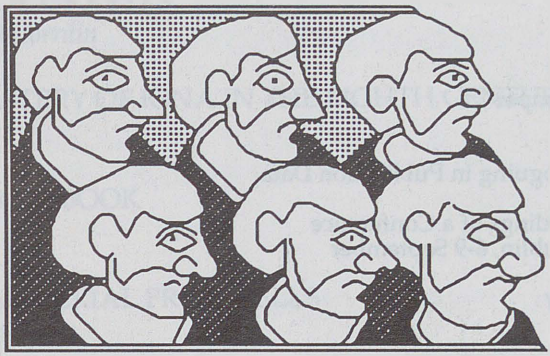
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'*Traditio evangeliorum*' and '*sustentatio*': the relevance of liturgical ceremonies to the Book of Kells

Éamonn Ó Carragáin

Most interpretative scholarship on the Book of Kells has, quite correctly, focused on how the book could have been used for private meditation. But the rich decoration of the manuscript suggests that it had public roles to play as well as private ones. This paper propounds some ways in which such a lavish gospel book might have been put to communal liturgical use in the context of monastic liturgy.[1]

The Book of Kells does not seem to have been intended as a working manuscript. Concluding that the book was intended for display during liturgical ceremonies, Françoise Henry remarked on 'the extraordinary carelessness with which the text has been handled', and judged that 'the treatment of the canon-tables ... is unbelievably irresponsible'. Patrick McGurk also pointed out that the Eusebian numbers in the canon tables are arranged so as to be 'almost unusable'; in any case the relevant Eusebian reference numbers are copied only sporadically into the gospel text itself. Therefore, Françoise Henry reasonably argued that 'it looks as if the Kells scribe did not care very much, knowing that nobody was going to use the volume for reference, and that it had, first of all, to be a beautiful object'.[2] The makers of the book may have thought of their audience in terms of the unseen as well as the seen: God, the angels and saints, the church already

[1]Françoise Henry concluded that 'the fantastic lavishness of the decoration and the unusually large size of the Book show clearly that it was an altar-book, made to be used for liturgical reading, and probably intended to be displayed open as a sumptuous ornament during ceremonies when pomp was especially required': Henry, 153. George Henderson (pp 15-16) also placed the insular gospel books in a liturgical context. The most scholarly and far-reaching study to date of the relationship between the Book of Kells and the liturgy is Carol Ann Farr, 'Lection'. Some of its most important conclusions are summarised in Farr, 'Liturgical influences', 127-41. See also Dr Farr's contribution to the present volume. I am grateful to Michelle Brown, of the British Library, who allowed me to read portions of her forthcoming thesis on the Book of Cerne dealing with evangelist symbols and with the *Apertio aurium* ceremony. I wish to thank Tomás Ó Carragáin and Eoghan Ó Carragáin for their close and instructive examination (in facsimile) of folios 2v-3r, and for their most helpful discussions of details of the design of this opening and other details in the book. The Humanities Research floor of the Boole Library, University College, Cork, and in particular Helen Moloney Davis, were generous in their help with bibliographical questions. For shared knowledge, insights and encouragement I owe to my colleague Dr Jennifer O'Reilly a debt incurred over many years of shared teaching and discussion of early monastic culture and its iconography.

[2]Henry, 153; McGurk, 'Texts', 56.

reigning in heaven and already helping men and women on earth.[3] Such a heavenly audience would appreciate the labour and skill devoted to the presentation and adornment of a precious liturgical object, and such a heavenly audience would not have been confused by the absence of Eusebian canon numbers. But such an idea already puts us in a context of performed liturgical acts. The liturgy was seen as inspired by the Holy Spirit, who enabled the members of Christ's body on earth and in heaven together to participate with the angels in Christ's own prayer to the Father.[4] The idea that visible and invisible creatures, drawn together from all nations and all periods of history down to the end of time, could form one body and participate in the same life, that of the Trinity, enables us to realise why so much attention and skill might be lavished on a book which may have been used liturgically but seldom actually read, privately or aloud. But a great book can be a presence to a community which has seldom read it. This can be true even today: the Book of Kells is a great presence in Trinity College, though I suspect that a rather small percentage of the TCD community has read the book, even in facsimile. I expect that the same was true (though for different reasons) at Iona, or Kells, or whichever monastic community produced or possessed the book in the early medieval period.

I wish briefly to consider the different ways in which gospel books could become present to communities which were mostly illiterate.[5] The liturgy

[3]See especially the Rule of St Benedict 19:6-7: 'Let us consider, then, how we ought to behave in the presence of God and his angels, and let us stand to sing the psalms in such a way that our minds are in harmony with our voices': ed and trans Timothy Fry and others, *RB 1980: the rule of St Benedict in Latin and English with notes* (Collegeville, Minnesota 1981) 216-17. On the unity of the invisible and visible participants in the liturgy, see Eric Peterson, *The angels and the liturgy: the status and significance of the holy angels in worship* (London and New York 1964); and R A Markus, *The end of ancient christianity* (Cambridge 1990) 21-25.

[4]The classic liturgical expression of this theme is to be found in the various Prefaces to the Roman canon of the mass: eg *The Stowe Missal*, ed George F Warner, HBS 31-32, 2 vols (London 1906-15) II, 9-10: '*Uere dignum et justum est equm et salutare est nos tibi hic semper et ubique gratias agere domine sancte omnipotens aeterne deus per christum dominum nostrum qui cum unigenito tuo et spiritu sancto deus es unus et inmortalis ... Per quem maestatem tuam laudant angeli adorant dominationes ... ac beata seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant cum quibus et nóstras uoces ut admitti iubeas deprecamur suplici confessione dicentes sanctus ... Sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth ...*'. The most important modern studies of the theme are Henri de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum. L'Eucharistie et l'Église au Moyen Age: étude historique*, 2nd edn (Paris 1949) 9-137; Yves Congar, *L'Ecclésiologie du haut moyen âge de Saint Grégoire le Grand à la désunion entre Byzance et Rome* (Paris 1968) 61-248; J A Jungmann, *The mass of the Roman rite: its origins and development*, trans Francis A Brunner, 2 vols (New York 1951-55; repr. Westminster, MD, 1986) II, 101-38; and *Corpus praefationum*, ed Edmond Moeller, CCSL 161-161D, 5 vols (Turnhout 1980-81) I, 'Étude préliminaire', xix-xxxii and (on the Stowe Missal and other Celtic prefaces) xxxvi-xxxvii.

[5]On the importance of ritual in early medieval Europe, see Arnold Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe: Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte*, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung 15 (Berlin and New York 1984) 45-48; Arnold Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter. Geschichte des abendländischen Christentums von der Völkerwanderung bis zum Reich Karls des Grossen*, Christentum und Gesellschaft 4 (Stuttgart 1989) 49-50, 56-60, 151-58, 245-50, 327-48; *Pastoral care before the parish*, ed John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester 1992) especially chapters 6 (by Alan Thacker), 7 (by Sarah Foot) and 8 (by Catherine Cubitt).

expressed itself primarily through communal actions, gestures, singing and hearing. Books were indeed used in liturgical ceremonies: but in these, ideally, books were used to help the memory to recall already-familiar texts. One of the aims of monastic education, in fact, seems to have been to prepare people to do without the aid of books if necessary: monks were encouraged to get by heart not only the psalter, but even the scriptural lections which they might have to sing aloud in the night office. When a book was used in a solemn ceremony, its use is likely to have been to a large degree mnemonic: a memory aid for texts that had, ideally, been already committed to memory by the liturgical actors. In short, the liturgy made sacred texts part of communal life. In its reliance on gesture, song and memory, early medieval monastic culture was at one with its contemporary secular world, which, as Marc Bloch has shown, saw ceremonies and gestures (such as the ceremony of allegiance) as the primary records of social agreements, and the actual manuscript charters recording such acts as secondary aids to memory.[6]

The monastic communities which used the Book of Kells are likely to have been familiar, at least by hearsay and perhaps even by practice, with a striking set of lenten ceremonies in which the gospels were 'presented' symbolically to a largely illiterate audience.[7] From its opening words, the ceremony of the handing on of the gospels was known as the 'opening of the ears' (*Apertio aurium*). The ceremony took place during the fourth week of Lent, just two weeks before Holy Week in which the Passion was commemorated. This was the third and most important of seven scrutinies. Scrutinies were ceremonies in which the catechumens, preparing for baptism on the Easter vigil, were exorcised of evil spirits and instructed in the rudiments of their faith. In the *Apertio aurium* ceremony, the catechumens were asked to come forward (if those to be baptised were babies they were carried in the arms of their sponsors). Two lections were read first. The first emphasized the importance of conversion (Isaiah 55:2-7: 'All you that thirst, come to the waters'). The second, an assemblage of short texts from St Paul, drove home that it was necessary to put off the old man and put on the new (Colossians 3:9-10), and that the gospel has been preached to the ends of the earth (Romans 10:18).[8]

[6]See the Rule of St Benedict, 10:2 '*memoriter dicatur*', Fry (note 3 above) 204-05; 13:11 '*lectio una ... memoriter recitanda*', Fry (note 3 above) 208-09; Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, 2 vols (London 1971) I, 72-87, 145-47. On the importance of memory in medieval culture, see now Mary J Carruthers, *The book of memory: a study of memory in medieval culture* (Cambridge 1990).

[7]The classic introduction to the *Apertio aurium* ceremony is still Pierre de Puniet, 'Apertio aurium', DACL, I, part 2 (1924) cols 2523-37. On the lenten catechumenate in general, see Thierry Maertens, *Histoire et pastorale du rituel du catéchuménat et du baptême*, Paroisse et liturgie 56 (Bruges 1962).

[8]Andrieu, *Ordo* XI, nos 42-3, II, 427-8. The ceremony is translated in E C Whitaker, *Documents of the baptismal liturgy*, 2nd edn (London 1970) 172-74 (Gelasian sacramentary), 199-201 (*Ordo* XI), 204-06 (Bobbio Missal). In a paper on the Roman Liturgy and the Ruthwell Cross, delivered at the Conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists at Cambridge, in August 1985, I argued for the relevance of the *Apertio aurium* ceremony to insular gospel books as well as to Ruthwell. Dr Patrick Sims-Williams told me afterwards, in private conversation, that he had independently made the same suggestion in a review of Kathleen Hughes, *Celtic Britain in the early middle ages*, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985) 306-09 (p 308). As far as I am aware, Dr Sims-Williams was the first to suggest in print the relevance of the *Apertio aurium* ceremony to insular art; see now his *Religion and literature in western England, 600-800* (Cambridge 1990) 293-95. I have examined the relevance of the ceremony to some Northumbrian monuments: 'A liturgical interpretation of the Bewcastle Cross' in *Medieval literature and antiquities: studies in honour of Basil Cottle*, ed Myra Stokes, Tom Burton (Woodbridge, Suffolk and Wolfeboro, NH 1987) 15-42 and pls I-IV (pp 20-24); and 'The Ruthwell crucifixion poem in its iconographic and liturgical contexts', *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-88) 1-71, pls 1-3 (pp 46-8).

Then four deacons came forth from the sacristy, each carrying a gospel book (*cum quattuor libris evangeliorum*). At this early period, the sacristy or private vesting-hall (*sacrarium, secretarium*) usually stood near the entrance door (either inside the church or outside it, in the atrium); in such churches, the deacons would have had to proceed the length of the nave.[9] They came in a solemn procession, headed by clerics carrying two candles, thuribles and incense. They placed the four gospel books on the four corners of the altar. The celebrant first briefly instructed the catechumens on what a gospel is: it is defined as 'the divine actions' (*id est gesta divina*) and as good tidings, which always is an annunciation of our Lord Jesus Christ: *bona adnuntiatio quae utique adnuntiatio est Jesu Christi domini nostri.* Then the four beasts of Ezechiel's vision (Ezechiel 1:10) were described, and their relation to the four evangelists explained. The first emphasis of the ceremony was therefore on the unity of the gospels, and on the centrality of Christ and his actions to their meaning.[10]

[9]Jungmann, I, 320 and, for the later positioning of the sacristy close to the choir and altar (from the Romanesque period), I, 268-71; see also Pierre Batiffol, *Leçons sur la Messe* (Paris 1927) 71; E G Cuthbert F Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, Library of liturgiology and ecclesiology for English readers 6 (London 1905) 23. The *secretarium* or *sacrarium* was, as well as a hall for vesting, often a reception hall (thus sometimes called also *salutatorium*). It was capable of being closed off, and was sometimes of considerable size. The regular positioning of the sacristy or vesting hall at the entrance of a basilica, ie at the western end of an oriented church, provides an interesting context for the statement in the Annals of Ulster at AD 1007 that 'The Great Gospel of Colum Cille was wickedly stolen by night from the western sacristy [*asind airdom iartharach*] in the great stone church at Cenannas' (see Bernard Meehan, 'The history of the manuscript' in *Kells commentary*, 317-19). The word *airdam, airdom* was 'variously applied to any extraneous building attached to a larger one, *vestibule, porch*, etc' (*DIL*, sv. *airdam*). *Airdam* or *airdom* is made up of two elements, the prepositional prefix *air* 'before, in front of', and the noun *dom* (Lat. *domus*?) 'house, hall, church' (cf *DIL* svv. *air, dom*). It would be a suitable term for a vesting hall at the entrance to a church, ie for an insular analogue of the Roman *sacrarium, secretarium* or *salutatorium*. It is clear that *airdom* refers to a room-like structure 'attached to the main structure of the church'; and it is therefore possible that the *airdom* of the Annals of Ulster might refer to 'a chapel attached to the main structure of the church in which the relics, including the Gospel Book of Columba, were kept' (Paul Meyvaert, 'The Book of Kells and Iona,' *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989) 6-19 (p 11 n 22)). But as the western position of the *airdom* is specified in the annals, and as liturgical manuscripts (in their book shrines) were regularly stored with liturgical vestments and liturgical vessels, as in the *vestiarium* of the Lateran (see below, p 414), it is also possible that 'sacristy-cum-treasury' gives a better idea than 'chapel' of the use of the *airdom iartharach* at Kells. I am grateful to my colleagues Jennifer O'Reilly, who reminded me of the Annals of Ulster account, and Seán Ó Coileáin who helped me with the etymology and meaning of *airdam*.

