

Title	Rome, Ruthwell, Vercelli: 'The Dream of the Rood' and the Italian connection
Authors	Ó Carragáin, Éamonn
Publication date	1997-04-01
Original Citation	Ó Carragáin, É. (1998) 'Rome, Ruthwell, Vercelli: 'The Dream of the Rood' and the Italian Connection', Vercelli tra Oriente ed Occidente, tra tarda Antichità e Medioevo: atti delle Giornate di studio, Vercelli, 10-11 aprile, in Dolcetti Corazza, V. (ed.) Bibliotheca germanica : studi e testi, v. 6, Alessandria : Edizioni dell'orso, pp. 59–100. isbn: 9788876943416
Type of publication	Conference item;Book chapter
Rights	© 1997
Download date	2026-09-17 19:55:06
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/15260

ROME, RUTHWELL, VERCELLI: “THE DREAM OF THE ROOD” AND THE ITALIAN CONNECTION *

ÉAMONN Ó CARRAGÁIN

1. *The origins of a unique Anglo-Saxon poetic and devotional tradition*

No surviving Anglo-Saxon poem has more intimate connections with Italy than *The Dream of the Rood*. Not only does its text exist today in one of the great Italian manuscript collections, the Cathedral Library of Vercelli: the evidence suggests that the earliest sung ancestors of the poem (now lost) were directly inspired by ideas from Italy. The context of the surviving ancestor of the *Dream* reflects the desire of the Northumbrian Church to imitate Italy, and in particular certain aspects of the liturgies of the great Roman basilicas.

The earliest ancestor of the poem which we have is, as Professor Luiselli Fadda has demonstrated in the present volume, a carefully edited version. A reasonable dating for the Ruthwell monument is 730-60, the generation after the first appointment of an Anglo-Saxon bishop to the ancient British monastic centre of Whithorn, to the west of Ruthwell along the Solway Firth (see fig.1). The first Anglo-Saxon bishop of Whithorn was Pechthelm. Pechthelm had been a pupil of the poet Aldhelm; he contributed some information to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*; he was in correspondence with Boniface in Bavaria; and he was an acquaintance of Acca of Hexham, who had been to Rome (see Bede: Plummer 2: 509, s.v. 'Pecthelm'). Such

* In queste pagine l'autore presenta una rielaborazione dell'intervento tenuto a Vercelli, derivata da alcune sue nuove considerazioni riguardanti il *Dream of the Rood* e il *Vercelli Book* in generale.

facts remind us that in the first half of the eighth century clerics in the area of Solway Firth had wide-ranging international contacts (as demonstrated recently on other grounds by Hill 1997, and by Davis 1998).

I do not believe that the poem was composed for inscription upon the Ruthwell Cross. Those aspects of the Ruthwell poem which are most original, indeed unique, lead us back earlier than the eighth century: to the ecclesiastical crises, christological debates and liturgical developments of the latter half of the seventh century. It was in the years 650-700 that Roman contacts were formative for the recently-developed Northumbrian ecclesiastical culture. I shall argue that by the time the four extant *sententiae* were inscribed on the Ruthwell Cross it is likely that oral or written versions of the poem had been circulating in Northumbria for fifty or sixty years. If we accept that, in an oral culture, each performance of a poem is in some sense a new poem, then in early Northumbria, from the end of the seventh century, within the devotional tradition we shall examine it is likely that there were many sung poems on the theme of Christ's death. Of such a tradition, the Ruthwell lapidary edition is the only early version to survive. Kenneth Sisam put the matter well, when he wrote that 'the history that links these three survivals [the Ruthwell poem, the *Dream*, and the couplet on the Brussels Cross] must be one of movement and change that stretches the imagination' (1953: 122).

It is important to grasp that the Ruthwell poem is original, not merely as poetry, but as theology. It rethinks, in poetic and contemplative terms, the significance of the death of Christ. The poem is, therefore, not merely the earliest masterpiece of English poetry to survive (see fig. 2): it is also the first major English contribution to the Western theological tradition:

- 1 [+ Ond]geredæ hinæ ġod alme3ttig [...] þa he walde on ġalġu gistiġa
- 2 modig f[ore allæ] men
- 3 [buġa] {ic ni dorstæ ...}

- 5 [Ahof] ic riicnæ Kyningc [.]
- 6 hēafunæs h[ɪ]afard hælða ic ni dorstæ
- 7 [b]ismæra[d]u ungket men ba æt[g]ad[re i]c [wæs m]iþ blodi
- bist[e]mi[d]
- 8 bi{*goten of þæs guman sida*}
- 1 Almighty God stripped himself. When he willed to mount the gal-
- lows,
- 2 Courageous before all men,
- 3 {*I dared not*} bow ...
- 5 I [lifted up] a powerful king -
- 6 the lord of heaven I dared not tilt:
- 7 they mocked the pair of us together; I was drenched with blood
- 8 po{*ured from the man's side ...*}.

[For a discussion of this reconstruction of the text, see Ó Carragáin 1987-8:12-29]

The poem begins by dramatizing the Cross's dilemma as it sees it must bear its Lord to his death: 'I dared not bow', 'I dared not tilt' 'they mocked the pair of us together'. No other medieval poem describes the crucifixion from the point of view of the Cross, and no other medieval poem presents the dilemma of the Cross in this way. It is important to take on board the significance of this originality. To rethink the death of Christ, the central event in the Christian religion, demanded more than poetic technique: it demanded courage and authority and theological awareness. By rethinking the death of Christ, and dramatizing the dilemma of the Cross, the poet made the experience of the Cross recall the dilemma of the Virgin Mary. Exactly thirty-three years before, she was startled when told that, though she knew not man, the Holy Spirit would come upon her, and the

power of the most high would overshadow her, and the child she would bear would be called the Son of God. Alone among medieval poems on the Passion, the Ruthwell poem grasps the fact that Christ's incarnation and his Passion, both, involved an encounter between Christ and a startled but cooperative creature (Mary at the incarnation, the Cross at the Passion). It alone grasps that the cross helped to complete an event which Mary (equally startled) had helped to begin.

2. *From St Peter's on the Vatican to St Peter's Wearmouth: Incarnation and Passion on 25 March*

This dramatic association of the Cross on Calvary with Mary at the Annunciation brings us back to the second half of the seventh century, when the new feast of the Annunciation was introduced (from Byzantium) to Rome, and thence to the Western Church. The new feast fell on the 25 March, the Spring Equinox in the Julian Calendar. The date of the new feast posed a major liturgical problem. 25 March always fell during Lent, and often during Holy Week itself. How could the joy of the incarnation be celebrated during the penitential season which prepared for His Passion? Indeed, the Spanish bishops refused to celebrate the new feast, and instead decided (at the tenth Council of Toledo, 656) to celebrate the incarnation outside of Lent, on 18 December (a week before Christmas) (Maggioni 1991: 51-3). In Rome, only one basilica faced the problem directly, and brilliantly solved it, in their Mass for the Annunciation on 25 March. That basilica was St Peter's on the Vatican. Liturgical historians consider it likely that the Vatican Mass for the Annunciation, which we are about to consider, was composed during the 670s: Antoine Chavasse (1958:396) suggests a date not long before 680, and Georges Frénaud is substantially in agreement with Chavasse: 'after 670' (1961: 179-80). From the writings of Bede, we know who, precisely,

was in charge of the liturgy of St Peter's until the end of the 670s: John the Arch-chanter, Abbot of St Martin's monastery on the Vatican Hill. John the Arch-chanter is a figure of great interest to all students of early Anglo-Saxon culture. In 679 he consented to travel from Rome to Wearmouth, in the company of his friend Benedict Biscop (who had recently founded the monastery of St Peter at Wearmouth) and of Ceolfrid, who was later in his turn to become the abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow. In Northumbria, John the Arch-chanter did two important things. First, he represented Pope Agatho (678-81) at the Council of Hatfield (Autumn 679), presided over by Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury. This council affirmed the faith of the English Church (in union with Rome) that Christ had an independent human will, in opposition to the heresy of Monotheletism, which denied that Christ had any such human will (Cubitt 1995:252-8). It is reasonable to see a reflection of this controversy in the opening lines of the Ruthwell poem. There, Christ is said to 'will' to ascend the Cross ('walde'), precisely at the moment that his human courage is emphasized ('modig f[ore allæ] men') (Ó Carragáin 1987-8: 17-21). Secondly, in the winter of 679-80 John taught the liturgy of St Peter's on the Vatican at the newly-founded monastery of St Peter's, Wearmouth. Bede tells us that clerics flocked to Wearmouth from all parts of Northumbria to learn from his lips (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4: 18 (16); Ó Carragáin 1987-8: 20-3; Ó Carragáin 1994: 16-20).

Canon Antoine Chavasse has demonstrated that all the items of the Vatican Mass for 25 March were indeed composed at the Vatican (1995: 21, 51). The Vatican Mass can thus be seen to form a unity. It is not impossible that the Mass was composed by John the Arch-chanter himself: after all, he was in charge of the liturgy at the Vatican during the relevant decade. Once the Mass is seen as a unity, its extreme originality becomes clear, as well as its suitability to the Vatican and in particular to the situation of John the Arch-chanter, Abbot of St Martin's. The Vatican solution to the problem of how properly to celebrate the Annunciation during Lent was a brilliant piece

of liturgical thought: unique, not merely among the Roman basilicas, but in Western Europe. To justify their celebration of Christ's incarnation in the season of his Passion, the liturgists at the Vatican seized upon the ancient patristic tradition that 25 March was the anniversary of the first Good Friday as well as being the anniversary of Christ's conception. That tradition goes back, at least, to Tertullian (c. 160-c. 225) (see Loi 1971; Talley 1986: 91-9). The principle behind the tradition was memorably summed up by the (late fourth century?) commentator Ambrosiaster as 'omnia propriis locis et temporibus gessit Salvator' (CSEL 50: 100, as quoted by Loi 1971: 53; Ó Carragáin 1978: 132). In the Vatican Mass, the incarnation and the Passion are linked in the title of the Mass, in the collect and in the offertory prayer, and (at least implicitly) in the Preface. The oldest and best witness to the seventh-century Vatican Mass for 25 March is the Gregorian sacramentary, Paduense, Biblioteca Capitolare D 47, fols 47v-48r. I shall first transcribe this important text (from Mohlberg 1927: 29-30), and then translate the individual prayers and comment on the particular features of the Mass:

[LXXXV] VIII KALENDAS APRILES ADNUNTIATIO SANCTAE DEI GENITRICIS ET PASSIO EIUSDEM DOMINI

385. Gratiam tuam quaesumus domine mentibus nostris infunde, ut qui angelo nuntiante Christi filii tui incarnationem cognouimus, per passionem eius et crucem ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur: qui tecum.

