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»Kultbild«: Revision eines Begriffs

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Inhalt

Art and Reverence in Bede's Churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow

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Among the most important textual sources for Mediterranean art in the churches of early medieval northern Europe are the near-contemporary reports of the acquisitions by the Northumbrian monk, Benedict Biscop, for the houses at Wearmouth and Jarrow in the late seventh century. The earliest of these texts occurs in the *Life of Ceolfrid* (*Vita Ceolfridi*), written about 721 by an unknown monk of Jarrow. This recalls how, after a trip to Rome in 678 accompanied by Ceolfrid, then prior of Wearmouth, Benedict brought to his new monastery at Wearmouth books, relics of martyrs, the »deservedly venerated depiction of canonical stories« (*historiarum canonicarum picturam merito uenerandam*), and »other gifts of the foreign world« (*alia* [...] *peregrini orbis dona*; see Appendix, 1). Two more detailed reports occur in the *History of the Abbots* (*Historia abbatum*) written by Bede in about 725. While Benedict and Ceolfrid were in Rome in 678, Bede tells us, Pope Agatho commissioned John, the archcantor of St. Peter's and abbot of the monastery of St. Martin's Rome, to return with them to Wearmouth to teach Roman liturgy and chant. Along with John, we learn that Benedict brought back books, relics of apostles and martyrs, a papal charter, and »pictures of holy images« (*picturas imaginum sanctarum*) for the church of St. Peter at Wearmouth – images, Bede states, of the Virgin and apostles, gospel scenes, and John's visions in the Book of Revelation. Through these depictions, Bede claims, »all who entered the church, even if they were illiterate, wherever they looked, would contemplate the beloved face of Christ and his saints, albeit in an image; or they would more vigilantly recall the grace of the Lord's Incarnation, or, having the Final Judgment as if before their eyes, would remember to examine themselves more carefully«[1] (see Appendix, 2).

Benedict took a final trip to Rome in 685 a few years after he and Ceolfrid had together founded the house at Jarrow, where Ceolfrid then served as abbot. Just before Benedict died in 689, he named Ceolfrid abbot of Wearmouth as well, a decision probably intended at the time, and later understood, to unite the two houses as a single monastery.[2] According to the *History of the Abbots*, Benedict returned from the 685 trip with more books, silk cloaks, and the »gift of holy images« (*sanctarum imaginum munere*): scenes from the life of Christ for a church at Wearmouth dedicated to Mary, and Old and New Testament scenes for Jarrow's church of St. Paul (see Appendix, 3).

Bede's homily honoring Benedict Biscop, which may date near the end of Bede's life in the early 730s, notes Benedict's visits to Rome and other continental centers, including Lérins where he spent two years.[3] His acquisitions for Wearmouth and Jarrow are described in a more abbreviated fashion than in the *Life of Ceolfrid* or the *History*, without explicit reference to the papal city. On multiple journeys »overseas« (*mari transito*),[4] we are informed, Benedict procured books, relics of martyrs, architects and window-makers, teachers (plural: *magistros*) of singing and liturgy, a papal charter, and »pictures of sacred histories not only for decorating the church but also to instruct viewers [...], namely so that those who could not read might learn the works of our Lord and Savior from seeing images of them«[5] (see Appendix, 4). The *Life* and the *History of the Abbots* also mention builders and window-makers who came to Wearmouth from Gaul, but separately from the reports of the trips to Rome on which Benedict obtained the images.[6]

A final passage to note occurs in Bede's commentary *On the Temple* (*De Templo*), written ca. 729–31, in which he interrupts his exegesis of the Temple architecture to counter the view that the Old Testament commandment against images applies to all art, including depictions of Christian subjects (Appendix, 5). The examples Bede gives of Christian works suggest he had some of the imagery at Wearmouth and Jarrow in mind. »There are those who think« (*sunt qui putant*), he asserts, that the commandment forbids all images; but they have forgotten the decoration in Solomon's Temple, the cherubim on the propitiatorium of the ark of the covenant, and the brazen serpent. If it was permitted to Moses to raise the bronze serpent on the pole, surely it is legitimate to recall by painting the crucifixion and Christ's miracles; for images may stir compunction »and, even in those who cannot read open up, so to speak, a living reading of the Lord's story« (*eis quoque qui litteras ignorant quasi uiuam dominicae historiae pandere lectionem*). Similarly, the oxen of the Temple's laver show it is acceptable to paint the acts of the apostles and thus »designate them in, if I may say, living scripture before the eyes of everyone« (*uiua ut ita dixerim prae oculis omnium designare scriptura*); and the stories carved on the laver's rim indicate that God allows us to sculpt or paint on panels (*tabulis*) the stories of the saints and martyrs. If we attend to the words of the law, Bede continues, we understand that what is forbidden is not the making of all images but of those meant for idolatry. The rather precise reference to sculpture and tablets painted with hagiographical scenes may mean Bede was thinking of art at Wearmouth-Jarrow. We can plausibly imagine that the monastery's collection included such works, even though these subjects are not mentioned in the *History of the Abbots*.

None of the art at Wearmouth-Jarrow described by Bede appears to have survived, and we have no textual references to it other than his writings and the brief notice in the *Life of Ceol-*

frid. Still, this corpus is substantial and (regarding Bede's comments) unusually detailed compared with surviving reports of lost artwork in other early medieval European centers. It is surprising, then, that the most careful study of the texts to date is an article published by Paul Meyvaert in 1979; most subsequent scholarship follows his interpretation of them, and there has been little effort to grapple with their ambiguities.[7] My aim in this essay is to revisit these texts in order to examine what they, together with a few other sources, suggest about the physical characteristics and settings of the images Benedict procured, his aim and purpose in acquiring them, and contemporary responses to them. I must emphasize that any discussion of these issues necessarily remains tentative, both because we are dealing with lost works knowable only through texts, and because of the slippery nature of the passages by Bede, who provides most of our information. In the last two decades, historians of Anglo-Saxon England have become increasingly sensitive to his propensity, in his historical writings, to omit details he must have known, and highlight and arrange the information he chooses to present, in order to serve agenda other than the straightforward narration of past events. We need to be cautious in interpreting what he says about the images and deciding where his comments can be taken at face value. In regard to the art's appearance and other material features, I think we know considerably less than is commonly assumed. Concerning its purpose and reception, Bede affirms the imagery's didactic or commemorative significance and hence its value to the illiterate, and compares seeing it to the reading of sacred texts. Yet these claims are unlikely to exhaust the meaning that the images brought by Benedict held for him, his fellow monks, or visitors to Wearmouth-Jarrow, or the ways the faithful interacted with them. One likely aspect of this interaction, not discussed in most modern scholarship, is devotion: prayer directed toward the depictions and other practices signaling honor and reverence, that is, a certain »cult« of the imagery. While Bede does not overtly mention such acts, his description of the imagery as »holy« and of the depicted faces of Christ and the saints as »beloved« may imply them, and it seems likely that Ceolfrid's biographer was thinking of reverential conduct when he referred to the images as »deservedly venerated«.[8]

The best place to begin is with the evidence for the physical characteristics of the artwork Benedict brought to his churches. (I explain below why I focus specifically on these objects.) It seems to me, first, that we should probably accept the basic veracity of the claims, in the *Life of Ceolfrid* and the *History of the Abbots*, that Benedict did acquire a number of artistic images while in Rome in 678 and 685. We do not know the identity of the author of the *Life* other than that he was a monk at Jarrow by ca. 721, when the text seems to have been written, and thus we cannot be sure he had known Benedict.[9] But with Bede, it is clear he was an eye witness of some of the events during Benedict's abbacy that he recounts. Although he only entered Wearmouth in about 680, after Benedict had returned from the journey of 678, he was present at Jarrow when the abbot came back from his last visit to Rome in about 685.[10] Moreover, even in the mid-720s, when the *History of the Abbots* was composed, Bede was probably not the only monk at Wearmouth or Jarrow who would then have remembered Benedict and his abbacy. Another whose name is known is Hwaetbert; Bede states that he was raised at Wearmouth from earliest childhood, studied in Rome under Pope Sergius I (687–701), and succeeded Ceolfrid as abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow (716–47). Bede's discussion of events under Benedict, including the

return from trips with works of art, needed to accord to some degree with the memories of Hwaetbert or other peers, members of his text's initial audience.[11]

In keeping, I think we should also accept that some of, if not all, the images Benedict procured were placed directly in the churches. A few scholars earlier contended that the acquisitions must have been models - depictions in manuscripts, perhaps, that were subsequently copied onto the walls.[12] This is a possible reading of the passages and it may account for some of the imagery; I do not think we can rule it out entirely. Still, I remain drawn to Meyvaert's argument that on the whole, it seems to strain the sense of Bede's language, whose command of Latin was exceptional for an early medieval author. I will not repeat all of Meyvaert's argument but only note – as he does – that Bede was fascinated by architecture and, particularly when it comes to buildings and their furnishings, he tends to employ language with care.[13] Given these traits, his witness of some of the events he discusses, and the witness by members of his contemporary audience, the most reasonable interpretation is that the productions he describes included, or consisted entirely of, images obtained in Rome that were themselves put on display.