[10]Andrieu, *Ordo* XI, nos 44-45, II, 428-29. The fact that the processions in which gospel books were borne, here and in *Ordo* I (discussed below) were headed by two clerics bearing candles is symbolically significant. In Roman secular ceremonial, it

Next, the individuality of each gospel was emphasized. A deacon took the gospel book from the front left hand corner of the altar and went in solemn procession (again preceded by the candles and thuribles) to the ambo or pulpit, which he ascended. He began *Initium sancti evangelii secundum Matheum*, and recited the first twenty-two verses of Matthew's gospel. Then a subdeacon solemnly received the book from the deacon and, carrying it reverently on a linen cloth (*super linteum*), brought it back to the sacristy. If the sacristy was situated near the entrance door, the subdeacon would have had to bring the gospel book back down the length of the nave: the congregation would have had plenty of opportunity to look at the book at this point. When the book had been carried out of sight, the celebrant recited a brief homily explaining why Matthew's symbol should be the figure of a man. Then the deacon took the gospel book, open at the beginning of Mark's gospel, from the rear left hand corner of the altar, brought it in procession to the ambo, and again recited *Initium sancti evangelii secundum Marcum* (Mark 1:1-8). When the gospel book had been brought back down the nave to the sacristy, the priest recited a brief homily explaining Mark's symbol, the lion. The same procedure was followed for Luke and John.[11] By the end of the ceremony, when all four gospel symbols had been explained, the four gospel books had been removed from the altar and brought down the nave to the sacristy; the congregation were left with the image of the altar itself. The overwhelming visual effect of the ceremony must have been to associate the four gospel books with the altar, and so to drive home the words of the opening homily, that all four gospels announce the same truth: Christ, known through his incarnation and actions. The ceremony concentrated the attention of the onlookers first on the gospel books and then gradually on the altar itself. This visual progression is analogous to the structure of the mass, which began with readings from scripture and the gospels, and ended with the eucharistic sacrifice, celebrated on the altar. After the symbolic 'handing on' of the gospels, the *Apertio aurium* ceremony then proceeded with the symbolic handing on of the creed and the 'Our Father' (ie they were explained to the catechumens by the celebrant, who again recited prescribed homilies). The catechumens were then commanded to retire from the church. *Ordo* XI, which envisages a ceremony of infant baptism, specifies that the parents were to go outside with their children, give the children into the care of others (*in custodia*), and then re-enter the church with the sponsors (who were to receive the children from the font) to offer their gifts at the offertory of the mass. The children remained under care outside until mass, '*missarum sollemnia*', was finished.[12] It is particularly interesting that the *Apertio aurium* ceremony, which in its *Traditio evangeliorum* used a dramatic structure analogous to the mass, culminated in a celebration of the mass itself. The relationship which

was customary to honour the official portraits (icons) of emperors by flanking the portraits with candles; see Jungmann, I, 68-69 and note 7 above; and Pierre Batiffol, *Études de liturgie et d'archéologie chrétienne* (Paris 1919) 210-13. The gospels, which provided the directly inspired image of Christ, were given the same symbolic honour as the icons.

[11]Andrieu, *Ordo* XI, nos 46-50, II, 429-33.

[12]For '*missarum sollemnia*', Andrieu, *Ordo* XI, no 74, II, 441.

the *Traditio evangeliorum* ceremony established between the gospel books and the altar must have been easy for the adult congregation to appreciate. The *Traditio evangeliorum* and the mass both focused the attention of the congregation on the same altar; and the altar was seen as a multivalent symbol: of Christ, of his sufferings and sacrifice and that of the martyrs, and of the hearts of the congregation who offered the mass.[13]

When new, the Book of Kells itself may, like many insular gospel books, have had in its prefatory material the extract from Jerome's commentary on Matthew, *Plures fuisse*, which briefly explains the evangelist symbols.[14] But such prefatory material was for learned readers. The importance of the *Apertio aurium* ceremony is that it provided even the illiterate with a public dramatisation of such learned traditions. The existence of the *Apertio aurium* ceremony makes it clear that an interest in the symbolism of the evangelists and their beasts was by no means confined to the learned. On the contrary, it is evident that the evangelist symbols were used to instruct the illiterate in the basic facts (a) that each gospel had its own individuality and (b) that all four together made Christ present, in a way analogous to the way he was present in the mass itself. It is clear that such ceremonies were enacted not just for the catechumens but for their parents, sponsors, relations and the whole congregation (this was particularly true in the case of infant baptism). If the gospel books (each open at the beginning of the appropriate gospel) which were carried to the altar for the *Apertio aurium* ceremony happened to be equipped with full-page miniatures of the evangelist symbols (each at the beginning of the appropriate gospel), this would have been a most practical way to prepare the congregation in advance for the actions and spoken words of the ceremony. The congregation would have had ample time to gaze on such brightly coloured symbols: as they were carried in procession with candles and incense at the beginning of the ceremony, perhaps as they lay on the altar, and particularly as the books were carried back to the sacristy (if the *sacrarium* was at or near the back of the church). Only after the congregation had several opportunities of contemplating each symbol, and of appreciating the honour with which the relevant gospel book was carried and chanted by the clerics, did the celebrant explain the significance of the relationship between the symbol and its book. The ceremony, like most liturgical ceremonies, operated first of all at the level of dramatic sense-experience (solemn processions and actions, visual images and chant); only secondarily were the actions, images and chants supplemented by verbal explanation.[15] The existence of the *Apertio aurium*

[13]*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed Engelbert Kirschbaum, Wolfgang Braunfels, 8 vols (Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1968-74) I, 106-7, under 'Altar'; Olivier Rousseau, 'Le Christ et l'autel: note sur la tradition patristique', *La Maison-Dieu* 29 (1952) 32-39; Joseph Schmitt, '*Petra autem erat Christus*', *La Maison-Dieu* 29 (1952) 18-31.

[14]McGurk, 'Texts', 37; Henry, 153.

[15]It is relevant to ask, and difficult to answer, the question: when and where were the Latin homilies prescribed for the ceremony (the explanation of the evangelist symbols, Creed and Pater Noster, which de Puniet sees as possibly the work of Pope Leo I), paraphrased for insular congregations in their vernaculars? The Latin homilies are critically edited by Pierre de Puniet, 'Les trois homélies catéchètiques du sacramentaire gélasien pour la tradition des évangiles, du symbole, et de

ceremony is important evidence that the custom of equipping gospel books with evangelist symbols is unlikely to have been simply a learned custom familiar to monks who meditated on books. At times, a gospel book may have been intended for use in the catechumenal scrutinies themselves. Even when there was no such practical intention, provision of gospel symbols may have been intended as a reminder of the heroic ages of christian evangelisation, a reminiscence or citation of the beautiful ceremony (*pulcher ac salubris*) in which gospels were symbolically handed on even to the illiterate, who for the rest of their lives, as christians, would hear them read or chanted at mass.[16]

Such books as the Lindisfarne Gospels or the Echternach Gospels, with their full-page evangelist symbols, would have been suitable for use in an *Apertio aurium* ceremony. The *ordines* quoted above describe an ideal ceremony, based on the ceremonies of a large episcopal city like Rome itself, in which four gospel books were available. But early medieval *ordines* were primarily descriptive, not prescriptive. They described a real ceremony, usually at Rome, or an ideal ceremony, usually based on or adapted from ceremonies at Rome. But it was presumed that these ceremonies could be adapted, radically at times, to suit local circumstances and the means available.[17] It would have been easy to perform the ceremony with only one book like the Lindisfarne or Echternach Gospels (bound or unbound). An unbound gospel book could have been carried out in procession as four separate booklets, each containing a gospel. Even if the book was bound, the celebrant or an assistant could have opened the gospel book, in turn, at each of the four evangelist symbols at the *incipits* of the individual gospels. The Book of Durrow (folio 2r) also contains a single page in which all four evangelist symbols appear: they fill the four quarters of the page, and the

l'oraison dominicale', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 5 (1904) 505-21 and 755-86; 6 (1905) 15-32 and 304-18.

[16]Bede, who twice describes the ceremony, each time refers to it as beautiful: '*pulcher*' in *Bedae Venerabilis opera*, Part II, *Opera exegetica*, 24, *De Tabernaculo* II, lines 1849-55, CCSL 119A, ed D Hurst (Turhout 1969) 89; '*pulcherque ac salubris*', *In Ezram et Neemiam* II, lines 924-27, CCSL 119A, 310-11. The ceremony of the *Apertio aurium* poses the problem of the Latin liturgy in general. How was it experienced by an illiterate audience whose speech was not based on or descended from Latin? Were its homilies paraphrased in the vernacular in insular ceremonies? How did illiterate audiences respond to the Latin mass? For discussions of the long-term effects of holding to Latin as a liturgical language in early medieval Europe, see Jungmann, I, 81-92; Angelus Albert Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier: eine Studie über die Messe in der Abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte der Messhäufigkeit*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 58 (Münster, Westfalen 1973) 251-55, 268-71.

[17]The classic account of the descriptive (rather than prescriptive) nature of early medieval *ordines* is Andrieu's introduction to the genre, II, pp xvii-x1ix: see especially pp xxvi-xxix, xxxi-xxxiii, on the primary importance of oral tradition, of the personal experience of the cleric who had 'been there' (at Rome, some other cathedral city, or some great monastery) and could report the order of their ceremonies. The individual community then had to make their own of this reported tradition. Written *ordines* were often makeshift documents, secondary records of the living liturgical tradition which was the primary authority. See also the important discussion of how early medieval notions of 'copying' left an individual community free to 'cite' a model while adapting it to their own requirements, in Häussling (note 16 above) 102-07.

page is divided into four by an elaborate cross.[18] While presenting all four evangelist symbols, the page subordinates them to the cross, a symbol of Christ's sacrifice (re-enacted at the altar at mass). The Four Symbols pages are visual equivalents of the statement at the beginning of the *Traditio evangeliorum* ceremony that the gospels are a *bona adnuntiatio, quae utique adnuntiatio est Jesu Christi domini nostri.*

It is not impossible that the Lindisfarne or Echternach Gospels were intended for use in an actual *Apertio aurium* ceremony; there were plenty of adult pagans to be converted, in Frisia and Saxony and perhaps even in Northumbria, in the early eighth century; and when infant baptism was the rule, the sponsors, parents and congregation needed yearly reminders, in Lent, of what the gospels were about. The *ordines* make it quite clear that the ceremony continued to be performed in an established christian society where infant baptism was the rule. But it is also possible that in monastic *scriptoria* gospel books may have been provided with evangelist symbols, not for practical use, but rather to emphasize the 'great ancestry' of such a work by citing or referring throughout the book to what was thought to be ancient liturgical tradition.[19] This may account for the way in which, in the Book of Durrow, Mark's gospel is preceded by an eagle (folio 84v), and John's gospel by a lion (folio 191v). Such anomalies may have been preserved or tolerated if the intention was simply to cite or refer to the *Apertio aurium* ceremony in a gospel book, not to perform the ceremony using that book.[20] The 'ancient custom' of the *Apertio aurium* was described, not merely in collections of *ordines*, but in manuscripts of the celebrant's

[18]On the origins of the four symbols tradition, see Martin Werner, 'The four evangelist symbols page in the Book of Durrow', *Gesta* 8 (1969) 3-17; Laurence Nees, 'A fifth-century book cover and the origin of the four evangelist symbols pages in the Book of Durrow', *Gesta* 17 (1978) 3-8; Martin Werner, 'The Durrow four evangelist symbols page once again', *Gesta* 20 (1981) 23-33.

[19]Bede stresses the antiquity of the ceremony, *mos antiquitus*: *De Tabernaculo* (note 16 above). But De Puniet (*Apertio aurium*, cols 2528-29) argues convincingly that it replaced a different rite in the course of the sixth century. The earliest written reference to the rite (and this reference is brief and inconclusive) is by Gregory the Great, in a letter written in 601 (PL 77, col 1146). Bede, in the passages already referred to, provides the earliest unambiguous evidence of knowledge of the ceremony.

[20]Alexander, *Insular manuscripts*, favours the theory that the Durrow artist followed the order of equivalence proposed by St Irenaeus of Lyons (*c*130-200) (p 31). Henderson (p 24) adds that Irenaeus's identifications were copied by the fourth - century Spanish writer Juvencus, whose poetry was known in Ireland (it is quoted in the Macregol Gospels, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.19). Such an equivalence would have been highly unusual in seventh-century Northumbria. Bede was sharply criticized, and replied sharply to the criticism, when in his commentary on the Apocalypse (PL 93:144), he followed Augustine in identifying the lion with Matthew and the man with Mark. A Northumbrian bishop, like Acca of Hexham, might be expected to be uneasy at divergence from the Roman tradition (even when the authority for the divergence was Augustine) if it was not merely a learned tradition but had been enshrined, through the *Apertio aurium* ceremony, in the Roman liturgy of the catechumenate. See Acca's letter to Bede, prefaced to Bede's *In Lucae evangelium expositio, Bedae Venerabilis opera*, Part II, *Opera exegetica*, 3, CCSL 120, ed D Hurst (Turnhout 1960) 6, and Bede's lengthy and irritated defence of his suggestion (pp 7-10). Perhaps Durrow was produced at an Irish monastery which may have heard of, but did not practice, the *Apertio aurium*.

own liturgical book, the sacramentary.[21] The purpose of a sacramentary was to record the prayers that a celebrant should recite at mass; the frequent occurrence of detailed directions for this ceremony in sacramentaries is a striking example of the importance which the ceremony, and the catechumenate in general, was still felt to have in the eighth and ninth centuries. It seems inconceivable that great Columban monasteries like Kells or Iona would not know of such a ceremony (whether or not they actually administered catechumenal ceremonies) as it is described not only in Roman sacramentaries and *ordines* but in the *Gallicanum Vetus* and in the Sacramentary of Bobbio.[22]

The Book of Kells is not designed for practical liturgical use in the *Apertio aurium* ceremony. Kells completely avoids the full page representations of evangelist symbols found in Durrow, Echternach and other gospel books. In the two evangelist portraits in Kells (St Matthew, folio 28v, and St John, folio 291v) these evangelists are represented as human figures, not as evangelist symbols, nor with their own symbolic 'beasts'. On the other hand, Kells has no fewer than three elaborate Four Symbols pages (preceding the gospel of Matthew, folio 27v, of Mark, folio 129v, and of John, folio 290v). In the Four Symbols pages preceding Matthew and Mark the symbols are unified around elaborate crosses; in the Four Symbols page preceding John the symbols are unified by an elaborate Chi-symbol (or St Andrew's Cross). The letter Chi was, like the Cross itself, an important symbol of Christ, separately elaborated on folio 34r of the Book of Kells.[23] As well as these elaborate Four Symbols pages, some or all of the evangelist symbols are combined in various ways in several of the canon-tables pages (folios 1v-5r), and on the final text page of St Mark's gospel (folio 187v). It is as if the designers of Kells wished throughout their book to refer to the ancient liturgical tradition of the *Apertio aurium*, with its emphasis on the individuality and unity of the gospels as symbols of Christ, but that they never intended their book to be actually used in such a ceremony. Such an indirect and symbolic, rather than a practical, use of the tradition may be a sign that Kells comes from a more developed monastic culture than, say, Lindisfarne or Echternach. It is after all not in a monastic setting *per se*, but in the early stages of the christianisation of a culture, that evangelisation is an urgent priority. To take the analogy of Anglo-Saxon sculpture: it is not at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, Lindisfarne, nor even Hexham that the most extended surviving programme of early Northumbrian iconography is found, but at Ruthwell (730-750?), possibly a small monastery in territory that had only recently come into Anglo-Saxon hands. The programme of the

[21]In Roman Gelasian sacramentaries, the ceremony is found both in the Old Gelasian and in the Gelasians of the eighth century (eg the sacramentaries of Gellone and Angoulême. The ceremony appears also in the so-called Pontifical of Poitiers, from the Paris region, *c*900). Among Gallican sacramentaries, it is found in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* and the Sacramentary of Bobbio. De Puniet (note 7 above) col 2523, gives a comprehensive list.

[22]See De Puniet (note 7 above).

[23]See Suzanne Lewis, 'Sacred calligraphy: the Chi Rho page in the Book of Kells', *Traditio* 36 (1980) 139-59.

