THE ROOD IN MEDIEVAL BRITAIN AND IRELAND *c.*800–*c.*1500

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THE ROOD IN MEDIEVAL BRITAIN AND IRELAND c.800–c.1500

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFM	*Annala Rioghachta Eireann, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*
Arch. J.	*Archaeological Journal*
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAA	British Archaeological Association
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BIA	Borthwick Institute for Archives
CASSS	Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
DCL	Durham Cathedral Library
DDCA	Durham Dean and Chapter Archives
DLS	Adomnán, *De Locis Sanctis*, in Meehan, *Adamnan's DLS* Bede, *De Locis Sanctis*, in Fraipont, *Itineraria*, 249–280; trans. Foley, *Biblical Miscellany*, pp. 5–25
EETS e.s.	Early English Text Society extra series
EETS o.s.	Early English Text Society original series
EETS s.s.	Early English Text Society supplementary series
HA	Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, in Grocock and Wood, *Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, pp. 21–75
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
HE	Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, in Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*
IEHS	*Instituto de Estudios Histórico-Sociales*
IHS	*Irish Historical Studies*
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
JRSAI	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
Med. Arch.	*Medieval Archaeology*
MES	*Medieval European Studies*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
NMI	National Museum of Ireland
NCC	Norfolk County Council
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
PL	Patrologia Latina

PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*
SRO	Suffolk Records Office
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum
YMLA	York Minster Library and Archives
YMLA, D/C	York Minster Library and Archives: Dean and Chapter

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1 INTRODUCTION: RETHINKING THE ROOD

PHILIPPA TURNER

The cross was central to medieval Christianity, both as an image and a material reality. In Britain and Ireland between *c.* 800 and *c.* 1500 it appeared as an image in wood, stone, paint, textiles, ivory and metalwork, within interiors and within the landscape, and it varied in scale from hand-held to monumental. The image could be ephemeral – the sign of the cross traced across the body – and it could also be conjured in the mind's eye, through prayer and poetry, and appear in visions.[1] The cross in word and image, as object and part of speech, could both be present and mutually enhance one another, as suggested by Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.16.3, a *c.* 930 copy of *De laudibus sanctae crucis* by the Carolingian Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), with its pages of intricate grids of poetry incorporating, variously, the figure of Christ (Fig. 1.1), cross-shapes, angelic figures, and the beasts of the Gospels; the Ruthwell Cross (Fig. 1.2), the eighth-century monumental cross with carved panels and inscribed with verses found also in the tenth-century poem *The Dream of the Rood*, presents us with a similarly complex mixture of the visual and the textual.[2]

As well as centrality and complexity, the cross in Britain and Ireland (just as elsewhere in medieval Europe) can also be characterised by variety (in iconography, medium and location), and it is with acknowledgement of these broad characteristics that this volume builds on previous studies of the cross to understand further, but certainly without claiming any

1 See, for example, Gittos, 'Hallowing the Rood'; Johnson, '*Crux Usualis*'; Keefer, 'Performance'; and the chapters by Thomas and Munns in this volume (see pp. 31–44 and pp. 45–58).

2 Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.16.3. The manuscript has been digitised and is available at http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=272 (accessed 19 May 2019). Schipper, 'Hrabanus Maurus in Anglo-Saxon England'. On the Ruthwell Cross, see Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, esp. pp. 12–78.

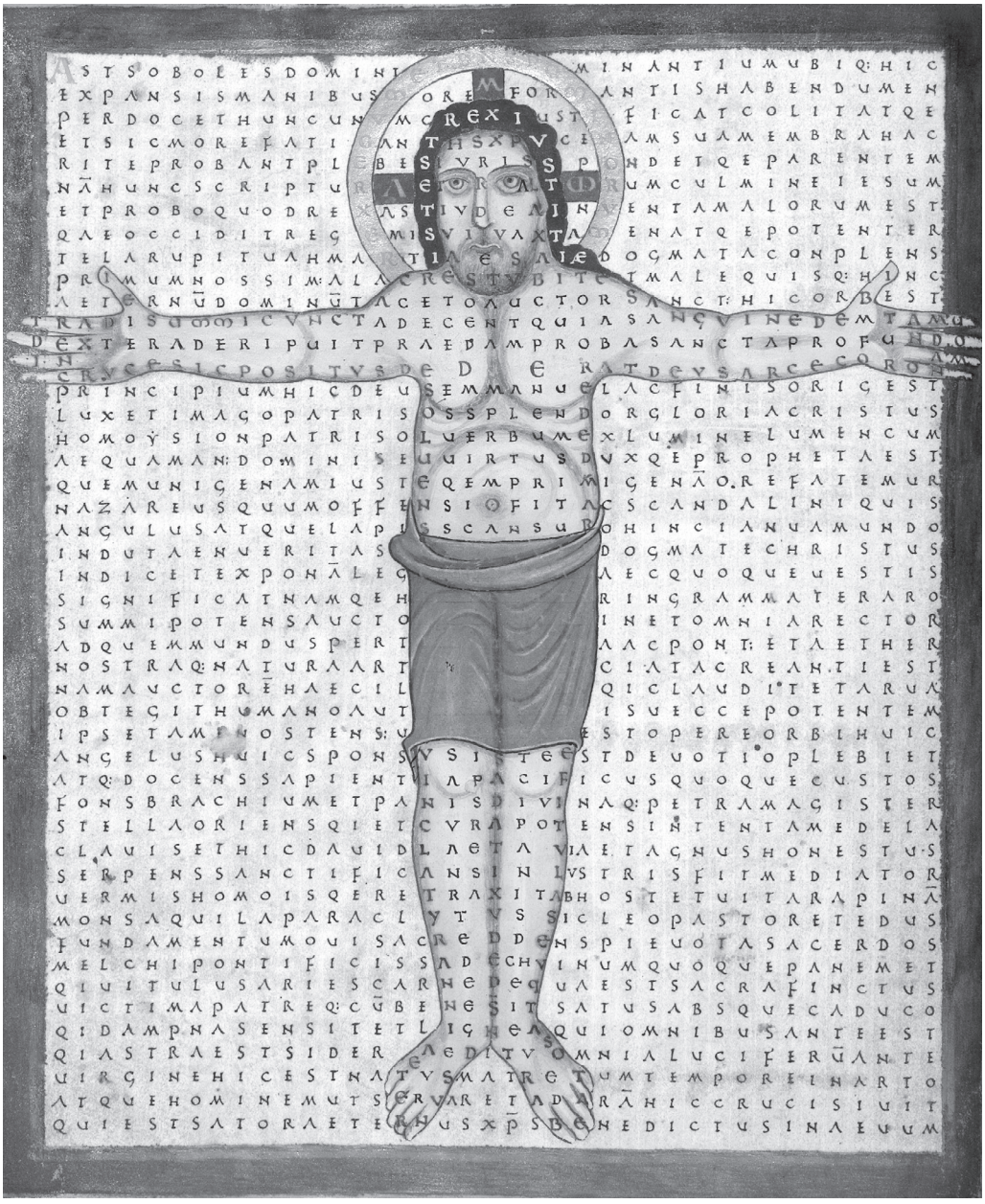

FIG. 1.1 CHRIST ON THE CROSS FROM HRABANUS MAURUS, *DE LAUDIBUS SANCTAE CRUCIS*, *c.* 930
(PHOTO: COPYRIGHT OF THE MASTER AND FELLOWS OF TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE. MS B.16.3, FOL. 3V)

FIG. 1.2 THE RUTHWELL CROSS, RUTHWELL, DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY (PHOTO: JANE HAWKES)

definitiveness, some of the kinds of meanings and functions it possessed within Britain and Ireland *c*. 800–*c*. 1500. The chapters collected here also have a wider aim, that of deepening our understanding of the visual and material culture of medieval Christian worship within these geographical and chronological boundaries. It is worth briefly outlining in broad strokes the shape of previous scholarship in order to better contextualise the chapters within this volume.

The image of the cross could be a crucifix, a cross bearing the figure of Christ in the act of sacrificing himself for the salvation of the world, or aniconic, four arms of an object only; yet it is also worth remembering, as Sarah Keefer has pointed out, 'the image of the cruciform presents its viewers with the rudimentary shape of a human being… the frame without flesh'.[3] The figure of Christ with which it was associated might, therefore, be remembered whilst still being absent. Within each of these types further variation abounds: for example, the presentation of Christ on the cross as a triumphal, often regal figure, is an iconography often associated with the early medieval period,[4] and the presentation of the crucified Christ as a bloody, suffering figure, whose humanity is therefore emphasised, is an iconography more commonly found within late medieval images. The subtleties of these presentations, and the changes from the popularity of one to another over time, have been the focus of much investigation, especially by Barbara Raw and Paul Binski, the former with a focus on the tenth and eleventh centuries and the latter with a concentration on the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[5] More recently, John Munns, a contributor to this volume, has studied the cross in Anglo-Norman England, during the 'long' twelfth century, considering in depth the theological, iconographic and devotional changes and innovations that happened during this period and their relationships with each other.[6] Celia Chazelle's study of the theology and art of the passion in the Carolingian period is an important complement to these works: the theological debate and the artistic flourishing that occurred on the Continent in the Carolingian realm found its way to Britain and Ireland, as Trinity College MS B.16.3 (Fig. 1.1) demonstrates, in the forms of both word and image, and remind us that the rood in Britain and Ireland was part of a wider dialogue that occurred throughout many lands.[7]

3 Keefer, 'Performance', p. 203.

4 In light of the recent discussions on the phrase used to describe the early medieval period in England hitherto known most widely as 'Anglo-Saxon', contributors throughout the volume have used their preferred terminology.

5 Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*; Binski, 'The Crucifixion and Censorship', and Binski, *Becket's Crown*, pp. 201–6.

6 Munns, *Cross and Culture*.

7 Chazelle, *The Crucified God*.

Other studies of the image of the medieval cross have focused on the significance of particular iconographical details, for instance Jennifer O'Reilly's 'The Rough-Hewn Cross in Anglo-Saxon Art'.[8] Images of the aniconic cross alongside other instruments of the passion, such as the scourge, the crown of thorns, and the nails used during the crucifixion, forming the *arma Christi*, became increasingly popular in the late medieval period, and this collection of objects, as well as the impetus behind their 'collection' in the medieval imagination as a set, have recently been assessed in depth in a volume edited by Lisa Cooper and Andrea Denny Brown.[9] This collection of objects invited the late medieval viewer to imagine Christ crucified in a kind of visual metonymy beyond that suggested by Keefer, and one highlighting the physical suffering Christ endured during the passion.

The legend of the True Cross as being found by the Empress Helena in 320 was well established throughout the Latin West by *c*. 800, and remembered as part of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in the liturgical calendar of Britain and Ireland throughout the period covered by this volume.[10] At least some of the True Cross was widely recognised as residing in Jerusalem from the fourth century onwards, at the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, until the basilica's destruction in 1009; tradition had it that other parts of the cross were taken to Constantinople by Helena and stayed there.[11] Relics of the True Cross circulated widely in the Latin West, including Britain and Ireland, before and after the turn of the millennium: Alfred the Great (d. 899) is recorded as being given a fragment by Pope Marinus, for example, and other True Cross relics are listed in lists and inventories compiled at large institutions such as Christ Church, Canterbury and Westminster Abbey in the later Middle Ages.[12]

Between the late eleventh century and the end of the fourteenth century, the Crusades afforded opportunities for a vast number of individuals from Britain and Ireland to encounter the sites associated with the crucifixion and the True Cross first-hand, and precipitated the movement of relics from the Holy Land and the eastern Church to the Latin West: the

8 O'Reilly, 'The Rough-Hewn Cross'.

9 Cooper and Denny-Brown, *Arma Christi*.

10 Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, pp. 133–63; L. van Tongeren, *Exhaltation of the Cross*.

11 Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, pp. 15–193; on the tomb and basilica, see Biddle, *Tomb of Christ*, and Biddle, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. See also the account of the basilica and the part played by the relic of the True Cross in the Good Friday service as recounted by the fourth-century pilgrim to Jerusalem, Egeria: Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, esp. pp. 154–7.

12 Swanton, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 883, 885, 79–81; for inventories and lists, see, for instance, the 1315 inventory from Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, which includes fragments of the True Cross enclosed in crosses made from precious metals, in Legg and Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church Canterbury*, p. 81, and the list of the relics of Christ in the mid-fifteenth century relic list compiled by John Flete at Westminster Abbey. Robinson, *History of Westminster Abbey*, p. 69.

rood of Bromholm, a relic of the True Cross brought to England from Constantinople in the early thirteenth century and which resided at Bromholm Priory, Norfolk, was a well-known object of pilgrimage, for example.[13] Within the context of the affirmation of the real presence of Christ's body in the eucharist but the absence of significant bodily relics of Christ, and the rising popularity of the body-centred cult of saints' relics, these relics of the True Cross played an important role in giving the medieval faithful a greater number of material objects that they could associate directly with the body of Christ, thus enjoying significant prestige: as Cynthia Hahn has noted, 'the True Cross is, without question, the preeminent relic of Christianity'.[14]

Colum Hourihane's study of the forms and functions of the processional cross reminds us that smaller-scale, three-dimensional images of the crucified Christ, often made from metal, were routinely present within liturgical contexts from an early time.[15] Importantly, these images moved around spaces and moved towards communities of worshippers, or towards individuals, rather than worshippers moving towards static representations. Commenting on this quality of movement, Hourihane reminds us that the prototype was one that moved, being carried by Christ through Jerusalem in procession on the way to Golgotha.[16] Another kind of mobility, that of articulating roods such as that at Boxley Abbey in Kent, was employed in some instances to emphasise more vividly the human pain of the crucifixion for worshippers through the movement of Christ's limbs, eyes and other parts of the body: in doing so, such sculpted images of Christ on the cross attracted particular opprobrium at the Reformation.[17]

More usually, monumental roods were static, and sculpted in wood, stone or metal, or painted onto walls, and these have been a focus of analysis by virtue of a combination of their surviving number, size, materials, iconographies and locations – in the landscape or within the ecclesiastical interior, particularly, in relation to the latter, at the point between nave and chancel or choir. Recent 'turns' in academic discourse, notably consideration of space, liturgy, materiality, and, increasingly, craftsmanship, have invited new ways of looking at these objects, their

13 For more on transmission from East to West, see most recently Jaspert, 'True Cross'. See also Bartal, 'Relics of Place', on the movement of fragments of the Holy Sepulchre to the Latin West; on the Bromholm rood, see Wormald, 'Rood of Bromholm'. It is important to note that as well as the movement of objects from the Holy Land, there was a movement of architectural and visual ideas. On this in the context of Byzantine worshippers visualising the tomb, see Ousterhout, 'Visualising the Tomb of Christ'.

14 Hahn, *Passion Relics*, p. 1; see also Hahn, *Reliquary Effect*, pp. 114–16. I am grateful to Cynthia Hahn for allowing me to read *Passion Relics* before its publication.

15 Hourihane, *Dailye Crosse*, esp. pp. 9–50.

16 Ibid., p. 1.

17 Groeneveld, 'A Theatrical Miracle'; on articulated sculpted images of Christ in Poland and other parts of east-central Europe in the Middle Ages, see Kopania, 'Animating Christ', and for a wider study of articulated sculpted images, Swift, 'Robot Saints'.

functions and meanings.[18] The work of another contributor to this volume, Jane Hawkes, has considered the materiality and multivalent iconographical frames of reference of the early medieval monumental stone crosses of Britain and Ireland for example, while Éamonn Ó Carragáin's work has also considered the monuments of this period and region in light of the liturgy and especially liturgical images.[19] Several studies concentrating on the late medieval English context by Richard Marks have shed new light on the chronology and functions of monumental rood usually placed on the threshold between the nave and chancel. Making copious use of documentary sources, particularly wills, Marks has highlighted the rood in this location as being a focus for parochial patronage, devotion and remembrance; this parochial context has also been explored by Carol Davidson Cragoe.[20] The work of these authors, both of whom consider when the monumental sculpted rood was introduced into the parochial context, should also be seen in the light of the work of Peter Brieger, whose focus on England's contribution to the development of the 'triumphal cross' includes much valuable gathering of documentary evidence and analysis, particularly from the cathedral and monastic churches of tenth- and eleventh-century England.[21]

A large challenge for authors considering the monumental rood within the ecclesiastical interior in medieval Britain and Ireland is the lack of survival; this is in great contrast to many parts of the Continent. Studies by Reiner Haussherr in the mid- to late twentieth century, and, in the early years of the twenty-first century, Gerhard Lutz and Manuela Beer, all employ surviving monumental roods in Germany as starting points for their work.[22] Similarly, survivals in Italy have given scope for scholars such as Joanna Cannon, Donal Cooper and Marcello Gaeta to consider painted panel crosses and sculpted crucifixes.[23] More wide-ranging work on the crucifix and/or the passion of Christ in the first half of the twentieth century has also usually concentrated on surviving images.[24]

18 See, for example, on space, the essays in Spicer and Hamilton, *Defining the Holy*, and recently, Varnam, *Church as Sacred Space*; on liturgy, Kroesen and Schmidt, *The Altar*, and Opačić and Timmermann, *Architecture, Liturgy, and Identity*; on materiality, Bynum, *Christian Materiality*; and on craftsmanship, Bucklow et al., *Church Screen*.

19 See for example, Hawkes, 'The Rothbury Cross'; Hawkes, 'Sermons in Stone'; Hawkes, 'East Meets West'; Ó Carragáin, 'Liturgical Innovations'; Ó Carragáin, 'A Liturgical Interpretation'; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*.

20 Marks, 'The Rood and Rememberence'; Marks, 'From Langford to South Cerney'; Marks, 'Framing the Rood'; Cragoe, 'Belief and Patronage'.

21 Brieger, 'England's Contribution'.

22 Haussherr, *Der Tote Christus Am Kreutz*; Haussherr, 'Triumphkreuzgruppen'; Lutz, *Das Bild des Gekreuzigten im Wandel*; Beer; *Triumphkreuze des Mittelalters*. See also Nyborg, 'Byzantinizing Crucifixes'; von Achen, 'Der König', Blindheim, 'Development of Pain', for example.

23 Cannon, 'Era of the Painted Crucifix'; Cooper, 'Projecting Presence'; Gaeta, *Giotto*.

24 Thoby, *Le Crucifix*; Schiller, *Iconography*, esp. pp. 88–163; Dinkler and Dinkler-von Schubert, 'Kreuz'; Palli et al., 'Kreuzigung Christi'.

Consideration of the monumental crucifix within the church interior has also been part of recent studies of other features within the interior to which it could be closely related (spatially, decoratively and theologically), notably the screen between the nave and chancel or choir. Jacqueline Jung's work on Gothic screens in Germany and France, for example, has drawn attention to the nuanced ways in which the screen and the monumental crucifix above it worked to conceal but also at the same time make visible the body of Christ beyond the screen at the high altar.[25] The recent volume of essays on the art and science of the church screen edited by Spike Bucklow, Richard Marks and Lucy J. Wrapson has also emphasised the relationship between screen and monumental crucifix: this is made explicit in the first chapter by Richard Marks, entitled 'Framing the Rood in Medieval England and Wales'.[26] Indeed, it is the conference on church screens at Cambridge University in 2012,[27] where at least one attendee pleaded for more analysis of the rood itself, that acted as the seed for the conference on which this present volume is based, which took place in York in 2016.[28]

The various and continuing conversations about the medieval cross, especially the monumental cross and/or crucifix, and the recent resurgence of interest in the feature within the church interior most closely associated with it, the screen, therefore provide an impetus to consider the medieval cross from a different perspective, one that 'cuts the cake', so to speak, in another way. In contrast to the previous discussions that have been largely bound by a specific geographical remit (England; Ireland; Italy, and so on) and/or by a particular chronology (early, high and late medieval), this volume takes in the geographical scope of both Britain and Ireland (and in one chapter, further afield, Galicia, in the north of the Iberian peninsula), as well as a wider chronological sweep than previous studies, from *c*. 800 to *c*. 1500, therefore resisting the century-specific or 'early' and 'late' camps into which much scholarship is usually confined. In doing so, the volume's contributions suggest that we consider the cross from a new perspective, one that does not run along established lines of scholarship, but which encourages us to see the threads that tie them, whilst aiming to tease out the ways in which the cross could be universal and specific within different times and spaces. The themes addressed in these chapters also place the study of the rood within the context of a number of conversations taking place within the fields of medieval art history and medieval studies more widely, particularly that considering how medieval people constructed, perceived, understood, and used the

25 Jung, *Gothic Screen*, esp. pp. 46–53.
26 Bucklow et al., *Church Screen*; Marks, 'Framing the Rood'.
27 'The Art and Science of Medieval Church Screens', 27–28 April 2012, Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Cambridge.
28 'The Rood in Medieval Britain and Ireland c. 900–c. 1500', 2–3 September 2016, University of York (https://theroodinbritainandireland.wordpress.com/the-rood-in-britain-and-ireland-c-900-c-1500-2/, accessed 12 March 2020).

'stuff' of devotion.[29] As well as materiality, these chapters also consider the rood in relation to, variously, institutional identity, patronage, the relationships between word and image and image and vision, the spatial dynamics of the medieval ecclesiastical interior and the landscape, and the wider devotional topographies of ecclesiastical sites, from cathedral priory to parish church.

The contributions here are drawn largely from papers presented at the conference in York in 2016, but also include invited contributions. The selection was purposefully intended to include the broadest possible range of chronological and geographical studies within the larger remit of *c.* 800–*c.* 1500 and Britain and Ireland; it was also intended to surprise and challenge accepted notions and expectations of what discussions concerning the rood might include, especially in light of the constraints of the lack of surviving objects and depictions of the rood from medieval Britain and Ireland.

The new perspective offered here is thus one that cuts across established delineations of media, form and function as well as chronology and geography. The focus in previous scholarly conversations on the monumental crucifix between nave and chancel or choir, or the monumental high stone cross in the landscape, for example, does little to invite us to consider their similarities rather than differences. This volume provides a context for considering the correspondences between these objects and depictions of the crucifix in other media. Jane Hawkes' contribution, for example, discusses depictions of the crucifixion on eighth- and early ninth-century stone crosses set in the landscape, which were often found on the shaft rather than the head of the cross. Painted, inset with glass and metal, and employing innovations such as breaking the frame or depicting model figures in poses of adoration, Hawkes emphasises their similarity in iconography and function to depictions of the crucifixion on painted panels viewed within churches, suggesting, she argues, their shared function as inspiring compunction in the viewer.

The use of the term 'Rood' to define the monumental crucifix within the church interior at the nave/chancel or choir threshold in English scholarship, and the use of the German term *Triumphkreuz* for the crucifix in this position, set up further lines of thought that, although helpful to an extent (the monumental rood in this location did have a specific function, one that was recognised in the medieval period), can also, we contend, potentially draw too much of a distinction between the monumental crucifix and other images of the cross (although it did have a special function, it was, above all, a rood). Indeed, it is important to remember that the words 'rood' and *crux* were used to describe crosses of all sizes and media, in all contexts during the medieval period. *Rode*

29 The literature on materiality is vast; a notable introduction to the topic is Bynum, *Christian Materiality*.

is of course an Old English term: it appears on the Ruthwell Cross, a monumental cross that was likely originally located in an exterior position, and possibly moved indoors at a later date.[30] Late medieval wills call the rood between nave and chancel 'rood' and 'great rood', further attesting to the simultaneous universality and particularity of the iconic cross in this location.[31] Kate Thomas' chapter considers a further term used to describe the cross, *christes mœl*, and how it is used in the specific context of early medieval medical remedies. In doing so, she highlights its use to describe crosses in various media, of different sizes and in different locations, whilst also demonstrating how monumental crosses within the landscape could function not just as the focus for compunction and devotion, as Hawkes' chapter emphasises, but also as practical aids to restore physical and mental health.

John Munns' chapter, as with that of Thomas, underlines the necessity and the fruitfulness of us thinking about both words and images, and their interplay, within the context of the rood in later medieval Britain and Ireland. It also starts from consideration of written descriptions, in this case, of visions of the crucified Christ from the twelfth century. Munns asks how they might inform our understanding of the rapid changes in the iconography of the crucifixion in this and the proceeding century, including the introduction of the crown of thorns within the iconography of the crucified Christ, and that of Christ crucified in paradise. Might the iconographies in these visions be informed by the seers' encounters within the material world? Like Hawkes' and Thomas' chapters, this contribution also emphasises the need for us to consider fluidity: not only with terms used for these objects, but also, importantly, the categories of 'the material, the metaphorical, the imaginative, the theological' (p. 57), which were not as precisely delineated in the medieval world.

These and other chapters in the volume aim to invite the reader to think more deeply about what connects roods of different periods, materials, iconographies, positions and contexts, as well as demonstrating that each rood can and should be considered individually, precisely because of these things, which were never the same. Similarly, the geographical area of Britain and Ireland on which this volume focuses is one whose religious, social, political and cultural histories were closely related to one another throughout the period, as well as being individually distinct. Maggie Williams' chapter, for example, takes the symbol of the cross and its material manifestation in objects such as the Cross of Cong and the Market Cross at Tuam, Co. Galway, to consider how the symbol was harnessed within the particular geographical and

30 Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 47.

31 Marks, 'From Langford to South Cerney', p. 188; see also Turner, 'Image and Devotion', pp. 108–09 for examples of different terminology for the same object at York Minster, including '*magna crux*' and 'blissed roode'.

chronological boundaries of twelfth-century Ireland, and in the context of its delicate systems of royal and ecclesiastical power. Yet the chapters also demonstrate ways in which the iconographies and uses of the rood within Britain and Ireland were clearly in dialogue with those of continental Europe, and the importance of this dialogue.

Sara Carreño's chapter on late medieval stone crosses in Galicia draws attention to the kinds of iconographical connections and distinctions that can be found in monumental stone crosses produced in another part of Europe in the fourteenth century, while highlighting how these objects have more recently been characterised as related to the early 'Celtic' high crosses of Ireland in order to emphasise their distinct appearances and harness them within the fight for Galician independence from Spain in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Malgorzata Krasnodębska-D'Aughton's chapter looks another way, and considers the transmission of cross- and plant-imagery and the iconography of the Tree of Life from the Continent to, and within, Franciscan friaries in Ireland, and how this imagery and iconography worked to emphasise and cohere the Franciscan identity of the spaces within the friaries, as well as giving the viewer the opportunity to meditate on the multiple and interwoven meanings of the cross. Krasnodębska-D'Aughton reminds us of the power of a single iconographic theme in uniting physical space and devotional identity across countries and institutions, creating and sustaining a unique group with a particular mission within the late medieval Church.

The theme of identity that Carreño and Krasnodębska-D'Aughton investigate when examining how these objects function is also one that other authors within the volume investigate. Roods at once identified their viewers with a wider community, the medieval faithful, but in addition, through their particular iconographies, positioning and materials, as well as through what surrounded them, could at once foster and sustain more specific identities within this: of parish, monastery, town, village as well as political or religious alliance, as patron(s) and as makers. My own chapter, for example, considers the way in which one specific rood in England, the Black Rood of Scotland at Durham Cathedral Priory, was used to foster and sustain such specific identities: that of the cathedral priory's community itself, but also the family with which it was associated, the Nevilles, and specifically their relationship to the cathedral priory as its most illustrious patrons. The chapter also emphasises that monumental roods, as well as crosses of other sizes, were found not just at the threshold of nave and chancel or choir within the medieval great church: the rood could form another part of the kind of complex sacred topography which accrued within that context.

A further distinction of the geographical area of Britain and Ireland which makes it particularly apposite to consider is its relative lack of surviving crosses of all kinds, but especially monumental sculpted roods from the high and late Middle Ages, due to various factors including the religious upheavals

of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (the Black Rood of Scotland, for instance, is no longer extant). This is in contrast to the continental context where crosses of all kinds survive, especially monumental sculpted roods, which therefore provide different starting points for the work of art historians such as Lutz and Beer. This relative absence demands a careful approach, rooted in thorough analysis of surviving physical evidence of the original context of crosses, such as above surviving screens, as well as judicious consideration of documentary sources. Any analysis is also complicated by the fact that the original contexts of lost crosses, and even those that survive, have often been significantly changed in the subsequent centuries since *c.* 1500, presenting yet another challenge to thinking about their medieval locations, functions and meanings. Nevertheless, the chapters here demonstrate that it is still possible, and indeed, fruitful, to consider the capacity for crosses to function in dialogue with other images and objects within a given space, be that the landscape near to a church, or within the church interior itself. This is particular so for the last two chapters in the volume, by Lucy J. Wrapson and Sarah Cassell respectively. These chapters invite us to consider how imagery above, below, and around the monumental roods within churches in England in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries worked to demonstrate the importance of the image of the crucified Christ, and how subtle differences in this imagery emphasised different aspects of the crucifixion, and/or invited viewers to view it in a different context.

Lucy J. Wrapson considers colour convention and material hierarchies on late medieval rood screens, objects that were part of the 'experience' of the monumental rood in late medieval churches, and which usually displayed the figures of saints across them. Counter-change in colour and other effects running across the screen worked to emphasise the vertical axis at the centre of the screen: the doorway and the rood above it. Moreover, analysis of the materials used to decorate screens demonstrates that more expensive pigments were used closer to the rood, around the door and upwards into the vaults, reflecting the importance of this vertical axis, and the way in which the screen supported and shared in the power of the rood. Sarah Cassell's chapter looks further upwards, considering the way in which 'angel roofs' found in a number of fifteenth century churches in East Anglia framed the monumental rood and emphasised the sacrificial nature of Christ's crucifixion. She demonstrates the nuances in their presentation, distribution and materiality, and therefore the choices made by 'patrons, communities, and makers' (p. 166). In doing so, she also demonstrates how these objects worked within the spaces of these churches to 'embrace the congregation' into the sacrifice of Christ on the cross and all its implications for humanity (p. 184).

Collectively, the contributions within this volume place the rood, the central image within medieval Christianity, back at the centre of our consideration of religious art in medieval Britain and Ireland. They demonstrate its capacity to be used to unite and/or delineate audiences, to

act as a focus for compunction and as a precious material source of healing, as a symbol that could be found within the landscape and indoors, not only at the threshold of nave and chancel or choir, but also at other important points within the sacred topographies of religious institutions. Now often acutely absent, or present in a diminished way within a context much altered from that within which it was originally present, the contributions here demonstrate the rood to be a symbol used by laity, clerics and religious, within Britain and Ireland from *c*. 800–*c*. 1500 in varied, dynamic and carefully considered ways, both harnessing and acknowledging its power within a world that understood it as signifying the means to salvation.

2

APPROACHING THE CROSS: THE SCULPTED HIGH CROSSES OF ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND[1]

JANE HAWKES

When considering the 'Rood' of the later Middle Ages it is worth perhaps turning to the earliest forms of the monumental crosses that were erected both inside and outside church buildings in Britain and Ireland from the early part of the eighth century onwards. Unique to the region until at least the late eleventh, if not the twelfth century, these large-scale public sculptures have attracted considerable attention for some time, but increasingly so since the early twentieth century.

Given its distinctive 'free-standing' form, attempts to explain the emergence of this particular monument type have resulted in the general understanding of it as an innovation reflecting the amalgamation of a number of material cultural phenomena. Among these is the fact that they reflect the reinvigoration of the art of stone sculpture following the re-establishment of the Christian Church in early medieval England

1 Here, the term 'Anglo-Saxon' is understood adjectively and is used primarily to denote the cultural phenomena (particularly the art and archaeology) associated with the peoples known, from the eighth century onwards, as Anglo-Saxons, when the term, as a compound based on Latin forms current in the early Middle Ages, was one of a number used to designate the political and ethnic entities dominated by speakers of Old English, in the region broadly equivalent (but not equal) to the geopolitical region now known as England. Anglo-Saxon stone sculptural crosses, for instance, also exist in what is now Scotland. 'Anglo-Saxon' has the further advantage of avoiding 'pre-Conquest', and 'England/English' and 'Britain/British', terms that are historiographically fraught in relation to the study of the visual culture of early medieval Ireland, in the context of which generations of 'British' scholars used them to downplay the influence of early medieval Ireland on the art and culture of (Anglo-Saxon) 'England'. See "Responsible Use of the Term 'Anglo-Saxon'": www.fmass.eu (accessed 27 December 2019). For alternative views, see below, Williams, p. 59.

during the course of the seventh century when, as Bede records in his *Ecclesiastical History*, churches began to be constructed in stone and were decorated and furnished with carved stone work.[2] In their design they also seem to represent the influence of earlier, late antique and early Christian monumental forms. These include the stone column, a form that was associated with the triumphal sign of the cross encountered in Constantinian contexts in the early Christian Mediterranean world: as in Jerusalem where a (triumphal) column is recorded as standing close to the Holy Sepulchre complex surmounted by a cross and carved with a *Maiestas* near the top.[3] Although this monument is unlikely to have been physically encountered by Anglo-Saxons (other than Willibald whose travels to Jerusalem were recorded by the nun Huneberc in the eighth century),[4] the forms of the triumphal and Jupiter column would have been familiar across Europe and in Rome. Together, associations and encounters with the circular columns of antiquity are likely to have informed that of the monumental columns supporting crosses that were set up at the turn of the ninth century in Northumbria and Kent, which also featured the *Maiestas* in the upper registers.[5] Also influential was the form of the obelisk which is understood to have informed that of the slightly tapering, squared shaft of the high crosses, the obelisk shaft being surmounted by a cross-head in its rearticulated incarnation. In this instance, familiarity with the obelisk that stood to the south of Old St Peter's in Rome, which was understood to have marked the site of the crucifixion of St Peter, having formed one of the *meta* standing along the spina of the stadium of Nero on the lower slopes of the Vatican Hill, would have rendered the squared tapering form of the shaft particularly emotive.[6]

At a less formalist level, the introduction of the cult of the cross into the region at the turn of the eighth century seems also to have played a part in the sources of inspiration informing the development of the monumental high cross particularly, as Éamonn Ó Carragáin has argued, following the recovery of a fragment of the True Cross in Rome by Pope Sergius and the introduction of the feast of the True Cross at the turn of the eighth century.[7] Richard Bailey has further pointed to the importance of the idea of the eschatological *crux gemmata*, perhaps inspired in part by knowledge of the gemmed cross set up by Theodosius II (reg. 408–450) on the altar of the True Cross in the Sepulchre complex in Jerusalem.[8] In this respect, the

2 Bede, *HE* I.26, I.33, pp. 76–9, 114–17; see discussions in, e.g., Cramp, *Early Northumbrian Sculpture*; Hawkes, '*Iuxta Morem Romanorum*'. For an overview, see Mitchell, 'The High Cross', pp. 88–95.

3 Bede, *DLS*, p. 256; see discussion in J. Hawkes, 'The Anglo-Saxon Legacy'; see also Adamnán, *DLS* 2, pp. 42–7.

4 Holder-Egger, *Vitae Willibaldi*; trans. Talbot, *Anglo-Saxon Missionaries*.

5 See Hawkes, 'Anglo-Saxon Legacy'; Hawkes, 'The Church Triumphant'.

6 Hawkes, 'Anglo-Saxon Legacy'.

7 Ó Carragáin, 'Christ over the Beasts'; Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 249, 285.

8 Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, pp. 23–41.

stone crosses can be understood to represent the (materially permanent) placement of the wooden crosses enshrined in jewel-encrusted precious metals familiar in processions and on altars, in this case sacralising the landscape. Here, it is worth noting that such crosses were not designed as crucifixes (or roods); all were *crux gemmata*. Indeed, early depictions of the crucifixion did not necessarily even illustrate the cross behind the figure of the crucified – as is the case with the fifth-century carved wooden panel set in the doors of the church of Santa Sabina in Rome.[9]

Furthermore, it has become increasingly apparent that the high crosses of early Christian Anglo-Saxon England, although monumental and decorated in relief carving, were also brightly painted and multi-media in their presentation: inset with glass and metal. Traces of polychromy have been noted on a number of stone crosses,[10] and the more recently recovered fragments of the early ninth-century stone shrine built to encase the wooden reliquary chest containing the remains of St Chad at Lichfield demonstrate the nature of such colouration (Plate I). Forming one half of the gabled end of the house-shaped shrine the ground was painted white and framed in red, with the figure of the Archangel Gabriel wearing a yellow robe under-painted with red hatching to replicate the red-gold colour so prized by Anglo-Saxons. The feathers of his wings are likewise rendered in a sophisticated painterly manner, each feather painted red, shading through to pink and then white. An oil-based paint was used for the halo and flecks of gold foil once adhered to it.[11] Elsewhere there is evidence that the carvings were enhanced with the addition of metal and paste-glass insets. One fragment of the *c*. 800 column from Reculver (Kent) depicting the Ascension, for instance, shows signs of a metal staff-cross held by the ascending Christ – in addition to the red paint preserved in the background and the blue used for Christ's robes;[12] the central boss of the cross-head surmounting the early ninth-century cross that still stands in the market place at Sandbach in Cheshire is surrounded at equidistant points by small drilled holes used to attach a metal collar or cover around the boss;[13] and the deeply drilled eyes of figures, such as those on the Rothbury cross in Northumberland, testify to the paste-glass that once filled them.[14] Recent restoration of the fragment from Aberlady, East Lothian, undertaken by the National

9 Schiller, *Iconography*, fig. 326; see also carnelian intaglio, third to fourth century in the British Museum (1895, 1113.1) which shows only the cross-bar of the cross (ibid., fig. 321).
10 For summary, see Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, pp. 23–41.
11 For a full account, see Rodwell et al., 'The Lichfield Angel'.
12 Tweddle, *South-East England*, p. 157, ill. 118 (Reculver 1b); Hawkes, 'Column Fragment'.
13 Hawkes, *The Sandbach Crosses*, pp. 146, 151, figs 5.7, 6.3; Bailey, *Cheshire and Lancashire*, p. 100, ill. 250 (Sandbach Market Place 1).
14 Hawkes, 'The Rothbury Cross'; Cramp, *County Durham and Northumberland*, pp. 217–21, pls 211,1206–07, 212,1210, 213,1213–16, 213,1218–19, 214,1220–21, 214,1223, 215,1224 (Rothbury 1).

FIG. 2.1
CRUCIFIXION, ROTHBURY, NORTHUMBERLAND, CROSS-HEAD, LATE EIGHTH CENTURY (PHOTO: JANE HAWKES)

Museums of Scotland has revealed the tin casing inserted into just such holes intended to hold the paste glass in place.[15]

Thus, overall, the Anglo-Saxon high cross, being rendered in stone, has come to be regarded as visually presenting in a monumental, permanent manner, the eternal imperium of the Church and the Heavenly Jerusalem; as making permanent in the landscape, that which was represented temporally (in terms of their medium), the metalwork crosses within the churches.

15 Blackwell, 'Bright Eyes'.

This said, however, it is notable that at this point (the eighth through ninth centuries), these monuments did not tend to reproduce the image of the crucifixion in the cross-head and so perhaps, function as roods – in a strict dictionary definition of the word. One of two exceptions is provided by the fragmentary remains of the cross from Rothbury in Northumberland where the arm of the crucified figure fills the one surviving horizontal cross-arm and his head, the upper vertical cross-arm (Fig. 2.1), over which an angel descends to clasp his triple-cruciform halo, physically presenting the magisterial triumph achieved through his victory over death at the crucifixion.[16] The other exception is the badly damaged scheme found at Bakewell in Derbyshire. Here, the remains of a narrative scene of the crucifixion fill what remains of the upper reaches of the cross-shaft and cross-head: Christ on the cross in the cross-head is flanked by Stephaton and Longinus with the cross itself set within a cross-hatched mound representing Golgotha (Fig. 2.4).[17] More normal was the tendency in the pre-Viking period to have the image of the crucifixion placed on the shaft of the monumental cross (as at Sandbach in Cheshire).[18] In some cases, however, the scheme was set at the base of the shaft: at the level of those venerating the cross: as at Hexham, Northumberland (mid-eighth century), or at Bradbourne in Derbyshire (early ninth century).[19]

VENERATING THE CROSS

These panelled carvings are particularly interesting in what they reveal about attitudes to the public display of the crucifixion in early Christian Anglo-Saxon England. Set at the base of one of the broad faces of the cross at Hexham, for instance, Christ, flanked by Stephaton and Longinus, wears a short loincloth and sports a prominent dished halo (Fig. 2.2). The lower cross-arm continues below the wide flat horizontal moulding that traverses it, into the mound of Golgotha. Above Christ, uniquely in the extant corpus of early Christian art, a large medallion is set over the upper cross-arm. Only the faint remains of what was once carved in very low relief on its surface are preserved: insufficient to draw any clear conclusions about what it once displayed. At least two possibilities present themselves: later, Carolingian images of the crucifixion do preserve – in the cross-arm above the nimbus of the crucified – medallions containing

16 Hawkes, 'The Rothbury Cross', pp. 77–80; Cramp, *County Durham and Northumberland*, pp. 217–19, 220–1, pl. 211,1206 (Rothbury 1); *contra* Mitchell, 'The High Cross', pp. 88.

17 Hawkes and Sidebottom, *Derbyshire and Staffordshire*, pp. 105–13, esp. pp. 108–9.

18 Hawkes, *Sandbach Crosses*, pp. 38–46; Bailey, *Lancashire and Cheshire*, pp. 102, 108–9, ill. 251 (Sandbach Market Place 1).

19 For Hexham, see Cramp, *Northumberland and County Durham*, pp. 176–7, pl. 173.914 (Hexham 2); for Bradbourne, see Hawkes and Sidebottom, *Derbyshire and Staffordshire*, pp. 147–52, esp. p. 151 (Bradbourne 1).

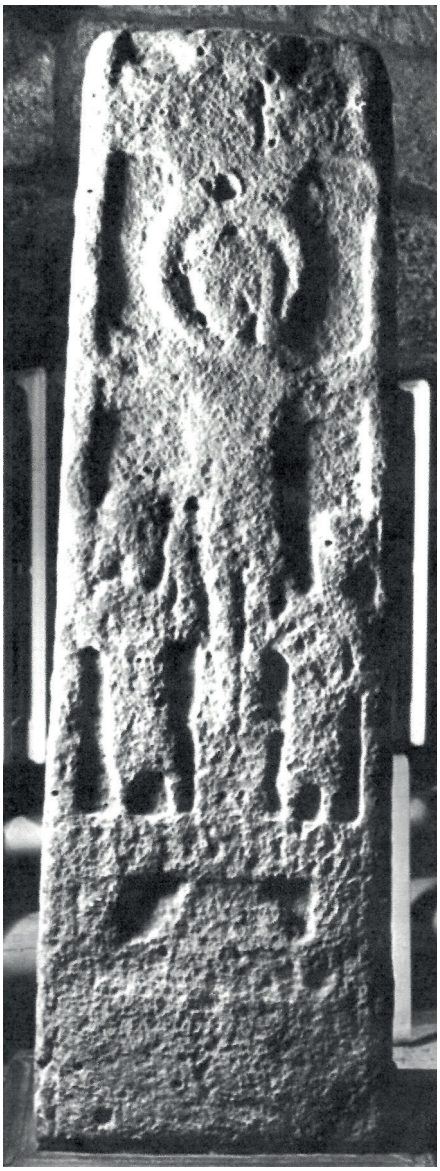

FIG. 2.2 CRUCIFIXION, HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND, CROSS-SHAFT, MID-EIGHTH CENTURY
(PHOTO: COPYRIGHT CORPUS OF ANGLO-SAXON STONE SCULPTURE, PHOTOGRAPHER T. MIDDLEMASS)

the sun and moon, while later Anglo-Saxon images preserve the Hand of God in the same space.[20] It is hard to imagine a single medallion containing the symbols of both the heavenly bodies, but it is not impossible to postulate that it might have displayed the *manus dei*. Although not included in images of the crucifixion the Hand of God was integral to schemes featuring Christ in Majesty where it was framed within a wreath or crown bestowed by the Father on the Son. The apse mosaic in San Stefano Rotondo, dated to the pontificate of Theodore I (642–649), for instance, depicts the Hand of God clasping a laurel wreath of immortality emerging from a starred hemisphere over the bust of Christ set in a medallion surmounting the *crux gemmata*. Produced less than a decade before Anglo-Saxon ecclesiasts first travelled to Rome, this iconographic scheme speaks to the majesty of Christ gained through the salvation won at the crucifixion.[21] Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop's first trip to Rome occurred *c*. 653–658. While it cannot be demonstrated unequivocally that the *manus dei* was similarly disposed above the nimbed head of Christ on the cross at Hexham, this frame of reference would not be irrelevant within the context of an image of the crucifixion where Christ does not hang on the cross, but stands triumphant in the death that was understood to be the means to everlasting life. Christ himself is disposed upright on the cross with his arms

20 For Carolingian examples with the symbols of the sun and moon, see the mid-ninth-century ivories from Metz in the V&A Museum, London (250-1867: Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings*, pp. 187–8, cat. 45), and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1974.266: Little and Husband, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, pp. 42–3, fig. 34), or the front cover of the later ninth-century Lindau Gospels (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 1) from Saint Gall (Plummer et al., *In August Company*, pp. 174–5). For a late Anglo-Saxon example with the Hand of God, see the eleventh-century Winchcombe Psalter (Cambridge, University Library MS Ff. 1. 23, fol. 88r) produced at either Winchcombe or Canterbury: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-FF-00001-00023/1 (accessed 26 November 2018).

21 Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop's first trip to Rome occurred *c*. 653–658.

extended at right-angles to his body, his head three-quarter turned to his right towards the spear-bearer. Presented at eye-level for anyone kneeling or prostrating themselves before the stone cross at Hexham, therefore, is a panel displaying Christ crucified on a cross set within the mound of Golgotha above which he stands triumphant in death and possibly crowned with immortality by the Hand of God.

At Bradbourne, the iconographic emphasis differs (Fig. 2.3). While Christ stands against the cross wearing a short loincloth, flanked by Stephaton and Longinus, as at Hexham, above the horizontal cross-arms are medallions containing the symbols of the sun and moon and deeply drilled holes pierce the hands and feet of Christ, as well as the eyes of the

FIG. 2.3 CRUCIFIXION, BRADBOURNE, DERBYSHIRE, CROSS-SHAFT, EARLY NINTH CENTURY
(PHOTO: JANE HAWKES)

three figures. While it is possible to imagine paste glass in the eyes, it may well be that metal insets were placed in the hands and feet of the crucified recreating the nails understood to have been used at the crucifixion. The iconographic significance of this feature would have complemented the figures of Longinus and Stephaton in keeping with the increased emphasis placed on Christ's humanity at the crucifixion, his suffering, and the redemptive nature of the event, confirmed at each re-enactment of the eucharist at the turn of the ninth century.[22]

Attitudes to the crucifixion at this time, however, as intimated in the Hexham panel, were also concerned to highlight Christ's divinity, and it was this that resulted in the reintroduction and prominence given to the symbols of the sun and moon included in depictions of the crucifixion – as is apparent in ivory panels featuring the crucifixion produced in Carolingian Gaul.[23] While these sometimes function as symbols of the darkness that fell over the face of the earth at the ninth hour, their presence was more usually intended to symbolise the cosmic nature of Christ's divine sovereignty, and in Carolingian art they were used as 'heavenly' witnesses to the divinity that made possible the victory over death at the crucifixion and the promise of resurrection and everlasting life.[24] Their prominence in the Bradbourne scene, along with that given to the nails piercing Christ's hands, point to the influence of such images and the liturgical responses lying behind them that were current from the early ninth century onwards.

Providing further insight into how such an image might have functioned is the closely related image of the crucifixion carved in the cross-head at Bakewell (Fig. 2.4), a monument produced by the same centre responsible for that at Bradbourne. The upper reaches of the image have been lost by the break in the stone, but it preserves the sponge- and spear-bearers, and the fact that the lower beam of the crucifix is inserted, almost in 'cross-section', into the mound that can be identified as the Hill of Golgotha. This is a detail that was present in Anglo-Saxon art by the eighth century (being included in the Hexham panel),[25] but gained greater currently in the Carolingian world during the ninth century; it was intended to highlight the association of the crucifixion with Golgotha, that geographical point understood to mark the centre of the world and the site of the Second Coming.[26] Other features, such as the use of the loincloth type of Christ and the presence of Longinus and Stephaton were intended – by means of Christ's naked torso; the bleeding of the wound inflicted by

22 Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, pp. 85–95.
23 See above, n. 20.
24 Schiller, *Iconography*, p. 109; Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, p. 277.
25 It was included in early Christian art, albeit not in images of the crucifixion, being preserved in the *c.* 400 apse mosaic of Santa Pudenzia in Rome (Schlatter, 'Interpreting the Mosaic', pl. on p. 277).
26 Schiller, *Iconography*, pp. 95–7.

FIG. 2.4
BAKEWELL CROSS-HEAD AND SHAFT WITH CRUCIFIXION, DERBYSHIRE, EARLY NINTH CENTURY (PHOTO: JANE HAWKES)

the spear; and the suffering implied by the vinegar-soaked sponge – to highlight the humanity of Christ at his sacrifice. At another level, however, the spear-bearer also served to refer to the Old Testament prophecy by Zechariah (12:10) of the piercing of the Messiah, which featured in the liturgy of the twelfth Sunday in Ordinary Time:

> And I will pour out upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace, and of prayers: and they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced: and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for an only son, and they shall grieve over him, as the manner is to grieve for the death of the firstborn.[27]

In early exegesis this was commonly associated with the exalted Christ of Revelation 1:7. In his homily on John 8:15–18 (on Christ's discussion with the Pharisees on judgement), for instance, Augustine, through the theme of judgement, links Christ's return at the Second Coming – foretold at his Ascension (Acts 1:9–11) – with Zechariah's prophecy:

> The Son alone will be apparent to the good and the bad in the judgment in the form in which he suffered and rose again and ascended into heaven […]. That is, in the form of man in which he was judged, [he] will be judge, in order that also that prophetic utterance may be fulfilled, "They shall look upon him whom they pierced".[28]

The two were also associated in discussions of baptism: the wound (the piercing of the spear-bearer) was regarded as a source of life shared by the baptised. Thus, in another homily on John (on the crucifixion, burial, and resurrection), Augustine links the piercing of Christ's side with the waters of baptism:

> "One of the soldiers with a spear laid open his side and forthwith came thereout blood and water." A suggestive word was made use of by the evangelist in not saying pierced […] but "opened" that thereby, in a sense, the gate of life might be thrown open from whence have flowed forth the sacraments of the Church without which there is no entrance to the life which is the true life.[29]

27 Et effundam super domum David et super habitatores Hierusalem spiritum gratiae et precum et aspicient ad me quem confixerunt et plangent eum planctu quasi super unigenitum et dolebunt super eum ut doleri solet in morte primogeniti.