386. **Super oblatam.** Accepta tibi sit domine quaesumus haec oblatio plebis tuae, quam tibi offerimus hodie ob incarnationem simul et passionem redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi, te supplices deprecantes, ut placatus accipias: per eundem.

387. UD. aeternae Deus. Quia per mirabile mysterium et inenarrabile sacramentum hodie unigenitum tuum uirgo sacra concepit, et caeli dominum clausis portauit uisceribus. O magna clementia deitatis quae uirum non

cognouit et mater est, et post filium uirgo est. Duobus enim gauisa est muneribus, miratur quod uirgo concepit, laetatur quod edidit redemptorem: quem laudant angeli.

388. **Ad complendum.** Deus qui diuinis obsequiis angelorum magnificas dignitates, extremitatem nostram ad respectum tuae uisitationis inlustra, ut quod per illos facis nobis mirabiliter nuntiari, facis nos misericorditer adipisci: per dominum.

389. Alia oratio. Protege domine famulos tuos subsidiis pacis, et beatæ Mariae patrocinis confidentes a cunctis hostibus redde securos: per dominum.

Title of the Mass: 'THE EIGHTH KALENDS OF APRIL. THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD AND THE PASSION OF THE SAME LORD'

The extant manuscript, Paduense D 47, was written at the imperial court (perhaps at Aachen or at some other Rhineland centre) during the reign of the Emperor Lothar (822-55) (Mohlberg 1927:xxxiv). By the ninth century the Annunciation had come to be seen as a feast of the Virgin, and so the title refers to 'the Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God'. But the extant title is clearly a clumsy modification of an older title: in particular, as the word 'eiusdem' has no referent, there is a meaningless reference to 'the same Lord', when the Lord has not been mentioned earlier in the title. Antoine Chavasse has solved the problem of this 'maladroit title' (1958: 377). When the Annunciation was introduced into seventh-century Rome, and at least until the end of that century, the Annunciation was still understood as a feast of the Lord, of Christ (and not yet of Mary). At the end of the century (a generation after the first introduction of the feast) in its biography of Pope Sergius (687-701), the *Liber Pontificalis* still refers to

'... diebus Adnuntiationis Domini ...' (Duchesne 1886-92 1: 376, line 4). The seventh-century title of the feast would therefore have been:

ADNUNTIATIO DOMINI ET PASSIO EIUSDEM:

'THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE LORD AND HIS PASSION'.

Chavasse's reconstruction of the original title is important for understanding the genesis of the Old English vernacular poetic tradition, from which we get the poem edited for the Ruthwell Cross. The original poems are likely to have been first sung at a time when the Annunciation was still seen as the Annunciation of Christ: as it were, when Christ was still the hero of the liturgical feast, as he is of the poem. Thus the English poetic and devotional tradition, which depends precisely on a direct association between the Annunciation of the Lord and his Passion, is likely to have begun in the seventh century, before the feast became known as the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God.

385 [*Collect*]. Pour your grace into our minds, O Lord, that we to whom the incarnation of Christ your Son was made known by the message of an angel may, by his Passion and Cross, be brought to the glory of his resurrection, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

The opening prayer, or *Collect*, memorably expresses the Vatican rationale for celebrating the Annunciation in the season which prepared for Christ's Passion. By celebrating the Annunciation during Lent, they celebrated the unity of Christ's life as a single saving event leading to a resurrection in which mankind could share. The new feast provided a summary of what Christ's life meant for mankind. As John Donne unforgettably expressed it in a poem written in 1608 (when in England Good Friday fell on 25 March), linking the Annunciation and the Passion provided

Th'Abridgement of Christ's story, which makes one
(As in plaine Maps, the furthest West is East)
Of the Angel's Ave and *Consummatum est*.

(Donne, *Divine Poems*, 'The Annuntiation and the Passion', ed. Grierson 1933: 305-6; see Ó Carragáin 1994: 33). This noble prayer is a classic expression of the general liturgical principle that the whole salvific event of Christ is to be celebrated at all seasons of the year. The individual events of Christ's life were never celebrated without reference to the whole event, and in particular to the Paschal mystery and its significance for mankind (see Sartore and Triacca 1993 823-42). As we shall see, this principle is important for understanding the insight which unified Christ's incarnation and his passion in the Vercelli *Dream of the Rood*.

This noble prayer was composed, as we have seen, for the Vatican Mass for 25 March (in *Paduense* D 47). Its quality was quickly recognised, and it was included in the papal stational liturgy. There it was used as the Post-Communion prayer of their Mass of the Annunciation (*Hadrianum*, ed. Jean Deshusses 1:128, prayer 143). The prayer is, in its structure and theme, an outstanding example of a *Collect* (the opening prayer of a Mass, which defines the theological theme central to that Mass). Conversely, it has nothing to suggest that it was intended to be a postcommunion prayer (e.g. there is no reference to the Eucharist as having been already consumed). This provides confirmatory evidence that the Vatican use (*Paduense*) is that for which the prayer was composed, and that the Papal Stational use as a Postcommunion (*Hadrianum*) is a later, and somewhat maladroit, adaptation of the prayer (see Chavasse 1958: 547). However maladroit the papal use of the Vatican prayer, it is interesting to note that from the reign of Pope Sergius (687-701) the prayer would have been used, not only at the Vatican, but also as the postcommunion of the Papal Stational Mass for 25 March. Sergius organised the four Marian feasts which had been gradually introduced into Rome at various times in the course of the seventh century (Candlemass, 2 February; Annunciation, 25 March; Dormition, 15 August; Nativity of Virgin, 8 September) into a unified 'set' of feasts. He caused special masses to be composed for all four feasts. This prayer would have been

incorporated as a postcommunion prayer into the Papal sacramentary at this stage. Sergius ordered that on each of the four there should be a solemn procession from the church of Saint Adriano in the Forum (formerly the Senate House) to Santa Maria Maggiore, where the stational Mass was celebrated (Duchesne 1886-92 1:376). The gradual development of the new feasts, and the new Sergian stational processions which finally unified them, were events known to Bede (Ó Carragáin 1994:20, and note 92). The assimilation of the Annunciation to a set of four 'Marian' feasts, backed up by a stational procession on each feast to Santa Maria Maggiore, must have been decisive for the way in which, in the eighth century, the Annunciation came to be understood as a feast of the Virgin Mary rather than of Christ. But the English vernacular poetic tradition represented by the Ruthwell poem seems to have begun before this change took place.

Of the prayers of the Vatican Mass, only this noble prayer was taken over by the Papal stational liturgy. Through being incorporated in the Papal liturgy, the prayer became famous: its classic and lapidary expression of the significance of Christ's life for mankind was of general significance and could be used on a variety of occasions; for later uses of the prayer, see Baumstark 1923, and Moeller, *Corpus Orationum*, I (1992), No. 39; CCSL 160: 25-6. Since the seventeenth century the prayer has become very widely used in popular devotion within the Catholic traditions (Roman and Anglican alike) as the final prayer of the Angelus. It is of interest to members of both these traditions to note that the great prayer goes back to the Vatican in the seventh century; that it may possibly have been composed by John the Archchanter and brought by him to Wearmouth; and that it is likely to have played a part in inspiring the earliest great English religious poem to survive, as well as the greatest surviving Northumbrian sculptural monument.

386. **Over the Offerings.** O Lord, we ask that this your people's offering, which we offer you today on account of the incarnation and likewise the

Passion of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, may be acceptable to you, humbly beseeching that you be pleased to receive it. Through the same Jesus Christ ...

This prayer is simpler and less theologically profound than the great Vatican collect. However, it is an admirably clear statement of how the Vatican liturgists understood their feast of 25 March. Note the word 'likewise' (Latin *simul*): it could also be translated 'simultaneously'. The essential insight of the Vatican liturgist was to see the two events (incarnation and Passion) in the same perspective, as forming the same picture.

387. [Preface] It is truly right and just ... God. Because today, by a wonderful mystery and inexpressible sacrament, the holy virgin conceived, and bore the Lord of the heavens in her unopened womb. O great mercy of the Godhead, that she knew not man but is a mother, and after bearing a son she is still a virgin. Indeed, she is startled by two gifts: she is astounded that a virgin has conceived, she rejoices that she has brought forth a saviour: whom the angels praise ...

