

Leeds Studies in English

Article:

Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'Every Picture Tells a Story: Cuthbert's Vestments in the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 37 (2006), 111-34

Permanent URL:

https://ludos.leeds.ac.uk:443/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=123820&silos_library=GEN01



Leeds Studies in English
School of English
University of Leeds
<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/lse>

Every Picture Tells a Story: Cuthbert's Vestments in the Benedictional of St Æthelwold¹

Sarah Larratt Keefer

Early Medieval prayers and *ordo* material associated with Mass, ordination and consecration make provision for the clerical attire to be worn by deacons, priests and members of the episcopal ranks.² Nevertheless, the art from Anglo-Saxon England does not always correspond with these ritual directives, and requires closer investigation to explain particular anomalies. The focus of this article lies on two such conundra presented by tenth-century portraits of St Cuthbert, Prior and Bishop of Lindisfarne and, for the Anglo-Saxons, perhaps England's most celebrated 'native son'. But where his vesture in one of these images can be understood by context, his garb in the other is far more puzzling. This second representation of Cuthbert appears in the front row of the Choir of Confessors miniature which now stands at the beginning of London, British Library Additional MS 49598, the Benedictional of St Æthelwold; in this depiction, Cuthbert's attire seems part of the agenda of re-affirming the Romanization of the church and the nationalization of Benedictinism, a programme of policy that hallmarked Æthelwold's tenure of Winchester.

What in fact might we expect an Anglo-Saxon monastic bishop to have worn? No *ordo* prescriptions for vestments are preserved in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, since there are no insular copies of the *Ordines Romani*: all that we have concerning monastic and/or clerical vestments written in hands known to be English resides in the *Regularis concordia* and in the ordination and consecration rituals of the Anglo-Saxon pontificals which themselves draw heavily on continental use and *ordo* or customary practice. The eighth-century *Ordo Romanus I* describes a papal vesting for Mass, with the pontiff donning the linen or woolen layers of alb, dalmatic, and chasuble, with an amice around his neck, a maniple on his left wrist, and a *pallium* encircling his shoulders. To this the Frankish *Ordo Romanus VIII* (s. ix²) adds the *orarium*, called *stola* ('stole') north of the Alps considerably before the term was adopted in Rome after 1000.³

Alb (Lat. <i>alba</i>)	An ankle-length linen under-tunic, generally white, with closely-fitted sleeves and skirt; it was always belted with a cincture, or <i>cingulum</i> .
Dalmatic (Lat. <i>dalmatica</i>)	An unfitted and voluminous over-tunic, probably more frequently of wool than of linen north of the Alps, with loose, often three-quarter-length sleeves and reaching to just below the knee. Originally the garb of the regional deacons of Rome, it was later worn by deacons and bishops but not by priests.
Chasuble (Lat. <i>casula</i> or <i>planeta</i>)	The outermost vestment given at ordination (the 'cope' is not part of the ritual garbing of an ordinand), the <i>casula</i> ('little hut') or chasuble derives from the <i>paenula</i> or Mediterranean over-cloak, though as a vestment it underwent substantial stylistic change.
Amice (Lat. <i>amictum</i>)	A linen or woollen scarf worn around the neck or in some cases, over the head, below the alb as a protection for the consecrated vestments against grease, oil and perspiration.
Maniple (Lat. <i>mappulum</i>)	A narrow length of ornate material, often fringed, that has its origins in insignia denoting consular rank, in the napkins carried by servants, or in a blend of both. It is worn over the left wrist (or carried in the left hand) by deacons, priests and the episcopal ranks during Mass.

<p><i>Pallium</i></p>	<p>By the ninth century, the symbol both of obedience to the papacy and of concomitant archiepiscopal authority. The origins of the <i>pallium</i> are uncertain: again, it may derive from consular insignia, or represent a severely-reduced toga-like garment which acquired an association for its wearer with the Good Shepherd. It is a narrow strip of white wool worn about the shoulders only by the Pope and – apparently – archbishops, but see below.</p>
<p>Stole (Lat. <i>stola</i> or <i>orarium</i>)</p>	<p>Once again, a long narrow strip of embroidered fabric that may derive from consular insignia of honour; it is worn directly over the alb, over the left shoulder of the deacon (falling in front and behind, and thus once again resembling a servant's towel, but see the representation of Peter the Deacon on the 'Frithestan' embroidered maniple from St Cuthbert's tomb, below), around the neck of the priest to cross at his chest and be secured by his alb's cincture, and around the neck of the bishop but falling straight to his cincture without crossing.</p>

The *Regularis concordia* explicitly prescribes the alb for monks at Candlemas and on Palm Sunday ('albis induti', 'mid alpan gescrydde' [vested in albs]), while it seems to be understood as the vestment worn beneath the chasuble on Ash Wednesday ('annectens alteram summitatem eius cingulo alb', 'tocnyttende oþerne ende þære mid gyrdle alban' [making the lower end thereof fast to the girdle of his alb]) and it is part of what can only be termed the 'costuming' for the Easter Sunday *Quem Quaeritis* enactment ('quorum unus, a<l>ba indutus ac si ad aliud agendum', 'þære an mid alban gescrydd swylce elleshwæt to donne' [one of whom, wearing an alb as though for some different purpose]).⁴ The stole seems reserved for the abbot, evidently as an ordained man, although provision is made at the burial of a monk who was a priest for his stole to be placed over his cowl and interred with him ('si

uero sacerdos fuerit, circumdatur ei stola super cucullam', 'gif he soþlice sacerð byþ si ymbutonseald him stole ofer þa culan' [But if he is a priest a stole may be placed about him over his cowl]).⁵ Finally, the *Regularis concordia* prescribes the chasuble (OE 'mæssehacela') for wear by sub-deacon, deacon and priest during Lent and Ember days only,⁶ evidently assuming the chasuble to be for diaconal use as well.

