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A B S T R A C T

The first part contains a study of the methodological approaches used in the analysis of the Urnes style, and they are subsequently applied to the Urnes material in Scandinavia. The Scandinavian style is discussed in relation to the different objects and monuments on which it appears, and a dating is attempted. Against this background, in part two the English material is discussed, according to the medium in which it is executed, and an English version of the style is defined. The dating evidence for the style in England is presented, and the Urnes material in Ireland is compared with it. Part three contains a catalogue of all the Urnes material in England known at the present time.



A Catalogue and Re-evaluation of the
Urnes style in England

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Arts

by

Olwyn Anne Owen

Department of Archaeology,

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December, 1979

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Preface

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THE HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THE URNES STYLE

The concept of "Urnes style" as a separate stylistic phenomenon was originally introduced in 1909, in an article by Haakon Shetelig.¹ His example is followed in this thesis, in that the Urnes style is treated as a distinct stylistic category, and is thus separated from the earlier Jellinge, Mammen and Ringerike styles.

The earliest scientific approach to animal ornamentation in Scandinavia was published by Sophus Müller in 1880². Since that time, the subject has been extensively treated by many writers, whose opinions have differed on major points. Over the years, a concept of different stylistic groups has emerged in late Viking art, which has been based on an examination of all aspects of the ornamentation, such as the motifs, forms and compositions, on certain monuments and artefacts³. These different stylistic groups have either been named after certain geographical areas i.e. Ringerike in Norway⁴, or after particular Scandinavian locations, i.e. Jelling in Denmark⁵, where objects displaying similar stylistic features occur, or where a single, outstanding work was discovered. The names of the stylistic groups have then been assembled into a roughly chronological sequence, almost exclusively on the grounds of a typological, stylistic analysis. The result has been the attempt to categorise every decorated, late Viking object into one or other of the Jellinge, Mammen, Ringerike or Urnes stylistic groups.

However, the use of the above-mentioned terminology has certain disadvantages, and has consequently been frequently questioned by writers⁶. There has been a tendency in the past, for example, to impose too firm divisions between each group, and also, to view each separate group in terms of an early, classic and degenerate phase. When this is the case, the inherent implications for dating individual pieces are unacceptable, especially when no other supporting dating evidence is available. Opinions have not only differed on the problems of dating, but also on the problems

of style criteria, when individual pieces do not bear a close stylistic correspondence to any of the outstanding exponents of a particular style group; or when they display stylistic characteristics attributable to more than one style group. The questions of geographical distribution, and of outside influences, have also given rise to differing opinions and theories.

Recent archaeological discoveries and research have revealed some of the limitations of the use of four major stylistic groups to cover the entire scope of late Viking art. For example, a recently found trial piece from Dublin (pl.78) is ornamented on one side with Ringerike style, and on the other, with Jellinge style, which serves to remind modern writers that stylistic groups did not succeed each other as a straight progression. It has become apparent that there was always a period of overlap from one style to another, which did not necessarily involve a degeneration of the previous style. In addition, certain other possibilities are suggested, for instance, that artistic styles occasionally underwent revivals; or that they may have been imitated in a different milieu at a different time; or that a native tradition of ornament in a certain area may have been combined with an incoming taste to form a variation on the native or the foreign tradition. Indeed, the possibilities of there having been fairly independent regional, or even national, developments have been largely disregarded in the past, but this consideration has great relevance in any study of English material.

Thus, it is important to view the chronological sequence of late Viking stylistic categories as no more than a flexible guideline. During this period, Scandinavia was susceptible to many foreign influences⁷, and it is not certain that the origins and influences of a particular stylistic group can be attributed to any one source. This possibility is doubly likely when examples of a style occur outside Scandinavia. To use the term "Urnes style" in relation to the English material is not necessarily to start from the assumption that the English examples are directly influ-

enced by Scandinavian prototypes, which would indicate that the Urnes style originated in Scandinavia, and was transmitted from there to England and Ireland. The issue must be viewed with greater flexibility than such an assumption would dictate.

H. Christiansson gives an extensive survey of the methods and theories of writers up to 1959 who had studied late Viking art⁸. Basically, three differing attitudes have emerged towards the question of stylistic groups. D.M. Wilson in 1966⁹ strongly upheld the division of late Viking art into the stylistic categories of Jellinge, Mammen, Ringerike and Urnes. H. Christiansson, on the other hand, writing in 1959¹⁰, adopts the new terminology of "South Scandinavian style", under which stylistic rubric he suggests that the Jellinge, Mammen and Ringerike styles are basically the same. A similar theory was adopted by W. Holmquist in 1963¹¹, but in this case, the Ringerike, Urnes and early Romanesque designs were thought to be representative of a single artistic phase. Also in 1963, M.P. Malmer¹² suggested that the variety of design on late Viking art objects was too great to assign them all to only four stylistic categories, and advocated the adoption of a far larger number of style groups.

Many writers have concerned themselves with the origins and influences of the Urnes style, and again, three distinct attitudes have emerged, which are sometimes based on the geographical distribution of extant objects. For example, the great number of runestones in Sweden, and particularly in Uppland, which are decorated with the Urnes style in all its phases, have led to the theory that Central Sweden was the place of origin of the Urnes style. From there, the style is believed to have been transmitted first to Norway, and then to Britain and Ireland. This attitude would see the Urnes style as the final stage of an indigenous Scandinavian tradition, and evidence to support the theory is drawn from ornamental connections with earlier Viking art styles, especially with the standing quadruped on the Jelling stone, and with the Ringerike style, in general. If this is the case, then

both the Norwegian and the British examples of the Urnes style must be viewed as versions of an originally Central Swedish style. Shetelig¹³ first advocated this theory, and he was followed by Åberg¹⁴, Lindquist¹⁵, Kendrick¹⁶, Wilson¹⁷, Anker¹⁸ and Hauglid¹⁹.

Other writers have suggested that the origins of Urnes style are to be found in Anglo-Saxon art, and particularly in North England. This view was originally suggested by Brøndsted²⁰, who laid stress on the importance of North English art in the tenth century, believing that it was a major influence in the development of Urnes style animal ornament. He has been followed to differing degrees by both Holmquist²¹ and Moe²².

Finally, some authors have postulated that Irish influences played an important part in the development of Urnes style. Müller²³ was the earliest writer to suggest this. Holmquist²⁴ has been the most radical follower of this theory, in that he does not admit that Scandinavian art had any influence on Irish art during this period. Instead, he argues that the Urnes carvings are the earliest examples of a Christian art style, and that they are the result of Irish insular art styles introduced into Scandinavia during a period of missionary activity, possibly via England. He, thus, completely reverses the most common theory, which was that the style was transmitted from Sweden to Norway, and then to England and Ireland. Most scholars regard the Irish material as chronologically later than the Scandinavian, and there is fairly secure evidence to suggest twelfth century dates for some of the material²⁵. Henry²⁶ also sees the Irish Urnes style in the light of an insular Irish tradition, based on earlier Irish art styles and traditional Irish motifs.

Although a full discussion of the origins and influences of the Urnes style is not intended, it is hoped that in the discussion of the English material below, it will become apparent as to which are the most likely origins and influences of the Urnes style in England. It is also hoped that the re-use of Scandinavian terminology in the context of a non-

Scandinavian environment will be justified, after an extensive analysis of the material from both Scandinavia and England. The advantage of applying the term "Urnes style" to English material from the outset is that, as long as the necessity for a flexible attitude towards the four, late Viking stylistic categories is recognised, a conception of a continuing tradition is implanted in the mind, against which the English material can be measured from different points of view, and re-evaluated accordingly.

PART ONE : CHAPTER ONE

APPROACHES TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE URNES STYLE

In order to establish the true, stylistic and chronological relationship of the Scandinavian material to the English, the character of the Scandinavian material must be fully understood. In the past, three differing methodological approaches have been used to analyse artistic styles. The most common approach has been the "descriptive" method, employed, for example by Wilson¹. Fuglesang initiated an alternative form of approach in 1974², which may be termed the method of formal analysis. The third, and least conventional, form of approach was introduced by Almgren in 1955³, and may be called curvature analysis.

Since both the types of object decorated, and the forms of the ornamentation on the English material, are without direct parallel in Scandinavia, the problems of comparison, stylistic and otherwise, are acute; and it is evident that an absolutely clear understanding of the Scandinavian Urnes style is needed. Against this background, it seemed unlikely that any single form of methodological approach would prove adequate by itself; and consequently, the above three methodological approaches are applied to an analysis of the ornament on Urnes stave church, in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of precisely what is meant by the term "Urnes style".

The descriptive approach is perhaps the easiest method to use when working on the Scandinavian material. It involves describing the ornamentation on the most typical monuments and artefacts decorated in the style. The commonest features and attributes are then collated, to form an inventory of the ornamental details commonly encountered in an Urnes style design. From this premise, deductions may be made concerning the regional or chronological position of a certain piece, according to the variations in ornamental detail which it manifests.

Since the Scandinavian material demonstrates a certain homogeneity of ornamental detail in whatever medium it is executed, the descriptive method

is a useful guide to the character of the Scandinavian style. However, it has certain disadvantages in application, notably a lack of flexibility. For example, the typical attributes of the Scandinavian Urnes style head differ markedly from those of the English Urnes style head, so that in a comparison of the animal heads alone, the English material could not be called Urnes style. Other details of the English designs are comparable to the Scandinavian types, with the result that one is tempted to talk in terms of an English variant of the style. This preconception of the ornamental details that one expects to find in Urnes style designs in England, based on the knowledge of the typical Scandinavian attributes of the style, imposes a rigidity in attitude, and consequently, in interpretation. If an object displays significant differences in style from the preconceived idea of classic Urnes style, it is difficult to assess its stylistic position. In this case, it may be interpreted as a regional variation of the type, or as an example of the transitional phase between two styles, or as a piece displaying some Urnes style influences, which indicates that it is an earlier, later or hybrid form of the style. Whatever the interpretation, it is dependent on a rigidly conceived notion of classic Urnes style, based on the Scandinavian models alone. In order to accurately assess the English Urnes material, a broader approach is necessary, one which analyses how a design is constructed, and what determines the overall effect of a piece. Although the descriptive approach remains a valuable, general guide, it does not adequately embrace the variations within the style, particularly outside Scandinavia.

The descriptive approach is here complemented by a formal analysis of the style, as expounded in Fuglesang's enlightening works on the late Viking art stylistic groups⁴, Fuglesang cites five criteria which are to be studied in any formal analysis of a piece⁵. These are:

- 1) the shape of the ornament lines
- 2) the proportions of the ornament
- 3) the flow of the outlines

- 4) the composition
- 5) the relationship between the ornament and the background.

Thus, this method is less specific about the ornamental details, and is, consequently, more tolerant of variations. It places greater emphasis on the general character of the style, and establishes the need to study a design on its own merits, by applying the five criteria above in its analysis, and not by comparing the details with those of a classic version of the type.

Following Fuglesang, the method of formal analysis is applied to the ornamentation of Urnes stave church (below, chapter 2), and it becomes immediately apparent that the definitions of the style arrived at in Fuglesang's thesis are wholly applicable to the stave churches' ornament, and are usually relevant to the main body of the Swedish runestone material. However, it is undeniable that both Urnes stave church and the Swedish runestones are distinctive monuments. In both cases, the ornamented areas are large, comparatively regularly shaped, and flat. Few, if any, external considerations have influenced the shape of the designs. Even the round column at the external north-east corner of Urnes nave may be, figuratively speaking, viewed as a "rolled up" large, flat surface. On material such as this, a purely stylistic approach is possible.

The Viking age did not produce "artists" in the sense in which we use the word today, but rather craftsmen, such as woodcarvers, silversmiths and stone sculptors whose works were primarily functional, and rarely, purely decorative. Yet, the Urnes woodcarvings and the Swedish runestones are among the monuments least influenced in their decoration by their functional rôles. However, when an object has to have a certain functional shape, this inevitably has a profound effect on the design of that object. For example, on a decorated spearhead, the animal ornament necessarily coils round the shaft, according to the amount and shape of decorative space available, which is dictated by the shape of the object itself. The compo-

sition of the loop schemes is inevitably affected. The English material is all primarily functional in nature. By comparison, the carving on Urnes stave church is almost purely ornamental.

There is, thus, a dichotomy between the fact that there can be no other point of commencement for an analysis of the Urnes style than Urnes stave church or the Swedish runestone material, and that these monuments are distinctive examples, whose functional natures exert practically no influence on their ornamentation. In other respects too, the church and the runestones are exceptional. The technical achievement of the Urnes stave church ornament is without parallel; and the Urnes woodcarvings, which are the earliest surviving stave church carvings known, are historically significant. The runestones represent a distinct archaeological tradition, with which there is no comparison in England. Both the church and the runestones are unique archaeological phenomena. Thus, although the art-historical links between the Scandinavian and English Urnes style material are undoubted, they cannot be viewed in isolation from the archaeological evidence of the forms and functions of the monuments and artefacts, and the differing historical backgrounds. For this reason, Fuglesang's method has to be necessarily modified in relation to the English material.

Since the functional nature of an object inevitably has a profound effect on the design of that object, then it follows that the choice of animal motif may also be influenced by the shape of the area to be decorated. For instance, ribbon animals are the obvious choice of animal motif for the silversmith who decorated the Durham crosier head (cat.no.16). Fuglesang maintains that "one must begin by disregarding the motif as far as possible"⁶, and that study of the motifs only becomes important when the problems of continuity of a previous indigenous stylistic tradition, or influences from abroad are dealt with. However, the choice of motif is intimately connected with the functional size and shape of an object, and

the sizes of the majority of the English metalwork prohibit the depiction of more than one animal. Consequently, the formal analysis of an English bronze mount's design consists of the formal analysis of one animal motif. It is thus relevant to distinguish between the animal motifs used at an early stage of the analysis. Thus, in chapter two, following an analysis of the overall formal composition of the Urnes stave church ornament, the method is also applied in a comparative analysis of the animal motifs on the Jellinge stone, the St. Paul's churchyard stone and the Urnes church portal.

To summarise, three main objections are raised, when the method of formal analysis is applied to the English material.

- i. It is a purely stylistic approach which does not take account of other considerations, such as the functional shape of the object or monument. This is essential in view of the primarily functional nature of the English material.
- ii. Since the functional nature of an object inevitably profoundly affects the design on that object, the choice of animal motif may also be influenced by the shape of the area to be decorated. Consequently, it is relevant to distinguish between the animal motifs used at an earlier stage of the analysis than Fuglesang allows.
- iii. Fuglesang's conclusions about the Urnes style are derived from a study of peculiarly Scandinavian monuments, while the types of objects decorated with Urnes style in England are without parallel in Scandinavia. Consequently, they do not have the same possibilities for decoration as Urnes stave church or the Swedish runestone material.

Thus, although the method of formal analysis is more productive when applied to the English Urnes style material, than is the descriptive method, the basic discrepancy between the types of object decorated in England and Scandinavia dictates that a formal art-historical analysis is

not adequate, by itself, to the needs of examining the relationships between the Urnes style material in the two countries.

Whilst applying a formal analysis to the Scandinavian material, Fuglesang repeatedly refers to "fluent curves", "unbroken curves" and "loop schemes"⁷. In the light of this emphasis on curves, it seems possible that an analysis specifically of the curve shapes found on similar motifs, from different stylistic groups, might clarify the distinction between those stylistic groups. Curvature analysis is thus applied to the animal motifs on the Jelling stone, the St. Paul's churchyard stone and the Urnes church portal, in chapter two.

Almgren concluded in 1955 (see appendix A) that different motifs can be shown by curvature analysis to be executed in the one characteristic and dominant style of a period. It follows that similar motifs can be shown by curvature analysis to belong to different stylistic categories. It seems likely that, should this be the case, in relation to the English Urnes style material, curvature analysis might prove so specific a study as to negate some of the objections raised against the method of formal analysis. For example, the curve shapes used may be less dependent on the functional shape of the object, since they may be analysed in terms of the separate components of any size or shape design. In chapter two, curvature analysis is applied to both the standing quadruped motif and the ribbon beast motif, on monuments and objects from the Mammen, Ringerike and Urnes style phases.

Curvature analysis is a considerably more laborious method than either of the other two. It is also, by no means, an incontrovertible method, and is still at an experimental stage. The subjectivity of the approach must be minimised by referring to every ornament line present in the depiction of the motif, and never being selective of curve shapes. One must always be able to justify where the separate lines that comprise the design are considered to terminate, especially when the ornament lines are naturally broken. For example, the long line forming the neck and back

of the Urnes portal quadruped is continuous, but below p.24 it was found justifiable to break the line at the junction of the back and neck.

The system is largely a comparable one, and one must ensure that the motifs to be analysed are fully comparable. It is not possible to compare the curvature of a standing quadruped with that of a ribbon beast, with the aim of achieving the same conclusive results as when two standing quadrupeds are compared⁸. One must also consider whether or not the curvature of the Urnes portal quadruped is similar to that of any Urnes style quadruped in general terms, and not only whether it is different from that of the Ringerike standing quadruped.

Many difficulties accompany the application of curvature analysis at its present experimental stage. In the following chapter, curvature analysis is discussed at some length, partly because it requires much explanation, but also because there exists a need, which is not adequately fulfilled by the other two methods, for a fuller clarification of the term "Urnes style", especially in relation to the English material. Curvature analysis is a system to which one can resort, when the disadvantages of other methods of approach make them difficult to use in association with problematical material. In other cases, it can help to verify a hypothesis for which there is only partial evidence. For example, a piece thought to be transitional may yield more informative results, after the application of curvature analysis. It is also apparent that, since no one system can be held to be a comprehensive and definitive guide to determining every Urnes style object, given the style's wide geographical distribution, the variety of types of monument on which it is discovered, and the fact that it is prone to local variations, it can only be advantageous to be able to draw on three complementary systems of analysis, any one of which may be a more rewarding study, according to the particular circumstances of each individual object.

PART ONE : CHAPTER TWO

THE SCANDINAVIAN URNES STYLE : An analysis of the ornament of Urnes stave church, and of the distinctions between Urnes and other late Viking art stylistic groups.

The Urnes style in Scandinavia is best represented by the stave church at Urnes (pl.27) which is situated in the Sogn area of the west of Norway. The church which is standing at present is a twelfth century Romanesque church. Built into its walls are some portions of wood, which have survived from an earlier building, probably an earlier church¹. These portions include the west and east gables (pl.33), which are now covered over, the portal, door and two planks in the north wall, and the corner post at the external north-east corner of the nave (pls.28-32). They are all decorated in classic Urnes style.

As Moe pointed out², the decoration on Urnes stave church is almost completely zoomorphic, and makes use of three distinct animal types. These are a standing quadruped; a ribbon shaped animal; and a filiform animal, or intertwining tendril.

A. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

The Standing quadruped:

The Urnes type of "great beast" manifests itself twice on Urnes stave church itself, once on the portal and once on the west gable. In both cases, it is a standing quadruped, seen in profile, with all four legs visible. The head is perhaps the most immediately distinctive feature. It has a long, tapering nose, with an open mouth, showing pointed teeth on the animal on the portal. The upper lip is extended to fold backwards and downwards over the nose to terminate in a lobe. The gable animal has a similar arrangement for the lower lip, too, although in both cases, the lower lip is shorter than the upper. The eye is an exaggerated almond shape, monopolising and repeating the overall shape of the head. The portal animal has a square-ended ear. The neck and body are both long and

slender. The front and back hips are represented by large, simple spirals. The four legs are arranged so that the animal appears to be walking. An angular bend marks the knee joint. On the portal animal, a stylised mane composed of three lobe-ended tendrils, repeats the angular bend half way along each tendril. The portal animal also has a long tail which appears to pass behind the hind legs, and terminates in a trilobate leaf ornament. The feet are not visible on either of the standing quadrupeds on Urnes stave church.

The ribbon beast.

The second type of Urnes animal represented on Urnes stave church is a ribbon beast, whose body dimensions are only marginally smaller than the Urnes standing quadruped; and in its basic character, it is identical to the standing quadruped. On the west gable for example, there are three ribbon beasts, whose heads are identical to that of the standing quadruped in the midst of them. The ribbon beast is usually viewed in profile, although on the portal and the two planks now in the north wall, there are examples where the animal head is seen from above, with both eyes visible, while the body is still viewed in profile. From a front spiral hip, often not as well formed as that of the standing quadruped, emerges a foreleg of identical type to the great beasts. It usually terminates in a foot with a rounded heel, and two long toes. The back hip is generally formed by an angular bend, recalling the knee joint of the standing quadruped. Only two legs are visible, and the animal does not have a tail. The ribbon beast is more purely decorative than the standing quadruped. Its slender, coiling body forms loop patterns, which typify the formal composition of the style (see below pp. 16-18).

The Intertwining tendril.

The third type of creature represented on Urnes stave church is a filiform animal, which consists of a thin, ribbon shaped tendril, which coils and intertwines with the other animals. Its body loops at least twice, and usually forms a multi-loop scheme. It is normally limbless,

although at Urnes, there are examples where a limb emerges, recognisable by the use of the angular bend to represent a hip or knee. The tendril-like body terminates in either a trilobate leaf ornament, similar to the termination of the tail on the standing quadruped on the portal, or else, a round lobe. At Urnes itself, the heads of the filiform animals are similar to the heads of the standing quadrupeds and ribbon beasts. They, too, are viewed in profile on the gable, have the same long, tapering noses, and folded backwards and downwards, upper and lower lip extensions, although they are eyeless and earless. However, the filiform animal at Urnes is less typical of the style as a whole, than the other two animal types on the stave church. The trilobate leaf termination is unusual, and on other monuments, the head is almost always viewed from above.

B. FORMAL ANALYSIS

The principles of formal analysis, as outlined by Fuglesang³, depend on studying the composition as a whole. In the case of the Urnes style, the standing quadruped, the ribbon beast, and the intertwining tendril are not treated as separate motifs, as they were in the descriptive method; instead, the overall pattern formed by the positioning and character of all three elements is examined. Thus, the importance of the intertwining tendrils does not lie in the fact that they are frequently zoomorphic in character, but rather that, together with the coiling bodies of the ribbon beasts, they form loop patterns, which typify the design of Urnes stave church.

For instance, if the ornament of the west gable (pl.33a) is examined, the overall impression is one of a series of fluent curves. The whole design is built up of loops, with the filiform elements and the bodies of the ribbon beasts arranged as independent, multi-loop or figure-of-eight loop schemes (fig. A). Fuglesang's work has considerably enhanced the understanding of these loop schemes. The multi-loop scheme is formed by the repeated looping of an ornament line. The loops thus formed are frequently circular, and look very regular, although the design as a whole is never symmetrical. They can be either separated, or intersecting, or tangential (fig. A). In particular, the filiform elements serve to balance the design, by entwining, in similar patterns, with the more dominant patterns formed by the wider line widths of the bodies of the ribbon beasts. The simpler loop schemes are composed of two intersecting loops, producing an asymmetrical, figure-of-eight shape. The asymmetry results from the positioning of the loops on different axes, which involves a subtle change of direction. On the west gable, the uppermost ribbon beast exhibits this pattern. Thus, the design is built up on a system of interpenetrating loops, and the effect achieved is a subtle sense of rhythm, movement and balance.

