CHAPTER VI

SCULPTURE OF THE ANGLIAN PERIOD: MONUMENT FORMS, SCULPTURAL MOTIFS AND ICONOGRAPHIC THEMES

by Jane Hawkes

INTRODUCTION

The monument forms, sculptural motifs and iconographic themes displayed across the sculptures of Derbyshire and Staffordshire in the Anglian period are varied, but for the most part reflect a distinct regionalism with many of the sculptures clustered at common centres in Derbyshire: at Bakewell, Bradbourne, Wirksworth and Eyam, Derby (St Alkmund's) and Wilne, and Repton (see Fig. 28). In Staffordshire, Anglian material pre-dating the later ninth century is unusual with carvings at Eccleshall and Lichfield providing rare exceptions, although monuments at Checkley, Chesterton, Ilam and Leek may be dated to a transitional period where Anglian traditions were carried over into Scandinavian phases of activity at the turn of the tenth century, making it difficult to distinguish between the two (see Chapter VII), and in the tenth century Anglian traditions were looked back on and consciously invoked—as at Wolverhampton.

Crosses, rectangular in section with free-armed cross-heads of the squared-arm type (Cramp 1991, fig. 2), are the most common monumental form, but columnar and coped monuments decorated with relief carving are also found. Likewise, animal and vegetal elements comprise the most common sculptural motifs, along with varying interlace patterns, while linear patterns (such as the meander) are non-existent. Figural schemes are also common, with figure types shared across the region, demonstrating the probable influence of an ultimately early (sixth- or seventh-century) figural type which was reproduced through the eighth and ninth centuries and articulated in regional styles.

Overall, the impression is one of concentrated sculptural activity at a limited number of sites centred on the Peak District and along the Trent Valley with some outliers to the south and west—in modern-day Staffordshire. In many cases the monuments produced at or for these centres demonstrate access to iconographic models and trends that are sophisticated and intellectually complex, implying the presence of a number of impressive ecclesiastical networks flourishing in the region between the eighth and ninth centuries, which continued to impact on subsequent activities in the tenth and eleventh centuries, with some centres, such as Repton, Derby (St Alkmund's), Bakewell and Wirksworth demonstrating a continuum of sculptural production across the Anglo-Saxon period (for discussion, see e.g. Cramp 1977).

MONUMENTAL FORMS

FREE–STANDING, RECTANGULAR–SECTIONED CROSSES

Free-standing cross-shafts survive across the region, some with the remnants of their heads, others more fragmentary. Absolute numbers are hard to define, however, as a number of pieces are so fragmentary it is not possible to determine whether they originally formed part of an extant standing monument, or represent the remains of other, additional monuments. At Bakewell, for instance, in addition to the cross standing in the churchyard (Bakewell 1), there are up to five other shaft fragments (Bakewell 2, 4, 7, 8 and 9); at Bradbourne, two further shaft fragments (Bradbourne 2 and 3) survive alongside the three pieces that constitute the cross-shaft now erected in the churchyard (Bradbourne 1). In each case, the stone type and relief carvings might suggest they formed part of the larger extant monument, but equally, they may represent the remains of other free-standing sculptures
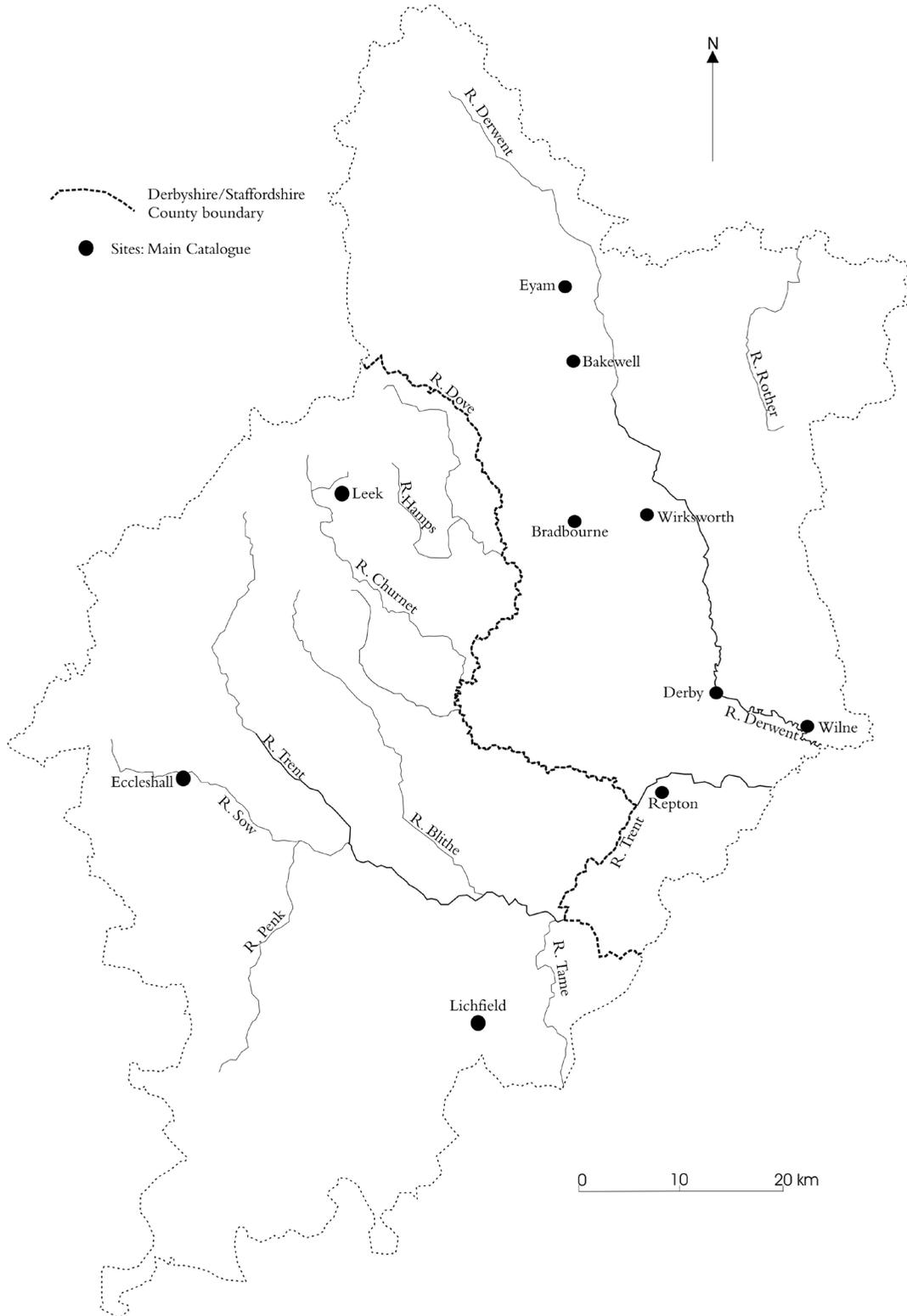
FIGURE 28
Anglian period sculpture sites (seventh/eighth century to ninth century)

produced with access to the same source of stone and decorative repertoire, suggesting the presence of a number of monumental stone crosses standing at various points across a select number of sites.

