

LIONS IN INSULAR BRITISH ARTWORK, 650-1000 A.D.

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Abstract: This paper identifies and examines six peculiarly insular-British features of the *imago leonis*. These are the absence of the evangelist, a red or gold colour, the frequent absence of wings, an orientation *to sinister*, a langued tongue and a “stretched” attitude. Each feature’s comparative frequency is graphically represented and the end of the paper discusses possible sources for the British conception of the lion. From a short comparative survey it is found that these features are typical only of insular British evangelist-symbol lions, and not lions in contemporary British artwork more generally or of non-insular British gospel lions. The style of the British *imago leonis* probably developed in isolation and from a classical model.

Context

The artwork of the insular British gospels is characterised by its originality and unique nature, and one of the genre’s most celebrated subjects is the lion. However, most early medieval Britons must have had only limited exposure to natural lion models. Lions have not bred natively in Britain since the last glacial period. Although big cats may have been a familiar sight in amphitheatres before the end of Roman rule in Britain, from the fifth century onwards there is no literal, historical or archaeological evidence supporting the presence of lions in Britain until the Royal Bestiary is set up at Woodstock in the twelfth century.¹ The presence of any especially “unique lions” in Britain is therefore impossible.

There are two possible sources of lions for the manuscripts. Either these lions were faithfully copied from one codex to the next without the authors ever seeing the original model or the presence of lynxes or wolves or domestic cats in Britain after the fifth century² provided models. In order to establish whether either of these explanations fits the facts, we must first gain a good understanding of some of the most accomplished pieces of artwork and their features.

¹ Bennet, T. (1829), *The Tower Menagerie*, (Dublin, 1829), p. xiii.

² For lynxes see Hetherington, D. A., T. C. Lord, J. M. Jacobi, “New evidence for the occurrence of Eurasian lynx (*lynx lynx*) in medieval Britain,” *Journal of Quaternary Science* 21 (2006), pp. 3-8. For domestic cats see Yalden, D., *The History of British Mammals*, (London, 1999). p. 125.

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Introduction

From the second half of the first millennium A.D. the earliest extant illuminated gospel manuscripts began to be created in Britain. These were the vulgate Latin synoptic gospel accounts of the four evangelists; Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; and they differed from the earlier-attested, smaller and non-illuminated gospels in that they were filled with colourful miniatures. Illuminated British gospel manuscripts often contained complex, anthropomorphic letter designs, carpet pages and many small illustrations ranging from sketch to full-page framed picture.

The careful reader may have noted the definition of these manuscripts as “insular British”. This is because, whilst the artwork style of the manuscripts has some features in common with “insular Irish” artwork, there are many features which appear to be unique or more typical to Britain. This is not to say that they are native to or deriving from a Brittonic-language-family area as the term “British” is often defined to mean. The artists of this tradition range in location across the Island of Britain, and the use of the term “British” is meant to be entirely geographical.

British illuminated gospels borrowed many peculiar features from the earlier continental European illuminated gospel tradition. Two of these in particular are of interest to us: First, illuminated gospels often prefaced each evangelist’s account by a full page colour “portrait” of that evangelist. Second, at significant places within the gospels “cross page” illustrations were also commonly found. Cross pages show all four of the evangelists, each occupying one corner of a page and often arranged within a cross-shaped frame. In both portraits and cross page illustrations, the evangelists were accompanied by their “symbols”. In these pictures we often find Matthew accompanied by a man or an angel, Luke accompanied by a calf or cow, John accompanied by an eagle and Mark by a lion. Mark’s symbol was called in Latin the *imago leonis*, which later became the symbol of Venice, and depictions of this creature make some of the very earliest British portrayals of lions. These lions depicted in illuminated British gospel art share certain, peculiarly insular characteristics and tendencies which are rarely found outside of the sphere of insular artwork. This paper will examine those tendencies in more detail. First however we need to make a quick note about the sample.

