks up at God. It is likely that, as both are covering their nakedness, this scene is intended to specifically represent God Reprimanding Adam and Eve for their Transgression, with the pair begging forgiveness below. This reprimanding of the pair continues on page 44 (fig. 4.43), with God shown twice in the same space gesturing to Eve on the left and Adam on the right, thus likely representing the moment where he passes separate sentences on the couple.

Junius 11, like the OE Hexateuch, also shows God banishing the now clothed pair from Eden, with Adam and Eve exiting Paradise holding the tools of labour at the bottom right (fig. 4.44),[151] with a separate scene dedicated to the locking and guarding the door of Paradise (fig. 4.45).[152] However, unlike the OE Hexateuch the guard has two wings not six, recalling the depiction of the devil in the guise of angel on page 28 (fig. 4.34) and identifying him clearly as an angel, rather than a Cherubim.

As noted, the nature of manuscripts means it is much easier to expand pictorial narratives than is the case with stone sculpture. This is the most obvious reason for the increased number of scenes relating to the story of the Original Sin in the South during the period. Both the OE Hexateuch and Junius 11 follow the early Christian and early medieval manuscript tradition of depicting each of the key elements in the story of Adam and Eve (Eve's creation, the Temptation, Fall and Banishment) separately rather than the implied/conflated tradition of pre-Viking sculptural depictions. However, although neither

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[151] p. 45
[152] p. 46

follows the more common manuscript tradition of illustrating the narrative on a single page, arranged as a series of registers, both contain elements that suggest they could have had access to models of this type for each of their constructions (such as trees being used as framing devices), though it is equally likely, especially in the case of the OE Hexateuch, that a model featuring heavily illustrated books of the Bible was used, such as the late sixth- or early seventh-century Ashburnham Pentateuch.[153]

Like such manuscripts, the Old English Hexateuch set out an ambitious programme of highly-illustrated versions of the first six books of the Bible. The decision to split the Adam and Eve scenes into a series of individual elements, rather than containing them all on one page like the Carolingian Bibles, seems to suggest that those responsible for its design wanted the images to accompany the text as closely as possible, so that each passage of the Hexateuch can be viewed in relation to its accompanying illustration. It seems text and image in this manuscript were thought to enhance one another;[154] this would not have had as much impact had all the images been contained at the beginning of the relevant section.

The Junius 11 manuscript, however, is a collection of Old English poetry, which has been illustrated, and therefore is not a manuscript of the text of the Book of Genesis. This is important to note, as the intentions of those responsible for its design were to illustrate the poem, not the biblical text.[155] This inspired some interesting and unique inclusions, such as the devil in the guise of an angel being the main tempter, rather than the serpent, and an increased focus on Satan and his role in the fall of mankind. It appears that those responsible for the illustration of Junius 11 took existing models and adapted them to suit their own specific purpose.

Seemingly absent from Viking-age sculpture (possibly due to lack of survival rather than lack of production), the Sacrifice of Isaac is preserved in southern manuscript art of the later Anglo-Saxon period and can be seen as a clear continuation of pre-Viking and early

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[153] Paris, BNF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334. Verkerk, 2004: 8, 182-3
[154] Barnhouse, 1997: 67
[155] Henderson, 1975: 118-121; Broderick, 1983: 162-63

Christian depictions of the scene. Four scenes survive, one within the OE Hexateuch (fig. 4.46)[156] and three from manuscripts of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*: the Malmesbury Prudentius (fig. 4.47a),[157] the Bury Prudentius (fig. 4.47b)[158] and the Canterbury Prudentius (fig. 4.47c).[159]

Written by Aurelius Prudentius Clemens in *c.* 405AD[160] the *Psychomachia* is the first sustained personified allegory discussing the battle between the virtues and vices, with a prefatory narration of the life of Abraham.[161] The inclusion of Abrahamic scenes within the manuscript is thus not surprising and it appears as if the cycle of eighty-nine illustrations contained in all three Anglo-Saxon examples were almost standardised by the late fifth or sixth centuries.[162] While there are differences in the layout and design of the three Prudentius manuscripts, all contain the same six scenes relating to the life of Abraham: the Sacrifice of Isaac (figs 4.47a-c); the Capture of Lot (figs 4.48a-c); Abraham's Pursuit (figs 4.49a-c); Abraham and Lot Returning Home (figs 4.50a-c); Abraham and Melchisedech Making an Offering (figs 4.51a-c); and Abraham Visited by Three Angels (figs 4.52a-c). Apart from the OE Hexateuch's heavily illustrated depiction of the story of Abraham, which includes Abraham's Pursuit (fig. 4.49d), Abraham Returns Home (fig. 4.50d) and Abraham and Melchisedech Making an Offering (fig. 4.51d) (which were likely modelled on earlier *Psychomachia* illustrations), the other five Abrahamic scenes contained within the *Psychomachia* manuscripts are the only versions of these narratives to have survived from Anglo-Saxon England. While it is clear that different models were used for each, it is likely the layout of the scenes had been well established in manuscripts of the *Psychomachia* that were widely circulated.[163]

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[156] Fol. 38r
[157] CCCC MS 23, fol. 1v
[158] London, BL MS Cotton, Cleopatra C. VIII, fol. 2r
[159] London, BL MS Add. 24199, fol. 4r
[160] Smith, 1976: 3
[161] Ibid.: 3-4
[162] Temple, 1976: 70; Gameson, 1995b: 9-10
[163] Smith, 1976: 3

All three *Psychomachia* Sacrifice of Isaac scenes (figs 4.47a-c) show Abraham, with his sword raised, about to sacrifice his son. The Hand of God appears from the top left corner of each scene, with the ram caught in thickets located in the bottom left and large rectangular shaped altars are depicted on the right. The only major difference between the three scenes is the placement of Isaac, who stands next to Abraham in the Bury and Malmesbury Prudentius', but is bent over the altar in the Canterbury manuscript. However, all these variations are found in early Christian art (figs 3.13a-f, 3.14) and likely represents the result of a different model type being used for the Canterbury Prudentius.

All the scenes serve to illustrate the text at the beginning of the *Psychomachia*, where the figure of Abraham is introduced, and his story briefly told, beginning with the sacrifice of Isaac where:

> […] he [Abraham] who offered in sacrifice the child of his old age, teaching us thereby that when a man would make an acceptable offering at the altar he must be willing and faithful in God offer to Him that which is dear to his heart and the object of his love, that of which he has but one, has counselled us to wars against the ungodly tribes, himself giving us an example of his own counsel, and shown that we beget no child of wedlock pleasing to God, and whose mother is Virtue, till the spirit, battling valorously, has overcome with great slaughter the monsters in the enslaved heart.[164]

The focus of the sacrifice narrative shifts here from the more common trope of the story as a prefiguration of Christ's birth, death and resurrection,[165] to the virtue of Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his only son. This shift in focus is clearly due to the subject matter of the poem – the battle between virtue and vice – however, the *Psychomachia* is, at its core, a story of the battle for the Christian soul, and therefore, the image of the Sacrifice of Isaac presented at the beginning of these manuscripts surely serves to prompt the viewer to

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[164] "[…] *senile pignus qui dicavit victimae, docens ad aram cum litare quis velit, qoud dulce cordi, qoud pium,qoud unicum Deo libenter offerendum credito, pugnare nosmet cum profanes gentibus suasit, suumque suasor exemplum dedit, nec ante prolem coniugalem gignere Deo placentem, matre Virtute editam, quam strage multa bellicosus spiritus portenta cordis servientis vicerit.*" Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, lines 5-14. Thomson, 1949: 274-75

[165] Ambrose, *De Abraham,* 1, 8, 71 and 77-8; Migne, 1845: 469B, 471BC; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*: 16.32; Dombart and Kalb, 1955: 536-7; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.30.2 sermo 2.91; Dekkers and Fraipont, 1956 :208-9; Bede, H. Abb.: 9; Grocock and Wood, 2013: 44-45; Ælfric, Homily, *Dominica II. Post Aepiphania Domini,* Thorpe, 1846: 60-63

contemplate Christ's redemptive death, prefigured and so symbolised through Abraham's sacrifice of his son, as they begin to read the poem.

There are many similarities between the OE Hexateuch Sacrifice scene (fig. 4.46) and that of the Prudentius manuscripts, with the uppermost section of the panel clearly using an established, possibly *Psychomachia*, model – although the lower portion of the scene presents a substantive diversion from such a model. It appears that those responsible for the design of the OE Hexateuch's Sacrifice of Isaac desired to visually depict the whole of Genesis 22. Therefore, at the bottom left of the scene Abraham leads his son Isaac, who is seated on an ass, with his two servants behind, heading towards the location at which God instructed him to make the offering.[166] The middle section shows Isaac carrying the wood for the burnt offering, while his father, holding the fire and sword, instructs the two servants to stay behind and wait with the ass.[167] The top section contains the established arrangement for the Sacrifice, with Abraham raising his sword, ready to strike his son, who is bound and bent over the altar, while God (represented by an angel carrying a book in the OE Hexateuch) commands him to stop and sacrifice the ram caught in thickets situated at the far left of the scene.[168] What is unusual about this portion of the scene is the decision to include an angel, rather than the more traditional Hand of God. Frequently, in early Christian and early medieval art, the Hand of God is shown emerging from the sky to prevent Abraham from sacrificing his son (figs 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.13a, b, d, 3.14), the decision to change this to an angel carrying a book perhaps suggests a specific motive: to emphasise that the Word of God is not purely his voice, but also the biblical text. This inclusion was likely intended to reference the opening to the Gospel of John "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God"[169] and therefore, visually shows that God's command was both oral and written. The inclusion of the angel was no doubt a subtle indicator to the reader that they should regard it as the voice of God and that they, like Abraham, should closely

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[166] Gen 22:1-3
[167] Gen 22:4-6
[168] Gameson, 1995: 142
[169] "*In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum.*" John 1:1

follow his instructions if they desire to achieve salvation. The OE Hexateuch is not the only surviving example of the replacement of the Hand of God with an angel in the Insular world. On several early medieval Irish High Crosses (figs 5.40a-k)[170] as well as the Iona High Cross of St Martin (fig. 5.68a), the angel is shown offering the ram, perhaps for similar symbolic reasons and perhaps demonstrating a close iconographic link between the OE Hexateuch's model and that of the Irish and Ionan crosses.[171]

In many ways, the depiction of the Sacrifice in southern England during the Reformation period was yet another continuation of early Christian art, much as pre-Viking representations of the scene were. The *Psychomachia* manuscripts are all copies of earlier models with strong early Christian iconographic roots and the uppermost section of the OE Hexateuch's depiction is likewise based on a well-established, early model type. However, the addition of the journey to the sacrifice in the OE Hexateuch diverges from the traditional and is best interpreted as an attempt by those responsible for its design to fully contextualise the Sacrifice narrative visually, emphasising Abraham's willingness to carry out God's command and, through the use of the angel carrying a book, imply that the viewer should likewise follow God's command contained within the Bible.

4.5b Visualising the Book of 1 Samuel and Psalms

Psalters proliferate among the scriptural manuscripts produced in the southern half of Anglo-Saxon England during the late ninth to mid-eleventh centuries. This is no doubt due to their importance in the liturgy; in an ecclesiastical setting, they formed the basis for the daily office while also being recited at other times, with over one hundred psalms being recited on a typical day.[172] The sheer quantity of illustrations in these texts means it is beyond the limits

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[170] Ardboe, North Market Cross; Armagh, Market Cross; Clones; Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone; Durrow, West Cross; Galloon, West and East Crosses; Kells, Market Cross and the Cross of St Patrick and Columba; Killary; Monasterboice, Tall Cross; and possibly at Camus and Drumcliffe, Fragment of a Cross-Shaft
[171] See Chapter 5, 272-73, 283
[172] For example, a summer horarium for a Benedictine house from the *Regularis Concordia* is as follows:
    1:30   Rise. Trina Oratio (a series of three psalms)
                Gradual Psalms (15 Psalms)

of this study to examine all the representations of the Psalmist contained within these manuscripts, so will concentrate on the representation of the specific episodes from the life of David that have occurred elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon art, namely: Samuel Anointing David; David Rending the Jaws of the Lion; David Beheading Goliath; David the Psalmist and David Accompanied by Musicians.

As previously mentioned, scenes of Samuel Anointing David are rare during the early Christian and early medieval periods and there does not appear to be a fixed iconography for

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2:00 Nocturnes (Martins) (12-14 Psalms)
   Psalms for the Royal House (recited in pairs)
   Short interval
3:30 Martins of the day (Lauds) (6-7 Psalms)
   Miserere
   Psalms for the Royal House
   Anthems of the cross
   Martins of All Saints
   Martins of the Dead
   Interval (change shoes, wash or sleep if dark)
5:00 Trina Oratio
   Lectio
6:00 Prime (3 Psalms)
   Four Psalms
   Morrow Mass (for the king)
   Chapter
   Five Psalms for the dead
7:30 Work
8:00 Tierce (3 Psalms)
   Psalms for the Royal House
   Principal Mass
9:30 Lectio
11:30 Sext (1-3 Psalms)
   Psalms for the Royal House
12:00 Prandium
1:00 Siesta
2:30 None (1-3 Psalms)
   Psalms for the Royal House
   (drink)
3:00 Work
Vespers of the day (3-4 Psalms)
   Miserere
   Psalms for the Royal House
   Anthems
   Vespers of All Saints
   Vespers of the Dead
Cena (meal)
Vigils of the dead
7:30 Change shoes
   Collatio
8:00 Compline (3 Psalms)
   Miserere
   Psalms for the Royal House
8:15 Trina Oratio
   Retire

The winter schedule would be shorter to reflect the amount of daylight. Olson, 2003: 67-68

portraying the episode.[173] During the late ninth to the early eleventh centuries there are no surviving examples of Samuel Anointing David in the Scandinavian-controlled North and only one from the South, contained within the mid-eleventh-century Tiberius Psalter.[174]

Located on folio 9v (fig. 4.53), the scene is one of the five Davidic scenes, which are immediately followed by eleven illustrations from the life of Christ and so forms part of the prefatory material preceding the text of the Psalter.[175] The two main figures of Samuel and David have been labelled to help identify the scene. David stands facing Samuel, who is significantly taller and holds a horn filled with oil over David's head. To the left are David's brothers, with the more detailed figure at the front being his father Jesse and thus provides a relatively accurate depiction of 1 Samuel 16:11-13, where Samuel asks Jesse if he has any other sons and instructs Jesse to fetch his youngest son, at which point the Lord instructs Samuel to bless David in front of all his brothers with a horn filled with oil.

Like the St Petersburg flyleaf (fig. 3.26), the labelling of David and Samuel highlights how the iconography of the scene was not well-established, with those responsible for its design feeling it necessary to clarify the scene for the viewer. Furthermore, the decision to create this infrequently depicted scene, must have served a specific purpose which could not be fulfilled through either leaving it out or replacing it with another scene. The order of the five Davidic scenes – David and the Lion, David Combatting Goliath, David Beheading Goliath, Samuel Anointing David and David as Psalmist Inspired by God – does not follow the biblical ordering, where the story of the anointment happens in 1 Samuel 16:11-13, before the story of David combatting the Lion is told to Saul,[176] and before the account of David slaying Goliath.[177] Its placement seems to be a deliberate attempt by those responsible for the design of the manuscript to show the moment between David's life as a warrior chosen by God and his life as the divinely inspired Psalmist, with the scene forming

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[173] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 150-52
[174] Wormald, 1960-62: 6
[175] Openshaw, 1989: 15
[176] 1 Sam. 17:34-36
[177] 1 Sam. 17:39-51

a transition between these two states, emphasising both the human and divinely inspired states of the prophet, no doubt in a deliberate attempt to parallel David's two natures with Christ, who was human and divine both separately and indivisibly. Ælfric explains how this apparent contradiction can be true:

> Our human nature could not see Christ in that divine nativity; but that same Word became flesh and dwelt in us, that we might see him. The Word was not turned to flesh, but it was invested with human flesh. As every man existeth in soul and in body one man, so also Christ existeth in divine nature and human nature, in one person one Christ […] the divine nature is not mingled with the human nature, nor is there any separation.[178]

Therefore, Christ was both human and the embodiment of the Word, just as David was both human and a vessel for the Word through his recitation of the Psalms. Samuel's Anointment of David represents the moment where his human nature became intertwined with the Word and sets up the comparison with the dual nature of Christ, represented through the eleven miniatures relating to the life of Christ, immediately following the double page of Samuel Anointing David and David the Psalmist Inspired by God.

Given the preference of those responsible for the design of the Tiberius Psalter to order the illustrations of David's life in chronological order rather than biblical order, David Combatting the Lion (fig. 4.54)[179] occurs immediately after an illustration of God creating the world and is the first Davidic image in the cycle of miniatures preceding the text of the Psalter.

It consists of the figure of David kneeling on the back of the lion, using bare hands to rend its jaw. The lamb thus rescued from the lion, which stands with its head and front legs apparently lying between David and the tree filling the right-hand side of the page, while its hind legs are obscured by David's left hand, although it is possible that David is physically

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[178] "Ne mihte ure mennisce gecynd Crist on ðære godcudlican acennednysse geseon; ac þæt ylce Word wæs geworden flæsc, and wunode on us, þæt we hine geseon mihton. Næs þæt Word to flæsce awend, ac hit wæs mid mennisum flæsce befangen. Swa swa anra gehwilc manna wunað on sawle and on lichaman an mann, swa swa eac Crist wunað on godcundnysse and menniscnusse, on anum hade an Crist […] Nis þeahhwæðre seo godcundnys gemenged to ðære menniscnysee, ne ðær nan twæming nys." Ælfric, 'Sermon on the Nativity of our Lord'; Thorpe, 1844: 40-41

[179] Fol. 8r

removing the lamb from the jaws of the lion. At the bottom of the scene is David's stick and cloak, alongside five grazing sheep. This layout does not conform with the pre-Viking examples of the scene at Masham (fig. 3.33) and in the Vespasian Psalter (fig. 3.32),[180] where David is shown standing behind the lion, rather than kneeling on its back or the early medieval Scottish or Viking-age examples of the scene where the lion is shown standing on its hind legs while David rends its jaw.[181] The closest parallels are found on the late ninth- or tenth-century high crosses at: Ardboe, Market Cross, Co. Tyrone; Armagh, Market Cross, Co. Armagh; Durrow, West Cross, Co. Offlay; Kells, Market Cross and the Cross of St Patrick and Columba, Co. Meath; Monasterboice, West Cross, Co. Louth; and Old Kilcullen, West Cross, Co. Kildare (figs 5.44a-g).[182] These Irish carvings all depict David kneeling on the back of the lion while he rends its jaw, paralleling the design of the Tiberius Psalter image.

Another surviving southern representation of David and the Lion also seems to closely parallel the Irish examples. Contained within a historiated initial D, the early tenth-century[183] Junius Psalter's David and the Lion (fig. 4.55),[184] depicts David kneeling on the back of the lion, while griping its jaws to rend them apart in a manner analogous (although it lacks the lamb) to both the other southern Anglo-Saxon example – the Tiberius Psalter – and the early medieval Irish carvings.

Of interest here is the Old English glossing of the Junius Psalter. This seems to be a "Saxonising" of the A-type gloss of which the Vespasian Psalter provides the earliest extant version.[185] It is considered unlikely that those responsible for the Junius Psalter used the Vespasian Psalter as their exemplar, but likely that they used either a descendant of it or a descendant of the Vespasian Psalter's own exemplar.[186] The combination of following the

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[180] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 156-57
[181] See above, pp. 205-206 and discussion in chapter 5, 260-61
[182] See discussion in chapter 5, p. 277
[183] Ker, 1957: 408-9, Bishop, 1964-68: 247; Temple, 1976:39; Gretsch, 2000: 107
[184] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27 (S.C. 5139)
[185] Gretsch, 2000: 88; Pulsiano, 1996: 62
[186] Gretsch, 2000: 89-97

A-type gloss, while simultaneously "Saxonising" it, produced a manuscript that both followed tradition and adapted it for a contemporary audience. It is possible, therefore, that like the gloss the historiated initial of David and the Lion was intended to be viewed as continuing and adapting the traditional method of depicting the episode by means of using the iconographic type of David kneeling on the back of the lion, rather than standing behind it or in the pose found in early medieval Scotland (figs 5.9a, 5.10, 5.12, 5.13) or at Sockburn (fig. 4.11a) in the Scandinavian North. It is clear from the survival of seven (kneeling) David and the Lion scenes on early medieval Irish high crosses from the late ninth century onwards that this particular pose was popular during the tenth century. It is therefore possible that those responsible for the image in the Junius Psalter chose to "modernise" their representation of David Rending the Jaws of the Lion, in much the same way as they chose to "modernise" the A-type gloss.

Like the Vespasian Psalter the Junius Psalter depiction of David and the Lion is contained within a historiated initial D; however, the Vespasian's D is the opening letter of Psalm 52/51, whereas the Junius initial opens Psalm 109/108. Despite illustrating different psalms both historiated initials serve the same purpose: to elucidate the hidden Christological significance.[187] Psalm 109/108 presents a fairly vitriolic attack on the wicked and was believed to refer to Judas, with the Acts of the Apostles recording that Peter stood up before the disciples saying: "Men and brethren, this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus."[188] This passage was understood to refer to Psalm 109/108 by Augustine,[189] with the psalm thought to be prophesising the coming of Judas and his betrayal of Christ, which lead to the Crucifixion and Descent into Hell where Christ overcomes the Devil and allows humanity the chance to gain life everlasting. As noted, David Rending the

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[187] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 155-56

[188] "*In diebus illis, exsurgens Petrus in medio fratrum, dixit (erat autem turba hominum simul, fere centum viginti): Viri fratres, oportet impleri Scripturam quam prædixit Spiritus Sanctus per os David de Juda, qui fuit dux eorum qui comprehenderunt Jesum.*" Acts 1:15-16

[189] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 108.1: 8 Dekkers and Fraipont, 1956c: 1585

Jaws of the Lion was regarded as a prefiguration of Christ overcoming the Devil, so its depiction contained within the historiated initial D at the beginning of the psalm can perhaps be seen as an attempt by those responsible for its inclusion to prompt the viewer to contemplate not only the similarities between this particular episode in David's life and Christ's redemptive death, but also how David foretold the betrayal of Christ in his divinely inspired psalm, acting to both prefigure and prophesy the coming of Christ.

The final depiction of David Rending the Lion's Jaws is contained within the margins of the mid-eleventh-century Bury Psalter (fig. 4.56).[190] Unlike the previous two examples the lion is shown standing on his hind legs, with David's left leg wrapped around its body, to hold the creature still while he rends its jaws. This pose is similar to that found across early medieval Scotland and at Sockburn.[191] The leg wrapping around the body of the lion is an unusual feature, however, and perhaps represents an attempt by those responsible for its design to retain the element of David kneeling on the back of the lion, while adjusting the scene to fit the space of the margin, lifting the lion up on his hind legs to create a more vertical arrangement. The desire to fit a depiction of David and the Lion in this particular space, rather than moving it to the bottom of the page, where it would have been possible to depict the lion on all fours with David kneeling on his back, results from the need to illustrate the verse: "My God, break their cruel fangs; Lord, shatter their jaws, strong as the jaws of lions."[192]

Both the Tiberius and Junius Psalters used their depictions of David and the Lion to compare the episode with Christ's overcoming of the Devil. In the Tiberius Psalter, this is achieved through presenting the viewer with a series of images relating to the life of David, immediately followed by a series of images relating to the life of Christ, which begins with Christ Overcoming the Devil, inviting the viewer to contemplate how the two figures are

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[190] Fol. 66v
[191] See above, pp. 205-206
[192] "*Deus conteret dentes eorum in ore ipsorum; molas leonum confringet Dominus.*" Psalm 57:7

intimately related before reading the text of the Psalms.[193] The Junius Psalter is subtler in drawing these parallels, with the historiated initial of David and the Lion being the only one to contain a representation of the prophet, however, its inclusion to specifically illustrate Psalm 109/108 was clearly an attempt by those responsible for the Psalter's design to highlight how the Psalmist and his life are intertwined with the life and death of Christ. Furthermore, although the decision to depict both the Tiberius and Junius David kneeling on the back of the lion and having David wrapping his leg around the lion represents a divergence from the known pre-Viking layout, but does parallel contemporary early medieval Irish examples, suggesting, at the very least, that David kneeling on the back of the lion was the popular choice for depicting the scene in Ireland and southern England, perhaps even suggesting there was some kind of artistic dialogue between these two regions of the Insular world during the tenth and mid-eleventh centuries.

Unlike David Rending the Jaws of the Lion, representations of David Beheading Goliath seem to follow pre-Viking examples of the scene. Portrayals of the episode are rare, with only a few surviving from the early Christian/Jewish and early medieval periods, but most (aside from some of the early medieval Irish examples, which appear to follow a separate or unique iconographic tradition)[194] show David wielding a sword, holding the head/helmet of the fallen Goliath, and frequently in the process of decapitating the giant (figs 3.28, 3.37, 4.57). All three southern Anglo-Saxon depictions (Arundel Psalter,[195] Tiberius Psalter and Harley 603 Psalter) follow this format.

The David and Goliath scene in the early eleventh-century Arundel Psalter is contained within the historiated initial of Psalm 101/100 (fig. 4.58). Contained within an elaborate capital D, a bent-over David uses his left hand to grab the fallen Goliath's beard, while holding a large sword in his right, with which he decapitates the giant. Blood spurts from Goliath's neck and his contorted body and face highlight his violent death. As at

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[193] Gameson, 1995: 137; Openshaw, 1989: 29-32
[194] See discussion in chapter 5, p. 281
[195] London, BL, Arundel MS 155

Newent (fig. 3.37), the unequal measure of the two opponents is highlighted by the small stature of David, Goliath's enlarged and contorted body being squeezed into the space (he is so large that his legs bend upwards in an unnatural way), while the use of the proportion of the giant's spear, sword and shield further emphasise his immense size. However, unlike Newent, a hand emerges from the sky, blessing David, showing the viewer that the event was blessed by God.

Furthermore, like the historiated initials found in the Vespasian and Tiberius Psalters the illustration serves as a key to unlock a hidden message to the reader. Psalm 101/100 concerns the expulsion of the wicked from the city of the Lord and how the faithful will be protected. Depicting David saving the Israelites complements the contents of the psalm, especially: "Whoso privily slandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off: him that hath an high look and a proud heart will not I suffer,"[196] which references David slaying the blaspheming giant. Moreover, as already noted, David slaying Goliath was regarded as a prefiguration of Christ overcoming the Devil, allowing humanity to regain life everlasting.[197] However, only through following God's command and being a good Christian could one enter into the kingdom of heaven; this is the judgement set out by Augustine in his exposition on Psalm 101/100.[198] It is possible that those responsible for the design of the Arundel David and Goliath intended to prompt the viewer to contemplate the battle between good and evil, Christ's redemptive death and their own impending judgement.

The Harley Psalter, which, like the Arundel Psalter was likely constructed in Canterbury during the early eleventh century, contains the second example of the depiction of David Combatting Goliath produced in the southern Anglo-Saxon England during the period (fig. 4.59a) although here it accompanies Psalm 143/142. While the manuscript is a close copy of the ninth-century Carolingian Utrecht Psalter,[199] the illustration on folio 73v

[196] "*Detrahentem secreto proximo suo, hunc persequebar: superbo oculo, et insatiabili corde, cum hoc non edebam.*" Psalm 100/101.5
[197] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 159-60
[198] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 101, sermo 1; Dekker and Fraipont, 1956c: 1425-38
[199] Noel, 1995: 7

diverges from its source (fig. 4.59b). The Psalm is entitled "David against Goliath"[200] and it is clear that those responsible for the design of this page chose to diverge from their model to illustrate this. The scene consists of Christ holding a bow and arrows while blessing David, who, as the Psalmist, stands on a pile of bodies in the middle of the scene and fights Goliath on the right. In fact, two illustrations of David Combatting Goliath are included: one shows David hurling the five stones from his sling at the giant, while below he wields a sword, grabbing Goliath by his beard as the giant falls awkwardly to the ground.

The latest of the three David and Goliath scenes is contained within the mid-eleventh century Tiberius Psalter (fig. 4.60). Following David and the Lion, the beheading of Goliath is found at the bottom of folio 8v. David stands over Goliath, gripping the fallen giant's right arm and stabbing him in the chest with his own sword, the scabbard of which hangs from Goliath's left side. Unlike Arundel and Harley 603 David stabs Goliath rather than beheading him and, while shown as being larger than David, the giant is not the imposing figure he is in the other examples. However, like Harley 603 there is also a second scene of David confronting Goliath by slinging stones at him. This scene is split over two pages, with David and the Israelites on folio 8v (fig. 4.61a) facing Goliath and the Philistines on folio 9r (fig. 4.61b). Here Goliath's gigantic size is highlighted by the small size of the figures standing next to him. The double page illustration of the story is the only instance of this placement in Anglo-Saxon art and must surely have been intended to highlight the importance of this episode. When combined with the cycle of images devoted to the life of Christ that follow, it clearly demonstrates that David was to be seen as prefiguring Christ – prior to turning the page to reveal the fulfilment of the prophecy.

Overall, it seems that the visualisation of David and Goliath in Anglo-Saxon England remained consistent with other early Christian and early medieval continental examples of the scene, with only the Tiberius Psalter diverging slightly with its depiction of the giant being stabbed in the chest. It is impossible to tell if the inclusion of David slinging stones

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[200] "*David adversus Goliad*". Psalm 143/142

was a new development in the region or reflects poor survival rates. But the inclusion of this scene type in two of the three manuscripts depicting the death of Goliath hints that it may have been popular to show the two elements of the story side-by-side in manuscript depictions of the narrative.

Like the other Davidic imagery, depictions of David the Psalmist and David Accompanied by Musicians seem to conform with previous examples, both in Anglo-Saxon England and the wider medieval world.[201] Furthermore, David the Psalmist is the only scene type other than Adam and Eve to have survived in both the Scandinavian controlled North and the Benedictine Reform South. The proliferation of David in his role as Psalmist throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon period, is likely due to the role of the psalms in the liturgy; indeed, it is no surprise that all the surviving southern Anglo-Saxon images are preserved in Psalters: Tiberius, Winchcombe and Harley 603.

The Tiberius Psalter contains not one but three depictions of David as Psalmist, the first iteration appearing at the end of the David cycle which shows him as the Psalmist Inspired by God (fig. 4.62).[202] Occurring immediately after the image of Samuel Anointing David, the miniature shows David enthroned on an elaborate stool, complete with foot-rest, holding a harp and sceptre and wearing a highly-embellished crown. Emerging from the sky is a horn-like object, from which a series of waves emerge. This motif is frequently used to depict divine inspiration in Psalter illustrations (figs 4.63a-d), and its inclusion in the Psalmist scene represents the divine nature of the psalms. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of David's anointment, where he is chosen by God to be king of Israel, with him being divinely inspired by God to write the psalms seated on a highly elaborate stool and dressed in kingly regalia, is clearly intended to emphasis the harmony of his two natures: earthly king and divinely-inspired prophet. As the page is turned King David, who prophesised, prefigured

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[201] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 162-66
[202] Fol. 10r

and was a direct ancestor of Christ, transitions to Christ Overcoming the Devil (fig. 4.64), prefigured in David's defeat of both the lion and Goliath.

The second Psalmist miniature in the Tiberius Psalter is found on folio 17v (fig. 4.65), at the beginning of the text of the Psalms, amongst a series of illustrations of musical instruments (fig. 4.66a-c). Entitled "This is David, son of Jesse, holding a harp in his hands,"[203] the image shows David seated on a cross-shaped stool, complete with foot-rest. He holds a rectangular harp and wears a crown. While this and the previous image have many similarities (he is seated on a stool in a very similar pose in both examples), some details render them distinct from each other: the stool on folio 10r (fig. 4.67a) is large, bulky and has details that make it look almost architectural, whereas that on 17v (fig. 4.67b) is cross-shaped and has beast-like feet, recalling other Anglo-Saxon stools, such as that from Prittlewell (fig. 4.67c(i-ii)),[204] and examples depicted in the OE Hexateuch (figs 4.67d-e).[205] Furthermore, David holds a triangular-shaped harp on 10r (fig 4.68a), but in 17v (fig 4.68b) he holds a rectangular harp, similar to the lyre found at Sutton Hoo (fig. 4.68c) and that found in the depiction of David Accompanied by Musicians on the Masham column (fig. 4.68d). The effect of these distinctions is to 'Anglicise' David: perhaps due to the desire to differentiate the two scenes, calling on the familiar to adapt the model sufficiently to distinguish the two.

The final Psalmist scene in the Tiberius Psalter presents of David Accompanied by Musicians immediately before the text of the psalms on folio 30v (fig. 4.69). It shows David sat on yet another stool, holding a triangular-shaped harp and wearing a crown similar to that on folio 17v. He is surrounded by four smaller figures: two of them are labelled: Ethan on the left and Idithun on the right. Between them is a representation of the Holy Ghost as a dove bestowing divine inspiration on David as he composes the psalms. This detail does not feature in any other surviving early medieval or early Christian depictions of the scene (aside

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[203] HIC EST DAUID FILIUS JESSE TENENS PSALTERIUM INMA NIBUS SUIS
[204] Hirst, 2004: 30
[205] fols 43v and 68v

from the near contemporary Winchcombe Psalter), and so seems to be a deliberate addition by those responsible for the design of the Tiberius miniature in order to emphasise the divine nature of the psalms, in much the same way as was signified by the addition of the voice of God on folio 10r. However, the choice to represent the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove instead of repeating the motif of the horn emitting waves shows that those responsible for its design were conscious of visually showing the Godhead (on fol. 10r) inspiring David, rather than one of the Trinity (on fol. 30v). Thus, God the Father is represented in the first image, through the horn and the Holy Spirit is represented in the third image, with a heavy Christological focus in the images lying between these, showing how the Psalmist both prophesised and prefigured Christ.

The other example of David Accompanied by Musicians forms the frontispiece to the *c.* 1025-1050 Winchcombe Psalter (fig. 4.70). This again shows the enthroned David (labelled DAVID REX) surrounded by four smaller figures: Asaph, Eman, Ethan and Idithun. Seated on a stool, David holds a triangular-shaped harp and wears an elaborate crown. Again, the dove of the Holy Ghost descends on David, highlighting the divine inspiration of the psalms. The inclusion of this detail in the Tiberius and Winchcombe Psalters, both dated between the second and third quarters of the eleventh-century, implies that it may have been a new innovation, either in the manuscripts themselves or in their sources. Alternatively, the dove was adapted from a model similar to the Carolingian Golden Psalter (fig. 3.43a),[206] where the Hand of God and an angel appear in the upper corners of the scene. A model such as this could have easily been adapted to show divine inspiration occurring through the dove rather than the Hand of God or an angel.

Finally, while not strictly depicting David the Psalmist the image on folio 68r of Harley 603 (fig. 4.71a) also diverges from its source, the Utrecht Psalter (fig. 4.71b).[207] It illustrates Psalm 131/130 and depicts an angel guarding the entrance to the city of Zion on

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[206] p. 2
[207] Fol. 75r

the left; at the centre, leading up to the top right, is a series of men worshipping the Lord, who stands in the entrance to the tent of the Tabernacle; on the bottom right is David enthroned (on a seat that closely recalls that of the Durham Cassiodorus, fig. 3.42), holding a harp and accompanied by a female figure and two warriors. When compared to the Utrecht Psalter the scene is pared-down: rather than illustrating several aspects of the Psalm, there are just three clear areas of focus: Zion, David, and the Tabernacle. Again, it seems that the overall effect is to highlight the divinely inspired nature of the psalms.

From this survey it seems that, overall the depiction of David remains constant throughout Anglo-Saxon England. The proliferation of Psalters, the importance of the psalms in Christian worship and the popularity of the figure David, not only as Psalmist, but warrior and king, likely means that David was the most frequently depicted Old Testament figure and this is reflected in the survival rates of Davidic imagery. What does survive is only a proportion of what would have originally been created, but it seems clear from all the surviving Davidic imagery that, like the pre-Viking depictions, well-known iconographic types were selected for the construction of the scenes. The majority of these appear to have their roots in pre-Viking, continental or early Christian art, except for David Combatting the Lion, which appears closely to follow contemporary Irish depictions of the scene, suggesting that there was some level of artistic dialogue occurring between these two regions of the Insular world at this time and that David kneeling on the back of the lion was a popular iconographic choice.

4.4c Visualising Other Old Testament Narratives

While the depiction of the Old Testament seems to have declined in the Scandinavian-controlled North from the late ninth century onwards, this was not the case in the South. Alongside the other images discussed, all of which can be seen as continuing pre-Viking depictions, an abundance of other Old Testament imagery was also produced in the southern half of Anglo-Saxon England during the late ninth to mid-eleventh centuries. As noted, it is

possible that there was some cross-over from the pre-Viking period (such as the depiction of David slinging stones at Goliath), but unfortunately these have not survived. The focus here will be the ways in which the narratives found in the pre-Viking period were expanded during the Reformation period. While there is a correlation with the preference for Adam and Eve, Abraham and David in pre-Viking art and the expansion of these narratives in the Reformation, there is also an emerging interest in Moses and the twelve tribes of Israel, albeit limited to the Psalms, as attested to by the Bury Psalter (fig 4.72),[208] and the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy in the OE Hexateuch. These latter illustrations mark a significant difference with the focus on the Tabernacle in the pre-Viking period.

As noted, the depiction of Creation is by far the most prolific of the expanded narratives found in the South of England during the late ninth to mid eleventh centuries. The OE Hexateuch (fig. 4.20a-f),[209] Tiberius Psalter (fig. 4.17),[210] Bury Psalter (fig. 4.16),[211] Junius 11 (figs 4.19a-b)[212] and the Royal Bible (fig. 4.18)[213] all contain depictions of this subject. The OE Hexateuch and Junius 11 manuscripts both expand the depiction of Creation across several scenes, whereas the Bury Psalter, Tiberius Psalter and the Royal Bible all depict it as the Godhead, with two horns emitting soundwaves emerging from his mouth and holding a compass and scales, forming part of a circle which signifies the cosmos, a composition referring to Isaiah 40:22: "It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth."[214] In the Tiberius and Royal depictions, a dove sits on or above the water,[215] likely signifying the division of land from water, as it was the dove that revealed the flood waters had begun to recede.[216] While this appears to be a new image type, it has been proposed that these

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[208] 109r-v; Wright, 2002: 191
[209] Fols 2r-4v
[210] Fol. 7v
[211] Fol. 68v
[212] pp. 6-7
[213] Fol. 1v
[214] "*Qui sedet super gyrum terræ*" Isaiah 40:22; Heimann, 1966: 49
[215] Heimann, 1966: 47
[216] Gen. 8:11

depictions have their iconographic roots in pre-Viking sundials.[217] For example, the eighth-century sundial at Escomb in Co. Durham (fig. 4.73), shows a serpentine figure framing a sundial, while the eleventh century example at Daglingworth, Gloucestershire (fig. 4.74) is enclosed within a full circle, the lower half of which has been divided into four in a manner analogous to the way in which the circle of the Bury Psalter is divided into eight equal sections.[218] It is possible, therefore, that these Reformation images of creation were in fact adaptations of a pre-existing pre-Viking visual articulation of the cosmos, which had been modified for manuscript illustrations.

The other major expansion of the later Genesis narrative is the depiction of the uncanonical Fall of Angels. This apocryphal account of how Lucifer and the other rebellious angels fell from grace appears to have been a popular story throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, with the best known account being preserved in *Genesis B*, which goes into great detail regarding the fall, before continuing with the deposition of how Satan orchestrated the fall of Adam and Eve;[219] other accounts are preserved in *Genesis A*, *Christ and Satan*, *Juliana*, *Elene*, *Andreas*, *Vainglory* and *Solomon and Saturn II*.[220] While *Genesis B* testifies to the circulation of the story in the poetry of Anglo-Saxon England during the ninth century, the fall of angels does not appear in the visual corpus until the tenth century, with Junius 11 containing the earliest known depiction (fig. 4.21),[221] and one other example surviving in the OE Hexateuch (fig. 4.22).[222] The Junius 11 depiction of the fall of angels comes as no surprise, as it forms part of the cycle of images illustrating the poem *Genesis*, which is an amalgamation of two poems – *Genesis A* and *Genesis B* – both of which discuss the episode (lines 15-77 and 259-321). The scene precedes the images depicting Creation (pp. 6-7) and shows Lucifer envying the throne of the Lord and persuading a group of angels to rebel;

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[217] Heimann, 1966: 49
[218] Ibid.: 56
[219] *Genesis B*, lines 395a-400b; Krapp, 1931: 15
[220] Anlezark, 2003: 122
[221] p. 3; Kauffman, 2003: 50
[222] Fol. 2r

furious, the Lord throws three spears at the rebelling angels as they all fall from heaven into the gaping hell mouth, where Satan waits for them, bound and fettered.[223]

The inclusion of the Fall of Angels within the OE Hexateuch, however, is not so easily explained, as the account is apocryphal and does not appear anywhere within the text of the Hexateuch. One clue as to why those responsible for the design of the manuscript felt the need to include it may lie in the inclusion of Ælfric's 'Preface to Genesis':

> But it seems to me, my lord, that this is dangerous work [translating] for me, or for anyone else to undertake, because I am afraid that, should some foolish man read this book, or hear it read, he will suppose himself capable of living, here and now, in the era of the New Law, exactly as our forefathers lived in the days before the Old Law has been ordained, or as men lived under the law of Moses […] We also wish to assert, in advance, that this book is exceedingly difficult to understand in spiritual terms, and we have written no more than the bare narration. The unlearned might think, therefore, that the book's whole meaning is enclosed in the simple narrative; but that is emphatically not the case. The book is entitled "Genesis" – that is, the Book of Creation – because it is [the Bible's] first book, and speaks of the creation of everything (though it does not speak of the creation of the angels). It begins thus: "*In principo creauit deus celum et terram*" – that is, in English, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." It was truly how it was done, for in the beginning God Almighty created whatever He wished to create.[224]

Here Ælfric warns of the dangers of taking the text of the Old Testament too literally, using the example of how Genesis, the "Book of Creation" (*gecyndboc*), tell us of our origins, but not the creation of the angels. This is picked up visually where the fall of the angels is depicted, filling the gap in the canonical text of Genesis, without having to insert the apocryphal account. Its placement between Ælfric's 'Preface' and the beginning of Genesis

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[223] For an up-to-date study of the Fall of Angels in the Junius 11 manuscript see, Mittman and Kim, 2015: 3-25

[224] "Nu þincð me, leof, þæt þæt weorc is swiðe pleolic me oððe ænigum men to underbeginnenne, for þan þe ic ondræde, gif sum dysig man þas boc ræt oððe rædan gehyrþ, þæt he wille wenan, þæt he mote lybban nu on þære niwan æ, swa swa þa ealdan fæderas leofodon þa on þære tide, ær þan þe seo ealde æ gesett wære, oþþe swa swa men leofodon under Moyses æ […] We secgað eac foran to þæt seo boc is swiþe deop gastlice to understandenne, and we ne writaþ na mare buton þa nacedan gerecednisse. Ðonne þincþ þam ungelæredum þæt eall þæt andgit beo belocen on þære anfealdan gerecednisse, ac hit ys swiþe feor þam. Seo boc ys gehaten *Genesis*, þæt ys gecyndboc, for þam þe heo ys firmest boca and spricþ be ælcum gecinde, ac heo ne spricð na be þæra engla gesceapenisse. Heo onginð þus: In principio creauit Deus celum and terram; þæt ys on Englisc, On annginne gesceop God heofenan and eorþan. Hit wæs soðlice swa swa gedon, þæt God ælmihtig geworhte on anginne, þa þa he wolde, gesceafta." Ælfric, *Incipit prefatio Genesis Anglice*; Crawford, 1922: 76-78; trans, Raffel, 1998: 173-74

is surely a clear attempt to prompt the viewer to contemplate the creation and fall of the angels, even though the description is absent from the biblical text.[225]

The expansion of the Abrahamic narrative during the period is predominately due to the seeming popularity of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*. The survival of three manuscripts containing the text, all include the same set of images, each of which marginally differs in its layout, suggesting that they all followed early Christian models and that these must have been abundant and readily available. Thus, the Malmesbury, Canterbury and Bury Prudentius' all contain near-identical depictions of the Capture of Lot (figs 4.48a-c); Abraham's Pursuit (figs 4.49a-c); Abraham Returning Home Victorious with Lot (fig. 4.50a-c); Abraham and Melchisedech Making an Offering (figs 4.51a-c); and Three Angels Appearing to Abraham (figs 4.52a-c). They all also contain two illustrations of another Old Testament figure, Job, who is shown Walking with the Personification of Long-Suffering through the Battle in one scene (figs 4.75a-c) and standing next to the Long-Suffering in another (figs 4.76a-c). These illustrations are the only representations of Job that survive in Anglo-Saxon art.

Aside from the Prudentius manuscripts the only other extant Abrahamic scenes are contained within the OE Hexateuch, which, while creating new scenes to illustrate the text of Genesis 11:27-25:10, also likely used a Prudentius manuscript for its depictions of Abraham's Pursuit (fig. 4.49d); The King of Sodom Meets the Victorious Abraham (likely adapted from an illustration of Abraham's Return Home, fig. 4.50d); and Melchizedech King of Salem and Priest of God Most High Blesses Abraham (likely adapted from an illustration of Abraham and Melchisedech Making an Offering, fig. 4.51d).

Perhaps indicating the introduction of a new David scene is the frontispiece to CCCC MS 411 (fig. 4.77). Likely written in Tours, but with the illustration on folio 1v added in England during the eleventh-century,[226] this frontispiece depicts a figure holding a book in

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[225] For an up-to-date examination of the Fall of Angels in the OE Hexateuch see, Withers, 2011: 247-69
[226] Temple, 1976: 63-64

a clothed hand. Its position at the beginning of a Psalter suggests that it can be identified as David holding a copy of the Psalms, but its unusual iconography and lack of any further identification (such as a label, or signifier of David such as a harp), makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions.

All the other new Davidic scenes are contained within the heavily illustrated Psalters: Harley 603, the Bury Psalter and perhaps a lost drawing of David from the Paris Psalter.[227] All these manuscripts follow the style (and in the case of Harley 603 the content of) the ninth-century Carolingian Utrecht Psalter and clearly show the significant influence this style of illustration had on Anglo-Saxon art of the Reformation period.[228]

Overall the depiction of the Old Testament in Southern England can be seen as both a continuation of and divergence from pre-Viking traditions. The clear preference for Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Isaac and the figure David in the pre-Viking period continues in the Reformation, although, in the case of Adam and Eve, the narrative is greatly expanded. In fact the apparent preference for manuscript illumination in southern Anglo-Saxon England during the period allowed those responsible for their illustrative schemes to expand and experiment with the depiction of a range of Old Testament schemes, leading to a blending of copying and innovation, which is best seen in the decorative scheme of the OE Hexateuch. This manuscript in particular used and adapted pre-existing models alongside the creation of new scenes to fit its grand ambition of extensively illustrating the whole of the first six books of the Bible. This innovation is contrasted with other manuscripts, such as the three Prudentius manuscripts and Harley 603, where there appears to be a desire to accurately copy pre-existing models (with only a few minor changes, such as the addition of David Combatting Goliath on folio 73v of Harley 603).

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[227] Ibid.: 99-100
[228] Tselos, 1959: 137-49; Gameson, 1990: 29-48

4.6 Conclusion

The depiction of the Old Testament across Anglo-Saxon England between the later ninth and mid-eleventh centuries can thus be seen as a process of continuation and divergence from pre-Viking traditions. While frequently portrayed as "invaders" and "heathens" the Scandinavians that arrived in Anglo-Saxon England during the ninth and tenth centuries appear to have been quickly assimilated into the existing culture, with their depictions of the Old Testament representing a blending of pre-Viking, Insular, continental and southern Reformation traditions. While an extensive catalogue of images has not survived here, what exists demonstrates that they clearly had access to manuscript depictions of Adam and Eve and adapted these into stone (this is especially pertinent at Elwick Hall and Diddlebury). This is perhaps a "reaction" to the expansion of illustrated manuscripts, not only in the South but also in the art of the Continent, which enjoyed an increase in the production of large Bibles complete with large Adam and Eve friezes. The only other Old Testament scenes produced in the Scandinavian North feature David and are preserved on the same monument. These reveal a continued concern to depict his two natures – warrior and psalmist – and suggest some kind of dialogue with early medieval Scotland in relation to the pose of David and the Lion and the layout of David seated facing a singular musician.

Like the Scandinavian-controlled North, the South seems also to have both continued and diverged from pre-Viking illustrations of the Old Testament. The rise in popularity for showing David kneeling on the back of the lion, clearly indicates that there must have been some dialogue with early medieval Ireland during the period, as the iconographic parallels are too close to be coincidental, whereas David Accompanied by Musicians closely follows the iconographic tradition articulated in the Vespasian Psalter as well as Carolingian examples. And while no copies of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* survive from the pre-Viking period, it is obvious that it was popular to copy early Christian manuscripts in the latter half of the Anglo-Saxon period, in much the same way as it was in the pre-Viking period, as attested to through the copying of Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*.

Overall, it seems that during the late ninth to mid eleventh centuries Anglo-Saxon England was not isolationist in its approach to depicting the Old Testament. There appears to have be an ongoing visual dialogue, not only between the Reformation South and Scandinavian North, but between these regions and the rest of the Insular and wider medieval worlds, clearly demonstrating that each depiction of an Old Testament narrative was the result of deliberate choice, with those responsible for the designs likely having access to and knowledge of multiple iconographic types in a range of media.