For the most part the crosses were not overly tall: that at Bakewell, for instance (Ills. 10–13), standing 309 cm (121.5 in) tall, having lost perhaps a further 30 cm (12 in) at the base, and 75 cm (29 in) of the cross-head, would have presented viewers with a cross approximately 4 m tall (13 ft). While this is notably smaller than the largest crosses surviving from the Anglian period in Northumbria, they would nevertheless have been impressive monuments, particularly as a number of them preserve signs of having been inset with paste-glass or metal attachments, and were probably originally coloured.

CROSS-HEADS

Where they survive, the cross-heads that once topped the shafts (Bakewell 31, Bradbourne 4 and 5, and Eyam 1; Ills. 76–82, 118–22, 124–5, 200–4, 206) all seem to have been of the same form: type A10–12 (Cramp 1991, xvi, fig. 2). They are, furthermore, decorated with a shared selection of motifs: angels in the cross-arms and central medallions carrying staffs and trumpets, with book- and staff-bearing figures on the ends of the cross-arms. The spandrels also demonstrate a tendency to display a single-strand interlace knot arranged in a quatrefoil (Bakewell 1D, Bradbourne 4E, Eyam 1B; see Ills. 13, 118, 208). This repetition of motif and cross-head type strongly implies a centre of production common to the sites displaying these monuments.

CROSS-BASES

The monumental crosses of this region, as they survive, tend not to have been placed in large ornamental bases, rough-cut socle-stones set in the ground being the norm, although the extant bases are themselves difficult to date, lacking primary archaeological context or decoration (e.g. Beeley Moor 1–2, Repton 14, Tideswell 2; Ills. 329–34, 477, 479–80). At Bakewell, however, a large-scale squared monolith (Bakewell 26) carved in low-relief with a figure likely identifiable with the Virgin, and at least two angels (Ills. 61–3), may well have served as an elaborate cross-base. Its current setting, however, in the corner of the south porch with further sculptural fragments cemented in place over it means neither the fourth side nor the top of the monolith can be accessed to confirm this suggestion.

COLUMNS

Monumental stone columns, distinct from the round-shafted crosses of the Scandinavian period, are rare in this region, as they are in Anglo-Saxon England generally, but where they do survive—from the Anglian period at Wilne—the suggestion, through the monument form and layout of the decoration carved on the surface of the columns (in horizontal registers), and through the possible reuse of Roman material, is that traditions associated with earlier Roman triumphal monumentality were being consciously invoked. At Wilne the registers of carved relief included animal and vegetal ornament, with at least one register of human figures processing around the column (Ills. 426–40). The manner in which the monument was cut back to form the baptismal font at some point means that it is not possible to identify the manner in which the column was originally surmounted, but analogies with other extant columns which can be dated to the turn of the ninth century, suggests that it would not be impossible for it to have been surmounted by a cross-head (e.g. Hawkes 2006; 2009a). Although post-dating the Anglian period, the monumental column still standing at Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, dated to the (possibly early decades of the) tenth century—whose carved ornament is arranged in registers of animal and vegetal motifs (Ills. 612–16, and Fig. 50, p. 311)—retains vestiges above its capital of just such a terminal. The remains of the column at Wilne, dating from the ninth century, may well reflect motives similar to those lying behind the erection of the early ninth-century columns to the north, in Deira, at Masham in northern Yorkshire (Lang 2001, 168–71; Hawkes 2002b), and in Elmet, at Dewsbury in western Yorkshire (Coatsworth 2008, 129–33): namely, the intention to articulate an ecclesiastical identity of the Church triumphant, an institution—on the outposts of Empire—that regarded itself as a part of the Universal Church centred in Rome.

GRAVE-COVERS AND RECUMBENT MONUMENTS

In addition to the monumental crosses and columns a number of coped monuments survive from the Anglian period in this region: at Bakewell, Repton and Wirksworth. At Wirksworth the incomplete late eighth-century coped slab (Wirksworth 5, Ills. 446, 451) once formed the lid of a sarcophagus that may have been half submerged in the floor of the church. At Repton, an eighth- or early ninth-century slightly coped recumbent grave-cover has survived (Repton

15, Ill. 335), decorated with animal ornament that finds its closest parallels with monument forms from the south of England, while at Bakewell are the remains of the upper part of a large coped cenotaph (Bakewell 34, Ills. 91–2), perhaps like the so-called Hedda Stone at Peterborough, which can be dated to the ninth century (Ill. 647); the decoration of the lower portion indicates that at least one side of the monument was filled with standing figures. While high-status ecclesiastical burials during the seventh and eighth century in Northumbria (and East Anglia) are recorded as having 'recycled' Roman sarcophagi (e.g. Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 366–7, 394–5, 444–5), it would seem that during the later eighth and ninth centuries in the Peak District, high status burials were marked with monuments recalling the form of the late antique sarcophagus which were made locally and decorated according to the perceived needs of those responsible for their production. At Lichfield, to the south in Staffordshire, a coped carved stone monument was made at the turn of the ninth century to enclose, and elevate, the wooden house-shaped container recorded by Bede as having been made to enshrine the body of St Chad in the later seventh century (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 446–7; see Fig. 49, p. 305). It may be that this practice was revisited in the tenth century in Derby by means of the production of a large and elaborate sarcophagus (Derby 7a–b, Ills. 166–79) for the remains of St Alkmund (see further Chapter IV, p. 45), marking renewed investment in the saint's cult locally, while at Repton in the tenth or eleventh century, the remains of a terminal cross (Repton 10, Ills. 311–22) may indicate the presence of a large stone shrine dating from this period.