Finally, I see no reason not to trust what Bede says about the subjects and locations of this imagery. We learn from the *History of the Abbots* (Appendix, 2) that the gospel scenes for the church of St. Peter Wearmouth were set on its south wall, and the images of visions in the Book of the Apocalypse along its north wall.[14] The portraits of Mary and the apostles were »in the middle of the building«, probably the best translation for *mediam testudinem*, most likely meaning that they were before the chancel or sanctuary entrance.[15] They were on a *tabulatum*, Bede notes, a term he also uses in *On the Temple* to denote rows of wooden boards or panels.[16] Depending on the medium of the artwork, another issue I will address shortly, the reference to a *tabulatum* in the *History* may indicate a series of depictions, possibly painted on wood tablets, forming part of a chancel barrier, or attached to or placed along the wall above or on either side of the archway entrance. In either case, we are told that the imagery reached across the church »from wall to wall« (*a pariete ad parietem*). The »pictures of the Lord's story« (*dominicae historiae picturas*) that Benedict brought in 685, according to Bede, »crowned« the church of St. Mary at Wearmouth in a circle (*aecclesiam in gyro coronaret*). Excavations have yet to establish the location of this building, but the comment implies a central plan church with the imagery set around the interior walls or a central dome. The scenes from the two Testaments at Jarrow, transported on the same trip, we are informed, decorated the »monastery and church of St. Paul« (*monasterium aecclesiamque beati Pauli apostoli*); by this Bede probably means they were placed in the new church of St. Paul of the new monastery.[17] One image was above another, he reports, to show the Old Testament foreshadowing the New. Isaac carrying the wood was paired with Christ carrying his cross, and the brazen serpent with the crucifixion.

No information is given, though, about where the pictures for Jarrow were positioned in its church,[18] and it is important to be aware of the other significant gaps in our knowledge. For one thing, we have no way of knowing how many works of art were in any of these three churches. Bede refers to multiple images of Old and New Testament scenes, gospel episodes, and visions in the Book of Revelation; but he does not offer clear evidence of the number

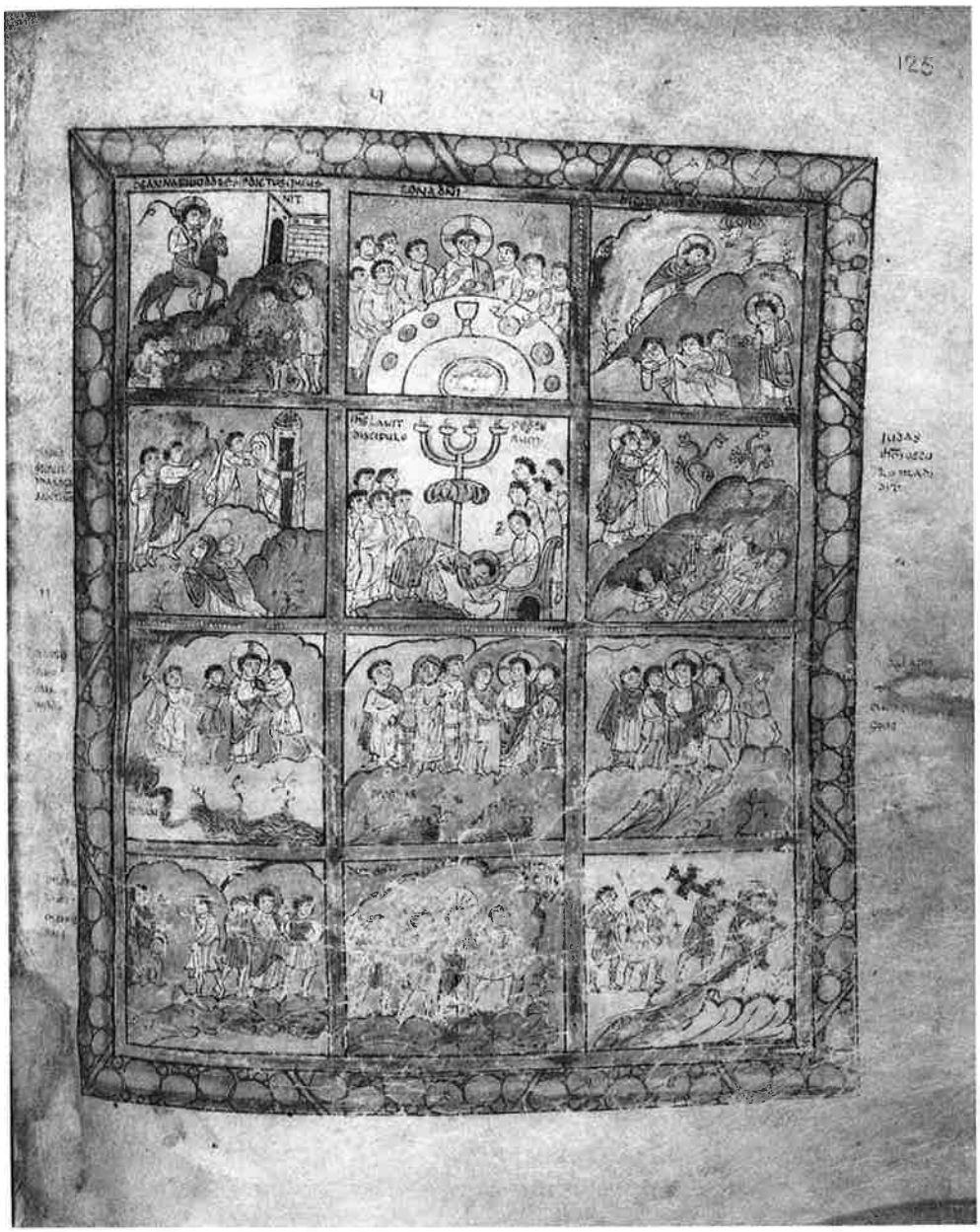

Fig. 1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Lib. MS. 286, St. Augustine Gospels, Fol. 125r.: events in Christ's Passion

Fig. 2 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Cod. amiat. I; Codex Amiatinus 1, Fol. 2r./Vr., portrait of the Prophet Ezra

of scenes in each series. Each could have consisted of only a few images, and some of the scenes may have been depicted in composite works, resembling, for example, the illustration of events in Christ's Passion in the so-called Gospels of St. Augustine, a sixth-century Italian book (Fig. 1).

On the other hand, there was art in the churches beyond the works he and Ceolfrid's biographer identify, productions not noted by Bede or the author of the *Life*, perhaps, because it was not Benedict or Ceolfrid who obtained them or they did not come from Rome. One indirect acknowledgement of the additional adornment occurs in Bede's homily for the dedication of a church, where he notes that during the vigil, the walls of the church were decorated »with greater care« than usual (*ornatis studiosius eiusdem ecclesiae parietibus*).[19] Excavations of the sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow have unearthed the remains of carved stonework and stained glass. The art within the churches by Benedict's death may have included carvings and panel paintings of the martyrs and saints that prompted Bede's reference to such objects in the Temple commentary. Other members of his community may have provided the churches with still further decoration.