The Vatican compilers explicitly stated the links between Christ's incarnation and his Passion in three ways: in the title of the Mass, in the Collect, and in the Offertory prayer. The theme is not central to the later texts of the Mass, and for these the Vatican liturgists seem to have used or adapted earlier formulae. The chief inspiration behind this Preface is clearly the prophecy of Isaiah (7:14) that a Virgin shall conceive and bear a child. This appears at Rome from about 700 as a communion antiphon. At about the same time, Isaiah 7:11-15 appears as the Epistle for 25 March (Chavasse 1958:396). In 1958, Chavasse was of the opinion that this preface had been used originally as the preface for the earliest Marian feast at Rome, on 1 January (Chavasse 1958: 394). The preface reappears, in an expanded form, in the Gallican Missal of Bobbio: Paduense preserves the archaic form (the two texts are compared in Chavasse 1958: 656). Dom Jacques-Marie

Guilmard (1994) has convincingly argued that no Marian feast of 1 January ever existed at Rome in the seventh century (and that, instead, that feast was a later Carolingian invention). What earlier use was made of this Preface, if any, is therefore at present uncertain. This question, in any case, is not our immediate concern (see Moeller, *Corpus Praefationum*, No. 1323, CCSL 161C, p. 404; and notes at CCSL 161D, p. 650). It is worth noting that, in the final sentence of the Preface, the two major mysteries, incarnation and atonement, are once more unified. Through her virginal conception, Mary brings a Saviour to mankind.

388. [Post-communion] For the completion [of the liturgical action]. God, who increases the dignity of the angels by their acts of divine service, enlighten our nothingness in regard to your visitation, so that in your mercy you may have us reach out to that which, through them, you have wonderfully announced: through Our Lord ...

389. Another [post-communion] prayer. Lord, protect your servants with the benefits of peace, and render them, who trust in the patronage of the Blessed Mary, safe from all enemies: through the Lord.

The alternative post-communion prayers can fittingly be taken together. No. 388 mentions neither Gabriel nor Mary. It speaks of the order of angels in general, and the place of angels, with respect to God and man, within the order of the cosmos. The central idea of the prayer is that the glory of creatures is increased by obedience to God, so that humility can transcend the infinite distance between divinity and man's fragile condition ('extremitatem nostram'). The prayer is inspired, in part, by the great Epistle for the Sixth Sunday in Lent (the beginning of Holy Week): Christ 'emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, being born in human likeness. And being found in human form, he humbled himself and became obedient to the point of death – even death on a cross. Therefore God also highly exalted him ...'

(Philippians 2:5-11). While the prayer does not mention Mary, it implicitly relates her obedience (Luke 1:38) to that of the angels and of Christ himself. The stress of the prayer on man's parlous condition ('extremitatem nostram') in relation to the divine visitation is interesting, in the context of the dramatization in the Ruthwell poem of the dilemma of the Cross when faced with Christ who 'willed to mount the gallows' [on the history of the prayer see Moeller, *Corpus Orationum*, II, No. 1541; CCSL 160/A (1993), p. 301].

Chavasse (1958:395) has demonstrated that the alternative prayer, Paduense 389, was adapted, by the addition of its reference to the patronage of the Virgin Mary, from an earlier prayer found in the Leonine Sacramentary and in the Old Gelasian sacramentary [see now also Moeller, *Corpus Orationum*, VII, No. 4756b; CCSL 160/F (1995), p. 201; and compare No. 4756A]. Users of the Vatican sacramentary could therefore choose between using a prayer which placed the Annunciation in a cosmic perspective (No. 388) and one which explicitly prayed to the Blessed Virgin for peace and security against all enemies (presumably, demonic as well as human) (No. 389). If No. 388 looks upwards to the relation of men with angels within the cosmic order, No. 388 looks to man's need for the Virgin's help to achieve peace. The choice of post-communion prayers provides two complementary perspectives on the new feast.

3. *St Martin's on the Vatican and St Martin's of Tours: a Gallican solution to a Roman Problem*

Where did the Vatican liturgist (who may possibly have been John the Arch-chanter) get inspiration for his solution to the liturgical problem which faced him? Partially, it is likely, from the traditions of St Peter's itself. It was at St Peter's that, from its beginnings in the fourth century, the feast of Christmas had been developed in Rome, in successful competition with the

pagan feast on 25 December (the Winter solstice) of the Unconquered Sun. The papal stational Mass on Christmas Day was thus always celebrated at St Peter's. It was at St Peter's, on Christmas morning 451, that Leo the Great preached his great sermon setting forth which symbolic uses of the sun were appropriate to Christians, and which were to be rejected as pagan (Sermon 27, ed. Chavasse 1973; CCSL 138:32-8, especially section 4). On the south side of St Peter's a tall obelisk daily traced the sun's course and reminded pilgrims that, according to the official biography in the *Liber Pontificalis*, St Peter himself had been buried 'in templum Apollinis' (Ó Carragáin 1994:21-22 and Plate 1). St Peter's must have been particularly receptive to new solutions based on the solar cycle in the liturgical year, centred on Christmas.

But the ancient association between St Peter's and solar symbolism was, in the present case, backed up by another tradition with which John the Arch-chanter and his community would certainly have been familiar. John was not merely in charge of the liturgy at St Peter's body: he was also abbot of the monastery which stood just outside the apse of St Peter's. This monastery was dedicated to St Martin of Tours. The great *Decem Libri Historiarum* of Gregory of Tours informed all those interested in the cult of St Martin about the ancient liturgical fasts and vigils celebrated in his city. The sixth bishop of Tours was Perpetuus, a very rich man of a senatorial family. He tore down the basilica which had been built over St Martin's body, and built a much finer one: the body of St Martin lay in its apse. For the city he instituted a cycle of vigils and fasts to be observed throughout the year. These are listed by Gregory of Tours. The vigils include two separate vigils for Easter: one each year, on the variable date of Easter, in the cathedral ('pascha in ecclesia'). The other vigil of Easter took place in the new basilica of St Martin; and it was held on the fixed date of 27 March: 'Sexto Kalendas Aprilis resurrectio Domini nostri Iesu Christi ad basilicam domni Martini' (X, 31; ed. Arndt, p. 445). This fixed date of 27 March was of course determined by the ancient association of the Crucifixion of Christ with 25

March, the spring equinox in the Julian Calendar. John the Arch-chanter and his Vatican community of St Martin's would certainly have known that it was at St Martin's body that the ancient tradition, associating the death and resurrection of Christ with the spring equinox, had been embodied in a public vigil. The Vatican Mass for 25 March therefore united the traditions of St Peter's on the Vatican with the *ordo* of St Martin's at Tours. Of all the possible solutions to the liturgical problem posed by the new lenten feast of the Annunciation, this was the one which the abbot of a monastery dedicated to St Martin would think of. Furthermore, Bede gives us striking evidence of John the Arch-chanter's devotion to St Martin. As we have seen, in 679 John the Arch-chanter travelled from Rome to Wearmouth in the company Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid. When John had fulfilled his mission in Northumbria, he returned to Gaul. There he died; and his body was brought back to Tours:

Because of his great affection for St. Martin over whose monastery [at the Vatican] he presided, his body was taken by his friends to Tours and honourably buried there. He had been hospitably entertained by the church in that place on his way to Britain and had been earnestly asked by the brothers to take that road on his return to Rome and to stay at the same church. In fact they provided him with men to accompany him on his journey and to assist him in his appointed task. (Bede, *HE* 4:16 (18), trans. Colgrave and Mynors p. 391)

4. *The Ruthwell Cross and St Ninian of Whithorn: combining Rome and St Martin*

The central idea with which the extant poem begins, to see the dilemma of the Cross on Good Friday as reminiscent of Mary's dilemma at the Annunciation exactly thirty-three years before, leads us to Rome, and particularly to the Vatican in the late seventh century. But the surviving text is

later - perhaps fifty to sixty years later. It is a very public text: inscribed in great columns of runes on the finest surviving Northumbrian sculptural monument (see fig. 3). This monument, for all its sophistication, was erected, not at Wearmouth nor at any of the great centres of Northumbrian culture, but far to the west, near Solway Firth, in territory which had only recently become Anglo-Saxon. Why should it be in this border area that the poem was given such lapidary prominence, and integrated into the design of such a subtle monument?

The Ruthwell poem is deeply integrated into the design of the great monument. In particular, the iconographic scheme of the monument begins with an Annunciation scene (at the bottom of the shaft of the cross), next to which a Crucifixion scene was later added on the base (Ó Carragáin 1978; 1987-8). The Annunciation scene is not an isolated feature: it begins a programme in which images of conversion (*De caeco nato*, the man blind from birth) and repentance (the *mulier peccatrix*, the woman who was a sinner) are placed between images of the growth of Christ in Mary's womb (the Annunciation below, the Visitation above). The readings *De caeco nato* (John 9:1-38) and *De muliere peccatrice* (Luke 7:36-47) were closely associated, both as pericopes and as antiphons, with the lenten catechumenate, and with lenten repentance and reconciliation (Ó Carragáin 1995). Placing such gospel scenes between images of the growth of Christ in Mary's womb (Annunciation and Visitation) makes sense in the context of the eighth-century Roman lenten liturgy. In Lent, the catechumens (be they adults or infants) were instructed and exorcised in the ceremonies of the scrutinies. Their growth towards Easter baptism was related to the process of growing towards birth. In Lent, the Church was (like Mary) seen as pregnant, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and longing to bring forth her neophytes from the virginal womb of the font. In the scrutiny service of the fourth week of Lent, the presiding liturgist told the catechumens (or, if they were babies, their godparents) that 'already, having conceived you, the pregnant

Church rejoices' ('iam vobis conceptis prignans gloriatur ecclesia': Old Gelasian, ed. Mohlberg 1981: 48). On the vigil of Easter, the presiding liturgist prayed:

Qui hanc aquam regenerandis hominibus praeparatum archano sui luminis admixtione fecundet, ut sanctificatione concepta ab immaculato divini fontis utero in nouam renatam creaturam progenies caelestis emergat, et quos aut sexus in corpore aut aetas discernit in tempore, omnis in una pareat gratia mater infantia ... (Mohlberg 1981: 73).