SCULPTURAL MOTIFS

INTERLACE AND KNOTWORK

Interlace and knotwork are not dominant features of the Anglian sculptural monuments of Derbyshire and Staffordshire and are limited in their range, but in each case they are highly modelled and well-formed. The most common type is a four-strand encircled interlace (Cramp 1991, type C), which is shared across the monuments of the Peak District. At Bradbourne it is displayed on the underside of the cross-arm (4F), while at Eyam it fills the narrow sides of the shaft (1B and D). At Bakewell it features on the fragmentary shaft and cross-head (Bakewell 8) and on the coped cenotaph (Bakewell 34C); in both these instances it is found in conjunction with plant-scrolls: on Bakewell

8 the interlace morphs into a scroll, while on Bakewell 34 the scrolls flank the interlace, arranged in such a way that they appear to emerge from it. This is also the case with Sheffield 1D in Yorkshire (Ill. 636), which, although lying beyond the area covered here, shares so many features with those decorating the Peak District monuments that it has generally been considered part of this group (e.g. Coatsworth 2008, 246–9, ill. 695; Sidebottom 1994, 78, *passim*; see also Chapter III). Further distinguishing these monuments is the use of the distinctive quatrefoil knot which is found at Eyam and Bradbourne on the upper cross-arm spandrel (Eyam 1B, Bradbourne 4E), and on the end of the cross-arm of Bakewell 1D.

Elsewhere, another interlace pattern found on a few Anglian monuments in the region is a V-bend interlace (Cramp 1991, type A), which is used on the ambiguous piece from Derby (11), as well as the coped grave-cover from Repton (15) and at least one other fragment (Repton 2A)—which also shares with Repton 15 the use of a type B interlace pattern. A further interlace pattern shared by sculptures from these sites is a turned pattern (type F), which is featured on Repton 15 and Derby 1B where it transitions from the strands extending from one of the animals filling the shaft. The absence of these interlace patterns from the Peak District group of monuments is one of the aspects that has contributed to the understanding that the southern Derbyshire sculptures can be considered a discrete group, separate from those of the Peak District (see Chapter III).

PLANT–SCROLLS

More ubiquitous in the region are the plant-scrolls, but again, as has been frequently noted, these are limited in their distribution, being part of the repertoire of only the Peak District monuments (Collingwood 1915, 237–8; Collingwood 1927, 75; Raw 1967, 391; Stone 1972; Ryder 1982, 118; Sidebottom 1994, 152, *passim*; Hawkes 2007a; Coatsworth 2008, 246–9). The plant-scroll filling the shaft of Bakewell 1B, C and D (Ills. 11–13), distinguished by the alternating S-shaped arrangement of the plant, the tightly spiralled scroll of the stems with their round clusters of berries, spear-shaped leaves and triple mouldings marking the bifurcations of the branches, is also found on other stones preserved at Bakewell (2A, 4A, 7A, 8A, 19A and 31A; Ills. 17, 21, 24, 48, 78), along with Bradbourne 1D (Ill. 114), Eyam 1C (Ill. 202) and Sheffield 1B and D (Yorkshire, Ills. 636, 638), as well as fragments preserved at Wirksworth (2A and

A   C

FIGURE 29a–b
Cropthorne 1A and 1C, Worcestershire: animal types

3A, Ills. 442–3). On Bradbourne 1B, while the scrolls compare to those found on these monuments, they are arranged on either side of a central stem rather than the S-shaped single-stem arrangement (Ill. 111).

ANIMAL ORNAMENT[1]

Also limited in its distribution is the use of animal ornament. Apart from the single discrete quadrupeds included in the upper portions of the plant-scrolls on Bakewell 1C and Bradbourne 1B (Ills. 12, 111), inhabited plant-scrolls do not seem to have featured in the decoration of the Anglian (or indeed Scandinavian) period sculptures in this region. In fact, animals are preserved on only two of the shafts from Derby St Alkmund's (Derby 1 and 2), the columnar monument reused as a font at Wilne (1), and the coped grave-cover from Repton (15). This last displays attenuated ribbon-style zoomorphs with extended interlacing tails and discrete limbs (that do not extend into strands of interlace), and blunt snouts with open jaws (Ill. 335) that have much in common with the

creatures featured on artwork emerging from the East Midlands, such as those featured on the cross-shaft from Elstow, Bedfordshire (Elstow 1A, B, D) dated to the late eighth century (Tweddle 1991, 242, cat. 207; Tweddle *et al*.1995, 208–9, ills. 269–72).

The creatures at Derby and Wilne, unlike those on the Repton grave-cover, are articulated in profile in a heraldic pose and include various types of (often hybrid) quadrupeds and birds. Those at Derby are characterised by wide bodies and long necks surrounded by a thin double outline which forms a collar separating the neck from the head (Ills. 147–51). The heads of the quadrupeds feature long drooping ears, wide open muzzles and curled noses, with lightly incised round eyes with pendant triangles trailing down to the collar; long ribbon-like tongues, marked by a median incision, extend from the muzzle to wrap around the neck and interlace. The tails, extended from the bodies which in some cases are densely pelleted, also form strands of interlace and can terminate in curls, while one of the forelegs tends to be held up and the feet form three-toed claws. The birds are characterised by drooping wings demarcated by pellets indicating the feathers; with tail feathers denoted as slightly fanned vertical ribbing. The animals on the Wilne font also have clubbed feet, and the bodies, featuring protruding chests, are surrounded by a double outline and are demarcated

1. The animal decoration filling Bakewell 12A is not included in this discussion as this piece, along with Bakewell 15 and 16 do not seem to have originated in this region, having emerged from the centre responsible for the production of the monuments at Sandbach in Cheshire (Hawkes 2002a, 138–40; Bailey 2010, 24, 91, 106, 111, 120, 185).

by a collar separating the body from the head (Ills. 426–40). The bodies, however, tend to be decorated with tightly packed ribbing rather than pellets, and the hindquarters taper to strands of interlace.

