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The Cross in *The Dream of the Rood*: Martyr, Patron and Image of Christ

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The Old English poem, *The Dream of the Rood*, exists in two main versions: two brief extracts carved in runes on the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire and a much longer text in a tenth-century manuscript at Vercelli in northern Italy.¹ The runic inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross are accompanied by carvings of biblical scenes and scenes connected with the eucharist which relate Christ's death on the cross to the Lenten themes of initiation and repentance.² The Vercelli text, on the other hand, encloses the cross's description of Christ's death within passages celebrating the cross itself, the gold and jewels with which relics of the cross were covered, the veneration offered to these relics and to other crosses, and the role of the cross as Christ's messenger leading the dying believer into God's banqueting hall. The Ruthwell Cross therefore adopts a historical and liturgical approach to the subject of Christ's death, whereas *The Dream of the Rood* is more concerned with individual devotion. As Eamonn Ó Carragáin says, 'The *Dream* subordinates historical realism to theological coherence.'³

The opening vision of the poem (ll. 1-23) describes an object which constantly shifts its shape from jewelled treasure to towering tree, sometimes streaming with blood, at other times honoured with garments. It is only when the sign seen by the dreamer begins to speak, describing Christ's death and its own role in that death (ll. 24-94), that the reader or listener realizes that the vision is of the cross on which Christ died. But the enigma of the opening lines of the poem is only finally solved through the address by the cross to the dreamer (ll. 95-121) and, finally, the dreamer's own reflections on what he has seen and heard (ll. 122-56). In a sense, therefore, the poem needs to be studied in reverse order, starting with its third and fourth sections (ll. 95-156).

The address by the cross to the dreamer (ll. 95-121) interprets the account of Christ's death and the part played in that death by the cross in relation to the

Last Judgement, when Christ will ask where the man is who is willing to taste death as he did on the cross:

Frineð he for þære mænige hwær se man sie,
se ðe for Dryhtnes naman deaðes wolde
biteres onbyrgan, swa he ær on ðam beame dyde.

(*Dream of the Rood*, ll. 112-14)

[He will ask before the multitude, where the man is who for the Lord's name would be willing to taste bitter death as he once did upon the cross.]

The lines recall Christ's words in the gospels, 'Anyone who does not take his cross and follow in my footsteps is not worthy of me' (Matt. 10.39, see also Matt. 16.24, Mark 8.34, Luke 9.23). There is, therefore, a requirement of martyrdom for those hoping to enter heaven. As the poet says,

Ac ðurh ða rode sceal rice gesecan,
of eorðwege æghwylc sawl,
seo þe mid Wealdende wunian þenceð.

(*Dream of the Rood*, ll. 119-21)

[But every soul that thinks to live with the Ruler must, on its path from the earth, seek the kingdom through the cross.]

The cross claims that suffering alongside Christ is the means to salvation. The dreamer, on the other hand, concludes that salvation depends on devotion to the cross, which becomes his patron and protector, his *mundbyrd* who will lead him into heaven, where he will join his friends and all the saints at God's banqueting table (ll. 122-56). The image of the divine feast derives ultimately from Christ's words to his disciples at the Last Supper in St Luke's Gospel: 'Now I confer a kingdom on you, just as my Father conferred one on me; you will eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and you will sit on thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel' (Luke 22.29-30), but it is also a common theme in the fourth-century paintings in the Roman catacombs. Early Christian funerary art tended to pass over the fact of death; instead, the deceased person was shown alive in Paradise, standing as an orant in a flowery landscape⁴ or seated at a banqueting table accompanied by figures labelled 'Irene' and 'Agape' who serve those seated at table.⁵ The banquet scene is adapted from representations of the eucharist or of