As far as concerns Rome as a place of origin, both Bede and Ceolfrid's biographer push the idea of their houses' ties to this city so hard that we need to be attentive where they seem to

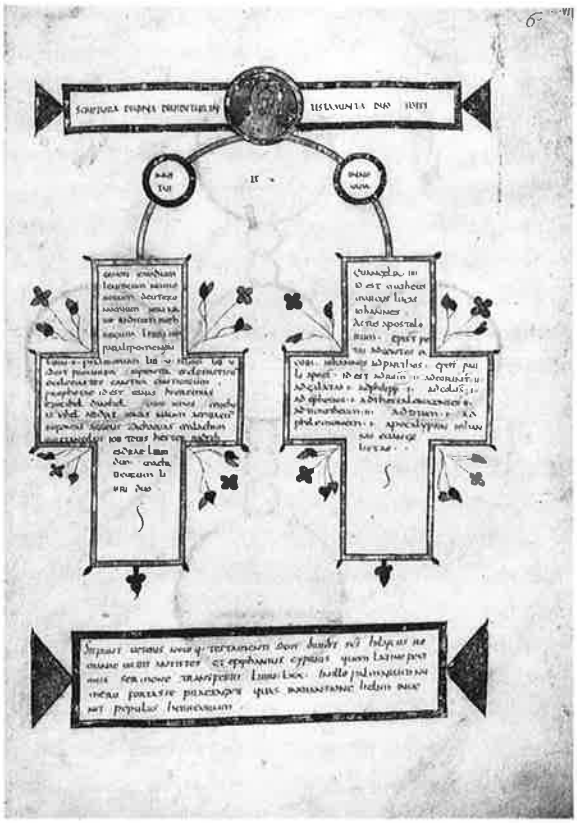

Fig. 3 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Cod. amiat. I, Codex Amiatinus 1, Fol. 6r./VIIr., diagram of scripture according to Hilarus and Epiphanius

equivocate. Both admit that Benedict also traveled to and from other places on the continent. The reference in the homily to his travels »overseas« allows for the possibility that he brought art from other continental centers besides Mediterranean areas;[20] so does the *Life of Ceolfrid*, which notes Benedict's plan to return from his trip of 678 simply with »gifts of the foreign world«.[21] And we know other monks traveled as well, perhaps bringing back images from Rome and other places. It is also clear that, already in Benedict's day, some of the art in the churches was produced at the monastery. We know that Wearmouth received visits from outside experts with varied skills: the archcantor John, for example, who came to teach liturgy and music, and buildings and window-makers from Gaul who helped construct the church of St. Peter, and who may have been responsible for the excavated stonework and glass.[22] These and other entourages possibly also included artists who copied models onto the church walls or created new works of art for them. When we consider the artistic quality of the *Codex Amiatinus*, one of the complete Bibles that Ceolfrid commissioned probably in the early eighth century (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1; Fig. 2, 3),[23] it also seems reasonable to speculate that even earlier under Benedict, monks were resident at Wearmouth or Jarrow who had the artistic skills to create wall paintings and other decoration. In short, while it seems probable that Benedict did transport images from Rome in 678 and 685 that were then

exhibited in his churches, his Roman acquisitions formed only a portion – perhaps only a small percentage – of the decoration in those buildings.

As the foregoing comments should make clear, we also cannot be entirely certain of the materials or media of Benedict's acquisitions or of other art there. Most recent historians who have discussed the works that he brought from Rome, myself included, have assumed they were all panel paintings or »icons«. For Meyvaert, the evidence included the reference in *On the Temple* to *tabulae* depicting hagiographical scenes, which, he argued, were probably works seen at Wearmouth-Jarrow; Bede also employs the word *tabula* in the *Ecclesiastical History* to denote an image of Christ that Augustine supposedly carried in procession on his arrival in Kent in 596.[24] Further, as discussed above, when the *History of the Abbots* refers to the images of Mary and the apostles at Wearmouth as on a *tabulatum*, this may indicate a row of painted panels; or the *tabulatum* was conceivably a wood support or shelf on which panel paintings were attached or placed, perhaps something like the modern shelves for icons in the church of St. Catherine's at Mount Sinai.[25] But even if Wearmouth and Jarrow did own a number of »icons«, the parallel implied in *On the Temple* between the Temple's diverse decoration and Christian works of art may indicate Bede was thinking of churches (at Wearmouth-Jarrow?) that, like the Temple in Jerusalem, were filled with varied productions in a range of materials and media. Where it is clearer that he is indeed focusing on works of art at his monastery, in the *History of the Abbots* and the homily, we should consider the generic nature of the terms he chooses: not *tabulae*, but *imagines, picturae, pincturae*, terms that do not necessarily signify only panel paintings. Thus while some of Benedict's Roman acquisitions may have been icons, it is quite possible he returned from those journeys with other types of artwork, as well: perhaps manuscript drawings or paintings to use as models, carvings in ivory, metalwork objects, and painted, embroidered, or woven textiles that might have been especially easy to transport all the way from the Mediterranean.[26] The Virgin and apostles at Wearmouth, for instance, may have been depicted on cloths suspended beside or across the sanctuary entrance from a wooden shelf, panel support, or rod (a *tabulatum*?).[27]

Regardless, however, of the number of artistic productions in the Wearmouth and Jarrow churches, their materials and media, places of origin, or other features and circumstances of acquisition, the works that Benedict brought from Rome to his houses required careful planning and thought about the purpose they would serve there. Several interrelated objectives likely motivated these efforts. One, obviously and most basically, was to add to the churches' material splendor and thus prestige, partly, no doubt, in order to compete with the lavish adornment of other prominent ecclesiastical centers in the British Isles, such as the churches of Bishop Wilfrid of York and later Hexham or those of Canterbury and Kildare.[28] Second and clearly related, the works Benedict transported visually reinforced the connection between Wearmouth-Jarrow and Rome – a connection also implied through the dedication of the monastery's main churches to Saints Peter and Paul, their romanizing architecture, the papal charter, books, and relics of Roman apostles and martyrs brought with the images, and the commission of John to teach Roman music and liturgy.[29]

Third, as Bede suggests, Benedict probably obtained the artwork with some thought to its pedagogical and commemorative value: its ability to enhance his monks' knowledge of the

scripture and Christian doctrine conveyed in books he also collected and to assist in teaching Christian truths to less educated visitors to the two houses. The notion that imagery in churches helps viewers learn and remember sacred events and figures is expressed in a number of late antique and early medieval texts in addition to Bede's writings, the most famous being the two letters that Gregory wrote to Bishop Serenus of Marseille in 599 and 600; and this idea may well have been in the air in discussions among the monks and clergy with whom Benedict interacted in his travels, particularly in Mediterranean regions.[30] It is also possible he was directly familiar with Gregory's letters, perhaps from the two years he spent at Canterbury from 669–71, a period when the see was the center of Gregory's cult.[31] In other ways, too, Benedict's stay at Canterbury might have encouraged him to reflect on the educational role of the images he began to acquire only a few years later, in 678. Some of the subjects of the artwork transported from Rome, according to Bede – scenes of gospel events and apocalyptic visions, and paired images recalling the typological relation between the Old and the New Testaments – are strikingly reminiscent of the Antiochene style of scriptural exegesis favored by Archbishop Theodore and the Canterbury school, with its emphasis on biblical history, typology, chronology, and eschatology.[32] Benedict's exposure to the teachings of that school perhaps influenced the choice of subjects for these works of art, with the idea, possibly, that they would help him instruct his monks and other viewers along similar lines.