May [the Holy Spirit] make this water life-giving [*fecundet*], which was prepared for those who are to be reborn: so that, out of the womb of the divine font, a heavenly progeny may come forth, conceived by holiness, and reborn as a newly created being; and so that Mother Church, through grace, may bring to a single birth all those whom previously their gender had divided in body, and age had divided in time.

The earliest versions of the poem were inspired by the rethinking associated with seventh-century liturgical innovations. Now the poem is expanded, and its implications for a Christian community are made explicit, by the great monument's iconographic references to current liturgical practice. The first half of the Ruthwell iconography is based on a brilliant fusion of themes associated with the new Marian feasts of the seventh century and themes associated with the ancient Roman lenten rites of catechumenate and Penance. In the second half of the Ruthwell poem, there are clear references to the Roman Good Friday ceremonies: the followers of Christ come from afar, eager and noble, to the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. The Cross now bows (going against its nature in a new way) to present the body of Christ to his followers. These startlingly original images are likewise expanded, and their relevance to current liturgical practice explained, by the second half of the iconography (see fig. 5). There, eucharistic images predominate, and with them unmistakable references to the liturgical commemoration of the death of Christ at the ninth hour

on Good Friday (Ó Carragáin 1987-8: 42-50). The second half of the Ruthwell iconography is based on a brilliant fusion of at least three elements: 1) references to the Roman Good Friday ceremonies; 2) a reference to the new Roman Mass-chant for the breaking of bread before Communion (the Agnus Dei); and 3) a reference to the way in which, in the Celtic family of monasteries centred on Iona, the breaking of bread for Communion was performed (the hermit saints, Paul and Anthony, break bread in the desert). The public edition of the poem at Ruthwell is given a profoundly coherent public, communal and liturgical setting (Ó Carragáin 1987-8: 50-1).

One of the themes of the Ruthwell Cross is the reconciliation of Roman and Irish liturgical customs (e.g. the way in which the Roman Agnus Dei scene is balanced against the Irish Paul and Anthony scene). This is only one example of a number of references to Irish liturgical or spiritual customs on the monument (Ó Carragáin 1987-8:51-4). Here we can see one important reason why the unique iconographic programme of the cross should be designed so as to complement the great English poem, and so as to reinforce the central concept of that poem, the coincidence of incarnation and Passion on 25 March. In the seventh century, a major source of tension between the Roman and the Irish clerics in Northumbria had been how to calculate the date of Easter. Therefore, in the early eighth century it made excellent eirenic sense to emphasise what the two traditions have in common (Ó Carragáin 1978: 137). Both traditions accepted the widespread patristic tradition that the Crucifixion took place on Friday 25 March, the anniversary of the Annunciation. In the 630s, the Irish writer Cummin approvingly quoted a tract, mistakenly attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, which recorded the tradition (I am grateful to Dr Jennifer O'Reilly for bringing this text to my attention):

In quo mense eduxit Caim Abel iustum in campum ut occideret eum, in tipo Christi educti in pretorium Pilati, in sexta feria; quia in eadem die conceptus creditur in utero, et mortuus est in cruce, dum in sexta feria mortuus est Adam in anima pro peccato in paradiso, et in eadem die obiit in corpore.

In that month [the first = March], on a Friday, Cain led Abel the just into the fields to kill him, in the prefiguration of Christ led into Pilate's praetorium, because it is believed that He was conceived in the womb and that He died on the cross that same day. While Adam also died in spirit for his sin in paradise on a Friday, and died in body on the same day. (Walsh and Ó Cróinín 1988: 88-9)

But the area around Ruthwell had originally been, not Irish territory, but the territory of the British Celtic kingdom of Rheged (see Mac Lean 1992). As we have seen, the ecclesiastical climax of the Anglo-Saxon push westward along the northern shore of Solway Firth was the installation, in 730, of the first Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Whithorn (Pehthelm, the friend of Bede and correspondent with Boniface) (see Cramp 1995). The prestige of Whithorn in the eighth century was based on the tradition that it had been founded in the fifth century by the British saint Ninian. Was the Ruthwell monument at all relevant to the British past of the area, or was it instead (with its Roman and Irish references) an imperialist Anglo-Saxon intrusion, which ignored the Romano-British traditions of the kingdom of Rheged in general, and of Whithorn in particular?

The evidence we have just examined about the originality of the Ruthwell poem, and the relation of this originality to the liturgical achievement of John the Arch-chanter, suggests that the reverse was the case. If we want to know what Anglo-Saxon clerics on Solway Firth in the early eighth century thought they knew about their great British predecessor Ninian, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* provides an excellent summary:

The southern Picts who live on this side of the mountains had, so it is said, long ago given up the errors of idolatry and received the true faith through the preaching of the Word by that reverend and holy man Bishop Ninian, a Briton [de natione Brettonum], who had received orthodox instruction at Rome in the faith and the mysteries of the truth [qui erat Romae regulariter fidem et mysteria ueritatis edoctus]. His episcopal see is celebrated for its

church, dedicated to St. Martin [*sancti Martini episcopi nomine*] where his body rests, together with those of many other saints. The see is now under English rule [*iam Anglorum gens obtinet*]. This place which is in the kingdom of Bernicia is commonly called Whithorn, the White House, because Ninian built a church of stone there, using a method unusual among the Britons [*ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Bretonibus more, fecerit*]. (*HE* 3:4, ed. and trans. Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 222-3)

In the first half of the eighth century, the Northumbrians knew, or thought they knew, three major facts about St Ninian: that he had been to Rome, that he had dedicated his church at Whithorn to St Martin of Tours, and that he built 'more Romano', in stone. It is in the context of these three facts that we can see a specific reason why an edition of the English crucifixion poem should be given such a public setting, as the narrative core of a brilliantly original iconographic scheme sculpted in stone, precisely on the northern shore of Solway Firth: as it were, on the Northumbrian high road to Whithorn. The Vatican liturgists had, in the 670s, solved a major liturgical problem by brilliantly fusing the traditions of St Peter's with the traditions of St Martin of Tours. The way in which (at the time of John the Arch-Chanter) the Vatican itself could incorporate elements of the liturgy of St Martin at Tours, was a later equivalent of that catholic eclecticism which Bede praised in the life of St Ninian. Ninian, on his return from Rome, had dedicated his basilica at Whithorn to the great Gallic saint, Martin. As we have seen, the writings of Gregory of Tours made it widely known that a major peculiarity, dating from the fifth-century, of the liturgy of Tours was that the basilica of St Martin's at Tours celebrated a fixed Easter on 27 March; and we have seen that knowledge of this tradition could have been confirmed by visits to Tours by Northumbrian liturgists (such as Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid). This fixed Easter took its meaning solely in relation to the solar cycle incorporated into the Christian liturgical year: in this solar cycle, Christ's conception and death (Friday 25 March) took place at the Spring equinox, and his

nativity took place at the Winter solstice (25 December). Christ's incarnation (and his death) were therefore associated with the 'growing days', the Spring equinox and the Winter Solstice, both seasons on which the sun began to grow and to conquer the darkness. These two feasts of Christ were never understood in isolation. They were balanced by two feasts of Christ's cousin, John the Baptist. John was the only saint whose birth-day (rather than the anniversary of his death) was from the beginning of his cult a major liturgical feast. The scriptural background for this unique feature of the cult of John the Baptist was a coherent and rich web of associations, in the gospels, between the two cousins, John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth. John the Baptist was conceived 6 months before Christ (Luke 1:36), and his vocation was to go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways (Luke 1:76; Matthew 3:3). John was the fulfillment of Malachy's prophecy (Malachy 4:5): 'See, I am sending my messenger ahead of you [*Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam*], who will prepare your way before you' (Matthew 11:10). John was not himself the Light, but was to give testimony concerning the Light (John 1:8-9). The Baptist's prophetic role was built into the liturgical year: his conception (24 September: **VIII Kal. Octobris**) and birth (24 June: **VIII Kal. Iulii**) were celebrated on the 'lessening days' [*'diebus decrecentibus'*], the autumnal equinox and summer solstice; for in John's gospel (3:30) John the Baptist said of his relationship with Christ that 'he must increase; but I must decrease' (Ó Carragáin 1987:36).

The upper part of the Ruthwell Cross is adorned, on both sides, with balanced images of the relationship between John the Baptist and his cousin Jesus of Nazareth. In the first of the two scenes, the beginning of their relationship is dramatized: the scene of the Visitation (see figs. 3 and 4). In the Ruthwell panel, Elizabeth (to the right of the scene) lays her hands on Mary's womb. The moment depicted is clearly that of Luke 1:41-5:

When Elizabeth heard Mary's greeting the child leaped in her womb. And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit and exclaimed with a loud cry,

"Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb. And why has this happened to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For as soon as I heard the sound of your greeting, the child in my womb leapt for joy. And blessed is she who believed that there would be a fulfillment of what was spoken to her by the Lord."

In the Ruthwell panel, the figure on the left (Mary?) reciprocates Elizabeth's gesture: her hands touch the womb of her pregnant cousin (see fig. 4). Her head is half-turned outward towards the spectator, whereas, in contrast, the figure on the right (Elizabeth) gazes towards her (I am grateful to my colleague Dr Jane Hawkes for help with the iconographic details of this panel). The way in which Mary's upper body turns outwards to the spectator dramatizes her eloquent response to this prophetic greeting: her great canticle, the Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55). As every religious community sang the Magnificat each evening at Vespers, the canticle was utterly familiar to any cleric, who would instantly have appreciated the significance of the panel's very physical details.