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the miracle at the Marriage of Cana, both of which were interpreted as symbols of the life of heaven.⁶ This image of the heavenly banquet is essentially an early Christian one, but it is still found in the prayers of the early ninth-century Book of Nunnaminster, the Royal Prayerbook and the Book of Cerne. The prayer of S. John the Evangelist in the Book of Cerne calls on Christ to lead the penitent 'ad convivium aepularum tuarum, ubi aepulantur omnes amici tui tecum'.⁷ The Book of Nunnaminster talks of the wedding banquet which the penitent hopes to enter, clothed in a wedding garment⁸ and in a prayer about the Last Judgement asks to hear Christ saying, 'Venite benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi, ubi sancti sine fine requiescunt, et ibi aepulentur omnes amici tui'.⁹ The version of this prayer in the Royal Prayerbook visualizes Christ at the Last Judgement wiping away the speaker's sins and calling the blessed into the kingdom prepared for them from the beginning of the world. 'Tunc', says the penitent, 'introduc me in thalamum regni tui ubi epulantur tecum omnes amici tui' [Then, introduce me into the wedding hall of your kingdom, where all your friends feast with you].¹⁰ Whereas in this prayer it is Christ who leads the penitent into heaven, in the catacomb paintings the deceased person is led into heaven by a saint. For example, a painting in the Catacomb of Domitilla dated shortly after 356 shows Veneranda led into Paradise by S. Petronilla, and a slightly earlier painting in the Hypogeum of the Syncretists shows Vibia led into Paradise to take part in the banquet which is depicted to the right of the scene.¹¹

In *The Dream of the Rood* the role taken in these paintings by the saints is transferred to the cross, a detail which links the Old English poem to early Christian representations of the martyrs and to the cult of the saints. Whereas in the earliest of the catacomb paintings God's power to save the believer is represented by pictures of incidents from the Old and New Testaments such as the saving of Isaac from death at his father's hands or Daniel in the lions' den, the mosaics in the basilicas erected after Constantine's conversion to Christianity extend the theme of deliverance to show the miraculous triumph over death of the martyrs as the result of divine intervention. These mosaics not only show saints being introduced into heaven by more senior saints, as in the sixth-century apse mosaic of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian,¹² but introduce a new theme: that of the martyr standing next to a jewelled cross or offering a crown to Christ. The church of S. Stefano Rotondo, built in imitation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre between 468 and 483, contains a chapel with a mosaic celebrating the transfer during the pontificate of Theodore I (642-49) of the relics of the martyred

saints Primus and Felician. The mosaic shows the two saints standing beside a jewelled cross which is surmounted by a bust of Christ. The cross is thought to represent the cross erected by Constantine on the rock of Golgotha in the early fourth century.¹³ In the apse mosaic of the sixth-century basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, S. Apollinaris stands in a flowery landscape, raising his hands towards a jewelled cross which is outlined against a starry sky. The cross, which is accompanied by the *alpha* and *omega* and the words *salus mundi*, has a representation of Christ's head at its centre and symbolizes the relics of the cross, encased in gold and jewels, the cross which will appear in the sky at the Last Judgement, and Christ himself, the beginning and the end, the salvation of the world. The saint, shown in an attitude of prayer behind the altar of the church, not only intercedes for other Christians but, by standing next to the cross, shows that his sacrifice is modelled on Christ's and that he owes his victory to him.¹⁴

Like the martyrs, the cross of *The Dream of the Rood* owes its power of intercession to its imitation of Christ, in sharing his death on the cross. Like Christ, it still bears the marks of the nails:

Purhdrifan hi me mid deorcan næglum; on me syndon þa dolg gesiene,
opene inwidhlemmas. Ne dorste ic hira nænigum sceððan.
Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere. Eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed,
begoten of þæs guman sidan, siððan he hæfde his gast onsended.

(*Dream of the Rood*, ll. 46-49)

[They drove me through with with dark nails: the wounds are visible upon me, open, malicious gashes. I did not dare harm any of them. They mocked us both together. I was all drenched with blood poured out from the man's side after he had sent forth his spirit.]

Like Christ, the cross is taken down from its place and buried in the earth; like Christ it enjoys a resurrection and glorification:

þa us man fyllan ongan
ealle to eorðan; þæt wæs egeslic wyrd!
Bedealf us man on deopan seape. Hwæðre me þær Dryhtnes
þegnas,
freondas gefrunon,
gyredon me golde ond seolfre.