CHAPTER 5

Visualising the Old Testament in the Wider Insular World

5.1 Distribution of Old Testament Imagery[1]
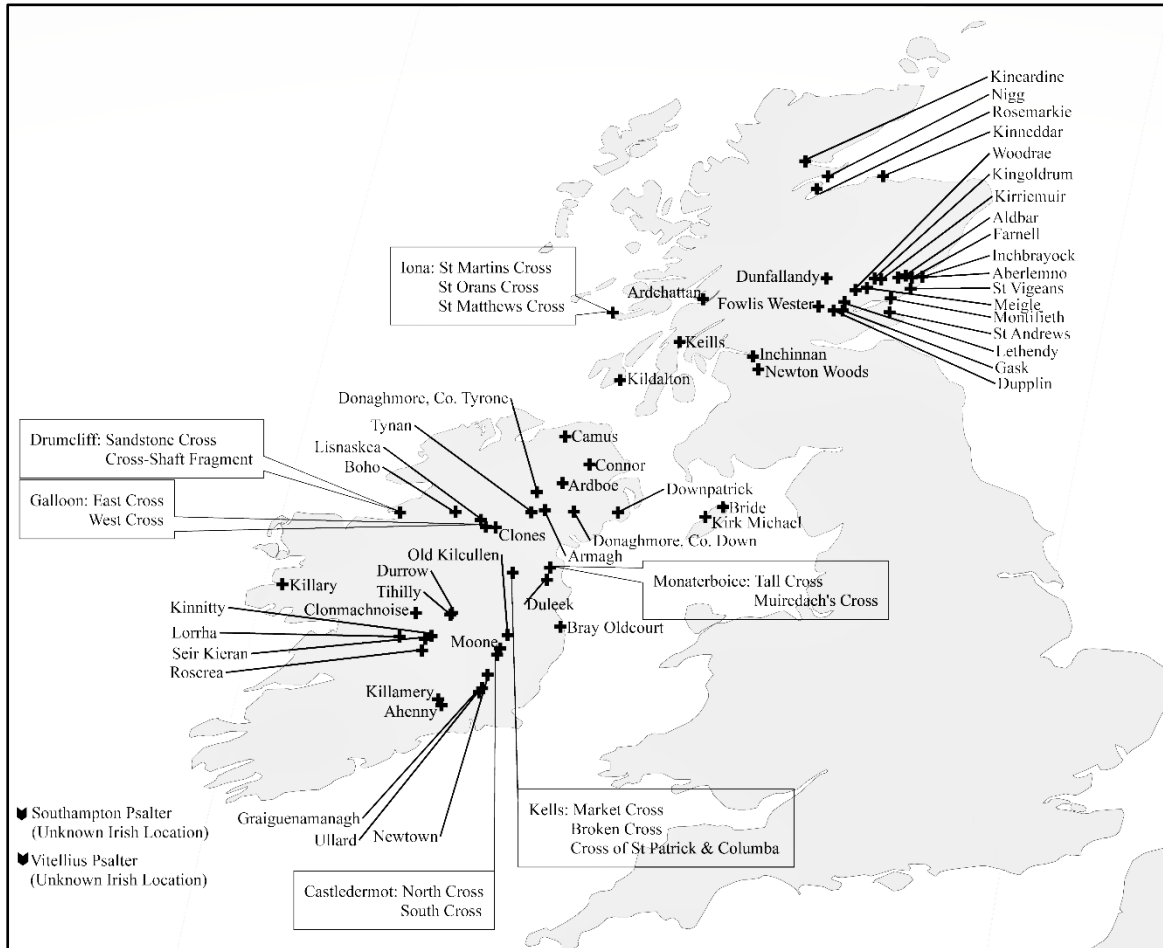
Key

✚   Stone Sculpture

◥   Manuscripts

●   Metalwork

★   Ivory

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[1] For a breakdown of the scene-types and numbers of instances of each scene-type, see App. 5.1-4

5.2 Introducing the Wider Insular World

Having set out in general ways in which the Old Testament was visualised in text and image in Anglo-Saxon England, it remains to further contextualise the material in the light of the ways it was presented in the extant material of the wider Insular world: Scotland, Ireland, Iona and Man.[2] Here, it is the images only that will be discussed as a full iconographic study of the extant images in these regions lies beyond the remit of this study with its focus on Anglo-Saxon England.

Turning first to Scotland, most of our knowledge of the region in the early medieval period (apart from a handful of inscriptions and a list of kings),[3] comes from those who encountered its peoples, such as Ammianus Marcellinus, a third-century Roman scholar, who is the first person to use the name *Picti* to describe the people of eastern Scotland.[4] The majority of accounts are not favourable. Marcellinus wrote of the *Picti* after failed attempts by the Romans to conquer the northern part of Britain; and Bede, following in the footsteps of earlier Roman accounts, viewed the people to the north as backwards, due to their resistance to "civilised" rule.[5]

Such issues apart, the early accounts do not reveal who occupied most of early medieval Scotland, and how they interacted with each other. Bede identifies five "groups:" the Northumbrians, Britons, Picts, Dál Riatians and Ionans (these last being tied closely with and residing in an area under the control of the Dál Riatians).[6] The Northumbrians had influence over the south of the region;[7] the Western Isles were under control of the Irish (*Scottorum*),[8] with the ecclesiastical powerhouse of Iona as their centre;[9] the Britons appear

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[2] Wales is not included in this chapter as no extant images of the Old Testament among the few biblical scenes that have survived from this region. See, Edwards, 2007: 82-83; Redknap and Lewis: 2007: 113-14

[3] There are eight principal versions surviving of two basic texts; the most complete being List 1 (Paris, BnF, Latin MS 4126); Henderson, 1967: 163-65

[4] Rivet and Smith, 1979: 158-59; Henderson and Henderson, 2004: 9

[5] Bede, *HE,* 1.1; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 16-17

[6] Bede, *HE,* 1.1; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 16-17; Henderson and Henderson, 2004: 9

[7] Ibid.

[8] Bede, *HE,* 1.1; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 16-17

[9] Henderson and Henderson, 2004: 9

to have lived in Govan around area of the Dumbarton Rock;[10] the west coast was under the control of the Dál Riatians;[11] and the east, from the Firth of Forth to the Shetland Isles, seems to have come under control of "the Picts."[12] But as to where the territories of these people began and ended, and how they interacted is unclear.

The majority of sculpture containing Old Testament imagery in early medieval Scotland tends to come from the area referred to as belonging to the Picts, with a very limited number coming from Briton. Nothing survives from Dál Riatia or from the part of Northumbria that now falls under modern Scotland, while those scenes that survive on Iona and the islands that belonged to its School (Kildalton, Kilnave and Keills) are discussed in a separate section.

Unlike early medieval Scotland more documentation survives relating to early medieval Ireland, including Chronicles which record key events in the region from 431/32 to 911.[13] This means it has been possible to gain a clearer understanding of the socio-political situation was in Ireland during the period when the high crosses, illustrating most of the surviving Old Testament scenes, were constructed.

Overall, it can be said that early medieval Ireland was divided into local, small kingdoms (*túath*) ruled by a king (*rí túaithe*); these fell under larger regional kingdoms (*túatha*) which in turn fell under the control of provincial kingdoms known as *cóiceda* run by a *rí cóicid* (king of a province), sometimes also referred to as *rí ruirech* (king of kings).[14] These provinces were: Laigen (the modern Kingdom of Leinster, located in the east), Mumu (Kingdom of Munster, south), Connacht (Kingdom of Connacht, west), Mide (Kingdom of

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.; Richter, 1999: 51-52
[13] These include: the Annals of Ulster (AU), the Clonmacnois Group (consisting of the Annals of TIgernach [AT], *Chronium Scotorum* [CS], and the Annals of Roscrea [AR]), the Annals of Inisfallen (AI), the Annals of Boyle (AB), the Annals of Loch Cé (LC), the Annals of Connacht (CT), the Annals of the Four Masters (FM), and Mageoghagan's Book (MB). Mc Carthy, 2008: 361-3
[14] MacCotter, 2008: 17-25; Bhreathnach, 2014: 40

Mide, midlands) and Ulaid (Kingdom of Ulster, north),[15] with a further two provinces being listed at the start of the ninth century: Ailech (north-west) and Airgíalla (in the north between Ailech and Ulaid).[16] There was one final level above a *rí cóicid* which was the kingship of Tara (*rex Temro*); this was not defined by any specific territorial kingdom, but the ceremony installing this kingship was held at the Hill of Tara, in Co. Meath and the title appeared to be used predominantly as a propaganda tool.[17] From the eighth century onwards the title was almost exclusively given to those who identified themselves as the descendants of Niall Noígiallach, the Uí Néill (the descendants of Niall) and consisted predominantly of kings from Aileach (northern Uí Néills) and Mide (southern Uí Néills).[18] Between 850 and 980, however, their power had begun to fade, perhaps compounded by the arrival and settlement of the Scandinavians in the region.[19]

Monumental sculptures containing Old Testament scenes surviving from early medieval Ireland are clustered primarily in Leinster, Mide and Ulster, with more limited survival in Munster and Connacht. Two manuscripts containing Old Testament imagery have also survived, and are thought to have been written in the first half of the tenth century (Vitellius Psalter) and the early eleventh century (Southampton Psalter).[20]

Geographically situated off the west coast of Scotland, the art of the island of Iona is situated iconographically between that of early medieval Scotland and Ireland. While Iona lay in an area under the control of the Dál Riatians, it was not necessarily subject to Dál Riatian control. Being a community of monks initially from the North of Ireland, it may have had a certain amount of freedom from Dál Riatian rule, with AU 574 detailing the "gift" of Iona to Columba by the Dál Riatian ruling house and the Uí Néils of Ulster in the sixth

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Duffy, 2014: 8-10
[17] Bhreathnach and Newman, 2008; Bhreathnach, 2014: 56;
[18] Ibid.: 60
[19] Jaski, 1995: 310; Valente, 2008: 81
[20] Alexander, 1978a: 88; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 138, 334

century.[21] Columba certainly travelled beyond the territory in his mission across Scotland,[22] but by the eighth century when it is thought the crosses may have been erected, the situation had changed.[23]

The links between the community and Ireland impacted the art of the Iona, with much of the art produced being influenced by what was happening in Ireland.[24] Iona also maintained links with other isles off the west coast of Scotland, leading to the production of a group of stylistically similar monuments, collectively referred to as the products of the Iona School.[25] The sculptures produced by this School share many iconographic and stylistic similarities with the art produced in Ireland, such as the use of ring-head crosses and volute trumpet spirals (or lotus buds).[26] Such close ties to Ireland make discussions of the art produced here better suited to discussions of the art of early medieval Ireland than Scotland. However, Iona and the other isles became part of Alba and despite the significant impact of Irish works, other influences are also present, such as the "Northumbrian" style of the Virgin and Child at Kildalton (Inner Hebrides),[27] and the proposed "Pictish" influence on the "knitted" interlace, boss and snake ornament of the Iona crosses.[28] Such influences were not one way, with Ionan or Irish influences appearing across Scotland, even as far away as Lethendy in Perth and Kinross.[29] Iona was one of the closest points of contact mainland Scotland had with Ireland, and through the Columban mission, many had been converted to

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[21] '*Mors Conaill m. Comghaill anno regni xui sui qui obtulit insolam Iae Columbe Cille*' AU 574; Richter, 1999: 51

[22] Bede, *HE* 3.3-4; Colgrave and Mynors, 1969: 218-225

[23] Hawkes, 1997b: 107

[24] Mac Lean, 1986: 175

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.: 185

[27] Curle, 1939-40: 96; Stevenson, 1956: 86; Hawkes, 2005: 259. While Hawkes does not specifically call the Virgin and Child scenes at Kildalton, St Martins and St Orans "Northumbrian," she makes a convincing case for "Columban Virgins," where the Columban communities of Iona and Lindisfarne perhaps loosely influenced other Columban centres such as Drumcliffe, Co. Sligo in Ireland, Brechin, Angus in Scotland and Dewsbury, West Yorkshire in England and that the Northumbrian connection was made through Lindisfarne's connections with Northumbria and its kings/ecclesiastical figures. See Hawkes, 1997b: 107-135

[28] Stevenson, 1956: 90; Henderson, 1987: 64; Gefreh, 2017: 78

[29] Henderson, 1986: 105

Christianity from Iona.[30] The scholarship, on the other hand, places Iona within the remit of Scotland,[31] with the Hendersons including it in their monographs on the *Art of the Picts* (though they do highlight Irish connections),[32] while Harbison excludes it from his *High Crosses of Ireland*.[33] However, any attempt to favour either side of the Irish *versus* Scottish debate as far as Iona is concerned is problematic, as it and its School's various traditions deserve to be considered as a product of both Ireland and Scotland.

Stone monuments from three locations belonging to the Iona School containing Old Testament imagery: Kildalton, Keills and Iona itself. Aside from these sculptures no other media containing Old Testament scenes survives from the region.

The final region discussed in this chapter, the Isle of Man, is strategically positioned in the north Irish Sea between Cumbria in north-west England, Galloway in south-west Scotland, Ulster in north-east Ireland and Anglesey in north-west Wales.[34] Like early medieval Scotland little survives textually to describe the socio-political environment of Man during the seventh to eleventh centuries, with the majority of our knowledge of the period, aside from runic and ogham inscriptions,[35] coming from external sources such as the Irish annals and sagas written before the arrival of the Scandinavians,[36] or later more problematic accounts such as the *c.*1200 *Orkneyinga saga*.[37]

It is generally accepted that the Scandinavians settled on Man around the year 900,[38] with grave burials providing some insight into these newcomers, suggesting that they were likely not Christian on arrival to the island and that conversion happened after they settled.[39] This is attested to by the high proportion of surviving incised stones and cross-slabs thought

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[30] Henderson, 1967: 69-75
[31] Allen and Anderson, 1903: 405; Henderson and Henderson, 2004: 9-13; Thomas, 2017: 215; Henderson, 1986: 49-85
[32] Henderson and Henderson, 2004: 185-88;
[33] Harbison, 1992
[34] Freke, 2002: 3
[35] Such as the tenth-century memorial cross at Kirk Michael 101 (74); Page, 1983: 140-1
[36] Wilson, 2008: 19; Byrne, 1973: 109-10
[37] Pálsson and Edwards, 1981: 9-10
[38] Cubbon, 1983: 13-19; Fellows-Jensen, 1983: 35; Wilson, 2008: 25-56; Trench-Jellicoe, 2002: 287
[39] Cubbon, 1983: 16-18; Wilson, 2008: 25-56;

to have been constructed after the Scandinavian settlement and conversion, with the total number likely to be close to one hundred.[40]

Overall, therefore, these various regions of the Insular world were subject to local socio-political and ecclesiastical events which nevertheless saw them connected to each other and Anglo-Saxon England. It is against this background that the art of the Old Testament was produced throughout the early Middle Ages across the region.

5.3 Visualising the Old Testament in Early Medieval Scotland

Although the number of Old Testament sculptural scenes surviving in early medieval Scotland is greater than that of Anglo-Saxon England, the range of scenes is fewer. Around two-thirds are of either Daniel in the Lions' Den (four proposed examples) or narratives from the life of King David (nineteen proposed examples); the remaining third consists of scenes of Adam and Eve (one scene), Samson and Delilah (one scene) and Samson Fighting the Philistine (one scene). This clearly attests to the popularity of David and to a lesser extent Daniel in Scotland during this period. However, due to the almost complete lack of textual material, it is near impossible to determine what significance they would have had to viewing audiences. In fact, our first-hand knowledge of the people of early medieval Scotland is largely derived from their artwork itself.[41]

This artwork largely takes the form of stone slabs, carved in relief with varied motifs and narrative scenes.[42] The most frequently used motifs form a repertoire of symbols such as the Z-rod, mirror and comb, and various animal forms (figs 5.1a-c). These have received considerable scholarly attention attempting either to document or decipher them.[43] It is partially due to their presence and the fact that they are unique to present-day Scotland which

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[40] Wilson, 2008: 60; Trench-Jellicoe, 2002
[41] Geddes, 2017: 130-31
[42] For detailed examination into several creature and symbols found in Pictish art, see Geddes, 2017: 119-31
[43] Stevenson, 1956: 97; Thomas, 1963; Fraser, 2008; Jackson, 1993; Goldberg, 2012: 161-69, 171-72

has led to the region being largely excluded from wider Insular studies; both in terms of nationalistic concerns[44] and uncertainty over how to relate the motifs to subjects produced in the art of the wider region. This has begun to be addressed by scholars such as Foster, Geddes, Goldberg, the Hendersons and King, who, by focusing on the figural depictions on the stones, attempt to demonstrate the links between the art of Pictish and early medieval Scotland with that of the Continent and the rest of the Insular world.[45] Such studies nevertheless are rare and more work is still to be carried out to fully integrate the art produced in early medieval Scotland with Europe generally and the rest of the Insular world particularly.

As far as the depiction of the Old Testament is concerned, the scenes tend to feature on high relief cross-slabs, recumbent stones and in one instance a high cross analogous in style to Anglo-Saxon high crosses. No metalwork, ivories or manuscripts containing Old Testament imagery are thought to survive from the region.[46]

The dating of these monuments tends to be based on John Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson's seminal 1903 work: *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*. Here, the sculpture – largely contained in the east/Pictland – was divided into three classes which follow a rough sequential timeline from incised work, incised with shallow relief, shallow relief without incised work and finally high-relief sculpture,[47] with the general assumption that the Pictish symbols gradually gave way to Christian imagery in an almost a linear progression.[48] It is also generally accepted that relief sculpture began to be produced in early

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[44] A desire to show Scotland as independent from the rest of the Insular world, for example see Jackson, 1993
[45] Henderson, 1967: 144-47; Foster, 1998a; Geddes, 2011: 129; Geddes, 2017: 85-106; Goldberg, 2012: 154-58; Henderson and Henderson, 2004: 9-13; King, 2017: 130-37
[46] In fact, there are thought to be very few manuscripts surviving from early medieval Scotland in general, with the most famous example being the ninth- or tenth-century Book of Deer (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS. Li.6.32), which contains a miniature of the Four Evangelists (fol. 1v), alongside three individual portraits of the Evangelists Mark, Luke and John (fol. 16v, fol. 29v, fol. 41v). While metalwork hoards from the region, such as the St Ninian's Isle treasure or Galloway Hoard, tend not to have figural decorations. See Alexander, 1978a: 87 for the argument surrounding dating the Book of Deer and for identifying the manuscript as Scottish in origin.
[47] Allen and Anderson, 1903: I, 3-4; Henderson and Henderson, 2004: 10-11
[48] Allen and Anderson, 1903: I, 3-4; Curle, 1939-40: 105; Stevenson, 1956: 112-113; Henderson and Henderson, 2004: 10; Goldberg, 2015: 180

medieval Scotland in the early eighth century,[49] perhaps under the influence of neighbouring Northumbria;[50] this opinion however, is not unanimous, with others, such as Laing, proposing later ninth- and tenth-century dates for the high relief sculptures.[51]

There are nevertheless, a few pieces of Pictish sculpture that can be more firmly dated. The Latin inscription on TR13 at Portmahomack, Easter Ross (fig. 5.2), for example, is composed of Insular majuscule stylistically very similar to that of the Lindisfarne Gospels, suggesting a possible early eighth century date for the piece.[52] Likewise the presence of an inscription on the Drosten stone (fig. 5.3) at St Vigeans, Angus has been taken to suggest a date of 839-42,[53] and the Dupplin Cross (fig. 5.4), now housed in Dunning, Perth and Kinross has been dated to around 820 due to its inscription.[54] In both these latter cases, however, there is some doubt as to the identification of the individuals named, and whether the monuments were erected during their lifetime.[55] It is, therefore, difficult to provide a clear date range for the production of the sculpture that contains Old Testament imagery, but an assumption that most were likely produced on monuments carved in high relief from the eighth century onwards seems to be the most generally accepted and thus places the carvings alongside those of the Anglian and early Viking-age sculpture of Anglo-Saxon England.

While the majority of the Old Testament subjects surviving in early medieval Scotland are also found in Anglo-Saxon England, the manner in which they are depicted differs. As noted David is the most frequently depicted Old Testament figure in both regions, and accounts for more than half of the extant Old Testament scenes in Scotland. Of those, David the Psalmist, and David Combating the Lion have been identified on thirteen monuments, with both variants of David the Psalmist being depicted; David Dictating the

[49] Hughes, 1970: 10; Henderson, 1967: 127-34; Henderson, 1982: 83-84; Henderson, 2008: 202-203; Werner, 1990: n. 13, 108
[50] See for example: Henderson, 1982: 83-84; MacLean, 1998: 345
[51] Laing, 2000: 81-114
[52] Higgitt, 1982: 310-15; Carver, 2008: 107
[53] Clancy, 1993: 345-53: For a detailed study of the inscription see Clancy, 2017: 107-118
[54] Forsyth, 1995: 237-49
[55] Laing, 2000: 82

Psalms and David as Psalmist. While both concern David's authorship of at least part of the Book of Psalms, each has its own specific iconography and symbolic references.[56]

Sometimes David the Psalmist and David Combatting the Lion are presented together on a single monument, as at Ardchattan, Argyll (fig. 5.5a-b) and Dupplin (fig.5.6a-b). Alternatively, a harp – representing the Psalmist – is juxtaposed with a scene of David Rending the Jaws of the Lion, as at Aberlemno, Angus (fig. 5.7), Aldbar, Angus (fig. 5.8), Kincardine, Sutherland (fig. 5.9a-b) and Nigg, Easter Ross (fig. 5.10).[57] It was proposed by Isabel Henderson that there is perhaps one example of a lion – representing David Combating the Lion – placed adjacent to an image of David playing the harp on a fragment at St Andrews, Fife, and the drawing of the fragment provided in the article shows a figure plucking a harp (figs 5.11a-b).[58] Close inspection of the piece, however, shows that there are no strings and the harp are not present: the fragment preserves the remains of a figure extending both his hands cupping a square recess, which can reasonably be assumed to have once contained a relic.[59]

A monument featuring only David Rends the Jaws of the Lion is preserved at Kinneddar, Moray (fig. 5.12) and on the St Andrews sarcophagus (fig. 5.13) but the fragmentary nature of these pieces means a harp or another Davidic scene may originally have also been included.[60] David Dictating the Psalms (without accompanying Davidic scenes) can be found at Lethendy, Perth and Kinross (fig. 5.72),[61] and it has also been proposed that David the Psalmist is depicted at Kingoldrum (fig. 5.14), Kirriemuir (fig. 5.15) and Monifieth (fig. 5.16) all in Angus.[62]

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[56] Hawkes, 2011a: 35
[57] Henderson, 1967: 152-57; Trench-Jellicoe, 1997: 160; Geddes, 2017: 132
[58] Henderson, 1986: 103-104
[59] Many thanks to Professor Jane Hawkes for highlighting the inaccuracy of Robertsons' drawing and suggesting an alternative layout of the fragment.
[60] Henderson, 1967: 152
[61] Geddes, 2017: 132
[62] Allen and Anderson, 1903: I, 405; Henderson, 1986: 87; Hawkes, 1997b: 157

The association of Davidic scenes is not confined to Scotland alone. In Ireland, examples of David Combating the Lion alongside the Psalmist are preserved on the Market Cross at Kells, Co. Meath (figs 5.44d, 5.50g) and the West Cross at Durrow, Co. Offlay (figs 5.44c, 5.50e), and in England, on the Masham Column, North Yorkshire (figs 3.33, 3.41), the Sockburn cross fragment, Co. Durham (fig. 4.10), both display the pairing, as does the Durham Cassiodorus – potentially (figs 3.27, 3.42). Due to the limited survival of images in Anglo-Saxon England, the apparent relative importance of the David scenes could well be false, but having two David scenes preserved together on two separate stone monuments does seem to point to his importance as both Psalmist and combatant in the region. By contrast, the fact that both these David scenes are preserved on just two monuments in Ireland, where a far greater number of Old Testament and David scenes survive, seems to indicate that it was deemed less important to present these two aspects of David together than elsewhere in the Insular world.

The second most frequently depicted Old Testament figure in early medieval Scotland is Daniel, with four proposed examples surviving at Dunkeld, Perth and Kinross (fig. 5.17), Meigle, Perth and Kinross (fig. 5.18), and more tentatively at St Vigeans (fig. 5.19), Inchinnan, Renfrewshire (fig. 5.20), with one potential (lost) example at Newton Woods, Dumfries and Galloway.[63] And although all of the images differ in the number of lions depicted (ranging from one to four) all, apart from the recumbent slab at St Vigeans, have the heads of the lions next to – often licking – the head of Daniel; St Vigeans differs as the hands of Daniel are placed in the jaws of the lions. Daniel in the Lions' Den does not survive on the sculpture of Anglo-Saxon England and only appears once in manuscripts surviving from the period (the Antwerp Sedulius, fig. 3.50). The relative absence and presence of this scene thus represent the greatest divergence in depictions of Old Testament scenes between Anglo-Saxon England and early medieval Scotland. In fact, when also taking

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[63] Allen and Anderson, 1903: 405; Henderson, 1967: 144-45; Geddes, 2017: 156, 193-94

into account the depiction of the scene on early medieval Irish sculpture, where there are thirteen proposed instances (figs 5.43a-m),[64] the comparative lack of representations of Daniel in the Lions' Den surviving in Anglo-Saxon monumental sculpture is markedly unusual in the context of the Insular world as a whole with the only surviving witness to the scene in Anglo-Saxon England closely following the established early Christian iconographic type of Daniel standing orant, between two submissive lions.

Of the early medieval Scottish examples, none appear to follow the depiction of Daniel in the Lions' Den found on late antique sarcophagi or frescos (figs 3.49a-c, 3.52a-d). The "Pictish" arrangement is, however, paralleled in the Irish depictions of the scene such as those at Ahenny, South Cross, Co. Tyro (fig. 5.43b, Moone, Co. Kildare (fig. 5.43k) and Castledermot (South Cross, Co. Kildare (fig. 5.43d), suggesting at the very least that Scotland and Ireland had access to a similar type of iconographic scheme of Daniel in the Lions' Den that differed from early Christian types, in stark contrast to the only Anglo-Saxon version of the scene.

The only other Old Testament scene from early medieval Scotland that has parallels within the rest of the Insular world is an Adam and Eve scene surviving at Farnell, Angus (fig. 5.21) and although the central image is similar to other Insular examples (figs 5.39a, b, e),[65] it differs in one significant way; the two large snakes flanking the scene make this image unique and perplexing. Perhaps the dual snake motif is best explained as an intended reference to Psalm 90: "Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample underfoot the lion and the dragon" referring to Christ redemptive death saving believers from Original Sin,[66] with the serpents being used to depict the asp and the basilisk.

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[64] Ardboe; Castledermot, South Cross; Kells, Market Cross; Kells, the Cross of St Patrick and Columba; Monasterboice, Tall Cross; Moone

[65] Its closest parallel is Donaghmore, Co. Down, but it retains the layout of the majority of Insular scenes where Adam and Eve flack a central tree with bulbous fruits on the end of its branches.

[66] "*super aspidem et basiliscum calcabis conculcabis leonem et draconem.*" Psalm 90:13. See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 156-57

Among the only Old Testament scenes surviving in Scotland, those depicting Samson appear to be unique and both are preserved on one monument: the Inchbrayock, Angus, cross-slab now located in the Montrose Museum. This depicts Samson fighting the Philistine (fig. 5.22a) and Delilah cutting Samson's hair (fig. 5.22b).[67] Both are also unique in the Insular world, where the only other surviving portrayals of Samson illustrate him Carrying the Gates of Gaza at Masham and Cundall, North Yorkshire (figs 3.22-23) in England; and Samson and the Lion at Old Kilcullen, West Shaft, Co. Kildare and Kells, Cross of St Patrick and Columba, Co. Meath (figs 5.57a-b) in Ireland. Each of these scenes must have held some specific and special significance to the commissioner of the pieces, but as very little in the way of early Christian or early medieval exegesis, homilies or sermons survive to explain their significance within the Insular world, the motives informing the decision of the Inchbrayock commissioner to depict Samson fighting the Philistine and Samson with Delilah is all but lost. However, it is possible to examine, in the case of Samson and Delilah, the possible iconographic type lying behind the image.

This scene is found in the lower right corner of the cross-face of the slab (fig. 5.22b) and shows an elongated Delilah standing on the right and a shortened Samson on the left. The distinctive sizing of the two figures serves to fill the unusual space created by the ring of the cross above and shows a deliberate attempt to fill the space with the scene as opposed to creating the scene in the correct proportions and filling the remaining space with another scene or decorative feature.

Samson, standing in profile, wears a half-length tunic. His right arm is outstretched towards Delilah and his left awkwardly bent up and round his head. It has been proposed that the unusual position of Samson's arm reflects the model used by the creators of the Inchbrayock slab. There is an example of Delilah cutting Samson's hair in the ninth-century Byzantine *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (fig 5.23),[68] where Samson is shown reclining

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[67] Henderson, 1967: 145-47; Hawkes, 1997b: 153
[68] Paris, BnF, MS. Gr. 510, fol. 347v

with his arm supporting his head in a pose resembling that elongated at Inchbrayock. This led Henderson to argue that the awkward position of the arm of the standing Samson at Inchbrayock was due to the creators of the slab adapting a scene such as that in the *Homilies*, twisting Samson from a recumbent position to an upright one, without repositioning the arm.[69] The unusual proportions of the Samson and Delilah figures help to support this hypothesis; it is not implausible that the creators of the Inchbrayock scene only had access to a depiction of Samson lying down and, due to the confines of space (or, less likely, the intended iconographic significance of having him standing, whatever that may have been), they adapted the scene, resulting in the somewhat awkward depiction of Samson.

If Samson and Delilah at Inchbrayock can be seen as an adaptation of a (eastern) continental model, it demonstrates that this area of early medieval Scotland was in contact with the rest of medieval Europe, with access to this model coming either from direct contact with the Continent – and ultimately in the eastern Mediterranean – or through Anglo-Saxon England / early medieval Ireland. Furthermore, like the depictions of Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza in North Yorkshire which seems to share an ultimately eastern Mediterranean source with the Inchbrayock Samson and Delilah, it can be suggested that although there was a limited interest in Samson in Anglo-Saxon England and early medieval Scotland (and he was not frequently depicted in the early Christian world generally), the fact that he was depicted in ways that sometimes demanded the adaptation of the models accessed, attests to the determination to depict this Old Testament figure in the region at this time.

Having discussed the similarities and differences between the depiction of the Old Testament in early medieval Scotland and the rest of the Insular world, what remains is to discuss those scenes which have been proposed as illustrating Old Testament episodes, but a detailed iconographic study indicates that there is some doubt as to whether these identifications can be supported.

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[69] Henderson, 1967: 145-47

Among these are scenes identified as David the Psalmist. When identifying a scene as depicting this subject it is important to consider that not all singular figures with harps need necessarily illustrate David, especially when they lack any further identifier such as a lion or lamb. Harpists were important figures in royal courts;[70] in Old English poetry every time the harp (*hearpan*) is mentioned in an earthly, as opposed to heavenly, context it is linked to the Hall.[71] It is possible, therefore, that some harpists are not in fact David but perhaps are secular individuals related to royal courts.[72] Obviously these figures would recall David, but that does not necessarily mean they *are* David; without any other signifier to identify the individual as the Old Testament prophet it is problematic at best to identify all harpists as David. This may particularily be the case at Kingoldrum (fig. 5.14) and Kirriemuir (fig. 5.15), where the harpist sits surrounded by additional symbols of power, such as mirrors and combs, suggesting that these may be visual representations of secular individuals.[73] At Montifieth the harpist is depicted without any additional symbols that would help identify them as either David or a secular individual, but their inclusion on a cross-shaft, beneath what is likely a Crucifixion scene, perhaps suggests the harpist should be viewed as David.

Likewise, if the identification of the St Vigeans (fig. 5.19) and Inchinnan (fig. 5.20) scenes as Daniel in the Lions' Den can be confirmed, then both are iconographically unique in the Insular world; understandably, therefore, there has been some debate over their identification. While, at St Vigeans, the leonine style of the animals body (characterised by the well-pronounced flank and lines running down the neck suggesting a mane) and the figure with outstretched arms standing between two beasts has led some scholars to declare,

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[70] Stoner, 2015: 204-10

[71] For example, see the 'Last Survivors' lament in *Beowulf* (lines 2262b-2263a), the lament in the *Seafarer* (line 42a) and the king rewarding the harpist in the *Fortunes of Men* (lines 80a-84b); see, Stoner, 2015: 204

[72] This has been proposed in Anglo-Saxon England at St Alkmund, Derbyshire, where a secular figure holds a large sword and harp. See Stoner, 2015: 210

[73] Mack suggests that it is a seated female figure at both Kingoldrum and Kirriemuir, while Trench-Jellicoe and Geddes propose an identification of the Virgin Mary at the Annunciation for Kirriemuir. See, Mack, 1997: 36, 67; Trench-Jellicoe, 1999: 609-10; Geddes, 2017: 134

with some considerable degree of certainty, that is depicts Daniel in the Lions' Den,[74] the difference in the ears of the creatures (one triangular and the other round) and the apparent lack of tail on the right-hand creature, perhaps casts doubt on this identification. It suggests that the beasts may be different and so were not intended to depict two lions.[75] This leaves the identity of the scene as Daniel in the Lions' Den open to question at the very least. At Inchinnan, the figure does not stand in the orans pose, as is the norm in such scenes from a very early date, and the "lions" stand open-jawed with their heads on either side of the human's head, which together make this proposed Daniel scene even more debatable: it does not conform to either early Christian models or other Pictish examples.

It has also been suggested that the Rosemarkie, Rossshire fragment (fig. 5.24) depicts Daniel in the Lions' Den, but if so it too is unparalleled in both early medieval Scotland and the wider Insular and Continental worlds.[76] The central figure is shown in profile rather than facing forwards, and the "lions"[77] are not uniform in size, shape or pose and due to the fragmentary nature of the stone only the heads of all the creatures licking "Daniel" survive. In fact, apart from the tongues of two beasts licking the head of the man there appears to be no clear signifiers that the scheme depicts Daniel in the Lions' Den in keeping with other Insular versions of the scene, such as the clearly identifiable Pictish scenes at Meigle (fig. 5.18) and Dunkeld (fig. 5.19) or Irish scenes such as that found at Moone, Co. Kildare (fig. 5.43k), where uniformly sized lions bow in submission and lick the orant David; the fragmentary nature of the Rosemarkie stone means it is impossible to place the scene in a wider iconographic scheme. If the stone had once contained a cross this might have aided identification of the scene as a Christian/Daniel scene, but even with the addition of a cross, the unusual layout and unique depictions of the figure and the accompanying beasts makes the Rosemarkie carving, at best, an uncertain addition to the wider pool of Daniel scenes.[78]

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[74] Allen and Anderson, 1903: 405; Henderson, 1967: 144-45
[75] Geddes describes them as monsters. Geddes, 2017: 193-94
[76] Brown, 2003a: 288
[77] Isabel Henderson describes the larger creature as lion-like. Henderson, 1990: 18
[78] Henderson, 1990: 19

While some of the identifications of David and Daniel are dubious, at least other clear examples survive, testifying to their existence in the art of early medieval Scotland. There is, however, a question surrounding the identification of Jonah and the *Ketos*, and an in-depth study of the surviving scenes identified as illustrating this subject in the region demonstrates that unfortunately this scene was probably not depicted.[79]

There are four proposed scenes, which all depict a mythical monster consuming or regurgitating what appears to be a human body. Of these, two include the legs only in the mouth of a creature, knees bent and legs apart (Dunfallandy, Perth and Kinross [figs 5.25a(i-ii)] and Woodrae, Angus [fig. 5.25b]); the other two depict more of the body with only the head in the mouth of the creature (Fowlis Wester [fig. 5.25c] and Gask [fig. 5.25d] both in Perth and Kinross).[80] As far as the creature is concerned, that at Woodrae is a quadruped with what appears to be a snake's head for a tail bending round to the underside of the body; Gask also includes a quadruped, but its tail flicks out above it and appears to terminate in interlace;[81] the Fowlis Wester creature on the other hand has a beast-like head with a long body, no discernible legs (front or back) and the tail end of the body curls up; Dunfallandy depicts a biped with a fish-like tail which closely resembles the tails of the hippocamps on the Meigle slab, although the head of the Dunfallandy biped is not sufficiently equine to be convincingly compared with them.[82] The only feature all four creatures (at Dunfallandy, Woodrae, Gask and Fowlis Wester) have in common are their heads, which are distinguished by a long snout and triangular ear. Apart from a human body, emerging legs-first, from the mouth of these various beasts, the schemes display no standardised iconographic arrangement, making it hard to argue that they even depict the same event. Furthermore, none of the creatures share features common to depictions of the *ketos* with at least one large

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[79] Anderson attempts a study in 1876, however, many of his conclusions are problematic. Anderson, 1876: 393-405
[80] Henderson, 1967: 145
[81] Although it is hard to discern this from the extremely weathered state of the stone.
[82] Meigle 26

loop in its tail. Overall, it is hard to argue that these images were intended to depict any of the Jonah episodes popularised in early Christian art (figs 3.53a-f). Henderson has asserted that the fish-tail on the Dunfallandy cross slab is similar to that of the *ketos*,[83] but, although it does share with many late antique examples, the small u-bend at the end of the tail, before the fin, it does not have the distinctive loop. In fact, if the tail of the Dunfallandy creature is considered as a parallel to the hippocampi at Meigle, it is more probable that the beast at Dunfallandy was loosely based on an early Christian model of a hippocamp (fig. 5.26), which was then adapted to fit the perceived needs of the subject being depicted there.

Beyond early medieval Scotland, images of the story of Jonah and the *Ketos* appear frequently and with almost uniform iconography on sarcophagi and other related Christian funerary art dating back to the fourth century, and the scheme had probably already been standardised in its iconographic arrangement and elements prior to this. In these images, (which includes those from Anglo-Saxon England) the narrative is, furthermore, almost without exception, a compound of three main episodes. The first shows Jonah thrown to the *ketos* from a boat above the creature, head-first (fig. 3.53a-b), second, Jonah is regurgitated by the *ketos*, where he is seen emerging head-first from the creature's mouth (fig. 3.53c-d); and third, Jonah finally lies under the gourd, one leg crossed over another, one arm lying along his body and the other bending up round his head (fig. 3.53f).

The location and position of all four human bodies in the Pictish examples suggest they are not in the act of being cast into the creature's mouth in order to represent Jonah being thrown to the *ketos* as might be expected given the established iconographic depictions of the *ketos* consuming Jonah head-first.[84] Alternatively, if these images were intended to illustrate Jonah being Regurgitated by the *Ketos*, the fact that the figure emerges legs-first does not coincide with the standardised iconography of that part of the Jonah narrative. Furthermore, the *ketos* is standardised in the early Christian period, with a head that most

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[83] Henderson, 1967: 144-45
[84] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 179-85

closely resembles a canine, a U-bend neck which extends from a body with a pair of front legs, no hindquarters, and a tail which is bent and loops round itself once before terminating in a tail-fin. Even when certain elements are removed from any of the early Christian scenes, as in an example preserved in the Vatican museum collection of sarcophagi (inv. 31474; ex 137, fig. 5.27) it is still instantly recognisable as a Jonah scene due to the well-established iconographic arrangement and the other elements.

Because so little survives of the early medieval art of Scotland this has led to some images being interpreted as illustrating biblical events when perhaps no such direct reference was originally intended. The abundance of Jonah imagery found in late antique art demonstrates that it was a very popular subject during the fourth to fifth centuries, and in art historical scholarship it is well-established methodological approach to identify the art-historical sources of early medieval/Insular versions in such material when it is known that the early medieval/Insular creators frequently used, copied and adapted late antique/early Christian models. Therefore, when early scholars turned to interpreting the images found in early medieval Scotland and saw images of monsters with human bodies in their mouths they naturally inferred that these must be Pictish versions of Jonah and the *Ketos*.[85] This influenced subsequent scholars, who accepted the interpretation without any clear iconographic assessment to strengthen their observations.[86]

From this survey it is clear that the depiction of the Old Testament in early medieval Scotland follows similar preferences for Old Testament scenes as in Anglo-Saxon England, with only one major addition: Daniel in the Lion's Den. However, where it diverges from Anglo-Saxon England (in the decision to include it on sculpture), this scene corresponds to

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[85] Allen and Anderson, 1903: I, 405, II, 243, 288

[86] Henderson, 1997: 37; Isabel Henderson does carry out a limited iconographic study of the similarities between the Dunfallandy creature and the *ketos*, but omits significant iconographic differences between the Scottish scene and early Christian examples, in particular the position of the human in the mouth of the creature and the lack of the distinctive loops in the tail of the proposed *ketos* at Dunfallandy. See, Henderson, 1969: 144-47

the preference for this particular scene in Ireland. There is also a clear preference for the figure David, which matches choices made across the Insular world.

5.4 Visualising the Old Testament in Early Medieval Ireland

As in early medieval Scotland and Anglo-Saxon England scenes relating to the Fall of Adam and Eve, and the figure David proliferate in early medieval Ireland, and, as in early medieval Scotland there is also a considerable interest in depicting Daniel in the Lions' Den. However, despite such shared interests with the rest of the Insular world as far as preferences for these subjects is concerned, early medieval Ireland is distinct when considering the ways in which these Old Testament scenes were depicted.

Here, most of the Old Testament imagery survives on monumental stone sculptures, with a further four illustrations (specifically David) surviving in two Psalter manuscripts (Vitellius and Southampton Psalters);[87] no metalwork or ivories containing Old Testament scenes survive from the region. The sculptural monuments most frequently take the form of the high cross – although there is one "pillar" with an Old Testament scene surviving at Carndonagh, Co. Donegal – which differ in form to the surviving Anglo-Saxon crosses, as they tend to have a ring joining the arms, a large rectangular or cubic, often stepped-base, and many have capstones.[88]

As is the case generally with the sculpture of the Insular world it is often difficult to propose any firm date for the monuments based on stylistic trends and/or historical sources regarding ecclesiastical foundations.[89] Monasteries such as Kells, Co. Meath and Castledermot, Co. Kildare were founded at the beginning of the ninth century,[90] so it is unlikely that the sculpture at these sites would have been constructed prior to this. There is

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[87] London, BL, MS Cotton Vitellius F. XI (Vitellius Psalter) and Cambridge, St John's College, MS C 9 (Southampton Psalter)
[88] Werner, 1990: 98
[89] Stalley, 1996: 38
[90] Kells was founded about 804 and Castledermot 812. See, Stalley, 1996: 38

also an inscription on the bottom of the cross at Castlebernard, Co. Offaly, stating it was erected by the High King Máelsechnail I, likely dating it to between 846-862,[91] and the inscription on one of the crosses at Monasterboice, Co. Louth, includes reference to "Muirdach", the name of an abbot thought to have died in 923 or 924, which scholars regard as the *ante quem* date for the construction of the eponymous Muirdach Cross.[92] In fact, the individual or workshop responsible for the cross is also thought to be responsible for at least seven of the "Scripture Crosses" of the Irish Midlands, including those at Kells, Monasterboice, Durrow and Clonmacnoise (also in Co. Offlay), and Duleek, Co. Meath, all of which have been proposed to display Old Testament imagery.[93] If the association with Abbot Muiredach who died in the early tenth century can be accepted, it would seem that the "Muiredach Master" was most likely operating at this time,[94] producing the monuments at a time when the Scandinavians were in control of northern England and the Benedictine Reform was being undertaken in the South.

Harbison has been proposed that the crosses of the "Muiredach Master" seem to attest to a desire to expand subjects on high crosses in this part of Ireland, with nearly every available space on the monuments being filled with scenes from the Old and New Testaments.[95] Whether this is in fact the case will be explored further below, but there does seem to be a case for the expansion of Old Testament subjects depicted, alongside an increase in New Testament, ecclesiastical and secular imagery.[96] Most of the crosses containing Old Testament imagery outside this group depict only a limited number of such scenes, most frequently: the Fall or Adam and Eve, Cain Killing Abel, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Noah's Ark, Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace and the figure David as Psalmist, Rending the Jaws of the Lion or Combatting Goliath, all of which are spread across

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[91] Harbison, 1999: 172
[92] Stalley, 1996: 38
[93] Stalley, 2014: 141
[94] Stalley, 1997: 135; Stalley, 2007: 153-66; Stalley, 2014: 141
[95] Harbison, 1992: 338-42
[96] See discussion below, pp. 282-86

a number of monuments. That at Boho, Co. Fermanagh, for instance, depicts only the Fall of Adam and Eve, while that at Killamery, Co. Kilkenny, includes only Noah's Ark in its repertoire. The crosses of the "Muirdach Master" on the other hand present a number of these scenes on each monument, as well as introducing "new" Old Testament scenes, such as Moses Receiving the Law, Samson and the Lion, and an increase in the number of scenes depicting David. This echoes developments in the south of Anglo-Saxon England during the tenth century, albeit in a different medium – manuscript miniatures – where there is a rapid expansion in psalters containing Davidic imagery and an increased focus on the Fall of Adam and Eve (Junius 11 and the OE Hexateuch), alongside the rendering of "new" scenes, such as cycles of scenes related to Noah and Moses Receiving the Law, all contained in the highly decorated OE Hexateuch.

Despite the difficulties involved in dating the sculptures of early medieval Ireland, it does seem that from the second half of the ninth century onwards Ireland entered a period of considerable activity in sculptural production.[97] This coincides with the arrival of the Scandinavians in the Insular world, beginning with sporadic raids in early medieval Ireland occurring between 795-836,[98] and an increased focus on raiding churches occurring between 830-849, the period which Etchingham has outlined as that which saw more than half of all Scandinavian raids taking place on Irish ecclesiastical settlements.[99] It is also the period when the Scandinavians began to settle in Ireland, with Dublin being taken over by the family members of an influential Norwegian family who established their "capital" there in the ninth century.[100] Thus, as in Anglo-Saxon England, the arrival of the Scandinavians impacted, either directly or indirectly on the art produced during the period.[101]

Perhaps the most significant difference between early medieval Ireland and the rest of the Insular world is the prevalence of three Old Testament scenes, which appear on what

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[97] Werner, 1990: 99; Henry, 1964: I, 139-43; Stevenson, 1956: 92; Hicks, 1980: 6-7
[98] Valente, 2008: 82
[99] Etchingham, 1996: 52
[100] Valente, 2008: 50-56, 82
[101] Murray, Thursday 13 July 2017

is thought to be some of the earliest monumental sculptures surviving in the region as well as some of the latest: Cain Slaying Abel, Noah's Ark and the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace. While these three scenes are either alluded to or depicted elsewhere in the Insular world,[102] their proliferation in Ireland is in stark contrast to the selection of Old Testament scenes found in early medieval Scotland and Anglo-Saxon England.

Of these, perhaps the largest divergence from both the rest of the Insular world and the rest of the early Christian world is the depiction of Cain Slaying Abel. This scene is almost entirely absent from early Christian and early medieval art, with only a handful of examples surviving,[103] including two from Anglo-Saxon England preserved in the OE Hexateuch (fig. 5.28a)[104] and Junius 11 (fig. 5.28b)[105] manuscripts. Both show Cain wielding a weapon (a machete-like weapon in the OE Hexateuch and a club in Junius 11) over his brother, who lies prostrate with his blood rising out of the ground, referring to Genesis 4:10: "Your brother's blood cries out to me from the ground."[106] Although sharing this subject matter, the Irish depictions do not follow the Anglo-Saxon examples. Instead the pair stand upright, with Cain wielding a weapon about to strike Abel. If it was not for the fact that three of the Irish depictions (Kells, Market Cross and Cross of St Patrick and Columba; and Monasterboice, Muirdach's Cross, figs 5.29a-c) show Cain Slaying Abel in the same panel as the Fall of Adam and Eve, it would be hard to firmly identify the scenes due to the scarcity of comparable early Christian or early medieval depictions, and indeed, the scenes at the Ardboe, North Market Cross, Co. Tyrone (fig. 5.30a); Armagh, Market Cross, Co. Armagh (fig. 5.30b) and Durrow, West Cross, Co. Offlay (fig. 5.30c) are only identified as Cain Slaying Abel by means of their similarity to the Kells and Monasterboice scenes. A further

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[102] The Three Children in the Fiery Furnace is alluded to on the Honington Clip inscription, Noah's Ark is depicted in both the OE Hexateuch (fols 14r-15v) and Junius 11 (pp. 65, 66, 68, 73), while Cain Slaying Abel can be found on St Martins Cross, Iona, which is now part of modern day Scotland and in the OE Hexateuch (fol. 8v) and Junius 11 (p. 49) manuscripts.

[103] Harbison, 1992: 195

[104] Fol. 8v

[105] p. 49

[106] "*Dixitque ad eum: Quid fecisti? vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra.*" Gen. 4:10

five scenes have also been proposed: at Camus, Co. Derry (fig. 5.30d), Clones, Co. Monaghan (fig. 5.30e), Connor, Co. Antrim (fig. 5.30f), Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone (fig. 5.30g) and Old Kilcullen, Co. Kildare (fig. 5.30h), but the addition of a third figure at Camus, Clones, Connor and Donaghmore makes this identification problematic,[107] and the inclusion of ecclesiastical objects and a recumbent, potentially bound, Abel on the Old Kilcullen cross makes the identification of Cain and Abel here extremely unlikely. Recently Stalley, following Stokes, has provided a more convincing explanation, identifying the scheme as featuring a local ecclesiastical figure, perhaps even the bishop Mac Táil who is believed to have been the founder of Old Kilcullen.[108]

Also distinct are the scenes of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace whose portrayal in Irish art varies considerably,[109] but none conform with early Christian depictions which are found predominantly in funerary contexts, on sarcophagi and in catacombs (figs 5.31a-b). These tend to show the three Hebrews standing, with their arms up-raised in the orans position, in a rectangular arched furnace with flames appearing from below. In some instances a figure stokes the flames (fig. 5.31c), and in others an angel accompanies the Hebrews in the fire (fig. 5.31b).[110] However, in the Irish examples[111] the Hebrews crouch or stand either under a dome with an angel above, or directly under the arched wings of the angel (figs 5.32a-f, 5.33a-b). At Kells (fig. 5.32d) and Monasterboice (fig. 5.32e) two figures stand on either side of the Hebrews holding logs and at Ardboe (fig. 5.32a) and Armagh (5.32b) the flames of the furnace appear behind the angel. As the depiction of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace is adapted in each instance to suit the specific iconographic needs of the monument, it seems clear that not only was this scene popular in early medieval

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[107] although the figure could represent God in human form. Harbison, 1992: 66
[108] Stokes, 1899b: 445-46; Stalley, Thursday 13 July 2017
[109] Hourihane, 2001: 62-65
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ardboe, North Market Cross; Armagh, Market Cross; Galloon, Co. Fermanagh, West Cross; Kells, Cross of St Patrick and Columba; Monasterboice, Tall Cross; Moone, Co. Kildare, and potentially at Seir Kieran, Sandstone Base, Co. Offlay

Ireland, this choice was in direct contrast to the rest of the Insular world, which, aside from the inscription from Honington, Lincolnshire (fig. 3.51) in Anglo-Saxon England that refers to the story (but does not visually depict it), the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace is completely absent.[112]

Like the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, the depiction of Noah's Ark in early medieval Ireland differs greatly from early Christian versions of the scene, where Noah is usually portrayed releasing a dove out of a small box-shaped ark (figs 5.34a-c). In all the Irish examples,[113] however, the Ark is shown as a boat, rather than a box (figs 5.35a-g), complete with windows and a dove in the cases of Killamery, Armagh, Killary and possibly Camus. While differing from early Christian examples, these depictions bear a striking resemblance to later Anglo-Saxon depictions of the scene in the OE Hexateuch (fig. 5.36a)[114] and Junius 11 (fig. 5.36b),[115] where the prow of the boat curves upwards, terminating in a beast-head. It is clear Armagh's ark has a beast-headed prow, while the shape of the boats at Killamery, Kells, Killary and Camus all parallel the shape of the Anglo-Saxon arks, despite (perhaps) the lack of beast-headed prows. It seems likely that although Anglo-Saxon England only has two manuscript depictions, with no (surviving) sculptural depictions and early medieval Ireland has seven sculptural depictions, with no (surviving) manuscript versions, both parts of the Insular world had access to similar models of Noah's Ark, which depicted the vessel as a boat rather than the early Christian box-shaped craft.