Sample

Our sample size is sadly dictated mainly by the survival of artwork. Each of the manuscripts is unique, and brings its own difficulties. Due to the confines of space, it has not been possible to dwell on these for too long, and it would scarcely be possible to contribute to the learned debates concerning provenance in the scope of this article in any case. However, the reader will find a table below to express some idea of the peculiarities of the sample:

Manuscript	Approx. date created	Place created	Notes
<u>Book of Durrow</u> ³	Late 7 th century	Probably Britain.	Kept in Durrow (Ireland) since medieval times. One cross page and one profile lion
<u>Lichfield (St Chad) gospels</u> ⁴	Early 8 th century	Britain, perhaps Lindisfarne or Lichfield.	One cross page and one profile lion. Northumbrian monasteries had close links with the Irish church.
<u>Lindisfarne gospels</u> ⁵	Early 8 th century	Lindisfarne	Continental influences.
<u>Otho-Corpus gospel</u> ⁶	Unknown, but probably contemporary	Probably Britain	Badly damaged in fire.
<u>Echternach gospels</u> ⁷	Probably around 700 A.D.	Echternach (Luxembourg), or Britain	Created by British monks.
<u>St Trier Manuscript</u> ⁸	Probably around 700 A.D.	Probably Trier, Echternach, Luxembourg	Created by British monks. Only the cross page lion is considered.
<u>Book of Kells</u> ⁹	Late 8 th century?	Iona (off Scotland) or in Ireland. Either way, a Gaelic speaking community with stronger links to Ireland than mainland Britain. Artistically however the cross-page lions of the <u>Book of Kells</u> represents a hybrid between the continuum of the insular Irish with the insular British artistic tradition.	Kept in Trinity College Dublin. Three cross page and one half page lions.
<u>Book of Cerne</u> ¹⁰	Early-mid 9 th century	Mercia	Prayer Book, not a gospel. Almost Hiberno-Saxon in design.

³ Meehan, B., *The Book of Durrow* (Dublin, 1996), pp.17-18; Henderson, G., *From Durrow to Kells. The Insular Gospel Books* (London, 1987), p.24; 32; 40.

⁴ Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*, p.6; 126.

⁵ Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*, p. 112-6.

⁶ British Library, *The Otho Corpus gospels*, (2009); <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/stowmanucoll/c/011sto000001061u00036000.html>; accessed 22 April 2012.

⁷ Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*, p. 76; 95.

⁸ Netzer, N., *Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier gospels and the making of a Scriptorium at Echternach*, (Cambridge, 1994), p.5.

⁹ Nordenfalk, C., *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting: Book Illumination in the British Isles, 600-800* (London, 1977), p. 108; Henderson, I., "Pictish art and the book of Kells," in: Whitelock, D., R. McKitterick and D. Dumville, (eds), *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe*, (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 79-105 at 91-2.

¹⁰ Provenance by internal evidence (dedication to Bishop Aedelwald, who is probably to be understood as the Bishop Ethelwald of Lichfield (who was bishop from 818-30).

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Overall it is important to remember that these lions are more than just products of their time. Although when taken in aggregate, it is justified to label these manuscripts a geographically “insular British” collection, they are also individually unique works of art. All of the difficulties in provenance above do have some impact on the individual lions, but hopefully the reader will agree that the integrity of the insular British group as a whole is fairly strong upon seeing them compared.

Definitive Features of the insular British *imago leonis* (see table on p. 53)

Evangelist Portrait Lions

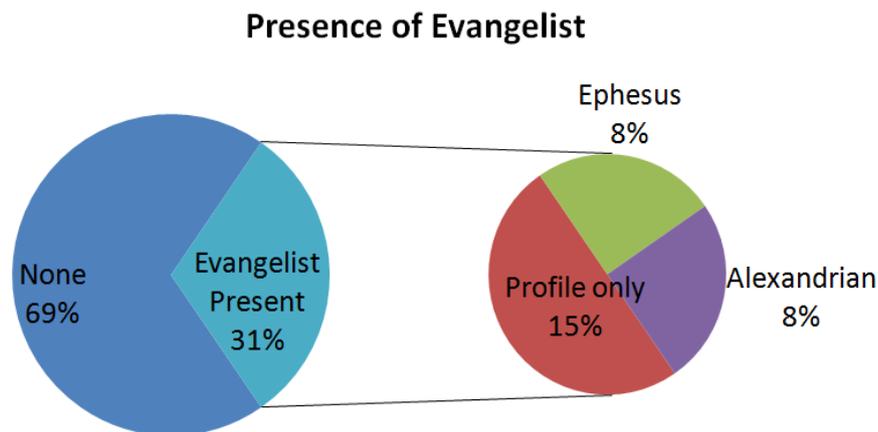
Name of gospel(s)	Evangelist	Background	Lion Colour	Pattern	Orientation	Wings	Horn/Tongue	Tail	Paws	Attitude
<u>Lichfield (St Chad) 1</u>	Alexandrine	rounded frame	red	flamed	to sinister	/	horned	short, curled	talons	"stretched"
<u>Cerne</u>	profile only	rounded frame	red and blue	un-curved scrolls	to dexter	feathered	no	long, two terminal brushes	paws	sejant erect
<u>Lindisfarne</u>	Ephesus	chair & stand	gold	scrolls	to dexter	scaled	horned	long, terminal brush	paws	"stretched"
<u>Echternach</u>	none	square shapes	gold	scrolls	to sinister	/	langued	long, terminal brush	talons	"stretched"
<u>Otho-Corpus</u>	none	none	red	flamed	to sinister	/	langued	no data	hands	"stretched"
<u>Durrow 1</u>	none	none	red, green and yellow	lozanged	to sinister	/	?langued?	long, terminal scroll	paws	statant

