

CHAPTER VIII

FIGURAL IMAGERY

Figural images are reasonably widespread on west Mercian carvings, especially in Gloucestershire. Unsurprisingly the largest number consists of representations of Christ and these can be divided into the Crucifixion, the Harrowing of Hell, and a range of other themes including Christ in Judgement and Christ in Glory. No images of the Christ Child survive from the area, although the ninth-century Virgin and Child at Deerhurst (see below) clearly once included a painted image of the Christ Child on the *clipeus*.

CHRIST

THE CRUCIFIXION

All but one of the carvings of the crucified Christ belongs to the tenth or eleventh century (Fig. 31) and the sole surviving early example is difficult to date precisely. Only the crudely carved, egg-shaped head and a small part of the right shoulder remain of this figure, set within a recessed panel on the back of a cross-arm (or finial) from Berkeley, Gloucestershire (Berkeley Castle 1, p. 130, Fig. 34D, Ills. 14, 16). The figure's head is in shallow relief, with a low forehead, long straight nose, bulbous eyes and a small, thin mouth. The difference in the quality of carving on the two faces of this stone suggests that they were carved at different times, with the figure being added as part of the reuse of an earlier carving.

There are two crucifixion panels at Daglingworth, Gloucestershire, which can be dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century. On Daglingworth 1 (p. 155, Fig. 31B, Ill. 100), the figure of Christ, with cruciferous halo, is a Coatsworth type 1 figure (Coatsworth 1988, 167 n. 29). Both this and the Daglingworth 2 figure (p. 155, Fig. 31A, Ills. 101–2) show Christ as a personification of heavenly power, seemingly unaffected by pain. He stands upright with straight legs, and wears a loin-cloth held up by a roll of cloth or a girdle. The figure's belly and chest are carefully shaped, but the hands are large. Christ's feet are supported by a wedge-shaped

suppedaneum. Strands of hair fall over his shoulders and his face is bearded. As with Daglingworth 1, the figure of Christ on Daglingworth 2 has a cruciferous halo and is a Coatsworth type 1 figure. The remains of a *suppedaneum* survives under Christ's feet. He wears a loin-cloth held up by a double-strand knotted girdle. Christ's face is long with a forked beard and a moustache with curling tips. He wears his hair in a fringe with curling tips and a central parting. Christ's arms, neck, chest and belly are all carefully carved. Coatsworth drew attention to the collar bones, which are especially pronounced, and which, together with strands of hair that fall either side of Christ's neck, have led some previous commentators to suggest that he is wearing a tunic. She showed that this is not so (Coatsworth 1988, 179). The figure's right hand is missing and the left is damaged, but it is still possible to see that the hands would have been large, rather out of proportion to the rest of the figure (as with Daglingworth 1). It is suggested elsewhere (Chapter III, p. 27) that this may be a deliberate accentuation of certain parts of the body to create visual emphasis.

A similar distortion is found in the feet on the Wormington 1 crucifixion panel, Gloucestershire (p. 251, Fig. 31C, Ills. 447–8) which is also dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century. In this case the ends of both cross-arms are missing as are the hands of Christ, suggesting that this crucifixion was either originally carved on at least three panels or that the original panel was much wider and has been cut down. Christ's haloed head is sagging onto his chest as he comes near to the end and, unlike the Daglingworth figures, here Christ is clearly exhausted and in pain. His head is turned to his right and a long strand of hair falls across his left shoulder. He has rather bulbous eyes, a long and luxurious moustache, and a forked beard. Christ's arms are thin, the right arm being slightly flexed and the left straight, while his legs are well modelled. This is a Coatsworth type 2 figure (Coatsworth 1988, 167 n. 29). His body is wrapped in a heavily folded loin-cloth that is tied around his

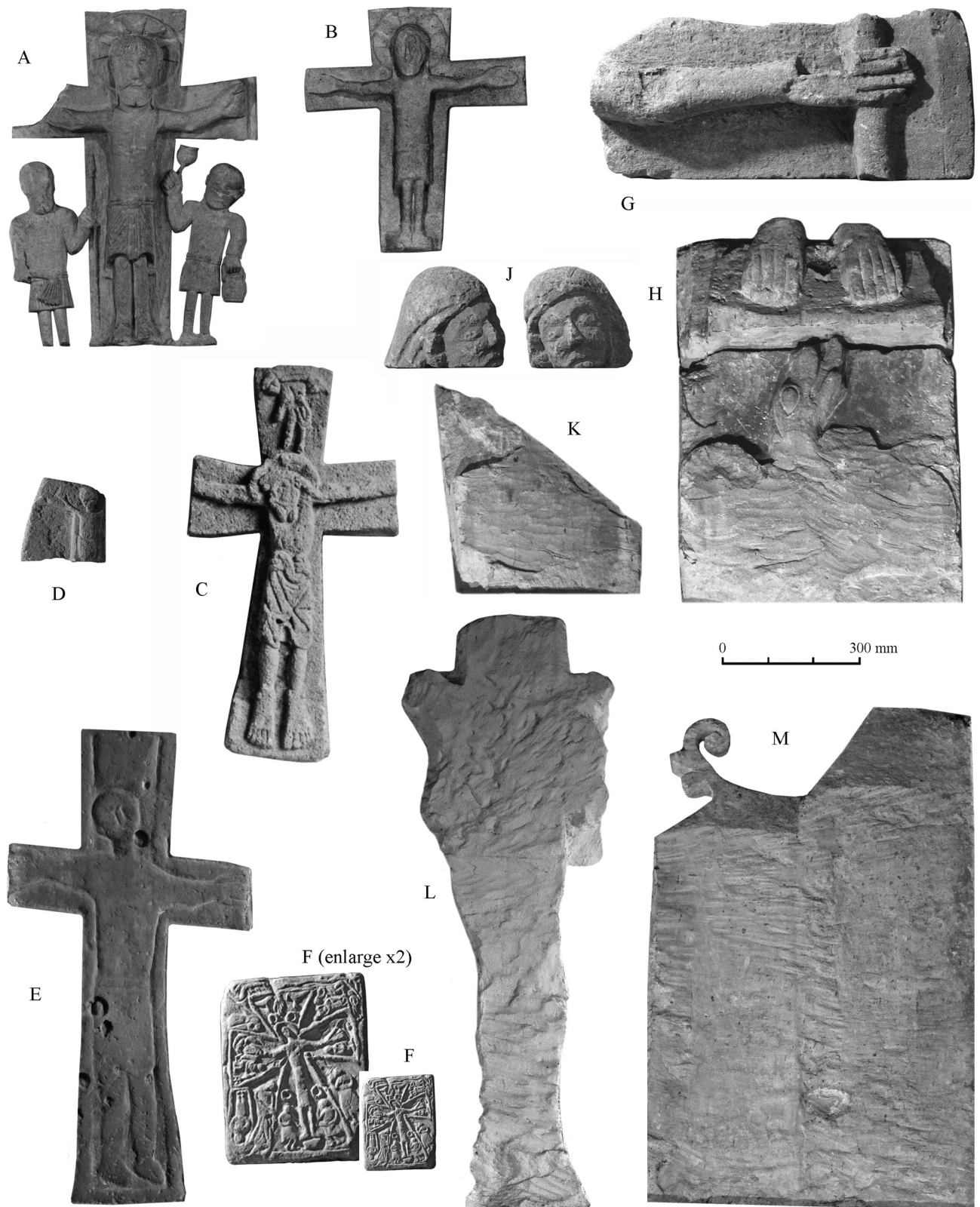


FIGURE 31

Christ (The Crucifixion): A, B – Daglingworth 2, 1; C – Wormington 1; D – North Cerney 1; E – Llanveynoe St Peter 2; F – Newent 2; G, H, J, K – Bitton 2, 1, 3, 4 (Rood – arm and feet of Christ; head of Mary; ?*Luna* figure); L, M – Bibury 6, 7 (Rood – supporting figure and building)

waist with an elaborate double knot. The upper part of Christ's body is quite small, but the feet, resting on a sloping plinth or *suppedaneum*, are huge. Across the top arm of the cross, the Hand of God reaches down from a cloud to touch the top of Christ's cruciferous halo.

On the small fragment of a similarly dated crucifixion from North Cerney, Gloucestershire (p. 240, Fig. 31D, Ills. 413–14) the figure also represents the dying Christ. This figure had a round head on a long neck. There are faint remains of what might be short hair or a small, close-set halo around the sides and top of the head, but no features of the face survive. The figure's chest is rather tubular with some outlining of the muscles and ribcage, while the lower body is covered by a loin-cloth. The arms are thin and the right hand (the left is missing) is little more than a fan-shape.

The tenth-/eleventh-century incised figure of the crucified Christ on a sandstone slab at Llanveynoe, Herefordshire (Llanveynoe St Peter 2, p. 288, Fig. 31E, Ills. 512–13), is very simple with little body detailing other than a loin-cloth bound around his waist. This figure is rather like the North Cerney 1 Christ, but the upright body and legs, and sagging head, place it somewhere in between the two previous types. Christ's body is long and his arms and legs are short but straight. His hands are large, and his feet small and twisted in profile to his left. His round head is tilted to the right, but he has no halo.