28 Augustine, *Tractate XXXVI.12 in Iohan. 8.16–18*: sed quoniam bonis et malis in iudicio solus Filius appareabit, in ea forma in qua passus est, et resurrexit, et adscendit in caelum […] id est, in forma hominis in qua iudicatus est iudicabit, ut etiam illud propheticum impleatur: "Videbunt in quem pupugerunt". (Mayer, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini*, 331; trans. Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 213). See also *Tractate XX1.13* in Mayer, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini*, pp. 219–20.

29 Augustine, *Tractate CXX.2 in Iohann.19.31–35*: "Sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit, et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua". Vigilanti uerbo euangelista usus est, ut non diceret: Latus eius percussit, aut uulnerauit, aut quid aliud; sed: "aperuit"; ut illic

The scene at Bakewell therefore, although incomplete, preserves elements that point to a complex set of references incorporating the human and redemptive aspects of the crucifixion, the mysteries of the eucharist and baptism, and the general resurrection of the dead at the Second Coming at which time Christ will appear in magisterial triumph.[30]

What is interesting here, however, is the pair of figures in the panel below. While they have been explained as Mary and Elizabeth of the Visitation, their attitude suggests they might be better identified as a pair of figures venerating the crucifixion above. The iconography of the Visitation during the early Middle Ages conformed to two specific types: embracing and conversing. The former is most famously featured in an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon context on the upper stone of the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire, and the ivory Genoels-Elderen diptych now in Brussels.[31] The conversing type is also found in an Anglo-Saxon context in the early ninth century: at Hovingham in Yorkshire.[32] Neither of these distinctive iconographic types, however, conforms to the attitude of the figures at Bakewell whose bodies do not embrace, and whose arms, while raised, do not indicate conversation. Rather, the way their upper bodies incline towards the centre of the panel, and their arms extend up towards the panel above, as well as the way their heads appear to be tipped back, looking up at the crucifixion, are details that together suggest the figures can be understood to venerate Christ on the cross.

This said, figures adoring Christ in this manner are not a common feature of Christian art of the early medieval period. When the liturgical ritual of the *adoratio crucis* was illustrated (as a feature of early/mid-ninth-century Carolingian art) the adoring figures were depicted kneeling, as required in the Good Friday liturgy – and as might have been enacted before the crucifixion panel at the base of the cross-shaft at Bradbourne.[33] From the turn of the ninth century onwards, however, figures standing at the foot of the cross (generally, but not always Mary and John), tend to have their arms extended towards the cross in exaggerated gestures indicative of their role as witnesses – rather than mourners as was traditional in crucifixion iconography.[34] It is an attitude that, as Celia

quodammodo uitae ostium panderetur, unde sacramenta ecclesiae manauerunt, sine quibus ad uitam quae uera uita est, non intratur. (Mayer *Sancti Aurelii Augustini*, 661; trans. Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, p. 434).

30 Chazelle, *The Crucified God*, pp. 85–95.

31 Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, pp. 95–106; Webster and Backhouse, *The Making of England*, pp. 180–3, cat. 141.

32 Lang, *York and Eastern Yorkshire*, 146–8; Hawkes, 'Mary and the Cycle of Resurrection', pp. 254–56, 259.

33 E.g., San Vincenzo al Volturno, Italy, 826–843; Prayerbook of Charles the Bald 846–869, Munich, Residenz, Schatzkammer, fols 38v–39r (Schiller, *Iconography*, figs 346, 354); see also Mitchell, 'The High Cross', fig. 7:15; Chazelle, *The Crucified Christ*, pp. 155–8.

34 See, e.g., Stuttgart Psalter, 820–839, Württemburgische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Bibl. Fol. 23; engraved crystal, mid-ninth century; Otto von Weissenburg Gospel

Chazelle has demonstrated, reflected (in the visual arts) the increased emphasis placed on the veneration of both Christ and the cross as signs of the redemptive nature of the crucifixion during the course of the ninth century.[35] The presence of a pair of figures with their arms upraised, and their heads upturned towards the crucifixion in the upper reaches of the cross-shaft at Bakewell can thus be understood, in an early ninth-century context, as reflecting the iconographies of either the *adoratio crucis* (with the figures standing in adoration rather than kneeling), or bearing witness to the salvific nature of Christ, the cross and the crucifixion.

If the figures were intended to depict the *adoratio crucis*, their setting within the panel below the crucifixion (likely dictated by the confines of the monument), would have rendered their iconographic significance unclear if they had been depicted as kneeling; this pose would have removed them from the foot of the crucifix, the reference point of the ritual. However, standing with their heads and arms raised towards the cross, preserves the iconographic function of the *adoratio*, whilst also incorporating reference to the increased importance given to witnessing the redemptive nature of the crucifixion, and emphasising the role of sight in inspiring the compunction leading to contemplation.[36] The panel in this case thus forces the eyes of the viewer up in imitation of the pose of the two adoring or venerating figures, to the crucifixion scene in the upper reaches of the cross, into the cross-head itself. Set almost at head height, the position of these two figures encourages the viewer in the act of contemplation: of the form of the cross itself, and its varied significations in Christian and ecclesiastical frames of reference.

CONTEMPLATING THE CROSS

With this in mind it is perhaps worth turning, in closing, to consider the ways in which the viewer might have been encouraged in their act of contemplating the cross when confronted with images, such as the crucifixion, presented on the surface of these monumental sculptures. As noted, these carvings tended to be brightly coloured and inset with paste metal and glass. Arranged in frames up the length of the shaft, or enclosed within the cross-head, they thus functioned as painted panels with the 'added extra' of being presented in three-dimensions – of being carved in relief: or as Mitchell has termed it: 'a [vertical] iconostasis'.[37]

The bright colours and (occasionally) glittering nature of the free-standing monumental crosses would have had the immediate effect

Harmony, *c.* 868, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Schiller, *Iconography*, figs 355, 361, 363).

35 Chazelle, *The Crucified Christ*, p. 124.

36 Ibid., pp. 118–31.

37 Mitchell, 'The High Cross', p. 95.

of making them highly visible and immediate to those encountering them. This is perhaps best exemplified by the Rothbury cross which preserves holes in the arms of its cross-head which held candles or floating wicks. Here, standing within the church, the effect of glittering candlelight would have lent considerable impact to the carvings on the monument, not least of which is the visceral representation of the damned in hell at the base of the shaft, the paste-glass eyes reflecting light from the cross-head above, and the naked genitalia of the damned threatened by the jaws of the serpentine creatures whose coils entrap them and whose eyes would also have glittered in the light. The carvings would thus have presented a series of clearly visible images covering the surfaces of the monuments, the colours guiding the viewing experiences and facilitating understanding, in a fairly immediate way, of the significances of what was being scrutinised – insofar as the application of colour involves decision-making and the imposition of interpretative processes on the viewer.[38]

More than this, however, as I have argued elsewhere, the panelled arrangement of these polychromed carvings suggests that they were intended to function in a manner analogous to painted wooden panels: what today are referred to as 'icons'.[39] Such images that would have been encountered by Anglo-Saxon visitors to Rome and which were familiar in the region in both Canterbury (where a panel painting of Christ was processed into the city by Augustine and his mission in 597), and Northumbria, where they were displayed in Benedict Biscop's churches at Jarrow and Wearmouth.[40] Indeed, Bede himself makes the association between the painted wooden panel and sculptural panel in his commentary on the Temple where he turns to justify the use of images in sacred settings, and does so through the examples he saw before him on a daily basis at Jarrow and Wearmouth.[41] He concludes this passage with a rhetorical question:

> if it was not contrary to that same law [of the Old Testament] to make historiated panels [in the Temple] why should it be contrary to the law *to sculpture or to paint as panels* the stories of the saints and martyrs of Christ, who by their observance of the divine law, have earned the glory of an eternal reward? [my italics][42]

38 Hawkes, 'Reading Stone'.
39 Hawkes, 'Stones of the North', pp. 45–50.
40 Bede, *HE* I.25, pp. 75–7; Bede, *HA* 7, pp. 36–9.
41 Meyvaert, 'Bede and the Church Paintings'.
42 Bede, *De Templo* 2.824–843: Si eidem legi contrarium non fuit in eodem mari scalpturas histriatas […] quomodo legi contrarium putabatur si historias sanctorum ac martyrum Christi sculpamus siue pingamus in tabulis qui per custodiam diuinae legis ad gloriam meruerunt aeternae retributionis attingere (Hurst, *Bedae Venerabilis*, pp. 212–13; trans. Connolly, *Bede*, pp. 91–2).

Clearly, for Bede colour, paint, wooden panels and carved images were all interchangeable, being part of the visual world with which he was familiar and which needed to be confirmed as legitimate in sacred spaces. In other words, sculptured stone panels and painted wooden panels were synonymous with each other, implying that the painted panels carved in relief that were presented on the monumental crosses were likely to have functioned in a manner analogous to that associated with the painted wooden panels we refer to as 'icons'.

What this tells us is that while there was some familiarity with panel paintings, they were also expected to function as objects inducing compunction and so inspiring contemplation – the requisite attitude for achieving understanding of salvation. For, as Bede went on to argue in his commentary on the Temple in respect of images of the crucifixion, and repeating what he had said in his *History of the Abbots*: if it was permissible to create and view elaborate visuals in the Temple, surely it was within the law to display panel paintings in a church because 'their sight is wont […] to produce a feeling of great *compunction* in the beholder' [my italics].[43] In this he was, of course, writing within the tradition articulated by Gregory the Great a century earlier, a tradition that was still current in the works of Bede's contemporary, John of Damascus. In his letter to Serenus, the Bishop of Marseilles, in 601, Gregory had argued strenuously that the clergy to be encouraged to make it clear to the congregation:

> that from the sight of the event portrayed [in the image] they should catch *the ardor of compunction*, and bow themselves down in adoration of the One Almighty Holy Trinity. [my italics][44]

While Bede may not have been familiar with this letter, he was nevertheless responding to the iconoclastic tendencies of his own time within the parameters of a well-established iconophile tradition. Indeed, Peter Darby has recently argued that his commentary on the Temple, written not long before 731, was perhaps penned in part in response to Leo III's edict of 730 that apparently resulted in the portrait of Christ being removed from the Chalke Gate of the imperial palace in Constantinople, and Gregory III's responding synod in Rome

43 Bede, *De Templo* 2.832–833: Si enim licebat serpentem exaltari aeneum in ligno quem aspicientes filii Israhel uiuerent, cur non licet exaltationem domini saluatoris in cruce qua mortem uicit ad memoriam fidelibus depingendo reduci uel etiam alia eius miracula et sanationes quibus de eodem mortis auctore mirabiliter triumphauit cum horum aspectus multum saepe compunctionis soleat praestare contuentibus (Hurst, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, p. 212; trans. Connolly, *Bede*, p. 91).

44 Gregory I, *Sereno episcopi Massiliensi*: Et si quis imagines facere voluerit, minime prohibe, adorare vero imagines omnimodis devita. Sed hoc sollicite fraternitas tuo ammoneat, ut ex visione rei gestae ardorem compunctionis percipant et in adoratione solius omnipotentis sanctae trinitatis humiliter prosternantur. (Ewald and Hartman, *MGH Epistolae* 2, p. 271; trans. Martyn, *Letters of Gregory* 3, p. 746).

at which iconoclasm was formally condemned as heretical and its promoters excommunicated.[45]

Within this tradition Bede considered the function of such visuals as being intended to place 'ζώγραφία' (*epigrafia*) a 'living writing' (*viva scriptura*) before the eyes of the viewer because they could produce a feeling of great compunction.[46] In such acts of viewing, a person or event from the past was called to mind in the present, enabling the future significance of that event or person in the process of salvation to be recalled. The act of viewing thus enabled imagined movement through time and planes of existence: between past, present and future; between the (tangible, material) human, and the (intangible, uncontainable, immaterial) Divine.

That the carved relief panels of the Anglo-Saxon crosses can be accepted as being understood in this manner is certainly implied by Bede, who refers to the relief carvings of Solomon's Temple as appearing 'as if they were coming out of the wall', and to those viewing these reliefs as 'no longer learning the words and works of truth extrinsically from others' but having them 'deeply rooted within themselves, […] holding them in constant readiness [so that they] can bring forth from their inmost hearts the things that ought to be done and taught'.[47] In other words, the three-dimensional nature of relief carving was understood to enact those necessary processes of viewing imagery: compunction and contemplation.[48] It is, perhaps, no accident that the figure of the crucified in the cross-head from Rothbury defies the limits of the cross. His halo extends over both mouldings that act to outline and emphasise its confines, thus fracturing its shape, and theologically its function as a 'gallows', allowing it to become almost literally the means to life everlasting, crossing boundaries and extending beyond planar surfaces to bring the divine into the realm of the human viewer.

SUMMARY

In considering the early phenomenon of the monumental stone cross in Anglo-Saxon England we can see that even if these sculptures did not generally function as crucifixes bearing the figure of Christ crucified, they certainly depicted the event, as three-dimensional carvings, that

45 Darby, 'Bede'.

46 Bede, *De Templo* II.832–33: "Nam et pictura Graece ζωγραφία, id est uiua scriptura, uocatur", in Hurst, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, p. 213; trans. Connolly, *Bede*, p. 91.

47 Bede, *De Templo* I.1509–15: Quae uidelicet uirtutes cum in tantam electis consuetudinem uenerint ut uelut naturaliter eis esse uideantur insitae quid aliud quam picturae domus domini prominentes quasi de pariete exeunt quia uerba et opera ueritatis non adhuc ab aliis extrinsecus discunt sed ut sibimet infixa radicitus parata semper ab intimis cordis quae sunt agenda siue docenda proferunt (Hurst, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, 184–5; trans. Connolly, *Bede*, p. 54, following Darby, 'Bede', p. 419).

48 For overview, see e.g., Baker, 'The Evangelists in Insular Culture'.

were highly painted and multi-media in their presentation. And they provide us with evidence that the sculptured image of the crucifixion on the stone cross was understood to be something venerated, liturgically and devotionally. Bede makes it clear that the carvings were understood as painted panels, and so functioned in the same way. As relief carvings they thus emerged 'from the wall' to occupy the space inhabited by the viewer – a phenomenon exaggerated by the carvers – bringing the crucifixion, the means of universal salvation, literally into the plane of human existence, inspiring compunction and so enabling contemplation of Christ's salvific act on the cross and its implications: past, present and future.

3

THE MARK OF CHRIST IN WOOD, GRASS AND FIELD: OPEN-AIR ROODS IN OLD ENGLISH MEDICAL REMEDIES

KATE THOMAS

The importance of the sign and image of the Christian cross in medieval England cannot be underestimated. From the carpet pages of high-status manuscripts such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, into which the image of the cross is constantly woven,[1] to the simple and ephemeral sign of the cross made upon the body in prayer, there seems to have been no part of Christian spirituality during this era of which it was not an integral part.

The study of liturgy and religious practice in the early Middle Ages has received a great deal of attention in recent years, including devotion to the Holy Cross, which has been analysed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives in the three volumes of the Sancta Crux/Halig Rod project edited by Karen Jolly, Catherine Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer.[2] This series investigates subjects such as the blessings of crosses in English pontificals; Karen Jolly has also looked specifically at the use of the cross in healing and protection, noting how frequently its image is used in different kinds of ritual performance, for spiritual defence and healing rites, identifying folk medicine as being deeply indebted to Christian liturgy and devotion, both public and private.[3] Of particular relevance to

1 London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D IV.
2 Jolly et al., *Place of the Cross*; Jolly et al., *Cross and Cruciform*; Jolly et al., *Cross and Culture*.
3 Jolly, 'Cross-Referencing Anglo-Saxon Liturgy and Remedies'; Jolly, 'Tapping the Power of the Cross'.

this chapter, the different terms used for the cross are studied by Ursula Lenker, who explores the three ways of making the gesture of the sign of the cross, and examines in detail the specific meanings of the terms *rodetac(e)n*, *cristes mæl* and *cruc*.[4] This chapter will specifically focus on *cristes mæl* (Christ's mark) in the sense of a physical cross which can be touched and used, and in particular on five medical remedies in Old English medical collections. Of these, three do not specify from which materials the *cristes mæl* would have been made, but as they involve removing lichen from the cross, it is implied that they are permanent features of the landscape; all three of these remedies are for mental or spiritual afflictions. They will be compared with similar references to *cristes mælu* in charters, penitentials, and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, in which the cross is used as a marker of land, a place of prayer, and a site of healing. The remaining two remedies are not for human illnesses, but for problems affecting food sources: lung disease in cattle and infertility in fields. Unlike the first three, which are *Leechbook* recipes,[5] these two require the reader to create crosses from plant materials specifically for use in the remedy. Nevertheless, the use of the term *cristes mæl* indicates the assumption that these crosses, as much as more permanent representations of the cross, were regarded as effective for healing as well as for prayer, for the needs of the body as well as those of the soul. Far from being simply place-markers, monumental roods had a wide range of uses and meanings, and my work will expand the study of these roods beyond the perspectives of the other chapters in this volume to encompass medicine and protection.

The standard terms for 'cross' in Latin and Old English are *crux* and *rod* respectively: these are the ones used to refer to the cross itself upon which Christ suffered. In the anonymous Old English prose narrative of St Helena's finding of the True Cross, it is '*þa halgan rode*' (the holy cross) that Constantine sends Helena to seek: that is, the True Cross itself, as opposed to the '*tacen Cristes rode*' (sign of Christ's cross) which he sees in the sky before his victory.[6] The latter (*tacen*) is referred to in the Latin version as a '*signum Crucis Christi*'.[7] Both terms, the Latin *signum* (or the diminutive, *signaculum*) and English *rodetac(e)n*, are widespread, often referring to the sign and shape of the cross in general, a representation of Christ's True Cross and its spiritual power. Therefore, although the actual cross of Christ, the *rod* itself, is '*wide todæled. mid gelomlicum ofcyrfum to lande gehwilcum*' (widely divided with frequent cuttings-off to every land), the homilist Ælfric of Eynsham distinguishes this from its '*gastlice getacnung*' (spiritual significance), which is:

4 Lenker, 'Signifying Christ'.
5 London, British Library, Royal MS 12 D XVII. See below, pp. 37–8.
6 Bodden, *Finding of the True Cross*, pp. 70–1, 62–3.
7 Ibid., p. 62.

> *gode æfre á unbrosnigendlic. þeah þe se beam beo to-coruen. þæt heofonlice tacn þære halgan rode is ure gúðfana wiþ þone gramlican deofol. þonne we us bletsiað gebylde þurh god mid þære rode tacne. and mid rihtum geleafan.*
>
> [with God forever, always incorruptible, even though the tree may be cut apart. The heavenly sign of the holy cross is our banner against the cruel devil, when we bless ourselves boldly through God with the sign of the cross, and with the right belief.][8]

Elsewhere, Ælfric also considers it necessary to state that, while one should bless oneself with '[ð]*ære halgan rode tácn*' (the sign of the holy cross) and pray '*to ðære rode*' (to the cross), one does not pray to the '*treowe*' (tree) itself, but to the Lord who hung on the '*rode*'.[9] The latter term seems to refer to the True Cross upon which Christ hung, and *rodetacen* to a more abstract cross, a spiritual sign, which can be expressed in physical form. Therefore, the sign of the cross made upon the body is a '*rode tácn*' with which one blesses oneself, and a cross of wood or stone is also a *tacen* of the true *rod*.[10]

A homily for Rogationtide in the Vercelli Book, however, uses the word *rodetacen* in conjunction with another similar term:

> *Þonne wið þon gesette us sanctus Petrus syðþan 7 oðerra cyricena ealdormen þa halgan gangdagas þry, to ðam þæt we sceoldon on Gode ælmihtigum þiowigan mid usse gedefelice gange 7 mid sange 7 mid ciricena socnum 7 mid fæstenum 7 mid ælmessylenum 7 mid halegum gebedum. 7 we sculon beran usse reliquias ymb ure land, þa medeman Cristes rodetacen þe we Cristes mæl nemnað, on þam he sylfa þrowode for mancynnes alysnesse.*
>
> [Then St Peter and other church leaders put the three holy walking-days in place for us, on which we should serve God Almighty with appropriate journeying and with song and by seeking churches and with fasting and with almsgiving and with holy prayers; and we should carry relics with us around our land, the precious [*medeman*] sign of Christ's cross, which we call Christ's mark, on which he suffered for the salvation of humankind.][11]

The homilist writes that one should carry a portable *rodetacen* in procession, presumably one which was usually used for other liturgical purposes and 'which we call Christ's mark', *cristes mæl*.[12] Crosses of this

8 Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, p. 152. Unless otherwise stated I have used my own translations throughout.
9 Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, p. 136.
10 The making of the sign of the cross is discussed in Johnson, '*Crux Usualis*', pp. 80–95. For further discussion of *rodetac(e)n*, see Lenker, 'Signifying Christ', pp. 246–61.
11 Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 228. Translation, author's own, following Lenker who translates *medeman* as 'precious', on the assumption that this is related to *gemedemian*.
12 'Mæl' has a number of different meanings in Old English; Bosworth and Toller

kind, with various liturgical uses, appear to have been commonplace: one such is depicted in the preface to the *Liber Vitae* of Winchester's New Minster, in which King Cnut and Queen Emma are depicted placing a large golden cross upon the monastery's altar, looked upon by God and his angels (Fig. 4.1).[13] This is the sense in which the term *cristes mæl* is used in the early books of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which demonstrate how a portable liturgical cross, made of precious metals, such as the one donated to the New Minster by Cnut and Emma, could be termed a *cristes mæl*. When Augustine and his companions first arrive in Kent to preach to King Æthelberht, they bring with them a '*Cristes rode tacen, 7 … sylfrene cristes mæl … 7 anlicnesse Drihtnes Haelendes on brede afægde 7 awritene.*' (the emblem of Christ's cross, and … a silver crucifix … and a likeness of the Saviour drawn and coloured on a panel).[14] This *cristes mæl* and *onlicness* are then carried by the missionaries, '*swa swa heora þeaw is*' (as their custom was),[15] as they go to preach in the nearby town. It is not clear whether the *rode tacen* and the *cristes mæl* are one and the same thing: as has already been seen, the Vercelli Homilist refers to the *cristes mæl* as being a kind of *rode tacen*.

The second book of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* mentions a similar *cristes mæl* to that brought by Augustine, a '*micel gylden Cristes mæl 7 gylden caelic gehalgad to wigbedes þenunge*' (a large golden crucifix and a golden chalice, consecrated for altar service) belonging to Queen Æthelburh of Northumbria.[16] Here, again, a *cristes mæl* is made of precious metals and put to liturgical use, and it is clearly a portable one since she takes it with her to Kent after the death of her husband Eadwine.

Even so, *cristes mæl* is relatively little attested in surviving Old English when compared to *rodetac(e)n*: Lenker finds forty-four instances of the term in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, including spelling variants, and nine of *cristelmæl* or *crystelmæl*.[17] She concludes that the term had a far more restricted semantic register than *rodetacen*, referring only to crosses which could be seen and touched, or to the sign of the cross made by physically touching a part of the body; it does not appear in

translate 'mál' as 'a mole, spot, mark'. http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/022290; cf. http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/022137, http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/022138 and http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/022139 (accessed 30 April 2018).

13 London, British Library, Stowe MS 944, fol. 6r. For a further discussion of liturgical crosses, see Cragoe, 'Belief and Patronage', pp. 22–31. See also further below, Munns, p. 54.

14 Text and translation from Miller, *Old English Version*, pp. 58–9. It should be noted that the *rode tacen* and *cristes mæl* both refer to the same object: the Latin is 'crucem pro uexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Saluatoris in tabula depictam' (bearing as their standard a silver cross and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a panel). Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 75–6.

15 Miller, *Old English Version*, pp. 60–1.

16 Ibid., pp. 150–1.

17 Lenker, 'Signifying Christ', pp. 262–7.

theological works, but in charms, charters, and other texts which use early or colloquial Old English.[18]

In addition to these observations, it can be noted that the *cristes mæl* was apparently considered to be a relic in some situations, or that there is, at the very least, a suggestion that it should be carried in the processions alongside them. This is implied by the *Penitential of Archbishop Egbert*, which discusses the use of one for swearing oaths:

> *Gyf he on bisceopes handa oððe on mæssepreostes handa, oððe on diacones, oððe on weofode, oððe on gehalgedum cristes mæle [að swerige], and se að bið mæne, III gear fæste. Gyf he on ungehalgodum cristes mæle man swereð, an gear fæste.*
>
> [If he [swear an oath] on a bishop's hands, or on a deacon's, or on an altar, or on a consecrated mark of Christ, and the oath is false, may he fast for three years. If he swears falsely on an unconsecrated mark of Christ, may he fast one year.][19]

It is not clear whether the *cristes mæl* in question was within the church or not, or of what material it should be made, but it is treated as a holy object worthy of swearing oaths upon: a distinction is made between a blessed cross and an unblessed one, with the latter apparently still being regarded as holy, but less so. In other cases, the location of the *cristes mæl* outside the church is without doubt, as they are used in charters to show the boundaries of physical space. For example, a charter from 963, in which King Edgar grants land in Washington, Sussex, to Bishop Æthelwold, defines the land thus:

> *Ðis sind þa land gemæra to Wasingatuna. Ærst of horninga dene to bennan beorges, þonon ealdan cristesmæle, of þam cristes mæle to blacan pole.*
>
> [These are the land boundaries to Washington. First from *Horninga dene* to Wound Hill to the old mark of Christ; from the mark of Christ to the shining pool.][20]

In this instance, the cross is necessarily located outdoors, in the fields or along a road, and it must of course be a permanent one: it is already the *ealdan* (old) cross, and if it was used as a marker of land in a charter, then the writer must have been confident that it would remain in place for years to come. Indeed, a number of crosses still in situ in the landscape have been identified in the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* as boundary crosses – at, for example, Legs Cross (Bolam),

18 Ibid., pp. 266–70.

19 Mone, *Quellen und Forschungen*, 1, p. 523.

20 www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/714.html (accessed 8 April 2018). The Latin text of the penitential gives 'in cruce consecrata' (on a consecrated cross) and 'in cruce non consecrata' (www.ascorpus.ac.uk/ on an unconsecrated cross), without using a specialised word as does the vernacular version. Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutes, 2, pp. 290–1.

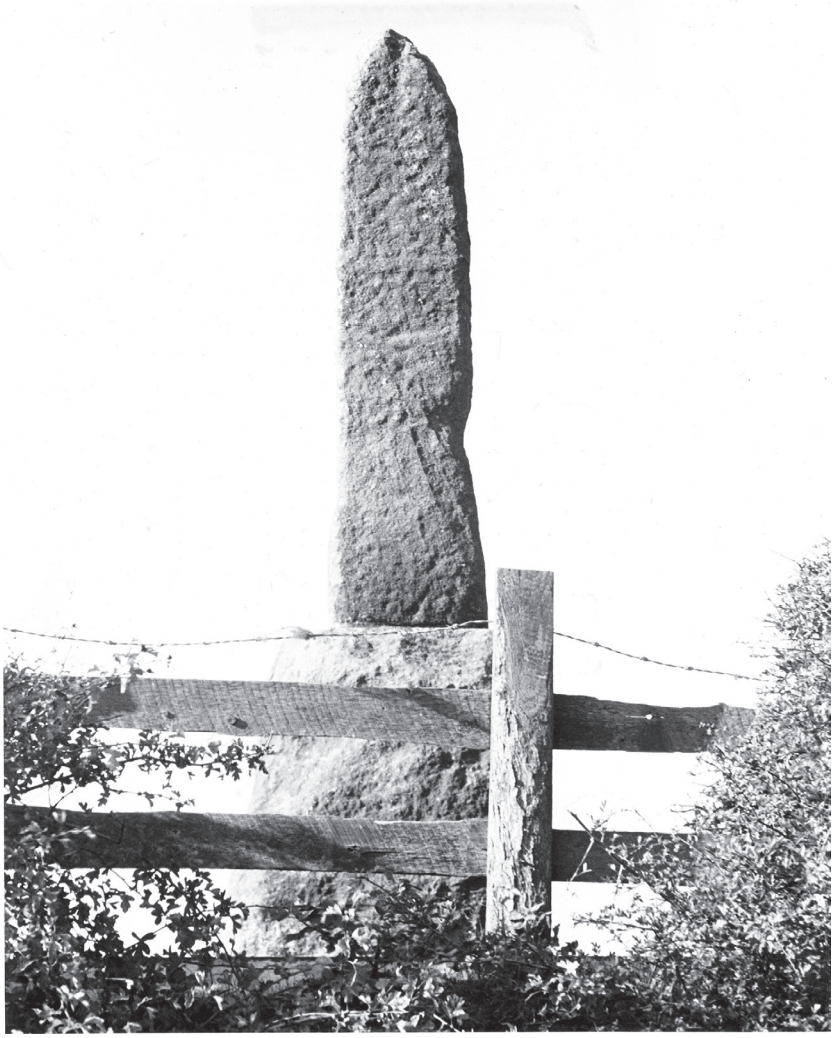

FIG. 3.1
LEGS CROSS, BOLAM, CO. DURHAM, (?) MID-TENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: COPYRIGHT CORPUS OF ANGLO-SAXON STONE SCULPTURE, PHOTOGRAPHER T. MIDDLEMASS)

Co. Durham (Fig. 3.1), Tynemouth and Ulgham (Northumberland), Whitehaven (Cumberland) and Crowland in Lincolnshire.[21]

In all of these instances, *cristes mæl* appears to denote a representation of the cross made in wood or stone, a permanent mark, whereas *rodetacen* can imply the sign of the cross in a more general sense. Lenker likewise notes that a *cristes mæl* could be the sign of the cross made upon the body.[22] This will be seen in Remedy 2 discussed below, and also in some medical remedies, such as a group found in *Leechbook II*, where, as in a few medical remedies found in other sources, 'cristes mæl' refers to an

21 www.ascorpus.ac.uk/ (accessed 15 September 2018).
22 Lenker, 'Signifying Christ', pp. 268–70.

immaterial sign of the cross.[23] The main part of *Leechbook II* is concerned with internal ailments and makes little use of spiritual healing such as the sign of the cross, so it is possible that this final group of remedies, as they were copied into the manuscript, have a common source, employing the term '*cristes mæl*' in this very particular sense.

Against this background, I wish to consider three medical texts which make use of *cristes mælu* made of stone, wood, or another plant material, and which, in order for the remedy to take effect, must have been outside in all weathers; all three of these texts are in the *Old English Leechbook*. This manuscript is solely dedicated to medical remedies, and falls into three distinct parts, each opening with a table of contents. Dated to mid-tenth-century Winchester, it is believed to have been written as part of the programme of vernacular education introduced by King Alfred.[24] Because of a colophon at the end of the second book,[25] the manuscript is often referred to as *Bald's Leechbook*: however, since the colophon is followed by a third section, *Leechbook III* is treated separately.[26] Furthermore, Richard Scott Nokes has argued that the second book – which in any case is more concerned with the workings of the internal organs, and how to treat their ailments, than are the other two books – also shows textual dissimilarities from the book which precedes it.[27] The three *Leechbook* remedies which I will examine in detail here are taken from the first and third books.

The three remedies can be summarised thus:

> *Remedy 1* (summarised from *Leechbook* I, ch. 63):
>
> For a fiendsick person: take herbs, lichen from a church [*ciricragu*] and lichen from a cross [*cristes mæles ragu*]; make them into a drink with ale; sing seven masses over the plants; the patient must sing psalms and then drink the drink out of a church bell; a masspriest must sing 'Domine sancte pater omnipotens' over the patient.[28]
>
> *Remedy 2* (summarised from *Leechbook* III, ch. 62):
>
> Against elfdisease [*ælfadl*]: take about a handful of four plants, lichen from a blessed cross [*gehalgodes cristes mæles ragu*] and incense; in a cloth, dip in holy water and sing three specified masses over the bundle; using hot coals, smoke the patient with

23 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, II, pp. 288, 290, 294. *Old English Dictionary Web Corpus*, fragmentary Boolean searches on 'cristes' and 'mæl', 'cristel' and 'mæl' and 'crystel' and 'mæl' (accessed 18 May 2018).
24 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 479; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 264; Nokes, 'Several Compilers', p. 54.
25 Cockayne, *Leechdoms II*, p. 298.
26 See, for example, Meaney, 'Variant Versions', pp. 236–7.
27 Nokes, 'Several Compilers', pp. 56–61.
28 Cockayne, *Leechdoms II*, pp. 136–8.

> the plants, by morning and night, singing a litany, the creed and the Paternoster, writing Christ's sign on all the patient's limbs [*writ him cristes mæl on ælcum lime*], and make a drink for him to drink before all his meals, of all the plants mentioned, similarly blessed, in milk with holy water.[29]
>
> *Remedy 3* (summarised from *Leechbook* III, ch. 62):
>
> Against elf-disease: after sunset on a Thursday, go to where *elene*[30] grows; sing the Benedicite, Paternoster and a litany; put a knife into the *elene* and leave; at dawn the next day, go to a church and sign yourself; without speaking to another person, return to the plant; sing the Benedicite, Paternoster and litany; dig up the plant with the knife still in it; return to the church; lay the plant and knife under the altar; when the sun is up, wash the plant and make it into a drink with bishopwort and lichen from a cross [*cristes mæles ragu*]; boil in milk and pour holy water over it three times; sing upon it the Paternoster, Creed, Gloria in excelsis and a litany; 'write' a cross around the drink on four sides with a sword; let the patient drink it.[31]

Each one of these remedies draws upon the inherent holiness of Christ's mark. It is also worth noting that another holy site, that of the church, is also necessary: lichen from a church is required, a church bell must be drunk from, holy water is needed, and masses must be sung. Remedy 3, in particular, requires a complex series of journeys between the place where a plant grows and the sacred space of the church and its altar.

Given that all three of these remedies require the lichen which grows upon a *cristes mæl*, it is reasonable to assume that they were made of wood or were the monumental stone crosses of which there are many surviving examples, with the lichen-covered crucifixion scene at the base of the early ninth-century cross at Bradbourne in Derbyshire providing a particularly apposite example (see Fig. 2.3).[32] Lichen from other sources is not unknown in other medical remedies. A wound salve in *Leechbook II* should be made with lichen from a hazel tree, and other plants, mixed with butter;[33].a cure for the bite of the *gongelwæfre*, a kind of spider, is made from the root of the plant *æferþe* and blackthorn lichen, mixed with honey;[34] and a remedy for lung disease requires birch lichen.[35]

29 Ibid., p. 344.
30 *Bosworth-Toller* identifies *elene* as the plant elecampane. http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/009213 (accessed 3 September 2018).
31 Cockayne, *Leechdoms* III, pp. 344–6.
32 See generally, www.ascorpus.ac.uk/; for further discussion of the Bradbourne Cross, see Hawkes above, pp. 21–2, 25.
33 Cockayne, *Leechdoms II*, p. 96.
34 Ibid., pp. 142–4.
35 Ibid., p. 266.

Notably, these remedies requiring secular lichen are all for physical ailments, whereas lichen sanctified by the cross of Christ is used in three remedies for spiritual illnesses, attributed, literally or figuratively, to a *feond* (enemy, but also, and perhaps making more sense here, devil) or an *ælf*.[36] It appears to be the case that the holiness of a cross-sign was considered necessary in cases of mental or spiritual illness. Therefore, although stone crosses are generally discussed in relation to their artistic style and use in worship and devotion, their importance in healing is not to be underestimated.

Indeed, these remedies remind us that we should consider monumental stone crosses in the English landscape not only as aids to devotion and teaching the faith, or as markers of places and boundaries, but also as useful objects – perhaps precisely through these uses as well as their shape – employed in the practical care of those suffering from spiritual dis-ease. Judging from the three remedies for physical maladies, it seems that lichen was believed to have curative properties in its own right; but, just as some Old English medical remedies require the physician to write healing words onto a paten and wash them off into a medicinal drink,[37] lichen could also act as a medium by which the sanctity of the cross was carried into the medicine. In this respect, it can be likened to a touch relic: just as an object which had contact with a relic or holy image could take on some of that relic or image's holy power, so too could the lichen which had contact with the stone or wooden cross.

Book Three of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* gives us a particularly vivid example both of the term *cristes mæl* and of an organic substance, associated with a monumental cross and charged with its holiness, being used in medicine. When Oswald fights against Cadwalla at Heavenfield, he raises a '*halige tacn Cristes rode*', which is then afterwards referred to as a '*Cristes mæl hraðe weorce geworhte*' (translated by Miller as 'crucifix … of hasty workmanship').[38] He and his followers set this object into a pit, heaping up clay around it so that it stands firm, before praying before it on bended knee.[39] Bede remarks that not only did they defeat their enemies, but this *gebedstowe* (place of prayer) remained a holy place, where miraculous healings occurred. Even '*gen to dæg*' (at the present day), he writes, people cut pieces from the wood of this *cristes mæl* and put it into water, which is drunk by or sprinkled upon sick people or livestock as a cure.[40] A further story is added about this cross: after hearing that one of his brothers is going to the cross, a monk named Bothelm asks him to bring back a piece

36 Although he notes that these two remedies tell us little about what *ælfe* were conceived to be, Alaric Hall (*Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*) has discussed remedies for various kinds of *ælf*-ailment; the two *ælfadl* remedies are mentioned on p. 105.
37 See, for example, the 'Holy Drink' remedy, lines 103–10. Pettit, *Lacnunga*, 1, p. 16.
38 Ibid., pp. 154–5.
39 Ibid., p. 154.
40 Ibid., p. 156.

of '*þæs arwyrðan treos*' (that precious tree) through which he may be cured. Instead of the wood itself, the monk brings back '*sumne dæl ealdes meoses, þe on þam halgan treo aweaxen wæs*' (a bit of old moss, grown on the holy timber), which does indeed heal Bothelm's injury.[41]

Bede's report of the Heavenfield cross suggests that a wooden cross, known as a *cristes mæl*, could be erected in a public place in a specific time of need, for the purposes of prayer, and then be allowed to remain standing permanently. Cutting pieces from the wood of this *cristes mæl* was an acceptable practice, and used to bring about physical healing, for farm animals as well as for humans, particularly when water was used to transfer the holiness of the cross to the patient – or, in the case of Bothelm, the moss which grew upon the cross. The crosses mentioned in the *Leechbook* remedies likewise depend upon the presence of a holy sign of Christ's cross, for public use and in the open air, upon which lichen has been allowed to grow.

The *cristes mælu* discussed so far appear to have been wooden or perhaps stone crosses which were a permanent feature of the landscape, erected for the purposes of thanksgiving, prayer and marking land, but which were also used for healing purposes. However, other medical recipes required the physician to create a temporary cross specifically for use in the remedy: in the final section of this chapter, I will examine some of these in detail, in order to demonstrate the nuances of the term *cristes mæl*. One such remedy is found in London, British Library Harley MS 585, a manuscript which dates from the early eleventh century, and contains Old English versions of the medical texts known as the *Herbarium Apulei*, the *Medicina de quadrupedibus*, and a unique collection known as the *Lacnunga*. This is made up of just under two hundred remedies for medical ailments, and occasionally for the illnesses of livestock. Like *Leechbooks* I and III, these make use both of healing herbs and also of Christian liturgy, prayer, poetry and ritual.

> *Remedy 4* (summarised from *Lacnunga*, no. 133: for lung disease in cattle):
>
> Pound a certain plant and put into holy water, and put into the cattle's mouths. Burn the same plant with fennel, *cassuc*, taffeta and frankincense, and smoke onto the cattle. Make five crosses from *cassuc* [*Weorc Criste[s]mæl of cassuce fifo*], place them on each side of the cattle and in the middle of them. Sing Psalm 33, *Benedicite*, litanies and Paternoster around them; sprinkle holy water around them, burn frankincense and taffeta around them, and tithe a tenth of the cattle's value to the church: do this three times.[42]

41 Ibid., pp. 156–7. For more about the context of Bede's narrative, see Wood, 'Constantinian Crosses'.
42 Lines 799–808. Pettit, *Lacnunga*, 1, p. 96.

The final remedy for discussion here appears on the final leaves of a manuscript of the epic poem *Heliand*.[43] Generally known as the *Æcerbot* ('field remedy'), this was added to the manuscript in the first half of the eleventh century. Covering two and a half folios of the manuscript (fols 176r–178r), this consists of a complex and detailed ritual to be undertaken when a field does not produce crops, or if it has been harmed by witchcraft.

> *Remedy 5* (summarised from London, British Library Cotton MS Caligula A VII, fols 176r–178r):
>
> If your field is not growing well, or has been harmed by witchcraft: take four pieces of turf from its corners; gather ingredients, including milk from each kind of animal kept on the land, and part of each tree and plant on the land, except the one known as *glappe*, and add holy water to them. Drip holy water into the places from which the turf was taken, saying '*Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terre, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti sit benedicti*' (grow and multiply and fill the earth, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit) and the *Paternoster*. Take the four pieces of turf to church, let a mass-priest sing four masses over them, and return them to their places before sunset. Have wooden crosses made of *cwicbeam* (*hæbbe him gæworht of cwicbeame feower cristes mælo*) and write the names of the evangelists on them; lay these in a pit and say '*Crux Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Sanctus Iohannes*' (Cross Matthew, cross Mark, cross Luke, cross John) and, each nine times, the '*Crescite*' formula and the *Paternoster*. Looking eastwards, say a prayer or charm (*gealdor*) in English to God and the Virgin, with litanies, the *Tersanctus*, *Benedicite*, *Magnificat* and *Paternoster*, and commend it to Christ, the Virgin and the cross (*þære halgan rode*). Take an unknown seed from beggars and put it upon the plough; bore a hole in the plough and put incense, fennel, holy soap and holy salt into it; and say some words addressed to God and *Erce eorþan modor* (Erce, mother of earth); drive the plough and say more words to *folde, fira modo*r (earth, mother of humans); make a loaf of many grains, milk, and holy water, and bury it under that first furrow, saying some more words addressed to God, finishing with *Crescite* and the Paternoster again.[44]

These two remedies, both of which concern the health of one's food sources rather than of human beings, have certain elements in common. Both make use of holy water and liturgical prayer; both end with a kind of sacrificial offering – the tithe in the cattle treatment, the loaf in the field remedy – and both require the practitioner to make crosses from plant matter and lay them down in a symbolic manner. In other respects, they are considerably different. Remedy 4 is notable for how little input

43 London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A VII.
44 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, pp. 398–404.

it requires from others, until the cattle are valued and the tithe given to the church. The psalm and prayers can be sung by the physician, or by whoever is seeking to heal the cattle, without requiring the aid of a priest. Remedy 5, on the other hand, requires the help of a priest, the cooperation of the beggars, and is in general such a demanding ritual that it may well have required the participation of several people. In his brief but thorough article on the meaning and practice of this rite, Niles notes that its main practitioner must have been an ecclesiastic, on the grounds that he must know not only the *Paternoster*, but also the *Tersanctus*, *Benedicite* and *Magnificat*;[45] even so, he or she is not instructed to sing the masses, but to leave this to a '*mæsse preost*' ('mass-priest').[46]

Likewise, Remedy 4 directs the reader to make the crosses him- or herself: '*Weorc Criste*[*s*]*mæl*'. Remedy 5, on the other hand, has '*hæbbe him gæworht*', with its passive implications: someone else is expected to make the crosses for the person in charge of performing the remedy. In both cases, the crosses do not need to be sacrificed or damaged in any way, but merely laid upon the ground: this allows for the possibility that they may have been reused, unless the making of the crosses themselves was considered part of the healing ritual.

The materials used for each cross can only be identified tentatively. *Cassuc*, used in Remedy 4, is apparently something which can be burned, and which can also be used to fashion a cross. The term appears with modest frequency in Old English medical literature: the *Old English Corpus* gives thirteen instances of the word, all in medical remedies or charms, including the two instances in Remedy 4.[47] It is noteworthy that Pettit's thorough parallel-text edition of *Lacnunga*, which offers translations of plant names wherever possible, leaves the name untranslated, indicating that he is unable to give a definitive identification; meanwhile, *Bosworth-Toller* translates it as '[h]assock, hassock-grass, rushes, sedge or coarse grass',[48] a logical choice, since such a plant would be easily pliable into a cross, much like a Palm Sunday cross today. The term *cwicbeam*, literally meaning 'living tree', appears three times in the *Leechbook*, once in *Lacnunga*, where it appears in a bone salve recipe,[49] and in three glosses, where it translates *cariscus*;[50] Pettit again declines to translate *cwicbeam*, although *Bosworth-Toller*'s Old English Dictionary tentatively offers 'a sort of poplar?'[51] Niles, on the other hand, notes that the term has been translated as aspen or rowan.[52]

45 Niles, 'Æcerbot Ritual', pp. 49–50.
46 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, p. 398.
47 *Old English Dictionary Web Corpus*, fragmentary simple search on 'cassuc' (accessed 9 April 2018).
48 http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/005879 (accessed 9 April 2018).
49 Line 143. Pettit, *Lacnunga*, 1, p. 20.
50 *Old English Dictionary Web Corpus*, fragmentary simple search on 'cwicbeam' (accessed 9 April 2018).
51 http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/006959 (accessed 10 April 2018).
52 Niles, '*Æcerbot* Ritual', p. 50.

This discussion of the term *cristes mæl*, with respect to material culture, has focused on its use in medical texts, but in doing so has shed some light both upon its meaning in medieval England and also upon the use of material objects in healing. Far from being used only for devotional purposes, the cross was a multivalent symbol with many purposes, including healing the sick and finding things which were lost, and the number of terms for it, in both Latin and English, reflects these multiple meanings. Furthermore, the cross was just one of the many holy items which could be called upon in order to bring a patient back to health, including holy water, oil, salt and sacramental wafers. Any representation of Christ's cross could be a *rodetacen*; the term *cristes mæl* appears to refer to a specific kind of *rodetacen*, a physical representation of the cross in some kind of material substance, which could be put to all kinds of practical uses, liturgical, medical, or simply to mark land. *Cristes mæl* is a relatively rare term in Old English, and one which occurs in a relatively narrow range of texts, particularly medical handbooks and charters. Three remedies in the *Leechbook* require the medical practitioner to use the lichen which grows upon a *cristes mæl*: this indicates that at least some such crosses were found in the open air, made of wood or stone. All of these remedies are for mental or spiritual illnesses of some kind, and make use of liturgical chant, and generally holy water and the sacred space of the church. It appears that the lichen was used as a kind of carrier of the cross's sanctity; that, having grown upon the sign of Christ's cross, it had absorbed some of its holiness and become a form of secondary relic, and that this was useful for spiritual afflictions, as unblessed lichen was sometimes used in remedies for physical illnesses.

The occurrences of *cristes mæl* in penitentials, charters, and in the vernacular *Historia Ecclesiastica* give some context to these references. A *cristes mæl* could be either consecrated or not; one could swear oaths upon it, as one would upon the hands of a bishop or priest, or on an altar; it could be silver or golden, and used in liturgical processions; and it could be a wooden cross, standing in the open air, from which one might cut pieces for use in healing; it also had the function of a local place-marker. However, a *cristes mæl* need not always have been a permanent fixture of the landscape or of the church. Vernacular medical literature also employs the term to refer to the sign of the cross made upon the body, or upon material crosses which were created specifically for the purposes of a supplicatory ritual. Two instances of the latter are found in the medical literature, each one in a ritual for protecting a source of food. The practitioner must make crosses, or have them made, from some kind of grass or wood, and sing liturgical chants and Paternosters, and lay them down in a symbolic manner which in itself recalls the shape of the cross. Whether the medical practitioner uses a permanent cross or creates one for the purpose of

the remedy, in both cases the power of the True Cross, of which the *cristes mæl* was an expression, is considered effective against anything that might trouble an individual or the community, restoring human beings, cattle and fields to full health.

4

TWELFTH-CENTURY ENGLISH ROOD VISIONS: SOME ICONOGRAPHIC NOTES

JOHN MUNNS

The twelfth century witnessed some of the most fundamental changes in depictions of the crucified Christ in north-west Europe. Images of Christ standing triumphantly on the cross yielded dominance to those of him suffering; depictions of Christ crucified with three nails rather than four made their first appearances; as, arguably, did those showing him crucified with the crown of thorns on his head.[1] Where the patterns and paces of these changes are attested to at all by the surviving artistic record, they are so only partially. This discussion, therefore, will explore an alternative source of evidence, written descriptions of visions of the crucified Christ, and consider the extent to which they could be used to increase our understanding of developments in English twelfth-century crucifixion iconography.

It has not been unusual for scholars to suppose that the details of the images described in medieval visions and apparitions, of which there are a good number, might represent a sort of subconscious *ludus* – a kind of involuntary, imaginative riff – on familiar imagery first seen by the visionary in the material world around them.[2] Neither is it entirely an assumption. Just as Steven Justice has made a very good case for a greater awareness of psychological complexity, albeit unlabelled and unrefined,

1 I have traced these developments in more detail in Munns, *Cross and Culture*.

2 The mind's eye and its relationship to the craftsman's creation has been explored, *inter alia*, by Carruthers (e.g. *The Book of Memory*); Hahn (e.g. 'Vision'); Nolan (e.g. *Gothic Visionary Perspective*); and the essays in Hamburger and Bouché, *The Mind's Eye*, esp. those by Hamburger, Carruthers and Kessler. Further examples appear in the notes below.

amongst medieval men and women with regard to miracles, so we should accord them greater credit than some sometimes do when it comes to relating the sight of the eyes to the sight of the mind (or soul).[3] As others have noted, when the mother of the French Benedictine Guibert of Nogent (*c*. 1055–1124) had a vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary, she was entirely aware that it was an image of the Virgin of Chartres that she saw: it was how she recognised her.[4] Similarly, a monk from Monte Cassino knew that it was the archangel Michael that visited him, we are told, because he had learned the saint's likeness from a painting.[5] These accounts go further than simply recognising the connection: it is the fact that the visions resemble images known to the visionaries in the material world that helps them to accept their visions' authenticity.

There is probably nothing particularly special about either England or the High Middle Ages here. We have already heard from Guibert's beloved mother in Oise in northern France, and from a visionary monk of Monte Cassino. With regard to crucifixion imagery, Rupert of Deutz is just one non-English visionary writer amongst many who is instructive.[6] Going back to the earlier Middle Ages, Æthelwulf's visions of altars surmounted by great crosses in *De abbatibus* give us a possible ninth-century source,[7] and, although known only from a later record, accounts of this sort of visionary authentication by reference to real-world imagery may be discerned as early as the seventh century. William of Malmesbury records that Mellitus, first bishop of London (d. 624), accepted that a messenger sent from St Peter was genuine because the messenger's physical description of the saint matched that known to the bishop '*ex pictura*'.[8] Twelfth-century England does, however, prove particularly fruitful in all this, and largely for the reasons Antonia Gransden outlined in her 1972 essay on realistic observation: first the Conquest and then the Anarchy made monastic writers in particular nervous about the security of the *status quo*, leading

3 Justice, 'Did the Middle Ages Believe?'.

4 Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua sive monodiarum suarum libri tres*, PL 156, col. 871C. The point (also using Guibert's mother as an example) is explored at more length by Aston in '"Laymen's Books"', pp. 202–4. See also Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, pp. 33–4; Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 52.