Ruthwell Cross makes unmistakable references to the Roman ceremonies of catechumenate and public penance found in the early eighth-century Roman books. The Ruthwell programme culminated precisely in four separate but related images of the evangelists, each evangelist duly presented in a separate small panel, matched with his appropriate beast, probably surrounding a head-and-shoulders bust of Christ, or a roundel representing the Agnus Dei.[24]

Other ways in which a precious gospel book could form part of liturgical action are to be seen in the *Ordo Romanus Primus*.[25] This account of the solemn stational mass describes how the Eucharist was celebrated (*c*AD 700) by the pope in Rome. But from the seventh to the ninth centuries there was great interest throughout Europe, in Ireland as well as in Northumbria, in the lavish ceremonies of the city of Rome.[26] The earliest documented and precisely dated pilgrimage to Rome by Irish clerics, the delegates from the Synod of Mágh Léine (from the southern half of Ireland) who were at Rome in Easter 631, provides first-hand evidence of the impression made on these Irishmen by the city, by its pilgrims from East and West, and by its basilicas and relics. The delegates were appealing to 'the chief of cities' (*ad capud urbium),* 'as children to their mother' (*uelud natos ad matrem*) for a ruling on the Easter controversy. They stayed in a hospice in the precincts of St Peter's on the Vatican.[27] The hospice housed pilgrims from several nations, and the unanimity of these pilgrims on the question of the date of Easter impressed the Irish delegates with the catholicity of the Roman method of reckoning Easter. It is clear that their visit to Rome confirmed, by actual experience,

[24]See Rosemary Cramp, 'The evangelist symbols and their parallels in Anglo-Saxon sculpture' in Robert T Farrell, *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England*, British Archaeological Reports, British series 46 (Oxford 1978) 118-30; and Ó Carragáin, 'Ruthwell crucifixion poem' (note 8 above) 42-50.

[25]Andrieu, II, 65-108; English translation and commentary in Atchley (note 9 above). There are good summaries of the ceremonies of *Ordo Romanus primus* in Jungmann (note 4 above) I, 67-74, 'The Roman stational services in the seventh century', and in Batiffol (note 9 above) 65-99, 'Le cérémonial de l'Ordo Romanus I'.

[26]It is important once more to stress that an interest in 'imitating Rome' did not by any means imply, in this early period, an ultramontane attitude to the liturgy. Such an interest could coexist happily with a desire to adapt Roman customs radically to suit local circumstances, and a care to preserve and develop local traditions within the same liturgy. See the remarks of Jungman, I, 67: 'The effect of this example (*Ordo Romanus primus*) would be felt in the divine service of every village church and would even touch the ceremonial of low Mass'; Batiffol (note 9 above) 98-99; the references on liturgical imitation, (above, p 404), and the references in note 17.

[27]*Cummian's letter 'De Controversia paschali'*, ed Maura Walsh, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Together with a related Irish computistical tract 'De Ratione conputandi'*, ed Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, Studies and Texts 86 (Toronto 1988) 92-95. On early pilgrim hospices in the precincts of St Peter's, see Louis Reekmans, 'Le développement topographique de la région du Vatican à la fin de l'antiquité et au début du moyen âge (300-850)' in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art offerts au professeur Jacques Lavalleye*, Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 4e série, fascicule 45 (Louvain 1970) 197-235. Cummian's impression, that the hospice was situated '*in aecclesia sancti Petri*', was probably not very misleading: we know that dwellings for clerics were built even in the shadow of St Peter's. Pope Sergius I, *c*AD 700, repaired the lodgings (*cubicula*) which had been damaged by rain and by fragments falling from the roof of the basilica (Reekmans, 217).

oral accounts of the city and its traditions with which these clerics were already familiar:

> And they saw all things just as they had heard about them, but they found them more certain in as much as they were seen rather than heard. And they were in one lodging in the church of St. Peter [*in uno hospicio ... in aecclesia sancti Petri*] with a Greek, a Hebrew, a Scythian and an Egyptian at the same time at Easter, in which we differed by a whole month. And so they testified to us before the holy relics [*et ante sancta sic testati sunt nostris*],[28] saying 'As far as we know, this Easter is celebrated throughout the whole world.' And we have tested that the power of God is in the relics of the holy martyrs and in the writings which they brought back. We saw with our own eyes a totally blind girl opening her eyes at these relics, and a paralytic walking and many demons cast out [*Et nos in reliquiis sanctorum martyrum et scripturis quas attulerunt probauimus inesse uirtutem Dei. Uidimus oculis nostris puellam caecam omnino ad has reliquias oculos aperientem, et paraliticum ambulantem, et multa demonia eiecta*].[29]

The Irish delegates were as careful to bring back relics as they were to bring back written books. Cummian establishes a close association between the relics and the written books (*scripturis*: the word could refer to books of Holy Scripture, as well as to other books such as computistical writings). Cummian specifies that miracles took place in the presence of the relics (*ad has reliquias*), in order to demonstrate that both forms of evidence brought from Rome, writings and relics, embody the power of God (*inesse uirtutem Dei*). In order to heighten the sense that everything to do with the Roman experience of the delegates embodied the power of God, Cummian describes the miracles in a cumulative series (the blind see, the lame walk, and demons are cast out). The series is clearly intended to recall the Lucan account of how Jesus himself directed the followers of John the Baptist to list for John the signs that the Kingdom of God was now present:

> And when the men had come to him, they said, 'John the Baptist has sent us to you, saying, "Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?"' In that hour he cured many of diseases and plagues and evil spirits, and on many that were blind he bestowed sight. And he answered them, 'Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have the good news preached to them. And blessed is he who takes no offence at me'.[30]

[28] I would translate *nostris* as 'our people', 'our delegates' (certainly not 'us'). The phrase *ante sancta* may mean that the delegates, anxious to have the most weighty testimony, persuaded their fellow-pilgrims to attest solemnly to their Easter traditions at the *martyrium*, the burial place of St Peter, in the basilica itself. Alternatively, it may mean that they got the pilgrims to attest on eucharistic species preserved outside mass. The term *sancta* was sometimes applied to eucharistic species, seen as the relic *par excellence* of Christ's presence with the Church: see Jungmann, I, 70, n11, II, 307-21; Batiffol (note 9 above) 90-93; Atchley (note 9 above) 106-09; De Lubac (note 4 above) 26, 66; Nathan Mitchell, *Cult and controversy: the worship of the Eucharist outside mass* (New York 1982) 56-61. On the Eucharist as relic, see also Häussling (note 16 above) 251-55; Mitchell, 108-09.

[29] Ó Cróinín and Walsh (note 27 above) 92-95.

Cummian's implication is clear. Those who reject the Roman writings reject the Roman relics; but the miracles, performed at the Roman relics back in Ireland, demonstrate that to reject either Roman tradition would be to reject manifest signs of the presence in both traditions of the power of the Kingdom of God.

Granted such attitudes to Rome, it was natural that the liturgy performed in *caput urbium* should become an inspiration for a whole variety of liturgies throughout Europe. Roman ceremonies were carefully recorded, not that they should be copied to the letter, but so that they could be used as models on which local ceremonies could be freely developed. For example, the Irish Stowe Missal proclaims that its prayers for mass are *Orationes et preces misae aeclesiae romane*, and that its canon of the mass is *Canón dominicus papae Gilasi*.[31] The so-called *Vita prima* of St Brigit provides further striking evidence of such interest in eighth-century Ireland:

> Another day also a holy man came to the house where Brigit was praying alone and found her standing with her hands outstretched to heaven in prayer and she did not see or hear anything else. At the same time the residents of the place could be heard making a great din, for the calves had just then rushed to the cows, but the saint, intent on God in an ecstasy of spirit, heard nothing. Then the man left her for the time being. But he came back to her at a different time and said to her, 'Holy one of God, why didn't you run when the people were shouting?' And she said, 'But I didn't hear the shouting'.
> The man said to her, 'What did you hear instead?' Brigit replied, 'I heard masses in Rome at the tombs of Sts Peter and Paul and it is my earnest wish that the order of this mass and of the universal rule be brought to me'.
> Then saint Brigit sent experts to Rome and from there they brought the masses and the rule. Again after some time she said to the men, 'I discern that certain things have been changed in the mass in Rome since you returned from there. Go back again'. And they went and brought it back as they had found it.[32]

[30] Luke 7:20-23; Cummian seems to have been thinking of the Lucan text, which includes all the elements of Cummian's passage (including the casting out of demons, 'he cured ... evil spirits', Luke 7:21), rather than the shorter parallel passage in Matthew 11:1-6, which has no reference to demons. Both Luke and Matthew are referring to such messianic images as Isaiah 35:5-6, 29:18-19 and 61:1.

[31] Warner (note 4 above) II, 5, 10. For some early Roman influences on the Stowe Missal, see Klaus Gamber, 'Die irischen Messlibelli als Zeugnis für die frühe römische Liturgie', *Römische Quartalschrift* 62 (1967) 214-21.

[32] *Vita prima*, ch 90: trans Seán Connolly, 'Vita prima Sanctae Brigitae: background and historical value', *JRSAI* 119 (1989) 5-49 (p 41).

I quote the last two sections of the chapter in the original Latin from Dr Seán Connolly's forthcoming edition of the *Vita prima*:

> 4 *Dixit ei uir ille: 'Quid aliud audisti?' Respondit Brigita: 'In urbe Roma iuxta reliquias sancti Petri et Pauli audiui missas et nimis desidero ut ad me ordo missae istius et uniuerse regule deferatur'.*
> 5 *Tunc misit Brigita uiros sapientes ad Romam et detulerunt inde missas et regulam. Item post aliquantum tempus dixit Brigita ad illos uiros: 'Ego sentio quod quaedam commutata sunt in Roma in missa postquam uenistis ab ea. Exite iterum'. At illi exierunt et detulerunt ut inuenerunt.*[33]

There are a number of striking features in this passage. The saint, rapt in prayer, experiences a divinely inspired vision of the mass at St Peter's on the Vatican, and possibly of St Paul's outside the walls.[34] Her first reaction is to want to have a copy of the order of celebrating this mass; it is associated by the hagiographer with the 'order of the universal rule'.[35] Wise men go to Rome, presumably to record (perhaps in writing: *detulerunt inde*) the words and actions of the Roman ceremonies (*ordo missae istius ... [ordo] uniuerse regule: ordo, ordines* were accounts, which could be oral or written, of the 'order', or directions for the production, of liturgical actions; the words of the ceremonies would be recorded in a variety of other books, such as antiphonaries, lectionaries, sacramentaries). The wise men of Kildare have themselves to go to Rome, because at this stage neumed musical notation had not been invented in the monasteries of the West, and liturgical music had to be learned by the direct method, from imitation of a trained singer.[36]

[33]I am very grateful to Dr Connolly for allowing me to publish this extract from his forthcoming edition of the *Vita prima*. Dr Connolly dates the *Vita prima* to about 750, and assigns its provenance to the territory of the Southern Uí Néill in the Clonard-Ardbraccan areas (note 32 above, pp 6-7). An uncritical text of the Latin life may be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, Februarii, I, 118-36 (the Rome-vision episode is in Caput XV, p 131).

[34]In the canon of the Roman mass, the names Peter and Paul were linked in the *Communicantes* prayer, the memento of the living; the liturgical commemoration of one of the pair regularly involved the commemoration of the other (eg the feast of St Peter on 29 June; of St Paul on 30 June): see V L Kennedy, *The saints of the canon of the mass*, Studi di Antichità cristiana 14, 2nd edn (Rome 1963) 30, 69, 101-11. In his phrase *iuxta reliquias sancti Petri et Pauli* the hagiographer may have had no more specific topographical details in mind than 'at the shrines of the two chief saints of Rome'.

[35]The phrase *ordo ... universe regule* is reminiscent of a phrase used in the earliest *Vita* of St Wilfrid when it describes his first visit to Rome in 654: his Roman friend Boniface, archdeacon of the city, taught him a perfect knowledge of the four gospels, of the Easter computus (*paschalem rationem*) which the British and Irish schismatics did not know, and 'many other rules of ecclesiastical discipline' (*et alias multas ecclesiasticae disciplinae regulas*). In both *Vitae* the contexts suggest that the *regulas* included liturgical traditions; but both *Vitae* may also have wider ecclesiastical regulations in mind.

[36]The date of the invention of neums, and their spread from Francia to the rest of Europe, is much debated among musicologists. At present the issue seems to lie between two theories: (a) the early dating (770-850): that neums were invented in the latter half of the eighth century in Francia, and spread slowly in the great Carolingian monasteries as a means for ensuring the standardization of chant required by the emperor; or (b) the late dating (850-950): oral tradition reigned supreme until a century later; the use of neums spread very slowly from the latter half of ninth century, spreading widely only in the tenth. For a good defense of the early dating (*c*770-850), with a fine bibliography of the controversy, see Kenneth Levy, 'On gregorian orality', *Journal of the American musicological society* 43 (1990) 185-227. A good defense of the late dating theory can be found in Leo Treitler, 'Reading and singing: on the genesis of occidental musical writing', *Early music history* 4 (1984) 135-208. See also Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, fasc. 52 (Turnhout 1988) 48-51, 53-57, 60-82.

But soon after they return they have to set out a second time: the saint is aware that the Roman mass is developing fast, and wants her monastery to be kept up to date with it. She therefore commands them to prepare a new edition incorporating the latest developments (they have to travel to Rome again, because while words could be copied and brought by junior messengers, complex music and production techniques had to be learned orally at first hand).[37]

This passage corresponds closely with a widespread attitude to Rome, in Francia and Northumbria as well as in the Irish centre that produced this *Vita*, between the years 650 and 750.[38] There was in all these countries a growing awareness that the Roman liturgy was changing fast and becoming more and more splendid, and that new chants were continually being introduced. Therefore repeated visits to Rome were necessary to keep up to date. There was a great curiosity about old and new Roman ceremonies, so that the splendid liturgy performed at the bodies of St Peter and St Paul could be imitated, emulated or adapted to local use (for in this period a lively interest in using features of the Roman liturgy could coexist happily with a confident attachment to local traditions). Where an actual pilgrimage to Rome was impossible, visions could in this period be granted to satisfy the frustrated pilgrim. The Irish vernacular life of St Berach, though later than the *Vita prima* of St Brigit, provides a remarkable parallel to St Brigit's visions of the Roman liturgy. The life of Berach also shows how it was possible to supplement and commemorate a vision of the Roman liturgy by the erection of a high cross dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul. It provides a fascinating example of an Irish monastery using art to effect a symbolic

[37]Stephen J P van Dijk, 'The urban and papal rites in seventh and eighth-century Rome', *Sacris Erudiri* 12 (1961) 411-87 (pp 469-70), associates this awareness of swift liturgical change at Rome with the pontificate of Pope Vitalian (657-72); but the pace of liturgical change hardly lessened in the reign of Pope Sergius I (686-701), and still continued under Gregory II (715-31). The story could reflect the early eighth as well as the late seventh century.