The remains of one final crucifixion fall into the late tenth century or the early years of the eleventh century, and this is the monumental carving of a rood that once covered the wall above the chancel arch at Bitton, Gloucestershire (nos. 1–4, pp. 147–50, Ills. 67–84). A similar large scale rood once graced the chancel wall at Bibury, Gloucestershire, but all that survives here is one, heavily cut-back, supporting figure and a two-cell building (Bibury 6 and 7, pp. 138–9, Figs. 31L–M, Ills. 41–2). Of the Bitton rood the feet of Christ survive *in situ*, on a sloping *suppedaneum* above the head of a serpent that rises out of rippling water (Bitton 1, Fig. 31H, Ill. 67). However, two other, now detached, stones also survive, an arm and the upturned head of a woman (nos. 2 and 3). The arm (Bitton 2, Fig. 31G, Ills. 68–75) is from a larger-than-life figure and, contrary to previous interpretations, this arm is naked. Subtle details like the wrist bone, the joints in the fingers, and the elbow are all faithfully reproduced, but there is no sign of a nail-head in the hand or the wrist. A later square socket has removed the thumb. The arm is carved in the round against a flat backing panel, with the outstretched hand lying across a deep, half-round moulding. This moulding is

part of a curving frame, which suggests that the figure of Christ might have been surrounded by a mandorla. The upturned woman's head (Bitton 3, Fig. 31J, Ills. 76–83) is probably that of Mary the Mother of God standing to one side of the cross (see below), and one can assume that St John stood on the other side. The pairing of these two figures is a very common element of late Anglo-Saxon crucifixion iconography. A fourth stone (Bitton 4, Fig. 31K, Ill. 84), set under the eaves in the gable wall, may be a personification of *Luna: Sol* and *Luna* are common elements in late Anglo-Saxon crucifixion scenes.

A carving from the first half of the eleventh century offers a very different crucifixion scene. This is on the so-called 'pillow stone' or 'stone gospel book' (see below) from Newent, Gloucestershire (Newent 2, p. 236, Fig. 31F, Ills. 401–2). The cross is a B6 type (Cramp 1991, fig. 2) with exaggeratedly wedge-shaped arms and shaft that serve to focus the eye onto the head and chest of the figure of Christ. He is long and thin with a small head and large hands. A rather straight-sided nimbus encircles Christ's head, and his feet rest on a *suppedaneum*. Above the head of Christ the Hand of God emerges from clouds. Within the expanded ends of the cross-arms, above and below Christ's hands, there are little figures, probably angels, while other figures surround the cross on all sides. This complex object has attracted much comment and analysis, especially from Zarnecki (1953b), Coatsworth (1988, 180–1, 191) and Thompson (2004), although details of interpretation differ. On the cross Christ is dying, his head beginning to sag to one side. Above his head the Hand of God is flanked by what seem to be two birds. The birds are probably intended to represent the Holy Spirit, duplicated for symmetry, although Elizabeth Coatsworth suggests that they could also represent the souls of the faithful departed. Victoria Thompson has drawn together these images with those on face C (Ills. 403–4), plus the skeuomorphic rivet holes on face A and the inscribed names of the Gospel writers around the edge of the stone (Ills. 405–12), to make a well-argued proposal that the Newent slab should be seen not as a pillow-stone or a memorial tablet but as a stone rendition of a gospel-book (Thompson 2004, 88–91). This 'book' was then personalised with Edred's name and presumably buried with him. According to Thompson's interpretation, the iconography includes the coming of Christ and his redeeming death on the cross; Creation and New Beginnings through the sharing of the Good News of the Gospel; The Last Judgement and the raising to perpetual glory of the elect; and probably the Harrowing of Hell and the

defeat of Death and Evil. There is also an affirmation of Trinitarian doctrine in the Hand of God and the representation of the Holy Spirit. Thompson showed that all of these aspects can be intimately linked with the various stages of a late Anglo-Saxon funeral rite preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud 482 (Thompson 2004, 90–1).

THE HARROWING OF HELL

The large scale carving of the Harrowing of Hell in Bristol Cathedral (Fig. 32H, Ill. 786) was included in the *South-West* volume of the Corpus where Rosemary Cramp offered a full description, and a discussion on the carving style, iconography and date of the piece (Cramp 2006, 145–6, ill. 198). However Bristol's early links were with Gloucestershire rather than Somerset (it was part of Gloucestershire in Domesday Book) and at least two Gloucestershire pieces seem closely related (Beverstone 1 and South Cerney 2). Therefore it seems appropriate to include here a summary of Cramp's description and dating conclusions.

'The life-size figure of Christ is shown half turned, holding up his right hand with two fingers extended in blessing, and with his left hand he holds a staff rod which touches the hand of a small naked figure reaching towards him [other arms are raised behind the small foreground figure]. [Christ's] head is inclined, looking down at the figures below, and is surrounded by a large dished halo. His face is moustached and bearded, and his long wavy hair ... falls to his shoulders ... He is wearing a long-sleeved overmantle [and an] undergarment [that] has a kicked-out hem ... Hell mouth ... is shown as the upper jaw and fang of an open mouth ... and within this mouth [and under Christ's feet] Satan is depicted as a smaller, writhing, bound and fettered creature ... There is no doubt that the scene depicts the risen Christ holding his cross of Victory and "harrowing" (plundering) Hell to rescue the imprisoned souls from Satan who is finally conquered and fettered ... Meditation on these themes begins in the early Commentaries of the eastern fathers, and depictions of the Victory of Christ as linked to the Descent into Hell are found as early as the eighth-century wall paintings in Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome. It is clear that these traditions had been fully absorbed by the Anglo-Saxons by the eleventh century since they are recorded in both Anglo-Saxon poetry and art ... Although carvings such as this are not common in the pre-Conquest period, it is not isolated and it is also very different in the drapery treatment from Romanesque carvings, with

which it has sometimes been compared. The context provided by the manuscripts and poetry also support the suggestion of a pre-Conquest date [in the first half of the eleventh century]' (Cramp 2006, 145–6).

Both Cramp and Smith (1976) draw attention to the poem 'Christ and Satan' as an example of the Harrowing of Hell image in late Anglo-Saxon poetry. This poem comes at the end of the Junius manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Junius 11, pp. 213–29), a compilation of *c.* AD 1000, but Cramp notes that the poem itself could have been written as early as the late eighth to mid ninth century (Cramp 2006, 146). Quoting from the second half of the poem which deals with the Descent into Hell, Smith shows that it includes 'all the major elements of the iconography of the Bristol slab' (Smith 1976, 102).

Smith clearly assumed that the rescued figures could be identified with Adam and Eve, an assumption supported by Zarnecki (in Zarnecki *et al.* 1984, 150). Cramp felt that the figures 'cannot unambiguously be identified, although the linking themes of resurrection and redemption from the old sin of Adam are commonplace in medieval spirituality' (Cramp 2006, 146). In manuscript art the Harrowing of Hell image can be found in the mid eleventh-century British Library MS Cotton Tiberius C.VI, fol. 14 (see below and the catalogue entry for South Cerney 2, Gloucestershire, where part of the 'Christ and Satan' poem is quoted, p. 249). Smith and Cramp suggest that parallels for the drapery can be more closely seen in the image of David on fol. 30 of the same manuscript and on fol. 82v of the late tenth-/early eleventh-century Copenhagen Gospels, Royal Lib., G.K.S. 10, 2° (Smith 1976, 105; Cramp 2006, 146). Likewise Cramp shows that depictions of the Jaws of Hell can be found in manuscripts of the first half of the eleventh century, for example in British Library MS Stowe 944, fol. 6v and British Library MS Cotton Titus D. XXVII, fol. 75v (Cramp 2006, 146; Temple 1976, cat. nos. 47 and 78, ill. 153, 248).

The lower part of the South Cerney 2 panel mentioned above also depicts a Harrowing of Hell (p. 247, Fig. 32C, Ills. 437–8, 440). The panel is set within a separate architectural frame, and placed where one might normally expect to find a tympanum above the south door of All Hallows church. This is an ambitious piece carved in high relief. The complete panel depicts Christ in Majesty in a mandorla (see below) above the Harrowing of Hell. The panel was clearly originally intended for another location because part of the design has been cut away to fit it into its present late eleventh- or early twelfth-century frame. This

fact alone suggests that it should be seen as an Anglo-Saxon carving, to be compared with the Bristol panel and probably of similar date. The South Cerney figure of Christ in the Harrowing of Hell bends forward to beat down the powers of Death and Satan. He wears a long cloak and a full-length, round-necked, long-sleeved tunic. Christ's head is tilted forward almost horizontally, and he wears a cruciferous halo. His face is turned towards the front, and he has a moustache and beard. His hair is braided across the top of his head and falls in a bound plait across his left shoulder. He holds a long-shafted cross in his left hand and, with his right hand helps up a figure that is looking up into Christ's face. Behind this figure stands a second figure with bent arms and hands seemingly held up in prayer. Above the heads of the two smaller figures there is a strange device that consists of four radiating oval shapes below a horizontal bar which has two upward projections. Below Christ's feet there is a further figure lying down with his arm and hand pressed, possibly bound, against his side. In each of the lower corners of the frame are rounded, heavily worn shapes that are probably the tips of the jaws of Hell.