Cross Page Lions

<u>Lichfield (St Chad) 2</u>	none	none	black and white	spotted	upwards	feathered edges	?langued?	long	talons	"stretched"
<u>Durrow 2</u>	none	none	black and white	lozanged	afronté	/	no	no	talons	statant
<u>St Trier</u>	profile only	none	black and white	scales, stripes	to sinister	/	langued	short, terminal spike	talons	passant
<u>Kells bi-page (187v)</u>	none	orange lines	gold and blue	scrolls	to sinister	feathered edges	?langued?	short, terminal spike	paws	rampant regardant
<u>Kells 290v</u>	none	none	multi-colour	mottling	to sinister	feathered	?langued?	no	talons	?
<u>Kells 129v</u>	none	none	blue and gold	scrolls	to dexter	feathered and scaled	?langued?	long	hands	?rampant?
<u>Kells 27v</u>	none	none	red, blue and gold wings	decorated	to dexter	feathered	?langued?	long, terminal spike	talons	rampant

At this point it will be useful to briefly describe the main defining features of the insular British lions in my sample. The scope of this paper requires me to be brief at this point, but the table above can be referred to in order to check my statistics. After describing the main features I shall analyse their importance.

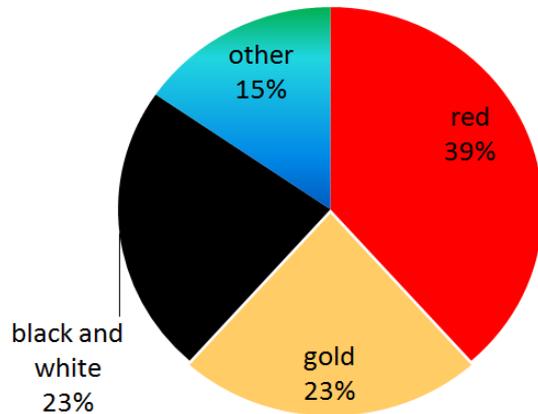
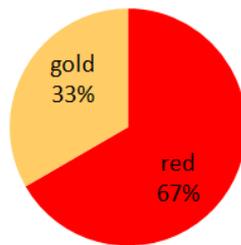
One of the most uniquely British characteristics of our gospel manuscripts is that very early on in Britain it became the practice for the evangelists' portraits to appear without the evangelist present at all. Outside of the insular tradition, as attested by Friend¹¹ it was common for the evangelist in evangelist portraits to be either stood in one of the accepted "Alexandrine" poses, or sat meditatively in one of the "Ephesus" poses. These evangelists were only occasionally accompanied by a winged, heavenly messenger dictating to them the gospel in the form of their evangelist symbol. In the British tradition on the contrary, the presence of the evangelist symbol (or at least Mark's symbol) is far more common than Mark himself. Even when the evangelist is present there is no set way for him to be presented, and there are two examples of the evangelist present as a portrait (like on a postage stamp) and one each of the Evangelist in the Ephesus and Alexandrian poses previously defined by Friend.¹²



The colours of the gospel *imago leonis* figures are also very striking. In general, the lions tend to have three colours, red, gold or black and white, although there are also a large number with another colour. But if we focus our attention on purely the portrait page lions we find more significant figures. All of them are coloured, and all of them are coloured either mainly red or mainly gold. These figures are obviously significant although my general knowledge of non-British *imago leonis* figures suggests that they may not be unique to Britain.