(*Dream of the Rood*, ll. 73-77)

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[Then men began to cut us all down to the ground: that was a terrible fate. They buried us in a deep pit. However, the Lord's servants, his friends, found me there, decked me with gold and silver.]

But the cross of *The Dream of the Rood* does not simply imitate Christ. Like the cross in the apse mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe and the jewelled crosses crowned with a head of Christ which replace the figure of the crucified Christ on some of the sixth-century Palestinian ampullae at Monza,¹⁵ or the jewel-studded cross adored by angels on a sixth-century silver paten at Leningrad,¹⁶ the jewelled cross of the opening vision of the poem is a symbol of Christ himself. It is seen once to have bled on the right side (ll. 19-20); it changes constantly from an object covered in treasure to something dripping with blood; it is adored by men, angels and the whole of creation (ll. 11-12).

This identification of cross and Christ is developed through two other images in the opening lines of the poem: the tree towering up to heaven (ll. 4-5) and the tree of victory, honoured with garments (ll. 13-15). Parallels to both symbols can be found in early Christian art. Just as the cross of the poem is both a jewelled object and a tree, so the jewelled cross depicted on the Leningrad paten stands on a star-covered globe, representing the cosmos, and above a representation of the four rivers of Paradise, linking it to the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2.9) and the tree by the River of Life in the Apocalypse (Apoc. 22.2). The same idea is expressed by the scene on three of the Monza ampullae where the central cross in the crucifixion scene is shown covered with leaves to symbolize Christ as the true Tree of Life.¹⁷ The theme of Christ as the Tree of Life is further developed on two of the sixth-century ampullae at Bobbio where the tree-cross symbolizes the risen and glorified Christ. The first ampulla shows a cross composed of leafy branches set against a star-covered mandorla and accompanied by two standing angels; above the cross is a bust of Christ and below it is a rocky hill which represents Golgotha. The second shows a similar cross, again accompanied by two standing angels, and, above, a representation of Christ enthroned within a star-studded mandorla supported by two flying angels.¹⁸

The identification of Christ with the Tree of Life is not confined to the art of the period. Early theologians regularly identified Christ as the Tree of Life, drawing on a verse from the Apocalypse which states, 'If anyone has ears to hear, let him listen to what the Spirit is saying to the churches: those who prove victorious I will feed from the tree of life set in God's paradise' (Apoc. 2.7). Ambrose, commenting on the Apocalypse, says, 'Paradisus igitur Ecclesiam

significat: lignum vero vitae in medio paradisi Christus est in medio Ecclesiae suae' [Therefore Paradise symbolizes the church; the Tree of Life in the centre of Paradise is Christ in the middle of his church].¹⁹ Bede describes the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden as a figure of Christ and claims that the angel was placed at the entrance to Eden after the Fall in case 'ad lignum vitae, qui est Christus Dominus, penetrare concupiscimus' [in case we wished to go in to the Tree of Life, which is Christ the Lord].²⁰ He quotes Augustine, who says of human destiny, 'Esse autem ibi cum Christo, hoc est esse cum vitae ligno' [For to be there with Christ is to be with the Tree of Life].²¹ The identification of Christ with the Tree of Life became the norm in the early mediaeval period. Paschasius Radbertus in his treatise on the eucharist says, 'Arbor quidem ligni vitae Christus nunc in ecclesia est cuius imago in paradiso arbor illa fuit' [The tree of the wood of life is now Christ in the church, whose image was that tree in Paradise].²² Ælfric says in the *Hexameron*, 'ðæt we inn moton gaan to ðam upplican Paradise, to ðam lifes treowe, ðæt is se leofa Hælend, ðe ðæt ece lif forgifð ðam ðe hine lufiað' [that we may go in to that Paradise above, to the Tree of Life, that is the beloved Saviour who gives eternal life to those who love him].²³ The identification of Christ with the Tree of Life is found, too, in the liturgy for the Feast of the Invention of the Cross in a prayer included in the eighth-century Sacramentary of Gellone and, later, in the section of the Leofric Missal compiled originally for Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury (890-923):²⁴