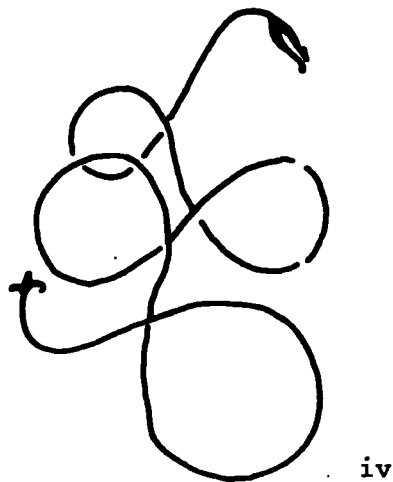
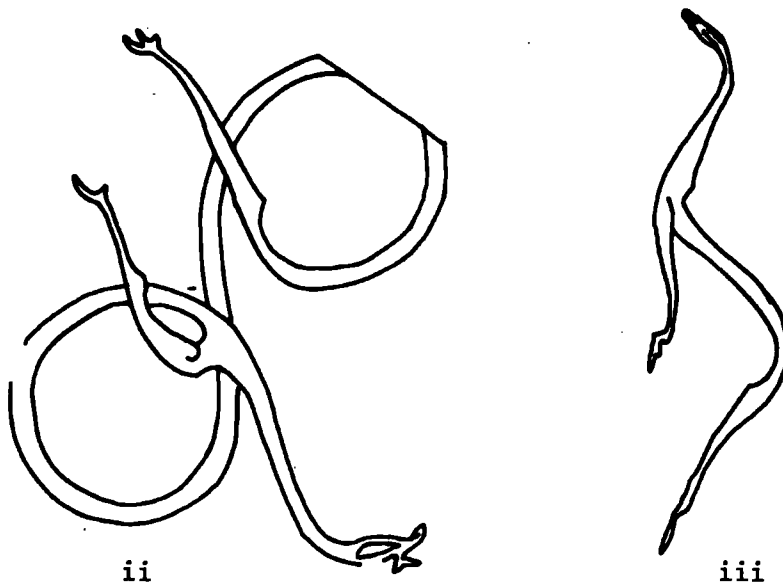
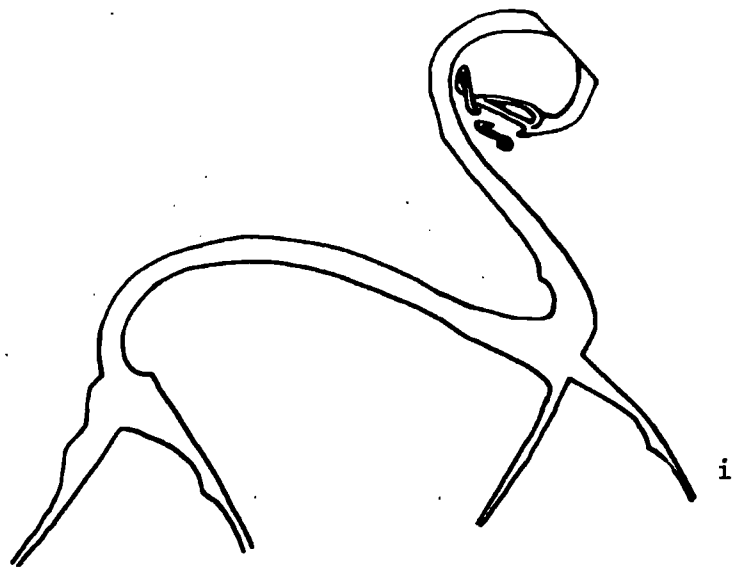


Figure A. Four types of Urnes style animal from Urnes church.
i. Standing quadruped (neck forms an independent loop)
ii. Ribbon beast that loops with itself (figure-of-eight loop scheme)
iii. Ribbon beast that does not loop
iv. Intertwining or filiform animal (multi-loop scheme)

The juxtaposition of broad and thin line widths is another major aspect of the ornamentation of Urnes church. As was noted above (p. 14) the bodies of the standing quadrupeds and the ribbon beasts are of similar dimensions. Opposed to this is the use of much thinner line widths in the portrayal of the filiform elements. The contrast of broad and thin line widths, arranged in similar, interpenetrating loop schemes is the basic characteristic of the Urnes church ornament.

The minor ornamental details of the design also repeat the patterns and shapes of the loop schemes. Thus, the circular lobes, which often terminate the ornament lines, and the wide, simple spiral hips, emphasise the circular nature of the overall composition; and the large, almond-shaped eye repeats the overall shape of the head. This attention to detail gives the design a controlled uniformity, which was lacking in the preceding Ringerike style (see below p. 18).

The background becomes an integral part of the design; spaces are encircled by loops and emphasise their shape by not being filled with any additional ornament. There is a contrast between the broad lines and the thin lines, and between both line widths and the open background. It is for this reason that the Urnes style is so appropriate to openwork metal objects; the plain or open background is another essential feature of the style. To summarise:

- i. The design is composed of broad and thin lines, arranged on a plain background, in interpenetrating loop schemes, termed "multi-loop" or "figure-of-eight" schemes.
- ii. The design is always subtly asymmetrical, producing a sense of movement and balance.
- iii. The ornament lines always swell and taper evenly, to give an impression of smoothness, and fluency of curve.
- iv. Any dents in the outlines are small, and confined to joints on the animal bodies.

- v. Certain shapes are repeated to give the design an overall homogeneity.
- vi. The final impression is of the fluency of uninterrupted curves.

By contrast, the Ringerike style is noted for its "abrupt rhythm"⁴, which is dependent on two factors. The first is the concentrated grouping of intertwining tendrils; and the second is the tight loops that form points of interlace within the design, crossing the animal bodies. As Fuglesang maintains: "these crossing points create visual breaks of the main ornament lines"⁵. Both of these factors contribute towards "the additive principle of composition"⁶ of the Ringerike style.

There is a general tendency in Ringerike ornament to pear-shaped loops, as opposed to the circular loops of the Urnes style, but this is by no means a universally valid differentiation. Vegetal motifs occur in greater number and more varied forms in Ringerike designs; the pattern is less open; and the ornament is superimposed on the background in the traditional way. In short, controlled uniformity, fluency and homogeneity are innovations of the Urnes phase.

Since practically every piece of English metalwork (with the exception of the Pitney brooch (cat.no.12) and the larger Lincoln bronze mount (cat. no.7)) has a simplified Urnes style design consisting of basically only one animal, it is important to establish that the principles of formal analysis can be applied, to some extent, to a single animal motif, and not only to a complex design, built up on interpenetrating loop schemes. Three similar motifs, from three different stylistic categories, have been selected, in order to contrast the results of a formal analysis of each. The standing quadrupeds on the Jelling stone (pl. 35) and the St.Paul's church yard stone (pl.36) serve as suitable comparisons with the standing quadruped on Urnes stave church portal (pl.29).

For the purposes of the exercise, it is necessary to put aside for one moment, the considerations of the different mediums in which the three

monuments are executed; the fact that the woodcarvers' technique allows him to work in much deeper relief than the stone sculptors'; the different locations of the three monuments in three distinct countries; and the differing historical circumstances surrounding the foundation of these three crucial works.

It is immediately apparent that certain details of the ornament recur on all three monuments. At its most basic level, the motif of the standing quadruped was obviously re-employed throughout the period. On all three monuments, the animals have spiral hips. The animal on the St. Paul's churchyard stone has an almond shaped eye, and the tendril-like embellishments terminate in circular lobes. All of these are the sort of ornamental details that Wilson pinpoints when describing a style. However, the final effect achieved on each of these monuments is quite distinctive, and an analysis of the differing ways in which the three designs are formally composed may show what causes these differing effects to be achieved.

The overall homogeneity of the Urnes style design is reflected in the homogeneity present in the depiction of each separate animal at Urnes. In the case of the standing quadruped, the body is of a basically even width. In places, it does widen or narrow, but the change is always gradual, achieved through a gentle swelling or tapering of the ornament lines. The ornament lines tend to be uninterrupted, and are never abruptly truncated, for that would be at variance with the fluency of the carefully executed loop schemes. The body is built up of long, fluent curves, that give to the animal, its elongated and elegant appearance. The only dents in the outline are confined to such features as the hip or knee joints; or, as on the Urnes portal, half way along the thin tendrils that form the mane. Otherwise, the outlines of the creature form just as smooth and unbroken curves as do the coiling bodies of the ribbon beasts. It is this uninterrupted quality which makes the Urnes animal so distinctive.

The standing quadruped is not pivoted around a central point, with the effect that it seems to lean slightly, indicating a swaying motion. Thus, many of the basic tenets of the overall formal analysis can be reapplied in the study of a single animal.

The St. Paul's churchyard stone is ornamented with a classic example of the Ringerike style. Hans Christiansson wrote that the "additive principle of composition" was absent from the Urnes style⁷. It is this principle which accounts for the "abrupt rhythm"⁸ encountered on the latter monument. In contrast to the uninterrupted curves of the Urnes style, the ornament lines are perpetually being broken on the St. Paul's stone. The tendrils which cross the animal form tight bonds instead of loose, open loops, and occasionally, achieve an effect of interlace. Decorative embellishments emerge from main ornament lines to disrupt the smoothness of the style. Clusters of tendrils are grouped together outside the animal body, filling the unoccupied space, superimposed on, rather than interacting with, the background. Even the spiral hips are tightly coiled like springs. Generally then, the "additive principle" dictates that offshooting elements occur all over a Ringerike design, with the effect that the uninterrupted quality of the Urnes style is quite absent.

The animal on the Jelling, stone is superficially considerably closer to the animal on the Urnes portal, than is the St. Paul's stone creature. Its ornament lines are not so interrupted by additional embellishments to the main motif. The coils of the serpent, while not forming loose, open loops, are less binding than the tendrils on the St. Paul's stone. However, the overriding elegance of the Urnes animal is not found at Jelling, because the ornament lines are repeated to such an extent that they become cumbersome. The double contouring of the creature's body, the backbone of the serpent, the exaggerated spiral hips through double contouring, in short, the constant emphasis on

ornamental details serves to give the quadruped a weighty appearance, which detracts our attention from the main ornament lines of the beast.

The same three motifs were initially selected for the purposes of curvature analysis, in the hope that the three differing systems of methodological approach would prove to be complementary. Although it seems that formal analysis can be successfully applied to an individual animal motif, and that it is undoubtedly a valuable approach, Fuglesang's conclusions about the Urnes style are based too exclusively on an examination of exceptional Scandinavian material, for it to be acceptable by itself, in the context of the present work.

C. CURVATURE ANALYSIS

When looking at the standing quadruped on the St. Paul's churchyard stone, perhaps the most striking line element is the strong, straight line which forms the back of the creature (fig. B). It is this long line that gives the creature its "energetic" expression. If the line is followed, from its termination at the lower jaw, along the chin and neck of the creature, and along the straight back, until the line is interrupted by a tendril, immediately before the hindquarters, it may be seen that this ornament line has a hook at one end, and a straight line at the other. One major ornament line has now been isolated from end to end. This shape may be called a "hooked line". Other hooked lines can be found in the composition of the St. Paul's standing quadruped. The lower and upper ornament lines of the ear are hooked lines, as are the lower and upper ornament lines of the tongue, and the lines forming the forehead and nose. The hooked line is also repeated in the lines of the stomach, the outermost line of the hind spiral hip and several times in the lines forming the feet and legs of the creature. The hook in each case varies in proportion, but the basic shape of the line remains constant. It is apparent that the hooked line constitutes an important component of the design. The tendrils and additional embellishments as

well as the lines of the smaller creature in front of the standing quadruped also show a preference for this shape of ornament line.

Occasionally, a scroll shape occurs instead of the simple hook at the end of the ornament line. The spiral hips are both examples of this variation of the ornament line. The ornament line which runs down from behind the ear to the front leg provides another variation on the hooked line. In this case, the hook is widened out into a more gentle curve, and it occurs in the centre of the ornament line as a whole, rather than towards one or other of the ends, as is usually the case. This may be called a "bow-shaped" curve.

Theoretically, a curve may be described in terms of its radius, so that a very tight curve has a very small radius, and when an ornament line is straight, it may be said to have a curve of infinite radius. As the latter concept seems tautologous, in the discussion below, a straight line is called simply that, and it is taken as understood, that it has the largest radius possible of any ornament line.

Returning to the hooked line first examined, the section of ornament line forming the back of the creature is long and straight, in other words, it has an extremely large radius. Towards one end of the ornament line, the radius of the curve rapidly diminishes, and finally increases again to a very large radius in the line which produces the chin of the animal. In general terms, all of the hooked lines present in the design follow this pattern. They consist of a curve of large radius, which diminishes sharply towards one end, and then increases once more to a large radius before terminating. In the case of the curves forming the spiral hips, the radius is a very large one for the majority of the ornament line; it, too, diminishes towards one end, but it does not increase again. In the case of the bow-shaped curves, such as the line running from behind the ear of the creature to the front leg, the ornament line commences with a very large radius, diminishes towards the centre, and increases again

towards the other end. We can see from this analysis of the radii of the curves present in the design, that although the ornament lines do not coincide, they do conform. The constant repetition of similar curve shapes can be clearly seen when all the ornament lines present in the depiction of the standing quadruped are juxtaposed in a drawing, (fig. D.i).

The ornament lines on the St. Paul's churchyard stone often contain straight, or almost straight sections. However, there are no completely straight lines; they always include a curve of diminishing radius somewhere along their length, usually towards one end. It is the constant use of hooked lines, with their juxtaposition of straight and curved sections, that gives the animal a somewhat "windswept"⁹ expression. The hook at one end of the line, and the straight section streaming out behind it serve to indicate that the creature is moving rapidly; although, because the design is stylised, the ornament lines are not positioned as one might logically expect. For example, the antithesis of the tongue and ears is a stylistic one, and by no means, a realistic portrayal of the way in which they would blow were the animal really moving.

In short, an analysis of the curvature of the standing quadruped, in this case, reveals that the sculptor has made frequent use of a type of ornament line, which we have labelled the "hooked" line. Aside from the hooked line, he has employed bow-shaped curves and spiral-ended lines, which can be shown to conform, if not to actually coincide with the hooked lines. Whether or not the repeated use of three types of ornament line is a conscious one can only remain conjecture. Looking at the drawing of the juxtaposed ornament lines, the similarities are so striking that one is tempted to conclude that the frequent occurrence of only three, basic types of line was, indeed, intentional. The final effect of the design on the St. Paul's churchyard stone is quite distinctive, and it can be shown that it is the preference for the hooked line type of curve, and its

variations, which has achieved this effect.

Turning to the standing quadruped on Urnes stave church portal, perhaps the most striking aspect of the motif is its elongated proportions, (fig. C). In contrast to the animal on the St. Paul's stone, the animal has a long, graceful neck, and long "naturalistic" legs. The body of the St. Paul's animal is extremely large, compared to the size of the legs and neck. At Urnes, the lengths of the neck, body and legs are almost exactly the same. The body is as long as the legs, and the neck and head are as long as the body. It is evident that in order to achieve these proportions, the carver must have used similar lengths of ornament lines, and must have made repeated use of similar curve shapes. In the case of the St. Paul's stone, the curve shapes were terminated when the ornament line was interrupted. It has already been noted that un-interrupted curves are a feature of Urnes style designs (above, p.16). However, interruption of the curves for the purposes of curve analysis was not problematical, largely because the separate parts of the creature are so clearly delineated. For example, the curve shapes which form the legs terminate quite naturally, where the legs meet the body. The fore-leg of a ribbon beast interrupts the ornament line which forms the animal's back, so that a distinction may be drawn between the back and the rump of the creature. The only place where a break has been imposed is at the junction of the neck and the back. In this case it is quite justifiable. Unlike the St. Paul's stone sculptor who used one dominant ornament line to depict the animal's back and neck, the Urnes carver distinguishes between the neck and body by an emphatic angular turn, which should not be used in curve analysis, but recognised as a device through which the overriding clarity of the design is preserved, in that the separate parts of the body remain distinct.

If we look at the line which forms the neck of the creature we find that it is a drawn out, bow-shaped curve. As such, it is comparable to

the bow-shaped curve which formed the chest on the St. Paul's animal. However, the radius of the curve on the Urnes animal's neck line is always very large. It changes slightly along its length, decreasing and increasing to a small degree, but basically it has a continuously large radius. It is important to note that all the ornament lines on the St. Paul's stone contain a straight, or fairly straight, section; in other words, they have a curve of very large radius somewhere along their length. They also each have a section of ornament line, which has a considerably smaller radius of curve, normally a sharp contrast to the straighter sections. Of all the ornament lines on the St. Paul's stone, the bow-shaped curves, such as the one which forms the animal's chest, contain the largest average radius, since they straighten out at either end, and the section of ornament line which contains the smallest curve radius, (in the middle section of the ornament line) is still comparatively larger than the radii of the hooked sections of the hooked lines, first examined. However, the radius of the curve in the centre of the bow-shaped line on the St. Paul's stone, is still smaller than anywhere to be found on the ornament line forming the neck of the Urnes portal creature (fig. C). The lines at Urnes which form the legs, the rump, the stomach, the back, and the long, uninterrupted curve forming the front of the creature, all manifest a changing radius, but the radius always remains a large one; and the changes are slight.

As was the case on the St. Paul's stone, some of the ornament lines have an infinite, or almost infinite, radius. In other words, the lines sometimes contain completely, or almost, straight sections. However, because the contrast between the radii of the curves is not great, the straight sections do not catch the eye as they did on the St. Paul's stone, nor detract from the elegant appearance of the beast as a whole. They are necessary to produce the elongated proportions noted before, but they remain entirely harmonious with the long, fluently curving ornament lines,

as a result of which, the abrupt expression of the St. Paul's animal is lacking at Urnes. It is these gentle curves and their slight variations of a normally, continuously large radius, that lend to the creature its subtle sense of rhythmic movement.

The variations on these general rules of the Urnes curvature are not so numerous as were the variations on the hooked line curves on St. Paul's stone. The spiral hips, which were reused on the St. Paul's stone and the Urnes portal after their earlier appearance at Jellinge, do not conform with the gentle, curving bow-shapes of large radius, for the spiral of the hip terminates an otherwise, typically Urnes, elongated curve shape, with a curve of diminishing radius. However, even in this instance, the spiral is a simple, open loop, which is not tightly scrolled, as it is at St. Paul's, and the radius of the curve is maintained as large as possible, given the requirements of the traditional re-use of the spiral hip feature. The lobe terminations of the mane are also at variance with the basic curvature scheme of the Urnes animal. They, too, are features which are re-employed from the preceding Ringerike style; but in this case, the mane is composed of three thin elements, with the result that the main ornament line of the neck is not interrupted, and the curves of the mane take on a secondary significance. The ornament lines of the head do not completely conform with the basic curvature scheme, for other reasons. Only whilst carving the head has the artist allowed himself to include certain ornamental details. The eye is an elongated almond shape, the rounded end of which has a small curve radius, which would seem to be incompatible with the overall curvature scheme. The folded backwards and downwards nose extension takes the form of an S-shaped scroll; The proportions of the ear are not elongated; and the lower and upper parts of the mouth are conjoined by an obviously hooked line. Nevertheless, the shape of the head itself adheres to the principles of the curve scheme found elsewhere on the animal, and this is a dominant consideration. The

s-shaped scroll from the nose, like the elements composing the mane, is a thin, secondary ornament line, whose lobe terminations are, in any case, less imposing than its lengthwise curve of very large radius. The rounded back of the eye lends it a naturalistic appearance, while the elongated curves towards the front of the eye help to minimise its discrepancy with the basic curve scheme. The ear is composed of small, bow-shaped curves, whose radii are smaller than usual, partly because of the semi-naturalistic size of the ear. The hooked line of the mouth is the only real exception to the overall curvature scheme.

When all the ornament lines found in the depiction of the Urnes portal standing quadruped are juxtaposed in a drawing (fig. D.ii), it is striking to see how uniform the curves are. The repeated use of one, dominant curve shape is even more in evidence here, than it was at St. Paul's. The exceptions are fewer, smaller, and are found on minor ornament lines. Once again, the curve shapes employed clearly conform with each other. By looking at the drawing of the juxtaposed ornament lines, one can see how it is that the Urnes style standing quadruped is so uniform in character. One can postulate, especially when looking at a monument of superlatively high quality such as the Urnes portal, which is obviously the work of a skilful and experienced craftsman, that the choice of curve shape, and its repeated use, was possibly a conscious one, aimed at producing the elongated, highly uniform, and elegant creature that is so well known to us.

Turning to the standing quadruped on the Jelling stone, the back and neck of the creature are represented by a series of undulating "waves" in the ornament line. The line of the back is doubly emphasised by a second line which repeats and runs parallel to the external ornament line of the creature. These "waves" may be termed "conjoined bow-shaped curves", or "U-curves". What is noticeable about them is that, unlike the ornament lines of the standing quadrupeds we have already examined, they do not

contain any straight, or almost straight sections. However, straight sections do occur in the ornament lines. The legs, for instance, are largely made up of short, straight lines. However, the difference between the curvature scheme on the Jelling animal, and those on the St. Paul's and Urnes animals, is that straight, or almost straight lines are always short, and of a hardly varying radius. At St. Paul's, some of the ornament lines contained long, straight sections, but they almost always terminated in a hook curve, or one of its variants, and were normally major ornament lines. At Jelling, as can be seen from the drawing in which all the ornament lines present in the depiction of the motif are juxtaposed (fig. E.ii), the straight, or almost straight lines are entirely separate from the conjoined, bow-shaped curves and U-curves. U-curves naturally widen into curves of a large radius towards their two-termination points. However, the ornament line terminates before a straight section develops, unlike on the St. Paul's stone, where the hooked line basically consists of a U-curve with one extended line of very large radius. The major ornament lines on the Jelling stone are the conjoined bow-shaped curves and U-curves, which closely conform with each other; the short, straighter lines are of secondary importance, but it is the juxtaposition of these two types of curve line which give the creature its marching, yet heraldic, stance. The short, straighter lines of the legs produce the effect of a marching beast; while the conjoined bow-shaped curves and U-curves contribute towards the dignified, heraldic attitude of the creature. One example of the latter type of usage of curve-shape is the two, conjoined bow-shaped curves, running from the chin to the top of the front leg, which produce the effect of the animal proudly pushing its chest out. It is the use of these two opposing types of curve that have led to the Jelling quadruped being described as both "comical¹⁰" and "heraldic¹¹".

If we look at the comparative proportions of the different parts of

the body of the Jelling animal, we find that they are similar to those of the St. Paul's stone animal (fig. B). The body is much larger, proportionately, than the legs, and head and neck. In this case, the smallness of the head is accentuated, because the conjoined bow-shaped curves of the body are used to emphasise that the chest is protruding, and the shoulders are back; whereas the hooked lines on the head of the St. Paul's animal are more synonymous with the curve shapes used for the body, with the result that the head does not seem so comical. On the St. Paul's stone, the length of the head and neck together, agrees quite closely with the length of the legs. On the Jelling stone, the head and neck are rather longer than the legs. The comparative proportions of the animal bodies are an interesting side issue of curvature analysis. At Urnes, we have seen how the elongated proportions as a whole, and the almost equal lengths of head and neck, body and legs, are produced by the repeated use of similar curve shapes, all of a similar length. At Jelling, the conjoined bow-shaped curves, which are considerably longer than most of the ornament lines, are used to form the lines of the neck and body. The legs are composed of short, straighter lines; while the head and feet are largely made up of a series of small U-curves. On the St. Paul's stone, although the proportions are basically similar to those of the Jelling animal, the curvature scheme is more harmonious, in that each ornament line contains curved and straighter sections. As noted above (p.23), it conforms, with the result that the strange proportions of the creature are not so noticeable. The use of two distinct types of curve shape at Jelling, and another important variation on one of the types, has the effect of drawing attention to the fact that the animal's head and legs are rather small for the size of the body.

Thus, as far as the motif of the standing quadruped is concerned, an analysis of the curvature on these three monuments supports the thesis that they belong to three different stylistic categories. However, since

so much of the English material is decorated with the ribbon beast motif, it is also necessary to demonstrate that curvature analysis can also be employed to differentiate between Ringerike and Urnes style ribbon beasts.