The closest manuscript parallel for the Harrowing of Hell depiction is so similar that it seems possible that a common source might have been used. This is the coloured drawing on fol. 14 of the mid eleventh-century Tiberius Psalter. Here, in a mirror image of the South Cerney figure, Christ stand in exactly the same pose, bent forwards at the waist with his head almost horizontal and his face turned towards the viewer. He does not carry a long cross, but he reaches down to pull four men and a woman up out of the Jaws of Hell. Under Christ's feet lies the bound figure of Satan. Above Christ's head, breaking into the scene across the border, are the flames of the sun (British Library MS Cotton Tiberius C.VI, fol. 14: Backhouse *et al.* 1984, 83, cat. 66, col. pl. XX). On the South Cerney stone, the figure below Christ's feet is clearly Satan, while the figure being pulled out of the Jaws of Hell might be Adam, with Eve behind him wearing a hooded garment. The symbol above the heads of Adam and Eve, if this is who they are, is probably the Light of the Sun or, if the shape above the four radiating elements is a bird, the Holy Spirit as explained by a passage from the Gospel of Nicodemus, quoted by Smith (Smith 1976, 103).

We, then, were in Hell together ... and at the hour of midnight there rose upon those dark places as it were the light of the sun, and we were all enlightened and beheld one another...

The prophet Esaias (*sic*) being there present said: This light is of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, concerning which I prophesied when I was yet alive.

A very different treatment of what may also be a Harrowing of Hell is found on one face of the eleventh-century 'stone gospel book' from Newent, Gloucestershire (Newent 2, p. 236, Fig. 32G, Ills. 403–4), mentioned above. In this case the carving is dominated by a figure in priestly garments and with a pectoral cross on his breast. He holds a crosier or shepherd's crook in his right hand and in his left a long-shafted cross with a rather strange trapezoidal head. In the upper right-hand corner of the tablet there is a hunched figure that is probably an angel, and below this, four more figures tumble down across the stone to be trampled under the feet of the central figure. In the lower left-hand corner stands a figure with a shield and a large, upraised sword, while above two smaller figures rise up towards the top of the stone. Across the top lies a figure with the name Edred carved in raised letters above it. This carving has been interpreted as the Harrowing of Hell (Coatsworth 1988, 180), as the Last Judgment (Zarnecki 1953b, 51; Thompson 2004, 88–9), or as a Celtic bishop (Bradfield 1999, 16–21). However, in spite of the ecclesiastical nature of his garments, this last is unlikely. The central figure should be seen as Christ, and the rest of the iconography reinforces this interpretation. The presence of the armed figure, presumably St Michael, standing with drawn sword and dividing those figures being trampled underfoot from those who are rising upwards, would tend to support the view that this is a Last Judgment scene. At the top of the stone, on the left among the elect, lies Edred with his hand clutching the Cross of Salvation. The winged figure in the right upper corner, diagonally opposite to St Michael, seems to be shielding his face from Christ's glory — cowed but not falling with the damned. Perhaps this is Satan, the rebel angel.

One final Harrowing of Hell from Billesley, Warwickshire, should be recorded here (no. 1, p. 335, Ills. 582–4). This is, however, a very unusual piece in that what is clearly a tenth-century cross has had one face re-carved in the twelfth century with what is almost certainly a Harrowing of Hell (Ill. 584). The carving is dominated by the standing figure of Christ holding a long staff-cross in his right hand, while with his left hand he pulls up a second figure. He wears a full-length, long-sleeved tunic, the upper part of which is tight and quilted while the skirts fall in heavy, overlapping folds. Most of the second figure has been

cut away by a later socket, but enough remains to show that both arms are raised. Morris has drawn attention to the similarity of the figure to that of the man on a twelfth-century tympanum also found reused in the church, in particular in the treatment of the folds of the sleeves, and he has suggested that both are likely to be by the same sculptor (Morris 1996).

OTHER DEPICTIONS OF CHRIST

As with the carving on Newent 2 (above) that may depict Christ in Judgement or the Harrowing of Hell or perhaps both, the image in the upper zone of the early eleventh-century carved panel South Cerney 2, Gloucestershire (p. 247, Fig. 32C, Ills. 437–9) may also be intended to carry two, closely related meanings — Christ in Majesty and Christ the Judge. Here Christ sits upon a throne. He wears a long cloak thrown open to show a full-length, long-sleeved tunic, belted at the waist, and his feet rest on the arch of the scene below. Christ holds a book in his left hand and his right hand is raised in blessing. He has a full beard and his hair falls in heavy curls down onto his shoulders. Behind his head there is a cruciferous halo. Christ sits within a mandorla that is supported on either side by two bearded figures who stand on the arched frame of the lower scene. The two supporting figures might be St Peter and St Paul, or Moses and Elijah. The Christ in Majesty miniature which occurs on fol. 18 of the Tiberius Psalter shows Christ seated in a mandorla flanked by two angels. The depiction of Christ in this miniature is not exactly like the South Cerney figure, but the figure of Christ the Judge in the Trinity College B manuscript of Anglo-Saxon homilies from the first half of the eleventh century has all the attributes seen at South Cerney (Temple 1976, 115–17, cat. 98, ill. 302; 92, cat. 74, ill. 241).

On a third carved panel from Daglingworth, Gloucestershire (Daglingworth 3, p. 157, Fig. 32B, Ills. 103–4), Christ is also shown enthroned. He wears an ankle-length, long-sleeved tunic with a high collar. His legs and feet are set close together, and the feet are set on a foot-stool. In his left hand he holds a long staff-cross and his right hand is raised in blessing. His face is very similar to the crucified Christ on Daglingworth 2. His expression is wonderfully calm. He has a short beard and a moustache with curling tips. He wears his hair in a fringe with curling tips, while behind his head is a cruciferous halo. The figure's arms are rather large and awkward, and the upper body is slightly out of scale when compared to the lower body and legs. The image of Christ Enthroned with a long-stemmed cross in his

left hand and the right hand raised in blessing occurs on folio 21 of the Athelstan Psalter from Winchester, dated to the second quarter of the tenth century. Temple describes the iconography of the image as Christ in Majesty (Temple 1976, 36–7, cat. 5, ill. 33), while Haney uses the same image in support of her descriptions of the Last Judgement (Haney 1986, 22, ill. 150). It is more usual for Anglo-Saxon depictions of Christ in Majesty to include a book rather than a cross, although an illumination in the mid eleventh-century Cotton Tiberius Psalter depicts Christ with a book, a long-stemmed cross and a 'flaming' horn for good measure (Temple 1976, 115–17, cat. 98, ill. 302). It is possible, therefore, that the iconography of this late tenth- or early eleventh-century carving should, like the examples above, be seen as a composite image of Christ Triumphant in Majesty, or Christ Enthroned in Judgement.

On a large wedge-shaped panel, now set high in the south face of the tower at Beverstone, Gloucestershire, there is a depiction of Christ Triumphant, with his right hand raised in blessing and the left hand holding a long-stemmed cross (Beverstone 1, p. 133, Fig. 32E, Ills. 25–6). Behind Christ's head is a large cruciferous halo that rests on his shoulders. His body is clothed in a long, ankle-length tunic with deep vertical folds, and delicate draperies fly out on either side. The figure's feet point outwards and downwards, and are set on what is presumably intended to be the ground. This is Christ returning to earth: the Second Coming. This figure of Christ, with flying drapery and carefully modelled folds on the clothing, is a good example of the style sometimes called the 'Winchester School' that was widespread in England in the tenth century, and the Beverstone figure probably belongs to the second half of the tenth century.

As well as these later depictions, there are three major carvings of Christ that belong to the eighth or ninth centuries. The earliest is that on the eighth-century Lypiatt Cross, Gloucestershire (Bisley Lypiatt 1, p. 143, Fig. 33A–C, Ills. 54–5, 62). Here the main figure on face A stands on a raised dais, facing forward with both arms raised. Part of the left arm is missing, but the right arm is well carved and the right hand is raised in blessing or exhortation. The figure is clothed in a long tunic that reaches to the ankles, while from the shoulders fall the folds of a cloak. The figure was probably outlined with applied metal decoration, and the missing head may have also had a metal halo and/or been carved in a different type of stone for extra emphasis. This cross differs from all the others in the region in having major figures on all four faces (Figs.