5 Recounted by Abbot Desiderius, *On the Miracles of St Benedict*: vidit per visionem beatum Michaelem archangelum, cuius vultum pictura eum docente cognoverat. Cited in van der Grinten, *Elements of Art Historiography*, p. 75; Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, p. 33.

6 Rupert of Deutz, *De gloria et honore Filii hominis*, in Hacke, *Rupertus Tuitiensis*, pp. 382–3. The work dates from 1127; the vision perhaps twenty years earlier. See also Lipton '"The Sweet Lean of His Head"'.

7 Æthelwulf, *De Abbatibus*, lines 710–38, in Campbell, *Æthelwulf*, pp. 56–9.

8 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* II.73.5, in Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 225. It could be argued that the 'picture' may be the vision Mellitus had shortly before rather than a material image, nevertheless, both van der Grinten, and Winterbottom and Thomson in their edition and translation, assume the latter, which is also the most obvious translation of the Latin. A similar story concerning St Peter is attributed to Pope Gregory VII in a twelfth-century *vita*. See van der Grinten, *Elements of Art Historiography*, pp. 75–6; Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, p. 33.

to the writing of histories to establish their rights and authority. By the later part of the century, this enthusiasm for the detailed chronicling of events for posterity had been augmented by what Gransden calls 'interest in man as an individual and an objective curiosity about man's environment' fostered by the study of the Classics.[9] To this can be added the increased enthusiasm for both affective devotional practice and the eremitic life, which led to a wealth of visions and mystical experiences on which chroniclers could practice their penchant for descriptive detail, occasionally even recording a vision of their own. Gerald of Wales, for example, tells how, on 10 May 1189, he saw Christ sitting in majesty amidst the heavenly host 'as he is customarily depicted' (*sicut depingi solet*).[10] Finally, the centralisation of the processes of saint-making in the twelfth century, and the increase in requirements for miracles and their proofs, only added to the market for hagiography. Regardless of whether the actual instances of visions and miracles increased or not, the motivation to record them certainly did.

Here, therefore, I want to look at a number of these accounts of visions and explore some of the insights they might offer into the nature and place of crucifixion imagery in twelfth-century England. In all this, of course, we need to exercise a proper historical caution. What is the nature of the account? Written by whom, for whom, when, and to what end? It is right to note that there can be a relationship between material and visionary images, but to assume that there *must* be is a step too far.[11] These accounts will rarely furnish us with an unambiguous insight, but that does not mean they can tell us nothing of use, and it certainly should not stop us from interrogating them.

CHRIST CRUCIFIED WITH THE CROWN OF THORNS

It is reasonably well established that the proliferation of images of the crucified Christ wearing the crown of thorns, in the West at least, can be linked to the acquisition of the relic of the crown and its transportation to Paris by Louis IX of France in 1238–1239. Estimations about the precise level of the causal relationship have varied. For some, like Jaroslav Folda, this is a 'new iconography invented in Paris at the Sainte Chapelle for Louis IX by 1248'.[12] Others, like Gertrud Schiller, have been more cautious, acknowledging the relic's role in such images' increased popularity from the mid-thirteenth century, but allowing for their probable emergence in

9 Gransden, 'Realistic Observation', p. 42.

10 Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione*. in Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 628; see also, Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, p. 34.

11 As noted further below, some of those scholars have explored the power of alternative agents in the cultivation of visionary images. See, for example, Hahn (as n. 21) on the role of relics.

12 Folda, *Byzantine Art*, p. 86. The Sainte Chapelle was consecrated on 26 April 1148.

the decades before Louis' acquisition.[13] Surviving images of the crucified Christ crowned with thorns before the 1240s, however, are hard to find: he is almost always shown either bare-headed, or crowned with a royal crown, as *Christus triumphans*. Only on a few occasions has a claim been advanced for a surviving Western image of the crucified Christ wearing the crown of thorns predating the late 1230s, but none is entirely convincing; certainly none is secure. I am aware of three in ivory, and one in enamel, but in each case either the dating is doubtful or the iconography is, which is to say that it is probably not a crown of thorns being portrayed.[14] The earliest image unambiguously showing Christ crowned with thorns on the cross, and which can confidently be assigned to Britain and Ireland, survives now only in the photographic record, the manuscript having perished in a fire in 1904.[15] The miniature probably dated to the early 1240s and so fits neatly enough into the narrative of the Louis-relic theory.[16]

Given all this, the following passage in Roger of Howden's *Annals* becomes significant. Roger, who died in 1201 (so providing a *terminus ante quem* for the passage), is describing a vision of the crucified Christ appearing in the heavens above Dunstable in 1188:

13 Schiller, *Iconography*, p. 146. Schiller claims the crown of thorns began to appear as early as the late twelfth century but offers no examples. She also acknowledges in a footnote that they may be later additions.

14 The four examples are: (a) a late tenth-century reliquary in London (V&A, no. 7943–1862); (b) the so-called Oslo corpus (Museum of Applied Art); (c) a fragment of an ivory frieze or crucifixion group, now in Limerick (Hunt Museum, no. BM 006); and (d) a metal corpus in Ludwigshafen am Rhein (Wilhelm-Hack-Museum, no. 457/1). The tenth-century ivory figure (a) clearly pre-dates Louis by a good distance, but the twisted band on Christ's head shows no sign of thorns and is almost certainly either a stylised version of a laurel wreath or the filet (gold band) often found in pre-Conquest English manuscript crucifixions. Williamson, in the most recent major work on the V&A's ivories (*Medieval Ivory Carvings*, p. 239), calls it a 'rope crown'. The Oslo corpus (b) was once associated with the Ivory 'Cloisters Cross' in New York and the association threw some scholars. See, for example, Lasko (*Ars Sacra*, p. 151), who suggests a date for both the cross and the corpus in the second quarter of the twelfth century on the basis of their supposed, but now doubtful, relationship to the Bury Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 002I). The connection between the cross and the corpus has since been disproved by Parker and Little, *The Cloisters Cross*, pp. 253–60. The figure's beard is stylised in a retrospective fashion, but Parker and Little are surely correct that the almost-certainly crossed feet and the angle of the arms, as well as the crown, are thoroughly 'Gothic' and point to a thirteenth-century date. For an alternative, but not widely accepted view of the positioning of the feet, see Blindheim, 'Scandinavian Art', pp. 434–5. The Limerick fragment (c) is more difficult to dismiss, but it is small and its condition sub-optimal: it may be twelfth-century, it may be later. Something similar can be said of the corpus in Ludwigshafen am Rhein (d). Examples from outside Western Europe are similarly rare, but there is evidence that some at least existed before the twelfth century. Particularly notable is a crucifixion icon at St Catherine's Monastery in Sinai that has been tentatively dated to the eighth century; see Weitzmann, *Monastery of St Catherine*, pp. 61–4; Corrigan, 'Text and Image'.

15 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS L.IV.25, fol. 10; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 67 (the crucifixion miniature is reproduced as ill. 205).

16 Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, p. 113.

> … on the vigil of Saint Lawrence the Martyr, being the second day of the week, a thing took place very wonderful to be mentioned and glorious to be seen; for, about the ninth hour of the day, the heavens opened, and, in the sight of many, both clergy and laity, a cross appeared, very long and of wonderful magnitude, and it appeared as though Jesus Christ was fastened thereto with nails, and crowned with thorns; His hands also were stretched out on the cross, and the wounds of His hands, and feet, and sides were bloody, and His blood was flowing down, but did not fall upon the earth. This appearance lasted from the ninth hour of the day till twilight.[17]

Roger is writing four decades or more before Louis's purchase of the relic, and the event he records pre-dates the crown's arrival in Paris by half a century. The vision he describes was a communal one; the iconographical details, however, seem to rely on Roger's own imaginative resources.

Roger was a clerk in the service of Henry II. After Henry's death in 1189 he joined the service of Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham. He was at Hugh's deathbed in 1195, and thereafter seems to have been more routinely resident in his benefice of Howden, in East Yorkshire, until his own death in 1201/2.[18] During all this time, he wrote. It is generally accepted now that he wrote two chronicles. The first, the *Gesta* or *Deeds of kings Henry II and Richard I*, covers his royal service from 1169 until 1192. The second, his *Chronica* or *Annals*, covers the history of England from the time of Bede, and he was still working on it at his death. For the years 1169–1192 Roger's *Annals* basically constitute a slightly edited version of the *Gesta*. Both works mention the vision at Dunstable; the *Gesta* mentions it twice and the *Annals* once.[19] It was the *Gesta*'s first, longer account that Roger transposed into the *Annals*. The two passages are almost identical, but for one significant exception: the account in the *Annals* describes the crucified figure in the vision as wearing the crown of thorns; the earlier account in the *Gesta* does not. Even here, we have to be cautious. The key words '*et spinis coronatus*' are omitted from the earliest manuscript copy of Roger's *Annals*,[20] and so they may be a still later interpolation. Stubbs, however, suggested that the Bodleian manuscript, whilst written

17 [Eodem anno] quoddam mirabile dictu, sed gloriosum visu … in vigilia Beati Laurentii martyris, feria secunda, apud Dunestaple: videlicet quod circa horam diei nonam aperti sunt cœli, et multis videntibus, tam clericis quam laicis, apparuit crux quædam, longa valde et miræ magnitudinis, et ut videbatur Jesus Christus in ea clavis confixus et spinis coronatus; manus autem ejus extentæ erant in patibulo, et vulnera manuum et pedum et lateris ejus sanguinolenta erant, et sanguis ejus defluebat, sed non cecidit in terram. Erat autem hæc apparitio continua ab hora diei nona usque in crepusculum. Roger of Howden, *Annals*, trans, Riley, *Roger of Howden*, 2, p. 98.

18 Corner, 'Roger of Howden'.

19 Roger's *Gesta* was previously attributed to Benedict of Peterborough; for the references to the vision at Dunstable, see Stubbs, *Gesta*, 2, pp. 47, 60. For the *Annals*, see n. 17 above, and for the Latin text, Stubbs, *Chronica*, 2, p. 354.

20 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. Misc. 582.

by a professional scribe, probably belonged to Roger and that the marginal corrections in are in his hand, and this is a view on which Roger's more recent biographer has doubled down.[21] It seems, therefore, that Roger was reworking his text until the end and probably through a variety of manuscript copies, including some now lost.

Of Roger's two works, his *Gesta* is the more immediate record. At points it expresses the author's frustrations with contemporary events in a way that seems to attest to both his personal and temporal proximity to them. Roger's patron, Henry II, died in 1189 and the following year Roger joined the crusade of his heir, Richard I. When he returned from Palestine in 1191, he almost immediately wound up his *Gesta* – he was no longer witness to the day-to-day workings of the court – and started work on the more ambitious *Annals*. All of which is to say that between his original accounts of the Dunstable vision (*sans* crown of thorns), and their retelling in the *Annals* (replete with crown of thorns), Roger had been on Crusade. What led Roger (or an early redactor) to interpolate the singular detail of the crown of thorns into a passage otherwise copied almost word-for-word from his earlier work? Could it be something seen in the East; that the iconographic tradition travelled from there? Or could it be, as Cynthia Hahn implies, that the enthusiasm for and distribution of passion relics themselves was enough to effect iconographic changes in visual imagination?[22] Whatever the reason, Roger's *Annals* may offer the earliest English account of an image of the crucified Christ wearing the crown of thorns.

I say 'may', not only out of deference to the possibility of the crown's later interpolation into Roger's account, but also because there is a second account of an image of the crucified Christ wearing the crown of thorns of approximately the same date. The *Vision of the Monk of Eynsham* records the events of Good Friday 1196, when the eponymous monk, Edmund, was discovered unconscious in the abbey's chapter house.[23] Much to everyone's undoubted relief, he revived and recounted a spectacular vision of the other world. The account of the *visio* was written by Adam of Eynsham, who there is reason to believe was Edmund's biological brother as well as his brother in the cloister. Adam became prior, and eventually abbot of Eynsham, and is best known as the hagiographer of his patron, St Hugh of Lincoln.[24] The experience, the

21 Stubbs, *Chronica*, 1, p. lxxiv. Corner, 'Roger of Howden', describes the Bodleian manuscript as 'an attempt at the compilation of an authoritative version which … degenerates into a working copy' and 'in part, an autograph'. A similar hand annotated another late twelfth-century copy of the *Annals*, now London, British Library, MS Arundel 69. Neither the Bodleian nor the Arundel manuscript, however, appears to be an author's draft. In both cases the annotator's hand differs from that of the main scribe.
22 Hahn, '"The Sting of Death"'; also Hahn, *Reliquary Effect*, pp. 122–30.
23 Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary*, pp. 289–90.
24 Farmer, 'Adam of Eynsham'.

author and the nature of the record in this case are all very different from those of Dunstable, Roger and his *Annals*.

For the historian of twelfth-century crucifixion imagery, the *visio* offers a wealth of material. When Edmund reaches the gateway to the heavenly paradise, for example, it is the cross that he sees acting as portcullis, blocking or opening up the way to the garden beyond.[25] Before he gets that far, however, and of more immediate interest, he visits the earthly paradise. There he sees the dead themselves experiencing, in turn, their own vision of the crucified Christ, 'his body livid and bloody from scourging, dishonoured by spittle, and crowned with thorns'.[26]

As with Roger's accounts of the Dunstable vision, there is an editorial complication to note. Herbert Salter identified three authorial versions of Adam's text, the earliest of which (Text A) was begun in 1196, shortly after the events it describes, but left unfinished with a promise of more to come.[27] Adam subsequently completed the work, adding ten chapters to the forty-eight of Text A, to produce Salter's 'Text B'. The account of the vision of Christ crucified in the earthly paradise belongs to one of the chapters introduced in Text B (chapter 54). It was not, therefore, completed in 1196. How long after the events Adam came to complete his *visio* is unclear. He probably abandoned Text A in 1197 when he became embroiled in a dispute between Hugh of Lincoln and the king. Partly as a result of his role in the bishop's eventual success, he then became Hugh's chaplain, a job that took him not only across England, but through Anjou and the Dauphiné. One possibility is that he took the task up again after Hugh's death in 1200. It might have been later still, but probably not much later because the completed 'Text B' was being disseminated by the second decade of the thirteenth century.[28] Adam had time and inclination to revise it again (Text C) before his death in or after 1233.[29] The point is that the vision of the crucified Christ does not make it into Adam's immediate

25 *Visio* 55, in Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary*, p. 367.

26 *Visio* 54: flagellis toto corpore cruentus et liuidus, sputis dehonestatus, coronatus spinis. Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary*, p. 365.

27 Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary*, p. 282.

28 London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra C.xi, fols 49r–69v, for example, belongs to the first two decades of the thirteenth century. Peter of Cornwall copied Text B into a manuscript he began writing around 1200 and must have finished before his death in 1221; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 51. Like many ecclesiastics, Adam went into exile in France during the interdict (1208–1213), during which time he finished his *Magna vita* of St Hugh. He returned to Eynsham, now as abbot, in 1213. It is possible that this was the point at which he finally returned to his account of his brother's vision, but some point before 1208 for the completion of Text B seems more likely.

29 Salter's three texts were based on his study of fifteen of more than thirty remaining manuscripts of the Latin *visio*; see Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary*, pp. 276–83. Subsequent study by others has revealed further possible redactions, but they are not significant for the passages discussed here. For a summary of the historiography, see Easting, *Revelation*, pp. xx–xxx. Text C saw a substantial revision of the chapters of Text A, but little change to those introduced in Text B, suggesting perhaps that more time passed between the writing of A and B than between B and C.

account of 1196. How much later it was written down is difficult to know, but the survival of manuscript copies suggests not much more than a decade. What we do know is that Adam was an active and creative editor. As Salter says, whilst 'there can be no doubt that Edmund had a trance and saw a vision of the other world, we may yet be of the opinion that our account of it owes something to the imagination of Adam'.[30]

Nevertheless, if we were to rely on the material evidence alone, then there would be very little to suggest that images of Christ crowned with thorns on the cross were known, or even imagined, before they flood into the visual record from the 1240s onwards. But these two visionary accounts from the preceding half-century, from two rather different sources, suggest otherwise. The fact that they both seem to emerge in the years immediately following the third crusade may or may not be relevant.[31]

CHRIST CRUCIFIED IN PARADISE

The monk of Eynsham's account of Christ crucified in paradise is also interesting for its own sake, regardless of the presence of the crown of thorns within it.[32] The temptation is immediately to think of him as a sort of proto-Dante (who similarly records the sight of the crucified Christ in heaven a little over a century later).[33] But we need not look forward to Dante; we can look back a generation or two – and this is purely coincidence – to what was subsequently to become our old friend Roger's living of Howden, but in 1125. In that year, in Howden, a thirteen-year-old boy named Orm fell into some sort of trance and was granted a vision of paradise. The boy's story was recorded by the priest of the neighbouring parish.[34] In it, we are told, Orm saw Christ on 'the brightest' (*preclarissima*) cross beyond the gates of heaven.[35] The brothers of Eynsham were educated clerics from a good family; Orm a young, probably illiterate, boy. Seventy years separates their

30 Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary*, p. 274.

31 It is thought that Adam's and Edmund's father, another Edmund, *medicus* of Oxford, died in the Holy Land *c.* 1187. It is difficult to see how this can have had a direct effect on the brothers' visual repertoire, but it serves to emphasise the prevalence of crusade mentality in later twelfth-century England; Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary*, p. 272; Farmer, 'Adam of Eynsham'.

32 Notwithstanding the same caution as above: this section of the *visio* (chapter 55) also belongs to Text B, and the details may owe more to Adam than to Edmund.

33 Salter (*Eynsham Cartulary*, p. 275) believed it probable that Dante had read a copy of the *visio*, as did Thurston ('Visio monachi', p. 232), and both noted some similarities between the two accounts; Easting (*Revelation*, p. 187) is less convinced.

34 The amanuensis identifies himself as Sigar, of Newbald in Yorkshire; Farmer, 'Vision of Orm', pp. 73–4; see also, Munns, *Cross and Culture*, p. 59.

35 et vidi Christum Dominum in cruce positum. … Crux erat preclarissima, in qua positus esse videbatur. Farmer, 'Vision of Orm', p. 79.

visionary experiences, but in both we find this strange image of Christ crucified in paradise. Where does that come from?

That question has no very easy answer, but an obvious possibility is, again, that it relates to images the visionaries had seen in their day-to-day lives. The modern editor of Orm's vision, Hugh Farmer, noted as much when he observed that the imagery of the vision in general seems to reflect the stock of images familiar from many parish churches.[36] How much of Orm's account belongs to him and how much to his amanuensis is an open question, but for our purposes it does not really matter. If the local churches were an inspiration, where does this celestial crucifixion fit in?

Farmer is able to offer no more than a general observation, but one (admittedly speculative) possibility is raised by the discovery of an image about which Farmer, writing in 1957, cannot have known. That is the image of the Throne of Grace that presides over a scene of the Last Judgment in the little church of Houghton-on-the-Hill in Norfolk (Plate II).[37] This was hidden until the 1990s, when flaking whitewash saved it from destruction along with the then abandoned church it adorns. In terms of date, it may be as early as the 1090s or as late as the 1120s, proving either way that such iconography existed in England by the time of Orm's vision.[38] In the surviving artistic record of the time it appears to be unique, but it probably was not in the twelfth century: a tiny church in what was even then little more than a hamlet seems an very unlikely site for major iconographical innovation. Had Orm seen something similar: the crucified Christ resting in the bosom of his Father on the Day of Judgment? Had the monk of Eynsham? Doubtless, there are other possibilities. Perhaps the inspiration for Orm's 'brightest' of crosses beyond the gate of heaven may be as simple as a glittering jewelled or precious metal sanctuary cross, glimpsed by the young boy beyond the chancel arch. Without further evidence, it is impossible to know. What we can say, however, is that here again we have accounts of visions of the crucifixion for which the artistic record provides no clear or very precise source of iconographical inspiration.

36 Ibid., p. 74.

37 For more on the significance of the Houghton image, see Munns, *Cross and Culture*, pp. 46–56.

38 Before the discovery of the Houghton image, there was no evidence of the Throne of Grace image in England before the thirteenth century. The earliest examples anywhere were to be found in two continental manuscripts of *c.* 1125; see Munns, *Cross and Culture*, pp. 48–9. Even had such manuscript images existed in England, neither Orm nor his amanuensis is very likely to have seen them; church wall paintings are another matter.

VISIONS AS EVIDENCE OF ALTAR CROSSES

I used the term 'sanctuary cross' rather than 'altar cross' in the previous paragraph because the evidence for the placement of crosses on altars in England before the last quarter of the twelfth century is scarce.[39] They are not mentioned in liturgical books or diocesan statutes. Inventories specify the use of some crosses as being *ad processionem* but do not specify what the nature or function of the others were. Monastic customaries, like the *Decreta Lanfranci*, suggest that processional crosses were set up on the floor, beside or behind altars, during the Mass, rather than being placed on them, and this does seem to be the more common practice for much of the century.[40] We do, however, know that there *were* altar crosses, at least by the 1130s. None survive, at least not in a state that allows us to be certain that is what they were, and the various types of texts mentioned above are all silent about them. One or two apparent depictions of crosses standing on altars appear in manuscripts but they are not necessarily reliable guides to practice. Of these, the best-known is probably that in the eleventh-century New Minster *Liber Vitae*,[41] depicting the donation of a vast reliquary cross by King Cnut and Queen Emma (Fig. 4.1), but that image raises as many questions as it answers. I have argued elsewhere that the altar in the image is as likely to refer to the cross's oblatory function as to its ordinary location.[42] Another image that is later but not dissimilar, formally at least, can be found in the Winchester Psalter of the mid-twelfth century (Plate III).[43] The context here, however, is quite clearly that of the Last Judgment and the presentation to Christ the Judge of the principal instrument of his passion.

Again, it is to accounts of visions and miracles that we need to turn for the earliest written references to crosses standing, apparently routinely, on altars in medieval England. Æthelwulf's ninth-century vision of a church in which two of its three altars are surmounted by substantial crosses has already been mentioned; although the extent to which that may be taken to attest to practice is far from certain. The first explicit reference to an apparently 'real world' altar cross comes from the so-called *Chronicle of Florence of Worcester* and refers to a miraculous vision at Windsor in 1137. The chronicle recalls that, in that year, 'many observed the crucifix, which

39 Munns, *Cross and Culture*, pp. 146–54. Similarly, Dodwell's survey of pre-Conquest crucifixes shows that almost all of those for which we have details seem to have been too large to function as altar crosses; they either stood on the floor or were mounted on a rood beam; Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 210–13.
40 Lanfranc of Bec, *Monastic Constitutions* 75, in Knowles and Brooke, *Lanfranc*, pp. 98–9; Munns, *Cross and Culture*, p. 149.
41 London, British Library, MS Stowe 944, fol. 6r.
42 Munns, *Cross and Culture*, pp. 148–9.
43 London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero C IV, fol. 35r.

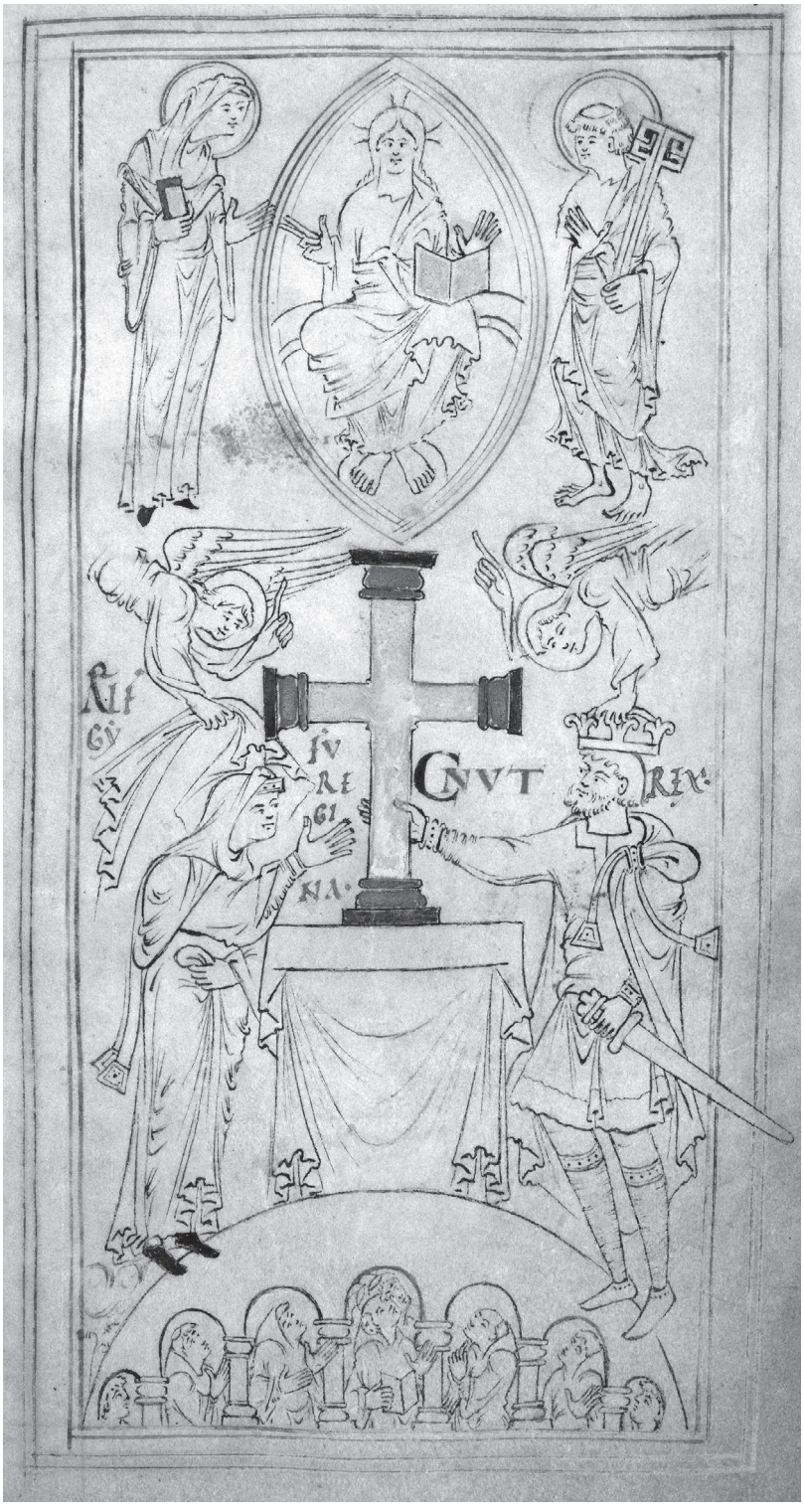

FIG. 4.1
MINIATURE FROM NEW MINSTER *LIBER VITAE*; WINCHESTER, 1031
(PHOTO: © THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD. MS STOWE 944, FOL. 6R)

stood on the altar, in motion and wringing its hands … trembling three times … [and] being bathed in sweat for nearly half an hour'.[44]

FURTHER AVENUES FOR INVESTIGATION

The placing of crucifixion images above the chancel arch is another common assumption for which the visual evidence remaining from the twelfth century is less than is often assumed, although in this case examples do remain. Many, however, seem to have been attached to the wall, either as sculptures or in paint, rather than mounted on a rood screen or beam. Houghton is an example, albeit of an unusual type. Evidence for others survives at Kempley in Gloucestershire, Halford in Warwickshire, and Compton in Surrey, and, from the eleventh century, at Bitton (Gloucestershire) and Breamore (Oxfordshire; now transferred to the south porch). The foot of some of these early roods likely hung below the cap of the chancel arch, in an arrangement still visible in churches across Germany and Scandinavia (Plate IV).[45] There is a temptation to see here a prototype for Edmund of Eynsham's cruciform portcullis guarding the gateway to the earthly paradise. Again, this is speculation, but the resonances are suggestive.

If having visions had been an Olympic sport in twelfth-century England, then the bulk of the gold-medal-winning team would have been drawn from the ranks of hermits and recluses. Reginald of Durham's account of the life and visions of Godric of Finchale has all sorts to offer in passing about the place of the rood in the hermit's cell, the use of the cross in pilgrimage and crusade, even the role of the image in the delineation of the eremitical state.[46] Aelred of Rievaulx, writing his *Rule* to guide his sister in her vocation as a recluse, not only provides a second early written source for the presence of a cross on an altar, but in guiding her to use it in the sort of imaginative meditative pursuit that may very well be intended to stir up visions, offers insights both into some of these spiritual athletes' visionary processes (their training regimes) and their impressive level of self-awareness with regard to them.[47]

44 Forester, *Chronicle*, p. 253.

45 Many examples of the arrangement survive, with an especially impressive concentration on the island of Gotland. Although a large number of these are later, some date to the twelfth century, such as the example from Endre, shown in Plate IV. See Andersson, *Medieval Sculpture*, pp. 30, 33; others probably replaced Romanesque predecessors.

46 See, for example, Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, in Stevenson, *Reginald of Durham*, pp. 99–101, 222.

47 Aelred of Rievaulx, 'De institutione inclusarum', in Hoste and Talbot, *Aelred of Rievaulx*, p. 670.

As noted at the beginning, this discussion has played on a common-enough assumption that medieval vision imagery may well derive from images and iconographies familiar to the seer from the material world. The assumption should not go unquestioned; there are other possibilities. Perhaps sermons or stories were the most active agents in developing the visionary iconography of the afterlife in this period, when developed notions of purgatory were still in their lively infancy. Perhaps visions of the crucified Christ wearing the crown of thorns owed more to the dissemination of the passion relics themselves than to new artistic iconographies. It is also important to remember that the world in which these visionary accounts were written was one where these categories – of the material, the metaphorical, the imaginative, the theological – were far less categorical than they are for us. The rood stood as the gateway between earth and heaven, not only theologically and liturgically, but literally, metaphorically and imaginatively. The fact that so many twelfth-century visions include images of the crucified Christ is, surely, to be expected. That so many descriptions of those visions point to iconographic elements unfamiliar from the surviving artistic record of the time, however, is more notable, and worthy of continued exploration.

5

CROSSES, CROZIERS AND THE CRUCIFIXION: TWELFTH-CENTURY CROSSES IN IRELAND[1]

MAGGIE M. WILLIAMS

TWELFTH-CENTURY IRISH CROSSES

Although the term 'rood' does not appear in the early Irish sources, we have substantial evidence that devotion to the cross was expressed in many forms in medieval Ireland, just as it was overseas. The cult of the

1 Author's note: I have avoided using the phrase 'Anglo-Saxon' in this essay because it is a contested term that has potentially harmful and racist associations. In recent years, archaeologists, art historians, literary scholars and linguists have reconsidered both the accuracy and usefulness of the term to describe the space and culture of England in the post-Roman/pre-Conquest period. While much of the existing terminology carries its own modern political baggage (e.g. 'the British Isles'), this particular phrase is more insidious. Many young scholars of colour have rightly raised the alarm, and their bravery in speaking out comes at a moment when advancing technology has provided new data about the diversity of England in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries. For too long, the phrase 'Anglo-Saxon' has been uncritically attached to a fictional 'pure' English past. I want to thank the editors of this volume for taking this issue seriously, addressing it with other contributors, and allowing me to include this brief note. For more information, see Mary Rambaran-Olm, 'Anglo-Saxon Studies [Early English Studies]', Academia and White Supremacy (https://medium.com/@mrambaranolm/anglo-saxon-studies-academia-and-white-supremacy, accessed 20 December 2019); 'Misnaming the Medieval: Rejecting Anglo-Saxon Studies' (www.historyworkshop.org.uk/misnaming-the-medieval-rejecting-anglo-saxon-studies/, accessed 20 December 2019); Adam Miyashiro, 'Decolonizing Anglo-Saxon Studies: A Response to ISAS Honolulu' (www.inthemedievalmiddle.com/2017/07/decolonizing-anglo-saxon-studies.html, accessed 20 December 2019); Susan Oosthuizen, *The Emergence of the English* (2019); and Catherine Karkov, 'Post "Anglo-Saxon" Melancholia' (https://medium.com/@catherinekarkov/post-anglo-saxon-melancholia-ca73955717d3, accessed 20 December 2019).

True Cross played a role as early as the seventh century, remaining relevant for hundreds of years afterwards. In Irish poetry, hagiography, liturgy and history, we find references to the word 'cros' in a variety of contexts. In works of art, too, we see images of the crucified Christ, and the cross itself, in almost every medium. By the twelfth century in Ireland, we also find depictions of figures holding croziers, which are not cruciform in and of themselves but can be associated with cross-bearers by nature of their function as staffs of ecclesiastical office. In fact, church leaders in Ireland had wielded staffs as insignia of power since the time of St Patrick, who according to legend, was miraculously given the *Bachall Iosa* (Staff of Jesus) by Christ himself.[2] A spectacular processional-reliquary cross also survives: the so-called Cross of Cong, made in the 1120s to house a fragmentary relic of the True Cross (Plate V).

These images of crosses, croziers and the crucifixion visualise the complex network of ideas circulating in the areas of theology, politics and Church reform during the long Irish twelfth century (*c*. 1014–1169).[3] They share stylistic elements with works of art from abroad, demonstrating Ireland's connectedness with the medieval world beyond its shores. They include iconographies that reinforce Ireland's participation in contemporary church reform movements, a trend toward institutional changes that was already underway within the country prior to external interventions. And, they utilise the form of the cross in a variety of ways to proclaim and assert power structures, both sacred and secular.

Below, I consider three examples of twelfth-century Irish art that involve the notion of the cross: a relief carving of the crucifixion on the Market Cross at Tuam, Co. Galway (Figs 5.1 and 5.2), the elaborate reliquary mentioned above, the Cross of Cong (Plate V) and a relief carving of several ecclesiastical personages on the so-called 'Doorty' Cross from Kilfenora, Co. Clare (Fig. 5.4). The two stone reliefs appear on the monumental sculptures which are normally called Irish high crosses. This term derives from an annal entry using the word 'cros' modified with the adjective 'ard' or high.[4] They are enormous, outdoor sculptures, probably originally painted, and by the twelfth century, they had been part of the Irish repertoire for hundreds of years. Each high cross has a unique context of origin, and they are best understood as individual works that are intimately connected with their patrons and audiences, as well as their physical locations within the landscape. While such a methodology is essential for a profound analysis of the iconographic programs and local cultural significance of each single high cross, this discussion takes a different view.

2 For more on the *Bachall Iosa*, see Bourke, *Patrick*; Overbey, *Sacral Geographies*.

3 These dates refer to the 1014 Battle of Clontarf, in which an Irish king defeated the Norse, and the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169.

4 Donovan, *Annala* (*AFM*), 2, pp. 676–7. Electronic edition, https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100005B.html (accessed 14 April 2018).

In order to consider the Irish examples within the wider perspective on the rood that this volume seeks to provide, I have isolated certain details. Rather than considering the program of one entire cross, I have selected the most legible examples of two types of relief carvings: an image of the crucifixion and an image of contemporary figures holding croziers. The Cross of Cong reliquary, whose patron is also named on the Tuam Market Cross, serves to illustrate how cross imagery participated in the entangled sacred and secular power structures of medieval Ireland.[5]

Many scholars have investigated the complexities of ecclesiastical and secular power in twelfth-century Ireland, and several have also connected those contextual factors to works of art. In what follows, I draw upon the work of authors like Roger Stalley, Tadhg O'Keefe and John Munns, who have examined the stylistic and iconographic connections between images of the crucified Christ in Ireland, England and continental Europe during this period.[6] Whether we can accept a category called 'Romanesque' in an Irish context, the visual similarities with contemporary works from abroad are undeniable. The crucifixion on the Market Cross at Tuam exemplifies those formal connections and also illustrates how St Anselm's philosophy on the Christian mysteries of incarnation and atonement played into changing cross imagery in Ireland.

Political questions immediately arise upon consideration of the Tuam cross's inscription, which names a powerful twelfth-century Irish king Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair (Turlough O'Connor, reg. 1106–1156), who is also named in the inscriptions on the Cross of Cong. I propose that Toirdelbach's patronage may have influenced aspects of contemporary cross imagery, particularly from the region of Connacht. Karen Overbey's work has been especially helpful in its focus on how certain images and objects functioned as public displays of power in medieval Ireland. She illustrates how reliquaries were used to establish and define sacred spaces, and I believe that Toirdelbach's patronage may have served a similar agenda in a secular context. In his quest to assert political control, Toirdelbach enlisted the power of the sacred cross.

He was certainly not alone in his efforts to proclaim authority. Another major factor in the changes in twelfth-century high cross iconographies was contemporary Church reform, particularly with regard to the implementation of a firm diocesan structure in the country. Following Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Marie Therese Flanagan has demonstrated that the Irish ecclesiastical reforms of the twelfth century should be viewed within the broader context of contemporary reform currents overseas.[7] In both arenas, extracting Church leadership from secular ties was of prime

5 For discussion of similar processes at Durham, see Turner below, pp. 103–24.
6 Munns, *Cross and Culture*; Ó Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland*; Stalley, 'Romanesque Sculpture'.
7 Flanagan, *Transformation*; Ó Corráin, 'Synod of Cashel'.

importance, as was enforcing canon law with regard to the consecration of bishops. Although the Irish church was already transforming by the early twelfth century, a series of synods and active communication with the archbishopric in Canterbury resulted in more thorough reform. On the Doorty Cross, three reliefs of bishops holding different types of croziers visualise the intricacies of internal and external reform in the twelfth-century Irish Church.

My aim is to include these Irish examples in the broader scholarly conversation about crosses and cross-imagery in medieval art.[8] Drawing upon the foundational work of scholars in many disciplines, I offer a synthesis of some of the most salient points on the topic. With the interpretations that I provide here, I hope to illustrate how cross imagery functioned in twelfth-century Irish contexts, with a particular eye to structures of ecclesiastical and secular power. Moreover, I want to work against the tendency to isolate Ireland by demonstrating how these works of art emphasise and promote institutional, philosophical and artistic connections to the power housed at Canterbury and the broader medieval Church.

THE CULT OF THE TRUE CROSS AND THE CRUCIFIXION

From as early as the seventh century, we have evidence that the cult of the True Cross had reached Ireland.[9] As Eamonn Ó Carragáin explains, Irish veneration of the cross can be traced to Roman liturgical texts of the early seventh century, and the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross was widespread in that city, as witnessed by pilgrims from early medieval England.[10] Irish writers also spoke of the legend; in his seventh-century *De Locis Sanctis,* Adomnán provides an account of Emperor Theodosius' (408–450) fabulous golden and silver crosses at Golgotha. He describes 'a large cross of silver, erected in the self-same place where once the wooden cross stood embedded, on which suffered the Saviour of the human race'.[11] Christ's suffering is also highlighted in an early Irish prayer in the *Antiphonary of Bangor* (680–691), which invokes the precise hour when Jesus ascended the cross.[12] Later, Saint Helena's famous discovery of the True Cross was recorded in the early ninth-century Irish text, the

8 For instance, see Beer, *Triumphkreuze des Mittelalters*.
9 On the possible connections between Irish art and the True Cross, see Werner, 'Cross-Carpet Page'; Richardson, 'Jewelled Cross'.
10 Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 190.
11 Adamnán, *DLS* 1.5: infra quam magna argentea crux infixa statuta est eodem in loco ubi quondam lignea crux in qua passus est humani generis Saluator infixa stetit. Meehan, *Adamnán*, pp. 48–9.
12 Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 262.

Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee.[13] Irish ascetics of the eighth and ninth centuries also practised something called the Cross-Vigil, which most scholars agree consisted of a recitation of the *Hymnum dicat* or the psalms with the arms extended in the form of the cross.[14] A famous incident in the *Life of Saint Kevin* describes the saint's stamina at performing this devotional posture, for he remained so long with his arms extended that birds began to nest in the palms of his hands. According to the text:

> In the time of Lent, Coemgen [Kevin] went into a wattled hut erected on a bare stone, standing in cross-vigil for six weeks for the sake of God. A blackbird perched on the saint's hand, and built a nest, [remaining there] till she hatched her young.[15]

Certain formal elements of the Irish crosses may refer directly to Constantine's vision and the True Cross legend, and some even seem to replicate in stone Theodosius' jewelled cross at Golgotha.[16] The crosses at Ahenny, Co. Tipperary, for example, have often been described as skeuomorphs of their wooden predecessors, which could have been adorned with elaborately decorated metal plaques.[17] Once rendered in stone, the crosses were covered with elaborate interlace designs in relief, which are often contained within framed panels. Many crosses also contain figural scenes, mainly illustrating episodic moments from biblical history. The figural reliefs include both Old and New Testament iconographies, and their juxtapositions clearly indicate sophisticated theological design. In their earliest manifestations, Irish high crosses were constructed in the landscape to delimit monastic spaces and reinforce complex interpretations of Christian and local histories. The artists, patrons, and audiences of the ninth- or tenth-century crosses consisted mainly of educated monks and high-ranking laypeople. The crosses served to publicly reinforce monastic authority in early medieval Ireland, and they sometimes also promoted the intimate connections between sacred and secular leadership at the time.[18]

By the twelfth century, the form and content of the relief carvings on the Irish high crosses had shifted dramatically. Large-scale figural reliefs of the crucified Christ and figures who can be identified as bishops break the panel format of the earlier crosses, and they invite a different kind of response to the sculpture.[19] They no longer include the narrative elements of the crucifixion that appeared in the tenth-century

13 Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*; Stokes, *Félire Oengusso*.
14 O'Maidín, *Celtic Monk*, pp. 10, 40 n. 9; O'Dwyer, *Célí Dé*, pp. 95–104.
15 Docóidh Caoimhgin isin chorgus I ccró cáolaidh for leic Juim ina shesamh caigtighis ar mís, & é a ccrois-fighill ar Dhia. Ro ling lon I nglaic in érlaimh, & dorinne nead, gur léicc na héoin amach. Plummer, *Bethada Náem nÉrenn*, 1, p. 127, 2, p. 123.
16 Richardson, 'Jewelled Cross'.
17 Ibid.; although see Ó Floínn, 'Patrons and Politics'.
18 Williams, 'Warrior Kings'.
19 Moss, 'Twelfth-century Renaissance?'; O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland*, p. 38.

FIG. 5.1
THE MARKET CROSS AT TUAM, CO. GALWAY, *c.* 1128–1152 (PHOTO: COURTESY OF NATIONAL MONUMENTS SERVICE PHOTOGRAPHIC UNIT)

crosses, such as Longinus and Stephaton bearing the lance and sponge, or the bird representing the holy spirit above Christ's head. These later examples emphasise Christ's humanity, and to a certain degree his suffering, over the specific details of the biblical account of the event.[20] In that sense, they can be compared with contemporary crucifixion imagery from abroad as well as wider medieval theological discussions about devotional attitudes towards Christ and the cross. As I will show, the Tuam Market Cross's crucifixion also includes elements that can be connected to local Irish politics in the period.

The scheme appears on one face of the Market Cross's head (Figs 5.1 and 5.2); the opposite face includes an image of a bishop or perhaps Tuam's founder, St Jarlath, in the centre of several followers. A large and imposing monument, the Tuam cross was reconstituted in the nineteenth-century from a number of fragments, which were found scattered throughout the town.[21] It is made of red sandstone, and consists of a truncated pyramidal base, a slender, tapered shaft, and a ringed head.

The base and shaft of the cross can be relatively securely dated to sometime between 1128 and 1152, based on inscriptions naming King Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair and Abbot Aed Ó Oissin (who became Abbot of Tuam in 1128, but was not consecrated as an archbishop until 1152).[22] The head, however, is clearly part of a different monument. Its width does not correspond to that of the shaft, and its overall scale is obviously too small for the shaft and base. Nevertheless, scholars have generally concluded that the two crosses were carved roughly contemporaneously; the stylistic similarities between the Tuam Christ and other twelfth-century Irish examples in both stone and bronze serve to shore up a mid-twelfth-century date for the Tuam cross head.

A closer look at the crucifixion relief (Fig. 5.2) reveals a focus on Christ's body, which occupies most of the central space. He stands against the cross, with his arms rigid and extended, and his head tilted slightly to the side. There is a pair of bosses at each end of the cross's arms, with Christ's hands placed between them, palms facing outward. A shallow relief appears to depict the True Cross behind Jesus' arms, suggesting that the stone cross is not intended to be conflated with the wooden one on which he was executed. There is also a zigzag decoration below his arms, which could invoke a vine of some sort, possibly referring to the Tree of Life.

20 For further discussion, see Hawkes above, p. 22.

21 For more on the Market Cross at Tuam, see Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, pp. 177–8; Henry, *Irish Art*, pp. 33–5, 140; Stalley, 'Romanesque Sculpture'; Williams, 'Constructing the Market Cross'.

22 The inscriptions appear on two sides of the plinth below the base. On the south face, the inscription reads: (OR) DO THOIRDELBUCH U CHONCHUBUIR DON'T UR … ARLATH(E). S IN DE(RN)AD IN SAER (Prayer for Turlough O' Conor for the … of Iarlath by whom this was made.) And on the north: (OR) DO U OSSIN DOND ABBAID LA(SA)N DERN(AD) (Prayer for O Hossin, for the Abbot, by whom was made). See Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, pp. 365–6.

FIG. 5.2 CRUCIFIXION, HEAD OF THE MARKET CROSS, TUAM, CO. GALWAY, c. 1128–1152 (PHOTO: RACHEL MOSS)

The Christ figure is rendered in a very abstract, geometrical style, comprising a series of angular shapes. His upper body is defined by a network of delicately incised lines that describe his rib-cage and pectoral muscles. Curving outward from a central triangle, these marks indicate the double arc of Christ's ribs. His arms extend from his shoulders at right angles, and they are disproportionately long, culminating in enormous hands: indeed, the position of his body echoes the form of the cross against which he stands. His crown is an inverted cone, the contours of which extend down the length his face, finding their completion in his pointed beard. The small, protruding lumps of his ears are the only shapes that break the conical trajectory from the top of his crown to the tip of his beard. Many small-scale bronze crucifixes, such as the one from Red Abbey, Co. Longford, now in the Hunt collection in Limerick, are rendered in a similar geometric style (Fig. 5.3).[23] In the bronze, Christ's arms are extended straight out to his sides, his crowned head is slightly cocked to one side, and his musculature and loincloth are rendered in a series of simple, curved lines. Such stylistic similarities place a monument

23 Doran, 'Hunt Museum'; Harbison, *High Crosses*, 3, fig. 908; Ó Floínn, 'Irish Romanesque Crucifix Figures'; Ó Floínn, *Irish Shrines*, photos 8, 11. See also Bloch, *Romanische Bronzekruzifixe*, esp. figs IM6, VE3.

FIG. 5.3 BRONZE CORPUS FROM RED ABBEY, CO. LONGFORD (CRUCIFIX FIGURE ITEM CODE HCM 046) (PHOTO: COURTESY OF THE HUNT MUSEUM, LIMERICK, IRELAND)

like the Market Cross at Tuam in the midst of the international moment often referred to as the 'Romanesque' period, although that terminology has been questioned in an Irish context.[24]

The triangular shapes that dominate Christ's body and face in the Tuam relief are even echoed in his loincloth, or *perizonium*, which falls into a V-shape between his knees, and is outlined with a sequence of dots. Additional examples of Christ wearing the *perizonium* appear in other crosses, such as the Market Cross from Glendalough (Co. Wicklow), as well as in contemporary sculpture outside Ireland, such as the Romsey Rood in Hampshire.[25] Once again, the iconography of the Tuam crucifixion seems to fit quite neatly into contemporary patterns of sculpture both within Ireland and abroad.

Although the Tuam Christ appears to be dead, his suffering is not depicted graphically. His posture is not slouched, although his head slumps slightly towards his right shoulder. Nonetheless, he does not show the outward signs of torture and pain that his execution would have caused. There is no suggestion of wounds or blood on his body, and his facial features have been eroded, so we can no longer observe whether his eyes are open or closed.[26] Several scholars have traced the arc from the triumphant to the suffering Christ in medieval art, but this type does not fit neatly into either category. In this scene, Christ stands against the cross, and his tilted head indicates lifelessness, but he does not evoke great sympathy for the physical pain of the experience; on the contrary, the crown he wears suggests that he remains dignified, regal. In fact, his noble crown indicates his elevated status and his triumph over those who have condemned him, perhaps even anticipating his own triumph over death in the form of the resurrection. At Tuam, Christ is clearly indicated as among the special dead.

Gerhard Lutz contends that including a crown in the crucifixion serves to signify Jesus' mastery of the flesh, which he differentiates from its use as a marker of divine victory in early medieval iconographies.[27] Similarly, John Munns has suggested that the crowned Christ is the image of one who suffers with dignity.[28] Neither Munns nor Lutz notes any inconsistencies with St Anselm's theology here. On the contrary, both scholars point to his writings, which include prayers to the cross and to Christ that deviate from the standard liturgical prayers used on special days like Good Friday and the Invention or Exaltation of the Cross. Munns and Lutz highlight the

24 O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland*.
25 On the Market Cross at Glendalough, see Harbsion, *High Crosses*, 1, p. 95. Harbison also suggested that the crucified Christ wearing a loincloth appeared at Temple Brecan and on fragmentary crosses at Addergoole, Co. Mayo, and Inish Cealtra and Killaloe in Co. Clare. See Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, p. 285, and Rice, *English Art*, fig. 13.
26 This is unfortunate, for if they were open (or perhaps originally painted as open?), his gaze would be directed down toward the viewer standing before the cross.
27 Lutz, *Das bild*, p. 33.
28 Munns, *Cross and Culture*, p. 141.

shift in Anselm's thinking, connecting it with this sort of visual emphasis on the crucifixion, citing it as a move towards the kind of personal or private devotion that became more popular in the later Middle Ages.

But devotional practices are tricky for medieval Ireland. The high crosses' monumental stature and external locations place them in an unusual setting for personal or private devotion, and we do not have a tremendous amount of contemporary material to clarify liturgical practices in the period.[29] Small portable crucifixes do survive from Ireland, but the high crosses are much more public monuments. As a result, they combine private and public functions – they are both devotional objects and assertive demonstrations of power.

The Market Cross at Tuam appears to have served a dual function of delimiting sacred spaces while also invoking a more individualised kind of devotion as favoured in the broader Church. Prior to the twelfth century, Irish high crosses served to mark the locations of monastic communities, and in some cases, to explicitly refer to the collaboration of sacred and secular authorities. At Tuam, the use of the traditional cross form evoked that long-standing history; at the same time, the monument's relief decorations pointed directly to the most up-to-date styles from England and continental Europe. What is more, the crucifixion imagery in particular can be connected with Anselm's contemporary writings.