In the case of the ribbon-beast, a distinction must be drawn between the true ribbon beast, and the intertwining tendril, which may have an animal head. Many of the Swedish runestones, such as that from Stav, Roslagskulle, Uppland (pl.38b) are decorated with a ribbon beast, which is intertwined with a tendril of zoomorphic character. Ribbon beasts on runestones do not lend themselves to curvature analysis so easily, because their shape is influenced by their function. At Roslagskulle, for instance, the body of the ribbon beast follows the shape of the stone to provide a frame for the ornament, and is simplified to allow the carver to insert a runic inscription more easily into the body of the creature. Although runic inscriptions on many other stones are contained within animal bodies which loop and intertwine, simplicity must have been a consideration on the part of the carver, not only so that his work was made easier, but also so that the inscription was easily legible. The length of the inscription may also have played a part in determining the length of the ribbon beast's body.

The ribbon beasts on Urnes stave church once again provide a suitable example for analysis. There are two basic types of ribbon beasts at Urnes: those which loop with themselves, and those which do not (fig.A.ii-iii). The curvature of the second type is very close to the curvature of the standing quadruped, as can be seen when all the lines are juxtaposed in a drawing. . . . However, it is even more uniform in its curvature than the quadruped. For example, the head is viewed from above, and consequently, does not pose the same anomalies in the curvature scheme, as does the head of the quadruped. Without exception, all the curves on this type of ribbon beast manifest a continuously large radius, which results in the elongated proportions of the creature. The radius does

change, but it does so very gently, and never to any great degree, and this produces the effect that the animal is subtly moving, and gives to the creature its elegant appearance.

The ribbon beasts with looping bodies occur particularly on the door, and on the two planks in the north wall. Fuglesang writes that Urnes ornament lines "form a pattern of fluent curves, and almost geometric, frequently circular, loops".¹² The circular loop would seem to be at variance with the drawn out, gentle curves that typified the lines of the standing quadruped. However, the same principles are at work in the treatment of the loops. The radius of the curve is a large one in every case, which results in the "wide loops"¹³ to which Fuglesang refers. The loops are rarely completely circular, but the radius changes so gradually that the loops take on their "almost geometric" appearance. The lines of the loops are regularly broken, either by crossing themselves, or where they are crossed by other loops. "Interpenetrating loops"¹⁴ are another basic characteristic of the style, as Fuglesang maintains. Since the loops are always wide, and the radii of the curves are consistently large, and the interpenetrating loops are regularly balanced, although never symmetrical, the impression of the fluency of the curves is not affected by these interruptions to the ornament lines. As a consequence of the wide loops and the large radii, the body adopts the same elongated proportions that were present on the quadruped. The repeated use of similar curve shapes, and the complete absence of straight sections of ornament line, gives the ribbon beast its highly uniform and elegant appearance.

The intertwining tendrils at Urnes work on exactly the same principles as the ribbon beasts, and indeed, repeat the same curve shapes. The ribbons are considerably thinner than the bodies of the ribbon beasts, and the actual size of the loops is proportionately smaller. However, they remain wide, and are formed of gentle curves of large radius. The

uniformity of the design, which is carried through all the motifs, reflects the high artistic achievement of the Urnes carvings as a whole. However, the intertwining tendril is often employed in a less controlled fashion on other monuments. This tendency can be found on many of the later runestones, such as the example already quoted from Roslagskulle (pl.38b). The reasons for the changing rôle of the intertwining tendrils are several. Their changing function can be seen on many of the runestones, where they adopt the rôle of a "space filler", or take on an independent life from the main design, or emphasise the contrast between the broad and thin lines, by forming different patterns from those of the broader ribbon beast's coiling body. In this case, the design loses some of its controlled uniformity, although, as on the Roslagskulle stone, the definition of the pattern as being one of "fluent curves, and almost geometric frequently circular, loops" remains applicable. In the case of those examples amongst the English material, which demonstrate lesser workmanship, such as the Wisbech mount (Cat.No.9) (see pl29), the rôle of the intertwining tendril may be misunderstood; and in works of a more specifically English Urnes style nature, the changing curvature of the intertwining tendril indicates a change of rôle from its Scandinavian counterpart. (see below p.93-94).

The Swedish vane from Källunge, Gotland (pl.37) manifests a typical Ringerike style design¹⁵. It is decorated on both sides, and included in its range of ornament are the three types of animal motif found at Urnes: the standing quadruped, the ribbon beast and the intertwining tendril. One side is ornamented with two ribbon beasts, whose bodies form interpenetrating loops. Numerous tendrils, many of zoomorphic character, are intertwined with the ribbon beasts. The two interpenetrating loops formed by the bodies of the ribbon beasts have a radius which changes gradually, but which is smallest towards the centre of the body, and increases towards the ends. The heads and tails provide

termination points for the loops. The curvature of the loops produces a pear shape (fig.Djii). If one were to imagine that the frequently circular loops of the Urnes style ribbon beasts' bodies were in fact composed of two confronted curves of the standing quadruped type, one would find, by imposing a line down the centre of the loop, that the curvature of either side corresponded exactly to the type of curve shape found on the body of the Urnes standing quadruped (fig.Dii). In the same way, if one imposes a line down the centre of a pear-shape, one finds that each side consists of a hooked line, which was the most frequently encountered curve shape of the Ringerike style standing quadruped. One may say that a pear shape is composed of two, confronted hooked lines. The tendril embellishments found all over the design are also composed of hooked line curve shapes.

However, the design lacks the controlled uniformity of the Urnes stave church ribbon beasts and intertwining tendrils patterns. The radii of the curves of the intertwining tendrils are constantly changing. The ornament lines change direction in an unpredictable fashion, and consequently, the radii of the curves vary from being extremely small, in which case, small, tight loops are produced, to being extremely large, when the ornament line eventually becomes straight for a short section of its course. The intertwining tendril ornament reaches into every corner of the space available, by making use of any type of curve shape which fulfills the requirements of the space to be filled. The lack of control over the curvature of the tendrils produces the disorderly effect of the design.

Thus, it is possible to apply curvature analysis to the motifs of the ribbon beast and the intertwining tendril in Ringerike and Urnes style designs. In some ways, the results are less satisfactory than they were from the analyses of the curvature of the standing quadrupeds; and it is true to say, that Dr. Fuglesang's approach is particularly relevant to the study of the patterns formed by the coiling bodies of ribbon beasts and intertwining tendrils¹⁶. Nonetheless, curvature analysis can corro-

borate, and increase, the evidence for the attribution of an object to a certain style group; and it can lead to the extraction of additional information. For example, the curvature of the intertwining tendrils on the Källunge vane indicates clearly that the artist was concerned to fill all the space available to him, at the expense of a balanced and controlled design.



Figure B. Standing quadruped on St. Paul's Churchyard stone, prepared for curvature analysis.

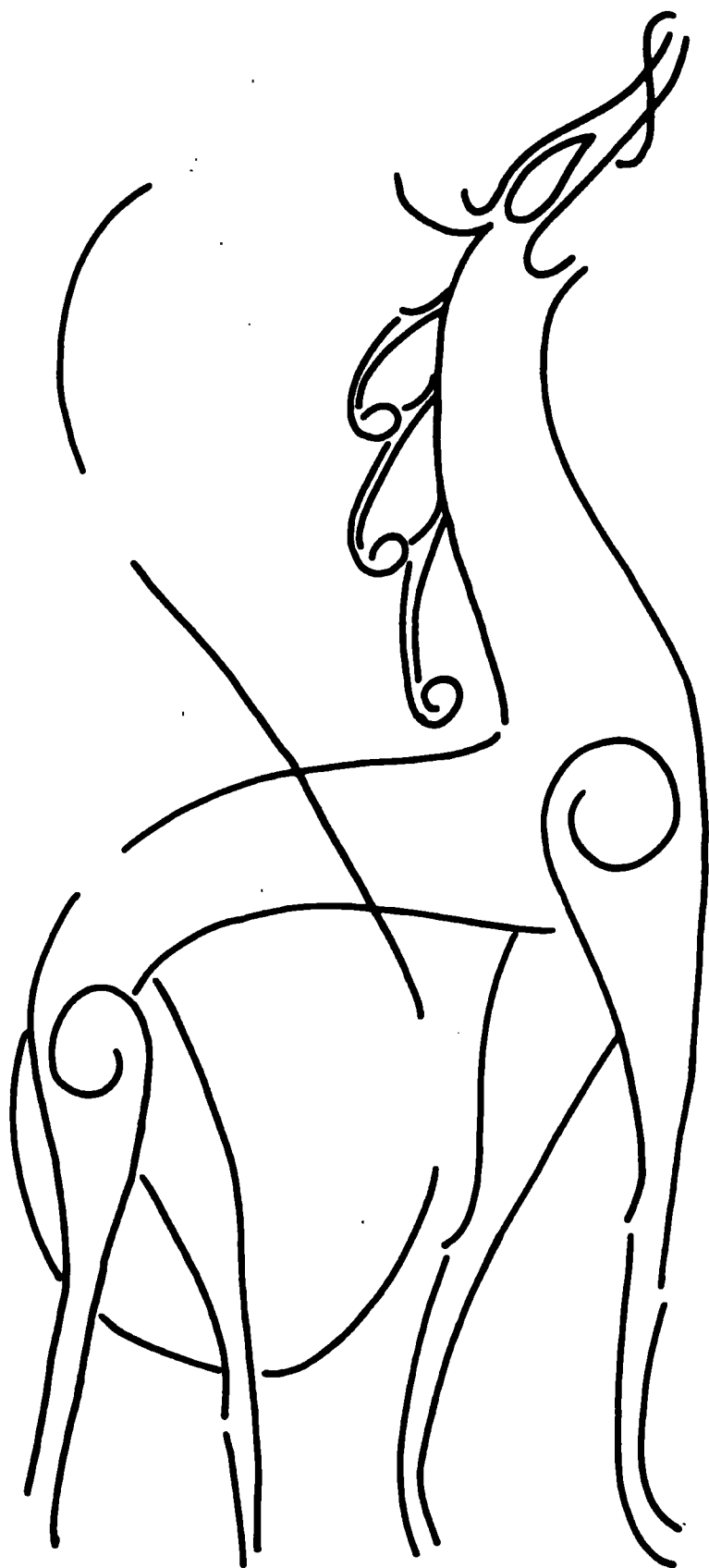
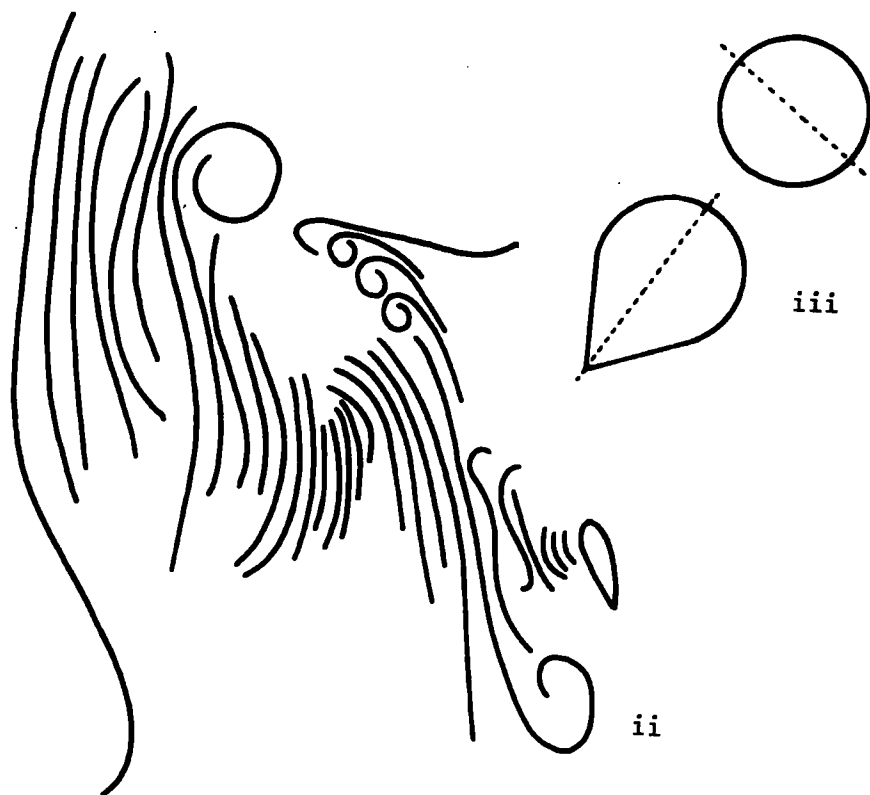


Figure C. Standing quadruped on Urnes stave church portal, prepared for curvature analysis.



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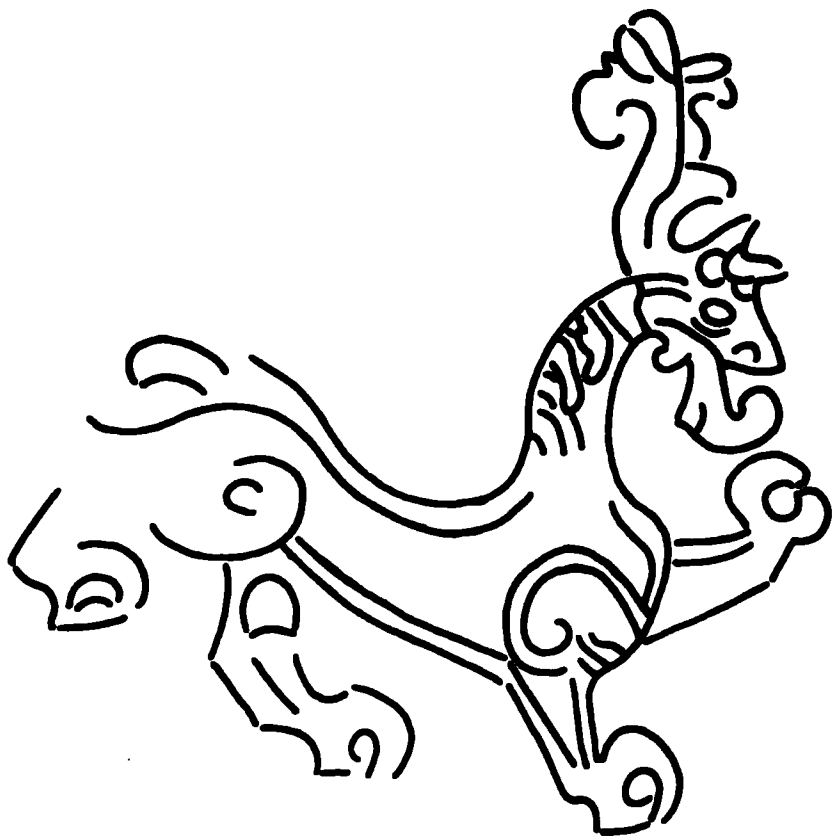


ii

iii

Figure D.

- i. Ornament lines of the St. Paul's churchyard stone animal juxtaposed
- ii. Ornament lines of the Urnes stave church portal animal juxtaposed
- iii. Curvature of circular and pearshaped loops contrasted



i



ii

Figure E.

- i. Standing quadruped on Jellingst. stone, prepared for curvature analysis
- ii. Ornament lines of the Jellingst. stone animal juxtaposed

THE COMBAT MOTIF

It has often been stated that the combat motif is a characteristic feature of the Urnes style¹⁷. At Urnes itself, the element of combat is portrayed with clarity, and each animal, of whatever type, bites its neighbour. However, the term "combat motif" is an anomalous one. The combat motif is not peculiar to the Urnes style. On the Jelling stone, for instance, the standing quadruped seems to be engaged in combat with a ribbon beast¹⁸, but in this case, they do not actually bite each other's bodies (pl.35). It may be then, that the combat motif in an Urnes style design actually involves each animal biting its neighbour.

Perhaps, the term "combat motif" is wrongly applied to the ornament of the Jelling stone, since the essence of the design is that two animals are intertwined in an unknown relationship. The standing quadruped on the Jelling stone is frequently called a "lion"¹⁹, and the ribbon beast most approximates a snake²⁰, and it is the identification of the animals as part of the real animal kingdom, that leads to the assumption that they are engaged in combat²¹. On other objects, where the animal ornament is too stylised to allow any recognition of a specific animal type, one frequently finds intertwined animals, but rarely concludes that they are engaged in combat²².

On many Urnes style objects, the animals bite their own bodies, which renders the term "combat motif" inaccurate. If it is to remain a useful term, then it must be understood that the actual act of biting being performed by an animal is all that is meant by "combat motif", and that there are not necessarily two or more creatures involved. It is possible that the aggressive nature of the motif in Urnes style designs indicates that by this period, the combat motif had fully developed from its ambiguous beginnings on such monuments as the Jelling stone. However, the combat motif in its fully developed sense frequently occurs in art of a much earlier period. In Scandinavia, versions of it are found in Migration

Period Art²³; and in England and Ireland, it frequently occurs in manuscript illumination, including the Lindisfarne gospels and the Book of Kells²⁴. In both of the latter cases, it is an unequivocal rendering of the motif. It is because the combat motif is not a common feature of the preceding Ringerike style, nor of other art contemporary to the Urnes style, that our attention is drawn to it so specifically on Urnes style objects.

The combat motif is associated with the concept of the fight between good and evil²⁵. The snake-like ribbon beast may be taken to represent Satan²⁶, which implies that the larger animal represents God or Christ. Such analogies are supported by the fact that the Urnes style appeared during Scandinavia's first fully Christian period. The suggestion is that the "Urnes style was the last to build upon traditions from heathen days. But it became filled with a new spirit, became the bearer of a new symbolism"²⁷. However, the association of the combat motif with Christian symbolism is dubious, especially since versions of the motif occur considerably earlier than the Urnes style, and are present, in various forms, throughout Viking age ornament. Many objects with Urnes style ornament, such as the Scandinavian open-work animal brooches, probably fulfilled a purely secular function, as did the recently discovered English Urnes style mount from Lincoln (cat.No.7), which bears a fine example of the combat motif.

Finally, many indisputably Urnes style objects, such as the Hørning plank (pl.59a) do not have the combat motif amongst their ornament. The combat motif is, thus, a feature of Urnes style ornament, but it is not characteristic of the style as a whole. The biting act is not depicted in an energetic, symbolic manner; instead, it is a means by which the animals in a design are linked together, thus contributing towards the fluency of the design by minimising the number of termination points inevitable when a design is composed of several creatures.

VEGETAL AND OTHER MOTIFS

The Urnes stave church carvings contain no vegetal motifs, with the exception of the trilobate leaf ornament, which is found at the terminations of the tails. This is indicative of the tendency of all Urnes style ornament to be almost completely zoomorphic. The trilobate leaf ornament adopts a very minor rôle at Urnes, as do vegetal motifs in any Urnes style design. When vegetal motifs occur, they tend to comply, as far as possible, with the manner of the ornament lines that form the zoomorphic ornament. For example, on the Vreta Slab²⁸, there is a scroll with offshooting tendrils, which gently swell and taper as did the bodies of the Urnes animals; and broad and thin lines are juxtaposed with each other, and with the plain background.

Some of the Ringerike style vegetal motifs are re-employed in Urnes style designs, particularly on the runestones. For instance, the union knot with offshooting bud or leaf palmette²⁹ is commonly used to bind together the ends of runic animals, for which it adopts a more functional, than decorative, rôle. The leaf palmette and union knot motifs take different forms on different objects. For example, in the ornamentation of the Gotlandic Lilla Valla bowl (pl.50) the lobe of the palmette is pointed, and a pearshaped lobe is also appended below the union knot. On the Roslagskulle stone (pl.38b) the two offshooting elements which flank the leaf palmette, are composed of a pearshaped lobe with an elongated tendril, which terminates in a round lobe. This may be an adaption of the alternating tendril and lobe motif common to the Ringerike style, and found on the Heggen vane³⁰ and the Icelandic Flatatunga panels³¹, although on other runestones, the motif bears less resemblance to Ringerike style examples.

The leaf palmette, the union knot, the pearshaped lobe and the elongated tendril are the major vegetal motifs re-employed, but they are

all treated in a more characteristically Urnes style manner. Their immediate origins are in the Ringerike style, but there is much debate as to how they came to be incorporated into Ringerike ornament. The leaf palmette is often thought to have originated from Oriental examples³²; while Fuglesang maintains that the origins of the alternating tendril and lobe motif has its origins in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts³³. The Scandinavian versions of these vegetal motifs tend to be stylised or simplified in an independent manner, which does not allow a conclusive identification of the prototype.

The ornament of the runestones commonly includes a cross as a Christian symbol (pl.46b). Amongst the Upplandic runestones, about two-thirds of the monuments have a cross on them. Although the cross appears in a great variety of shapes, there are a limited number of structural types, varying from a simple Latin cross to a St. George's cross³⁴. The addition of rings or "rays", either pointed or rounded, forms a variety of sub-types. When the "rays" are rounded, as on the Jarlebanke stone at Vallentuna, Uppland (pl.41a) they appear as pear-shaped lobes emanating from between the arms of the cross.

Thus, vegetal and other motifs are subordinated to the zoomorphic motifs, which are characteristic of the Urnes style as a whole. The runestones display more non-zoomorphic elements amongst their ornamentation than do any other group of Urnes style monuments or artefacts, and it is the style of the runestones with which the following chapter is concerned.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE STYLE OF THE RUNESTONES

The runestones are a group of monuments peculiar to the late Viking period. They seem to have flourished particularly in the East central zone of Sweden, during the eleventh century. It has been customary in the past to use the term "runestone style" when discussing late Viking art.¹ However, the term is abandoned here, for it involves too large a generalisation to be useful.² It is a misleading concept, since it implies that the runestones are all similarly ornamented, which is not the case. Indeed, it is the immense stylistic variety of the runestones, which makes them so remarkable. The problem is that, although the terms Ringerike and Urnes style are retained in this thesis, in relation to the runestones, they, also, are too general, and one needs to distinguish more specifically between the works of different carvers, and the stylistic variations of different regions.

The runestones provide a unique opportunity for analyses of eleventh century Scandinavian society, in almost every field of archaeological research, of which the art-historical study is only one. The runic inscriptions themselves are a source of information of inestimable wealth. They permit us to glimpse at many aspects of the society which produced them³. There are references to road and bridge building, and * to the raising of funereal monuments, such as U135⁴ "Ingefast and Östen and Sven let rise these stones after Östen, their father, and they made this bridge and this mound"; farms and home towns are mentioned, as on U932: "...they let rise this stone after Svarthörde... in Söderby"; we learn about business and industry, such as on the Sigtuna stone U391: "The Frisian guildbrothers (carved) these (runes) after Albod, Slode's business partner."; and about battles and foreign travels, for example, on U654: "Andvätt and Kår and Kiti and Bläse and Djärv raised the stone

after Gunnlev, their father. He was killed out in the east with Ingvar...", or on U136: "Estrid let rise these stones after Östen, her husband, who travelled to Jerusalem and died out in Greece."

From the Christian cross often incorporated into the designs on the stones, and from the inscriptions, we are informed about the conversion and attitudes to Christianity. For example, some stones, like U896, tell us about men who were converted to Christianity on their deathbeds: "...let rise the stone for his son Önd's soul. (He was) dead in baptismal clothes in Denmark"; while many stones repeat formulaic expressions such as: "God help his soul" (U419) at the end of the commemoration. We learn about landowners, and the establishment of a court of law on stone U212: "Jarlebanke let rise this stone after himself, while he lived, and he made this thingplace, and alone owned all of this hundred." Perhaps most important of all, we hear about family relationships and inheritance rights. Most stones give a clear explanation of the relationship of the dead person(s) to the person(s) raising the stone, which often involves additional details about members of the family, as on U855: "After Est, their son, Ärnfast and the brothers raised it after their brother", or on U489: "Gullög let make the bridge for his daughter Gillög's soul, who Ulu had as wife."; while on stone U862, we are told that "Asger and Gärdar let rise the stone after their brother Forseal. He was Gudbjörn's heir."

