

ART. VI. – *The Animals of the Ormside Cup*

By the late BRUNSDON YAPP

THE Ormside Cup, or Bowl, is a silver vessel 133mm in diameter, which was dug up in the churchyard of the village from which it was named, in the early years of the nineteenth century, the exact date being unknown.¹ In 1823 it was given to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and since then it has been in their Museum, which, after being briefly taken over by the City of York, became after the reorganisation of 1974, the property of the North Yorkshire County Council. The bowl is normally on display at the Yorkshire Museum, York.

It was described by W. G. Collingwood in 1899,² and briefly in an anonymous note in *The Reliquary* for 1907 (possibly by the Editor, Romilly Allen).³ Baldwin Brown gave a very full account of its construction in 1921,⁴ and Kendrick described it in his textbook of 1938.⁵ Collingwood's paper contains a drawing of one side, and all these reports include small and not very helpful photographs. Kendrick included an inaccurate drawing of all its sides. Finally, Bruce-Mitford published a new, full-scale and much better drawing in his account of the ornament of the Lindisfarne Gospels that accompanied the facsimile of that manuscript.⁶ This is reproduced here, with the addition of the letters A, B, C, D, for ease of reference, as Plates 1 and 2. The bowl had been to the British Museum for repair, and in particular a plate, that had been riveted on to it before its discovery, was removed. This action uncovered some details of the decoration that had previously been invisible, so that no earlier representation is complete and some erroneous deductions had been made. Since then there have been only brief references to the Cup, mostly comparing its decoration with various Anglo-Saxon artefacts, notably the friezes at Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire. Jewell, in a paper on these,⁷ reproduces Kendrick's inaccurate figure. No full account of the decoration, which is embossed in the silver, has ever been given, and as will be seen, much of what has been written about it is false. The present paper is an attempt to give an accurate account of the animals, with a brief reference to the plant forms.

Four vertical ribs, each with a boss in the middle, divide the curved surface of the cup into four panels or segments, which I have labelled A, B, C, D. In the upper part of each panel are two birds, or superficially bird-like forms, and below them, in the lower part of the panel, are two completely different creatures, mostly mammalian in form, but with one that is a species of *serpens* in the sense in which that word is used in medieval bestiaries. For the most part the two animals alongside each other in a segment are a pair, but otherwise there are no repeats, so that the sixteen individuals are of nine species. All are entangled in or separated by plant scrolls. The photographs (Plates 3-6) do not show all the detail in the following descriptions.

Animals Upper Portion

Panel A (Plates 1, 3)

Two similar animals, back to back. There is a large beak, that grasps the bud (not a



PLATE 1 - Ormside Cup. Drawing of panels A (on left) and B, x Bruce-Mitford



PLATE 2. - Ormside Cup. Drawing of panels C (on left) and D, x Bruce-Mitford

fruit) of a branch of the plant. On the head is a fairly long lappet or crest, sigmoid in shape. Round the neck is a collar. The wings show primary and secondary feathers, or the latter may be wing coverts. The tail has a cylindrical base, from which a bunch of feathers swings forward in a near-semicircle to touch the back. The legs are long and striding, and the rear foot grasps the vegetation. On each foot the toes, which are long, are $2+1$, although on the forward foot the hind toe is little more than a heel. In the grasping foot of the left-hand bird the middle toe is divided at the end, while in the right-hand bird both forward toes are divided. This is not shown in the plate.

The total effect is that of a creature which, if it existed, would undoubtedly be classified as a bird. But no such bird exists. It is a composite, with hints of lapwing (crest), parakeet (collar), mis-drawn farmyard fowl (tail), crane (striding legs) and passerine (grasping foot), but it is not near enough to any of these for it to be regarded as based on them. The most that can be said is that the artist had memories, probably unconscious, of a wide range of birds, and that he built something new from his imagination.

Panel B (Plates 1, 4)

A pair of birds, back to back but with the heads turned to face each other. The beak is similar to that in A, but this time grasps a spray of fruit. I recorded no lappet, and my photographs show none, but Bruce-Mitford's drawing has a short one. There is a similar collar to that in A, but the tail is long, straight, and not so far as one can see made of feathers. It is not quite a perfect cylinder, and in the left-hand bird there are two double cross-pieces or rings, while the right-hand bird has these plus what is probably a third partly obscured by the wing. The figure shows four pairs on each bird. The feathered wings are similar to those in A. The legs are shorter than those in A, but again one is stretched forward. Details are difficult to see; where the toes are clear they are long and $2+1$ and in the right-hand bird the rear foot grasps a branch, but that of the left-hand bird merely stands on one. The forward feet probably grasp, but the toes disappear into a bunch of fruit, and are not fully visible as they are in Bruce-Mitford's drawing.

Except for the tails, which are reptilian rather than avian, these once again could be natural birds but are not; they are products of the artist's imagination.

Panel C (Plates 2, 5)

Here I am inclined to say "curiouser and curiouser". Although at a quick glance the two creatures in this panel, a similar pair facing each other, may look like birds, they are not. The head is distinctly mammalian, with a closed mouth, a snout, and in the right-hand animal a well-marked nostril. The figure shows this well, but the British Museum's draughtsman has used some imagination in showing the projection from the crown as a distinct external ear or pinna. The left-hand creature appears to suck rather than to bite a scroll, while the mouth of the other merely touches it. The only feathers are a tuft, rather similar to the tail in A, starting from the upper back and curving over so that it nearly touches the base of the tail. The drawing is wrong here, since it makes some of the feathers of the tuft actually do so in the left-hand animal. There are no wings, although the neck and general shape of the body are more or less bird-like. The

tail curls upwards and then down to end in a leaf-like expansion. The striding legs are similar to those in A, but the toes, 2+1 as there, are rather chunky, as if they had not been finished off. This is shown in the figure.