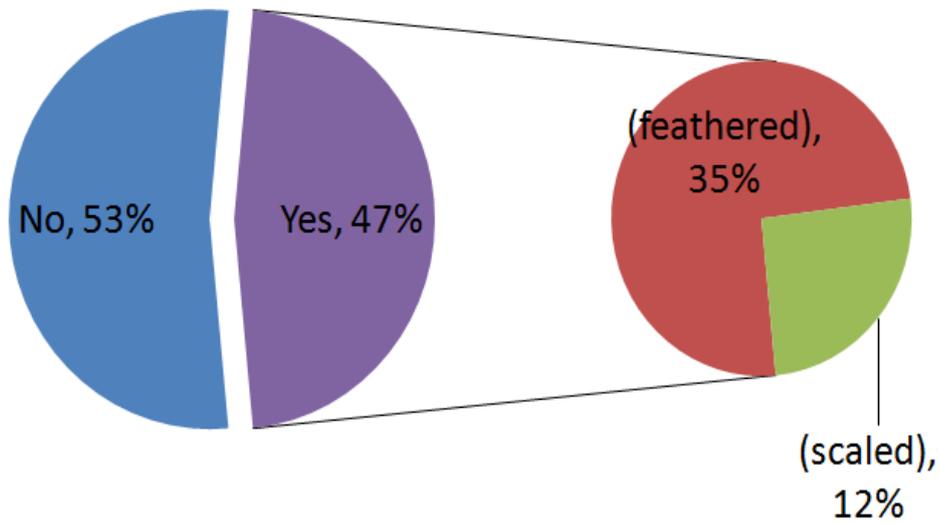
¹¹ Friend, A. M., "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts," *Art Studies* 5 (1927), pp. 115-147.

¹² *Ibid.*

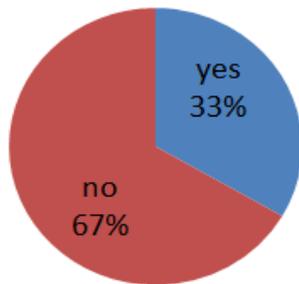
Lion Colour (Portrait and Cross Page)**Lion Colour (Portrait Lions Only)**

The absence of wings on insular British *imago leonis* figures is one of the most striking things about them. Around half of our gospel lion sample has wings whilst half does not, and although the figure is a little clearer when considering only the portrait lions, the picture is still murky. There seems to be a strong British trend to presenting quasi-natural creatures in natural poses without wings, but non-insular *imago leonis* figures almost universally do possess wings, so even this split is quite interesting.

Percentage Breakdown of Lions with Wings



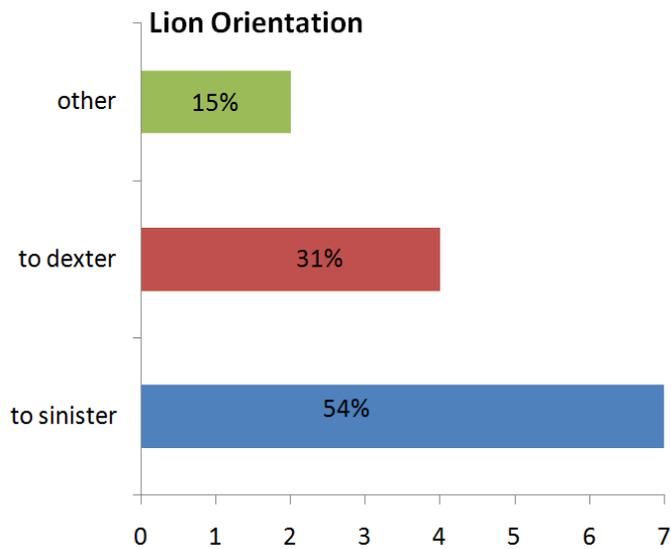
Percentage Chart of Lion Wings (Portrait only)