In some cases, when all the inscriptive evidence of several stones from the same district is assembled, a family tree can be reconstructed, which, in the case of the so-called Jarlebanke stones, spans several generations (see below p.66-67). In addition, we learn of personal distinctions of character and career. In most cases personal distinctions are attributed to the dead person by his family, as on a newly found stone from Uppsala Cathedral: "Ring (?) and Hulte (and) Fastger let (rise) the stone after Vigmar, their father, a good ship's captain"⁵;

although, on U767, the well-known carver Livsten commemorated two men, thus: "Livsten carved the runes after them both, father and son, capable men." Occasionally, one comes across a man who has raised a stone to himself, in order to venerate his own character, as on U1011: "Vigmund let rise the stone after himself, the most excellent of men. God help Vigmund, the ship captain's soul. Vigmund and Åfrid carved the memorial while he lived."⁶.

When one can reconstruct a family tree, as in the case of the Jarlebanke stones, centred around Vallentuna, Uppland, the implications for dating are clear, although the inscriptions are never precise about the dates of death, or of the raising of the stones, and consequently attempting to date runestones is always difficult, and normally involves hypotheses, about, for example, the age gap between parents and children (see ch.5). Sometimes, although not often, inscriptions refer to known historical events or persons, such as on U668: "Stärkar and Hjørvard raised the stone after Gere, their father, who sat out in the west in the Thingelid⁷", but we are not told how long it was after Gere had been in the Thingelid that he died. The Ingvar who was mentioned on stone U654 is possibly synonymous with the Ingvar of whom we hear in Icelandic sources⁸, in which case, he supposedly died in 1041; but again, the evidence of the runestones is inconclusive. In short, the inscriptive evidence of the runestones is invaluable, but it is always incomplete, and thus provides points of debate for students in every field of research invariably posing as many new problems as it supplies answers.

The stylistic evidence must always be viewed against the background of the palaeographic evidence, and not in isolation. The enormous amount of runestone material contrasts starkly with the relative sparsity of the Urnes style woodcarving and metalwork examples.⁹ Over five thousand runic inscriptions are known, mostly of the late Viking period of which about three thousand occur in Sweden alone, and as a

category of archaeological monuments, they *only occur in* Scandinavia. It is possible to ascribe almost every runestone to either the Ringerike or Urnes stylistic rubric, but, in the case of the runestones, this is rarely an adequate distinction. The study of the work of individual carvers is another important stylistic consideration to be explored.

The runestone monuments do not only commemorate the dead person(s) and implicitly, the person(s) who raised the stone in their memory, they often also tell us the name of the carver. For instance, the inscription on U859 concludes with the words: "Asmund carved the runes". In Uppland, about two hundred stones are signed by their carvers. The men who put their signatures to their work were presumably responsible for both the writing of the inscription, and for the carving of the ornamentation, although this is not always necessarily so. In some cases, the inscriptions inform us that a well-known carver merely advised on the runes, while the style of ornamentation reveals that the work is clearly that of an amateur. Such is the case with stones U896 and U940. Both of them include the words: "Öpir advised on the runes", but clearly, on neither of them is the work Öpir's.

Öpir was a prolific carver, who has signed several stones in Uppland¹⁰. When there are several extant examples of any one carver's work it is possible to recognise distinguishing characteristics of his style. For instance, Öpir prefers to use a dominant figure-of-eight shaped pattern in his designs (pl.39b). On many stones, he also depicts a mass of thin intertwining snakes, whose bodies form no appreciable loop patterns, but merely tangle with each other, and the main creature(s) (pl. 39a). Other carvers are distinguished by their consistent use of a particular motif; for example, Asmund's cross type, with rounded rays between the arms, is one of his distinctive characteristics¹¹. When the distinguishing characteristics of a carver's work then occur on an un-

signed stone, one may deduce that it is the work of the same carver¹². Having collected together a group of runestones, which are apparently all the work of one man, we can try to define, typologically, which are the earliest carvings and which are the later. For example, in the case of Öpir, one might argue that the stones with the simplest figure-of-eight designs are his earliest attempts (pl.39a). During his middle period, his art achieves a sophistication, that was previously absent, although the design remains a simple and fluent Urnes style rendering of the figure-of-eight pattern (pl.39b). It would then seem that the Öpir carvings, which are characterised by the narrow, intertwining snake forms, are his latest works (pl.39c). Yet, every carving of Öpir's is decorated in the Urnes style as we understand it from an analysis of Urnes stave church.

Stones of the hypothetically named "middle period" are possibly the most classic representations of the style. U489, from Morby, Lagga (pl.39b) for example, now in Uppsala, is ornamented with a ribbon beast, whose body loops in a figure of eight pattern. The animal has a long, slender neck, with a characteristic Urnes style head thrown back, as if reaching for the tail of the uppermost of the two filiform snakes. From a simple front hip, emerges a sturdy front leg, with a characteristic bend at the knee joint, and terminating in a foot with two long toes. The ornament lines of the body are fluent and uninterrupted. The body gently tapers and swells, and is formed of curves of large radius. The front half of the creature is upright and elegant, and the runic inscription, which would have detracted from the elegance, is not inserted into the body, until the body follows the line of the edge of the stone and forms the dominant, figure-of-eight theme. The creature terminates in a back leg, ending in the usual, two-toed foot. Only two filiform snakes are present. The uppermost one has an almost fully evolved, Urnes style head; while the lowermost one is a very simplified

version of a zoomorphic element. Their thin bodies form open loops, as they intertwine with the main animal. In short, the design of U489 agrees fully with the definitions of the Urnes style arrived at by an analysis of Urnes stave church. The only additional ornamental element is the cross, which, in this case, is Öpir's typical choice of cross form, a simple, equal armed variety of the St. George cross.

Thus, it may be possible to follow the typological development through a single carver's career, particularly if the results of the stylistic evidence can be supported by any clues in the content of the inscriptions. It is also possible to look at the Upplandic runestone material as a group, and to study the typological evidence within the group. In Uppland, there are three basic types recognisable¹³ (pl.40).

In type A, the text band is composed of one rune animal, whose head and tail are juxtaposed, and whose body follows the contours of the stone, and forms an arch. Subgroups of type A are formed, according to whether the rune-animal's head and tail diverge, or cross, or diverge and then cross. When crossed, the heads and tails form patterns, which can then be further broken down into subgroups. About two-thirds of the Upplandic monuments fit into one or other of the groups of type A stones. The carver Fot makes use of type A quite frequently, although not exclusively. He was probably responsible for some of the Jarlebanke stones of the type A group, such as U165 (pl.44a). No contrast in line widths is present on this stone, as only one animal is depicted. However, many aspects of the Urnes style are apparent, such as the animal head, the fluent, unbroken ornament lines, the curves of large radius, the tapering body towards the tail, and the plain background.

Type B differs structurally from type A in that the text band is composed of two rune animals, although, stylistically, the two types are similar. The two animals may be juxtaposed head to head, or tail to head, or may cross each other at one, both, or neither of these junctures. Rune animals of type B make up 12 per cent. of the Upplandic

corpus. Most of the Jarlebanke stones, such as U212 (pl41a) which is also probably the work of Fot, have a type B-1 design on them. Again, the work is undoubtedly an Urnes style carving, although the juxtaposition of two different line widths is not an aspect of the design. U860 is carved by Asmund, and is also of type B-1, but in this case, a filiform element is present. However, the stone also has three standing quadrupeds depicted on it, of which two are atypical Urnes style creatures. Asmund has also made use of type B-2 designs, such as on stone L1049. Balle, who is often considered to have been a pupil of Livsten, often makes use of the type B-3 design, as on U690.

Type C abandons the arch as the fundamental structural element, and adopts, instead, the figure-of-eight shape. Type C is liable to far more variation than types A and B, and occurs in many different forms, according to the number, position, and relative size of the figure eights. Type C occurs on about 15 per cent. of the Upplandic material, and all the evidence points to it being a generally later type, from the latter half of the eleventh century. As we have seen, Öpir, particularly, favours the type C design, for example on stones U489, U279 and on a new find from Uppsala Cathedral¹⁴.

About 90 per cent. of the Upplandic runestones fit into the above typological series. The other ten per cent. tend to be stylistic oddities, such as the stones which Von Friesen calls "unornamented"¹⁵. These are not zoomorphic, but are composed of a text band that runs up and down along the contours of the stone, forming rounded arches at top and bottom. U617 is an example of this type (pl.42b). Another variant is composed of a non-zoomorphic, closed text band, which forms a frame inside which appears zoomorphic ornamentation. Balle and Tidkume make use of this style, as, for instance, on stones U692 and U716, which are still undoubtedly attributable to the Urnes style. Only a very few stones defy classification in any of the above groups. One

such is (pl.44b) U186, which Christiansson would call "South Scandinavian" style¹⁶.

In past studies, Moe and Wilson have drawn up tables in which they have abstracted the heads of several runestone animals in order to support stylistic theories (pl.45). Moe believes that the runestones may be dated palaeographically¹⁷. He sees an initial phase dominated by Asmund Karesson, a classical phase dominated by Fot and Balle, and a late phase dominated by Öpir. He produces a diagram showing animal heads carved by Asmund, Fot, and Öpir in order to demonstrate a typological development, which would support the alleged palaeographic evidence. Wilson's diagram of Swedish runestone animal heads is aimed at showing the development towards the Urnes style. The interesting fact is that, considering the enormous amount of runestone material from Uppland, only the final head in his diagram, the fully developed Urnes style head, comes from Uppland. This would seem to support Christiansson's idea, discussed more fully below, (pp.50-51) that we are not dealing with a necessarily typological or chronological development from the Ringerike to the Urnes styles, but rather, with more or less contemporary, regional preferences of style type. The point is that it is not valid to approach stylistic problems in this way. The runestone material is so varied, that one can support almost any theory by simply selecting the right heads. As we saw from an analysis of the Urnes stave church, it is the whole design which makes up the Urnes style on any one piece, and to abstract ornamental details is not a relevant approach. Moe has abstracted two heads from Asmund's work, which best support his theory, but which disregard the individuality, and the variety in Asmund's work as a whole. Thompson has drawn up a diagram (pl. 46a) in which all of Asmund's known animal heads are reproduced. This clearly demonstrates the problems referred to above. Admittedly, there are no Ringerike style heads - Asmund was, after all,

exclusively an Upplandic carver - but U847 resembles Moe's example of Fot and the classical period, U859 is as elongated as Moe's example of an Öpir head, and U981 as degenerate as Moe's second example of Öpir's style, and so on. One must be careful not to be too selective of evidence, but to try to view everything in terms of the whole.

All the carvers mentioned by name above were presumably professional men. It seems likely that their social status was fairly high, and they tended to work for wealthy patrons, such as Jarlebanke. The compilation of maps showing the locations of stones carved by well-known artists can reveal the areas where they worked, the sort of distances that they travelled, and the families they worked for. However, not all the runestones are the work of professional and experienced craftsmen. In some cases, as on U896 (pl.43a) the work is clearly that of an amateur, although a professional carver, in this case Öpir, "advised on the runes". In other instances, such as on another new find from Uppsala Cathedral¹⁸, a less competent carver has signed his work. The new stone from Uppsala (pl.43b) is signed by Likbjörn, who also carved and signed U1095. The carving is shakily executed, and the pattern is unorganised, composed of a series of long, open loops, which are not pleasing to the eye. However, once again, its attribution to the Urnes style is undoubted. As the new finds of wood and bone from Trondheim demonstrate, (below p.61-62) the Urnes style was not necessarily the province of the rich, and artistically talented people. It appealed, too, to people who could not afford to hire Livsten or Öpir, or who preferred to employ a local man, or a friend, or who wished to carve the monument themselves, regardless of the fact that the results were usually less impressive. U1165 is the only known example of Erik's work. He has used a simple, standard, type-A-1 design, which he has executed reasonably competently, although the head,

which is always the part of a type A design requiring the most skill, is an over-simplified version of the animal head viewed from above. However, for some unknown reason, he has written his own name in a complicated code, which makes use of the three groups of letters in the younger futhark¹⁹. He was possibly aware of the artistic limitations of his work. A man called Torbjörn carved several stones in and around Sigtuna, and probably lived in Sigtuna. He carved stones U379 and U391, both of which are raised by the Frisian guildbrothers²⁰ to the memory of one of their guildbrothers. It seems likely that such an organisation would have preferred to ask one of its members to carve their commemorative monuments. Torbjörn²¹ was obviously a painstaking man rather than a trained rune master, and his work is that of an amateur. His carvings emphasise the Christian character of the monument, by the prominence given to the cross, and by his choice of expression in the inscriptions, such as "The holy Christ help his soul", on U391. On the same stone, Torbjörn has omitted a letter from his own name - the equivalent of a spelling mistake. The attribution of Torbjörn's works to the Urnes style is a dubious one, and of little value. Nonetheless, the evidence is that he was working in the third quarter of the eleventh century²², and he was obviously, at least subconsciously, aware of the stylistic tradition of the period.

Although the study of the Upplandic runestone material is particularly rewarding, runestones occur all over Scandinavia, as has already been stated. The Gotlandic material is carved on shaped stones, unlike the stones from the Swedish mainland. The "mushroom" shapes of the earlier Gotlandic picture stones²³ are retained when the Urnes style runestone ornament becomes fashionable in the eleventh century. The example known as Ardre III (pl.38a) is customarily used to illustrate the transitional stage between the Ringerike and Urnes styles²⁴. The inscription is contained within a non-zoomorphic frame band, as it was

on several Upplandic stones, Within the text band is a zoomorphic design, which is an atypical example of the Urnes style. To begin with, it is almost symmetrical, and the outlines of the bodies of the two creatures are followed by a series of punched dots. Nevertheless, the design is composed of two different line widths which juxtapose with a plain background, and the ornament lines form figure-of-eight loop schemes. The loops are open, and lines tend to consist of curves of large radius. Towards the creatures' tails, the bodies gently taper. The large, pear-shaped lobe at the centre top of the stone is formed of thin line widths, which form open loops round the necks of the creatures and between them. Indeed, its adjustment into Urnes style repertoire is fairly conclusive. The animal heads are rather shorter than is usual in the Urnes style, but they employ the normal characteristics of the style, such as the profile view, the short ear, almond-shaped eye, folded backwards and downwards nose extension, and so on. The little figures in the background are atypical, but probably represent the continuing tradition of Gotlandic pictorial art²⁵.

In short, the style of Ardre III belongs mostly to the Urnes tradition, but that there are important differences is undoubted. The symmetry of the piece might be taken to indicate that the stone belongs to the transitional Ringerike/Urnes stage, or more accurately, that it is an early exponent of the Urnes style, which still retains a fashionable consciousness of the Ringerike style. However, the shape of the stone, and the small figures in the background may equally well indicate that Ardre III represents a Gotlandic interpretation of the style of the period, a regional variation that may run independently of the Ringerike and Urnes stylistic sequences. Some doubt may be cast on the latter theory by the occurrence of other Gotlandic runestones, such as the Högrän stone (pl. 42a) which retains the distinctive Gotlandic "mushroom" shape, but which is ornamented with a style that is very closely related to the

style prevalent on the Swedish mainland.

The possibility of the style of the runestones depending on regional variations rather than on a chronological or typological stylistic sequence has been largely explored by Hans Christiansson²⁶. He makes use of the term "South Scandinavian style" to refer to the runestones of Denmark, Skåne, Vastergötland and Södermanland in Sweden, and Ringerike in Norway; and uses the term "Middle Scandinavian style" to refer to the stones of Uppland in particular, but also Öland, Gotland and Bornholm. It was because Christiansson felt dissatisfaction with the common definitions of the styles found in late Viking art, (Jellinge, Mammen, Ringerike, Runestone and Urnes style), that he decided instead to use the above-mentioned terms. He makes use of Almgren's theories to analyse runestones of the South Scandinavian style, and discovers that: "curves, angles, circular and straight, often diverging lines belong to the structure of the South Scandinavian style. These geometric forms could collectively be said to fit into U- and V- forms which are also cut off. Thus U- forms can be broken down into J- and l- forms, V- forms or into diagonal lines."²⁷. This is almost precisely the curvature pattern that emerged from an analysis of the St. Paul's churchyard stone, which is commonly regarded as a classic exponent of the Ringerike style. It would seem, then, that the stones of Christiansson's "South Scandinavia" tend to be decorated in Ringerike style, generally speaking, while those of Middle Scandinavia are ornamented with Urnes style. This is not intended as an incontrovertible theory, for there are, of course, many exceptions, and we have already noted that the sheer variety of the runestone material makes a simple categorisation of it into Ringerike and Urnes style pieces, a thankless task. As Christiansson writes: "The ornamentation is partly too general, partly too individual, to permit fine distinctions"²⁸ and as we have seen, there are so many other considerations in any runestone analysis.

In short, Christiansson's work is inconclusive, and based, almost entirely, on art-historical considerations, which do not provide an adequate approach in a study of the runestone material. However, it does raise some fascinating questions. If one can say, even generally speaking, that runestones decorated in Ringerike style occur mostly in South Scandinavia, and that Urnes style runestones mostly occur in Middle Scandinavia, then it would seem that regional variation plays an important part in determining style. The implications for dating of the Ringerike and Urnes styles are far reaching, bearing in mind, that most runestones are presently located where they were originally positioned, whereas the picture of Ringerike and Urnes styles may be distorted during a study of the metalwork, and smaller wood and bone artefacts, which are easily portable.

It is impossible at the present stage of runestone study to come to any conclusions about the runestone material, its art-historical position, the degree to which regional factors were important, or indeed, its overall significance. Many scholars have studied runestones, but their examinations have mainly been limited to investigation within particular districts²⁹. The brief survey of the Upplandic material above reveals the enormous number of problems and considerations that one comes across, even when confining oneself to one particular district. However, the special character of the runestones makes them particularly suitable for comparative analyses, on runological, historical, genealogical and archaeological, as well as, ornamental grounds; and any conclusions reached must be verifiable, or at least, not negated, by the conclusions reached in other fields of study.

Finally, we must consider the so-called Eskilstuna type of monument. These are runic monuments of a more magnificent nature than the normal runestones, which consist of five stone slabs, two forming the sides, another forming the roof, and two more forming the gable-ends; the last

are sometimes shaped like a pointed arch, sometimes gently rounded. All five slabs have carving on them, the gable slabs usually on two sides. The runic inscriptions are frequently cut along the edges of these end stones. The ornamentation, as on the Eskilstuna sarcophagus itself³⁰, is normally of the Urnes style in its fully developed form. They are an interesting group of monuments, since they illustrate the changes in social custom entailed in the burial of the Christian in consecrated ground, and they are usually to be found in church cemeteries. They were placed over the grave, and it is doubtful that they ever contained the corpse³¹. The new burial customs have found expression on one or two runestones. For instance, the Bogesund stone states: "Gunne and Asa had this stone raised and (made this) coffin of stone in memory of ... their son. He died at Ekerö. He is buried in the churchyard. Fastulv cut the runes. Gunne raised this slab of rock." Evidently, a compromise had been reached in this transition period to Christianity, and in this case, a runestone was raised in the ancestral cemetery at home, while a more ecclesiastical sort of monument was provided in the churchyard at Ekerö.

This group of monuments was named after the Eskilstuna sarcophagus, because such interest was aroused by the discovery of the sarcophagus during excavations on an early church site in Eskilstuna in 1912³². However, the name is not apt, because most later finds of such sarcophagi have been made elsewhere in Sweden, chiefly in Östergötland.

In conclusion, the Urnes style is represented on many runestones, but mostly in Sweden. It is to be found, too, in many different versions which may be indicative of a typological or chronological sequence; or may be due to any one of a number of other factors, of which the individual carver's taste, talent, or stage of his career, is an important consideration, and the area in which he is working, is another. A great deal of work remains to be done on the Scandinavian runestone material.

The hypothesis that the Urnes style originated in Scandinavia in the East Central zone of Sweden has been largely based on the runestone evidence. The sheer quantity of monuments decorated in Urnes style, that come from this area, lends weight to the theory. In addition, metalwork decorated with Urnes style ornament also occurs in greater quantity in Eastern Sweden than elsewhere in Scandinavia (below p.60-61). However, the location map of findspots of Urnes style material is gradually changing. The survival of a large number of stone monuments due to the fact that stone is such a durable medium, has influenced the picture to a great extent. It might be more accurate to say that runestones, as a form of monument, flourished particularly in the East Central zone of Sweden, although one could still not say that the origins of the form of monument are necessarily to be found in the same region. The Urnes style is found distributed over a wide area in Scandinavia, and is represented in all three countries. The excavations of medieval townships in Norway are uncovering many new pieces decorated with Urnes style. In Trondheim, the survival of less durable material, such as wood and bone, highlights how distorted our map of the distribution of the Urnes style may be. At the present stage of study, the Urnes style is far better represented in Eastern Sweden than elsewhere; largely due to the durability of the stone monuments on which it is mostly found. However, future excavation work may alter the picture; or will, at least, serve to remind us, that we cannot be definite about the place of origin of the style, while the evidence is so incomplete.

CHAPTER FOUR

PORTABLE ARTEFACTS DECORATED WITH SCANDINAVIAN URNES STYLE

The fortunate survival of the Urnes woodcarvings in Norway is further emphasised when one considers the small amount of Urnes style metalwork in Scandinavia, and remembers that metalwork is so often the only significant surviving medium of a style. There are a number of Urnes style brooches which may be termed "Urnes animal brooches". These have been found in some quantity in Scandinavia, particularly in Denmark. In Norway, they have been found distributed over a wide area, mostly in the south.¹ The location map of the Norwegian brooches shows very little relationship between the findspots of the brooches, and the position of Urnes itself, although, of course, small, metal objects, such as these, are easily portable. Nevertheless, the style of the Urnes animal brooches shows them to be very closely related to the ornamentation of Urnes stave church.

The Urnes animal brooches, throughout Scandinavia, tend to be openwork, and are usually made of bronze, although there are silver examples, such as the one found fairly recently at Lindholm Høje, Jutland (pl.47a). They are composed of a classic Urnes style standing quadruped, which is intertwined with filiform tendrils, that frequently spring from the tail and limbs of the quadruped. The Lindholm Høje brooch is a fine example of the type. The standing quadruped is seen in profile, with two legs visible, one of which springs from a front spiral hip. The elongated head is of typical Urnes type, and the elegant body and intertwining tendrils are composed of fluent and unbroken ornament lines. A two-toed foot terminates the front leg, but otherwise, the ornament lines are all lobe-ended. The filiform tendrils form asymmetrical, multi-loop schemes, and the design, as a whole, is highly uniform in character. In the case of the Lindholm Høje brooch, a silver ring is attached to the bottom, which presumably had a functional purpose. Also found at Lindholm Høje was a tiny metal object (pl.47b), which looks as if it may be an unfinished, or simply a crude, version, of the Urnes animal brooch. The

object is so tiny, that the gaps in the interlace simply appear as holes. It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for the appearance of this piece. It may be that the size was found to be inappropriate to the style of an Urnes animal brooch, for instance. The usual animal brooches are of a larger, fairly standardised size.² The piece may possibly help us to see how these elegant brooches were manufactured. There are four Urnes animal brooches in Denmark, which appear to have been made in the same mould.³

Not all of the Urnes animal brooches are of the same high quality as (pl.48) the Lindholm Høje brooch,⁴ but the basic stylistic characteristics do not vary to any great extent. Indeed, the uniformity of the Urnes style as seen on the stave church, is reflected in the design of the Urnes animal brooches as a group. They represent the completely typical, Scandinavian Urnes style in metalwork.