FIGURE 32

Christ (Harrowing of Hell and other depictions) and Saints: A – Daglingworth 4 (St Peter); B – Daglingworth 3 (Christ Enthroned); C – South Cerney 2 (Christ in Majesty above Harrowing of Hell); D – Bromyard 1 (St Peter); E – Beverstone 1 (Christ Triumphant); F – Deerhurst St Mary 7 (painted panel depicting un-named saint); G – Newent 2 (Christ in Judgement or Harrowing of Hell); H – Bristol Cathedral (Harrowing of Hell)

16 and 33A–C), and the Lypiatt carver seems to have set out to create a unified design which spreads across at least three of the faces in the form of a triptych (see below, Other Unidentified Saints, p. 97). The overall composition could be either Christ supported by St Peter and St Paul, or Christ the Teacher supported by two of the Evangelists. This last interpretation has also been proposed for the lower tier of figures on the Reculver cross, Kent (Kozodoy 1986, 70, fig. 3, pl. XXXI). The figure on face C of Bisley Lypiatt 1 may also be linked, representing perhaps Christ in Majesty or Christ in Judgement holding the *Liber Vitae* (Fig. 16C, Ill. 60)

A large, ninth-century panel in Gloucester Cathedral is dominated by the figure of Christ in Glory carved in high-relief and set within a roundel (Gloucester Cathedral 1, p. 203, Fig. 33F, Ills. 252–8). The roundel carries a Carolingian motif that Clapham identified as the caulicula, a type of voluted crocket (Clapham 1930, 131). The figure is swathed in a cloak or loose over-garment, the folds of which are hard and sharp. The figure's left arm is bent across the chest and the left hand survives, if only in outline. Above the left cuff is what is probably the remains of a book held up in the left hand and angled slightly to the left. There are also slight traces of the outer edge of the right hand and forearm, raised vertically presumably in blessing. Little of Christ's face survives but it is possible to see that he has a narrow, clean-shaven chin and long, braided hair (not a hood as some have suggested) parted in the centre and tucked behind his ears. Rising behind Christ's head and resting on his shoulders is a large cruciferous halo, while to the right of the figure's right shoulder there is a well-carved bird, probably an eagle. To the left of the figure, rising from his shoulder and running up beside the halo, a vertical feature enhanced with an incised line might mark the outer edge of a long garment or a wing, perhaps the last remains of a second flanking 'supporter' (like the eagle).

A second ninth-century carving of Christ, on a very different and more intimate scale, survives at Hanley Castle, Worcestershire ('the Lechmere Stone' — Hanley Castle 1, p. 357, Fig. 34F, Ills. 635, 637, 643). Here the figure stands fairly closely confined within the double border of what was clearly a free-standing devotional object. Christ is clothed in a wide-necked, full-skirted tunic and voluminous over-garment. The tunic falls in radiating folds with 'spreading triangular pleats' (Kendrick 1938, 186–7). The over-garment has a wide flat collar and is open to the waist, where it is pulled across to pass below the figure's left hand. The visible sleeve is full and rounded, but tight around the

forearm and wrist. The head of Christ is long and narrow, with a rounded forehead and deeply drilled eyes. The hair is thick over the top of Christ's head and falls to either side in shoulder-length curls. A large, slightly dished, cruciferous halo rises behind the head and sits upon the figure's shoulders. Christ holds a book in his left hand, while his right hand rests on the top of the book in a gesture of blessing. The Hanley Castle image probably depicts Christ with the Book of Life, but it could also be interpreted as Christ, the embodiment of the Word of God, blessing the received Word in the Gospels.

The final carving from the survey area, that depicts Christ and has been ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon period, comes from Leigh, Worcestershire (Leigh 1, p. 374, Ill. 729). This figure, carved in high relief onto five stone panels, depicts Christ with a long staff-cross in his left hand and his right hand held up in blessing. His feet rest on a sloping *suppedaneum*. His bearded face is long, with full lips, a straight nose and large eyes. The hair is short. Behind Christ's head is a cruciferous halo. The figure wears a full-length, round-necked garment that is caught up into a band of folded cloth around the waist. A range of different dates have been suggested for this figure, from as early as the mid eleventh century (Tudor-Craig 1990, 230–1; Bridges 2005, 142–3) to as late as c. 1220 (Pevsner 1968, 212). While the thirteenth-century date seems too late, the carving does not look like any of the other surviving, large-scale, late Anglo-Saxon carvings from the area. When the sculpture was restored in 1970 by the Victorian and Albert Museum, they proposed a date of c. 1100 and, on balance, this seems most likely.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD

There is only one depiction of the Virgin and Child in the west Mercian area and that is the ninth-century figure from Deerhurst, Gloucestershire (Deerhurst St Mary 5, p. 170, Fig. 33E, Ills. 147–8), although another from just outside the area at Inglesham in Wiltshire (Cramp 2006, 217–18, ill. 453) may be by the same hand as carvings from Daglingworth and Wormington (see Chapter III: The Work of Individual Carvers, p. 27). The Deerhurst sculpture consists of the haloed figure of a woman carved in high relief under a semi-circular arch. The figure has rounded shoulders, and wears a floor-length, full-skirted garment and a hooded over-garment. The area of the face is flat and featureless. In her clasped hands the figure holds up an oval *clipeus* or shield in front of



FIGURE 33

Christ and other figures: A, B, C – Bisley Lypiatt 1 (Christ the Teacher supported by two evangelists); D – Deerhurst St Mary 4 (Archangel or Angel); E – Deerhurst St Mary 5 (The Virgin and Child); F – Gloucester Cathedral 1 (Christ in Glory); G, H, J – Newent 1 (Adam and Eve, David and Goliath, Abraham and Isaac)

her breast. Trailing material from the over-garment is pushed back above the wrists and falls on either side of the figure. The hands are very large with some of the fingers overlapping, and the thumbs, touching tip to tip, directly below the lower edge of the *clipeus*. The carving has been burnished smooth to form a surface for paint, and it is generally assumed that the finer detailing of the face and the *clipeus* would also have been added in paint. Traces of red paint do, in fact, survive over much of the carved surface, and enough paint survives to provide the basis of a reconstruction of the polychrome scheme, excluding the Virgin's face and the *clipeus*. Analysis of a paint sample taken from the hem has established it was applied directly to the smoothed stone surface, as it was on the contemporary polychrome animal heads and chancel arch painting in the church (Howe 2006a; Gem *et al.* 2008, 139–42; and see Chapter X, p. 112).

In 2005 Richard Bailey, following earlier analysis by Casson (1932) and Talbot Rice (Rice 1952a), supported Muñoz de Miguel (1997) in declaring that the carving depicts 'the Virgin holding a *clipeus* (or shield) on which the figure of Christ ... is shown full-length ... usually as an adult, thus emphasising the pre-existent nature of the now-incarnate Deity, who is the ever-lasting as well as a man born of Mary' (Bailey 2005, 9). Bailey and Muñoz de Miguel offered several late sixth- and early seventh-century parallels for the oval type of shield from the eastern Mediterranean, and two western examples, one from S. Maria Antiqua in the Forum at Rome that is dated between 757 and 767, and a mid ninth-century example from S. Maria in Insula at San Vincenzo al Volturno (Muñoz de Miguel 1997, 29–38; Bailey 2005, 7–11). In 2008 Richard Gem offered a third western example on a wall painting from the 'Cave of the Shepherds' in the Sacro Speco complex at Subiaco. He also acknowledged that all three western examples 'appear to derive from east Mediterranean prototypes of the pre-iconoclast period and that they were probably transmitted to Rome by travelling painters, or on portable paintings such as icons'. Gem pointed out that in all these examples the image can be read on three levels: a) 'as referring to the central theological truth of the Incarnation through the Mother of God'; b) 'when rendered in blue, as in the three wall paintings, the oval panel could be seen as symbolising the heavens and denoting that the Son whom Mary bore was the Lord of Heaven'; and c) 'as "the icon inside the icon" by which Mary offers the image of her Son to the worshipper' (Gem *et al.* 2008, 150–3).

Muñoz de Miguel, Bailey and Gem all acknowledge

that the rarity of the iconography indicates some form of direct contact with the eastern Mediterranean or, more probably, with Rome. Byzantine icons were present in Rome in the eighth and ninth centuries, and it seems possible that one was brought to Deerhurst. Gem also shows that there are 'reasons for thinking that formerly there [existed] in Rome images that may have been more than simply flat panel paintings', and that, by the eighth and early ninth century, some were being set specifically over portals. 'In the light of the evidence it seems that Rome could have provided the model not only for the iconography of the Deerhurst piece, but also for the practice of placing an image in relief over the portal' (Gem *et al.* 2008, 152–3). Again Gem and Bailey agree that the placing of the statue of the Virgin over the doorway into the church would comply with Canon 2 of the Synod of Chelsea in 816, which required bishops when dedicating churches 'to see to it that [the saint] should be depicted (*depictum*) on the wall of an oratory, or else on a panel (*tabula*), and also on the altar'. Gem adds that the 'image would not merely have had an identifying function — it would have been a focus of devotion and would probably be seen as having a protective role... Such an image of the protecting Virgin, placed specifically over the portal, as at Deerhurst, would have powerfully embodied Mary's role as the *Porta Coeli* (the "Portal of Heaven")' (Gem *et al.* 2008, 153).

MARY THE MOTHER OF GOD

On the crucifixion face of Newent 2, Gloucestershire (p. 236, Ills. 401–2) there are two quite large figures who stand just outside the edging frame of the cross. One, a woman, is wearing a long dress, wringing her hands and looking down. The other, probably a man, is wearing a shorter garment and is looking up with one hand raised. This must be Mary the Mother of God and John as described in St John's Gospel 19: 25–27.