These characteristics situate the animals within a menagerie of creatures well-established in Anglo-Saxon art of the later eighth and ninth century. The wide muzzles and curled noses with interlace tongues are, for instance, found in the late eighth-century decoration of the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, Ll.I.10; Alexander 1978, ill. 310), and the ninth-century Royal Bible (London, British Library, Royal 1.E.VI; Alexander 1978, ills. 162–4); they are also a feature of the creatures decorating the Cropthorne cross-head in Worcestershire (1A and C: Bryant 2012, ills. 621, 625), which is dated to the early ninth century (see Fig. 29a–b). Here, in addition to the distinctive muzzles, the quadrupeds adopt the heraldic pose of the animals on the Derby shafts, and their bodies are decorated with the horizontal ribs of the Wilne creatures. Furthermore, the hindquarters of some extend into strands of interlace, while the feathers of the birds' wings are articulated as pellets. The ubiquitous nature of this type of animal art (defined by Kendrick (1938, 157) as the 'Mercian Beast'), means it can be difficult to determine whether it was created before, or during, the period of Scandinavian sculptural activity (Kendrick 1949, 80) and it may well be that in some cases it represents a motif that continued to be produced during the period of Scandinavian settlement in this region (see further Chapter VII). It certainly continued to inform the animal type produced under the influence of southern 'English' developments well into the tenth century on one of the grave-covers from Repton (16, Ill. 338).

The limited use of this type of decoration within the sculptures of the pre-Scandinavian period in this area suggests strongly that they can be considered as having emerged from shared centres of production, perhaps located in the south east of the region, which flourished during the first half of the ninth century. The fragmentary condition of the Wilne column (now font) and the absence of contemporary sculptural remains from the vicinity may imply that it originated elsewhere, while the shared interests suggested by the animal ornament may indicate that it was once part of a monument produced by or for the same centre responsible for the shafts from Derby St Alkmund. This, of course, must remain a hypothetical suggestion in the absence of further evidence.

FIGURAL ORNAMENT[2]

Unlike the non-figural ornament, figural schemes are widespread across the sculptural monuments of Anglian Derbyshire and Staffordshire, featuring at almost all sites preserving carved remains. Figures feature on Bakewell 1(A, B and C), 9A, 11A, 26 (A, B and D), 31B, 34A and 37A, on Bradbourne 1 (A and C), 4 (A and B), and 5A, on all four faces of Eyam 1 and on Sheffield 1A (Yorkshire); they also cover Wirksworth 5A, and originally filled one register of the column at Wilne (1), the three surviving faces of the cross-shaft from Repton (1A, B and C) and the remaining fragment of the Lichfield shrine (1A). Interest in the human figure continued through the ninth and tenth centuries, to feature on monuments at Bakewell (10A, 14B and 29A), Brailsford (1A), Darley Dale (4A), Derby (4A), Hope (1A and C) and Norbury (1B, 2C) in Derbyshire, and Alstonefield (2B and 5A) and Chesterton 1A in Staffordshire, where Scandinavian influences (cultural, political and visual) were brought into play (see further Chapter VII). Figural ornament also featured in the carvings of the later tenth century, at Derby St Alkmund (3A, B and D) and Ingleby (1D; see also Repton 16 and 17) where influences from the south following the Benedictine Reform can be seen; it may well be that the highly stylised figural schemes of Checkley 1–2 and Ilam Estate 1 in Staffordshire reflect a transition from earlier interests into the Scandinavian period. It is remarkable that in a region preserving the remains of just over 30 free-standing Anglian stone monuments, about half feature figural schemes; by contrast, of the 113 Anglian-period stone carvings preserved in Northumberland only nine feature figural ornament and three of those constitute the remains of a single monument: at Rothbury 1 (Cramp 1984, 217–21; see e.g. Hawkes 1999, 204–5).

Of the carvings under consideration here it has often been noted that the figures at Bakewell (1 and 31, Ills. 6–11, 14, 79), Bradbourne (1 and 4, Ills. 109–10, 112–3, 120–1) and Eyam (1A–D, Ills. 200–9) —and Sheffield (1A, Ill. 637)—share a figural style distinguished by the use of a slightly oval face-shape, short hair, deeply drilled eyes, and robes featuring a heavily pleated over-garment that falls in regular ribbed folds and cascading S-shapes (e.g. Cramp 1977;

2. The figural schemes filling Bakewell 12D, 15A–B and 16A will not be included in the discussion here as they seem to have originated outside the region, emerging from the centre responsible for the production of the monuments at Sandbach in Cheshire.

FIGURE 30

London, BL MS Cotton Otho B.VI (the Cotton Genesis), fol. 1r, from a seventeenth–
century watercolour by D. Rabel (Paris, bibliothèque nationale, cod. fr. 9530, fol. 32r);
only a fraction of the original folio survives.

Sidebottom 1994; Hawkes 2007a). Routh (1937a, 13, 20) and Plunkett (1984, 122) both postulated that the inspiration for this distinctive style may lie in the model on which the figures filling the sides of Bakewell 26 were based (Ills. 61–3). These are all characterised by faces that are well modelled and oval–shaped, and clothing that involves a plain undergarment with a heavily pleated over-garment, arranged in parallel folds over the shoulders, and draped over the arms, forming a series of hanging S-folds that cascade over the lower part of the body. In addition, all three are three-quarter length and the arms of the two angels (on 26B and D), cross their bodies to grasp long rods held diagonally over their shoulders, while their wings, defined by a series of narrow parallel vertical mouldings that taper at the tips, sweep up on either side of their heads. Although well modelled, the relief carving is less deep and the bodies more coherently proportioned and articulated than those elsewhere, lacking the feet that protrude from the lower edge of the folds, visible on the Bakewell, Bradbourne and Eyam crosses.

In addition to their shared figural style these monuments are further linked by the poses and attributes of the figures. Like the shaft from Sheffield, for instance, those at Bradbourne (1D) and Bakewell (1C) preserve at their bases a kneeling bowman shooting his arrow up through the plant-scroll filling the shaft above him, which at Bakewell and Bradbourne includes a profile quadruped in its upper reaches (Ills. 12, 111). Bradbourne 4 shares with the cross-arms of Eyam 1 the depiction of angels, one blowing a trumpet (Bradbourne 4A, Ill. 120; Eyam 1C, Illl. 206) and the other bearing a staff over its shoulder (Bradbourne 4B, Ill. 121; Eyam 1A and B, Ills. 204, 207), and Bakewell also shares with Eyam 1 the setting of a male figure (without wings), in the end of the cross-arm, and although that on Bakewell 1B carries a staff over his shoulder, that on Eyam 1D does not (Ills. 14, 209) and the figure on Bakewell 31B carries a book (Ill. 79).