This group of brooches may be regarded as an innovation of the Urnes stylistic phase. The only parallels are two brooches, which are usually attributed to the Ringerike style⁵, the first from Gresli, Tydal, Norway (pl.49a), and the second of unknown provenance⁶, now in København National Museum. The Gresli brooch is ornamented with a bird. However, the body of the bird is thin and elongated, and formed of gentle curves of large radius, which are rarely interrupted. Tight interlacing occurs across the legs, wing and neck, but there is no tendril grouping. It seems that the Gresli brooch should rather be attributed to the Urnes style than the Ringerike. The same is true of the lesser known example of unknown provenance. Fuglesang postulates that the interlace may be interpreted as Ringerike style elements, which have lingered on in some workshops, and which reflect a stage of stylistic transition which possibly depended on regional factors.⁷ Tydal lies in the Trondheim region, and since the wood material from recent Trondheim excavations displays some notable regional characteristics, such as the hatched background, (below p.61-62), it is quite possible that regional factors may also be influencing the metalworkers' art in the same period.

The well-known Scandinavian vanes are mostly earlier in date than the Urnes stylistic phase.⁸ However, the vane from Söderala church in Sweden (pl.49b) includes in its ornamental repertoire some elements of the Urnes style. For instance, the design involves some interplay between two different line widths, and the ornament lines of the creature display a tendency towards long, fluent curves, while the body gently tapers and swells. Nevertheless, the "additive principle of composition" is most in evidence, and the design as a whole manifests more elements of the preceding Ringerike style than the Urnes style.

The spearhead material from Scandinavia includes examples of the Mammen, Ringerike and Urnes styles. Fuglesang⁹ argues that, in the spearhead ornament however, the Urnes style seems to be confined to Petersen type G (fig.Hiii) and never occurs on types K/M and M. Indeed, most of the spearheads of type G are decorated with ribbon beasts of the Urnes style. She points out that the ornamental motifs on weapons of the earlier Viking period tend to be geometric shapes and herring-bone patterns, which bear little or no resemblance to the contemporary ornamentation of monumental art. However, the later series of spearheads do show an ornamental relation to monumental art, which becomes especially self-evident in the Urnes style spearheads. The commonly found ribbon beasts of the type G spearheads correspond closely to the ribbon beasts found on the Urnes style Swedish runestones, for example. One may infer that, during this period, there may have been a concentration of spearhead production and ornamentation in workshops which executed other kinds of metalwork as well, and which may have used ornamented motifs unrelated to imported weapon types. Whatever the case may be, there is no doubt that the Urnes style provided an important and commonly used type of ornamentation on late Viking spearheads. It is interesting to note that almost all of the type G Urnes style spearheads come from Sweden and East Scandinavia.

The Gotlandic drum-shaped brooches were also a typical category of early Viking jewellery¹⁰. In the later period, the bases of the drum-shaped brooches

which had previously been plain, were removed, and decorated with late Viking ornament. These round brooches, as they are then called, are frequently ornamented with ribbon beasts of the Urnes type. One example is the brooch from Tändgarve, Sweden (pl.52b) on which four ribbon beasts are found, each one occupying a quarter of the ornamental space available, and thus forming a fairly symmetrical pattern. Their bodies are also double contoured and hatched, which is not a common feature of Urnes style ornament. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of two different line widths to each other and the plain background, the Urnes heads, and the fluent, uninterrupted, ornament lines used in the portrayal of the bodies makes their attribution to the Urnes style an undoubted one. It seems again that there are lingering elements of preceding Viking styles to be found in Urnes style ornament. Since the original drum-shaped brooches were peculiar to Sweden, their derivatives, the round brooches, are also usually only to be found in Sweden.

The silver bowl from Lilla Valle, Rute, Gotland (pl.50) is an elegant, fluted bowl, whose rim is incised with animal ornament. It is often ascribed to the transitional Ringerike/Urnes style phase,¹¹ but it displays far more characteristics of the Urnes style, and is, a fine Urnes style piece. A series of ribbon beasts decorate the rim. Their heads are typically Urnes style heads. Their bodies are formed of long, gentle, fluent curves, of continuously large radius, and they gently taper and swell. The design involves an interplay of two line widths, formed when the tails become intertwining tendrils that loosely loop around the body and legs. The motif of the pear-shaped lobe and union knot, which is used to link the ribbon beasts together, is, as we have seen, commonly found amongst the runestone material, and is adapted in the Urnes style, to comply, as far as possible, with the usual character of Urnes style ornament lines. The lobe-ended tendrils, the two-toed feet, the contrast between the animals and the background, are all features of the Urnes style. On the interior base roundel of the bowl is another Urnes style creature, whose body forms an unaxial, figure-of-eight

loop scheme. The only reminiscence of the Ringerike style occurs in the depiction of the spiral hips, which are not the simple, half-spirals usually to be found in Urnes style designs. The skilfully decorated rim of the Lilla Valla bowl is one of the finest metalwork examples of Urnes style. It may be compared to a similar silver bowl from Gamla Uppsala, (pl.51), which is ornamented with a series of foliate tendrils round the rim, which can be paralleled on some of the Swedish Romanesque planks.¹² The internal base roundel is decorated with the figure of an heraldic, Romanesque lion. These designs are equally as well suited to the shape of the bowl, although some of the uniformity has been lost, in that there is a stark contrast between the lion and the delicate foliage. It is interesting to see the application of two distinct stylistic phases on two objects of such similarity. A comparison of style alone is then possible, without having to take account of any number of other considerations.

Two bronze ornaments in the shape of animal heads have been found on Gotland (pl.52a). They were probably originally shrine terminals. The heads are of the Urnes type, long and elegant in appearance, viewed in profile, formed of fluent ornament lines, and having an almond shaped eye. From the mouth and snout of the example illustrated emerge a number of tendrils, which intertwine, forming unaxial loop schemes. The tendrils are lobe-ended, and although the intertwining elements are perhaps more tightly bound than is usual in Urnes style designs, the curvature of the tendrils agrees with the Urnes types of long, drawn out curves of large radius.

A strap distributor has also been found on Gotland (pl.53). It is particularly interesting with regard to the English Urnes metalwork.¹³ It is composed of three separate animals, all viewed from above, each of which bites the central ring that joins them together. Most examples of Urnes style animals viewed from above occur on the Swedish runestone material, and the heads are normally simplified, showing a pronounced lack of detail.¹⁴ In this case, however, the metalworker has taken a typical Urnes style head, and has depicted

what it would look like from above, rather than in profile. It is long, and the snout is square ended, while the pronounced nostrils are round. The linear features above the nostrils represent the folded backwards and downwards nose extension on a usual head, seen from above. The bodies of the creatures are composed of filiform elements, which intertwine in un-axial figure-of-eight and multiloop schemes, according to the Urnes style pattern. A front leg emerges from the spiral hip immediately behind the leg; and other limbs and a tail, emerge from the body, and intertwine with the body and each other. The ornament lines terminate in lobes. The design is partially executed in openwork, although the central areas of the bodies are comprised of ornament lines, which run too closely together to allow for the openwork technique. Although this is an unusual Scandinavian piece, its attribution to the Urnes style is an undoubted one.

The silver crucifix from Gåtebo, Øland, (pl.52c) which was found in a hoard, is decorated with a Christ figure. His hands are loosely fettered by open loops formed of tendril-like elements; and above his head occur more of these tendrils, which loop in a pattern very similar to the usual Urnes style schemes. There are no zoomorphic elements on this markedly Christian object, but it seems clear that the silversmith was influenced by his familiarity with Urnes style loop patterns.

Another type of Gotlandic artefact is the three dimensional animal head brooch usually of bronze, whose surface is covered with thin tendrils, which intertwine in an Urnes manner, and which are quite separate from the animal characteristics of the head itself. In this, one may see a later rendering of the same theme found on such objects as the Søllested horse collar from Denmark,¹⁵ where the large, formalised animal heads at either end of the collar, are themselves decorated with a series of small birds and animals. The Urnes style brooches demonstrate a revival for this type of ornament, within a quite distinct, stylistic phase.

Some metalwork examples demonstrate the continued use of Urnes style

designs into the twelfth century. One such is the bottom moulding of the Danish Lisbjerg altar, (pl.54) which is ornamented with a degenerate Urnes style. There are also some arrow heads with niello-inlaid Urnes decoration from Finland and the Baltic countries,¹⁶ which have fallen outside the scope of the present survey of material from the Scandinavian mainland.

The Urnes style metalwork from Scandinavia is strikingly varied as far as the types of artefacts are concerned. The openwork animal brooches, for example, form a distinct group of objects, as do the round brooches, the spearheads, and the three-dimensional animal head brooches. Some of these groups, such as the openwork animal brooches, are peculiar to the Urnes style phase; another, the group of three dimensional animal head brooches, revives an old tradition of decorating one head-shaped object, with a whole series of other animal forms carved in flat relief. Even the spearheads, which occur in one form or another throughout the Viking age, are of a distinctive typological group during the Urnes stylistic phase. Other pieces, such as the Lilla Valla bowl and the Gåtebo crucifix, are distinctive in their own right, as being only one of a kind. In short, although the material evidence at the moment is limited, and may be expected to increase as a result of future excavations which may alter the picture, it seems as if the Urnes stylistic phase coincided with a change in taste concerning the type of object to be decorated. The objects which were found all over the Scandinavian world in the preceding centuries, such as the numerous tortoise brooches, were no longer fashionable, and no universally acceptable types of object were found to replace them.

The locations of these different types of objects is of interest. The openwork animal brooches occur all over Scandinavia, but especially in Denmark. Denmark is otherwise lacking in Urnes style metalwork. Sweden, however, is comparatively rich in metalwork finds, and within Sweden, the island of Gotland is particularly wealthy, producing the round brooches, the three dimensional animal head brooches, the shrine terminals, the strap distributor and the Lilla

Valla bowl. Norway, like Denmark, was only noted for its openwork animal brooches, but these included a variation on the type, from Gresli near Trondheim. Thus, it seems that the Urnes stylistic phase flourished particularly in Eastern Scandinavia on metalwork artefacts, and especially on Gotland. An historically independent tradition on Gotland manifested itself through the production of types of metalwork artefact which are not found elsewhere, but which, with the possible exception of the strap distributor, are ornamented with the completely typical style of the period.

There have been tendencies in the past to regard the three late Viking styles as exponents of different geographical areas. The evidence of the metalwork artefacts, coupled with the evidence of the runestones, which occur in great number in the Upplandic area of Sweden, has resulted in the theory that East Sweden was the main stronghold of the Urnes style.¹⁷ However, recent excavations in Trondheim¹⁸ have produced a large number of Urnes style wood and bone objects, which highlight the subjectivity of an incomplete picture of the distribution of a style.

In Trondheim, a wooden post with Urnes style decoration was found in Søndre Gate in 1945, and recently the companion post was also discovered. In addition, the excavations have produced a considerable quantity of portable, domestic artefacts (pl.55) such as wood and bone spoons, handles and pins, which are decorated in Urnes style, or Urnes style variants. This material is most revealing about the popularity of the style, suggesting that its appeal was far wider than used to be believed. It is mostly distinctly secular in nature, which invalidates the theory that the Urnes style was the province of the ecclesiastical world. The residents of Trondheim liked to own fashionably decorated functional objects, yet the work of decorating the artefacts must have been time-consuming, and the artefacts easily broken or lost.

The Trondheim material often has a hatched or cross-hatched background of finely incised lines, as opposed to the more usual plain or open background

of the Urnes style. The designs manifest a considerable variety of both pattern and level of craftsmanship, and they demonstrate that the decoration of household objects was not only a preoccupation of the wealthy, for most of the wood and the bone objects from Trondheim are essentially simple, functional tools, which must have been available to anyone. Some of the pieces are simply carved, implying that they were the work of amateur craftsmen, possibly their owners. Others are better examples of the Urnes style, displaying ribbon beasts placed in figure-of-eight loop schemes, some of which are exact repetitions of the loop schemes found on Urnes stave church. The hatching of the background is a local variation, which distinguishes the Trondheim material from other Urnes style artefacts known at present.

Recent excavations at other medieval townships are also revealing more Urnes style artefacts. A bone handle showing similar stylistic characteristics but without the hatched background, was found at Borgund;¹⁹ and a bone spoon with late Urnes/early Romanesque decoration was found during excavations at Tønsberg in 1971.²⁰ Undoubtedly, the amount of Urnes style material will increase as excavations continue, and consequently, the distribution pattern of the style is liable to change markedly.

Recent finds from Trondheim also display a clear transitional Urnes/Romanesque phase of ornamentation. Martin Blindheim has suggested that, following the period of popularity of the Urnes style, the art of woodcarving suffered a decay due to the lack of a new stimulus, which was provided, from the mid-twelfth century onwards, by the incoming international Romanesque styles.²¹ However, the vitality of the ornament on much of the transitional Trondheim material indicates that, for a period, the Urnes style continued to flourish alongside the newer style. Stratigraphical dating of the Trondheim material may support this premise, but the present incompleteness of the Trondheim excavations prohibits further analysis at this stage.

One further example of portable woodcarving comes from Uppsala, Sweden, (pl.56a) It is a wooden animal head of the Urnes type which was probably

originally the handle of a cask. The lower and upper lips are extended, to form intertwining tendrils, that loop in an asymmetrical, figure-of-eight shape; while the upper lip extension terminates in a smaller animal head, also of Urnes type. Unfortunately, the mouth of the secondary creature is now missing.

The portable material in Scandinavia tends to be overshadowed by the fine, Urnes stave church carvings. The recent discoveries of wood and bone Urnes style carving, while highlighting the good fortune that accompanies the survival of wood and bone generally, also serves to emphasise how incomplete the present picture of Urnes style woodcarving probably is. Although it seems likely, in the light of the recent Scandinavian excavations, that the Urnes style was also represented in the mediums of wood and bone in England, the discrepancy between the two countries in the types of object decorated with the style, precludes this premise from being a certainty. However, it is certain, in Scandinavia at least, that much material remains to be found, which, with those discoveries of wood and bone carving already made, will enable the magnificent carvings at Urnes to be viewed in a more realistic perspective.

CHAPTER FIVE

The dating of Urnes style in Scandinavia

It must be emphasised, from the outset, that serious problems are encountered in trying to date the different phases of Urnes style on the basis of archaeological finds. There are very few hoards, known at present, which contain both coins and objects ornamented with Urnes style. Of these, the hoard containing the Lilla Valla bowl from Gotland is perhaps the best known. It was deposited in the ground, on coin evidence, in about 1050.¹ Of course, this can give no more than a general indication of the date of manufacture of the object. The Gresli brooch was found in a hoard in Norway, which, on coin evidence, was deposited in the ground about 1085.² However, the Gresli brooch reveals elements that belong to the Ringerike style in its ornamentation, and one might expect, by a typological deduction, that the Gresli brooch is an earlier product than the Lilla Valla bowl. The coin evidence, then, does not provide any absolute answers to chronological problems.

Wilson records that the coin hoard from Gåtebo, Øland, which contained the Gåtebo crucifix, has a deposition date somewhere in the early twelfth century.³ On the evidence of hoards alone, then, the dates of the Urnes style would seem to be from the second quarter of the eleventh century to the first quarter of the twelfth.

The runestone evidence, as we have seen, is extremely problematical from the point of view of dating. As Wilson postulates, the firmest basis for dating is dating by association with known historical persons or events.⁴ However, only two runestones fulfill this criterion. The first is the monument raised at Jelling in Denmark, by Harald Bluetooth.⁵ This was probably raised some time between 965 and 985, according to the latest interpretations.⁶ The second monument is a Scanian runestone (Da.347 N. Asum), which was erected to the memory of Archbishop Absolon.⁷ This stone must accordingly have been erected as late as about 1200. It follows from this, that the erection of

runestones as commemorative monuments must have been current at least from the third quarter of the tenth century, until about 1200 AD. However, such a broad dating bracket is not very informative.

Other runestones do provide a close dating, although never an absolute one, usually by the content of their inscriptions. U344 from Yttergårde states that the deceased, Ulf, had taken part in the levying of three Danegelds, and that the last one of these was Knut's (in 1018).⁸ The two earlier danegelds had been taken under the leadership of Toste and Thorkel, which probably took place in the 990's and 1009-1012.⁹ U343, which is now lost, bore the first part of the inscription in commemoration of Ulf. This makes it likely that stone U344 was erected in Ulf's memory, probably in the second quarter of the eleventh century.

U194 from Väsby also mentions the taking of a danegeld under Knut. It was erected by Alle to commemorate himself, and it seems probable that it dates from the same period as the Yttergårde stones. Two other stones, U240 and U241 from Lingsberg were erected in memory of a father and son. The inscription informs us that the father took two danegelds in England, but it omits the names of the leaders of the expeditions. Since the decoration of the Yttergårde, Väsby and Lingsberg stones is similar, it seems likely that they all date from approximately the same period.

Von Friesen points out that a close parallel to the uncomplicated composition of U344 from Yttergårde, is provided on stone U356 from Ängby.¹⁰ This latter is signed by Asmund, and is typical of his work, on palaeographic and technical evidence. As a result, Von Friesen concludes that U344 is the work of Asmund, a view which is supported by Brate.¹¹ In this case, Asmund must have been carving in the second quarter of the eleventh century. The references to danegelds, then, are crucial for dating the early phase of the Urnes style.

Stone U668, mentioned above, which makes reference to the fact that the deceased man, Gere, had "sat out in the west in the Thingelid" does not provide

us with nearly as close a dating criterion. In addition to the fact that we do not know how long Gere was a member of the Thingelid, or how long it was after his membership that he died, or if, in fact, he died while still serving in the Thingelid, the chronological limits of the Thingelid are too wide to allow any more than a general dating of about 1020 - 1070.

The Upplandic group of stones known as the Ingvar stones¹² were also mentioned above, as possible dating evidence. Nearly thirty runestones are extant, mostly in the Mälar region, which were raised in memory of men who had followed Ingvar the far-travelled on his expedition to Serkland.¹³

The Icelandic saga, written about three hundred years after the actual event, and called "Yngvars saga víðforli"¹⁴ records that there were thirty ships in Ingvar's fleet.¹⁵ On the whole, this seems unlikely, and serves to remind us that the reliability of the saga, written so long after Ingvar's death, and in the manner of a dramatic, fictional tale, must be questioned.¹⁶ If the saga does contain the accurate date of Ingvar's death as being 1041,¹⁷ then presuming that the runestones were raised soon after the news of the failure of the expedition reached Sweden, then the Ingvar stones were probably raised between 1041 and about 1050. However, the evidence is inconclusive.

It is possible to reconstruct family trees, where a number of runestones are raised in a district by members of the same family. This is the case with the Jarlebanke stones in and around Vallentuna in Uppland. Jarlebanke raised six stones to commemorate himself, of which two are now lost;¹⁸ he also raised two for his father, Ingefast,¹⁹ one for his son Sven,²⁰ and one for another kinsman, who died out in Greece.²¹ In addition, runestones were raised by other members of Jarlebanke's family.²² When the information is all assembled, a family tree emerges which spans four generations (pl. 41b) and it is then possible to arrange the stones involved in some sort of chronological order. The earliest of the Jarlebanke stones would seem to be U137, raised by Jarlebanke's grandparents to the memory of their son, Gag. The latest is U142, which was raised by Jarlebanke's son, Ingefast, to commemorate

his father. There must have been a time span of at least fifty years, between the raising of the earliest and the latest Jarlebanke stones. However, there is no base point, which could provide any absolute dating. Typologically, the ornamentation, generally speaking, follows the typology, outlined above (p.44-45) of types A,B, and C. U137 belongs to the typological category A-1, and is reminiscent of some of Asmund's designs, of the second quarter of the eleventh century. U212, which Jarlebanke raised in honour of himself, at the apparent height of his fame and power, is ornamented with a type B-1 design, and has been regarded as the work of Fot.²³ The latest stone, U142, is ornamented with a type C design, and is signed by the carver Öpir. It is significant that a wealthy and powerful family, such as Jarlebanke's, should have employed the best carvers each time they wished to raise a commemorative monument.

Moe believes that it is possible to date the runestones palaeographically.²⁴ He asserts that an initial phase, lasting from 1020 - 1040 was dominated by Asmund Kareson; a classical phase, dominated by the carvers Fot and Balle, lasted from 1040 - 1070; and a late phase, lasting from 1070 - 1100 was dominated by Öpir. The typological study of the Jarlebanke stones would seem to support this theory. However, in fact, the evidence for the dating of the phases is negligible at the present stage of study, and although one may believe that the sequence of runecarving masters that Moe postulates, may be correct, they almost certainly overlapped with each other in time, and one must accept that dates for the masters' working lives remain elusive.

One must treat the evidence of the Jarlebanke stones as cautiously as possible. If we accept that the earliest stones are reminiscent of Asmund's work, and thus probably date from the second quarter of the eleventh century, we have an approximate date for the commencement of the Jarlebanke series. This indicates that the latest stone, which is signed by Öpir, was carved during the last quarter of the eleventh century, allowing for the passage of four generations. This is the most that one can say. Nonetheless, the

Jarlebanke stones do give us some help with the dating of the runestone series.

It was noted above that one can attempt to define the typological development within one carver's career,³¹ which would indicate a relative dating of the stones signed by, or assigned to, one carver. However, the hypothetical element involved in this sort of deduction is too great for it to be used as a valid method of dating. The same is true of any attempt to define the relationships between carvers. For example, it has been stated that "Visäte's primary artistic characteristic is his ability to imitate".²⁵ In particular, he was apparently largely influenced by the works of Fot and Balle. However, the lack of any fixed dating point for any of these carvers invalidates the evidence, as far as dating the stones is concerned. Similarly, Balle is considered to have been a pupil of Livsten, but no dating evidence is available for either carver.²⁶

In short, the bulk of the Urnes style runestone material seems to date from approximately the second quarter of the eleventh century to the turn of the twelfth century, but the evidence is sparse, and this dating is not well supported.

The Eskilstuna tomb had been re-used as building material in a church, which was transferred to the order of St. John's in the 1180's.²⁷ Other fragments of the Eskilstuna type of monument have been recovered from the walls of churches, that are dated to the first half of the twelfth century.²⁸ The Eskilstuna group supports a general dating of the Urnes style to the eleventh century.

Woodcarving material is also dated with difficulty. The carvings at Urnes itself are dated by Shetelig to 1060 - 1080 on stylistic grounds alone.²⁹ Later, he revised his opinion to 1050 - 1070. They have been re-used in a twelfth century church, which Bugge dates to about 1130 - 40, by analogy with stone basilicas displaying similar architectural features.³⁰ He agrees with Mowinkel³¹ that the earlier church, which originally contained the carvings,

was probably positioned in exactly the same place as the present building, although it would have been smaller, and would have consisted of a simple nave and rectangular choir. Mowinckel³² also postulated that the carvings would have been situated in the west wall of the earlier church.

In 1958, further investigations of the foundations of the present church were conducted by the architects, Christie and Bjerknes, but unfortunately, their conclusions differ substantially. Christie argues that two phases of building exist at Urnes, one which produced the present church, and an earlier one.³³ He believes, with Mowinckel and Bugge, that the earlier church was located exactly where the present building now stands, but that it was a smaller and simpler structure. He also maintains that the carvings were originally in the west wall of the first church. He explains the fact that the carvings appear to have been shortened, partially as a result of the rotting of the wood where it had been in direct contact with the ground, and partially as a result of modifications, necessary to accommodate the carvings in the new structure. A coin of Harald Hardråde was found in one of the four trenches for the internal columns of the first church, which provides a terminus post quem for the earliest phase of 1066 - a date which agrees with Shetelig's conclusions on stylistic grounds.