Deus cui cunctae oboediunt creaturae et omnia verbo tuae fecisti in sapientia, supplices quesumus ineffabilem clementiam tuam, ut quos per lignum sanctae crucis filii tui pio cruore es dignatus redimere, tu qui es lignum vitae paradisque reparator, omnibus in te credentibus dira serpentis venena extinguas, et per gratiam spiritus sancti, poculum salutis semper infundas, Per eundem dominum.²⁵
[O God whom all creatures obey, and who have made everything in wisdom through your word, we humbly beg your ineffable mercy that, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, you who are the Tree of Life and the restorer of Paradise will constantly pour out the cup of salvation on those whom you deigned to redeem through the wood of the holy cross and the sacred blood of your son, and will extinguish the dreadful poison of the serpent for all who believe in you, through the same Lord.]

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The cross of the opening vision of *The Dream of the Rood*, therefore, represents the relics of the cross, encased in gold and jewels and venerated by humans, the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden and in God's new creation, and Christ himself who is symbolized by the jewelled crosses of S. Stefano Rotondo and S. Apollinare in Classe, and by the tree-crosses which replace the figure of Christ on the Monza and Bobbio ampullae. But the cross of the opening vision is also honoured with garments (l. 15) and changes in hangings and colours (l. 22), details which introduce a third symbol of Christ: the trophy which celebrates an imperial victory.

It is sometimes suggested that the changing colours of the cross in the opening lines of *The Dream of the Rood* refer to changes in the type of cross or crucifix carried at different times in the liturgical year or to the different liturgical colours, while the garments have been associated with the veils which covered statues and images during Lent and which were removed at Easter.²⁶ There is no indication that the poet was thinking in liturgical terms, however: the whole emphasis of the poem is eschatological and focuses on the death of the poet and the final judgement. A more convincing suggestion is that the cross is clothed in light (l. 5, *leohte bewunden*), by analogy with the light which surrounds Christ, who is described in Psalm 103.2 as *amictus lumine sicut vestimento*.²⁷ There is, however, another possibility.

In an article on *The Dream of the Rood* published in 1970, I suggested that the description of the cross as honoured with garments was a reference to a trophy-cross in which a purple imperial robe was draped across the arms of the cross in the manner of the military trophies of the classical period.²⁸ The parallels I gave—a carving of a trophy-cross from Aïoun-Berich in North Africa, a fragment of a fourth-century sarcophagus in the Lateran, and the vault mosaic from the Arian Baptistry at Ravenna, which shows a procession of apostles approaching a cross draped with a purple cloth—were all Mediterranean, and I could point to no English examples of this iconography. It is now possible to rectify this omission, and to show that the trophy-cross was known to English artists in the eighth century.

A ninth-century manuscript of Sedulius's *Carmen paschale* in the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp contains a picture of a trophy-cross accompanied by symbols of the four evangelists.²⁹ The cross is draped with a cloth which hangs in a deep curve in front of the cross-bar like the military cloak of classical trophies and the drapery on the trophy-cross from Aïoun-Berich mentioned above. The Antwerp manuscript was written at Liège but is believed to have been copied

from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the eighth century which derived either directly or indirectly from a copy of the *Carmen paschale* brought to England in the early eighth century by Cuthwine, Bishop of Dunwich.³⁰ Bede states that Cuthwine brought an illustrated copy of the life of St Paul from Rome to England and it has been suggested on the basis of an inscription on f. 68v of the Antwerp manuscript that he also owned an illustrated copy of Sedulius's poem.³¹

The representation of the draped cross in the Antwerp Sedulius manuscript illustrates a passage towards the end of Book I of the *Carmen paschale*. The lines immediately adjacent to the picture describe the four beasts of the Apocalypse, who symbolize the four evangelists, singing with one voice in praise of Christ:

Quatuor hi proceres una te voce canentes
Tempora ceu totidem latum sparguntur in orbem.
[Of you these four with one voice sing aloud as do the seasons
spread upon the earth].³²

The lines are based on the description of the four beasts who stand before God's throne in the Apocalypse and who sing to God, 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God, the Almighty; he was, he is and he is to come' (Apoc. 4.6-8). Early mediaeval artists interpreted this scene in several different ways. Carolingian manuscript art regularly depicts the *Agnus Dei*, or an enthroned figure of Christ, surrounded by representations of the four evangelists and their symbols.³³ In Hiberno-Saxon gospel-books the unity of the gospels is often symbolized by a design of a cross, representing Christ, surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists.³⁴ A similar motif is seen in a fourth-century mosaic in the church of Santa Pudenziana in Rome which shows Christ seated among his apostles; at the top of the scene is a jewelled cross with symbols of the evangelists arranged two to each side.³⁵ The scene as a whole represents the heavenly Jerusalem. The design on the triumphal arch of the basilica of Sancta Maria Maggiore, Rome, shows a jewelled cross standing on a throne below which is the sealed scroll of the Apocalypse (Apoc. 5.1); to the sides are representations of SS. Peter and Paul, together with symbols of the evangelists.³⁶ Like the jewelled crosses in these mosaics, the draped cross of the Sedulius manuscript is a symbol of Christ and the reference in the text to the beasts singing *una voce* links the scene to statements such as that in Jerome's preface to the gospels, the *Plures fuisse*, that the four gospels, though differing in details, sprang from a single source, namely Christ.³⁷ But whereas the enthroned or jewelled crosses emphasize Christ's royal and glorified status, the trophy-cross

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stresses his victory over death. Like the representation of Christ triumphing over the asp and the basilisk in the Archiepiscopal Chapel, Ravenna, where Christ is dressed in the armour and purple cloak of the Roman emperors, or the representation of the Harrowing of Hell in the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter³⁸ where Christ still wears the imperial purple cloak, the trophy-cross adapts a motif from Roman imperial art to present Christ's death on the cross as a military victory.³⁹ The passage which precedes the description of the evangelists praising Christ in the *Carmen paschale* describes heaven, the goal of those who fight in Christ's army, as follows:

En signo sacrata crucis vexilla coruscant,
En regis pia castra micant, tuba clamat erilis,
Militibus sua porta patet: qui militat intret,
Ianua vos aeterna vocat, quae ianua Christus.
Aurea perpetuae capietis praemia vitae,
Arma quibus Domini tota virtute geruntur
Et fixum est in fronte decus.

[Behold the streaming banners of the Cross, behold the gleaming bulwarks of the King, the lordly trumpet sounds, the gates swing free, the everlasting door invites all those who soldier for the Lord—the door is Christ. The golden gains of everlasting life await you there, who bear the arms of Christ with honour and his ensign in the van.]⁴⁰

The trophy-cross pictured in the Sedulius manuscript would be an appropriate illustration of this passage with its military imagery. And there are other military images in the poem. For example, Christ's death is described as a military victory and his resurrection is celebrated by the gift of a trophy to the day on which it occurred.⁴¹

Sedulius's poem, which is an epic narrative, is very different from *The Dream of the Rood*; they do, however, share a number of details in their treatment of the subject of Christ's death. In the *Carmen paschale* Christ embraces the cross in order to rule over the world and in *The Dream of the Rood* the cross raises up the powerful king.⁴² Christ is described as the young hero, 'ongyrede hine þa geong hæleð' (l. 39) and the cross is described as wounded with arrows, 'eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod' (l. 62). In both poems the natural world weeps at Christ's death,⁴³ and in both, there is great stress on the darkness which covered the world at Christ's death.⁴⁴ The last theme is, of course, well-known⁴⁵ and there is therefore no

need to suggest direct influence from Sedulius on *The Dream of the Rood*.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the *Carmen paschale* was a standard school-book in the early Middle Ages and was well-known in Anglo-Saxon England.⁴⁷ It is therefore possible that it contributed to the approach to the subject of Christ's death in *The Dream of the Rood* even though it was clearly not its main source, and that it was from an illustrated copy of the *Carmen paschale* that the poet took the idea of representing the cross as a trophy draped with a military cloak.