A further point of comparison between Bradbourne 1 and Bakewell 1 is the presence of a Crucifixion scene on both monuments, although they are displayed in very different positions on the shafts: at the base of Bradbourne 1A and at the top of Bakewell 1A (in panel i) (Ills. 6, 10, 109–10). These, however, like that at Repton (1C, Ill. 252) do not reflect the common use of a shared figural style; rather they suggest access to a similar iconographic model, likely dated to the late eighth/ turn of the ninth century, perhaps emerging from the Carolingian world, which was in turn based on an early Christian scheme that featured the symbols of the sun and moon in the upper spandrels of the cross. The scenes are thus distinguished by figures that are coherently articulated with well formed, well modelled musculature, and who, at Bakewell and Bradbourne, include flanking figures who wear short tunics. The supporting figures below the Crucifixion at Bakewell (Ills. 7–9) are also coherently articulated and although they wear full-length robes, their limbs are in proportion—unlike the figures that fill the rest of the shaft, which conform to the figural style shared across the Peak District monuments; this suggests that they were derived from the original scheme depicted in the model lying behind the Bakewell scenes. It seems that the figural style associated with the iconographic model of the Crucifixion did not impact on the (re) production of figures in the region—as is clear from the Bakewell shaft itself.

The same can be said for the figure of the angel preserved on the shrine fragment at Lichfield in Staffordshire (Ill. 586 and colour Pl. 1). Cramp (2006b; Cramp and Hawkes 2004) has argued convincingly that the model lying behind this carving had its ultimate inspiration in early (eastern) Christian types shared by carvings in the East Midlands. The distinctive neckline of the angel's *tunica* and the arrangement of the robe round his legs is strongly indicative of just such an early model, such as the fifth- to sixth-century Cotton Genesis (London, BL MS Cotton Otho B. VI), which also captures the moment of alighting with the left foot resting on the 'ground' and the right (front) foot is held in arrested motion, slightly above ground-level (Fig. 30). This complex pose is rare after the early Christian period and is not found in later (Carolingian) art based on late antique and early Christian prototypes. This strongly suggests that, like much Anglo-Saxon sculpture of late eighth- and early ninth-century date from Northumbria, and Mercian carvings of the same date (at Breedon, Leicestershire, and Castor and Fletton, Huntingdonshire: Cramp 2006b, 3; Rodwell *et al*. 2008, 19–28) the Lichfield

angel was based on a good-quality early Christian model rather than being copied from a Carolingian intermediary. A similar model type also seems to lie behind the image of the Fall preserved at Eccleshall (2, Ill. 540), where the flexed legs and coherent poses of the figures look towards a model of early Christian type (Alexander 2018). Here, however, the stylisation of the tree separating the figures suggests that the model was adapted locally. Also distinctive in terms of their style are the figures preserved on the fragmentary coped cenotaph at Bakewell (34A, Ills. 91, 93–5). Like those in the Crucifixion scenes, these are carefully modelled and the bodies are articulated in fluid poses, as opposed to the stiff attitudes adopted by the figures elsewhere at Bakewell, Bradbourne and Eyam, while the garments are arranged loosely on the bodies and do not feature the stylised ribbing of the pleats of drapery.

A figural style distinct from that used to articulate most of the figures at Bakewell, Bradbourne, Eyam (and Sheffield) is, nevertheless, apparent elsewhere in the region: on Wirksworth 5 (Ills. 446–55) and Bakewell 11 (Ills. 31–2). This is characterised by oval-shaped heads with broad foreheads and full rounded cheeks, well-modelled eyes, and a short fringe of hair across the forehead. The hands and feet are not well formed but their positioning is not random, while the clothing, generally coherently rendered, tends towards repeated patterns of regular ribbed pleats; although there is little suggestion of a body within the robes, the tubular aspect of the clothing does provide a three-dimensional quality and the body within is proportionally appropriate. This is markedly different from the figural style predominating elsewhere in the Peak District, but like it, probably depends on an early Christian figural type—in this case one that had its origins in Eastern works of the fourth to sixth centuries, which was adopted in certain Western centres in northern Italy and Gaul where it seems to have survived into the seventh century. Previous scholars (Cramp 1977; Plunkett 1984; Sidebottom 1994) have noted the shared figural style of Bakewell 11 and Wirksworth 5 and deemed it evidence of links between the two sites. This is an observation supported by the survival of fragments at Wirksworth (2 and 3) which bear plant-scrolls analogous to those preserved on Bakewell 1 (as well as Bradbourne 1 and Eyam 1). However, the close links between the centres indicated by Bakewell 11 and Wirksworth 5 do not necessarily imply that Bakewell 11 should be considered as having emerged originally from Bakewell rather than Wirksworth, especially as the

figural style used for the Bakewell, Bradbourne, Eyam and Sheffield shafts and cross-heads is distinct from those two pieces, as is that preserved on the Bakewell coped monument (34) and that used for the Crucifixion scenes. As has often been noted, the collection of stones at Bakewell, although apparently having emerged from the rubble of the foundations of the church in 1843–6, did not necessarily originate at the site. At least three pieces (Bakewell 12, 15 and 16) seem to have come from the Sandbach area, in Cheshire, while a further fragment (Bakewell 14), is the only one among the extensive number of pieces preserved at Bakewell to show the subsequent influences of the Sandbach monuments—something it perhaps shares with Hope 1A (Plunkett 1984; Hawkes 2002a; Bailey 2010; although see Chapter VII). It may be therefore, that Bakewell 11 emerged from the centre responsible for the production of Wirksworth 5. The manner of representing the figures, crowded together and set within a (horizontally) narrow panel indicate that it may have formed part of a horizontal register of such carvings as is preserved on Wirksworth 5, although this must remain speculation given the fragmentary nature of the piece. Nevertheless, given the difference in figural style exhibited by Bakewell 11 when compared with that of Bakewell 1 (or Bakewell 31), and the similarity it bears with Wirksworth 5 it is not impossible that at the very least Bakewell 11 originated at a site other than Bakewell, perhaps emerging from Wirksworth itself.

What has not been noted in discussions of the links between the two sites, however, is the relationship of the veiled figure preserved on Bakewell 9A (Ills. 27–8). This is characterised by a face with a deeply drilled eye, well-formed nose, rounded cheeks and chin, and a well-defined mouth. These, along with the veil that seems to envelop the head and the swathes of clothing traversing the upper part of the body, are all details replicated on Wirksworth 5, while some also feature on Bakewell 11. Together, these details strongly suggest a close relationship between these stones, indicating a shared centre of production. The remains of Bakewell 9 are too fragmentary, however, to ascertain whether it too may have formed part of Wirksworth 5.