I propose that one element of the cosmopolitan imagery on the Tuam Cross – Christ's crown – may have been a particular favourite of Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair, who is named in the cross's inscription. Toirdelbach was an ambitious ruler, with his sights set on the elusive high kingship of all Ireland.[30] For hundreds of years, Irish politics had been quite localised with multiple regional leaders vying for power. Such internal conflict still played a role by the twelfth century, even after Brian Boru's famous unifying victory at the Battle of Clontarf in 1014. Not only does Toirdelbach's patronage of the Market Cross suggest an effort to proclaim his local status in a permanent and public way, but additional evidence also indicates that he exercised his authority far beyond the town of Tuam. His name is also inscribed on the glorious processional reliquary known as the Cross of Cong. Different from the monumental, stationary high crosses, this metalwork cruciform container played a prominent role in supporting and promoting Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair's agenda. In the next section, I turn to Toirdelbach and his ambitions, illustrating how politics and cross symbolism worked in tandem during Ireland's long twelfth century.

29 A surviving manuscript known as the Corpus Missal (Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 282), dated to *c.* 1070–1170, which probably belonged to Tuam, records that the feasts of the Invention of the Cross and the Exaltation of the Cross were both observed in the region at the time.

30 For more on King Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair, see Ó Corráin, 'High-kings'; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland*, pp. 282–4.

CROSSES AND KINGS

Named after the monastery where it was stored for centuries, the Cross of Cong (Plate V) was made around 1123 to enshrine a fragment of the True Cross from Golgotha, which had been sent to Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair by Pope Callixtus II.[31] It may have originally been made for the church at Tuam, and it probably would have been carried by means of a pole inserted into its base. The relic itself does not survive, but the reliquary is an astounding example of early Irish metalwork, which was a very accomplished area of production.[32]

Cast bronze plates cover the oak core of the cross, and a rock crystal occupies its centre, presumably serving as the original covering for the relic itself. The metal plates are decorated with elaborate interlace designs, and the cross is adorned with cast bosses and sixty panels of enamel, all with different geometric patterns. It gives us an idea of how intricate metalwork crosses might have been in early Ireland, and we can imagine that some of the monumental precursors of the high crosses could have been decorated in similar ways. The Latin inscription details its function as a reliquary for a fragment of the True Cross. It reads: 'By this cross is covered the cross on which the creator of the world suffered'.[33] We have evidence that it may have played a role in Good Friday liturgies, and it is also possible that it served as an altar cross.[34]

Perhaps the most relevant use for the Cross of Cong, though, was as a processional demonstration of status and authority. According to the *Annals of Tigernach* for 1123:

> Christ's Cross [was] in Ireland this year, and a great circuit was given to it by the king of Ireland, Toirdelbach Húa Conchobáir, and he asked for some of it to keep in Ireland, and it was granted to him, and it was enshrined by him at Roscommon.[35]

The great 'circuit' mentioned here emphasises the mobility of Toirdelbach's reliquary, which he undoubtedly depended upon to reinforce his powerful status.[36] Moving through the landscape with the cross – especially one as

31 Murray, *Cross of Cong*.
32 On Irish reliquaries, see Ó Floínn, *Irish Shrines*; Overbey, *Sacral Geographies*.
33 +HÁC CRUCE CRÚX TEGITUR QUÁ PASUS CONDITOR ORBIS. See Murray, *Cross of Cong*, p. 42.
34 Murray, *Cross of Cong*, pp. 187, 189; On altar crosses, see Munns, *Cross and Culture*, pp. 146–54.
35 Croch Crist a n-Erinn isin bliadain-sin, co tucadh mor-chuairt di la ríg n-Erenn .i. la Tairrdelbach h-Úa Concobair, & cor' chuindigh ni di d' fhastadh a n'Erinn, & ro leced do, & do cumdaighedh Laís h-í a Ros Coman. See *The Annals of Tigernach*: https://celt.ucc.ie/published/G100002/index.html (accessed 14 April 2018).
36 In the original annal entry, the word for 'great circuit' is *mor-chuairt*, which has alternately been translated as 'tribute'. I prefer 'circuit', which for a king like Toirdelbach would probably also involve collecting 'tribute' in the form of payments. I would like to thank Máire Johnson for helping me work through this idea. See also Murray, *Cross of Cong*, pp. 41, 186.

precious as the Cross of Cong – was certainly a performance of power, similar to the type of movement that Karen Overbey describes in the context of proximity to holy relics. Overbey details how the somatic act of moving through space with a reliquary was a method for the creation of holy spaces and zones of authority. In her words:

> Reliquaries in medieval Ireland did more than just contain the relics of the saints; they were mobile nodes of meta-space, inscribing a sacred topography on the territories of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, on the private and public areas of the monastic enclosure, and on the devotional spaces of cultic communities. … Ireland's territorial authority was constituted in movement, and in mapping.[37]

Toirdelbach's act of making a 'great circuit' with the Cross enacts this kind of performative declaration of power. What is more, the annal entry refers to Ó Conchobair as simply 'king of Ireland'. By neglecting to specify his regional affiliation, the text tacitly implies that his authority extends across the whole country. This is likely to have been an exaggeration of Toirdelbach's actual rulership, and it reflects his ambitious agenda, his efforts to gain the high kingship. The entry also juxtaposes the acquisition and celebration of the relic with Ó Conchobair's leadership. As the text demonstrates, the cult around the sacred cross was still thriving in twelfth-century Ireland and Toirdelbach used its power to enhance and reinforce his own.

Although we do not know whether the king personally carried the cross on its circuit, the question of who was rightfully permitted to carry a cross publicly in this way was a topical issue at the time. In a letter, Anselm scolds the Irish bishop Samuel for precisely this type of violation, writing:

> Moreover I have heard that you cause your cross to be carried before you on journeys. If this be true, I order you to do so no longer. For this right is reserved to archbishops who have been confirmed with the pall from the Roman Pontiff.[38]

Samuel was stationed in Dublin, which did not become an archbishopric until 1152.

Regardless of who physically carried the Cross of Cong on Toirdelbach's 'great circuit' the decision to display the cross in this way must have run contrary to canon law. Although it would not have been an issue in terms of secular laws, it was a bold statement in a time and place when the lines between sacred and secular authority were extremely blurry. Indeed, Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair was asserting his (secular) political power in

37 Overbey, *Sacral Geographies*, p. 183.

38 Praeterea, audivi, quia facis portari crucem ante te in via. Quod si verum est; mando tibi ne amplius hoc facias: quia non pertinet nisi ad archiepiscopum a Romano pontifice pallio confirmatum. Gwynn, 'First Bishops', pp. 18–19; Ussher, *Works*, 4, p. 530. Gwynn's seminal articles have since been republished together in Ó Brien, *Aubrey Gwynn*.

a very public way and using the trappings of the Church to do so. Tadhg Ó Keefe has suggested that this 'amounts to a de facto repudiation of the diocesan scheme worked out at [the Synod of] Raith Bresail'.[39] For Ó Keefe, Toirdelbach's public patronage of the Cross of Cong (and also the Market Cross at Tuam) asserted his own political power while simultaneously declaring dominance over contemporary institutional changes in the Irish Church. The escalating movement for Church reform in the twelfth century may have put Ó Conchobair on the defensive since one consideration was the aim to limit secular involvement in ecclesiastical affairs. Although reform in the Irish church definitely pre-dates the twelfth century, there is a marked increase in reform activity between the years 1101 and 1152. During that time, which also corresponds to Toirdelbach's reign and the creation of the works of art discussed here, multiple synods were held in Ireland, resulting in a stricter diocesan structure being imposed throughout the country. Below, I consider the twelfth century reforms in the Irish church, describing how the imagery on the Doorty Cross at Kilfenora participates in promoting those institutional changes (Fig. 5.4).

CROZIERS AND CHURCH REFORM

The leadership structure of the medieval Irish Church has been the subject of scholarly debate for decades, but we do have substantial evidence of the primacy of monastic authority in the period from about the seventh to the tenth centuries.[40] During that time, monasteries could be grouped together into potent networks called *familia*, and they often had very close ties with wealthy and powerful laypeople. Not only was the laity financially involved with monastic governance, but the Irish system also allowed for lay abbacy and positions like the *comarba* and the *airchinnech*. The former term indicates an heir or successor (often of the founding saint) and could be a layperson, sometimes even a married one. The term *airchinnech*, on the other hand, appears to replace the Latin *princeps* in the annals. Despite the changing nomenclature, the office of *princeps/airchinnech* appears to remain relatively unchanged, a curious blend of monastic, episcopal and even secular leadership.[41]

As Richard Sharpe and Colm Etchingham have argued, the Irish system was always a 'single, ecclectic model' that combined multiple types of authority. This view differs from the traditional narrative, in which the twelfth century saw a major shift from monastic to diocesan control. To better understand the images of figures holding croziers on the Doorty

39 O'Keefe, *Romanesque Ireland*, p. 47.
40 The foundational text on the topic is Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society*. See also Sharpe, 'Some Problems'. More recent work includes Etchingham, *Church Organization* and Flanagan, *Transformation*.
41 Etchingham, 'Implications'; Picard, '*Princeps* and *Principatus*', p. 156.

Cross at Kilfenora, it is essential to consider the dynamics of internal and external Church reform impulses in twelfth-century Ireland. While the 'single, ecclectic model' theory is very convincing, it is also true that, when the wider Church took up the issue of reform, Irish institutions followed suit. As Marie Therese Flanagan has written:

> Religious renewal in twelfth-century Ireland was a particular manifestation of a broader pan-European reform movement sometimes, if too narrowly, defined as the Gregorian reform – from its most dramatically vocal and confrontational proponent, Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085).[42]

We also have substantial evidence of Canterbury's interest in reforming the twelfth-century Irish Church, beginning with St Anselm's predecessor, Archbishop Lanfranc (1070–1089). In a 1072 letter to Pope Alexander II, Lanfranc named Ireland as part of the territory over which he claimed authority for Canterbury.[43] He and the other Anglo-Norman archbishops were critical of the fact that the Irish considered it acceptable for a single bishop to consecrate another, while three were normally required in the Roman rite. In addition, as archbishop Anselm (1093–1109) was concerned that Irish bishops were being consecrated in places where they ought not to be, and Lanfranc was worried that holy orders were being given in exchange for money.[44] These concerns were largely shared by ecclesiastical authorities within Ireland, and certain areas of the country were already under a diocesan system. For example, although Dublin was not made an archbishopric until 1152, it had been an episcopal see with strong Norse and Anglo-Norman affiliations since before 1036, at the end of the Scandinavian King Sitric's reign. Sitric went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1028, and it has been suggested that his journey may have inspired the initial creation of a Dublin diocese.[45] Nevertheless, the first Irish bishops – Dunan or Donatus (d. 1074), Patrick or Gilla Pádraig (d. 1084), Donngus (d. 1095) and Samuel (d. 1121) – were all consecrated at Canterbury.

The practice of consecrating Irish bishops abroad is recorded as a long-standing one in a letter from Lanfranc to the high king of Ireland (with opposition) Toirdelbach Ó Briain. Lanfranc wrote:

> We have received with honour our venerable brother and fellow-bishop Patrick [i.e. Gilla Pádraig], whom your excellency, most dear son, has sent to us for consecration. We have consecrated him with all due rites according to canon law; and we have sent him back after consecration to his own see with the testimony of our letters, as our predecessors have done before us.[46]

42 Flanagan, *Transformation*, pp. 33, 48. See also Ó Corráin, 'Synod of Cashel', p. 13.
43 Clover and Gibson, *Letters of Lanfranc*, pp. 50–1.
44 Hughes, *The Church*, pp. 260–1.
45 Henry, *Irish Art*, pp. 127–8.
46 Venerabilem fratrem ac coespiscopum nostrum Patricium, quem charissime fili, excellentia vestra ad nos consecrandum transmisit, honeste suscepimus, debitis officiis

The sacred act of consecration mystically reinforced the connection between Ireland and Canterbury, and by association, the links with Rome. In fact, four *pallia* were brought directly from Rome for the establishment of Irish archbishoprics at Tuam, Dublin, Armagh and Cashel after the Synod of Kells-Mellifont in 1152.[47]

In addition to nurturing the ties between Ireland and Canterbury by performing consecrations, Anselm also convened a council in Munster, which appears to have been a kind of pre-meeting for the 1101 Synod at Cashel. Unfortunately, written sources for the twelfth-century Irish Church synods are late and scanty, and many of the important decrees are only described in post-medieval sources. For instance, some of Keating's seventeenth-century notations are as frustratingly vague as 'many rules were made at that assembly'. There is one roughly contemporary text, *De statu ecclesiae*, written by Gilbert of Limerick (*Gilla Easpuic*), which summarises the canons of the Cashel Synod.[48]

From what we can glean, a meeting was held at Cashel in 1101 and was attended by the prominent families of the southern half of the country.[49] It was overseen by King Muirchertach Ó Briain and Bishop Ua Dúnáin, both of whom had been in contact with Anselm at Canterbury concerning the reform of the Irish Church. One of the most important events at that meeting was Muirchertach's donation of the Rock of Cashel, previously an ancient royal site, to the Church. The annals describe Cashel as 'Cashel of the kings' (Caisiol na ríog), emphasising its royal history, and the gift is lauded as 'a grant such as no king had ever made before'.[50] This grand gesture may have been geared towards publicising the laity's ostensible retreat from ecclesiastical affairs. Indeed, separating ecclesiastical and secular authorities seems to have been paramount at Cashel. The first canon of the synod includes the passage: 'without making traffic of the church of God to an ex-layman or an ex-cleric until doom', a decree that legislates against the appointment of laymen to prominent ecclesiastical positions while simultaneously discouraging the practice of simony.[51] With

secundum canonicam institutionem, sancti Spiritus gratia cooperante, sacravimus, sacratum ad sedem propriam cum testimonio literarum nostrarum, more antecessorum nostrorum, remisimus. O'Brien, *Aubrey Gwynn*, p. 69; Ussher, *Works*, 4, p. 490.

47 A list of bishoprics established by the Council of Kells survives in the *Liber Censuum of Cencius the Chamberlain*, 1192 CE (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, MS Lat. 8486). See Kenney, *Sources*, p. 768.

48 Hughes, *The Church*, p. 267 n. 1.

49 Gwynn, 'First Synod'; Hughes, *The Church*, p. 263.

50 *AFM* 1101, 2, pp. 966–7: conidh annsin tucc Muircheartach Ua Briain an Eadhbairt na tucc rí réimhe riamh .i. Caisiol na ríog do eadhbairt do chráibhdheachaibh cean orlaimh laoich ná cleirich fair acht cráibhdhich Ereann co coitcheand. https://celt.ucc.ie/published/T100005B.html (accessed 14 April 2018).

51 gan cennach egailse Dé do athlaochaib na do aithcléirchib go bráth. O'Brien, *Aubrey Gwynn*, p. 156.

its strong emphasis on episcopal authority, it is not surprising that the Cashel decrees also state that crosses had to be consecrated by the bishop.[52]

In 1111, a second major Irish synod was called at Raith Breasail.[53] This meeting built upon the decrees set forth at the Synod of Cashel and divided the northern and southern halves of the country into twenty-four dioceses under the control of archbishoprics at Armagh and Cashel. This aligns with the Canterbury model of two archbishoprics and twelve dependent suffragan bishoprics in each region. The main decrees for the synods of Raith Breasail (1111) and Kells-Mellifont (1152), where much of the diocesan restructuring of the country occurred, are only described by Geoffrey Keating, in his seventeenth-century *History of Ireland*, for which he relied heavily upon a now-lost book that he called 'the old book of Clonenagh' (*Annals of Cluain Eidhneach*). According to Keating, 'It was at this synod [Rath Breasail] that the churches of Ireland were given up entirely to the bishops free for ever from the authority and rent of the lay princes.'[54] He then goes on to list all of the new dioceses. It is interesting to note that each of the bishops signed this document with a cross, following which is the statement: 'the crosses of all the bishops and of all the laity and clergy who were at this holy Synod of Raith Breasail be against anyone who shall transgress these ordinances and the anathema of them all be upon any one who shall oppose them'.[55]

This apotropaic use of the cross-shape attests to the continued power of the form in twelfth-century Ireland. It was not long after this synod that Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair had the Cross of Cong made and circulated, which suggests that he was making a public statement in opposition to the new diocesan structure. At the very least he was visibly reinforcing his own status as a secular leader. Interestingly, in this context, the Market Cross at Tuam, on which Toirdelbach's name also appears, does include figures holding obvious episcopal trappings, although some of the details are now hard to read. Several small figures wearing religious garments appear on the base, and one face of the cross's head includes ecclesiastical figures. On the side of the sculpture opposite the crucifixion, there is a scene with a large, centrally placed person in robes who holds a staff or crozier. Unfortunately, it is impossible to make out what sort of crozier it might be. Also, the figure does not wear a mitre. This has caused some scholars to identify the figure as an abbot, rather than a bishop. Peter Harbison suggested that it might be considered a depiction of Christ as 'Abbot of the World', and I have suggested elsewhere that it may depict Tuam's founding saint Jarlath.[56] Perhaps this is another way for Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair to publicly refute encroaching episcopal – and external – power structures in his province.

52 Ó Floínn, 'Bishops'.
53 *AFM* 1111, 2, pp. 992–3.
54 Dinneen, *History of Ireland*, II.xxviii, pp. 299–301. See also Ó Brien, *Aubrey Gwynn*, p. 181.
55 MacErlean, 'Synod of Ráith Breasail', p. 16.
56 Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, p. 344. Williams, *Sign of the Cross*.

FIG. 5.4 THE DOORTY CROSS, KILFENORA, CO. CLARE, *c.* 1150 (PHOTO: RACHEL MOSS)

Although we cannot conclusively identify the figure on the Tuam cross as a bishop, other crosses include reliefs that can be interpreted that way. The Doorty Cross (Fig. 5.4) which takes its name from a family who once used part of the monument as a grave marker, is in the area of Kilfenora, not far from Tuam. It has been dated to the mid- to late twelfth century based on stylistic analysis and the fact that Kilfenora was made a diocese at the Synod of Kells-Mellifont in 1152. The iconography of the cross is virtually unique, although other large-format images that can be clearly identified as bishops (as opposed to abbots) do appear (on the high cross at St Tola's, Dysart Ó Dea, Co. Clare [Fig. 6.2b], for instance).[57] Although it is slightly damaged, it appears that the Doorty Cross was originally a unified monument (rather than a composite like Tuam). On one face, there is a badly worn image that appears to have depicted the crucified Christ, but on the opposite side, there are reliefs of three distinct bishops, each with his own crozier.

One bishop occupies the cross's head, and he carries a volute-type crozier, which can be compared to many examples from outside Ireland. Raghnall Ó Floínn has argued that the inclusion of a volute crozier in this scene is indicative of the reformed Church precisely because it is not a typical Irish form. Below his feet, there are two additional figures holding a drop-head crozier and a T-shaped or Tau crozier respectively; these two forms were less common throughout medieval Europe, and in fact, the drop-head or crooked variety appears frequently in Ireland. Perhaps these two figures holding Irish crozier types represent the local bishops or suffragans, who would be under the supervision of the higher-ranking personage (archbishop?) who appears on the head.

In addition to croziers, the figures on the Doorty Cross have interesting head coverings. The two figures in the centre of the shaft wear simple hoods of some kind, which do not resemble the familiar form of peaked bishop's mitres. This type of headgear is similar to what appears on the Tuam cross. The figure on the Doorty Cross's head wears a conical cap that has garnered much interest. It could be identified as a bishop's mitre, except for the addition of a small decorative element at the top.

Karen Overbey and Marie Therese Flanagan have both suggested that there might have been an earlier Irish type of mitre, which could have been associated with local ecclesiastical offices.[58] As Flanagan states, this unusual hat, 'may have derived from the papal tiara-mitre and been adopted as a deliberate means of stressing the apostolically derived role of the bishop'.[59]

If such an Irish mitre existed, it may have been inspired – or at least promoted – by an episode in Bernard of Clairvaux's *Life of Saint Malachy*. In the *Life*, Bernard says that Pope Innocent II (1130–1143) took 'his

57 Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, pp. 83–6.
58 Ó Floínn, 'Bishops', pp. 230–4; Overbey, *Sacral Geographies*, p. 181.
59 Flanagan, *Transformation*, p. 26; Ó Floínn, 'Bishops', pp. 219–30.

mitre from his own head' and put it on Malachy's.[60] This act of symbolic consecration provides an interesting connection between a major continental reformer like Bernard and the long-standing Irish tradition of hagiography and saints founding monastic communities.

Regardless of the specific origins of the Kilfenora figure's mitre, it is clearly identifiable as such. And, as Ó Floínn put it:

> the impact of a bishop in full pontificals, clad in richly ornamented vestments crowned with a papal tiara and bearing before him a tall crozier, quite unlike the modest walking-stick staffs of pre-reform bishops and abbots, must surely have emphasised the redefined princely role of bishops.[61]

Indeed, the inclusion of a crozier and a head covering that differs from the simple hoods worn by other figures serves to emphasise episcopal control in a very public way. The figures on the Doorty Cross convey the implications of a complex internal-external power network in accessible, visible terms. By including several figures with distinctive crozier types, the designers of the Cross emphasised the contemporary shift to a diocesan structure in the Irish Church. Even though such institutional reforms may have been well underway by the time the cross was erected in the twelfth century, its use of large scale, figural imagery of ecclesiastic authority figures is a new addition. Other twelfth-century crosses also include images of bishops identifiable as such by their croziers and mitres, but the Kilfenora example gives us a particularly clear statement of the combined impact of the local Irish and the imported systems for institutional Church governance. Combining these symbols in the reliefs on the Doorty Cross results in a large, public statement of participation in, and perhaps acceptance of, the increasing episcopal control of the Irish Church.

• • •

This discussion synthesises work done on Irish high crosses and the practices of power in Ireland with recent scholarship on cross imagery throughout medieval Europe. My goal is to convey how the Irish material fits into the broader narrative, and to point out where Ireland differs from that story. For many years, scholars working in the area of Irish studies have tended to emphasise Ireland's unique history over the ways in which the culture participated in broader European culture. While there are undoubtedly many discrepancies between Irish practices and those of the cultures that had once been more unified under the Roman Empire, there are also countless similarities.

60 *Vita Malachiae*, XVI.39: Deinde tollens mitram de capita suo, imposuit captit eius, sed et stolam cium manipulo dedit illi, quibus uti inter offerendum solebat. Leclercq et al., *Sanctae Bernardi*, 3, p. 344.
61 Ó Floínn, 'Bishops', p. 238.

The Irish tradition of power-sharing between the Church and the laity manifests itself in new ways in twelfth-century Irish cross imagery. Large-scale figural images, particularly of the crucified Christ, reflect contemporary trends in 'Romanesque' style and devotional practices. Depictions of figures holding croziers and wearing mitres reinforce the powerful role of bishops in the twelfth-century Church, publicly declaring a certain degree of allegiance with Canterbury and Rome. At the same time, the particular types of crozier depicted on the high crosses imply the continued presence of the traditional Irish system of church governance, which long relied upon staffs as insignia of office and seems to have been built upon a kind of hybrid monastic-episcopal-lay control. The complexities of that system of governance were further articulated by public demonstrations of power like Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair's 'great circuit' with the *Cross of Cong*. Moving through the spaces of the Irish landscape, Ó Conchobair used the ultimate symbol of the Christian narrative – the cross itself – to inscribe his powerful status on the geography of Connacht and beyond. In twelfth-century Ireland, crosses, croziers, and crucifixions worked to proclaim the complex power dynamic between secular and sacred, and between internal and external reform movements in the Church.

6

FROM RELIGIOUS ARTEFACTS TO SYMBOLS OF IDENTITY: THE ROLE OF STONE CROSSES IN GALICIAN NATIONAL DISCOURSE[1]

SARA CARREÑO

It was towards the end of the Middle Ages that figural stone cross-heads set upon pillars were developed in Galicia, a region located on the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula. These are known as *cruceiros*, the Galician word for stone crosses, which are usually composed of a pedestal, a shaft and a cross (Fig. 6.1). Erected from the fourteenth century onwards, these monuments are often identified as a key part of Galician cultural identity. This is primarily because of their abundance in the Galician landscape in comparison with other regions in the Peninsula, which resulted in their playing a role in the discursive construction of Galician national identity at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Scholarly research on stone crosses as a means to define a cultural identity was first carried out in Ireland where one of its main exponents was Henry O'Neill,[2] author of *Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the*

1 Research Groups *Medievalism: Space, Image and Culture (GI-1507*, University of Santiago de Compostela) and *Imagens, Textos e Representações* (Instituto de Estudos Medievais, Universidade Nova de Lisboa). This study has been carried out as part of the project *Art and Devotion: The Image of the Crucified Christ in Galician Gothic Sculpture* funded by Xunta de Galicia (2016–2019). I would like to thank the editors of this volume Prof. Jane Hawkes and Dr Philippa Turner for all their help.

2 Harbison, *Henry O'Neill.*

FIG. 6.1
CRUCEIRO DE NOIA, PRAZA DO TAPEL, NOIA, A CORUÑA, FIFTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: SARA CARREÑO)

Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland (1857).[3] He was part of a larger group of scholars and antiquarians in Ireland who sought to promote the country's long-standing cultural identity.[4] His studies on Irish high crosses presented them as a native production, in line with his understanding of Irish art as an expression of a national character, showing Ireland as a nation with its own indigenous artistic culture.[5] In Galicia, although at a later date, the identification of these monuments as part of its cultural and national identity was also the initial point of enquiry, with Alfonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao's work published in his two books: *As cruces de pedra na Bretaña* (1930) and *As cruces de pedra na Galiza* (1950).[6]

The main focus of the present volume is on crosses produced within the context of Britain and Ireland, so my discussion will not involve any exhaustive analysis of these works. However, it is necessary to look briefly at their functions and iconographic programmes, both of which have

3 He also studied the round towers for which he established pagan origins, refuting George Petrie who understood they were built after the introduction of Christianity into Ireland. Sheehy, *Rediscovery*, pp. 22–3.

4 O'Neill was also involved in the political movements of his time and was a member of the Repeal Association. He painted both Daniel O'Connell during his time in jail as well as the members of Young Ireland. For a summary of these nineteenth-century antiquarians and the Young Ireland movement, see Sheehy, *Rediscovery*, pp. 17–27, 29–39.

5 Williams, 'Constructing the Market Cross', pp. 141–3.

6 The editions used are Castelao, *As cruces de pedra na Bretaña* (1978) and Castelao, *As cruces de pedra na Galiza* (1984). Both are written in Galician, so the quotations here have been translated into English by the author with the original provided in the footnotes.

been analysed in prior scholarship in this field. Thus, this discussion will begin by considering the free-standing stone crosses developed in the Insular world between the seventh and twelfth centuries as well as those produced during the later Middle Ages. It will then analyse the Galician *cruceiros* looking at their iconographies and locations. These crosses are a product of late medieval religious culture, and they represent the more emotional spirituality of the time when physical aspects of faith were emphasised, especially regarding the death of Christ on the cross. Finally, it will address the questions of why a series of connections between these two geographical cultural realities were invoked, and how they were used as part of the construction of Galician national identity.

This discussion will thus show how these medieval stone crosses had two clearly differentiated uses throughout history: on the one hand, their medieval functions, and on the other, the perceptions of them during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when they were reinterpreted in order to contribute to the construction of national identities.

STONE CROSSES IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND[7]

Though early medieval crosses in Britain and Ireland have been widely studied, their origins, chronologies and functions remain disputed subjects. It is necessary to summarise these issues to help us to understand the *cruceiros* in Galicia and the way they have been interpreted. Firstly, the origins of free-standing stone crosses in the region have been related to the Christianisation processes of these regions, with their production linked to the context of the assimilation of a new religion.[8] The earliest preserved crosses are found in Britain and, although initially dated to the seventh century, are now accepted as dating from the eighth and ninth centuries.[9] However, although the earliest examples of the *chrois áird* (high cross) of

7 This is a brief precis of a wider and more complicated reality which has been the focus of a large scholarship since the first studies carried out since the later nineteenth century. For a selection, see O'Neill, *Illustrations*; Stokes, *Early Christian Art*; Crawford, *Handbook*; Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*; Porter, *Crosses and Culture*; Henry, *La sculpture irlandaise*; Sexton, *Descriptive and Bibliographical List*; Roe, *Crosses of Kells*; Higgitt, 'Words and Crosses'; Harbison, *High Crosses*; Ó Carragáin, 'Ruthwell Cross and Irish High Crosses'.

8 See, e.g., Hawkes, 'Sermons in Stone'.

9 For summaries, see the British Academy CASSS project: Cramp, *Co. Durham and Northumberland*; Cramp and Bailey, *Cumberland and Westmoreland*; Lang, *York and Eastern Yorkshire*; Tweddle et al., *South-East England*; Everson and Stocker, *Lincolnshire*; Lang, *Northern Yorkshire*; Cramp, *South-West England*; Coatsworth, *Western Yorkshire*; Bailey, *Cheshire and Lancashire*; Bryant, *Western Midlands*; Preston-Jones and Okasha, *Cornwall*; Everson and Stocker, *Nottinghamshire*; Hawkes and Sidebottom, *Derbyshire and Staffordshire*. The earliest crosses surviving in Scotland, such as the Dupplin Cross, are dated to the ninth century. See Henderson, 'The Dupplin Cross'.

Ireland,[10] have been dated to the eighth or ninth centuries,[11] this is now widely debated with many arguing that they are a ninth- and tenth-century phenomenon;[12] it is generally accepted that the most famous examples were produced in the tenth century, such as the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise (Co. Offaly), and Muiredach's Cross at Monasterboice, Co. Louth (Fig. 6.2a).[13] Secondly, in the case of the crosses in Britain and Ireland several different uses have been proposed. Amongst these can be suggested a processional use; a possibly eucharistic and liturgical function; a use as boundary or institutional markers; a function as markers of locations for prayers; and a commemorative function within funerary contexts, as some crosses have memorial references and petitions for prayers in their inscriptions.[14] Thirdly, these crosses allude, through their iconographies, to general statements about Christianity and the Church.[15]

It is necessary to take into account the possibility that, depending on their complexity, the iconographic programmes of the crosses would probably be intended for different audiences,[16] from a literate one, such as the clergy, to a less learned one involving the surrounding community, including those working the landed estates, whether monastic or secular. Leaving aside considerations about the possible meanings behind the non-representational motifs,[17] there are different figural iconographies which emphasise the release of the faithful from the evil,[18] the power of Christ, the redemption of humanity, the hope in salvation and the importance of the Church in terms of mediating the life-saving power of Christianity, suiting the context of assimilation of this religion,[19] with examples including the crucifixion, the annunciation, the *Agnus Dei*, and Christ over the beasts.

10 *Annals of the Four Masters* (*Annala Rioghachta Éireann*), cited in Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, p. 4. For a summary: Moss, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 143–58, 383–5.
11 Stevenson, 'Chronology and Relationships'; Henry, *Irish High Crosses*, pp. 59–60; Harbison, *L'Art Médiéval*, pp. 151–2.
12 See, e.g., Ó Floinn, 'Patrons and Politics'.
13 Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, cat. 54. pp. 48–53, 2, figs 132–46; 1, cat. 174, pp. 140–6, 2, figs 472–87.
14 Ó Carragáin, 'Liturgical Innovations'; Ó Carragáin, 'Liturgical Interpretation'; Hawkes, 'Anglo-Saxon Sculpture', pp. 212–13; Karkov, *Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 70.
15 A relatively small number of figural crosses have been preserved; of the 113 pieces of Anglian sculpture preserved in Northumberland, for example, only six have figural iconographies. Hawkes, 'Art of the Church', p. 337.
16 Hawkes, 'Anglo-Saxon Sculpture', p. 214.
17 Vine-scroll, animal ornament and interlace are common to the crosses in both Britain and Ireland; they carry meaning as well as decorative functions. Hawkes, 'Symbolic Lives'; Karkov, *Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 72.
18 Related to this idea is the inherent protective value of the cross itself, perfectly reflected on the Ruthwell Cross where the runic inscription claims: 'Then no one need be very much afraid who previously has borne for himself the best of symbols on his breast.' For transcription, see Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 329.
19 Hawkes, 'Anglo-Saxon Sculpture', pp. 208, 213; Karkov, *Art of Anglo-Saxon*

In Ireland, the crosses have been closely related to the monastic world, with several being located in monastic enclosures or on their estates, although Ó Floínn's discussion of the Ahenny crosses (in Co. Tipperary) suggests secular elite patronage may also have played a part.[20] Accordingly, demarcation, signalling, and protection would have been common roles for these monuments.[21] Also, as in the case of those in Britain, some scholars think that Irish high crosses might have had a liturgical and didactic role since common themes from sermons are depicted on some of them.[22] Good examples of this phenomenon are the so-called Scripture Crosses in the Irish Midlands, which are characterised by their display of figural scenes disposed in different panels (see Fig. 6.2a). Almost all these scenes have a Christian theme and depict episodes from both testaments that were frequently included in the iconographic programmes of early Christian art. The most common is the crucifixion which, with few exceptions,[23] is usually found at the centre of the cross-head.[24] This image would have been understood to reference both the historical episode of the redemption as well as its eschatological connotations.[25] Here, it is noteworthy that while the crucifixion is represented on one side of the cross-head, many depict the Last Judgement or the Second Coming on the other side,[26] thus presenting more than one image of Christ. This demonstrates the tendency to set the crucifixion within the overall Christian history of salvation and redemption through Christ. In terms of the other images that composed the iconographic programmes of these crosses, most of them are concerned with the idea of how God helped those who believed in Him – such as Adam and Eve, the three children in the fiery furnace, the sacrifice of Isaac, the meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony, and scenes from the life of David, and the life of Christ – again emphasising ideas of redemption and how salvation could be attained through Christianity.[27]

England, pp. 71, 256.

20 Ó Floínn, 'Patrons and Politics', pp. 1–14. See Harbison, High Crosses, 2, figs 7–29. See also the Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnoise, with its panel illustrating the king and abbot founding the monastery set at the base of the shaft on the east face: Harbison, *High Crosses*, 2, cat. 54, figs 132–3.

21 Hamlin, 'Crosses in Early Ireland', pp. 138–40.

22 Henry, *Irish High Crosses*, p. 19; Ó Carragáin, 'Visual Theology'.

23 Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, p. 273.

24 Ní Ghrádaigh, 'Audience, Visuality and Naturalism'.

25 Veelenturf, *Dia Brátha*, pp. 121–50; Veelenturf, 'Irish High Crosses'. I would like to thank Kees Veelenturf for facilitating access to his book.

26 Veelenturf, 'Visions of the End'.

27 The first scholar to suggest that these images reflect 'God's power to save the faithful from spiritual danger' was John Romilly Allen in *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 207. Later, François Henry, *Irish High Crosses*, p. 36, related them to a prayer for the dead (*Ordo Commendationis Animae*) known in Ireland *c*. 800, which invokes the same figures.

FIG. 6.2 IRISH HIGH CROSSES: (A) CROSS OF MUIRDACH, WEST FACE, MONASTERBOICE, CO. LOUTH, TENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: JANE HAWKES)

FIG. 6.2 (B) ST TOLA'S CROSS, WEST FACE, TWELFTH CENTURY, DYSART O'DEA, CO. CLARE (PHOTO: RACHEL MOSS)

FIG. 6.2 (C) DEVINISH HIGH CROSS, FIFTEENTH CENTURY, LOCH ERNE, CO. FERMANAGH (POSTCARD, *c.* 1900)

Even if the eighth to tenth centuries 'may be called the period of the sculptured crosses',[28] it is noteworthy that the production of these crosses continued during the twelfth century in Ireland when a revival of the earlier medieval crosses was undertaken by the then settled Norse inhabitants. These crosses feature a series of innovations, particularly in relation to their iconography.[29] Firstly, the crucified Christ was depicted in high relief,[30] and was the only biblical scene found on many of the crosses. Also, the image of an ecclesiastical figure is often found, possibly corresponding the new post-ecclesiastical reform reality and the creation of the new diocesan sees.[31]

28 Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 132.
29 For the twelfth-century crosses, see Stalley, 'Romanesque Sculpture'; Cronin, 'Late High Crosses'. See also Williams above, pp. 59–80.
30 New expressive features are developed on these crosses as they tend to focus on Christ's body, responding to the new realities of their context of production: a moment of new theological debates and an increasing interest paid to the popular audience. Ní Ghrádaigh, 'Towards an Emotive Christ?', pp. 256, 270.
31 Moss, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 157, 480–1.

Examples of these include the crosses at Roscrea and Monaincha (both in Co. Tipperary) and Dysart O'Dea, in Co. Clare (Fig. 6.2b; see also Fig. 5.4).[32]

Although the production of crosses in Insular contexts declined during the later Middle Ages,[33] late medieval examples survive in both Ireland and Britain, for example at Athenry (Co. Galway), Devenish, Co. Fermanagh (Fig. 6.2c),[34] and Killen or Sarsfieldstown (both in Co. Meath),[35] while in England, despite iconoclastic activities, they can still be found at a number of sites, including Salisbury, Wiltshire and Chichester, West Sussex. Crosses from these centuries were usually located in parish churchyards and waysides,[36] where they functioned as memorials and to mark open air places of worship. Indeed, included in Edward I's reforms focussing on landownership, a statute issued in 1285 stated that the erection of a cross was a form of legal consecration of the spot. The structure of the crosses typically took the form of a stepped base known as the 'Calvary', with the shaft of the cross itself set into a 'socket' on top. The faces of the socket provided a surface for decoration which generally featured the crucifixion. Market crosses were also erected to mark locations within a town where transactions took place. These became prominent local landmarks, reflecting early civic pride. Such crosses were substantial polygonal structures with canopies and balconies.[37] The decoration of these late medieval crosses thus related to the new emphasis within Christianity on death, purgatory and the need for intercession, with their carved decoration including not just the crucified Christ, but also Calvary, the *pietá*, the Virgin and Child, and/or the apostles and other hagiographic figures,[38] while some present inscriptions requesting *pro anima* prayers for their patrons, and in some cases even offer indulgences in exchange.[39]

STONE PRAYERS: GALICIAN CRUCEIROS[40]

It was during these later centuries of the Middle Ages that the Galician *cruceiros* were produced.[41] The study of the few medieval examples still preserved is complicated for several reasons. In the first place, we do not

32 See further above Williams, p. 77.
33 Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, p. 4.
34 Moss, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 158, 384.
35 King, 'Late Medieval Irish Crosses', pp. 338–9.
36 Ibid., p. 335.
37 See Green, 'Stone Crosses'.
38 King, 'Late Medieval Irish Crosses', pp. 340, 344.
39 Heather King alludes to the introduction of references to the donors in these inscriptions, as well as their representation or their heraldry. King, 'Late Medieval Crosses in County Meath', pp. 91–4.
40 'Stone prayers' is an expression used by Castelao to refer to the Galician stone crosses: 'Cada cruceiro é unha *oración en pedra* [italics added] que fixo descer un perdón do ceo'. Castelao, *As cruces de pedra na Galiza*, p. 105.
41 Although the origin of this type of production is medieval, the number of *cruceiros* increased from the sixteenth century onwards.

have much information about the contexts of their creation or how they evolved, and secondly, perhaps as a result, these crosses have received very little attention from the academic community.

There have thus been many discrepancies in terms of the chronology constructed for these crosses and it has been difficult to date them and establish a date of origin. However, it is most likely they began to be produced in the fourteenth century.[42] The Melide cross (Melide, A Coruña) has been traditionally identified as the oldest elevated *cruceiro* (Fig. 6.3),[43] but there is evidence of earlier monumental crosses with no figural decoration having been erected.[44] Different theories have been put forward about the reasons for the elevation of *cruceiros*, which are often located close to roads or religious buildings such as churches or monasteries.[45] These have included relating the development of the wayside crosses to the growth of the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, and also to the development of the mendicant orders and their particular spirituality, which greatly encouraged the devotion to the body of Christ and his death on the cross.[46]

Looking at the functions or uses which have been associated with these crosses, we should start by rejecting the Christianising purpose that some scholars have suggested,[47] since by the fourteenth century Christianity was well established within Western Europe. The location of the *cruceiros* in public spaces should be understood as having a sacralising intention, as a means of extending the sacred nature intrinsic to churches and other spaces through the presence of the central symbol of the Christian faith. Inherent to this symbol are its apotropaic or protective effects, and these wayside crosses should therefore also be understood as related to the protection of the faithful against death or evil, especially when situated by roads or at the limits of villages. In terms of these particular locations, the crosses may also have had demarcating and guiding functions.

42 Both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been proposed as the starting point of their construction. The fourteenth century, however, is the more likely due to stylistic and iconographic similarities with other pieces. Castelao, *As cruces de pedra na Galiza*, pp. 110, 115; Valle Pérez, 'Cruceiros'; Arad, 'Jerusalem in Galicia', p. 133.

43 In Jaime Delgado Gómez's opinion, the oldest example would be the cross at Torre de Lama (Mañón, A Coruña), which he dates to *c*. 1300. Gómez, 'Restos de un cruceiro medieval', pp. 126, 132.

44 The documentary sources reflect how numerous stone crosses were used to signal property limits. For instance, the topographical reference cited in Juan Pelaz's deed of sale (1215). Sánchez Cantón, 'Sobre Castelao', p. 291.

45 Ibid., p. 292; Valle Pérez, 'Cruceiros', p. 49; Barral Rivadulla and Cendón Fernández, 'Devociones en piedra', p. 412; Burgoa Fernández, 'El arte religioso de corte popular', p. 633; González Pérez, *Os Cruceiros*, p. 13.

46 See, e.g., Derbes, *Picturing the Passion*, pp. 1–34; Cannon, *Religious Poverty*, pp. 47–69, 163–73.

47 For instance, Erias Martínez, 'Para unha definición', p. 71.

FIG. 6.3 ENTHRONED CHRIST, CRUZ DE MELIDE, A CORUÑA, FOURTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: SARA CARREÑO)

FIG. 6.4 CRUCIFIXION, CRUCEIRO DE NEDA, A CORUÑA, FOURTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: SARA CARREÑO)

The iconographies of the *cruceiros* further imply they were intended to arouse the viewer to devotion through the figural images associated with themes of death, intercession, redemption and access to the afterlife. Furthermore, the typology of their construction, whereby a cross is elevated by a shaft, means the viewer must raise their eyes to view the cross, and by doing so, the viewer would be reminded that they were raising their minds towards heavenly things and the divine sphere. Thus, the *cruceiro* acted as a bridge between heaven and earth.[48]

Regarding their iconographic programmes,[49] there are two main themes found at the centre of each cross-face.[50] Essential is the image of the crucified Christ, which is presented in all the figural *cruceiros* without exception. The Cruceiro de Neda (Neda, A Coruña) stands out as an exceptional example as the image of Christ crucified is shown on both sides of the cross (Fig. 6.4).[51] The other most common depiction found on these monuments is that of the Virgin, mother of Christ and mediator of humanity,[52] who is in many instances displayed twice, with two different iconographies. On the one hand, she is depicted as part of the Calvary, paired with Saint John standing by the side of the crucified. On the other hand, she is also placed in the centre of the reverse of the cross, with the Child as *Theotokos* or *Maiestas Mariae*. There are, however, a few exceptions to this general tendency whereby the crucified Christ is joined on the other side of the cross by a different iconographic scheme. This is the case of the cross at Torre de Lama (Mañón, A Coruña), where the reverse reveals an image in a poor state of conservation that has been interpreted as a Pantocrator surrounded by a mandorla.[53] Other iconographies survive more fully and are therefore easier to understand, such as the aforementioned Melide cross, where the image of the enthroned Christ showing his wounds is placed on the reverse (Fig. 6.3). This iconography would have been well known within the Galician territory since it is the central image of the twelfth-century Portal of Glory of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Possibly related with this same portal could be the *Thronum Gratiae* which is figured on the reverse of the Cruceiro dos Santos (Vimianzo, A Coruña). In this depiction of the Holy Trinity the Father holds the Son who is presented as a child and not as the usual crucified Christ. However, he is disposed in a cruciate pose following

48 Arad, 'Jerusalem in Galicia', p. 151.
49 It is important to note that today most of the pedestals and shafts are lost, so that only the crosses are preserved, raised over superstructures which post-date them.
50 Carreño López, 'Devociones en granito'.
51 The creation of more than one frame of reference for the iconographic subject of one monument would be anomalous considering the medieval representational system, but here the two images of Christ should be understood with different meanings: one referring to the historic episode of the passion; the other to its eschatological significances.
52 The fact that Mary is depicted on these crosses not only refers to her role as the Mother of Christ, it also invokes her relevance as intercessor of human souls at the Last Judgement.
53 Delgado Gómez, 'Restos de un cruceiro medieval', p. 126.

the same formulation that was already used in the capital of the central mullion of the Portal of Glory at Santiago (Fig. 6.5a–b).

Along with those iconographies some other figures are also portrayed on these crosses. Firstly, it is common to find some of the figures fundamental to late medieval spirituality such as Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, Catherine of Alexandria, Mary Magdalene and Saint James the Apostle, all of whom would have been chosen due to their roles as heavenly mediators. However, there are also representations of figures kneeling and praying. Some of these are easily identified as Franciscan monks, pilgrims and angels due to their clothing or attributes, but others lack any distinguishing features. Such figures, like those found on the Melide cross or the Cruceiro de Fervenzas, Aranga, A Coruña (Fig. 6.6), can be understood as benefactors,[54] or as souls praying in relation to the redemptory symbolism of these crosses in a context where souls in purgatory need prayers from this life to help them reach salvation.[55]

These stone crosses replicate outside what the faithful would have seen inside churches across Western Europe during the late medieval period: the rood with Mary and John, as well as other devotional images such as of the Virgin and Child or the saints. From their medieval origins Galician *cruceiros* continued evolving and adapting their motifs and images to the cultural and spiritual realities in which they were produced. From the sixteenth century onwards, they became more numerous and intricate, introducing more figures in their iconographical programs, as the nineteenth-century Cruceiro de Hío (Cangas, Pontevedra) demonstrates (Fig. 6.7).

CASTELAO AND GALICIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

These crosses, however, were not simply part of the medieval landscape of Galicia and the religious culture of the communities living there during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. More recently they have been endowed with new meanings, being reinterpreted in Castelao's studies to assert Galician identity as distinct from that of other regions in the Iberian Peninsula. As already mentioned, the first studies on Galician *cruceiros* were those carried out by Castelao, who presented them as part of Galician cultural and national identity by linking them to ethnic considerations. Most of the academic studies analysing Castelao's work focus on his political texts, mainly *Sempre en Galiza*. In respect of his books on stone crosses, however, even though they are an obligatory reference when dealing with this subject, there has been no attempt to

54 Barral Rivadulla and Cendón Fernández, 'Devociones en piedra', p. 419.
55 On purgatory, *pro anima* prayers and new considerations regarding death, see Chiffoleau, *La Comptabilité*; Le Goff, *La naissance*.

FIG. 6.5 THE TRINITY, WITH THE FATHER HOLDING THE SON: (A) (TOP LEFT) CRUCEIRO DOS SANTOS, VIMIANZO, A CORUÑA, FOURTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: SARA CARREÑO);

(B) (RIGHT) CAPITAL, CENTRAL MULLION, PORTAL OF GLORY, CATHEDRAL OF SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA, A CORUÑA, *c.* 1188. THE RESTORATION OF THE PÓRTICO DE LA GLORIA WAS CARRIED OUT WITH THE PATRONAGE OF THE BARRIÉ FOUNDATION (PHOTO: © FUNDACIÓN CATEDRAL DE SANTIAGO. PHOTOGRAPHY: DENÍS E. F.)

FIG. 6.6 (BOTTOM LEFT) CRUCIFIXION, CRUCEIRO DE FERVENZAS, ARANGA, A CORUÑA, FOURTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: SARA CARREÑO)

FIG. 6.7 CRUCEIRO DE HÍO, CANGAS DO MORRAZO, PONTEVEDRA, 1872 (PHOTO: INÉS COSTAS VILLAR)

evaluate them within their historical and ideological context. In this sense, this section will be devoted to analysing Castelao's work by extracting a series of references which link a supposed ethnicity with the production of medieval stone crosses.[56]

We need to consider that any historiographical account of the study of a subject should recognise the impact of each author's own personal and historical background. And when dealing with historical accounts produced during the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries it is important to consider that romantic ideals, especially those about nation, had a great impact on their authors.[57] For these reasons, it is important to acknowledge the cultural and political context in which the texts where written. In the case of Castelao, his texts were produced within a moment when the construction of Galician national identity was taking place.

In the nineteenth century romantic thinking led Galician authors – like those elsewhere in Europe – to look for their particularities as a nation, and in this search they cited the past as a defining element of their identity.[58] As part of this process, European nations started with the designation of their ancestors;[59] in the case of Galicia this led to an ethnocultural foundation connecting Galicia with the Celts in such a way that these references began to be presented as a cornerstone of Galician history, initially with the work of José Verea y Aguiar (*Historia de Galicia*, 1838). But the ethnic element was not situated as central in the foundation of the Galician nation until Manuel Murguía produced his *Historia de Galicia*, in the second half of the nineteenth century (1865).[60]

At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a shift from the previous regionalist perspective towards a fully developed nationalist movement.[61] At this point, the line of thought referring to the Celtic roots of the Galician nation was gathered together by Vicente Risco (*Teoría do nacionalismo galego*, 1920) and Xeración Nós, a nationalist intellectual group to which Castelao belonged. The consequent identification of Galicia as part of the Celtic Nations was especially strong in the case of its connection with Ireland that was in the process of achieving its own

56 Castelao's book on Galician crosses is not limited to the *cruceiros*; it considers stone crosses ranging from pre-Christian manifestations, such as petroglyphs, to twentieth-century stone crosses. It considers these productions to be a result of a specific religiosity inherent to the people of this land.

57 See, e.g., Boyle, 'Resurrection', pp. 234–45.

58 Villares, 'Castles vs Castros', p. 921.

59 Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales*, p. 21.

60 Máiz Suárez, 'Raza y mito céltico'.

61 Both Xeración Nós, with its journal *Revista Nós*, and Irmandades da Fala, with their journal *A Nosa Terra*, advocated the resurgence of national awareness through the recovery of the Galician language and culture. To this end they published numerous scholarly articles on several subjects in Galician, as well as political essays, to highlight the distinctiveness of the Galician nation and its difference *vis à vis* the rest of Spain.

independence from the British. For this reason, Ireland was taken as a model in the process of recovery of the Galician national identity by early twentieth-century Galician intellectuals who understood the importance of language, history and culture in the awakening of national conscience.[62]

It is in this context that we can situate Castelao (b. Rianxo, 1886; d. Buenos Aires, 1950), as one of the fundamental figures of Galician Nationalism.[63] He worked closely on Galician language and culture, participating in political and cultural activities, highlighting his collaboration with the journal *Revista Nós* and the nationalist organisation *Irmandades da Fala*. He was also involved in *Partido Galeguista*, a Galician nationalist political party established in 1931 which held significant importance during the Spanish Second Republic. The party practically disintegrated after the military uprising of 1936 which led to the repression of party members. During the Spanish dictatorship Castelao continued his activities in exile,[64] culminating with the publication in 1944 of his work, *Sempre en Galiza*.