While the presence of scenes depicting Cain Slaying Abel, The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace and Noah's Ark represent the largest divergences from Old Testament images portrayed elsewhere in the Insular world, the remaining scenes featured in early medieval Irish art conform to those most commonly depicted in the rest of the Insular world,

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[112] Hawkes has tentatively identified the subject at Checkley, Staffordshire, but the extreme wear of the carving makes this impossible to ascertain. Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017
[113] Armagh, Market Cross; Camus; Donaghmore, Co. Down; Galloon, West Cross; Kells, Broken Cross; Killamery, Co. Kilkenny; and Killary, Co. Meath
[114] Fol. 14v
[115] p. 68

namely: the Fall of Adam and Eve; the Sacrifice of Isaac; Daniel in the Lions' Den; David the Psalmist/Accompanied by Musicians; David Rending the Jaws of the Lion; Samuel Anointing David; and David Combatting Goliath. As noted, however, despite the similarities in subject matter, the iconographic types informing the depiction of these episodes tend to differ from those found in Anglo-Saxon England.

Of these, the Fall of Adam and Eve, a subject found across the Insular World, depends on three distinctive iconographic types that are largely unique to Ireland. The most frequently invoked type (and the one that differs significantly from those found in Anglo-Saxon England), depicts the pair flanking a tree whose branches form an arch framing the couple (figs 5.33, 5.37a-l);[116] outside Ireland this occurs only on Iona (on the cross of St Matthew, fig. 5.67).[117] A second iconographic type is that which features a highly stylized tree (figs 5.38a-d); outside Ireland this is found only at Eccleshall, Staffordshire (fig. 3.1).[118] The third iconographic type that was clearly circulating in Ireland is that which is found across the Insular world: the scheme which features Adam and Eve separated by short arching branches springing from the tree (figs 5.39a-g).[119]

Like Adam and Eve, a specific iconographic type of the Sacrifice of Isaac also seems to have predominated in Ireland. This is a type which features a table altar (rather than a pillar-altar with a flame) and an angel offering the ram to Abraham (figs 5.40a-k).[120] Outside

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[116] Ardboe, North Market Cross; Armagh, Market Cross; Camus; Castledermot, North Cross; Clones; Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone; Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny, North Cross; Kells, Broken Cross, Market Cross and Cross of St Patrick and Columba; Monasterboice, Muirdach's Cross; Kinnitty, Co. Offlay; Moone; Seir Keran; Tihilly, Co. Offlay; and possibly Lorrha, Co. Tipperary, East Shaft. Graiguenamanagh was originally at Ballyogen before being relocated. See, Thomas, 2017: 215

[117] Verkerk, 2004: 18; See p. 287

[118] Boho, Co. Fermanagh; Drumcliffe, Co. Sligo, Sandstone Cross; Durrow, West Cross; and Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh

[119] This type is found at Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire, Farnell in Angus, and Bride on the Isle of Man

[120] Ardboe, North Market Cross; Armagh, Market Cross; Clones; Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone; Durrow, West Cross; Galloon, West and East Crosses; Kells, Market Cross and the Cross of St Patrick and Columba; Killary; Monasterboice, Tall Cross; and possibly at Camus; and Drumcliffe, Fragment of a Cross-Shaft (figs 5.41a-b). There is a subsect of early medieval Irish scenes which do not contain the angel: Castledermot, North and South Crosses; Connor; Graiguenamanagh; Moone; Ullard (figs 5.42e-f). These still contain Isaac bent over a square-shaped altar with ram above, which is distinctly different from the Anglo-Saxon examples.

Ireland this is found on the sculpture belonging to the Iona School: St Martin's Cross and Kildalton (figs 5.68a-b). By contrast, Anglo-Saxon versions of the scene feature the Hand of God or an angel halting the progress of Abraham's sword, with the ram caught in the thickets.[121]

Turning to Daniel in the Lions' Den, thirteen examples have been proposed in early medieval Ireland (figs 5.33, 5.43a-l).[122] All illustrate a frontally facing Daniel with his hands either by his side, in an orans pose or outstretched, paralleling the pose of the Crucifixion, which the episode of Daniel in the Lions' Den was understood to prefigure.[123] The lions vary in number from two to seven (referring to Dan. 14:21-42),[124] and are usually depicted in profile, with their legs pointing inwards towards Daniel, but there is a variant where the lions are shown in profile in a submissive pose, at Moone. Outside Ireland this iconographic choice can be found in early medieval Scotland at Meigle and Dunkeld, further highlighting the difference between Anglo-Saxon England and the rest of the Insular world regarding the visualisation of this episode.

Finally, the depiction of David in early medieval Ireland appears to reflect fairly consistent iconographic choices across the region. David Rending the Jaws of the Lion, for example, consistently depicted David kneeling on the back of the lion (figs 5.44a-h);[125] the only exception being the Southampton Psalter (fig. 5.45) where the pose of David mirrors that found in early medieval Scotland and at Sockburn, Co. Durham. David Combatting Goliath also appears to be consistent across all media in Ireland during the period. Both the

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[121] See pp. 123-30, 228-32
[122] Ardboe, North Market Cross; Ahenny, Co. Tipperary, South Cross; Castledermot, North and South Crosses; Clones; Drumcliffe, Sandstone Cross and Fragment of Cross Shaft; Galloon, West Cross; Killary; Monasterboice, Tall Cross, Moone, and the more tentative identifications at Armagh, Market Cross; and Bray Oldcourt.
[123] Alexander, 1997: 106; See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 176-80
[124] For an explanation of the significance of seven lions see, Alexander, 1997: 102-104
[125] Ardboe, North Market Cross; Armagh, Market Cross; Durrow, West Cross; Kells, Cross of St Patrick and Columba and Market Cross; Monasterboice, Tall Cross; Old Kilcullen, West Cross; and potentially Drumcliffe, Fragment of Cross Shaft

surviving manuscripts (figs 5.46a-b)[126] and sculpture (fig. 5.47a-c)[127] show an armed David confronting Goliath, who holds a shield and wears a helmet while falling to his knees.[128] Like Anglo-Saxon England and the wider Christian world, Samuel Anointing David is rare in early medieval Ireland, with only one example at Monasterboice, Tall Cross (fig. 5.49).[129] Here, like in the Anglo-Saxon examples,[130] Samuel is shown holding in his right hand the curved horn filled with oil over the head of David, while his left hand touches David's head. Finally, the iconographic type lying behind David as Psalmist, like his encounter with the lion, appears to be fairly consistent across early medieval Irish art (figs 5.50a-j, 5.51).[131] These tend to show a seated solitary David, facing right and holding a lyre,[132] however, at Monasterboice and Durrow he is accompanied by a piper, paralleling examples from elsewhere: at Lethendy (fig. 5.72) and perhaps Ardchattan (5.55a-b) in early medieval Scotland, and Sockburn in Anglo-Saxon England (fig. 4.12). Nevertheless, on the Irish examples the musician carries a triangular-shaped instrument, rather than a pipe. This demonstrates that the pairing of David with a singular musician did appear across the Insular world, even if the modes of depiction differed.

Like elsewhere in the Insular world there are few examples of David the Psalmist being paired with other Davidic scenes on the same monument.[133] Of the eleven proposed

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[126] Southampton (fol. 68v) and Vitellius (fol. 1v) Psalters. The Vitellius miniature is a rebinding of the page, it is thought that the illustration would have been adjacent to Psalm 51. See, Openshaw, 1992: 47-8 McNamara, 1998: 92

[127] Ardboe, North Market Cross; Drumcliffe, Sandstone Cross; and Monasterboice, Muiredach's Cross

[128] There is a variant of the scene in Ireland (figs 5.48-49), where David is shown with the head of Goliath atop a spear, but this does not appear to have parallels elsewhere in the Insular world.

[129] Harbison, 1992: 147; Roe, 1949: 40-42; Roe, 1954: 108. Other examples have been proposed at Duleek, Co. Meath; Galloon, East Cross; Kells, Market Cross, but the identifications are more problematic. Roe, 1949: 40-42

[130] St Petersburg flyleaf, Tiberius Psalter and the sculptural example at Breedon. See pp. 148-52, 233-34

[131] These are found on the sculpture at: Carndonagh, North Pillar, Co. Donegal; Castledermot, North and South Crosses; Donaghmore, Co. Down; Durrow, West Cross; Graiguenamanagh, North Cross; Kells, Market Cross; Monasterboice, Muirdach's Cross; Ullard, and a more tentatively identified example at Clonmacnoise, Scriptural Cross. See, Harbison, 1992: 213. A depiction of the scene is also found in the Vitellius Psalter on folio 2v, however, this is a rebinding of the page and it is thought that the illustration would have been originally adjacent to Psalm 101. See, Openshaw, 1992: 47-8 McNamara, 1998: 92

[132] Buckley, 2005: 768

[133] These include: Kells, Market Cross (paired with David Rending the Jaws of the Lion), Donaghmore, Co. Down (David Rending the Jaws of the Lion and David with the Head of Goliath), Durrow, West Cross (David Rending the Jaws of the Lion), Monasterboice, Muiredach's Cross (David Combatting Goliath),

David the Psalmist scenes only six are displayed on monuments containing a representation of him also as a warrior (either rending the jaws of the lion or slaying Goliath). This contrasts both with the Anglo-Saxon depictions, where throughout the period only the eleventh-century Winchcombe Psalter has a solitary Psalmist image with no accompanying warrior image; and with early medieval Scotland where four instances of a harp are paired with David Rending the Jaws of the Lion and the clearly identifiable David the Psalmist scenes which are paired with a lion scene at Ardchattan and Dupplin; only Lethendy and the more tentatively proposed scene at Monifieth do not present such a pairing, leading to a high proportion of David the Psalmist schemes being paired with David the warrior. Thus, not only does it seem that early medieval Ireland was less likely to depict both of David's natures on the same monument or in a singular manuscript, but when this did occur David the Psalmist was usually paired with him combatting Goliath *or* rending the jaws of the lion, which contrasts with Anglo-Saxon England and early medieval Scotland where the Psalmist was almost exclusively paired with him rending the jaws of the lion.

Several other Old Testament scenes have been proposed in early medieval Irish art, predominantly by Harbison and especially on the high crosses at Monasterboice and Kells,[134] but, many of these identifications are problematic as they do not seem to conform to established early Christian iconographic types or are rare within the cannon of Old Testament imagery and could therefore, be misidentified in a desire to attribute biblical meaning to possibly non-biblical scenes. There are, however a handful of scenes preserved at Kells and Old Kilcullen that can be identified as depicting Old Testament subjects, yet

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Vitellius Psalter (David Combatting Goliath), and potentially Castledermot, South Cross (David Combatting Goliath).

[134] Kells, Broken Cross: Moses Turns the Waters into Blood (W3), The Pillar of Fire (W4), The Passage of the Israelites Through the Red Sea (W5); Market Cross: (?)David Acclaimed King of Israel (S2); (?)Adam and Eve at Labour (Upper Panel of Head), (?)Judgement of Solomon (W2), (?)Samuel Anoints David (W3), Pillar of Fire (W4); Cross of St Patrick and Columba: (?)David Plays Before Saul (Top Arm); Bracketed question marks indicate instances where he tentatively proposes identifications. Harbison, 1992: 104-112; Monasterboice, Tall Cross: Samson Rends the Pillars of the House (E5), Elijah Ascends to Heaven (E6), (?)David Acclaimed King of Israel (Centre of Head), (?)The Repentance of Manasseh (Top Arm), David as King (N2); Harbison, 1992: 147-51

although they do not conform to early Christian prototypes or are only rarely depicted elsewhere in the early Christian, Jewish or medieval world: namely, Moses Receiving the Law and Samson and the Lion.

There is only one proposed example of Moses Receiving the Law, at Kells, Market Cross (fig. 5.52),[135] although, Harbison contests this identification preferring to identify it as Moses and the Pillar of Fire as he considers it to share similarities with a representation of that episode in the Stuttgart Psalter (fig. 5.53);[136] although as even Harbison admits, the Kells scene does not depict the pillar of fire itself.[137] This suggestion apart, the presence of a large figure at Kells, holding an open book blessed by the Hand of God, strongly points towards an identification of the scene as Moses Receiving the Law, even though this does not follow the established early Christian iconography of the scene where Moses reaches upwards to take a scroll from the Hand of God (figs 5.54a-c). It does, however, share some similarities with the OE Hexateuch's depiction of the event, where Moses ascends the mountain to receive the law from God (complete with tri-nimbus halo) and in the same scene informs the Israelites of what has occurred (fig. 5.55a),[138] followed on the next page by a representation of his writing the law in a large book (fig. 5.55b).[139] It is possible therefore, that those responsible for the Market Cross at Kells desired to show Moses receiving the law in book form, visually representing the Word being given to Moses in the form of a book rather than a scroll, providing comparison with the codex form of contemporary manuscripts.[140] The figures below might thus be explained as the Israelites waiting at the foot of the mountain for Moses' return;[141] alternatively, if less likely, they could illustrate another episode from the story of Moses, such as the Feast of the Unleavened Bread,[142] which precedes the Law

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[135] Roe, 1959: 34
[136] Fol. 89v
[137] Harbison, 1992: 206
[138] Fol. 99v
[139] Fol. 100r
[140] Wilcox, forthcoming 2017: 193-94
[141] Ex. 34:30-33
[142] Ex. 34:18

giving and is also represented in the OE Hexateuch (fig. 5.56).[143] However, due to the worn nature of the monument this can only be speculation.

As far as Samson is concerned, there are two potential examples of him Slaying the Lion: at Kells, Cross of St Patrick and Columba (fig. 5.57a) and Old Kilcullen, West Cross (fig. 5.57b).[144] Both have alternatively been identified as David Rending the Jaws of the Lion,[145] but due to the presence of representations of this scene on both monuments which conforms to other Irish examples where David kneels on the back of the lion and includes a lamb (figs 5.44e, g), this (second, repeated) identification is problematic: it seems unlikely that those responsible for the designs of both monuments would include two representations of David Rending the Jaws of the Lion, while the absence of the defining lamb casts further doubt on a Davidic identification. It has also been proposed that the scene at Kells could be David and the Bear,[146] but the shape of the quadruped does not conform to that of a bear, as it has a pronounced flank and recalls the lion on the David scene. The most likely interpretation for the scenes, therefore, is that they depict Samson and the Lion,[147] illustrating Samson ripping the lion apart with his bare hands. While both scenes show the figure wielding a weapon, its curved shape could represent a jawbone, the implement used by Samson when smiting the Philistines in Judges 15:16. If this is indeed the case the inclusion of a weapon when none is mentioned in the biblical account, would further serve to identify the figure as Samson, rather than David. Therefore, at Old Kilcullen, while the figure holds an object in his right hand, he uses his left to rend the jaws of the creature, and so depicts Samson killing the lion with his hands. Furthermore, in early medieval Scotland there is a representation of Samson Fighting the Philistine (fig. 5.22), complete with jawbone, thus demonstrating an Insular depiction of Samson with his signature weapon and further

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[143] Fol. 89r
[144] For Kells see, Stokes, 1894: 117ff; Crawford, 1907: 230; Macalister, 1928: 268, 326, 328; For Old Kilcullen see, Stokes, 1899b: 440-46; Crawford, 1907: 221; Crawford: 1926: 79; Herity, 1983: 273
[145] For Kells see, Harbison, 1992: 111. For Old Kilcullen see, Harbison, 1992: 160
[146] Roe, 1979: 103; Weir, 1980: 191-92
[147] Judg. 14:5-6

suggesting the presence of potential source models for the Old Testament hero circulating in the Insular world.

As in Anglo-Saxon England and early medieval Scotland there has been a tendency to identify Old Testament scenes in early medieval Ireland, proposing identifications without detailed iconographic studies to back up the assumptions being made. This practice can be traced back to emerging art historical studies of the nineteenth century, where scholars such as Stokes sought to identify and classify the scenes found on Irish high crosses.[148] Unlike the scholarship in other parts of the Insular world, however, there has been little subsequent scholarship and this has led to a current over-reliance on Harbison's seminal work *The High Crosses of Ireland*, which, in some cases, has ignored even the earlier studies by Roe and Stokes in its attempt to present an all embracing explanation for the scenes presented on the high crosses.[149] While serving as an invaluable tool for the study of the Irish material, its primary aim is to identify most scene as biblical, at the expense of considering other options, such as local secular or ecclesiastical narratives (as with the misidentification of Cain and Abel on the Old Kilcullen cross).[150] In this process Harbison identifies scenes as depicting Old Testament themes, without fully considering previous scholarly explanations, as is the case with his identification of Elijah Ascending to Heaven in the sixth panel of the east face of the Tall Cross at Monasterboice (fig. 5.58): "An apparently winged horse pulls a chariot with a large eight-spoked wheel, behind which is a frontal figure, probably Elijah or his son. It is not clear who or what is in the chariot, though Elijah may be shown bending forward into it."[151]

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[148] Stokes, 1894: II, 1-27
[149] This lack of detailed iconographic study of the Irish crosses is beginning to be addressed by scholars such as Krasnodebska-D'Aughton, Stalley, Thomas and Henvey but until further work is done to address this, the material discussed above only provides a cursory glance at the visualisation of the Old Testament in early medieval Ireland. See, Henvey, 2012: 65-84; Krasnodebska-D'Aughton, 2004: 16-20; Stalley, 2007: 153-66; Stalley, 2017; Thomas, 2017: 215-221; Thomas, 2011: 77-89. For an examples of where Harbison has ignored Roe see his discussion on the Kells Market Cross, Harbison, 1992: 206; Roe, 195: 34
[150] Harbison, 1992: 161
[151] Ibid.: 147

At times, his identifications are tentative at best, as with his explanation of the fifth panel on the east face of the Tall Cross at Monasterboice (fig. 5.59) which he sees as Samson Destroying the Temple, with the long hair of the figure being deemed a signifier of Samson. With this in mind, the only scene that Harbison considers possible is the Destruction of the Temple. While this normally shows Samson grasping pillars on either side (fig. 3.24), the panel depicts, as noted by Harbison, Samson holding a "stick-like object [that]… could be taken as a pillar if what is at the top of it is seen as a misunderstood capital on a classical column, a form with which the sculptor may not have been familiar."[152] He then goes on to show how the panel was likely based on western manuscript illustrations similar to that of the Psalter of St Bertin (fig. 5.60),[153] dating from the year 999. This inadvertently contradictory explanation – on the one hand the sculptor is deemed not to understand a classical column, yet apparently had access to a model that contained a depiction of one – results in a tenuous identification and without anything to more firmly identify the scene as Samson Destroying the Temple, it would not be prudent to include it here in this discussion of the corpus of Irish Old Testament imagery.

As mentioned above, there are many such problematic identifications of Old Testament scenes on Irish high crosses, too many to examine each in detail here. Alongside the two examples of Samson and Elijah, this discussion will, therefore, look in detail at one case study to highlight issues of misidentification: namely Moses Striking the Rock.

This event was commonly depicted in early Christian art including sarcophagi, catacomb frescoes and gold glass (figs 5.61a-d). In these Moses is usually shown alone, holding a staff up to a rock, with a steep vertical face, out of which flows a stream of water or with a small number of Israelites kneel under the stream, cupping their hands to drink from the stream (figs 5.62a-b). There is another iconographically related scene – Peter

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[152] Ibid. 2-9
[153] Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale MS no. 20, fol. 63v

Striking the Rock (fig. 5.63). This is only differentiated from Moses Striking the Rock by means of the hats worn by those drinking the water, transforming them from Israelites to Roman soldiers at the time of Diocletian and thus visually linking Peter to Moses.[154] It does seem that there had been some adaptations of this scene by the ninth-century, with the Stuttgart Psalter (fig. 5.64)[155] depicting God holding the staff to the rock face, and Moses standing behind, while to the right a large group of Israelites hold vessels and attempt to drink the water, but even in this scene it is the staff striking the rock which causes the water to fall; God's presence in the illumination aids the viewer to comprehend that it was His intervention that caused the miracle.

Harbison proposes three representations of Moses Striking the Rock in Irish sculpture (figs 5.65a-c): two at Monasterboice (Muirdach's Cross and Tall Cross) and one at Donaghmore, Co. Down.[156] The proposed identification at Donaghmore (fig. 5.65c) seems very problematic, with Harbison being the first scholar to suggest it, describing the scene as follows:

> On the right stands the dumpy figure of Moses in profile, his head craned upwards towards the upper of two dots in circles placed diagonally – holes in the rock – from each of which pours a stream of water which interlaces with that emanating from the other. Beneath the upper source a man kneels in profile and holds up a vessel to receive the water which flows down into it, while on the bottom left there are two further figures standing frontally.[157]

This layout would make the scene unique to Donaghmore with its absence of the rod used to strike the rock, along with other the discrepancies when compared to early Christian and early medieval continental examples (such as the two frontally facing figures). But Harbison's identification of the man kneeling in profile is also extremely tenuous; the shape in the middle of this area appears to resemble a figure-of-eight with two dots in the centre, paralleling the looped object above which Harbison interprets as the rock emitting water.

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[154] Jensen, 2000: 90
[155] Fol. 91v
[156] Harbison, 1992: 62, 141, 147, 207-208
[157] Ibid.: 62

Overall, these major iconographic discrepancies between the Donaghmore scene and that well-established in early Christian examples means it is unlikely that this panel depicts Moses Striking the Rock.

The two proposed examples at Monasterboice (figs 5.65a-b) likewise raise issues when compared to the established early Christian iconographic layout of the scene. Both feature a large figure on the left holding a rod or staff, immediately adjacent to which is a series of unidentifiable objects, including a hoop-shaped element on the Tall Cross and an object which, in favourable lighting, appears rectangular in shape surmounted by a handle on Muiredach's Cross. The Tall Cross also includes five figures, four of whom hold shields, while one seems to crouch and gesture upwards; all five look upwards towards the unidentifiable objects, which Harbison has proposed is the water flowing from the rock.[158] On Muiredach's Cross he proposes that the nine figures use horns to catch the water, in a manner analogous to the Stuttgart Psalter illustration (fig. 5.64).[159] However, unlike the Stuttgart Psalter or early Christian examples, the rock is absent from the scenes, or at the very least stood in the background, almost completely obscured by the figures, rather than being given the prominence it receives in other clearly identifiable versions of the scene – in which a solitary figure holding a staff up to a rock-face with water flowing form it can be easily be identified as Moses Striking the Rock. While it is problematic to propose alternative identifications of the Monasterboice scenes without carrying out a detailed iconographic study, a task beyond the scope of this study, it does seem plausible, especially in the case of the scene on Muiredach's Cross, that it represents an important ecclesiastical figure, holding and being situated adjacent to a series of ecclesiastical objects – such as a bell. If this is the case then the figures holding horns on Muiredach's Cross could well be ecclesiastics, holding curved horns, objects that were used in a range of liturgical functions, as attested to

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[158] Ibid.: 147
[159] Fol. 91v. Harbison, 1992: 208

by the numerous representations of horns in the Utrecht Psalter and, its later Anglo-Saxon copy, the Harley Psalter (figs 5.66a-c).

There are clearly many similarities between Ireland and the rest of the Insular world in terms of the Old Testament subject matter selected for display, although the modes of depiction, on the whole, represent a dependence on iconographic types different from those circulating elsewhere, if these are reflect access to later manuscripts as source models, this would explain the apparent similarities between the later Anglo-Saxon OE Hexateuch and Irish depictions of Noah's Ark, but this can only be hypothesised here as clearly more work is needed to examine the iconographic sources for Irish Old Testament imagery. Nevertheless, as is the case with the Anglo-Saxon material, Ireland enjoyed an expansion of the depiction of new Old Testament scenes during the tenth century, even though the medium chosen differs from that favoured in Anglo-Saxon England. The desire to explore and visualise more of the Old Testament during the period is clearly something shared by the ecclesiastical centres of the two regions.

5.5 Visualising the Old Testament in the West Highlands and Inner Hebrides

Six crosses produced by the Iona School have survived, all likely dating from the late eighth to tenth century:[160] the Kilnave and Kildalton crosses, on Islay, Inner Hebrides; the Keills cross, West Highlands; and St Oran's, St John's, St Matthew's and St Martin's crosses all on Iona, Inner Hebrides. Of these, five illustrate Old Testament scenes: Kildalton, Keills, and St Oran's, St Matthew's and St Martin's crosses.[161] David Combatting the Lion survives on two monuments (Kildalton and St Oran's, Iona) a scene, as noted, common elsewhere in early medieval Scotland – as is David as the Psalmist (on St Oran's and St Martin's)[162] and

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[160] Fisher, 2001: 18; Werner, 1990: fn. 13, 108; Hawkes, 2005: 259; Hawkes, 2008: 198
[161] Again, like early medieval Scotland, no metalwork or ivories containing Old Testament imagery survive and while there are manuscripts surviving likely produced by the Iona School (such as the Book of Kells [Dublin, TCD, MS 58]), these too do not contain Old Testament scenes.
[162] It has also been proposed that St Martins Cross contains a dual image of David Combating Goliath and David Before Saul, however, due to some iconographic inconsistencies with the depiction of David

Daniel in the Lions' Den (found on St Martins and Keills). Adam and Eve (found on St Matthew's Cross) makes an appearance elsewhere in the canon of Old Testament images in early medieval Scotland, at Farnell, Angus; but Cain and Abel (Kildalton) and the Sacrifice of Isaac (Kildalton and St Martin's) are unique to the Iona School.[163]

It is interesting to note that these two apparent anomalies of the Iona School both depict scenes from the Book of Genesis, which was the most frequently depicted book of the Bible in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England, with these two scenes, alongside Adam and Eve, being the most frequently depicted, and perhaps attest to Iona's close links with Ireland. If this is indeed the case then Iona could be viewed as a melting-pot of visual traditions, showing the influence of Ireland in choosing to depict a high proportion of Genesis scenes and the influence of mainland Scotland in depicting the popular subjects found there, of David Combatting the Lion, David as the Psalmist and Daniel in the Lions' Den.

The Adam and Eve scene on St Matthew's Cross on Iona (fig. 5.67) is similar to the common layout found in Ireland, where the pair stand under the Tree of Knowledge, its branches forming an arch over the couple. This also appears to be the case for the only surviving depiction of the Sacrifice of Isaac on Iona, St Martin's Cross (fig. 5.68a) and on the cross at Kildalton (fig. 5.68b), where the "Irish" layout of Abraham with his sword raised upwards, almost appearing to rest on his shoulder, while Isaac, bound, bends over a square altar, his hair being gripped in his father's left hand. On St Martin's the wingless angel is shown on the far left of the scene, a detail only seeming to survive in the Insular world on Irish High Crosses. Yet again the only extant representation of Cain Killing Abel from the Iona School at Kildalton (fig. 5.69) parallels Irish examples of the scene at Monasterboice, Tall Cross, Co. Louth (fig. 5.29c) and Kells, Market Cross and Broken Cross, Co. Meath (figs 5.29a-b), however, unlike these Abel is shown on his knees as his brother raises a

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Combatting Goliath when compared to other Insular depictions of the scene and the scarcity of depictions of David Before Saul, it is unclear if this identification is correct, so it has been left out of the proceeding discussion. See, Hawkes, 2005: 263-64; Hawkes, 2008: 202-205; Henderson, 1986: 95; Gefreh, 2017: 80
[163] Hawkes, 2005: 259-60

weapon to strike him. It is possible that those responsible for the design of the Kildalton scene added this detail to aid the viewer in identifying the scene as that of Cain Killing Abel in the absence of the accompanying Adam and Eve scene found at Kells and Monasterboice. It is equally likely, however, that they had access to a different source model, like those used for the later Anglo-Saxon OE Hexateuch and Junius 11 depictions (figs 5.28a-b), where Abel is shown on the ground with his brother about to strike him from above.

The two surviving representations of Daniel in the Lions' Den differ in the position and number of lions, but both seem to conform to analogous representations found in both early medieval Ireland and Scotland. On St Martin's Cross (fig. 5.70a), Daniel stands between two lions who rear up on their hind legs, their mouths open and licking Daniel's shoulders; it looks almost as if the lions are embracing him; recalling the layout of the same scene in Ireland at: Ardboe, Market Cross (fig. 5.43a); Killary (fig. 5.43i); and Monasterboice, Tall Cross (fig. 5.43l). At Keills (fig. 5.70b) Daniel is shown on the lower arm/top of the shaft, holding a book, surrounded by four lions, two on each of the horizontal arms of the cross-head, above. The lions closest to Daniel appear to be licking the prophet, while those above turn their heads backwards to bite their own tails. These parallel early medieval Irish (figs 5.43c-f, h),[164] and Scottish depictions (figs 5.17-8),[165] where four lions surround Daniel, however, these examples are all positioned on the shafts of their respective crosses, rather than filling three of the cross-arms as at Keills.

Depictions of David the Psalmist on St Oran's and St Martin's (figs 5.71a-b) on Iona likewise parallel both early medieval Irish and Scottish examples. St Oran's depiction of the Psalmist with a rounded harp, not seated on a discernible throne, is visually similar to that at Carndonagh, North Pillar (fig. 5.50a), and Donaghmore, Co. Down (fig. 5.50d) in Ireland, while the St Martin's David with a rounded harp, again not seated on a throne, but is shown

[164] Castledermot, North and South Crosses; Clones; Drumcliffe, Fragment of Cross-Shaft; Gallon, West Cross
[165] Dunkeld and Meigle

facing a piper, a layout found in both early medieval Ireland (figs 5.50e, h),[166] and Scotland (fig. 5.72).[167]

David and the Lion at Kildalton (fig. 5.73a) depicts the prophet facing the lion, gripping its jaws with his hands, while, a creature, most likely the lamb, is preserved above. This closely parallels early medieval Scottish examples such as those at Nigg (fig. 5.10), St Andrews (fig. 5.13), and Aberlemno (fig. 5.7), while the David and the Lion on St Oran's Cross (fig. 5.73b) is unique in the Insular world in showing David not rending the Lions' jaws: rather they stand arm and paw overlapping to make a cross shape.[168] Apart from this the arrangement of David standing facing forwards, with the lion in profile does parallel early medieval Scottish examples in most respects, perhaps suggesting those responsible for the design of the St Oran's cross adapted the scene to fit a specific iconographic purpose.

From this overview, it is clear that the Old Testament scenes created by the Iona School reflect a melting-pot of visual traditions and demonstrate close ties with both early medieval Ireland and Scotland. The preference for depicting Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel and the Sacrifice of Isaac in early medieval Ireland is reflected at Iona, with each of the surviving examples from the School likely depending on Irish models, while the popularity of the figure of David in early medieval Scotland is also reflected in the art of the Iona School, especially in regards to David Rending the Jaws of the Lion, where he stands adjacent to the lion, rather than kneeling on its back (the common layout in Ireland).

5.6 Visualising the Old Testament in the Isle of Man

There are only two likely Old Testament scenes preserved on the Isle of Man: The Fall of Adam and Eve at Bride and David the Psalmist at Kirk Michael.[169] Despite this very limited

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[166] Durrow, West Cross and Monasterboice, Muirdach's Cross
[167] Lethendy
[168] Hawkes, 2005: 260
[169] Kermode does identify a further Old Testament scene at Braddan – Daniel in the Lions' Den – however, this is likely a misidentification due to the iconographic discrepancies with other Daniel in the Lions' Den scenes. Kermode, 1907: 140

number of Old Testament scenes, it is interesting to note that yet again it is the Fall and figure of David that are selected, further highlighting the popularity of these Old Testament figures/events. Furthermore, they are very few biblical scenes featured on Man in general, with only a few Crucifixions (Calf of Man 61 [50], Kirk Michael 129 [101] and possibly Magould 98 [72])[170] and perhaps one representation of the Virgin Mary at Magould 98 (72).

There is very little scholarship on the early medieval sculpture of Man, with the most significant study to date being that of P.M.C. Kermode published in 1907,[171] with subsequent scholars providing only limited iconographic studies, being more concerned with the runic inscriptions or the depiction of Viking myth and legend preserved on the stones.[172] Each piece of sculpture was numbered by Kermode in what he believed was a chronological order, but like the *ECMS*,[173] released four years prior, this is problematic: arguing that there was a clear evolution of Manx sculpture from "non-Christian" ogham inscriptions to incised crosses, culminating in sculpture that blends Christian and "Viking"/"pagan" imagery on ornately decorated cross-slabs.[174] Kermode subsequently renumbered the sculpture to take into consideration discoveries post-dating 1907, leading to considerable confusion, as the 1907 numbers do not match those now affixed to the stones (as bronze or painted plaques) which are the primary catalogue numbers given by the Manx Museum and National Trust. Additionally, while renumbering the sculpture to preserve what he thought was the chronological order, Kermode did not provide much guidance as to what he believed the dates of the individual sculptures to be, providing the reader with very loose date ranges of: "Pre-Scandinavian" nos. 1 – 4 (perhaps beginning in the fifth century);[175] "Pre-Scandinavian: Incised and Linear" nos. 5 – 71 (mainly seventh and eighth centuries, but

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[170] Stoner, 2017

[171] P. M. C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses: or the inscribed and sculptured monuments of the Isle of Man from about the end of the fifth to the beginning of the thirteenth century* (London, 1907). There are no other Old Testament scenes extant from the Isle of Man preserved in other media.

[172] Bailey, 1980; Rekdal, 2014: 109-18; Margeson, 1983: 95-106; Page, 1983: 133-46; Wilson, 1983: 175-87;

[173] Allen and Anderson, 1903. See above, pp. 258

[174] Kermode, 1907: 1-70

[175] Ibid.: 96

perhaps a few from the sixth century);[176] and "Class II. – Scandinavian" nos. 72 – 116 (from about the year 1060 to the end of the twelfth century).[177] Within these loose groupings, Kermode believed the Mal Lumkun slab at Kirk Michael 130 (104),[178] which includes David the Psalmist (fig. 5.74), to be constructed at some point between the mid-eleventh to end of the twelfth century,[179] while he believed the Adam and Eve scene (fig. 5.75a) at Bride 147 (116) to be the latest piece of sculpture, dating to the end of the twelfth century, as he considered Eve holding an apple to her mouth in one hand while covering her nakedness with the other, to be a "Norman, rather than a Celtic character."[180]

Like Iona, Man lies between multiple regions of the Insular world, in this case Ireland, North-West England and South-West Scotland, a geographic location that perhaps explains the apparent parallels to the Adam and Eve scene at Bride (fig. 5.75a) with that at Breedon (fig. 3.2), where the couple reach for apples from a similarly thin-trunked tree with symmetrical branches emerging from either side, suggesting perhaps a late ninth- or more likely tenth-century date for the piece. A point to consider when studying Bride 147 (116) is that it is heavily worn, with much of the detail now lost. However, there is an early cast and photograph (figs 5.75b-c), commissioned by Kermode and taken by G. Patterson,[181] which provides a clearer representation of what the piece looked like before the damage took place.

There is also evidence of a visual representation of Eve eating the apple in Anglo-Saxon England in the Junius 11 manuscript (fig. 4.34),[182] where the devil in the guise of an angel passes apples to the couple. Here, Eve is shown both accepting an apple and eating one. Furthermore, it is evident from the range of Adam and Eve scenes present in Anglo-Saxon England that those responsible for their designs adapted established iconographic

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[176] Ibid.: 102
[177] Ibid.: 142, 215
[178] The number outside the bracket is to one assigned to the monument by the Manx Museum and is the one stated on the plaque affixed to each individual sculpture, whereas the number inside the brackets is the original number assigned to the monument. See, Kermode, 1907
[179] Kermode, 1907: 195-97
[180] Ibid.: 215
[181] Ibid.: 214
[182] p. 28

models to suit the specific message they wish to portray. Thus, at Newent, Eve is shown accepting the apple from the serpent (fig. 3.3); at Breedon, she reaches upwards picking the apple off the tree (fig. 3.2); at Eccleshall, Staffordshire, she is shown reaching upwards towards the tree (fig. 3.1), although it is unclear whether she is plucking the apple; while in the OE Hexateuch and Junius 11 manuscripts she is shown in multiple poses (figs 4.31-6, 4.38-40, 4.42-5). Thus, the Adam and Eve scene at Bride 147 (116) seems to conform to Anglo-Saxon England's desire to adapt the established early Christian iconography of the Fall for specific symbolic purposes.

While the Adam and Eve scene on Bride 147 (116) has close parallels with Anglo-Saxon England, the David scene preserved on Kirk Michael 130 (104) appears to fit more closely with Pictish and Irish representations of David the Psalmist (fig. 5.74). It is likely that this was constructed during the period of Scandinavian migration and settlement on the Isle of Man, so is probably late tenth or eleventh century in date.[183] Here, David sits, holding his harp, while a lamb, its legs folded under its body, lies above. While there are no direct parallels for this arrangement preserved on Pictish cross-slabs, David is shown rending the jaws of the lion with a lamb and a harp at Nigg (fig. 5.10) and Aldbar (fig. 5.8). The David and Lion scene at Sockburn (fig. 4.11) also includes a lamb lying adjacent to the combatants, its legs similarly bent under its body, suggesting a potential source model for the Kirk Michael scene being "Pictish" or "Scandinavian", where David's dual nature as both divinely inspired Psalmist and warrior were frequently shown or invoked on a single monument. However, to the right of David there stands a figure holding what is likely a pipe to their mouth, recalling early medieval Irish depictions of David the Psalmist at Durrow, West Cross (fig. 5.50e) and Monasterboice, Muiredach's Cross (fig. 5.50h),[184] as well as early medieval Scottish examples at Lethendy (fig. 5.72) and Ardchattan (fig. 5.5a) and St Martin's Cross on Iona (fig. 5.71b), perhaps suggesting any one of these regions could have

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[183] Ibid.: 215
[184] Roe, 1949: 56

potentially provided the source for the piece. Therefore, the Kirk Michael 130 (104) David the Psalmist can be seen as representing the Old Testament figure prophesying the coming of Christ through the creation of the Psalms and prefiguring his sacrificial act though the lamb, recalling David's rending of the jaws of the lion and the *Agnus Dei*.

Although limited in number the early medieval Manx sculptural representations of Old Testament scenes seem to conform to those circulating in the rest of the Insular world, with the Fall of Adam and Eve and David the Psalmist considered important enough subjects to be depicted.

5.7 Conclusion

After considering each part of the Insular world in turn it is clear that, although each region appears to have its own stylistic preferences, the range of Old Testament scenes depicted is quite narrow, predominantly consisting of scenes from the Book of Genesis, Daniel, Judges and the life of king David. All regions that preserve Old Testament imagery include at least one representation of Adam and Eve and David (specifically the Psalmist), demonstrating the popularity of these Old Testament narratives in the Insular world.

Overall the predominant difference between the depiction of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England compared to the rest of the Insular world is in the array of extant media: monumental stone sculpture, manuscripts, ivories and metalwork. While survival rates have an impact on our understanding of how the Insular world visually articulated the Old Testament,[185] it is clear that Anglo-Saxon England sought to represent it across all media, whereas in the rest of the Insular world there appears to be a clear preference for depicting it in stone. This is clearly apparently in Scotland and the Isle of Man, where biblical scenes are almost exclusively depicted in stone,[186] whereas, it is notable in the manuscripts

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[185] for example, our knowledge of the Old Testament being visually articulated on Anglo-Saxon metalwork only came from the 2009 discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard inscription, with a second piece – the Honington Clip – only being discovered in 2012.

[186] With only the addition of the New Testament scenes contained within the Book of Deer, believed to be produced in Scotland.

and metalwork produced in Ireland and the manuscripts emerging from Iona, that there was a comparative lack of Old Testament imagery, with the majority of biblical scenes in these media being related to New Testament themes.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

6.1 Review: Visualising the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England

This study opened with the observation that there has been no in-depth study of the depiction of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England.[1] This has led to the general understanding that it was visually ignored by the Anglo-Saxons, both in direct contrast to the abundance of Anglo-Saxon textual references to the Old Testament and the apparent profusion of such imagery elsewhere in the Insular world; this in turn has led to it being, on the whole, ignored in art historical discussions (with the exception, perhaps, of the Reformation period manuscripts, such as Junius 11 and the OE Hexateuch).

Thus, the scholarship on the visualisation of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon art has tended to isolate the images, either discussing them in relation to a singular art object, a singular medium, or, especially in the case of the late ninth to mid-eleventh centuries, by isolating regions of production.[2] This has shrouded the visualisation of the Old Testament as a whole in Anglo-Saxon England, preventing scholars from understanding what particular scenes were "popular;" whether there was any consistency in the ways in which these were articulated, piece by piece and across media; and what the possible significances could be for their depiction. By surveying the extant material and examining potential iconographic sources for the Old Testament scenes that survive, this study has demonstrated that this perceived dearth in Old Testament imagery in Anglo-Saxon England, is in fact inaccurate. Furthermore, through such an approach it has reappraised previous identifications of Old Testament imagery in the scholarship, which has led to the reassessment of many scenes

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[1] Chapter 1, pp. 50-51
[2] See, for example, Bailey, 1977: 61-74; Bailey, 1980; Coatsworth, 2001: 292-306; Hawkes, 1997b: 149-50; Hawkes, 2001: 230-45; Hawkes, 2002a; Raw, 1990; Raw, 1997; Raw, 2007; Withers, 2011: 247-69

proposed to be Old Testament in subject, but which, after close examination, are unlikely to be so,[3] while providing the necessary groundwork to firmly identify others.[4] It has also lead to the identification of a previously unnoticed David Rending the Jaws of the Lion at Sockburn and has enabled the re-identification of the upper scene on the Breedon cross-shaft as Samuel Anointing David. Overall, this study has provided the framework by which the ways the Old Testament was used and understood within the visual culture of Anglo-Saxon England can be fully realised, demonstrating common scene-types and layouts and the potential models used in the construction of these images.

6.2 Continuity and Change

Indeed, this study has demonstrated that Anglo-Saxon England was much more integrated with the rest of the Insular world than previously thought in terms of its visualisation of the Old Testament, especially in the types of Old Testament scenes selected for illustration. There is a clear and undisputable preference for depicting certain key narrative from the Book of Genesis (The Fall and the Sacrifice of Isaac) and episodes relating to king David throughout the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period and, more generally, across the whole of Insular world; the Fall of Adam and Eve and David the Psalmist specifically, were favoured throughout the Insular world (aside from Wales), with the Sacrifice of Isaac featured in the art of Anglo-Saxon England, early medieval Ireland and the Iona School.[5] Furthermore, Anglo-Saxon art, like that of early medieval Scotland, include images that articulate the dual nature of David as both divinely inspire Psalmist and Warrior (combatting Goliath and/or

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[3] See App. 4
[4] Such as the Adam and Eve scenes found at Elwick Hall, Diddlebury, and Bilton-in-Ainsty.
[5] For discussions see: Adam and Eve, pp. 113-20, 197-205, 218-28; 262, 276, 287, 291; Sacrifice of Isaac, pp. 123-30, 228-32, 276-77, 287; David the Psalmist, pp. 147-68, 205-207, 232-45, 259-61; 277-79, 288-89, 292

rending the jaws of the lion) in their iconographic programmes; this was less of a concern elsewhere in the region.[6]

A similar set of coincidences is also apparent in what was not illustrated: Anglo-Saxon art, like that produced elsewhere, displays a limited interest in visualising Samson and the few episodes that are selected differed from those featured in Ireland and Scotland; Samson carrying the gates of Gaza being favoured in Anglo-Saxon England (at Masham and Cundall, both in North Yorkshire), while in Ireland he is shown rending the jaws of the lion (at Kells, Co. Meath and Old Killcullen, Co. Kildare), and in Scotland both Smiting the Philistine and with Delilah (Inchbrayock, Angus).[7] The subjects of Noah's Ark and Cain Killing Abel were also absent from early Anglo-Saxon art and that of early medieval Scotland (aside from a Cain and Abel scene at Kildalton, Isle of Islay), appearing only on Irish High Crosses, contemporary with later Anglo-Saxon where the scenes are included in manuscripts of the Reformation Period.[8] The same can be said for the visualisation of episodes from the Book of Daniel, as while Daniel in the Lions' Den was popular on the sculpture of early medieval Ireland, Scotland and the Iona School, it is absent from the sculpture of Anglo-Saxon England, with only one visual representation surviving in a Carolingian copy of a pre-Viking manuscript (the Antwerp Sedulius).[9] Ireland's propensity to depict the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace might seem unusual when compared to the Old Testament subjects found in the art of the rest of the Insular world, but yet again there is evidence for the visualisation of this episode in Anglo-Saxon England in the form of the Honington clip (fig 3.51).[10] This piece of metalwork plays with the concepts of text and image, with the runic inscription running along the face of the object being a visual embodiment of the Word, with the user physically touching it when manipulating the tool

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[6] For discussions see: pp. 261, 278-79
[7] For discussions see: pp. 143-47, 263-64, 281
[8] See p. 275
[9] See pp. 176-79, 261-62, 277
[10] See pp. 74-76

bearing the text. This combined focus of visualisation and tactility transforms the object from the more "straightforward" depiction of the Three Hebrews on the Irish material to something that functioned in a completely unique, more personal way: one tied ultimately to its function.

In fact, many of the "unique" Old Testament scenes depicted in Anglo-Saxon England are intimately related to their functions. For example, the depiction of the Devil in the guise of an angel in the Junius 11 manuscript (fig. 4.33) is unique (with the serpent being the universal representation of the tempter in depictions of The Fall across the rest of the early Christian / Jewish / medieval world) and invoked specifically to illustrate the accompanying text of the OE poem of *Genesis*, which unambiguously refers to the tempter of Adam and Eve as an angel at several points.[11] Likewise, the Ezra portrait found at the beginning of the Codex Amiatinus (fig 3.46) seems to have been intended to function as a visual representation of the preservation of biblical texts, with those responsible for the pandect produced at Wearmouth-Jarrow perhaps wishing to draw parallels between themselves and the Old Testament prophet who transcribed from memory the sacred texts that had been destroyed.[12] Perhaps the most obvious example of this phenomenon is preserved in the sculptural representations of Old Testament narratives at Newent, Gloucestershire, where those responsible for the design of The Fall (fig. 3.3) adapted the established iconographic layout of Adam and Eve flanking a central tree, with a serpent twisted around its trunk, and added a series of elements (such as the addition of the cross-shaped terminuses of the tree branches) to highlight Christ's role in overcoming the Original Sin through his redemptive death.[13]

Nevertheless, although similar choices were made in the selection of Old Testament subjects across of the Insular world, the manner in which these were articulated visually

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[11] See pp. 218-28
[12] See pp. 168-74
[13] See pp. 113-17

frequently differ. As discussed in Chapter 5, there is a clear case for distinct and different iconographic choices for many Old Testament scenes in Ireland, and there seems to have been some kind of visual dialogue between early medieval Ireland and Scotland (perhaps through the agency of the Iona School), perhaps most apparent in the way Daniel in the Lions' Den is depicted in the two regions.[14] While there does seem to be some '"sharing" of models between Anglo-Saxon England and early medieval Ireland – The Fall at Eccleshall, Staffordshire,[15] for example, parallels several Irish depictions of the couple standing either side of a highly stylised tree – these two regions seem, on the whole, to draw on different models for the construction of their images. This is perhaps most apparent in the way in which the Sacrifice of Isaac is portrayed, with Irish examples featuring the angels carrying the ram, while Anglo-Saxon examples tend to closely follow the "established" early Christian layout, depicting the ram caught in thickets.[16] In fact, the majority of Anglo-Saxon Old Testament scenes seem to ultimately follow the established early Christian depictions of the scenes they wished to portray and when such a model was lacking (likely due to it being unpopular during the period) the Anglo-Saxon artists seem to have sourced a likely eastern Mediterranean model instead (such as the depiction of Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza at Masham and Cundall).[17] Even Viking-age representations of Adam and Eve, which had been deemed a product of the "unique" and "unusual" nature of Christian Scandinavian art, also seem to have depended on model types that were ultimately early Christian; these just differed from those used in the pre-Viking period, with Elwick Hall and Diddlebury's visualisations likely being adapted from manuscript representations of The Fall, where the story was visually depicted in a series of registers.[18] The decision to use such

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[14] See pp. 275-79
[15] See pp. 119-20
[16] See pp. 123-30, 228-32, 276-77
[17] For example, those responsible for the design of the OE Hexateuch appear to have used Western early Christian models for the depictions of the more common scenes of the Creation, Fall, Noah, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Joseph and Moses, with the remaining scenes either being new constructs or based off more obscure source. See Kauffman, 2003: 69-69; see discussion in chapter 3, pp. 143-47
[18] See pp. 197-205

manuscript models at this time is in keeping with the rise of large Carolingian Bibles containing full-page miniatures of the story of Adam and Eve, which feature a series of episodes arranged in registers based on early Christian models. These developments were also reflected in the increased interest in depicting the story of The Fall over a series of images in the South of England during the later Anglo-Saxon period where early Christian models were also called upon – either directly, or indirectly via Carolingian work.[19]

6.3 Visualising the Old Testament in the Wider Christian World

Given that Anglo-Saxon England had access to and used a range of early Christian and continental models in the construction of their Old Testament scenes, it seems prudent to briefly examine further how the Anglo-Saxon images can be situated within the wider tradition of depicting the Old Testament across the early Christian world.

As demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4, the Anglo-Saxon depiction of Adam and Eve, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Daniel in the Lions' Den, and Jonah and the *Ketos*, all roughly conform to early Christian depictions of the scenes.[20] A high proportion of these scenes survive in funerary contexts in early Christian art: on sarcophagi and catacomb frescoes, lamps and gold glass insets. It seems, especially in these instances, that Anglo-Saxon artists had an intimate knowledge of and adapted the established early Christian iconographic types featured in these contexts into their art. The Old Testament narratives most frequently depicted in Anglo-Saxon art – The Fall and the Sacrifice of Isaac – were also frequently found in early Christian art (albeit not as frequently as Jonah and the *Ketos*), with the Anglo-Saxon artist closely following, while simultaneously adapting such models to fit the different contexts in which these scene were being articulated during the period. The visualisation of

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[19] See pp. 218-28
[20] For discussions see: Adam and Eve, pp. 113-21, 197-205, 218-28; Sacrifice of Isaac, pp. 123-30, 228-32; Daniel in the Lions' Den, 176-79; Jonah and the *Ketos,* 179-86

the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon art also differs from that of the early Christian world in the popularity of Davidic scenes. This is likely due, in part, to the contexts within which the Anglo-Saxons used and depicted this Old Testament subject matter; displaying it on both monumental stone sculpture and in manuscripts (specifically Psalters). The depiction of David was very limited in the early Christian world (being less relevant in funerary contexts),[21] but as the production of Psalters became more commonplace from the late eighth century onwards, so too did the visualisation of this Old Testament figure; being illustrated in the Vespasian Psalter, the St Petersburg Flyleaf and on the Masham Column.[22] A further departure from early mode; types is the depiction of Noah's Ark in the Junius 11 and OE Hexateuch, which seems to conform to later, ninth- or tenth-century depictions of the scene, such as those found in early medieval Ireland, rather than Noah in the box-shaped vessel found on early Christian funerary art.[23] In other words, Anglo-Saxon artists appear to have had access both to early Christian models and developments occurring in contemporary continental art.

Where the visualisation of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon art differs most notably from traditions circulating across Europe, is through the limited selection of narratives it chooses to portray. This is perhaps most obvious in the limited depiction of Jonah and the *Ketos* in Anglo-Saxon England, which was the most frequently employed Old Testament narrative in early Christian art. As previously mentioned, this was likely due to the different contexts in which the Anglo-Saxon invoked the Old Testament visually compared with the early Christian period. Jonah and the *Ketos* was understood to symbolised Christ's death, descent and resurrection, as set out by Christ himself in Matthew 12:40; it is unsurprising that this narrative appeared frequently in early Christian funerary art and that it

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[21] James, 1998: 241

[22] For example, there are several Carolingian Bibles / Psalters containing visualisations of David, such as: the Montpellier Psalter (Montpellier, France Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire 409 [776-800]), Stuttgart Psalter (801-850), Utrecht Psalter (second quarter of the ninth century), and Golden Psalter (883-900)

[23] See p. 279

was deemed less relevant for display in the manuscripts, metalwork, ivories and monumental sculptures featuring figural carving in Anglo-Saxon England, which did not have primarily funerary functions – at least before the Viking-age. Conversely, there are other Old Testament narratives that were frequently depicted in early Christian art, which do not have such a clear-cut funerary context, and which are absent from the surviving corpus of Anglo-Saxon art. These include, but are not limited to: Ezekiel and the Dry Bones; The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace; Noah's Ark; Job on the Dung Heap; Susanna and the Elders; and Daniel and the Temple of Bel.

Among those, Ezekiel and the Dry Bones did appear on early Christian sarcophagi (figs 6.1.a-b), albeit not as frequently as some Old Testament episodes. They tend to depict Ezekiel holding a rod, which touches a recumbent body, often with small upright figures in the background, referring to Ezekiel's vision of God restoring dry bones to life.[24] This was believed to prophesize the restoration of Jerusalem and the people of Israel after the Last Judgement and would, therefore, have been fitting within funerary contexts. Thus, it is possible that the absence of this Old Testament scene in Anglo-Saxon England, like the near-absence of Jonah, is due the different contexts in which the Old Testament was visually articulated during these periods, and its perceived primary relevance to funerary art.

The same can likely be said of Job on the Dung Heap, which, in the early Christian period, depicted the browbeaten prophet sitting atop a pile of dung (figs 6.2a-b), referring to Job 1:6-2:10 where God inflicts may cruelties on Job to prove to Satan that the prophet's faith is true and unwavering. Its omission is again perhaps best explained by the different contexts in which the Old Testament was visually articulated in England compared to the early Christian period. Job on the Dung Heap represents the importance of faith in the face of adversity, much like the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace or Noah saved from the deluge. The relative absence of such scenes from Anglo-Saxon art implies that the theme of

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[24] Ezk. 37

faith overcoming adversity as figured by Old Testament events was perhaps deemed less important in Anglo-Saxon contexts than those scenes which referred more directly to Christ's sacrifice, life, death and resurrection – as prefigured by the Old Testament.

The same can perhaps also be said for the theme of wisdom. Visual representations of Susanna and the Elders, and Daniel and the Temple of Bel both illustrate narratives which relate to themes regarding wisdom both are notably absent from the surviving corpus of Anglo-Saxon art, despite their popularity in early Christian art.

Susanna and the Elders appears frequently in early Christian funerary art in a range of media including frescos, sarcophagi carving and gold glass (figs 6.3a-d, 6.4a-c). She is frequently invoked as the embodiment of virtue, chastity and faith due to the account in Dan 13-64,[25] where after being accused of sexual indiscretions, she reacts by turning to the Lord for help, and after the prophet Daniel intercedes at her trial (by demonstrating inaccuracies in the Elder's accounts) she is proven innocent. Although this narrative is depicted over several scenes in the Catacomb of Pricilla in Rome (fig 6.4a-c), most surviving scenes tend to depict a singular image, featuring Susanna as a central orans either alone or flanked by two elders (figs 6.3a-c). From the fourth century onwards, there is a subset of images which show Susanna holding a scroll (fig. 6.3d), further emphasising her wisdom and chastity, after Constantine made adultery in public a crime in 326.[26] Again like Job on the Dung Heap, The Three Children in the Fiery Furnace and Noah's Ark, the symbolic emphasis of Susanna and the Elders is related to faith, in this instance illustrating the wisdom of Susanna in turning to God for help in proving her innocence.

Likewise, the narrative of Daniel and the Temple of Bel relates to ideas surrounding wisdom and faith. Featuring predominately on sarcophagi (figs 6.5a-c), the episode is most

[25] Smith, 1993: 3
[26] Brundage, 1987: 104-5; Smith, 1993: 16

commonly depicted by Daniel feeding cake to a serpent coiled around a tree (representing the dragon Bel) which would cause Bel to burst open on consuming it.[27] Between the two figures is a flaming altar, which is either shown upright or pushed to the ground, representing Daniel's destruction of the temple after demonstrating that it was not Bel eating and drinking, but the priests and their families, who entered the temple through a secret passage after the temple doors were sealed.[28] Here, as in the narrative of Susanna and the Elders, Daniel is shown as a wise prophet whose unwavering faith in the true God aids him in revealing and destroying injustice.

While there is evidence in Anglo-Saxon England for an interest in wisdom literature associated with the Old Testament, as attested to by the survival of the Old English poem *Solomon and Saturn*,[29] it does not seem that this was a subject in which they engaged visually, again probably due to the contexts in which the Old Testament was invoked in Anglo-Saxon art. It would seem that the Anglo-Saxons employed the Old Testament visually consciously and deliberately, to serve specific functions that concerned the redemption and salvation offered by Christ, rather than illustrating exemplars of wisdom and faith.

6.4 Explaining the Process of Selection

All the evidence thus indicates that certain motives informed the Anglo-Saxons' limited choices of Old Testament imagery. For certain scenes on specific items it is relatively easy to propose plausible reasons for the inclusion of Old Testament narratives; the OE Hexateuch, for example, obviously contains a large number of scenes relating to the first five books of the Bible, as they were specifically chosen to illustrate the accompanying

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[27] Dan. 14:23-30
[28] Dan. 14:1-22
[29] See pp. 98-99

text,[30] while the choices made in illustrating the three surviving *Psychomachia* manuscripts were clearly governed by the established early Christian tradition of illustrating this text, with the identical cycle of scenes being reproduced in all three instances. The reasons informing the selection of those Old Testament scenes which survive in fragmentary form, however, where it is impossible to reconstruct their original iconographic scheme and/or whose function is now lost, are much more difficult to infer. Nevertheless, when they are considered together, as a corpus, it is possible to draw some conclusions as to why there was an apparent preference for certain Old Testament episodes in Anglo-Saxon England.

Hawkes in her 2003 article 'Sacraments in Stone: The Mysteries of Christ in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture' carried out a detailed study of the potential reasons behind the apparent preference for certain (limited) New Testament episodes in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon sculpture: its findings are perhaps pertinent to the consideration of the choices informing the selection of Old Testament scenes.[31] She demonstrates that the depiction of New Testament figures on Anglo-Saxon monumental stone sculpture were comparatively rare (with the majority being iconic portraits of Christ, the Virgin Mary, apostles/saints and angels) and that decisions relating to how these figural images were selected and arranged on monuments were likely highly significant,[32] stating that:

> even when the vagaries of production and survival are taken into account, it
> would seem that figural sculpture in pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England was
> an unusual phenomenon, and that narrative images were even more unusual.[33]

These narrative images tend to cluster around the events of the Incarnation of Christ; the Passion and Resurrection; and the Crucifixion. Scenes relating to the Life and Ministry of Christ are extremely limited, with only two Transfiguration scenes (North and South

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[30] The reasons for the OE Hexateuch's construction and the significance of this is beyond the remit of this study, but has been examined in detail by other scholars. See, for example, Withers, 2007
[31] Hawkes, 2003b: 351-70
[32] Ibid.: 352
[33] Ibid.: 353

Crosses, Sandbach, Cheshire), one scene of Christ with Mary Magdalene (Ruthwell, Dumfries and Galloway), and seven miracle scenes surviving.[34] By examining each of the surviving scenes relating to the Life and Ministry of Christ in turn, Hawkes demonstrates that despite being narratives relating to the Life and Ministry of Christ, all were understood to function as iconographic references to the birth, salvific death, resurrection and/or Second Coming of Christ. Thus, the scenes were specifically chosen due to their iconographic potential to illustrate the rituals of initiation (Baptism and the Eucharist) and participation in the mystery of Christ, as mediated by the Church.[35]

Turning to examine the Old Testament narratives for where multiple examples survive it is possible to hypothesise that, like New Testament narrative scenes that relate to the Life and Ministry of Christ, these Old Testament narratives were likewise specifically chosen for their iconographic potential to illustrate the rituals of initiation and participation in the mystery of Christ. Thus, depictions of The Fall of Adam and Eve demonstrate the moment of the Original Sin, which would lead to the Crucifixion, the consequences of which (eternal damnation) would be overturned for the faithful through participation in the mysteries of salvation.[36] The Sacrifice of Isaac prefigures the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ, with the sacrificial ram symbolising the *Agnus Dei* and thus the Eucharist.[37] Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza, David Rending the Jaws of the Lion, and David Combatting Goliath were all considered to prefigure Christ's Descent into Hell and the Overcoming of the Devil.[38] Whereas Samuel Anointing David prefigures Christ as the Chosen One, whose salvific death absolved the Original Sin – which is succinctly demonstrated through the

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[34] These are: The Wedding at Cana, at Dewsbury, West Yorkshire; The Healing of the Blind Man, at Ruthwell; The Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes, at Hornby, Lancashire and Dewsbury; and The Raising of Lazarus, at Heysham, Lancashire, Great Glen, Lecestershire, and Rothbury, Northumberland. See, Hawkes, 2003b: 353, 367

[35] Ibid.: 365

[36] See pp. 113-21, 197-205, 218-28

[37] See pp. 123-30, 228-32

[38] For Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza see pp. 143-47; for David Rending the Jaws of the Lions see pp. 153-57, 205-206, 235-39; and for David Combatting Goliath see pp. 157-60, 240-41

pairing of The Fall (depicting the Original Sin) and Samuel Anointing David on the cross-shaft at Breedon-on-the-Hill.[39] Finally, David the Psalmist/Accompanied by Musicians while visually referencing the Psalms, which form a central role in the liturgy, also prefigures Christ in Majesty: the figure of the Second Coming.[40]

Through a detailed and through examination of the depiction of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England it is possible to gain insight into what self-image those responsible for each of the individual scenes wanted to portray. The skilful adaptation of early Christian models to reflect current exegetical expounding's of Old Testament subject matter, implies that they wished to portray themselves as intellectually adept and sought to depict themselves as integral to the cultural and historical milieu of the wider Christian world. For those responsible for the creation of stone sculpture, this would have been further emphasised by the fact that the monuments were large-scale and public, which would have established the Church, through the sign of the Cross, permanently on the landscape of Anglo-Saxon England for all to see.[41] Furthermore, by selecting Old Testament narratives that were well-understood to have strong Christological references, those responsible for the creation of these monuments were able to visually articulate the unity of the two Testaments of the Bible through Christ and the Second Covenant and so articulate the universal nature of Christian history and its salvific significance.

From this overview it is thus possible to conclude that not only was the Old Testament included in the artistic repertoire of Anglo-Saxon England with more regularity than has hitherto been recognised, the choices made demonstrate ongoing access to models featuring early Christian iconographic prototypes and a tendency to adapt these to suit the perceived needs of those responsible for their production. Most importantly it has become clear that, like the motives informing the selection of New Testament scenes, the Old

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[39] See pp. 150-53, 233-35
[40] See pp. 162-66, 206-207, 242-45
[41] Hawkes, 2002a: 146-47

Testament images were chosen for their Christological/salvific associations. This explains the comparatively limited range of episodes given visual articulation in Anglo-Saxon England and their continued appearance in the art produced across the period.

Surviving Pre-Viking Old Testament Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Art

1.1 Summary of Material

JON		DAN		PS		EZ	1 SAM				JUD	NUM	EX	GEN			
Jonah Regurgitated by the Whale	Jonah Thrown from the Boat	Daniel in the Lions' Den	Inscription in Runes (Dan 3:51)	David the Psalmist	David Accompanied by Musicians	The Scribe Ezra	David and Jonathan	David Combatting Goliath	David and the Lion	Samuel Anointing David	Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza	Inscription in Latin (Num 10:35)	The Tabernacle	The Sacrifice of Isaac	Adam and Eve		
										?					X	Breedon, Leics	STONE
											X					Cundall, N. Yorks	STONE
															X	Eccleshall, Staffs	STONE
				X					X		X					Masham, N. Yorks	STONE
								X						X	X	Newent, Glos	STONE
														X		Reculver, Kent	STONE
X	X	X												X		Antwerp Sedulius	MANUSCRIPTS
				X						?						Durham Cassiodorus	MANUSCRIPTS
						X							X			Codex Amiatinus	MANUSCRIPTS
								X			X					St Petersburg Flyleaf	MANUSCRIPTS
					X		X		X							Vespasian Psalter[1]	MANUSCRIPTS
														X		Cluny, Diptych	IVORY
			X													Honington Clip	METAL
												X				Staffordshire Hoard	METAL
2		2		3		1	8				2	1	1	6		**TOTAL**	

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[1] Potentially also included an image of Samuel Anointing David

1.2 BOOK OF GENESIS

1.2a Adam and Eve

(i) BREEDON (St Mary and St Hardulph), LEICESTERSHIRE

Cross-shaft fragment

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.2

PRESENT LOCATION: Cemented to the floor at the west end of the north aisle of the church

DATE: Ninth century[2]

DESCRIPTION: This scene fills the lower half of one of the broad sides. It is organised round a central stem that branches out into two arches at the top of the scene, which subsequently split into two further branches midway down their length; the central stem produces a further two branches, located slightly below the others. At the end of those branches where the erosion is less severe, are round bulbous objects.

Winding down the central stem is a serpentine creature; its body tapers into a tail that can be discerned at the top of the scene, but its head has been lost due to the lower break in the stone. On either side are two standing profile figures who reach up to the lower set of branches. That on the right stands with its head raised up to look at its right hand, which appears to pluck an object from the branch. Its left arm, slightly bent at the elbow, hangs downwards with the hand covering its genitalia. The figure's back is arched, causing its stomach to protrude outwards and its legs are bent at the knees; the lower half of the calf and the feet are lost in the break. The figure on the left is far more eroded than that on the right, so only the head and right arm can be discerned with any certainty. Its stance mirrors that of the left-hand figure, its head looks up towards its right hand that reaches up to pluck an object from the branch above.

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[2] Bailey identifies the carving as pre-Viking. See Bailey, 1977: 63

The presence of two figures standing either side of a central stem with a serpentine creature curled round it all indicate that this scene can be identified as the Fall, implying that the bulbous objects are apples, with Adam and Eve in the process of plucking them from the Tree of Knowledge. The feminine proportions of the figure on the right imply that this is Eve, making the left-hand figure, Adam.

REFERENCES: Clapham, 1927: pl. XXXI; Abbott, 1963-64: 20-23; Cramp, 1965a: 9; Bailey, 1977: 63-68, pl. II; Cramp, 1977: 225; Bailey, 1980: 173, 174, 230; Tweddle, 1983: 30-31; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 92; Hawkes, 1997b: 149; Hunt, 2009: 189
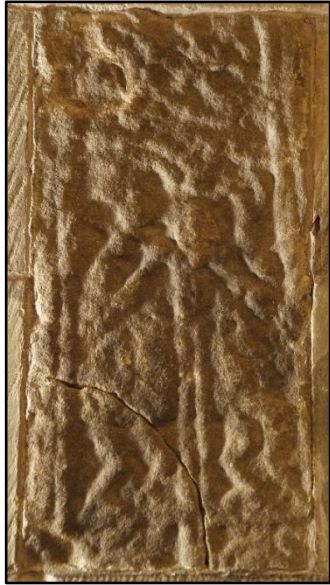
(ii) ECCLESHALL (Holy Trinity), STAFFORDSHIRE

Cross-shaft fragment

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.1

PRESENT LOCATION: Inset into the wall of the vestry at the north-west end of the church of Holy Trinity, Eccleshall

DATE: Ninth century[3]

DESCRIPTION: This Old Testament scene fills the cross-shaft fragment. It features two half-turned figures who stand facing each other while gazing out at the viewer; they stand with their knees flexed and arms crossing each other, one extending down to their legs and the other, bent sharply at the elbow, reaching up to a central vertical divide. This has a median incision running along its length, creating two strands that bifurcate at the top to form two arches that extend over the heads of the two figures. The area above is filled with interlace which is cut off by the upper break in the stone. The piece is bordered on each side by a plain angle-moulding inset with a thin plain inner-moulding; the effect of this arrangement is such that the two figures stand enclosed within an over-arching structure.

Composed of these elements it is more than likely that the figures can be identified as Adam and Eve. The fact that they reach over to the central vertical moulding while appearing to cover their bodies suggests it depicts the Temptation and the Fall with the tree presented as a highly stylised matrix of interlacing branches above the overarching trunk.

REFERENCES: Jeavons, 1945-46: 122, pl. XXIV.2; Pape, 1945-46: 25-46; Pape, 1946-47: 32-3, pl. III; Spufford and Spufford, 1964: 9; Pevsner, 1974: 125; Plunkett, 1984: 251 n. 6; Sidebottom, 1994: 249; Horovitz, 2003: 47 fn. 276; Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017

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[3] Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017

(iii) NEWENT (St Mary), GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Cross-shaft

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.3

PRESENT LOCATION: In the porch of the church

DATE: First half of the ninth century[4]
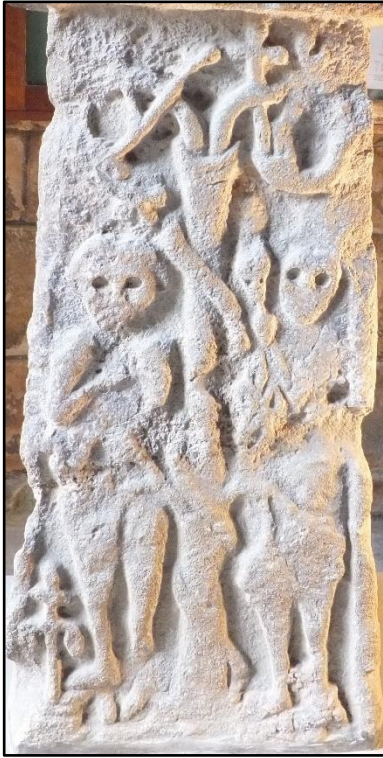
DESCRIPTION: This image fills one of the broad faces of the cross-shaft. It features two figures who stand facing forwards. They have deeply drilled eyes and both appear to be unclothed. Although damaged, they appear to adopt similar poses: the left-hand figure, who has clearly demarked short hair, has one arm extended down to the area of their genitals and the other, sharply bent at the elbow, crosses the chest. The short (almost non-existent) hair of this figure suggests he can be identified as male, while the longer hair of the right-hand figure indicating she was female. Between them is the vertical trunk of a 'tree' that terminates in a triple incised 'cup' from which emerges two branches that loop back on themselves to terminate in two crosses. Encircling the trunk is a snake whose head descends towards the shoulder of the female figure on the right. Held in its mouth is a round apple-like object, which it appears to pass to the female figure.

Composed of these elements the figures can be identified as Adam and Eve with the serpent, who together depict the Temptation.

REFERENCES: Conder, 1905-1907: 478-79, pls A-D; Allen, 1907: 197-200, figs 1-4; Payton, 1908: 135; Brøndsted, 1924: 58; Clapham, 1930: 67, pl. 19; Dobson, 1933: 272-73; Kendrick, 1938: 182, 187, 204, pl. LXXVII.1; Rice, 1952a: 143; Zarnecki, 1953: 49; Fisher, 1959: 68, pl. 30a; Jope, 1964: 99, 106; Kaske, 1967: 66 fig. 3; Verey, 1970b: 303; Cramp,

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[4] Bryant, 2012: 236

1972: 140, pl. 65.2; Bailey, 1977: 63-68; Cramp, 1977: 225; Cramp, 1978: 13, fig. 1.2c; Gethyn-Jones, 1979: 7, pl. 3a-d; Bailey, 1980: 173, 174; Heighway, 1987: 132-33; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 92; Hawkes, 1997b: 149; Irvine, 1997: 439-40; Bradfield, 1999; Everson and Stocker, 1999: 28; Verey and Brooks, 2002: 604; Thompson, 2004: 88; Bailey, 2005: 2; Cramp, 2006: 92; Coatsworth, 2008: 170, 187; Hunt, 2009: 189-90, figs 11-12; Bryant, 2012: 1, 49, 51, 69, 73, 98-99, 99-100, 100-101, 146, 211, 232-36 no. 1, 307, 315, 316, 359, figs 24G-H, 27R, 33G-J, illus 392-400

1.2b The Sacrifice of Isaac

(i) ANTWERP, Museum Plantin-Moretus MS M. 17. 4

Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*; Prosper, *Epigrammata*

(Antwerp Sedulius)

250 x 165 mm, fols 76

PROVENANCE: Liège (copy of Northumbrian model)[5]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.6

DATE: Early ninth century[6]

DESCRIPTION: The scene is located at the bottom of folio 8r. In the centre stands a bearded man with curly hair, who is identified as Abraham by the inscription behind his head. He wears a full-length purple robe with lighter coloured drapery wrapped around his body and hanging over his shoulders and left arm. Bent at the elbow, he raises his right arm upwards to grip the handle of a sword, whose blade extends over his head. His left arm, likewise bent at the elbow, extends to grasp the back of a second figure suspended in mid-air. This second figure, identified as Isaac by the inscription over his head, wears a red knee-length long-sleeved tunic; sandals on his feet; a green cloak that hangs down behind him; and a blindfold around his head. He half-turns towards the viewer, with his left leg outstretched and his right leg bent at the knee. Both arms are extended, slightly bent at the elbows, towards a rectangular object now lost in damage to the folio at this point. Above this is a long rectangular object from which flames emerge. On the far left is a tall tree that sprouts leaves, immediately above which is a clothed arm and open hand that reaches down towards the sword and outstretched arm of Abraham. Between the tree and Abraham is a four-legged, horned animal that stands in profile facing left, while looking back towards Abraham.

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[5] Alexander, 1978: 83
[6] Ibid.

The inscriptions identifying the two figures indicate that the scene can be identified as the Sacrifice of Isaac, with the arm emerging from the sky being the hand of God stopping Abraham sacrificing his son on the altar (now partially lost due to the damage in the folio), and the four-legged creature being the ram sacrificed in place of Isaac.

REFERENCES: Steinmeyer and Sievers, 1879-1922: II, 616-17, IV, 376; Caesar, 1901: 247-71; Traube, 1909-20: III, 239-41; Koehler, 1923: 7, pls 8, 9, 19; Cook, 1927: 254; Denucé, 1927: no. 176; Lesne, 1938: 683; Lehmann, 1941-62: 40, 186; Levinson, 1946: 133-34; Grabar and Nordenfalk, 1957: 122; Pächt, 1962: 19-20, fig. 6; Wright, 1964: 46, fig. 11; Bischoff, 1965: 235; Bischoff, 1966-81: 9; Bischoff, 1968: 306; Pauly, 1968; Lewine, 1970; Bergmann, 1973: 2; Lewine, 1974: 496-98; Bergmann, 1977: 228-33; Alexander, 1978: 83 no. 65, illus 285-301; Kurz, 1979: 267; Neuman De Vegvar, 1990: 14-15; Jeudy, 1991: 496; Gutmann, 1992: 80, fig. 4; Henderson, 1994: 253-54; Springer, 1995: 7, 22, 22-23 n. 52, 32-33; Brown, 2007: 11; Raw, 2007: 7-8; Springer, 2013: xvi n. 9, 33 no. 192, 70 no. 117, 170 no. 68; Alexander, forthcoming 2018

(ii) NEWENT (St Mary), GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Cross-shaft

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.5

PRESENT LOCATION: In the porch of the church of St Mary, Newent

DATE: Ninth century[7]

DESCRIPTION: The scene fills one of the broad faces of the cross-shaft. The left half contains a figure, facing the viewer who wears a long robe with drapery hanging over their right shoulder. The head sports curled hair, and the face has a pointed chin and deeply drilled eyes. The right arm, bent at the elbow, grasps a long pointed object held up towards the right corner of the panel. To the right of the head is a clothed arm whose hand grips this object, the thumb extending over the front and the four fingers curling round the back to emerge below in a convincing gripping motion.

Centrally placed, to the right of this figure, is a long, triple-stepped base pillar that fills approximately one third of the panel and from which flames emerge and bend to the right towards a profile four-legged animal, facing left. It appears to stand in interlace and a horn emerges from the top of the back of its head.

On the right-hand side of the panel, above the animal and the flames, it is possible to discern the head, neck and shoulders of a second figure, standing in profile, their head at an angle, looking downwards, with their neck and shoulders positioned to suggest the figure bends over the flames below. It is possible that the head is held by the left arm of the first figure, but the worn nature of the panel means this cannot be confirmed. Nevertheless, by following the curve of the second figure down through the break in the stone, clothed legs

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[7] Bryant, 2012: 236

of this second figure can be discerned, the feet pointing to the right and standing on a box-like object.

The presence of a figure bent over a rectangular object, which closely resembles early Christian representations of sacrificial altars, while a standing figure wielding a weapon is restrained by an arm appearing from the sky, indicates that the scene can be identified as the Sacrifice of Isaac. If this is the case then the four-legged creature depicted in the lower right of the scene is the ram caught in the thickets.

REFERENCES: see App. 1.2a (iii)

(iii) PARIS, MUSÉE DE CLUNY, no. 391(a)

Leaf of ivory diptych

343mm x 107mm

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.7, A.1

PROVENANCE: Unknown Anglo-Saxon location

DATE: Eighth to late ninth century[8]

DESCRIPTION: The scene fills the top third of a panel of an ivory diptych, bordered above and on the left by thin flat mouldings and below, by a wide curved moulding. The left portion is filled by a large figure who stands in a complex, three-quarter turned pose: the torso faces the viewer while the legs are in profile, turned to the left, and the nimbed head is turned towards the upper right-hand corner from which a hand emerges, gesturing to this figure. In their right hand is a sword, held downwards, while the left hand reaches around the head of a second smaller figure on the left, gripping the back of their head. The extreme wear to the surface of the panel means that details such as clothing cannot be discerned, but horizontal lines immediately above the left-hand figure's feet and a vertical line running between their legs up to the groin area, suggest either that they wear trousers, or – more likely – that they are clothed in a full-length robe moulded to the shape of the body.

The smaller figure on the right is depicted in a crouching position, knees bent and back curved, as they bend over an oblong object standing centrally between the two figures. The arms extend towards this object, and the hands, apparently clasped over it, suggest that they have been bound. From what remains of the details of this figure it appears that it too, either wore trousers or a full-length robe, and it may have been haloed. Above the oblong object and between the two figures is an additional circular object with an undulating outline,

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[8] Beckwith ascribes this to the eighth century, while Smith proposes a late ninth date. See, Beckwith, 1972, 119 no. 6; Smith, 2015: 290

which mirrors the shape of two similar objects flanking Christ's head in the Crucifixion scene, which is found immediately below (fig. A.1).

To the far right is a thin-trunked tree, which emerges from the lower right-hand corner and whose upper reaches merge into the upper horizontal frame. Immediately below, and standing in front of the tree, is a quadruped depicted in profile, with very short legs (only the hind legs are visible, with the front legs being obscured by the arm of the larger figure). The creature has a long thin face, which is turned towards the larger figure and has two bulbous shapes emerging from the top of its head.

The presence of two figures, one of whom stands grasping a second, crouching figure and wields a weapon, strongly indicates the scene can be identified as the Sacrifice of Isaac, suggesting that the central oblong object was intended to be a sacrificial altar, the hand appearing from the sky is the Hand of God, and the four-legged creature is the ram, complete with horns, caught in the tree (thicket).

REFERENCES: Volbach, 1916: no. 158; Goldschmidt, 1914: I, nos 183, 184; Delvoye, 1965: 188; Beckwith, 1972: illus 18 and 19 on 23, 24, 119 no. 6; Neuman de Vegvar, 1990: 15, fig. 15; Coatsworth, 1998: 16, fig. 2; Coatsworth, 2000: 158; 159; Smith, 2015: 186, 290-91 no. 12, illus 3.10, 5.16b, 5.26a, 5.27a

(iv) RECULVER (Canterbury Cathedral), KENT

Remains of a column in five pieces

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.4 (for the other four fragment see figs 3.16a-d)

PRESENT LOCATION: Canterbury Cathedral

DATE: Early ninth century[9]

DESCRIPTION: The remains of this scene fill one of the five fragments from a circular column from Reculver. It consists of the lower half of a robed figure on the left, who leaning towards a large rectangular block, over which is a hand, on the left, and a centrally placed smaller rounded feature. To the left of the standing figure is the edge of a robe of a second figure. Traces of paint survive, with red being used in the background and blue being used for the robes.

The large rectangular block recalls representations of sacrificial altars on early Christian sarcophagi.[10] This, and the presence of the standing figure perhaps being Isaac bent over the altar, means the scene can be identified as the Sacrifice of Isaac, with the second robed figure on the left being Abraham standing over his son, in a stance similar to that adopted by the figures at Newent (App. 1.2b (ii)) and in the Antwerp Sedulius (App. 1.2b (i)).

REFERENCES: Hastead, 1778-99: III, 637 note m; Duncombe, 1784: 71-72; Smith, 1850: 195; Dowker, 1878: 252, 266-68; Brown, 1903-37: VI (2), 22, 169-75, pl. XLV-VI; Peers, 1927b: 250-51, 252-56, fig. 7, pls XLII-III, XLVI; Clapham, 1929b; Clapham, 1930: 62, 68-69, 133, pl. 20; Casson, 1932: 272; Kendrick and Hawkes, 1932: 341-42, pl. XXXVIII; Livett, 1932: 4, col. 3; Jessup, 1936: 184-86; Kendrick, 1938: 115-18, pl. XLVI; Graham, 1944: 3-4, pl. I; Saxl and Wittkower, 1948: 20, pls 1, 6 and 7; Saxl and Wittkower, 1949: 5,

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[9] Hawkes, 2006: 249
[10] Such as the image surviving on a fragment of a sarcophagi at S. Maria in Trastevere (fig. A.2)

col. 1; Clapham, 1951: 191-92, 195, n., pl. I; Gardner, 1951: 41, pls 62-63; Rice, 1952: 96-98, pl. 9b; Gilbert, 1954: 97; Stone, 1955: 19-20, pl. 10A; Wilson, 1960: 61; Jope, 1964: 59-60; Cramp, 1965: 5; Taylor and Taylor, 1965-78: II, 503-504, 508-509; Taylor and Taylor, 1966: 41; Okasha, 1967: 249; Beckwith, 1968: 17-18, taf. 9.1-13.1; Taylor, 1968: 291-95, fig. 1B; Taylor, 1969: 225, 227; Cramp, 1972: 143; Cunliffe, 1973: 43; Kozodoy, 1976; Newman, 1976: 194-96, pls 8-9; Hinton, 1977: 56; Cramp, 1978: 4; Campbell, 1982: 107, pl. 99; Service, 1982: 176; Fernie, 1983b: 35-36; Tweddle, 1983: 30-35, fig. 6; Backhouse et al., 1984: 40-41, no. 22, pl. 22; Wilson, 1984: 71-72, pls 65-68; Kozodoy, 1986: 67-94, figs 1-4, pls XXXI-II, XXXIV, XXXVI; Tweddle, 1986b: I, 95, 255-330, II, 435-43, III, figs 41, 44-45, pls 75-76; Coatsworth, 1988: 164-65, 181, 191; Tweddle, 1990: 147-50, 154-56, pls 1-2; Worssam and Tatton-Brown, 1990: 54-57; Tweddle, et. al., 1995: 151-62; Hawkes, 2003a: 72, 79, fig. 1; Hawkes, 2006: 109, 110-12, 247-50 nos 267-72, figs 267-72; Webster, 2012: 90, fig. 60; Hawkes, forthcoming 2017: 48, 54

1.3 BOOK OF EXODUS

1.3a The Temple/Tabernacle

(i) FLORENCE, **Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS Amiatinus I**

Bible (Vulgate, Codex Amiatinus)

c. 505 x 340 mm., fols 1030

PROVENANCE: Wearmouth or Jarrow[11]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.18

DATE: Before 716[12]

DESCRIPTION: The proposed Old Testament image survives on folios 2v-3r (originally located on folios 4v-5r).[13] The image, spread over two folios, presents the aerial view of a rectangular architectural space. This is bordered by a series of columns, which, on the upper and right-hand sides are presented as if viewed standing on the ground; the lower and left-hand sides show the tops of the columns (viewed from above), paired and lined in two rows. The inner row features semi-circular loops, which surround the tops of the full-length columns. The lower row of columns depicted from above includes a darker (purpled) area in the centre, perhaps intended to represent the entrance. Surrounding the architectural space are the Latin names of the twelve tribes of Israel. Within, is a series of objects, each labelled in white: on the left is a laver (LABRUM); in the centre is a square altar which supports a round bowl from which flames emerge (ALTARE HOLOCAUSTI). This stands before an entrance (marked by a cross) to an inner room, whose solid walls share the same mode of presentation as the surrounding columns; it is further sub-divided, with the area by the entrance containing a menorah (CAND), a long rectangular table (MENSA), and a square altar (ALTAR THYM); the inner space contains a representation of the Ark of the Covenant

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[11] Alexander, 1978: 32
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.: 33

(ARCA TEST). Four further words in gold line the inner edge of the columns: ARLTOS, DYSIS, MESEMBRIA and ANATOL, the Greek words for the four cardinal directions, whose initial letters also spell out the name ADAM.

As accepted in the scholarship this architectural space can be identified as the Tabernacle containing the sanctuary, with the veil that divided the Holy of Holies from the rest of the sanctuary. Although illustrating the Tabernacle with the hides and poles demarking the space set up during the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness, the solid walls of the sanctuary also reference the structure set up within the Temple built by Solomon in Jerusalem.

REFERENCES: Westwood 1868: 7; White, 1890: 272-308; Chapman, 1926: 139-50; Köhler, 1930-60: illus 15, 31, 74; Nordenfalk, 1951: 151; Lowe, 1952: 237-38, figs 1-3; Oakeshott, 1959: 34-36; Lowe, 1960: 11, 19, pls XI, XII; McGurk, 1961; Wright, 1961: 441-56, pls IV, Va; Fischer, 1962: 57-79; Lowe, 1963; Bruce-Mitford, 1967a; Bruce-Mitford, 1969; 16, pl. VIII. 2; Brown, 1969: 7-8; Nordhagen, 1977; Weitzmann, 1997: 24, 126; Alexander, 1978a: 32-35 no. 7, illus 23-27, fig. 27; Schapiro, 1980: 104, 135, n. 97, 218, 219, 231, 232, 237; Dodwell, 1982: 96-97, 157; Parkes, 1982: 3-6; Revel-Neher, 1982: 6-17; Wilson, 1984: 40, 49, 61, 94; Kühnel, 1986-87: 147-68; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 7; Corsano, 1987: 3-34; Kessler, 1990-91: 53-77; Gameson, 1992b: 2-9; Marsden, 1995a: 3-15, 90-98; Marsden, 1995b: 3-15; O'Reilly, 1995: lii-lv, frontispiece; Hawkes, 1996a: 86-88; Meyvaert, 1996: 827-31; Marsden, 1998: 65-85; Farr, 1999: 336-47; Nees, 1999: 121-77; Brown, 2000: 6-7, 14-19; Ricci, 2000; O'Reilly, 2001: 3-39; Chazelle, 2003: 129-57; Gorman, 2003: 863-910; Rollason, 2003: 143-51, figs 9, 12; Meyvaert, 2005: 1087-1133; Beall, 2005: 29-40; Thacker, 2005: 7-8, 28-32; Chazelle, 2006: 84-111; Degregorio, 2006b: xxxvii-xlii; Harvey, 2006: 14-15, fig. 2; Meyvaert, 2006: 295-309, fig. 8; Chazelle, 2007: 81-98; Brown, 2007: 10, 11, 15, 40; Chazelle, 2009: 129-57; Karkov, 2009: 209-10; O'Reilly, 2009: 367-73, 388-98; Ramirez, 2009: 1-18; Brown, 2011: 125-26, 131, 142;

Karkov, 2011: 3, 38-42, 46, 52-53; Marsden, 2011: 217-39; Nees, 2011: 14, 15, 16, 22-24, 27; Baker, 2012: 67-68, 92, 105, 202-4; Degregorio, 2012: 115-25; Marsden, 2012: 406-407, 412, 416-17; Netzer, 2012: 232; Webster, 2012: 25, 71-73, 75-76; Boulton, 2013: 285-86; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 589-90 no. 825; O'Brien, 2015: 90-100; Barbet-Massin, 2017: 9-10; Boulton, 2017: 22-23; Darby, 2017: 34-40, pl. 4

1.4 BOOK OF NUMBERS

1.4a Inscription in Latin

(i) STAFFORDSHIRE HOARD

Silver Gilt Strip with Rivet Holes

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.19a-b

PRESENT LOCATION: BMAG (Accession

number: 2010.0138K0550) / PMAG (Accession

number: 2010.LH.10.K0550)

DATE: Seventh to early eighth century[14]

DESCRIPTION: The inscriptions (which differ only slightly), fill both sides of the strip. They read: 'SURGE DOMINE ET DIS**E**PENTUR INIMICI TUI ET FUG**E**NT QUI ODERUNT TE A FACIE TUA',[15] which has been transliterated as: "rise up, o Lord, and may thy enemies be scattered and those who hate thee be driven from thy face". While this references the Vulgate translation of Numbers 10:35, it also closely parallels Psalm 67:1. The letters on the outer face have been filled with niello, which, together with the empty animal-headed mount at one end that once contained an inset, together suggest this was originally the more important side; at the other end is an animal head with an elliptical eye, open toothless jaw and a three-pronged tongue. This motif is found at both ends on the inner face of the strip. Rivet holes suggest it was once fastened to another object.

REFERENCES: Behr, 2010; Brooks, 2010; Brown, 2010; Ganz, 2010; Henderson and Henderson, 2010; Høilund Nielsen, 2010; Leahy, 2010; Okasha, 2011; Leahy, *et al.*: 202-20 Webster, 2012: 125, fig. 82; http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk/staritems/the-biblical-inscription; http://finds.org.uk/staffshoardsymposium/

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[14] http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk/staritems/the-biblical-inscription
[15] The highlighted letters represent misspelt words. The text should read: '*Surge domine et dissipentur inimici tui et fugiant qui oderunt te a facie tua*'. *See,* http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk/staritems/the-biblical-inscription

1.5 BOOK OF JUDGES

1.5a Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza

(i) CUNDALL (All Saints), NORTH YORKSHIRE

Part of a cross shaft in six fragments

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.23

PRESENT LOCATION: Beneath the tower of Cundall church.

DATE: Late eighth to early ninth century[16]

DESCRIPTION: This scene is preserved at the base of a piece of a cross-shaft which is carved on four faces; other pieces of survive at both Cundall and Aldborough, nearby. It features a clothed figure turned to the right, with their feet pointing to the right. One arm, sharply bent at the elbow, reaches up to 'hold' a round-headed arch, supported by columns, that 'rests' on the shoulders of the figure. Above, are two curved shoots that terminate in large leaves springing from vertical stems which appear to function as plain inner-mouldings of the plain angle-mouldings running the length of the shaft.

This is now generally accepted as depicting Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza. Another example can be found at Masham, North Yorkshire (App. 1.5a (ii)), where the figure presents a mirror image of this one, suggesting that a template was used for one or both of the scenes.

REFERENCES: Whitaker, 1823: II, 195, fig. 9; Lunn, 1867: 8; Allen and Browne, 1885: 353; Hodges, 1894: 195; Morris, 1904: 134, 420, 422; Collingwood, 1907: 269, 274, 280, 281, 283, 284, 286, 292, 315, fig. on 310; Collingwood, 1912a: 111, 124; Page, 1914: 366; Collingwood, 1915: 269, 275, 277, 289; Collingwood, 1916-18: 39, fig. 10; Stapleton, 1923: 9-10n; Brøndsted, 1924: 46-47n, 56, 65, 72, fig. 48; Collingwood, 1927: 25, 45, 51, 72-73,

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[16] Lang, 2001: 97

109, 119, fig. 32; Morris, 1931: 135, 417; Collingwood, 1932: 50-51; Elgee and Elgee, 1933: 195, 246; Brown, 1937: 207, 210-11, pl. LXX.2; Kendrick, 1938: 196-99, 201, 204, pl. LXXXVIII.2; Dauncey, 1941: 116-17, fig. 15a-b; Mee, 1941: 68; Cramp, 1959-60: 18; Pevsner, 1959: 76; Cramp, 1965: 9, 12; Pevsner, 1966, 133-34; Adcock, 1974: 109-11, 118n, 226, pls 24, 25, 26a-b; Cramp, 1977: 207; Cramp, 1978a: 9, 12, 13, fig. 1.1h; Lang, 1983: 185; Cramp, 1984a: 125; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 17, 135; Lang, 1988a, 23, 56; Hawkes, 1989: I, 81, 111, 136, II, 15, 24, 33, 67n; Lang, 1990a: 9, 11, 13, 14, 15; Cramp, 1992, 9, 33, 36, 61, 190, 226; Bailey, 1996: 114; Hawkes, 1997: 149, 151, 153, illus. 2; Muir, 1997: 95; Hawkes, 1999a: 206-207, 210, 211, 213, figs 17.2, 17.6; Hadley, 2000: 316; Lang, 2001: 1, 9, 24, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34-35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 93-97, 121, 170, 171, 177, 228, 268, fig. 14, illus 159-84

(ii) MASHAM (St Marys), NORTH YORKSHIRE

Column

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 1.3, 1.5, 3.22

PRESENT LOCATION: In the churchyard, next to the south porch

DATE: Late eighth to early ninth century[17]

DESCRIPTION: The scene is located on the second register of the column. It features a figure wearing a full-length robe turned to the left, with their feet pointing to the left. One arm, sharply bent at the elbow, reaches up to 'hold' a round headed arch, supported by columns, that 'rests' on the figure's shoulders; a swathe of drapery hangs from the shoulders. Below the columns are two circular features.

This image is generally accepted as depicting Samson Carrying the Gates of Gaza. Another example is preserved at Cundall, North Yorkshire (App. 1.5a (i)), where the image is arranged as a direct reverse, suggesting that a template was used for both scenes.

REFERENCES: Gough, 1789: 90, III, Pl. II p.32; Gough, 1806: 334, pl. XIV facing 267; Whitaker, 1823: II, 102, fig. on 103; Hugall and Fletcher 1850-51: 251; Longstaffe, 1852: 67; Whellan, 1859: II, 118; Fisher, 1865: 310-11, 430, fig. facing 310; Macquoid, 1883, 233; Browne, 1884: 189, 192-93; Browne, 1884-1888, 6-7, pl. I, fig. 3; Allen and Browne, 1885; 352; Browne, 1886, 166; Allen, 1889: 228; Bulmer, 1890: 501; Hodges, 1894: 195; Bogg, 1895: 278, illus. on 277; Glynne, 1898: 166; Morris, 1904: 254, 422; Collingwood, 1907: 269, 270, 274, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 283, 292, 360, figs on 364-65; McCall, 1909: 234-35; Collingwood, 1912a: 11, 113 119, 122, 126, pl. VI; Prior and Gardner, 1912: 124-25; Page, 1914: 330; Collingwood, 1915a: 275, 283; Collingwood, 1923: 7, pl. II.5; Smith, 1923-24: 239, fig. 6; Brøndsted, 1924: 58, 62-63, fig. 53a-b; Bogg, 1925: 81, illus. on 78;

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[17] Lang, 2001: 171

Collingwood, 1927: 6-7, 43, 114, figs 13.5, 55; Clapham, 1930: 65, pl. 19; Morris, 1931: 33, 255, 421; Porter, 1931: 91-92, fig. 145; Collingwood, 1932: 50-51; Elgee and Elgee, 1933: 196, 249; Pontefract and Hartley, 1936: 138; Brown, 1937: 272; Kendrick, 1938: 192, 193, 195, 197, pl. LXXXVII, 2-3; Kendrick, 1941b: 15; Mee, 1941: 152, pl. facing 112; Kendrick, 1949: 73; Rix, 1960: 71, 77, 78, 79; Cramp, 1965: 9, 12; Taylor and Taylor, 1965: II, 734; Pevsner, 1966: 241, pl. 6b; Taylor and Taylor, 1966: 39; Wright, 1967a: 72; Cramp, 1970: 60, 61; Bailey, 1972: 145-46, pl. XXa; Cramp, 1972: 139; Lang, 1973: 18; Cramp, 1977: 224; Cramp, 1978a, 9, 13, fig. 1.2(d); Cunliffe-Lister, 1978: 18; Swanton, 1979: 147n; Bailey, 1980, 265; Lawson, 1981: 229, 232, 237-38, 241, 244, figs 1, 2, 6a, 7g, 8c; Rodwell, 1981: 161-62, fig. 78; Cramp, 1982: 14; Cramp, 1983: 276; Lang, 1983: 185; Wilson, 1984: 105, illus. 131; Cramp, 1986: 103; Henderson, 1986: 97-98, 100, 110, 111, pl. 5.8a-b; Kozodoy, 1986: 89, pl. XLIb; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 17, 20; Lang, 1988a, 56; Hawkes, 1989: I, 80-136, 361, 417, II, 59-68, pls 5-14, 68; Lang, 1990a: 9, 13, 15; Lang, 1991: 19, 29, 49, 58, 140, 147, 168, 191, 203; Webster and Backhouse, 1991: 242, fig. 26; Cramp, 1992: 33, 36, 60, 61, 79, 207, 226, 231, 249, 294; Lang, 1993: 262; Lang, 1994a, 15, 17; Mac Lean, 1995: 169; Tweddle et al., 1995: 57, 156; Bailey, 1996: 6, 114; Hawkes, 1996a: 99, fig. 82; Hawkes, 1997a: 149, 153, 155-56, illus. 1; Everson and Stocker, 1999: 159; Hawkes, 1999a: 206-207, 208-11, 213-14, figs 17.2, 17.4, 17.5; Lang, 1999: 271, 272, 273-76, 280, pl. 4; Hadley, 2000: 133, 257, 316; Lang, 2000: 109, 110, 112-13, 115, 116, 117, figs 9.1, 9.4, 9.5; Lang, 2001: 34-5, 168-171, fig. 17, illus 597-631; Hawkes, 2002b: 337-48; Thompson, 2002: 152; Hawkes, 2003a: 76, 78, 79, fig. 2; Hawkes, 2006: 109-12, fig. 46; Ramirez, 2006: 11, 131, 141 n. 579, 142, 148, 149, 151-54, 165, 166, 199, figs 86, 107, 108-11, 114; Ramirez, 2009: 10, figs 8, 8b; Hawkes, 2011a: 29-42; Whitworth, 2017: 262; Hawkes, forthcoming 2017: 48, 53

1.6 BOOK OF 1 SAMUEL

1.6a Samuel Anointing David

(i) BREEDON (St Mary and St Hardulph), LEICESTERSHIRE

Cross-shaft fragment

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.29

PRESENT LOCATION: In the north aisle of the church

DATE: Ninth century[18]

DESCRIPTION: The scene is located on the top of a fragment of a cross-shaft. It contains two figures of equal height, who both hold a curved object at head height. The figure on the left faces the viewer, is hooded and wears a robe that terminates above the ankles. The right arm crosses the torso at waist-height, possibly gesturing towards the other figure; the worn nature of the fragment means this cannot be ascertained. The feet point to the right and behind their lower legs is a long, horizontal, rectangular object.