There are, however, other possibilities, for the cross is regularly described as a trophy. Venantius Fortunatus's hymn, *Pange lingua*, opens with the following lines:

Pange, lingua, gloriosi prelium certaminis
et super crucis tropheo dic triumphum nobile,
qualiter redemptor orbis immolatus vicerit.
[Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle,
Sing the ending of the fray;
Now above the Cross, the trophy,
Sound the loud triumphant lay;
Tell how Christ, the world's Redeemer,
As a Victim won the day.]⁴⁸

Bede begins a hymn for the Feast of S. Andrew with the following words:

Salve, tropaeum gloriae,
Salve, sacrum victoriae
Signum, Deus quo perditum
Mundum redemit mortuus!⁴⁹
[Hail, trophy of glory, hail holy sign of victory,
by which a dead God redeemed a lost world.]

Ambrose describes Christ stripping himself in terms of a king laying aside his *regalia vestimenta*. and, commenting on Simon of Cyrene carrying Christ's cross, says, 'Sed iam tropaeum suum victor adtollat'.⁵⁰ Simon, who follows behind Christ, is like the servant who carries the victor's trophy. The royal theme, of the emperor with his purple robes and the trophy which celebrates his victory over his enemies, is seen again in Augustine's commentary on Psalm 90 where he says, 'In ipso tabernaculo [the flesh] Imperator militavit pro nobis'.⁵¹ Bede, describing Oswald erecting a wooden cross before the battle of Heavenfield and, like

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Constantine before the battle at the Milvian Bridge, calling on God to help him, refers to the cross as a trophy: the place of battle, he says, is called 'Caelestis Campus, quod certo utique praesagio futurorum antiquitus nomen accepit; significans nimirum quod ibidem caeleste erigendum tropeum, caelestis inchoanda victoria, caelestia usque hodie forent miracula celebranda' [This place is called in English Heavenfield, and in Latin Caelestis campus, a name which it certainly received in days of old as an omen of future happenings; it signified that a heavenly sign was to be erected there, a heavenly victory won, and that heavenly miracles were to take place there continuing to this day.]⁵²

To those familiar with the themes of early Christian art and literature, therefore, the opening passage of *The Dream of the Rood* hints at a very complex symbolism. In relation to the cross itself the poem celebrates the veneration of the relics of the cross, the role of the cross as the tree on which Christ, the second Adam, did away with the punishment incurred by the first Adam when he ate the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, the cross's participation in Christ's sufferings and consequent sharing in his triumph and, finally, the cross's status as the trophy which celebrates Christ's victory over death. In relation to Christ himself the shifting vision recalls Christ's glorified status after his resurrection, contrasting it with his body bleeding on the cross, his role as the one who gives the fruit of eternal life to his followers and his great victory over death, a death which the poet now faces. As the poet says,

Se Sunu wæs sigorfæst on þam siðfæte,
mihtig ond spedig, þa he mid manigeo com,
gasta weorode, on Godes rice,
Anwealda ælmihtig, englum to blisse,
ond eallum ðam halgum þam þe on heofonum ær
wunedon on wuldre, þa heora Wealdend cwom,
ælmihtig god, þær his eðel wæs.

(*Dream of the Rood*, ll. 150-56)

[The Son was victorious in that expedition, powerful and successful, when he came with a multitude, a great company of souls, into God's kingdom, the almighty ruler, a joy to the angels and to all the saints who previously lived in the heavens, in glory, when their ruler, almighty God, came where his homeland was.]

NOTES

¹ Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII, ed. by G. P. Krapp, *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

² E. Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood. Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the 'Dream of the Rood' Tradition* (London: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2005), chs 3-4, pp. 120-222.

³ Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood*, p. 331.

⁴ A. Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols (London: Variorum Reprints, 1972), II, pp. 7-38.

⁵ Joseph Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1903), II.xxi.118, pp. 470-78, pls 133/1-2, 157/1-2 and 184.

⁶ Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben*, I.ii. 29, pp. 48-50 and II, p. 303.

⁷ Cambridge University Library, MS Ll. 1. 10, ff. 78v-79r, *The Prayer Book of Aedelwald the Bishop, commonly Called the Book of Cerne*, ed. by A. B. Kuypers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), No. 60, pp. 156-57.

⁸ BL, MS Harley 2965, ff. 26v-27r, *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century Formerly Belonging to St Mary's Abbey, or Nunnaminster, Winchester*, ed. by W. de G. Birch, Hampshire Record Society (London, 1889), No. 28, pp. 71-72; cf. Matt. 22.12.

⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 32v, No. 48, pp. 80-81; cf. Matt. 25.34.

¹⁰ BL, MS Royal 2 A. xx, f.38v, Kuypers, *Book of Cerne*, p. 217.

¹¹ Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben*, pls 213 and 132/1; A. Grabar, *The Beginnings of Christian Art 200-395*, trans. by S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), pls 231 and 245; Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, pp. 33-35.

¹² A. Grabar, *Byzantium from the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*, trans. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), pl. 146.

¹³ W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome from the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), pp. 153-54, pl. 91.

¹⁴ Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, pp. 48 and 75; Grabar, *Byzantium*, pls 148, 151 and 153.

¹⁵ A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio)* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1958), nos 5, 6, 8, 14 and 15, figs XI, XII, XIII, XXVI and XXVIII.

¹⁶ G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans by J. Seligman (London: Lund Humphries, 1971-72), 2 vols, II, pl. 6.

¹⁷ Grabar, *Ampoules*, nos 9, 10 and 11, figs XIV, XVI and XVIII.

¹⁸ Grabar, *Ampoules*, Bobbio nos 1 and 2, figs XXXII and XXXIII.

¹⁹ Ambrose, *In Apocalypsin Expositio*, De visione prima, ii.7, PL 17, 778.

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²⁰ Bede, *In Genesim*, I.iii.24, ed. by C. W. Jones, CCSL, 118A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), pp. 71-72.

²¹ Augustine, *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum*, I.xv.26, PL 42, 616.

²² Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, vii, ed. by B. Paulus, CCCM 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), p. 39.

²³ *Exameron Anglice or The Old English Hexameron*, ed. by S. J. Crawford, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa X* (Hamburg, 1921, repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), ll. 512-14, pp. 71-72.

²⁴ *The Leofric Missal*, ed. by N. Orchard, 2 vols, HBS 113-14 (London: Boydell Press, 2002), I, 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 258-59, No. 1444. Also in *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by A. Dumas, CCSL 159-159A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), No. 945, p. 127; *Ælfwine's Prayerbook (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii)*, ed. by B. Günzel, HBS 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993), No. 50 (2), p. 132; *The Leofric Collectar (Harl. MS.2961)*, ed. by E. S. Dewick and W. H. Frere, 2 vols, HBS 45 and 56 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1914 and 1921), I, p. 170; *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 391)*, ed. by A. Hughes, 2 vols, HBS 89-90 (London: Faith Press, 1958-60), I, p. 124.

²⁶ H. R. Patch, 'Liturgical Influence in *The Dream of the Rood*', *PMLA*, 34 (1919), 233-57 (pp. 249-51), and *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. by M. Swanton (Exeter: Exeter University Press, rev. ed., 1987), pp. 110-11 and 115. For a summary of the various suggestions see J. Smith, 'The Garments that Honour the Cross in *The Dream of the Rood*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), 29-35 (pp. 29-31).

²⁷ Smith, 'The Garments that Honour the Cross', p. 33.

²⁸ Barbara C. Raw, '*The Dream of the Rood* and its Connections with early Christian Art', *Medium Ævum*, 39 (1970), 239-56, esp. pp. 245-46 and n. 32.