Some birds of paradise have tufts of feathers more or less in the position of those here, but there is no evidence that they were known in Europe until the end of the middle ages, which on any estimate is much too late for the bowl. They have such brilliant colours that, if any had been imported or even seen by travellers, they could hardly have escaped mention. A few African birds related to the European shrikes have a fluffy growth of feathers from the lower back, but they are not of the form or length of those in Ormside. The arrangement here is probably a conceit of the designer.

Panel D (Plates 2, 6)

Yet another pair of monsters or chimeras in the technical sense, with parts of the body belonging to different animal classes (in the technical sense). They are approximately mirror-images, but cannot be said to face each other, since each bends down and appears to threaten the creature below it. The head is mammalian, with pinnae and nostrils quite clear. The neck, body and legs are of the same pattern as those of the birds in A, and the wings too are similar, with primary and secondary feathers. The long tail bifurcates, each branch ending in a leaf-like expansion. The feet are held close together and do not grasp. There are two long toes, one short, which look as much mammalian as avian.

Lower portion

Panel A (Plates 1, 3)

On the left is a fairly natural goat, looking back over its shoulder. Its horns are long and well shown. The neck and back are shaggy and the hair appears to extend as an unnatural horizontal tail. There is no trace of a beard, which should be present if the animal is a male, as the length of the horns suggests. Before the plate was removed from the base it was, to judge from Kendrick's drawing and Collingwood's Fig.2 impossible to see that the beast has four legs, only the front pair being shown. The toes are not very clear even now, but there are probably two, indicating the cloven hoof, with a hock above.

To the right of this is an unnatural creature. Its head is mammalian, with a mouth opening extending back below the eye, showing what appears to be a long tongue. From the crown grows a single horn, shaped rather like one of those on the goat. The tail is reptilian, and curves in an S round the animal's own neck; it has a floriated tip. Along its length is a row of beads rather larger than those in the figure. There is a single pair of legs; the toes are not clear, but there appears to be a single long one with one or two very short ones probably to one side of it. If such a creature had existed it would have been called a serpent (*serpens*).

Panel B (Plates 1, 4)

Two similar beasts with the bodies lateral to the observer and pointing inwards. The head, with small pinnae, is turned to face toward him, and bite the stem of the plant scroll. The neck is long and the body is shaggy, with a flat back. The tail is of medium

length, and curls down and then up. The animal is lying with the front legs folded back at the wrist and the hind legs forward at the ankle. (Anyone who does not know any anatomy may think that these joints are respectively elbow and knee, but a consideration of human limbs will show that they cannot bend that way). The toes are not clear but probably show one half only of a cloven hoof.

There are no mammals exactly like this, but the form could be based on that of a camel. The head is too large and flat, the neck is too thin, there is no hump, and the body is too shaggy with too thick a tail. The method of lying down is that common, with variations in detail, to cattle and horses as well as camels, in all of which the metapodial bones, i.e. those which in man are in the palm and arch of the foot, are greatly elongated. The toes are probably correct. This is the sort of image that later manuscripts show to have been produced when an originally correct drawing was repeatedly copied.

Panel C (Plates 2, 5)

Two similar beasts in lateral view that would face toward each other if their heads were not turned to look toward the observer. The head is mammalian, with prominent upstanding pinnae with a single horn rising between them. The eyes look forward, and the nostrils are clear, and the creature appears to be browsing on buds of the plant scroll. The body is that of an ox, with a shaggy growth extending along the full length of the back. There is a longish tail, somewhat expanded at the end. The legs also are those of an ox, and end in cloven hooves. Except for the single horn, and some details of the face, this is quite a good representation of a bovine.

Panel D (Plates 2, 6)

Two quadrupeds, which, although not mirror-images, are close enough to be probably of the same species. That on the left is in lateral view. Its head is mammalian, with long ears and long jaws with which it nibbles the plant scroll. The neck is long, and there is a somewhat rounded body that shows the faint outline of ribs; they are probably five in number, although the figure shows only four. A straight projection, rather too far forward to be in the correct position for the tail, rises from the back, but that is perhaps what it is. The upper parts of the limbs could be those of a horse or ass, but they end in long toes with long claws. There are three of these, with probably one out of sight, on the hind limbs, with three on one of the fore-limbs and two on the other. These grasp the base of the plant scroll. The animal on the right is squatting so as to give a ventral view of the body. The head and neck are similar to those on the left, but the ears are rather shorter, and the scroll is being nibbled. Several ribs are visible on both sides of the chest. In the inguinal region are an almost human phallus and testicles. The limbs, when allowance is made for their different positions, are similar to those of the other animal. Three claws are visible on each hind foot, and two on each fore foot.

The head and body suggest an ass, but the long toes make this identification impossible.

It will be seen that of these nine species the only one that is truly natural is the goat. The ox-unicorn might be added if one assumes that this is a misrepresentation of a foreign bovine that had accidentally lost one horn, which is a commonly recognised possible source for the legend of the unicorn.