[38]For relations between Northumbria and Rome in this period, see the bibliographical references in Ó Carragáin, 'Ruthwell crucifixion poem' (note 8 above) 18-22, 42-50. On contacts between Rome and Francia, see André Borias, 'Saint Wandrille et la crise monothélite', *Revue bénédictine* 97 (1987) 42-67; Theodor Klauser, 'Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der römischen und der frankisch-deutschen Kirche, vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert', *Historiches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft* 53 (1933) 169-89; Cyrille Vogel, 'Les échanges liturgiques entre Rome et les pays francs jusqu'à l'époque de Charlemagne' in *Le Chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino all'800. 7-13 Aprile, 1959*, Settimane di studio sull'alto medioevo 7, 2 vols (Spoleto 1960) I, 185-295, with discussion, I, 326-30; Cyrille Vogel, 'Saint Chrodegang et les débuts de la romanisation du culte en pays franc' in *Saint Chrodegang. Communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort* (Metz 1967) 91-110; Kassius Hallinger, 'Römische Voraussetzungen der bonifatianischen Wirksamkeit im Frankenreich' in *Sankt Bonifatius. Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundtertsten Todestag*, 2nd edn (Fulda 1954) 320-61.

imitatio Romae (were the two crosses wooden or stone? if stone, were they plain or with sculptural panels?). The whole episode is therefore relevant to the question, whether Roman ceremonies can be used as background material for the Book of Kells. It is particularly interesting to find Rome being symbolically 'imitated' in a monastery where actual pilgrimage to Rome was discouraged. Berach's attitude to Roman pilgrimage may even have resembled that of the poet who composed the famous quatrains, *Téicht doróim*:

> To go to Rome, much labour, little profit: the King whom thou seekest here, unless thou bring him with thee, thou findest him not. Much folly, much frenzy, much loss of sense, much madness (is it), since going to death is certain, to be under the displeasure of Mary's Son.[39]

As the life of Berach makes clear, an Irish monastic community could, by means of a monument, artistically 'imitate' Rome precisely in order to free the imaginations of members of the community from the seductions of Rome-pilgrimage. For a monastic community, only one pilgrimage really mattered, preparation for the journey forth from the body ('since going to death is certain'). Pilgrimage to Rome could be a distraction from this necessary concentration on the last things; and one way of combatting this distraction may well have been to provide symbolic substitutes for Rome -pilgrimage as in Berach's monastery; possibly combined with local adaptations of the Roman liturgy such as we find in the Stowe Missal. If this were done, then in all senses that really mattered, a monastery could claim to have Rome at home:

> On another occasion Colman Cáel (the lean) of Cluain Ingrech determined to go to Rome; he was a pupil of Berach, and it was Berach who appointed him to Cluain Ingrech. He went therefore to his tutor and master Berach. Berach tried to stop him from going, and could not. Colman Cáel set out, and Berach went a little way with him on the road [*sealat 'san slighidh*]. They met with Ciaran Máel (the Bald) at the end of the lawn [*i cind na faitce*]. And he and Berach tried once more to stop Colman Cáel from going. And Colman Cáel said that he would not rest till he should see Rome with his eyes [*na hanfadh no co ffaicedh dia suilibh in Roimh*]. Berach sained the air, and made the sign of the cross over Colmán's eyes; and they three, Berach and Colman Cáel, and Ciarán Máel, saw Rome, and praised the Lord in that place [*atconnncatar a ttriur ... inni Roimh, 7 ro molsatar an Coimde annsin*], and erected a cross and a mother church there to Berach, and to Ciaran Máel, and to Colman Cáel. And another cross was erected there to Paul and to Peter. And the visiting of those crosses is the same to any one as if he should go an equal distance of the road to Rome [*as ionann do neoch ionnsaigidh na ccros sin 7 do imeochadh a coimhmeit do shligidh na Romha*]. And (Berach) stopped Colman Cáel there.[40]

[39] *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, scholia, prose and verse*, ed Whitley Stokes, John Strachan, 2 vols (repr Dublin 1975) II, 296 (*Codex Boernerianus*, Misc. Dresd. A. 145b).

The interest of northern pilgrims in seeing and imitating the shrines of Rome became reflected in papal policy only from the early eighth century; imitation of the Roman liturgy only began to be actively encouraged by Pope Gregory II (715-31) and his successors. What was done in Rome had long been revered as the authentic tradition stemming from St Peter himself. But by the middle of the eighth century it was gradually coming to be seen as normative, a 'universal rule', not only in Bede's Northumbria or Boniface's Francia, but also (*c*750) apparently in the *Vita prima* of St Brigit. In his idea that the *ordo ... universe regule* is to be found in Rome, the author of the *Vita prima* was thinking in the ways his contemporaries throughout mid-eighth-century Europe were also beginning to think.[41]

Angelus Albert Häussling has demonstrated that the feature of the Roman liturgy which most impressed northern observers was the centrality to it of processional movement, between the different basilicas, *tituli* and *martyria* of the city. The papal liturgy involved a planned programme (which spanned the liturgical year but was particularly intensive in Lent and Holy Week) of processions to celebrate solemn mass at the various stational churches of the city. *Ordo Romanus Primus* provides striking evidence of how elaborate these processions were, and how important a feature of them were gospel books.[42] *Ordo* I describes in detail the papal procession to the

[40] Life of Berach, xxx, ed Charles Plummer, *Bethada náem nÉrenn; lives of Irish saints*, 2 vols (Oxford 1922) II, 41-42; extracts from the Irish text (recorded in the seventeenth century by O'Clery) supplied (in square brackets and italics) from I, 42. I am grateful to Dr Michael Ryan for this reference. Professor Pádraig Ó Riain has kindly informed me that this life is likely to have been redacted in the twelfth century, but that individual episodes may reflect earlier traditions. In the Latin life of Berach, the saint invites the unnamed monk who wishes to go on pilgrimage to Rome to fast and pray with him. After three days and nights, the monk tells Berach of a dream in which an angel, in appearance like a young man, conducted him to Rome, and so enabled him to fulfil his vow of pilgrimage: *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford 1910) I, 85-86 ch xxv. There is no mention of high crosses in this episode of the Latin life. Plummer calls this Latin life 'a late recension', and says that the Irish life 'is much fuller and more original than this degenerate Latin text' (I, p xxxiii; for useful comparative material on Irish attitudes to pilgrimage and on Irish interest in Rome, see I, pp cxxii-cxxiii).

[41] For early Irish attitudes to Rome, see John Ryan, 'The early Irish Church and the See of Peter' in *Le Chiese nei regni dell'Europa occidentale e i loro rapporti con Roma sino all'800. 7-13 Aprile, 1959*, Settimane di studio sull'alto medioevo 7, 2 vols (Spoleto 1960) II, 549-74, discussion, II, 583-91; Richard Sharpe, 'Armagh and Rome in the seventh century', and Charles Doherty, 'The use of relics in early Ireland', both in *Irland und Europa: Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter*, ed Próinséas Ní Chatháin, Michael Richter (Stuttgart 1984) respectively 58-72, 89-101

[42] The best introduction to the importance of processions in the Roman liturgy is John Baldovin, *The urban character of christian worship. The origins, development, and meaning of stational liturgy*, Orientalia christiana analecta 228 (Rome 1987) 105-67. See also G G Willis, 'Roman stational liturgy' in his *Further essays in early Roman liturgy*, Alcuin Club collections 50 (London 1968). On liturgical processions in general, see Terence Bailey, *The processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and texts 21 (Toronto 1971) 9-119. Häussling provides conclusive evidence that the Roman stational system was imitated in Frankish monasteries from the 780s onwards: (note 16 above) 55-72 and *passim*. There are

stational church, and the pope's solemn entry from the *secretarium* to the church at the beginning of mass.[43] The precious vessels to be used in the mass were carried on the stational procession. Among these was the book of gospel readings, brought to be used in the stational mass. When the papal stational mass was celebrated on ordinary feast-days, the gospel book was carried in procession by the archdeacon, the senior deacon of the Roman Church. On special feasts, however, particularly valuable liturgical vessels were used (*calicem et patenam maiores*). On these days, the 'great gospels' (*evangelia maiora*) were solemnly carried on the procession from the Lateran to the church at which the stational mass was to be held (eg on Easter Sunday morning, Santa Maria Maggiore).[44] The 'great chalice and paten' and the 'great gospels' seem both to have been kept in the *vestiarium*, the department of the Lateran where the papal collection of liturgical garments and vessels were stored (*de vestiario dominico*). For fear lest the precious jewels of its binding might be lost, the book was carried in a sealed book shrine, under the personal seal of the *vesterarius*, the official at the Lateran palace who had care of the *vestiarium* (*exeunt sub sigillo vesterarii per numerum gemmarum, ut non perdantur*).[45] The stational procession made it clear that the gospel book was seen, like chalices and patens, as a precious liturgical object. A great Columban monastery which wished to cite or emulate (if not to imitate) the Roman liturgy might well have felt that it was necessary to provide its abbot, for processions on major feasts, with jewelled *evangelia maiora* in a sealed book shrine.

On arrival at the church, the deacon who was to read the gospel prepared the gospel book. At the command of the archdeacon, the book was unsealed (removed from its shrine), and placed in the hands of the acolyte. Following byzantine court ritual, the acolyte bore the book, not on his bare hands, but with hands covered by his outer garment (*super planetam*). The great gospels or evangeliaries (sets of gospel readings arranged in the order of the liturgical year) used on major feasts needed two acolytes to carry them.[46]

clear references to the Roman stational procession to the Holy Cross in Jerusalem on Good Friday on the Ruthwell Cross, both in its iconography and in its vernacular English poem (the monument is dated 730-50): see Ó Carragáin, 'Ruthwell crucifixion poem' (note 8 above) 42-50.

[43]The entrance of the celebrant was an important feature, not only of the Roman rite, but also of the Milanese rite (and thus familiar to Irish foundations like Bobbio): see Pietro Borella, 'L'ingressa della messa ambrosiana', *Ambrosius* 24 (1948) 83-90; Pietro Borella, *Il rito ambrosiano*, Biblioteca di scienze religiose (Brescia 1964) 141-54.

[44]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, nos 20-22, II, 73.

[45]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 22, II, 73: the great paten and chalice were likewise carried *sub sigillo*. That carrying the gospels *sub sigillo* meant carrying them in a sealed book shrine (*capsa*) is made clear later, when, after the gospel has been read, *ponitur in capsa, ut sigilletur*: *Ordo* I, no 65, Andrieu, II, 89. There is a fine discussion of the social background of *Ordo Romanus Primus* (ie the papal administration in the Lateran, and its relations with the other ancient titular churches of Rome) in Thomas F X Noble, *The republic of St Peter. The birth of the papal state, 680-825* (Philadelphia 1984) 212-30; on the *vesterarius*, see Noble, 226.

[46]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 30, II, 77. Acolytes were adult clerics: the office of acolyte was a career office in the Roman church, and acolytes could replace deacons who had died: see Noble (note 45 above) 217. Their status in the Roman ecclesiastical career structure might perhaps be described as 'deacons in waiting'.

The acolyte(s) brought the gospels up the nave to the sanctuary area in procession, preceded by a subdeacon who, taking the book from the covered hands of the acolyte(s), placed it with ceremony on the altar (*manibus suis honorifice super altare ponat*).[47] During this enthronement of the gospels on the altar, the pope had already gone to be vested in his liturgical garments in the *sacrarium* or *secretarium*, which as we have seen was near the main entrance, adjoining the *atrium* of the basilica. While the choir sang the *Introit* chant, the pope proceeded solemnly up the nave, supported (*sustentatus*) by his archdeacon and another deacon, and preceded by seven acolytes from the local ecclesiastical region of the city carrying seven lighted candles, as well as by a subdeacon with a thurible. The pope prostrated himself in prayer, on a special carpet (*oratorium*) spread for this purpose before the altar, until the choir finished the *Introit*. Before giving the signal for the choir to begin the *Gloria*, the pope rose and kissed both the gospels and the altar.[48] The ceremonial of enthroning the gospels on the altar, and solemnly kissing both book and altar, established once more (as in the *Apertio aurium*) a close connection between book and altar, ie, between the symbol of Christ's word and the symbol of Christ's sacrifice.

When in the solemn papal mass the gospel came to be read, the ceremonial honour given to the gospel book was even more elaborate than that described in the *Apertio aurium* ceremony. After the epistle had been read and the responsory chants sung, the deacon, again following ancient court ceremonial (in this case the gesture of *proskynesis*), kissed the feet of the pope, who in an undertone blessed him for the office he was to perform (*et tacite dicit ei pontifex: 'Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis'*).[49] Then the deacon approached the altar, kissed the gospels, and, taking the codex in his hands, brought it in solemn procession to the ambo. The procession was headed by two acolytes with candles; they were followed by two subdeacons from the local region of the city, one carrying a thurible with incense; then came the deacon carrying the gospels. The deacon, as he passed in procession bearing the gospels, was blessed by the bishops assisting at the mass (with the words *Dominus tecum*) and by the attendant priests (with the words *Spiritus domini super te*). Even the act of opening the gospel book had its appropriate ceremony: the subdeacon who was not carrying the incense offered the deacon his left arm on which to rest the book, so that the deacon could open it with his right hand at the place where a bookmarker had already been placed. The deacon ascended the ambo with his finger on the place where he was to begin. During the reading, the five clerics formed a symmetrical tableau centred on the book.

[47]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 31, II, 77.

[48]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 51, II, 83. Batiffol (note 9 above) 75-77. Batiffol sees in the seven candlesticks a tableau based on the Apocalypse of St John (Apocalypse 1:12-13; 2:1): 'L'evêque, qui figure le Christ, marchera lui aussi au millieu de sept chandeliers' (p 76). On the *oratorium*, see Jungmann (note 4 above) I, 70 and n 12.

[49]On *proskynesis*, see Jungmann, I, n 71 and note 15; also Ute Schwab, 'Proskynesis und Philoxenie in der altsächsischen Genesisdichtung', with an appendix by Walter Berschin, 'Die Tituli des Halberstädter Abrahamsteppichs' in *Text und Bild. Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed Christel Meier, Uwe Ruberg (Wiesbaden 1980) 209-77.

In the centre of the tableau was the deacon, standing on the raised ambo to read aloud from the gospel book. The two acolytes with their candles flanked the steps by which the deacon had gone up into the ambo. At the other side of the ambo, the two subdeacons (one holding the incense) flanked the steps by which the deacon would descend from the ambo after he had read the gospel.[50] At the end of the gospel reading, the pope again blessed the deacon (with the words *Pax tibi*); he replied courteously (*Et cum spiritu tuo*). Then the deacon, descending from the ambo by the steps flanked by the subdeacons, solemnly handed the gospels to the subdeacon who had helped him to open it. He in turn handed the book to a third subdeacon, who, holding it before his breast with his hands covered by his outer garment, brought the gospels to be kissed by all the clerics standing in the sanctuary, in order of rank. Finally, the book was replaced in its book shrine: the shrine was sealed, and the gospel book brought back by an acolyte to the Lateran. As in the *Apertio aurium*, the gospel book was treated with the greatest honour, and, when it had been read, disappeared from view; from that moment of the solemn mass, ie during the offertory and canon of the mass, the attention of the onlookers was focused on the eucharistic action which took place on and around the altar.[51] The early medieval church was consistent in its attitude to the relations between the mystical eucharistic action and the mystical word of the gospels. They saw both together as manifesting the natures, person and actions of Christ the Word. They saw both as prophetic: not only as commemorating past actions and events, but as adumbrating the present and future history of mankind until the full revelation of Christ and of the church. Thus they presented the gospel as far as possible in the context of, and subordinated only to, the enactment of the eucharistic mystery. The mass progresses from rumination on Christ's word to performance of the eucharistic action prescribed in the gospels. Through the eucharistic mystery, they believed, Christ effected what the gospels prophesied: he continually unified the church in its members, and the members to himself until, 'when the perfect comes' and human history had been brought to completion, the church would be revealed in its perfection as his glorified body.[52]

[50]This would seem to be the visual result of *Ordo* I, no 59 (Andrieu, II, 88), which specifies that at the ambo the acolytes divide so that the senior clerics can pass between them: *venientes ad ambonem dividuntur ipsi acolyti ut per medium eorum subdiaconi et diaconi cum evangelio transeant*. Before the reading, the subdeacons go back and stand before the steps, at the opposite side of the ambo, by which the deacon comes down from the ambo: *et illi duo subdiaconi redeunt stare ante gradum discensionis ambonis*: Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 62, II, 89. Atchley (note 9 above) illustrates three examples of ambos with two sets of steps: from Ravello (frontispiece), from San Clemente, Rome (pl XIV, p 150 and pl XII, p 77) and S Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (pl XV, p 178).