In 1929, after the death of his son, Castelao had travelled to Brittany on a scholarship to study the stone crosses of this region,[65] which are noticeably similar to the Galician *cruceiros* (Fig. 6.8). In his two books on this phenomenon one of the things Castelao established is the intimate relationship between the crosses developed in these territories, highlighting the importance of the Celtic ethnic identification shared by Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Brittany and Galicia.[66] He argued that the Celtic connections between these territories would lead to a cultural affinity, and when speaking about crossroads he quotes Ernest Renan to assert that 'we, the Celts, are a mysterious race who have the sense of the afterlife and the secret of death … so the old roads have for us the same mystery as the night or death'.[67]

Castelao proposed that the crosses developed in Ireland and Britain somehow inspired the Galician and Breton monuments. Thus one chapter of his book opens with the statement that 'in the case of Galiza, we [the author] deem it necessary' to study first 'the Celtic art from the British Isles since there is where we will find the precedents of the monumental

62 Lugrís Álvarez and Moscoso Mato, 'Galicia, Ireland and the *Leabhar Gabhala*', p. 71.
63 Máiz Suárez, *A idea de nación*; Garrido Couceiro, *O pensamento de Castelao*; Méixome Quinteiro, *Castelao*; Beramendi and Máiz Suárez, 'O pensamento político'.
64 Núñez Seixas, 'Emigración y exilio antifascista'.
65 Apart from *As cruces de pedra na Bretaña*, *Sant-Iago na Bretaña* (*Revista Nós* 67–68, 1929–1930) and the drawing collection *Álbum de Bretaña* were also published as a result of this trip.
66 Castelao, *As cruces de pedra na Galiza*, p. 72.
67 'Os celtas somos "unha raza misteriosa que ten o sentido do alén e o segredo da morte", dixo Renan, "e os vellos camiños gardan para nós o mesmo misterio que a noite e a morte"'. He repeats this reference when speaking specifically about *cruceiros*. Renan, *Essais de 'morale et de critique*, p. 451; Castelao, *As cruces de pedra na Galiza,* pp. 77–8, 105.

FIG. 6.8 CALVARY, LOCRONAN, BRITTANY, SIXTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: JANE HAWKES)

cross'.[68] He continues by saying that 'free-standing stone crosses were born in the British Isles',[69] before finally specifying that 'everything leads us to think that stone crosses were born in Ireland'.[70]

In regard to Galician crosses he states that 'we don't know any stone monument … which can be compared with the Celtic-Christian crosses, not by its making neither its antiquity'.[71] However, despite there being no direct parallels between these free-standing crosses, he notices a 'clearly direct or indirect influence of Celtic crosses' on the Galician 'antefix crosses' (those set over the gable ends of roofs),[72] referring to them as 'daughters or granddaughters of the Irish and Scottish crosses'.[73] Castelo sees in these types of crosses echoes of what has been understood as Celtic art, and so relates them to what he identifies as 'our ethnic background'.[74] In the same way, when talking about wayside crosses he asserts that this typology of cross 'developed in every Celtic-Christian country' as they would be product of what he understands to be the 'Celtic conscience of our people'.[75]

In addition, when speaking about the Breton crosses he asserts 'one discerns little resemblance between Celtic crosses from Insular Britain [and Ireland] and the primitive ones from Armorican Brittany … we might think that the first crosses were built by the apostles arrived from Ireland, Scotland and Wales'.[76] According to this statement, stone crosses in Brittany were directly related to the Insular world, with the monks who arrived on the Continent as the promoters of the first crosses. Later, when dealing with the specific case of the *cruceiros*, Castelao declares that 'the common type of cross in Brittany is identical to the Galician one, with such similarities that we must think of something more than simple coincidence'.[77] He establishes a connection between both territories based

68 'Pero, tratándose de Galiza, xulgamos necesario dar primeiramente algunha lixeira ideia da arte celta das Illas Británicas, porque alí atoparemos os antecedentes da cruz moimental'. Castelao, *As cruces de pedra na Galiza*, p. 43.
69 'Nas Illas Británicas nasceron as cruces outas de pedra'. Ibid., p. 44.
70 'Certo é que todo fai supôr que as cruces de pedra nasceron en Irlanda'. Ibid., p. 46.
71 'e non sabemos de ningún moimento de pedra, senlleiro e independente, que poida compararse coas cruces celto-cristiáns, nin pol-o feitío, nin pol-a antigüedade'. He remarks again that 'we cannot cite any uplifted cross similar to those in Ireland, Scotland or Wales' and that there would be differences due to 'the country and the times in which they were created'. Ibid., pp. 48–9, 78.
72 Ibid., p. 49.
73 'As nosas cruces antefixas son, pol-a súa feitura, fillas ou netas das cruces irlandesas i escocesas'. Ibid., p. 65.
74 For Castelao the round and organic shape of these crosses fits 'our artistic and religious sensibility'. Ibid., pp. 55, 59.
75 Ibid., p. 78.
76 'Ainda que se dexerga pouca semellanza antre as cruces celtas da Bretaña insular e as primitivas da Bretaña armoricana … compre pensar que os apóstolos chegados de Irlanda, Escocia e Gales, foros os que ergeron as primeiras cruces'. Castelao, *As cruces de pedra na Bretaña*, pp. 19–20.
77 'O tipo común de cruceiro de Bretaña e idéntico ó de Galiza, con tales semellanzas que compre en algo máis que nunha simple casualidade'. Ibid., p. 51.

on the exchange of influences through the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela and their shared roots, claiming that 'in these two sister lands the same seed bears identical fruits, a growing forest of *cruceiros* as they grew from oak trees before'.[78]

In his books Castelao presented the development of stone crosses as part of the *volkgeist* of these nations.[79] This understanding and deployment of the material culture from ancient and medieval times was part of the promotion of the Celtic origins that had been conducted by nationalist authors since the second half of the nineteenth century. In this sense, Castelao is studying this phenomenon within a broader context of theoretical national construction, determining that the erection of free-standing stone crosses is the consequence of a common ethnicity that comes from the same Celtic roots. These crosses were therefore used as part of the ideological foundation of a community to establish its sameness with some territories in order to formulate its uniqueness against others.[80] The production of these crosses suited the collective identity of these nations, characterised by a range of shared spiritual and psychological qualities. On this matter, Castelao claimed in reference to the stone crosses in Britany and Galicia that 'both countries, along with the Celtic-British ones, compose an ethnic family, from whose common features we should highlight their love for the elevated stone crosses'.[81]

Castelao's theories, along with those of other twentieth-century authors, had a considerable impact on the collective imagination of Galicia. As Patrick J. Geary asserted about European peoples: 'these perceptions have penetrated so deeply into … consciousness that they are no longer understood as historical reconstructions but rather as self-evident and essential components of national identity'.[82] In the specific case of studies of stone crosses in Galicia, Castelao's work substantially conditioned later discussions in this field of enquiry as well as our understanding of this subject. For example, it is common to find references to these crosses as symbols or products of the beliefs and the religious sentiment of Galician people,[83] as well as interpretations of their origins related to those crosses from Ireland and Britain.[84] Ultimately, these stone crosses have become one of the symbols that represent Galician identity in the collective memory of its people.

78 'nas dúas terras irmáns a mesma semente dou froitos idénticos, e nasceron bosques de cruceiros coma denantes nasceran de carballos'. Ibid., pp. 51–3.
79 Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie*. For the idea of Volkgeist in Castelao, see Máiz Suárez, 'Volksgeist vs raza', pp. 259–62.
80 Ramón Máiz established from the study of *Sempre en Galiza* a difference in Castelao's formulations between: 'etnia de exclusión' (Castile), 'etnia de reintegración' (Portugal) and 'etnia de identificación' (Celtic Nations). Máiz Suárez, 'Volksgeist vs raza', pp. 269–74.
81 Castelao, *As cruces de pedra na Galiza*, p. 98.
82 Geary, *Myth of Nations*, p. 158.
83 For instance: Blanco Rodríguez, 'Aproximación ós aspectos históricos', pp. 42–3.
84 Plaza Beltrán, 'Origen, vías de penetración', pp. 8–10.

CONCLUSIONS

This discussion has briefly reviewed the functions and iconographies of stone crosses found across Galicia, Ireland and Britain in terms of their uses, demarcation, signalling, protection, liturgical or eucharistic functions. These monuments would have had a function related to their significance and the kinds of messages they transmitted. Although all of them displayed images related to the idea of salvation inherent to the Christian faith, there are some differences between them which we can ascribe to different contexts of production: depending on when they were created, certain specific meanings were accentuated over others. The early and high medieval crosses which were developed within the Insular world have iconographic programmes that focus more on subjects that allude to a collective conception of redemption, pertaining to the idea of salvation through images that highlight the idea of God helping the faithful, the power of Christianity, the importance of the institution and the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[85] Yet in the case of late medieval stone crosses, as we find with the Galician *cruceiros*, the central theme emphasises the possibility of redemption made possible by the death of Christ on the cross. Furthermore, in accordance with the spirituality of the later Middle Ages, these crosses also underscore the idea of intercession in the afterlife through their display of saintly figures. In this sense, the Galician crosses demonstrate late medieval Christianity's new considerations of death and to a more personal and emotional approach to faith and religion.

However, as my analysis shows, the lives of these monuments are not just confined to the context for which they were originally intended. They have acquired a life beyond that and it is in this life that they have come to be endowed with a new significance, a new importance and a new function. These new considerations transcend the stone crosses' religious purposes to become part of the discourse around national identities.[86] In this sense, the *cruceiros* became connected to both religious and subsequent identity significations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the case of Castelao, it is evident that he saw in these crosses the 'eternal essence' of ethnicity, understanding it as a permanent and continuous reality which is maintained throughout history. From a contemporary resignification,

85 It is interesting in the Irish case that they also would emphasise notions about the monastic and eremitic life within a context in which the monastic world held salient importance. Ó Carragáin, 'The Meeting'.

86 Maggie Williams' study of the twelfth-century Tuam Market Cross (Co. Galway) is interesting in this respect, having been installed in its current position in 1870 following its reconstruction from different pieces. She discusses how the cross 'was endowed with a secular function that may or may not have been present in its original twelfth-century setting' which then became a town landmark which would have a role within the community, as well as the manner in which this construct then began to participate in the representation of the cultural identity of the Irish nation. Williams, 'Constructing the Market Cross', p. 145; see further above, Williams, pp. 65–9.

he associates alleged ancient ethnic origins with a specific typology of artefact, in this case the stone crosses, which developed during the later Middle Ages and beyond.[87] Castelao presents the ethnic component as timeless, as trans-historical, remaining unalterable through the centuries from ancient times to the contemporary era, being embodied in these stone crosses as a material manifestation of the spirit of the Celtic roots of these 'imagined communities'.[88]

In effect, Castelao's works opened up the study of medieval stone crosses in the historiography of Galicia, and in many cases established the nature of our understanding of these monuments. Beyond the considerations of ethnic or national identity that he associated with the Galician crosses, however, which have been analysed here, his studies introduced a series of points that must be taken into consideration. Despite the fact that a number of his arguments and assumptions are refutable, Castelao established some points that are still valid, such as, for instance, the identification of the oldest crosses of this type in Galicia and a chronology of the monuments. Apart from this, he also illustrated, by drawing, the pieces he studied,[89] both in Galicia and Brittany, so that today we have access to details that unfortunately are not preserved nowadays. Castelao's two books are thus of great interest to art historians who wish to approach the monuments and their study. First, they articulate the initial hypotheses about the origins and functions of the crosses; second, through an awareness of the contexts within which Castelao wrote, his books can be understood as integral to the process of constructing a national identity, and so demonstrating how material culture of the Middle Ages could be invoked to construct something very different to their original functions and significances – becoming an interesting source for contemporary history and historiography. In addition, the illustrations and drawings produced by Castelao can now be considered artworks in their own right and standing as evidence in the history of illustration of early artefacts.[90]

Approaching medieval images and objects beyond their moment of creation, paying attention to their reception in different moments, allow us to study them from a more holistic point of view and to understand their

87 See above, n. 56.

88 Concept from Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

89 Castelao, apart from being a writer, was also an artist with various exhibitions devoted to his work: e.g. 'Castelao grafista. Pinturas, dibujos, estampas', held at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Madrid, 2017); 'Castelao artista. Los fundamentos de su estilo (1905–1920)', held at the Museo de Pontevedra (2016). See *Castelao grafista. Pinturas, dibujos, estampas*: www.realacademiabellasartessanfernando.com/es/actividades/exposiciones/castelao-grafistapinturas-dibujos-estampas (accessed 25 November 2018); Catálogo Castelao: www.museo.depo.gal/coleccion/catalogo.castelao/es.03110000.html (accessed 25 November 2018).

90 An exhibition, 'Castelao e as cruces de pedra' at the Museo de Pontevedra (2000) was promoted both by this institution and the Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza; in 2004 this same museum commemorated Castelao's visit to Brittany with another exhibition: 'Castelao en Bretaña'. Both catalogues were published: Valle Pérez, *Castelano en Bretaña*; Valle Pérez, *Castelao e as cruces de pedra.*

life beyond their original contexts. Some of the medieval artefacts studied by medievalists and art historians had uses beyond the chronological frame identified as 'Middle Ages', and some of them are still in use today, are still being worshipped or have been reinterpreted or re-signified. It is important for us to take into account that these objects continued to have an active life within communities and have done so throughout the centuries.

7

THE ROOD IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLISH CATHEDRAL: THE BLACK ROOD OF SCOTLAND REASSESSED

PHILIPPA TURNER

The presence of at least one monumental rood, above either the *pulpitum* or the rood screen, was a standard feature within the late medieval English cathedral.[1] We also have evidence from a number of cathedrals that record the presence of a monumental rood above the high altar. A late thirteenth-century inventory from York Minster, for example, found on the fly-leaf of the York Gospels, records the presence of two roods, one above the *pulpitum* and one above the high altar, both said to have been donated and dedicated by Archbishop Roger Pont l'Évêque, who was in office 1154–1181.[2] They are described as holding relics of apostles and Roman martyrs in the corpus of the crucifix, and it is perhaps the case that these relics were brought from Rome by Roger himself, as he is documented as travelling there at least twice.[3] Later evidence from the fabric rolls of the Minster and wills requesting burial within the interior suggests that roods were kept in these positions into the sixteenth century, and it is possible that they were in fact still Roger's

1 Brieger, *England's Contribution*. I have discussed this topic in detail in my doctoral thesis, from which this chapter's research is taken. See Turner, 'Image and Devotion', pp. 137–57; on the development of the monumental rood as a standard feature of the English parish context, see Cragoe, 'Belief and Patronage', esp. pp. 32–3; Marks, 'From Langford', esp. pp. 184–204; Marks, 'Framing the Rood', esp. pp. 8–9.

2 YMLA, MS Add. 1, fols 166v–167r.

3 Barlow, 'Pont L'Évêque'.

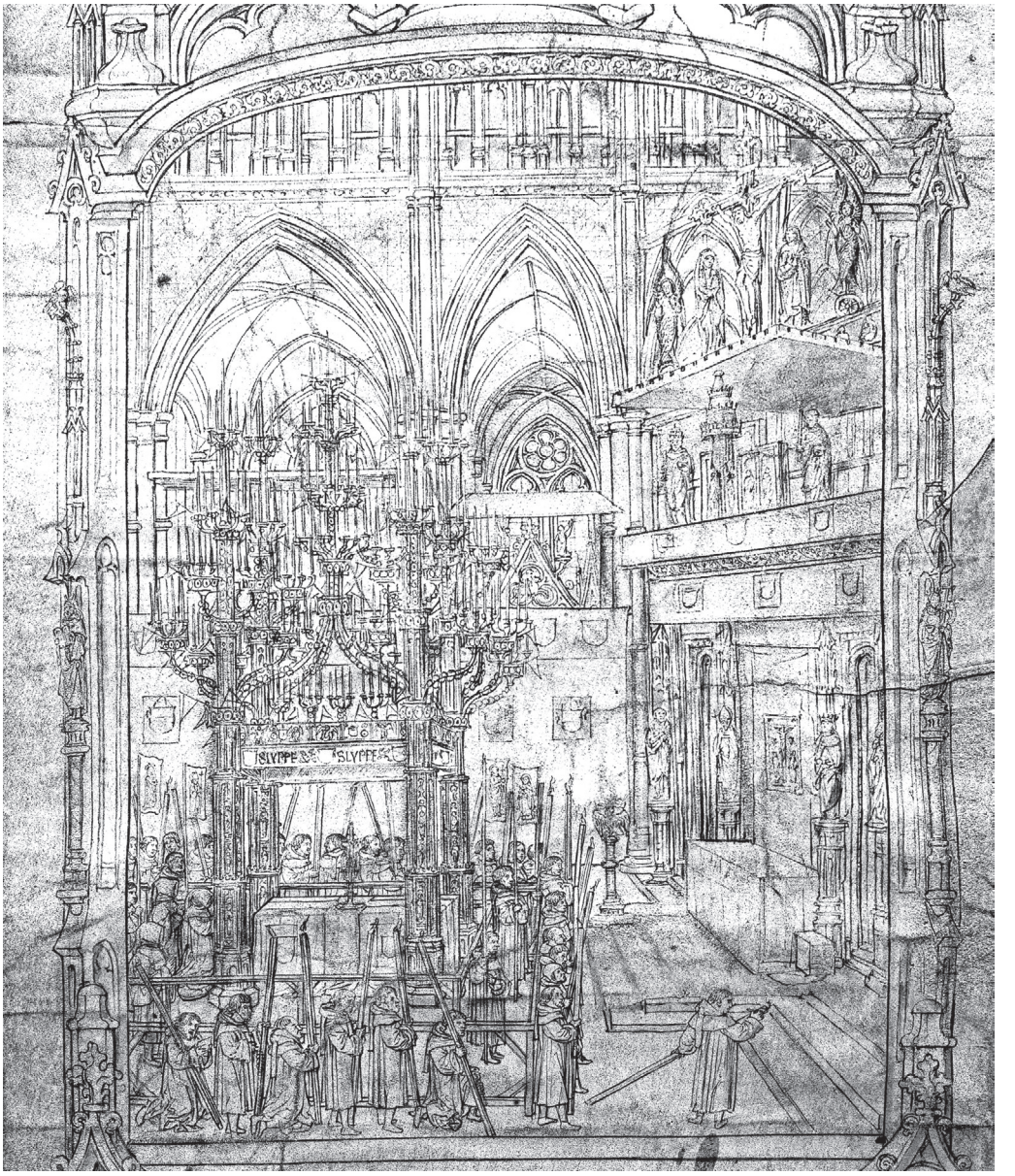

FIG. 7.1 HIGH ALTAR ROOD, WESTMINSTER ABBEY. MORTUARY ROLL OF JOHN ISLIP. PEN AND INK ON VELLUM. c. 1532 (PHOTO: COPYRIGHT DEAN AND CHAPTER OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY)

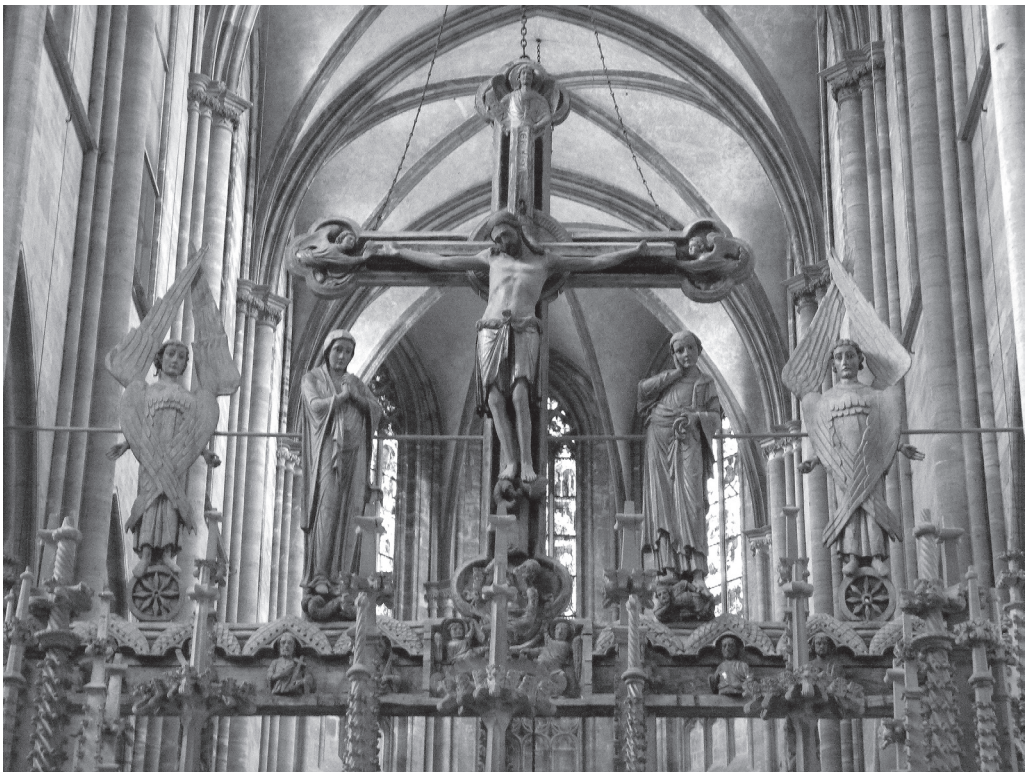

FIG. 7.2 ROOD GROUP, *c.* 1210–1215, CATHEDRAL OF ST STEPHEN AND ST SIXTUS, HALBERSTADT, GERMANY, (PHOTO: PHILIPPA TURNER)

twin donation.[4] The image of the high altar of Westminster Abbey in the *c.* 1532 Islip Roll gives us an indication of how monumental roods above the high altar could look (Fig. 7.1) and extant monumental roods on the Continent, such as that at the cathedral of St Stephen and St Sixtus in Halberstadt, demonstrate their imposing presence above *pulpita* (Fig. 7.2; Plate VI).

These examples are helpful in reminding us of the most common locations for monumental roods in the cathedral context, and they also suggest, through their similar monumentality, the idea that such roods might have been intended to function in dialogue with one another. In this discussion I intend to examine the evidence for another rood, in a slightly different location within a cathedral interior, which was likely

4 Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, 150 (for the rood in the choir); BIA Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 607v; YMLA, D/C Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 78r (for requests to be buried in front of the '*magnum crucifixum*' and 'blissed roode'); see Turner, 'Image and Devotion', pp. 108–9 on how these requests can be matched to James Torre's *c.* 1690–1691 plan of the burial plots in the crossing, confirming they refer to the *Triumphkreuz*.

monumental in size, is recorded only in documentary sources, and was lost in the Dissolution or shortly after. It is the rood known as 'the Black Rood of Scotland', located in Durham Cathedral Priory, one of the richest monastic institutions in the late medieval north of England and the site of the body and cult of St Cuthbert, centred on the feretory area behind the high altar, where his body was translated in 1104 (Figs 7.3 and 7.4).[5]

The Black Rood of Scotland is associated with the Battle of Neville's Cross, an emphatic English victory over the Scots on 17 October 1346.[6] This took place only a few miles west of the cathedral priory and during the battle King David II of Scotland was taken prisoner by the English.[7] Thus far, the evidence for the rood, found in the post-Dissolution narrative *The Rites of Durham*,[8] has not been fully explored from an art-historical perspective. The historian Lynda Rollason has made some reference to it in her work on another object, a small reliquary also – and confusingly – known as the Black Rood of Scotland, which is listed in the inventory of relics in the cupboards at St Cuthbert's shrine in 1383 as '*una crux nigra que vocatur Blak rode of Scotland*'.[9] I will shortly address in detail the evidence for these two objects as being distinct, and in terms of size, very different. For the sake of clarity, these objects will be referred to throughout the remainder of this discussion as the 'small' and the 'monumental' Black Rood, although the monumentality of the latter will not go unquestioned. Rollason's work does not consider the monumental rood in any detail, nor does she explore the potential relationship between it and the small reliquary cross in any depth, as her focus is on the latter's history. Here, I will first explore the evidence for the monumental Black Rood, and consider its relationship with the small reliquary cross, but also extend this discussion to consider the relationship between these two roods and two other monumental crosses in the late medieval landscape around Durham, which are also mentioned in relation to the Battle of Neville's Cross in the *Rites*.

5 The literature on Durham Cathedral Priory during the late medieval period is vast. Valuable starting points are the essays collected in Coldstream and Draper, *Medieval Art and Architecture*; Bonner et al., *St Cuthbert*; and Rollason et al., *Anglo-Norman Durham* (of particular relevance here is Crook's essay, 'The Architectural Setting').

6 On aspects of the battle and the geographical area in which it took place, see the essays collected in Rollason and Prestwich, *The Battle of Neville's Cross*.

7 See Lomas, 'The Durham Landscape', on the problematics of deciphering the exact location of the battle on Bearpark Moor.

8 An edition of the *Rites* was published in 1901, making use of the known extant versions of the text and this edition has been used as a standard reference in modern scholarship on Durham's art and architectural history: see Fowler, *Rites*. Lynda Rollason and Margaret Harvey are currently preparing a new edition of the text, which will incorporate another manuscript which may be earlier than DCL, MS C.III.23, thus far considered the earliest manuscript of the *Rites* (personal communication, Margaret Harvey, 2014).

9 Rollason, 'Spoils of War?'; Fowler, *Extracts*, 426. The original inventory is DCL, MS B.II.35, fols 192r–198v. This is somewhat damaged; Fowler's transcription has been checked and verified as accurate, therefore subsequent references to the inventory here will refer to Fowler's published transcription.

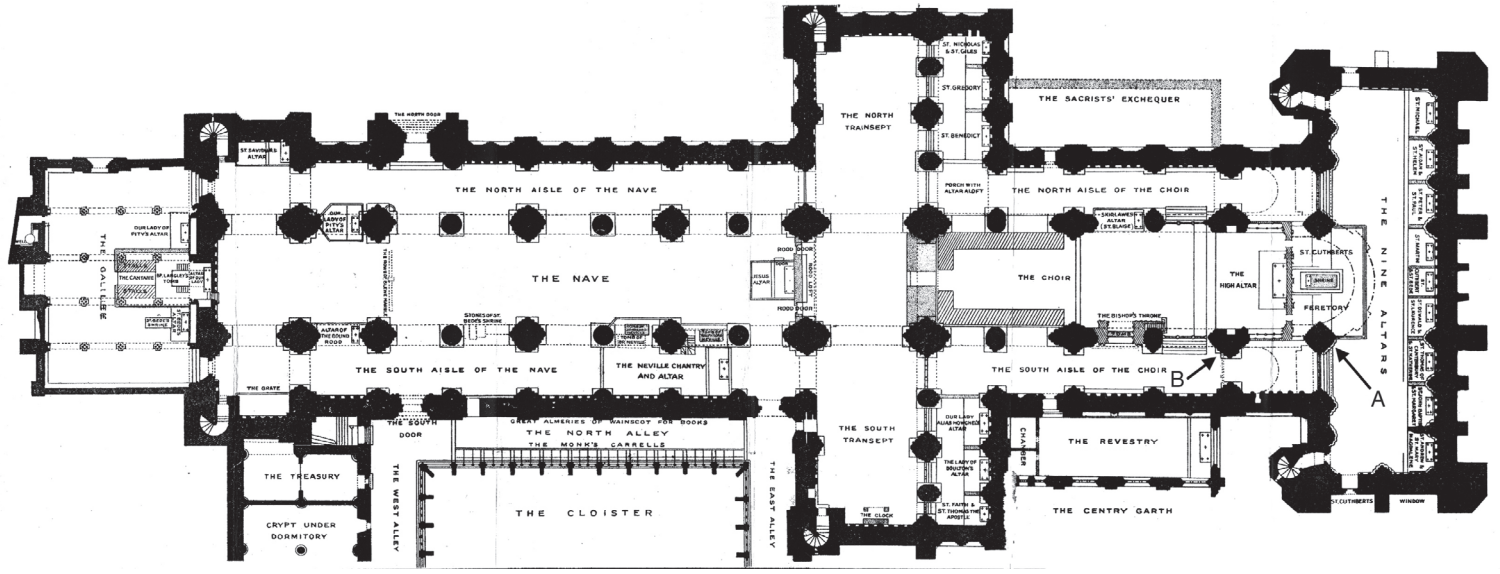

FIG. 7.3 PLAN OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL SHOWING LOCATION OF ST CUTHBERT'S FERETORY, AND POSSIBLE LOCATIONS FOR THE MONUMENTAL BLACK ROOD OF SCOTLAND AT POINTS A AND B (AFTER FRONTISPIECE IN W. GREENWELL, DURHAM CATHEDRAL (EIGHTH EDITION, DURHAM, 1913, AS REPRODUCED AT WWW.MEDART.PITT.EDU)).

FIG. 7.4
ST CUTHBERT'S FERETORY, INCLUDING NEVILLE SCREEN AND NORTH ENTRANCE, DURHAM CATHEDRAL (PHOTO: JANE HAWKES)

THE BLACK ROOD OF SCOTLAND

What was the monumental Black Rood, and where was it placed? Our only firm evidence for it comes from the *Rites*, an account of the interior of Durham Cathedral Priory written in the 1590s, and likely informed by the memories of at least one former monk at the institution before its dissolution.[10] The cathedral's surviving sacrists' rolls do not refer to the rood directly by name; there are though, references to 'the cross

10 McKinnell, 'The Hogg Roll'.

hanging near to the choir' (*circa cruce [sic] ponendam juxtam chorum*) and 'in the south part of the choir' (*ex australi parte chori*).[11] The former could potentially relate to the monumental rood above the rood screen at the east end of the nave, which the *Rites* also describes,[12] yet the latter reference remains ambiguous. However, the latter is worth bearing in mind in the course of the ensuing argument, as it could potentially refer to the Black Rood.

The *Rites* was likely compiled, and certainly first written down, in the last decade of the sixteenth century and survives in a number of manuscripts of various dates between *c*. 1593 and the mid- to late seventeenth century, all of which have variations in their texts, and are in different states of survival and/or completeness. Usually considered the earliest extant manuscript is that known as the Hogg Roll,[13] written in the hand of the antiquary William Claxton (d. 1597), squire of Wynard Hall, just outside Durham, followed by the Cosin manuscript, dating from *c*. 1630;[14] there are several later manuscripts including the mid-seventeenth-century Durham University Library MS Lawson, and Durham Cathedral Library manuscripts Hunter 44 and Hunter 45.[15]

As noted above (p. 106), the *Rites* is an account of the interior of the cathedral on the cusp of the Dissolution. Beginning in the east of the building with St Cuthbert's shrine and working west, ending with the Galilee Chapel, it details many of the major altars, screens, images and burial sites in the building, as well as the ways in which the different liturgical spaces were used. Importantly, the Hogg Roll appears to be missing a number of membranes at the beginning, and the first areas to be mentioned in the topographical description are the transepts and central crossing, whereas the later Cosin manuscript begins its description with the shrine, high altar and other parts of the east end before moving onto the transepts and central crossing: these descriptions of the components of the east end are not in the Hogg Roll at all. The tone of the *Rites* is shot through with a sense of wonder, particularly in relation to the craftsmanship of objects, as well as a sense of loss, most of these objects having been destroyed during the Dissolution. The Paschal candlestick's dragons, beasts and men upon horseback are described in minute detail, for example, as 'very finely wrought all beinge of most fine and curious candlestick mettall', and the *Triumphkreuz*, located at the east end of

11 DDCA, Sacrists' Rolls, 1358–1359 (mem. 1, front); DDCA Sacrists' Rolls, 1486–1487 (front).

12 *Rites*, p. 33.

13 DCL, MS C.III.23.

14 DUL, Cosin MS B.II.11.

15 For more detail on these manuscripts and their relationships, see *Rites*, pp. ix–xvi; McKinnell, 'The Hogg Roll', and Turner, 'Image and Devotion', pp. 54–7. Subsequent references to the *Rites* in this discussion will use Fowler's edition, which gives the alternative readings as they appear in each manuscript.

the nave before the crossing, is described as 'ye most goodly & famous Roode yt was in all this land'.[16] It is worth noting here that a donor of the *Triumphkreuz* is not noted in the *Rites*: in light of the careful recording of donors elsewhere in the account, this suggests that it may have been either unknown by this time, or it was not given by an individual.

Before the description of the transepts and central crossing in the Hogg Roll, there is firstly a description of the Battle of Neville's Cross.[17] The same description is also found in the Cosin manuscript and the later manuscripts, and it is likely to have been placed in this position due to the fact that Prior Fossor, one of the major figures associated with the battle, is noted as being buried in the north transept.[18]

The Hogg Roll's description of the battle suggests that two roods were associated with the day's events. It states that in the battle's aftermath, the prior, monks, and the leading English noblemen, including Ralph, Second Baron Neville de Raby (d. 1367), and John, his son and later Third Baron Neville de Raby, all went back to the cathedral priory, 'ther ioyninge in hartie praier & thankes … for ye conquest & victorie atchived that daie'.[19] This report of the after-battle thanksgiving is followed by a lengthy description of the mysterious provenance of 'A holy cross which was taken out of holie rudehouse'.[20] The cross, it states, had 'conme to ye said king' (King David II of Scotland) from between the antlers of a hart when he was hunting outside Edinburgh, and was subsequently housed at the abbey of Holyrood, built in honour of the object.[21] We know that the text is inaccurate here because Holyrood Abbey was founded by David I in 1128 in order to house the cross reliquary that held a piece of the True Cross and which had belonged to his mother, Queen Margaret of Scotland.[22] This is described later in the twelfth century by Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167) in his *Life of King David* (*c.* 1153)[23] as 'that which they call black'.[24] It was the length of a palm and:

> made with surpassing skill out of pure gold; it opens and closes like a box. In it can be seen a portion of the Lord's cross, as has often been proved by the evidence of many miracles. It bears the image of our Saviour carried [sic, 'carved'] from the most beautiful ivory and is marvelously adorned with gold ornaments.[25]

16 *Rites*, pp. 10, 33.
17 Ibid., pp. 23–9.
18 Ibid., p. 29.
19 Ibid., pp. 24.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., p. 24.
22 On the foundation of Holyrood and its twelfth-century architecture, see Fawcett, *Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church*, pp. 19–22.
23 Freeland and Dutton, *Aelred*, pp. 12–13.
24 Ibid., p. 63: uenerandam sibi crucem, quam nigram uocant, produci sibi petiit adorandam. Aelred, *Liber de Vita Religiosi David Regis Scotie*, X, 23–24 in Pezzini, *Aelredi Rievallensis*, p. 16. See also *Rites*, p. 216.
25 Freeland and Dutton, *Aelred*, p. 63. Aelred, *Liber de Vita Religiosi Daid Regis Scotie*, X, 24–30: Est autem crux illa longitudinem habens palme de auro purissimo mirabali opere

King David II, the Hogg Roll states, 'cummynge towards ye said battell, dyd bring yt [the cross that the Hogg Roll states he had found between the hart's antlers and set up at Holyrood] upon him as a most myraculous & fortunate relique'.[26] The text then reports that David was 'punished by god almighty' by being captured and wounded, and he:

> also lost ye saide crosse which was taiken vpon him, & many other most wourthie & excellent Jewells & monuments which weare brought from scotland as his owne banner & other noblemens auncientes …
> [these] weare offred vp at ye shryne of St Cuthbert for bewtifiyinge & adorninge therof, together with ye blacke Rude of scotland (so tearmed) with Mary and John, maid of silver, being as yt were smoked all ouver, which was placed & sett vp most exactlie in ye piller next St Cuthbert's shrine in ye south alley.[27]

This report suggests that both the cross taken from Holyrood abbey *and* another rood, which was set up in the south choir ambulatory (note the text reads 'together with…'), were taken at the battle and set up in the east end of the cathedral priory immediately after the victory, as part of the community and noblemen's thanksgiving. Interestingly, it is the other rood, the one set up at or on the pillar, which is named in the *Rites* as the 'Black Rood', a point to which we shall return. The detail that this cross was 'smoked all ouver' suggests some form of tarnishing caused by oxidisation of silver. The small rood carried by David is unnamed in the *Rites*, but it seems likely, considering where the *Rites* tells us it was placed, that we can identify this object as that which is described as the 'Black Rood of Scotland' in the 1383 *Book of Relics* at Durham; we can also suggest that this was likely to be 'the black cross' mentioned by Aelred, especially if, as the *Rites* has it, David II carried it himself. The 1383 *Book of Relics* states that all the objects listed in it were housed in the reliquary cupboards at the shrine, to the north and south sides of the feretory,[28] suggesting that they were therefore all relatively portable objects. The presence of a small object, able to be held by one person, would therefore be apt amongst this collection; furthermore, an object of this size would also tally with the description given by Aelred of a portable object.

Where in the 'south alley next to St Cuthbert's shrine' was the monumental rood named as the 'Black Rood' in the *Rites*? The Cosin manuscript mentions two roods as being located in the choir ambulatory. One was in the north choir ambulatory, located within a chapel. This had

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fabricata, que in modum thece clauditur et aperitur. Cernitur in ea quedam dominice crucis portio, sicut sepe multorum miraculorum argumento probatum est, Slauatoris nostri imaginem habens de ebore decentissime sculptam, et aureis distinctionibus mirabiliter decoratam. Pezzini, *Aelredi Rievallensis*, pp. 16–17.

26 *Rites*, p. 25.

27 Ibid.

28 Fowler, *Extracts*, p. 425. For discussion of these cupboards, and the extant evidence for their presence, and metal grilles preceding them, at the feretory, see Crook, 'The Architectural Setting', pp. 245–6.

FIG. 7.5
NORTH CHOIR AMBULATORY OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL, LOOKING WEST, WITH STAIRS TO NORTH ENTRANCE OF ST CUTHBERT'S FERETORY TO THE LEFT AND DAMAGE TO PIER, POSSIBLY EVIDENCE OF ANCHORITE'S CHAPEL ABOVE HIGH ALTAR/ FERETORY AREA (PHOTO: JANE HAWKES)

formerly been an anchorite's cell and was reached by stairs 'adioyninge to the north dore of St Cuthberts feretorie',[29] which we can suggest as referring to the Neville Screen's north door, located between the first and second piers from the east on the north side of the feretory and choir/presbytery, as the present stairs leading from the ambulatory to the feretory are post-medieval in date (Fig. 7.5).[30]

29 *Rites*, p. 17.
30 Ibid.; Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 99 notes that Willis does not show stairs in this location in his 1727 plan of the east end. See plan in Willis, *A Survey*, following p. 223, and also Wilson, 'Neville Screen', p. 95 and Carter, *Plans, Elevations, Sections*, pl. II.

In the Cosin manuscript's section on the 'south alley of the choir' (a section not in the Hogg Roll, due to that manuscript's description of the interior beginning further west), the rood in the south choir ambulatory is identified as the 'black Roode of Scotland' and is described as being located more precisely 'opposite to the foresaid porch [the anchorite's chapel]'.[31] The Hogg Roll's specification of it as 'in ye piller next St Cuthbert's shrine' suggests the Black Rood may have been located at the first pier from the east on the south side of the shrine (Fig. 7.3; A), yet the Cosin manuscript description suggests that its location could be understood as related to the second pier from the east of the south side of Cuthbert's shrine (Fig. 7.3; B), as the site of the chapel must have been between the second pier from the east on the north side, and the most easterly pier on the north side. Close inspection of the two most easterly piers on the south side of the feretory and presbytery/high altar area reveals no damage to their faces related to the mounting of a monumental rood and its accompanying figures. However, a series of three holes is discernible on the upper part of the second pier from the east with corresponding holes on the opposite pier to the south (Fig. 7.6a–b). This raises the possibility that that the rood may have been mounted on a beam across the ambulatory, and indeed this is where the Black Rood is indicated as residing in St John Hope's plan of the interior at the back of the 1901 edition of the *Rites*, possibly after observation of these holes.[32]

The Cosin manuscript's description of this area of the cathedral priory contains more detail about the monumental Black Rood. Its provenance is given in the section on the south choir ambulatory as being 'brought out of holy Rood house, by King Dauid Bruce and was wonne at the battaile of Durham'.[33] Whilst the figure of Christ is not mentioned, details of the rood group's iconography are given:

> [It has] the picture of oure ladye on the one side, and St Johns on the other side uerye richly wrought in siluer all 3 hauinge crownes of gold with deuice or wrest to take them of or on beinge adorned with fine wainscote.[34]

As well as repeating the name and battle-provenance of the south choir ambulatory rood, the mid-seventeenth-century MS Lawson version of the *Rites* includes a more detailed description of its appearance not found in the earlier manuscripts. It states that the three figures were 'all smoked black over, being large pictures of a Yard and five quarters long'.[35] This odd mode of recording the figures' height is puzzling: if it does mean that

31 *Rites*, p. 18.
32 Ibid., plan following p. 335.
33 Ibid., pp. 18, 25. On the battle itself, see the essays in Rollason and Prestwich, *Battle of Neville's Cross*.
34 *Rites*, p. 18. The word 'wrought' was added to the manuscript in a second hand.
35 Ibid., p. 19.

FIG. 7.6 SOUTH CHOIR AMBULATORY OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL LOOKING EAST, SHOWING CUTTING AWAY ON PIER ON NORTH SIDE AND AT CORRESPONDING LEVELS ON PILASTER ON SOUTH SIDE:
(A) (ABOVE) GENERAL VIEW; (B) (OPPOSITE) DETAIL
(PHOTOS, FIG. 7.6A–B: JANE HAWKES)

they were two and a quarter yards long, this would be equivalent to 6 ft 9 inches, which is slightly smaller than the figures still extant at Halberstadt, which are just over 8 ft.[36] The Durham figures' crowns are described in MS Lawson as 'of pure bett gold of goldsmiths work', and a description of the manner in which the images were fastened and displayed follows:

> on the backside of the said rood and pictures, there was a piece of work that they were fastened unto being all adorned with fine Wainscot work and curious painting well befitting such costly pictures from the middle pillar … up to the height of the Vault, the which wainscott was all redd Varnished over very finely, and all sett full of starres of Lead, every starre finely guilted over with gold, and also the said roode and pictures had every of them an Iron stickt fast in the back part of the said Images that had a hole in the said Irons, that went through the Wainscott to put in a pinn of Iron to make them fast to the Wainscott.[37]

This mode of presentation, with painted panelling behind the images, was not unusual.[38] The use of red behind a crucifixion scene may have invited associations with Christ's blood: this was often depicted in late

36 Beer, *Triumphkreuze*, p. 605 (no. 41).
37 *Rites*, p. 19.
38 See, for example, the vivid red and white background to the crucifixion on nave pier

medieval crucifixion scenes in order to emphasise his physical pain and suffering and the salvific quality of the blood itself.[39] However, the feature of a red background was employed elsewhere at Durham, for instance on the inside of St Cuthbert's shrine cover.[40] The *Rites* suggests that in the instance of the shrine cover, the colour was employed not necessarily for any specific connotations, such as sacrifice, but in order to make it more easily visible to those viewing it – though we should be careful to note that the two functions might not necessarily be mutually exclusive. The cover was 'a fine sanguine colour, that it might be more perspicuous to ye beholders'.[41]

The cumulative evidence from the various manuscripts of the *Rites* therefore suggests – though we do need to be cautious in light of their variations – that an object of considerable size, known to the compiler of the *Rites* as the Black Rood of Scotland, stood in the south choir ambulatory, possibly on a beam between the second pier from the east end of St Cuthbert's shrine and on the pier opposite this in the south wall. The Black Rood's crucified Christ was flanked by images of Mary and John, all three potentially being slightly larger than life-size and made of, or gilded in, silver, which was likely tarnished or 'blackened' through oxidisation. Christ, Mary and John all wore golden crowns, and the figures were fixed to panelling varnished in red and studded with gilded stars. This object appears to be distinct from the small reliquary said to have been brought into battle by David II, which was also seemingly taken from Holyrood Abbey and captured by the English at Neville's Cross in 1346; this small reliquary is that which we can suggest is the same as the object described by Aelred of Riveaulx in the twelfth century.

Lynda Rollason has examined the appearance of the small Black Rood in the *Rites* and various high and late medieval sources, and has considered its function and meaning in relation to the battle itself.[42] Noting the distinction between the two in the sources, she has pointed out that the mystical appearance of the small Black Rood from between the hart's antlers has precedents in the conversion-whilst-hunting stories of St Hubert (656–727) and St Eustace (d. *c*. 118).[43] She and George Watson have also highlighted convincing evidence, a 1307 inventory of Edward III's goods, that this small Black Rood was actually already in English hands at the time of the battle, having been acquired by Edward I in 1296

V at St Alban's Abbey, which is mid- to late thirteenth century. Roberts, *Wall Paintings*, pp. 10, 17.

39 On the centrality of Christ's blood to late medieval piety, see Bynum, 'The Blood of Christ', and Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*.

40 *Rites*, p. 5.

41 Ibid.

42 Rollason, 'Spoils of War?'.

43 Ibid., p. 58, and Watson, 'The Black Rood', p. 36.

along with the Stone of Scone.[44] This suggests that the story given in the *Rites* may have arisen out of a desire to invent a more glorious provenance for the object, and give it the status of battle booty. Rollason speculates that, in light of a memorandum published in Palgrave's 1836 *Kalendars of the Exchequer* for early 1346, the Black Rood was taken from the Tower of London to be by the king's side, and the small reliquary rood was sent north by Edward III either before the battle 'to help in the negotiations which were in prospect, or to aid in resisting the expected Scottish invasion', or after the battle, 'as a thank-offering'.[45] After its appearance in the 1383 *Book of Relics*, Rollason suggests that it may have been attached to St Cuthbert's banner, therefore 'disappearing as a distinct item', as reference to it is not found in any later sources.[46]

She also asserts that the *Rites* 'is unreliable' in attributing the monumental rood as a donation of Ralph Neville, contending only that whilst 'it is possible that the author of the *Rites* is correct and Lord Neville did make a thank-offering to the shrine of St Cuthbert in 1346 and the gift he gave was a large rood … the author is mistaken in asserting that this was the Black Rood of Scotland'.[47] There are two points to make in relation to this analysis. Firstly, Ralph is not named as the donor of the large rood in the south choir ambulatory in the earliest manuscripts of the *Rites*. The Hogg Roll asserts that the 'crosse … taiken vpon [King David]' as well as jewels, banners, and 'ye blacke Rude … sett vp … in ye south alley' were thanks-offerings given to the shrine seemingly collectively by those involved in the battle.[48] Ralph is not mentioned in the Cosin manuscript's description of the rood in the south choir ambulatory at all.[49] It is only in the mid-seventeenth-century MS Hunter 45 that Ralph is singled out as the one who offered the 'Jewells and Banners' to St Cuthbert's feretory, and 'ye holy rood crosse which was taken on ye Kinge of Scotts': this *might* refer to the monumental Black Rood, but in light of the evidence set out above, it is more likely that it refers to the small reliquary Black Rood.[50]

44 Rollason, 'Spoils of War?', pp. 58–9; See also Watson, 'The Black Rood', p. 40. It should be noted that neither cite any reference to this inventory. I am indebted to Paul Drybrugh of The National Archives (UK) for helping me to identify it; at the time of writing our search is ongoing.

45 Rollason, 'Spoils of War?', pp. 61–2. The actual memorandum from which Palgrave transcribed is no longer extant, although as Rollason notes, E. L. G. Stones' analysis of Palgrave's text states that 'there is no good reason to suspect the dating of the document in Palgrave', Stones, 'Allusion to the Black Rood', pp. 174–5. The memorandum reads: Memorandum quod vij Januarii anno regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquesto xix … capta fuit quidam [*sic*] Crux aurea que vocatur le Blake Rode Scoc' de quadam magna huchia infra Turrim London' per thesaurarium … [fuit] per eosdem Domino Waltero de Wetewang' custodi garderobe ejusdem regis custodienda juxta latus regis virtute cujusdam littere sub privato sigillo regis. Palgrave, *Kalendars*, I, p. 160.

46 Rollason, 'Spoils of War?', p. 65.

47 Ibid., p. 61.

48 *Rites,* p. 25.

49 Ibid., p. 18.

50 Ibid., p. 6.

Secondly, and more importantly, the descriptions of the two roods, small and monumental, their provenances as given in the earlier manuscripts of the *Rites*, and their shared name between the *Rites* and the 1383 *Book of Relics*, all suggest we should perhaps consider that there was a relationship between the two objects, rather than the naming of one being an authorial mistake, as Rollason has characterised it.[51] Indeed, might it actually be possible that the monumental Black Rood was named so in the *Rites* because it reflects that it was in fact, or regarded as, a copy of and/or a substitute for, the smaller reliquary cross? At the least we can suggest a deliberate association between the monumental Black Rood and its smaller reliquary namesake.

From what date might this association have occurred, and how does it sit with the reports of the two roods' provenances in the *Rites*? It is possible that the monumental Black Rood was termed 'Black Rood' before 1346, and was carried into battle by the Scots, perhaps precisely because the small reliquary cross was in the hands of the English; it may then have been captured at the battle and set up near the shrine. This was a theory of the editor of the 1901 edition of the *Rites*, Joseph Thomas Fowler, who speculates in the notes to his edition that the smaller cross may have previously resided in the monumental rood: in terms of this function it can be compared to the Imperial Cross of the Holy Roman Empire, which held the holy lance and a fragment of the True Cross.[52] Imbued with the sacred potency of this reliquary function, the monumental Black Rood was perhaps deemed particularly apt to take into battle, and also apt to display if it were captured. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the monumental Black Rood was used as a *theca exterior* for the small reliquary cross once it was in the possession of the cathedral priory.

Perhaps the monumental Black Rood was commissioned and set up some time after the battle as a thank-offering. This raises the possibility that the story of the capture of both the monumental rood and the small reliquary cross at the Battle of Neville's Cross within the *Rites* is a complete fabrication, either deliberate or due to the vicissitudes of history. A combination of the two is perhaps possible. Certainly, a fantastic narrative for these objects would be especially appropriate at a site of pilgrimage, where an exciting back story for a sacred object (in the case of the small reliquary, captured in battle rather than brought up from London; and in the case of the monumental Black Rood, captured from the Scots rather than commissioned and set up by the community or Ralph Neville) could make both more evocative components in what was a sprawling liturgical and devotional spectacle within the interior.