At Bitton, Gloucestershire, one of the loose carved stones, Bitton 3 (p. 149, Ills. 76–83), is the head from a figure, rather smaller in scale than the other remaining stones from the monumental rood. The head, carved in the round, wears a cloak or veil similar to the Virgin from Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire (Cramp 1977, 215, fig. 58). The features are strong: the lips are full, the nose is broad and the eyes are bulbous. This head probably belongs to one of the supporting figures from the rood. The figure is facing left and therefore must have been standing to the right of the cross. This is almost certainly the head of Mary the

Mother of God, and one would expect St John to have been placed on the other side of the cross.

eleventh century and could be a carving from above the chancel arch.

SAINTS

ST PETER

On the fourth late tenth- or early eleventh-century figure panel from Daglingworth, Gloucestershire (Daglingworth 4, p. 158, Fig. 32A, Ills. 105–6), St Peter is depicted with a narrow book or writing tablet in his left hand and his keys held high in his right hand. In this carving he wears an ankle-length, full-skirted tunic. The full sleeves of the tunic come to his wrists, and the collar is high. Around his waist he wears a two-cord girdle, with a vertically looped central knot. He had a long, clean-shaven face, with a cleft chin. His mouth is carved in a smile and his nose is long and straight. He wears his hair in a fringe with looped and curling tips, and he has a crown or 'Roman' tonsure. His shoulders are hugely broad and his arms are large and rather awkward. As with Daglingworth 3, the upper part of Peter's body seems out of scale with the lower part. This clean-shaven image of St Peter with the 'Roman' tonsure of a cleric is a distinctively Anglo-Saxon image. Most of the surviving examples date from the tenth or eleventh centuries, but there are widespread earlier examples, such as the portrait of St Peter with the other disciples on one side of St Cuthbert's wooden coffin dated to AD 698 (Higgitt 1989, 267–8). A late manuscript example can be found on the Dedication folio in the Winchester New Minster *Liber Vitae* dated 1031 (British Library, MS Stowe 944, fol. 6r), where Peter stands to one side of Christ in Majesty in the upper register of the image, above Cnut and his queen Ælfgifu (Temple 1976, 95–6, cat. 78, ill. 244). The looped, fringed hairstyle is found on the figure of St John on the Crucifixion folio 3v in a late tenth-century Psalter also from Winchester (British Library, MS Harley 2904: Temple 1976, 64–5, cat. 41, ill. 142).

At Bromyard, Herefordshire, in the only other example from the area (Bromyard 1, p. 283, Fig. 32D, Ill. 502), St Peter is carved on a small panel but in quite high relief. He wears a draped over-garment over a long-sleeved, full-length tunic. He carries two keys held up in his right hand and a book in his left hand. His head is rather egg-shaped with short, 'bobbed' hair, a beard and possibly a moustache. His feet are long and thin and rest across the lower border of the panel. The border itself is square but rises slightly in a curve to the right of the feet as if it was designed to be set over an arch. This example dates from the tenth or

ST JOHN

(Included with the entry for Mary the Mother of God above; and see p. 100 below.)

OTHER UNIDENTIFIED SAINTS

In Bibury, Gloucestershire, the cut-back remains of a tall, slender figure survive, with its feet resting on a square-section string-course cut by the present chancel arch and about 6 m above the present nave floor (Bibury 6, p. 138, Fig. 31L, Ill. 41). The figure is vertically elongated. The outline of the head is square. The arms seem to be bent at the elbows, possibly crossed across the body, and holding something in each hand that projects on either side of the neck. This is probably a supporting figure for a late tenth- or early eleventh-century rood, and the figure of Mary in the Harley Psalter (Temple 1976, cat. 41, ill. 142) is indeed similarly elongated and sharply tapering. However, when taken in conjunction with the building depicted on the panel on the south side of the chancel arch (Bibury 7, p. 139, Fig. 31M, Ill. 42), it would seem possible that the figure might be part of a set of narrative scenes, perhaps depicting episodes from the life of Christ.

Two figures, probably saints, survive on part of a small, eleventh-century stoup at Bisley, Gloucestershire (Bisley All Saints 6, p. 381, Fig. 34K, Ills. 732–4). The figures, standing under an arcade of decorated arches, are simple with large round heads that have very rudimentary features. The body of the figure on the right is plain and outlined with a continuous moulding. The other figure appears to be wearing a cloak, incised with a series of concentric grooves. The figures are rather crude and bear some resemblance to those in the Book of Durrow although they cannot be that early. Similar figures occur on a ninth- or tenth-century shaft from Masham in Yorkshire (Lang 2001, 172, ill. 646, 648), and on a late tenth- to early eleventh-century cross-shaft from Aycliffe in Co. Durham (Cramp 1984, 41–3, pls. 7, 8).

The figures on the two side faces of the eighth-century Lypiatt Cross, Gloucestershire (Bisley Lypiatt 1, p. 143, Figs. 33B–C) are either apostles or St Peter and St Paul. Face D is the best preserved face (Ills. 61, 63), and the main figure, a man with 'bobbed' hair and a short beard, stands facing left with his head tilted back looking upwards. The figure's right arm is bent at

the elbow, while in his left hand he is caught in the act of offering or receiving a book. If the figure is offering a book, this would seem to indicate that he is an evangelist; if he is receiving the book from Christ then this might be a representation of the *Traditio Legis* scene (see Hawkes 2002, 56). Only the feet and the lower part of the body remain on face B (Ill. 56). This is, however, enough to show that the figure is turned to the right and wears a long tunic, well modelled in deep folds. As indicated above, these two figures should probably be seen as part of a coherent design that encompassed at least three faces of the cross, and possibly all four.

There are two figures on a ninth-century cross-shaft from Rugby, Warwickshire, each set within arched frames (Rugby 1, p. 340, Fig. 34G, Ills. 598, 600). The lower figure survives only as a triangular head and the upper part of a collar. The upper figure is complete and swathed in a voluminous over-garment. The figure's head is very similar to that of the lower figure, with an exaggeratedly pointed chin. This figure holds a large rectangular object, presumably a book, in his left hand, while the right arm is bent at the elbow and his right hand touches the book. This gesture is seen in many Anglo-Saxon images both of Christ and the apostles. However, there is no halo so this is almost certainly not Christ. Instead the carving is probably that of an apostle, and should be compared with images like the miniatures of Matthew, Mark and John from the Book of Cerne, an Insular Latin prayerbook of Mercian origin that has been dated to the first half of the ninth century (Cambridge, University Lib., MS Ll.1.10, fols. 2v, 12v, 31v: Brown 1996, col. pls. II–IV — see Ills. 773–4 below).

ANGELS

In early medieval Britain and Ireland angels were acknowledged as beings of special importance, not just as messengers and psychopomps, 'but also as subjects accorded substantial consideration in liturgical and exegetical contexts. In Anglo-Saxon England of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries much of this focus concerned the manner in which angels functioned as figures of contemplation in fellowship with humanity' (Hawkes 2007, 438–9). As a result images of angels are quite common in Anglo-Saxon art, and it is, therefore, difficult to explain their absence from most of the west Mercian sculptural corpus. One factor may be, however, that hardly any of the cross-heads and the upper sections of cross-shafts survive from the region, and it is in these high-level positions that angels might

be carved, to act as an encouragement to the viewer to look up in contemplation of the divine (Hawkes 2007, 448). In this respect it is perhaps significant that one of only three examples from the area is set high up in a surviving wall (see below, Deerhurst St Mary 4).

The other two examples of carved stones on which angels appear are from Newent, Gloucestershire. One is the early eleventh-century 'stone gospel book' mentioned above, Newent 2 (p. 236). Here, amid the crowd of figures on both faces of this stone, there are angels in profusion, including a dramatic image of the Archangel Michael with sword raised. Above the cross on face A (Ills. 401–2) there is what is probably an angel, hands clasped in prayer. Beside a Nativity scene in the upper right corner stands a small figure in front of an angled, sword-shaped object held by a figure in the extreme top right-hand corner. This seems to be a depiction of the Fall of Adam, and the figure holding the sword is probably the cherubim guarding the way back to the Tree of Life. Within the expanded ends of the cross-arms, above and below Christ's hands, there are more little figures; on the left is a kneeling angel, while on the right an angel is actually draped over Christ's hand and reaching down towards another figure below. Both of the figures below Christ's hands may also be angels, the one on the left being depicted in action, pushing down with what looks like a long-shafted cross, while the figure on the right is more passive. On face C (Ills. 403–4), in the right upper corner, diagonally opposite to the Archangel Michael, is a figure who may be winged and who seems to be shielding his face from Christ's glory. This is probably Satan, the rebel angel.

There are angels on two of the faces of the ninth-century Newent cross-shaft (Newent 1, p. 232). On the collar of face B (Ills. 393, 397) there is a half-length figure with a long, narrow head. In-curving upraised wings flank the figure's head, while the figure's left arm is bent up at the elbow and the left hand grips the upper end of a narrow shaft that runs diagonally across the body. The figure's right hand grips the lower end of this shaft, and it seems reasonable to suggest that the figure is holding a spear. This armed angel is probably another representation of the Archangel Michael. On face C (Fig. 33J, Ill. 395) there are fragmentary remains of a third figure to the right of and slightly below the figure of Abraham in this scene that depicts the Sacrifice of Isaac. From the surviving outline it can be seen that the figure is looking up towards Abraham. Heavy sagging folds betray the elbow and raised right arm, while the left arm and hand point directly down towards a creature caught in a tangle of interlace. This

must be the Angel of God holding up his right hand to restrain Abraham while, with his left hand, he points down towards a ram caught in a thicket.