At the opposite side of the cross, at the same level as the Visitation panel, we get the end of the story (see fig. 5). John the Baptist is here presented as an adult, and as glorified. He is dressed in liturgical robes: an ample pallium is crossed, behind his hands, over his tunic and across his breast. John stands on two globes (a symbol of glorification, and of association with the deity). In his left arm he supports a standing lamb: the reference is clearly to the Agnus Dei, which under Pope Sergius (687-701) had been incorporated into the Roman Mass for the breaking of bread for communion. The index-finger of John's right hand points across his body to indicate the Lamb cradled in his left arm. We clearly have here a representation of the present situation of John the Baptist in the liturgical life of the Ruthwell community. Even though he is now glorified, the panel indicates that he still lives by his basic principle, that 'He must grow greater, I must grow less' (John 3:30). The words in which he once acclaimed the Lamb of God (John 1:29) had by now

(in the eighth century) been transformed into an urgent prayer sung at every Mass by the whole community: 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, misere-re nobis'. In the panel, John has not been glorified for his own sake, but for the sake of the lamb and for the sake of acting as mediator or messenger (*angelus*: see Matthew 11:10, quoted above), for the Lamb to mankind. His supporting arm provides for the Agnus Dei a throne. His pointing finger provides a mute but eloquent guarantee that a liturgical community can with confidence use John's own words to implore the Lamb for mercy, who by his death on the Cross still every day takes away the sins of the world.

From the early eighth century, John's relationship with Christ became a feature of every Roman mass; at least a century earlier, it had come to mark into quadrants the solar cycle within each liturgical year. In her excellent book on Tours, Luce Pietri has examined their fixed Easter on 27 March (1983: 451-3), and how their cycle of feasts of the Baptist changed from the fifth to the seventh centuries (pp. 462-5). The cult of John the Baptist had always been particularly associated at Tours with that of St Martin. It seems likely that it was St Martin himself who provided Tours with its relics of the Baptist: he may have acquired them from St Ambrose of Milan (pp. 490-1). Thus, not only the vigil of 27 March, but also the vigils of St John were celebrated at St Martin's basilica. The Baptist's relics were kept at the old baptistery of that basilica, built by Perpetuus; and later transferred to its new baptistery, built by Gregory of Tours (pp. 368-405). The fifth-century *ordo* of vigils prescribed by Perpetuus mentions three churches: the cathedral (*ecclesia*), St Martin's basilica, and that of SS Peter and Paul. I give the first half of the *ordo*, noting in italics the Vigils at St Martin's:

Natale Domini in ecclesia.

Epiphania in ecclesia.

Natale sancti Iohannis ad basilicam domni Martini.

Natale sancti Petri episcopatus ad ipsius basilicam.

Sexto Kalendas Aprilis resurrectio Domini nostri Iesu Christi ad basilicam domni Martini.

Pascha in ecclesia.

Die ascensionis in basilica domni Martini.

Die quinquagesimo in ecclesia.

Passio sancti Iohannis ad basilicam in baptisterio.

Natale sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ad ipsorum basilicam.

Natale sancti Martini ad eius basilicam. ... (Gregory of Tours, X 31, ed. Arndt, p. 445).

The prominence of the cult of Peter and Paul at Tours is also striking: a cult celebrated in their own basilica (built by Perpetuus himself). It is clear that if, in the early eighth century, an Anglo-Saxon liturgical community wanted to see themselves as the true successors of St Ninian, one way for them to do this would be to construct in stone, *more Romano*, in a style unknown hitherto to the Britons: precisely as Ninian was believed to have done. But they may have felt that it was still better to shape their own liturgical life on the model St Ninian had left them: to internalise, as it were, the legacy of St Ninian into their own communal spirituality. The way to do this would have been to combine, as he did, the traditions of Rome with the traditions of St Martin at Tours. In the work of John the Arch-chanter, and in his devotion to St Martin, they had a recent example of how to do this. From the end of the seventh century, Northumbrians had sung versions of a brilliant English poem inspired by the way the Vatican had incorporated into its liturgy a custom of St Martin's at Tours, so as to see '*Adnuntiatio Domini et Passio Eiusdem*' as a unified event. It made good sense for an Anglo-Saxon *monasteriolum* on the North bank of Solway Firth to incorporate such eirenic insights into their communal life, and to make them central to their liturgical practice. It made sense for them to design, in their great stone monument, a moving epitome of this rich and generous spirituality. The monument, of which the poem forms an essential and well-integrated element, subtly subverts any facile reading of it as a politically inspired imperialist beacon. The cross transcends racial and ecclesiastical dividing lines. It fuses

Gallican, British, Irish, Germanic and Roman traditions into a rich unity that is truly catholic.

5. *A continuous tradition of interpretation: the Ruthwell poem and the Vercelli "Dream of the Rood"*

If the Ruthwell poem is a special edition of older songs, carefully planned for its iconographic and local setting on Solway Firth, then it is likely that the English vernacular poetic tradition of rethinking the death of Christ in this way did not spread from Ruthwell but from some more central monastery: perhaps Wearmouth-Jarrow, proud of the tradition John the Arch-chanter had left it; or Whitby, proud of the tradition of Hild and Caedmon; or Wilfrid's Hexham, Ripon or York, devoted to their Roman links and to the cult of the Virgin; or the Malmesbury of Aldhelm, who had educated Bishop Pethelm of Whithorn. Nevertheless, when we turn from the Ruthwell poem to its much longer descendant, the Vercelli *Dream of the Rood*, one is immediately struck by the fidelity with which *Dream* preserves and develops the interpretation of the core narrative suggested by the earliest seventh-century and eighth-century contexts which we have just examined. The Cross explicitly associates itself with Mary: it presents the honour given to it precisely in terms of the honour given to Mary (see Ó Carragáin 1982:492). Lines 78-94, in which the cross sums up the significance of its experience, have every right to be called the Cross's Magnificat. In the Magnificat, Mary sums up in three striking paradoxes the way in which the incarnation of Christ has brought a revolution in human history, and in particular in who, among mankind, is important in God's eyes:

He has shown strength with his arm;
he has scattered the proud in the thoughts of their hearts.

He has brought down the powerful from their thrones,
and lifted up the lowly.
He has filled the hungry with good things,
and sent the rich away empty. (Luke 1:51-3)

Similarly, the Cross sums up its experience in three paradoxes: 1) Once it endured great grief and sorrow, but now men, and all this glorious creation, honour it and pray to it (lines 78-83a); 2) on it once the Sun of God suffered for a time, and therefore it now towers powerful under the heavens and can heal all those who revere it (83b-86); 3) once it had become the hardest of tortures, most hateful to men, before it showed mankind the true way of life (87-9). After her three paradoxes, Mary identifies her own experience with that of Israel: what God has done to her is a sign of His fidelity to his people from the time of Abraham:

He has helped his servant Israel,
in remembrance of His mercy,
according to the promise he made to our ancestors,
to Abraham and to his descendants forever. (Luke 1:54-5)

As Mary looks back to Abraham, so now the Cross looks back to Mary: the Lord of Glory has honoured the cross over all hill-trees, even as he honoured Mary over all women, for the sake of all mankind (lines 90-4).

Previous details in the *Dream* have prepared the reader for this explicit comparison between the Cross's experience and that of Mary. In its expanded account of the encounter between Christ and the Cross, there are at least two details which recall the Annunciation scene: reminiscences not found in the Ruthwell poem. The Cross says it could not move or break 'against the word of the Lord' ('ofer dryhtnes word', 35), a clear reminiscence of the Lucan phrase 'secundum verbum tuum' (1:38). Similarly, the way the Cross trembles when the warrior-Christ embraces it ('bifode ic þa me se

beorn ymbclypte', 42) is reminiscent of Mary's disturbance at the angel's message: 'but she was much perplexed by his words [turbata est in sermone eius] and pondered what sort of message this might be', Luke 1:29 (Ó Carragáin 1982: 497).

If in the crucifixion narrative of the *Dream* the Cross still presents its experience on Calvary in terms reminiscent of Mary's experience at the Annunciation, in the dream frame the cross, now glorified, takes on the role of angel, of messenger. In the dream-frame, the mission of the glorified Cross is to announce the significance of the events of 25 March to the Dreamer, and to encourage him to become messenger in his turn: to announce these events to other men (lines 95-9). Thus in the opening vision the visionary tree (of the Cross) is called 'the angel of the Lord':

beheoldon þær engel dryhtnes
ealle fægere þurh forðgesceaft (9-10).

[all fair beings throughout time and creation beheld the angel of the Lord there] (Ó Carragáin 1982: 498). In the opening part of the poem from which this sentence comes, a number of details identify the Cross with Christ: e.g., the five gems of lines 8-9 recall Christ's five wounds; and the visionary tree sweats (or, bleeds) on the right side, as Christ was seen to be wounded by the spear on the right side (Ó Carragáin 1983). To call the visionary tree 'engel dryhtnes' is to identify the visionary tree with Christ, who was identified with the 'magni consilii angelus' of the Old Latin text of Isaiah 9:6 (Helder 1975: 149; Burlin 1968: 102). This identification of Christ as the 'angel' or 'messenger', of God the Father to men, was driven home in every single Mass. In the canon of the Roman Mass, Christ was presented as the angel who in the heavenly liturgy, on behalf of mankind, would himself bring the consecrated host of his body and blood to present to God the Father:

Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, iube haec perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae, ut quot-quot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumperimus omni benedictione caelesti et gratia repleamur. Per christum dominum nostrum. (Deshusses 1971 1: 90)

We humbly beseech you, almighty God, command these [offerings] to be brought by the hands of your angel into your altar on high, into the sight of your divine majesty, so that each time that we receive the most sacred body and blood of your son through participation in this altar we may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace. Through Christ our Lord.