51 Rollason, 'Spoils of War?', p. 61.
52 *Rites*, p. 211; Distelberger and Leithe-Jasper, *Kunsthistoriches Museum Vienna*, pp. 51–2.

It is perhaps that we are seeing in the *Rites* the remnants of the kind of history told about these objects to pilgrims at the shrine.[53]

The shared name of the two objects may also indicate a signalling and/or substituting function for the monumental Black Rood, especially when the smaller Black Rood was unavailable for viewing. The idea of one image 'advertising' the location of another image or a relic, and/or acting as a reminder or even a substitute for another image or a relic when the latter is not accessible visually and/or physically, has been extensively explored, especially within the context of late medieval cathedrals in France. Notably, Paul Crossley and Claudine Lautier have each considered this in relation to the images in various media, including the three-dimensional *Notre-Dame-Sous-Terre*, and the reliquary *chasse* of the Virgin at the cathedral of Chartres.[54] In performing this kind of function such objects and images acted in a similar way to the cruciform shape itself, which as Sarah Keefer has observed, could act as a reminder of the figure of Christ crucified due in large part to its 'rudimentary shape of a human being' which could call to mind the absent figure.[55]

At Durham, the smaller Black Rood would only be available to view at the feretory on feast days when the reliquary cupboards were open,[56] and so it is possible that the monumental rood, located in the busy south ambulatory of the east end, acted both to advertise the presence of the smaller Rood, at the nearby shrine, but perhaps also acted as a reminder of, or even devotional substitute for, the reliquary on days when the reliquary cupboards were not open.

The commissioning of the monumental Black Rood by the community soon after the battle is possible, not least because another section of the battle narrative in the *Rites* states that community itself commissioned at least one rood after the battle, potentially of a similar size to the monumental Black Rood and in the open air. It recounts that the prior and monks erected:

> a faire crosse of Wood in ye same place where they standing with ye holie Relike [of Cuthbert's corporax cloth] made ther praiers [during the battle] … being a faire crosse of wood fynely wrought & verie larg & of highte two yeardes which there long stoode.[57]

The description ends by recounting that it was destroyed sometime within the last thirty-five years, after the Suppression.[58]

53 Personal communication, Alan Piper, 2010.
54 Crossley, '*Ductus* and *Memoria*'; Lautier, 'Sacred Topography'.
55 Keefer, 'Performance', p. 203.
56 *Rites*, p. 5.
57 Ibid., p. 29.
58 Ibid.

However, Rollason may be correct in characterising the monumental rood as a thank-offering given by Ralph Neville, and in this scenario, his potential motivation for commissioning a monumental rood in particular merits unpicking. For Ralph, it would be a particularly expedient gift. Donation of the monumental Black Rood would imitate the more precious small reliquary cross that Edward III appears to have sent northwards. As the first major donation by the Neville family to the cathedral priory (we have no record of any earlier than this, but several later in the fourteenth century, including the Neville Screen, under the auspices of Ralph's son John[59]), the monumental Black Rood would therefore at once signal Ralph's involvement in the victory over the Scots, his closeness to Edward, and his worthiness as a patron of the cathedral priory, much of this being achieved through the visual similitude of his donation with that of the small reliquary rood.

Ralph's keenness to underline his involvement in the battle through a visually potent object is also suggested in his commissioning of a cross after the battle at the site called Neville's Cross, a point also recorded in the *Rites*. The stump survives, and which has been reconstructed in its entirety by Martin Roberts (Fig. 7.7).[60] This cross had a 'stalke' three and a half yards high, and 'in every second square was ye Nevells crosse in a scoutchion [escutcheon] being ye Lord Nevells armes [a saltire]'; on top of this was a boss 'being eight square round about', the squares showing, alternately, the 'Neivells Cross [the saltire] in a scutchion in one square, & ye Bulls head [the Neville family's crest] having no scutchion in an other square'.[61] On top of this was a crucifix:

> the picture of our saviour christ crucified with his armes stretched abrod, his handes nayled to ye crosse and his feete being naled vpon ye stalke of ye said crosse belowe, almost a quarter of a yerd from aboue ye Bosse, with the picture of our Lady the blessed Virgen Mary of ye one syde of him & the picture of St John the Evangeliste on ye other syde most pitifully lamenting & beholding his torments and cruell deathe … very artificially & curiously wrought all together & fynly carved out of one hole entyre stone.[62]

As J. Linda Drury has noted, this site was named 'Neville's Cross' at least twenty-three years before the battle that later took its name, and it had probably been the site of a way-marker for hundreds of years.[63] Neither Rollason nor Drury consider whether, or how, the monumental Black Rood of Scotland and the new Neville's Cross might have been intended

59 The most detailed study of this major feature of the interior of Durham is still Wilson, 'Neville Screen'.
60 Roberts, 'Neville's Cross'.
61 *Rites*, p. 27.
62 Ibid., p. 28.
63 Drury, 'The Monument', p. 84.

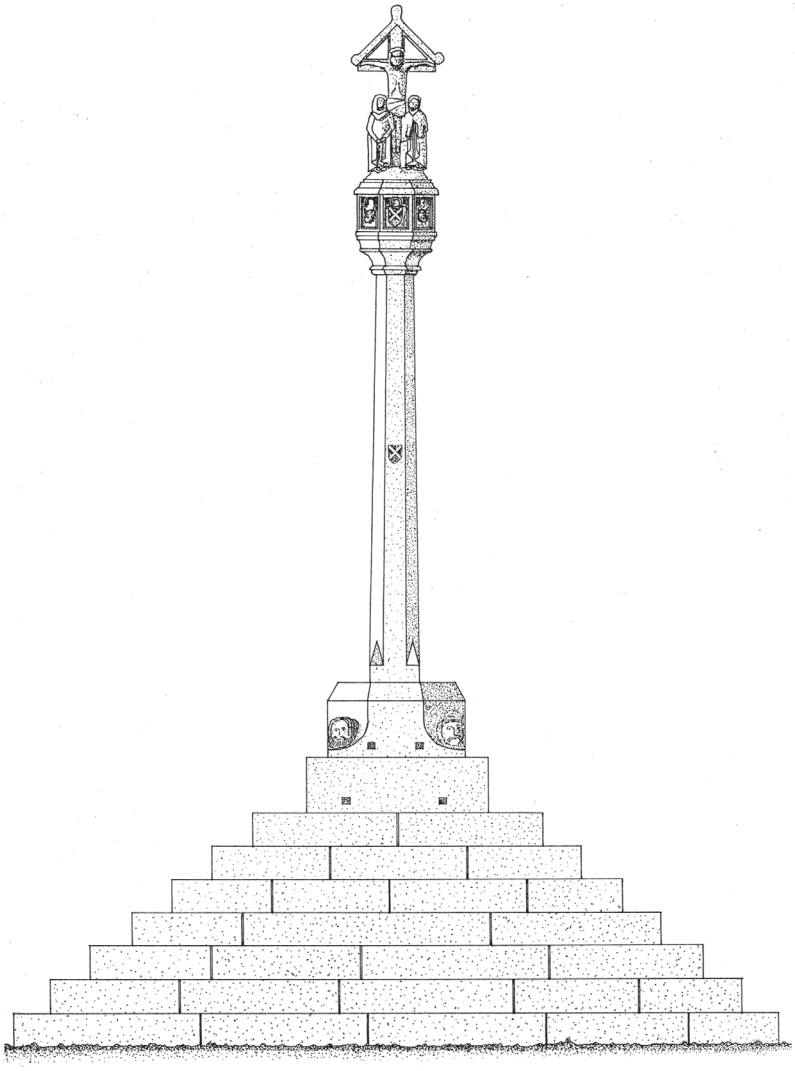

FIG. 7.7
RECONSTRUCTION OF NEVILLE'S CROSS AT NEVILLE'S CROSS, MARTIN ROBERTS (DRAWING: MARTIN ROBERTS)

to be related, but it seems reasonable to suggest that they were. The monumental Black Rood of Scotland, if donated by Ralph Neville either as a newly commissioned object or one captured in the battle, would bring the site and a person (Ralph himself) keenly associated with the battle into the interior of the cathedral. Conversely, the new cross at Neville's Cross heralded out in the lands a few miles from the cathedral priory, and close to the battlefield, the symbol so intimately associated with the English victory, and the symbol which, in the form of the small reliquary Black Rood, lay as an offering at Cuthbert's shrine. If Ralph was the donor of the monumental Black Rood, the outdoor cross would also, in turn, be suggestive of his significantly large rood within the interior, close to

the shrine of Cuthbert, and it therefore had the potential to reiterate his relationship to the cathedral priory and to Cuthbert himself, the most powerful saint in the North.[64]

CONCLUSION

This scrutiny of the evidence for the 'Black Rood of Scotland' in the *Rites* leaves us with more questions than answers. Its presentation of the Battle of Neville's Cross and the objects associated with it merit further analysis, not least the presentation of the role of St Cuthbert himself in the battle, who is clearly emphasised as being the decisive force.[65] It also prompts us to ask more fundamental question of what the *Rites* was written for, and from what source material.

Yet these crosses should also be seen as operating in a wider tradition of the use of the cross in battle, the exemplar of which is Constantine's vision of the *signum crucis* in the sky, his dream of Christ commanding him to brandish the symbol in battle against Maxentius in the form of a *labarum*, and the subsequent placing of the *labarum* in the hand of a new statue of Constantine erected in the Basilica of Maxentius: as Schmitt has noted, here, the cross not only functioned as a sign of military victory, but also as an opposing sign in relation to the idols of Constantine's adversaries.[66] More immediately relevant in the context of Durham, where St Oswald's head was buried with St Cuthbert, and where Bede's body also lay, are the accounts by Adomnán and Bede himself of, respectively, the dream-vision granted to St Oswald the night before his battle against King Cadwallon of Gwynedd at Heavenfield, near Hexham, in 633/4, and his erection of a wooden cross immediately before this battle.[67]

This cross is said to have been planted in the ground, held by Oswald himself, and the army then prayed to it for protection; subsequently its splinters were thought to be miracle-working, and a church was built to house the cross, which became a focus of pilgrimage.[68] Ian Wood has suggested that while we cannot be certain that Oswald really did erect a cross, or was deliberately emulating Constantine, especially as Adomnán, in his *Vita Columbae*, does not make reference to it in

64 On monetary offerings as an indicator of the popularity of Cuthbert's cult, see Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 161–2; see also Crook, *English Medieval Shrines*, pp. 148–54 for a general overview of the feretory itself and its use by pilgrims.
65 *Rites*, pp. 23–7, esp. p. 23. On this, see Turner, 'Image and Devotion', pp. 160–1.
66 Constantine's vision and the use of the labarum are recounted in Greek by Eusebius (d. 339/40) in his *Ecclesiastical History*; this was translated by Rufinus (d. 411) into Latin and it was the latter's version that was widely known in the West throughout the Middle Ages. See Schwartz and Mommsen, *Eusebius*, pp. 827–9 for a parallel edition of the relevant episodes from the two authors. Schmitt, *Le corps des images*, pp. 169–70.
67 Adamnán, *V. Columba*, I, 8a–9b, Anderson and Anderson, *Adomnan's Life*, pp. 198–200; Bede, *HE*: III, 2, pp. 214.
68 Bede, *HE*: III, 2, pp. 214–17; O'Reilly, 'Rough-Hewn Cross', p. 156.

his account of the battle, 'we can be reasonably certain' that Bede had Constantine's story in mind when composing his eighth-century account of the Northumbrian king's actions in the *Ecclesiastical History*.[69] In turn, it seems reasonable to suggest that the community and noblemen involved in the battle (most notably Prior Fossor and Ralph Neville) were conscious of these precedents both during and after the battle, especially considering Oswald's status as a patronal saint at Durham. Indeed, it should also not be forgotten that Oswald's head was present within Cuthbert's shrine at the feretory throughout this period; a reliquary bust of Oswald was also present in the cupboards at the shrine and would therefore have been displayed alongside the small reliquary Black Rood when the cupboards were open.[70]

The multiple associations between the monumental and small-scale roods at or near Durham Cathedral Priory in the mid- to late fourteenth century, and the local as well as wider connotations that these objects may have carried for audiences, demonstrate the layers of meaning individual roods could hold in late medieval England depending on their materiality, patronage, custodianship and spatial as well as intellectual contexts. It also urges us to think more widely about the kinds of roods to be found within cathedral contexts, and how they might relate to each other, beyond the ubiquitous *Triumphkreuz*. In this case, the evidence connected to the monumental Black Rood and the small reliquary Black Rood give us a greater understanding of Durham Cathedral Priory's institutional awareness of its own sacred patrimony, and is suggestive of a desire to embellish this in order to enhance the site and cult of St Cuthbert; the evidence also indicates the strategic nature of the first instance of the Neville family's patronage of the cathedral priory. Finally, investigation of the Black Rood of Scotland emphasises the complexity of the devotional topography to be found within the context of the late medieval English cathedral, where there was ample potential for audiences to create associations between individual objects across and beyond liturgical spaces and architectural features. This richness requires further careful consideration, which will reveal more about the uniqueness of each institution, as well as suggesting wider trends.

69 Wood, 'Constantinian Crosses', p. 4.

70 For further discussion relating to the presence of Oswald's head within Cuthbert's shrine at Durham, and the relics of Oswald and other pre-Conquest saints connected to St Cuthbert in the reliquary cupboards, see Turner, 'Outside the Box'.

8

THE CROSS OF DEATH AND THE TREE OF LIFE: FRANCISCAN IDEOLOGIES IN LATE MEDIEVAL IRELAND

MAŁGORZATA KRASNODĘBSKA-D'AUGHTON

Surviving Franciscan friaries in Ireland display a variety of plant motifs, ranging from single leaves and vine tendrils to more complex images of the Tree of Life. Combined with representations of the crucifixion, these images not only visualise a Christian paradox of the cross as a death-bearing and life-giving object but also express aspects of Franciscan identity. That identity was shaped by Francis' devotion to the cross and subsequently developed by leading Franciscan thinkers who utilised the Tree of Life to imagine the life of Christ, to present the Order as a living organism and their founder as 'a mustard seed which grew into a great tree',[1] and to express a sense of both communal and personal growth as well as the message of salvation.[2]

The passion-centred piety of the Franciscan Order found its material manifestation in the ubiquitous presence of crosses, which in the Franciscan churches of the Order's Italian heartland were often associated from the late fourteenth century with two iconographic themes: the narrative Legend of the True Cross that presented the story of the wood on which Christ was crucified, and the allegorical Tree of Life based on

1 Cf. Mt 13:32, Lk 13:19; Ubertino da Casale, *The Tree of the Crucified Life of Jesus*, in Armstrong et al., *Francis of Assisi* (hereafter *FA: ED*), 3, p. 158.

2 Cousins, *Bonaventure*, pp. 12–13; Ugolino Boniscambi of Montegiorgio, *The Deeds of Blessed Francis and His Companions*, in *FA: ED*, 3, pp. 557–9. Ritchey, 'Spiritual Arborescence'.

Bonaventure's contemplative work of the *Lignum vitae*.[3] While the Irish Franciscan friaries do not display such lavish and developed iconographic schemes, an investigation into the surviving imagery and texts composed or copied by the Irish friars that discuss the story of the cross shows that the seemingly disjoined Irish material fits into the body of Franciscan visual culture and expresses a similar preoccupation with the cross as a living and life-giving organism.

Despite their now fragmentary nature, iconographic schemes in Irish friaries allow us to explore the use of the cross and plant imagery in order to view the transmission, reception and transformation of these important Franciscan themes in Ireland. Crosses can still be seen depicted on friary walls or engraved on tombs, with the friaries originally displaying large crosses on rood screens, in stained glass and as part of altar furnishings (Figs 8.1a, 8.2b). Some of these representations appeared in the areas reserved for the friars, but some including the monumental rood or tombs set in the nave were seen by a lay congregation. Surviving plant imagery features in the public areas of the friaries' naves displayed on tombs and pillars, in the transition spaces of bell towers, and in chancels and cloister areas reserved for the friars.

Such vegetation and cross imagery included in the public and private areas of Irish friaries aimed at the reinforcement of Franciscan ideological identifiers and, as this discussion suggests, the position of imagery and the associated act of viewing were intended simultaneously to trigger the memory of the founder, the ideal of the Order, the sense of individual renewal, and above all the interwoven meanings of the cross itself.

The focus of this discussion is on three Irish Franciscan friaries that preserve the images of the cross which allude to or are combined with plant imagery. Castledermot friary, Co. Kildare was one of the early Anglo-Norman houses established in the newly founded borough, probably as a stabilising entity serving two ethnic and linguistic groups (Fig. 8.1a–b).[4] Quin friary, Co. Kildare, on the other hand, was established in the early fifteenth century by an Irish lord, possibly Síoda Cam MacNamara, and very quickly adopted the Observant reform (Fig. 8.2a–b).[5] Both friaries continued to be used over centuries as reflected in objects and decorative schemes employed there. By looking at the imagery at Castledermot and Quin, it is possible to note a continuity of iconographic themes employed in the friaries that were established at different times and in different geographical areas. These iconographic schemes are articulated on a

3 Cf. Hourihane, *Grove Encyclopaedia*, p. 607; Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, pp. 11–12, 378–405.

4 Castledermot, Co. Kildare: http://monastic.ie/history/castledermot-franciscan-friary/ (accessed 29 November 2019).

5 Quin, Co. Clare: http://monastic.ie/history/quin-franciscan-friary/ (accessed 29 November 2019).

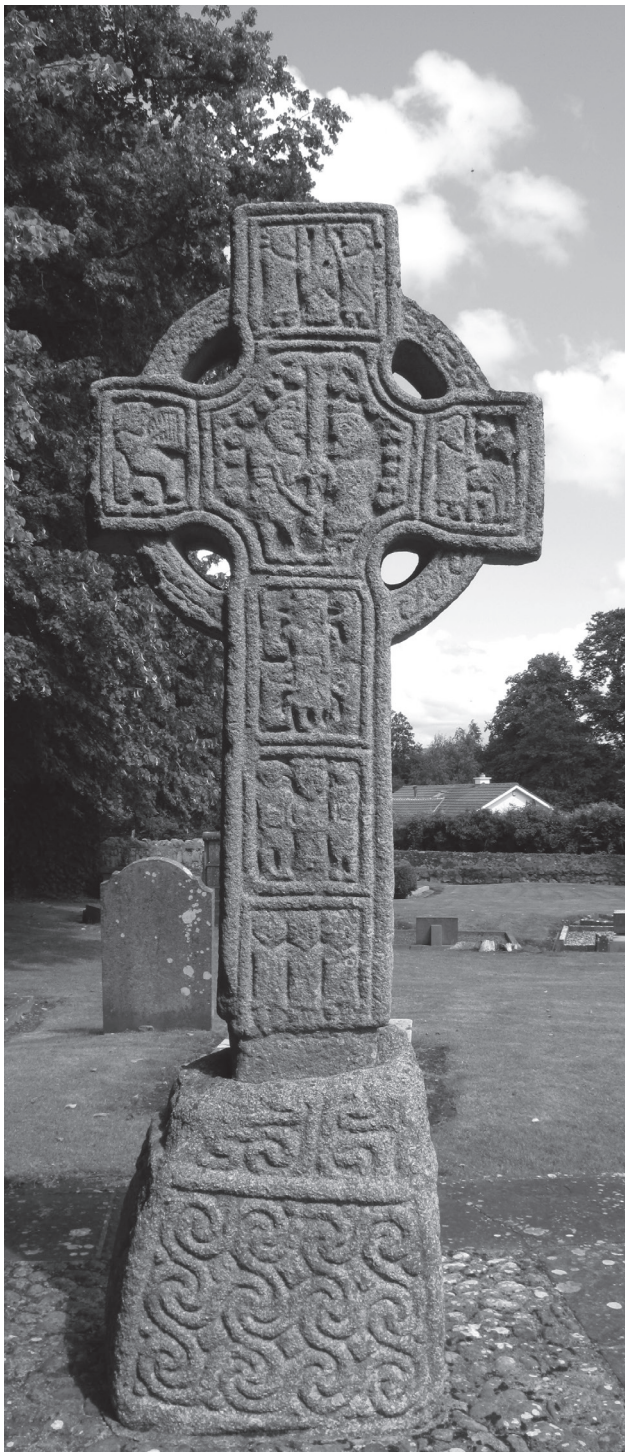

FIG. 8.1 CASTLEDERMOT, CO. KILDARE:
(A) (ABOVE) CADAVER TOMB, FRIARY,
LATE FIFTEENTH OR EARLY SIXTEENTH
CENTURY (PHOTO: EDWIN RAE
© TRIARC, IRISH ART RESEARCH CENTRE,
TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN);
(B) (RIGHT) NORTH CROSS, WEST FACE
WITH IMAGE OF ADAM AND EVE,
POSSIBLY TENTH CENTURY
(PHOTO: RACHEL MOSS)

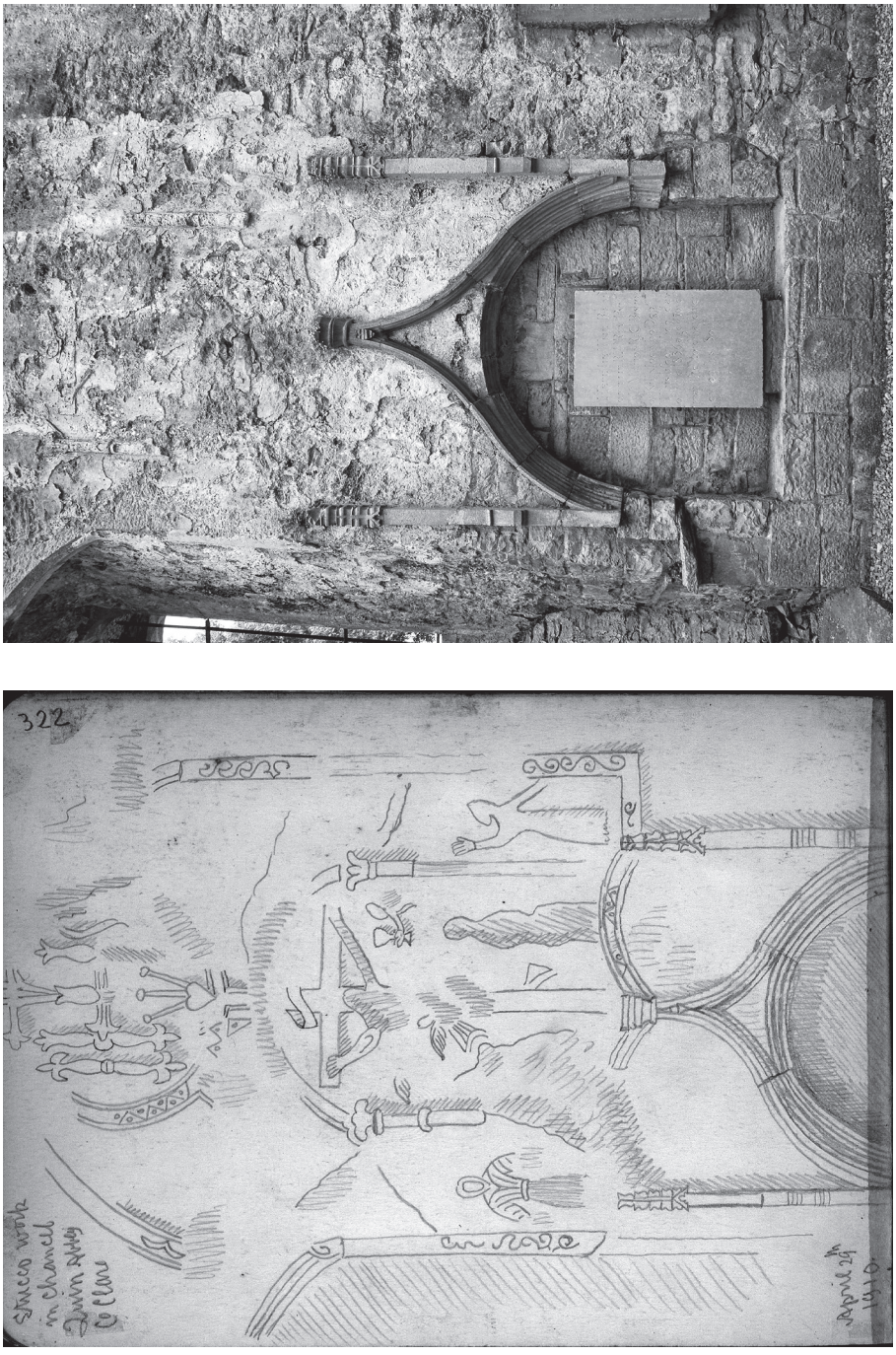

FIG. 8.2 QUIN FRIARY, CO. CLARE: (A) SKETCH OF TOMB, THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP (1860–1922), ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, 3 A 53/322 (PHOTO: BY PERMISSION OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY © RIA); (B) REMAINS OF THE CRUCIFIXION, POSSIBLY 1580s (PHOTO: KEITH SMITH)

much fuller scale in Ennis friary, Co. Clare, which was established in the early thirteenth century by the Irish O'Brien lords and embellished in the fifteenth century with a splendid passion cycle (Fig. 8.3a–d).[6]

The iconography of the cross as a plant encountered in these friaries will be studied through a prism of texts known to and composed by the Irish friars. Concentrating on the writings of Bonaventure (1221–1274), especially his *Life of Francis* known as the *Major Legend*, the next section will explore the role of images of the cross in shaping and expressing Franciscan identity.

ST FRANCIS AND BONAVENTURE: THE CROSS AS IMAGE AND THE IMAGE OF THE CROSS

The cross lies at the core of Francis' imitation of Christ, from him praying at the painted cross of San Damiano at the start of his religious life, to Francis becoming a living image of Christ crucified at the time of the stigmatisation, two years before his death. These events, recounted by Bonaventure in the *Major Legend*, the official biography of Francis composed before 1263 and known to the Irish friars, illustrate how in Francis' life the *imitatio Christi*, and the *imitatio crucis* were intertwined. The *imitatio crucis* internalised by the deep compassion for Christ suffering on the cross was expressed externally by Francis' *imitatio Christi* in his poverty and preaching. While the cross became the clearest revelation of Francis, it was also the cross as an object that contributed to the formulation of Franciscan attitude to images.[7]

Bonaventure describes how Francis, as a young merchant, had an intense encounter with Christ mediated through a painted image in the church of San Damiano, near Assisi. The stages of that encounter are carefully presented by Bonaventure: Francis went outside to meditate, the meditation brought him to the physical space of the church, inside the church he prostrated himself in front of a painted crucifix, and as 'his tear-filled eyes were gazing at the Lord's cross, he heard with his bodily ears a voice coming from the cross', the voice urged him to take action by repairing God's house, and when Francis 'absorbed […] the divine words into his heart, he fell into an ecstasy of mind'.[8]

6 Ennis, Co. Clare: http://monastic.ie/history/ennis-ofm-friary/ (accessed 29 November 2019).

7 Carnes, "'That Cross's Children'", pp. 63, 79.

8 Bonaventure, *Major Legend* (hereafter *LM*); trans. *FA: ED*, 2, pp. 525–683; Latin text published in *Analecta Franciscana* 10 (1944), pp. 555–652 and (Anon.), *Seraphici Doctoris S. Bonaventurae*, p. 14. For the San Damiano story, see *LM* 2.1, *FA: ED*, 2, p. 536, *Seraphici Doctoris*, 14: prostratus *ante imaginem* Crucifixi, non modica fuit in orando spiritus consolatione repletus. Cumque lacrymosis oculis intenderet in dominicam crucem, vocem de ipsa cruce dilapsam ad eum corporeis audivit auribus, ter dicentem: "Francisce, vade et repara domum meam, quae, ut cernis, tota destruitur". Tremefactus Franciscus, cum

This story offers an insight into Bonaventure's and the Order's views of images as sensorial triggers that affected not only sight but also hearing and led the onlooker to an ecstatic connection with the divine and inspired a physical reaction.[9] Following the encounter with the San Damiano cross, according to Bonaventure, Francis strove to become Christ-like 'in the actions of his life' before 'conforming to Christ in the affliction and sorrow of the Passion' by receiving the stigmata.[10] As was the case with the San Damiano story, the physical location was crucial in the stigmatisation account: on both occasions, it was the outdoor setting that initiated Francis' internal transformation. On Mount La Verna, Casentino, Tuscany, Francis subjected his body to fasting for forty days and by withdrawing from physical nourishment, he experienced the 'heights' of contemplation. Despite this detachment from worldly nourishment, Francis nourished himself with the word of God represented in the physical shape of a Gospel book. Objects, including a book and a painted image, were for Francis essential elements of the devotional experience that reached its climax on La Verna.

When describing the stigmatisation, Bonaventure creates not only a typological, but also a chronological connection between the stigmata and the crucifixion, as he sets the event 'on a certain morning about the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross' which falls on 14 September.[11] A vision of a six-winged seraph witnessed by Francis had 'the likeness of a man crucified' between the wings; it transformed Francis into 'the likeness of Christ crucified' and into 'his image' as the vision became 'imprinted in his flesh'.[12] The language used by Bonaventure makes a distinction between the image as *imago* and the image as *effigies*. According to Caroline Walker Bynum, Bonaventure's language suggests that only God can create a true image, but also implies that the humanly produced images can lead to the imitation of Christ. The San Damiano cross, although a painted object, is described as *imago*, and Bonaventure uses the term *effigies* to describe the image that was borne by the seraph and the Christ-like image borne

esset in ecclesia solus, stupet ad tam mirandae vocis auditum, cordeque percipiens divini virtulem eloquii, mentis alienatur excessu (emphasis added).

9 Kennedy, *Sanctity Pictured*, p. 5.

10 *LM* 13.1, *FA: ED*, 2, p. 631.

11 *LM* 13.3, *FA: ED*, 2, p. 632.

12 *LM* 13.3–5, *FA: ED*, 2, pp. 632–4; *Seraphici Doctoris*, pp. 138–9: Cumque volatu celerrimo pervenisset ad aeris locum viri Dei propinquum, apparuit inter alas *effigies* hominis crucifixi, in modum crucis manus et pedes extensos habentis et cruci affixos. … in Christi crucifixi *similitudinem* transformandum. Disparens igitur visio mirabilem in corde ipsius reliquit ardorem, sed et in carne non minus mirabilem signorum impressit *effigiem*. … Postquam igitur verus Christi amor in eadem *imaginem* transformavit amantem, quadraginta dierum numero, iuxta quod decreverat, in solitudine consummato, superveniente quoque solemnitate Archangeli Michaelis, descendit angelicus vir Franciscus de monte, secum ferens Crucifixi *effigiem*, non in tabulis lapideis vel ligneis manu figuratam artificis, sed in carneis membris descriptam digito Dei vivi (emphasis added).

by Francis after the stigmatisation.[13] Francis, as it appears was not only imitating Christ internally but was transformed into a devotional object. Such seemingly interchangeable uses of the *imago* and *effigies* have strong implications for the sanctification of material imagery.[14]

For Bonaventure, Francis' encounter with the painted image (*imago*) in the San Damiano church and with the image (*effigies*) of Christ crucified carried by the seraph at La Verna brought about a deep internal transformation and unity with Christ. The early representations of Francis such as the Louvre reliquary, dated *c*. 1228, made a visual link between the stigmatisation and the crucifixion.[15] One side of this four-lobed cross-shaped reliquary represents the stigmatisation with the standing figure of Francis wearing a hooded habit and gazing upwards at the six-winged seraph nailed to the cross, with five wounds visible on the saint's body. The other side of the reliquary has five rock crystal cabochons alluding to the five wounds through which the relics of Francis (cloth fragments used to cover the wounds) were seen and magnified.[16] The reliquary not only portrays Francis as the other Christ but expresses the connection between the act of seeing and the spiritual experience: Francis is shown with his sight fixed on the seraph; the medieval faithful were looking at the representation of the stigmatisation, while seeing the saint's physical remains; and the very matter of crystal literally amplified the process of viewing.[17] This object, which could have been used in public and private devotions, emphasised the material presence of the saint and stressed the possibility of a visual contact with the saint through his relics. In addition, the reliquary's inexpensive materials and techniques visualised the ideals of poverty promoted by the Franciscan Order.[18]

The early Franciscan usage of visual culture in promoting their founder and their institutional identity with the aid of objects lends itself to the study of the Order's material realisation elsewhere. The Irish expression of a link between Francis and Christ, and between visual images, the act of viewing, and the pious response to images that are found in the works of Franciscan writers, including Bonaventure, can be noted, although on a smaller scale, in the Franciscan friary of Ennis, located in the west of Ireland.[19] Here, the cruciform pose of Francis and his wounds communicate the affinity between him and Christ. To emphasise the *topos*

13 Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, pp. 113–17.
14 Cf. Hamburger, *Visual and the Visionary*, pp. 257–62; Laugerud, 'Visions, Images and Memory', pp. 66–7; Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, pp. 113–17; Belting, 'Saint Francis', pp. 10–11.
15 See the image at www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/reliquary-st-francis-assisi (accessed 29 November 2019).
16 Stiegemann et al., *Franziskus*, pp. 265–7, cat. 44, date it to the third quarter of the thirteenth century.
17 Brooke, *Image of St Francis*, p. 164.
18 Taburet-Delahaye and Boehm, *Enamels*, pp. 306–9, cat. 101.
19 Krasnodębska-D'Aughton, 'Prayer, Penance and the Passion'.

of the saint as the *alter Christus*, the image of Francis is paired with the depiction of the Man of Sorrows located across the nave, both images being set at the back of the side altars (Fig. 8.3a–b). The Ennis image of Francis presented the saint as the intercessor who, through his wounds, opened access to Christ, while the medium of the stone and the position of the image emphasised his role as the living stone of the Church.[20] The architectural metaphor was utilised by Bonaventure, who related how, after having received the stigmata, Francis became 'like a stone ready to be fitted into the heavenly Jerusalem'.[21] This comparison of the saint to the stone of the apocalyptic Jerusalem was echoed in the structure of the rood screen and the entire eastern wall of the nave with the figure of Francis as if supporting the walls of the Church and standing in the vicinity of the cross that surmounted the now lost rood screen which was visible to the lay congregation gathered in the nave.[22]

Bonaventure's descriptions of Francis in San Damiano and on La Verna parallel his exposition of a person's ascent towards a mystical union with the divine. According to Bonaventure, the soul's journey into God starts with the experience of the material and temporal world that is felt by the five senses which act as five doors through which the knowledge of all sensorial things enters the soul.[23] With the increased study of optics in the late thirteenth century, the role of sight as a source of knowledge was expounded upon in contemporary theories of vision. The Franciscan, Roger Bacon (*c*. 1214–1292), stated that we know all things through vision and that 'it was necessary for all things to be known through this science [of optics]'.[24]

While it is difficult to fully determine the views of medieval Irish friars on the role of images due to the lack of specific written sources on that topic, the surviving texts help us nonetheless to ascertain what texts were known to the Irish friars and how these would have underpinned their understanding of images. It is certain that the writings of Bonaventure were known in Ireland. His *Major Legend* was cited, understood and used creatively by an early fourteenth-century Irish friar.[25] Other works by Bonaventure were found in the now lost library of Youghal friary, which

20 1 Celano 119, *FA: ED*, 1, p. 288; *LM* 13, *FA: ED*, 2, pp. 634–9; *LM* Part II opens with the chapter on the power of the stigmata, *FA: ED*, 2, pp. 650–1. See Thibodeau, *Rationale Divinorum*, p. 15 on symbolism of church stones. For Franciscan interest in Jerusalem, see Bonaventure's *Soul's Journey*, where he discussed the soul's ascent towards the heavenly Jerusalem or Nicolas of Lyra's *Postilla litteralis et moralis in totam bibliam* that provides a discussion on the Temple. Smith, 'Imaginary Jerusalem'.

21 *LM* 14.3, *FA: ED*, 2, p. 642.

22 Cf. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 158–9.

23 Cousins, *Bonaventure*, pp. 60, 70.

24 'Per visum scimus omnia', 'Et necesse est omnia sciri per hanc scientiam'; Roger Bacon, *Opus tertium* XI, pp. 36–7; cf. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision*, p. 99; Newhauser, 'Nature's Moral Eye'.

25 Krasnodębska-D'Aughton, 'Inflamed with Seraphic Ardor', pp. 297–309.

was one of the early if not the earliest Franciscan houses in Ireland.[26] 'The book of meditations of St Bonaventure' recorded in the late medieval list of books from Youghal friary may have been Bonaventure's *Soliloquy on the Four Spiritual Exercises* that presented a dialogue between a person and a soul.[27] The Youghal 'book of meditations' may also describe one of Bonaventure's meditative texts such as *The Soul's Journey into God* or *The Tree of Life*, both of which convey Franciscan attitudes towards materiality, imagery, imagination and contemplation.

It is not certain if Roger Bacon's work on optics was known in Ireland, but a late thirteenth-century friar, who was a member of the Cork community, studied in Paris, and met Bacon there.[28] References to miraculous images can be found in the mid-fifteenth-century Franciscan manuscript possibly compiled in Ennis and now in the library of Trinity College Dublin,[29] which mentions a miraculous image of the Virgin in Constantinople and provides some evidence of the interest in such wonder-working objects amongst the Irish Franciscans.[30] In addition, the positioning of images in Irish friaries and their iconography can help us understand how the friars in Ireland would have perceived the role of images in articulating their own cross-centred identity. Such cumulative textual evidence helps us evaluate the familiarity of the medieval Irish friars with image theories of the time and the ways such theories would have been transmitted through theological tracts, personal contacts and stories.

LOOKING AT THE CROSS

The gaze of anyone entering a nave of a medieval mendicant friary in Ireland would have been arrested by the image of the cross placed above the rood screen. The rood loft, usually made of wood, was set on the western side of a bell tower facing the nave: it supported the figure of Christ crucified, flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist.[31] In many Franciscan houses, stone corbels for supporting the loft or sockets for placing the beam survive (Fig. 8.3a). The image of the cross on the rood screen was visible to the congregation and was echoed by the cross placed on the main altar and the crucifixion depicted in the east window visible to the friars. According to the Franciscan statues of Narbonne issued under the generalate of Bonaventure in 1260, the east windows of friaries could display the crucifixion with Mary and John, Francis or Anthony, while the 1453 Irish Synod of Cashel stipulated that

26 Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans in Ireland*, pp. 162, 165, 172, 174, 179.
27 Ibid., p. 175; cf. *Soliloquies of St. Bonaventure Containing His Four Mental Exercises.*
28 Jones, *Friars' Tales*, pp. 10, 48.
29 Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 667.
30 Colker, *Trinity College Library*, 2, p. 1154.
31 Rood screens in Irish mendicant churches are discussed by Ó Clabaigh, *Friars in Ireland*, pp. 235–6. On rood screens in Franciscan churches, see Cannon, 'Giotto and Art', p. 107.

FIG. 8.3 ENNIS FRIARY, CO. CLARE: (A) (TOP LEFT) VIEW OF THE CHANCEL FROM THE NAVE (PHOTO: MAŁGORZATA KRASNODĘBSKA-D'AUGHTON);

(B) (TOP RIGHT) ST FRANCIS, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: MAŁGORZATA KRASNODĘBSKA-D'AUGHTON);

(C) (MIDDLE) TOMB WITH THE PASSION CYCLE, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: MAŁGORZATA KRASNODĘBSKA-D'AUGHTON);

(D) (BOTTOM) ENTOMBMENT SCENE, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: MAŁGORZATA KRASNODĘBSKA-D'AUGHTON)

every church in Ireland should possess three images: a cross, an image of the Virgin Mary and an image of a patron saint.[32] The repeated presence of the cross on the rood loft, on the altar and the east window visually amplified the connection between the crucifixion and the eucharist both to the congregation in the nave and to the friars gathered in the chancel (Plate VII, Fig. 8.4).

With the destruction of roods and rood screens following the Dissolution, the dramatic visual connection between the nave and the chancel created by the image of the cross ceased to exist, and what remained were the dominant bell towers that stood as spatial dividers between the two spaces. The church of Quin friary provides an interesting example of the reintroduction of large-scale crucifixion imagery following the destruction of the rood.[33] The chancel of the friary displays a late medieval tomb of the MacNamara benefactors with the remains of a stucco crucifixion visible above it (Fig. 8.2a–b).[34] The image was possibly executed in the 1580s when stucco was becoming fashionable in Dublin and in the west of Ireland.[35] The position of the large-scale crucifixion image on the wall of the chancel in Quin would have likely recalled to the friars the double crucifixion imagery painted by Cimabue *c*. 1279–1282 on the eastern wall of the transept in the Upper Church of the Assisi basilica. These two monumental crucifixions in Assisi served as backdrops to side altars, and as well as having a liturgical significance, they had a devotional function: a small figure of Francis kneeling at the foot of the cross provided the friars with the exemplar of piety.[36] The Irish friars would have been aware of the Assisi iconographic programme through their travels to attend chapters held at the Mother Church, a point to which we will return below.[37] In Quin, it seems, the crucifixion positioned in the transept, similarly combined multiple functions: the devotional function of praying for the dead and the liturgical function associated with Mass.

The unity of the eucharist and the crucifixion expressed through the architecture of a church and the display of the cross was discussed by Francis in his eucharistic writings and by Franciscan theological and pastoral texts, some of which were known in Ireland. The theme was frequently preached in Franciscan homilies and can be found in the Franciscan manuscript Trinity MS 667, which contains sermons on the body of Christ, instructions on the solemn reception of the eucharist,

32 Bihl, *Statuta generalia*, p. 352, trans. Kroesen and Schmidt, *Altar and Its Environment*, p. 9. Begley, *Diocese of Limerick*, pp. 289–94; Burrows, 'Fifteenth-Century Irish Provincial Legislation'.
33 Rachel Moss, personal email, 14 July 2016.
34 Shirley, 'Extracts', p. 181.
35 Moss, 'Materials and Methods', p. 94.
36 Cooper and Robson, *Making of Assisi*, pp. 84–5.
37 Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, pp. 1, 42, 45–6, 66.

pieces on the communion and the altar.[38] The same manuscript contains a copy of the text on the finding of the Cross, *De Inuentione Sanctae Crucis*.[39] The story has two key protagonists, Helena and Judas, who represent Christianity and Judaism respectively. The story line in the Trinity manuscript recounts how Constantine was facing groups of barbarians gathering on the Danube. Following a vision of a luminous sign of the cross in the sky and a victorious battle, Constantine sent his mother Helena in search of the True Cross. In Jerusalem, a Jew, called Judas, whose family kept secret the knowledge about the site of the crucifixion, was found and forced to reveal the location of the site. The recovery of the holy remains was accompanied by a beautiful smell. The relics of the True Cross were distinguished from the remains of the other two crosses when they brought a dead person back to life. Judas declared Christ to be the saviour of the world, accepted baptism, took the name of Cyriacus and became the bishop of Jerusalem. The relics of the True Cross were encased in gold and precious stones, and the church was built on the site of Calvary, while the nails found together with the cross were placed in Constantine's horse's bridle to make the rider invincible.[40]

The story about the finding of the True Cross copied in Trinity MS 667 and compiled in the west of Ireland is close in its content to the narrative found in Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend*, Latin copies of which were available in Irish friaries and which also inspired the writings of the friars working in the Irish language.[41] *The Golden Legend* tells the story of the cross on the feast of the Finding of the Cross, celebrated on 3 May, and on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, celebrated on 14 September, which commemorated the recovery of the True Cross from the Persians by the seventh-century Emperor Heraclius and which also fell around the Franciscan feast of the Stigmata celebrated on 17 September.[42]

Other Irish copies of the story of the True Cross survive in texts with Franciscan connections. One of them was the so-called 'Book of Piety', commissioned in 1513 by the noblewoman Máire Ní Mháille, who is recorded as a co-founder with her husband of a Carmelite friary at Rathmullen and a benefactor of the Franciscan friary in Donegal, both in Co. Donegal.[43] This private collection of devotional texts and morality tales also included the account of the Finding of the True Cross, and its contents indicate how the story of St Helena fuelled the imagination of

38 Contents of Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 667 are described in Colker, *Trinity College Library*, 2, pp. 1153–54; Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans in Ireland*, pp. 138–40; Flower, 'Ireland'; repr. *Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture*, p. 14.

39 Colker, *Trinity College Library*, 2, p. 1134.

40 Trinity MS 667, pp. 68–71. The story of Judas Cyriacus was written in the early fifth century in Greek or Syriac; by *c*. 500 it circulated in the West, and was disseminated by sermons, see Holder, *Inventio Sanctae Crucis*, pp. 1–13.

41 Ó Clabaigh, *Franciscans in Ireland*, pp. 112, 115, 134, 162.

42 Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, pp. 196–8, Ryan, *Jacobus de Voragine*, 2, pp. 168–73.

43 Walsh, *Leabhar Ghlainne Suíbhne*, p. 67.

both the friars and their lay benefactors. The story of the True Cross in Máire's book is accompanied by other texts that focus on the passion of Christ, the confession and the eucharist, suggesting Franciscan influences on her devotional practice. The story on the finding of the True Cross in the 'Book of Piety' bears similarities to that in Trinity MS 667 as well as to two other manuscripts: a mid-fifteenth-century *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, associated with the Ó Maoilchonaire family of Co. Roscommon and a late fifteenth-century manuscript copied in Co. Cavan and now in the British Library.[44]

The dissemination of the text on the True Cross illustrates the popularity of the story amongst the religious and lay audiences.[45] The story provided an exemplar of a female devotee, who was a church builder, and a promoter and protector of faith. It recounted the spiritual discoveries of St Helena and also related her actions to the military victory of her son, Emperor Constantine. For Bonaventure, Constantine like Francis played a special role in the history of the cross, because 'God revealed the sign of the cross in a special way to two members of Christ's mystical body: to Emperor Constantine and St Francis' and in both of them the cross appeared as a sign of victory.[46] The Finding of the Cross was therefore given a particular Franciscan flavour.

THE CROSS AND THE TREE OF LIFE

Stories of the True Cross found their monumental expression in the large-scale illustrations of the Legend of the Cross produced in Italy from the end of the fourteenth century, where the full Legend encompassed the stories of the Wood of the Cross, the Finding of the Cross and the Exaltation of the Cross. Irish Franciscans were exposed to such monumental cycles through their travels conducted for educational, administrative or spiritual reasons. An Irish Franciscan, Robert, who was the bishop of Elphin, was in the city of Florence in November 1419.[47] Others may have visited the city before him. Irish friars also visited the Italian towns of Assisi, Padua, Rome and Venice. A minister general from Ireland was present in Assisi at the general chapter in 1279, at which time the vault with the four Evangelists was most likely completed. Another Irish minister provincial was present at the general chapter in Assisi sixteen years later, in 1295 when all the frescoes in the Upper Church were probably finished to coincide with the chapter.[48]

44 Liber Flavus Fergusiorum at www.ria.ie/liber-flavus-fergusiorum (accessed 29 November 2019) and London, British Library, MS Egerton 1781. Ryan, 'Windows'; Walsh, *Leabhar Ghlainne Suíbhne*, pp. xlvii–xlviii.
45 See Bhreathnach, 'Mendicant Orders'.
46 Doyle, *Disciple and Master*, p. 84; Thompson, 'Franciscans', pp. 64, 75 n.19.
47 Fitzmaurice and Little, *Materials*, p. 178.
48 Ibid., pp. 1, 42, 45–6, 66, 145; Cooper and Robson, *Making of Assisi*, pp. 84, 229.

The earliest illustrations of the full Legend were the frescoes in the chancel of the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence, which possessed a relic of the True Cross as well as a fragment of the crown of thorns, obtained by the friars from King Louis IX.[49] The cycle, painted by Agnolo Gaddi and his workshop between 1388 and 1393, was based on the versions of the story in *The Golden Legend*.[50] The cycle depicts the story of the sacred tree from Adam, to King Solomon, Christ, Helena and Emperor Heraclius.[51] The Legend of the Cross was visually realised in Franciscan circles not only due to the Order's cross-centred spirituality, but, as suggested by Barbara Baert, possibly due to the Legend's insistence on the revelation through nature and the description of the cross as 'a twig, a tree', that 'buds and withers, it is dead and lives again'.[52] The entire Legend of the Cross creates a narrative from the origins of humanity, through to the passion and to the glorification of the cross. In a similar manner, Bonaventure presents the entire life of Christ from his origins, through to the passion and his glorification using the shape of the imaginary Tree of Life as an aid for meditation in his *Lignum vitae*.[53]

While we cannot be sure if Bonaventure's *Tree of Life* was known in Ireland, it is certainly listed in the libraries of the English Franciscans, and a reference to a meditative text by Bonaventure in the Youghal friary may be to that work. The use of the tree motif and plant metaphors similar to those of Bonaventure in the poetry of the late fifteenth-century Irish Observant friar Philip Bocht may also suggest the work's circulation in Ireland.[54] According to Bonaventure, 'since imagination helps understanding', the life of Christ can be arranged 'in the form of an imaginary tree', 'watered by a living fountain' with twelve branches offering twelve fruits that simultaneously stand for an evangelical event and a virtuous quality associated with that event.[55] Throughout the text, Bonaventure compares and contrasts Christ and Adam, the cross as the Tree of Life (Rev 22:1–2) with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil whose fruit was 'the cause of perdition' (Gen 2:17), in order to connect these opposites in Christ: Christ died on a tree so he could give life and salvation.[56] For Bonaventure, the tree acted as both a material and mental image that arranged the

49 Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, pp. 351–81; for images, see www.wga.hu/html_m/g/gaddi/agnolo/croce.
50 Thompson, 'Franciscans and the True Cross'.
51 Ryan, *Jacobus de Voragine*, 1, pp. 277–84; 2, pp. 168–73. Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, p. 380. On the cross as the Tree of Life, see O'Reilly, *Virtues and Vices*, pp. 344–58, 393–414.
52 Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, p. 380. On the cross as the Tree of Life, see O'Reilly, *Virtues and Vices*, pp. 344–58, 393–414.
53 Hatfield, 'Tree of Life'.
54 Trinity MS 359 contains an inventory of books from the house of the Augustinian friars in York, compiled in 1372 which references Bonaventure's *Tractatus de lingo vitae*, see Humphreys, *Friars' Libraries*, pp. 11–154, at pp. 45, 68. For Philip Bocht, see below, pp. 140–1.
55 Cousins, *Bonaventure*, pp. 119–75, at pp. 120–1; Bonaventure, *Lignum vitae*, at www.freres-capucins.fr/IMG/pdf/Lignum_vitae_txtb.pdf; cf. Astell, *Eating Beauty*, pp. 38–40.
56 Cousins, *Bonaventure*, pp. 122, 151, 153.

gospel events in a familiar and easily recognisable shape.[57] By imagining the life of Christ as a tree, a person was able to recall the gospel events more vividly and conform with Christ through affective participation in these events. The gospel stories represented as fruits 'nourish the soul who meditates on them and diligently considers each one, abhorring the example of unfaithful Adam who preferred the tree of the knowledge of good and evil to the tree of life.'[58] By rejecting the tree of death and imagining the Tree of Life, with its branches and fruits, a person could climb up through the gospel stories to an attainment of perfect happiness and union with God.[59]

Bonaventure's *Tree of Life* was visually realised in a fresco painted in the refectory of Santa Croce, Florence, in the 1330s by Taddeo Gaddi, the father of Agnolo, responsible for the True Cross cycle in the chancel. In Santa Croce, the cross-tree theme is presented in the friars' communal spaces, as an allegory in the refectory and through a narrative image in the chancel.[60] In the refectory, twelve branches of the tree sprout from the trunk that is embraced by Francis who looks up at Christ crucified on the cross-tree. At the top of the tree a pelican feeds the young with her own blood symbolising Christ's self-sacrifice for humanity.[61]At the base of the fresco, episodes from the life of Adam and Eve present the Creation, Fall and expulsion from paradise and make a visual link between the tree of Adam and the tree of Christ. The setting of the Tree of Life in the refectory encourages the friars not only to look at but taste the fruits of this cross-tree.[62]

Irish friars were frequent visitors to the Continent, where they travelled for study, pilgrimage or on the Order's business, and where they would have seen large-scale pictorial cycles in the churches of Italy or France.[63] In Paris, two early fourteenth-century friars from Ireland saw the splendid chapel that had been built by Louis IX before 1248 to house the relics of the passion; the chapel's stained glass windows depicted the legends of Helena and Heraclius.[64] As at Santa Croce, Sainte Chapelle reinforced the presence of the passion relics through pictorial depictions of the story of the True Cross, and stressed a Franciscan dimension of the story. In

57 Ritchey, *Holy Matter*, pp. 119–20.
58 Cousins, *Bonaventure*, p. 122.
59 Ibid., p. 172.
60 Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, p. 384; Esler, 'Pacino di Bonaguida's Tree of Life', at http://eprints.glos.ac.uk/2857/1/Pacino%20di%20Bonaguida%27s%20Tree%20of%20Life.pdf (accessed 14 March 2018).
61 Above the tree Mary and Jesus hold the celestial court, to the left are the scenes representing the stigmatisation and St Louis of Toulouse feeding the poor, and on the right are the scenes with a priest receiving a word about St Benedict's hunger and Mary Magdalen washing Christ's feet. Images at www.wga.hu/html_m/g/gaddi/taddeo/other/2refecto.html.
62 Quanz, 'At Prayer'.
63 Cf. Krasnodębska-D'Aughton and Lafaye, 'Spaces of Movement and Meditation'.
64 Krasnodębska-D'Aughton, 'Relics and Riches', pp. 117–18; Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, pp. 351–2.

the Franciscan church of Santa Croce, the stigmatisation scene is placed just outside the main chapel that displays the Legend of the True Cross.[65] In Sainte Chapelle, the Franciscans, along with the Dominicans, were responsible for processions as ordered by Louis IX, and after 1309, the friars were asked to perform the Office for the (by then) canonised Louis in that very chapel, putting a strong mendicant stamp on the site.[66]

For all the visual wealth that Irish friars witnessed, the friaries in Ireland do not possess monumental narrative cycles and the scale of mendicant buildings is rather modest. Yet, we do find here an Irish expression of the Franciscan cross-centred spirituality as well as simple images or allusions to the cross-tree metaphor.