ICONOGRAPHIC THEMES

Despite the proliferation of figural decoration on the sculpture of this region, little attention has been paid to the identity and iconographic significance of the carved decoration of the Anglian monuments in Derbyshire and Staffordshire—with few exceptions—beyond nineteenth-century accounts of the possible identities of the figural scenes. As previously outlined (Chapter I), scholarly discussions of these aspects of Anglo-Saxon sculpture generally have only developed during the latter decades of the twentieth century. The approach involves the study both of the art-historical models on which the carved scenes and motifs might have been based (considered above), and the adaptations made to those models, as well as the doctrinal, theological and/or liturgical references the resulting images might have been understood to signify. Alongside Ó Carragáin's (1978) early work on the monuments at Ruthwell (Dumfriesshire) and Bewcastle (Cumberland), this methodology was first applied more generally to Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture in Coatsworth's (1979) study of the Crucifixion iconography of the pre-Conquest sculpture of England, and Hawkes' subsequent (1989) study of the non-Crucifixion iconography of a series of Anglian monuments in the north of England. While these works included consideration of sculptures in Derbyshire, such as those at Bakewell, Bradbourne and Wirksworth, a number of short studies have also been published, most notably by Bailey (e.g. Bailey 1990), which have considered the iconographic significance of individual pieces in the region—such as Eyam 1; more recently Hawkes (1995b; 2007a) has turned to consider the potential iconographic significance of the programmes of the figural carvings preserved specifically on the crosses and stone carvings of the Derbyshire Peak District.

Nevertheless, beyond the monuments at Bakewell (1), Bradbourne (1 and 4), and Eyam (1), which have long been cited in the scholarship as displaying a considerable amount of figural decoration with an associated potential for iconographic complexity (Ills. 6–15, 109–14, 118–22, 200–9), the region covered by this volume has not been fully investigated in terms of the iconographic significance of its pre-Conquest carved stone monuments. Generally, it has been assumed that in addition to the crosses of the Peak District, only the Wirksworth (5) sarcophagus cover, and the related piece at Bakewell (11), display (figural) schemes of symbolic significance (Ills. 31–2, 446–55). Here, however, it is worth noting the distinction between the figural *narrative* schemes that have survived at Wirksworth (and Bakewell 11) and the more *iconic* images (of single figures, often half or three-quarter length) that feature on the Peak District crosses. Both narrative images and icon-type portraits

A   B

FIGURE 31a–b
Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire: the Rider and Devil shaft

can be, and in this region of the west Midlands, do seem to have been used for symbolic ends, being combined to present iconographic programmes of considerably complex significance. In this respect, the carved relief panels of the monuments preserved in Derbyshire and Staffordshire have much in common with the icons of the early Church which favoured both portrait-type images as well as narrative schemes, such as the Annunciation and Crucifixion (see e.g. Nelson and Collins 2006).

The manner in which each (iconic) figural image is presented as a discrete entity, framed within its own panel, and likely (originally) painted, with the eyes often emphasised by inserts of paste glass set in the drilled holes of the pupils (Bailey 1996; Hawkes 2002a), are features that together combine to present the viewer with carved, three-dimensional, stone versions of icons more generally thought of as painted on two-dimensional wooden panels (Hawkes 2013c; 2013d). The response elicited through the encounter

with such carved images may well have been analogous to that elicited by viewing an image painted on a flat board: for those familiar with such images, icons were more than representations of holy figures or biblical narratives; they were visual expressions of prayer and intended to elicit contemplation of the earthly pursuit of salvation. As has often been pointed out, Bede's account of the painted panels set up in the churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow (Grocock and Wood 2013, 44–5), indicates that the conjunction of the images was intended to inspire contemplation as the means of achieving understanding of the nature of the Divine and his salvation (e.g. Hawkes 2007a; 2007b).

This is certainly the case with the monuments of the Peak District where, apart from the Crucifixion schemes at Bakewell (1A, Ill. 6), Bradbourne (1A, Ill. 110) and Repton (1C, Ill. 252), and the scenes preserved on the funerary monuments at Bakewell (34A, Ill. 91) and Wirksworth (5, Ill. 446), 'narrative' images seem not to have been favoured by those

FIGURE 32
Sandbach Market Square 1C, Cheshire: the Road to Calvary

responsible for the production of carved stone sculpture in the region. Indeed, if it were not for the fragmentary scenes preserved on the single monument at Bakewell (34) and the seven to eight scenes (which did not include the Crucifixion), displayed at Wirksworth and the related fragments preserved at Bakewell (9 and 11, Ills. 28, 32), it might be thought that only the Crucifixion was deemed relevant for public display among those promoting sculptural art in the area. Nevertheless, even if the corpus of extant material was limited to presentations of this particular event, their iconographic significances demonstrate the various ways in which audience responses could be elicited. For, all three carvings of the Crucifixion seem to have included the symbols of the sun and moon in the upper spandrels of the cross, and featured Christ wearing a loincloth, while those at Bakewell and Bradbourne also show him accompanied by Longinus and Stephaton. However, unlike the Bradbourne scene, which is located at the base of the cross-shaft, that set in the cross-head at Bakewell (1A) is supported by two figures in the panel below who stand in poses of veneration and adoration (Ill. 10), referring visually to the *adoratio cruces* (the adoration of Christ and the Cross as signifiers of the redemption of the Crucifixion), while also emphasising the role of sight in bearing witness to the event of the Crucifixion: sight being crucial in the act of contemplation (Chazelle 2001, 118–31). The comparable scheme at Bradbourne (1A, Ill. 110) is set at the eye level of those kneeling before the cross—the ritual pose of *adoratio* in the ninth-century liturgy; in this position the carved Crucifixion thus becomes immediate to the viewer, rendering them in turn a participant in the event set out before them in the icon-like panel at the base of the cross shaft. Thus, although the composition of the panels seems to bear so much in common, pointing at the very least to common sources of inspiration (of late eighth- or early ninth-century date), the different settings might be regarded as intended to convey

varying symbolic functions, yet these settings and the associated iconographic programmes have nevertheless been exploited to express a liturgical and devotional concern that was current in Anglo-Saxon England and northern Europe at the turn of the ninth century.