The other figure, on the right, stands in profile facing the hooded figure on the left. The head is heavily damaged, but it is possible that they look upwards. They wear a long robe that terminates above the ankles, and potentially a cape hanging down the back; a further band traverses the torso from the right shoulder to pass under the left arm, which crosses the torso at waist-height in the direction of the left-hand figure.

Between the two figures (at waist-height), however, is a table-shaped object which may be the focus of their gestures. This object supports a small square element from which waving lines (incised in low relief) emerge. Above, and supported by the extended, half-bent arms of both figures, is a curved object.

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[18] Bailey, 1977: 63

Consisting of these elements the scene is most convincingly identified as Samuel Anointing David, under the guise of sacrificing a heifer (I Samuel 16.1-2). This would explain the presence of both the table-shaped object (an altar), and the curved object: a horn.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.2a (i)

(ii) ST PETERSBURG, National Library Cod. Q. v. XIV. I

Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina*

c. 380 x 210 mm., ff. 22

PROVENANCE: Northumbria (Lindisfarne?)[19]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.26

DATE: Eighth to ninth century[20]

DESCRIPTION: The image is preserved on the upper left of folio 1r. It contains two full-length bearded figures who face each other, with another, half-length figure between them; the labels DAUID and SAMUEL PROPHETA above the heads of the two full-length figures identifies that on the left as David, and that on the right as Samuel. David wears a full-length robe, his bare feet pointing to the right; his arm, bent at the elbow, gestures towards Samuel, who also wears a full-length robe under a toga that wraps around his body and is draped over his left arm. He points down towards to the half-length figure in the middle and in his right hand holds a horn over this figure and David.

The half-length figure wears what is probably a tunic. Unlike the other two he is clean-shaven, implying he is younger. Stylistically, this figure is articulated in a manner different to that used to articulate the other two and it is thought to be a later addition in an attempt to identify David as youthful, indicating that by the time he was added, the left-hand bearded figure was thought to be Jesse.

The original presence of figures identified as David and Samuel the Prophet imply that this scene depicts Samuel Anointing David as King.

REFERENCES: Staerk, 1910: I, 222-23, II, pl. 71; Zimmermann, 1916: 145, 310, pl.332b; Kurz, 1938: 84-93, pl.; Lowe, 1966: no. 1622; Evans, 1969: 21, pl.5; De Mérindol, 1976: illus 1082-85; Alexander, 1978a: 65-66, no. 42, illus. 179; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 42;

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[19] Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 608
[20] Alexander, 1978: 65

Henderson, 1986: 99; Ganz, 1990: 41, 130; Parkes, 1992: 28; Kilpiö, et. al., 2001: 45-46, pls 13-14; Storey, 2003: 262 (App. 1); Bremmer, 2007: 45; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 608, no. 847; Brown, 2012: 159; Bryant, 2012: 101, 235; Love, 2012: 614

(iii) LONDON, British Library Cotton MS Vespasian A. I

Psalter (Vespasian Psalter)

235 x 180 mm, fols 153

PROVENANCE: Canterbury, St. Augustine[21]

PRESENT LOCATION: LOST

DATE: Second quarter of the eighth century[22]

DESCRIPTION: The initial B of Psalm 1 is missing, but a fifteenth-century account by Thomas of Elmham indicates that the Psalter contained a representation of Samuel in this position. It has been suggested that this was likely to have been an image of Samuel Anointing David.[23]

REFERENCES: Westwood, 1843-45: no. 40; Westwood, 1868: 10-14, pl. 3; Bond, et al., 1884-94: pls 18-19; Thompson, 1884: 8-11; Kenyon, 1900: pl. X; James, 1903: lxv-lxvi, 501; Warner, 1903: pl. 3; Herbert, 1914: 8 pls 6, 7; Brøndsted, 1924: 102-104, 109, 112, 122 n. I, 124, figs 84, 85b; Zimmermann, 1916: 120, 131, 133-34, 289-91, pls 286-88; Herbert, et al., 1928: 7, pl. I; Lowe, 1935: no. 193; Kendrick, 1938: 159-62, 181, pl. LXV. 2; Micheli, 1939: 31, 33, pl. 15; Kuhn, 1943: 458-83, pl. I; Kuhn, 1948: 591-629, pls I, IIb; Nordenfalk, 1951: 147; Sisam, 1956: 1-10, 113-31; Ker, 1957: 266-67, no. 203; Kuhn, 1957: 355-70; Oakeshott, 1959: 36-38, 124, pl. 51a; Lowe, 1960: 8, 21-22, pls XXVI-XXVII; Steger, 1961: 155-57, pl. 3; Kuhn, 1965; Rickert, 1965: 18-19, 49, pl. 10b; Bruce-Mitford, 1967b: 822-25, pls XXXVII-XXXVIII; Wright, 1967a; Wright, 1967b: 90, pl. 5/2; Koehler, 1972: 16, 24, 78, 87, 118, 192; Nordenfalk, 1976: 95, pl. 32; Alexander, 1978a: 55-56, no. 29, illus 143-46, fig. 7; Alexander, 1978b: 8; Brownrigg, 1978: 257, 258; Schapiro, 1980: 146, 209, 215, 220 n. 4, 221 n. 18, 237; Dodwell, 1982: 169; Wilson, 1984: 63, 91, 94, 96, 114; Henderson, 1986: 97, 98, 99, 100, 108, 109, pls 5.4b, 5.7b, 5.9a; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 126; Raw,

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[21] Alexander, 1978: 55
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

1990: 217-18; Noel, 1995: 143-44; Budny, 1999: 26-27, 33-41, 42-88, 97, 106-107, 182-255, 278, 316-17, 318 n. 177; Brown, 2000: 3; Farr, 2003: 127; Brown, 2007: 10, 61; Shepard, 2007: 201, 243 n. 130, fig. 76; Karkov, 2009: 216, 231; Farr, 2011: 220, 221-24; Karkov, 2011: 185, 205; Nees, 2011: 4, 15, 25; Bryant, 2012: 165, 199-200, 241; Netzer, 2012: 228; Webster, 2012: 85-86, 90, 136; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 307-309, no. 381; Stoner, 2017: 211

1.6b David and the Lion
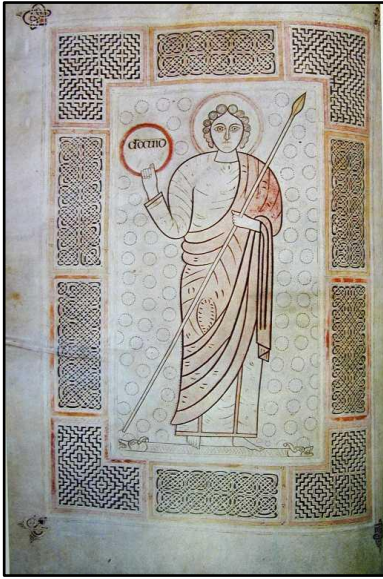
(i) DURHAM, **Cathedral Library MS B. II. 30**

Cassiodorus, Commentary on the Psalms (Durham Cassiodorus)

420 x 295 mm, fols 266

PROVENANCE: Northumbria (York?)[24]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.27

DATE: Second quarter of the eighth century[25]

DESCRIPTION: This image, framed by a border filled with interlace panels, fills folio 172v. It is filled with dots that form concentric circles and contains a nimbed, standing figure with curled short hair who holds a spear in their left hand, which crosses the body diagonally, while in their right hand they hold an orange coloured ring framing the word DAUID. The figure wears a full-length white long-sleeved robe and red 'toga' stands on a long double-headed serpentine creature whose open mouths display teeth.

The 'label' David and the presence of a figure holding a spear strongly suggest that he can be identified as the Old Testament figure David as a warrior. However, the scheme shares many similarities with Anglo-Saxon and Late Antique examples of Christ Treading on the Beasts and so overcoming Death. It is thus possible that it also references David Combatting the Lion.[26]

REFERENCES: Westwood 1868: 77-78, pls 17-18; Thompson, Warner, et al., 1903-12: pl. 164; Zimmermann, 1916: 118-20, 271-72, pls 222b, 247-48; Saunders, 1928: pl. 22a; Lowe, 1935: no. 152; Kendrick, 1938: 133, 138, pl. LIV; Mynors, 1939: 21-22, no. 9, pls 8-10; Micheli, 1939: 27, 88, pls 70-71; Kendrick, et al., 1956: 91, 171 n. 2, 286; Oakeshott, 1959: 26-27, 123, pl. 46b; Lowe, 1960: 24, pl. XXXVIIIc; Steger, 1961: 154-55; Rickert, 1965:

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[24] Alexander, 1978: 46; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 189
[25] Webster, 2012: 82; Gnuess and Lapidge, 2014: 189
[26] See discussion in Chapter 3, pp. 156-57

18, pl. 10a; Dodwell, 1971b: 108-109; Koehler, 1972: 13, 22, 68, 87, 188; Henry, 1974: 163, 226; Nordenfalk, 1976: 10, 85, 87, pls 27, 28; Alexander, 1978a: 46, no. 17, illus 74-75; Bailey, 1978; Schapiro, 1980: 146, 209, 215, 220 n. 4, 221 n. 18, 237; Wilson, 1984: 61, pls 31, 53; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 17; Henderson, 1986: 98-99, 100, 101, 111, pls 5.5b, 5.9b; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 20, 22, 65, 66; Cramp, 1989: 255; Lang, 1991: 20, 163, 173, illus. 917; Brown, 1996: 76; Hawkes, 1996a: fig. 5 on 10; Gretsch, 1999: 103; Brown, 2000: 21; Hilmo, 2003: 38; Brown, 2007: 52, 59; Cochrane, 2007: 23-50; Haines, 2008: 219-20, figs on 221-23; Farr, 2011: 219-20; Bryant, 2012: 130, 236; Webster, 2012: 81-84, fig. 54; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 189-90 no. 237; Stoner, 2017: 211

(ii) LONDON, British Library Cotton MS Vespasian A. I

Psalter (Vespasian Psalter)

235 x 180 mm, fols 153

PROVENANCE: Canterbury, St Augustine[27]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.32

DATE: Second quarter of the eighth century[28]

DESCRIPTION: The image is contained within an initial D on folio 53r marking the opening of Psalm 52. It includes a figure standing in profile with their head turned to face the viewer. They wear a long-sleeved robe with an over garment and have long curly hair. The right hand grips the snout of a four-legged creature, while the left grasps the jaw from below. The creature stands in profile with its tail (terminating in a barb) flicked up between its hind legs. The head is back-turned to face the human figure. Surrounding them are three smaller quadrupeds; the lower two, located beneath the body of the larger creature, both have horns protruding from the tops of their heads, while the larger creature above lacks these details; to the right is a bird.

Composed of a human figure gripping the jaws of a large creature, surrounded by smaller animals this scene can be identified as David Combatting the Lion. The smaller animal beside David is thus the lamb saved from the jaws of the Lion, while the others represent the herd tended by David. The bird is an unusual feature in such scenes.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.6a (iii)

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[27] Alexander, 1978: 55
[28] Ibid.

(iii) MASHAM (St Mary), NORTH YORKSHIRE

Column

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 1.3, 1.5, 3.33

PRESENT LOCATION: In the churchyard by the south porch

DATE: Late eighth to early ninth century[29]

DESCRIPTION: This scene is located on the second register of the column. It consists of a large quadruped in profile, with its head turn backwards and tail flicking upwards. Behind it, in the centre of the panel, is a tall figure also in profile, their arms gripping the head of the quadruped; what appears to be a piece of drapery rises from above their shoulders. In the lower left-hand corner are the worn remains of a second smaller quadruped, beneath the body of the first.

The presence of a figure grasping the jaws of a quadruped with a pronounced flank and tail, along with a smaller quadruped, clearly identifies the scene as David Combatting the Lion. Further supporting this identification is the layout, which closely resembles 'Mithraic' versions of David and the Lion found elsewhere in the Insular world and across the Continent.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.5a (ii)

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[29] Lang, 2001: 171

1.6c David Combatting Goliath
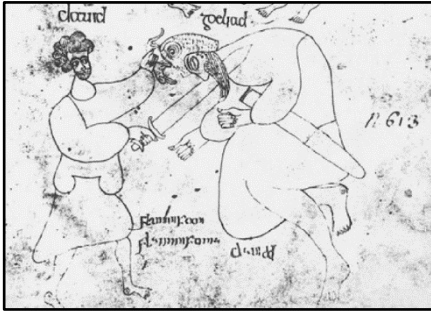
(i) ST PETERSBURG, Public Library Cod. Q. v. XIV. I

Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina*

c. 380 x 210 mm, fols 22

PROVENANCE: Northumbria

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.28

DATE: Eighth to ninth century[30]

DESCRIPTION: The image is located at the bottom of folio 1r, below the scene of Samuel Anointing David (App. 1.6a (ii)). The scene contains two figures facing each another, with inscriptions above their heads: DAUID and GOLIATH, identifying them as David on the left and Goliath on the right. David wears an oversized half-length tunic, has tightly curled hair and a beard, and his legs are in a wide stance with his feet are pointing to the right; his body is also half-turned to the right while his right arm, bent at the elbow, reaches across to grip a sword, while his left arm extends upwards, to the right, gripping the helmet of Goliath.

Goliath's body adopts a contorted stance: with his back bent, arms outstretched, knees hunched up, and his left leg slightly more outstretched than his right. He is also clothed in an oversized half-length tunic, wears a swords sheath and wears a helmet on his head that covers his neck and nose. His long beard lies in front of the tip of the sword held by Daniel, which is placed at Goliath's neck implying he is about to be decapitated.

The labelling of the two figures as David and Goliath and the position of the two figures – David in the process of killing Goliath – clearly identifies the scene as David Combatting Goliath.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.6a (ii)

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[30] Alexander, 1978: 65

(ii) NEWENT (St Mary), GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Cross-Shaft

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.37

PRESENT LOCATION: In the porch of the church

DATE: Ninth century[31]

DESCRIPTION: The scene fills one of the narrow sides of the cross-shaft. It contains two figures, one full length filling the foreground and the other in the background emerging above the head of the first. The foremost figure stands in a contorted pose: the feet and legs are twisted to the right and the knees are bent; the body faces forwards with the arms bent and hands gripping a spear, which crosses the body from left to right, terminating in a spear-head in the top left corner; the shoulders appear to be hunched and the head faces forwards, but is bent sideways. It has deeply drilled eyes, as does the figure above. Only the top half of this second figure is shown, facing forwards, with arms bent and hands gripping what appears to be a sword hilt, with the blade pointing downwards to intersect with the chin of the figure below, as if decapitating him.

It has thus been proposed that the scene depicts David decapitating Goliath as he falls to the ground. If this is the case then the figure at the top is David with the enlarged figure below, contorted to fit the confines of the panel can be identified as the giant Goliath.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.2a (iii)

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[31] Bryant, 2012: 236

1.6d David and Jonathan

(i) LONDON, British Library Cotton MS Vespasian A. I

Psalter (Vespasian Psalter)

235 x 180 mm., fols 153

PROVENENCE: Canterbury, St Augustine[32]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.38

DATE: Second quarter of the eighth century[33]

DESCRIPTION: The image is contained in the letter D of folio 31r. It consists of two male figures, identified by their short hair, standing facing forwards. That on the left wears a knee-length tunic and that on the right, a full-length robe; both are draped in an over-garment hanging from their shoulders. The left arm of the right-hand figure extends across his body, holding a spear which also traverses the body from left to right; the right hand is outstretched to hold that of the left-hand figure. This figure also holds a spear – in his left hand – which transects the scene vertically.

It is generally accepted these figures can be identified as David and Jonathan. The apparent handshake, therefore, represents the close and friendly nature of their relationship.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.6a (iii)

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[32] Alexander, 1978: 55
[33] Ibid.

1.7 BOOK OF EZRA

1.7a The Scribe Ezra
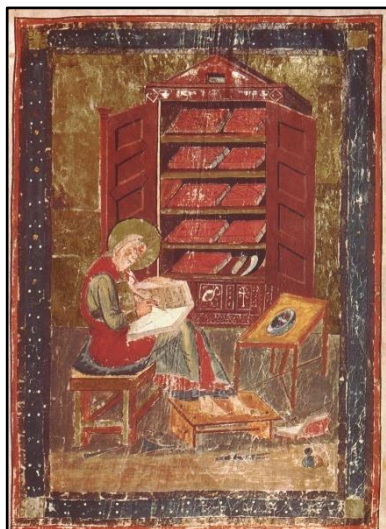
(i) FLORENCE, **Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS Amiatinus I**

Bible (Vulgate, Codex Amiatinus)

c. 505 x 340 mm., ff. 1030

PROVENANCE: Wearmouth or Jarrow[34]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.46

DATE: Before 716[35]

DESCRIPTION: Located on folio 5r, the scene contains a nimbed figure with a white beard, wearing a belted full-length green robe with a red over-garment, seated on a cushioned stool with his feet resting on a foot-rest. He holds a large book open on his lap with one hand, while the other holds a quill in such a way as to suggest that he is in the process of writing. Writing paraphernalia is scattered on the floor next to the foot-rest and on the lower right, with further writing equipment resting on a small table to the right of the scene. A bookcase stands in the background with two doors that open outwards; it is decorated with symbols that run along the upper plinth and lower frame. Inside are nine books, whose spines preserve the remains of their titles.

An inscription at the top of the page identifies the figure as the Old Testament prophet Ezra: CODICIBUS SACRIS HOSTILE CLADE PERUSTIS / ESDRA DEO FERUENS HOC REPARUIT OPUS (The sacred books having been burned by enemy destruction, Ezra, zealous for God, restored this work).[36]

REFERENCES: See App. 1.3a (i)

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[34] Alexander, 1978: 32
[35] Ibid.
[36] O'Reilly, 2001: 22

1.8 BOOK OF PSALMS

1.8a David Accompanied by Musicians
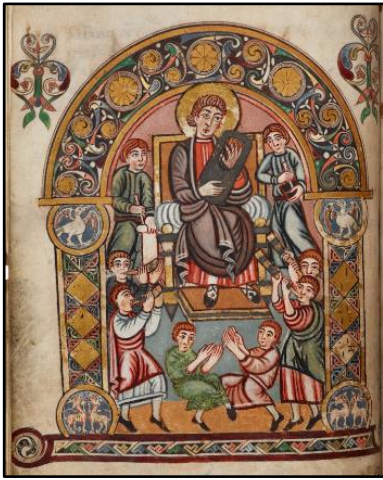
(i) LONDON, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A. I

Psalter (Vespasian Psalter)

235 x 180 mm., fols 153

PROVENANCE: Canterbury, St Augustine[37]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.40

DATE: Second quarter of eighth century[38]

DESCRIPTION: The image fills folio 30v. Contained within an elaborately decorated arched frame sits a central figure surrounded by eight smaller ones. The arch is supported by two columns with three-quarter circles forming the 'capitals' and 'bases'. The capitals contain birds facing inwards, while the bases are filled with pairs of confronting quadrupeds.

The central nimbed figure, sporting short hair identifying him as male, sits on a square-backed chair, complete with cushion and foot-rest apparently standing on a blue carpet. He faces forwards and wears a full-length robe and sandals with two straps crossing his feet. The left arm, bent at the elbow, extends upwards to hold a lyre, which he strums with the left hand.

To the left of the central figure stands a man who appears to be writing with a quill on a scroll; on the right is a man playing a drum. Immediately below the writer and drummer are two pairs of figures who blow horns raised up towards the seated figure. In the lower centre of the scene are two figures who have raised legs and clapping hands, in a manner suggestive of dancing.

Consisting of these elements the scene clearly depicts David and the Musicians. The central haloed figure, David, plays a lyre, while composing the Psalms, accompanied by the

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[37] Alexander, 1978: 55
[38] Ibid.

drummer and horn-players. The scribe on the left transcribes the words of the psalms sung by David, while the others dance to the music.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.6a (iii)

(ii) MASHAM (St Marys), NORTH YORKSHIRE

Column

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 1.3, 1.5, 3.41, 4.68d

PRESENT LOCATION: In the churchyard by the south porch

DATE: Late eighth to early ninth century[39]

DESCRIPTION: The scene is located on the second register.[40] In the upper left is a large robed figure is seated on a round-topped chair depicted in profile; the right arm is bent at the elbow and holds a lyre. To the right is a smaller figure, also seated and holding a triangular instrument. Below are two further smaller figures; one (on the left) appears to be seated at a desk and the placement of the other's arms seems to suggest that they are perhaps dancing.

The presence of a large seated figure playing a lyre, surrounded by a musician, scribe and dancer suggests that this scene can be confidently identified as David Dictating the Psalms, accompanied by musicians.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.5a (ii)

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[39] Lang, 2001: 171
[40] Ibid.: 169

1.8b David the Psalmist
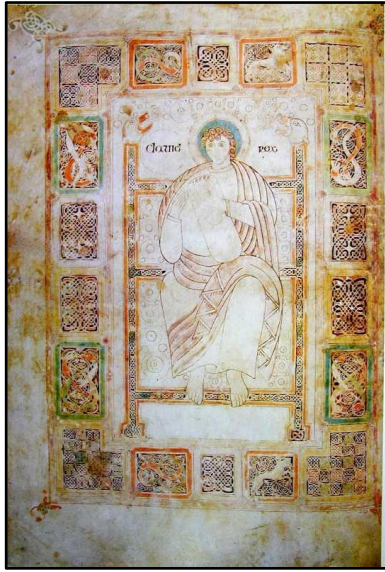
(i) DURHAM, **Cathedral Library MS B. II. 30**

Cassiodorus, Commentary on the Psalms (Durham Cassiodorus)

420 x 295 mm, fols 266

PROVENANCE: Northumbria[41]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.42

DATE: Second quarter of the eighth century[42]

DESCRIPTION: The image, located on folio 81v preceding Psalm 51, is surrounded by a wide border filled with interlace patterns, plain and zoomorphic. Contained within this frame is a robed, frontally-facing figure, seated on a chair or throne, represented by two vertical and three horizontal lines filled with panels of interlace; the vertical lines terminate in profile beast-heads turned to face the seated figure. They hold a harp in their left hand, while the right is held up with the palm open and turned towards the body, their fingers pointing up to the harp. Their hair is fashioned in tight curls and their head is surrounded by a green halo. The background is filled with dots arranged in concentric circles; flanking the head are two outlined circular frames containing the words DAUID (on the left), and REX.

These 'labels' identify the seated figure as King David. As he is enthroned and holds a harp he can be further identified as David the Psalmist.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.6b (i)

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[41] Alexander, 1978: 46
[42] Webster, 2012: 82

1.9 BOOK OF DANIEL

1.9a Inscription in Runes

(i) HONINGTON, LINCOLNSHIRE

Silver Alloy Mount

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.51

PRESENT LOCATION: Treasure Case Number: 2012T295

DATE: 750-800AD[43]

DESCRIPTION: A runic inscription runs the length of both arms of this object. These read:

Side A: + ÞECBLŒTSIGUBILWITFÆDDÆ

Side B: ONDWERCCAGEHWELCHEFÆNONDECLA

Hines has noted that these are remarkably close to three lines of a verse in the Old English poem *Daniel*,[44] and so has translating them as:

Side A: + Let us praise Thee, gentle father […]

Side B: [along with us] all [His] works, Heaven and angels […]

This part of the poem paraphrases part of the Old Testament Book of Daniel 3:51 concerning the three youths in the fiery furnace.

Although the function of the object is unknown it is similar in form to a pair of tweezers. This, together with the inscriptions suggests that it may have had an ecclesiastical purpose, such as tweezers or candle-snuffers used in church rituals, like those dating from the eighth to ninth century AD found at Reculver, Kent.

REFERENCES: http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/511213; Hines, 2015

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[43] Hines, 2015: 269
[44] Ibid., 257

1.9b Daniel in the Lions' Den

(i) ANTWERP, Museum Plantin-Moretus MS M. 17. 4

Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*; Prosper, *Epigrammata*

250 x 165 mm, fols 76

PROVENANCE: Liège (copy of a Northumbrian model)[45]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.50

DATE: Early ninth century[46]

DESCRIPTION: The image is located on folio 10v. It consists of a figure on the right who wears a half-length tunic, cape, a tall hat and sandals which tie up around the calves. This figure stands with their arms held out on each side, slightly raised and bent at the elbows. Held in the right hand is an object presented by the lower of two figures on the left. This figure also wears a half-length tunic, cape and sandals and is held, by their hair, in mid-air by the third figure above. This third figure wears a full-length tunic with a toga; they are haloed with wings emerging from their back and hold a cross in their left hand.

Flanking the feet of the standing figure are two animals. Both stand in profile, facing the standing figure; their backs are arched in a pose suggesting bowing and their tails, tucked under their bodies, flick up through their legs over their backs.

It is generally accepted that this depicts the apocryphal narrative of Daniel in the Lions' Den where he is provided with bread by the Old Testament prophet Habakkuk, carried by an angel.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.2b (i)

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[45] Alexander, 1978: 83
[46] Ibid.

1.10 BOOK OF JONAH

1.10a Jonah Thrown from the Boat
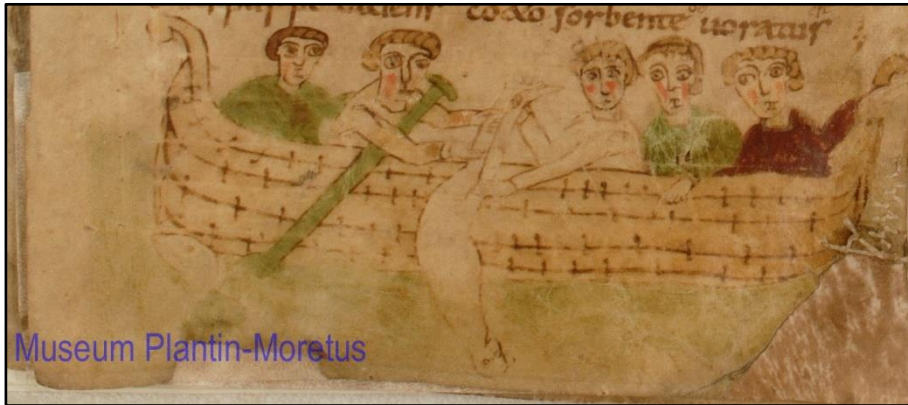
(i) ANTWERP, Museum Plantin-Moretus MS M. 17. 4

Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*; Prosper, *Epigrammata*

250 x 165 mm, fols 76

PROVENANCE: Liège (copy of a Northumbrian model)[47]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.54

DATE: Early ninth century[48]

DESCRIPTION: The scene is located at the bottom of folio 9v. It contains a large boat, with long horizontal lines and intermittent short vertical lines, in such a way as to suggest that the boat is made of wood. Within the boat are five seated figures, three facing left and two facing right; the inner of the two right-facing figures holds an oar under their right arm. The central two hold their arms out to grip a sixth figure, who is naked and hangs out of the boat, head first, with their arms tucked in and body slightly bent.

The text immediately preceding the image discusses Jonah beginning to be lowered into the sea (*Ionas puppe cadens, coeto sorbente vorantus*). This clearly indicates that the scene can be identified as depicting Jonah being thrown from the Boat.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.2b (i)

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.

1.10b Jonah Regurgitated by the Whale

(i) ANTWERP, Museum Plantin-Moretus MS M. 17. 4

Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*;Prosper, *Epigrammata*

250 x 165 mm, fols 76

PROVENANCE: Liège (copy of a Northumbrian model)[49]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 3.55

DATE: Early ninth century[50]

DESCRIPTION: The scene is located at the top of folio 10r. It features a long serpentine creature with a human figure emerging from its mouth. The creature has a long face with small eyes and open jaw; the neck bears two lines, which are likely to represent gills. The body is twisted into three loops before terminating in a fanned-out tail. Only the top half of the (naked) torso of the human figure is shown, with its arms pulled in. The head, shown in profile, has a pointed chin, pursed lips and a rounded nose.

It is generally accepted that this depicts Jonah and the Whale: specifically, Jonah being regurgitated. This identification is further supported by the representation of Jonah being thrown to the whale shown on the preceding folio (App.1.10a (i)), and by the fact that the 'whale' compares loosely with late antique examples of a *Ketos*, the accepted form of the beast that swallowed Jonah throughout the early Christian period.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.2b (i)

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[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

APPENDIX 2

Surviving Viking-Age Old Testament Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Art

2.1 Summary of Material

MISC	PS	1 SAM	GEN		
Stole Depicting Old Testament Prophets	David Accompanied by a Musician	David and the Lion	The Fall of Adam and Eve		
			X	Bilton in Ainsty, West Yorks	**STONE**
			?	Coverham, North Yorkshire	
			X	Dacre, Cumbria	
			X	Diddlebury, Shropshire	
			X	Elwick Hall, Co. Durham	
	X	X		Sockburn, Co. Durham	
X				Durham Cathedral Treasury	**TEXTILE**
X				Ushaw College, Durham	
1	1	1	4	**TOTAL**	

2.2 BOOK OF GENESIS

2.2a The Fall of Adam and Eve

(i) BILTON IN AINSTY (St Helen), WEST YORKSHIRE

Cross-shaft fragment

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.1

PRESENT LOCATION: Fixed to the floor of the south

aisle of the chancel

DATE: Tenth century[1]

DESCRIPTION: The lower half of the shaft is undecorated; the upper half preserves the lower torsos and legs of two frontally-facing figures flanking two central vertical lines. The left-hand figure is too worn to determine any further details, but it is possible to identify the right arm of the other figure, which emerges from the upper break in the shaft before the vertical line on the right; it then bends at about hip level, to cross the body with a clenched hand held over the genitals, possibly clasping a round object. To the right is a series of three swirling elements running the length of the panel, which terminate over a rectangular block. It is possible that the same detail was present to the left of the other figure, but due to the wear sustained on this side of the fragment, this detail has been lost.

The arrangement of the scene – two frontally-facing figures flanking a central divide, possible both covering their nakedness – recalls the layout of the panel preserved at Eccelshall, Staffordshire (App. 1.2a (ii)), and points to its identification as The Fall of Adam and Eve. If this is the case then the elements to the right of the scene can be explained as leaves hanging from the tree, recalling the arrangement of many Irish examples.

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[1] Coatsworth, 2008: 101

REFERENCES: Skene, 1868-70: 417-18; Raine, 1870-72: 177, and fig.; Browne, 1880-84a: cxv; Browne, 1880-84b: cxxxiii; Allen and Browne, 1885: 353; Allen, 1890: 301, 307; Allen, 1891: 256, no. 1; Morris, 1911: 105; Collingwood, 1912a: 128; Collingwood, 1915a: 139-41, 267, 282, 292, figs d-g on 140; Collingwood, 1927: 133, fig. 149d-g; Kendrick, 1941a: 4; Mee, 1941: 53; Kendrick, 1949: 58, 80; Pevsner, 1959: 101, 102; Owen-Crocker, 1986: 123, 125; Hawkes, 1997b: 149; Owen-Crocker, 2004: 186, 189, 266; Coatsworth, 2008: 100-101 no. 4, illus 31, 53-56
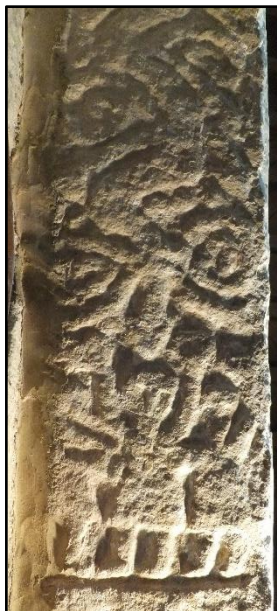
(ii) COVERHAM (Holy Trinity), NORTH YORKSHIRE

Cross-Shaft Fragment

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.7

PRESENT LOCATION: Serves as the inner lintel of the south door

DATE: Ninth to tenth century[2]

DESCRIPTION: The lower part of this shaft is undecorated. Above is a large central figure flanked by two smaller ones. All three wear short kirtles and have tear-drop faces, with their arms raised in the orans pose. The hands of the central figure are large and splayed; it is possible that those of the two smaller figures are similarly disposed, but the stone is too worn to confirm this detail. Meeting the head of the central figure is the head of a large serpent with its body twisting up the centre of the shaft. Above its head, and flanking its body, are large tight scrolls that, despite being very worn, appear to continue up the length of the shaft.

The combination of a tree, serpent, one large and two smaller figures seems to imply that this scene depicts The Fall, with an angel/God (or Christ), Adam, Eve and the serpent by the tree. If this is indeed the case The Fall, then the arrangement appears to loosely follow early Christian sarcophagi examples of Adam and Eve being reprimanded by God, where Adam and Eve flank God shown in human form. However, the absence of the fruits of their labour (wheat and a lamb), which are usually held by God in such early depictions, might argue against this explanation.

REFERENCES: Morris, J. 1931: 121, 417; Mee, 1941: 60; Hartley and Ingleby, 1956: 301; Pevsner, 1966: 125; Halsall, 1989: 113; Hatcher, 1990: 60; Redundant Churches Fund, 1990b: 1, 2, pl. facing 1; Lang, 2001: 83 no. 1, illus. 125

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[2] Lang, 2001: 83
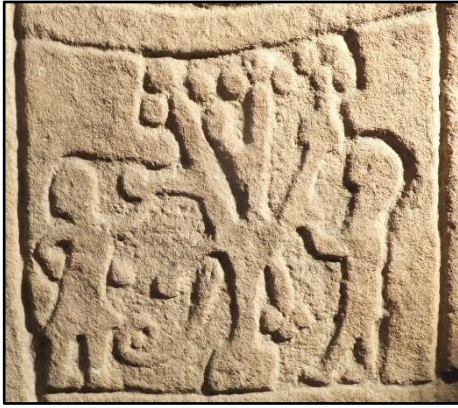
(iii) DACRE (St Andrew), CUMBRIA

Cross-Shaft and part of head

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.2

PRESENT LOCATION: Set against the interior south wall of chancel

DATE: Tenth to eleventh century[3]

DESCRIPTION: This scene is preserved at the bottom of the shaft, divided from the scene above by two widely spaced lines. It shows two figures flanking a highly stylised tree which has a series of round shaped objects at the end of each branch and whose trunk emerges from a square base. The figure on the left turns their head away from the tree although their body turns towards it; their left arm appears to be bent behind their back, while their right arm reaches up to pick one of the round objects from a lower branch. The right-hand figure appears to wear a knee-length tunic and perhaps has shoulder-length hair. This figure stands in profile facing the tree and reaches up towards it with their left arm. Under the lowest branch on the left is a creature with an oval-shaped head and a long tail that curls round itself.

The presence of a creature that is likely a snake and two figures standing underneath and reaching towards a tree with globular fruit strongly points to an identification of the scene as the Fall of Adam and Eve, which illustrates a conflated Temptation/Fall narrative where both Adam and Eve succumb to temptation and pluck the fruit of the forbidden tree, while the left-hand figure being clothed (covering their nakedness) represents their fall.

REFERENCES: Richardson, 1875: pl. III; Knowles, 1880: 142; Calverley, 1891b: fig. facing 228; Mathews, 1891: 226-28, fig. facing 226; Collingwood, 1892-96: 188, fig. on 188; Caverley, 1899a: 113-15, 297, figs facing 113, 114; Collingwood, 1901a: 271, 272-74, fig. facing 272; Collingwood, 1903a: 381; Collingwood, 1906-1907a: 123: Collingwood,

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[3] Cramp, 1984a: I, 146

1907: 279, 282; Kermode, 1907: 59, 215; Collingwood, 1911b: 290; Collingwood, 1912a: 32: Collingwood, 1912b: 160; Collingwood, 1915a: 190; Collingwood, 1923c: 226; Reitzenstein, 1924: 185-86, fig. 10; Collingwood, 1927: 151-52, fig. 172; Pevsner, 1967: 117; Wilson, 1968: 310; Pattison, 1973: 229; Bailey, 1974a: I, 220-24, II, 95-96; Johansen, 1974: 115; Lang, 1976a: 87; Wilson, 1976c: 399; Loyn, 1977: 65; Bailey, 1980: 172-74, 230, pl. 47; Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, 1980: 107, pl. XXXIX, C; Bailey, 1981: 86, 91-92, pl. on 91; Cramp, 1983a: 280; Lang, 1983: 187; Tweddle, 1983: 30; Wilson, 1983: 181; Bailey, 1984: 23; Cramp, 1984a: I, 146; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 91-92; Lang, 2001: 34, 146, 154
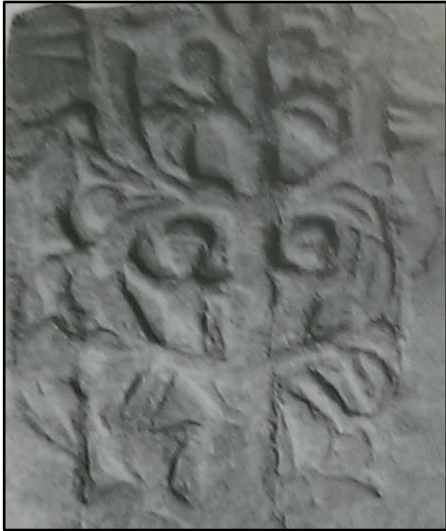
(iv) DIDDLEBURY (St Peter), SHROPSHIRE

Part of a cross-shaft

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.3

PRESENT LOCATION: Built into a small alcove in the north side of the nave, to the east of the north window

DATE: Tenth century[4]

DESCRIPTION: The lower half of the cross-shaft fragment is undecorated. The upper half preserves a centrally-placed tree with a series of branches ending in leaves and round fruit emerging from the trunk. Standing on either side of this tree, and partially obscured by it, are two frontally-facing figures. They both reach up to pick fruit from the second pair of branches, while the first set of branches cover their genitals.

The presence of two 'naked' figures partially obscured a tree, picking bulbous fruit, with their genitals covered by branches strongly points towards an identification of Adam and Eve shown in the act of temptation, while their placement amongst the tree, rather than clearly flanking it perhaps suggests that this scene also represents the moment in the wider narrative, where, after eating the forbidden fruit, the two hide from God among the trees.

REFERENCES: (—), 1886: 289; Cranage, 1894-1912: I, 90; Pevsner, 1958: 120; Kaske, 1967: 49 n. 16; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 149; Watson, 2002: 46-48; Newman and Pevsner, 2006: 245; Bryant, 2012: 33, 84, 307 no. 1, fig. 30G, illus 543-44

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[4] Bryant, 2012: 307

(v) ELWICK HALL (St Peter), CO. DURHAM

Fragment, possibly of a round-headed slab

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.4

PRESENT LOCATION: Built into the west face of the interior wall north of the chancel arch

DATE: Eleventh century[5]

DESCRIPTION: This scene fills a fragment of what was possibly a round-headed slab. To the right of the scene stand two crouching figures who face the viewer, and whose arms cross their bodies in a manner suggesting they are covering their nakedness. To the left is another figure, who reaches up towards round bulbous objects that hang from the branches of a plant/tree whose trunk emerges above the far-left figure and forms an arch over the two figures on the right.

The presence of two figures covering their nakedness under a tree with hanging fruit suggests that the scene was intended to depict The Fall of Adam and Eve where, instead of conflating the narrative of Temptation and Fall, the two scenes are set alongside each other. If this is the case, then the figure to the far left of the scene is Eve, who plucks the fruit off the Tree of Knowledge, representing the temptation, with the consequences of eating the forbidden fruit being depicted to the right of the scene where Adam and Eve recognise their nakedness. This arrangement represents a divergence from the usual layout of The Fall depicted on Insular sculpture, following instead manuscript depictions, which often show a series of scenes setting out the narrative as a whole.

REFERENCES: Reynolds, 1893-94; Hodges, 1905: 229; Hodgkin, 1913: 126; Pevsner, 1953: 142; Morris, 1976:142; Cramp, 1984a: I, 76, II, pl. 52, 245; Hawkes, 1997b: 149, 151; Lang, 2001: 20

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[5] Cramp, 1984a: 76

2.3 BOOK OF 1 SAMUEL

2.3a David and the Lion
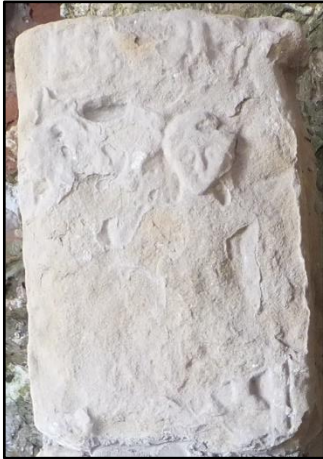
(i) SOCKBURN (All Saints), CO. DURHAM

Part of a cross-shaft in two pieces

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.10, 4.11a-c

PRESENT LOCATION: Conyers Chapel

DATE: First half of tenth century[6]

DESCRIPTION: The scene fills the upper half of one face of the cross-shaft fragment. It shows a frontally-facing figure on the right, who has a tear-drop shaped face and wears a long flared robe from which the feet emerge. The figure's right arm crosses the torso, but the severely weathered condition of the lower left portion of the stone, means that the details of both arms have been obliterated. In favourable lighting it is possible to determine two slightly curved elements in this heavily weathered section. At the top left is a quadruped, depicted in profile, lying down, its two front legs visible and touching each other, while only the left hind leg is now discernible. The creature's back appears arched and its head is turned to face the figure standing on the right.
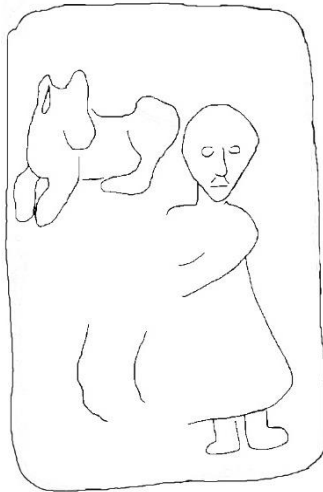
Due to the severely damaged nature of the scene any identification can only be tentative, but there is a strong case for identifying this as David Rending the Jaws of the Lion, whose iconography parallels early medieval Scottish examples of the scene, such as that found on the St Andrews Sarcophagus, Fife. If this is the case then the figure on the right of the scene is David, whose arm crosses his body and would likely have gripped the jaws of the lion, which would have occupied the now obliterated lower left side of the scene. It is possible that the two curved lines in this damaged section are the flank of the lion, again

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[6] Cramp, 1984a: 138

paralleling the slender flanks of the Scottish examples. The quadruped in the upper left of the scene would, therefore, be the lamb, which is saved from death through David's heroic act.

REFERENCES: Brock, 1888: 409, fig. 15; Hodges, 1905: 236 and pl. facing; Knowles, 1896-1905: 116, no. 20, fig. on 115; Shetelig, 1948: 90; Bailey, 1980: 155, fig. 36; Cramp, 1984a: I, 137-38 no. 6; II, pl. 132; Henderson, 1986: 98; Harbison, 1992: I, 211, 212-13, fig. 713

2.4 BOOK OF PSALMS

2.4a David Accompanied by a Musician

(i) SOCKBURN (All Saints), CO. DURHAM

Part of Cross-Shaft in Two Pieces

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.10, 4.12

PRESENT LOCATION: Conyers Chapel

DATE: First half of tenth century[7]

DESCRIPTION: This scene is located beneath a panel of interlace on the worn remains of a cross-shaft. It depicts two figures: that on the left sits on a chair and faces right. Their face, shown in profile, has a pointed chin and 'bowl-cut' hair. The right-hand figure stands in profile facing left; they also have a pointed chin and well-defined nose, with shorter hair. The left arm, pointing downwards, crosses the body and perhaps holds a triangular-shaped object, although this is too worn to determine with any certainty. Between the two lies an object, resembling a harp, which is possibly held by, and resting on the knee of, the left-hand figure; however, the stone is too damaged to ascertain this.

The presence of a seated figure, potentially holding a harp and facing a second figure, perhaps holding a triangular object points towards an identification of the scene as that of David Accompanied by a Musician.

REFERENCES: See App. 2.3a (i)

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[7] Cramp, 1984a: 138

2.5 MISCELLANEOUS

2.5a Stole Depicting Old Testament Prophets
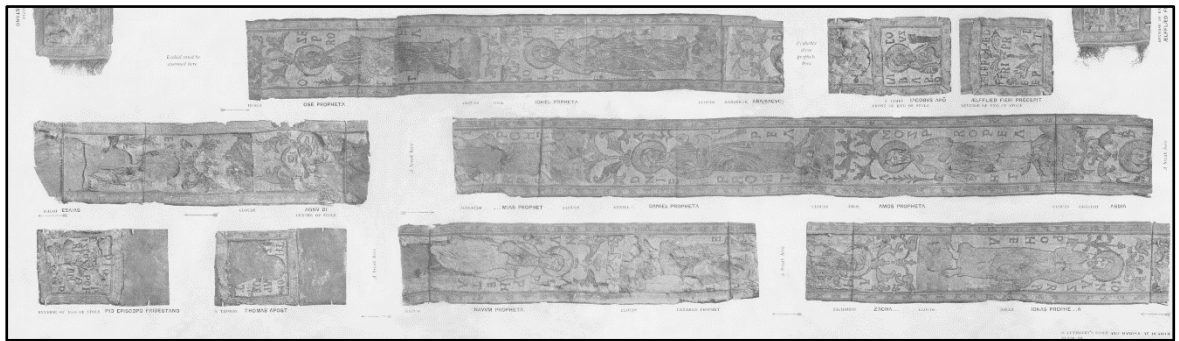
(i) DURHAM (Durham Cathedral), CO. DURHAM

Fragments of a Stole in 8 Parts

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.14a-h

PRESENT LOCATION: Durham Cathedral Treasury

DATE: c.909-934[8]

DESCRIPTION: The stole (commissioned in Winchester),[9] which is preserved with the relics of St Cuthbert, survives as eight separate fragments made of red silk completely covered in silk and gold-thread embroidery.[10] Six of the fragments are filled with full-length figures identified by accompanying 'labels' as prophets, shown as solitary figures facing alternately right and left. Some carry palms in their hands, while others carry books. The originally central panel features the Lamb of God (AGNUS DEI) and the two terminal fragments feature the New Testament Apostles James (IACOBVS APO) and Thomas (THOMAS APOST); the reverse of these two fragments area the only ones also embroidered – in this case with the words: Ælfflaed and Bishop Frithestan (ÆLFFLÆD FIERI PRECEPIT and PIO EPISCOPO FRIDESTANO), commissioner and recipient of the vestment.

Eleven of the prophets are identified as: Hosea (OSE PROPHETA), Joel (JOHEL PRPHETA), Daniel (DANIEL PROPHETA), Amos (AMOS PROPHETA), Nahum

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[8] Coatsworth, 2001: 296
[9] Owen-Crocker, 2002: 32
[10] Coatsworth, 2007: 193

(NAVVM PROPHETA) and Jonah (JONAS PROPHE…A), Habakkuk (ABA/BACVC), Isaiah (ESAIAS), Jeremiah (…MIAS PROPHET), Obadiah (ABDIA) and Zachariah (ZACHA…). The final figure is unidentifiable as only the second half of the inscription survives, which only states it is of another prophet (PROPHETA).

REFERENCES: Raine, 1828: 204; Brown and Christie, 1913: 3-17, 67-72; Kendrick, 1933: 217-19, pl. CII; Smith, 1936: 4-5, pl. III; Christie, 1938: 45-52 nos 1-3; Crowfoot, 1939: 57-80; Freyhan, 1956: 409-32; Hohler, 1956: 396-408; Plenderleith, 1956: 375-96; Bridgeman and Drury, 1978: 31; Bailey, 1989: 237-38, 245, fig. 13; Bailey, 1996: 97, 98; Ivy, 1997: 7-17; Coatsworth, 1998: 8-25; Coatsworth, 2001: 292-306; Owen-Crocker, 2002: 1-27; Clegg Hyer, 2006: 127-28; Coatsworth, 2006a: 44, 53-54, 58; Coatsworth, 2006b: 43-68; Coatsworth, 2007: 190-91, 193-95, fig. 16; Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, 2007: 10, 13-14, 16, 19-20, 24, 52-53, 57, 59-60, 62-4, 76-77, 79, 85, 97-99, 101, 103-104, 108-109, 115, 118, 122-25, 134, 144, 155, 157, pl. 3; Schulenburg, 2009: 90, 93; Miller, 2011: 90-102, figs 1-3; Coatsworth, 2012: 190-93; Webster, 2012: 172, fig. 130; Gajeweski and Seeberg, 2016: 36; Lee, 2016: 115

(ii) DURHAM (Ushaw College), CO. DURHAM

Fragments of a Stole (3.3cm x 1.7cm)

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.14d

PRESENT LOCATION: Ushaw College, Durham

DATE: c.909-934[11]

DESCRIPTION: This fragment is 3.3cm long and belongs to the stole now located in the Durham Cathedral Treasury, indicated by the upper break in the fabric which matches one of the stole fragments still housed in the Treasury: three letters preserved on the Durham fragment (ABA), were originally followed by the letters (BA) on the Ushaw fragment. Together they formed the word ABABA/CVC, identifying the accompanying figure as the prophet Habakkuk, with the Ushaw fragment preserving the fourth and fifth letters of the name.

REFERENCES: Raine, 1828: 204; Bailey, 1989; 237-38, 245, fig. 13; Coatsworth, 2007: 193 n. 20

APPENDIX 3

Surviving Reformation-Period Old Testament Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Art

Due to the volume of Old Testament images surviving from the Reformation Period it is beyond the scope of this study to provide a separate entry and detailed examination of every extant scene. Therefore, the following entries will provide only a general overview of the surviving imagery; where manuscripts depict more than one scene related to a particular book of the Bible these have been grouped together, and wherever possible a link has been provided to a digitized version of the manuscript illustrating these images. Each manuscript discussed is accompanied by a bibliography, which is not intended to be exhaustive, detailing instead the scholarship on the decoration of the manuscript. Due to the limits of this study and to avoid duplications the bibliographic information for each manuscript is only provided for the first entry of any given manuscript, with all subsequent entries referring back to this.