Former descriptions

I will now briefly recapitulate what archaeologists have said about these animals in the past.

Collingwood calls the birds in "A", "decorator's pheasants", which as a term of art is perhaps acceptable but is ornithologically meaningless; the only detail in which they remotely resemble pheasants is that these birds have a pair of tufts on the head a little like the lappet. Beneath, he finds a capricorn and a unicorn. Since he had not seen the goat's hind legs, the former, which is the sign of the zodiac for December that had the foreparts of a goat and the hind quarters going into a spiral, is reasonable. "Unicorn" is correct only in an adjectival sense. There is more than one sort of unicorn in literature and art, but I have never seen any elsewhere that was bipedal and reptilian in form. The birds in "B" he calls pigeons, on which they might be partially based, with below them "humpless camels". Of "C" he wrote "birds like the first" [which as we have seen they are not] and "Byzantine lions". The cloven hooves were not then visible, but even without them the creatures appear as oxen; no lion has a mane extending all along its back. The animals in "D" he calls "dragon birds with snake tails", with "dragons with asses' heads below"; these terms are meaningless.

Baldwin Brown says that in each quadrant there is "above a bird and below a bird or a quadruped or fantastic monster". Since this makes only eight animals altogether instead of sixteen, and since there are no birds in the lower part, he must have written this from memory. He goes on to say that he will not discuss them because they are Merovingian. This opinion seems to be based on some details of the bosses on the bowl. Searching for information on this type of art in Dodwell,⁸ I was referred to Zimmermann's *Vorkarolinische Miniaturen*.⁹ In all the many examples in the Plates of this work I could find nothing like the Ormside animals. The anonymous note in *The Reliquary* for 1907 refers merely to "beasts and birds".

Kendrick says 'the fauna almost defies description, and then goes on to describe it in terms that show that it has certainly defied him.'¹⁰ He compares the animals with those on a Carolingian ivory book-cover in the Louvre,¹¹ but Goldschmidt's Plate shows that this, which represents Adam and Eve in Paradise, has mostly the usual natural animals for this scene, largely domestic - sheep, goats, horse, camel, bull, elephant, probably deer, and lion - with some of the common classical monsters; bird sirens, centaurs, cynocephali, griffin and unicorn, all of which are present in some bestiaries. Some of them occur also in Marvels of the East, a classical work of which an Anglo-Saxon translation is dated to the late 10th-century.¹² Except for the goat and the bull none of these has anything to do with the Ormside fauna, and these are not close to it in appearance. Kendrick makes much of the "worried look" on the brow of his lions, which he regards as an especially Frankish feature.¹³

Stone says that the birds are "pterodactyl like" and that the quadrupeds "prance".¹⁴ Pterodactyls have large membranous wings and short legs.

Wilson says those are "collared birds of naturalistic form that eat the grapes" and "various animals, none of them identifiable to a particular species".¹⁵ There is nothing much wrong with this, except that there are no grapes, but it tells one little.

The decoration of the Ormside bowl has been compared to other designs, especially to that of the friezes in the church at Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire.

Cramp says of one of the groups into which she divides the birds in these, "closely paralleled on the Ormside cup . . . which also contains its own menagerie of exotic beasts".¹⁶ Jewell compares Breedon with Ormside several times, and in particular says of the birds of both segments A and B "close in style to the Breedon peacocks".¹⁷ These last are shown in his Plate XLIXd. They are not peacocks, and if they are derived from them the connection is very remote, as is any resemblance they have to the birds on the bowl. Peacocks wander freely in the Abbey Gardens surrounding the Yorkshire Museum, so that it is easy to go straight from studying the cup to look at a living bird, when the lack of resemblance becomes obvious.

The plant scroll

I have not made the same study either of English plant scroll in general or of that of the Ormside bowl as I have of animals, but two things stand out. One is that the common habit of art-historians of calling all vegetation in medieval art either vine-scroll (or occasionally ivy) if it is a climber, or acanthus if it is shrubby, has greatly confused things. Both these plants (which are mainly Mediterranean) have leaves of characteristic shape, and rather few English plants in art show these. The second point, the assumption that all English plant scrolls are derived from other sources, especially from the East, is untrue. I have given elsewhere examples where this is not true for animals, of which the same thing is said,¹⁸ and I see no reason why it should be true for plants. Cramp, for example,¹⁹ says of a clover-leaf that is shown concave, that it could be derived from a manuscript from Luxeuil. I read this while I was sitting in the garden; I looked down and there was a clover leaf in the lawn exactly like the one that she illustrates. I cannot believe that any artist would take a valuable manuscript or ivory into the workshop to copy with his chisel when he could get the same effect by picking a leaf from the grass.

Baldwin Brown²⁰ recognised that the plant scroll in Ormside is neither vine nor acanthus, and it is certainly not ivy, which is what Stone calls it.²¹ It consists mostly of simple stems that branch at the base. Each branch ends in a bud, in which a pair of leaves enclosed another smaller pair, and these yet another, and so on to a total of three or four. Below the outermost pair is another which has opened out so that the leaves lie flat. I have seen nothing like this in any other Anglo-Saxon scroll, and I doubt if there is another example. I can recall nothing like it in any of the reproductions of continental scrolls that I have seen. I have seen no comment on this peculiar form of scroll in anything written about the bowl. All buds have leaves or scales that overlap like this - it is called imbrication - but usually they follow each other round the stem out of which they grow with an apparently arbitrary angle, which is constant for a given species, between them. If two scales are at the same level, so that the angle is 180°, the leaves into which they develop are in opposite pairs, and one has the arrangement seen in the Ormside scroll. I do not know any plant quite like this, but in many, such as the speedwells, the angle is 90°, so that there are alternating pairs. An artist might well have simplified his model to produce what one sees. (The buds of the common garden shrub *Hebe*, which comes from New Zealand, show the arrangement especially well.)