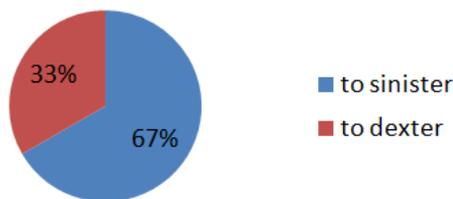


One of the easily overlooked but most interesting features of our *imago leonis* figures in general is the tendency that British insular art has of orientating its lions facing to the right-hand side of the page with their tails to the left. This orientation is confusingly but properly described by the heraldic Latin term “*to sinister*” (to the left) since heraldic creatures are described as if the viewer was standing behind the picture. This feature of the *imago leonis* seems fairly rigid, especially among the portrait page lions, and it is therefore very interesting that in the aforementioned later medieval heraldic tradition “*to dexter*” is by far the more common orientation for animals.

Otho-Corpus Gospel (Cotton MS Otho C V), (c)
British Library Board (Cotton MS Otho C V, f. 27r).
Box indicates original extent of page, showing this
lion would have appeared alone.

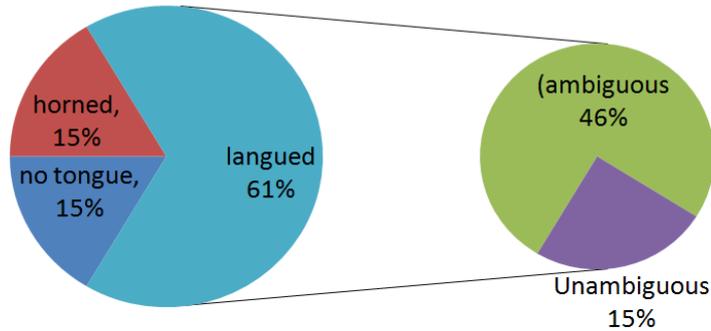


Lion Orientation (Portrait only)



Another interesting and fairly unique property of insular British lions is how the tongue is drawn. The earliest evangelist symbols often blow horns in evangelist portraits, but there is very little tendency among the insular British lions to have horns. Instead, the majority of them simply possess protruding tongues (the proper term is “langued”). Even more interesting, the majority of these tongues are unnaturally extended and peculiar. It is possible that this is due to one early scribe misunderstanding the presence of an exemplar horn, and believing it to be a tongue. There are five such lions, which might not seem so impressive for a sample of eleven until we consider that three of these do not have tongues at all. Interestingly this feature seems disproportionately common among the cross page lions. Indeed from these, it is only absent in two of our cross page examples, the St Trier lion, which was drawn in Echternach, and the Durrow lion, which was drawn much earlier than any of the others.

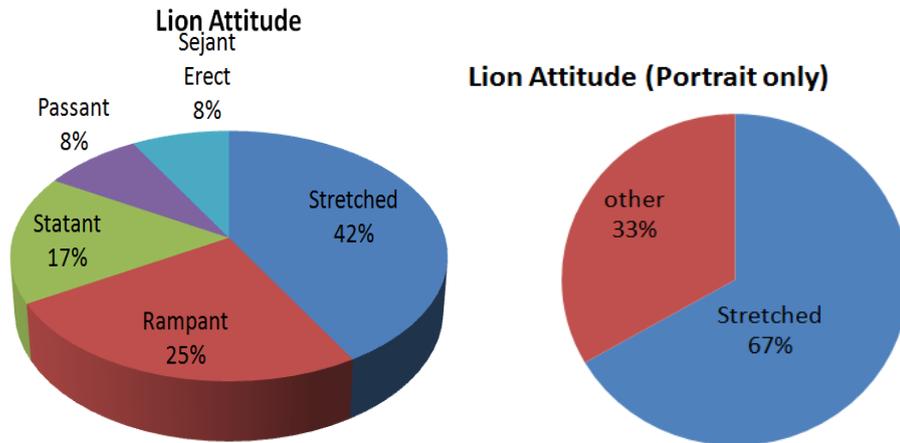
Lion Tongues by type



[Lindisfarne Gospels](#), Mark's Evangelist Portrait. (c) [British Library Board](#) ([Cotton Nero D. IV, f. 93v](#)).