Fourth, as Ian Wood has observed, the images that Benedict acquired, many of scenes set in the Holy Land, were almost certainly intended to underscore the ties between Wearmouth-Jarrow and not only Rome but biblical Palestine, a connection also suggested by elements of the churches' architecture.[33] If the art was in varied materials and media, as seems likely, Benedict may well have perceived an analogy to the decoration of the Jerusalem Temple; if a significant portion consisted of textiles, he perhaps associated them with the cloths and curtains of the desert Tabernacle. Here, too, he was probably mindful of competition with other insular centers such as Wilfrid's church at Ripon, which, according to Wilfrid's biographer, was decorated with woven cloths recalling the decorations in both the Temple and the Tabernacle.[34] Such furnishings in the Wearmouth-Jarrow churches would likely have been one source of inspiration for Bede's decision to write his short treatise, *On the Holy Places*, in about 703, and his longer commentaries on the Tabernacle and Temple in the late 720s, the earliest known Latin exegetical works on those structures.[35]

But fifth, with the foregoing considerations in mind, we need to attend more closely to Bede's account of Benedict's dealings with Pope Agatho in 678. The *History of the Abbots* mentions Agatho only in connection with the sending of John the archcantor and the charter to Wearmouth, yet the pope or his circle probably aided Benedict and Ceolfrid with other acquisitions mentioned in the same passage.[36] The relics of apostles and martyrs, most likely contact relics, probably required some form of papal approval,[37] and we can reasonably expect that Agatho or associates assisted with the procurement of certain books. In particular, the *Codex Grandior*, a sixth-century full Bible that Ceolfrid brought back from this trip and that originally belonged to Cassiodorus but by the later seventh century was possibly thought to have been made for Pope Gregory I, may have come from the papal archive.[38] Similarly, some of the artistic productions could have been from papal collections, while others were obtained

with the help of the pope's entourage – through donations from churches and monasteries in the city, purchases from merchants, commissions from workshops, or other channels. In this context, it seems plausible to envisage all these goods as elements of a single multi-pronged endeavor, by the papal circle working with Ceolfrid and Benedict, to strengthen the English monastery's ties to Rome.

If this makes sense, though, we should explore the possibility of a yet more direct link between the images that Benedict brought from Rome, especially those acquired in 678, and the two responsibilities that Bede recalls Agatho to have given John: to teach Roman liturgy and music at Wearmouth and, not mentioned in the *History of the Abbots* but discussed in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, to ascertain English support for the papacy in its campaign against Monothelete christology.[39] Monotheletism taught that Christ had both a human and a divine nature but only one divine will.[40] The theology developed in the seventh century as a compromise between the one-nature doctrine of the Monophysites – Christ has a human form but only one divine nature – and the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon. According to Chalcedon as interpreted in seventh-century Rome, the Son of God possesses two complete natures, and therefore two wills, in one person. The Byzantine imperial court promoted Monotheletism, but from 640 on the popes opposed it, claiming it contradicted Chalcedonian orthodoxy. The quarrel grew after Pope Martin I convened a council at the Lateran in 649 to condemn the Monotheletes and defend the papal interpretation of orthodoxy.[41] Benedict arrived for his first stay in Rome only just before or just after Byzantine authorities arrested Martin in June 653, in reaction to the Lateran Council's decision. We do not know how long Benedict was in the city for that visit, but since the new pope Eugenius was not elected until August 654, the period was surely marked by some political confusion in the absence of a papal presence.[42] The theological conflict was officially resolved at the Sixth Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 680–81; its decrees were translated into Latin and sent from Rome to other western churches, among them no doubt Canterbury and possibly other churches in England.[43] But tensions between the imperial government and the papacy re-emerged in the last years of the seventh and first years of the eighth century, partly because of a resurgence of the doctrinal dispute.[44] One consequence of these difficulties, in the seventh and early eighth centuries, was the movement into Rome of pro-Chalcedon monks and clergy from other Mediterranean areas. Among them were Agatho, who came from Sicily, Theodore of Canterbury, who was born in Tarsus, and Hadrian, abbot at Canterbury after Benedict, originally from north Africa.[45]

On Benedict's third trip to Rome in 668, Pope Vitalian asked him to guide Theodore to Canterbury. After serving there as abbot until 671, Benedict returned to Rome for a fourth time. By 678, his fifth trip to the city, he was well known in papal circles, clearly familiar with the christological quarrels, and must have been regarded as a trustworthy leader in the English church, loyal to Rome and its teachings. The *Ecclesiastical History* reports that John brought with him to Wearmouth in 678 a copy of the Lateran decrees of 649. At his behest, we are told, this was copied for the Wearmouth archives, and he began to teach Roman liturgy and singing to the monks and visitors from other centers and help organize an episcopal synod that Theodore convened at Hatfield, in 679, to denounce Monotheletism. Since John stayed less

Fig. 4 Codex Amiatinus 1, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Cod. amiat. I, Fol. 796v., Christ in Majesty

than two years in England, his teaching and work for this synod overlapped most if not all that time. During this period, therefore, Wearmouth was simultaneously a center of instruction in Roman ritual and music, and a Northumbrian outpost of Rome's offensive against Monothelete doctrine. A signed copy of the English bishops' synodal letter, confirming the decrees of the first five Ecumenical Councils and the Lateran Synod, from which Bede's quotes excerpts in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, was sent back to Rome with John.[46] He died on the way and was buried at the abbey of St. Martin in Tours, France; yet the letter reached Rome in time for the anti-Monothelete council held there in 680, attended by Wilfrid, which prepared for the Council of Constantinople.[47]

When we place Bede's description of the artwork Benedict acquired in 678 against the backdrop of these political and religious developments, an additional characteristic to emerge is the parallel between its subject matter and the Chalcedonian two-nature theology of Christ. The two groups of representations, on opposite walls of the nave of St. Peter's Wearmouth, in a sense celebrated Christ's divinity on one side and his humanity on the other. The scenes from John's visions of the Apocalypse, which probably included a *Maiestas* image, perhaps something like the illustration in the *Codex Amiatinus* (Fig. 4), evoked the revelation of God at the eschaton. The gospel scenes across from them recalled Jesus's incarnate life and work on earth.

Together these images led the gaze of viewers toward the sanctuary, where they beheld the portrait of the Virgin in whom God assumed human nature, and who was honored in both the British Isles and Rome in the seventh century, partly in reaction to Monothelete christology, through liturgy, icons, and other works of art.[48] John must have been an expert on Rome's Chalcedonian theology, since Agatho sent him to Wearmouth to address the doctrinal concerns; and it is reasonable to think he assisted the monks to discern such themes in the artwork. As he, Benedict, and Ceolfrid might have also instructed them, the apostles represented beside Mary testified to the authority to preach the true faith that Rome claimed through Saints Peter and Paul, and the universality of the Church revealed in the apostolic mission to all nations. The art thus attested the connection between the papacy and Wearmouth through shared orthodoxy, a connection also symbolized in the copy of the Lateran Council decrees made for the monastery's archive.

But another factor to think about in assessing this imagery and its reception at the monastery is John's assignment to teach liturgy and chant. The images described by Bede may have been envisaged by Benedict, Ceolfrid, and the papal circle in Rome as part of an enterprise also liturgical in scope, one that had guided, as well, the selection of certain books (liturgical texts) and of relics (to place near altars), and John's commission to train the monks in Roman conventions of worship. Benedict, Ceolfrid, and John must have known that the art transported from Rome in 678 (and later in 685) would enhance the impact of the rituals, ceremonies that commemorated biblical figures and events represented in the imagery and reinforced the message of orthodoxy they conveyed. Like the art, the liturgy made the Holy Land present in the churches of both Wearmouth and Jarrow, and confirmed the Bible-based, Roman theology that the monastery and papacy jointly espoused against erroneous doctrines like Monotheletism.

There is no evidence of the formal liturgical veneration of images in Mediterranean churches or in other parts of Europe in this period, but extraliturgical acts of devotion are documented:[49] the placing of lights and other offerings near or on sculptures and paintings, faithful who bowed and prayed before them, and other actions implying notions that images possess sacral efficacy and provide some sort of mediation with heaven. The Mediterranean evidence starts to increase in the last quarter of the seventh century, the years when Benedict was in Rome collecting art.[50] Stories of miracle-working images become more frequent, as well, and spread from the Mediterranean to the British Isles; and there are indications that belief in the ability of images to channel holiness was developing in Anglo-Saxon England in these same years, independently of direct Mediterranean influence.[51]

We cannot know with any certainty, of course, how devotional practices were related to the artwork brought by Benedict or to other decoration in the Wearmouth-Jarrow churches; here our sources are silent aside from the allusions to reverence noted earlier in the *History of the Abbots* and the *Life of Ceolfrid*. Since, however, the churches were not large,[52] it is hard to imagine that the individual and communal prayer, contemplation, and worship in those spaces failed to involve the images on some level. Thus it is appropriate to imagine, I think, that John's teaching of liturgy and music, and the monks' own practices of liturgical and extraliturgical reverence and meditation in the churches, were carefully coordinated with the installa-

tion of the art (together with relics) that arrived with John. At certain times, incense and lights were probably burned in the vicinity of depictions (Bede implies that lights were abundant during vigils),[53] processions moved near them, prayers and readings may have been recited before particular works of art, and other of the varied reverential acts that certainly took place in those spaces may have been staged near different representations, depending on the occasion.