There are some branches of the Ormside scroll that end in a bunch of slightly egg-shaped fruits, and similar single fruits occur in the axils of some of the leaf-buds, for example at the end of the stem that separates the goat from the "unicorn" in panel A.

Schapiro (1958) says that the scroll-work resembles that in the Leningrad Bede.²² Both Alexander and Wilson agree.²³ I have not seen this manuscript, but there is a complete facsimile of it,²⁴ and there is only one example of plant-scroll in it, in an initial B on f.3v. This is reproduced also in Alexander (II.83). There are two different designs in the two spaces of the B. In the lower a plant spray hangs down, so that its base is at the top; there is a series of obovate leaves (I use the standard botanical descriptive terms),²⁵ the smallest at the base, with a pair of smaller ovate leaves and an indefinite structure (which Schapiro calls a flower or fleuron) at the end. In the upper a simple stem branches twice, near the top, each main branch ending in a single narrowly ovate leaf with a cordate base. Minor branches bear groups of three fruits, which are circular in the drawing, not egg-shaped like those in Ormside, and there are similar fruits sessile on the stem. Anyone who can put Alexander's photograph alongside the illustrations in this paper can see that beyond the fact that there are stems, leaves and fruits in both, Leningrad and Ormside have nothing in common. I hope that my careful botanical description will convince those who do not have access to Alexander's book that this is true.

Schapiro finds also similar vegetation on the cross-stem from Croft in Yorkshire²⁶ and in another work by Bede.²⁷ In both these the leaves are different yet again, being triangular hastate in Croft and like half a leaf with truncate base and cuspidate apex in the Bodley manuscript.

Bruce-Mitford says that Ormside has decoration the "foliate details of which have the closest connection with those of the *Book of Kells*".²⁸ This manuscript has 300 folios, so that it would be easy to miss any details that occur only rarely, but in fact there is rather little plant decoration, and I have been unable to find any, either in the complete facsimile or in Henry's shorter version, that resembles that of the bowl.²⁹ Alexander, in his brief description of the manuscript says its "organic plant ornament" is one of the things that distinguishes it from other Insular Gospel books, and refers particularly to f.202,³⁰ which is illustrated in colour in Henry (p.109). In the lower of her two pictures there are lobes, arranged as singles, doubles, triples, quadruples, pentamerously and hexamerously, springing from a complicated interlace that grows out of a vase. I doubt if these can be called leaves, even if the total pattern is distantly derived from a plant scroll. They are similar in form to the wing feathers of the highly distorted birds in the picture above. (These two blocks of decoration are at the base of the folio; see Henry p.67.) In any case they are unlike anything on the Ormside bowl.

The date and origin of the cup

Since nothing is known of the finding of the cup except that it was dug up in a churchyard that had yielded also other artefacts that appear to be broadly Anglo-Saxon or Viking, any arguments for its date or origin must be based on its construction, style and relationship to other better provenanced objects. Both Collingwood and Baldwin Brown seem to have found it difficult to make a decision. The former says in one place (p.382) "It is in every respect typically Anglian, one might say English, work. I see no reason for calling it either Celtic or Carolingian", and in another (p.383) "No English-bred workman chased out these details, but someone with southern impulsiveness and finesse". He resolves the problem by suggesting that it was designed by an Anglian but

that the work was carried out by a migrant Greek workman. Baldwin Brown several times compares it with the Ruthwell Cross, but says also that it suggests the late classical art of Alexandria of Syria, and at the same time has barbaric features. He finally concludes (p.327) that it is not "a product of this country but of Merovingian Gaul".

Since then all authors seem to have accepted the bowl as English without discussing other possibilities, and have placed it in both place and time by comparison with Breedon (Cramp, Jewell, and by implication Stone), the Leningrad Bede (Schapiro, Wilson, Alexander), the Croft cross-base and a Carolingian ivory (Kendrick) and the Book of Kells (Bruce-Mitford). This is not the place to discuss the evidence for the date and place of all these; it is enough to say that although there is minor disagreement they are all accepted as being from the eighth century or early ninth, and (except that Carolingian art merely influenced that of Northumbria) from Northumbria or Mercia. However that may be, I have shown above that the alleged resemblances disappear when one considers the animals and plants in detail.

My careful descriptions ought to make possible more precise comparisons. Unfortunately I have been unable to find any. I am fairly confident that there are no animals, with one exception, and no plant-scroll, like those of Ormside on any English artefact of any age; if there are any, they must be obscure and are probably unpublished. I cannot be so certain of continental work, but in a fairly extensive search I have found none. The decoration of the bowl therefore appears to be unique.