The identification of the visionary tree/Cross with Christ as 'the angel of the Lord' is an important source of unity within the dream-vision frame of the poem. As a result of his vision the Dreamer, at the end of the poem, also trusts that the Cross-angel will bring him to heaven: 'will take me from this transitory life, and bring me where there is great happiness, eternal joy in heaven, where the people of the Lord is seated at the feast; and that he will set me down there, where henceforth I may dwell in glory, and participate in joy with the holy ones' (lines 138-44a). In that later passage, as in the opening vision, the poem closely associates the Cross with Christ: there the verse moves from 'Dryhtnes rod' ('the Lord's cross', 136b) to 'sy me Dryhten freond' ('may the Lord be a friend to me', 144b). The return of the Cross to mankind as 'engel Dryhtnes' is an expression in the *Dream* of the impulse, central to the liturgy itself, not to see the Crucifixion in isolation, but in the context of the whole intervention of God in human history in the person of Christ.

This desire, to see the event of Christ as a unity, is the aspect of the Vercelli *Dream* which is most faithful to the Ruthwell poem (and also to the iconographic context provided for that poem on the Ruthwell monument). As we have seen, it was the reason why the seventh-century Vatican liturgi-

sts explicitly celebrated 25 March as the feast of the incarnation as well as the Passion of Christ: so that, to quote their great collect, 'we, to whom the incarnation of Christ your Son was made known by the message of an angel may, by his Passion and Cross, be brought to the glory of his resurrection, through Christ our Lord'. The Vercelli poem uses all the devices of rhetoric to express the unity of Christ's actions, most explicitly in the expository second half of the poem (lines 78-156). It relates the death and resurrection of Christ both to the death of Adam and to the Last Judgement (lines 99-105: see now Susan Irvine 1997); and in the last lines of the poem the whole action of Christ is seen as an heroic expedition in which He set mankind free (lines 144-56). The Vercelli *Dream* not only preserves and expands the central narrative as we find it edited in the Ruthwell poem; it provides, in lines 78-156, an explicit interpretation of it. This interpretation is faithful, at once to the Ruthwell poem and its iconographic context, and also to the seventh-century Vatican liturgical insight which, I have argued, inspired the earliest versions of the poem: the brilliant decision to celebrate during Lent, on a single day and in a single perspective, the incarnation of Christ and His Passion: 'incarnationem simul et passionem redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi' (Paduense 386).

6. *A canon's book at the shrine of St Eusebius: the appropriateness of the Vercelli Book to Vercelli:*

The Vercelli scribe, or perhaps a patron-editor for whom the scribe worked, decided to include verse texts at three different parts of his collection. In Booklet C, an independent group of two quires (Quires 18-19) bound at the end of the present Vercelli Book, the poem *Elene* was supplemented by a short excerpt from a vernacular prose translation of part of the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* (this excerpt is called Homily XXIII). The Guthlac excerpt

provides at least two considerations which would have been helpful to a meditative reader who had just worked his way through *Elene*. Whereas in *Elene* the protagonist, Judas, has to fast for a week under the supervision of St Helena before he is converted, in the Guthlac excerpt the idea of a solitary (and thus unsupervised) hermit fasting for a week is presented as a temptation of devils, and rejected. Whereas in *Elene* even the good and just have to suffer purging flames before they attain heaven, at the end of the Guthlac excerpt the Apostle St Bartholomew appears as psychopomp to carry Guthlac straight to heaven. It is reasonable therefore to see the Guthlac excerpt as providing material which softened the rigours of certain aspects of the poem *Elene*. It is particularly interesting to note, in the final lines of the Guthlac excerpt, the recurrence of a psychopomp, who leads Guthlac to heaven. The *Dream of the Rood* (lines 138-44a) has shown this to be a recurring preoccupation of the Vercelli scribe (or perhaps of his patron); and, indeed, the theme recurs in Homily XV (Ó Carragáin 1981:70-8).

There are no verse texts in Booklet A, an independent group of three quires bound at the beginning of the present Vercelli Book. Verse occurs at two points in Booklet B (quires 4-17, fols 25-120). The set of continuous verse lections, now known as *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles*, were copied in after Homily V and followed by Homily VI. Both of these homilies tell of Christmas and the Advent season. *Fates* seems to have been considered by the compiler simply as a single-lection epilogue to the longer poem telling of an apostle's exploits. To copy *Andreas-Fates* between Homily V and Homily VI made good sense: the feast of St Andrew fell on 30 November, that is, always close to the first Sunday of Advent. By the time he had copied in Homily VI, therefore, the compiler had created quite an extensive and coherent booklet suitable for reading during the Advent season, i.e. the season in which the incarnation of Christ was celebrated. He rounded off this extensive Advent-booklet by a short ascetic homily (VII) and no less than three accounts of the Last Judgement (VIII-X): the unity of

these additional items was emphasised by the scribe's decision to place a Roman numeral (.ii.-.vi.) at the end of each of the homilies VI-X. By this stage in Booklet B, the compiler had created a large and coherent booklet in which prose and verse relevant to the first Advent of Christ was complemented by no less than three urgent homilies describing the signs and events of Christ's imminent second coming.

It was a central preoccupation of the Vercelli compiler to ensure the regular recurrence throughout the manuscript of material describing the Last Things (death, Judgement, hell or heaven: eschatological material). Thus, when at the end of his great Advent booklet (Homilies V-X) the compiler decided to copy further ascetic homilies (in the main, rogationtide homilies: Homilies XI-XIV), he supplemented them, from a separate exemplar, with 'ALIA OMELIA DE DIE IVDICII' (fol. 80v, Homily XV). This separate exemplar then provided him with two homilies relevant to the incarnation and infancy of Christ: Homily XVI ('OMELIA EPYFFANIA DOMINI', fol. 85v) and Homily XVII ('De PURIFICATIONE . SANCTA MARIA', fol. 90v). It is interesting to note that, within the diverse items of Booklet B, further opportunities to copy in more material dealing with the incarnation and infancy of Christ were not missed. The same exemplar finally provided the compiler with his first Saint's Life (Homily XVIII: DE SANCTO MARTINO CONFESSORE, fol. 94v). After this homily the compiler copied in the verse texts on 101v-6r, which include *The Dream of the Rood*. It is intriguing, though no doubt purely coincidental, to find the *Dream*, the earliest ancestors of which were partially inspired by the liturgy of Tours, also in the company of the life of St Martin in the Vercelli Book.

We can be fairly confident of the reason why the Vercelli compiler decided to include in his collection the homily on St Martin. It answered his preoccupation with the Last Things: it ended with an extended account of St Martin's happy death. We can be pretty sure that this theme was at the forefront of the compiler's mind, because he immediately followed the St Martin

homily with an untitled verse lection which begins: 'Indeed, it behoves every man to meditate for himself about the journey of his soul: how terrible it will be when death comes, and when the relationship which previously united soul and body will be broken' (fol. 101v: *Soul and Body I*, lines 1-5). We have here another example of the compiler's practice of balancing texts against each other. Ordinary men cannot count on having a happy death like the great St Martin: instead, they must prepare actively for death, so as to avoid the damnation that faces the evil soul. *Soul and Body I* dramatizes, first, the terrible situation of the damned soul, which curses its body which has led it to damnation. The second verse lection, fol. 103r (lines 127ff.) then dramatizes the happy situation of the saved soul. This joyful soul praises its body, whose asceticism has led the soul to heaven. Both of these dialogues take place at midnight; they are set in the period after the death of the body: and an important theme of *Soul and Body I* is that, after death, the fate of the soul is fixed. It will be too late, then, to repent. (Ó Carragáin 1981:88-9)

A missing folio after fol. 103 has deprived us of the end of *Soul and Body I* and of the beginning of *Homiletic Fragment I*, the third verse-lection in the sequence. But the end of *Homiletic Fragment*, on fol. 104r-v, is set in the present time, i.e. the time in which there is still a chance to repent. The theme of the extant verse is that repentance is an urgent necessity, but that you can not trust anyone: in these last days of the world, all men are insincere and corrupt. Repentance is necessary therefore, but it is a lonely and uncertain matter. At this point we have a striking example of the compiler's desire to copy in texts which answer the spiritual problems posed by the preceding texts. To the grim series of three verse lections we have just examined, the compiler added a fourth. This verse lection was (like *Soul and Body*) set at midnight. Like *Homiletic Fragment*, it dealt with the problems of isolation, depression and old age. To these problems it provided an optimistic solution: the best of dreams. Instead of the corrupt men of the last days of the world, it provided a glorious and eloquent patron who can be tru-

sted to act as psychopomp, bringing to heaven the man who remained devoted to it. That fourth lection, which comes directly after *Homiletic Fragment*, is *The Dream of the Rood* (fol. 104v/7-106r/32). (Ó Carragáin 1981:89-90)

It is clear, then, that in *The Dream of the Rood* we have a poem designed for private reading. It occurs in the context of urgent private meditation on the Last Things. The immediate occasion for copying the *Dream* into Booklet B was certainly the compiler's care to ensure the regular recurrence of urgent eschatological material at regular intervals throughout his collection. In particular, the compiler's immediate concern was to provide, after the account of the happy death of St Martin in Homily XVIII, a series of lections which enabled him more closely to imagine the circumstances of his own death. The *Dream*, the final lection of the series, encouraged him to pray to a patron which would bring him to heaven on his death. This patron was the Holy Cross, the angel-messenger and symbol of the victory of Christ, who was himself the 'magni consilii angelus'.