Finally, one of the most noteworthy features of the insular British *imago leonis* figures comes when we consider their attitude (i. e. the way they are standing). Interestingly, many of them can be described using heraldic Latin terminology. Many of them are “*rampant*”, some are “*passant*”, but most are standing in a way peculiar to insular British attitude. The *imago leonis* figure’s two back legs appear to be braced to jump, but they have not yet left the ground, and their front legs are beneath their heads rather than raised above it. The position is somewhere between “*courant*” (running) and “*salient*” (leaping) but not quite either one. We might describe this attitude as “stretched” and it tends to define British *imago leonis* figures. This is especially the case when we consider only the evangelist portrait lions, of which two thirds are stretched.

Interestingly, insular Irish *imago leonis* figures do not tend to be portrayed in this attitude and the [Book of Kells](#) lions follow the Irish tradition in this regard.



Discussion of Results

<u>The Average insular British <i>imago leonis</i></u>	<u>Agreement</u>	<u>Non insular <i>imago leonis</i></u>
No evangelist present (69%)	X	Evangelist present, often in Ephesus or Alexandrine style
Red colour (39% (4 options) or 67% portrait only)	X	Usually tawny or golden colour
Occasional wings (53% or 67% portrait only)	?	Wings
Oriented <i>to sinister</i> (50% (3 options) or 67% portrait only)	?	Varies
Ambiguous tongue (37% - 67% of all tongues)	X	Horn or nothing
Stretched attitude (33% or 67% portrait only)	X	<i>Sejant</i> / lion profile only

Because of the constraints of time it has only been possible to briefly describe the most unique features of the insular British gospel tradition. In the table above however, the reader will find the most distinctive features of insular British *imago leonis* figures summed up when compared to non-insular *imago leonis* figures. Obviously my title of non-insular or “continental” artwork incorporates many different groups of gospel manuscripts from Carolingian to Russian and even the early Ephesus and Alexandrine traditions mentioned throughout. Since the grouping of “non-insular artwork” is not especially valid it is impossible to draw conclusions about the “typical non-insular lion”. However the absence of the evangelist in the evangelist portrait, the red colour, the only occasional wings, the ambiguous tongue

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and the stretched attitude are probably all, if not British innovations, very strong indicators that the lion in question is influenced by the insular British tradition. However, until comparative studies are done in the various strands of European gospel art the features that define insular British lions can only be tentatively suggested. In particular, insular Irish art has a very close relationship with insular British art. Irish lions too can have ambiguous tongues and only occasional wings, although they tend to differ in attitude, orientation and colour. This suggests to me that insular British gospel artwork may have had different exemplars and inspirations to insular Irish artwork, although of course they probably influenced each other quite strongly through the years.

Given the percentages, it is interesting that some of the most uniquely British trends are not always particularly common. For example, while it is obviously significant that more than one in three of all my sample *imago leonis* figures have ambiguous tongues, and even more significant that two out of every three protruding tongues could be horns, this is only just more significant than the 31% of lions in my sample which do not have anything in their mouths at all. Although each of these defining characteristics is the most statistically common among British lions, it would be a very unusual, and peculiarly British lion that had all of these features. The Otho-Corpus *imago leonis* figure is the only one which actually fits the description entirely, and it is possible that if it was not damaged it would have other non-British features of its own. For example, although it is difficult to see from the picture I gave previously, the lion's paws seem to be drawn as hands rather than the (more common to Britain) talons. If the reader consults the table from the beginning of the description, they will note that there was no set way to draw lion's paws, but the slight anomaly does show that even this lion is an individual rather than a stereotype.

Discussion

It should also be pointed out that although this paper is focused on the aspects which separate insular British lions from other *imago leonis* figures, there are just as many features which unite the artistic traditions. For example, the uncertainty in the insular British tradition regarding whether their artwork needed a background finds its parallel outside of Britain as does the confusion about how to depict paws. The majority of my lions also use set methods to show fur texture, the most common being the use of scrolls to represent the mane. These texturing features are by no means unique to insular British art, and may perhaps be the common heritage of all areas influenced by the Eurasiatic animal art tradition.¹³

With these unique features in mind however, what was the prototype for the *imago leonis*? Professor Ian Wood sees some similarities between our gospel lions and the so called "Hoxne Tiger," a piece of artwork from the late Roman Hoxne

¹³ Laing, L., *The Archaeology of Late Celtic Britain and Ireland, C.400-1200 A.D.* (London, 1975), p.348; contra Henderson, "Pictish Art and the Book of Kells," p. 79-105 at p.81.