The earliest extant English pontifical (Paris, BNF MS Lat. 10575), erroneously attributed to Egbert, Archbishop of York, comes from the mid-tenth century. In it we find initial prayers consecrating the vestments ('incipiunt orationes ad uestimenta sacerdotalia seu leuitica') to be received by the diaconal or sacerdotal ordinand: 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus. qui moysen famulum tuum pontificalia seu sacerdotalia atque leuitica uestimenta ad exemplum in conspectu tuo ministerium eorum. et ad decorem seu laudem nominis tui fieri decreuisti'.⁷ Diaconal and sacerdotal ordinations provide for the sanctification and presentation of stole and chasuble, with the alb already in the possession of the ordinand and the garment worn for the ordination ritual. Of the Anglo-Saxon pontificals in print, neither the first Claudius Pontifical nor the Sidney Sussex Pontifical, both from the later tenth century, nor the eleventh-century Lanalet Pontifical disagrees with the vestments to be consecrated nor with their recipients. As a group, the three tenth century books – Egbert, Claudius and Sidney Sussex – indicate a formula prayer for the consecration of the stole or the chasuble, depending on the rank of ordinand, but this formula prayer is omitted from Lanalet so the service may have become simpler as time went on.⁸ Although in the ordination rituals of *Ordines Romani XXXIV* and *XXXV* we see the ordinand to the diaconate clothed with a dalmatic, then exchanging his dalmatic for a chasuble (here called *planeta*) when he becomes a priest, and the candidate for the episcopate re-vested in the dalmatic and chasuble together,⁹ the dalmatic is never consecrated in these ordines and we never see it given ritually to an ordinand in English service books. *Ordo Romanus VIII* prescribes alb, stole and chasuble but not dalmatic for a bishop or archbishop, so there was evidently some variability in the wearing of the dalmatic between alb and chasuble for those in major orders (as we shall see with the images on the tenth-century maniple from Cuthbert's tomb). Thus, from the service-book evidence rather than the *ordo* evidence, we could fairly expect to find a tenth-century English member of the major orders wearing only the alb with his stole over that, and his chasuble over them both.¹⁰ The presence or absence of a dalmatic thus remains a minor detail.¹¹

Because the bishop candidate is already in possession of Mass vestments as of his ordination to the diaconate or priesthood, episcopal consecration confers the *anulus* and *baculus* – symbols of his new office – alone;¹² it is only with the

consecration of an archbishop, of which there were just the two in Anglo-Saxon England, in Canterbury and in York, that the final and most deeply symbolic vestment is presented to the new prelate, and this is the *pallium*, central to our purposes here. Historical studies of vestments tell us confidently that possession of the *pallium* is the signal mark of the archepiscopal office:¹³ in the early Middle Ages it was made as a long oval band of white wool with two hanging sections bearing black or purple crosses sewn onto them. When placed around the shoulders on top of the chasuble, with the sections hanging down in front and behind, it could create either a T- or a Y-shaped effect. By the time of the compilation of *Ordo Romanus I*, it was worn by the Pope to represent the supremacy of his pontifical office. As a mark of obedience to the See of Rome, it was granted to archbishops only, and its possession signified an authority that extended beyond the ecclesiastical to the political, since only archbishops might conduct episcopal consecrations and regnal coronations. By the ninth century, no archbishop could assume his office until he had received his own *pallium*, which could not be worn outside of his administrative see nor loaned to another man, and would be buried with him at his death.

In the art of Anglo-Saxon England, we find two vestment puzzles that need to be solved in terms of the *ordo*, customary and service-book provisions rehearsed above. The first is the less complicated: fol. 1v of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183, from perhaps the 930s, contains a celebrated picture of King Æthelstan holding a book which he is evidently presenting to St Cuthbert [Plate 1]. Here the saint is nimbed, and dressed only in an alb, with sleeves that are tight at the wrist, and a chasuble whose orphreys are visible down the front;¹⁴ consonant with the model of *Ordo Romanus VIII*, he wears no dalmatic, and because he is standing just outside the doorway of his own church and thus is not represented as a celebrant of the Mass, he bears no maniple.¹⁵ However he also wears no stole.

The second image of Cuthbert appears in London, British Library Additional MS 49598, compiled primarily as a Benedictional for Bishop Æthelwold perhaps between 971 and 984. Twenty-eight full-page miniatures remain, of which the first [Plate 2] shows a group of seven Confessors: four saints standing behind a more prominent trio in front, who are identified as 'Sanctus Gregorius, Presul' (prelate) to the viewer's left, 'Sanctus Benedictus, Abbas' (abbot) in pride of place at the centre, and 'Sanctus Cuthbertus, Antistes' (bishop) to Benedict's left and the viewer's right. Each is nimbed and vested for Mass on the model of the pre-ninth century *Ordines Romani*, and wearing alb, stole, dalmatic and chasuble, but also a *pallium*.

The lack of a stole for Cuthbert is somewhat puzzling in CCC 183. As a bishop Cuthbert would wear the vestments of an ordained man, and bishops, priests

and deacons were expected to wear the stole at least when officiating within church ritual: from an early period, the stole or *orarium* was considered an essential vestment for the Mass.¹⁶ It is however significant that, despite reference to the *orarium* in both the *Ordines Romani* and the writings of ninth-century Church Fathers, no consistent mention is made of this garment in any service-book until the mid-tenth century.¹⁷ Because this is the earliest English manuscript image of a vested cleric, we must ask if there is precedent within contemporary art on the continent to see bishops without the stole depicted outside of ritual celebration. The answer is ambiguous, since the intent of an illustration may need to be understood in order for us to make sense of its details. Popes, bishops and archbishops in Carolingian and Ottonian art may be vested as for Mass in a scene set in a throne-room, or may be clad more simply without the stole, depending on the agenda of the artist. Closer to home, we may look at the embroidered clerics on the early tenth-century 'Frithestan' maniple, given with a matching stole by Æthelstan to Cuthbert's tomb at perhaps the same time as the CCCC MS 183 manuscript in which an image, described by Ivy as follows, occurs:

[Popes] Gregory and Sixtus each wear an alb, dalmatic, stole, maniple and chasuble. Peter and Laurence, being deacons, do not wear chasubles. Peter wears his stole in diaconal fashion over his left shoulder. Laurence does not appear to have one. Peter and Gregory both have decorated dalmatics.¹⁸

So, while continental art vests its bishops according to the design of the artist, in the tenth century representations of vested clerics in the 'Frithestan' embroideries, we find stoles provided for members of the episcopate but not necessarily for both deacons, despite both *Ordines Romani* and continental conciliar provisions, seem here to be without chasuble (or *planeta*) as well.

However, in CCCC MS 183, Cuthbert occupies a different reality from that in which the living king stands with his book. He is a long-dead saint, no longer responsible for the immediate care of his particular pastoral flock, yet he 'lives' still within the faith of the Church Triumphant; it is perhaps for this reason that Cuthbert is garbed as simply as we find him here.¹⁹ Nevertheless, we cannot find any consistency in pre-Conquest English vestment representation, even if we make an effort to assign roles for the clerics in the images. Folio 1v of the Lanalet Pontifical depicts the consecration of a church, with the bishop in alb, stole and chasuble, and carrying a maniple. However, we find drawings of Dunstan and Æthelwold in both

London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii and Durham Cathedral Library MS B.III.32, the latter a copy of the former and both belonging to the eleventh century. They are dressed as Cuthbert is, in CCCC MS 183, with only alb and chasuble and without stoles. This may be fitting since, like Cuthbert and unlike the Lanalet bishop, they are not engaged in ritual; nevertheless, Dunstan, on the right of each drawing, wears the *pallium*, marking his office as Archbishop of Canterbury. The stole-less Cuthbert, therefore, may not present the appearance of a bishop as we might understand it from the English ordination or consecration services, but this can be explained and seems not out of keeping within artistic representations of episcopal figures from both insular and continental traditions.