3.1 Summary of Material

MISC		PS				JOB	1 SAM		GEN			
Extensive Cycle of Old Testament Scenes	Cycle of Davidic Scenes	David Holding a Book	David Accompanied by Musicians	David the Psalmist	Scenes Illustrating the Psalms	Job and the Personification of Long-Suffering	David Combatting Goliath	David and the Lion	Extensive Cycle	Cycle of Abrahamic Scenes	Diagrammatic Representation of Creation	
						2				6		Malmesbury Prudentius
		?										CCCC MS 411
			X									Winchcombe Psalter
						2				6		Bury Prudentius
							X					Arundel Psalter
400+												OE Hexateuch
						2				6		Canterbury Prudentius
					100+							Harley Psalter
	8										X	Tiberius Psalter
											X	Royal Bible
									48			Junius 11
								X				Junius Psalter
				LOST	13							Paris Psalter
					50+							Bury Psalter
400+	8			4		6	2			61		**TOTALS**

(Right-side vertical label: MANUSCRIPTS)

3.2 BOOK OF GENESIS

3.2a Diagrammatic Representation of Creation

(i) LONDON, British Library MS Royal I. E. VII

Bible. 2 vols (Royal Bible)

550 x 348mm

For a digitised version of the illustration, see

https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/

record.asp?MSID=18403&CollID=16&NStart=10507

(accessed 23/04/17)

PROVENANCE: Canterbury, Christ Church[1]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.18

DATE: *c.* 1050-70[2]

DESCRIPTION: This scene is located on fol. 1v, which was added as a frontispiece to the tenth-century Bible in *c.* 1050-70. It illustrates the Godhead with horns emerging from his mouth set over a circle representing the world. Within this, in the lower quadrant, is a semi-circle containing a haloed dove standing on water. Temple has proposed that the miniature is based on the same model used for the Tiberius (fol. 7v) and Bury (fol. 68v) Psalter illustrations (App. 3.1a(ii) and 3.5(iii)).[3]

REFERENCES: James, 1903: 1xiv; Warner and Gilson, 1921: I, 20; Wormald, 1952: 63, 68, 71, no. 37; Heimann, 1966, 53 n. 78, pl. 11a; Friedman, 1974: 420 n. 2, 423; Temple, 1976: 119-20 no. 102, ill. 319; Richards, 1981: 63-65, 68, 75, 80-83; Cahn, 1982: 82, fig. 51; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 207; Richards, 1988: 63-64; Raw, 1990: 35, 221; Dumville, 1991: 4, 7-48; Gameson, 1992a: 213-14; Dumville, 1993: 109, 146; Marsden, 1994b: 101, 104, 109-

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[1] Temple, 1976: 119; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 370
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

23; Webber, 1995: 155-56; Selwyn, 1996: 192-93, 258; Marsden, 1998b: 174; Gameson, 1995a: 104, n. 31, 111, n. 55, 143; Gneuss, 2001: no. 449; Reilly, 2002: 295; Haney, 2002: 19-21; Kauffmann, 2003: 56; Mittman, 2006: fig. 2.3; Binski and Panayotova, 2005: 59; Gameson, 2008: 62; Gameson, 2010: 55; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 370 no. 449

(ii) LONDON, British Library MS Cotton, Tiberius C. VI

Psalter. Gallican version with OE Gloss

(Tiberius Psalter)

248 x 146mm

For a digitised version of the illustration, see

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_

ms_tiberius_c_vi_fs001r (accessed 23/04/17)

PROVENANCE: Winchester (?)[4]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.17

DATE: *c.* 1050[5]

DESCRIPTION: This scene, located on fol. 7v, is part of a prefatory pictorial cycle of sixteen drawings. It illustrates the Godhead, with horns emerging from his mouth and holding a pair of dividers and scales in his hands, over a circle representing the world. Beneath the semi-circle contained within this circle is a dove with a triple-cruciform halo standing on water. It has been proposed by Temple that the miniature is based on the same model used for the Royal Bible (fol. 1v) and Bury Psalter (fol. 68v) illustrations (App. 3.1a(i) and 3.5a(iii)).[6]

REFERENCES: Westwood, 1868: 118, pl. 46; Birch and Jenner, 1879: 4; Hughes-Hughes, 1906–1909: III, 356–63, 366, 368–69, 371; Herbert, 1911: 119, pl. 14; Homburger, 1912: 21 nn. 1, 3, 25, 68, 69; Mitchell, 1923: 107-8, pl. VIIc; Millar, 1926: 21-2, no. 57, pl. 27a; James, 1927: 26; Homburger, 1928: 401; Saunders, 1928: 24, 27, pls. 28, 29; Boeckler, 1930: 56; Weisbach, 1942: 23, pl. 16; Wormald, 1945: 126; Schapiro, 1943: 150; Wormald, 1943:

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[4] Bishop and Wormald have assigned the manuscript to Winchester based of stylistic analysis. See, Bishop, 1971: no. 27; Wormald, 1962: 1-13; Temple, 1976: 117; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 302

[5] Temple, 1976: 115; Gneuss and Lapidge date the manuscript to the mid. 1060s. See, Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 302

[6] Temple, 1976: 119

32, pl. XII; Saxl and Wittkower, 1948: pls. 21.6, 22.4-5, 23.5; Kendrick, 1949: 17, 131, pl. XVI; Rice, 1952: 96, 219, pl. 83; Wormald, 1952: 50–53, 57, 64, 68, 71, 76; Loewe, 1953: 166 n. 5, pl. facing p. 166; Behn, 1954: 157; Dodwell, 1954: 5, 18, 23, pls.10a, 12d; Ker, 1957: no.199; Nordenfalk, 1957: 190, pl. 186; Tselos, 1959: 149; Sisam and Sisam, 1959: 4, 5; Pächt, *et al.*, 1960: 51, 53, 56, 86, 88, 93, 143 n. 3, 204, 206, pls 101c-d, 106b, 127c, 167b; Steger ,1961: pl. 15, fig. 27; Wormald, 1962: 1-13, pls 32a-b; Morrell, 1965: 107; Rickert, 1965: 51, 53-54, 55, pls 50, 51; Heimann, 1966: 39, 43 ff., pls 9a, 10a, 12a; Wormald, 1967: 10, pl. II; Swarzenski, 1967: pl. 60, fig. 133; Evans, 1969: 24, pl. 23; Alexander, 1970b: 60-61, 91, 92 n. 4, 93, 120, 133 n. 1, 148 n. 3, 152, 193, pls 18d, 40c; Bishop, 1971: no. 27; Schiller, 1971: II, 46, 55, ills 134, 168; Beckwith, 1972: 34, fig. 34; Wormald, 1973: 70, ills 45, 46, 49; Campbell, 1974; Kauffmann, 1975: pp. 17-18, 32, fig. 4; Temple, 1976: 115-17 no. 98, Ills. 297, 302-11, fig. 37; Alexander, 1978a: 46, 65; Brownrigg, 1978: 262; Kimmens, 1979: ix; Wilson, 1984: 185-87; Wormald, 1984: 120-22; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 203; Openshaw: 1989: 14–33; Openshaw, 1990; Gameson, 1992a: 213-14; Heslop, 1992: 171–74; Openshaw, 1993: 33-35; Brown, 1996: 114; Backhouse, 1997: no. 16; Deshmann, 1997: 111-12, 115, 116 n. 34, 133, 136 n. 119; Prescott, 1997: 391-454; Kiernan, 1998: 7-32; Weiland, 1998: 16 n. 16; Carey, 1999: 64, no. 1; Gameson, 1999: no. 406; Dodwell, 2000: 109-11, 140-1, 147-48; Higgitt, 2000: 230; Kidd, 2000: 45; Zeitler, 2000: 72; Gneuss, 2001: no. 378; Bovey, 2002: 32-33, pl. 27; Page, 2002: 8, pl. 2; Binski, 2004: pl. 87; Hilmo, 2004: 38, 42, 50, fig. 5; Chardonnens, 2007: 602; McKendrick, and Doyle, 2007: figs. 53-54; Shepard, 2007: 215; Heslop, 2008: 277; Kessler, 2008: 277; Karkov, 2009: 233-35; O'Reilly, 2011: 208-209; Bryant, 2012: 61, 90, 91, 92, 101, 156, 158, 248, 249, 271; Gameson, 2012: 269, 289; Webster, 2012: 190, figs 147-48; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 302-303 no. 378; Rambaran-Olm, 2014: 136-38; Lewis, 2016: 74-76, 78;

3.2b Cycle of Abrahamic Scenes

(i) CAMBRIDGE, Corpus Christi College MS 23

Prudentius, *Psychomachia* and other Poems

(Malmesbury Prudentius)

242 x 172mm

For a digitized version of the illustrations, see:

https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_

turner.do?ms_no=23&page=1V (accessed 29/11/15)

PROVENANCE: Unknown (possibly Malmesbury)[7]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.47a, 4.48a, 4.49a,

4.50a, 4.51a, 4.52a

DATE: Late tenth century[8]

DESCRIPTION: This illustrated manuscript contains 89 drawings based on a fifth-century prototype.[9] These include 83 captioned illustrations of the battle between the Virtues and Vices, which are preceded by a cycle of six scenes relating to the life of Abraham: the Sacrifice of Isaac (fol. 1v); Capture of Lot (fol. 2r); Abraham's Pursuit (fol. 2v); Abraham Returns Home Victorious with Lot (fol. 3r); Abraham and Melchisedech Making Offerings at an Altar (fol. 3r); The Three Angels Appear to Abraham (fol. 3v).

REFERENCES: Westwood, 1843-45: pl. 41; James, 1888-91: 51-3, pls X-XI; Stettiner, 1905: 17, pls 31-32, 49-66; Homburger, 1912: 3 n. 3, 5; Mitchell, 1923: 113, 117, pl. VIII,

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[7] Temple, 1976: 70; Gameson believes there is the potential this manuscript came from Christ Church, Canterbury. See, Gameson, 1992a: 200-1 n. 57

[8] Temple, 1976: 69

[9] Temple, 1976: 69-70

G, H; Homburger, 1928: 400-401; Saunders, 1928: 29-30, pls 31-32; Boeckler, 1930: 56; Wormald, 1945: 134; Kendrick, 1949: 19, pl. XX, I; Rice, 1952: 213, pl. 80; Wormald, 1952: 29, 35, 40, 60, 76, 80, no. 4, pl. 6b; Ker, 1957: no. 31; Nordenfalk, 1957: 187; Rickert, 1965: 43, 225 nn. 71-72, pl. 38b; Evans, 1969: 21, pl. 9; Pächt and Alexander, 1973: no. 34; Holländer and Hiller, 1974: 186, ill. 151; Temple, 1976: 69-70 no. 48, ills 155-58; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 153; Weiland, 1987: 213-31; Raw, 1990: 196; Gameson, 1992a: 199 n. 49, 200, 200-201 n. 57, 202 n. 61; Budny, 1997: I, 290-437, ills 42-45; Wieland, 1997: 169 n. 3, 170-71, 175-84; Dodwell, 2000: 115; Kauffmann, 2003: 39, 41; Rosenthal, 2011: 235; Bryant, 2012: 139 Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 47-48 no. 38

(ii) LONDON, British Library MS Add. 24199

Prudentius, *Psychomachia* (Bury Prudentius)

320 x 240mm

For a digitized version of the illustrations, see:

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_24199_f002r (accessed 29/11/15)

PROVENANCE: Unknown (Bury St Edmunds?)[10]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.47b, 4.48b, 4.49b, 4.50b, 4.51b, 4.52b

DATE: Late tenth century[11]

DESCRIPTION: This illustrated manuscript contains 89 drawings based on a fifth-century prototype.[12] These include 83 captioned illustrations of the battle between the Virtues and Vices, which are preceded by a cycle of six scenes relating to the life of Abraham: the Sacrifice of Isaac (fol. 2r); Capture of Lot (fol. 2v); Abraham's Pursuit (fol. 2v); Abraham Returns Home Victorious with Lot (fol. 3r); Abraham and Melchisedech Making Offerings at an Altar (fol. 3v); The Three Angels Appear to Abraham (fol. 3v).

REFERENCES: Westwood, 1843-45: 107, pl. 44; James, 1888-91: 53; Stettiner, 1905: 19, pls. 37-38, 39-40, 41-42, 49-66; Herbert, 1911: 111; Wormald, 1945: 35, 55, 66-67, no. 24, pl. 6a; Wormald, 1952: 32; Rice, 1952: 168-208; Rickert, 1965: 43, 225 n. 74; Heimann, 1966: 46, 59 n. 102, pls. 8c, 13c; Bishop, 1971: p. XXII; Dodwell, 1971a: 653; Beckwith, 1972: 31, 33, figs. 32, 37; Wormald, 1973: 248, ills. 249, 250; Temple, 1976: 71-72 no. 51,

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[10] Temple, 1976: 71; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 218
[11] Temple, 1976:71
[12] Ibid

ills 163, 166; Brownrigg, 1978: 248 n. 2; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 156; Wieland, 1987: 213-31; Gameson, 1991: 76; Weiland, 1997: 171-81, 183; Wieland, 1998: 6-9, 11, 14-15, 17 n. 27, 18 n. 37, 19 n. 42, 45-46; Brown, 2007: 143 pl. 109; Scott, 2009: 25; Webster, 2012: fig. 152; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 218-19 no. 285

(iii) LONDON, British Library MS Cotton, Cleopatra C. VIII

Prudentius, Psychomachia (Canterbury Prudentius)

242 x 172mm

For a digitized version of the illustrations, see:

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_cleopatra_c_viii_f004r (accessed 29/11/15)

PROVENANCE: Canterbury[13]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.47c, 4.48c, 4.49c, 4.50c, 4.51c, 4.52c

DATE: Late tenth century[14]

DESCRIPTION: This illustrated manuscript contains 89 drawings based on a fifth-century prototype.[15] These include 83 captioned illustrations of the battle between the Virtues and Vice which are preceded by a cycle of six scenes relating to the life of Abraham: the Sacrifice of Isaac (fol. 4r); Capture of Lot (fol. 4v); Abraham's Pursuit (fol. 4v); Abraham Returns Home Victorious with Lot (fol. 5r); Abraham and Melchisedech Making Offerings at an Altar (fol. 5v); The Three Angels Appear to Abraham (fol. 5v).

REFERENCES: Smith, 1696: 141; Wilkins, 1737: 784-85; Westwood, 1868: 108; James, 1888-91: 53; Stettiner, 1895: 28-31; Thompson, 1895: 21-22, pl. 4; Hughes-Hughes, 1906-1909: III, 361; Homburger, 1912: 5 n. 1; Herbert, 1914: pl. 12a; (—), 1923: I, pl. VII; Mitchell, 1923: 113, 117, pl. VIII.d-f; Millar, 1926: 20 n. 1, no. 52, pl. 26; Homburger, 1928:

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[13] Temple, 1976: 70-1; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 249
[14] Temple, 1976: 70; Gameson, 1992: 203
[15] Temple, 1976: 71-1

400; Saunders, 1928: 30, pl. 33; Woodruff, 1930: 9; Rice, 1952: 208, pl. 71b; Wormald, 1952: 37, 67, 75, no. 29; Ker, 1957: no. 145; Ricket, 1965: 43, 255 n. 73; Wormald, 1965: 32, fig. 15; Alexander, 1970a: no. 11; Pächt and Alexander, 1973: no. 33; Temple, 1976: 70-71 no. 49, ills 159-62; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 154; Owen-Crocker, 1986: 141; Wieland, 1987: 213-31; Heslop, 1990: 164, 167; Raw, 1990: 215; Brett, 1992: 39-40, nn. 41-42; Gameson, 1992a: 201, 203, 206-207; Olhgren, 1992: 9-10, 75-88, pls 15.1-15.53; Atherton, 1997: 263-85; Wieland, 1997: 169-86; Wieland, 1998: 6-9, 11, 15 n. 6, 17 n. 29, 18 n. 32, 19 n. 48, 20 n. 50; Kéry, 1999: 75, 81, 106, 169, 282; Dodwell, 2000: 133; Karkov, 2001: 115 n. 3, 116 n. 7, 124; Nees, 2002: 202; Tite, 2003: 213; Hartzell, 2006: no. 132; Brown, 2007: 142 pl. 108; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 249-50 no. 324;

3.2h Extensive Genesis Cycle

(i) OXFORD, Bodleian Library MS Junius XI (S.C. 5123)

'Caedmon' *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan* poems in Old English

(Junius 11). For digitised illustrations, see

http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/search?QuickSearchA=QuickSearc

hA&q=%3D%22MS.+Junius+11%22&search=Search (accessed 18/06/15)

318 x 195mm

PROVENANCE: Canterbury, Christ Church (?)[16]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.19a-b, 4.21, 4.24, 4.28-30, 4.32-35, 4.38-45, 5.28b,

5.36b

DATE: *c.* 1000[17]

DESCRIPTION: A large pictorial cycle of 48 drawings illustrating episodes from the OE

poem, *Genesis*, was produced by two artists. One was responsible for the first 38 scenes, all

of which are in brown and red ink with occasional light red, ochre or brown washes, with

one figure (p. 11) fully painted in shades of green and mauvy brown. These illustrate: The

Lord enthroned above Chaos (p. 1); The Lord addressing a nimbed angel (p. 2); The Fall of

the Rebel Angels (p. 3); The Spirit of God on the surface of the Deep (p. 6); The Creation of

the World (p. 7); Creation of Eve (p. 9); God Blessing Adam and Eve (p. 10); Adam and

Eve Adoring God (p. 11); Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (p. 13); God hurling the

Rebellious Angels into the open Jaws of Hell (p. 16); God in Majesty, with Satan and his

angels, below (p. 17); The Temptation of Adam and Eve by the Serpent, with the Devil in

Hell, below (p. 20); Eve being Tempted to eat the Apple by a Devil in the guise of an Angel

(p. 24); The Fall of Adam and Eve (p. 28); Eve persuading Adam to eat the Forbidden Fruit,

above, and the Repentance of Adam and Eve, below (p. 31); Adam and Eve knowing their

[16] Temple, 1976: 77; Gameson, 1992a: 200; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 491
[17] Temple, 1976: 76; Nees, 2011; Lockett has proposed the manuscript should be re-dated to *c.* 960-90. See, Lockett, 2002: 141-73

Shame, above, and covering their nakedness with leaves below (p. 34); Adam and Eve covering their nakedness, above, while the Devil in the guise of an Angel returns to Hell to inform Satan of his success, below (p. 36); Adam and Eve covering their nakedness gesture towards each other, above, and Hiding seated among the trees, below (p. 39); God condemns the Serpent, above, and addresses Adam and Eve, below (p. 41); God pronouncing separate sentences on Adam and Eve (p. 44); Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise (p. 45); An angel locking the Doors of Paradise (p. 46); Birth of Abel (p. 47); The Cain and Abel Story (p. 49); Cain sentenced by God above, with Enoch in his City, below (p. 51); The birth of Irad's son and Lameth with his two Wives (p. 53); Tubal Cain as a smith and forger, above, and Adam and Eve with their infant Seth, below (p. 54); Seth in his palace (p. 56); Cainan enthroned (p. 57); Malalehel before an altar (p. 58); Malalehel's burial (p. 59); Enoch holding a book is addressed by an Angel (p. 60); Enoch's Translation (p. 61); Matusaleh with his kinsmen, and the birth of Lameh (p. 62); Birth of Noah, Noah with his kinsfolk, and Noah with his three sons (p. 63); Noah warned by God of the Flood, above, with Noah beginning to build the Ark, below (p. 65); God closing the doors of the Ark (p. 66); The Ark afloat, above, with God opening the doors of the Ark, below (p.68).[18]

The remaining ten scenes are by the second artist who was also responsible for the drawings of the Malmesbury Prudentius (App. 3.2b(i)),[19] and are in tones of red, blue and green: Disembarkation of Noah (p. 73); Noah offering sacrifice (p. 74); God's Covenant with Noah (p. 76); Noah ploughing (p. 77); Noah's drunkenness (p. 78); Nimrod sending out his princes from Babylon, above, while he speaks to the Lord, below (p. 81); The Building of the Tower of Babel and the dispersal (p. 82); Call of Abraham and his Departure to Canaan (p. 84); Abraham between two buildings, above, while he offers incense and speaks to the Lord, below (p. 87); Abraham and his household approaching Egypt (p. 88).[20]

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[18] Temple, 1976: 77
[19] Ibid
[20] Ibid

REFERENCES: Ellis, 1832: 329-40, pls 52-104; Westwood, 1868: 111; Skeat, 1892: 16, pl. 11; (—), 1903-30: II, pls. 14-15; James, 1903: pp. XXV, 51, 509, no. 304; Herbert, 1911: 118-19; Homburger, 1912: 5, 21, n. I; Morey, 1916: 175-95, frontispiece, pls 197-245; Mitchell, 1923: 152, 167 n. 1, pl. III.b; Brøndsted, 1924: 247, 249; Millar, 1926: 18-19, no. 41, pl. 23; Gollancz, 1927; James, 1927: 21-2; Krapp, 1931; Schapiro, 1943: 145 n. 39, 152; Wormald, 1945: 120 n. 1, 134, pl. V.c; Saxl and Wittkower, 1948: pl. 21c; Kendrick, 1949: 33, 104, 131, fig. 3, pls LXXII, LXXIII, 2; Rice, 1952: 129, 191, 201, 203-205; Wormald, 1952: 39-41, 76, no. 50, pl. 18; Timmer, 1954; Dodwell, 1955: 9, 11, 38, pls 5f, 9a; Raw, 1955: 318; Blair, 1956: 337-38; Grabar and Nordenfalk, 1957: 186-87, pl. 176; Ker, 1957: no. 334; Pächt, *et al.*, 1960: 56 n. 4, 57, 80 n. , 81, 122, pl. 108.b-c; Henderson, 1962: 172-98, pls 34c, 36a; Pächt, 1962: 5, 8, pl. I.1; Henderson, 1963: 11-26, pls. VII.3, VIII.2, X.2, XI.4, XII.2; Mersmann, 1963: 40, 102, fig. 30; Higgs, 1965: pl. II; Morell, 1965: 18-31; Rickert, 1965: 45, 75, 225 nn. 79-80, 226 n. 82, pl. 44; Wormald, 1965: 31, fig. 8; Swarzenski, 1967: pl. 47, fig. 105; Evans, 1969: 24, pl. 25; Alexander, 1970a: pls 15-20; Alexander, 1970b: 57, 62 n. 2; Lucas, 1972: 207-13; Ohlgren, 1972a: 227-45; Ohlgren, 1972b: 199-212; Alexander and Kauffman, 1973: 28; Pächt and Alexander, 1973: no. 34, pl. IV; Deshman, 1974: 181 n. 24; Holländer and Hillier, 1974: 186; Gatch, 1975: 3-16; Henderson, 1975: 113-45; Gatch, 1975: 3-15; Ohlgren, 1975: 38-75; Blum, 1976: 211-26; Raw, 1976; 133-48; Temple, 1976: 76-78 no. 58, Ills 189-96; Broderick, 1978; Brownrigg, 1978: 255 n. 2; Lucas, 1980: 197-220; Lucas, 1980: 2-22; Hayward, 1981: 134-35, 136, 137, 138 n. 28, 139 n. 29, figs 7-8; Broderick, 1982: 31-42; Broderick, 1983: 161-177; Wilson, 1984: 180, 187, 209, 226-28; Wormald, 1984: 119, 132, 146; Ohlgren, 1986: 141-48 no. 163; Raw, 1990: 234; Gameson, 1992a: 200, 202 n. 61; Lowden, 1992: 40, 43-44, 46, 47, fig. 3; Ohlgren, 1992: 10, 88-99, pls 16.1-16.51; Finnegan, 1998; Karkov, 2001; Ericksen, 2002: 48-65; Lockett, 2002: 141-73; Karkov, 2004: 153; Brown, 2007: 130 pl. 100; Karkov, 2007: 58-71; Withers, 2007: 35, 37, 40, 60, 132, 204, 214, 218, 318 n. 66; Karkov, 2009: 246-49; Karkov, 2011: 133-34, 235-43, 287; Lewis, 2011: 105-11; Nees, 2011: 14-30;

Withers, 2011: 252-54, 255-57, 264; Bryant, 2012: 90; Gameson, 2012: 284; Webster, 2012: 193, 223; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 491-93 no. 639; Mittman and Kim, 2015: 3-25, figs 1-5, 8-9, 12-14; Lewis, 2016: 75; Portnoy, forthcoming 2017: 99-114

3.3 BOOK OF 1 SAMUEL

3.3a David and the Lion

(i) OXFORD, Bodleian Library MS Junius 27 (S.C. 5139)

Psalter (Codex Vossianus or Junius Psalter)

242 x 172mm

PROVENANCE: Winchester[21]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.55

DATE: Second quarter of the tenth century[22]

DESCRIPTION: This scene is located within the historiated initial D opening Psalm 109/108 on folio 118r. It shows a figure with long brown hair, kneeling on the back of a quadruped, his hands gripping the jaws of the beast as he pulls them apart.

The presence of a figure kneeling on the back and rending the jaws of a creature that resembles a lion clearly identifies the scene as David Rending the Jaws of the Lion and parallels other Insular depictions of the scene, including those produced in this period, such as that found in the Tiberius Psalter (fol. 8r) (App. 3.6a(i)).

REFERENCES: Westwood, 1843-45: pl. 41; (—), 1903-30: pl. 62; Homburger, 1912: 6; Bishop, 1918: 254-56; Brøndsted, 1924: 248, 249 n. 1, 250, fig. 175; Saunders, 1928: 19-20, pl. 22 d, e; Wormald, 1945: 116-17, 118 n. 2, 119 nn. 1, 2, 133, pls IIIa, IVc, d; Kendrick, 1949: 32, pl. XXVIII, 6; Holmquist, 1951: 34, figs 34-35; Rice, 1952: 194; Saxl and Meier, 1953: I, 120; Ker, 1957: no. 355; Campbell, 1963: 17, 19; Bishop, 1964-68: 247; Rickert, 1965: 33, 222 n. 32; Wright, 1967a: 46-48, 77, 84-85, pl. VI, j; Gneuss, 1968: 92, 95; Alexander, 1970a: pl. 2a, b, c; Alexander, 1970b: 70 n. 1, 72, 129, 161, 193, pls 13f, 17d; Wormald, 1971: 305, 307 n. 3; 310, pls IIIa, b, IVb, c; Pächt and Alexander, 1973: no. 21,

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[21] Temple, 1976: 38; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 493

[22] Temple, 1976: 39; Gameson, 1992a: 191; Gneuss and Lapidge tentatively date the manuscript to the 920s. See, Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 493

pl. II; Deshman, 1974: 195; Temple, 1976: 38-39 no. 7, ills I (colour), 20-24, 26; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 85; Raw, 1990: 23, 234; Lang, 1991: 39, 106; Gameson, 1992a: 191, 192; Gretch, 2000: 85-121; Brown, 2007: 85; Farr, 2011: 222; Bryant, 2012: 82, 84, 217; Gameson, 2012: 250; Webster, 2012: 175, fig. 132; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 493-94 no. 641

3.3b David Combatting Goliath

(i) LONDON, British Library MS Cotton, Arundel 155

Psalter. Roman Version with Gallican Corrections (Arundel Psalter)

292 x 170mm

PROVENANCE: Canterbury, Christ Church[23]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.58

DATE: *c.* 1012-23[24]

DESCRIPTION: The image is located within the historiated D of Psalm 101/100 on folio 93r. It depicts a small figure on the left wielding a sword with their right hand and gripping the beard of a larger figure on the right, who appears to have collapsed. This figure holds a shield and spear with their right hand and arm, and blood spurts from their neck. Emerging from the border at the top of the scene is a hand, held in a gesture suggesting that the actions of the smaller figure are being blessed.

The presence of a smaller figure decapitating a larger fallen figure with a sword and contained within a Psalter, strongly suggests that the scene can be identified as David Combatting Goliath. If this is the case then the smaller figure is David, blessed by the Hand of God as he kills Goliath.

REFERENCES: (—), 1834-40: I, 42-43; Birch and Jenner, 1879: 4; Warner, 1903: pl. 10; Gasquet and Bishop, 1908: 23, 28-30, 32-34, 36, 39, 41-42, 53, 59, 68, 71, 73, 88, 122; Herbert, 1911: 129; Bradley, 1920: 251, no. 8; Millar, 1926: 108; Tolhurst, 1932-42: 6, 238; (—), 1934: no. 81; Wormald, 1934: 169-81; Farley and Wormald, 1940: 158; Wormald, 1945: 132; Rice, 1952: 198, pl. 57a; Wormald, 1952: 43, no. 26, pls. 22, 24a-24b; Dodwell,

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[23] Temple, 1976: 85; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 233
[24] Temple, 1976: 84; Gameson, 1992a: 209; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 233

1954: 4, 18, 26, 31, 35, 85, pls 2a, 19a; Ker, 1957: no. 135; Nordenfalk, 1957: 97; Sisam and Sisam, 1959: 4-5; Pächt, et al., 1960: 254 n. 2; Wormald, 1962: 2; Campbell, 1963: 82-117; Ker, 1964: 35; Rickert, 1965: 43-44, 48-49, pls 40-41; Ronig, 1967: 198 n. 607c; Alexander, 1970a: 61 n. 1, 169 n. 3; Bishop, 1971: 22; Dodwell, 1971a: 220 n. 38; Temple, 1976: 84-85 no. 66, ills 213, 216-17, 220, fig. 56; Alexander, 1978b, 70, pl. 16; Alexander, 1978a: 65; Watson, 1979: no. 447; (—), 1980: no. 3; Lawrence, 1982: 105; Brooks, 1984: 265; Heslop, 1990: 154 n. 9, 175-76, 182; Brown, 1991: 26, pl. 24; Lapidge, 1991: no. 13; Webster and Backhouse: 1991: no. 57, pl. XVII; Gameson, 1992a: 190 n. 13, 207, 209, 211; Pfaff, 1992: 267-83; Dumville, 1993: 60-61, 107, 113-15, 122-23, 139-40; Bischoff and Lapidge, 1994: 84 n. 4; Marsden, 1994b: 114 n. 72; Pulsiano, 1994: 19-37, no. 175; Pulsiano, 1995: 63; Brown, 1996: 140, 142, 158; Love, 1996: p. xxvi; Backhouse, 1997: no. 14; Gneuss, 1997: 26; Brown and Lovett, 1999: 75-77, pls on 75, 76; Gameson, 1999: 4, 95 no. 358; Gretsch, 1999: 300-303; Dodwell, 2000: 106, 122-23, 147; Gameson, 2000: 35-36, pl. 9; Marner, 2000: 52, fig. 15; Gneuss, 2001: no. 306; Brown, 2002: 36; Orchard, 2002: 204; Reilly, 2002: 294, n. 1; Rushforth, 2002: no. 11; Farr, 2003: 126-27; Kauffmann, 2003: 118; Büttner, 2004: 30; Karkov, 2004: 98; Roberts, 2005: 86, pl. on 87; Ovenden, 2006: I, 541; Brown, 2007: 154 pl. 120; Withers, 2007: 64; Holcomb, 2009: 15-16, fig. 11; Pfaff, 2009: 91; Gameson, 2011: 121, n. 72; Bryant, 2012: 101; Gameson, 2012: 266, 279; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 233-35 no. 306; Lewis, 2016: 75

3.4 BOOK OF JOB

(i) CAMBRIDGE, Corpus Christi College MS 23

Prudentius, Psychomachia and other Poems

(Malmesbury Prudentius)

242 x 172mm

For a digitized version of the illustrations, see:

https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_

turner.do?ms_no=23&page=1V (accessed 29/11/15)

PROVENANCE: Unknown (possibly Malmesbury)[25]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.75a, 4.76a

DATE: Late tenth century[26]

DESCRIPTION: Illustrated manuscript containing 89 drawings based on a fifth-century prototype.[27] Alongside captioned illustrations of the battle between the Virtues and Vices and a cycle of six scenes relating to the life of Abraham are two images of Job: Job and the Personification of Long-Suffering walk through the battle lines (fol. 11v); Job and the Personification of Long-Suffering (fol. 11v).

REFERENCES: See previous entry for the Malmesbury Prudentius (App. 3.2b(i))

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[25] Temple, 1976: 70
[26] Temple, 1976: 69
[27] Temple, 1976: 69-70

(ii) LONDON, British Library MS Add. 24199

Prudentius, Psychomachia (Bury Prudentius)

320 x 240mm

For a digitized version of the illustrations, see:

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_

24199_f002r (accessed 29/11/15)

PROVENANCE: Unknown[28]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.75b, 4.76b

 DATE: Late tenth century[29]

DESCRIPTION: The 89 drawings in this manuscript are based on a fifth-century prototype.[30] Alongside illustrations of the battle between the Virtues and Vices and a cycle of six scenes relating to the life of Abraham are two images of Job: Job and the Personification of Long-Suffering walk through the battle lines (fol. 11r); Job and the Personification of Long-Suffering (fol. 11v).

REFERENCES: See previous entry for the Bury Prudentius (App. 3.2b(ii))

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[28] Temple, 1976: 71
[29] Ibid
[30] Ibid

pfa fibi eft hoftif uefania; feque furendo
nterimit morituro. fuif ira ignea telif

(iii) LONDON, British Library MS Cotton,

Cleopatra C. VIII

Prudentius, Psychomachia (Canterbury Prudentius)

242 x 172mm

For a digitized version of the illustrations, see:

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=

cotton_ms_cleopatra_c_viii_f004r (accessed

29/11/15)

PROVENANCE: Canterbury[31]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.75c, 4.76c

DATE: Late tenth century[32]

DESCRIPTION: This illustrated manuscript contains 89 drawings based on a fifth-century prototype.[33] Alongside illustrations of the battle between the Virtues and Vices and a cycle of six scenes relating to the life of Abraham are two images of Job: Job and the Personification of Long-Suffering Walk through the Battle Lines (fol. 12v); Job and the Personification of Long-Suffering (fol. 13r).

REFERENCES:

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[31] Temple, 1976: 70-1
[32] Temple, 1976: 70
[33] Temple, 1976: 70-1

3.5 BOOK OF PSALMS

3.5a Scenes Illustrating the Psalms

(i) LONDON, British Library MS Harley 603

Psalter. Roman version except Psalms 100-105 v. 25 with are Gallican (Harley Psalter).

380 x 309mm

For a digitized version of the illustrations, see:

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_603&index=60 (accessed 29/11/15)

PROVENANCE: Christ Church Canterbury[34]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.15a, 4.59a, 4.63a-d, 4.71a, 5.66a-c

DATE: Early eleventh century with later additions[35]

DESCRIPTION: The Harley Psalter is a heavily illustrated manuscript whose drawings closely match the text of the Psalms, forming a close copy of the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr 32), which was almost certainly used as its model.

Wormald has argued that the illustrations can be divided into three groups produced at different times:

1. First half of the eleventh century   Hand A, fols 1v-11v, 16r, 16v

Hand B, fols 12r, 15r, 17r, 18r-27r

Hand C, fols 13r, 13v, 14r, 14v

Hand D, fols 50r-57r

Hand E, fols 1r, 15r, 15v, 53r, 58v, 61r, 61v, 62v, 67r, 70r, 70v, 72v

Hand F, fols 58r-73v

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[34] Temple, 1976: 81; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 344
[35] Temple, 1976: 82; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 344

2. Second half of the eleventh century Hand G, fols 17v, 28r, 28v

3. First half of the twelfth century   Hand H, fols 29r-35r

Hands E and F did not follow the Utrecht Psalter as a model, but the later hands (G and H) did, either because the manuscript was removed from Christ Church for a period of time, or because the artists deliberately chose to diverge from their source.[36]

REFERENCES: (—), 1808-12: I, no. 603; Westwood, 1868: 145; Thompson, 1895: 16-18, pl. 3; James, 1903: lxix, 532; Gasquet and Bishop, 1908: 8; Wordsworth and Littlehales, 1910: 114, pl. X; Herbert, 1911: 110, 115; Homburger, 1912: 5 nn. 2, 3, 26, 65; (—), 1914-30: I, pl. 11; Millar, 1926: pl. 22; Homburger, 1928: 400-401; Millar, 1928: pl. 5; Saunders, 1928: 28, pl. 30; (—), 1934: no. 82; Kitzinger, 1940: pl. 29(A); Wormald, 1945: 128 n. 3; Kendrick, 1949: 12-16; Rice, 1952: 182, 191, 201-202, pls. 65a, 66; Wormald, 1952: 30-32, 43-5, 69-70, pls 10b-12b, 25b, 35a; Dodwell, 1954: 1-3, 27, 42, 47, 92, 122-23, pls. 1a-1c; Boase, 1957: 83, 158; Nordenfalk, 1957: 104; Tselos, 1959: 137-49, figs 3, 10, 11; Sisam and Sisam, 1959: 48 n. 1, 75 n. 2; Pächt, *et al.*, 1960: 158 n. 1, 198, pl. 162 a, b; Bishop, 1963: 413-23; Swarzenski, 1963: I, 10; Wormald, 1963: I, 21; Ker, 1964: 44; Rickert, 1965: 40, 59, 71, pls 32, 33, 48 b; Wormald, 1965: 32; Heimann, 1966: 39-59, pls 8a-b 12 c, 13a-b; Swarzenski, 1967: pl. 2, fig. 3; Evans, 1969: no. 19; Bishop, 1971: nos 24-25; Sandler, 1971: 125 n. 9; Beckwith, 1972: 43, 48, 53, fig. 58; Kauffmann, 1975: II, 97, no. 64; Temple, 1976: 22, 61, 75, 81-83 no. 64, 86, 90, 92, 94, 100-2, 114, 116, ills 200-207, 210, fig. 1; Duffey, 1977; Backhouse, 1979: fig. 6; Mahoney, 1981: pl. on p. 71; Lawrence, 1982: 102, 105; Backhouse, 1984: 97-113; Pächt, 1984: pl. 18; Avril and Stirnemann, 1987: 47; Gameson, 1990: 29-48; Brown, 1991: 75, pl. 73; Alexander, 1992: 73, 76, 101, 144, fig. 121; Gameson, 1992a: 190 n. 13, 201, 203-206, 207, 213-214, 216; Noel, 1992; Olhgren, 1992: 1-2, 18-41; pls 2.1-2.102; Dodwell, 1993: 100-101, 103, 117-18, 338, 415, pls 83, 87; Gameson, 1993: 24-61; Openshaw, 1993: 28-31; Brown, 1994: pl. on 92; Noel, 1995b: 1-

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[36] Wormald, 1952: 30; Backhouse, 1994: 97-113; Gameson, 1992a: 204

15; Gameson, 1995a: 105, 115, 117; Gameson, 1995b: 12-13, 14, 16-17, 18, 50-53, 59, 64, 67, 69, 103, 112, 139, 163-64, 173, 176-78; Gameson, 1996: 201; Horst, et. al., 1996: no. 28, 151-53; Noel, 1996; Backhouse, 1997: no. 12; Brown, 1998: 286; Gneuss, 2001: no. 422; Reilly, 2002: 294 n. 1; Brown, 2003b: 46; Semple, 2003; Chazelle, 2004: 344 n. 32; Barker, 2005: 53; Binski and Panayotova, 2005: 63; Geddes, 2005: 75, 81, fig. 64b; Mittman, 2006: 150, pl. 8.2; (—), 2007: 122; Brown, 2007: 7, 90-91, 132, 158 pl. 124, 159 pl. 125; Henderson, 2007: 15; Keefer, 2007: 99; McKendrick and Doyle, 2007: 58-59, figs. 45-46; Withers, 2007: 74, 76, 84, 287, 369 n. 89; Heslop, 2008: 270-72, 279-81, figs 7, 8; Schichler, 2008; Flatman, 2009: pl. 36; Holcomb, 2009: 13-14, no. 12, fig. 9; Karkov, 2009: 205-206, 213; Gameson, 2010: 121, n. 74, 122; Lee, 2011: 161-2; Webster, 2012: 181-82, 190, fig. 138; Gameson, 2012: 263-66, 283-84, 289 n. 138; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 344-45 no. 422; Stalley, 2017: 191; Alexander, forthcoming 2018

(ii) PARIS, Bibliothéque Nationale MS lat. 8824

Psalter. Roman version (Paris Psalter)

526 x 186mm

For a digitised copy of the manuscript see:

http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451636f/f12.item (accessed 05/12/17)

PROVENANCE: Possibly Canterbury[37]

DATE: Second quarter of the eleventh century[38]

DESCRIPTION: Recorded in the 1402 inventory of the Duc de Berry's possessions, this manuscript originally contained a frontispiece of David harping and pages of coloured decorations prefacing Psalms 26, 38, 51, 68, 80, 97 and 109, all of which have been lost.[39] The surviving thirteen small drawings illustrate certain passages of Psalms 1-7:

1. A River God with a flowering tree on the right (fol. 1r)

2. Bust of Christ with clusters of heads below (fol. 1v)

3. Christ breaking a potter's vessel with a rod (fol. 2r)

4. Hand of God supporting the head of a kneeling figure (fol.2v)

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[37] Temple, 1976: 100; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 643
[38] Temple, 1976: 99; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 643
[39] Temple, 1976: 100

5. Hand of God emerging from the clouds towards a man in prayer (fol. 3r)

6. A man approaching an altar holding a cup and a ram (fol. 3r)

7. A figure carrying a sack followed by another with a vessel (fol. 3r)

8. Hand of God with dividers, with the psalmist below appealing to the Lord (fol. 3v)

9. Hell's mouth filled with heads (fol. 3v)

10. Two men fighting (fol. 4r)

11. A lion standing over a fallen figure (fol. 5r)

12. The Psalmist praying before the Hand of God (fol. 5r)

13. An embracing couple shot by the Devil (fol. 6r)

REFERENCES: Bright and Ramsay, 1907; Wormald, 1952: no. 55; Webber, 1953; Raw, 1955: 318; Ker, 1957: item 367; Bromwich, 1958; Colgrave, 1958: 12-14; Harris, 1963: 355-63; Temple, 1976: 99-100 no. 83, ills 208, 209; Avril and Stirnemann, 1987: 18-19, no. 25, pl. VI; Dodwell, 1990: 21-53; Olhgren, 1992: 3-4, 50-52, pls 4.1-4.11; Toswell, 1995-6: 15-18; Toswell, 1996: 130-33; Emms, 1999: 179-83; Rumble, 2001: 16-17; Brown, 2007: 91, 135 pl. 101; Pulsiano, 2002: 191-93; Pulsiano, 2007: 122-25 Gameson, 2012: 278, 284; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 643-44 no. 891

(iii) ROME, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Reg. lat. 12

Psalter. Gallican version (Bury Psalter).

326 x 244mm

For a digitised copy of the manuscript see: http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.12

(accessed 11/07/17)

PROVENANCE: Christ Church Canterbury or Bury St Edmunds[40]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.16, 4.56, 4.72

DATE: Second quarter of the eleventh century[41]

DESCRIPTION: The Bury Psalter was written for the monastic community of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. Due to iconographic and stylistic similarities with the Harley Psalter it is generally accepted to have been created at the Canterbury scriptorium that produced MS Harley 603 (App. 3.5a(i)).[42] Like the Harley Psalter and other Reformation-Period Psalters, it is heavily illustrated with the drawings being confined to the margins of the text:

Illustration to Psalm 2:6 (fol. 22r); Illustration to Psalm 3:6 (fol. 22v); Illustration to Psalm 7:13-14 (fol. 24v); Illustration to Psalm 7:13-14 continued, above, Illustration to Psalm 8:5-6, below (fol. 25r); Illustration to Psalm 10:2-3 (fol. 27v); Illustration to Psalm 12:4-5 (fol. 28r); Illustration to Psalm 14:1-2 (fol. 29r); Illustration to Psalm 16:3 (fol. 30r); Illustration to Psalm 16:15 (fol. 30v); Illustration to Psalm 17:33 (fol. 32r); The Crucifixion (fol. 35r); Illustration to Psalm, 21:22 (fol. 36r); Illustration to Psalm 23:8, left, Illustration to Psalm 24:1, right (fol. 37v); Illustration to Psalm 27:2 (unfinished) (fol. 40r); Illustration to Psalm 41:2-3 (fol. 54r); Virgin Mary or a personification of the church (historiated initial Q) (fol. 62r); Illustration to Psalm 51:3 (fol. 62v); Illustration to Psalm 53:8 (fol. 63v); David Rends the Jaws of the Lion (fol. 66v); God the Creator (fol. 68v); Illustration to Psalm 62:5 (fol.

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[40] Temple, 1976: 101; Due to the connections with Harley 603 Gameson believe the manuscript was likely constructed in Canterbury, whereas Thomson believes the Psalter was made at Bury St Edmunds and illustrated by a hire illuminator. See, Gameson, 1992a: 202 n. 61, 211 n. 103; Thomson, 1972: 622-63
[41] Temple, 1976: 100
[42] Temple, 1976: 101

69v); Illustration to Psalm 64:2-3 (fol. 70v); Illustration to Psalm 65:10-11; Souls in the Bosom of Abraham (fol. 72r); Ascension of Christ (fol. 73v); The Tribe of Benjamin represented by the Apostle Paul (fol. 74r); Adoration of the Magi (fol. 78v); Illustration to Psalm 72:24 (fol. 79r); Illustration to Psalm 73:13, 14, 16 (fol. 81r); Moses and the Tables of the Law, outer margin, Aaron holds a serpentine rod (fol. 83r); Massacre of the Innocents, (fol.87v); The Trinity, fol. 88r; Illustration to Psalm 79:14 (fol. 88v); Illustration to Psalm 82: 14 (fol. 90v); the Visitation (?) (fol. 92r); Nativity of Christ (fol. 93r); Samuel Anoints David (fol. 95r); Christ Treading on the Beasts (fol. 98r); The Lord holds a Scroll that descends to Moses, Aaron and Samuel (fol. 103r); Illustration to Psalm 103:15, 18, 21, 23, (fol. 107v); Illustration to Psalm 103:25-26 (fol.108r); The Twelve Tribes of Israel (fols 109r-109v); Illustration to Psalm 111:9 (fol. 118r); Illustration to Psalm 115:13 (fol. 120v); *Oratio ad Patrem*, above, *Oratio ad Filium*, below (fol. 168v); *Oratio ad Spiritum Sanctum*, (fol.169r).

REFERENCES: Raw, 1955: 319; Harris, 1960; Heimann, 1966: 39-59; Thomson, 1972: 622-3; Temple, 1976: 100-102 no. 84; Brownrigg, 1978: 248 n. 2, 250 n. 1;Wilson, 1984: 190; Wormald, 1984: 106; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 189; Raw, 1990: 249-50; Gameson, 1992a: 202 n. 61, 207, 211, 213-14; Ohlgren, 1992: 2-3, 41-52; pls 3.1-3.49; Pulsiano, 2002: 189; Keefer, 2007: 99; Pulsiano, 2007: 119; Karkov, 2009: 235; Gameson, 2012: 269, 284, 289; Webster, 2012: 188-90; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 659-60 no. 912;

3.5b David Accompanied by Musicians
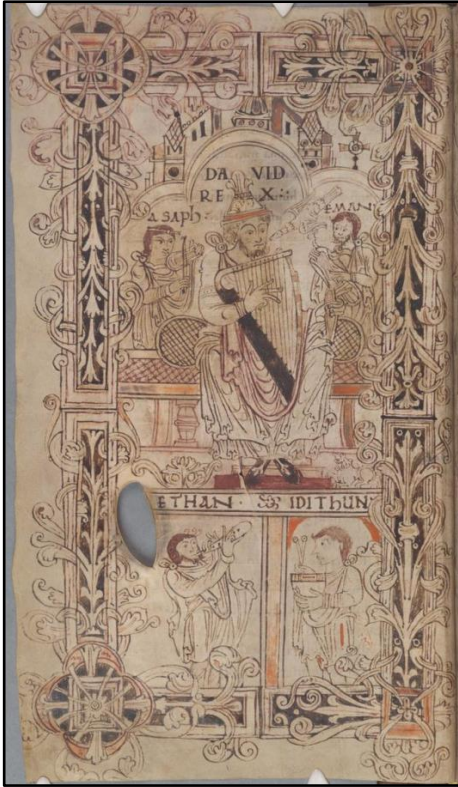
(i) CAMBRIDGE, University Library MS Ff. I. 23

Psalter. Roman version with OE Gloss (Winchcombe

Psalter)

270 x 160 mm

For a digitised version of the illustration, see

https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-FF-00001-

00023/10 (accessed 01/06/17)

PROVENANCE: Winchcombe Abbey, Ramsey or

Christ Church Canterbury (?)[43]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.70

DATE: *c*. 1030-50[44]

DESCRIPTION: This scene is located on folio 4v, preceding Psalm 1. Framed by an elaborate border are five figures, all labelled, playing a series of instruments. The larger central figure (DAVID REX) plays a harp, while a bird over his left shoulder. The two standing figures flanking him (ASAPH and EMAM) both play stringed instruments, while the figure on the lower left (ETHAN) plays a pipe and that on the lower right (IDITHUM) holds a drum.

The labels clearly identify the figures as forming a scene of David Accompanied by Musicians, with the bird most probably intended to be Holy Spirit inspiring David in his composition of the psalms.