The end of Booklet B, and indeed the text of *The Dream of the Rood* itself, provides striking evidence of the consistency and urgency of the Vercelli compiler's preoccupations. The consistent and expansive layout of fol. 104v (the last page of Quire 14) shows that the collector originally copied out the *Dream* at the same time as *Soul and Body* and *Homiletic Fragment*, and as part of the same batch of copying: there is no sign of crowding in the first 21 lines of the *Dream* which are written on fol. 104v, and similar forms of *positura* occur in the text of the *Dream* on fol. 104v as in the texts of the preceding poems. At a later period, the compiler did a remarkable thing. He *recopied* the bulk of *The Dream of the Rood* (lines 22-156) on to the first folios of a new quire (Quire 15: the *Dream* was recopied onto fols 105r-106r). The scribe ruled this new quire for 32 and 33 lines per page; but on the final page of the quire (fol. 111v) he used only 31 lines, and he fills out the last line by very long descenders. This was a masking procedure: it is clear that the scribe was endeavouring to splice his text into a text already

written on the following quire (unfortunately, the first page of Quire 16 is now lost). Quire 15 is in every sense irregular, as Celia Sisam pointed out (1976: 39). Throughout the quire, the scribe has crowded the text in various ways, so as to fill the quire with a specific amount of text. As Celia Sisam has shown, the only explanation can be that the scribe had already copied out the material now recopied onto Quire 15, as well as its sequel on Quires 16-17. The scribe, at a later stage, decided to splice all of this material onto what we now know as Booklet B of the Vercelli Book. Therefore the scribe had to carefully crowd his material in Quire 15 so that it would lead, relatively smoothly, on to the already-copied material in Quires 16 and 17.

In short, the scribe went to a considerable amount of effort to add the material in quires 15-17 to what we now know as the Vercelli Book. Why was it so important to him to end his Booklet B with this material? The key is, almost certainly, the recurring spiritual preoccupations of the compiler. After *The Dream of the Rood* we have a unified set of homilies (XIX-XXI). They are ascetic in nature, and have references to Rogationtide. The set of three homilies ends with a brief but vivid account, in rhythmic prose, of the Last Judgement (end of Homily XXI). This, one might think, would satisfy the compiler's desire to ensure throughout his collection the regular recurrence of meditations on the Last Things. But that was not enough to satisfy him. The feature of the added quires that decided the compiler to splice this separate booklet to the Vercelli Booklet B was probably the last prose text, a text which he had already added after Homily XXI. This prose text, now called Homily XXII, is untitled; but the *incipit* of the text of this prose meditation conveniently describes its contents: 'here it tells us how Saint Isidore spoke about the parting of the soul and the body' (fol. 116v). That *incipit*, I believe, provides the key to understanding why the scribe went to such efforts to add these new items (Homilies XIX-XXII) at the end of Booklet B. The scribe wished to include these homilies, which ended with a long and authoritative meditation (based on St Isidore of Seville) on the parting of the

Soul and the Body, in his long booklet B. His reason was probably that Booklet B (before he spliced on quires 15-17) had already ended with verse lections (101v-) which included the verse *Soul and Body*.

It is easy to understand why the Vercelli Book was brought on pilgrimage: it provided a wealth of ascetic material suitable for private reading or for reading (or perhaps, in the case of the poems, chanting) to a group of pilgrims. The recurring preoccupations of the original compiler would have been, after his death, suitable preoccupations of a group of pilgrims. Pilgrimage, after all, was always considered a suitable preparation for death: the custom of pilgrimage was an enactment of the Christian idea that we have not here an abiding city, but should seek that which is to come (cf. Hebrews 13:14). The primary reason why the book was brought to Italy, therefore, must be seen in the regular recurrence, throughout the collection, of material dealing with the Last Things: death, Judgement, hell and heaven. In addition, in *Andreas* the pilgrims would have had a long poem about an apostle who for the sake of Christ ventured among dangerous foreigners, sustained by Christ's help and spoken encouragement. In *Elene*, the pilgrims had a poem about the first great Christian pilgrim saint, who went to the Holy Land and brought back, to Constantinople and to Rome, the relics of the Holy Places. In *The Dream of the Rood*, finally, the pilgrims had a poem in which the Holy Cross itself spoke: one could hardly imagine a better text for those who hoped, at Rome, to visit the relics of the Holy Cross at St Peter's, at the Chapel of the Cross at the Lateran, or at the basilica (founded by Helena herself and filled with the relics she brought) of Holy Cross in Jerusalem.

But is there any particular reason why the Vercelli Book should have finally ended up in Vercelli? Robert Boenig has argued (1978:127-34; 1991:55-77) that the book was brought to Vercelli for the Council of Vercelli in 1075, so that the teachings in *Andreas* on the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist could there be submitted for approval. Boenig's theory may safely

be dismissed. *Andreas* is not so precise in its language that the references in it to the Eucharist can easily be reduced to technical doctrinal affirmations, neither orthodox nor heretical. Above all, the theory founders on the complete absence from the text of *Andreas* of any glosses (in Latin or in the vernacular) which might suggest that it was used, or worried about, in the eleventh century in this technical way. The most attractive theory still remains that of Luigi Avonto (1973), that the book was used at Vercelli in the hospice of St Brigid of the Irish (founded by Canon Bonfiglio in the eleventh century), and that it was placed for use there by an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim or group of pilgrims.

But there is a particular aptness in the fact that just such a book as this should have ended up, by the eleventh century, in Vercelli. By the eleventh century it must have been seen as an old-fashioned collection, with its peculiar combination of verse and prose texts (Sisam 1953: 118). It was above all one man's book: of the four great collections of Old English poetry to survive, it is the one where we can most clearly see the recurring, almost obsessive, preoccupations of a single compiler. It was not a book suitable for communal use. Headings were few and sporadic, rubrics (headings assigning an item to a particular liturgical use) still more rare. The only way to find your way around the book was to get to know it gradually, item by item, reading prose and verse together so as to appreciate the way in which one item balanced another. The relations between most items were private and devotional: a matter of personal taste. It is precisely the personal nature of the compilation, the likelihood that it reflects the devotional tastes of one single person in tenth-century England, that may link the Vercelli Book specifically to Vercelli. Even though the compiler could draw on a wide range of sources, there is little in the Vercelli collection to indicate that it was produced by an organized scriptorium. Words like 'cottage industry' and 'a home-made collection' come to mind to describe the stages by which the collection of texts was gradually brought together. The Vercelli collector may have come

from an ancient foundation, a place where English vernacular devotional texts in prose and verse had been circulating for a long period: Donald Scragg (1992: lxxviii-lxxix) interestingly suggests St Augustine's, Canterbury. Nevertheless, the idiosyncratic nature of the compilation seems to indicate that the foundation, wherever it was, was then in a stage earlier than the reforms of the reign of Edgar - indeed, that it was then the sort of place against which the reforms of Edgar were directed. Eric John has shown that one of the crucial issues at stake in these reforms was whether the clerics attached to major ecclesiastical foundations should be allowed to own personal property, or whether all property (and this would include books) should be owned and used by the community as a whole (John 1966: 164-72). The holding of property *quasi propria* was the aspect of older English monasticism which Edgar and his mentor Æpelwold most firmly opposed. For example,

a late Worcester source, an inquest of 1093, which was based on earlier documents, claimed that, before the conversion of Worcester, the clerks had held the endowment in individual prebends, *quasi propria*, and that the conversion of Worcester meant that each clerk gave up what he had formerly regarded as his own to a common fund. In other words, conversion at Worcester entailed the clubbing together of a number of individual prebends, the communalization of the endowment. The Ramsay Chronicle says much the same thing. (Eric John 1966: 164)

Eric John considers that these sources, though late, 'speak the truth' (p. 164) about the impact of the reforms of Edgar on the individual monks. He quotes further evidence to show that 'property-holding by men called monks *quasi propria* was taken for granted in pre-Viking England' (p. 165), and was only abolished by the reformers, acting in unity with the King.

We certainly cannot be dogmatic about the conditions under which the Vercelli compiler worked. However, from the evidence of its contents,

layout and language, the Vercelli Book could not inappropriately be called a personal collection, 'liber quasi proprius'. It is not impossible that it belonged to a clerk living under the older monastic dispensation, or still clinging to its habits and procedures (or lack of set procedures). There is no sign in the book that its compiler lived the full community life enjoined in the *Regularis Concordia*. The scribe, for all the wide range of sources which he drew on, does not seem to have been a member of the sort of scriptorium which presumes a highly organized community life. The collector may even have been married; one might detect an uxorious note in a passage in Homily VII addressed to women, warning them that washing too often ('oftþweale') and the use of make-up ('smyringe') is bad for the health and saps your strength (fol. 58r: Homily VII, ed. Scragg 1992:136 lines 72-6). In fact, though for convenience I have referred to the Vercelli Collector as 'he', it is not impossible that she may have been a nun (as suggested by Celia Sisam 1976:44).

If the manuscript was associated with pre-reform clericalism (both from the old-fashioned nature of its contents and from the idiosyncratic nature of its organisation), then it is understandable that a group of pilgrims on their way to Italy should be allowed to take the book away with them. We have seen that a preoccupation with old age and death is found, not only in *The Dream of the Rood* itself, but throughout the collection. If the pilgrims who brought the book to Italy included in their group one or more old clerics, who had once lived under the old order and who had felt more at home with it, then it is very understandable that they would have made for Vercelli first of all (whether or not they intended to press on further to Rome). Our discussion of the possible influence of St Martin of Tours on the earliest Vatican liturgy, and hence on the earliest versions of the poem edited on the Ruthwell Cross, has shown us the importance for religious in the middle ages of patron saints and the various forms of communal life associated with them. But Vercelli was known above all as the shrine of St Eusebius [d. 371; bishop of

Vercelli from 340: on St Eusebius and his cult see now the conference proceedings ed. by Enrico dal Covolo and others 1997, esp. 339-45 (by Lorenzo Dattrino) and 399-408 (by Mario Capellino)]. Eusebius was the patron saint of canons: clerics who lived in community, with their bishop, but who did not need to live the highly organized communal life of benedictine monasticism, influenced by the Carolingian reforms of Benedict of Aniane, and regulated in England by the *Regularis Concordia*. The person who brought the old-fashioned Vercelli manuscript to Italy preserved in *The Dream of the Rood* a devotional tradition (a unique way of understanding the Crucifixion) which has led us back to the origins of the Northumbrian church and to the earliest contacts between Christian Northumbria and Rome. That person is likely to have been a lover of old things, and of old ways of doing things. We can only speculate on such matters: but it is at least possible that, in Vercelli itself, an Anglo-Saxon reader of the Vercelli Book, when old and down at heart ('feala ealra gebad / langunghwila', *Dream* 125-6: 'I endured many periods of spiritual disturbance') may have prayed in his solitude ('ana, oftor þonne ealle men': *Dream*, 128: 'alone, more often than all men') not only to the Holy Cross but to the great bishop who had affirmed the validity of the way of life of canons (communal but, unlike post-Carolingian monasticism, not too highly communalized): St Eusebius of Vercelli.