The second conundrum, from the Benedictional, is, however, anything but simple. We have noted that Cuthbert, in company with Benedict and Gregory, is vested in full Mass regalia – alb, stole, dalmatic, amice, and chasuble – but he also bears a *pallium* along with the other two, and it is here that we need to look carefully at what we are being shown. Of the three, Benedict is not a priest, and therefore should not be garbed as a celebrant of Mass at all. However, again of the three, only Gregory is a Pope: Benedict was an abbot, the founder of Benedictinism, and Cuthbert both a prior and a bishop (though not apparently at the same time), but never an archbishop of either of the English sees. By the assertions of vestment historians, then, neither of these saints merits the *pallium*, saints though they may be. It is nevertheless on the *pallium* of each that his name is inscribed, and Cuthbert's *pallium* is further confusing in that it is blue-green and not white, as all *pallia* ought to be.

Robert Deshman has this to say of Benedict's depiction in the Confessors' portrait:

Another feature of the iconography that should also be understood in the context of the reform is the anomalous costume of St. Benedict. In the choir of confessors he wears pontifical vestments, including the pallium, the insigne of metropolitan rank [. . .] As Benedictine monks, Æthelwold and his illuminators would certainly have known that the founder of their order had not been a priest, much less an archbishop; they must have had a purpose in depicting the abbot saint as a member of the episcopacy [. . .] By depicting Benedict himself as a bishop, Æthelwold pushed the argument for monastic

bishops a step further than his more cautious pupil Ælfric, who must have been echoing some of his teacher's ideas.²⁰

This is as may be, but it is perhaps easier to explain the *pallium*, together with full Mass vestments, for a saint – Benedict – who in life would have worn none of them than for a saint – Cuthbert – who in life would have had the right to wear all but the *pallium*. We will also have to consider the issue of the colour of Cuthbert's *pallium* which, artistic license undoubtedly at work elsewhere in the manuscript notwithstanding, remains an uncanonical blue-green when compared to those of Benedict and Gregory. But we must first tackle the more immediate question of why the artist of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold has ascribed a *pallium* to a man, national saint as he was, who was only a bishop? Could this have been merely an honour, ascribable either by ecclesiastical practice or through artistic license, to a saint?

Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* has Gregory the Great providing for three *pallia* and not two, the third being for the Bishop of London.²¹ However, this initial third emblem of power seemed to fall into obscurity shortly thereafter, and Pope Honorius' letter to Honorius of Canterbury makes clear that only York and Canterbury remain sees whose metropolitans have the papal mandate to consecrate another archbishop, and thus by extension to create other bishops or provide for the coronation of kings: 'et duo pallia utrorumque metropolitanorum, id est Honorio et Paulino, direximus, ut dum quis eorum de hoc saeculo ad auctorem suum fuerit accersitus, in loco ipsius alterum episcopum ex hac nostra auctoritate debeat subrogare'.²² The archiepiscopal consecration ordines in two unedited pontificals, London, BL Additional MS 57337 (the 'Anderson Pontifical', s. xi¹) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 44 (the 'Corpus-Canterbury Pontifical', s. xi³) quote this very letter from Pope Honorius, indicating that customs regarding the scope of English archiepiscopal authority had not changed from the early seventh century; the prayers and ritual that follow for this consecration make clear that the investiture of an archbishop with a *pallium* was a solemn undertaking and, as such, would likely never have been an empty symbol granted by the Papacy to a saint after his death.²³ More contemporary with the Benedictional comes the Letter of Privilege from Pope John XII (dated to September 21, 960) granting the *pallium* to Dunstan. Its earliest version is in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 943 (the Sherborne Pontifical, s. x²); its details regarding the significance of the *pallium* and its prescriptions on when it should be worn reinforce the solemnity surrounding such a grant, but also leave no doubt that a Reform period artist charged with the important task of illuminating the Benedictional of St

Æthelwold would never have added it as a gratuitous detail in a painting for the purpose for symmetry or convenience.²⁴

What do we know with certainty of tenth-century views concerning Cuthbert's episcopal authority, in terms of its extent over local rather than regional matters? In the Benedictional, he is identified as *antistes* rather than *episcopus*, and in this the Benedictional artist follows Bede, who uses the term for Cuthbert in both the Prose and Metrical *Vitae*.²⁵ Bosworth-Toller glosses *antistes* as 'suffragan bishop', although at the time of Cuthbert's election to the see of Lindisfarne, the episcopacies of Northumbria were very irregular and there was no archbishop of York whose proxy a suffragan might take to synod. While Ælfric renders the Bedan *antistes* as 'bisceop' in his version of the childhood narrative, he also calls Cuthbert 'leodbiscop', one of only three uses in the two series of Catholic Homilies; there is however no evident equation to be made between *antistes* and 'leodbiscop', and Godden notes that '[t]he 3 examples [of this lemma] do not appear to show any special function for the leod-element'.²⁶ But while *antistes* appears in Bede, it derives ultimately from the same Scholica Graecarum Glossarum which lies behind the hermeneutic language of the tenth-century Reform, promulgated by Æthelwold himself.²⁷

Despite a general definition of *antistes* as 'summus sacerdos quod [sic] ante altare stat' [the highest [office of] priest who stands before the altar], and thus 'bishop',²⁸ which is in accord with Godden's observation about 'leodbiscop', above, it is interesting to ask whether Æthelwold considered Cuthbert to have been more than an ordinary bishop, by having the Benedictional artist vest Cuthbert in a *pallium*. Of the liturgical calendars remaining to us, only an early (s. ix) Northern calendar (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 63) describes Cuthbert as *confessor* alone;²⁹ his prevailing epithet is *episcopus*, with its earliest attestation in Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 150 from c. 969-78, and it is worth noting that the calendar on fol. 2r of London, British Library Additional MS 37517 (the Bosworth Psalter from Canterbury, St Augustine's, c. 988-1012) calls Cuthbert *presul*, as we see Gregory identified in the Confessors' Choir miniature.

We must return to continental art to see if we can find any precedent for bishops depicted in *pallia* to which they were not officially entitled. It is here that we must begin to question the confident statements about *pallia* intended for archbishops only which are found in the many studies of historical vestments, and to scrutinize more closely those councils on which such statements are based. It is not always obvious, in an illustration from a Carolingian or Ottonian book, whether the cleric in the *pallium* is in fact an archbishop if his identity is not evident. In some cases, it may be that scholars familiar with vestment history make assumptions based

on what they see in art, thus 'here we see that unidentified Cleric A wears a *pallium* so unidentified Cleric A must be an archbishop'. On the other hand, art and medieval historians alike who work regularly in this period frequently use the term 'bishop' in discourse for any cleric in a *pallium*, generalizing for convenience but creating the erroneous impression that *episcopus* and *archiepiscopus* are interchangeable.