PLANT MOTIFS IN IRISH FRIARIES

In Irish friaries we frequently find simple images of vegetation. Grave slabs bear images of the cross with sprouting leaves.[67] Small plant motives feature on nave pillars, columns of cloister arcades and around window frames.[68] The late fifteenth-century processional crosses associated with Lislaughtin friary, Co. Kerry and Multyfarnham friary, Co. Westmeath, are decorated with floriated designs that present the cross as a living tree, and many early modern Irish chalices depict the cross as the Tree of Life (Plate VII, Fig. 8.4).[69] Executed in order to be seen, these plant motifs appear to be more than a simple embellishment or makers' marks. They are infused with meanings that not only evoke paradisiacal, christological and eucharistic associations, but more specifically their form and location resonate with Franciscan associations.[70]

The cross and the tree imagery that are so prominent in the writings of the seminal Franciscan theologians also feature in the poetry of Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn, the late fifteenth-century Franciscan.[71] An Observant friar, trained in the tradition of bardic poetry, Philip expressed his devotions in an ornate style using a stock of bardic themes.[72] What is possibly the

65 Thompson, 'Franciscans and the True Cross', p. 64.
66 Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, pp. 154–80, discusses the Office of St Louis that was modelled on the Office of Francis.
67 E.g., Ardfert, Co. Kerry: http://monastic.ie/history/ardfert-franciscan-friary/ (accessed 14 March 2018); Askeaton, Co. Limerick: http://monastic.ie/history/askeaton-franciscan-friary/ (accessed 14 March 2018); Castledermot, Co. Kildare: http://monastic.ie/history/castledermot-franciscan-friary/ (accessed 14 March 2018).
68 E.g., Ennis, Co. Clare: http://monastic.ie/history/ennis-ofm-friary/ (accessed 14 March 2018); Quin, Co. Clare: http://monastic.ie/history/quin-franciscan-friary/ (accessed 14 March 2018); Lislaughtin, Co. Kerry: http://monastic.ie/history/lislaughtin-franciscan-friary/ (accessed 14 March 2018).
69 Ó Floínn, 'Lislaughtin Cross'; Ó Floínn, 'Processional Cross'; Krasnodębska-D'Aughton, 'Franciscan Chalices'; Krasnodębska-D'Aughton, '*Me fieri fecit*'.
70 For a study of medieval plant imagery carved in stone, see Doquang, *Lithic Garden*.
71 McKenna, *Philip Bocht*, pp. 140–2.
72 Bhreathnach, 'Mendicant Orders', pp. 367–8.

opening poem of the original collection, deals with the history of the Order and the establishment by Francis of the First Order of Francis, the Second Order of the Poor Clares and the Third Order. The poem also mentions the Rule of Francis, the growth of the Order and the friars' abuse of alms that led to divisions within the Order.[73] Philip utilises here the image of the tree to describe the Franciscan Order, which he compares to a wood that produces plentiful fruit and pure seeds, and its broad branches provide support and shelter. However, he bemoans that much of 'the wood is barren', as those who did not follow the Rule became like blind nuts.[74] The good tree is contrasted by Philip with the Tree of Knowledge from the Garden of Eden, which was raided by Adam and Eve, and its apple bringing about ruin and anger.[75] For Philip, the tree represents both institutional and personal life, as well as salvation, and Philip's application of the cross-tree metaphors closely echoes the writings of Bonaventure, especially his *Tree of Life*.

FIG. 8.4 DALE-BROWNE CHALICE, TIMOLEAGUE, CO. CORK, *c.* 1600 (PHOTO: REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND)

In many Franciscan friaries across Ireland, plant motifs that are combined spatially and ideologically with cross imagery evoke the theme of the cross as the Tree of Life. The position of these cross-tree and cross-plant images places the cross at the centre of the community of the friars and their lay followers. In Ennis friary church the sculpted decor includes a variety of vegetal motifs: the upper section of the late fifteenth-century image of Francis displaying the stigmata is framed by eight leaves and surmounted by a small tree design. The image of Francis located in the public sphere of the nave presents the saint to the lay congregation as the other Christ and the pillar of the church as well as a powerful intercessor whose wounds reflect the wounds of Christ (Fig. 8.3a–b).[76] But the plant motifs add

73 McKenna, *Philip Bocht*, Poem 1, pp. 129–30.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., Poem 7, p. 148, cf. Poem 16, p. 173.
76 Krasnodębska-D'Aughton, 'Prayer, Penance and the Passion'.

another dimension to the image and they allude to the portrayal of the saint as the generator of his Order. In late medieval Europe genealogical representations of the religious orders as a spiritual family were common and they visualised the founder of the religious group as a trunk from which grow the saints as the branches of that Order. The so-called *Franciscan Trees* were developed by the second half of the fourteenth century to represent the Franciscan community as a living organism and as a means of displaying the continuity of the mission established by the founder.[77] Simple plant imagery enclosing Francis' figure in Ennis may articulate similar sentiments.

The text that shaped the image of Francis accessible to all friars was the Office of St Francis composed before 1235. The Office condensed a hagiographical story of the saint into a shorter liturgical text and an Irish copy of the Office is found in the late fifteenth-century antiphonary, now housed in Trinity College Dublin.[78] Important themes that weave through the Office are those of growth, plantation and vegetation. Francis is called 'fruit-bearing' in 'fields of poverty', 'providing ripe harvest' and sowing 'the vine of the Minors', he is also a 'flower of virtue'.[79] The depictions of plants positioned in strategic places of the friary possibly had an important role to play as triggers of communal identity that was expressed in the wording of the Office.

In Quin friary, located less than fifteen kilometres from Ennis, plant designs are displayed in the cloister. It has been suggested that these designs were masons' marks signifying the work done by individual craftsmen.[80] If so, did they remind the friars of the deceased masons or about the deceased benefactors responsible for sponsoring individual sections of the cloister? It is likely that the plant motifs punctuated the processional movement of the friars, as they moved through the cloister between the divine office in the chancel and meals in a refectory, or between the chancel and a dormitory and a chapter room. And as in Ennis these designs alluded to the Franciscan Order as a growing organism, a theme articulated in seminal Franciscan texts and found in the Irish poetry of Philip Bocht.

The inclusion of the cross-tree motif on tombs of the friars' benefactors raises important points in relation to the pastoral care provided by the friars for both the living and the dead members of their flock. The plant imagery carved on tombs and usually accompanied by the cross evoked the hope of salvation brought about by the cross as the Tree of Life. The tomb of the O'Brien lords located in the chancel of Ennis friary

77 Opitz, 'Genealogical Representations'.
78 *FA: ED*, 1, pp. 327–45; Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 109; Colker, *Trinity College Library*, pp. 234–35.
79 *FA: ED*, 1, pp. 329, 331, 342.
80 Hourihane, *Mason and His Mark*.

church, and executed around the same time as the image of Francis, includes floriated shapes in the entombment scene, where Christ's tomb is decorated with plant motifs and the scene is set next to the scene of the crucifixion (Fig. 8.3d).[81]

In other friaries, the tombs of the donors display floriated crosses that make a visual reference to the Tree of Life.[82] In Castledermot friary, a tomb possibly dating to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century is located in one of the north transept chapels (Fig. 8.1a). It represents two bodies: a female skeleton covered in a shroud revealing only a pelvic area and a male skeleton shown without any shroud.[83] In the Legend of the True Cross that became popular in the later Middle Ages, the cross as the Tree of Life was linked with the Tree of Knowledge, which brought about the Fall and Adam and Eve's expulsion from paradise. In Castledermot, we can see similar references to the cross-tree topos that were conveyed monumentally in Italian frescoes. Here, the story of the cross is displayed across different monuments, whose production was separated by centuries. The early medieval high cross in Castledermot known as the North Cross depicts on its central west panel the Tree of Knowledge flanked by Adam and Eve, with the corresponding central east panel showing the crucifixion (Fig. 8.1b). The representation of the Tree of Knowledge with Adam and Eve is repeated on the west face of the South Cross that includes the crucifixion as the central panel above.[84] These crosses erected within the early monastic settlement were incorporated into the limits of the Anglo-Norman borough, when the early church served as a parish church. The Franciscan friary established within walking distance from the parish church and the high crosses was built c. 1230/40.[85]

It is not unlikely that the friars used older imagery to convey the message of salvation and to express the connection between the Fall and redemption. The use of existing objects and buildings by the friars is already attested in the *Major Legend*, and the friars' creative use of outdoor spaces for preaching could have taken place in Castledermot.[86] The images of the Tree of Knowledge on the Castledermot high cross and the Tree of Life on the tomb in the friary bridge the spatial and temporal gap between the two monuments, which are nevertheless unified ideologically and typologically.

81 Krasnodębska-D'Aughton, 'Prayer, Penance and the Passion', pp. 86–91.
82 See n. 67 above.
83 Roe, 'Cadaver Effigial Monuments', p. 13.
84 Harbison, *High Crosses*, 1, pp. 189–94; for images and description, see http://research.ucc.ie/doi/tandi/Castledermot1-N133#navtop (accessed 14 March 2018) and http://research.ucc.ie/doi/tandi/Castledermot4-N136#navtop (accessed 14 March 2018).
85 Krasnodębska-D'Aughton and Lafaye, 'Friars in the Landscapes of Medieval Ireland: Spaces and Identities', Space and Settlement Conference, Trinity College Dublin, 23–24 March 2018 (unpublished conference paper).
86 *LM* 2.1, 2.8, 4.5, 6.2, 6.6, 6.9, 8.11; *FA: ED*, 2, pp. 536, 540, 553, 570, 573, 575, 594. Bruzelius, 'Friars'.

CONCLUSIONS

Representations of the cross in Irish friaries not only unite the spaces visually through the repeated use of an iconographic theme, but they also demonstrate their devotional unity. The images and the spaces are connected by a reflection on the cross, the stigmata, and the eucharist, as well as a connection made between the cross as the instrument of death and the cross as a life-giving tree. Moreover, in the Franciscan context these visual references to plants and trees articulate the Franciscan vision of the Order and its founder, largely shaped by Bonaventure. According to the *Major Legend*, when Francis wished to have his form of life recognised and approved by Pope Innocent III, on the way to Rome he had a vision of himself encountering a tree of great height. 'When he approached and stood under it, he marvelled at its height. Suddenly he was lifted so high by divine power that he touched the top of the tree and easily bent it down to the ground.' Francis understood that the vision referred 'to the condescension of the Apostolic See' and that even the most powerful can be bent by his message.[87]

87 *LM* 3.8, *FA: ED*, 2, p. 547, cf. 1 Celano 33, *FA: ED*, 1, pp. 212–13.

9

HERALDING THE ROOD: COLOUR CONVENTION AND MATERIAL HIERARCHIES ON LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLISH ROOD SCREENS[1]

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Late medieval English church roods are mostly known by their near-total loss, their fragmentary remains, and by the still-painted spaces that frame their absence.[1] One of the most well-known examples is the ghosted raguly tree-of-life cross outline on Suffolk's Wenhaston Doom tympanum.[2] The mixed-media nature of the decorative apparatus which surrounded and augmented the rood is demonstrated by empty outlines of roods in numerous chancel arch wall paintings, the blank space the lacuna where polychrome three-dimensional roods once stood over wooden structures combining rich carvings, two-dimensional paintings, glass, tin-relief, gilded surfaces, as well as the squint holes cut by devout parishioners keen to see the elevation of the host at Mass.[3]

1 Sincere thanks to Paul Binski, Spike Bucklow, Pauline Plummer and Eddie Sinclair. The project to survey East Anglian medieval screens was generously funded by the Leverhulme Trust.

2 For images of the Wenhaston Doom, see Simon Knott's Suffolk Churches website, www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/wenhaston.html (accessed 14 October 2018), or Whale, 'Wenhaston Doom'.

3 For these blank spaces, see the wall paintings at Cawston (Norfolk), Kingston (Cambridgeshire), Raunds (Northamptonshire) as illustrated in Marks, 'Framing the Rood'. For broader discussions of English parochial rood screens, see Baker, *English Panel Paintings*; Bond and Camm, *Roodscreens*; Bond, *Screens*; and Vallance, *Church Screens*.

Nevertheless, despite the loss of nigh-on every late medieval English rood, much about the main crucifix of the church can be gleaned from what still survives. It is commonly accepted, and evident from the proliferation of rood loft stairs,[4] that by the mid-fifteenth century, virtually every church in England had a chancel screen, sometimes of stone and sometimes of wood, depending on the region, intrinsically linked to the presentation of the rood. The screens discussed here largely date from about 1420–1536 and centre on East Anglia and the West Country as a substantial number of screens in these two regions retain enough polychromy to perceive decorative choices as well as structural designs.[5] By the mid-fifteenth century, the heyday of the English screen, the ensemble tended to consist of a solid lower dado, about a metre and a half in height and crossed by a transom, above which rose the decorative lights, filled with tracery at the top. Some screens had doors, and this is more commonly the case in Devon than East Anglia. Usually the screen was galleried with a rood loft and topped by the rood, and figures of Mary and John the Evangelist, and perhaps the good and bad thieves or attendant angels. The rood group was sometimes placed on a rood beam but could also be part of the parapet of the rood loft. It was often backed by a painted tympanum and/or decorated chancel arch, usually depicting the Doom. By the nineteenth century, what was left after systematic destruction and dismantling through the English Reformation and Civil War,[6] as well as changing conventions and tastes in subsequent centuries, came to be known as a rood screen, though as a term this is problematic as it only describes a part of what was once a complex whole (Plate VIIa).[7] This chapter explores the colour conventions and schemes used in the decoration of screens in both Devon and East Anglia, the contribution of these colour schemes to screens as liminal structures and the directionality of decoration, used hierarchically according to material value, upwards towards the rood as centrepiece of the structure.

The English screen also had a number of functions. It was iconographically part of the rood and its associated imagery, sometimes including the Last Judgement, as well as intercessory saints along the screen dado or rood loft parapet. The screen was a threshold or partition

4 Schweiso, 'Rood Stairs'.

5 These two regions may have had a greater density of screens due to large-scale church building in the late Middle Ages, the heyday of screen production. Moreover, the rise of the figural screen came about in the fifteenth century, and some regions appear to have centred figural imagery on their now lost lofts rather than on screen dados. However, much has been lost which may distort survival: according to Vallance, within ten years between 1727 and 1737, seventy-one rood lofts were taken down in Yorkshire alone. Vallance, *Church Screens*, p. 91 n. 4. Furthermore, figural dados are found as far apart as Northumberland and Cornwall.

6 Wrapson, 'Medieval Church Screens'.

7 Lunnon, 'Observations'.

between the chancel and the nave (between heaven and earth, between life and death). It served as a frame to the Mass.[8] It was also memorial to those who funded it, posited in its specific locality and community. As Richard Marks has put it, 'the screen thus simultaneously faced upwards and outwards into the parish community'.[9]

This clear iconographic directionality can at times also be seen to be matched in the materials chosen to decorate screens and in their carefully considered location. Rood lofts were decorated according to certain conventions and traditions. These conventions had local variation but also had many points of comparison between regions and at times internationally.[10] Although lofts survive poorly, there can be fragmentary evidence surviving, as at Barton Turf (Norfolk) where a solitary piece of blue vault decorated with stars remains. Furthermore, the vaulting of surviving East Anglian lofts indicates a preference for the use of blue backgrounds with gold ribs and sometimes decorative stars, a fitting heavenly analogy. Cross-motifs are also regularly reiterated in the designs of these vaults as at Tilbrook in Cambridgeshire and Bramfield in Suffolk, and a preference for blue and gold can be seen in the loft from the now deconstructed loft pieces adhered to the front of Devon's Bridford screen, although in this case and as often found in Devon, the vault panels are traditionally relief-carved with floriated patterns.[11] Bramfield's is perhaps the most explicit example of a heavenly loft vault (Plate VIIb). This velvety azurite-decorated loft survives with a good number of tin-relief stars intact as well as accompanying angels. The cruciforms here are painted a bright bloody vermilion red, symbolic of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, and decorated with gilded roses.[12] Yet there are always exceptions to the rule. The vault at Ranworth (Norfolk) is floriated in its decoration, though there is an interesting nod to the convention in the now largely lost gilded, azurite and star decoration of the rib and hollow of the vault cross members. These would have been a bright Bramfield-like blue and there is a remaining tin-relief star. This is a playful inversion of a typically floriated rib juxtaposed to a star-studded vault, as seen at Bramfield.

Turning to screen dado panels, local convention can also be seen in action. About twenty screens in Devon have figures painted on black backgrounds, which is roughly half of the surviving figural screens. An

8 Jung, *Gothic Screen*, pp. 71–103.
9 Marks, 'Framing the Rood', p. 10.
10 For the screens in the Marches, see Wheeler, *Medieval Church Screens*; for the screens in Brittany, see Pelletier, *Les jubés*; for screens in the Netherlands, see Kroesen and Steensma, *Interior* and Kroesen, 'Preserving Power'.
11 Devon screen lofts are often stripped or repainted. Plymtree might be another example of a blue and gold loft, as might St Saviour's in Dartmouth, but neither have been examined for paint authenticity.
12 These choices fit within wider fifteenth-century conventions of the iconography of the crucifixion that concentrate on the realness and bloodiness of Christ's sacrifice and interest in the *arma Christi*.

example of this is preserved at Buckland-in-the-Moor. In around six churches, figures are painted on white backgrounds, as at Ipplepen and, less commonly, three instances, on blue backgrounds, as on the sculpted dado panels at Bridford. Counter-change also proved popular: in six or so locations, the dado panels alternate black and white, as at Cheriton Bishop and in about eight examples throughout the county, alternating red and green panels are also found.[13] Towards the latter end of the period when screens were being made (as can be proved to be the case from datable examples in East Anglia) figures were positioned in credibly recessional Northern European Renaissance style landscapes, as can be seen at Lanreath in Cornwall, which was probably painted by Devon painters.[14]

In contrast to the situation in Devon, the backgrounds of screens in East Anglia are very rarely black, the only surviving example being the south parclose screen at Southwold (Suffolk) where the figures are set in fictive sculptural niches. Instead, alternating red and green dominates in the region (Plate IX), and there is only one instance in which the background is a pale white, decorated with floriated patterns in a brighter white, at Irstead in Norfolk, as well as a small number of red or green dados which do not alternate. Screens with perspectival landscapes survive in greater numbers in East Anglia than in Devon, but perhaps only because there are more surviving screens (Belstead, Suffolk, and Wiggenhall St Mary the Virgin, Wellingham and Beeston-next-Mileham, in Norfolk). These and others that remain are datable to the sixteenth century and they also display red and green cloths of honour behind figures, often with a sky or landscape above, a continuation or updating of the red-and-green dado, but with a nod to continental Northern European visual trends. An example of this can be seen at North Burlingham (St Andrew), Norfolk.

Other conventions commonly observed in East Anglia include the use of fictive stones such as marble and porphyry on the sills of screens, as well as the floriate decoration of door jambs and panel surrounds on a white background. While they do not always survive well, the eastern faces of screens were also painted, though are more simply decorated than the front, western faces. This decoration could range from the simple (as at Hardwick, Norfolk) to the costly (Ranworth). Rood lofts were also forward and upward facing, heralding the rood, addressing the parishioners who largely paid for them, and the parish priest processing through them. Bramfield demonstrates this in both its structure and its decoration. The front vault is larger and more elaborate, both structurally and decoratively, than the rear vault. The front of the screen is lavishly

13 For details on all these screens, see Wrapson and Sinclair, 'Polychromy'. Figures are somewhat approximate, because the full extent of rood screen survivals from Devon, including in private collections, has not been established.
14 Ibid., pl. XLII.

decorated with gold, blue, red, white, and green; the reverse, while much damaged, shows traces of red, white, and green.

It has been suggested that the great consistency of floral patterns on screens is due to their having been painted by separate hands from the rest of the wooden structure, in effect by craftsmen who were specialist flower painters.[15] However, this is to misunderstand fundamentally how screens were made. Examination of screens such as Cawston (Norfolk), where the work of four separate painting workshops can be detected, shows how the decoration undertaken by separate workshops included the vertical space from the panels upwards. This reflects the way sponsorship of rood screen 'panes' by donors is discussed in will bequests.[16] Each workshop used its own stencil tools and distinctions in style in the faces of the figures, for example, are matched in the different stencils used in each section of the screen painted by a different workshop. Floriate designs are similar between different workshops, but rarely identical. In fact, some aspects of these decorations can be characteristic of a workshop, such as the use of the colour sensitive pigment indigo within the output of the Ranworth group, which can be seen in similar designs on separate screens as much as twenty years apart in date.[17]

Technical study has overwhelmingly demonstrated that the carpentry and painting of screens were undertaken by separate workshops of craftsmen and that, rather than carpenters subcontracting to their favoured painters, such decisions were instead led by the patrons (as evidenced by the presence of four workshops at Cawston, Norfolk over a time-frame of around forty years).[18] A key example of this is found at St Catherine's in Fritton (Norfolk) where the painters had to contend with an area of unfinished carving. St Jude is crammed into a small space beneath the uncarved tracery head, and his halo obtrudes onto the bottom edge of the board above.[19] Technical evidence thus demonstrates repeatedly that screens were painted once constructed, the only exception to this being a very small number of screen paintings executed on paper.[20] This is revealed by the splashing of paint onto the surrounds of the screens and by the presence of a barb of paint around the edges of the painted panels. It is, moreover, not possible to retro-fit panels into the structures due to the way they are designed and constructed. Painters were therefore itinerant and had to travel to the sites to decorate the structures, and documentary evidence sometimes demonstrates this. A 1533 Northamptonshire will records the intentions of a 'weyfeyryngman' and painter called John

15 Medlar, 'Decorative Motifs'.
16 Cotton, 'Mediaeval Roodscreens'.
17 Wrapson, 'Ranworth'.
18 I have explored this in depth in Wrapson, 'New Methodological Approaches' and Wrapson, *Patterns of Production*.
19 Wrapson, 'East Anglian Rood-screens'.
20 Aylsham, Cawston and Lessingham in Norfolk.

Handros. Handros was indentured to paint the screen at Cottesbrooke but died before finishing, giving his materials to the town in exchange for burial. His will states 'I have made a bargayn with the townshipp of Cottysbroke for a parte of ther rode lofte … and I have orderyde gold sylver byse oyle with all other thyng thereto for to gyld the seyd parte of the roode lofte.'[21] Handros did not travel with materials in sufficient quantity and was able to order them, apparently locally. Notably, he lists the most valuable and costly materials, gold, silver, azurite and oil. It is also likely that painters were largely presented with the structure they had to paint already made, rather than defining its form, although it cannot be ruled out that some designs were collaborative or mediated through patrons.

As Spike Bucklow has described, screens structurally exhibit axial symmetry centred on the door; I would add that there is also a vertical axis leading from this to the rood above.[22] Yet those who painted East Anglian screens responded to this axial symmetry with linear translation, that is red and green panels running in counter-change from left to right rather than being mirrored from the central door. Bucklow suggests that the use of linear translation prevents the privileging of red over green or green over red at the key location of the doorway. The use of linear translation at the door disrupts the axial symmetry, emphasising the vertical over the horizontal at the door, lifting the eye vertically to the rood.

The colour schemes and designs of rood lofts were therefore guided by convention and, as has been demonstrated, there were regional distinctions in these conventions. However, there are also correlations between the decoration of screens in East Anglia and religious objects found in continental Europe. Recent research into late medieval altarpiece painting in Cologne has confirmed that an established decorative hierarchy was used consistently on polychromy of this type.[23] Red, green and blue backgrounds are found elaborated with stencils on the outer parts of elaborate folding altarpieces (in the closed position) whereas gold backgrounds were favoured for the inner sanctum, the main panels of the retable (in the open position). This visual distinction is matched by the hierarchical use of pigments in ascending quality and expense. In the case of two Cologne altarpieces, ultramarine use was reserved for the insides of the altarpiece wings, but not the outsides, which used the less expensive blue pigment azurite instead. Similarly, a lesser laminated gold and tin *zwischgold* (part gold), was also found by the researchers on some outer wings, in comparison to the genuine gold leaf of the inner sancta.[24] In northern German work, as studied through its importation to Norway, similar distinctions can be gleaned. Kausland found that the use

21 Serjeantson and Longden, 'Parish Churches', p. 227.
22 Bucklow, 'Reflections and Translations'.
23 von Baum, 'Let the Material Talk', pp. 86–92, 136.
24 von Baum, 'Let the Material Talk', pp. 86–92, 136.

of part gold for cost-cutting was 'customary in the late medieval German altarpieces', but that it was also used for visual effect to contrast with areas of genuine gold leaf.[25] Kollandsrud has also described similarly plain exteriors and golden interiors on Scandinavian Marian tabernacle shrines of the thirteenth century.[26]

In Cologne, this distinction between stencilled red-and-green outer parts and gilded inner *sancta* was eventually superseded with the incorporation of landscape into the scenes on the wings and main panels of altarpieces, a situation which finds a corollary in the later rood screens in East Anglia. While there is very little extant from East Anglia other than screens, surviving fragments of altarpieces are indicative. The *c.* 1390 Despenser or Norwich Retable, and fragments of crucifixion and Betrayal panels, all now in Norwich Cathedral, have gilded *pastiglia* backgrounds.[27] Equally, the central crucifixion panel of the Thornham Parva Retable is entirely gilded tin-relief: stencils are only present on the saints to the sides of the main panel, where they alternate with gilded tin-relief squares.[28] In comparison, East Anglian screens, whether decorative or figural, habitually alternated in red and green, decorated with stencils. The lowest reach, the dado of the rood loft, worked effectively and affectively like the doors of a winged altarpiece or tabernacle when closed or part-closed, veiling the chancel and its altar beyond. The more important and expensive heavenly blue and gold of the vault emphasised the vertical hierarchy of decoration, heralding the rood and acknowledging its importance as the centrepiece of the rood loft and chancel arch schema. The whole functioned effectively on both a horizontal and vertical axis, but the vertical axis saw this increase in significance in material and colour terms.

Medieval painters' interest in colour did not come from the capacity of paint to be implemented in replicating nature. Instead, they understood colours in terms of the intrinsic qualities of the materials and their effects, as the examples above suggest.[29] As Edgerton points out in his article concerning Alberti's fundamentally medieval colour outlook, workshop terminology for colours was inherently concerned with their physicality, for example in their mineral or vegetable origins.[30] Understanding of colour was underpinned by both the colour theories of the science of optics (derived from Aristotle and epitomised by Robert Grosseteste, d. 1253, Albertus Magnus, d. 1280 and Roger Bacon, d. *c.*1292), and the

25 Kollandsrud, 'Evoking the Divine', p. 91. It must not be forgotten, however, that materially less expensive materials, such as imitation gold, a glazed silver leaf, might be used for their impressive visual effects. See Kollandsrud, 'Evoking the Divine', p. 157. Moreover, imitation materials had important meanings of their own that could supersede the straightforward cost of materials. See Kollandsrud, 'Perspective'.
26 Kollandsrud, 'Evoking the Divine', pp. 22–35.
27 Plummer, 'Restoration'. The retable and fragments are of a similar date.
28 Massing, *Thornham Parva Retable*.
29 Edgerton, 'Alberti's Colour Theory'.
30 Ibid., p. 111.

practicalities of mixing paint.[31] The former was derived from Aristotelian colour theory, integrated with optics (*perspectiva*) from the thirteenth century:[32] the latter was closely allied with the science of alchemy, and exhibited in the context of painting in the practical manuals of Theophilus Presbyter and Cennino Cennini.[33] Nonetheless, the content of practical manuals ultimately derived too from Aristotelian thought, specifically hylomorphism, which is the idea that the matter of the universe formed from the interaction of the four elements.[34] As Gage has indicated, by the fifteenth century, rhetorical associations derived from the alchemy of occult relationships between the musical scale, elements, planets, colours and blazons were cultural commonplaces.[35]

What practical science and knowledge of colour might therefore underpin the conventions seen in the decoration of screens? Some choices span cultures: stellar vaults found at Bramfield and its playful inversion at Ranworth; a *crux gemmata* stands on a star-studded blue mandorla in the sixth-century apse at Sant' Apollinaire in Classe, Ravenna, Italy, and a star-spangled vault can also be seen in a pre-Christian context on the ceiling of the Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir al Bahri, Egypt. Vaults inside mimic the heavenly vault, and that association has resonance before and beyond the Christian context. Other decorative choices, such as the counter-change of red and green, and floriated patterns on screen surrounds, were more localised in their tradition, as shown comparing Devon screen dado backgrounds to those of East Anglia. However, these traditions were long in their duration, probably due both to the rigidity and length of workshop training methods, and the conventional tastes of patrons at this socio-economic level: the patrons of rood screens were typically freemen of the merchant and gentry class rather than aristocracy.[36] Painters, as other craftsmen, served apprenticeships of at least seven years, bound to a master for their training.[37] The traditional tendencies of medieval patronage can often be seen in contracts for the production of tombs, screens and buildings. These contracts often state a model. For example, Robert Northern's will of 1508 asks that the screen be 'aft the newe perke in the chapel of the ffelde in Norwiche'[38] and some contracts furthermore state, with variations in the wording, that the model 'like or better'.[39] This

31 These colour theories are outlined in Kuehni and Schwarz, *Colour Ordered*.
32 Panoyotova, 'Colour Theory'; Bucklow, 'Alchemy and Colour'.
33 Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, in Hawthorne and Smith, *Theophilus* and Cennini, *Craftsman's Handbook*, in Thompson, *Cennino Cennini*.
34 Bucklow, *Alchemy of Paint*, pp. 78–9.
35 Gage, *Colour and Culture*, p. 142.
36 Duffy, 'Parish, Piety and Patronage'; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*.
37 Harvey, *Medieval Craftsmen*, pp. 43–57 and Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*. It should be noted that Cennino Cennini cites his lineage to Giotto to define his pedigree rather than stress his innovation. Thompson, *Cennino Cennini*, p. 3.
38 Cotton, 'Mediaeval Roodscreens', p. 44.
39 See, for example, the contract between carpenter Thomas Loveday and Master of

often uses the legally binding phrase 'in manner and form' – *in modo et forma* – and demonstrates the use of existing art objects, tombs, and houses in the definition of quality control within a legal context. The proliferation of such clauses in late medieval contracts indicates a rich material culture based on established and trusted types rather than rather than wholesale innovation.

Fundamentally though, decorative choices were underpinned by isochromatic colour conventions, those recognised by Shearman as essentially medieval when he noted 'contrapuntal composition' in the work of Bernardo Daddi.[40] Shearman has been critiqued for perceived reductivism, that is, in the words of Verstegen, 'a tendency to explain features according to a primitive logic that overrides social, theological and political contingencies'.[41] However, Shearman was describing a phenomenon at the time of its passing, and at a time when other pressures on it were at play, such as an interest in the depiction of recessional space and of naturalistic as well as spiritual light. Isochromatic colour composition is arguably more prevalent in medieval painting than in that of the Renaissance in both Italy and England and reflects what would have been general knowledge for craftsmen, that they lived in a world explained by hylomorphic thought.

In the context of screens, the linear translation of red and green on the dado lends privilege to neither colour: it rejects hierarchy. Luxford describes the alternation of red and green on screen dados as 'symbolically appropriate' to the depiction of martyrs 'whose blood was shed' and confessors 'the roots of whose faith were "alive and quick in the earth"'.[42] Although he readily accepts that martyrs are not always placed on red, nor confessors on green, this was a likely resonance for the contemporary viewer.[43] Bucklow sees red and green as complementary colours, with far-reaching semantic associations. Red and green have planetary connections: the red with Mars, the green with Venus. This mirrors both the materiality of the screen (the green verdigris derived from copper, the red from red lead or vermilion) and has further association with male and female.[44] Bucklow concludes that because of this counter-change, the

St John's College, Robert Shorton in which Loveday is required to make the stalls at St John's 'after and accordyng' or 'larger and better' than those at Jesus College, Cambridge. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 571.

40 Shearman first recognised *contrapunto* on Bernardo Daddi whilst looking at the Gambier-Parry collection with John White. Shearman, 'Developments', 2, p. 64 n. 11. See also Shearman, 'Isochromatic Colour Composition'.

41 Verstegen, 'John White'.

42 Luxford, 'Sacred Kingship', pp. 104–5, 111. Luxford is quoting Ellis (ed.), *Golden Legend*, vol. 6, pp. 103–4.

43 The earliest figurative screens in East Anglia tend to depict the Apostles, yet still alternate red and green. Of Christ's Apostles, Christian tradition suggests only St John the Evangelist was not martyred.

44 Bucklow, 'Reflections and Translations', pp. 155–6 and Bucklow, *Riddle of the Image*, pp. 217–39.

door to the chancel, the door to Christ, is the 'strait … gate' referred to in Matthew 7:14 and privileges neither man nor woman, young or old, rich nor poor.[45] Gage links the pairing of red and green to the rainbow, finding it in a literary tradition established as far back as Gregory the Great (d. 604).[46] The rainbow understandably has a divine association and Christ is often placed on a rainbow in depictions of the Last Judgement, as we see on the Wenhaston Doom. Jung explores the idea of screens as partitions, bridges and frames, as liminal 'material indicators of passage' not blockage.[47] Screens were located at the threshold between two sacred areas, nave and chancel, but by masking the chancel and altar, served to heighten the mystique and ceremony. There is an equality to the decorative programmes of the horizontal axis (albeit with a slight hierarchical emphasis to the central doorway in those cases where there is a positioning of St Peter and St Paul, framing the doors). However, in the vertical axis, there is a visual ascendancy towards heaven and the rood.

Hierarchical decorative decisions are perhaps more easily observed where there were probably once limited budgets. Technical study sometimes indicates that colour-scheme choices were guided by the level of funding for the construction and decoration. This can be seen in both East Anglia and Devon, and in both regions the more expensive pigments are centred on the front, west face of the screen and the higher parts of the structure nearer the rood. The range of pigments available to the medieval painter of rood screens was fairly limited, and their relative cost can be gleaned from a number of accounts. One of the more useful is the building accounts of Exeter Cathedral, which give some idea of prices in the fourteenth century.[48] These could vary over time. For example, access to quality azurite waned in the later sixteenth century; as the supplies became scarcer, so it grew more expensive. Typically, however, ultramarine was the most expensive pigment and it has not to date been found on any screens. It was probably too expensive to be used on object of this status, and azurite appears to be the dominant blue pigment in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Gold, which was applied as leaf either by water gilding or more typically by oil gilding techniques, was the most expensive material, followed by azurite pigment. The red, vermilion and the synthetic copper green pigments were of about middling price. Among

45 Bucklow, 'Reflections and Translations', p. 157 and Luxford, 'Sacred Kingship', p. 104. Matthew 7:14: 'How narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leadeth to life: and few there are that find it.' (Quam angusta porta, et arcta via est, quae ducit ad vitam: et pauci sunt qui inveniunt eam); see also John 10:9 where Christ also referred to himself as 'the door' (Ego sum ostium).

46 Gage, 'Colour in History', pp. 107–8.

47 Jung, *Gothic Screen*, p. 45.

48 Erskine, *Accounts of the Fabric*. In *c.* 1320–1321, for instance, lead white was three times cheaper than vermilion, six times cheaper than indigo and fourteen times cheaper than 'azure' (p. 134).

the cheapest were the ochres, which is why it is the earth pigments and chalk which are often found on the largest scales used in wall paintings.[49]

A key example of hierarchical material use, probably due to budget, is the *c.* 1500 screen at Hardwick in Norfolk. An understanding the paint layers of this screen is hampered by a considerable (but happily recorded) 1661 restoration undertaken by the churchwardens, although this account is limited to certain areas. However, close examination of the dado shows that the barber's pole decoration below the transom height has been executed using lead tin yellow and a thick glaze to mimic gilding, whereas above the transom height, vertically nearer the rood, genuine gold leaf has been used instead (Plate X). Microscopic cross-sections taken from the screen, each about the size of a printed full-stop, show this distinction is not to do with the screen being incomplete, as a different build up, appropriate to the different upper layers, is used in each location. Both have a chalk ground, followed in the case of the lead tin yellow decoration by a layer of lead white priming and then the pale lead tin yellow layer, covered in turn by a varnish layer. In the sample above the dado where gold leaf has been used, the layer over the lead white priming is a typical yellow ochre, lead white and red lead mordant used beneath the gilding to enhance its colour. A thin layer of gold leaf can be seen on top of this ochre-coloured paint. This analysis shows that as the screen ascends towards the most important part of the structure, the now-lost rood, the materials used were those of increasing value, and that this was planned carefully rather than being an error or incomplete painting scheme. I have found a similar distinction on the elaborate east side of the *pulpitum* at Hexham Abbey, Northumberland. There, the lower reaches were decorated with the unstable pigment orpiment, whereas the halos of the *pulpitum* loft figures, such as that of St Etheldreda, were decorated instead with real gold leaf, as identified using portable X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy (XRF) and cross-section analysis.[50]

The decoration on the reverse of the Hardwick screen, in alternating red and yellow ochre rather than in the more typical vermilion and copper green seen elsewhere on screens, as at Ludham and Ranworth, is also probably also economically motivated. These two earth pigments were much cheaper than their synthesised counterparts.[51] Finally, no blue pigments at all were found on the dado of the screen. Perhaps the decision

49 Comparative costs of pigments from various sources in the medieval period are covered by Howard, *Pigments*. For red and yellow earth pigments, see p. 142, and for chalk, p. 171.

50 Undertaken by the author using a Bruker Tracer-III instrument. Unpublished Hamilton Kerr Institute Report, 2018.

51 Howard, *Pigments*. Compare vermilion at 8d (pp. 98–9) with red ochre at 1–2d (p. 142), verdigris at 7d (p. 86) with yellow ochre at 1–2d (p. 142). An equivalence or substitution of saffron for green is noted in ecclesiastical garb colours at Wells Cathedral between 1273 and 1293. Red is used throughout Easter, for the Apostles, on Holy Rood days, and for Martyrs, among others. Green, or saffron for the feast of Mary Magdalene

for it to be decorated without saints along the dado may have had an economic motivation? As the vault is lost, we can only speculate as to whether blue was used there.

At Thurlton in Suffolk, symmetry appears to be observed at the screen doorway. However, the barber's pole decoration at the front (facing west) uses genuine gold leaf, whereas the cheaper lead tin yellow is used towards the eastern face (Plate XI). In much the same way there is a clear demarcation in the use of materials between the front (west side) and the back (east side) of the screen at Bridford in Devon (Plate XII). Bridford's is an opulent late Perpendicular screen, lavishly decorated on the west facing side with gold leaf and azurite.[52] On the reverse, east facing side, the scheme is mainly undertaken in lead tin yellow and vermilion over a red earth and probable red lead ground. Here the hierarchy of materials emphasises the western, public face of the screen, much in the manner of East Anglian screens. This stands in contrast to the conventions of rood screen decoration in Brittany, where the screens are much more double-sided in both the detailing of their carving and in their polychromy. As in the case of Hardwick in Norfolk, in Devon too, the level of funding for a screen can sometimes be indicated by the presence or absence of blue pigments. No blue is found on the lower reaches of screens at Combe Martin or Ashton, but it is found higher up towards the former location of the rood itself.

The decoration of rood screens was not static between the early fifteenth and mid-sixteenth century, as the structural elements visible on the *c.* 1530 Bridford screen demonstrate. East Anglian screens display certain distinct aesthetic choices in the mid-fifteenth century compared with the immediately pre-Reformation sixteenth-century examples. By their nature screens were liminal,[53] but in spanning the transition between the late medieval and the Renaissance,[54] screens were liminal decoratively as well

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and confessors. St John Hope and Atchley, *An Introduction to English Liturgical Colours*, pp. 29, 33.

52 The screen is closely associated with a now separate plaque decorated in vermilion and lead tin yellow which must have come from the reverse of the screen/loft because it closely shares the colour scheme and displays the initials WS for rector Walter Southcote (1508–1550). Its style suggests a date of about 1530.

53 Jung, *Gothic Screen*, pp. 45–6.

54 See Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate*, pp. 93–135 for discussion of this controversial term. Johnson dismisses the long-held concept of the Renaissance as a logical advancement with solely Italian influences and instead advocates artistic production in 'Renaissance' or 'Gothic' style as a choice for sixteenth-century craftsmen. He accepts there were 'a series of critical changes in sixteenth-century England, changes that mark it off culturally and architecturally from the late Middle Ages'. Ibid., p. 122. He suggests that 'whatever the changes in what the forms meant, one of the key transformations was that of how the forms came to carry meaning', ibid., p. 134. See also Kavaler who states, 'The term Renaissance Gothic raises several issues. In opposing two seemingly irreconcilable period designations of concepts, it confronts the omission of Gothic design in most discussions of northern Renaissance art … It further suggests that the Gothic of the Renaissance, especially in northern Europe, was a distinct development, not to be equated

as structurally and in their use of materials as well as of motifs, designs, iconography and naturalistic light.

Renaissance-influenced landscapes showing credible recessional space can be seen in both Devon and East Anglia. The nature of the continental influence was rather distinct in each region, but both were comparatively slow to pick up on Renaissance styles on their rood screens. Regional differences saw a greater uptake of the imagery of Franco-Italian derived sybils and grotesques in Devon, as well as a more consistent use of French and Breton design motifs on the screen structures themselves.[55] In East Anglia, there was increasing interest in the copying of continental print sources from *c.* 1500 onwards, as John Mitchell has demonstrated, but these seem to have been chiefly German or Netherlandish in origin as the copying of Schongauer prints, or rather Israhel van Meckenem copies of Schongauer, as the Worstead rood screen demonstrates.[56] There was also a greater interest in the depiction of perspective, possibly as a result of access to German and Netherlandish prints.[57] There is evidence too of instances of portraiture, specifically in the use of Henry VII's face on paintings of St Edmund from loose panels at Barton Turf (originally from Rackheath) and of St Sebastian/St Edmund at North Tuddenham, a move away from the medieval generic depiction of kings towards the early modern portrait.[58]

In East Anglia, where there is a better-surviving dating framework for screens compared with Devon, changing materiality can be demonstrated in the work of a single likely multi-generational workshop responsible for the rood screen at Ranworth, Norfolk in *c.* 1479 and for the central screen a Southwold in Suffolk in *c.* 1500. Using XRF, St Philip's breadbasket at Ranworth has been revealed to be made through black outlining over silver leaf. The precious material is used to emphasise the symbolic importance of the bread that Philip carries, and the black outlining describes the form of the basket in only a limited way. The later Southwold St Philip breadbasket was instead painted in ochres and lead tin yellow, modelled to look three-dimensional and convincingly round in shape.

On screens in both Devon and in East Anglia probably from about 1500, choices regarding the use of precious materials – genuine gold leaf – versus the pigments yellow ochre, orpiment and lead tin yellow were not solely cost-guided. Rood screens in both regions had finally begun take on more continental influence, not only in terms of including ideas

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with a simple prolongation of the principles of Chartres, Amiens and Reims.' Kavaler, *Renaissance Gothic*, p. 259.

55 Baker, 'Representations'. For Breton screens, see Allan, 'Breton Woodworkers'.

56 Mitchell, 'Painting in East Anglia'.

57 For an example, see Tacolneston rood screen in Norfolk which copies Master F.V.B. and Lucas van Leyden, ibid., pp. 376–7, pls 8, 9, 10, 16.

58 Wrapson, 'Medieval Context'.

about recessional space, but also in the use of materials to represent the appearance of shining gold; increasingly this was accomplished with lead tin yellow, orpiment and white highlighting rather than using gold leaf itself. There seems to have been an inherent understanding by rood screen painters of the difference in decorating a three-dimensional panel versus a flat depiction of a saint by these means. This is demonstrated on the screen at Cheriton Bishop, where (identified through the use of portable XRF) the wings of the three-dimensional angel of the pier casing are gilded using gold leaf, but the halos of the figure panels are painted in lead tin yellow and the sceptres of the figures in yellow ochre (Plate XIII). The same practice is visible on many Devon screens, for example in the dado section from an unknown Devon church now in the Victoria and Albert Museum depicting the Adoration of the Magi.[59] The figural panels themselves do not contain gilding. Instead, on halos, metallic attributes and thrones, lead tin yellow (and/or orpiment) is used to depict the golden colour. However, on the frameworks and surrounding polychromy, gold leaf is employed. A lack of use of gold leaf for such details is in line with Alberti's lack of praise for its employment, and his higher esteem for the inventive use of other materials. He states:

> There are some who use much gold in their istoria. They think it gives majesty. I do not praise it. Even though one should paint Virgil's Dido whose quiver was of gold, her golden hair knotted with gold, and her purple robe girdled with pure gold, the reins of the horse and everything of gold, I should not wish gold to be used, for there is more admiration and praise for the painter who imitates the rays of gold with colours … I say, I would not censure the other curved ornaments joined to the painting such as columns, carved bases, capitals and frontispieces even if they were of the most pure and massy gold.[60]

The destruction of the Reformation and Civil War leaves us having to imagine how lavish, dramatic and diverse roods must have been, some perhaps tilting forward like the giant crucifixes of Italy,[61] others painfully emphasising the violence of the crucifixion and the vulnerability of Christ on the cross,[62] some perhaps left unpainted like the limewood sculptures of southern Germany.[63] It is as if we are left with much of the stage set but not the actors. Nonetheless, the impact of the schema surrounding and building up to the rood can be envisaged from the fragments that remain. Powerful conventions can be observed, even down to the careful meting out of precious

59 Accession no. W.54-1928.
60 Alberti, *On Painting,* in Spencer, *Leon Battista Alberti*, p. 85.
61 Such as Giotto di Bondone's giant crucifix in Santa Maria Novella. See Cannon, 'Great Painted Crucifix'.
62 Binski, 'Crucifixion'.
63 Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*.

resources in the more impecunious parishes. The idea of the screen as 'a materialized threshold'[64] has been well developed, but the destruction of so many roods and lofts has made an appreciation of the vertical axis more difficult. This has been demonstrated to have a liminality of its own, supported by the materials used to make it. Rood screens, rood lofts, rood beams supported their roods physically but they also heralded the rood and faced upwards and outwards materially.

64 Jung, *Gothic Screen*, p. 45.

10

REFRAMING THE ROOD: FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ANGEL ROOFS AND THE ROOD IN EAST ANGLIA

SARAH CASSELL

This essay examines the material centrality of the sacrificial imagery of the rood at the east end of the fifteenth-century East Anglian church nave, in terms of its framing by carved roof angels.[1] This association is recovered through the coincidence of material analysis and documentary evidence. Despite the eradication of the crucifix or rood group from parish churches, open timber roofs with angelic carvings represent remarkable survivals. The largest concentration of late medieval 'angel roofs' is found in East Anglian parish churches.[2] Carved angels carrying a variety of attributes form, or are attached to, their beam-ends. Although some have suffered from iconoclasm, these roofs present a substantial body of previously untapped visual evidence for investigating the significance of angelic imagery in comprehensive representational schemes which often cover the entire nave and have the rood as their focus.[3] Angels are

1 The chapter builds on research into the iconography of angel roofs in my PhD thesis on angel roofs: see Cassell, 'Structure and Image'.

2 The term 'angel roof' is used to describe timber church roofs with carved angelic imagery. See for example Rimmer, *Angel Roofs*, p. 1; Muckley, 'Angel Voices': http://norfolkchurches.co.uk/norfolkangels1.htm (accessed 15 September 2017). It is often used with imprecision, however. Exact numbers are disputed and aisle roofs with angelic representation are often overlooked, but of over 170 churches with extant late medieval angel roofs in England and Wales, at least 55 per cent are in Norfolk and Suffolk. Bettley and Pevsner, *Suffolk West*, p. 31; Beech, 'Hammer-Beam Roof: Tradition', p. 227.