The third carving is of a very different size and quality. This is the angel or archangel from Deerhurst, Gloucestershire (Deerhurst St Mary 4, p. 168, Fig. 33D, Ills. 145–6), set high in the wall of the apse. The carving is in high relief on a slightly tapering, rectangular panel and is dated to the first half of the ninth century. The figure's face is well-modelled and youthful, with a long straight jaw-line and rounded chin. The eyes are big and wide open, with well-delineated eyebrows and upper eyelids. The hair is combed forward in two rows of curls and gathered at the sides of the head into triple ties, before falling across the shoulders in triple strands on either side of the neck. Behind the head rises a large halo. Of the rest of the figure, only the line of the shoulders and parts of the left arm have survived. From behind the shoulders, and overlapping the lower outer edges of the halo, rise the angel's wings.

This angel or archangel has been the subject of much art-historical debate, with contributions by Clapham (1930, 137), Kendrick (1938, 217), Talbot Rice (Rice 1952a, 92–3), Cramp (1975, 195), Muñoz de Miguel (1997, 29–36) and Bailey (2005, 11–14). Detailed petrological analysis of the surviving southern bay of the apse has confirmed that the carved panel is an integral part of the structure of the main body of the ninth-century church (Bagshaw *et al.* 2006, 84–97), and this encouraged Bailey to support a date in the early ninth century for the angel carving, with 'perhaps the closest parallels [being] supplied by the evangelist portraits and Matthew symbol in the Book of Cerne', a Mercian prayer book that has been recently dated to the second quarter of the ninth century (Bailey 2005, 11–14; Brown, M. 1996, 178). Muñoz de Miguel also dated the carving to the ninth century (Muñoz de Miguel 1997, 29–36). The present author believes that most of the Deerhurst sculpture belongs to a single major phase of building dated to the first half of the ninth century (see Chapter IX, p. 110). Bailey also offered some ideas about the identity and possible function of the angel carving (Bailey 2005, 13–14). While it has been suggested that the carving might be the symbol of St Matthew (MacKay 1963, 87), Bailey draws attention to the fact that the polygonal apse must have had seven panels, and reminds us that this is the canonical number of archangels who were called upon in personal prayer and who acted, in some instances, as protective guardians (Bailey cites for example Kitinger 1956, 279, 297–8 and Brown, T.

1969, 38ff. in relation to the wooden coffin reliquary of Cuthbert). According to this hypothesis the angel needs to be promoted to an archangel and should be seen as 'the last remaining sentinel of a seven-strong detachment of spiritual guardians set over the church and its community' (Bailey 2005, 14). The only slight problem with this interpretation is that, after the Council of Rome in 745, the proliferation of named angels and archangels was declared heretical and many were dismissed as apocryphal. These included the Archangel Raguel who appears in the Book of Enoch and on a stone slab reused in the eighth-century Hypogée des Dunes near Poitiers (Camus 1989, 64), as well as in late eighth-/early-ninth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (James 1910). The Book of Cerne, already acknowledged above to be probably contemporary with the Deerhurst archangel carving, contains a prayer invoking protection which is addressed to only six archangels — Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Uriel, Rumiël and Phannihel (Kuyppers 1902, 153). An alternative hypothesis could therefore be six archangels flanking a central figure. Such a figure might have been the Virgin Mary to whom the church is dedicated, as suggested by Hare (2009, 38, n. 8; Hare and Kneen forthcoming), and who, with the Christ child, already stands at the west end of the church over the main entrance (Muñoz de Miguel 1997, 38).

OTHERS

ADAM AND EVE

The main panel on face A of the ninth-century Newent cross-shaft in Gloucestershire (Newent 1, p. 232, Fig. 33G, Ills. 392, 398) carries a carving of Adam and Eve standing facing straight ahead with the serpent between them twisted round a tree. Adam's head is rounded with a broad nose and a crown of hair. He is also probably bearded. Eve's head is egg-shaped and her hair seems to be swept back off her face. There is enough surviving detail to indicate that they have not been caught in the act of eating the apple or covering their nakedness, but after their expulsion from Eden. Adam carries an implement of some kind that looks very like a 'dutch' hoe or a small ard. Beside his right foot a small plant grows from a carefully prepared raised bed, symbolising the fact that he will now have to grow what he needs to eat rather than having food supplied freely by God. Eve is clearly wearing a dress or tunic, with a V-shaped neckline and a knee-length skirt, and her hand is raised to strike at the serpent above her with a stick. In front of Eve,

and partly overlapping her upper body, is a strange interlaced device that consists of four opposed pointed loop. This might be a spray of foliage held by Eve in her left hand, but it looks more like flames. If Eve's body is slightly twisted to strike the snake, then the device may actually be beside or even just behind her, and it could then be interpreted as the flames of the cherubim's sword that God set to guard the way behind Adam and Eve. This would mean that the central tree represents not just the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil but also the Tree of Life, and this idea is reinforced by the fact that from the topmost branches of the tree grows a small cross, a sign that the Fall is not to be the end of mankind's relationship with God. New life and a new beginning will ultimately come through the Cross of Christ.

Adam appears once, possibly twice, on the early eleventh-century 'stone gospel book' from Newent (Newent 2, p. 236). In the upper right corner of one face (Ills. 403–4) stands a small figure, with hands clasped, in front of an angled, sword-shaped object being held by a second figure in the extreme top right-hand corner. If the object is a sword then it is probably being held by the cherubim guarding the way back to the Tree of Life. This would then be a representation of the Fall, with Adam leaving Eden. On the other face of the Newent stone (Ills. 401–2) the figure in a coffin or sarcophagus, beside the foot of the Cross, is probably Adam, who, 'as the father of mankind, is often seen in a grave below crucifixion scenes' (Zarnecki 1953b, 50).

It has previously been suggested that the two figures on a fragment of an eighth- or ninth-century cross-head from Gloucestershire, Bisley Parish 1 (p. 146, Fig. 34E, Ills. 58–9) might be Adam and Eve. The figures are certainly that of a man and a woman. The man's hair is curly and he wears a cloak draped over his left shoulder and pulled across to fasten on his right shoulder. The woman is of similar size and her hair is bunched in rolls across the top of her head. Her cloak is drawn over both shoulders and fastened in the centre of her chest. The figures hold their arms out towards each other, and they are dressed in the clothing style of the late eighth or ninth century (R. Cramp, pers. comm. in Henig 1993, 78). They might indeed be Adam and Eve, clothed after being expelled from Eden as on the Newent cross, but an alternative interpretation might be that they are the Virgin Mary and St John at the foot of the cross, with St John leaning forward to take hold of Mary's hands in an act of filial compassion in response to Christ's dying request.

The figures being rescued from Hell by Christ on

the Harrowing of Hell carvings from South Cerney and Bristol are probably also Adam and Eve (see p. 90).

ABRAHAM AND ISAAC

In the upper left of the main panel on face C of the Newent 1 cross-shaft there is a large figure, dressed in long, flowing robes and wearing an elaborate headdress (p. 232, Fig. 33J, Ill. 395). The figure's right arm is held across his chest holding what looks like a flaming torch, while his left hand is raised and points to heaven. Immediately below this figure there is a second smaller figure leaning over the top of a pillar-altar and standing on a box-like object that is probably a pile of wood — the wood for the burnt offering. This is clearly a depiction of Abraham and the Sacrifice of Isaac as suggested by Conder (1905–7) and by Rosemary Cramp (Cramp 1977, 225). To the right of the altar, slightly below the figure of Abraham, stands the Angel of God twisting to look upwards while holding up his right hand to restrain Abraham (see Angels, p. 98 above). The ram caught in the bush has a disc behind its head which might be horns but might also be a halo. Abraham's willingness to show his faithfulness to God by sacrificing his only son Isaac is frequently used to prefigure God's willingness to sacrifice his only Son, Jesus Christ, for the redemption of mankind. If the circle behind the ram's head is a halo, then the carver may have been attempting to visualise this link by making a double-use of the creature as both the sacrificial ram and as the *Agnus Dei*, the Lamb of God, a motif that appears as early as the eighth century on the Ruthwell cross, Dumfriesshire (Howlett 1992, 75–6, pls. 20–2). The use of the 'bent-figure' image for Isaac, which is so similar to a broadly contemporary image of Christ leaning over the top of a ladder or Tree of Life at Sandbach in Cheshire, could be another example of a dual-meaning image. Jane Hawkes has interpreted this figure as Christ leaning over to receive the faithful as they ascend to heaven (Hawkes 2002, 72–5, figs. 2.16b and 6.7).