At the opposite extreme, the vestment historians attempt to be comprehensive in their categories. R. A. S. Macalister tells us that 'from the first, [the *pallium*] was regarded as a distinct vestment to be worn by archbishops only'³⁰ but later identifies 'a few favoured bishops' as having received 'this privilege', their sees being 'Autun, Bamberg, Dol, Lucca, Ostia, Pavia and Verona', although this seems a phenomenon later than the year 1100.³¹ Herbert Norris echoes this pronouncement:

The *pallium* was a symbol of jurisdiction and also an ornament of great honour, which indicated the highest dignity in the wearer, and the custom arose for the Supreme Pontiff to confer it upon archbishops and on a few bishops as a token that the recipient participated in the plenitude of the papal authority. Some few bishops received it purely as an honour, devoid of all ecclesiastical power.³²

Janet Mayo reminds us that by Pope Nicholas I's degree of 866, 'no archbishop could take office without the *pallium*' and, ignoring Bede's inclusion about Gregory's provision having been made for the Bishop of London, suggests that no one but an archbishop in England was ever to wear one.³³ Cyril Pocknee suggests that 'in fact the early evidence all goes to show that [the *pallium*] was a sign of episcopal rank, and common to all bishops', and cites the Council of Macon in Gaul, held in 583, where it is bishops who are not allowed to celebrate mass without a *pallium*: 'ut episcopus sine palleo missas dicere non praesumat' [so that a bishop may not presume to say mass without a *pallium*].³⁴ The ecclesiastical historian Duchesne ascribes the *pallium* to bishops ('*êveques*'),³⁵ and Andrieu himself has this to say on the subject:

Cet insigne papal apparaît dans les documents au vi^e siècle [. . .]
Il est à supposer que les papes portaient eux-mêmes le *pallium*
depuis longtemps, lorsqu'ils commencèrent à le considérer
comme une sorte de décoration dont ils pouvaient honorer

d'autres prélats, généralement investis d'une autorité particulière.³⁶

Conflicting or insufficient evidence together with a variety of interpretations have therefore left the question of whether bishops wore the *pallium* in early years, with a change restricting it to archbishops thereafter, still unresolved.

We have already seen the absence of *pallia* for the two popes who merit it in the images of Gregory and Sixtus II on the 'Frithestan' maniple. We find an unusual presence of the *pallium*, by no less an artist than the Gregory Master,³⁷ in the Sainte Chapelle Gospels (Paris BNF Lat. 8851. fol. 52v) of c. 984 where St Mark wears a *pallium* in his evangelist portrait. This detail seemed enough of a piece with the rest of the composition to be copied without question in the next century into the St Mark miniature in the Codex Aureus of Echternach, c. 1031, who again bears a *pallium* in his portrait. The Uta Codex of the early eleventh century (Munich, Clm 13601)³⁸ also presents singular vestments in its portraits of two German saints, Erhard who died in 630 and Emmeram who died in 685; they were bishops one after the other of Regensburg and, as such, their identities accompany their depictions. The image of St Erhard, presented as celebrating Mass on fol. 4a, is clad in full episcopal regalia but he wears a *rationale* (elsewhere called *ephod* by some historians) on top of his vestments.³⁹ This breastplate-like ornament was known in Ireland and on the continent but not evidently in England, and appears in other eleventh-century presentations of bishops and archbishops alike. Pseudo-Alcuin describes it as 'a distinctive adornment for a bishop', and the remains of an actual *rationale* makes this representation of St Erhard, ostentatious as it is, more plausible.⁴⁰

However, we find a depiction of St Emmeram on fol. 1v,⁴¹ in which Hartwic, the architect of the book, offers its representation to the saint. He stands in much the same conceptualized space as that of Cuthbert in CCCC 183, static within his sainthood as he receives a book from a living suppliant. But while this image of St Emmeram is far less elegant than that of St Erhard at Mass, the sainted bishop's vestments are easy to make out: he wears an alb, a stole, a dalmatic, a chasuble and a *pallium*; the latter is clearly not the chasuble orphreys because the bottom section of the *pallium* falls below the lower edge of the chasuble, and the shoulder girdle is presented in the Y-shape that is one of the two designs for *pallia* from this period. So once again we find an image, admittedly later than that of Cuthbert in Æthelwold's Benedictional, where a canonized bishop who is not evidently intended to be celebrating Mass is nevertheless presented in full pontifical vestments that include

the symbol of the highest episcopal office, which in life he would apparently have had no right to wear.

We therefore have continental examples of art both before and after the Benedictional of St Æthelwold that deviate perhaps as abruptly from historical vestment assignment as does the Cuthbert image with its *pallium*. Did the customs regarding the conferral of *pallia* change and become stricter as the centuries passed, or do art and *ordo* disagree for other reasons?⁴² We read of emperors sanctioning a request for a *pallium*,⁴³ so the power invested in its symbolism was clearly politicized with imperial or regnal association and grew more sophisticated throughout Western Christendom between 500 and 1000: to what end does the presence of the House of Wessex in the Tenth Century Reform have any bearing on this depiction? And does the association of the *pallium* with Roman authority tell us anything of Bishop Æthelwold's desire to have St Cuthbert appear for posterity completely in accord with Rome instead of Ireland? At the time of the compilation of the Benedictional, liturgy and monasticism, both triumphantly Roman since the seventh century, were the focus of a determined standardization programme to bring both church and monastery ritual back into line with continental Roman practice. Although we have no definitive proof either way, Irish monastic custom may still have had its adherents at Glastonbury, which played a signal role as a base from which the Reformers began their work to revive Benedictinism but which itself had to be reformed as part of this programme.⁴⁴

It is perhaps here that we need to consider the colour of Cuthbert's *pallium*. One possible explanation for it is the influence of the mid seventh-century Cambrai Homily,⁴⁵ whose three-fold theory of martyrdom is linked to the colours white, red, and blue, although the association has been of penance with blue, and ascetic mortification (to accord with Cuthbert's own eremitical asceticism) with white.⁴⁶ A blue vestment is associated by Bede with good works, but it is with a tunic and not an insignia of rank intended to be white that this connection is drawn.⁴⁷ A less dramatic but perhaps more plausible proposal, given the obvious bias within the Benedictional towards Æthelwold's reaffirmation of Roman ecclesiasticism, is a variation of that proposed by Deshman concerning the hierarchy of nimbi for the Choir of Virgins in fol. 1v: 'the lesser figures have both a crown and nimbus, but their haloes are blue and therefore less prestigious than the ornamented gold ones of Æthelthryth and the Magdalene'.⁴⁸ It is just possible that this same kind of subtle hierarchy is being implied by ascribing to Cuthbert a blue-toned *pallium* rather than the traditional white one being worn by Gregory or Benedict.