3 Dowsing's role in Puritan iconoclasm (1643–1644) is well-documented, although Cooper, *Journal*, pp. 96, 444 shows that damage to angels, for example at Bildeston (Suffolk), does not necessarily date to this period. Publications to date lack detailed analysis of angelic roof imagery. For example, Haward, *Suffolk Medieval Roof Carvings*,

ubiquitous in late medieval Christianity and its visual culture, yet their pervasive existence has often been neglected.[4] Attending to the specificity of their presentation can indicate their function within the parish church. Studies have taken similar approaches to details of other late medieval parish church imagery; for example, Nichols' discussion of the iconography of penance in East Anglian Seven Sacrament fonts, Baker's work on angelic screen paintings and Varnam's analysis of the relationship between medieval sermons and images in glass and wall paintings.[5] The iconography of East Anglian roof carvings was often designed as a unified focus for a diverse and mobile lay audience, whose participation in the Mass was distinctive and socially important, and it is the intention of this discussion to address their particular agency in this. I contend that the imagery and form of these angelic compositions was deliberate and persuasive, enhanced and enlivened by a creative interaction with sermons and texts,[6] arguing that their reception was active and social, reflecting a reciprocal relationship between image and viewer.[7]

ICONOGRAPHY AND INTEGRATION: THE ROOD, THE DOOM, AND THE ROOF

This contention calls for a holistic approach and for the 'framing' of these carved figures, not only in terms of their interaction with human activity at ground level, but in relation to other aspects of the iconographic scheme of the parish church.[8] In particular, this discussion will examine the visual relationships that would have existed between angelic roof programmes and the heavenly hierarchy visualised in the rood group, Doom paintings and on chancel screens.[9] Perhaps it is unsurprising that these have yet to be explored in depth, given the 'distortion of detritus': the principal imagery at the division between the nave and chancel, of the rood, often flanked by images of Mary and John the Evangelist, was

primarily addresses typology and spandrel relief carvings, and Beech, 'Form v Function', focuses upon the structural development of early fifteenth-century hammer-beam roofs, rather than their detailed iconography.

4 Sangha, *Angels and Belief*, p. 14.

5 Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, pp. 175–6, 231–5; Baker, *English Panel Paintings*, pp. 64–9; Varnam, *The Church*, pp. 135–6.

6 Here, I am strongly influenced by Binski's assertion that the images and objects in churches 'had a constitutive, rather than representational, role in the making of religion itself' and of the importance of aesthetic matters in the process of creation. Binski, 'English Parish Church', p. 3. Also see Varnam, *The Church*, pp. 133 and 123–78.

7 Varnam, *The Church*, p. 135. For a penetrating analysis of the relationship between screen images and a mobile medieval audience, see Jung, 'Moving Pictures'.

8 Ibid., p. 194; Binski, *Introduction*, p. 4.

9 Marks, 'Framing the Rood', p. 10. The title of this chapter acknowledges Marks' analysis of rood screens 'as part of the [diverse] *schema* as a whole at the east end of the nave'; equally, angel roofs can be said to 'herald' the rood, just as Lucy J. Wrapson illustrates in relation to rood screens in this volume; see pp. 145–59.

removed from every parish church where it existed, during subsequent religious upheaval.[10] At Wenhaston St Peter in Suffolk, where the Doom painting is displaced from its original setting in the chancel arch, the clear outline of the three lost wooden figures of the rood group evokes their presence in a rare reminder of the imagery stripped away.

Extant fifteenth-century East Anglian chancel or rood screens comprise a remarkable corpus of late medieval English painting, but their pattern of survival does not always mirror that of angel roofs, especially in the west of the region. There are happy coincidences, as at Cawston St Agnes, Marsham All Saints and Trunch St Botolph in Norfolk. Elsewhere, apparent links are more problematic; iconoclasm, decay and restoration often make it difficult to confirm the original appearance of roof and rood imagery. In Suffolk, at Woolpit St Mary, angelic carvings on the ends of the hammer-beams date from Henry Ringham's 1862 restoration and the figures on the medieval screen panels were repainted in 1892. The nave beam angels are decapitated at Kersey St Mary, where six heavily restored screen panels are now dislocated and fixed to the wall of the north aisle.

The relationship between roof angels and the iconography of Christ's sacrifice and the Last Judgement at the east end of the nave is often equally elusive. Last Judgement paintings were ubiquitous in late medieval parish churches, most located at the east end of the nave.[11] Yet only twelve survive in Suffolk; as with screens, the accidents of their survival rarely match those of angel roofs.[12] For example, at Bacton St Mary in Suffolk, where the Doom painting survives, the roof carvings have been removed. Only past records of the lost Doom and four beam-end angels survive at Bardwell SS Peter and Paul, Suffolk.[13] No image remains of the Last Judgement painting recorded by Keyser at Rougham St Mary, Suffolk, where headless beam angels hold shields with passion and eucharistic emblems.[14] At Earl Stonham St Mary, Suffolk, the association of the medieval Doom and roof iconography is more tangible, although it still bears the scars of past iconoclasm. Faded images of the late-fifteenth-century Last Judgement still surmount the chancel arch and a hammer-beam roof with decapitated angelic carvings framed the lost rood (Fig. 10.1). Despite this fragmentation of late medieval imagery, much material evidence survives across the region.

Sculpted roods and chancel screens are widely assumed to have been ubiquitous in late medieval parish churches. Extant material and documentary evidence suggests a more complex picture, as Lunnon has shown: a third of Breckland churches surveyed in Norfolk lacked material

10 Marks, *Image and Devotion*, p. 3.
11 Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, pp. 72, 75–7.
12 Hawker 'Doom Paintings', p. 1.
13 SROB JI11/7/p81 includes undated photographic evidence; SROB FL522/5/4/2. 'Paintings on the walls of Bardwell Church', paper presented to a meeting of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology in 1863.
14 Keyser, *List of Buildings*, records the location of this painting over the chancel arch.

FIG. 10.1
LAST JUDGEMENT, CHANCEL ARCH AND HAMMER-BEAM ROOF, ST MARY, EARL STONHAM, SUFFOLK, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: SARAH CASSELL)

or documentary evidence for a chancel screen, and in a fifth the original presence of a beam or loft could not be substantiated.[15] The arrangements where the nave meets the chancel were characterised by variety rather than by standardisation, and could be adapted or supplanted.[16] Nonetheless, sacrificial and intercessory imagery at the east end of the nave was sufficiently popular to suggest its frequent anticipation when a roof was designed and installed. In the fifteenth century, the funding and design of this imagery, and subsequent engagement with it, became a collective endeavour.[17] Individual sponsorship within communal schemes is sometimes possible to discern in inscriptions, the addition of saints 'of personal resonance' or more rarely, in donor images incorporated within increasingly compartmentalised screen designs.[18] Individual appropriation of roof imagery is not often evident, but there are examples. Some indicate substantial roof patronage on the part of a dominant individual; the Jermyn arms on the carved shields of angels N1 and S12 at West Walton St Mary in Norfolk stamp their presence at both ends and sides of the entire scheme, for example.[19] Also in Norfolk, at Gissing St Mary, the Kemp family name appears to be referenced in the jousting shield or ecranche, with a hole for a lance, held by angel US1 in a privileged position at the south-east end.[20] This motif recurs further west, on and facing both sides of the scheme in spandrels SUNW2 and SCNE6. In the roof of Ipswich St Margaret in Suffolk, the arrangement of carved initials and merchants' marks on shields on timber brace spandrels and held by stone corbel angels, allied to will bequests to the church, reveals hierarchical layers in negotiated communal roof investment by dyers, tile makers and thatchers.[21] The predominance of the merchant mark of the Hall family of dyers and clothiers in the roof scheme and on shields along the clerestory parapet underlines the dominance of their patronage. This is confirmed by John Hall's request for burial 'in front of the crucifix', the most favoured site in the nave, at the portal to heaven on earth, in dialogue with his angelic intercessors above.[22] Here and at Swaffham SS Peter and Paul in Norfolk, where rebuilding of the church was 'a community enterprise involving at least a tenth of the

15 Lunnon, 'Observations', pp. 112–15.
16 Marks, 'Framing the Rood', p. 10.
17 Lunnon, 'Observations', p. 126.
18 Ibid. For donor images, see Cassell, 'Material Presence'.
19 Angelic carvings are numbered from east to west in ascending order. Hence N1 is the first angel at the north-east and S12 is at the south-west. In double hammer-beam roofs, upper-tier angels are denoted by U and lower angels by L. Spandrel carvings are additionally identified S and C indicates the tier at the collar-beam; if they face east, they are denoted by E, and if they face west, by W. Carvings at a crossing are indicated by X and those in a transept by T.
20 Blomefield, *An Essay*, pp. 162–81. 'The name Kemp is derived from the Saxon word to kemp or combat.' There are four monuments to the Kemp family in the north chapel.
21 Blatchly and Northeast, 'Discoveries', pp. 387–96.
22 Ibid., p. 396. For the interpretation of medieval chancel screens as the gates of heaven, see Lunnon, 'Observations', pp. 120–3. For 'intercessory dialogue', see Burgess, 'Obligations', p. 310.

adult population', sponsorship of a unified roof design was not exclusive to the principal funders.[23] Despite limited documentary evidence, it is clear that nave roofs and their carved schemes were habitually designed and built with purposeful corporate lay funding, with other communally commissioned church art in mind.[24]

In fifteenth-century East Anglian roofs, angels tend to be represented in liturgical garments. This is perhaps unsurprising; angelic ecclesiastical costume characterises other religious art of the period.[25] In the earliest and most prestigious angel roof, at Westminster Hall (*c*. 1393–1399), Richard II's angels are similarly attired, but they carry large royal heraldic shields rather than the emblems relating to the passion and the liturgy which prevailed in parish church roofs. There are dangers inherent in assuming parallels in intent and meaning between parochial projects and national schemes.[26] If an elite example was influential, it is more likely to have been the Angel Choir at Lincoln Cathedral, consecrated in 1280, where the angels carry musical instruments and passion emblems.[27] Angelic shields often displayed ecclesiastical emblems of the *arma Christi*, as at West Walton St Mary (late fifteenth century) and elsewhere. An exception is to be found at Norwich St Giles (*c*. 1420s), where most angels carry shields with the royal arms quartering France 'modern' (and Leon and Castile impaling England, for Edward, second Duke of York).[28]

Within these broad developments, the appearance and attributes of angels were varied and creative, generated by a complex web of decision-making and practice on the part of patrons, communities and makers.[29] However, the following case studies provide compelling evidence that nuanced visual and conceptual links between the eucharistic sacrifice, the passion, redemption and salvation were routinely made. There was a deliberate association between roof and rood imagery, initially in a number of churches to the west of Norfolk and Suffolk, where roof angels are vested as acolytes and the sacrificial imagery of the rood was echoed by passion and eucharistic emblems in the roof. Often supported by representations of saintly intercessors on screen panels and wall-posts, the

23 Heslop, 'Swaffham Parish Church', pp. 260, 267–8.
24 See Cattermole and Cotton, 'Medieval Parish Church Building'. Terminology is sometimes ambiguous in roof bequests. Amounts bequeathed vary and more than one bequest sometimes survives, as at Norwich St Augustine (NRO NCC will reg. Palgrave 195 and NRO NCC will reg. Cooke 64) and at Framlingham St Michael (NRO NCC will reg. Cage 131 and SROI IC/AA2/4/61).
25 McNamee, 'Origin of the Vested Angel', p. 263. McNamee found that vested angels in Flemish art were always attired as acolytes, in common with contemporary Italian examples.
26 Daunton, 'Patronage and Iconography', p. 10.
27 Dean, 'Angel Choir'.
28 Lunnon, 'St Giles on the Hill', pp. 366–7. Material and antiquarian evidence shows that the shields are repainted or replaced. In 1712, Kirkpatrick described heraldry different in detail from the present, although the royal arms still prevailed in the scheme. See Eade, *Some Account*, p. 208; Kirkham, 'St Giles Church'.
29 Daunton, 'Patronage and Iconography', p. 2.

angelic throng framed the rood in a redemptive hierarchical ensemble. I will examine the late medieval performance and perception of roof and rood imagery in dialogue, initially in relation to the exemplary fifteenth-century roof schemes at King's Lynn St Nicholas Chapel (*c*. 1401–1419), Norfolk, Mildenhall St Mary (*c*. 1420–1430) in Suffolk, Emneth St Edmund (mid-fifteenth century), Norfolk, and Earl Stonham St Mary (*c*. 1500), Suffolk. These archetypal arrangements will be compared with the extraordinarily complex and sophisticated ensemble at Norwich St Peter Hungate (*c*. 1440s), to illustrate the extent to which angelic carvings were integrated in cohesive multi-media designs of wood, stone, glass, pigment and paint, heralding the rood in the late medieval parish context.

THE KING'S LYNN MODEL

The roof of the chapel of ease at Lynn, *c*. 1401–1419 (Fig. 10.2a), established a model characterised by angelic hammer-beam carvings above the clerestory windows, alternating with tie-beams supporting queen-posts; this was soon imitated, at Mildenhall St Mary, Emneth St Edmund and elsewhere. The beam angels were attired as acolytes holding symbols of Christ's passion and musical or eucharistic attributes. This iconography also spread to other roof types, alternating with arch-braces at Bury St Edmunds St Mary and Kersey St Mary (Suffolk), and interspersed with pendant hammer-posts at Earl Stonham St Mary. Although inclusion of a motif in the overall scheme was sometimes more important than exact location, it is clear that at least some representations were deliberately positioned in relation to specific sites of engagement and furnishings, especially at the spatial division between nave and chancel in the church, where the rood was usually sited. Although changes that have taken place to the structure and furnishings of St Nicholas Chapel have stripped away much evidence of the visual and sensory experience of its medieval worshippers, documentary evidence implies the presence of a rood flanked by roof angels and a screen separating the nave from the chancel.[30]

There is no chancel arch at St Nicholas and the unusual 'open plan' roof appears to affirm the integration of clergy and laity in the collaborative exercise of late medieval parish life.[31] Wealthy local citizens appear to

30 NRO PD 39; James and Begley, 'St Nicholas Chapel', pp. 7–8; Mackerell, 'History and Antiquities', pp. 10. Despite the lack of a chancel arch, the presence of a rood flanked by roof angels is suggested by the will of priest Richard Prestone, dated 1523/4, requesting his burial 'afore the crucifix in the body [nave] of the church'. An undated 'finely embellished' screen with 'commodious seating' attached to it was recorded by Mackerell in 1738, but it was removed in the eighteenth century and no material evidence survives.

31 Stewart, 'Integrated Interior'. I use Stewart's term for a single, cohesive design spanning nave and chancel, which can be found in the construction of only 2 per cent of the region's fifteenth-century churches. At Lynn, such an impressive scheme must have been seen as some compensation for the expanding community's dependency upon nearby St Margaret's.

FIG. 10.2 ST NICHOLAS CHAPEL OF EASE, KING'S LYNN, NORFOLK, *c.* 1401-1419:
(A) (OPPOSITE) ROOF WITH ALTERNATING HAMMER-BEAMS AND TIE-BEAMS WITH QUEEN-POSTS.
(B) (ABOVE) BEAM ANGEL S1 WITH PAX
(PHOTOS, 10.2A-B: WITH KIND PERMISSION OF MICHAEL RIMMER)

support the roof structure, in the form of certain stone corbel heads on which the wall-posts rest. This hierarchical strategy reappears in some of the timber corbel heads beneath the hammer-beam roof at Norwich St Peter Mancroft, which represent local merchant types in a communal expression that associates the roof benefactors with their intercessors above. At Lynn, stone and timber carving are combined, and stone niches suggest an additional saintly presence in both roofs. Many fifteenth-century angel roofs incorporate timber wall-post carvings of canopied standing ecclesiastical figures, as discussed later in relation to Emneth and Earl Stonham; at Mancroft, these may have inhabited the stone niches below alternate wall-posts. The use of stone imagery between the windows in lieu of wall-posts was rare.[32] Yet at St Nicholas, empty paired stone ogee canopied niches flanking the tie-beams between the angelic hammer-beams imply the presence of saintly mediators beneath the carved angels.[33]

The ambitious chapel roof at King's Lynn proved a persuasive iconographic model for nave roofs in the west of the region.[34] In terms of the influence and dissemination of its angelic imagery, the perception of roof angels as acolytes at the Mass seems to have prevailed, especially in their ecclesiastical attire. However, the combination, identity and locations of their emblems are more diverse in these other roof schemes; as I will show later in this section, some of these may have held site-specific significance, including at the division between nave and chancel, at the site of the rood. A strong relationship between roof and rood imagery was established at St Nicholas Chapel. The iconographic scheme at Lynn references the relationship between the eucharistic sacrifice, Christ's passion, and the eternal chorus of musical angels. The roof was conceived in three sections, indicated by the distribution, concentration and nature of the sculptural iconography of the hammer-beams, tie-beams, cornices and tracery. Angelic representations on the tie-beams and cornices within the roof structure are located almost exclusively in the chancel. Polychromy is confined to the sector over the shallow sanctuary at the eastern-most section of the roof, above the high altar.[35] Paint is evident

32 An exception is the possible installation of stone statues of saints between the clerestory windows at Stonham Aspal St Mary and St Lambert (Suffolk), evidenced by extant wall fabric markings and a stone headless torso holding a sword now in the chancel. This may be one of 'a number of interesting carved fragments found walled up in the old rood stair' and drawn by Hamlet Watling in 1873. See Plunkett, 'Hamlet Watling', p. 58.

33 Close scrutiny from scaffolding in 2015 revealed no evidence that these were ever occupied by figures.

34 Although subordinate to the parish church of St Margaret's, St Nicholas is the largest 'chapel-of-ease' in England; its reconstruction at the start of the fifteenth century was probably the most ambitious building project in Norfolk at that time. See Heslop et al., *Art, Faith and Place*, p. 9.

35 Hassall, 'Paint Analysis' found two polychrome schemes, the first possibly fifteenth-

on the beam angels and a central angelic boss at the ridge; the rafters and other structural elements of the ceilure, the canopy of honour above the altar, have a painted and stencilled decorative angel-wing pattern. The use of pigment thus articulates the sacred character and activity of the space below, serving to distinguish the sanctuary from the choir, despite the lack of an architectural partition between them. Two carved beam angels, dressed as deacons in dalmatics, face each other across the space (N1 and S1). Now wingless, they carry a book with a clasp and a pax respectively (Fig. 10.2b). The book may represent a missal, or the Gospels in witness of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. The presence of a pax here is indicative of its function as the way in which the laity received communion.[36] These representations are therefore deliberately paired in dialogue with the furnishings and activity in the vicinity of the altar.

Extant attributes held by other chancel beam angels beyond the sanctuary are diagonally paired. Their musical and passion emblems include the psaltery (N3) and crown of thorns (S4). Despite restoration work, other medieval pairs survive above the nave, including those in exceptional attire and crowns or coronets in bays 7 and 8 towards the east of the nave, possibly associated with high status seating or other site-specific activity below, and the massive angels with raised hands flanking the western entrance.[37] These suggest the importance of a general thematic symmetry at Lynn, something that is seen in later roofs elsewhere.

In the sixth bay from both east and west, at the mid-point of the chapel, external doorways oppose each other across the width of the chapel. This bay would have been in front of the rood beam and chancel screen. Here, as one moves between the domains of laity and clergy, it appears likely that both of the pair of roof angels directly above carried symbols of Christ's passion. The beam angel to the north (N6) holds a scourge. Aside from repair work to the back of the beam, the carving is certainly medieval; the alb and collar, upper dress and arm joint resemble those features in the chancel angels on the north side. The pairing is distorted by Victorian restoration work to the south; however,

century and certainly pre-1700, the second post-*c*. 1818. Close examination from scaffolding in 2015 indicated no trace of paint elsewhere in the scheme.

36 See Harper et al., *Late Medieval Liturgies*; also 'The Experience of Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church: Making, Doing and Responding to Medieval Liturgy', project led by Harper, Bangor University (2009–2013): www.experienceofworship.org.uk/ (accessed 15 February 2016). The pax is a tablet or plate of wood or metal, usually bearing an image of the Virgin, the crucifixion, or the name saint of the church. It was the instrument through which the lay congregation took communion in the late medieval period. It would be kissed by the celebrant and passed to others to kiss during the Mass, according to gender and status.

37 Holding an open book, N7 wears the dalmatic of a deacon; restored S7 was probably similarly attired and held a book or pax. N8/S8 exhibit elaborate belts, kirtles and tippets.

from material evidence it is possible that the angel there held a cross or spear. Given the thematic symmetry elsewhere in the scheme, it is probable then that the rood was flanked both to the north and south by symbols of Christ's suffering and sacrifice.

INFLUENCE OF THE KING'S LYNN MODEL

One can equally reasonably propose a relationship between the passion and eucharistic attributes of the nave roof carvings and rood and screen iconography at Mildenhall St Mary. The chancel screen is twentieth-century, but it certainly replaces a medieval screen. There are two upper doorways to the rood loft and churchwardens' accounts record a payment of eight shillings by the vicar in 1505 for the painting of the canopy above the rood.[38] Elements of the Lynn scheme were adopted on a reduced scale at Mildenhall, in a nave of five bays. Again, the angels are dressed as acolytes at the Mass, in albs and amices. Although there are common threads between angelic attributes in the nave roofs at Mildenhall and elsewhere and the Lynn model, their nature and locations are not identical. Such disparities suggest that the inclusion and symmetrical pairing of certain emblems often took precedence over their order between east and west. For example, at Mildenhall, N4 and S4 hold an open book and a book or pax at the centre of the nave and a pax with a cross (N6) is paired with another book to the west, in contrast to the east at Lynn. The pairing of the book and the pax here and in several other nave roofs appears directly to augment the message of the crucifixion presented to the congregation by the rood, the book representing the Gospels in witness of the sacrifice and the pax referencing the eucharistic meaning of the crucifixion. N5 and S5 hold the crown of thorns and hammer and nails at Mildenhall; this christological duo is therefore set immediately to the east of the main congregational entrance of the south porch. Passion emblems like these are also extensively represented at Lynn, Upwell St Peter and elsewhere.

At Emneth St Edmund, an alternative iconographic programme to those at Lynn and Mildenhall was developed in the six-bay nave. This reflects a different mode of thinking, embedded in the eucharistic sacrifice. The presence of the angels as servants at the Mass is explicitly referenced in their mirrored attributes. This imagery is unusual in north-west Norfolk and Suffolk roofs, although not without comparators, as at Bury St Edmunds St Mary. The Emneth angels are feathered, with three sets of wings, and wear relatively unusual courtly ermine tippets, rather than the more common liturgical attire introduced at King's Lynn.[39] Significant pairings of the book

38 Middleton-Stewart, *Records*, p. xxv.

39 There are other examples, such as at Mattishall All Saints and Cawston St Agnes (Norfolk). Feathered angels referencing cherubim and seraphim, the highest orders of angels, are relatively rare in roof schemes. The most influential description of the celestial

(N1/S1) and the pax (N2/S2) frame the east end, in dialogue with the imagery of the lost rood and diffusing sacrificial witness into the lay domain.[40] The alliance of the pax with the chalice and host (N3/S3) appears designed to signify the bringing of the eucharist to the congregation and its active involvement in the sacrament, as at Bury St Edmunds St Mary. The variation in the selection and order of Mass emblems across roof schemes of this type underlines their symbolic referencing of liturgical activity, rather than literal emulation of earthly ritual.

At Emneth, carved standing figures of apostles and saints adorn the wall-posts below the tie-beams, between the hammer angels. The dedicatory saint is incorporated into the scheme in a majestic pairing at the east end (Fig. 10.3). St Edmund (WPS1) is crowned, holding an arrow. The selection and order of these intercessory figures was adaptable; St Peter was generally included, often privileged at the east in extant arrangements, as here (WPN2) and at Outwell St Clement (WPN1), just south-west of King's Lynn. The close relationship between angels and saints was reiterated elsewhere in church imagery.[41] Emneth's roof scheme and others like it also underlined the affiliation and respective responsibilities of saints and angels throughout the nave, but above all they culminated in their relationship with and within the rood ensemble at the east.[42]

FIG. 10.3 ST EDMUND, WALL-POST FIGURE WPS1, ST EDMUND'S, EMNETH, NORFOLK, FIFTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: SARAH CASSELL)

hierarchy was that of fifth-century theologian Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, who identified nine orders of angels. This hierarchy set the parameters for later development of angelic imagery. Detailed knowledge of the orders was limited among the laity and their representation in glass and screen imagery is rare; Morgan, 'Texts, Contexts and Images', p. 212. Given the more prevalent attire of roof angels as assistants at the Mass, it seems possible that they were conceived as angels or archangels, the lower orders that were closer to humanity.

40 At Emneth, the bare medieval screen and embattled rood stair evoke absent elements of the carved and painted scheme, although the precise relationship between the images of the roof, chancel screen and rood has been stripped away. Carved angelic roof imagery still adorns the chancel arch, but the screen has lost its painted scheme, its dado and coving replaced.

41 For example, Sangha, *Angels and Belief*, p. 28 cites depictions of angels in the wall paintings of the Life of St Katherine at Sporle St Mary (Norfolk).

42 Images of saints, especially the apostles, were common on chancel screens; Baker, *English Panel Paintings*, p. 69.

The Emneth case also allows us to consider these roofs in relation to materiality. One might assume simply that timber wall-post carvings provided a more financially viable method of augmenting the ecclesiastical hierarchy than stone statues between the wall-posts in the parochial roof context. Instead, their selection is more likely to have been a symbolic decision, expressed through form and material, emphasising the conjoined support of the roof by saints and angels and their 'separate, but complementary [intercessory] roles', reflecting their frequent alliance in imagery at the east end of the nave.[43] This is particularly interesting because although theologians disagreed regarding the extent of the immateriality of angels, Pseudo-Dionysius and others emphasised their essentially spiritual nature.[44] In contrast, these celestial beings and their saintly wall-post companions assert either the physical properties of the wood they are carved from or its opaque painted surface in these roof schemes.[45]

Medieval wooden sculptures were frequently painted. It can be argued that wood was valued as an organic substance, functioning like the human body and bringing the carving to life, and that the application of pigment amplified rather than concealed its animating properties.[46] Rather than imitating nature in art, the medieval artist's use of light and colour could surpass it.[47] Devotional polychrome wood carvings, such as a gilded and painted oak angel from an annunciation ensemble (*c*. 1415–1450), made in northern France and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (A.10-1914) are testament to the role of colour in bringing figures to life and defining details for worshippers. At Emneth, the roof carvings bear traces of pigment; elsewhere some appear unpainted, as in all but the most easterly carvings at King's Lynn St Nicholas and Bury St Edmunds St Mary in Suffolk. Evidence of extant medieval paint can be observed in other roofs, alongside restored polychromy, as in the Norfolk churches of Norwich St Giles, Necton All Saints, North Creake St Mary the Virgin, North Burlingham St Andrew and Knapton SS Peter and Paul, for example. However 'lifelike' an image was rendered by pigment, the power of paint was symbolic; the purpose of these representations in the 'living matter' of crafted timber, exposed or embellished, was not imitation, but suggestion;

43 For relative costs of stone and timber and the close working relationship between master carpenters and masons, see Dyer, 'English Peasant Buildings', pp. 9, 13. For the relationship between saints and angels, see Sangha, *Angels and Belief*, pp. 21, 24–9. Regarding angels flanking rood groups and apostles and saints on screens, see Marks, 'Framing the Rood', esp. pp. 13–15, 20–7.

44 Peers, *Subtle Bodies*, p. 3.

45 See Kessler, *Seeing*, pp. 19–42 for discussion of the 'overt materiality' of medieval art.

46 Neilson, 'Carving Life', pp. 223–5, 231. Certain woods were specified for a variety of reasons, including their resilience, ease of carving and symbolic properties; availability and practicality would appear most likely in the case of East Anglian oak roof angels.

47 Panayatova, *Colour*, p. 314; Wrapson, 'Heralding the Rood', observes that medieval painters understood colour 'in terms of intrinsic qualities of materials and their effects'; see further Wrapson, above, p. 151. For medieval colour in painting, see also Pulliam, 'Colour'.

FIG. 10.4 BEAM ANGEL WITH CHALICE AND HOST ON SHIELD, ST MARY, EARL STONHAM, SUFFOLK, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (PHOTO: SARAH CASSELL)

like the more ephemeral intercessors in Doom paintings that they would often have framed, their identities as agents of divine revelation were based upon their attire and attributes.[48]

The close association established between angelic roof carvings and the rood at the beginning of the fifteenth century was sustained and spread across the region until the eve of the Reformation, as exemplified by surviving material evidence at Earl Stonham St Mary in mid-Suffolk. Given the rich, full carving of its figures and pendants, the nave roof was probably installed after Edward IV's rebuilding of the Great Hall at Eltham Palace in 1475, but before the Last Judgement painting in the chancel arch and a bequest to the rood in 1526.[49] The complexity and holistic character of the iconographic scheme at Earl Stonham are tangible, notwithstanding extensive restoration work dating from 1874–1875.[50]

Decapitated angelic carvings wear ecclesiastical dress and hold shields; most of these are now blank or damaged, but towards the south-west, S3 and S4 bear shields with a mitre and a hammer and pincers respectively and even further west, S5 holds a shield with a cross, facing N5 with the chalice and host (Fig. 10.4).[51] These emblems are typical of other extant

48 Marks, *Image and Devotion*, pp. 244–5; for image theory and further discussion of materiality and images, see Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, pp. 41, 58–9, 122.
49 SROI FB23/E3/2. The Last Judgement painting was uncovered by Watling in 1874. The Doom cannot be precisely dated, but Hawker, 'Doom Paintings', pp. 21, 25–6 cites iconographic evidence in support of a late fifteenth-century date.
50 SROI FB23/E3/2.
51 From the tower gallery, one can see gaps at the shoulders of the beam carvings where the missing wings were inserted.

roofs with beam angels dressed as acolytes at the Mass, as at Rougham St Mary, Suffolk, where they are symmetrically ordered. Their presence here implies a lost scheme incorporating passion and eucharistic iconography, speaking to the painted angelic activity of the Doom, which references Christ's sacrifice, and enveloping its lay audience. Similar dialogues between carved and painted angels are likely to have existed elsewhere, given the presence of angels holding passion emblems, playing trumpets and accompanying saved souls to Heaven in most surviving Suffolk chancel arch Dooms.[52]

Earl Stonham's deeply carved wall-post figures have suffered extensive mutilation, but extant attributes such as the wheel of St Catherine and the fish of St Simon to the south of the scheme evidence a close relationship between images of saints and angels in the roof, as at other locations discussed above. This is mirrored in the Doom above the chancel arch, in which Mary leads apostles and blonde angels attired in red and carrying instruments of the passion.[53] The carvings and imagery of the cornices, pendants and spandrels of the single hammer-beam roof are particularly rich and complex, and are also in dialogue with the imagery at the east end of the nave, culminating in the christological references of the carved cross and heart in the roof spandrels directly above the chancel arch, which address the faded fragments of the Doom.

The clerestory and elaborately carved nave roof at Earl Stonham signify ambition, despite the lack of aisles in the church.[54] This effect is amplified by the addition of north and south transepts. The roof structure relates closely to the clerestory windows, which are flanked by the carved wall-posts with figures, yet the wall-posts of the first three bays at the east are suspended mid-air over the transept arches. To the modern eye, this is an uncomfortable relationship that one might be inclined to attribute to distortion during the nineteenth-century restoration campaign. However, it is not unique, as similarly carved wall-posts overhang aisle arches elsewhere, for example at Wetherden St Mary in Suffolk.[55] At Earl Stonham, the emphatically carved heavenly hierarchy of figures on the mutilated wall-posts and angelic beams turn away from the transepts, framing and augmenting the extant Doom and lost rood.

52 Hawker, 'Doom Paintings', p. 30.
53 Ibid., pp. 30–1.
54 Bettley and Pevsner, *Suffolk West*, p. 31. Pevsner argues that the roof 'can without hesitation be called the most beautiful single hammer-beam roof in England'.
55 SROI FB23/E3/2. Close observation suggests that the transept arches with fleuron embellishment at Earl Stonham might have been restored, although the architect's specifications for the 1871–1876 restoration campaign make no reference to their remodelling. It seems unlikely that any alteration to their fourteenth-century profiles accounts for their uncomfortable relationship with the wall-posts.

NORWICH ST PETER HUNGATE

A very different solution to roofing a church with transepts is found at Norwich St Peter Hungate. Set within a restricted site between the Dominican friary and the cathedral quarter, the modest size of the church belies the scale of ambition displayed in its magnificent roof. The innovatory design, sophisticated carving and complex narrative of the roof are exceptional, not only within the medieval church roofs of Norwich, but across East Anglia, perhaps rivalled only by that of the nave roof at Bury St Edmunds St Mary. Links with James Woodrofe, who worked at the cathedral and probably designed the Erpingham Gate, may account for the unusual structure of the Hungate roof, the form and the evenly high quality of the wooden beam and stone corbel carvings, and the coherence of their iconography.[56] Woodrofe's connections with the cathedral may also explain the privileged position and particular detail of the bishop's mitre held by roof angel SET1, flanking the crossing at the east of the south transept. Traditionally, the roof has been ascribed to Paston patronage, but evidence is limited and other wealthy parishioners were also associated with the rebuilding of the church, as discussed later.

In contrast to the nave canopy at Earl Stonham, the single hammer-beam roof at St Peter Hungate covers the nave and transepts, with braces set diagonally at the crossings to form a cruciform plan. The rebuild of the nave and transepts at Hungate probably dates from a single campaign in the 1440s and resulted in a three-dimensional rood canopy (Fig. 10.5a).[57] Its vaulted appearance evoked heavenly associations. By the late medieval period, vaulting was probably especially imbued with celestial connotations as a roofing mode of choice in elite church building.[58] This unusual arrangement is echoed in Norwich at St Mary Coslany, where the height of the transept roofing (*c.* mid-1460s) matches that of the

56 For example, Lunnon, 'Reading Rebuilt Hungate', exhibition at Hungate Medieval Art, Norwich (2017) has noted that the carving of fabric in stone corbels and the folded angelic wing design at Hungate resembles work on the Erpingham Gate; Trend, 'Wighton', p. 90.

57 Blomefield, *Topographical History*, pp. 329–34 claims that Paston acquired the advowson in 1458, immediately 'demolished the whole old fabrick, which was in decay, and rebuilt the present church' and that an inscription in stone outside the north door dated its completion by 1460. Such rapid construction of a scheme of this scale and sophistication is impossible; see Cassell, 'Structure and Image: Mercantile Ambitions'. See also Trend, 'Wighton', pp. 89–92. Trend refers to a range of documentary and material evidence which discredits the supposed inscription evidence and supports the assertion of an earlier date for a single campaign. The window traceries share a single design, which is only found elsewhere in Norfolk churches dating between 1437 and 1451. Connections with James Woderofe also suggest a date for Hungate, before Woodrofe's death in 1451; two bequests of the same year reference 'reparation' work, and making a bell or painting the chancel screen respectively, suggesting that the roof was already installed; NRO NCC will reg. Wight 2 (see Trend, 'Wighton', p. 88); NRO NCC will reg. Aleyn 72.

58 Leedy, *Fan Vaulting*, pp. 31, 34; Crossley, 'English Gothic Architecture', pp. 65–6.

FIG. 10.5 ST PETER HUNGATE, NORWICH, NORFOLK, *c.* 1440S:

(A) (OPPOSITE) HAMMER-BEAM ROOF AT CROSSING;

(B) (LEFT) BEAM ANGEL S6 WITH BOOK OF SEVEN SEALS;

(C) (RIGHT) STONE CORBEL DEPICTING A DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH

(PHOTOS, 10.5A–C: WITH KIND PERMISSION OF MICHAEL RIMMER)

existing nave and the unified design of the transepts suggests synchronised patronage and production, perhaps inspired by the recently completed Hungate scheme.[59]A version of this roof model is found elsewhere only at Stody St Mary in north Norfolk, much-restored.

As observed earlier, in many roofs, although inclusion of a motif in the overall scheme was sometimes more important than exact location, at least some representations appear to have been deliberately positioned in relation to specific sites of engagement and furnishings, especially at the spatial division or 'threshold' between the nave and chancel in a church where the rood ensemble was generally located, as evidenced at Hungate by the staircase still visible in the north transept.[60] This intentional arrangement is true of the Norwich roof, where 'the nave is constituted as concerned with the authority of the Church on earth and the crossing area as the realm of heaven'.[61] In the roof at Hungate, there is a general massing of wooden beam angels, their original appearance distorted by the application of modern gold paint.[62] Most are demi-angels (except those bisected at the walls) and unusually, they are carved into the underside of the attached beam-ends.[63] Their wings are integral to the beams and flank the figures in a neatly contained design, unlike the outspread wings attached to beam angels more commonly found elsewhere. Of those in the nave, most are dressed as acolytes or sub-deacons, unlike the predominantly feathered angels around the crossing and transepts. Angelic pairings face each other north and south signalling three significant junctions along this arm of the church. At the west end, N10, N9 and S10 hold shields. Heralding the crossing and flanking the chancel arch and lost rood ensemble, N4 and S4, N1 and S1 carry scrolls. Scrolls and hands raised or crossed in prayer dominate the arena of the crossing and transepts. The roof scheme at Hungate is permeated with Last Judgement iconography and the uniquely detailed book of seven seals from Revelation located to the south of the nave (S6), presages the Last Judgement roof imagery at the crossing (Fig. 10.5b). Despite the loss of some attributes, such as those of angelic carvings N6 and S8, it seems likely that further symbols of Christ's passion were also included. The inclusion of St Michael in armoured attire (SX2) at the south-east of the crossing is particularly innovative and underlines the pre-eminence of references to Revelation in the roof. The privileged location of this beam carving of the archangel associated with the weighing

59 https://norwichchurches.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/transeptal-chapels.pdf (accessed 26 January 2016).
60 Jung, *Gothic Screen*, p. 45; NRO NCC will reg. Aleyn 77. This 1451 bequest gave four marks to creating a bell or painting the rood loft.
61 Heslop, 'St Peter Hungate', p. 368.
62 Young, *Guide*, p. 6 refers to this as 'recently' done. There are traces of pigment in the stone corbels, which may suggest that the angels were also painted.
63 This design is rare elsewhere; the closest parallels are found in nave roofs of north-east Norfolk at Blakeney St Nicholas, Trunch St Botolph and Marsham All Saints, and at Banningham St Botolph in less sophisticated work, and in the north aisle at Wymondham Abbey.

of souls at the Last Judgement speaks to its juxtaposition with the imagery of the lost rood. Where the diagonal braces of the roof intersect over the crossing, angelic carvings surround a remarkable wooden boss, depicting Christ in Judgement, flanked by the Virgin and St John the Baptist.

At the corners of the crossing, the Last Judgement imagery is amplified by finely carved and unusual stone corbels representing the four evangelists, God's earthly messengers, in a hierarchical intercessory arrangement with the angelic heavenly messengers on the beams above them, and the tripartite group in the central boss above. The evangelists are depicted winged with scrolls and their symbols, in the order Matthew, Mark, Luke and John if moving clockwise from the north-east. Stone corbels often 'support' the wall-posts of late medieval church roofs, where they survive.[64] Carved as demi-angels, they may provide or augment the angelic character of a roof, although they take a variety of other forms.[65] At St Peter Hungate, the refined carving and unusual iconography of the corbels at the crossing are matched by those in the nave. Here, the corbels represent the four doctors of the Church, St Augustine, St Ambrose, St Gregory and St Jerome, possibly in a unique ensemble in this location (Fig. 10.5c). The association of the evangelists and the four doctors is found on church screens, but is unprecedented in roof corbel imagery.[66] The representation of the four doctors at Hungate may signify a show of orthodoxy or learning by the patrons of the roof, as expressed elsewhere by screen donors.[67] Thøfner has discussed the roof in terms of the Paston family's patronage of the rebuilding campaign at Hungate, pointing out the possible connection between the work of John Paston as a lawyer and that of the ancient lawyer Saint Jerome.[68] Whilst this is credible, it is not an open and shut case.[69] It is possible that the imagery of the four doctors of the Church in concert with

64 The 'supporting' role of corbels is generally an illusion; see Beech, 'Hammer-Beam Roof Westminster', pp. 52–4; Waddell 'Design', p. 49. Corbel imagery is often lost or replaced, as at Great Barton Holy Innocents (Suffolk) and Gissing St Mary (Norfolk). Many corbels under wall-posts are stone, although wooden examples include heads at Mancroft and demi-angels at Norwich St Swithin, Ringland St Peter (Norfolk) and Grundisburgh St Mary (Suffolk).

65 Stone corbel carvings constitute the only angelic iconography of the roofs at Norwich St Gregory, Barking St Mary and Framlingham St Michael (both in Suffolk) and Norwich St Peter Parmentergate; angelic roof beam or beam-end carvings can be supplemented by angel corbels in wood or stone, as at Sibton St Peter (Suffolk) and Norwich St John Maddermarket respectively.

66 Baker, *English Panel Paintings*, pp. 71–2.

67 Duffy, 'Four Latin Doctors'; Cassell, 'Material Presence', p. 49. Most donor images on chancel screens are associated with the four Latin doctors of the Church, seemingly to emphasise their orthodoxy or erudition; inscriptions at Ludham (Norfolk) and elsewhere also associate donors with this theme.

68 Thøfner, 'On Angels and Iconoclasm'.

69 See Trend, 'Wighton', p. 91: John and Margaret Paston are among the probable sponsors of the nave, but there are other contenders, notably Sir William Paston and the Inghams. The close association of the Pastons with the church does not preclude the possibility that others contributed to its fabric and furnishings.

the roof angels had an additional motivation in the wake of the Norwich heresy trials of 1428–1431, to make a point of underlining the orthodox belief of its donors. Corbel heads of men and women flank the windows of the transepts, facing in towards the crossing under the rood canopy. The claim that those to the south represent John and Margaret Paston is tenuous, but they may have expressed wider patronal or communal association with the evangelists and angels in search of salvation before Christ in majesty.[70]

As Trend has observed, the aisle-less nave and transepts are characterised by remarkably large windows, devised to illuminate the roof and other imagery.[71] Extant stained glass includes seven demi-angels bearing scrolls with liturgical texts, now in the tops of the main lights in the east chancel and north transept windows. Although the location of some angelic representations in glass at Hungate has been altered, they signal the saturation of medieval angelic presence in the nave and transepts in glass and wood and its interaction with sermons and ritual.[72] The ensemble at the crossing therefore represents the culmination of a complex scheme, which illustrates how images in different materials could be assembled in the late medieval church, both in site-specific dialogue with each other and as components of a coherent whole. The relationship between roof and rood marked the climax of a sustained multi-media programme, in stone, wood, glass and pigment.

MEDIEVAL ANGELS

Medieval churches were earthly models of the heavenly Jerusalem. The frequent decoration of late medieval parish church roofs with carvings of angels, flowers and stars suggest that within the buildings, the roofs were identified with the highest celestial realm. Angels dwelt close to God. They could also descend to the level of humanity, as occurred in Jacob's dream of Genesis 28:12: 'And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it.'[73] The hope of angelic mediation and support for the upward journey of the human soul as articulated by Jacobus de Voragine was expressed in these timber roofs and the related images of the Last Judgement.[74] Both carved and painted angels are out of reach, but close enough to be perceived, their explicitly material presence asserting their intermediary status.

70 Young, *Guide*, p. 7. On medieval portraiture, see Kessler, *Seeing*.
71 Trend, 'Wighton', p. 88.
72 Compare www.cmva.ac.uk/publications/digital/norfolk/sites/norwichhungate/catalogue.html (accessed 14 September 2016) with Trend 'Wighton', pp. 91–2.
73 Viditque in somnis scalam stantem super terram, et cacumen illius tangens caelum: angelos quoque Dei ascendentes et descendentes per eam.
74 de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, in Ryan, *Jacobus de Voragine*, pp. 595–6.

'Association with the angels' was an advantage of the eucharist according to Bonaventure. As Sangha argues, 'the idea of angelic participation [and co-operation] in worship was evidently deeply ingrained in the theology of medieval religion', reinforced by the impact of the circulation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* and John Mirk's *Festial*, and the pervasive presence of angelic imagery in the church.[75] There was a widespread perception that angels were actively engaged in the Mass, 'bearing the sacrifice from the altar on earth up to the altar in heaven'.[76] At the conclusion of the consecration of the eucharist, the congregation prayed that it might join the eternal chant of the *Sanctus* with the celestial angelic host. The laity may have understood that it was united with the angels as they sang these words:

> Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,
> Dominus Deus Saboath
> pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua
> Osanna in excelsis.[77]

Many medieval roof angels were dressed as assistants at the Mass, reinforcing the conception of their shared involvement in Church rituals.[78] However, they are not shown literally mirroring the actions of the clergy. Instead they bring the eucharistic celebration into the space of the congregation.

Angelic pairings at the east and west ends of these roofs appear to have been particularly significant. At the east end, they border the chancel arch, except in open plan schemes, as at St Nicholas, where they surmount the canopy of honour over the high altar. The visual relationships that existed between angelic roof programmes and the iconography of the rood and the heavenly hierarchy on chancel screens were funded by the diverse lay audiences they addressed. Representations of saintly intercessors increasingly addressed the laity on chancel screen panels, as those at Norfolk churches from Aylsham St Michael to Hunstanton St Mary exemplify; these were augmented or replaced by standing figures of apostles and prophets on the wall-posts of some roofs, as at Emneth St Edmund and Earl Stonham St Mary.

CONCLUSION

In the roofs discussed above, the attributes of the angelic throng flanking the rood echoed its sacrificial theme. Images of angels flanking Christ crucified date from the early medieval period across a range of media, from metal to ivory, as in an enamelled copper plaque from Limoges (*c.* 1190–1200) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.190.785)

75 Sangha, *Angels and Belief*, pp. 17–18.
76 Ibid., p. 19.
77 Malone, *Façade*, p. 167.
78 Sangha, *Angels and Belief*, p. 19.

and a French ivory crozier head (*c*. 1330–*c*. 1350) now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (A.558-1910). In late medieval representations such as a late fifteenth-century alabaster by an unknown maker in the Victoria and Albert Museum (A.23-1946) and a manuscript miniature known as the Wyndham Payne Crucifixion (*c*. 1405–*c*. 1410) in the British Library, London,[79] angels often hold chalices to catch Christ's blood, referencing the eucharist. Equally, roof angels flanking the rood signalled the prospect of redemption through the Mass and eucharistic sacrifice. The representation of angels holding passion emblems and trumpets characterises other late medieval Last Judgement compositions, from a triptych in oil on panel (c. 1467–1471) by Memling in the National Museum, Gdansk (MNG/SD/413/M) to the parochial Dooms at Stoke by Clare, St John the Baptist in Suffolk, and at Penn Holy Trinity in Buckinghamshire. Angelic roof emblems frequently referenced Christ's passion – and at St Peter Hungate, the awe-inspiring events described in Revelation. In churches where roof angels and rood sculptures were accompanied by Doom paintings, as preserved at Earl Stonham, the role of the angelic throng at the Last Judgement was amplified.

Ensembles of angelic carvings vested as sub-deacons spread across fifteenth-century church roofs in west Norfolk and Suffolk, carrying pairs of passion and eucharistic attributes. Their motifs worked in concert with the iconography of other furnishings, especially at the east end of the nave, usually to frame the rood. Motifs including the book and pax and the chalice and host disseminated sacrificial witness and eucharistic meaning into the domain of lay activity. Despite the distortions of iconoclasm and restoration, material and documentary evidence reveal arrangements adapted to local preferences, skills and beliefs, with their imagery often communally funded by the diverse laity it addressed. At the division between nave and chancel, at the site of the rood, the devices borne by angels functioned to embrace the congregation in the prospect of redemption and eternal paradise through Christ's sacrifice.

79 London, British Library, Add MS 58078.

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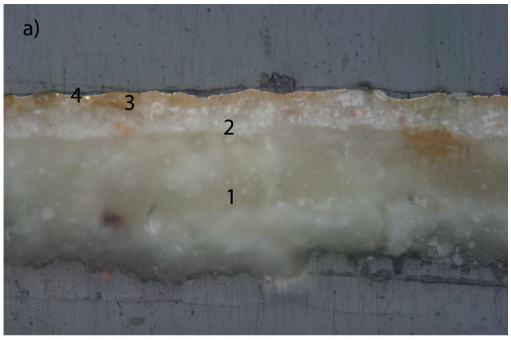
PLATE IX (BELOW) ALTERNATING RED AND GREEN DADO AT THURLTON, SUFFOLK (PHOTO: LUCY J. WRAPSON, © HAMILTON KERR INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE)



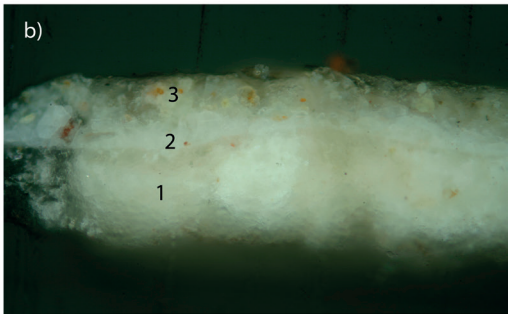


PLATE X (ABOVE) AT HARDWICK (NORFOLK) LEAD TIN YELLOW IS USED FOR THE BARBER'S POLE DECORATION BELOW THE DADO AND GOLD LEAF IS USED ABOVE. COMPOSITE IMAGE SHOWS THE TRANSITION ON THE SCREEN NEXT TO CROSS-SECTIONS TAKEN FROM ABOVE AND BELOW THE DADO; THE TOP IMAGE (A) SHOWS: 1. CHALK GROUND, 2. LEAD WHITE PRIMING, WITH SOME PARTICLES OF GLASS, 3. YELLOW OCHRE WITH WHAT APPEAR TO BE SOME OCCASIONAL RED LAKE PARTICLES, 4. GOLD LEAF. THE LOWER IMAGE (B) SHOWS: 1. CHALK GROUND, 2. LEAD WHITE PRIMING LAYER WITH SOME POSSIBLE GLASS, 3. LEAD TIN YELLOW UPPER LAYER, SOME LAKE AND EARTH PIGMENTS. BOTH ARE CROSS-SECTIONS TAKEN AT 200X MAGNIFICATION. THE UPPER IMAGE IS IN BRIGHTFIELD TO SHOW THE GOLD LEAF AND THE LOWER IN NORMAL LIGHT (PHOTO: LUCY J. WRAPSON, © HAMILTON KERR INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE)

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