Oxen and unicorns occur elsewhere, but I have seen none like those in panel C. One each of two folios of the Cutbercht (or Cuthbert) Gospels are two pairs of shaggy goats rather like the one on the bowl, but they are different in attitude and each has a beard as a male goat should.³¹ But goats were common animals and this is the one natural creature on the cup. For what it is worth, the Cuthbert Gospels are usually said to have been written by an Anglo-Saxon (Cutbercht, who signs it) working in Salzburg in the late eighth century; he may have illuminated it also. Alexander says that it has Merovingian motifs, but does not specify these.³² Its canon-tables have many unusual animals, unlike any that I have seen in other Insular manuscripts or anywhere else, including (except for the goats) Ormside.

Henderson says that the birds on the Pictish stone from Hilton of Cadboll "have much in common with the Mercian Ormside Bowl but are virtually identical to the birds pecking vines in the Rome Gospels, which is Mercian work of about 800".³³ Her Plate of Hilton of Cadboll is not very clear, but so far as I can see all its birds have short legs and do not stride. The birds in the Gospels as seen in Alexander are certainly not like those of Ormside. The one thing that they have specially in common is that some of them have mammalian heads.³⁴

This last point may be important, since one of the most striking things about the Cup is the high proportion of chimaeras. Unfortunately no more is known about the origin of the Rome Gospel book than about Ormside. It does, however, resemble Insular Gospel books in many ways. Chimaeras were much employed in eleventh and twelfth century France, so that they produced the well-known protest of St Bernard.³⁵ There are also some strange composite animals, monsters rather than chimaeras, in some late Anglo-Saxon carving, for example on the fonts at Bridekirk (Cumberland) and Toller Fratrum (Dorset) and on the underside of the displaced tympanum in Southwell Minster. None of these is like the animals on the bowl and they may be all too late for its methods

of construction. One may have to conclude that the Cup is an isolated work of genius, with neither close predecessors nor successors.

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Notes and References

- ¹ The President (The Worshipful Chancellor Ferguson), "Various finds in Ormside Churchyard", *CW1*, xv, 377-80.
- ² W. G. Collingwood, "The Ormside Cup", *CW1*, xv, 381-87.
- ³ Anon. "The Great Ormside Bowl", *Reliquary* 13 (1907) 200-04.
- ⁴ G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* 5 (London, 1921) 318-28.
- ⁵ T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (London, 1938) 150-51, 157 n.2.
- ⁶ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, in T. D. Kendrick *et al* (eds.) *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis . . . Cotton Nero D.IV* (Orton et Lausanne, 1960) 253, Fig. 63.
- ⁷ R. H. I. Jewell, "The Anglo-Saxon Friezes at Breedon-on-the-Hill", *Archaeologia*, 108 (1986) 95-115.
- ⁸ C. R. Dodwell, *Painting in Europe 800-1200* (Harmondsworth, 1971).
- ⁹ E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1916).
- ¹⁰ Kendrick, *op cit.*
- ¹¹ A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Romansichen Zeit* (Berlin, 1914-26) 1, No.158, Pl.70.
- ¹² BL Cotton MS. Vit. A XV. See M. R. James, *Marvels of the East* (Oxford, for the Roxburghe Club, 1929).
- ¹³ Kendrick, *op cit.*
- ¹⁴ L. Stone, *Sculpture in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 2nd ed. 1972) 22.
- ¹⁵ D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art from the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest* (London, 1984) 64.
- ¹⁶ R. Cramp, "Schools of Mercian Sculpture", in A. Dornier (ed.), *Mercian Studies* (Leicester, 1977) 191-233, esp. 206.
- ¹⁷ See Jewell, *op cit.*, 104.
- ¹⁸ W. B. Yapp, "Animals in medieval art: the Bayeux Tapestry as an example", *Journal of Medieval History*, 13 (1987) 15-73, esp. 62-64.
- ¹⁹ R. Cramp, "Anglo-Saxon Sculpture of the Reform Period" in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies* (London and Chichester, 1975) 184-199, 191.
- ²⁰ See Baldwin Brown, *op cit.*, 327.
- ²¹ See Stone, *op cit.*
- ²² M. Schapiro, "The decoration of the Leningrad manuscript of Bede", *Scriptorium*, 12 (1958) 191-207.
- ²³ J. J. G. Alexander, *A Survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles 1, Insular manuscripts, 6th-9th centuries* (London, 1978), No.19. Wilson, *op cit.*
- ²⁴ O. S. Arngart (ed), *The Leningrad Bede* (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile II, Copenhagen, 1952).
- ²⁵ A. R. Clapham, T. G. Tutin and E. F. Warburg, *Flora of the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1952) 512-528.
- ²⁶ Stone, *op cit.*, Pl.10.
- ²⁷ Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 819. See O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illustrated manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, 3 (Oxford, 1973) No.8 and Pl.I.
- ²⁸ See Bruce-Mitford, *op cit.*, 254.
- ²⁹ E. H. Alton and P. Meyer (eds.), *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Cennanensis* (Dublin, Trinity College, MS. A.I.6) (Berne, 1950-51). F. Henry, *The Book of Kells* (London, 1974).
- ³⁰ See Alexander, *op cit.*, 73.
- ³¹ *Cutbercht Gospel Book*, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1224, fols. 21, 21v. Zimmermann (n.9) 4, Pls.