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assemblage.¹⁴ The creature has been so called because of the strange pattern of stripes across its back and the absence of a mane. However, those stripes are very recognisable as “flames” a name given to the texturing decoration seen quite frequently on our lions. In addition, the silhouette without a mane is also fairly typical of our *imago leonis* figures, and seen on both the Otho-Corpus and Lichfield lions. It was not included previously in my statistical analysis because the feature is subjective and the various possible combinations (e.g. thin with hair mane, thin with bulky mane) are not discrete enough to plot on a chart. The Hoxne lion also intriguingly is in a stance very close to the “stretched” attitude usual to insular British *imago leonis* figures. Finally, the creature’s beard may possibly have helped influence the ambiguous tongue motif, although it really runs in the wrong direction for that.

On the other hand the Hoxne lion does not fit any of the other characteristics which I have established are typical of the *imago leonis*. Obviously it would not have an evangelist with it since it is not an *imago leonis*, nor would it have wings. It cannot have a red colour because it is not painted. It is three-dimensional and so it cannot be oriented in any particular direction. This is not necessarily a problem. There are other classical models which do have these characteristics. Overleaf I depict an example of some Samian ware (*terra sigillata*) pottery stamped with the mark of Ciriuna. All of the big cats depicted there have a thin silhouette and a “stretched” attitude, and two of them are oriented *to sinister*, although others are oriented *to dexter*. Of course Samian ware pottery is by definition red in colour, and even painted pottery frequently shows creatures like lions in red. Ultimately therefore, Professor Wood is probably right that the British *imago leonis* is inspired by classical models.¹⁵

¹⁴ Wood, I. “Transmission of Ideas,” in: Webster, L. and M. Brown (eds), *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400-900* (Berkeley, CA 1997), p. 116.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

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Tafel XXIV.



Reliefsigillata des Ciriuna mit dem Aussenstempel des Constans (Fig. 1-5) und des Januarius (Fig. 6).

1. Der Vogel von Fig. 10 Taf. XXI in den Kränzen von Taf. XXIII, darunter Rosetten. — 2. Das Blatt Fig. 6, 9 Taf. XXI. — 3. Panther gegen menschliche Stiele anspringend, links Hirsch und Putto mit Stab, oben Schnurstab Ciriunas und eigenartige Bordüre. — 4. Gefangener mit anspringendem Panther, wie Fig. 3 Taf. XX, Hase wie Fig. 13 Taf. XX, dazwischen Stäbe des Ciriuna. — 5. Hunde, wie Fig. 1, 2 und 3 Taf. XX, Eber, Randstempel IANVAR . . . und Eierstab der Ciriuna.

Plate from Forrer, R., *Die römischen Terrasigillata*, (Stuttgart, 1911).

Having examined the British *imago leonis*, and perhaps traced its roots back I need only ask one further question: To what extent are the characteristics which I have identified typical of the *imago leonis*, and to what extent are they indicative of the insular British idea of a lion?

The answer seems to be that our *imago leonis* lions are not typical insular lions. I found comparative examples of insular lions on three Pictish stones (*Meigle 2*, (with four lions) *Glamis Manse (Glamis 2)* and the *St Andrew's Sarcophagus*. The new searchable *Book of Kells* digital manuscript¹⁶ was also very useful as it allowed for searching by animal type, and so it was possible to separate out seven small lion sketches which can be found embedded in that text. These are not supposed to represent the *imago leonis*, merely lions and so are very useful for comparison despite their Irish influence and burlesque, cramped style. It must however be added that since the *Book of Kells* is a gospel manuscript these sketches are very liable to being influenced by the style of the evangelist symbols.