²⁹ Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, M. 17.4, 13r, J. J. G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 1 (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), No. 65, p. 83, pl. 290.

³⁰ B. Bischoff, 'Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen', *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben II. Das geistige Leben*, ed. by B. Bischoff (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1965), pp. 233-54 (p. 235); A. Grabar and K. Nordenfalk, *Early Mediaeval Painting from the Fourth to the Eleventh Century*, trans. S. Gilbert (New York: Skira, 1957), p. 122.

³¹ W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), pp. 133-4; Bede, *Liber quaestionum* ii, PL 93, 456. The inscription reads, 'Finit. Fines. Fines. Cudwini'.

³² *Carmen paschale*, I.359-60, ed. by J. Huemer, CSEL 10 (Vienna, 1885), p. 42; trans. R. A. Swanson, 'Easter Poem. Coelius Sedulius: *Carmen Paschale*, Book I; A Translation', *Classical Journal*, 52 (1957), 289-97 (p. 297).

³³ H. L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pls 47-52, 55, 61-68.

³⁴ See Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century*, pls 13, 81, 114, 231, 246, 250 and 325.

³⁵ Reproduced in Grabar, *Byzantium*, pl. 145.

³⁶ Schiller, *Iconography*, I, pl. 52.

³⁷ Jerome, 'Plures fuisse', in J. Wordsworth and H. J. White, *Novum testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889-98), I, pp. 11-14.

³⁸ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. fol. 23, f. 107v, reprod. *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter, Bibl. fol. 23. Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, ed. by W. Hoffman et al., 2 vols (Stuttgart: E. Schreiber, 1965-8).

³⁹ See A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1936), espec. pp. 237-43, and E. H. Kantorowicz, 'Gods in Uniform', in his *Selected Studies* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1965), pp. 7-24, esp. p. 19 and pls 7 and 8.

⁴⁰ *Carmen paschale* I, 337-43, CSEL 10, pp. 40-1, trans. by Swanson, 'Easter Poem', p. 296.

⁴¹ *Carmen paschale* V, 319-22 and 332-6, CSEL 10, pp. 137-39; C. P. E. Springer, *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity. The paschale carmen of Sedulius* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), p. 75.

⁴² *Carmen paschale* V, 195, CSEL 10, p. 128; *Dream of the Rood*, l. 44.

⁴³ *Carmen paschale* V, 235-39, CSEL 10, pp. 131-2; *Dream of the Rood*, ll. 55-56.

⁴⁴ *Carmen paschale* V, 232-40, CSEL 10, pp. 131-2; *Dream of the Rood*, ll. 52-55.

⁴⁵ Barbara Raw, 'A new parallel to the prayer *De tenebris* in the Book of Nunnaminster (British Library, Harley MS 2965, f. 28r-v)', *Electronic British Library Journal*, (2004), Item 1, pp. 1-9.

⁴⁶ For a slightly different view of the relationship between Sedulius and *The Dream of the Rood* see Ó Carragáin, *Ritual; and Belief*, pp. 4-7.

⁴⁷ Springer, *The Gospel as Epic*, pp. 129-30; Helmut Gneuss lists six manuscripts of Sedulius written or based in England, see 'A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 1-60.

⁴⁸ Inge B. Milfull, *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church. A Study and Edition of the 'Durham Hymnal'*, CSASE 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 441, No. 143; trans. *The English Hymnal*, No. 95.

⁴⁹ Bede, *Hymni et preces xiii*, In natali sancti Andreae, *Liber hymnorum*, ed. by J. Fraipont, CCSL 122 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), p. 437.

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⁵⁰ Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, X. 107, 108 and 109, ed. by M. Adriaen, CCSL 14 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), p. 376.

⁵¹ Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, ed. by E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, 3 vols, CCSL 38, 39 and 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), Psalm XC.5, vol. 39, p. 1270; Kantorowicz, 'Gods in Uniform', p. 19.

⁵² *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, repr. 1991), III.2, pp. 216-17.