DAVID AND GOLIATH

The Newent 1 cross-shaft also offers a dynamic depiction of David killing Goliath (Fig. 33H, Ills. 393, 399). Even though Goliath is collapsing to the right, his height is such that he covers nearly three-quarters of the frame. In his right hand he is still holding his enormous spear, the shaft of which runs diagonally across the image, and his head has fallen forward onto

his raised left hand. He wears skirted armour and a wide belt. His trousered legs and booted feet are twisted as he begins to fall. David appears above and behind Goliath, in the act of cutting off the giant's head with a downward-pointing sword. This face of the Newent cross, therefore, clearly shows the first victory of David over the enemies of God and Israel (1 Samuel 17: 45–51). David was a popular subject for early medieval carvers and manuscript illuminators (Henderson 1986), and the defeat of Goliath is one of many aspects of his life chosen for depiction. An eighth- or ninth-century manuscript example (probably from Ireland or Northumbria) can be found on the flyleaf (fol. 1) of Paulinus of Nola's *Carmina* in St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Cod. Q. v. XIV.1 (Alexander 1978, 65–6, cat. 42, ill. 179). The image also appears in an early eleventh-century historiated initial D at the beginning of Psalm 101 (fol. 93) of the psalter British Library MS Arundel 155, while a mid eleventh-century example can be found on facing folios (8v and 9) of another psalter, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius C. VI (Temple 1976, 84–5, cat. 66, ill. 220; 115–17, cat. 98, ill. 307–8). Other images of David include those which show him dancing before the Lord as the Ark of the Covenant is brought into Jerusalem; playing the harp as the Psalmist or to bring peace to Creation; and killing a lion to protect his sheep (1 Samuel 17: 33–37). This last is widely interpreted as an iconographic allusion to the willingness of Christ the Good Shepherd to face death in order to protect his flock, and other images of David have also been interpreted as carrying similar dual meanings — contrasting and conflating Old and New Testament Salvation imagery (Henderson 1986, 101–2). The Newent David is presented as a youth, but one already ordained by God and anointed by Samuel to lead God's chosen people (1 Samuel 16: 11–13) as depicted in the St Petersburg copy of Paulinus of Nola's *Carmina* (see above — Alexander 1978, cat. 42, ill. 179). Isabel Henderson notes that 'David, of course, carried the additional [authority] of being the ancestor of Christ, the son of God, the Deliverer of Mankind. David's defeat of Goliath was directly associated by Augustine with Christ's defeat of the Devil' (Henderson 1998, 106).

STEPHATON AND LONGINUS

On the Daglingworth 2 panel in Gloucestershire (p. 155, Ill. 102) the Crucified Christ is flanked by Stephaton and Longinus. Both figures wear high-necked, long-sleeved tunics with pleated skirts. They

have double-cord, knotted girdles. Stephaton, to Christ's left, hold up a cup of sour wine in his hand (rather than a sponge soaked in wine on a stick or a branch of hyssop) almost as if he is saluting him. In his other hand he holds the pot of sour wine. His head is quite round and he wears a moustache with curling tips. Longinus carries a spear and what is probably a scourge. His head is damaged but it is possible to see that he has a forked beard and a curling-tipped moustache. He stands stiffly to attention like a royal bodyguard.

Two figures that are probably Stephaton and Longinus also appear on the 'stone gospel book' from Newent (no. 2, Ills. 401–2). In this instance they stand beside Christ's feet, actually within the outline of the cross. They both wear short tunics and are caught in movement, although they do not seem to be doing anything specific.

The Crucified Christ flanked by Stephaton and Longinus is a fairly widespread iconographic image in Ireland and in earlier Anglo-Saxon art, but is rare in late Anglo-Saxon England. Raw lists only six carvings, two ivories and one manuscript example from tenth- and eleventh-century England (Raw 1990, 150–1). The manuscript example is British Library MS Cotton Tiberius C. VI, a mid eleventh-century psalter (Temple 1976, 115–17, cat. 98, ill. 311). The two ivories are of late tenth- or early eleventh-century date and are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Beckwith 1972, 124, 125, ill. 69, 71). Of the stone carvings on Raw's list, only two are southern examples (the Daglingworth 2 panel and Romsey 2 in Hampshire: Tweddle *et al.* 1995, ill. 453, 455), the rest being from northern England. Newent was not included.

SOL OR LUNA

Tucked high up under the southern eaves on the chancel wall at Bitton, Gloucestershire, is a wedge-shaped stone (Bitton 4, p. 150, Fig. 31K, Ill. 84) that carries what seems to be a cut-back torso with a sloping right shoulder. Above the torso there is a curving element which may be a halo. A series of vertical or slightly radiating lines is clear just above the shoulder line, on the lower part of the 'halo' beside what might be the figure's neck. Taylor and Taylor first suggested that this stone could have been part of the large rood that once dominated this wall of the church, and it might still be *in situ* (Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 75–6, figs. 33, 391). If so, then it could be a personification of *Luna* (the Moon); *Sol* and *Luna* are frequently part of the iconography of Anglo-Saxon depictions of the crucifixion.

ECCLESIASTICS

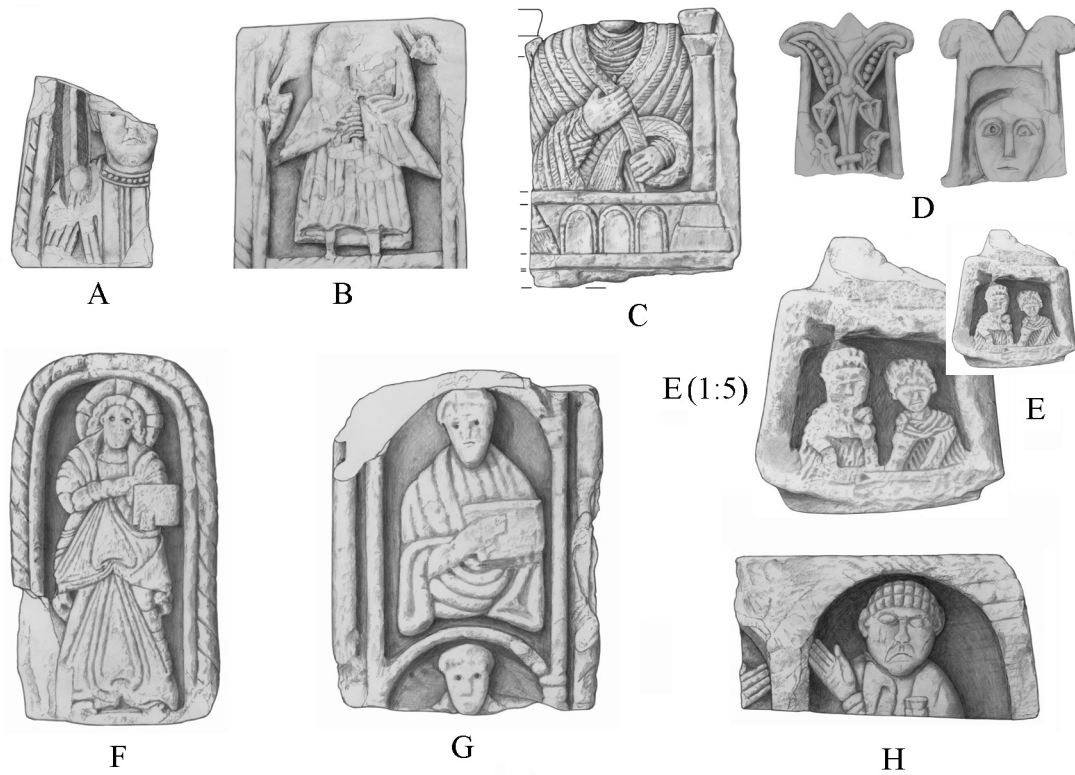
A broken section of ninth-century cross-shaft from the site of the Tanners' Guild Hall in Gloucester (Gloucester Tanners' Hall 1, p. 225, Fig. 34A, Ills. 367, 370) has on one face a classically portrayed figure. Only the lower half of the head survives. There is no beard or moustache, but the chin is fairly sharp and the cheeks rounded. The figure wears a round-necked tunic and an over-garment. The tunic is decorated with pelleting or beading at the neck, and vertical panels at the front. The over-garment is draped across the right shoulder in well-modelled folds. A narrow band runs diagonally across the right side of the figure from shoulder to waist. Not enough remains to indicate whether this was a full-length figure or a half-length 'portrait' bust similar to those found throughout Mercia, but the treatment of the face is very similar to that of Christ from the top of the cross-shaft on Rothbury 1, Northumberland (Cramp 1984, pls. 213.1213, 214.1220). A parallel for the figure's clothing can be found on a portrait of St John Chrysostom that is inserted into an early ninth-century Gospel Book from Salzburg (Hubert *et al.* 1970, 180). St John, Archbishop of Constantinople from 398 to 404, wears an over-garment, and a tunic that has vertical panels across the front. The over-garment, presumably a chasuble, falls from the shoulders in heavy folds and has a deep, V-shaped opening at the front, bordered by two narrow, parallel bands. This may be intended to indicate the Y-shaped pallium of an archbishop or pope. The pallium is shown more clearly on a mosaic portrait of Pope Paschal I (817–24) in the apse of Santa Prassede in Rome (Backes and Dölling 1969, 60–1). The similarity in clothing and the possibility that the diagonal band may be part of a pallium, together with the fact that the Gloucester figure does not seem to have a halo, might suggest the carving represents a saintly archbishop. An alternative interpretation could be that the diagonal band is a deacon's stole and the figure could, therefore, be a deacon, possibly St Stephen.