It is the iconic portraits, however, which are the type of figural carving more commonly preserved on the stone crosses of the region, and they clearly present the viewer with images intended, individually and collectively within the iconographic programme, to induce contemplation, by means of the emotional response of compunction (see e.g. Baker 2015). Thus, the cross at Eyam (1, Ills. 204–9), by means of a series of iconic portraits of the Virgin and Child, the prophet of the Incarnation, and the angels attendant on the heavenly throne and blowing the Last Trump (in the cross-head), provide a set of visual references intended to refer the viewer to the In-carnation and Second Coming: the 'bookends' of a Christian history within which the individual exists and for whom salvation is possible by means of faith in Christ and daily participation in the sacraments of his earthly Church—or in this case, the Anglo-Saxon Church in the Peak District. Here, as players in that history, angels form a crucial link with the human viewer, aiding them, iconographically, in the process of compunction, contemplation and understanding (Hawkes 2007a; although see Sowerby 2016).

At Bradbourne (1C, Ill. 113) the (earliest surviving) iconic portrait of Gregory the Great inspired by the dove of the Holy Spirit in the writing of his homilies on angels and their roles as intermediaries and companions of humankind, provides evidence that those responsible for the production of the Peak District group of crosses were well aware of the range of references signified by the iconographic programmes carved on the monuments. This, and the plant-scrolls inhabited by archers shooting upwards through the plant preserved on each shaft (see p. 72 and Ills. 12, 114), further refers the viewer to the active pastoral roles of the priest (as preacher and dispenser of the sacraments of the Church). Thus, in addition to the matrix of ideas surrounding Christ, the Church founded in Christ, the Eucharist and the dispensing of the sacraments, expressed in schemes involving plant and vine scrolls in Anglo-Saxon sculpture, the archer can be understood to signify the preacher shooting the word of God from his bow: a set of ideas expressed in the exegetical tradition of the Psalms where they are linked to the Second Coming (Hawkes 2003c, 361; 2003b, 274–83).

Admittedly these monuments have the advantage of being comparatively well preserved—much of the shaft and in some cases parts of the cross-heads also surviving—with the result that such observations can be made concerning their original iconographic programmes and intended iconographic significances; such is not the case with other monumental remains in the region where the carvings survive in a very fragmentary state. Among these, nevertheless, sufficient survives to indicate that similar iconic representations continued to be produced throughout the region in the Scandinavian period. Thus, panels of single figures bearing crosses feature at a number of sites: that at Chesterton (1) in Staffordshire apparently evoking the iconography of the early Christian scheme of Christ Triumphant (Ill. 533), while at Derby (St Alkmund), iconic portraits of an (armed) seated harpist survive on a shaft fragment (3) along with a single standing figure and a horse and rider (Ills. 155–7), whose attitudes indicate the strong influence of early eastern Mediterranean icon-type figures, while the figural style and foliate motifs suggest influences from art being produced in the south of England during the course of the so-called Benedictine Reform movement of the tenth century.

With these images, of the cross-bearer and the rider, it is also possible to see the appropriation of iconographic schemes featured on carved monuments with associations of considerable status. In addition to the impact that the iconic portraits of the Virgin and angels featured at Bakewell (26, Ills. 61–3) had on the crosses of the Peak District (p. 75), the rider on the cross at Repton (1A, Ill. 247) which betrays the influence of the late imperial *adventus* rider or victorious warrior, and which was adapted to signify the victory of Christian secular rule, may well have inspired the cluster of horsemen which were reproduced at Bakewell (1C, Ill. 15) and Derby (3D, Ill. 155), as well as Eccleshall (1) in Staffordshire, Ill. 537 (where he may well be identified as *Christus Miles* and is associated with a cross-bearing figure), and at Breedon-on-the-Hill, just south of Repton over the Trent in Leicestershire—where the rider is associated with the figure of the devil (see Fig. 31a–b); at Repton (Ill. 248) he is associated with a depiction of the Hell Mouth (Hawkes 2011b).

Likewise, the profile figure bearing a cross, preserved in the context of a complex scheme depicting the Road to Calvary at Sandbach in Cheshire in the early ninth century (see Fig. 32), seems to have influenced the cluster of single profile cross-bearing figures preserved on later shaft fragments at Leek (3A, Ill. 569), Staffordshire, and Bakewell (14B, Ill.

40) in Derbyshire, as well as possibly being depicted in the upper panel of Hope 1A (see Hawkes 2002a, 139–40), although in this instance the condition of the stone is such that clarity is not at a premium and the figure can equally be identified as carrying a sword across his shoulder (Ill. 214). Not enough of the cross-bearing figure is preserved at Eccleshall (1) to determine whether he was depicted in profile or facing forwards (Ill. 538), but at Leek and Bakewell it is the profile attitude of a single figure bearing a cross which distinguishes the images from the more usual portrayal of the forward-facing single figure bearing the staff-cross of the Resurrection, as is the case at Chesterton (1A, Ill. 533), and within a narrative context, at Wirksworth (5, Ill. 453). It thus seems that a figure type (the cross-bearer, who in the narrative context of the scheme at Sandbach is Simon of Cyrene), was appropriated under the influence of the status of the monument at Sandbach, and adapted to suit the more icon-type presentation of figures on the monuments in this region, being invoked to represent Christ bearing the cross of the resurrection (rather than the cross of the crucifixion). By means of this process, the iconographic significances of the scheme were expanded to include associations with Christ Triumphant, overcoming Death—a set of symbolic references shared with the (more usually) forwards-facing figure at Chesterton.

In addition to influencing the cluster of profile cross-bearing figures, the monuments at Sandbach are also likely to have inspired the groups of standing figures repeatedly depicted in very stylised and patterned forms at Checkley (1–2) and Ilam Estate (1) in Staffordshire, during the Scandinavian period (Ills. 520–7, 557–60). Here, iconographic schemes—such as that lying behind the Transfiguration at Sandbach, or which illustrated one of the events in the Passion—form the basis of the groups depicted as variations on related arrangements over the three monuments preserved at the sites.

The prevalence of the icon portrait-type figural image throughout the pre-Conquest period does not mean that narrative schemes were neglected in the decoration of the public sculptures in the region. Nevertheless, rather than featuring largely on monumental cross-shafts, as is the case in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, here such images seem to have been favoured for highly elaborate funerary monuments. In addition to the Crucifixion preserved on the cross-shafts at Bakewell and Bradbourne, there is only the image of the Fall, depicted by Adam and Eve flanking the Tree of Knowledge which is clearly preserved on

a shaft fragment of Anglian date at Eccleshall (2, Ill. 540). Although Old Testament scenes are unusual in the extant corpus of pre-Scandinavian Anglo-Saxon sculpture generally (see e.g. Hawkes 1997b), the Fall is nevertheless found elsewhere in a pre-Scandinavian context: at Newent in Gloucestershire (Bryant 2012, 232–6, ill. 398; see also Alexander 2018). Like the Crucifixion schemes, however, images of the Fall offer the viewer an iconic-type arrangement—two standing figures separated by a central vertical—and so share the iconographic function of the icon portraits.