Yet Deshman's own study of the Confessors' Choir miniature is perplexing. On the one hand he correctly assumes a plausible lost miniature of a first group of Confessors, on the verso of the page preceding the current folio 1r; on the other hand, he tells us 'in most Anglo-Saxon litanies, Benedict heads the list of confessors, and Gregory and Cuthbert are seldom far down' (pp. 151, 150). By this reckoning, the Confessors of the missing miniature (standing first of the original pair) would have outranked in importance those saints in the one that remains, despite Benedict's undoubted pre-eminence in the litanies of the Anglo-Saxon service-books and the thematic importance of Benedictinism within the construction of the Benedictinal itself.⁴⁹ While the lack on fol. 1r of the designator 'Chorus' (deriving as a piece with 'Confessorum' from the litany form itself) clearly indicates that a miniature is missing, I am not persuaded by Deshman's subsequent assumption, perhaps resulting from his belief that the book was completed after the translation of Swithun,⁵⁰ that 'Swithun was undoubtedly included in the missing half of the choir'. The litanies provide us with a regularly-occurring group – in no particular order, Silvester, Martin, Hilary, Leo, Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome – whose names stand either before, after or on either side of Gregory and Benedict, and therefore could have occupied the lost first miniature.⁵¹

Historical figures who played an important role in Æthelwold's programme, but fell outside a ready association with the Roman authority to which the English church was being restored by its Reformers, may have been depicted with insignia that may or may not have been canonical as to actual practice, but were intended to make the visual statement 'this saint accords in all things with the highest authority of Rome'. Cuthbert's *pallium*, then, perhaps like that of Abbot Benedict, would be part of the inevitable Æthelwoldian agenda, clearly influenced by continental art and its politics, though with different intent from that of continental programmes. In the front row of the Confessors' portrait remaining to us today, we find the Benedictine Pope who sent Christianity to England (no mention to be made of the Irish mission that ran parallel to it in the North), the Founder of Benedictinism (a movement which the Reformers likely promoted as an outgrowth of Roman ecclesiastical authority) and England's greatest saint and bishop. Clothing them all with the same emblem of obedience to the Papal see in Rome, strengthened as it would be by Gregory's obvious right to that emblem, presents a unified picture of the Church Triumphant, squarely and completely Roman in ideology.

At this stage, a closer look at Cuthbert himself is essential. His inclusion, rather than that of another English saint, in the triad points directly to a crucial second element in Æthelwold's personal priorities: surely, if adherence to things

Roman and indeed Benedictine was the primary impulse for presenting Confessors favoured by the English Reform in this miniature, then Wilfrid would have been a much better candidate than Cuthbert to stand to the left of Benedict in the Confessors' portrait. However, the role of the King is crucial to Æthelwold's programme for Benedictine revival in England, even though no picture of Edgar appears in the Benedictional:⁵² the *Regularis concordia* makes the provision not only that bishops be drawn from the ranks of abbots or at least professed men, but that elections of both abbots and bishops be 'carried out with the consent and advice of the King',

'ut abbatum [. . .] electio cum regis consensu et consilio sanctae regulae ageretur documento Episcoporum quoque electio uti abbatum, ubicumque in sede episcopali monachi regulares conuersantur'

[that the election of abbots [. . .] should be carried out with the consent and advice of the King and according to the teaching of the Holy Rule. Thus, wherever monks live the monastic life in a bishop's see, the election of the bishop shall be carried out in the same way as that of an abbot].⁵³

Edgar is represented by Æthelwold's designs in other art as a pious king, a wise ruler and a supporter of the Benedictine Reform, but above all, as one upon whose power the Reformers depended.⁵⁴ Cuthbert figured substantially as a saint-protector to the early kings of the House of Wessex.⁵⁵ Wilfrid on the other hand is no good model for a Confessor who is on good terms with a monarch: he quarrelled with both Ecgfrith and Aldfrith, resulting in his expulsion not once but twice from Northumbria,⁵⁶ and while he brought Benedictinism to the North, he also sowed dissent and abused his authority shamefully. Although his early profession was to Irish monastic rule, Cuthbert, with his close bonds to the royal family of Northumbria, was the logical choice instead of Wilfrid for Æthelwold to have made, since he obediently accepted Roman and (perhaps) Benedictine practice after Whitby in 664, and in his role as Prior of Lindisfarne he brought the monastery around to accepting the Roman way as well. In the Confessors' portrait, Benedict holds a large golden book which is doubtless the *Regula* itself, and Gregory has a smaller text which may represent the Life of Benedict that he included in his *Dialogues*; Cuthbert holds no book but his hands are spread in a gesture reminiscent of the *monasteriales indicia* sign for the

Every Picture Tells a Story

Rule,⁵⁷ suggesting that the viewer must read that which is written within the Rule and, presumably, commit himself to its prescriptions.