[51]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, nos 59-65, II, 87-90. The text specifies, in the present tense, that the gospels are brought back to the Lateran: *Acolytus autem regionis eiusdem cuius et subdiaconus est revocat evangelium ad Lateranum*: Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 65, II, 90. This seems to mean that the gospels were immediately carried back down the nave out of the stational basilica before the offertory of the mass began, and this is how Jungmann, I, 71, interprets the passage: '... the papal subdeacon ... hands it to an acolyte who immediately carries it back to the Lateran'.

[52]Cf I Corinthians 13:10. A good example of how closely, in patristic and early medieval thought, the act of understanding the multivalent texts of scripture was

The papal mass described in *Ordo Romanus Primus* makes consistent use of symbolically significant tableaux. When the deacon read the gospels from the ambo flanked by two pairs of less senior clerics bearing incense and candles, the flanking pairs expressed the dignity of the book he read. One such recurring tableau is particularly relevant to the Book of Kells. On his arrival at the church, the pope was assisted from his saddle by two deacons who flanked and supported him while he walked to the *secretarium* to vest for mass. In the words of the Ordo, the pope proceeded *sustentatus a diaconibus*.[53] Ernst Jerg has shown that we have here a reference to an ancient royal ceremonial, found in Roman imperial state ceremonial both in the West and in the East, but also found in the Old Testament, in Persia, and as far afield in space and time as Tibet in the lifetime of the present Dalai Lama.[54] The essence of the ceremonial was that the dignity of a king or priest or great personage was to be expressed by having two officials of lesser importance flank him and support him with their hands while he advanced in solemn state. In a clearly related tableau, the dignity of a great personage could also be expressed by having two supporters flank the throne on which he sat in state.[55] In the *Ordo Romanus Primus*, when the pope had vested in the *secretarium* and the choir in the sanctuary had begun the *Introit* chant, the pope began his solemn procession up the nave as follows: he first gave his right hand to the archdeacon, and his left hand to the deacon second in rank. They kissed his hands, and then proceeded up the nave supporting him: *et illi, osculatis manibus ipsius, procedunt cum ipso sustentantes eum*.[56] Similarly, at the beginning of the offertory, the pope advanced to receive the gifts supported by two high officials of the city of Rome: the *primicerius notariorum* (the senior notary) held his right hand, and the *primicerius defensorum* (the senior legal advocate) held his left: *tenente manum eius dexteram primicerio notariorum et primicerio defensorum sinistram*; they again supported him when he had received the gifts and returned to his seat.[57] Finally, at the communion, the pope proceeded from his seat to

associated with the reception of Christ's *corpus mysticum* in the Eucharist, is the widespread idea that Christ's breaking of bread (in the feedings in the desert, the Last Supper, and the supper at Emmaus) involved his fulfillment and opening (= explanation) of scripture: De Lubac (note 4 above) especially pp 80-82 and also 102, 266-67, 340-42; on this and related metaphors, see Hans-Jörg Spitz, *Die Metaphorik des geistigen Schriftsinns*, Münstersche Mittelalterschriften 12 (Munich 1972) 41-104. On the way in which the Eucharist was seen in this period as unifying and vivifying the Church and uniting it (his body: *corpus Christi*, I Cor. 12:27) to Christ (its head), see De Lubac, 19-137; Congar (note 4 above) 81-98.

[53]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 29, II, 76.

[54]Ernst Jerg, 'Die *sustentatio* in der römische Liturgie vor dem Hintergrund des kaiserlichen Hofzeremoniells', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 80 (1958) 316-24; see also the extended note on the history of the tableau by Jungmann, I, 69, n 10. For the use of *sustentatio* in twentieth-century Tibet (mentioned by Jerg, 323), see Heinrich Harrer, *Seven years in Tibet*, Reprint Society edn (London 1955) 169, 230, 254, and the photograph between pp 176-77 showing the young Dalai Lama proceeding, flanked by advisers.

[55]As in the Agilulf bronze helmet-frontal, now in the Bargello Museum, Florence, reproduced in *L'Europa delle invasioni barbariche*, ed Jean Hubert, Jean Porcher and Wolfgang Fritz Volbach (Milan 1968) 247, fig 271.

[56]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 45, II, 81.

[57]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, nos 69 and 76, II, 91, 92. The *primicerius notariorum* was in charge of the papal chancery; the office has been termed 'the pope's prime minister' (Noble,

give communion to the noble laymen, with the same senior officials again holding his hands: *tenentibus ei manus*.[58]

This symbolic tableau is clearly relevant to the figural page in the Book of Kells labelled in modern scholarship the 'Arrest of Christ' (folio 114r, pl 28). Here, at the beginning of Christ's Passion, after the Last Supper, the gospel text briefly describes how Christ and his disciples went to the Mount of Olivet: *Et ymno dicto exierunt in montem oliveti*. The Kells artist has incorporated this text, a text which clearly describes movement by Christ and his disciples from place to place, into a scene in which two figures grasp Christ's arms (and yet Jonathan Alexander has rightly stressed that there is a sense that the figures are immobile, 'as if they were frozen at a particular moment').[59] In various ways, including this combination of movement and immobility, the Kells artist has deliberately exploited the multivalence of the *sustentatio* image. The *sustentatio* tableau formed part both of religious and of secular ceremonies. As we have seen, even in the solemn Roman mass the celebrant could be supported by subdeacons or by senior administrative officers (who at this period, in Rome, would have been clerics: either deacons, or clerics in minor orders, who could marry). To hold the hands of an honoured figure as he advanced in procession was a sign of recognition and honour, but obviously to grasp someone's arms could also become an act of arrest or capture. The essence of the principle of multivalence is that of a particular image, through its design and through its context, is intended to suggest at once a variety of meanings.[60] No element of the meanings should be excluded, either by tying the image down too firmly in time or place, or by restricting its symbolic import by identifying it too closely with a single narrative moment. In any commentary on the so-called 'Arrest' image in Kells, this principle of multivalence is vital. Paradoxically, much modern scholarship has tried to eliminate this sense of multivalence, attempting to reduce the scene to a single narrative moment rather than recognising that the fascination of the scene lies precisely in the rich variety and ambiguity of the associations it exploits. The two flanking figures, whether they themselves are good or evil, bring about good for mankind. They initiate and support Christ's gesture of prayer, his *orans* posture; this *orans* posture is itself a prefigurement of the gesture by which Christ, stretching out his hands on

note 45 above, p 222). The *primicerius defensorum* was the chief legal advocate of the city. His headquarters were in the Lateran, and he was always a cleric by this period, sometimes a deacon, although frequently in minor orders and often married (Noble, 223).

[58]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 113, II, 104.

[59]Alexander, '*Illumination*', 282.

[60]For a discussion of the 'principle of multivalence' as a central principle behind liturgically-inspired monastic art and literature, see Ó Carragáin, 'Christ over the beasts and the Agnus Dei: two multivalent panels on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses' in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon culture*, ed Paul E Szarmach, Studies in Medieval Culture 20, (Kalamazoo, Michigan 1986) 377-403; and Ó Carragáin, 'The Ruthwell Cross and the Irish high crosses: some points of comparison and contrast', in Ryan, 118-28 (pp 122-23). See also the discussion in Häussling (note 16 above) 98-100, 107-10, 172-73.

the cross, was seen to draw to himself all human history (*Qui expansis in cruce manibus traxisti omnia ad te secula*).[61]

An anonymous seventh-century Irish computistical tract, *De ratione conputandi*, contains a very brief summary of the Passion, which emphasizes the idea of the procession to the Mount of Olivet to which the Book of Kells devotes such artistry:

> *Primo uero azymorum die dominus noster Iesus Christus, cenans cum discipulis, postquam sui corporis et sanguinis sacramentum patefecit, ad montem Oliueti, sicut euangelia sancta testantur, progressus ibique detentus est a Iudeis, tradente discipulo. Dehinc, .vi. feria subsequente, id est .vii. Kl Aprelis, crucifixus est et sepultus tertiaque die, hoc est .v. Kl Aprelis, dominico, resurrexit a mortuis.*[62]

I by no means want to argue for any influence of this passage on the Book of Kells. The passage is interesting precisely because it provides independent testimony of what was probably a common tendency. The summary, through its very brevity, indicates how Christ's solemn *introit* to Mount Olivet could become imaginatively important to *any* monk familiar with liturgical ceremonies. The anonymous author emphasized the *ad montem Oliveti ... progressus* because it enabled him to stress the link between Christ's revelation at the Last Supper of the sacrament of his body and blood, and his subsequent sacrificial death on the Cross. To emphasize such a link was theologically and liturgically important: through the Eucharist the Church, the body of Christ, could until his return in glory participate in the life his death had won.[63] The mass involved a progressive series of three processions or 'entrances'; this series provides one relevant context for the Book of Kells 'Arrest' page. The first procession was the *introit*, the solemn entrance of the celebrant at the beginning of mass. In the *Ordo Romanus primus*, the solemn procession of the bishop up the nave, supported by deacons and preceded by seven lighted candles, itself suggested that the advancing bishop represented Christ ('who walks among the seven golden

[61]*Versus* sung on Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday. For its early medieval uses, see René-Jean Hesbert, 'Le graduel *Christus* à l'office des trois jours saints', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 97 (1983) 241-61. For the biblical reminiscences used in the chant, see Ó Carragáin, 'Ruthwell Crucifixion poem' (note 8 above) 45-46. For the motif of Christ stretching out his hands in prayer on the Cross, see Victor Saxer, '"Il étendit les mains à l'heure de sa Passion". Le thème de l'orant(e) dans la littérature chrétienne des IIe et IIIe siècles', *Augustinianum* 20 (1980) 335-65; also Jungmann, I, 107. For a full survey of earlier interpretations of the page, see Carol Farr, 'Lection', 218-26; see also her discussion of the *orans* pose, 227-36.

[62]Ó Cróinín and Walsh (note 27 above) 196, lines 11-17: 'On the first day of unleavened bread our Lord Jesus Christ, dining with his disciples, after he had revealed to them the sacrament of his body and blood, and proceeded to the Mount of Olivet, as the holy gospels testify, was arrested there by the Jews, his disciple betraying him. On the following Friday, that is on the 7th Kalends of April, he was crucified and buried and on the third day, that is, on the 5th Kalends of April, Sunday, he rose from the dead'.

[63]For the theological importance of the relationship between Christ's offering of his body and blood *in mysterio* in the Eucharist and his subsequent self-offering on Calvary, see De Lubac (note 4 above) 65-87.

lamp-stands': Apocalypse 2:1). The second procession or 'entrance' was the presentation of the gifts; as we have seen, the pope, advancing to receive these gifts, was supported by two senior officials.[64] The third 'procession', a metaphoric one, took place at the beginning of the canon of the mass. The *Ordo Romanus primus* describes how all the priests and bishops surrounding the pope at the altar stood upright during the Preface, until they began to recite with the pope 'the angelic hymn, that is *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*'. All bowed for the angelic hymn. When they had finished, the *ordo* specifies that all the other clerics around the altar remained bowed for the canon prayers. At this point, the two manuscripts which contain the first version of the *Ordo* read *Ut autem expleverint, surgit pontifex solus in canone*: 'as they finish [the angelic hymn] the pope alone rises [ie stands upright] for the Canon'. But all the other manuscripts read *surgit pontifex solus et intrat in canonem*: 'the pope alone rises and enters into the Canon'.[65] The alteration of the *ordo* reflects the increased sense north of the Alps, from the mid-eighth century, that during the canon the celebrant entered a metaphoric Holy of Holies to re-enact Christ's sacrifice.[66] For the canon prayers, the celebrant would have stood alone, unsupported by junior clerics; but he would have stood in the *orans* posture, with hands raised to either side of his body.[67] The *introit*, offertory and canon provided a series of advances towards, entrances into, the enactment of the eucharistic mystery. This series was central to the symbolic structure of the mass. The question, which of the three 'entrances' is most relevant to Kells folio 114r, is of secondary importance. More important is to realise that, not only were solemn advances by the celebrant towards the eucharistic mystery a central feature of the mass-ritual, but that, taken together, such advances provided a unified metaphor for the way in which in eucharistic action all christians entered with Christ into the divine mystery. This metaphor is beautifully and concisely expanded in a collect prayer widely used in the early middle ages on Holy Thursday (the 'procession' of Christ and his apostles to the Mount of Olives took place after nightfall on that evening). The collect was assigned in various sacramentaries either to the mass for the reconciliation of penitents on Holy Thursday morning, or to the ceremony of reconciliation itself (the reference to rebirth in the collect refers to the approaching baptism of the catechumens on Holy Saturday, the vigil of Easter, as well as to the

[64]In the Byzantine liturgy, the presentation of the gifts was known as the 'great entrance', to distinguish it from the earlier 'little entrance' at the *introit*. See Robert Taft, *The great entrance: a history of the transfer of gifts and other pre-anaphoral rites of the liturgy of St Chrysostom*, Orientalia christiana analecta 200, 2nd edn (Rome 1978). The Eastern and Western offertory processions are compared in Jungmann, II, 1-16. The ancient Gallican liturgy had a fully-developed 'great entrance' rite corresponding to the Byzantine rite: Jungmann, II, 5 and *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*, ed E C Ratcliff, HBS 98 (London 1971) 10-11. It is not impossible that such a 'great entrance' might have been known in some Irish monasteries.

[65]Andrieu, *Ordo* I, no 88; Andrieu, II, 95-96.

[66]Discussions of the various versions of this passage in Andrieu, II, 95-96, note; Jungmann, I, 72 and II, 104-105, 138-42; Batiffol (note 9 above) 89. The sense that at this point of the mass the priest entered an inner sanctum must have been increased by the tendency, from the late eighth century onwards, for the celebrant to recite the canon prayers silently: Jungmann, II, 104.