The recovery in 1958 of two joists, re-used from an older building prompted Bjerknes to suggest that three building phases are represented at Urnes.³⁴ The strange form of these members led him to conclude that there was an intermediate building phase between Christie's Urnes I and II, which had a longer, narrower nave than the present church. Such a construction is unknown elsewhere, and poses certain technical difficulties; but his point that it is unlikely that carvings of such quality as those from Urnes should have been allowed to rot in the ground is valid. Christie believes that these two joists were never used as they were originally intended, but that their presence indicates a change in the construction plan during the course of the erection of the earlier church.

On the whole, Christie's arguments seem more convincing, and a date for the carvings of sometime between about 1050 and 1066 remains a valid proposition. Wilson records that coin evidence from the Danish excavations at Hørning, indicates a date for the Hørning plank fragment of somewhere in the second quarter of the eleventh century, although, again, the dating is not absolute.³⁵

The dating evidence of Scandinavian Urnes style material is sparse. However, it may be possible to deduce the chronological limits of the style, through comparison with the postulated dates for the Ringerike and Romanesque styles. Since no object is known displaying mixed elements of the Ringerike and Romanesque styles, or of the Ringerike and the final Öpir stage of the Urnes style, it seems reasonable to suppose that a general art-historical sequence existed, of the Ringerike style, followed by the Urnes style, followed by the Romanesque period.³⁶ However, it is also certain that "consecutive" styles did exist side by side for certain periods. The evidence of hoards containing Ringerike style objects suggests reasonably secure datings for the style, in its fully developed form, of about 1025 until 1070.³⁷ This, of course, indicates that there was a considerable period of overlap between the Ringerike and Urnes styles. Similarly, Blindheim maintains that the Romanesque period in Norway began with the building activity in Trondheim about 1080 - 90, and lasted until about 1210, which is again indicative of an overlap period between the Urnes and Romanesque styles.³⁸

The dating evidence for the later phases of the Urnes style is considerably sparser than it was for the earliest appearances of the style. In this context, the fairly well represented transitional phase between the Urnes and Romanesque styles is particularly important from the point of view of dating. If one accepts Blindheim's thesis that the Romanesque style was introduced into Norway with stonecarving at Trondheim about 1080 - 90, then the transitional Urnes/Romanesque phase presumably dates from then, and

continues through the first half of the twelfth century. It is represented in Norway on the portals from Hopperstad II, Ulvik and Torpo I churches; as well as in the nave of Urnes II (see appendix B) and on certain stone fonts.³⁹ In Sweden, it is found on planks, from Vrigstad church for example (pl.58c), and from Guldrupe church, Gotland (pl.56b); on the stone frieze at Vamlingo, Gotland (pl.63), the Kungsåra bench. (pl.62), and on bowls from Old Uppsala, which were contained in a hoard, deposited in the early twelfth century (pl. 51). The lower frame of the Lisbjerg altar (pl.54) is an example of the transitional phase in Denmark. By the second half of the twelfth century, fairly securely dated stave church portals, such as those from Stedje, Hurum and Åttra⁴⁰ no longer contain reminiscences of the Urnes style.

In conclusion, the Urnes style probably first appeared in the second quarter of the eleventh century, about 1020 at the earliest. General dating evidence indicates that it was at its peak of popularity and production during the second half of the eleventh century. A transitional Urnes/Romanesque phase followed during the first half of the twelfth century, until the lingering reminiscences of the Urnes style died out altogether, probably in the middle of the twelfth century.

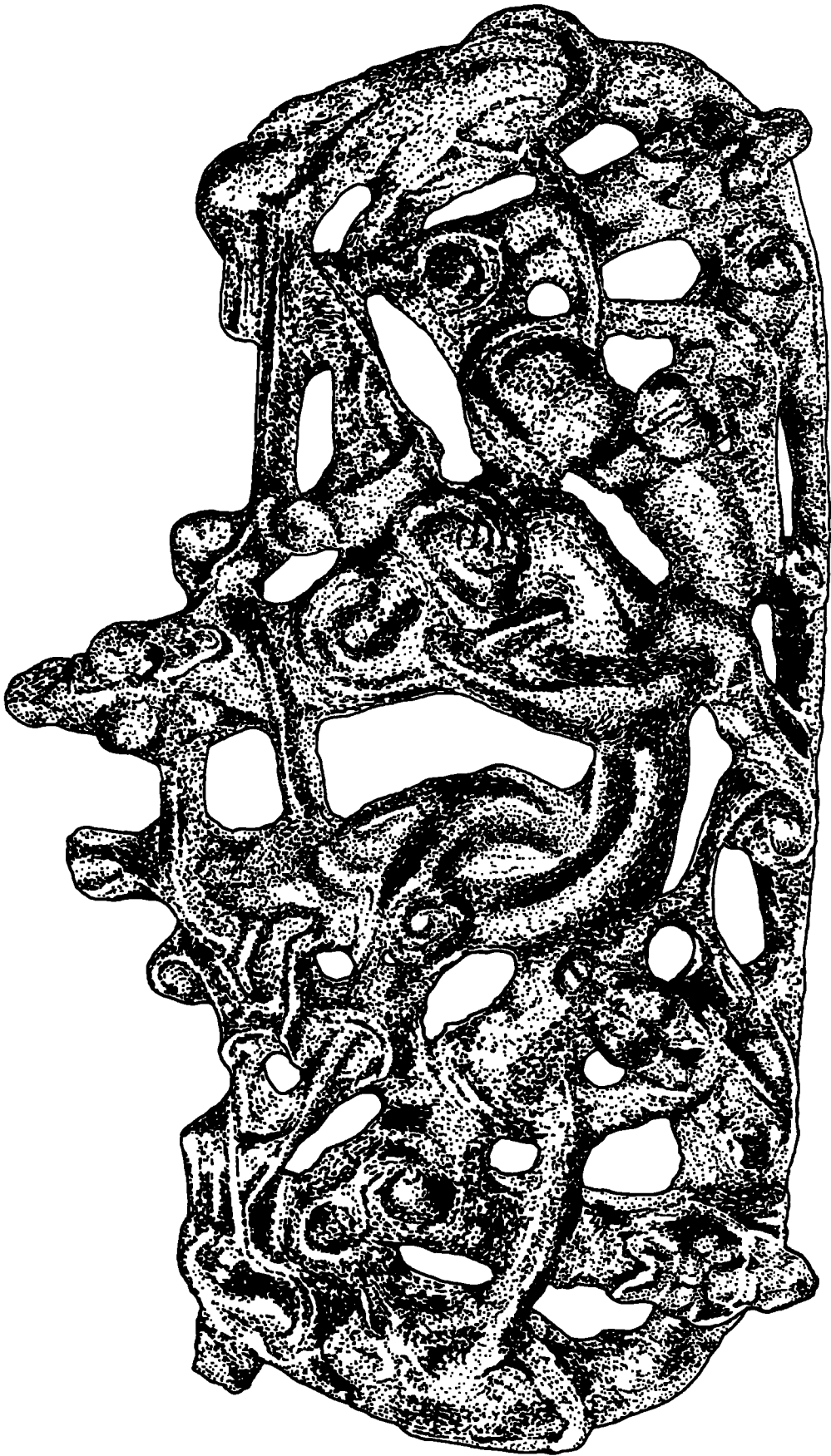


Figure F. The larger Lincoln mount (cat.no.7)

English Metalwork of the Urnes style.

In the past, the sparsity and generally poor quality of the material evidence has led to the assumption that the Urnes style in England represents the vestiges of a fading Scandinavian tradition. Kendrick, for example, wrote in 1949, that "authentic Urnes ... ornament is found in this country only on a few minor objects of metalwork"¹; and compounded this view by referring to these few objects as either Anglian copies of Irish work, or Anglian or Scandinavian copies of Scandinavian bronzes². However, in England, even more than in Scandinavia, recent discoveries of Urnes style objects are causing this attitude to be modified. Although the corpus of material remains comparatively small as yet, it is now possible to see within it a distinctly English version of the style. As this stylistic group emerges, some of Kendrick's "copies" of Irish or Scandinavian work can also be viewed in a more realistic perspective as part of an English pattern, and the influences that produced them can be more accurately assessed. It is thus apt, at this stage of the enquiry, to reassess the position of the Urnes style in England, in the knowledge that future excavations and discoveries will probably elucidate the picture still further.

A. Stylistic analysis of English Metalwork of the Urnes style.

In this section, the metalwork objects have been divided into groups such as "English Urnes style" or "Urnes style objects of English manufacture" (in accordance with their classification in the catalogue). The style of the pieces within each group is then examined, where possible, comparatively, as in the case of the bronze mounts, in order to justify their identification as a separate group of objects. In the case of the group of English

Urnes style objects, one example is analysed by curvature, in an attempt to further establish its relationship to the Scandinavian Urnes style. The methods of descriptive and formal analysis are applied where necessary throughout the text.

Where the objects can also be grouped according to type, as in the case of the bronze mounts, this is done. Elsewhere, single objects, such as the Durham crosier head, are sub-titled separately. The catalogue numbers correspond to the plate numbers.

i. Objects of the English Urnes style.

The Bronze Mounts.

The purest version of the distinctly English Urnes style is to be found on a group of bronze mounts (cat.nos.1-7)³. Stylistically, these mounts form a homogeneous group and are easily comparable.

There are four bronze mounts in the British Museum, which bear obvious stylistic affinities with each other. They are all small objects, measuring between 4.6 cms. and 5.7 cms. in length, and between 2.8 cms. and 3.1 cms. in width. With the exception of the unprovenanced mount (cat.no.4), this group makes use of the subtriangular frame, within which is a serpentine animal. The animal on the unprovenanced mount is not contained within a frame, but it takes exactly the same form as the other three, in that a spiral loop representing the body emerges from a canine head, and is interlaced with thinner tendrils, evolving from the ears, tail or limbs of the creature. Only one creature is depicted on each of these four mounts; and all of them are executed on either a plain or openwork background.

Of the three mounts in subtriangular frames, the two from Peterborough (cat.no.1) and Kemsley Downs (cat.no.2) look almost identical. Unfortunately, the mount from Kemsley Downs, Kent, is in bad condition, and certain details of the design are impos-

ible to distinguish. Nevertheless, in size and general impression, they agree with each other, and the details of the Kemsley Downs mount that can be determined are, in the main, the same as those on the Peterborough mount. Certainly, it seems that the similarities of the details on the two mounts are too great to be coincidental. These include the front legs of the animals, which, in both cases, are depicted as thin, tendril-like legs, which sharply bend back on themselves at the knee joints, and terminate in round lobes; and as two, more pronounced legs, which extend straight across the mounts, and terminate in the corners of the frames. The interlacing tail on the Kemsley Downs mount cannot be fully traced, but the visible details are strongly reminiscent of those on the Peterborough mount, and it seems that the designs are most probably identical. The terminations of the tails, which are both visible, are certainly the same, in both positioning and appearance. Unfortunately, the spiral hip on the Kemsley Downs mount is no longer apparent, but the body outlines of the creature make it probable that the spiral hip would originally have been located in exactly the same position as it is on the Peterborough mount. Finally, the heads are closely related to each other, although again, not all of the details of the Kemsley Downs head are clear.

The differences between the mounts occur mostly in their size and shape, rather than in their ornamentation. They are both 5.2 cms. long, but at its widest, the Peterborough mount is 2.85 cms. wide, while the Kemsley Downs mount is 3.1 cms. wide. To some extent, this may be accounted for by corrosion on the Kemsley Downs mount. However, two protruberances occur on either side of the Kemsley Downs mount at its broadest point. These are only slight, but they account for the disparity in

width between the two mounts, and they seem to be deliberate variations on the basic shape, rather than, perhaps, a casting defect. In addition, when viewed in profile, the height of the mounts is seen to differ. Whereas the edge of the frame on the Peterborough mount is as much as 0.4 cms. in height, the edge of the Kemsley Downs frame is very insubstantial. To some extent, this disparity may also be accounted for by the considerably more worn condition of the Kemsley Downs mount, but it remains doubtful that it was ever as high in profile as 0.4 cms. At the apex of both mounts, there are circular projections with central rivet holes, which were apparently cast in one piece with the objects. However, the circular projection on the Kemsley Downs mount is smaller than that on the Peterborough mount. Both mounts have plates that project at right angles to their bases, but the plate on the Kemsley Downs mount is less pronounced than the one on the Peterborough mount.

It is impossible to tell how much corrosion and wear on the Kemsley Downs mount may be the cause of the disparities between the two mounts. However, although a small discrepancy in size would not necessarily rule out this possibility, it seems unlikely that they were both cast in the same mould⁴. It is certainly the case that the mounts are stylistically very similar indeed, and it seems probable that both mounts had the same original model, at some stage of their past.

The other two bronze mounts in the British Museum group come from Lincoln (cat.no.3) and from an unknown provenance (cat.no.4)⁵. Both of these two are in openwork, as opposed to the plain backgrounds of the Peterborough and Kemsley Downs mounts. Despite its absence of frame, the unprovenanced mount bears striking similarities to the other British Museum mounts. Kendrick's

drawing (fig. H,i) of the unprovenanced mount and the Lincoln mount, with and without its frame, demonstrates the close relationship between the four objects. The designs on all of them are dominated by protruding animal heads of very similar character. The heads are long, canine in appearance, with square-ended snouts, and large, bulbous eyes. The Lincoln, Peterborough and what can be seen of the Kemsley Downs heads resemble each other most closely, while the head on the unprovenanced mount has its closest parallel in the heads on the larger bronze mount from Lincoln (cat.no.7), dealt with below (p.91-94). A difference occurs in the treatment of the ears. The ears on the Peterborough and Kemsley Downs mounts are pointed, naturalistic, and positioned at right angles to the sides of the head. On the Lincoln mount, the ears are still canine in appearance, but they are closer together, less naturalistic, and, in fact, become part of the interlacing design, since they provide a termination point for the tail of the creature. Nonetheless, it is the similarities rather than the differences which are striking about these three mounts. The head of the creature on the unprovenanced mount also has a naturalistic, canine appearance. The snout is not as square-ended as the other three, and the head has been modelled realistically, to give an almost three-dimensional effect. The ears are also realistic, fairly long and ending in a point, and they are pressed back on the creature's neck.

As has already been noted, a spiral loop, representing the body of the creature, emerges from the head on each of these mounts. On the unprovenanced mount, the body loop proceeds in a clockwise direction, while on the other three, the loops take an anti-clockwise course; but this seems a minor difference in comparison with the basic similarities of the designs. A spiral hip is visible

on the mount from Peterborough and on the unprovenanced mount, and it is likely that there was originally a spiral hip on the Kemsley Downs mount too, which has since worn away.⁶ It does not seem likely, however, that there was once a spiral hip on the Lincoln mount. Here, the ridges down the centre of the body, which were originally infilled with niello,⁷ continue into the wider portion of the body, immediately behind the head, which is where a spiral hip would have been situated.

The secondary details of the bronze mounts in the British Museum, such as the legs and tails, do vary in function and appearance. The details of the design on the Kemsley Downs mount are not clear enough to be effectively analysed. The two front legs on the Peterborough mount both emerge from the spiral hip, although one is considerably more substantial than the other, proceeding diagonally across the mount to terminate in the far left hand corner. No feet are present, although the ornament lines representing the front legs both terminate in round lobes. In the centre of the mount, the narrowing body splits into two interlacing tendrils. One of them, which is comparatively short, terminates in a round lobe and probably represents a third leg. The other takes the form of a thin, filiform element, which loops around the creatures' body, and whose termination cannot be distinguished. This presumably represents the tail.

On the unprovenanced mount, a front leg and a back leg are represented, which indicates that the body of the beast is depicted in a standard, profile view. The front leg, as on the Peterborough mount, springs from the spiral hip, and proceeds diagonally across the mount. An angular bend in the ornament line marks the knee joint, and the leg terminates in a foot, with two, long toes. The subtriangular hip joint, positioned in the centre of the mount,

which represents the back hip, is paralleled in Scandinavian Urnes designs. The back leg terminates when it meets the outermost ornament line on the mount, and no foot is represented. The remaining interlacing tendrils have no zoomorphic character. They emerge randomly from the ornament lines forming the animal's body, loop around the body, and also form a roughly circular shape outside the lines of the creature, to emphasise the circular nature of the composition as a whole. They terminate in round lobes.

The secondary details on the mount from Lincoln are not clearly depicted. However, it seems that three legs are present in the design. The first emerges from the place where a spiral hip is situated on the other mounts of the group, that is to say, from the widening of the body, immediately behind the head. It is tendril-like, and weakly drawn. It bends at the knee joint, and terminates in a two-toed foot, beside the head of the creature. It is reminiscent of the less substantial front leg on the Peterborough mount, which follows the same shape, and terminates in a similar position. A second leg emerges from just behind the first one. The interlacing is not sufficiently clear to allow one to trace it with any certainty, but it probably proceeds straight down the mount, loops round the body once, and terminates in an ungainly foot, with two, wide toes. The remaining interlacing tendrils do not terminate in feet, and appear to both emerge from the body itself, and externally of the major ornament lines. The first tendril that emerges from the body, which possibly represents the third leg, loops round the creature and terminates next to the ear of the animal, thus balancing the foot of the front leg, which terminates next to the other ear. Eventually, the body swells in the centre of the mount, possibly a loose representation

of a back hip joint, and then itself becomes an interlacing tendril, whose termination is difficult to pinpoint. This difficulty in interpreting the interlacing tendrils on the Lincoln mount distinguishes it from the other mounts in the group, whose designs are considerably clearer.

In short, there is some variety between the legs, tails and interlacing tendrils on the four mounts in the British Museum group, although certain details are repeated on two, three, or all of the mounts, and other features of the designs on individual mounts are reminiscent of features found on others in the group. For example, feet with two, long toes are found on the Lincoln and unprovenanced mounts; the front legs of the Peterborough, Kemsley Downs, and Lincoln mount creatures are reminiscent of each other in shape and positioning; the animals on the Peterborough, Lincoln and unprovenanced mounts all have a strongly drawn front leg, which proceeds straight across the mount, and so on. However, the similarities and differences between the secondary details on the four mounts do not seem so significant, when one considers the similarity of the general impression of the designs. The general theme of the decoration on all four mounts is that a creature with a protruding head, that is canine in appearance, has a spiral loop formed of broad ornament lines as a body, with which legs, tails and additional tendrils formed of narrower ornament lines may interlace and loop. Even the more emphasised of the straight front legs, such as that on the Peterborough mount, do not detract from the circular natures of the compositions as a whole. The mount of no known provenance seems to be the most distinctive of the four mounts, due to the clarity of its design, the clockwise looping of the body, and the absence of a subtriangular frame; but it is still

an integral part of this group of metalwork, as is evidenced by the many similarities in the conception of the design, which it bears with the other three.

All four of the British Museum group of mounts have been known to scholarship for some time.⁸ However, there are five more Urnes style bronze mounts in England, of which three, in particular, bear close comparison with the British Museum group, and are English Urnes style objects. All three are recent discoveries. In 1963, a bronze mount was found during excavations at Tynemouth Priory (cat.no.6)⁹; another mount was found by the Lincoln Archaeological Trust in 1974 (cat.no.7); and a third mount was found by a metal detector enthusiast, near Sedgeford in Norfolk, in 1978 (cat.no.5).¹⁰

Of these recent discoveries, the two from Tynemouth and Sedgeford, closely resemble the British Museum group in shape and size, as well as in style. They are both openwork pieces, and neither of them has any frame that is external to their ornamentation. In this, they resemble the unprovenanced mount in general aspect. Both the Tynemouth and the Sedgeford mounts are slightly smaller than the mounts in the British Museum group, measuring 3.9 cms. and 4.25 cms. in length respectively, and 2.4 cms. and 2.65 cms. in width. The smallest mount in the British Museum group was the unprovenanced one, which was 4.6 cms. long and 2.8 cms. wide.

The Tynemouth and Sedgeford mounts differ considerably in terms of technical skill and artistic ability, but their designs are drawn from the same source of inspiration. The composition of the Tynemouth mount is basically similar to the others in the group, in that it is comprised of the looping body of a ribbon beast with a protruding animal head. However, the head is posi-

tioned off-centre, at the top of the mount, and is atypical in character. It has a round, prominent cheek, which differentiates it from the elongated animal heads on the other mounts in the group. Two extensions, one round-ended and one square-ended, appear to represent the folded backwards and downwards nose extensions of the typical Scandinavian Urnes animal heads, and indicate that, like them, the head is viewed in profile.

Although the Tynemouth animal's head seems to be an imitation of a Scandinavian prototype, it is possible that certain characteristics, such as the rounded cheek, may be the result of a local reinterpretation of the motif. The eye is not easily located, but it is moulded as a round eye, while two, faintly incised lines behind it give it an overall almond shape.¹¹ In this, it resembles both the round, bulbous eyes of the British Museum group of mounts, and the elongated, almond shaped eyes generally found in Scandinavia.

The thin neck of the creature emerges from behind the eye, positioned as if it were an ear extension, rather than the animal's body. The body then commences a spiral loop, very reminiscent of the designs on the other mounts of the group. However, the loop is not completed. The craftsman makes use of the same idea found on the Peterborough mount, in that a leg, formed of strong, straight, ornament lines, proceeds diagonally across the mount, to terminate when it meets the outermost ornament line of the mount. However, in this case, the "spiral" loop only completes half of its course, before abruptly changing direction and forming the long, straight lines of the hind leg. Consequently, two narrower tendrils are found, forming the external lines of the design as a whole, and finally producing an oval shaped mount. Two hips are represented on the mount. The front hip is formed where the body swells, and

by a complicated arrangement, a leg emerges, in the form of a narrow tendril, and crosses the mount widthwise, to terminate when it meets the outermost ornament line. Immediately after the abrupt change of direction of the loop of the body, a sub-triangular back hip joint interrupts the long, straight line, which diagonally crosses the mount. The hind leg proceeds to continue the straight line, while a narrow tendril, possibly representing a tail, also emerges, and apparently forms one of the external, ornament lines that provide the oval shape.

Although the Tynemouth mount is simpler than others in the group, in that the craftsman does not make use of so many ornament lines, and uses narrow tendrils minimally, and never as inter-lacing elements, the design of the mount is not clear. The head, with its unusual nose and mouth extensions, lacks the clarity of the heads on the other mounts with their canine appearances; the front leg does not clearly emerge from the front hip, and the two short, narrow tendrils in the centre of the mount are of indistinct character.

There are no direct parallels for the Tynemouth mount, but it clearly springs from the same tradition as the other bronze mounts in this group. Apart from the atypical head, which is viewed in profile, rather than seen from above, the design is a less competent rendering of the motif of a ribbon beast with a spiral loop forming the body, and interlacing with thinner tendrils, in this case, evolving from the tail of the creature.

The rivet holes of the Tynemouth and Sedgeford mounts are similar in character, and differ from those of the British Museum group. In both cases, they occur as three round extensions, appended at intervals to the ribbon body of the creature. However, they are far more skilfully incorporated into the design on

the Sedgeford mount, where thin, interlacing tendrils loop around the body of the creature at three, regular intervals, and holes have been drilled through the centre of the loops, externally of the body, to act as rivet holes. In this way, the rivet holes are an integral part of the design, and do not disturb the uniformity of the pattern. Because of the irregular shape of the body on the Tynemouth mount, the craftsman was unable to position his rivet holes at regular intervals. In this case, they occur as visible appendages, and play no part in the design as a whole.¹² None of the British Museum group of mounts have rivet holes appended to, or as part of, the design, with the exception of the unprovenanced mount. On the latter object, rivet holes may have been incorporated into the design in the same manner as on the Sedgeford mount, but it is impossible to be certain (below p.125). The other three mounts either have a concealed rivet hole, drilled through the plate, which is located at right angles to the base of the sub-triangular frame; or, simply, traces of iron rivets on the base plate; or rivet holes drilled through the ornamentation on the surface of the mount, at the base of the triangle. (below p.123-124).