At Upton Bishop, Herefordshire (no. 1, p. 292, Fig. 34H, Ills. 523–8), there is a small carving that may be part of a frieze (Hunt 2009). However, the stone has a flattish top and a sloping right side, and this suggests that it could instead be part of a cross-base similar to that from Auckland St Andrew, Co. Durham (Cramp 1984, 37–40, pls. 1–2). The carving is in high relief and consists of the upper part of a figure standing within an arched niche. The figure has a round, clean-shaven face, and hair that is tightly braided or perhaps curled across the top of his head.

There is no halo. The figure's right hand is raised, with the palm outwards and the fingers straight. In his left hand he holds an object that could be a scroll or a narrow book. He wears an over-garment that has a large collar and which seems to be open at the front. The garment looks like a ceremonial cope, and this suggests that the carving could be of a bishop. A small fragment of a second figure, also within a niche but with his left hand raised, survives to the figure's right. It has been suggested that these might be '*orans*' figure, but the hands could also be held up in formal, liturgical, salutation. The carving has been dated to the late Roman period (R.C.H.M.(E.) 1932, 194, pl. 78; Ray 2001, 107–9), the twelfth century (Hunt 1993, 79), and the early ninth century (Hunt 2009, 198–206, 211–12). The present author believes that the early ninth century is the most likely date.

In St Andrew's, Pershore, Worcestershire, there is a small ninth-century panel, perhaps part of a screen, on which there is a half-length figure (Pershore 1, p. 360, Fig. 34C, Ills. 646–7). The head is missing but the rounded chin survives. The figure is male, with broad shoulders, and wears an undergarment that is visible around the neck and wrists. The outer garment, probably a chasuble, envelopes the figure and has a broad, raised 'collar' decorated with incised diagonal lines. The surface of this outer garment is entirely covered with raised, partially overlapping bands, alternately hatched and plain, giving a richly textured appearance. The figure holds in both hands a broad, flat, strap-like object that is looped up over the thumb of the right hand and twisted back on itself to end in an extravagant tassel. Like the 'collar', the surface of this object is covered with incised diagonal lines between narrow borders. Detailed observation has shown that the 'collar' and the 'strap' are actually a single object, a stole or a pallium draped around the figure's neck. However, a stole would have two ends and the Pershore object clearly only has one, twisted around because of lack of space in the frame. The figure is, therefore, almost certainly that of an archbishop, or perhaps a pope, wearing a pallium. The overall composition of the Pershore panel is very similar to several carvings from the eighth or ninth centuries, for example the Virgin panel from Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire (Cramp 1977, fig. 58a). The sharp-edged, overlapping folds are paralleled in western Mercia by the treatment of the flight feathers on the wings of the half-length figure of an angel or archangel from Deerhurst dated to the first half of the ninth century (Deerhurst St Mary 4, Ill. 145), and on the ninth-century roundel depicting Christ from Gloucester (Gloucester Cathedral 1, Ill.

Smaller late-eighth and ninth-century figures



Later small figures



FIGURE 34

Smaller figures: A – Gloucester Tanners’ Hall 1 (?archbishop or bishop); B – Gloucester London Road 1 (priest); C – Pershore 1 (archbishop); D – Berkeley Castle 1 (?Christ); E – Bisley Parish 1 (?The Virgin Mary and St John, or Adam and Eve); F – Hanley Castle 1 (Christ); G – Rugby 1 (apostles); H – Upton Bishop 1 (?bishop); J – Rous Lynch 1 (?Christ the Harvester, or Adam); K – Bisley All Saints 6 (saints)

252). The diagonal hatching on the folds of the overgarment at Pershore can be found on the garment worn by Christ on folio 2a of a ninth-century Irish Gospel Book (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Cod. O. IV. 20: Alexander 1978, 80–1, cat. 61, ill. 280). A Carolingian link, apparent on the Gloucester roundel, is also evident in the use of a trapezoidal or tapering capitals surmounted by trapezoidal imposts on the columns that flank the Pershore figure. This is a Byzantine-

inspired architectural device, adopted by Carolingian master masons in churches in the eighth and early ninth centuries, for example in the Palatine Chapel at Aachen or in St Justinus at Höchst (Backes and Dölling 1969, ills. on 75, 78). In manuscript art, capitals and bases exactly like those on the Pershore panel can be found on folio 1v of the tenth-century Rabanus Maurus *De Laude Crucis* (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 16. 3: Temple 1976, 42–3, cat. 14, ill. 48).

On the ninth-century cross-shaft from Wotton Pitch in Gloucester (Gloucester London Road 1, p. 221, Fig. 34B, Ills. 356, 360) there is the figure of a man wearing a full-length, heavily pleated garment, and either a waist-length over-garment with a stiffly pointed hem or wide, exaggeratedly pointed sleeves. The arms are folded across the body and the fingers are clasped around the vertical shaft of a small cross. This is probably a representation of a priest.

PATRONS / NAMED INDIVIDUALS

It seems most likely that the two small figures on the fragment of cross-head from Bisley, Gloucestershire (Bisley Parish 1, Fig. 34E, Ills. 58–9) represent Mary the Mother of God and St John, or Adam and Eve (see above, p. 100). It is, however, possible that they might be patrons. Patrons or those whom patrons wished to commemorate are commonly represented on Pictish carvings (Driscoll 1998, 173–6; Henderson 1998, 108–9). A similar example from Mercia is the fragment of an eighth-century cross from Repton, Derbyshire, on which there is a depiction of an armed rider, probably King Æthelbald; the patron in this case being in all likelihood his kinsman Offa (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1985, 279–90). Patrons also appear in tenth-century manuscripts, a famous example being the depiction of St Dunstan at the feet of Christ (Backhouse *et al.* 1984, 51, 53, ill. 31).

Individuals are named in inscriptions from Deerhurst Odda's Chapel 1 and 2, Gloucestershire (pp. 190, 195, Ills. 226–31, 232–3), Cloddock 1 (p. 285, Ill. 506), Llanveynoe St Peter 1 (p. 287, Ills. 509–11) and Llanveynoe Olchon House 1 (p. 291, Ills. 521–2), all Herefordshire, Wroxeter Roman Town 1, Shropshire (p. 318, Ill. 571), and on a die from Evesham, Worcestershire (no. 2, p. 373, Ills. 722–8), but none is accompanied by figure carvings.

At Newent, Gloucestershire, however, the representation of a specific individual is unequivocal (Newent 2, p. 236). Across the top of one face of this small panel lies a figure with the name Edred carved in raised letters above it (Ills. 403–4). The figure's hand clutches the Cross of Salvation and his head rests on Christ his Saviour. All four edges of the stone carry raised inscriptions consisting of the names of the Gospel writers — Mathew, Marcus, Lucas and Iohannes — plus the repeated name of Edred (Ills. 405–12).

Victoria Thompson sees this as a 'stone gospel book' personalised with Edred's name and presumably buried with him (Thompson 2004, 90–1).

FERTILITY FIGURES (SHEELA-NA-GIG)

At Ampney St Peter, Gloucestershire, there is a small female fertility figure (no. 1, p. 254, Ill. 449). She wears nothing but a floppy hat and stands with her arms akimbo and hands on hips. The body is barrel-shaped and the left leg is splayed outwards. The figure is impossible to date closely but could be Anglo-Saxon as suggested by Dobson (1933, 269–70, fig. 9).

At Saintbury, Gloucestershire (no. 1, p. 264, Ill. 479), there is a small, flat-faced, relief figure, with a tiny body and large head. The legs are apart and the stubby arms are held out to each side. The survival of what may be a late Anglo-Saxon sundial in the south wall of this church (no. 2, p. 274, Ills. 492–3) is an indication that there could have been a stone building here in which this little figure might have originally been set. It is possible, therefore, that the figure could be Anglo-Saxon in date as suggested by Dobson (1933, 270, fig. 10).

Reset above the twelfth-century north door of St Lawrence's church in Church Stretton, Shropshire is a figure carved in low relief (no. 1, p. 321, Ill. 575). The figure has a round head with a flat face. The remains of the figure's right eye is large and round; the left eye is missing. The nose is a broad wedge, while the mouth is little more than a slit. The figure's neck is nearly as wide as the rather narrow chest. The thin arms are carved with the elbows out and hands clasped in front of the body. The figure may be seated and, in which case, the knees are rounded, the lower legs quite short and the feet large and downward pointing. It is possible that the figure holds something square and flat in its hands, a book or box, or perhaps a set of panpipes. If what are described as the knees above are in fact broad, roughly textured thighs, then this could be a figure of Pan with his pipes. The figure is, however, too weathered to be confident about any such interpretation. Equally it is not really possible to suggest a date with any degree of confidence, except to say that its present position (re-set in what is probably a twelfth-century wall) might support a pre-Conquest date.