REFERENCES: Hardwick, 1854: 267-70; James, 1903: 527; Wildhagen, 1910: 1-537; Wormald, 1945: 107-35; Kendrick, 1949: 34, 105; Rice, 1952: 129, 220; Wormald, 1952: 59 no. 2; Weber, 1953: xiv; Dodwell, 1954: 10-13, 20, 26, 31; Gauthier, 1955: 35-80; Ker,

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[43] Temple, 1976: 98; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 17
[44] Temple, 1976: 97

1957: no. 13; Doyle, 1961: 93-101; Steger, 1961: pl. 12; Alexander, 1970a: 61, 63-64, 70, 73, 148, 171, 189; Derolez, 1972: 401-408; Temple, 1976: 97-98 no. 80, ills 249-53; Brownrigg, 1978: 263; Voigts, 1976: 40-60; Lapidge, 1984: 326-69; Wormald, 1984: ills 51, 64-65, 78; Lapidge, 1986; 264-77; Ohlgren, 1986: no. 185; Robinson, 1988: I, no. 29; Pulsiano, 1989: 223-60; Dumville, 1992: 53; Lapidge, 1992: 99-129; Dumville, 1993: 59-63, 79-80, 83-84, 155; Lapidge, 1993: 1-48; Looper, 1995: 345-52; Deshmen, 1997: 110 n. 5; Leedham-Green and McKitterick, 1997: 153-245; Lucas, 1997: 147-88; Toswell, 1997: 3-14; Liuzza, 2000b: 143-65; Büttner, 2004: 1-106; Lucas, 2006: 383-439; Brown, 2007: 131, 136 pl. 102; Bolton and Hedström, 2010: 287-300; Binski and Zutshi, 2011: 8-9; O'Reilly, 2011: 217; Bryant, 2012: 86, 140, 286; Gameson, 2012: 289 n. 139; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 17-18 no. 4

3.5c David Holding a Book
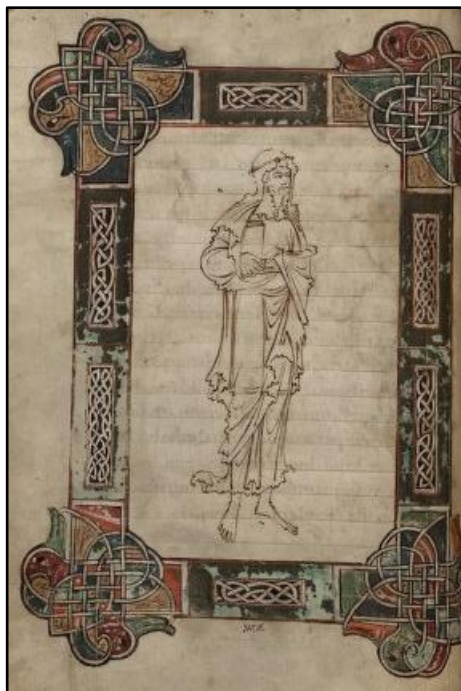
(i) CAMBRIDGE, Corpus Christi College MS 411

Psalter

223 x 153mm

For a digitised version of the illustration, see

http://dms.stanford.edu/catalog/CCC411_keywords

(accessed 01/03/16)

PROVENANCE: Canterbury[45]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.77

DATE: Last quarter of the tenth century[46]

DESCRIPTION: This scene forms the frontispiece of the Psalter. It depicts a male figure holding a book in his right hand. Temple has proposed that, due to the position of the image at the beginning of a Psalter, it may be identified as depicting David holding a book.[47]

REFERENCES: James, 1903: 528; Rice, 1952: 200, pl. 61a; Wormald, 1952: 36, 62, no. 12, pl. 17a; Bishop, 1955: II, 187; Wormald, 1963: 20, pl. VIII (I); Temple, 1976: 63-64 no. 40, ills 128, 129; Gneuss, 1985: 115l Dumville, 1992: 74-75, 151; Budny, 1997: I, 260-63; Shepard, 2007: 201; Barker-Benfield, 2008: III, 1742, 1823; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 113-14 no. 106;

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[45] Temple, 1976: 64; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 113
[46] Temple, 1976: 63
[47] Ibid

3.6 MISCELLANEOUS

3.6a Cycle of David Scenes
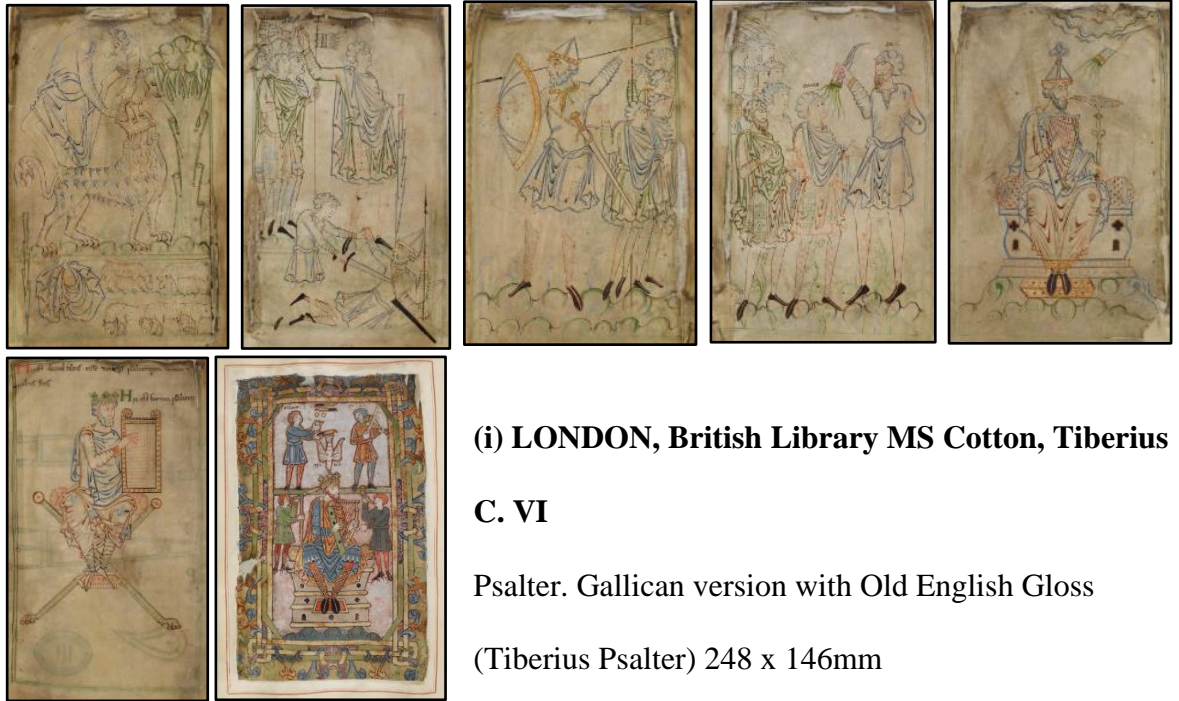
(i) LONDON, British Library MS Cotton, Tiberius C. VI

Psalter. Gallican version with Old English Gloss (Tiberius Psalter) 248 x 146mm

For a digitised version of the illustration, see

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_c_vi_fs001r (accessed 23/04/17)

PROVENANCE: Winchester (?)[48]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.53-54, 4.60-62, 4.64, 4.66a-c, 4.67a-b, 4.68a-b, 4.69

DATE: *c.* 1050[49]

DESCRIPTION: A pictorial cycle of eight images relating to the life of David are included in this manuscript: David rending the jaws of the Lion (fol. 8r); David slinging a stone (fol. 8v); David combatting Goliath (fol. 8v); Goliath threatens David (fol. 9r); Samuel anoints David (fol. 9v); David being inspired by God (fol. 10r); David the Psalmist (fol. 17v); David accompanied by a Musician (fol. 30v).

REFERENCES: same as previous Tiberius Psalter entry (App. 3.2a(i))

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[48] Bishop and Wormald have assigned the manuscript to Winchester based of stylistic analysis. See, Bishop, 1971: no. 27; Wormald, 1962: 1-13; Temple, 1976: 117
[49] Temple, 1976: 115

3.6b Extensive Cycle of Old Testament Scenes

(i) LONDON, British Library MS Cotton Claudius B. IV

Ælfric's Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Joshua in OE (OE Hexateuch)

342 x 217mm

For a digitised version of the illustrations, see

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_claudius_b_iv_fs001r

(accessed 03/03/17)

PROVENANCE: Canterbury, St Augustine's[50]

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER(S): 4.20a-f, 4.22-23, 4.30, 4.37, 4.46, 4.49d, 4.50d, 4.51d, 4.67e-f, 5.28a, 5.36a, 5.55a-b, 5.56

DATE: Second quarter of the eleventh century[51]

DESCRIPTION: The manuscript contains an extensive pictorial cycle of Old Testament images consisting of over 400 drawings: Fall of Angels (fol. 2r); Light divided from Dark (fol. 2v); Creation of Plants, above, with Creation of the Sun and Moon, below (fol. 3r); Creation of Birds, Whales and Fish (fol. 3v); Creation of Man and the Animals (fol. 4r); God Rests (fol. 4v); God plants the Garden of Eden, including the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life, above, with The River of Eden, below (fol. 5r); Personifications of the Four Rivers, above, The Four Rivers flow out of Eden, middle, and a River, below (fol. 5v); Adam names the Animals (fol. 6r); Creation of Eve, left, and God Warns the Couple not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge, right (fol. 6v); The Fall of Adam and Eve (fol. 7r); Adam and Eve hide from God in the Trees, above, Adam and Eve's banishment from Eden, below left, and Adam and Eve work the ground, below right (fol. 7v); The Cherubim with a flaming sword guards the entrance to Eden, above Abel keeps flocks, below left, Cain works the soil, below right (fol. 8r); The Lord looks favourably on Abel while Cain looks angry, left, and Cain

[50] Temple, 1976: 103; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 243
[51] Temple, 1976: 102; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 243

murders Abel, right (fol. 8v); The Lord questions Cain, above, Cain builds the City of Enoch, with his wife and son, middle, Enoch, his wife and son Irad, below left, with Irad, his wife and son, Mehujael, below middle, Mehujael, his Wife and Son Methushael, below right (fol. 9r); Lamech and his two wives, above, with Lamech, his two wives and his sons, Jabal and Jubal below (fol. 9v); Lamech, his two wives, above left, and his son Tubal-Cain forging tools of bronze and iron, above right, with Adam and Eve and their son Seth, middle, and Seth blessed by God, below (fol. 10r); Life and death of Adam, above, Life and death of Seth, middle, Life and death of Enoch, below (fol. 10v); Life and death of Kenan, above, Life and death of Mahalalel, below (fol. 11r); Life and death of Jared, above, Life and translation of Enoch, below (fol. 11v); Life and death of Methuselah, above, Lamech, his wife and son Noah, middle, Life and death of Lamech, below (fol. 12r); Noah being chosen by God, surrounded by his wife and three sons, left, and the corrupt nature of Mankind, right (fol. 12v); Noah and his three sons (fol. 13r); The building of the Ark (fol. 13v); God informs Noah of the Flood, above, The Ark filled with Noah's family and two of each creature, below (fol. 14r); Noah's Ark (fol. 14v); Noah's Ark with a raven picking the eyes from a human head (fol. 15r); The dove returns with an olive branch and the disembarkation of the Ark (fol. 15v); Covenant with Noah after the Flood (fol. 16v); Noah's Vineyard, above, and Noah's family in the Vineyard, below (fol. 17r); The drunkenness of Noah, above, while Shem and Japheth cover their father with a blanket, below (fol. 17v); The blessing of Shem and Japheth and the cursing of Ham, above, The death of Noah, below (fol. 18r); Noah's sons populate the Earth speaking one language, above, The making of bricks for the Tower of Babel below (fol. 18v); The Tower of Babel (fol. 19r); Terah and his wife with his three sons, Abram, Nahor and Haran, above, Haran, his wife, and son Lot, middle; while Haran dies in Ur, below (fol. 19v); Abram and Sarai face Nahor and Milkah, above, Terah, Abram, Lot and Sarai set out from Ur, below (fol. 20r); Terah and Abram decide to stay in Harran, above, with the death of Terah, below (fol. 20v); The Lord tells Abram to leave Harran, above, Abram, his nephew Lot and wife Sarai set out for the Land of Canaan, below (fol.

21r); Abram is instructed to build an altar at Shechem and pitches a tent and builds an altar near Bethel, above, while Abram and Sarai continue towards Negrev, below (fol. 21v); Abram and Sarai approach Egypt, above, and Sarai is taken to see the Pharaoh, below (fol. 22r); Abram is gifted sheep, cattle, male and female donkeys, servants and camels, above, and is summoned before Pharaoh, below (fol. 22v); Abram and Sarai are sent on their way with their possessions, above, Abram and Lot return to near Bethel, below (fol. 23r); Lot with all his flocks, herds and tents, above, and Abram with all his flocks, herds and tents, middle, while Lot and Abram go their separate ways, below (fol. 23v); The Lord promises the land to Abram's offspring, above, Abram pitches his tents and builds an altar near Mamre, below (fol. 24r); The kings of Sodom and Gomorrah go to war, above, while Lot is captured in Sodom, below (fol. 24v); Abram is informed of Lot's capture, above, Abram's pursuit, middle, Abram's men attack, below (fol. 25r); Abram defeats Kedorlaomer, above, The king of Sodom meets the victorious Abram, below (fol. 25v); Melchisedech, king of Salem and priest of God blesses Abram, above, while God appears to Abram in a vision, below (fol. 26r); The Lord tells Abram to count the Stars, above, Abram brings the Lord a heifer, goat, ram, dove and young pigeon, while birds of prey descend for the carcasses, below (fol. 26v); A smoking fire-pot with blazing torch appears above the sleeping Abram, above, God's covenant with Abram, below (fol. 27r); Sarai tells Abram to sleep with her slave Hagar, above, Abram sleeps with Hagar while Sarai rests in the adjacent bedchamber, middle, Abram and Sarai quarrel over Hagar, below (fol. 27v); Sarai mistreats Hagar, above left, with an Angel finding Hagar near a spring, above right, and the Birth of Ishmael, below (fol. 28r); The Covenant of Circumcision (fol. 29r); The Lord appears to Abraham, above, Abraham prepares a meal for the Lord, below (fol. 29v); Abraham is told Sarai will have a child (fol. 30r); Abraham pleads for Sodom (fol. 30v); Abraham returns home, above, while two angels appear before Lot, below (fol. 31r); Lot prepares a meal for the angels, above, Lot is asked where the angels are by evil men, below (fol. 31v); The angels tell Lot and his family to leave the city, above, Lot pleads for Zoar to be spared, below (fol. 32r); The

Destruction of Sodom and Gomarrah (fol. 32v); Lots wife becomes a Pillar of Salt, above, Lot and his two daughters leave Zoar and live in a cave, below (fol. 33r); Lot's older daughter gets him drunk and sleeps with him, above, while Lot's younger daughter gets him drunk and sleeps with him, below (fol. 33v); The births of Moab and Ben-Ammi, above, while King Abimelech sends for Sarai, below (fol. 34r); God appears to Abimelech (fol. 34v); Abimelech questions Abraham, above, and the birth of Isaac, below (fol. 35r); The Feast of the Weaning of Isaac, above, God and Sarai tell Abraham to send Hagar and Ishmael away, below (fol. 35v); Abraham sends Hagar and Ishmael away, above, Hagar leaves Ishmael under a bush to die and is shown a well of water by an angel, below (fol. 36r); Ishmael becomes an archer and his mother finds him an Egyptian wife, above, Abimelech and Phicol ask Abraham to swear before them, below (fol. 36v); Abraham brings sheep and cattle to Abimelech, above, while Abraham plants a tamarisk tree, below left, and Abimelech and Phicol return to the land of the Philistines, below right (fol. 37r); God tells Abraham to sacrifice his son (fol. 37v); Sacrifice of Isaac (fol. 38r); Abraham sets off to Beersheba, above, Abraham speaks to the Hitties, below left, The death of Sarai, below right (fol. 38v); Abraham's servant makes an oath to find a wife for Isaac, above, Abraham's servant leaves with ten camels, below (fol. 39r); Abraham's servant meets Laban and Rebekah, above, Isaac brings Rebekah to Sarai's tent to marry him, below (fol. 39v); Death of Abraham, above, The life and death of Ishmael, below (fol. 40r); Isaac prays to the Lord for a child, above right, and Rebekah is told she will have twins, above left, The births of Esau and Jacob, below (fol. 40v); Jacob is content to stay at home amongst the tents, right, Two women and two men at a table, left (fol. 41r); Esau as a skilled Hunter, left, Isaac loves Esau, but Rebekah loves Jacob, right (fol. 41v); Esau sells his birth-right for stew and Jacob tricks Isaac into blessing him (fol. 42r); Isaac speaks to Esau, left, and Jacob flees, right (fol. 42v); Rebekah tells Isaac not to allow Jacob to marry a Hittite woman, above, and Isaac calls for Jacob and tells him to find a wife from Paddan Aram, below,(fol. 43r); Jacobs Dream (fol. 43v); Jacob and the large stone over a well, above, Jacob meets Rachel the shepherd, below (fol. 44r);

Laban embraces Jacob and brings him home, above, Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, below (fol. 44v); Jacob's love for Rachel is greater than his love for Leah, above, Leah gives birth to four sons, middle, Rachel tells Jacob to sleep with her maid Bilhah, below (fol. 45r); Bilhah conceives Dan and Naphtali, above, Leah gives Jacob her maid Zilpah as his wife, middle, Joseph is born, below (fol. 45v); Jacob asks Laban if he can go to Canaan, above, Jacob and his family flee, below (fol. 46r); Laban is told of Jacob's flight, above, God speaks to Laban in a dream, below (fol. 46v); Laban and Jacob meet (fol. 47r); Laban searches the tents, above, The brethren eat bread, middle left, Jacob prays on the mound, middle right, and Laban departs, below (fol. 47v); Angels meet Jacob, above, Jacob's messengers meet with Esau, below (fol. 48r); Jacob divides the people that were with him into two bands (fol. 48v); Two-hundred she goats and twenty he goats, above, Two-hundred ewes and twenty rams, middle, thirty milch camels with their colts, below (fol. 49r); Forty cows and ten bulls, above, Twenty she asses and ten foals, below (fol. 49v); Jacob wrestles an Angel (fol. 50r); Jacob divides the children between Leah, Rachel and the two handmaids, above, Jacob bows to the ground six times, below (fol. 50v); Jacob bows to the ground a seventh time and Jacob and Esau embrace (fol. 51r); God blesses Jacob, above, Jacob accepts God's blessing, below (fol. 51v); The death of Rachel, above, The twelve sons of Jacob, below (fol. 52r); The death of Isaac, above, The generations of Esau, below (fol. 52v); Joseph tells his father and brothers of his dream (fol. 53r); Joseph asks where his brothers have gone (fol. 53v); Joseph's brothers conspire against him and cast him into the pit, above, The brothers sell Joseph to the Ishmeelites, below (fol. 54r); Reuben discovers Joseph has gone, above, The brothers dip the coat in goat's blood, below left, The brothers give the coat to their father, below right (fol. 54v); Jacob mourns Joseph, above, Joseph is sold to Potiphar, middle, Judah takes Shuah and she conceives Er, Onan and Shelah, below (fol. 55r); Er marries Tamar and the death of Er, above, Tamar remains a widow at Judah's house, below right, and Judah goes to Timnath to shear sheep, below right (fol. 55v); Judah mistakes Tamar for a harlot and gives her his staff and bracelets, above left, and Judah sends the child to Receive his

pledge from the Tamar's hand, above right, The child asks the men of the place about the harlot, below (fol. 56r); The child Returns to tell Judah the news, above, The men confirm there was no harlot, below (fol. 56v); Tamar is brought before Judah and he orders her to be burnt, above, Tamar admits she is with child and gives birth to the twins Pharez and Zarah, below (fol. 57r); Joseph finds grace in the sight of Potiphar (fol. 57v); Potiphar's wife attempts to seduce Joseph, but he flees leaving his garment behind, above, Joseph is accused of attempting to Bed Potiphar's wife and is thrown in prison, below (fol. 58r); Pharaoh imprisons his butler and the baker (fol. 58v); The baker and the butler's dream and the hanging of the baker, above, Pharaoh's dream, below (fol. 59r); Pharaoh sends for Joseph. above left, Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dream, above right, Pharaoh promotes Joseph to Second-in-Command and sends him out over all the land of Egypt, below (fol. 60r); Joseph is given Asenath as his wife, above, The people ask Pharaoh for bread, below (fol. 60v); Joseph's brethren go to buy corn (fol. 61r); Joseph takes one brother prisoner and gives corn to help with the famine, above, The asses are loaded with corn and one brother discovers his money in the mouth of the sack, below (fol. 61v); The brothers empty their sacks before their father and find all their bundles of money (fol. 62r); Jacob asks the brethren to return to Egypt to buy more corn (fol. 62v); The brethren meet with Joseph, and are brought to his house, where their feet are washed and their asses tended, below (fol. 63r); Joseph meets Benjamin and turns away to weep, above, the Egyptians eat bread, below left, and the Hebrews eat bread, below right (fol. 63v); Joseph commands his steward to hide his silver cup in Benjamin's sack (fol. 64r); Joseph tells his Steward to follow the brothers, above left, The steward accuses the brothers of stealing the cup, above right, The cup is found in Benjamin's sack and the brothers beg forgiveness, middle, Judah speaks to Joseph, below (fol. 65r); The brothers speak to their father (fol. 65v); Joseph's reconciliation with his brothers, above, The asses are loaded with goods, middle left, the brethren are sent home to bring their wives, middle right, and Jacob is told Joseph is alive, below (fol. 66r); God tells Jacob he will make of him a Great Nation, above, Jacob takes all his seed to Egypt, below

(fol. 66v); Jacob takes the cattle and goods to Egypt (fol. 67r); Jacob and the sons of Leah, above, the sons of Zilpah, middle left, the sons of Rachel. middle right, the sons of Bilhah, below (fol. 67v); Joseph goes to see his Father, above, Joseph presents himself to his father, below (fol. 68r); Joseph tells Pharaoh that his family are shepherds (fol. 68v); The Egyptian ask for bread, above, Joseph gives bread in exchange from horses, the flock, the cattle and the asses, below (fol. 69r); The Egyptians ask for bread and are given it in exchange for land, above, the Priests do not have to sell their Lands, below (fol. 69v); Joseph is blessed by Jacob and Jacob chooses to bless Ephraim over Manasseh, above, Jacob commands his sons and the death of Jacob, below (fol. 70v); The Egyptians mourn Jacob, above, Joseph speaks to Pharaoh, middle, Joseph goes to bury his father, below (fol. 71r); The company returns to Canaan, above, The people of Atad mourn Jacob, middle, and the company continues to travel to Canaan, below (fol. 71v); The burial of Jacob, above, Joseph returns to Egypt, below (fol. 72r); Joseph forgives his brothers, above, the death of Joseph, below (fol. 72v); A new king reigns over Egypt, above, The Hebrews are enslaved, below (fol. 73r); The king of Egypt speaks to the midwives Shiphrah and Puah, above, asking why they did not kill the male children, below (fol. 73v); The birth of Moses, above left, and his placement in the bulrushes, above right, with Pharaoh's daughter finding the basket, below left, and sending for a nurse, below right (fol. 75r); Egyptians smite Hebrews, above, Moses confronts the killers, below (fol. 75v); Pharaoh hears the news, above left, and Moses flees, above right, Moses waters the flock for Reuel's seven daughters, below (fol. 76r); Reuel asks why the women have returned so soon, above, and gives Zipporah his daughter to Moses, middle right, God hears the cries of bondage from the Children of Israel, middle left and below left, Death of the king of Egypt, below right (fol. 76v); Moses leads the flock of Jethro to the mountain, above, while his staff is turned to a serpent by God and he flees from it, below (fol. 78r); Moses returns to Egypt with his wife and son, above left, and speaks with Pharaoh, above right, Moses and Aaron meet in the wilderness, below (fol. 78v); Aaron speaks to the people of Israel (fol. 79r); Aaron asks to see the Pharaoh, above left, Moses and Aaron speak

with the Pharaoh, above right, while the taskmasters command the people to collect their own straw to make bricks, middle and below (fol. 79v); The Children of Israel are punished for not meeting their quota (fol. 80r); Moses and Aaron speak to the taskmasters, left, and Pharaoh speaks to them, right (fol. 80v); The Lord speaks to Aaron and Moses (fol. 81r); Aaron's staff becomes a serpent, above, and the Lord tells Moses and Aaron he will send a plague, below (fol. 81v); Rivers of Blood, above, and Moses and Aaron turn water to blood, below (fol. 82r); The Lord speaks to Moses and Aaron, above, and tells Moses of the second plague, below left, with the Plague of Frogs, below right (fol. 82v); The Pharaoh asks for the plague to stop, above left, while Moses and Aaron speak to the Lord, above right, with the Lord telling Moses of the third plague, below right, and the Plague of Gnats, below left (fol. 83r); The Lord speaks to Moses and Aaron of the fourth plague, above, with the Plague of Flies, below (fol. 83v); Pharaoh ssks for the plague to stop, above left, while Moses and Aaron speak to the Lord, above right, and the Lord tells Moses and Aaron of the fifth plague, below (fol. 84r); Plague of Livestock (fol. 84v); Plague of Boils (fol. 85r); Plague of Hail (fol. 85v); The hearts of the servants are hardened, above, and Moses and Aaron warn Pharaoh of the Plague of Locusts, below (fol. 86r); The Lord tells Moses how to bring the Plague of Locusts (fol. 86v); Pharaoh asks for the plague to Stop, above, with the Plague of Darkness, below (fol. 87r); Pharaoh tells Moses his people can go free, above left, and Moses rejoices, above right, foretelling the Plague on the Firstborn, below (fol. 87v); The Lord tells Moses and Aaron of the first Passover, above, with the Feast of the Unleaven Bread, below left, and Moses telling the Elders of the Passover, below right (fol. 89r); Moses tells the Elders to put blood on the lintel, above, and the Death of the Firstborn, below (fol. 89v); The Exodus begins (fol. 90r); The Children of Israel leave Egypt (fol. 90v); Dedication of the Firstborn (fol. 91r); The first-born males of beasts shall be the Lord's, above, The Israelites travel through the wilderness, middle, Pillar of Clouds, below (fol. 91v); Pillar of Fire, above, and figures bowing, below (fol. 92r0; Moses' song of deliverance, above and below (fol. 92v); Waters of Marah, above, The Israelites camp at Elim, below (fol. 93r); Manna

and quail from Heaven, above, with the Israelites collecting food, below (fol. 93v); The Sabbath observed above, while those that go to gather find nothing, below (fol. 94r); Moses instructs the Israelites to fill an omer with manna, above, and Aaron lays an omer full of manna before the Testimony (fol. 94v); Moses strikes water from a rock (fol. 95r); Defeat of the Amalekites, above, while the Lord tells Moses to write a book, below left, and Moses writes, below right (fol. 95v); Visit of Jethro, left, with Moses, Jethro, Aaron and the Elders eating bread before God, right (fol. 96r); The Israelites at Mount Sinai (fol. 96v); The Lord visits Sinai, above, and Moses speaks to the people, below (fol. 97r); The Covenant Sealed (fol. 99v); Moses builds an altar, above left, and writes the Laws, above right, with burnt offerings and the sacrificial offering of oxen, below (fol. 100r); Moses puts the blood on the altar and reads the Covenant (fol. 100v); Moses on the mountain (fol. 101v); Offerings for the Tabernacle, above, and the Table of Showbread, below (fol. 102r); Moses receives the Tablets, left, with the Golden Calf, right (fol. 103r); The Levites slay those who are against the Lord (fol. 103v); Moses intercedes for the Israelites (fol. 104r); The Tabernacle of the Congregation (fol. 104v); The Tablets are replaced, above, with Moses' radiant face, below (fol. 105v); The Lord tells Moses the laws for offerings (fol. 107r); (unfinished) Moses consecrates Aaron and his sons, above, and (unfinished) the Priests' sin offering and burnt offering, middle, with (unfinished): Moses pours the blood of a ram on the altar, below (fol. 107v); (unfinished) human figure (fol. 108r); (unfinished) The sin of Nadab and Abihu, above, and (unfinished) Mishael and Elzaphan remove Nadab's and Abihu's bodies from the camp, below (fol. 108v); (unfinished) Shelomith's son blasphemes (fol. 110v); (unfinished) The Sabbatic Year (?) (fol. 111r); (unfinished) The Year of Jubilee (?), above, with (unfinished) The blessing of obedience (?), below (fol. 111v); (unfinished) The census of Israel's warriors, above, and (unfinished) the Levites Exempt, below (fol. 112r); (unfinished) Order of the camps, above, and (unfinished), the sons of Aaron, middle, with (unfinished) the duties of the Levites, below (fol. 112v); (unfinished) The Kohathites, above, with (unfinished) the Gershonites, middle, and (unfinished), the Merarites, below (fol. 113r);

(unfinished) Aaron's Blessing (fol. 113v); (unfinished) Cleansing of the Levites (fol. 114r); (unfinished) Second Passover (fol. 114v); (unfinished) Moving from Sinai to Paran (fol. 115r); (unfinished) Moses gathers the seventy Elders, above, and (unfinished) a young man tells Moses of Eldad and Medad, below right, and (unfinished) the Spirit rests upon Eldad and Medad, below left (fol. 115v); (unfinished) The quails are brought from the sea, above, while (unfinished), people sleep, middle left, and (unfinished), people cook the meat, middle right, and (unfinished) people who died of plague are buried at Kibrothhattaavah, below (fol. 116r); (unfinished) The murmuring of Miriam and Aaron, left, and (unfinished), Miriam becomes leprous (?), right (fol. 116v); (Unfinished) Moses instructs the spies (fol. 117r); (Unfinished) the spies explore Canaan (fol. 118r); (Unfinished) The Spies report back, above, and (unfinished), Moses and Aaron fall on their faces before the Children of Israel, middle, with (unfinished): the plague on the ten spies, below (fol. 118v); (Unfinished) Defeat by the Amalekites and Canaanites (fol. 119r); (Unfinished) Moses falls upon his face, above, and (unfinished) he speaks to Korah, below (fol. 119v); (Unfinished) Moses separates the people, above, and (unfinished), the Earth swallows Korah, below (fol. 120r); (Unfinished) Eleazar and the priests, above, while (unfinished), Eleazar and the priests take the brazen censors, below (fol. 120v); (Unfinished) The Children of Israel murmur against Moses and Aaron, above, and (unfinished) Aaron atones for the people, middle, with (unfinished) the dead from the plague, below (fol. 121r); (unfinished) The Lord speaks to Moses, above left, and gives each tribe a rod, above right, while (unfinished) Moses lays the rods before the Tabernacle, bottom right, and Aaron's rod blossoms, below left (fol. 121v); (unfinished) The Lord speaks to Aaron, above, and (unfinished), to Moses about the heave offering, below (fol. 122r); (unfinished) Moses strikes the eater of Meribah from a rock, above, and (unfinished) he sends messengers to the King of Edom, middle left, while (unfinished) Edom speaks to the messengers, middle right, and (unfinished) refuses then passage, below (fol. 122v); (unfinished) Death of Aaron, above, with (unfinished) Victory over the Canaanites, middle, and (unfinished) the destruction of the Canaanites' city, below (fol. 123r);

(unfinished) The people speak against God and Moses, above, with (unfinished), the bronze serpents, below (fol. 123v); (unfinished) Moses makes a bronze serpent and puts it on a pole, above, while (unfinished) he sends messengers to the king of Sihon, below left, and (unfinished) the messengers ask the king if they can pass, below right (fol. 124r); (unfinished) Israel smites the king of Sihon and his Army, above, and (unfinished) Moses sends spies to Jaazer, below left, who go to Basham, below right (fol. 124v); (unfinished) Battle of Edrei, above, and (unfinished) Moses and the Children of Israel set forward to the Plains of Moab, below left, with (unfinished) Moab speaking to the Elders, below right (fol. 125r); (unfinished) The Elders of Moab and Midian bring rewards of divination to Balaam, left, and (unfinished) the Lord speaks to Balaam, right (fol. 125v); (unfinished) The angel stands in Balaam's way, above, while (unfinished) Balak goes to meet Balaam, middle, with (unfinished) Balaam's first oracle, below (fol. 126r); (unfinished) Balaam's second oracle, above, and (unfinished) his third oracle, below (fol. 126v); (unfinished) The People of Israel, above left, (unfinished) The People begin to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab, above right, (unfinished) Moses slays the sinners, below (fol. 127r); (unfinished) Moses takes the heads of the sinners, above and middle, while (unfinished) Phinehas kills Cozbi and Zimri, below (fol. 127v); (unfinished) The second census of Israel, above, and (unfinished) the People of Israel, below (fol. 128r); Moses instructs the people not to cross the Jordan, above, and the Reading of the Law, below (fol. 136v); Moses and Joshua present themselves to God in the Tabernacle of Congregation (fol. 137r); The Law is placed in the Ark (fol. 138v); The death of Moses (fol. 139v); (unfinished) Domed building, above, and columns with leaves, below (fol. 140r); Joshua is chosen (fol. 140v); Joshua sends out spies, above left, while Rahab hides them, above right, and the king of Jericho sends out soldiers to look for the spies, below, and Rahab tells the soldiers she has not seen the spies, below right (fol. 141r); The spies escape (fol. 141v); (unfinished) The Lord speaks to Joshua (?), left, and (unfinished) Joshua speaks to the people (?), right (fol. 142r); (unfinished) Priests bear the Ark of the Covenant (fol. 142v); (unfinished) The Crossing of the Jordan and the

colleting of the twelve stones (fol. 143r); (unfinished) The River Jordan (fol. 143v); (unfinished) The camp and circumcision at Gilgal (?) (fol. 144r); (unfinished) The Passover at Gilgal, above, and (unfinished) The Siege of Jericho (?), below (fol. 144v); (unfinished) The priests blow the trumpets (?) (fol. 145r); (unfinished) Jericho taken by the Israelites (?), above, and (unfinished) Joshua tells the people only Rahab will be saved (?), below (fol. 145v); (unfinished) The treasure becomes the Lord's (?), above, and (unfinished) Joshua sends the spies to rescue Rahab (?), below (fol. 146r); (unfinished) the Israelites are defeated at Ai (?) (fol. 146v); (unfinished) The Lord speaks to Joshua who lies on his face, above, with (unfinished) the sin of Achan, below (fol. 148r); (unfinished) The conquest of Ai (?) (fol. 148v); (unfinished) Joshua renews the Covenant (?) (fol. 149r); (unfinished) The sun stands still (fol. 151r); (unfinished) possibly the architectural setting for two scenes, above, and (unfinished) soldiers put their feet on the necks of the five kings, below (fol. 151v); (unfinished) Joshua kills the five kings, above, and (unfinished) their bodies are cast into a cave. middle left, and (unfinished) hung on trees, middle right, with (unfinished) the taking of Makkedah, below (fol. 152r); (unfinished) Joshua conquers Libnah, above, and (unfinished), conquers Lachish, below (fol. 152v); (unfinished) Joshua conquers Eglon, above, and (unfinished) conquers Hebron, below (fol. 153r); (unfinished) Joshua conquers Debir, above, and (unfinished) smites all the country of the hills, below (fol. 153v); (unfinished) Joshua defeats the northern Palestinian kings (fol. 154r); (unfinished) The raising of Hazor (fol. 154v); (unfinished) Joshua's charge to the leaders (?), above, and (unfinished) tells the history of the Israelites, middle, with (unfinished) the death of Joshua, below (fol. 155v).

REFERENCES: Thompson, 1895: pls 8a-b; James, 1903: xxvi, lxxxiv, lxxxviii, 201, no. 59; Herbert, 1911; Millar, 1926: pl. 28; Jost, 1927: 81-104, 177-219; Kendrick, 1949: pl. XXIV.4; Raith, 1952: 305-14; Rice, 1952: 206-207; Wormald, 1952: no. 19; Rickert, 1954: pl. 35; Ker, 1957: no. 142; Ker, 1964: 43; Morrell, 1965: 3-13; Morris, 1965: 3-13;

Henderson, 1968: 38–59; Dodwell, 1971: 319–28b; Mellinkoff, 1970; Mellinkoff, 1973: 155–65; Dodwell and Clemoes, 1974: 58-73; Gatch, 1975: 3-15; Raw, 1976: 133-48; Temple, 1976: 102-104 no. 86, ills 265-72, fig. 34; Hayward, 1981: 135-36, 137, 139 n. 29, fig. 9; Dodwell, 1982: 171, pls 12, 13, 33, 38, 46; Budny, 1984; Smith, 1985; Mellinkoff, 1986: 51-64; Ohlgren , 1986: no. 191; Gameson, 1991: 75; Wilcox, 1994: 116-19; Backhouse, 1997: no. 17; Barnhouse, 1997: 67–87; Wieland, 1998: 16 n. 17; Budny, 1999: 269; Withers, 1999a: 53-71; Withers, 1999b: 111-40; Barnhouse and Withers, 2000; Brown, 2000: 22; Dodwell, 2000: 102-5, 111-15, 130-40, 143-45, 147; Gneuss, 2001: no. 315; Karkov, 2001: 208; Brown, 2007: 91, 128 pl. 98, 129 pl. 99; Keefer, 2007: 99; Shepard, 2007: 113-14; McKendrick and Doyle, 2007: no. 51; Withers, 2007: 14, 17-19, 21-25, 27-28, 90, 94, 97-98, 102, 104, 129-30, 183-84, 283, 285; Barker-Benfield, 2008: lxi n. 28, 95, 405-406, 417, 424, 376, 506, 1380, 1398, 2034; Lewis, 2008: 479-81; Marsden, 2008; Karkov, 2009: 246; Broderick, 2011: 271-86; Doane and Stoneman, 2011; Withers, 2011: 247-50, 251-52, 254-57, 265-69; Bryant, 2012: 368; Gameson, 2012: 278, 284, 287; Webster, 2012: 192-93, 233, figs 151, 195; Gneuss and Lapidge, 2014: 243-45 no. 315; Mittman and Kim, 2015: 9 n. 10; Wilcox, forthcoming 2017: 193-94

APPENDIX 4

Old Testament Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Art of Doubtful Provenance and/or Previously Proposed (but unlikely)

The following is a list of scenes, dating to the Anglo-Saxon period, which have been proposed as illustrating Old Testament events, but for which there is considerable doubt concerning their inclusion within a corpus of such imagery due to uncertainties surrounding their presumed provenance and/or iconography. For each entry the location and proposed date are given, along with a discussion which has been limited to identifying the scholar identifying Old Testament subject-matter, and an outline of the reasons why the scene has been included here – rather than providing a full description and analysis of each scene; a selective bibliography is provided. The inclusion of this appendix is intended to demonstrate an awareness of the identification of additional Old Testament scenes outside those discussed in this study, but which have been excluded from the discussions due to issues surrounding their identifications.

4.1 Summary of Material

Three Hebrews in the Fiery	Daniel in the Lions' Den	David Combatting Goliath	David Under the Mulberry Bush	David and the Lion	David and Saul	Dogs Licking the Blood of	Moses Strikes the Rock	Moses Receives the Law	Jacob Wrestles the Angel	The Sacrifice of Isaac	Cain and Abel	The Fall	Adam and Eve Name the	Creation	Location	Period
															DAN / **1 SAM** / **NUM** / **EX** / **GEN**	
		X													Codford, Wiltshire	PRE-VIKING STONE
												X			Ilkley, West Yorkshire	PRE-VIKING STONE
													X		Newent, Gloucestershire	PRE-VIKING STONE
								X							Reculver, Kent	PRE-VIKING STONE
												X			Uswick, Cumbria	PRE-VIKING STONE
												X			Barwick in Elmet, West Yorkshire	VIKING STONE
							X			X					Bilton-in-Ainsty, West Yorkshire (2)	VIKING STONE
X															Bilton-in-Ainsty, West Yorkshire (3)	VIKING STONE
X															Checkley, Staffordshire	VIKING STONE
									X						Chester-Le-Street, Co. Durham	VIKING STONE
										X					Dacre, Cumbria	VIKING STONE
	X														Durham, Co. Durham	VIKING STONE
													X		Kirkby Wharfe, West Yorkshire	VIKING STONE
														X	Heysham, Lancashire	VIKING STONE
		X										X			Lancaster Priory, Lancashire	VIKING STONE
									X						Lythe, North Yorkshire (1)	VIKING STONE
	X														Lythe, North Yorkshire (21)	VIKING STONE
		X													Neston, Cheshire	VIKING STONE
		X													Ovingham, Northumberland	VIKING STONE
											X				Pickhill, North Yorkshire	VIKING STONE
X	X														Royston, West Yorkshire	VIKING STONE
	X														Sockburn, Co. Durham	VIKING STONE
												X			Spennithorne, North Yorkshire	VIKING STONE
												X			Wath, North Yorkshire	VIKING STONE
	X														Whalley, Lancashire (1)	VIKING STONE
												X			Whalley, Lancashire (4)	VIKING STONE
						X									Winchester, Hampshire	VIKING STONE

4.2 PRE-VIKING AGE: BOOK OF GENESIS

4.2a Creation

(i) NEWENT (St Mary), GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: In the porch of the church

DATE: First half of the ninth century[1]

DISCUSSION: Bryant argued for an Old Testament identity for this scheme due to the presence of three Old Testament scenes on the other three faces of the cross-shaft. He suggested that it may depict the riches of creation placed by God in the Garden of Eden on the basis that this subject precedes The Fall, illustrated in the panel to the right, assuming an anti-clockwise progress of events around the shaft.[2]

There is nothing to suggest this is the case as highly stylised beasts and foliage occur frequently in the art of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture and can be understood to signify a number of references unrelated to Creation.[3] Without further evidence that the animals and foliage on this face of the shaft represent the Garden of Eden (such as the presence of God or the repartition of the Tree of Knowledge found on the Adam and Eve panel) this explanation cannot be accepted. Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that it should be considered as forming a chronological narrative sequence with either the Adam and Eve panel, or the David and Goliath panel which flanks it on the other side. The chronological presentation of images is not generally attested in the art of pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon England.

REFERENCES: See App. 1.2a(iii)

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[1] Bryant, 2012: 236
[2] Ibid., 235
[3] See e.g. Hawkes, 2010:1-15

4.2b The Fall of Adam and Eve

(i) ILKLEY (All Saints), WEST YORKSHIRE

Incomplete cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: Inside the church of All Saints, Ilkley

DATE: Late eighth to early ninth century[4]

DISCUSSION: It was proposed by Collingwood that this panel depicts The Fall of Adam and Eve, as he believed the scene to feature two naked figures flanking and grasping the (bifurcated) trunk of a tree.[5] Although two figures are clearly present, the central vertical object/s cannot be identified as forming a tree, and as the upper half of the scene is too worn to determine any further details that may aid in its identification. Furthermore, illustrations of The Fall do not feature Adam and Eve grasping the trunk of the tree. Overall, therefore, this explanation must remain doubtful .

REFERENCES: Haigh, 1856-57: 532; Pettigrew, 1864: 308, 310, 312, pl. 21, fig. 2; Whitaker, 1878, 283-85, fig. on 284; Browne, 1880-84a: cxii; Morant, 1881: 42, 44, fig. on 43; Allen, 1884: 163-64, 171, fig. facing 166; Allen, 1885: 348; Allen and Browne, 1885: 353; Allen, 1890: 308, 309; Allen, 1891: 166, no. 2; Glynne, 1898: 346; Morris, 1911: 46, 277; Collingwood, 1912a: 129; Collingwood, 1915a: 185, 188, 190, 272, 275, 276, 277, 295, figs e-h on 189; Collingwood, 1927: 36, 49, fig. 62; Brønstead, 1924: 51, 56-58, 64, figs 45, 46, 49, 59; Clapham, 1927: 229, fig. 2b; Gardner, 1935: 36, fig. 20; Kendrick, 1938: 197, 199, pls LXXXIX.2, LXXXIX.3, LXXXIX.4; Mee, 1941: 199, pl. facing 80; Gardner, 1951: 32, fig. 35; Rice, 1952: 88n; Pevsner, 1959: 227; Cramp, 1978, 10, 14, fig. 1.1j; Cramp, 1984a: 28, 32, 65, 77, 78, 181; Faull, 1986: 31, 33, 34, 37-40, plsVI, VIII, IX; Lang, 1991: 140; Cramp, 1992: 228, 231; Lang, 2001, 43, 270, illus. 1199; Hawkes, 2006: 107; Coatsworth, 2008: 169-71, no. 2, figs 14i-j, illus 353-60

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[4] Coatsworth, 2008: 170
[5] Collingwood, 1915a: 275

(ii) USWICK (St Michael), CUMBRIA

Part of a cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: On a window-sill in the south aisle the church

DATE: Ninth century[6]

DISCUSSION: Cramp suggested that this scheme can be identified as Adam and Eve,[7] while Bailey proposed that it may depict the ascent of the great cosmic tree.[8] Although it is possible that two figures divided by a central stem could illustrate Adam and Eve, the sprouting cup-shaped base of the plant, whose branches are filled with creatures (instead of a tree with fruit, for instance), argues against Cramp's identification, and explains Bailey's attempted re-identification.

REFERENCES: Collingwood, 1911a: pl. facing 462, fig. on 464; Collingwood, 1915a: 158, 210; Collingwood, 1915c: 290; Kermode, 1916: 58; Collingwood, 1918: 48, fig. 28; Kermode, 1920-25: 335-36; Brown, 1921: 215, 270; Collingwood, 1924: 288; Postlethwaite, 1924: 280; Collingwood, 1926: 48; Collingwood, 1927: 36, 53-54, 63, 126, 149, fig. 66; Olsen, 1930; Dickins, 1932: 16, 19; Ross, 1933: 52; Arntz, 1938: 88-89; Dahl, 1938: 12-14, 46, 122, 157; Kendrick, 1941b: 18; Kendrick, 1949: 65; Fair, 1950: 92; Derolez, 1954: xxi; Page, 1958: 149; Elliott, 1959: 86; Campbell, 1959: 117, 276; Page, 1959, 385, 388, 398-99; 402, 404; Page, 1960: 52-57; Page, 1961: 70; Page, 1962a: 489; Page, 1962b: 900; Page, 1964: 73, 87n; Hill, 1966: 134, 137; Pevsner, 1967: 253; Page, 1973: 30, 37, 48, 59-60, 134-35, 140-41, 144-45, 153-56, 159, 219-21, fig. 30; Bailey, 1974: I, 24, 26, 41, 43-46, II, 237-

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[6] Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 150
[7] Ibid., 149
[8] Bailey, 1974: I, 43-46

39; Okasha, 1976: 201-202; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 148-50 n. 1; Page, 1990: 359;

Coatsworth, 2008: 187; Thompson, 2002: 106-107 n. 63; Symons, 2016: 50, 110

4.3 PRE-VIKING AGE: BOOK OF EXODUS

4.3a Moses Receives the Law
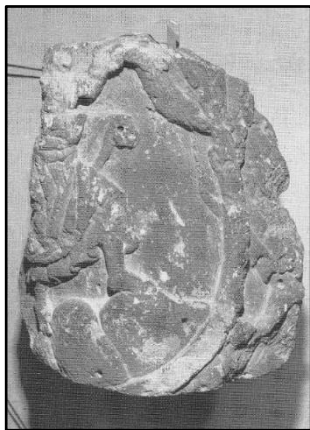
RECULVER (St Andrew), KENT

Remains of a column in five pieces

PRESENT LOCATION: Canterbury Cathedral

DATE: Early ninth century[9]

DISCUSSION: It was proposed by Tweddle that this scene potentially illustrates Moses Receiving the Law, with some iconography borrowed from the Ascension of Christ.[10] Hawkes, however, has argued convincingly that the scene is better understood as depicting the Ascension of Christ in keeping with early Christian iconographic traditions.[11]

REFERENCES: See App. 1.2b(iv)

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[9] Hawkes, 2006: 249
[10] Tweddle, 1983: 30-35
[11] Hawkes, 2006: 249-50, no. 270

4.4 PRE-VIKING AGE: BOOK OF 1 SAMUEL

4.4a David Under the Mulberry Bush

(i) CODFORD (St Peter), WILTSHIRE

Upper part of shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: Set against north wall of Chancel

DATE: Late eighth or early ninth century[12]

DISCUSSION: Cramp proposed that this scheme could be identified as David dancing after the victory over the Philistines, with the tree being a representation of the mulberry tree amongst which he waited as instructed by the Lord.[13] David, however, is not described as dancing after the defeat of the Philistines (I Samuel 18:6) – only when he enters Jerusalem with the Ark of the Covenant (2 Samuel 6:16), and he does not seem to be instructed to wait amidst a mulberry tree. Hawkes, in a detailed study of the monument, has demonstrated that the scene is most likely a visual representation of the harvest, with the supposed musical instrument held in the figures left hand forming one of the fruit plucked from the tree.[14]

REFERENCES: Baron, 1876-78: 429-30; Baron, 1882: 138; Allen, 1894: 51; Kendrick, 1938: 155, 156, 179-81, 182, 183, 216, 219, pl. LXXV; Gardner, 1951: 42, fig. 49; Hodgkin, 1952: 442, pl. 57; Rice, 1952: 89-91, pl. 6; Stone, 1955a: 21-22, 237, pl. 11; Stone, 1955b: 35-36, frontispiece; Pevsner, 1963: 15, 165, pl. 7b; Jope, 1964: 99; Forbes, 1967: 34-37, pl. I; Cramp, 1970: 60; Cramp, 1972: 140-41, Abb. 1, 5, Taf. 65, 1a-b; Cramp, 1975: 186; Pevsner and Cherry: 1975: 17, 184, pl. 7b; Cramp, 1978: 8; Swanton, 1979: 139-48, figs 7.1,

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[12] Cramp, 2006: 210
[13] Ibid., 210-11
[14] Hawkes, 2010: 8-10, 14 n. 52

7.2a, 7.4e; Plunkett, 1984: I, 174, 175-76, 177, 212, II, 294; Wilson, 1984: 155-56, illus. 252; Owen-Crocker, 1986, 16, 109, 116, 120, 122, 125, 127, 128, 129, 168, 211n, fig. 100; Tweddle, 1991: 243-34, illus. 208; Cramp, 1992: 60, 80-81, 89, 150, 255, figs 1, 5, pl. 1a-b; Yorke, 1995: 198-99, cover illus.; Webster, 2003: 89; Cramp, 2006: 209-11, ills. 425-28; Hawkes, 2010: 6, 8-10, 14 n. 52; fig. 2a-c; Webster, 2012: 156-58, fig. 122; Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017

4.5 THE VIKING-AGE: BOOK OF GENESIS

4.5a Adam and Eve Name the Animals

(i) HEYSHAM (St Peter), LANCASHIRE

Hogback

PRESENT LOCATION: In the church

DATE: Tenth century[15]

DISCUSSION: It was suggested by Bailey that certain iconographic elements on one of the long faces (C) of the hogback could be read as depicting Adam and Eve Naming the Animals, a scene proposed by Harbison to feature on Irish sculpture.[16] The presence of four figures with their arms raised in orans poses surrounded by a series of fantastical quadrupeds is not consistent with the iconography of Adam Naming the Animals and without further evidence to support this identification it seems unlikely that the can be accepted as illustrating this episode.