REFERENCES

- AMBROSIASTER: *Quaestiones Veteris et Noui Testamenti*, ed. A. SOUTER (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 50) (Vienna, 1908).
 AVONTO, Luigi 1973 *L'Ospedale di S. Brigida degli Scoti e il "Vercelli Book"*, Vercelli.

- BOENIG, Robert Ernest 1978 *"Andreas" and doctrinal controversy in the early middle ages* (Ph.D. thesis, State University of New Jersey). New Brunswick. UMI microfilms 7910368.
- BOENIG, Robert Ernest 1991 *Saint and hero: "Andreas" and medieval doctrine*. Lewisburg, London and Toronto.
- BAUMSTARK, Anton 1923 'Die geschichtliche Stellung der Oration: Gratiam tuam quaesumus Domine', *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 3, 108-110.
- BEDE: COLGRAVE, Bertram, and MYNORS, R.A.B. 1969 (ed., trans.) *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford.
- BEDE: PLUMMER, Charles 1896 (ed.) *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*. 2 vols. Oxford.
- BURLIN, Robert B. 1968 *The Old English Advent: a typological commentary* (Yale studies in English, 168). Yale.
- CHAVASSE, Antoine 1958 *Le Sacramentaire Gélisien (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VIIe siècle* (Bibliothèque de théologie, IV; Histoire de la Théologie, vol. 1). Paris and Tournai.
- CHAVASSE, Antoine 1973 (ed.) *Sancti Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis Tractatus Septem et Nonaginta*. 2 vols (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 138, 138/A). Turnhout.
- CHAVASSE, Antoine 1995 *Les ancêtres du Missale Romanum (1570)* (Studia Anselmiana, 118 = Analecta Liturgica, 20). Rome.
- CRAMP, Rosemary 1995 *Whithorn and the Northumbrian expansion westwards* (Third Whithorn Lecture, 17th September 1994). Whithorn.
- CUBITT, Catherine 1995 *Anglo-Saxon church councils c. 650-c.850*. London and New York.
- DAL COVOLO, Enrico, UGLIONE, Renato and VIAN, Giovanni M. 1997 (ed.) *Eusebio di Vercelli e il suo tempo* (Biblioteca di scienze religiose, 133). Roma.
- DAVIS, Wendy 1998 *Whithorn and the world* (Sixth Whithorn lecture, 16th September, 1997). Whithorn.
- DESHUSSES, Jean 1971 *Le Sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les manuscrits les plus anciens*. 3 vols. Fribourg-en-Suisse.
- DUCHESNE, Louis 1886-92 (ed.) *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886-92), reprinted with a third volume, *Additions et corrections de Mgr L. Duchesne*, ed. Cyrille Vogel (Paris, 1981).

- FRÉNAUD, Georges 1961 'Le culte de Notre-Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine', VI (1961), pp. 157-211 in Hubert DU MANOIR (ed.) *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, 8 vols (Paris, 1949-71).
- GRIERSON, Herbert 1933 (ed.) *John Donne: poetical works*. Oxford.
- GUILMARD, Jacques-Marie 1994 'Une antique fête mariale au 1 janvier dans la ville de Rome?', *Ecclesia Orans* 11, 25-67.
- HELDER, Willem 1975 'The Engel dryhtnes in *The Dream of the Rood*', *Modern Philology* 73, 148-50.
- HILL, Peter 1997 *Whithorn and St Ninian. The Excavation of a monastic town, 1984-91*. Stroud.
- IRVINE, Susan 1997 'Adam or Christ? A pronominal pun in *The Dream of the Rood*', *Review of English studies*, n.s. 48, No. 192, pp. 433-47.
- JOHN, Eric 1966 'The King and the monks in the tenth-century reformation', pp. 154-80 in his *"Orbis Britanniae" and other studies*. Leicester.
- LOI, Vincenzo 1971 'Il 25 Marzo data pasquale e la cronologia giovannea della Passione in età patristica', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 85, 48-69.
- MAC LEAN, Douglas 1992 'The date of the Ruthwell Cross', pp. 49-70 in *The Ruthwell Cross*, ed. Brendan CASSIDY. Princeton.
- MAGGIONI, Corrado 1991 *Annunciazione: storia, eucologia, teologia liturgica* (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia, 56). Rome.
- MOELLER, Eugene 1980-81 (ed.) *Corpus Praefationum*. 5 vols (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 161, 161/A-161/D). Turnhout.
- MOELLER, Eugène, CLÉMENT, Jeanne-Marie, and COPPIETERS 'T WALLANT, Bertrand 1992-7 (ed.) *Corpus Orationum*. 10 vols (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 160, 160/A-160/I). Turnhout.
- MOHLBERG, Leo Cunibert 1927 (ed.) *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber Sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche (Cod. Pad. D.47, folios 11r-100r); Untersuchungen von Anton Baumstark* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 11-12). Münster-im-Westfalen. (Reprint 1967).
- MOHLBERG, Leo Cunibert 1981 (ed.) *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli* (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes, IV). Third edition. Rome.
- Ó CARRAGÁIN, Éamonn 1978 'Liturgical innovations associated with Pope Sergius and the iconography of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses', pp. 131-47 in

- R.T. Farrell (ed.), *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England* (British archaeological reports, British series, 46). Oxford.
- Ó CARRAGÁIN, Éamonn 1981 'How did the Vercelli Collector interpret The Dream of the Rood?' pp. 63-104 in P. Tilling, ed., *Studies in language and literature in honour of Paul Christophersen*, Occasional papers in linguistics and language learning, No. 8. Coleraine.
- Ó CARRAGÁIN, Éamonn 1982 'Crucifixion as Annunciation: the relation of *The Dream of the Rood* to the liturgy reconsidered', *English studies* 63, 487-505.
- Ó CARRAGÁIN, Éamonn 1983 'Vidi Aquam: the liturgical context of The Dream of the Rood 20a, "Swætan on þa swiþran healfe"', *Notes and queries* n.s. 30, 8-15.
- Ó CARRAGÁIN, Éamonn 1987 'A Liturgical interpretation of the Bewcastle Cross', pp. 15-42 in Myra Stokes and Tom Burton (ed.) *Medieval literature and antiquities: studies in honour of Basil Cottle*. Woodbridge.
- Ó CARRAGÁIN, Éamonn 1987-8 'The Ruthwell crucifixion poem in its iconographic and liturgical contexts', *Peritia* 6-7, 1-71.
- Ó CARRAGÁIN, Éamonn 1994 *The City of Rome and the world of Bede* (Jarrow Lecture, 1994). Jarrow.
- PIETRI, Luce 1983 *La ville de Tours du IVe au VIe siècle: naissance d'une cité chrétienne* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 69). Rome.
- SARTORE, Domenico, and TRIACCA, Achille M. 1993 *Nuovo dizionario di liturgia*. Fifth edition. Milan.
- SCRAGG, Donald 1992 (ed.) *The Vercelli homilies and related texts* (Early English text society, original series, 300). Oxford.
- SISAM, Celia 1976 *The Vercelli Book* (Early English manuscripts in facsimile, 19). Copenhagen.
- SISAM, Kenneth 1953 *Studies in the history of Old English literature*. Oxford.
- TALLEY, Thomas J. 1986 *The Origins of the liturgical year*. New York.
- WALSH, Maura, and Ó CRÓINÍN, Dáibhí 1988 (ed.) *Cummian's letter "De Controversia Paschali" and the "De Ratione Computandi"* (Studies and texts, 86). Toronto.

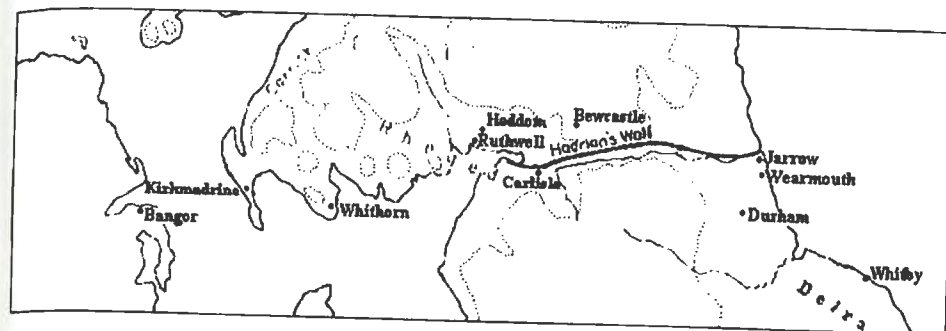


Fig. 1. Map showing the relation of Ruthwell to other early monastic and ecclesiastical sites. (Map: Éoghan Ó Canagáin)



Fig. 2. The Ruthwell Cross, showing the runes of the first half of the Ruthwell poem.



Fig. 3. The Ruthwell Cross, showing the first half of the iconography.



Fig. 4. The Ruthwell Cross: the Visitation scene.



Fig. 5. The Ruthwell Cross, showing the second half of the iconography.