After Ceolfrid became abbot of both Wearmouth and Jarrow in 689, the *Life of Ceolfrid* and Bede's *History of the Abbots* report, he commissioned new buildings and added to the monastery's books and furnishings, though there is no mention of further acquisitions of art. One of his major accomplishments, both texts state, was the production of three Bibles containing both the Old and the New Testaments, a project to which Bede contributed. The only one of these Bibles to survive with all its leaves is the *Codex Amiatinus*, taken by Ceolfrid on his last trip to Rome in June 716.[54] He died on the way in Langres, France, but some monks with him continued the journey and reached Rome, where they apparently presented the volume to Pope Gregory II.[55] According to the *Life*, Ceolfrid placed the other two Bibles in Wearmouth-Jarrow's churches of St. Peter and St. Paul just before his departure, so that »everyone wanting to read any chapter in either testament could immediately find the desired passage« (*ut cunctis qui aliquod capitulum de utrolibet Testamento legere uoluissent, in promtu esset inuenire quod cuperent*). They were probably kept in accessible locations, available for private, individual reading as well as the Mass and Office.[56]

Other copies of scripture were no doubt in the two churches before the full Bibles were completed; but the *Life* and the *History of the Abbots* imply the new books were unusually impressive, something new and different. Since they were likely of similar size to *Amiatinus*, their impact on the faithful must have been significant.[57] One result was surely to underscore, for both viewers and readers, the biblical foundation of the figures and scenes represented on the surrounding walls. Once the new Bibles were in the churches, more forcefully than before, the experience of the art was connected to that of written sacred text.

This points to further reasons to suspect that Bede's references to the imagery's pedagogical and commemorative value do not by any means match the actual extent of its meaning and function at Wearmouth-Jarrow. When he wrote his *History of the Abbots* in about 725, *Amiatinus*'s sister Bibles had been in the monastery's churches for almost a decade or possibly longer, and he had himself been immersed in the teaching, study, and preaching of scripture for more than twenty years. Given his admiration for Gregory I, Bede's reading of the two letters to Serenus, which he had probably encountered by the late 720s if not earlier, would have strengthened any ideas he developed on his own that artistic imagery could assist in the recollection and teaching of the Bible's contents, and encouraged him to stress this concept in his own writings.[58]

A last consideration, though, in evaluating Bede's comments on the images, is the possibility – suggested only by indirect hints in a few sources, yet nonetheless worth considering – that by the 720s or even earlier, disagreements had arisen at Wearmouth-Jarrow concerning the validity of its churches' decoration and devotional acts linked with them. Disputes over these matters may lie behind the passage in the Temple commentary and have been an additional factor encouraging Bede to emphasize the role of images to teach and commemorate

biblical persons and events, much as Gregory did in opposing Serenus' iconoclastic outbursts against image-worshippers in the churches of Marseilles. Bede would doubtless have recognized the parallel. While the doctrine he outlines in *On the Temple* reflects his familiarity with traditional defenses of Christian images like those of Gregory, the ideas he seems intent on refuting fall directly in line with the Pelagian-like views that he accused some of his own fellow monks of espousing in other writings. Among other errors, it seems, these brothers, his contemporaries, followed Julian of Eclanum in giving undue weight – as Bede saw it – to literacy and biblical erudition as instruments of salvation even apart from grace, and to literalist interpretations of scripture, especially the Old Testament.[59]

In light of this, we can speculate, the care Bede shows to explain over and over what he believed to be orthodoxy on the one issue of artistic imagery's validity and role in churches – an issue he addresses in the *History of the Abbots*, the commentary *On the Temple*, and yet again in the homily on Benedict that he preached to his own community – may signal its immediate and pressing, topical importance for him. The arguments he presents in these texts in favor of Christian art, especially the works Benedict acquired in Rome, were perhaps intended to sway those of his own colleagues who maintained that salvation depended on the ability to read the Bible and asserted that the imagery at Wearmouth-Jarrow conflicted with the literal record of God's will in the Old Testament. »Those who think« (the target of Bede's criticism in *On the Temple*) that the commandment against idolatry applies to Christians may have included some of his peers. Far from disobeying God's injunction, however, he makes clear, Christians who embellish their churches with imagery actually follow the divine law recorded in the Old Testament as closely as Solomon did in decorating the Jerusalem Temple and Moses in creating the brazen serpent. Like those productions, Christian art does not deviate from but rather conforms to scripture, even to its »letter«. Indeed, it is itself a »living scripture« that the illiterate as much as the literate have the capacity to read, and thus it conveys to all viewers, regardless of the extent of their learning, the same divinely ordained truths taught in the two Bibles seen and read in Wearmouth's church of St. Peter and Jarrow's church of St. Paul.

Appendix

1. Plummer (Ed.), Vita Ceolfridi 9 (cf. n. 6), p. 391: [...] *reuerentissimus abbas Benedictus Romam ire disposuit, ut librorum copiam sanctorum, reliquiarum beatorum martyrum memoriam dulcem, historiarum canonicarum picturam merito uenerandam, sed et alia, quae consuerat, peregrini orbis dona, patriam referret* [...].

2. Bede, HA 6 (cf. n. 1), p. 369–370. *Primo quod innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam adportauit; Secundo quod reliquiarum beatorum apostolorum martirumque Christi habundantem gratiam multis Anglorum aecclesiis profuturam aduexit; Tertio quod ordinem cantandi psallendi atque in aecclesia ministrandi iuxta morem Romanae institutionis suo monasterio contradidit, postulato uidelicet atque accepto ab Agathone papa archicantore aecclesiae beati apostoli*

Petri et abbate monasterii beati Martini Iohanne, quem sui futurum magistrum monasterii Brittannias, Romanum Anglis adduceret. Qui illo perueniens, non solum uiua uoce quae Romae didicit aecclesiastica discentibus tradidit; sed et non pauca etiam litteris mandata reliquit, quae hactenus in eiusdem monasterii bibliotheca memoriae gratia seruantur. Quartum, Benedictus non uile munus adtulit, epistolam priuilegii a uenerabili papa Agathone cum licentia, consensu, desiderio, et hortatu Ecgfridi regis acceptam, qua monasterium, quod fecit, ab omni prorsus extrinseca irruptione tutum perpetuo redderetur ac liberum. Quintum, picturas imaginum sanctarum quas ad ornandam aecclesiam beati Petri apostoli, quam construxerat, detulit; imaginem uidelicet beatae. Dei genetricis semperque uirginis Mariae, simul et duodecim apostolorum, quibus mediam eiusdem aecclesiae testudinem, ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato praecingeret; imagines euangelicae historiae quibus australem aecclesiae parietem decoraret; imagines uisionum apocalipsis beati Iohannis, quibus septentrionalem aeque parietem ornaret, quatinus intrantes aecclesiam omnes etiam litterarum ignari quaquauersum intenderent, uel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque eius, quamuis in imagine, contemplarentur aspectum; uel dominicae incarnationis gratiam uigilantiore mente recolerent; uel extremi discrimen examinis, quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent.

3. Bede, HA 9 (cf. n. 1), p. 373: *Benedictus* [...] *non multo post temporis spatio quinta uice* [*sic, but actually the sixth time*] *de Brittania Romam acurrens, innumeris sicut semper aecclesiasticorum donis commodorum locupletatus rediit; magna quidem copia uoluminum sacrorum; sed non minori, sicut et prius, sanctarum imaginum munere ditatus. Nam et tunc dominicae historiae picturas quibus totam beatae Dei genetricis, quam in monasterio maiore fecerat, aecclesiam in gyro coronaret, adtulit; imagines quoque ad ornandum monasterium aecclesiamque beati Pauli apostoli de concordia ueteris et noui Testamenti summa ratione conpositas exibuit; uerbi gratia, Isaac ligna, quibus inmolaretur portantem, et Dominum crucem in qua pateretur aeque portantem, proxima super inuicem regione, pictura coniunxit. Item serpenti in heremo a Moyse exaltato, Filium hominis in cruce exaltatum conparauit* [...].