Ultimately there is no tendency among these new lions to have a red colour, an orientation *to sinister*, an ambiguous tongues or a stretched attitude. The Pictish stones lack any sort of colour, and there is little evidence that lions are supposed to be red from the *Book of Kells*, although, as already commented, the *Book of Kells* is more Irish than British in the colouring of its lions, even among the *imago leonis*. Likewise, from our sample of thirteen lions, seven are oriented *to sinister* five are *to dexter* and one is oriented upwards. Those statistics suggest that their orientation is incidental. The *Meigle 2 Pictish Stone* lions are especially interesting in that of the four lions present there, two are *to dexter* and two *to sinister*. However, the tendency towards ambiguous tongues does seem to live on among the *Kells* lions. Four of the seven are showing their tongues, and none of these tongues actually resemble those of a cat. Even the *Meigle 2 Pictish Stone* does indeed imbue its lions with protruding tongues. But this correspondence is probably just a coincidence. Of all thirteen of the lions in this comparative sample, only one is in an attitude similar to our familiar "stretched" attitude, *Kells f.40*. This lion is also the only red one and so may have been influenced by the British tradition, but its attitude is actually more like the later heraldic attitude of "*courant*" (jumping) than the stretched attitude of our *imago leonis* figures. These facts together suggest a vital reservation for this paper to make. The form of the *imago leonis* is not the form of the typical insular British lion (if there is such a thing). Since each portrayal of the *imago leonis* is fairly similar to the next, it is clear that this form was a prescribed one.

¹⁶ Trinity College Dublin (Board of), *The Book of Kells DVD* (Trinity College Dublin, 2006).

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Conclusion

The form of the insular British *imago leonis* is closely prescribed: The *imago leonis* is remarkable in that it tends to have no evangelist present, a red colour, only occasional wings, an ambiguous tongue, a *to sinister* orientation and a “stretched” attitude. Since a brief study of comparative insular material suggests that not all insular lions were depicted in this way, the most likely explanation is that the form of the *imago leonis* was copied from illuminated gospel to illuminated gospel with very little originality.

However, there is a problem with this solution. The insular British *imago leonis* is not just depicted differently from other insular British lion art in general, but also from the *imago leonis* in evangelist portraits in other countries. Strikingly though, the British form of the *imago leonis* does have some features in common with earlier classical artwork models like the lions on Samian ware pottery, which may suggest an inspiration for the artwork. However, remarkably this form must either have developed in isolation from non-insular and even insular Irish gospel art, or from a little-known gospel artwork tradition which cannot now be traced.

It is also clear that while the *imago leonis* figure is fairly prescribed, it probably does not draw much on observations of native lynxes. The tail is almost always extended¹⁷ and the animal is either red or gold. Although the thin silhouette may seem reminiscent of the lynx’s neck-line, we can see how inaccurate this idea is by remembering the lynx’s characteristic beard which is not possessed by any early insular *imago leonis*. Despite the obvious allure of the idea, the number of scribes actually using natural models for their artwork in the period discussed was probably very low, and therefore this study ultimately takes its place with the criticisms of the supposedly natural “cormorants” of the Lindisfarne gospels and the supposedly natural domestic creatures in Cotton Vittelis C.iii.¹⁸

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¹⁷ There is one exception to this rule in the case of the Lichfield (St Chad) Gospel where the animal does have a cropped tail like a lynx. In my opinion this only suggests that the scribe forgot to finish off the tail, since it does begin to curl back like those of other lions, and in most other respects this *imago leonis* perfectly agrees with the stereotype of the insular British lion which I have drawn up. Permission was sought to publish a picture of this lion but my request was not answered.

¹⁸ D’Aronco, M. A. & M L. Cameron, *The Old English Illustrated Pharmacopoeia* (Copenhagen, 1998), p. 41; and Backhouse, J., “Birds, Beasts and Initials in Lindisfarne’s gospel Books,” in: *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to Ad. 1200* (Woodbridge), pp. 165-174.

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¹⁹ This is a special edition of *American Archaeological Studies*.

²⁰ This is a searchable, digital facsimile edition of the Book of Kells on DVD. Trinity College has indexed all of the pictures in the MS., and one of their categories is "lions".

²¹ This paper had its original form in my MSt. Celtic Studies dissertation at Oxford University, and thanks must go to Professor Thomas Charles-Edwards my supervisor as well as Professor Ian Wood with whom I discussed the Hoxne tiger. I later adapted it for the 2013 Medieval Archaeology Society Conference at Cardiff University. At this point thanks must go to Timothy Jones and the British Library for allowing me to use and re-use images and to Drs. Cyril Edwards and Hauke Fill for their expert assistance and for the use of the *Codex Millenarius* image.

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