The Sedgeford mount is a fine piece, the design of which is well balanced, although asymmetrical. Instead of a spiral loop to represent the body, the ribbon body forms an almost perfect circle, when the tapering lines of the hind leg traverse the creature's neck, immediately behind the protruding animal head. The spiral hip occurs slightly further along the length of the body, than it does on the unprovenanced mount. The body swells at this point, to a small degree. A front leg emerges, represented by a narrow tendril-like line, which follows the body outline for a short distance, before bending back sharply on itself, and

terminating in a foot, the details of which are concealed. The ribbon body continues the circular shape, changes direction very slightly to mark the emergence of the back leg, tapers as it crosses the neck to complete the circle, and terminates in a foot, with a rounded heel, and two, long toes. A tail also emerges from the body, immediately prior to the tapering of the back leg. It loops once, around the crossing point of the hind leg and neck, and terminates in a round lobe. The additional narrow tendrils, which loop around the body in three places, and incorporate the three rivet holes into the design, are not zoomorphic in character, occurring independently of the creature.

The head of the creature on the Sedgeford mount is comparatively longer than the heads on the other mounts in the group. The head measures 1.8 cms. in length, and the whole mount measures only 4.25 cms. in length. It is similar in character, however, to other heads in the group, in that it is seen from above, and is canine in appearance. It has triangular ears flattened on its neck, large, bulbous, almond-shaped eyes, and a prominent nose ridge. A V-shaped feature below the eyes would seem to represent a vertical view of the folded backwards and downwards nose extensions, found on the typical Scandinavian Urnes heads that are viewed in profile. The end of the head has two extensions at either side which have been broken off. It seems fairly certain that there was originally a rivet hole appended to the snout of the animal, of which these two extensions are the only remains. In this respect, the Sedgeford mount corresponds to the mounts in the British Museum, which have subtriangular frames. They, also, have a circular lug, with a drilled central hole, which acts as a

rivet hole, affixed to the apex of the subtriangular frame, immediately beyond the snouts of the animal heads on the mounts.

It is evident from the comparative study above that these six mounts are very similar in design, and may be said to be decorated in the same overall style. Although there are no direct parallels for the ornamentation of these mounts in Scandinavia, (nor, indeed, for the Urnes style occurring on this type of object), nevertheless, many of the attributes of the Scandinavian Urnes style, as outlined in the analyses in part one, also occur in the decoration of the mounts described above.

For example, on each of the mounts, the design is composed of broad and thin ornament lines, which are arranged on a plain or openwork background. Two of them have plain backgrounds (cat.nos.1-2), and four are executed in openwork. This was a feature of the Scandinavian Urnes style. So, too, was the asymmetry of the pieces. All six mounts have asymmetrical designs, although the rigidity imposed by the functional shape of the objects minimises the subtle sense of movement noted on Urnes stave church. The ribbon bodies of all six creatures swell and taper gently to produce an impression of fluency of curve and smoothness of design, although the ornament lines on different mounts swell and taper to different degrees. There are only very slight variations in the body width of the creature on the Sedgeford mount, for example, while the lines of the creature on the Peterborough mount swell and taper to a greater extent. Any dents in the body outlines are small, as they were on the Scandinavian examples, and are normally confined to the back hip joints on this group of objects.

However, another basic principle of Scandinavian Urnes style designs is that the ornament lines are arranged in interpenetrating and uniaxial loop schemes. These figure-of-eight and multi-loop

schemes are not encountered on the English Urnes mounts, largely due to the limitations of space, but also because only one creature is depicted in each case. Unlike the Scandinavian versions of the intertwining tendrils, in England, tendrils normally emerge from the limbs or tail of the primary creature. When they are independent of the ribbon animal, they never have a zoomorphic character. Consequently, the ornamental impact of the intertwining tendrils is lessened in England, and they tend to fulfill functional rôles. For instance, the non-zoomorphic tendril that loops round the body of the creature on the Sedgeford mount incorporates three rivet holes into the design, rather than forms a loop scheme of the Scandinavian type. Although intertwining tendrils loop round the ribbon body of the animal on the Lincoln mount, they do so indistinctly, and do not form loop schemes as such. The same applies to the ornament of the Peterborough mount. Thinner tendrils on the unprovenanced mount form the outermost circular shape of the object, thus repeating the shape of the animal body, but no loop schemes of the Scandinavian type are present.

Thus, in England, thin, interlacing tendrils are used differently from their counterparts in Scandinavian Urnes designs. They normally have no independent life, but emerge, instead, from the ribbon creatures' limbs or tail. Even when they are independent of the main animal ornament, they are never zoomorphic in character, and it is usually difficult to locate their points of commencement and termination. In this way, the ribbon animal is the only dominant feature of the design. In addition, the intertwining tendrils fulfill mostly functional rôles, and they do not form loop schemes of the Scandinavian type. The changing rôle of the intertwining tendril in England is particularly well demonstrated

on the larger Lincoln mount (see below p.93-94). The absence of loop schemes and the different usage of intertwining tendrils mark the main points of departure from the Scandinavian style.

However, the ribbon bodies themselves do form spiral or circular loops, which tend to be wide and open. They have a generally large radius of curve, which decreases gradually towards the centre of the mount. They comply in short, with individual loops found in Scandinavian Urnes designs. As the six mounts described above are so similar in appearance and detail, it is to be expected that their curvature patterns will also be very similar. The Sedgeford mount was selected for curvature analysis in order to establish the relationship of the Scandinavian and English Urnes designs by curvature.

The decoration of the Sedgeford mount was drawn out as in fig.G.i, using single lines to depict intertwining tendrils and minor ornamental details such as the feet, but double lines to depict the edges of the ribbon body itself. All the breaks in the ornament lines are present in the design, no artificial breaks being necessary. As was done with the animals on Urnes stave church, all the lines present in the drawing are juxtaposed (fig.G.ii), and it was immediately apparent that they conform very closely. The most common type of ornament line is the bow-shaped curve, which, as at Urnes, may have slight changes of radius along its length, but the radius remains continuously large. In other words, there are no tight circles or sudden changes of direction. The smallest curve radius, with the exception of the eyes, is found on the spiral hip. However, the spiral hip on the Sedgeford mount is so simplified that it is difficult to pick out among the juxtaposed ornament lines, and certainly conforms with the general pattern. There are three ornament lines present which are remini-



i



ii

Figure G.

- i. Animal on Sedgeford mount, prepared for curvature analysis
- ii. Ornament lines of the animal on the Sedgeford mount are juxtaposed

scent of the hooked lines common in Ringerike style designs. However, they do not terminate in straight sections of line as they did on the St. Paul's Churchyard stone, but instead, they continue curving, the radius being larger than the "hook", but the contrast being minimised. If the drawings of the juxtaposed ornament lines of the Urnes animals (fig.D.ii) are compared with those of the Sedgeford creature (fig.H.ii), the similarity is striking. Whatever differences between Scandinavian and English Urnes styles may be found using the methods of descriptive and formal analysis, analysis by curvature shows them, indisputably, to belong to the same stylistic category.

As with Scandinavian Urnes style, the eyes of the Sedgeford animal are exceptions to the curvature pattern. It must be admitted that the Sedgeford head conforms more closely with the Scandinavian style than the other mounts in the group, and that, although the ribbon body of the animal on the unprovenanced mount produces the same curvature results as the Sedgeford animal, the head does not lend itself so easily to curvature analysis. In just the same way as the eyes and spiral hips of Urnes style animals in Scandinavia are retained from earlier style groups as decorative features, and become archaic elements incorporated into the design, it seems likely that the commonest type of English Urnes style head is also an archaic English feature, re-used in the Urnes period.

Except for the anomalous Tynemouth head, the English Urnes style heads are seen from above, instead of in profile. When heads are seen from above on Scandinavian artefacts and monuments, they tend to be over-simplified, even crude, renderings of an animal head.¹³ In England, however, the heads are detailed and play a prominent part in the design. The closest Scandinavian

parallel for the English Urnes style animal heads is to be found on a Gotlandic strap distributor (pl.53). The three animal heads on this object are seen from above, and are long, with square-ended snouts. However, they tend towards stylisation, which is further demonstrated by the ribbon bodies of the three creatures, which form figure-of-eight loop schemes of the Scandinavian type. The head on the Sedgeford mount bears the closest relationship to the heads on the Gotlandic object. It has the same V-shaped feature across the nose, which represents the folded backwards and downwards nose extensions when seen from above. It also has almond-shaped eyes, but they are bulbous in the manner of the other English mounts, and their shape is not so exaggerated as on the Scandinavian versions.

It seems that the origins of the heads on this group of English Urnes style mounts are mixed. Although the similarities between the heads on the Gotlandic strap distributor and the Sedgeford mount suggest a close ornamental connection, the Gotlandic object is particularly distinctive amongst the Scandinavian material, and is not necessarily representative of a Scandinavian type. In addition, heads on the other English Urnes style mounts do not bear any close resemblance to the heads on the Gotlandic strap distributor. They tend to be broader, and to terminate in broad snouts. The details of the heads are clearly depicted and less stylised, which produces the naturalistic, canine appearance, found on the unprovenanced mount in particular. The bulbous eyes are considerably more prominent than the eyes of comparable Scandinavian examples, and are round as often as they are almond-shaped. Hence, Wilson's assertion that the prototype of the English Urnes style mounts is demonstrated

by such objects as the Gotlandic strap distributor is not completely acceptable, although certain similarities are undeniable.¹⁴

Amongst earlier insular material, the animal heads on a gold finger ring from Fishergate in York parallel that on the unprovenanced mount almost exactly. The ring was an unstratified, single find in York, and its date is difficult to ascertain. Professor Cramp has suggested that the animals are of the type found on a late ninth century Anglian cross from Collingham, and proposed a late ninth or early tenth century date for the ring.¹⁵ The tails of the animals are reminiscent of the tails and foliate details on the ninth century Aethelwith ring¹⁶ and Poslingford ring.¹⁷ The two animals on the Fishergate ring are clasping a man's head between their paws, but this motif is an ancient one in Germanic art,¹⁸ and cannot be used as dating evidence, although Professor Cramp suggests that it may be a reference to the legend of St. Edmund¹⁹ (in this case).

A ring terminal from Skeldergate in York²⁰ is decorated with (pl. 64a) relief ornament which includes an animal head seen from above, and two, addorsed birds. Although the head resembles the English Urnes style heads, the object is probably tenth century.²¹

The motif of an animal head seen from above, with round eyes and pointed ears, is to be found on such wide-ranging Anglian objects as the Witham pins²² and a cross shaft from Sockburn, Co. Durham.²³ However, as the heads on the English Urnes style mounts serve as animal head terminals for the objects, they may be compared with the animal head terminals on such artefacts as a series of bronze strap ends in the British Museum, particularly those from Youlgreave, Derbyshire.²⁴ It may be that the animal heads on the English Urnes mounts are later versions of the same idea as was

prevalent in the ninth and tenth centuries on this type of functional object. It seems that, on these six mounts, the most definitive part of the ornament, the animal head, reveals a range of stylistic influences, varying from distinctly Anglian, as on the unprovenanced mount, to an evident awareness of the Scandinavian style, as on the Sedgeford mount.

Some other aspects of the Scandinavian Urnes style are present, although less in evidence, on the English Urnes mounts. For instance, some details of the English designs conform to those found in Scandinavian examples, such as the spiral hips, the subtriangular back hip joints, the round lobe terminations, and, where they occur, the almond-shaped eyes, and the feet with two long toes and rounded heels. Also, since the loops, formed by the ribbon bodies in particular, tend to be open, the background becomes encircled and becomes part of the design, and there is an awareness of the contrast between different line widths and the plain or open background. However, as the designs are complex for the size of the objects, and the intertwining tendrils do not always form open loops, this relationship of the ornament to the background is less marked in English designs. Although certain shapes are repeated on the English mounts such as the spiral hips and the spiral loops of the bodies, the English designs tend to be less strikingly homogeneous than the Scandinavian.

These six mounts, then, typify what may be termed "English Urnes style". The style is found on one other object in England, a newly discovered mount from Lincoln, which is perhaps the finest version of this distinctive style known so far.

The larger Lincoln mount (cat.no.7) measures 61 cms. by 3.2 cms. and is subrectangular in shape. The craftsman was able to decorate the mount more freely as a result of the greater amount of space

available to him, and the slightly less prohibitive shape of the object. The design incorporates five separate creatures, of which one is larger than the other four. The animals are also caught up in intertwining tendrils which bind the composition together. Consequently, there are three different line widths present, which produces a complex design.

In many ways, the mount is directly comparable to the six described above. For example, all five creatures have heads which are canine in appearance, and typical of the English Urnes style. The four smaller versions of the head are almost exact parallels to the head on the unprovenanced mount. They are long and narrow, with slightly square-ended snouts, protruding almond-shaped eyes, and triangular ears, flattened on their necks. The head of the largest creature protrudes from the centre, along one edge of the mount, and recalls the protruding heads on the British Museum group, and on the Sedgeford mount. The largest head has round, bulbous eyes, as was the case on others in the group. The body of the primary creature follows a similar course to the ribbon bodies of the animals on the other mounts in that a spiral hip occurs immediately behind the head, from which a tendril-like front leg emerges, and the body then loops round. However, it swells into a subtriangular hip joint, from which emerges a back leg, which proceeds straight down the mount, to balance the protruding head, instead of continuing the curve to form a spiral loop.

The four smaller creatures are engaged in combat, in which they bite each others bodies. The combat motif is not frequently found in the English Urnes period. Until the discovery of this piece in 1974, the only English piece with a clear combat motif was the gilt-bronze brooch from Pitney in Somerset (cat.no.12), which is, anyway, a very distinctive piece among the English metalwork. With the

recovery of the larger mount from Lincoln, which can be readily related to the other English Urnes style metalwork, we have evidence that the combat motif was not a foreign element to the English Urnes style. It may be only due to the restrictive size of the smaller mounts, that the metalworkers omitted to depict a combattant to the primary creature.

There does seem to have been a reinterpretation of the typical combat scene found on Scandinavian Urnes material, when it occurs on the larger mount from Lincoln. The difference is that in Scandinavia, the secondary combatting creature usually takes the form of an interlacing tendril, with a crudely rendered head affixed to one end. This is true of the commonest expression of the combat motif, which occurs on the Upplandic runestones.²⁵ Incidentally, it is also true of the Pitney brooch. However, on the new Lincoln mount, the primary creature is not involved in the combat scene at all. The four remaining creatures, which are biting each other, are fully evolved examples of the English Urnes style animal with their canine heads, sinuous bodies, spiral hips and tendril-like limbs. The third element of the design on the larger Lincoln mount is the intertwining tendrils, but these are inanimate.

On Urnes stave church, the standing quadrupeds, the ribbon beasts and the zoomorphic, intertwining tendrils are all involved in combat. A general pattern for the runestone material is that a ribbon beast and an intertwining tendril of zoomorphic character are involved in combat. On the English bronze mounts, the intertwining tendril is inanimate in every case. Its rôle is determined by the needs of the animate parts of the design. In other words, it is used to form a circular composition, if the animal body does not adequately form this itself; it is used as a space

filler, to keep the design regularly balanced; it is used as a connective element, to connect the various parts of the design so that the work is a coherent whole; its points of commencement and termination are rarely clearly depicted, so that it does not detract attention from the primary creature(s). In short, on the English material, the intertwining tendril has no independency of the major elements of the design, and although it makes a significant contribution to the overall effect of the design, it plays a less significant part than the intertwining tendrils on the Scandinavian material.

Thus, on the larger Lincoln mount, although, as at Urnes itself, there are three different line widths present, only the four smaller ribbon beasts are involved in combat, and the major creature and the intertwining tendrils play no part in the combat scene. This mount demonstrates that a version of the combat motif could be a feature of the English Urnes style. However, of the seven English Urnes style mounts known at the present time, it is the only one which depicts the combat motif, and it must be admitted that the combat element was evidently not a major feature of the style in England. It would seem, at the present time, that it has a lesser rôle to play in England than it has in Scandinavia.

The intricacy of the design on the larger Lincoln mount, and the vigour and spiritedness with which the five creatures are depicted, demonstrate that this is the work of a craftsman thoroughly conversant with both the style and the medium in which he is working. It is a prime example of English Urnes style, and, its addition to the six similar mounts examined above, lends credence to the theory that the English Urnes style is a significant stylistic category, which represents a lively variation of the Scandinavian style, and is normally of a high, technical and artistic standard.

ii. Urnes style objects of English manufacture.

This group of objects does not bear ornamentation of such a distinctly English type as the mounts above, but the suggestion is, for the reasons outlined in the study below, that they are English products.

There are two bronze mounts from Colchester (cat.no.8) and Wisbech (cat.no.9) which bear comparison with the above group. Both of these recall the designs on the Sedgeford and Tynemouth mounts, and the four in the British Museum, in several ways. In both cases, the design is composed of a ribbon beast, whose body forms a spiral loop, which is wide and open, and is of a continuously large, only slightly varying radius. Both creatures have a straight, front leg which proceeds across the mount and terminates on the border, as was the case with the Peterborough, Kemsley Downs and unprovenanced mounts. The Wisbech creature has a front spiral hip; and both creatures have subtriangular back hip joints, recalling the back hip joints on the Tynemouth, unprovenanced, and larger Lincoln mounts, although they are more emphatically delineated on the Wisbech and Colchester mounts. In both cases, thin intertwining tendrils emerge from the bodies of the creatures, possibly representing tails. They loop round the body in wide, open loops, and terminate in round lobes.

However, although the intertwining tendrils fulfill the same functions as they did on the group of English Urnes style mounts, in the case of the Colchester example, the thin, looping tendril forms an asymmetrical, figure-of-eight loop scheme, such as those found at Urnes itself. This is the first example of the loop schemes which were found to typify the Scandinavian style occurring on English material.

Another major difference between these two mounts and the English mounts already studied is in the depiction of the heads. In both cases, they are elongated, viewed in profile, have folded backwards and downwards nose extensions and shorter, lower lips, which terminate in round lobes. Both of them also have almond-shaped eyes, although the Colchester eye is particularly small. In their general character, the heads of both animals resemble the typical Scandinavian Urnes style head, although the Colchester creature's eye, and the Wisbech animal's ear are atypical. The head of the Colchester animal is thrown back on the long neck. The closest parallel for this amongst the English material occurs on the Pitney brooch, but it is a feature frequently encountered on the Swedish runestone material.²⁶

The Wisbech animal's front and back legs terminate in feet of a Scandinavian character. Both feet have rounded heels and two long toes, and the back foot, in particular, gives the impression of standing on the frame. These two feet are without parallel on the rest of the English examples of Urnes style bronze mounts. The foot of the creature on the mount of unknown provenance follows the Wisbech pattern, in that it is a clearly delineated foot, which impinges upon the circular framework, but it fails to give the effect that it supports the creature, by standing on the solid border of the piece. The four combattants on the larger Lincoln mount also have feet with two, long toes, but they are less emphatically depicted; indeed, they are difficult to find in the intricacies of the design. The Colchester creature has no front foot, and a back foot with two, long toes, which continues the straight lines of the back leg, and is thus not a prominent feature. In this it complies with the bulk of the English Urnes style metalwork, on which little attention is paid to the feet. However,

Wilson's definition of the typical Scandinavian Urnes style foot as having a rounded heel, and two bifurcated toes,²⁷ precisely described the feet of the Wisbech animal.

Both the Wisbech and the Colchester mounts have features in their designs, which are of indistinct character. The Wisbech mount has a short tendril positioned from the body, immediately below the front spiral hip, to the circular frame. It is reminiscent of the short sections of thin tendril on the Tynemouth mount, which act as space fillers. It also has a tendril, which emerges from the looping, intertwining tendril, and runs parallel to it for a short section, before terminating when it meets the circular frame. This device is not artistically pleasing, and serves no apparent function. On the Colchester mount, an area adjacent to the back hip joint is filled in, and from it emerge thin tendrils. This, also, serves no apparent function. It may be that it represents a casting defect, and that it should have been openwork. (below p.128).

Thus, the Wisbech and Colchester mounts demonstrate affinities with both English and Scandinavian examples of the style. The double contouring of the body of the Wisbech animal is peculiar to the Wisbech mount; and the fact that the area between the outermost ornament lines of the Colchester creature and the oval frame is not openwork, while the remainder of the design is executed in openwork, is peculiar to the Colchester mount. The Wisbech mount has a circular frame, and the Colchester mount, an oval one, for which there are no parallels amongst the Scandinavian material. The Scandinavian openwork animal brooches, which are the closest parallels to this second group of metalwork material, never have frames. The shape of the Colchester mount is without parallel amongst the English material, but the Pitney

brooch also has a circular frame.

It would seem likely that the Wisbech and Colchester objects were manufactured in an Anglo-Scandinavian milieu in England. They bear many similarities with the group of English Urnes style objects, particularly in their depiction of the ribbon bodies which form wide and open, spiral loops; in the use of the intertwining tendril as a non-zoomorphic element emerging from the animal body; and in certain details of the designs, such as the straight, front legs and the back hip joints. However, they also demonstrate a greater influence from the Scandinavian Urnes style than was noted on the English Urnes mounts. The asymmetrical, figure-of-eight loop scheme, formed by the intertwining tendril on the Colchester mount, is particularly significant in this respect. In addition, the heads on the Wisbech and Colchester artefacts are considerably closer to the Scandinavian type, than even that on the Sedgeford mount; and the Wisbech animal's feet are typically Scandinavian in character. Nevertheless, the type of the objects from Wisbech and Colchester is more closely allied to the English type of Urnes style object, such as the bronze mounts and the Pitney brooch, than it is to the Scandinavian openwork animal brooches.

The Pitney Brooch

The Pitney brooch (cat.no.12) is distinctive amongst the English material in that it is a particularly fine object, made of gilded bronze. Stylistically, the ornamentation of the brooch is more closely related to the Scandinavian Urnes style than most of the English material; but it does bear stylistic similarities with the English group, and with the Wisbech and Colchester mounts, in particular. It has a circular frame, like the Wisbech mount,

but the circle is completely regular in shape, and the scalloped edging is without parallel amongst the Scandinavian or English material. Like the Colchester creature, the animal on the Pitney brooch has its head thrown back on the end of a long, slender neck. The head is Scandinavian in character, in that it is elongated and viewed in profile, and has a folded backwards and downwards nose extension, and an almond-shaped eye, that monopolises and repeats the shape of the head. The body of the creature is thin, and of an even width, except where it swells to accommodate the front and back spiral hips. The front leg is tendril-like in character, as were the legs on the larger Lincoln mount, and in many instances on the other English Urnes style bronze mounts, although it has two angular bends along its length, which do not conform with the English Urnes type. The foot is prominently positioned, and has three long toes, thus differing from both Scandinavian and English examples.

The pattern formed by the looping body of the ribbon beast is also unlike Scandinavian and English examples. It forms a "heart-shape" in effect, or two interpenetrating loops, for which no direct Scandinavian parallel can be found. The body is edged by scalloping, like that of the outer frame, to give the effect of filigree.

The back leg also takes the form of a thin tendril, and again, has an angular bend representing the knee joint; but instead of terminating in a foot, the tendril splits into two, one ornament line terminating in a round lobe, and the other one looping with the body of the creature, before terminating in an ornament with vegetal connotations.