4. Hurst (Ed.), Homilia S. Benedicti Biscopi (cf. n. 3), pp. 88–94, at p. 93 lines 172–85: *Toties mari transito numquam ut est consuetudinis quibusdam uacuus et inutilis rediit sed nunc librorum copiam sanctorum nunc reliquiarum beatorum martyrum Christi munus uenerabile detulit nunc architectos ecclesiae fabricandae nunc uitrifactores ad fenestras eiusdem ornandas pariter ac muniendas nunc cantandi et in ecclesia per totum annum ministrandi secum magistros adduxit nunc epistulam priuilegii a domno papa missam qua nostra libertas ab omni extrinseca incursione tutaretur adportauit nunc pincturas sanctarum historiarum quae non ad ornamentum solummodo ecclesiae uerum et ad instructionem intuentium proponerentur aduexit uidelicet ut qui litterarum lectionem non possent opera domini et saluatoris nostri per ipsarum contuitum discerent imaginum.*

5. Bede, De Templo 2 (cf. n. 13), pp. 192–234, at pp. 212–13 lines 809–57: *Notandum sane hoc in loco quia sunt qui putant lege Dei prohibitum ne uel hominum uel quorumlibet animalium, siue rerum similitudines sculpamus aut depingamus in ecclesia uel alio quolibet loco eo quod in*

decalogo legis dixerit: Non facias tibi sculptile neque omnem similitudinem quae est in caelo desuper et quae *in terra deorsum nec eorum quae sunt in aquis sub terra. Qui nequaquam hoc putarent, si uel Salomonis opus ad memoriam reuocassent quo et in templo intus palmas fecit et cherubim cum uariis celaturis et in columnis illius mala granata et rete in mari quoque hoc aeneo duodecim boues et scalpturas histriatas sed et in basibus luterum ut in sequentibus legitur leones cum bobus palmas axes et rotas cum cherubin et uario picturarum genere fecit, uel certe ipsius Moysi opera considerassent qui iubente domino et cherubim prius in propitiatorio et postea serpentem fecit aeneum in heremo cuius intuitu populus a ferorum serpentium ueneno saluaretur. Si enim licebat serpentem exaltari aeneum in ligno quem aspicientes filii Israhel uiuerent, cur non licet exaltationem domini saluatoris in cruce qua mortem uicit ad memoriam fidelibus depingendo reduci uel etiam alia eius miracula et sanationes quibus de eodem mortis auctore mirabiliter triumphauit cum horum aspectus multum saepe compunctionis soleat praestare contuentibus et eis quoque qui litteras ignorant quasi uiuam dominicae historiae pandere lectionem? Nam et pictura Graece ζωγραφία, id est, uiua scriptura, uocatur. Si licuit duodecim boues aeneos facere qui mare superpositum ferentes quattuor mundi plagas terni respicerent, quid prohibet duodecim apostolos pingere quomodo euntes docerent omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti uiua ut ita dixerim prae oculis omnium designare scriptura? Si eidem legi contrarium non fuit in eodem mari scalpturas histriatas in gyro decem cubitorum fieri, quomodo legi contrarium putabitur si historias sanctorum ac martyrum Christi sculpamus siue pingamus in tabulis qui per custodiam diuinae legis ad gloriam meruerunt aeternae retributionis attingere. Verum si diligentius uerba legis attendamus, forte parebit non interdictum imagines rerum ac animalium facere sed haec idololatriae gratia facere omnimodis esse prohibitum. Denique dicturus in monte sancto dominus, Non facies tibi sculptile neque omnem similitudinem, praemisit, Non habebis deos alienos coram me, ac deinde subiunxit, Non facies tibi sculptile neque omnem similitudinem quae est in caelo desuper et quae in terra deorsum nec eorum quae sunt in aquis sub terra, atque ita conclusit, Non adorabis ea neque coles. Quibus uerbis aperte declaratur quod illae similitudines fieri prohibentur ab hominibus quae in uenerationem deorum alienorum facere solent impii quasque ad colendum atque adorandum gentilitas errabunda repperit. Caeterum simpliciter haec fieri nulla ut reor legis diuinae littera uetuit.*

Notes

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1 Bede, Historia abbatum (henceforth HA) 6, in: C. Plummer (Ed.), Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam abbatum, Epistolam ad Ecgberctum, una cum Historia abbatum auctore anonymo,

2 vols, Vol. 1, Oxford 1896 pp. 369–70: [...] *quatinus intrantes aecclesiam omnes etiam litterarum ignari quaquauersum intenderent, uel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque eius, quamuis in imagine, contemplarentur aspectum; uel dominicae incarnationis gratiam uigilantiore mente recolerent; uel extremi discrimen examinis, quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent.*

2 On Jarrow's foundation and Ceolfrid's career, see I. Wood, The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrid, Jarrow 1995.

3 Bede, Homelia S. Benedicti Biscopi, in: D. Hurst (Ed.), CCSL 122, Turnhout 1955, p. 92 lines 128–38. Bede, HA 2 (cf. n. 1), pp. 365–66.

4 Bede, HA 5 (cf. n. 1), p. 368.

5 Bede, Homelia S. Benedicti Biscopi, Homeliarum evangelii (cf. n. 3), pp. 88–94, at 93, lines 172–85: [...] *pincturas sanctarum historiarum quae non ad ornamentum solummodo ecclesiae uerum et ad instructionem intuentium proponerentur aduexit uidelicet ut qui litterarum lectionem non possent opera domini et saluatoris nostri per ipsarum contuitum discerent imaginum.*

6 Bede, HA 5 (cf. n. 1). Vita Ceolfridi (henceforth VC) 7, in: C. Plummer (Ed.), Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam abbatum, Epistolam ad Ecgberctum, una cum Historia abbatum auctore anonymo, 2 vols, Vol. 1, Oxford 1896, pp. 368, 390.

7 P. Meyvaert, Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow, in: Anglo-Saxon England 8 (1979), pp. 63–77. See e.g. R.D.H. Gem, Documentary References to Anglo-Saxon Painted Architecture, in: S. Cather/D. Park/P. Williamson (Ed.), Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England, Oxford 1990, pp. 1–16. C. Pickles, Texts and Monuments: A Study of Ten Anglo-Saxon Churches of the Pre-Viking Period, Oxford 1999, pp. 75–94, esp. pp. 77–79. G. Henderson, Vision and Image in Early Christian England, Cambridge 1999, pp. 73–74. R. Cramp, Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites, Vol. 1, Swindon 2005, p. 32.

8 Gem (cf. n. 7), p. 5.

9 It has been proposed that Bede wrote the *Life*, but this theory did not gain widespread support: see (arguing for Bede's authorship), J. McClure, Bede and the Life of Ceolfrid, in: Peritia 3 (1984), pp. 71–84. On the differences between the *Life* and the *History of the Abbots*, see Wood (cf. n. 2), passim.

10 The date of Bede's entrance at Wearmouth is based on his brief biographical notice at the end of his *Ecclesiastical History*. B. Colgrave/R.A.B. Mynors (Ed.), Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (henceforth HE) 5.24, Oxford 1969, p. 566, see pp. xix–xx. B. Ward, The Venerable Bede, London 1990 (reissued with additions 1998), pp. 2–6.

11 Bede, HA 18, 20 (cf. n. 1), pp. 383–85. Bede dedicated both his commentary on the Apocalypse, written c. 708, and his treatise *On the Reckoning of Time* (*De Temporum ratione*), written in the 720s, to Hwaetbert (called by his nickname Eusebius in the Apocalypse commentary): Bede, Expositio Apocalypseos, in: R. Gryson (Ed.) CCSL121A, Turnhout 2001, p. 221; Bede, The Reckoning of Time, Translated Texts for Historians, F. Wallis (Trans.), Liverpool 1999, p. 4. A letter from Boniface to Hwaetbert also survives: M. Tangl (Ed.), Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus, MGH Epistolae 1, No. 76, Berlin 1916.

12 T. Frimmel, Die Apokalpyse in den Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters, Vienna 1885, pp. 8–9. A. Goldschmidt, An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus and Related Manuscripts, Princeton 1947, pp. 33–34; and recently D. Verkerk, Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch, Cambridge 2004, pp. 142–43.