Most of the extant figural narrative scenes featured in the sculpture of the region are in fact preserved on monuments with an apparently commemorative (funerary) function (see Chapter VIII): the coped sarcophagus cover at Wirksworth (5, Ills. 446–55), the remains of a coped monument at Bakewell (34, Ills. 91–6), and the remains of the coped shrine cover from Lichfield (1, Ill. 586). Here, a varied range of scenes are preserved from the late-eighth to ninth centuries, many of them not found elsewhere in the corpus of Anglo-Saxon art—such as Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet; the Harrowing of Hell; the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple; the Funeral Procession of the Virgin; and the Handing over of her Soul. In addition, different iconographic versions of scenes found elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon sculpture are also preserved on these monuments: in the Ascension at Wirksworth, and two versions of the Annunciation—at Wirksworth and Lichfield.

If the fragmentary remains of the scene involving a figure on horseback on the coped monument at Bakewell (34, Ill. 93) could be interpreted as the Flight to Egypt (or Entry to Jerusalem), it too would provide further evidence of the circulation of different versions of these schemes, which are preserved at Ruthwell (Dumfriesshire) in the eighth century (Flight to Egypt), and in a manuscript context, in the tenth-century Benedictional of Æthelwold that includes the Entry to Jerusalem on folio 45v (Cassidy 1992, pl. 25; Temple 1976, cat. 23; Hawkes 2015). On the Bakewell stone, however, the narrative iconography was also associated with a series of figures—possibly up to twelve in number—who seem to have stood full length along the side of the monument, their feet perhaps preserved on another set of fragments at Bakewell (37, Ills. 99–102). As such, the monument echoes the coped Hedda Stone preserved at Peterborough, Huntingdonshire, where the full-length figures of Christ, the Virgin and the Apostles filled the side of the stone (Bailey 1990, fig. 4; see Ill. 647). In the context of a reliquary shrine or cenotaph (as seems

to have been the case at Peterborough), such figures, iconic in their representation as forwards-facing static figures (with—at Peterborough—eyes that have been emphasised by drilled pupils), can be understood to signify the 'community of saints' and 'life everlasting' into which the person commemorated by the monument is deemed to have been subsumed.

Overall, therefore, the monuments of the region display an impressive selection of iconographic figural schemes, largely iconic in nature, but featuring portrait-type images as well as those depicting narrative events. The manner in which they are used on the monuments indicates that, throughout the pre-Conquest period, such schemes were associated with campaigns of production involving the presentation of iconographic programmes deliberately composed to present, by means of public monumental art, the status and authority of those responsible for their production. In most cases, involving the figural, this seems to have been ecclesiastical institutions that may well have expressed their links with each other, which undoubtedly evolved and adapted to changing circumstances throughout the period, through the iconographic programmes and use of repeated images selected for display on the monuments.

The status of these institutions is further reflected in the nature of the iconographic model-types that lie behind the figural schemes. By and large these reflect dependence on, and so access to early Christian types that had their origins in (eastern) Mediterranean art. Thus, the angels and portrait of the Virgin preserved at Bakewell (26, Ills. 61–3) (and repeated in various forms across the monuments of the Peak District), reflect an early Christian icon-type of model of probably sixth-century date, while the rider on Derby St Alkmund 3D (Ill. 155) reflects an icon-type of ninth-century date. The narrative images preserved at Wirksworth and on Bakewell 11 (Ill. 32) also betray the influence of art originating in the eastern Mediterranean: in the Syro-Palestinian world of the sixth century.

Elsewhere, in addition to the influence of imperial monumental types expressing triumph (reflected in the columns at Wilne, Derbyshire, and Wolverhampton, Staffordshire) the influence of late antique imperial art is also reflected: at Repton (1A)—in the well-established iconography of the *adventus* rider figure (Ill. 247). In addition, the Crucifixion schemes at Bradbourne (1A) and Repton (1C), with their inclusion of the symbols of *Sol* and *Luna*, as well as the slightly drooping form of the arm of the Crucified figure of Christ (Ills. 110, 252), point to an

awareness of developments in Carolingian art of the late-eighth and very early ninth centuries, where late antique and early Christian iconographic types were being adapted to reflect the most recent liturgical and exegetical themes relating to understanding of the Crucifixion. The adaptation of early model types was clearly also occurring in the sculpture of Derbyshire and Staffordshire. Thus the triumphant rider is variously articulated, as are the cross-bearing figures, while the groups of standing figures possibly derived from narrative schemes were adapted across the region and throughout the later Scandinavian period, to depict *orantes*, figures adopting the attitude of prayer with their arms upraised—whether nimbed (as at Checkley 1, Staffordshire; Ills. 524–5), or bearing weapons (as at Norbury 1, Derbyshire, and Alstonefield 2, Staffordshire; Ills. 234, 485–6).

Overall, therefore, the iconography of the sculpture surviving in Derbyshire and Staffordshire appears to reflect a long-standing concern to articulate and present the status of the institution of the Church in the region, its active pastoral role (of preaching and dispensing the sacraments), as well as its role in the bringing of salvation, and the triumphal nature of the Christian faith as a means of overcoming death. While this could be said of much of the iconographic concerns of early medieval sculpture across Anglo-Saxon England, the means selected in this region, did not depend—for instance—on symbolic representations of the sacraments, through narrative depictions of the miracles of Christ; nor were narrative images portraying the Infancy and Passion of Christ invoked to illustrate the salvation made available to humanity through the Life and Crucifixion of Christ as the Son of God and the Son of Man—concerns that are widespread in the sculptural reliefs of the Northumbrian monuments.

Rather, the sculptural iconography of this region presents a wide variety of iconic portraits, and a series of specifically 'triumphal' images, displayed in contexts that in many cases speak to specific associations between image and monument type, to articulate the concerns of those responsible for the production of the sculpture. And those concerns speak to patrons whose cultural contacts were widespread, not just within the region, but also across the Christian world, and whose visual heritage indicates a significant level of cultural, intellectual and theological sophistication which is missing from the documentary sources of the region, in the absence of a known equivalent to Bede.