[67]Jungmann, II, 141-42.

reconciliation of the penitents on Holy Thursday). This collect presents Christ's resurrection as confirming the glory of all those reborn in Christ, and sees this as the heart of the Paschal mystery into which all the christian community can, by God's grace, enter forthwith. The collect asks God 'to grant to all your servants more fully and perfectly to enter into all the mysteries of the Paschal feast, so that faithful hearts may come immediately to know how much they should rejoice in the glory granted to those born to new life, [a glory] confirmed in Christ': *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, da, quaesumus, uniuersis famulis tuis plenius adque perfectius omnia festi paschalis introire mysteria, ut incunctanter pia corda cognoscant, quantum debeant de confirmata in Christo renascentium glorificatione gaudere: per.*[68]

Through the liturgy all of the church participated in the glorious entry of Christ, their high priest, into the holy of holies (cf Heb. 9:11-28) where they shared with him in the life of the Trinity. On folio 114r of the Book of Kells the text and illustration encouraged contemplation of the way in which Christ, through his Passion, his death (when 'tradidit Spiritum': John 19:30) and resurrection (when his Father raised him up: Phil.2:9) enacted this entry in human form, revealing the heart of the mystery of the Trinity. Such contemplation was important for each monk who looked at the book because they believed that, in union with Christ its head, the church his body participated in this mystery and drew its life from it: that through the rites of initiation and the Eucharist, each christian participated in Christ's priesthood as in his sacrifice. 'The Arrest of Christ' is too limiting a title for the Kells page precisely because it misses the symbolic, mystical and communal dimensions of the text and image on folio 114r. The later text of *Ordo Romanus primus* provides the model for a simpler and better title: '*Christus intrat in Passionem*', 'Christ enters into the Passion'.

[68]The beautifully balanced final clause of the collect can be read in two complementary ways: 'how, in Christ, the glorification of the reborn has been confirmed' or 'how the glorification of those reborn in Christ has been confirmed [by the paschal mysteries]'. The collect appears for Holy Thursday in the Old Gelasian sacramentary, the sacramentaries of Gellone (CCSL 159, p 76, par. 589), Angoulême (CCSL 159C, p 81, par. 599) and St Gall, and in the Bobbio Missal. Text quoted from Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Peter Siffrin and Ludwig Eisenhöfer, *Liber sacramentorum Romanae eclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316 / Paris Bib. Nat. 7193, 41/56 (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, Rerum Ecclesiastarum Documenta, Series maior, Fontes, 4, 3rd ed (Rome 1981) 55, no 349; see also *The Bobbio Missal, a Gallican mass-Book (MS Paris. Lat. 13246)*, ed E A Lowe, HBS 53 (facsimile), 58 (text) and 61 (Notes and Studies), 3 vols (London 1917-24) II, 62, no 196 (text), III, 124 (notes). On the theological background of the concept ('*introire mysteria*') central to the collect, see De Lubac (note 4 above) 267. The Preface of the Gregorian Mass for the ordination of a priest explicitly states that offering the mass involves 'entering into the mysteries'. See the Hadrianum text: *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les manuscrits les plus anciens*, ed Jean Deshusses (Fribourg-en-Suisse 1971) I, 307, no 199, par. 830: '*da nobis quaesumus ut ad sacrosancta mysteria immolando sacrificia cum beneplacitis mentibus facias introire*' ('we ask you to grant and allow us to enter into the most holy mysteries, and to the sacrifices that must be offered, with minds well pleasing to you'). On the metaphoric dimensions of the Kells page itself, see Jennifer O'Reilly, 'The Book of Kells, folio 114r: a mystery revealed yet concealed' in *The age of migrating ideas: early medieval art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, ed R Michael Spearman and John Higgitt (Edinburgh and Stroud 1993) 106-14 (pp 113-14).

Evidence that the symbolic possibilities of the *sustentatio* tableau and visually related images were widely appreciated in the early medieval West can be found in other early medieval liturgical ceremonies and in early medieval Irish sculpture. The sung liturgical chant which most clearly suggests the tableau is a phrase from the Old Latin version of the Canticle of Habakkuk. In the Roman rite, this canticle was sung every Friday at lauds; but it was also used weekly in those Celtic monasteries of which we have evidence. At Rome, and thus in Northumbria, an extract from the canticle, including the verse we shall examine, was sung as a responsory after the first Old Testament reading at the adoration of the Cross on Good Friday.[69] It contains the words *in medio duorum animalium innotesceris* ('you will be known in the midst of two animals'). Early christian commentary related the 'two animals' phrase to a variety of ways in which Christ was revealed between two figures. Jerome, who was writing a commentary on the whole Book of Habakkuk as one of the prophetic books of the Old Testament, sees vast ecclesiological and historical import in the phrase. He relates the phrase to the way 'the Saviour is to be understood and believed in the primitive church, which was brought together both from the circumcised and from the uncircumcised — the Saviour surrounding himself, on the one side and on the other, by two peoples'. Jerome's interest in the ecclesiological import of phrase is again to be seen in his second level of interpretation: 'there are those who interpret the two animals as the two Testaments, Old and New, which can be said to be truly life-giving and full of life, to breathe [the Spirit: there is a clear pun in Jerome's verb *quae spirent*], and in the midst of which the Lord may be known'.[70] Jerome emphasizes that the phrase is reminiscent of the statement in Exodus (25:22) that in the temple Yahweh would speak to Israel from the midst of the two cherubim of beaten gold on top of the Ark of the Covenant (*de medio duorum cherubim*): Yahweh would speak seated on the wings of the cherubim, with the Ark for his footstool. Jerome sees this reminiscence of the Book of Exodus as implying the most profound possible interpretation of *in medio duorum animalium*: the life of the Trinity, in which the Father is made known through the Son and the Holy Spirit.[71] Bede approaches the phrase in a different way. Unlike Jerome, Bede did not write a commentary on the Book

[69]The liturgical use of the canticle, and patristic commentary on the text, are discussed in three studies by Ó Carragáin (1986, note 60 above) 383-88, (1987, note 60 above) 118-19 and 'The meeting of St Paul and St Anthony: visual and literary uses of a eucharistic motif' in *Keimelia: studies in archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney*, ed Gearóid Mac Niocaill, Patrick Wallace (Galway 1988) 1-58 and pls I-XII (pp 4-6 and passim: Irish liturgical uses of the canticle are discussed at p 20, note 2). A T Lucas independently argued for the relevance of the *in medio duorum animalium* phrase to early Irish sculpture in '"In the middle of two living things". Daniel or Christ?' in *Figures from the past: studies in figurative art in christian Ireland in honour of Helen M Roe*, ed Etienne Rynne (Dublin 1987) 92-97. Lucas did not examine the liturgical uses of the canticle, but convincingly related the phrase to the ancient and widespread Gilgamesh motif (a king or warrior flanked by animals) in the visual arts.

[70]Jerome, *Commentarium in Abacuc Prophetam ad Chromatium*, in his *Commentarii in prophetas minores*, ed M Adriaen, CCSL 76A (Turnhout 1970) 618-54 (p 621). See Ó Carragáin (1986, note 60 above) 385-86; (1988, note 69 above) 11.

[71]Adriaen (note 70 above) 620-21. See Ó Carragáin (1988, note 69 above) 28.

of Habakkuk, but wrote on the canticle as an independent liturgical text. He was writing for an unnamed nun, who like himself sang the canticle every Friday at lauds (and thus sang it twice on Good Friday, at lauds and at the adoration of the Cross). Bede therefore begins his commentary by emphasizing the significance of the weekly liturgical use of the canticle:

> The canticle of the prophet Habakkuk, which you asked me to interpret for you, beloved sister in Christ, above all prophesies the sacred mysteries of the Lord's Passion (*sacramenta dominicae passionis maximo pronuntiat*). Therefore, by the custom of the holy, universal and apostolic church it is customary to repeat it solemnly each week on Friday, on which that same Passion was brought to completion. But it also mystically describes the course of his incarnation, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, the faith of the nations and the lack of faith of the Jews. In contemplation, the prophet saw the state of the present age, the peace in which sinners live and the afflictions of the just ...[72]

Faithful to the programme sketched in these opening lines, Bede relates the *in medio duorum animalium* phrase to two moments in Christ's life: to the Transfiguration, in which Christ was made known between Moses and Elijah, and to the Crucifixion in which he was revealed between the two thieves.[73] It is clear from both Jerome's and Bede's commentaries that the flanking *animalia* could, for a monastic audience, take on a vast variety of human, animal, inanimate, abstract or angelic forms. The relevance of the phrase was determined, not by the nature (good or evil or neutral) of the flanking 'animals' but by the fact that, in the midst of these figures or through these events, the divine and human natures of Christ could be recognised. The likelihood that in the Book of Kells 'Arrest of Christ' the flanking men refer to the *in medio duorum animalium* phrase is greatly strengthened by a visual pun. The artist established a visual link between these flanking men and the large symmetrical biting animal heads which arch and meet above Christ's head. As Jonathan Alexander has pointed out, these two animals mirror the action of the pair of red-haired men who grasp the arms of Christ; the appearance of two animals in the scene directly suggests the words (and perhaps, to a monastic onlooker, the music) of the canticle. It may be that the biting animals, as Alexander suggests, underline the 'aggressive purpose' of the flanking human figures.[74] Whether the biting animal heads represent good or evil (or are ethically neutral), the Kells artist establishes a clear visual parallel between them and the flanking human figures. This technique is analogous to the way in which the Pictish sculptors of the Nigg stone establish a visual parallel between a pair of symmetrical human figures (Saints Paul and Anthony) and the pair of

[72]*Expositio Bedae presbyteri in Canticum Abacuc Prophetae*, ed J E Hudson, CCSL 119B (Turnhout 1983) 381, lines 1-9.

[73]Hudson (note 72 above) 383-84, lines 60-77. Bede's lemma reads *IN MEDIO DVORVM ANIMALIVM INNOTESCES*; the Vespasian Psalter (London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian, A.I, southern English, *c*AD 700) reads *innotesceris*: see Ó Carragáin (1986, note 60 above) 384-86.

[74]Alexander, 'Illumination', 283.

symmetrical animals (lions or dogs? good, evil, or just animal-like?) who crouch at their feet and contemplate, like the saints, the heavenly bread and the chalice through which Christ is known.[75] In the Kells 'Arrest' page, whether the flanking men are good or evil, even if they know not what they do, they assist Christ in carrying out his supreme prayer to his Father. The central, dominant figure is the figure of Christ, whose eyes gaze so searchingly at the viewer, and on whom the flanking men gaze while they grasp his arms. The two pairs of flanking figures, men and animals, direct the viewer's contemplation to Christ: they powerfully remind the onlooker, who has recognised the liturgical chant to which they refer, to recognise Christ as both king and priest.[76]

The 'Arrest' page is not the only evidence that the Kells artists were interested in the visual possibilities of the *in medio duorum animalium* chant. When, ten folios later, St Matthew's Passion narrative reaches its climax, two great animal heads flank the capital *T* of *Tunc crucifixerant XPI cum eo duos latrones* (folio 124r): for anyone familiar with the canticle and the long tradition of its Good Friday use, the association between the animal heads and the *latrones* is impossible to miss.[77] There is also a clear reminiscence of the canticle at the top of the canon table on folio 2v (**pl 2**). Here the bearded head-and-shoulders figure at the top of the page, at the summit of the major arch, is identified as Christ by three small golden crosses with their bases at the head of the bearded man and their tops at the golden halo he wears. Jonathan Alexander sees a reference to 'God as Trinity' in these three small crosses,[78] and this identification could be defended, for example by comparing them to the three crosses within the halo of the eagle symbol in the Matthaean Four Symbols page, folio 27v. But the three crosses within the halo at the top of folio 2v are arranged differently. One of the crosses is placed centrally, directly over the central parting in the bearded man's flowing hair. It is slightly larger than the flanking crosses, and has decorative touches (tiny dark triangles at top and bottom of the upright)

[75]Ó Carragáin (1988, note 69 above) 7-14. See also the visual parallel established between the paired saints and paired beasts on the Pictish Dunfallandy slab (ibid, p 7) and between the seated saints on the high cross at Moone and the high-backed chairs with dog-like animal heads behind the head of each saint (pp 20-22). The standard analyses of the relationships between the Book of Kells and Pictish art are those by Isabel Henderson, 'Pictish art and the Book of Kells' in *Ireland in early medieval Europe*, ed D Whitelock, R McKitterick and D Dumville (Cambridge 1982) 79-105; and 'The Book of Kells and the snake-boss motif on Pictish cross-slabs and the Iona crosses' in Ryan, 56-65.

[76]It is clear that a reference to the *sustentatio* image, and to the related idea that Christ is to be known between two animals, are only two elements among a much more subtle complex of associations which the 'Arrest' image is designed to attract. For a comprehensive commentary on the image and its manuscript context, see O'Reilly (note 68 above); she also lists Ottonian examples of references in the visual arts to the 'sustentatio' tableau (p 113), usefully updating and supplementing Jungmann, I, 69, n10. For further visual references to 'in medio duorum animalium' in early medieval art, see now Michael Ryan, 'The menagerie of the Derrynaflan chalice' in Spearman and Higgitt (note 68 above) 151-61 (pp 158-60); and O'Reilly (note 68 above) 109-10.

[77]On this image, and its relation to the missing Crucifixion page opposite to it, see O'Reilly (note 68 above) 108-09.

[78]Alexander, 'Illumination', 306.

which they lack. The flanking crosses are tilted outwards from the central cross, and this increases the sense that they are subordinate to it. The artist does not seem to have intended a direct theological reference to 'God as Trinity', but rather an historical reference to Calvary, where Christ was crucified between two thieves. By including in the halo references, not only to Christ's own cross on Calvary, but also to the flanking crosses of the thieves, the Kells artists have encouraged a reminiscence of the Canticle of Habakkuk. For Jerome, the idea that *in medio duorum animalium innotesceris* referred to Christ crucified between two thieves was already a commonly accepted idea (this fact suggests that the Canticle of Habakkuk was already sung on Good Friday at Rome in the late fourth century). As we have seen, Jerome preferred more far-reaching interpretations of the phrase, but Bede made the Good Friday reference central to his explanation of the verse. It would seem that on folio 2v the Kells artist was thinking in similar terms. A number of additional details reinforce the likelihood that we have here a reference to Calvary. Jonathan Alexander refers to the bearded man as 'naked' and this observation may be correct.[79] However, underneath the thick black wisps of the man's beard a brown circular collar is clearly visible. It may have been intended as a metal torque; but it may also have been intended as the collar of a garment. Below the brown circular collar, two small double circles may simply mark out the man's chest, but they could conceivably be ornaments on a tight garment. On the man's right arm, the hatching may represent flesh and muscles, but instead looks like folds of a fairly tight sleeve. However, the 'sleeves' are not marked off clearly from the heels of the man's hands. Even if the man is clad in a garment which stretches to his wrists, it clings so tightly to his skin that the shapes of his arms and of his chest are clearly visible. It seems clear that the artist first drew a naked torso. Whether he then provided it with a torque, or with some additional sketching to suggest a skin-tight, long-sleeved colobium with a brown circular neck, the effect is to reveal the body of the bearded man. Either the man's upper body is naked, or it is as good as naked. The garment, if it exists, is see-through. The arms of the man are slightly bent, but stretched out in a position reminiscent both of the *orans* posture and of the posture of crucifixion (they are stretched out far more widely and gracefully than the arms of the Christ in the 'Arrest' page, folio 114r). Two lion-like animal-heads emerge from the interlaced upper borders of the canon table. Each beast encircles the nearest outstretched arm of the bearded man with its long tongue, entangling it loosely in a simple knot. At the same time, the bearded man firmly grasps the tongue of each beast where it emerges from its mouth. The emphasis on the shape and physical reality of the bearded man's upper body, his outstretched arms, and the animal-heads which pinion him and which he grasps, all combine to make it extremely likely that the artist was thinking of the liturgical uses of the Canticle of Habakkuk when designing this part of the canon table. The three crosses of the halo do not occur in isolation. The significance of the two flanking crosses is suggested by the symmetrical relations between these crosses and the flanking animals, who provide a direct reminiscence of the

[79]ibid, 306.

phrase *in medio duorum animalium* in the Good Friday canticle. The bearded man, with his outstretched arms, seems to represent Christ in the hour of his Passion. The image of Christ refers at once to his divinity (symbolised, as Jonathan Alexander saw, by the large halo) and to his humanity (symbolised by the crosses, by the finely realised, perhaps naked, physical body, and the palpable human courage with which he grasps the tongues of the beasts). But Bede, in his commentary on *in medio duorum animalium* emphasizes precisely that at the Crucifixion both the divinity and the humanity of Christ were revealed:

> Indeed, [the phrase 'you are known in the midst of two animals'] can be not unsuitably taken as 'in the midst of two thieves'; for by dying on the Cross between these, he made known that he was a man. However, by the darkening of the sun, the earthquake, and the other miracles which the Gospel narrates as being performed about the Cross, he made known that he was God. He made known how merciful he was, when he himself interceded with his Father for his executioners. From his example the prophet, who foresaw this in the spirit, exhorted us not only to bear patiently the oppressions of evil ones, but to beg for these very persecutors the grace of his mercy.[80]

The relationship between the animals and the central Christ-figure is ambiguous. Their long looped tongues wrap round and imprison his arms; yet he seems firmly and willingly to grasp these tongues. The artists have created a small but powerful image which at once suggests the reality of Christ's Passion, and his willing acceptance of it. The emphasis on the beasts' tongues is a witty touch. Knotted around the man's arms and firmly grasped by his hands, these beast tongues never could speak; but, no matter how silent and immobile they seem on the page, no matter how caught and entangled, the paired long-tongued animals proclaim the bearded man in their midst as Christ.