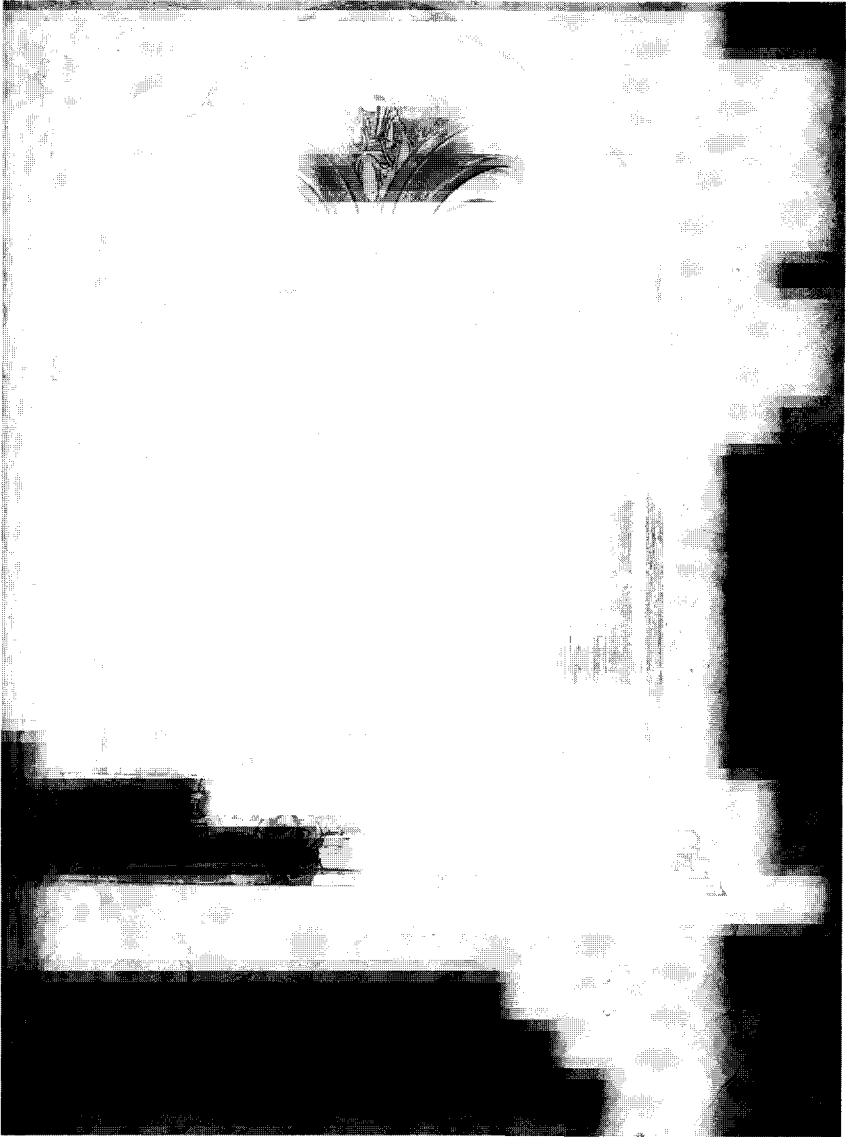
While I do not believe that Æthelwold himself coveted a *pallium*, he was not above using that for which it stood to further his own particular ends. Legitimizing Cuthbert through art as having unusual episcopal authority under Rome may, as Dushman notes, have contributed to an archetectonic symmetry within the Confessors' Choir miniature,⁵⁸ but more importantly it allowed access to the benefits of all else that Cuthbert stood for in the eyes of the reformed English Church. His learnedness, holiness and wisdom, but more importantly, his acceptance of the right way of Benedictinism in place of Irish monasticism together with the favour he enjoyed from ruling families in Northumbria during his lifetime and in the south during the tenth century, all decidedly reflect Æthelwold's dedication to a Church Reform whose roots were planted in Roman practice and whose reliance on Edgar and the royal House of Wessex was paramount.

Plate 1: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183, fol. 1v



Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

Plate 2: London, British Library Additional MS 49598, fol. 1r



Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library

NOTES

¹ I am grateful to the following scholars for their assistance and advice: Michelle Brown, Elizabeth Coatsworth, Stephen Harris, Catherine Karkov, Patrizia Lendinara, Gale Owen-Crocker, Gordon Whatley and Charlie Wright.

² The most complete and therefore standard scholarly work on vestments in both Eastern and Western Christendom is Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964).

³ M. Andrieu, ed., *Les Ordines Romani*, 5 vols (Louvain: Spicilegium, 1931-61), II, 77-79, 321-22.

⁴ Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die Regularis concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (Munich: Fink, 1993), p. 64, l. 744; p. 73, l. 848; p. 69, l. 806 and p. 104, ll. 1224-25; for translation, see Dom Thomas Symons, ed., *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London: Nelson, 1953), pp. 35, 33, 49.

⁵ Kornexl, p. 64, l. 749, p. 57, l. 778 and p. 138, ll. 1585-86; for translation, Symons, p. 65.

⁶ Latin 'Quattor Tempora' and OE 'fewer tidum': the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday that now follow Ash Wednesday, Whitsunday, Holy Cross Day (14 September) and St Lucy's Day (13 December), marked by fasting and abstinence. See Kornexl, pp. 68-69, ll. 797-808, and Symons, p. 33.

⁷ 'Almighty and eternal God, who through thy servant Moses, thou has caused pontifical or sacerdotal and levitical vestments to be made as examples for your ministers in your sight and as adornment or praise of thy name', H. M. J. Banting, ed., *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 104 (London: Boydell, 1989), p. 22.

⁸ London, BL Cotton MS Claudius A. iii (D. H. Turner, ed., *The Claudius Pontificals*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 97 (Chichester: Regnum Press, 1971); Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 100 (in Banting, pp. xxxix-li and pp. 156-70) and Rouen, BM MS 368 (G. H. Doble, ed., *Pontificale Lanaletense* (London: Harrison, 1937)). For a discussion of the inter-relationships of tenth- and early-eleventh century English pontifical-benedictionals using ordination as a point of focus, see Turner, pp. xxiv-xxvii.

⁹ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, III, 605-06, 612 (OR XXXIV) and IV, 38-39, 43 (*Ordo Romanus* XXXV): subdeacon ordained to diaconate 'dum uero consecratus fuerit [. . .] stat ad dexteram episcoporum iam indutus dalmaticam [. . .]' [then at his consecration [. . .] let him stand to the right of the bishops while being vested with [the] dalmatic]; (deacon ordained to priest) '[. . .] Exiit eum dalmatica et sic enim induit planeta [. . .]' [[the] dalmatic is removed from him and he is then vested with [the] chasuble]; (candidate consecrated as bishop) '[. . .] induit eum dalmatica, planeta et campagnos' [he is vested with dalmatic, chasuble and sandals]; in *Ordo Romanus*

XXXVB, the bishop is clad in sandals, gloves and dalmatic, but receives his *planeta* only after being invested with the episcopal ring and staff, IV, 85, 100.

¹⁰ The *planeta* may well have been another version of the chasuble, and we find it prescribed for monks in continental customaries; benedictions of stoles or these *planetas* are set out in such a way ('Incipit benedictio ad stolas uel planetas quando leuite uel presbyteri ordinandi sunt' [here begins [the] blessing for stoles or chasubles, depending on whether deacons or priests are to be ordained] (Banting, p. 22)) as to suggest that it is the stole for the deacon and the *planeta* for the priest; however such a regular assignment is undercut by the *planeta* given to diaconal ordinands in the *Ordines Romani*, and the provision of chasubles for even sub-deacons in the *Regularis concordia* further confuses the picture.

¹¹ Andrieu, IV, 133, observes that, at least for deacons, the dalmatic seems a matter of course in Rome whereas the stole is a matter of course north of the Alps. See also S. L. Keefer, 'A Matter of Style: Clerical Vestments in the Anglo-Saxon Church', forthcoming in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, 3 (2007).

¹² The *anulus* is the episcopal ring, symbol of a bishop's 'betrothal to his church' (F. L. Cross, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 1167) and one part of the bishop's insignia of rank. The *baculus*, differing from the crosier (or *cambutta*), is the staff of pastoral office: eleventh century pontificals preserve a 'Benedictio baculi sive cambuttae' [blessing of [the] episcopal staff of office or [the] crosier], indicating their distinction.