13 See Meyvaert, Bede and the Church Paintings (cf. Anm. 7), pp. 67–88 (who rejects the notion that some models were brought). For Bede on architecture, see his commentaries: Bede, De Templo, in: D. Hurst (Ed.), CCSL 119A, Turnout 1969 and Bede, De Tabernaculo, in: D. Hurst (Ed.), CCSL 119A, Turnhout 1969, pp. 1–139.

14 On the site, Cramp (cf. n. 7), pp. 56–69.

15 Pickles (cf. n. 7), p. 77.

16 Bede, HA 6 (cf. n. 1), p. 369. See Bede, De Templo 1 (cf. n. 13), p. 164; Bede, De Tabernaculo 2 (cf. n. 13) pp. 43–44.

17 On the site, Cramp (cf. n. 7), pp. 147–160.

18 Bede, HA 9 (cf. n. 1), p. 373.

19 Bede, Homelia in dedicatione ecclesiae, in: D. Hurst (Ed.), CCSL 122, Turnhout 1955, pp. 368–78, at p. 368 lines 3–4.

20 Bede, Homilia Benedicti Biscopi (cf. n. 3), p. 93, line 172 (*toties mari transito*).

21 Plummer (Ed.), VC 9 (cf. n. 6), p. 391 (*alia* [...] *peregrini orbis dona*).

22 Bede, HA 5 (cf. n. 1), VC 7 (cf. n. 6), pp. 368, 390. See C. Newman de Vegvar, The Northumbrian Renaissance: A Study in the Transmission of Style, Selingsgrove 1987, pp. 119–24.

23 A facsimile is available on CD-ROM: L.G.G. Ricci et al. (Ed.), La Bibbia Amiatina/The Codex Amiatinus, Complete Reproduction on CD-ROM of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, Florence 2000.

24 Bede, HE 1.25 (cf. n. 10), pp. 72–76.

25 Bede, HA 6 (cf. n. 1), p. 369. R.S. Nelson/K. M. Collins (Ed.), Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai, Los Angeles 2006, pp. 11, 27, 30, Figures 11, 34, 36.

26 On the travel of textiles in Europe and Mediterranean regions, see M. McCormick, Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300-900, Cambridge 2001, e.g. pp. 84, 97, 255, 258, 719–28. I am grateful to Larry Nees for this suggestion: oral communication, October 2007.

27 See, for instance, the sixth-century wool tapestry *Icon of the Virgin* from Egypt, at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio. Mary is depicted enthroned with the Christ Child, flanked by Gabriel and Michael, and surrounded on three sides by medallion portraits of the twelve apostles. Christ sits in Majesty in the upper register: discussed in J. Pelikan, Imago Dei: The Byzantine Apologia for Icons, New Haven u.a. 1990, esp. pp. 121–51. D.G. Shepherd, An Icon of the Virgin: A Sixth-Century Tapestry Panel from Egypt, in: Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 56 (1969), pp. 90–120. Also see M. Budny, The Maaseik Embroideries, in: Medieval World 4 (1992), pp. 22–30. A similar usage of cloth hangings as at Wearmouth may lie behind Cogitosus' description of the shrine of St. Brigid at Kildare, Cogitosus, Vita sanctae Brigidae 8, Acta Sanctorum, February 1, col. 141A–B.

28 On Wilfrid's foundations, B. Colgrave (Ed./Trans.), The Life of Bishop Wilfrid of Eddius Stephanus, 17, 22, Cambridge 1926, pp. 34–36, 44–46. On Kildare, Cogitosus (cf. n. 27). On Canterbury, among recent discussions, J. Blair, The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society, Oxford 2005, pp. 61–62, 199–200, 229.

29 See Bede, HA 5 (cf. n. 1), p. 368. Bede notes that the relics were meant for »many English churches« (*multis Anglorum aecclesiis*), but some certainly remained in the churches of Wearmouth and Jarrow: Bede, HA 6 (cf. n. 1), p. 369.

30 See L.G. Duggan, Was Art Really the ›Book of the Illiterate‹?, in: Word & Image 3 (1989), pp. 227–51, at pp. 228–30; C. Chazelle, Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles, in: Word & Image 6 (1990), pp.138–153, at pp. 144–47.

31 Gregory I, Epistulae 9 (209), 11 (10), in: D. Norbert (Ed.), Registrum epistularum, CCSL 140A, Turnhout 1982, pp. 768, 873–76. Discussed in my: Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate (cf. n. 30), pp. 138–53. On Bede's likely knowledge of the letters, see Meyvaert, Bede and the Church Paintings (cf. n. 7), p. 68. While Gregory was apparently revered by his disciples in Rome in the few years following his death in 604, the cult and interest in his writings then died out in the city until near the end of the seventh century: A. Thacker, Memorializing Gregory the Great, in: Early Medieval Europe 7 (1998), pp. 59–84. Theodore encouraged Gregory's cult at Canterbury, but it is telling that Nothelm brought Bede (we do not know when) copies of »some letters« (*nonnullas* [...] *epistulas*) by Gregory and other popes from Rome. This may mean that letters by Gregory were not contained in the books Benedict collected for Wearmouth or Jarrow or in Canterbury's own collections – or it could mean only that Bede came to realize the collections of Gregory's letters to which he had access were missing some important texts: HE, Praefatio (cf. n. 10), p. 4.

32 J. Stevenson, Theodore and the Laterculus Malalianus, in: M. Lapidge (Ed.), Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence, Cambridge 1995, pp. 204–21; idem, The ›Laterculus Malalianus‹ and the School of Archbishop Theodore, Cambridge 1995, with text, translation, and commentary pp. 117–229. The treatise presents a narrative of Christ's life punctuated by references to Old Testament prefigurations, and ending with a discussion of the timing and signs of the Apocalypse. Also see J.J. Contreni, Glossing the Bible in the Early Middle Ages: Theodore and Hadrian of Canterbury and John Scottus (Eriugena), in: C. Chazelle/B. Van Name Edwards (Ed.): The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era, Turnhout 2003, pp. 19–38.

33 I. Wood, Images as a Substitute for Writing: A Reply, in: E. Chrysos/I. Wood (Ed.), East and West: Modes of Communication, Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Merida, Leiden 1999, pp. 35–46, at pp. 44–45; also see the eloquent and evocative essay by Peter Brown to which Wood responds. P. Brown, Images as a Substitute for Writing, in: ibid., pp. 15–34.

34 Colgrave (Ed./Trans.) (cf. n. 28), pp. 34–36.

35 See above, nn. 8, 14.

36 Bede, HA 6 (cf. n. 1), p. 369.

37 A. Thacker, *Loca Sanctorum*: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints, in: A. Thacker/R. Sharpe (Ed.), Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West, Oxford 2002, pp. 1–43, esp. pp. 14–20.

38 C. Chazelle, The Three Chapters Controversy and the Biblical Diagrams of Cassiodorus's Codex Grandior and Institutions, in: C. Chazelle/C. Cubitt (Ed.): The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean, Turnhout 2007, pp. 161–205, at p. 166. On the later identification of Gregory I as the patron of the Codex Amiatinus (a gift from Wearmouth-Jarrow to Rome that in a sense reciprocated for the earlier gift, from Rome to Wearmouth, of the Codex Grandior), see M. Gorman, The Codex Amiatinus: A Guide to the Legends and Bibliography, in: Studi Medievali, serie terza, 44 (2003), pp. 863–910, at p. 864.

39 Bede, HE 4.17–18 (cf. n. 10), pp. 388-89; on Monotheletism, see J. Herrin, The Formation of Christendom, Princeton 1987, pp. 207–10.

40 Herrin (cf. n. 39), pp. 207-10. J. Pelikan, The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600--1700), Chicago 1974, pp. 68–75. R. Price/M. Gaddis, Introduction, in: The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Translated Texts for Historians, 45, Liverpool 2005, Vol. I, p. 55.