The artists of the canon tables usually designed the two pages of each opening as a unity. The frame of the opposite page of this opening, folio 3r (**pl 3**), provides a significant contrast with the frame of folio 2v. The artists presumably felt that visual and symbolic unity was particularly important in this opening, as Canon II (the gospel passages common to Matthew, Mark and Luke) begins on folio 2v, and is continued on folio 3r (it ends overleaf, on folio 3v; and on folio 3v all of Canon III, the sections common to Matthew, Luke and John, is also recorded). On folio 3r the squared-off spandrels of the upper frame again turn into biting animal masks with extended, knotted tongues. But on folio 3r the human figure at the summit of the main arch is significantly different from the Christ-figure on folio 2v. He is not haloed, but is instead enclosed in a golden circular band which is

[80]Hudson (note 72 above) lines 69-77, pp 383-84, trans Ó Carragáin (1986, note 60 above) 386. On the early reception of Bede by Irish exegetes, see Joseph F T Kelly, 'The Venerable Bede and Hiberno-Latin exegesis' in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon culture.* Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (Kalamazoo 1986) 65-75.

interrupted by the inhabited interlace in front of the animal heads. He is not bearded, and his golden hair is considerably shorter than is the hair of the Christ-figure on the opposite page. His shoulders are swathed in a voluminous brown garment, in striking contrast to the palpable emphasis on Christ's physical body on folio 2v. The figure on folio 3r is much smaller than the Christ of 2v, and his small body is enclosed by the golden circular band, so that the animal-heads flank, not so much this human figure, but rather the 'cup or chalice form in front of him, from which extends foliage'[81] and on which he gazes. The chalice-and-foliage motif is similar to that found at the foot of folio 202r, at the end of the Lucan genealogy. Five interlaced strands of foliage sprout from the chalice on folio 3r. Each ends in a trefoil (references to the Trinity or to the Cross as the Tree of Life?). The foliage interlace is inhabited by two small but ornate birds, one on each side of the chalice. Each bird has its tail in the air, so that the two golden tails come between the snouts of the two biting animal heads and the golden circle which encloses the small human figure. Each bird lowers its beak to peck at the knotted extended tongues of one of the beasts (again the emphasis on tongues). At the centre of the foliage sprouting from the cup, one sprout stands upright and culminates in a trefoil, so that the sprout as a whole clearly resembles a tiny cross.

Early eighth-century Northumbrian sculpture provides an analogue for this combination of iconographic motifs. On the narrow sides of the Ruthwell Cross two columns of foliage interlace, each inhabited by a variety of animals and birds, together contrast with the broad north side, on which a number of figural panels refer to the eucharistic bread. At Ruthwell, the inhabited foliage scrolls recall both the vine and the Tree of Life. Inhabited by feeding animals and birds, the foliage provides scenes of the harmony of a renewed Paradise, with particular reference to Apocalypse 2:7: 'to him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of life which is in the Paradise of my God'. The similarity of the Ruthwell foliage interlace to vinescroll interlace, and the structural balance between the narrow sides and broad sides of the cross, suggest that (as the broad north side is filled with references to the eucharistic bread) these narrow sides may refer to the blood of Christ in the Eucharist. A similar foliage scroll, combining references to the vine, the Tree of Life and the Eucharist, occurs on the Bewcastle Cross.[82] On folio 3r of Kells, the chalice from which inhabited foliage sprouts demands to be seen in eucharistic terms. One key to the unity of the opening, folios 2v-3r, seems to be the continuity and contrast between historical event and liturgical enactment of that event. On folio 2v, there is a direct representation of Christ, revealed in his Passion as God and man. This is matched on folio 3r by a representation of the life offered to men by the glorified Christ, the true vine (John 15:1) who offers life from the eucharistic cup. On folio 3r, as on folio 2v, the large lion-like animal heads are vital to the meaning of the scene. They mutely proclaim Christ, here

[81]Alexander, 'Illumination', 306.

[82]See Ó Carragáin (note 8 above) 'Ruthwell crucifixion poem', 34-35; 'Bewcastle cross', 30-33, 36-40.

(folio 3r) known *in medio duorum animalium* in the Eucharist, as he was once made known between thieves on the Cross (folio 2v). The brown-clothed man in folio 3r may stand for a priest celebrating mass; or he may be a generalised figure standing for the christian community: in the eighth century, theologians stressed that the whole community offered the eucharistic sacrifice.[83] Nor is the balanced contrast between the naked Christ on folio 2v and the chalice with its foliage on folio 3r simply one between the historical event of Calvary and its eucharistic re-enactment in the mass. The Christ figure on folio 2v incorporates a visual reminiscence of a central text of the mass itself. His widely spread arms, grasping the animals' tongues, combine with his upper body to recall the cross-bar of a roman capital or uncial letter 'T'. The rest of Christ's body is concealed behind the arch, so that the upright of the 'T' is only implied. However, the implication is strengthened by the golden cross in the halo over Christ's head: the fully presented cross implies the full body of the crucified Christ. But the first words of the canon of the mass, *Te igitur*, also began with the letter 'T'; and in continental sacramentaries from the eighth century onwards that letter was increasingly elaborated to recall Christ's sacrifice and his priestly prayer on the Cross.[84] The iconographic structure of the Ruthwell Cross and the iconographic structure of the Kells opening 2v-3r are clearly analogous: both balance eucharistic images of Christ's body (Kells folio 2v) against images of his blood (Kells folio 3r). But the human figures and animal heads at the summit of the main arches on folios 2v-3r are not to be seen in isolation. All the major elements of these two balanced pages were planned as a unity. As we have seen both pages were devoted to the same canon table, Canon II (the passages common to Matthew, Mark and Luke). On each page of the opening, the relevant evangelist symbols crowd between the canon tables and the main arch. Each page of the opening suggests that Christ is announced both through the evangelist symbols and, in historical action and liturgical enactment, *in medio duorum animalium*: it was natural for the artists to make witty play between the symbolic animals of the evangelist symbols and the symbolic animals which recall the Canticle of Habakkuk. Moving upwards from the canon tables to the column-capitals and the great arches, the eye first encounters the *bona adnuntiatio* of the evangelist symbols, then moves to the culminating

[83]See Raphael Schulte, *Die Messe als Opfer der Kirche: die Lehre frühmittelalterlicher Authoren über das Eucharistische Opfer*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 35 (Münster, Westfalen 1959) 12-118; and Rupert Berger, *Die Wendung 'Offerre pro' in der römischen Liturgie*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 41 (Münster, Westfalen 1964). It is in the context of this communal understanding of the eucharistic sacrifice that a wide variety of insular sculptors could consistently present the figures of Saints Paul and Anthony, who were monks but not ordained priests (but who broke bread miraculously sent from heaven) as symbols of the Church's eucharistic sacrifice. See also Häussling (note 16 above) 155-56, 246-55.

[84]See Rudolf Suntrup, '*Te igitur* — Initialen und Kanonbilder in mittelalterlichen Sakramentarhandschriften' in *Text und Bild* (note 49 above) 278-382. See also O'Reilly (note 68 above) 108-110. On the importance in early christian art of bearded portrait-busts of Christ, see Rainer Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi: Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte, Römische Quartalschrift* 41. Supplementheft (Rome, Freiburg, Vienna 1986) which has a fine analytic catalogue of surviving examples, pp 193-267.

images, Christ's body (folio 2v) and the chalice of his blood (folio 3r). On each page of the Kells opening we move from an image of how Christ is announced by the word of the gospels (the evangelist symbols) to a culminating image, at the head of the page and the apex of the major arch, of how his body (2v) and blood (3r) are made present as *bona gratia* in the Eucharist.[85] As the eye of the onlooker moves from the canon tables to their architectural frames, it experiences the dramatic sequence, from word to sacramental action, common to the *Apertio aurium* ceremony and to the mass. The essential function of canon tables was to act as a reference guide to the harmony of the gospel texts which follow. It was appropriate that the rich variety of evangelist symbols in the canon table pages (folios 1v-5r) should prepare the viewer for the great four symbols pages later in the book. Similarly, the two small vignettes on folios 2v-3r, full of dramatic and symbolic life, prepare the viewer of the book for the great image of Christ *in medio duorum animalium* in St Matthew's account of the Passion (folio 114r), and for the two animals of the *Tunc crucifixerant XPI cum eo duos latrones* page (folio 124r).

The unity of this opening, folios 2v-3r, depends on significant contrast as much as on similarity. Fundamental to this unity is the twice-repeated visual pun of the long-tongued flanking animal heads, which seem designed to recall the Good Friday chant *in medio duorum animalium innotesceris*. To remember the music of its liturgy, early monasticism relied on oral tradition: musical notation is very unlikely to have reached Iona or Ireland before the Book of Kells was written.[86]In an oral musical tradition, the way to remember music was to recall the words traditionally chanted, and the liturgical actions which accompanied these chants. The visual pun of the two animal heads may have been intended to remind the onlooker, not just of the words *in medio duorum animalium* but of the music and

[85]The phrase *bona gratia* comes from the classic expression of the early medieval understanding of the Eucharist as theophany in *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarvm sive originvm Libri XX*, ed W M Lindsay (Oxford 1911) VI, pp xix, 38: *Sacrificium dictum quasi sacrum factum, quia prece mystica consecratur in memoriam pro nobis Dominicae passionis; unde hoc eo iubente corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus. Quod dum sit ex fructibus terrae, sanctificatur et fit sacramentum, operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei; cuius panis et calicis sacramentum Graeci Eucharistian dicunt, quod Latine bona gratia interpretatur. Et quid melius sanguine et corpore Christi?* The best modern account of how the Eucharist was understood in early medieval devotion and theology is still J A Jungmann's major study, 'Die Abwehr des germanischen Arianismus und der Umbruch der religiösen Kultur im frühen Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 69 (1947) 36-99, translated (neither elegantly nor accurately) as 'The defeat of teutonic Arianism and the revolution in religious culture in the early middle ages', in Jungmann, *Pastoral liturgy* (London and New York 1962) 1-101. In a later article, 'Von der *Eucharistia* zur "Messe"', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie 89* (1967) 29-40, Jungmann provided another fine account of the fundamental devotional change of direction in the early middle ages from stressing eucharistic thanks and prayer ascending to God, to seeing the mass in terms of descent from heaven to earth: a theophany in which the holy substances of Christ's flesh and blood were made present as *bona gratia* to the participants (p 37). On this shift in devotional perspective, see also Jungmann, I, 82-85; Häussling (note 16 above) 251-55; Nathan Mitchell (note 28 above) 61-120; and Arnold Angenendt, 'Sühne durch Blut', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 18 (1984) 437-67 (p 452).

[86]On the oral transmission of chant, see the discussion of the *Vita prima* of St Brigit, above, pp 410-11.

liturgical actions which accompanied these words. These mute-tongued monsters may have sent onlookers away humming, or at least thinking of, chants and ceremonies they performed each week or each year.

In early medieval Irish sculpture the west sides of the two great crosses at Monasterboice provide a remarkable analogue for the principle of multivalence built into the single 'Arrest' page in the Book of Kells (**pls 85-86**). The Monasterboice crosses unmistakably refer, like Kells, to the *sustentatio* image. But while the Kells 'Arrest' page works by embodying a variety of associations in a single image of Christ, the Monasterboice crosses articulate various levels of association in a whole series of separate but related images of Christ between two creatures. In the Kells image, Christ's Crucifixion is implied; on the Monasterboice crosses, it is explicitly presented, as the central image of each west side. In the Kells image, different levels of meaning are fused, so that the image can be interpreted in a variety of different ways. In contrast, on the west sides of both Monasterboice crosses, the themes of human suffering and divine triumph, expressed in the central Crucifixion scenes, are also separately articulated in a series of small panels below and above the Crucifixion scenes. Each of the panels presents an image of Christ flanked by two men. Each therefore is visually related to the Crucifixion scenes, in which Christ is flanked by Longinus and Stephaton. The small flanking panels lead the eye of the onlooker away from, and back towards, the central image of each west side, the Crucifixion. They encourage the onlooker to see a variety of visual, and thus thematic, links between the Crucifixion and these scenes of suffering and recognition.

On the shaft of Muiredach's Cross (**pl 87**), three small panels occur below the crossing. The lowest of these has explicit, and apparently ironic, references to *sustentatio*: its central theme seems to be Christ's kingship, ironically revealed in his Passion. In his right hand Christ holds a vertical staff or reed as though he were a king. But a soldier grasps Christ's raised left forearm; and this soldier holds a sword in his left hand, with its point at Christ's navel. On the left side of the panel, the second soldier holds his sword over his right shoulder, and pulls at Christ's cloak with his left hand. The panel seems to summarise the early stages of the Passion, and to combine elements of an 'Arrest' scene with the representation of the Mocking of Christ as King.[87] In the small panel directly above, Christ, facing frontally, is flanked by two other frontal figures. All three hold books; Christ holds the book in his left hand, and his right hand is raised, with two fingers extended in a gesture of blessing. The left hand figure points towards Christ's right side in an attitude of recognition. Harbison has found a convincing parallel between this gesture and that of St Peter in the now-lost apse of Sant'Andrea in Catabarbara in Rome, and convincingly interprets the scene as a representation of the raised Christ, recognised as king and priest by, and between, Saints Peter and Paul. This panel therefore

[87]Peter Harbison, I, 144 (Panel W 1), 270-72; II, fig 482; III, figs 875-80.

reverses the theme of the Arrest-Mocking below.[88] The ubiquity of books in scenes in which the triumph of Christ is recognised is noteworthy. It may be explained by the copying of ancient artistic models; but it is likely to have been reinforced by, and to have itself encouraged, the use of precious gospel books for display purposes in liturgical processions like those we have examined in the *Apertio aurium* and *Ordo Romanus primus*. The third small panel, just below the transom, represents the *traditio clavium*.[89] It complements the scene of the raised Christ directly below: Christ the King now hands on the keys (his power to bind and loose) to St Peter, and the New Testament to St Paul. The two saints, as they receive the symbols of their ecclesiastical offices, bow courteously to Christ in gestures which recall the solemn transferrals of liturgical books and objects in the *Apertio aurium* and *Ordo Romanus primus*. Christ no longer stands: in this scene he sits enthroned, and demonstrates his kingly power by generously transmitting it to his two most eminent officers. As the eye travels upwards along the shaft of Muiredach's Cross it encounters one scene of suffering in which Christ is paradoxically revealed as *Rex Iudaeorum*, and two scenes in which Christ is progressively revealed as the risen king and the source of the church's authority. At the foot of the shaft the dedicatory inscription, a request for prayers for abbot Muiredach (*OR DO MUIREDACH LASNDERN ... RO*: 'prayer for Muiredach who had the cross erected') forms the background to two cats in high relief. The cats exemplify, respectively, kindness and aggression: 'The cat on the left licks its kittens which it holds in its front paws, while the other cat is about to devour a bird which it grasps in front of it'.[90] In a fine stroke of monastic wit, a playful counterpoint to the serious scenes above in which Christ is three times made known *in medio duorum*, Muiredach's need for prayers is still made known to the patient reader who peers among his two vigorous cats.