¹³ See Braun, pp. 627-30.

¹⁴ An 'orphrey' is a ornamented strip of material sewn along the seams where sections of chasuble are joined together, so as to reinforce the stitching. It is usually made of fabric designed to contrast and enhance the appearance of the chasuble.

¹⁵ Although a number of art historians and scholars have assumed Cuthbert's attire to consist of dalmatic, alb and chasuble or just dalmatic and chasuble, upon informed inspection we find that this is clearly not the case; the dalmatic is a voluminous garment, neither cuffed nor tightly-fitting at the wrist, and thus Cuthbert is wearing, as described above, only an alb and a chasuble.

¹⁶ L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (Paris: Thorin, 1920), pp. 410-12. The Council of Braga held in 563 (probably the first and not the second) required deacons to wear their *oraria* on top on their tunics, rather than beneath them, and the Council of Braga held in 675 (probably the third and not the fourth) provided for priests to wear their *oraria* over both shoulders, thus passing around the neck and crossing across the chest, Andrieu, IV, 129-30. All English pontificals make provision for the deacon to receive the stole and for the priest to have it 'changed' from over the shoulder to around the neck by the bishop.

¹⁷ Although Andrieu, IV, 131, emphatically states that no mention is made of a stole or *orarium* in the eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries, nor in important pontifical and sacramentary texts from the ninth and tenth centuries: 'les livres liturgiques ne deviennent

unanimis à ce sujet qu'après la fin du X^e siècle', we find it part of diaconal and sacerdotal ordinations in all four of the mid-tenth century English pontificals, see Keefer, 'A Matter of Style'.

¹⁸ Jill Ivy, *Embroideries at Durham Cathedral* (Sunderland: Attey, 1992), p. 13; see also Christopher Hohler, 'The Stole and Maniples (b): The Iconography', in *The Relics of St Cuthbert* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 396-408 (esp. pp. 402-03); Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London: Batsford, 1984), p. 28; and Elizabeth Coatsworth, 'The Embroideries from the Tomb of St Cuthbert', in *Edward the Elder 899-924*, ed. by N. I. Higham and D. Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 292-306.

¹⁹ But for a different presentation of vestments imagined for a continental saint receiving a book in a configuration similar to that in the CCCC 183 presentation miniature, see the description of the image of St Erhard from the Uta Codex, below.

²⁰ Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 9 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 172-73.

²¹ '[Q]uatinus Londoniensis ciuitatis episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac sanctaet apostolica, cui Deo auctore deseruio, sede percipiat' [the bishop of London shall, however, for the future, always be consecrated by his own synod and receive the honour of the pallium from that holy and apostolic see which, by the guidance of God, I serve], *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 104-05.

²² 'We are also sending a *pallium* for each of the metropolitans, that is for Honorius and Paulinus, so that when either of them is summoned from the world into the presence of his Creator, the other may put a bishop in his place by this our authority', Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 194-95.

²³ Both the Anderson and Corpus-Canterbury Pontificals come from Christ Church, Canterbury. The latter was likely designed for use at some stage by the current Archbishop of Canterbury, with Robert of Jumièges (1051-52), Stigand (1052-70) and Lanfranc (1070-89) as possible owners (see Mildred Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), I, 675-76).

²⁴ It relies on a source that is not quite an exact copy of formula 45 of the *Liber Diurnus*. See *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and others, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), I, 88-92.

²⁵ The most memorable shared incidence of this term occurs in the infancy tale where the youthful Cuthbert is rebuked in the Prose Life by the much-younger child as 'sanctissime antistes et presbyter Cudbercte' (PL 94, 737), 'most holy bishop and priest Cuthbert'. The Metrical Life shows the same term being used: 'Ingenuum stadio numquid concurrere servis/ Fas erit aut vulgi antistes similabitur actis?' [Surely it will not be proper for a noble to run a race with slaves; Or will a

bishop imitate the deeds of the crowd?]) (PL 94, 577). My sincere gratitude to Dr William Flynn, Institute for Medieval Studies, University of Leeds, for his translation of these lines.

²⁶ Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series: Text*, EETS, s.s. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 81 and 88; and Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS, s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 734.

²⁷ For information and advice on the background to the terms *antistes* and *presul*, I am very grateful to the work and advice of Patrizia Lendinara, who generously shared much of her current research with me. See also Michael Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 67-111 (repr. in *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066*, ed. by Michael Lapidge (London: Hambledon, 1993)), pp. 105-49. Benedict's identifier *abbas* is in keeping with his own Rule, but Gregory's term *presul* is noteworthy: even as pope, Gregory is called *pastor et pedagogus* early on in the North (see Patrizia Lendinara, 'Gregory and Damasus: Two Popes and Anglo-Saxon England', in *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, ed. by R. H. Bremmer Jr., K. Dekker and D. F. Johnson, Mediaevalia Groningana New Series, 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), pp. 137-56 (p. 138)), but we find that one of Abbo of Fleury's surviving poems honouring Archbishop Dunstan begins *O praesul Dunstane* and may indicate a particular choice of language for Gregory in this portrait that was made by Æthelwold himself.

²⁸ Private communication from Patrizia Lendinara, who is working on the 'Scholica Graecarum Glossarum', from Isidore, *Etymologiae* VII, xii, 16.

²⁹ Francis Wormald, ed., *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 72 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1934; repr. 1988), p. 4; see, however, the Office for All Saints (*Omnibus Sanctis ad Vesperam*) found in London, BL MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii (Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, eds, *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. lxxv-lxxvii) in which Cuthbert is appealed to as 'confessor Christe uenerande' [[a] venerable Confessor for Christ] (p. lxxvi).

³⁰ R. A. S. Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments: Their Development and History* (London: Stock, 1896), pp. 50-51.

³¹ Macalister, p. 102.

³² Herbert Norris, *Church Vestments: Their Origin and Development* (London: Dent, 1949), p. 24.

³³ Mayo, *Ecclesiastical Dress*, p. 23.

³⁴ Cyril Pocknee, *Liturgical Vesture: Its Origins and Development* (London: Mowbray, 1960), p. 51. 'Concilium Matiscon', in *Concilia aevi Merovingici*, ed. by F. Maassen, MGH, Conc. 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1892), quoted in J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 755-56. Emphasis mine. Nevertheless, since the term *pallium* is in diverse places

(and especially in the early centuries) used to refer to the maniple, the original *paenula* or even the *orarium* at times, this statement is by no means as conclusive as Pocknee believed.

³⁵ Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chretien*, pp. 370-75.