Davidson, on the other hand, has proposed that it depicts Ragnarök, while Lang and Ewing have both argued that it presents various elements from the story of Sigurd. Margeson, however, has expressed doubts over such (pagan) interpretations.[17] While and Adam and Eve explanation thus seems unlikely, the identity of this scheme remains unclear.

REFERENCES: Whitaker, 1823: II, 318-19; Allen and Browne, 1885: 355; Allen, 1886: 338, 340-44, fig. on 341; Gylnne, 1893: 14; Kermode, 1904: 26; Collingwood, 1906-1907: 136, 139, figs 29-30; Collingwood, 1907: 276, 282; Collingwood, 1908: 200-1;

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[15] Bailey, 2010: 203
[16] Ibid.; Harbison, 1992: I, 188
[17] Davidson, 1950: 131; Lang, 1979: 86-89, Lang, 1984: 109; Ewing, 2003: 1-20; Margeson, 1980: 191

Collingwood, 1912b: 197-98; Collingwood, 1915a: 214, 285; Collingwood, 1927: 169-70; Colingwood, 1929: 33; Brown, 1937: 293 pl. cxvii; Davidson, 1950: 131-32; Taylor and Taylor, 1965: I, 314; Pevsner, 1969: 16, 141; Lang, 1971: 155; Lang, 1972: 236, 240; Lang, 1973: 21; Lang, 1976: 86-89; Bailey, 1977: 70; Margeson, 1980: 191; Cramp, 1984a: I, 29, 143, 146; Lang, 1984: 88, 89, 108, 109-10, 138, pl. on 139; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 29, 131; Lang, 1991: 214; Hicks, 1993: 207, fig. 4.2; Bailey, 1996: 85; Everson and Stocker, 1999: 201; Ewing, 2003: 1-20, figs 1-3; Newman, 2006: 105; Bailey, 2010: 201-204 no. 5, illus 521-23

4.5b The Fall of Adam and Eve
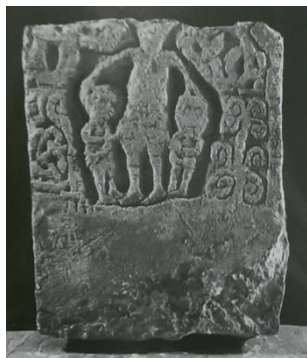
(i) BARWICK IN ELMET (All Saints), WEST YORKSHIRE

Lower part of shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: At the east end of the south aisle

DATE: Tenth century[18]

DISCUSSION: It was proposed by Coatsworth that this scheme depicts The Fall of Adam and Eve, with God reproving the pair and Adam and Eve Knowing their Nakedness.[19] A large figure toughing the heads of two smaller figures who appear to be covering their nakedness with their arms is not consistent, however, with the established iconography of the Fall, where Adam and Eve flank a tree. There are early Christian funerary depictions of the Fall where the pair stand on either side of God, who hands them the tools or fruits of their labour, so it is possible that this is reflected here, but without further evidence (such as the presence of the tools of labour, the serpent or the Tree of Knowledge) this identification can only be regarded as tentative at best.

REFERENCES: Bailey, 1980: 156-57; Bogg, 1904: 147-48 pl. on 148; Collingwood, 1912a: 120, 128; Collingwood, 1925a: 135, 137-39, 275, 276, 292, figs e-g on 138; Collingwood, 1915b: 333; Colman, 1908: 34, pl. facing 36; Mee, 1941: 47; Morris, 1911: 99; Pevsner, 1959: 95; Coatsworth, 2008: 94-95 no. 2, illus 26-30

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[18] Coatsworth, 2008: 95
[19] Ibid.
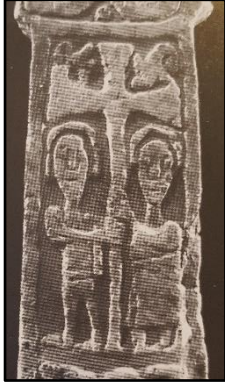
(ii) KIRKBY WHARFE (St John the Baptist), WEST YORKSHIRE

Cross-shaft and part of cross-head, in four fragments now joined

PRESENT LOCATION: At the west end of the north aisle

DATE: Tenth century[20]

DISCUSSION: Coatsworth proposed that the central cross featured in this panel could be the Tree of Knowledge deliberately formed in the shape of a cross to draw parallels between Christ, and Adam and Eve, citing The Fall scene at Newent as another example.[21] However, the Newent scene clearly includes two figures covering their nakedness with a tree sprouting crosses at the end of its branches. By contrast, the Kirkby Wharfe scene depicts a large central cross, which may have two leaves emerging from the horizontal cross-arms, while the two figures hold the cross between them. These (significant) differences undermine the comparison with Newent and without any other signifier of The Fall, it seems doubtful that this identification can be supported for the Kirkby Wharfe scheme.

REFERENCES: Browne, 1880-84b: cxxxiii; Allen and Browne, 1885: 353; Allen, 1890: 293, 304, 307, 310; Allen, 1891: 171; Morris, 1911: 298; Collingwood, 1912a: 119, 130; Collingwood, 1915a: 204-206, 264, 270, 271, 279, 281, 289, 292, figs a-d on 205; Collingwood, 1915b: 333; Collingwood, 1916-18: 48, fig. 27; Collingwood, 1926: 328; Collingwood, 1927: 88, fig. 107; Pontefract and Hartley, 1936: 50; Kendrick, 1941a: 4; Mee, 1941: 213; Kendrick, 1949: 58; Pevsner, 1959: 289; Coatsworth, 1979: I, 33-40, II, 30-31, pl. 4; Bailey, 1980: 146-48, fig. 31; Bailey, 1984: 24; Bailey and Cramp, 1988: 82, 150; Lang, 1991: 67; Tweddle, et al., 1995: 84; Coatsworth, 2008: 185-87 no. 1a-d, illus 440-43

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[20] Coatsworth, 2008: 187
[21] Ibid.

(iii) LANCASTER (Priory, St Mary), LANCASHIRE

Part of a shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: On loan to the Lancaster City Museum

DATE: Tenth or eleventh century[22]

DISCUSSION: Collingwood suggested this depicts Adam and Eve flanking the Tree of Knowledge. However, due to the lack of any signifiers of a Fall scene (e.g. the snake, the pair covering their nakedness or plucking/offering an apple), and the fact that the two figures seem to grasp the central moulding between them, it seems unlikely that this identification can be supported.[23] Bailey has thus suggested that it could illustrate figures grasping the base of a cross (much like the Kirkby Wharfe scene, App. 4.5b (ii)), but due to the upper break in the stone this cannot be confirmed.[24]

REFERENCES: Collingwood, 1903: 265-66, fig. 9; Collingwood, 1915a: 139, 289; Collingwood, 1927: fig. 128; Pevsner, 1969: 16, 154; Edwards, 1978: 65; Coatsworth, 1979: I, 24, 267, 268, II, 34, pls 128, 163; Bailey, 1980: 26; Edwards, 1988: 205: Bailey, 1996: 6; Bailey, 2003: 225; White, 2003: 8; Bailey, 2010: 226-27 no. 7, illus 592-95

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[22] Bailey, 2010: 227
[23] Collingwood, 1903: 266
[24] Bailey, 2010: 227

(iv) SPENNITHORNE (St Michael), NORTH YORKSHIRE

Lower part of a cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: Built horizontally into the exterior east wall of the chancel, next to the north buttress

DATE: Ninth to tenth century[25]

DISCUSSION: Due to similarities between this piece and that at Coverham (App. 2.2a(ii)), Lang proposed that this could also depict Adam and Eve.[26] However, the presence of four small figures flanking a large central figure, all of whom are dressed in kirtles, argues against this identification.

REFERENCES: Bulmer, 1890: 597; Hodges, 1894: 195; Bogg, 1895: 254; Morris, 1904: 357; Collingwood, 1907: 279, 280, 393, fig. a on 390; Collingwood, 1912a: 127; Collingwood, 1915a: 278; Page, 1914: 263; Morris, 1931: 359 no. 6, 417; Pontefract and Hartley, 1936: 140; Mee, 1941: 226; Pevsner, 1966: 352; Lang, 2001: 197-98, illus. 746

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[25] Lang, 2001: 198
[26] Ibid.
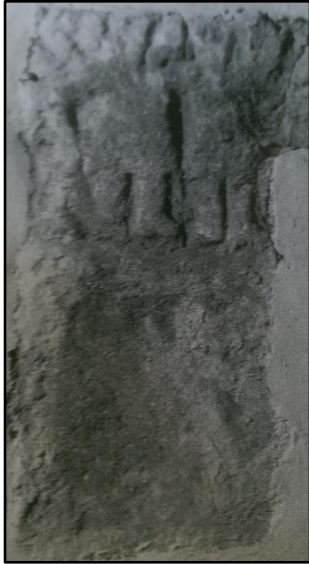
(v) WATH (St Mary), NORTH YORKSHIRE

Shaft fragment

PRESENT LOCATION: Built into the north interior wall of the organ chamber

DATE: Late ninth to mid-tenth century[27]

DISCUSSION: It was suggested by Collingwood that the scene may depict Adam and Eve.[28] However, the presence of two standing figure wearing kirtles, with the left-hand figure holding a staff-like object diagonally across their body, does not support such an identification. As Lang has pointed out, similar pairs of figures have been found in northern Richmondshire (such as that at Forcett), none of which have been explained as depicting Adam and Eve.[29]

REFERENCES: Lukis, 1875-76: 75-76, fig. facing 75; Collingwood, 1907: 271, 279, 286, 407, 406 fig. b; McCall 1910: 142-43; Collingwood, 1912a: 127; Collingwood, 1927: 179; Mee, 1941: 245; Pevsner, 1966: 378; Lang, 2001: 217-18, illus. 851

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[27] Lang, 2001: 218
[28] Collingwood, 1915a: 279
[29] Lang, 2001: 218

(vi) WHALLEY (St Mary), LANCASHIRE

Part of a shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: In the churchyard to the east of the path leading south from the chancel door; it is set in a double socket stone with a late medieval cross-head appended

DATE: Probably tenth century[30]

DISCUSSION: Edwards has proposed that the shaft preserves The Fall of Adam and Eve. However, due to the extremely worn state of the stone, it is unclear whether this contains two (nimbed) figures with 'irregular serpentine forms',[31] or whether these shapes form part of the interlace which surrounds the two figures.[32] The presence of two figures, who do not appear to be covering their nakedness, with no ascertainable tree and the dubious presence of snakes about the pair, together render Edward's identification unlikely.

REFERENCES: Whitaker, 1800-1801: 31-33, pl. IV; Whitaker, 1818: 49-51, pl. IV; Whitaker, 1872-76: I, 66-67, 69, 71, II, 15, 157, 557, pl. facing 1; Allen and Browne, 1885: 335; Allen, 1886: 328; Browne, 1887: 13-14, pl. III, fig. 1; Brown, 1937: 274; Pevsner, 1969: 258; Edwards, 1978: 73-74; Edwards, 1989a: 6, 7, 8; Edwards, 1989b: 28-29, 31, fig. 1f; Kenyon, 1991: 99; Edwards, 1992: 58, figs 1, 4, 5; Edwards, 1998: 86-87, fig. 43; Reeder, 1999: 20-21, fig. 14; Bailey, 2010: 248-54 no. 4, illus 679-81

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[30] Bailey, 2010: 249
[31] Ibidl, 248
[32] Edwards, 1989b: 29; Bailey, 2010: 248-49

4.5c Cain and Abel

(i) PICKHILL (All Saints) NORTH YORKSHIRE

Lower part of shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: On a shelf located on the interior wall of the tower.

DATE: Tenth century[33]

DISCUSSION: Lang has identified the two figures preserved on this fragment as Cain and Abel, in an attempt to engage with the fact that Collingwood's explanation of the pair as Adam and Eve cannot be supported given the absence of a tree.[34] Due to the weathered nature and the break in the stone, it is uncertain how the left-hand figure interacts with that on the right, but as they survive, they do not seem to relate to other known versions of either The Fall or Cain Killing Abel. Without further iconographic evidence, therefore, it seems unlikely this scene represents either of these Old Testament episodes.

REFERENCES: Collingwood, 1903-1904: 223; Collingwood, 1907: 271, 275, 279, 281, 288, 385, figs d-f on 381; McCall, 1910: pl. XXX; Collingwood, 1915a, 264, 292; Pevsner, 1966: 286; Owen-Crocker, 1986: 123; Lang, 1991: 218; Hawkes, 1997b: 149, 151; Lang, 2001: 193

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[33] Lang, 2001: 193
[34] Ibid.; Collingwood, 1915a: 279

4.5d The Sacrifice of Isaac

(i) BILTON-IN-AINSTY (St Helen), WEST YORKSHIRE

Part of a cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATON: In the south aisle of the chancel, fixed into the pavement

DATE: Tenth century[35]

DISCUSSION: Collingwood proposed that the scene be identified as illustrating the Sacrifice of Isaac.[36] As it does not conform to other known examples of the Sacrifice found in the Insular world, nor indeed, with any early Christian or medieval versions of this scene, it is doubtful that Collingwood's identification can be supported. This led Coatsworth to suggest the potential for several New Testament scenes, such as Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus or the First Mocking of Christ (with links to those scenes in Ireland believed by Harbison to illustrate these episodes).[37]

REFERENCES: Raine, 1870-72: 177, fig.; Browne, 1880-84a: cxv; Browne, 1880-84b: cxxxiii; Allen and Browne, 1885: 353; Allen, 1890: 301, 307; Allen, 1891: 256; Morris, 1911: 105; Collingwood, 1912a: 128; Collingwood, 1915a: 139-41, 267, 282, 292, figs d-g; Collingwood, 1927: 133, figs 149d-g; Kendrick, 1941a: 4; Mee, 1941: 53; Kendrick, 1949: 58, 80; Pevsner, 1959: 101, 102; Owen-Crocker, 2004: 186, 189, 266; Coatsworth, 2008: 97-99 no. 2, illus 40-41, 46-49

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[35] Coatsworth, 2008: 99
[36] Collingwood, 1915a: 139-41
[37] Coatsworth, 2008: 98; Harbison, 1992: 265-66
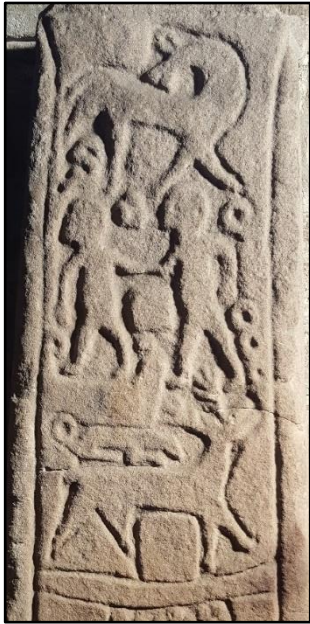
(ii) DACRE (St Andrew), CUMBRIA

Cross-shaft and part of –head

PRESENT LOCATION: Set against interior south wall of the chancel

DATE: Tenth to eleventh century

DISCUSSION: Bailey has proposed that this scene depicts the Sacrifice of Isaac due to the close association of the scene with a representation of The Fall, and the placing of what he identifies as an altar between two figures, an element he considers essential in the arrangement of the scene in Insular art.[38] Due to the fact that the two figures hold hands over the 'altar' and the absence of several iconographic elements that would point to a clear identification of the scene as the Sacrifice (e.g. the lack of a sword in Abrahams hand, the absence of an angel or the Hand of God preventing the sacrifice, and no visible signs that the smaller figure is Isaac – such as being bound and bent over the 'altar'; nor is a ram caught in the thicket), this identification must be regarded as problematic. The details of the Dacre scene do not conform to the iconographic norms of any other surviving Sacrifice scenes from Anglo-Saxon England,[39] and neither does it bear any relationship to early Christian or other early medieval versions of the scene – none of which illustrate Abraham holding Isaac's hand.

REFERENCES: See App. 2.2a(iii)

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[38] Bailey, 1977: 63
[39] See pp. 123-30, 228-32

4.5e Jacob Wrestles the Angel

(i) CHESTER-LE-STREET (St Mary and St Cuthbert), COUNTY DURHAM

Cross base

PRESENT LOCATION: Upper room of the Anchorage, Chester-le-Street

DATE: Tenth century[40]

DISCUSSION: Cramp identified the scene as Jacob Wrestling the Angel due to its perceived similarity with scenes previously identified as Jacob found on crosses produced in Ireland and Scotland during the tenth century.[41] A number of paired and naked, or semi-naked 'wrestlers' are found within a wide range of contexts throughout the Insular world, but here there seems of be only a single profile figure, in a full-length robe, arranged in a seated position with his head bent over his hands on his lap. In the absence of any features identifying this figure as Jacob wresting the Angel this explanation must remain tentative at best. Furthermore, Stalley has recently proposed that scenes identified as Jacob Wrestling the Angel found on Irish high crosses, are better understood as 'wrestling figures', given the lack of sufficient evidence firmly identifying them as involving Jacob.[42]

REFERENCES: Browne, 1880-84b: cxi-ii; Boyle, 1892: 425; Browne, 1883: 184-85; Hodges, 1894: 76; Hodges, 1905: 223; Cramp, 1984a: I, 31, 58-59 no. 12, II, pls 28, 151

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[40] Cramp, 1984a: 59
[41] Ibid., 31, 59
[42] Stalley, Thursday 13th July 2017

(ii) LYTHE (St Oswald), NORTH YORKSHIRE

Lower part of shaft in two pieces

PRESENT LOCATION: Under the tower on a shelf against the north wall

DATE: First half of tenth century[43]

DISCUSSION: Lang believes that the scene is comparable with Irish examples of 'wrestling figures' which have been interpreted as Jacob Wrestling the Angel (as well as Juda's Kiss and St John the Baptist Recognising Christ). While Lang believes the Lythe scene to have a more generalised meaning regarding the struggle of good and evil, his choice of comparisons provides evidence associating the scene with examples deemed to depict Jacob Wresting the Angel, which is as insecure as that invoked to explain the scene at Chester-Le-Street as Jacob (App. 4.5e (i)). The prevalence of 'wresting'/'embracing' figures in Insular art renders this identification tentative at best.[44]

REFERENCES: Bailey, 1980: 155; Collingwood, 1911b: 290, figs 1-o; Collingwood, 1912a: 117, 125; Collingwood, 1915a: 274, 297; Collingwood, 1927: 152, fig. 173; Cramp, 1984a: I, 59, 225; Elgee and Elgee, 1933: 216; Lang, 1984; 109; Mee, 1941: 145; Owen-Crocker, 1986: 123; Pevsner, 1966: 231; Lang, 2001: 153-54 no. 1a-b, illus 463-66

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[43] Lang, 2001: 154
[44] Ibid.: 153

4.6 THE VIKING-AGE: BOOK OF NUMBERS

4.6a Moses Strikes the Rock

(i) BILTON-IN-AINSTY (St Helen), WEST YORKSHIRE

Part of a cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: In the south aisle of the chancel, cemented to the floor

DATE: Tenth century[45]

DISCUSSION: Collingwood interpreted the scene as Moses Striking the Rock. Coatsworth, however, considers that the identity of the scene and its meaning is irrecoverable in its present damaged condition.[46]

REFERENCES: See App. 4.5d(i)

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[45] Coatsworth, 2008: 99
[46] Collingwood, 1915a: 139-41; Coatsworth, 2008: 98

4.7 THE VIKING-AGE: 1 SAMUEL

4.7a Dogs Licking the Blood of Naboth

(i) WINCHESTER (Old Minster), HAMPSHIRE

Part of figural narrative frieze

PRESENT LOCATION: Winchester City Museum, Acc. no.

2943 WS 98

DATE: Between *c.* 980/993-4 and 1093-94, probably 1017-35

DISCUSSION: Zarnecki suggested that the elements on the left are best identified as Dogs licking the blood of Naboth (1 Kings 21:19), but did not supply any supporting evidence.[47] Subsequently, although Biddle proposed that it depicts the story of Sigmund and the wolf, a Scandinavian legend preserved in the Völsunga Saga, Alexander and Kahn returned to an Old Testament explanation, both suggesting that it could illustrate the king of the Garamantes being rescued by his dogs.[48] The fragmentary nature of the piece and the absence of comparable examples, render all these identifications tentative at best.

REFERENCES: Biddle 1966: 325, 329-32, pls LIXb, LXII, LXV; Biddle 1967c: 661, pl. 7; Gatch, 1971: 33-35, pl. 1; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle: 1972, no. 16; Cramp, 1972: 148; Lang, 1976: 94; Hinton, 1977: 95-96; Brooks, 1978: 94-96, pl. 1; Biddle, 1981: 166, 168, cat. no. J1; Dodwell, 1982: 137-38, pl. 31; Zarnecki, 1984: 150-51, cat. no. 97; Wilson 1984: 198-200, illus. 258; Biddle 1984: 133-35, cat. no. 140; Wilson 1985: 206-8, fig. 5; Zarnecki, 1986: 8 and n. 7; Alexander, 1987; Kahn, 1992: 71

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[47] Zarnecki, 1986b: 25, n. 7
[48] Biddle, 1966: 330-31; Alexander, 1987; Kahn, 1992: 71

4.7b David and Goliath

(i) LANCASTER (Priory, St Mary), LANCASHIRE

Part of a shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: On loan to Lancaster City Museum

DATE: Tenth or eleventh century[49]

DISCUSSION: Bailey identified this scene as David and Goliath, drawing comparisons with other Anglo-Saxon and Irish examples; however, in all of the clearly identifiable versions (aside from the highly stylised scene in the Southampton Psalter) Goliath is shown falling to his knees, or collapsed on the floor as David kills him.[50] The disparity in size between the two figure and the presence of a spear is not sufficient evidence to identify the scene as David and Goliath and so Bailey's identification must be regarded as tentative.

Other proposed identifications include a Crucifixion scene, with the figure Longinus on the left,[51] however, this seem unlikely due to iconographic inconsistencies between the Lancaster fragment and other representations of the Crucifixion.[52]

REFERENCES: See App. 4.5d(iii)

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[49] Bailey, 2010: 226
[50] Ibid., 227; for further discussion of the iconographic details of this scheme, see pp. 157-60, 240-41
[51] Collingwood, 1903: 266
[52] Bailey, 2010: 226-27

(ii) NESTON (St Mary and St Helen), CHESHIRE

Part of shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: At the east end of the south aisle

DATE: Tenth century[53]

DISCUSSION: Bailey posits that the most plausible interpretation for the scene is David Combatting Goliath, but also states that 'it would perhaps be wise not to reject too readily a secular interpretation, analogous to the isolated encounter of two axe-wielding men on a slab from Glamis, Angus.'[54] As this scene does not conform to the established iconographic layout of David Combatting Goliath, of which there are multiple examples surviving across the Insular world, it seems unlikely that the Neston fragment preserves this Old Testament narrative.[55]

REFERENCES: Allen, 1894: 24, 25, 31, 32, pl. XVI; Allen, 1895: 170. 174, figs on 170, 171; Collingwood, 1907: 293; Pevsner and Hubbard, 1971: 290-91; Bailey, 1980: 155; Thacker, 1987: 277, fig. facing 279; Edwards, 1992: 59; Harding, 2002: 137-40; Bailey, 2003: 221; Bailey, 2010: 86-87, illus 200-5

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[53] Bailey, 2010: 87
[54] Ibid.
[55] See App. 1 and 5 for lists of surviving Insular David and Goliath scenes.

(iii) OVINGHAM (St Mary the Virgin),

NORTHUMBERLAND

Upper part of cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: Inside church

DATE: Late tenth to early eleventh century

DISCUSSION: Cramp acknowledges that the "crude" nature of the piece makes identifying the scene difficult, but suggests that it may possibly depict David or Samson with a lion, and that the left-hand figure is perhaps to be identified as David, the animal in the centre as the lion and the right-hand figure as Goliath with a club.[56] The condition of the stone is so poor that it is difficult to ascertain the details of the picture, but it seems unlikely that this is a Davidic scene, especially one that presents a conflation of David and the Lion with David and Goliath: such a scene would be without parallel in an Insular (or indeed an early Christian or medieval) context.

REFERENCES: Bailey, 1978: 181, figs 4, 9; Bailey, 1980: 133, 252, fig. 24; Coatsworth, 1981: 17; Hastings and Romans, 1946; Pevsner, 1957: 274; Cramp, 1984a: I, 215-16, II, pl. 210, illus 1197-1200

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[56] Cramp, 1984a: 216

4.8 THE VIKING-AGE: BOOK OF DANIEL

4.8a Daniel in the Lions' Den
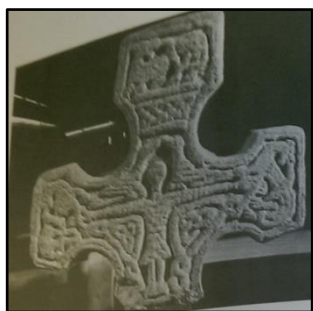
(i) DURHAM (Cathedral Chapter House), CO. DURHAM

Complete cross-head

PRESENT LOCATION: Monk's Dormitory, Durham Cathedral.

DATE: Eleventh century[57]

DISCUSSION: Coatsworth identified the scene as possibly depicting Daniel in the Lions' Den,[58] but the two quadrupeds in the horizontal cross-arms bite their tails, rather than sitting/standing in a submissive pose, licking Daniel, the common arrangement of the scene found elsewhere in Insular art. It is more likely that this scheme presents a variation of the Crucifixion, where the cross-head represents the cross of Christ's sacrifice so that he is shown with his arms outstretched on the monumental cross, rather than on a cross carved in relief behind him, an iconographic type known elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon sculpture where the Crucifixion is set on the cross-shaft.[59] In the pre-Viking period, however (at Rothbury, Northumberland), Christ Crucified is placed in the cross-head as here, the form of the high cross functioning as the cross of the Crucifixion.[60]

REFERENCES: Greenwell, 1890-95: 128-33, fig. A; Hodges, 1894: 77-78; Haverfield and Greenwell, 1899: no. XXIII, 84-87, figs on 84 and 85; Hodges, 1905: 227-28 and figs; Collingwood, 1927: 101-102; Clapham, 1930: 127, fig. 40; Kendrick, 1949: 61-63; Rice, 1952: 137; Cramp, 1965b: 4-5; Coatsworth, 1978: 85-96, pls 1b, 4b; Coastworth, 1979: I, 64, 149-50, 226-27, II, 13-14, pls 15, 60; Cramp, 1984a: I, 71-72 no. 8, II, pl. 47; Coatsworth, 2006: 26

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[57] Cramp, 1984a: 72
[58] Coatsworth, 1978: 85-96
[59] Cramp, 1984a: 72; Coatsworth, 2000: 170 n. 80
[60] Cramp, 1984a: 217-21

(ii) LYTHE (St Oswald), NORTH YORKSHIRE

Hogback fragment

PRESENT LOCATION: Beneath the tower

DATE: First half of the tenth century[61]

DISCUSSION: Due to similarities with a hogback at Sockburn (App. 4.8a(iii)),[62] Lang proposed that the scene preserved here (Face C), depicts Daniel in the Lions' Den, where the lions are more serpentine in appearance than leonine.[63] The presence of a figure with his hands in the jaws of two creatures that do not resemble lions, however, casts doubt on this identification and in the absence of a detailed iconographic study into the scene demonstrating why serpentine creatures would be included in a scene of Daniel in the Lions' Den scene, this explanation remains tentative at best.

REFERENCES: Collingwood, 1911b: 287, 293, fig. ii on 294; Collingwood, 1912a: 126; Collingwood, 1927: 167, fig. 201; Lang, 1984: 101, 150, no.5, pl. on 151; Lang, 2001: 161 no. 21, illus 544-45

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[61] Lang, 2001: 161
[62] See App. 4.8a (iii)
[63] Lang, 2001: 161

(iii) SOCKBURN (All Saints), CO. DURHAM

Hogback

PRESENT LOCATION: Conyers Chapel

DATE: Last quarter of the ninth to mid tenth century[64]

DISCUSSION: Both Knowles and Lang proposed that the hogback included a depiction of Daniel in the Lions' Den,[65] but, the duplication of a central figure with outstretched arms, flanked by fantastical beasts on both sides of the monument renders this explanation unlikely.[66] Furthermore, the iconography of the scheme does not conform to that of Daniel in the Lions' Den found elsewhere in Christian art. Other interpretations of the carvings propose Scandinavian mythological subject-matter.[67]

REFERENCES: (—), 1869-79: liv; Bailey, 1980: 98, 135-36, fig. 26; Brock, 1888: 177; Cramp, 1984a: I, 143-44, II, pl. 146; Eastwood, 1887: 347; Hodges, 1905: 237-38, pl. facing 240; Hodgkin, 1913: 230; Knowles, 1896-1905: 116, no. 11, fig. on 117; Lang, 1972: 238-40, fig. 1; Lang, 1983: no. 5; Lang, 2001: 161

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[64] Cramp, 1984a: 144
[65] Knowles, 1896-1905: 116; Lang, 2001: 161
[66] Lang (1972: 238-40) explains this duplication as Týr putting his hands in the mouth of the wolf Fenrir, paired with Daniel in the Lions' Den.
[67] Cramp, 1984a: 143-4; Lang, 1972: 238-40
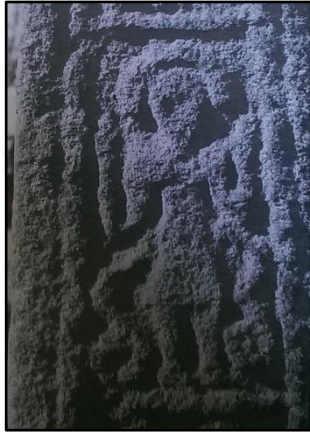
(iv) WHALLEY (St Mary), LANCASHIRE

Part of a cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: In the churchyard of St Mary's to the south of the church

DATE: Tenth century[68]

DISCUSSION: Bailey has suggested that this depicts Daniel in the Lions' Den, arguing that the transformation of the lions into serpents shares iconographic similarities with a Merovingian buckle-plaque where Daniel, flanked by two serpentine creatures, is identified by an accompanying inscription.[69] However, Edwards has since demonstrated that due to the large geographical and chronological gap between Whalley and the buckle, in addition to the consistency of lions depicted in leonine form across the Insular world Bailey's identification is very unlikely.[70]

An alternative identification of the scene as Christ in Majesty treading on the beasts has been proposed,[71] but, as the Corpus entry for Whalley notes, the creatures are not trampled by Christ, nor are they at his feet. This imples that the scene can be more likely explained as Christ being recognised between two animals as prophesised by Habakkuk (Hab 3.2).[72]

REFERENCES: Whitaker, 1800-1801: 31-33, pl. IV; Whitaker, 1818: 49-51, pl. IV; Whitaker, 1872-76: I, 66-67, 69, 71, II, 15, 157, 557, pl. facing 1; Allen and Browne, 1885: 335: Browne, 1885: 156-57, pl. IV; Allen, 1886: 328, 342; Browne, 1887: 13-14, pl. III, figs 2, 3, 4; Allen, 1894: 15, 17, 21, 23, 25; Collingwood, 1927: 107, fig. 132; Brown, 1937: 274; Kendrick, 1941b: 9; Kendrick, 1949: 63, fig. 5; Pevsner, 1969: 16, 258; Edwards, 1978: 72-73; Bailey, 1980: 157-59, fig. 38; Edwards, 1989a: 5-8, figs 1-5; Edwards, 1989b: 20-4, fig.

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[68] Bailey, 2010: 244
[69] Bailey, 1980: 158-59
[70] Edwards, 1989b: 23
[71] Bailey, 2010: 244
[72] Ibid.

1a ; Kenyon, 1991: 99; Edwards, 1992: 58; Edwards, 1998: 85-86, fig. 42; Reeder, 1999:

19-20, fig. 13; Bailey, 2010: 242-44 no. 1, illus 659-70

4.8b Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace

(i) BILTON-IN-AINSTY (St Helen), WEST YORKSHIRE

Part of a cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: In the south aisle of the chancel, fixed into the pavement

DATE: Tenth century[73]

DISCUSSION: It has been proposed by several scholars that this depicts the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, with Bailey adding the caveat that it is only possible to suggest this by referencing continental art, as the angel and/or men stoking the fire are absent.[74] It is possible that the angel was represented separately above the scene, as Hawkes has argued for Checkley, Staffordshire (App. 4.8b (ii)).[75] However, the absence of any clear identifiers this identification must be regarded as tentative.

REFERENCES: Browne, 1880-84b: cxxxiii; Allen, 1891: 157; Allen and Browne, 1885: 353; Morris, 1911: 105-106; Collingwood, 1912a: 128; Collingwood, 1915a: 141, 292, figs h-i on 140; Collingwood, 1927: 133, fig. 149h-l; Mee, 1941: 53; Pevsner, 1959: 101, 102; Bailey, 1980: 155; Cramp, 1982: 16; Cramp, 1984a: I, 22; Hawkes, 1997b: 149; Coatsworth, 2008: 99-100 no. 3, illus 35-39

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[73] Coatsworth, 2008: 100
[74] Morris, 1911: 106, Collingwood, 1915a: 141; Bailey, 1980: 155
[75] Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017.

(ii) CHECKLEY (St Mary and All Saints), STAFFORDSHIRE

Part of a cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: In the churchyard to the south-west of the church

DATE: Late ninth to tenth century[76]

DISCUSSION: Hawkes has proposed that the scene at the top of this face of the cross-shaft (C) can perhaps be identified as the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace.[77] The presence of three figures in orans poses, with the addition of what could be interpreted as a winged figure above would be suggestive of this scene and would parallel depictions on early medieval Irish high crosses. Nevertheless, the fragmentary and worn condition of the top of the scene means the presence of a winged figure cannot be ascertained; this identification must therefore remain tentative.

REFERENCES: Plot, 1686: pl. XXXIII.11; Grose, 1783: 38-39; Le Blanc Smith, 1906: 229, 230-34, figs 2, 2a, 3; Jeavons, 1945-46: 114, pl. XX.2-3; Pape, 1946-47: 24-29, 46-49, fig. on 28, pl. II; Steele, 1947-48: 120, pls. XIII.15, XIV.9; Kendrick, 1949: pl. L; Plunkett, 1984: 133-35, 138-39, 274, pl. 39; Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017

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[76] Hawkes and Sidebottom, forthcoming 2017
[77] Ibid.

(iii) ROYSTON (St John the Baptist), WEST YORKSHIRE

Part of a cross-shaft

PRESENT LOCATION: At the east end of the church by the high altar

DATE: Probably early to mid-tenth century[78]

DISCUSSION: Due to the presence of three figures in this panel, Coatsworth suggests the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace is the most likely explanation for the scene.[79] Nevertheless, the absence of any signifiers to aid in identifying the panel as depicting this particular Old Testament narrative, along with the fact that the two figures flanking the central figure, are shown is profile, means this explanation is at least debateable.

REFERENCES: Ryder, 1986: 31-33, fig. 1; Ryder and Hippisley-Cox, 1986: 27; Butler, 1992: 204; Coatsworth, 2008: 244-45 no. 1, illus 683-86

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[78] Coatsworth, 2008: 245

[79] She also proposes three other explanations: Christ Blessing, the *Traditio Legis*, and the Second Mocking of Christ. Coatsworth, 2008: 245

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APPENDIX 5

Summary of Old Testament Scenes Identified in the Insular World

5.1 Early Medieval Scotland

	Scene	Aberlemno, Angus	Aldbar, Angus	Ardchattan, Argyll	Dunfallandy, Perth and Kinross	Dunkeld, Perth and Kinross	Dupplin, Perth and Kinross	Farnell, Angus	Fowlis Wester, Perth and Kinross	Gask, Perth and Kinross	Inchbrayock, Angus	Inchinnan, Renfrewshire	Kincardine, Fife	Kingoldrum, Angus	Kinneddar, Moray	Kirriemuir, Angus	Lethendy, Fife	Meigle, Perth and Kinross	Monifieth, Angus	Newton Woods, Renfrewshire	Nigg, Easter Ross	Rosemarkie, Ross-shire	St. Andrews Sarcophagus, Fife	St. Andrews 2, Fife	St. Vigeans, Angus	Woodrae, Angus	TOTAL PROPOSED
GEN	The Fall of Adam and Eve							X																			1
JUDG	Samson and Delilah										X																2
JUDG	Samson Fighting the Philistine										X																
1 SAM	David and the Lion	X	X	X			X							X		X					X			X			9
1 SAM	Lion Adjacent to Image of David																							?			
PS	David the Psalmist						X							?		?			X					X			11
PS	Harp Adjacent to an Image of David	X	X										X								X						
PS	David with Musicians			X													X										
DAN	Daniel in the Lions' Den					X						X						X			?		?		X		6
JON	Jonah and the Whale				?				?	?																?	4

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5.2a (i) Book of Genesis: Place Names A–G

	STONE																	
	Ardboe, Market Cross, Co. Tyrone	Armagh, Market Cross, Co. Armagh	Bray Oldcourt, Co. Wicklow	Boho, Co. Fermanagh	Camus, Co. Derry	Castledermot, North Cross, Co. Kildare	Castledermot, South Cross, Co. Kildare	Clones, Co. Monaghan	Connor, Co. Antrim	Donaghmore, Co. Down	Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone	Downpatrick, Cathedral Cross, Co. Down	Drumcliff, Sandstone Cross, Co. Sligo	Drumcliff, Fragment of Cross Shaft, Co. Sligo	Durrow, West Cross, Co. Offlay	Galloon, East Cross, Co. Fermanagh	Galloon, West Cross, Co. Fermanagh	Graiguenamanagh, North Cross, Co. Kilkenny
The Fall of Adam and Eve	E1	E1	WBTL	E2	W1	WHC	W3	S1		W1	W1	W1	E2		S1		E3	E3
Cain Murdering Abel	S1	S1?			W2?			SLA	F2?		W2?				S2			
Noah's Ark		E2			W3					W2							W3	
Sacrifice of Isaac	E2	E3			W4	WRA	WRA	S2	S2?	W4	W3			E1	E3	E1	W2	E2

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5.2a (ii) Book of Genesis: Place Names H–Z

	STONE																TOTAL PROPOSED
	Kells, Broken Cross, Co. Meath	Kells, Cross of St Patrick & Columba, Co. Meath	Kells, Market Cross, Co. Meath	Killamery, Co. Kilkenny	Killary, Co. Meath	Kinnitty, Co. Offlay (Castlebernard)	Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh	Lorrha, East Shaft, Co. Tipperary	Monasterboice, Muiredach's Cross, Co. Louth	Monasterboice, Tall Cross, Co. Louth	Moone, Co. Kildare	Roscrea, Co. Tipperary	Seir Kieran, Sandstone Base, Co. Offlay	Tihilly, Co. Offlay	Tynan, Village Cross, Co. Armagh	Ullard, Co. Kilkenny	
The Fall of Adam and Eve	W1	E2	E3		E1	N4	E1	SBL?	E1		EB3	E1	BBR?	W3	E2	EBA	29
Cain Murdering Abel		E2	E3						E1								10
Noah's Ark	W2			NAE	E2												7
Sacrifice of Isaac		ELA	ERA		E3			SBL?		E2	EB2		BTC?			ELA	22

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5.2b King David

		Ardboe, Market Cross, Co. Tyrone	Armagh, Market Cross, Co. Armagh	Cardonagh, North Pillar, Co. Donegal	Castledermot, North Cross, Co. Kildare	Castledermot, South Cross, Co. Kildare	Clonmachnoise, Scriptural Cross, Co. Offlay	Donaghmore, Co. Down	Drumcliff, Sandstone Cross, Co. Sligo	Drumcliff, Fragment of Cross Shaft, Co. Sligo	Duleek, North Cross, Co. Meath	Durrow, West Cross, Co. Offlay	Galloon, East Cross, Co. Fermanagh	Galloon, West Cross, Co. Fermanagh	Graiguenamanagh, North Cross, Co. Kilkenny	Kells, Cross of St Patrick & Columba, Co. Meath	Kells, Market Cross, Co. Meath	Monasterboice, Muiredach's Cross, Co. Louth	Monasterboice, Tall Cross, Co. Louth	Newton, Co. Carlow	Old Kilcullen, West Cross, Co. Kildare	Ullard, Co. Kilkenny	Cambridge, St John's College, MS C 9 (Southampton Psalter)	London, BL, Cotton MS Vitellius F. XI (Vitellius Psalter)	TOTAL PROPOSED
1 SAM	Samuel Anoints David										W2 ?		N3 ?				S3 ?		E4 ?	W RA					**5**
	David Rending the Jaws of the Lion	S2	S3					E4		E2 ?		ERA		E4		SAE	SAE		E1		N1		1v		**11**
	David Combatting Goliath	S3	S2 ?			N3 ?			E4 ?										E2				68 v	1v	**7**
	David with the Head of Goliath							E4											E4 ?	W LA					**4**
PS	David the Psalmist			W	WL A	WL A	S2?	S1							E1			EB A				ER A		2v	**9**
	David Accompanied by a Musician											EL A						EC L							**2**

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5.2c Other Old Testament Scenes

		STONE																						TOTAL PROPOSED
		Ardboe, North Market Corss, Co.Tyrone	Ahenny, South Cross, Co. Tipperary	Armagh, Market Cross, Co. Armagh	Bray Oldcourt, Co. Wicklow	Castledermot, North Cross, Co. Kildare	Castledermot, South Cross, Co. Kildare	Clones, Co. Monaghan	Donaghmore, Co. Down	Drumcliff, Sandstone Cross, Co. Sligo	Drumcliff, Fragment of Cross Shaft, Co. Sligo	Galloon, West Cross, Co. Fermanagh	Galloon, Head Fragment, Co. Fermanagh	Kells, Cross of St Patrick & Columba, Co. Meath	Kells, Market Cross, Co. Meath	Killary, Co. Meath	Lorrha, South East Cross, Co. Tipperary	Monasterboice, Muiredach's Cross, Co. Louth	Monasterboice, Tall Cross, Co. Louth	Moone, Co. Kildare	Old Kilcullen, West Cross, Co. Kildare	Seir Kieran, Sandstone base, Co. Offaly	
EX	Moses Strikes Water from the Rock								E3 ?									E3 ?	E3 ?				4
	Moses Receives the Law														S4								1
JUDG	Samson and the Lion												NA E?								W3 ?		2
	Samson Destroying the Temple																		E5 ?				1
2 KN	Elijah Ascends to Heaven																		E6 ?				1
DAN	The Three Children in the Fiery Furnace	E4		N1								W1		E3					EB A	SB 3		BB C?	7
	Daniel in the Lions' Den	E3	BL	E4 ?	EB	W3	W1	S3		E5	E2	E2	EH C			E4	NB		N4	EB 1			15

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5.3 The Iona School of Carvings

		STONE					
		Iona, St Martins Cross	Iona, St Matthews Cross	Iona, St Orans Cross	Keills,, Isle of Islay	Kildalton, Isle of Islay	TOTAL PROPSED
GEN	The Fall of Adam and Eve		X				1
GEN	Cain Murdering Abel					X	1
GEN	The Sacrifice of Isaac	X				X	2
1 SAM	David Rending the Jaws of the Lion			X		X	2
PS	David Accompanied by a Musician	X		X			2
DAN	Daniel in the Lions' Den	X			X		2

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5.4 The Isle of Man

		STONE		
		Bride 147 (116)	Kirk Michael 130 (104)	TOTAL PROPSED
GEN	The Fall of Adam and Eve	X		1
PS	David Accompanied by a Musician		X	1

ABBRIEVIATIONS

ACW   Ancient Christian Writers: The Works of the Fathers in Translation (Maryland and London, 1946-)

AntJ   *The Antiquaries' Journal* (periodical 1920-)

Archaeol. J. *Archaeological Journal* (periodical 1844-)

Art Bull.   *The Art Bulletin* (periodical 1913-)

ASC   Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*

ASE   *Anglo-Saxon England* (periodical 1972-)

ASNC   Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic Guides, Texts and Studies (Cambridge, 1990-)

ASPR   Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, 6 vols (New York, 1931-1942)

Ass. Architect. Soc.

   Rep. Pap. *Associated Architectural Society Report Papers* (periodical 1850-1931)

ASSAH   Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History (Oxford, 1979-)

BAA   British Archaeological Association

BAR Brit. Ser. British Archaeological Reports British Series (Oxford, 1974-)

BL   British Library

BJRL   *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* (periodical 1903-)

BLJ   *British Library Journal* (periodical 1975-1999)

BM   British Museum

BnF   Bibliothèque nationale de France

CAS   *Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (periodical 1888-)

Cambridge Antiq. Soc.

      Rep. Comm   *Cambridge Antiquaries Society Report Communications* (periodical 1850-1888)

CCCC   Cambridge Corpus Christi College

CASSS   Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture (Oxford, 1984-)

CBA Res. Rep.   Council of British Archaeology Research Reports (London, 1955-)

CCSL   Corpus Christianorum Scriptorum Latinorum (Turnhout, 1953-)

CLA   Lowe, E. A. *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 11 vols (Oxford, 1934-1966)

CSASE   Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1990-)

CSEL   Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866-)

De Temp.   Bede, *De Templo*, in D. Hurst (ed.), CCSL 119A (Brepols, 1969); translated in S. Connolly (ed.), *Bede: On the Temple. Translated Texts for Historians 21* (Liverpool, 1995)

De Tabernaclo Bede, *De tabernaculo et uasis eius, ac uestibus sacerdotum, libros III*, *in D.* Hurst, CCSL 119A (Turnhout, 1969), 1-140; translated *in A. G. Holder (ed./trans.), Bede: On the Tabernacle. Translated Texts for Historians 18 (Liverpool, 1994)*

EEMF   Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 28 vols (Copenhagen, 1951-2001)

EETS   Early English Text Society (London, 1864-)

ELN   *English Language Notes* (periodical 1962-)

EME   *Early Medieval Europe* (periodical 1992-)

ES   *English Studies: a journal of English letters and Philology* (periodical 1919-)

FC   Fathers of the Church: A New Translation (Washington, D.C., 1947-)

H. Abb.	Bede, *Historia Gesta abbatum monasterii in Wiremutha et Gyruum* in C. W. Grocock and I. N. Wood (eds/trans), *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow: Bede's Homily I. 13 on Benedict Biscop, Bede's History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, the Anonymous Life of Ceolfrith, Bede's Letter to Ecgbert, Bishop of York* (Oxford, 2013)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society Publications (London, 1891)
HE	Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, in B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (eds), *Bede's History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969)
In Ezram	Bede, *In Ezram et Neemiam,* in Hurst, D. CCSL 119A (Turnhout, 1969): 235-392; translated in S. DeGregorio (ed./trans.), *Bede: On Ezra and Nehemiah.* Translated Texts for Historians 47 (Liverpool, 2006)
In Gen.	Bede, *In principum Genesis,* in C. W. Jones (ed.), CCSL 118A (Turnhout, 1967); translated in C. B. Kendal (ed./trans.), *Bede: On Genesis*. Translated Texts for Historians 48 (Liverpool, 2008)
In Hab.	Bede, *In Canticum Abacvc Prophetae*, in D. Hurst and J. E. Hudson (eds) CCSL 119B (Turnhout, 1983): 379-409; translated in S. Connolly. *Bede: on Tobit and on the Canticle of Habakkuk* (Dublin, 1997)
In Regnum	Bede, *In Regum librum XXX quaestionum,* in D. Hurst, CCSL 119 (Turnhout, 1962), 289-322; translated in T. Foley and A. G. Holder, A. G. (eds/trans). *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany.* Translated Texts for Historians 28 (Liverpool, 1999), 89-138
JAA	*Journal of the Archaeological Association* (periodical 1843-1969)
JAEMA	*Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* (periodical 2005-)

JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (periodical 1845-)
JCKAS	*Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society* (periodical 1891-)
J. Derbys. Archaeol. Nat. Hist. Soc.	*Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* (periodical 1879-1961)
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (periodical 1897-)
JMLat	*The Journal of Medieval Latin* (periodical 1991-)
JRSAI	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (periodical 1890-)
J.Trans.R.H.S.	*Journal Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (periodical 1872-)
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (periodical 1937-)
LAHS	*Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* (periodical 1862-)
LCC	The Library of Christian Classics, 26 vols (1953-1966)
LSE	*Leeds Studies in English* (periodical 1932-)
MÆv	*Medium Ævum* (periodical 1932-)
Med. Arch.	*Medieval Archaeology* (periodical 1957-)
MLR	*The Modern Language Review* (periodical 1905-)
Mod. Phil.	*Modern Philology* (periodical 1903-)
Met. Museum	Metropolitan Museum of Art
MRTS	Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, AZ)
NMS	National Museum of Scotland
N&Q	*Notes & Queries* (periodical 1849-)
OE Hexateuch	Old English Hexateuch

PBA   *Proceedings of the British Academy* (periodical 1905-)

PL   J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, 213 vols (Paris, 1841-55)

PMLA   *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (periodical 1884-)

PRIA   *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (periodical 1836-)

Proc. Soc. Antiq.

    London   *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquities London* (periodical 1849-1920)

PSAS   *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries Scotland* (periodical 1851-)

RCHAMS   Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

RB   *Revue Bénédictine* (periodical 1884-)

Reliquary Illus.

    Archaeol.   *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist: A Quarterly Journal and Review Devoted to the Study of the Early Pagan and Christian Antiquities of Great Britain* (periodical 1860-1909)

RES   *Review of English Studies* (periodical 1925-)

SN   *Studia Neophilologica* (periodical 1928-)

TCBS   *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* (periodical 1949-)

TCD   Trinity College Dublin

TCWAAS   *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* (periodical 1870-)

YAJ   *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* (periodical 1869-)

V. Wilf.	Stephanus of Ripon, *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, in B. Colgrave (ed./trans.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927)
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum

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