The three small panels, by reiterated variations on the *sustentatio* tableau, encourage the viewer to read the great Crucifixion scene as likewise a theophany, in which Christ is revealed as God and man. If the viewer is aware of the association between the *sustentatio* tableau and the *in medio duorum animalium innotesceris* chant, the small panels encourage him to seek reminiscences of that chant in the Crucifixion scene. Reminiscences are not hard to find, as the sculptors seem to have used all their ingenuity to present Christ crucified between a variety of flanking figures. The largest of these, Longinus and Stephaton, are much smaller in scale than the figure of Christ, and are thus clearly subordinated to him. Two round knobs or heads on either side of Christ's knees are likely to represent the sun and moon (*sol et luna*).[91] Two angels, hovering above Christ's shoulders, support his head. At the beginnings of the crossing to left and right, outside the figures of Longinus and Stephaton, are two small figures which have been identified by Harbison as the earth (*Gaia*) and the ocean or water (*Tellus*). Harbison's

[88]Harbison, I, 144 (Panel W 2), 293-94; II, figs 480-81; III, figs 919-26.
[89]Harbison, I, 144 (Panel W 3) and 294-95; II, figs 480-481; III, figs 925-29.
[90]Harbison, I, 143.
[91]Harbison, I, 144.

suggestion is attractive, as it would add earth and water to the cosmic symbols of *sol et luna*.[92] Even 'two animals' themselves are present. Immediately below the feet of the crucified Christ, a small bird with outstretched wings stands on the ground. Below the line representing the ground, animal interlace winds around four bosses. Another four bosses linked by animal interlace occur just above the two angels who support the head of Christ, and between the bosses and the housecap 'two birds interlock their necks so that their heads face back towards their tails' (**pl 88**).[93] Whatever about the interpretation of individual details, the intention of the sculptors is clear: to multiply references to flanking figures (angelic, allegorical, human and animal) so as to encourage the onlooker to view the Crucifixion scene as an epiphany of Christ as man, and a theophany of Christ as God.

As analogues for the 'Arrest' scene in Kells, the west faces of the Monasterboice crosses therefore provide significant contrasts as well as similarities. To a certain extent, different artistic principles are at work in the book and in the sculpture. The book compels a recognition of multivalence by fusing a number of associations in a single image. The sculpture openly demonstrates that the Crucifixion is a multivalent image by visually relating it to a number of smaller scenes, some of arrest and suffering, others of recognition and glory.[94] Nevertheless, a number of these smaller scenes are themselves complex in design and in meaning, as the variety of modern interpretations of them indicates.[95] The best example of a truly multivalent image in these monuments is perhaps the panel at the top of the west side of Muiredach's Cross (**pl 88**). In its use of the *sustentatio* tableau this panel itself provides a striking analogue of the multivalence embodied in the Kells 'Arrest' image. In the panel the central figure, Christ, has his arms raised towards heaven. His hands are clearly displayed, palms facing outwards. On each palm, in slanting light, slight protuberances can still be seen. They seem to denote the marks of nails. The gesture therefore serves to display the wounds in his hands; it also establishes in the panel a sense of upward movement. But the gesture is also clearly a gesture of prayer, reminiscent of an *orans* gesture. The outstretched hands of Christ in this panel are clearly related visually to his outstretched hands in the great central Crucifixion scene: this visual reminiscence of the Crucifixion tableau

[92]Harbison, I, 145, 279; II, figs 480-81; III, figs 892-94.

[93]Harbison, I, 145; II, fig 481.

[94]Yves Christe, *La vision de Matthieu (Matth. XXIV-XXV). Origines et développement d'une image de la Seconde Parousie*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques X (Paris 1973), argues that in christian iconography a gradual shift took place between the eighth and tenth centuries from ahistorical, theophanic, triumphal images of Christ, modelled on ancient imperial iconography, to an increasing emphasis on the representation of particular historical events in Christ's life; he argues that the Carolingian period was decisive in this shift towards historical particularism (pp 50-54).

[95]Harbison's great study is particularly valuable, not only for its minute descriptions and excellent photographs of the crosses and intelligent analyses of them, but because it carefully documents the various modern interpretations of individual panels. On the two great Monasterboice crosses, see Harbison, I, 139-53; II, figs 472-99.

in the *orans* posture (above it) implies that the Crucifixion was, like this upper panel, an act of prayer.

How then are we to interpret this panel? What meaning or meanings are we to attach to it? As the marks of nails are still visible in Christ's hands, the panel is primarily a picture of Christ made known, after the resurrection, between two angels. It carries one stage further the tableaux of Christ's kingship in the three small panels directly below the Crucifixion. As the panel occurs at the top of this side of the cross, and as Christ's raised hands reach towards the sky, the panel clearly refers to the Ascension.[96] However, the angels support the raised hands of Christ, so that his hands form a gesture clearly reminiscent of the *orans* posture. It would I think be a mistake to refuse to see in such a gesture a visual reminiscence of the great Old Testament example of the *orans* gesture, when at the battle of Rephidim the hands of Moses raised in prayer were supported by Aaron and Hur (Exodus 17:11-12).[97] As Christ stands between two angels, and as the scene is placed on a house-cap which is clearly designed to recall the design of a church building, it is reasonable also to see in the scene a reference to the Temple, in which God was known between two cherubim.[98] But the abstract shadows of the Old Testament are here seen as fulfilled in the physical reality of the New: the angels no longer conceal God's body with their wings (as they do in the Vulgate text of Isaiah's vision, Is. 6:1-3); they reveal it, and turn to the onlookers as though to invite them to recognise in Christ's wounded but glorified body God 'revealed between two cherubim'.[99] The emphasis on the wounds in Christ's hands may be intended to remind the onlookers of the Parousia, in which Christ is to display his wounds to those who pierced him.[100] Apart from the various subsidiary associations, the central originality of the panel has been to fuse two narrative moments into

[96]As demonstrated convincingly by Roger Stalley, 'European art and the Irish high crosses', *PRIA* 90C (1990) 135-58 (pp 138-41); Harbison, I, 145; III, figs 915-16. I find the arguments of Stalley and Harbison persuasive; but I wish to emphasize the other dimensions of meaning which the sculptors at Monasterboice have incorporated into their image, dimensions which I do not find in the analogues adduced by Stalley and Harbison.

[97]R A S MacAlister, *Monasterboice, Co Louth* (Dundalk 1946) 43; but see Harbison, I, 290-91.

[98]Ó Carragáin (1988, note 69 above) 29. A similar reference to Christ 'between two cherubim' may have been intended in the inner pair of angels who physically support Christ in the Porte Miégeville at Toulouse: Stalley (note 96 above) 140, pl II.

[99]Ó Carragáin (1988, note 69 above) 27-29.

[100]As was recognised by Helen Roe, *Monasterboice and its monuments* (Dundalk 1981) 33-34, who saw in the scene a reminiscence of Zechariah 12:10-11 'and they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced', a prophecy quoted in St John's gospel at the moment of Christ's death (John 19:37). John's gospel was read, in most European liturgies, on Good Friday; and Zechariah's prophecy was cited at the beginning of St John's Apocalypse: 'Behold, he cometh with the clouds, and every eye shall see him: and they also that pierced him' (Apocalypse 1:7-8). The aspect of the panel which looks forward to the parousia of Christ is 'fulfilled' in the central images of the opposite, east side of Muiredach's cross, both in the small *Majestas domini* scene in which Christ reappears between two angels, and in the great tableau of the Last Judgement: see Harbison II, fig 490. See now the fine analysis of references to these scriptural texts in early medieval art in Jennifer O'Reilly, 'Early medieval text and image: the wounded and exalted Christ', *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-88) 72-118 (pp 94-100).

a single triumphal image of Christ. One moment, the Ascension, is an historical event which took place in the past (but which, as a theophany of Christ, was continually made present in the liturgy); the other, Christ's display of his wounds on the Last Day, is to take place 'any moment', at an unknown day or hour: it is an urgent eschatological image, encouraging the onlooker to swift repentance. The sculptors have created an image which expresses the full force of the prophecy, which Luke in the Acts of the Apostles placed in the mouths of the two men in white. These appear after Christ has disappeared, and say to the apostles 'Why are you Galileans standing here looking into the sky? This Jesus who has been taken up from you into heaven will come back in the same way as you have seen him go to heaven' (1:11). At Monasterboice the 'men in white' appear as winged angels holding books: they appear, not after Christ has disappeared, but honouring him and making him known in a *sustentatio* tableau. Their books imply that in this *sustentatio* the Old Testament as well as the New has been fulfilled.[101] The Monasterboice artist has created a truly multivalent image. The ability to create images rich in association, as in this panel and in the 'Arrest' page of the Book of Kells, was one of the great glories of early medieval monastic culture.

Such rich multivalence is alien to our own scholarly traditions, much influenced by nineteenth-century positivism; thus it was natural that most of the scholarly effort on the Monasterboice iconography has been expended in identifying the precise narrative content of the individual panels, in eliminating the uncertainty implied in multivalence. This scholarly effort has by no means been misdirected. It is a necessary field of enquiry, and the variety of interpretations advanced for each panel by a variety of scholars has great value. Some identifications may indeed be unconvincing or mistaken; but many are only apparently contradictory: they are intelligent scholarly responses to the multivalence of association built into some of the panels. But the efforts to tie down individual panels to particular narrative moments need to be complemented by a recognition that, in high crosses, the *fundamental* image is the cross as a whole (as, in the Book of Kells, the fundamental image is the book itself, not any page within it). Individual sides of each cross tend to form subordinate unities, and meaningful relationships are often established between opposite sides of crosses.[102] Individual panels should be seen in the context of the greater images provided by the monument as a whole. Panels should be seen as it were as individual words in the complex sentence which is expressed only by the overall design of the cross, primarily through the complex relationships established between the various parts of the monument.

[101] See Jerome's reference to *in medio duorum animalium* as referring to the way in which both Old and New Testaments reveal Christ, quoted above, pp 422-23.

[102] Some of the relationships between opposite sides of crosses are explored in Ó Carragáin (1988, note 69 above) 16-20 (South Cross, Kells), 20-22 (Moone); 'Bewcastle Cross' (note 8 above) 30-33; and 'Ruthwell Crucifixion poem' (note 8 above) 15-29, 50-2.

The Monasterboice crosses are particularly interesting in this regard. It is clear that the designers composed each side as a visual unity, made up of visually related panels, so that each side provides a series of variations on a single visual theme. The west side of each cross is dominated by a Crucifixion scene, and the small panels above and below the Crucifixion scene provide an ordered visual commentary on the implications of the Crucifixion. In a series of variations on the theme that 'Christ is to be known between two creatures', they set forth the various levels of association, from suffering to triumph and from Passion to Parousia, which Christ's act of Atonement involves. Central to the design of the west sides of the Monasterboice crosses, but not much featured on the east sides,[103] is the 'figure of three' design in which the status of the central figure is revealed by placing that figure between two other figures. To see these west sides we have to face east, towards the rising sun. There was an early christian tradition, well known both in England and in Ireland, that Christ faced west on the Cross.[104] In the early medieval period, the congregation and the celebrant faced east to celebrate mass. Could mass, or other stational processions, have been celebrated before the Monasterboice crosses in the early middle ages?[105] If so, the *sustentatio* tableau might have been enacted while the celebrant was standing near or passing before the monuments, either at the *introit*, offertory, Preface or communion of the mass, or during a stational procession within the monastic enclosure. Such a liturgical tableau would have expressed through dramatic action the idea which unifies the west sides of these monuments: that the liturgical celebration (in which the celebrant like Christ on the Cross was honoured between two creatures) was a participation by mankind in Christ's sacrificial prayer to his Father when, raised up on the Cross, he sent forth the Spirit which drew all ages to him.

[103] Note the almost complete absence of the 'figure of three' tableau on the east side of Muiredach's Cross (Harbison, II, fig 473). There the only occurrence of the tableau is the seated figure (of Christ?) between two angels, directly above the Last Judgement scene. Harbison (I, 142) identifies this tableau as a *majestas domini*. If his identification is correct, then this small tableau can be seen as the fulfilment of the prophecy implied in the multivalent 'Ascension — display of wounds' panel at the top of the west face. The east side of the Tall Cross at Monasterboice (Harbison, II, figs 488-90) is similarly lacking in 'figure of three' tableaux, except for the single example, on the arm of the cross to the left of the large central scene, which Harbison (I, 148) identifies as the temptation of St Anthony.

[104] See Ó Carragáin (1987, note 60 above) 120; (1988, note 69 above) 9.

[105] As suggested by Otto Nussbaum, *Der Standort des Liturgen am christlichen Altar vor dem Jahre 1000: eine archäologische und liturgiegeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Theophaneia, Beiträge zur Religions - und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums 18, 2 vols (Bonn 1965) I, 372. On Nussbaum's general thesis, see now Marcel Metzger, 'La place des liturges à l'autel', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 45 (1971) 113-45. On the importance of orientation in medieval liturgy, see above all Cyrille Vogel, '*Versus ad Orientem*. L'Orientation dans les *Ordines Romani* du haut moyen âge', *La Maison-Dieu* 70 (1962) 67-99; Vogel, '*Sol Aequinoctialis*. Problèmes et technique de l'Orientation dans le culte chrétien', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 36 (1962) 175-211; and Barbara Maurmann, *Die Himmelrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters*, Münstersche Mittelalterschriften 33 (Munich 1976). The various uses to which crosses were put are surveyed by Ann Hamlin, 'Crosses in early Ireland: the evidence from written sources' in Ryan, 138-40.

In interpreting such images as the four evangelist pages or the 'Arrest' page in the Book of Kells we should keep in mind, not only the images which survive in the visual art of the period, but also the vanished visual images of early medieval liturgical action. The performance of a developed liturgy was, certainly by the eighth century, central to European monastic life. The Book of Kells probably stems from such a liturgically aware monastic culture. Such lost dramatic images as we can reconstruct through the surviving liturgical documents provide us with *one* important context (among many) within which the images of the Book of Kells may be interpreted.