³⁶ Andrieu, iv, 292-93. [This papal emblem appeared in the documents of the sixth century [. . .] it may be supposed that popes themselves wore the pallium for a long while since they began to consider it as a kind of decoration with which they were able to honour other prelates, who were generally invested with specific authority].

³⁷ 'One of the most important of all Ottonian masters, and [. . .] easily the most accomplished manuscript illuminator', Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2 vols (London: Miller, 1991), i, 39.

³⁸ *The Uta Codex: Art, Philosophy and Reform in Eleventh-Century Germany*, ed. by Adam Cohen (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2000).

³⁹ Although the *ephod* and the *rationale* appear to derive from two discrete Levitical vestments (cf. Exodus 28. 4 and 29. 5 where they are described as separate items) with the former apparently the original of the *superhumeralis*, scholars tend to blur the distinction between them by confusing the two terms.

⁴⁰ Mayr-Harting, ii, 97.

⁴¹ *Uta Codex*, p. 62, Plate 16.

⁴² See for example Gregory the Great rebuking John, bishop (and not archbishop) of Ravenna (*episcopus Ravennatis*) for misuse of the *pallium* (Lib. II, Epis. LIV; quoted in *Vestiarium Christianum: The Origin and Gradual Development of the Dress of the Holy Ministry in the Church*, ed. by W. B. Marriott (London: Rivingtons, 1868; repr. St Athanasius Press, WI [n.d.]), p. 66), but both Hrabanus Maurus (*De Institutione Clericorum* xxiii (A.D. 819); quoted in Marriott, p. 92) and Amalarius of Metz (*Liber Officialis*, lib. II, xxiii (c. A.D. 824)) assuming the *pallium* to be for an archbishop only (i.e. 'Illo discernitur archiepiscopus a cæteris episcopis' [by this an archbishop may be discerned from other bishops], in I. M. Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica omnia*, 3 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948-50), ii, 248. On fol. 87rv of Durham Cathedral Library MS A. IV. 19, Aldred the Provost adds and glosses material on the differing ecclesiastical orders, noting 'Archiepiscopus [. . .] qui et pallio uteretur ['hehbisceop [. . .] se ðe æc ðæm hrægle gebrvce[æð]]', [the archbishop [. . .] is the one who has use of the *pallium*]', see also U. Lindelöf, ed., *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis: The Durham Collectar* (Durham: Andrews, 1927), p. 194.

⁴³ Norris, p. 26.

⁴⁴ See Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 270, note 202; and 'The Irish Tradition', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 345-74 (p. 361).

⁴⁵ *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. by W. Stokes and J. Strachan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901-03), II, 244-47.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of this triad, see Clare Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue Martyrdom', in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick and David Dumville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 21-46 and for a possible Hiberno-Latin transmission to Anglo-Saxon England, see Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, pp. 19, 33 and 74.

⁴⁷ Bede, *De Tabernaculo* III. ii, quoted in *Vestiarium Christianum*, p. 79.

⁴⁸ Deshman, p. 151.

⁴⁹ Deshman, pp. 179-91.

⁵⁰ Deshman, pp. 188-90.

⁵¹ Deshman, p. 152. Of the fifty-four extant litanies written or known in Anglo-Saxon England that contain any of these four saints, Swithun appears in only twenty-three, Cuthbert in twenty-five once, in one twice and may have appeared in a damaged section of another; Gregory appears in forty-nine and Benedict, frequently invoked twice or in places thrice, appears in fifty-one. Gregory and Benedict alternate in standing first of these four in these litanies, with Cuthbert generally third of the quartet and Swithun fourth; at no time does Swithun ever outrank Gregory; and in two of the four instances where his name appears before that of Benedict (Salisbury Cathedral MS 150 [SW England, s. x²]; London, BL MS Arundel 155 [Canterbury Christ Church, s. xi¹]; CCCC 391 [Worcester, c. 1065]; and Rouen, BM MS 231 [Canterbury, St. Augustine's, s. xi^{ex}]), Benedict's name is invoked twice (Michael Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 106 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 285, 150, 117 and 266). Even in the *cursum* for All Saints, guardedly assumed by Lapidge and Winterbottom to be 'identical to that instituted by Æthelwold for the private observance of his monks at Winchester and referred to in the *Regularis concordia*' (p. lxxvii), Swithun stands below Birinus who in turn is preceded by Cuthbert, Martin and Benedict in ascending order of authority (Lapidge and Winterbottom, p. lxxvi).

⁵² The festal portrait of Benedict on fol. 99v of the *Benedictional* has him wearing a crown of life but holding what appears to be a temporal crown in his left hand: this may once again be a reference to the opening provisions of the Synod that associate King Edgar directly with the resuscitation of Benedictinism in England: 'Comperto eternim quod sacra coenobia diuersis sui regiminis locis diruta ac paene Domini nostri Ihesu Christi seruitio destituta neglegenter tabescerent, Domini compunctus gratia, cum magna animi alacritate festinando ubique locorum decentissime restaurauit' [When therefore he learned that the holy monasteries in all quarters of his kingdom, brought low, and almost wholly lacking in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ, were wasting away and neglected, moved by the grace of the Lord he most gladly set himself to restore them everywhere to their former good estate], Symons, pp. 1-2; see also

Deshman, p. 203. Symons suggests (p. 2, n. 1) that 'in a work of national importance the first place is naturally given to the head of the realm', but the provision made for regnal consent in chapter 9, 'cum regis consensu et consilio', Symons, p. 6, could explain the proffered crown and St Benedict's approbation of regnal authority in the Benedictional's festal portrait.

⁵³ Symons, p. 6. The translation is Symons.

⁵⁴ See also Catherine Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), p. 84, and pp. 99-111 (esp. pp. 99-102 and 108).

⁵⁵ With visits to his tomb by Edward the Elder bearing offerings from his father Alfred, by Æthelstan in 934 and by Edmund on his way to Scotland before 946, 'the kings of the royal house of Wessex faithfully obeyed Alfred's injunction to be the Church's benefactor and showered gifts upon the shrine [of St Cuthbert]', Battiscombe, *Relics*, pp. 31 and 33-34.

⁵⁶ 'Quo etiam anno orta inter regem Ecgfridum et reuerentissimum antistem Uilfridum dissensione, pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatus' [In the same year there rose a dissension between King Ecgfrith and the most reverend bishop Wilfrid with the result that the bishop was driven from his see]: Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 370-71; see also pp. 522-25.

⁵⁷ Debby Banham, ed. and trans., *Monasteriales indicia* (Hockwald-cum-Wilton: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1991), pp. 30-31: 'Regoles tacen is þæt þu wecge þine hand and strycc mid þinum scyte fyngre andlang þinre wynstran handa swylce þu regolige': [The sign for the Rule is that you move your hand and stroke with your index finger along your left hand, as if you were ruling.]

⁵⁸ Deshman, p. 152.