- 307, 308. H. J. Hermann, *Die fruemittel altlichen Handschriften* (Die illuminierten Handschriften . . . der National Bibliothek (Vienna, 1923), Pls. xv 1 and 2.
- ³² Alexander, *op cit.*, No.37.
- ³³ I. Henderson, *The Picts* (London, 1967) 154 and Pl.60.
- ³⁴ Alexander, *op cit.*, No.36, Ills. 173, 178. "The comparison of the foliage scroll . . . (f.18 [his II.170]) with that on the bowl found at Ormside is also striking". But the two are not alike; on Ormside, the stem, as I have said, bifurcates, whereas in the manuscript there is a main stem from which pairs of branches go off from nodes as on the Jedburgh stone panel (see Stone, *op cit.*, Pl. 4B) and a capital of c. 1090 in the south transept of Ely Cathedral.
- ³⁵ G. G. Coulton, (sel., trans. and annot.), *Life in the Middle Ages* (2nd ed. Cambridge, 1930) 4, 174.

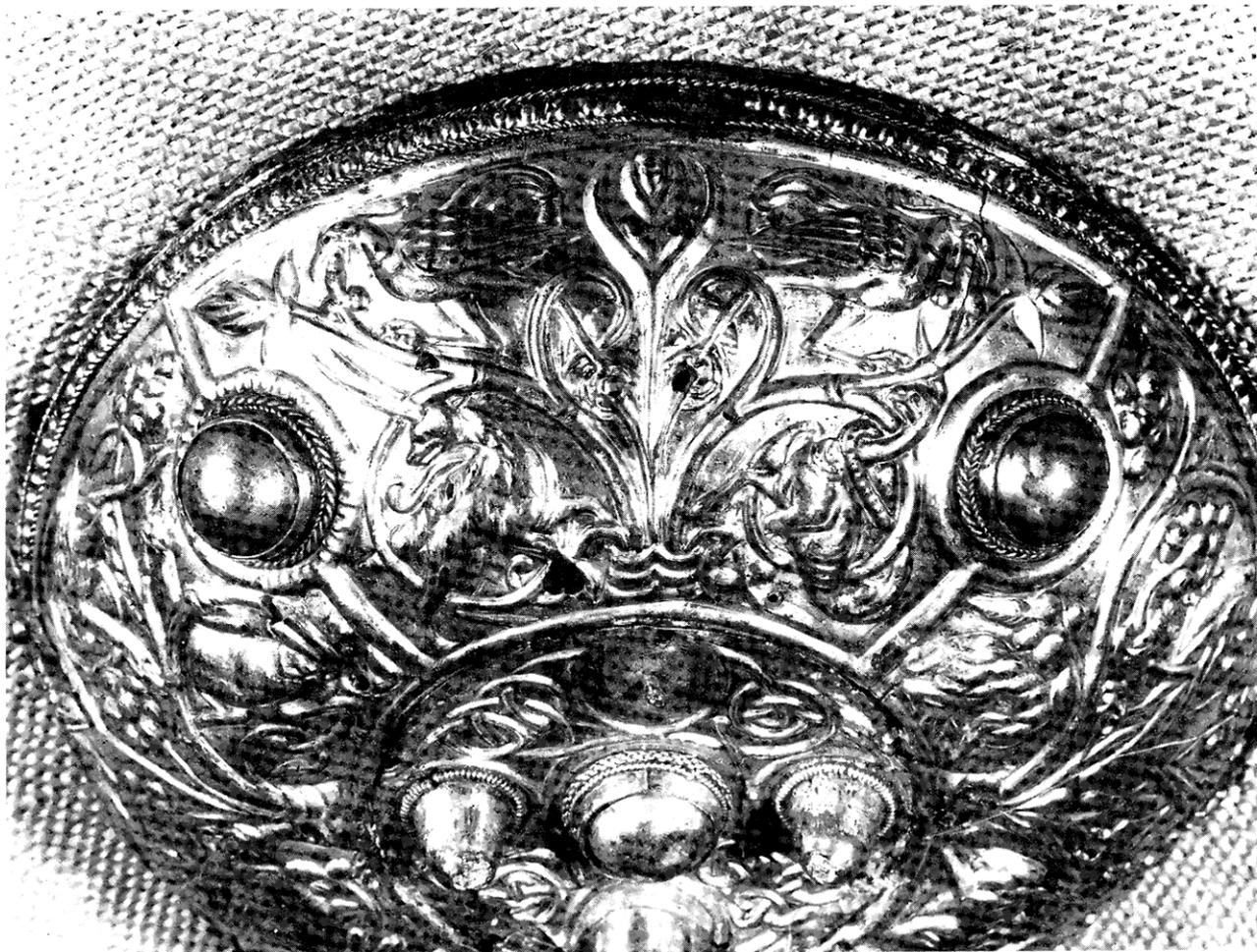


PLATE 3 - Panel A

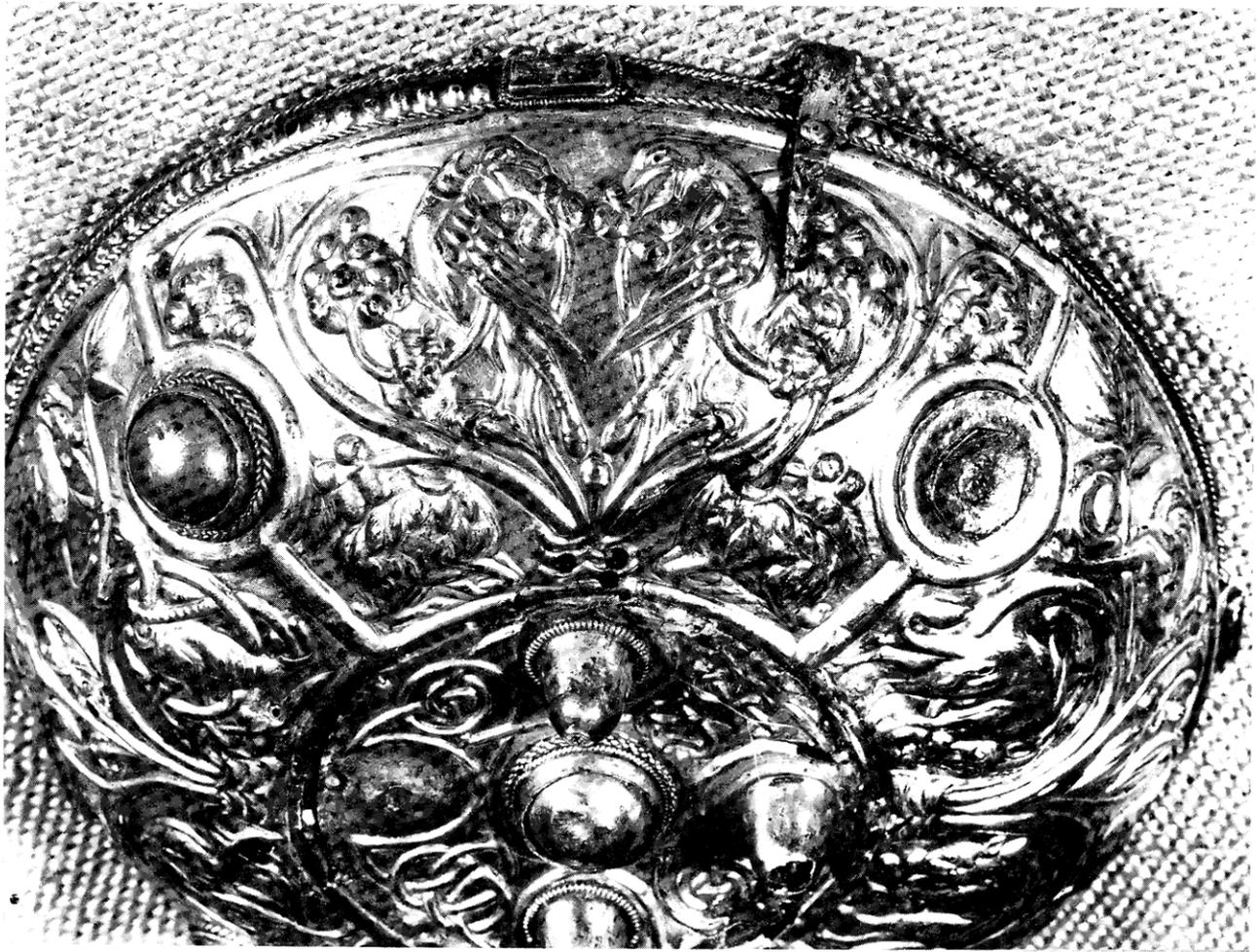


PLATE 4 – Panel B

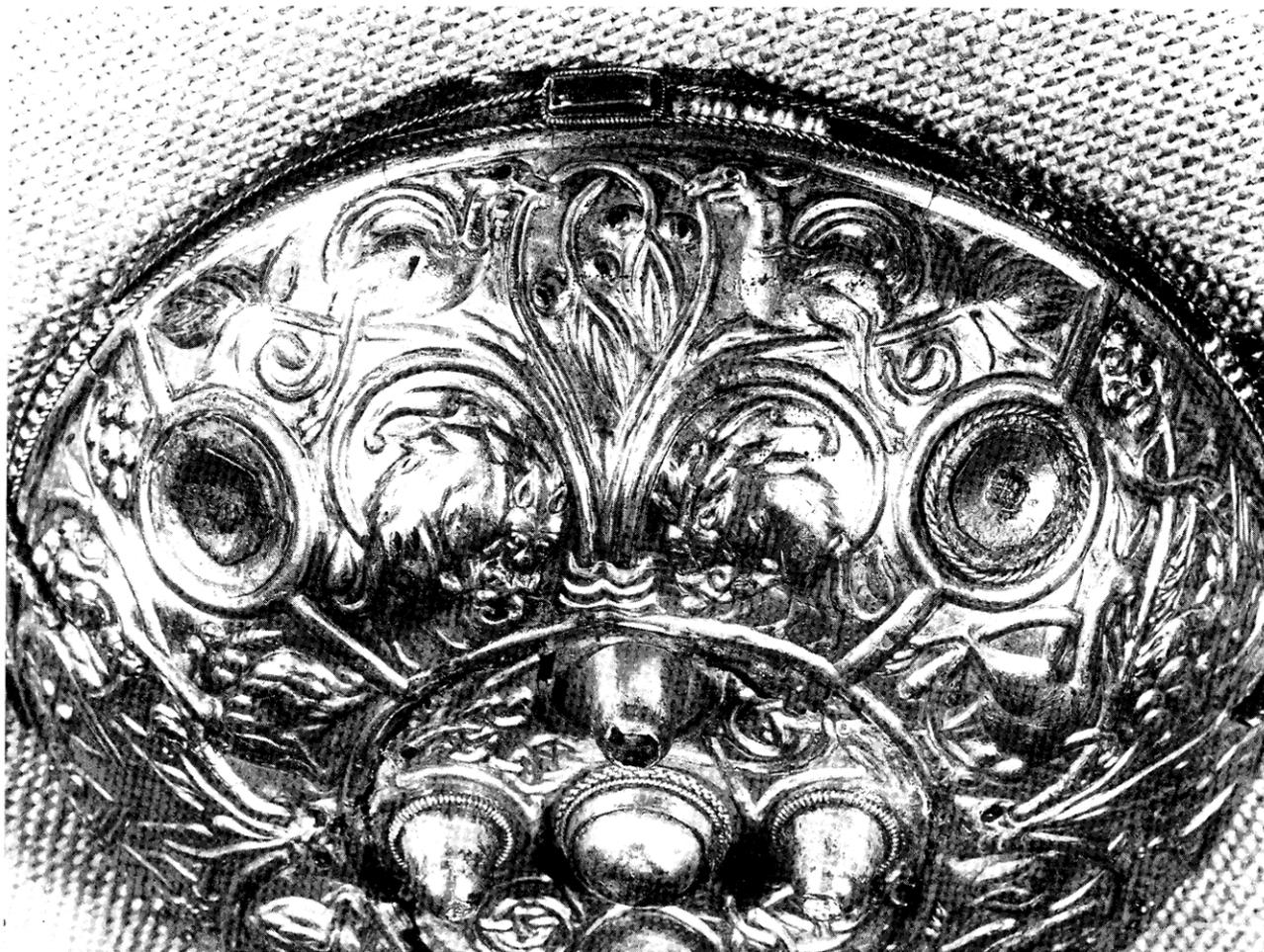


PLATE 5 - Panel C

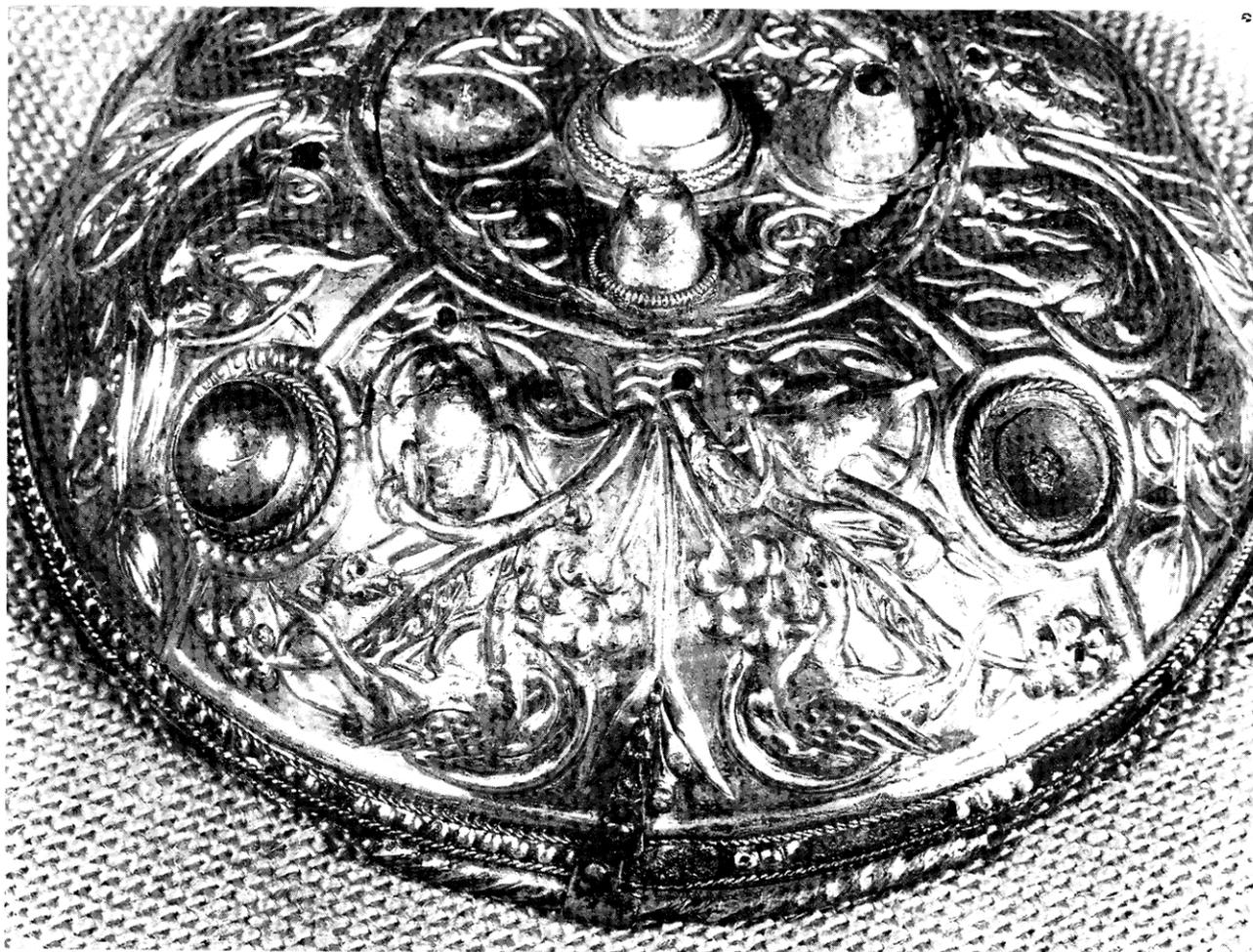


PLATE 6 - Panel D