41 Herrin (cf. n. 39), pp. 218–219, 250–259.
42 See Bede, HA 2 (cf. n. 1), p. 365. E. Fletcher, Benedict Biscop, Jarrow 1981, p. 4, notes that the length of Benedict's stay in Rome is unknown. On Martin and Eugenius, L. Duchesne (Ed.), Le Liber pontificalis (henceforth LP), Paris 1955–57, 3. vols, Vol. I, pp. 336–41, esp. 338, 341.
43 Only the letters to Spain survive: Herrin (cf. n. 39), p. 280.
44 See J. M. Sansterre, Le pape Constantin Ier (708–715) et la politique religieuse des empereurs Justinien II et Philippikos, in: Archivum Historiae Pontificae 22 (1984), pp. 7–29; idem, Jean VII (705-705): idéologie pontificale et réalisme politique, in: L. Hadermann-Misguich/G. Raepsaet (Ed.), Rayonnement Grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye, Brussels 1982, pp. 377-88. Herrin (cf. n. 39), pp. 287–289, 312.
45 On Hadrian and Theodore, Bede, HE 4.1 (cf. n. 10), pp. 328–30; on Agatho, LP 81, in R. Davis (Trans.), The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715, Liverpool 2000, pp. 76-80. See M. Lapidge, The Career of Archbishop Theodore, in: idem (Ed.) (cf. n. 32), pp. 1–29.
46 Bede, HE 4.17(15) –18(16) (cf. n. 10), pp. 384–90. Bede, HA 6 (cf. n. 1), pp. 368-70. VC 9–10 (cf. n. 6), p. 391. See H. Vollrath, Die Synoden Englands bis 1066, Paderborn 1985, pp. 92–98. C. Cubitt, Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c.850, London 1995, pp. 252–58.
47 Bede, HE 5.19 (cf n. 10), pp. 326-27; Colgrave (Ed./Trans.) (cf. n. 28), 29–32, pp. 56–66.
48 On Marian liturgies, see M. Clayton, The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England, Cambridge 1990, pp. 25–29. É. Ó'Carragáin, Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition, London 2005, pp. 85–93. M. Jugie, La Mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge: Étude historico-doctrinale, Vatican City 1944, pp. 172–212. On the Roman icons, H. Belting, Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art. E. Jephcott (Trans.), Chicago 1994, pp. 30–77. G. Wolf, Salus populi romani: die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter, Weinheim 1990, esp. pp. 10–14, 22–28. On early insular echoes of this art, see L. Nees, Early Medieval Art, Oxford 2002, pp. 143–46.
49 L. Brubaker, Icons Before Iconoclasm, in: Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 45, Spoleto 1998, pp. 1215–54 and plates, esp. pp. 1224–31. R.A. Markus, The Cult of Icons in Sixth-Century Gaul, in: Journal of Theological Studies 29 (1978), pp. 151–57. P.J. Nordhagen noted holes in the seventh and early eighth century frescoes of Sta. Maria Antiqua where censers and ex voto offerings may have been hung, though the dates of the offerings would seem uncertain; discussed in J.-M. Sansterre, Entre ›Koinè méditerranéenne‹, influences byzantines et particularités locales: Le Culte des images et ses limites à Rome dans le haut moyen age, in: Europa medievale e mondo bizantino: Contatti effettivi e possibilità di studi comparati, Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, nuovi studi storici 40, Rome 1997, pp. 109–14, at p. 112. Sansterre has written extensively on the cult of images and miracle-working images in the early medieval West. In addition to the work just cited, see e.g., idem, L'image blessée, l'image souffrante: quelques récits de miracles entre Orient et Occident (VIe-XIIe siècle), in: Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome 69 (1999), pp. 113–30. On the later development of the liturgical veneration of icons, see N. Patterson Sevcenko, Icons in the Liturgy, in: Dumbarton Oaks Papers 45 (1991), pp. 45–57.
50 Brubaker (cf. n. 49), esp. 1251–54; G. Wolf, La teoria e il culto delle immagini tra Roma, Bisanzio et Terra Santo, in: Roma fra Oriente e Occidente, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 49, Spoleto 2002, pp. 755–796.
51 Personal communication, Cynthia Hahn, February 2008, based on her research on early medieval portable altars. Ideas of the venerability of images are also suggested by the depictions on the coffin of St. Cuthbert: Nees (cf. n. 48), pp. 144–45. Image-miracles in the Mediterranean (Constantinople) are reported in Adamnan, De locis sanctis, 3.4–5, D. Meehan (Ed.), Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 3, Dublin 1958, pp. 110–18. Adamnan of Iona wrote his treatise in the 680s. It was known to Bede by the first years of the eighth century; his *On the Holy Places* is essentially a revision and abbreviation of Adamnan's work. See J.-M. Sansterre, Entre deux mondes? La vénération des images à Rome et en Italie d'après les textes des VIe-XIe siècles, in: Roma fra Oriente e Occidente (cf. n. 50), pp. 993–1052, at p. 1001.
52 The nave of St. Peter measured internally, in its first phase of construction, about 22.5 feet and 18.5 feet wide by 64 feet long, with walls about 20 feet high. The remains of two church buildings have been excavated at Jarrow and their chronology is uncertain. The ›Eastern Church‹ seems to have originally measured internally about 15.5 feet wide and 39.5 feet long, with walls about 18 feet high; the ›Western Church‹ measured internally about 18 feet wide and 65 feet long, with a chancel of about 18 X 14 feet: Cramp (cf. n. 7), pp. 56, 160.
53 Bede, Homelia in dedicatione ecclesiae (cf. n. 19), p. 368.
54 Bede, HA 15 (cf. n. 1) pp. 379-80, VC 20 (cf. n. 6), pp. 394–95. The evidence for Bede's involvement in the production at least of *Amiatinus* is partly textual: verses in the prefatory pages that he almost certainly composed, and the relationship between the artwork in the manuscript and his biblical exegesis. See my article on the codex, C. Chazelle, Romanness in Early Medieval Culture: The Codex Amiatinus Portrait of Ezra, in: C. Chazelle/F. Lifshitz (Ed.), Paradigms

and Methods in Early Medieval Studies, The New Middle Ages, New York 2007, pp. 81–98, with references to earlier bibliography. P. Meyvaert, Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus, in: Speculum 71 (1996), pp. 827–83. R. Marsden, Manus Bedae: Bede's Contribution to Ceolfrith's Bibles, in: Anglo-Saxon England 27 (1998), pp. 65–85.

55 C. Chazelle, Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter: The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the Evidence of its Roman Destination, in: Early Medieval Europe 12 (2003), pp. 129–57, at p. 131.

56 VC 20 (cf. n. 6), pp. 395. Bede, HA 15 (cf. n. 1), pp. 379–80; and the scholarly literature on the codex cited in notes 23, 54, and 55.

57 Surviving individual leaves from other Bibles made at or for Wearmouth-Jarrow, generally assumed (perhaps correctly) to be from one or both of the two Bibles supposedly made alongside *Amiatinus*, are of only slightly reduced dimensions: see R. Marsden, Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England, Cambridge 1995, pp. 90–106.

58 See P. Meyvaert, Bede and Gregory the Great, Jarrow 1964, repr., in: M. Lapidge (Ed.), Bede and his World, I: The Jarrow Lectures 1958–1978, Aldershot 1994, pp. 107–32, at pp. 115–16. Meyvaert, Bede and the Church Paintings (cf. n. 7), p. 68.

59 I have discussed this in a number of as yet unpublished papers, most recently in, »Bede and Fundamentalism«, given at the symposium, Medieval Bibles: Studies in Word and Image, at Austin Texas, March 4, 2008. On the significance of Pelagian-like beliefs in the early medieval British Isles (though over-stressing, I think, the connection specifically with Pelagius's teachings), see M. Herren/S.A. Brown, Christ in Celtic Christianity, Woodbridge 2002, pp. 97–98. Four tracts by Bede that indicate the concerns I outline here, about both fellow monks at Wearmouth-Jarrow and monks under Wilfrid at Hexham, are the letter to Plegwin of 708 and On the Reckoning of Time, both published with commentary in Bede, The Reckoning of Time (cf. n. 11), see pp. 157–59, 405–15; Book 1 of *In Genesim*, in: C. W. Jones (Ed.), CCSL 118A, Turnhout 1967, see pp. 38–39; and the first »book« of *In Cantica Canticorum*, in: D. Hurst (Ed.), CCSL 119B, Turnhout 1983, pp. 167–80, see esp. p. 167 lines 26–33 on Julian's belief, erroneous in Bede's view, that the ability to read scripture and thus master its contents is necessary for salvation.