The other intertwining tendril has a zoomorphic character, and is engaged in combat, in that it bites the neck of the primary

creature. However, the combat motif on this piece differs considerably from that on the larger Lincoln mount and is, in fact, a close parallel to the combat motif found most commonly on the Swedish runestones. The head is a simple representation, viewed from above with two, round eyes, but otherwise lacking in detail. The body forms an interpenetrating loop scheme, of the kind that was so typical amongst the Scandinavian Urnes style material. The combat motif on the Pitney brooch complies with the combat motif in Scandinavia, in that the two creatures come from different categories, being a ribbon beast, and an intertwining tendril of zoomorphic character, and in that, as on many of the runestones, the head of the secondary creature is a simple representation, viewed from above.

However, the Pitney brooch is not likely to be a Scandinavian piece. The type of object is not Scandinavian, and its affinities with the Colchester and Wisbech mounts are undeniable. Certain details of the design, such as the scalloped edging, and the terminations of the intertwining tendrils, which frequently split into two or three sections, and give an impression of delicate foliage, may be indicative of the beginnings of a Romanesque influence on the piece. In this respect, it is valuable to compare the brooch to the design on the Urnes style capital from Norwich (cat.no.21). The creatures on the capital also have beaded bodies and profile heads, while the thinner tendrils split to produce foliate offshoots, reminiscent of those on the Pitney brooch. The Norwich capital is dated approximately to the second quarter of the twelfth century (below p.167-168). It seems likely that the Pitney brooch is a late example of the Urnes style in metalwork. It was probably manufactured in England, both because of the type of the object, and by analogy with the design on the

Norwich capital; but it displays influences from earlier examples of the style in both England and Scandinavia.

THE ANIMAL HEAD TERMINALS

Two animal head terminals have recently been discovered in England, bringing the number of newly found Urnes style pieces to five since 1960.²⁸ They are of particular interest as comparative objects to the heads of the animals on the English Urnes style mounts. They come from Northampton (cat.no.14) and Sussex (cat.no.15), and are both made of bronze.

They are three-dimensional objects, and can, thus, be viewed both in profile, and from above. In profile, the Northampton animal head terminal displays the typical characteristics of the Scandinavian Urnes style head. It is thin and elongated, and has a folded backwards and downwards nose extension, and a large almond-shaped eye. The ear is rounded. However, the eyes are prominent and bulbous, as were the eyes of most of the English Urnes style bronze mounts; but in particular, they resemble the prominent, almond-shaped eyes of the Sedgford animal, and of the four, combatting creatures on the larger Lincoln mount.

Viewed from above, the Northampton animal head terminal has a V-shaped feature across the nose, the two lines of which eventually form the folded backwards and downwards nose extensions seen in the profile view. The V-shaped feature across the nose of the Sedgford head thus also represents the junction of the folded backwards and downwards nose extensions, when seen from above. The same detail can also be seen at Urnes itself. The ribbon beast above the standing quadruped on the portal, for instance, has a head viewed from above, which terminates in a similar V-shaped feature. It is to be expected, especially on Urnes Stave church itself, that details such as this should be found to comply with the overall

homogeneity and uniformity of the style.

The Northampton animal head terminal can be closely paralleled by Scandinavian objects, such as the terminals from the silver hoard from Gamla Uppsala (pl.65a)²⁹ although these served a different function (below p.131). Since the animal ornament comprises only the head, and since the animal heads of the English material are sometimes very close to Scandinavian versions, one cannot say with certainty that the Northampton animal head terminal is an English product. Features of the head, such as the elongated eye, with toolmarkings possibly indicating eyelashes, can be seen on both the Northampton and Gamla Uppsala terminals.

However, the Northampton head is less stylised than similar Scandinavian objects. The ears, for instance, are realistically depicted, and the nose extensions are less ornate. In addition, the eyes are very bulbous in the manner of the English Urnes style. Generally, the object is less highly finished than its Scandinavian parallels, and the subject is, perhaps, less confidently handled. On these grounds, and because of the discovery of the second animal head terminal in England, from Sussex, which is less like the Scandinavian versions, it seems most likely that the Northampton terminal is an English product.

The Sussex example of the type, although similar to the Northampton object in many ways, differs in the overall impression it creates. The light elegance of the Northampton piece has been replaced by a solidity and heaviness in the representation of the details. The almond-shaped eyes, for instance, are outlined with a thick contour, within which the eye itself appears as a solid mass. This effect is exaggerated by the present discolouration of the piece, in that the background is cream coloured, while the thick lines depicting the details are dark brown.³⁰ The folded backwards

and downwards nose extensions, seen as a V-shaped feature from above, are also depicted by thick, dark brown lines, which lend to them a heaviness that was lacking on the Northampton piece. A prominent ridge runs from the forehead down to the nose, and this, together with the more pointed nature of the V-shape, gives the object a bird-like appearance. The ears are much smaller than those on the Northampton head, and the neck is slightly thicker.

The eyes protrude slightly, but are less bulbous than the eyes of the Northampton head and the group of English Urnes style bronze mounts. The head is elongated; and in profile, the shapes of the folded backwards and downwards nose extensions are very similar to that of the standing quadruped on Urnes church portal. However, the smallness of the ears, the atypical depiction of the eyes, and the severity with which the ornament is executed, distinguish the object from both the Scandinavian Urnes and the other Urnes material in England. In profile, the object has a dragon-esque appearance, which may associate it with the "militancy and grotesquery"³¹ that is characteristic of the Romanesque period. In this respect, it is possibly a later version of the more conventionally Urnes type of animal head terminal from Northampton.

Because of the three-dimensional nature of these two objects, and because only the animal head is depicted, curvature and formal analyses of the pieces are not possible. Descriptive analysis of the Northampton terminal reveals similarities with both the English and Scandinavian Urnes styles. In addition, unlike any other Urnes material, animal head terminals, as a type of object, occur both in Scandinavia and England. Consequently, it is difficult to assess the origins of the terminals with certainty. Nevertheless, both the Northampton and Sussex objects show variations in style

from the more homogeneous Scandinavian material. The protruding eyes and the less sophisticated handling of the Northampton terminal, and the generally distinctive treatment of the Sussex terminal, added to the coincidence of their being found in England, indicates that they were probably manufactured in this country.

THE DURHAM CROSIER HEAD

The crosier head from Durham (cat.no.16) is perhaps the best known example of the Urnes style in England. It was found in 1874, during excavations on the site of the demolished Chapter House of Durham cathedral, directed by Dr. Fowler.³² Dr. Fowler believed that the crosier came from the grave of Bishop Rannulph Flambard, and since the publication of his report in 1879, the piece has commonly been known as "Flambard's crosier".³³ The connection of the crosier with the grave of Flambard has resulted in a *terminus post quem* for the piece of 1128. However, recent investigations have cast some doubt on the ownership of the crosier (appendix E), and thus, the name "Flambard's crosier" is here replaced by the term "the Durham crosier head".

The crosier head is made out of iron, which is covered with a silver plate, on which the decoration has been incised. As there are no Scandinavian or comparable English crosiers known from this period, the best comparisons for the piece occur on late Viking spearheads, which are of a similar shape.³⁴ In England, the crosier ornament may be compared with the decoration of the three silver fragments from London (cat.no.18). There are a number of crosiers known from Ireland, but the form of the Irish objects is not similar to that of the Durham crosier head, and they are thus not easily comparable.³⁵

The Urnes ornament coils round the shaft of the object and is

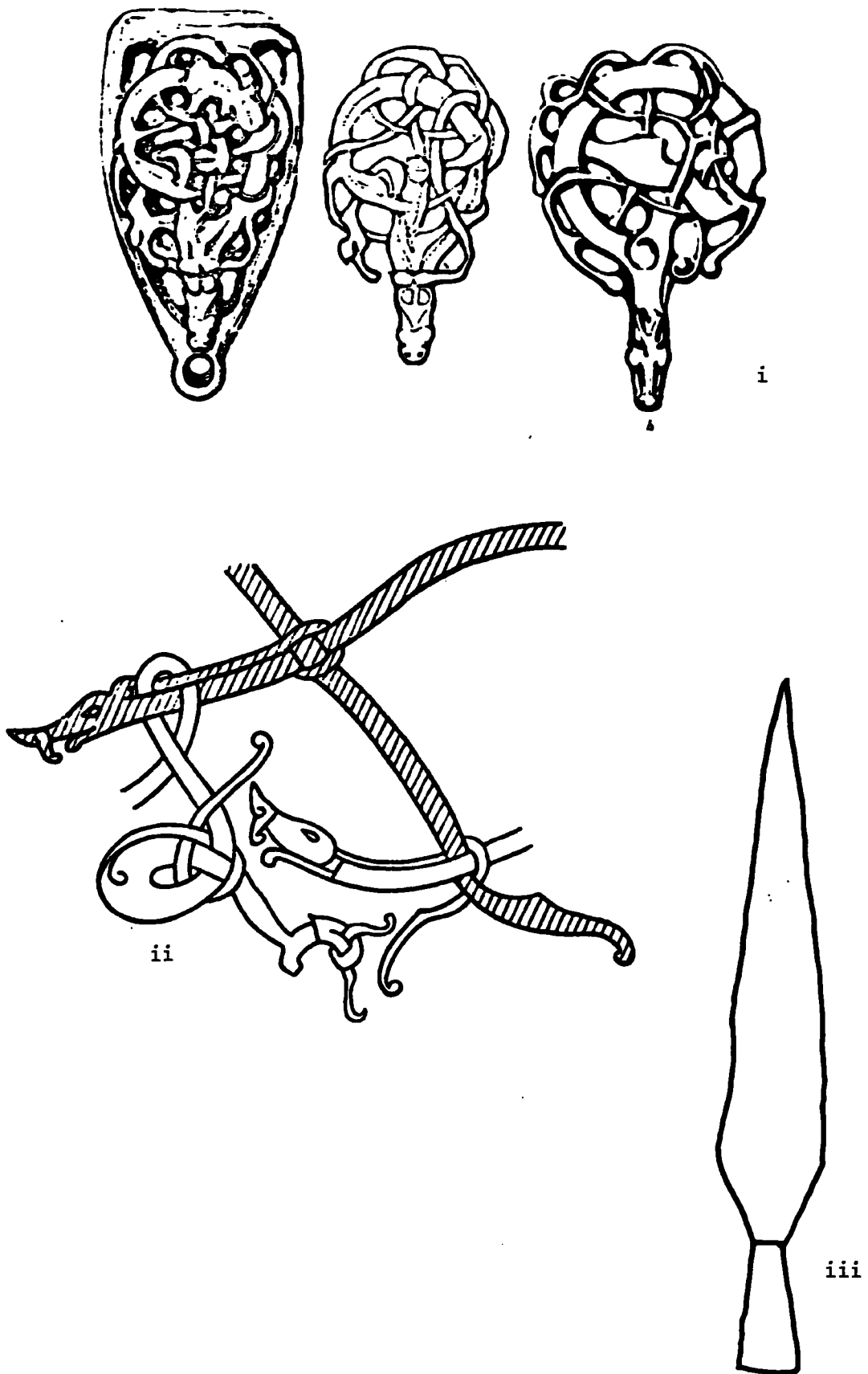


Figure H.

- i. The Lincoln mount with and without its sub-triangular frame, compared to the unprovenanced mount
- ii. The design on the Durham crosier head
- iii. Outline shape of a Petersen type G spearhead

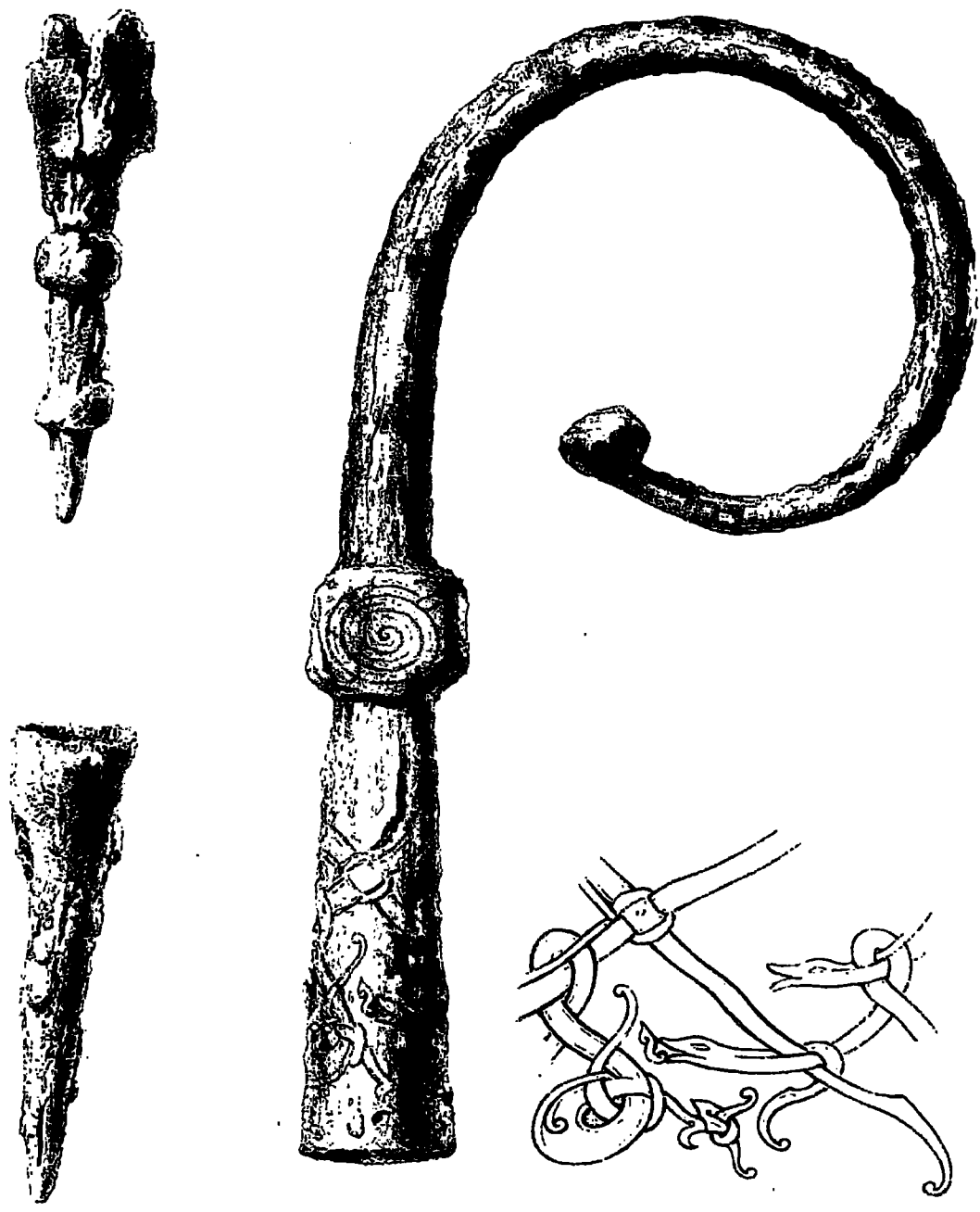


Figure J. Nineteenth century lithograph of the Durham crosier head

continuous, there being only upper and lower limits to the space available for decoration. Consequently, the crosier head cannot be considered beside the small, mostly flat objects described above, as their forms and shapes dictate different artistic requirements from that of the crosier. Two illustrations of the ornamentation on the Durham crosier head have been published in the past (figs.H,ii & J). On both of them, the ornament is depicted as if it were on a flat object, with the result that a number of "loose ends" are included, which is to do an injustice to the design.

The design is composed of two ribbon beasts which are serpentine in character. There is a comparatively large amount of undecorated space on the crosier, particularly in the upper half, and there is a minimum of interplay between the two creatures. The juxtaposition of broad and thin lines is not a major characteristic of the ornamentation of the crosier head; but since the design otherwise adheres closely to the basic tenets of the Urnes style, in that the ornament lines are fluent and unbroken, and the "additive principle of composition" is not present, a large amount of decorative space is left unadorned.

As on most of the English Urnes style objects already discussed, the thin tendrils, where they do occur on the crosier head, adopt different rôles from those of their Scandinavian counterparts. They evolve from the creatures themselves, rather than having an independent life, and they do not form the loop schemes that are so typical of the Scandinavian designs. In the case of the Durham crosier head, the thin tendrils are minimal in number and effect. For most of their lengths, they run adjacent to the ornament lines of the bodies, as if they were double contour lines, rather than tendrils.

They are formed by the ear extensions of the two creatures, and an additional tendril springs from the hip joint of the lower creature. All of them follow the major ornament lines very closely, thus looping tightly round crossing points; and when they eventually emerge into a space, they soon terminate in a round lobe. It is this minimal usage of thin tendrils that accounts for the simplicity of the design.

The upper creature is more simply depicted than the lower one. Its body width remains unaltered, being formed by parallel lines. Although it does loop round the shaft, and returns to cross over itself, the radii of the curves of the ornament lines are continuously extremely large, and vary only slightly. In other words, changes of direction are made gradually, and there are no sudden loopings of the ornament lines. The body proceeds diagonally across the shaft to cross the body of the lower creature. An angular bend occurs in the ornament line, before the body terminate in a round lobe. No hip joints, limbs or tail are present, with the result that, with the omission of thin tendrils of any kind as well, the creature is a simplified version of an Urnes style animal.

The lower creature has a slightly more complex structure. The width of the body varies very little, although it swells appreciably by the spiral hip joint. The body loops round the neck and ear extension of the upper creature. The double contouring of the upper creature's body by the ear extension is somewhat relieved by the manner in which the lower animal's body weaves in and out as it loops. The body loops over itself by the spiral hip, widening significantly at the same time, so that the curves of the ornament lines have radii which change more than is usual in Urnes style designs (fig. K). The spiral hip itself takes the form of a small curl, which only occupies a small amount of the space available in

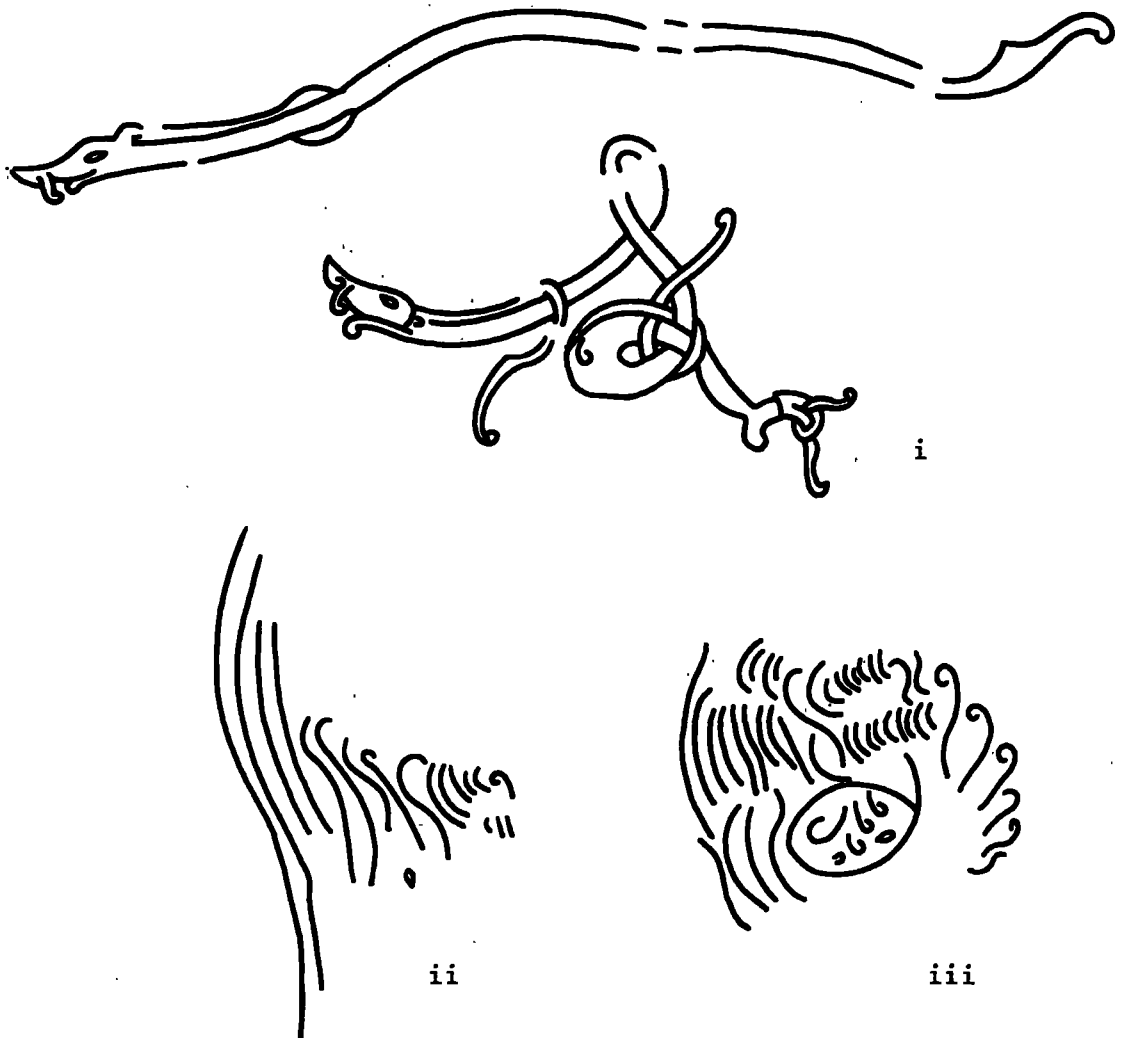


Figure K.

- i. The upper and lower ribbon beasts on the Durham crosier head, prepared for curvature analysis
- ii. Ornament lines of the upper ribbon beast juxtaposed
- iii. Ornament lines of the lower ribbon beast juxtaposed

this wider portion of the body. Although the hip is simply executed to comply with the normal pattern of Urnes style hips, its small size is atypical. The thin tendril which emerges from the hip is also without parallel.

The body of the lower animal terminates in a most unusual feature, resembling a triquetra ornament, but probably representing a foot. It may be a highly stylised version of the typical Urnes style foot, with a rounded heel and two, long toes;³⁶ although, in this case, the heel is square. Nonetheless, it is as prominent as most Urnes heels, such as that on the Wisbech mount, amongst the English material. The two long toes may be represented here by the two small tendrils which emerge from the "knot" of interwoven tendrils at the centre of the foot. Kendrick, who calls this whole feature a "terminal knot",³⁷ refers to a group of initials in English manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, as evidence of the English origins of this detail.³⁸ In particular, he notes the similarity between the lateral knot of the initial of folio II of Caligula A.VII (pl.66a), and the terminal knot on the crosier head. Although the resemblances are close, none of the examples he cites are identical to the terminal knot of the Durham crosier, and they mostly occur in the middle of ornament lines. The positioning of the feature suggests that it may represent a foot of the Urnes type, but its extreme stylisation does recall the knots found in the manuscripts to which Kendrick refers.

Kendrick also shows that the shaded loop of the lower creature may be another element derived from English manuscript art.³⁹ There is more evidence to suggest this, as an exact parallel is found, for instance, in the initial of folio 90b of Royal 7.D.XXIV (pl.66b). On the strength of these two details, the terminal knot and the shaded loop, Kendrick asserts that the Durham crosier head

is an English object "made in a smithy where the traditions of Viking craftsmanship were still in active operation".⁴⁰ To the Durham crosier head, Kendrick first applied the term "English Urnes style" which he defined as "Urnes patterns of Scandinavian origin (depicted in a) distinctively English way".⁴¹ The newest discoveries of Urnes style material in England reveal that the style is more widespread than Kendrick could have foreseen, and that the crosier is only one of a group of objects, unique in type, but not in style. Its "Englishness" is not only discernible in the depiction of two small details, but in its stylistic relationship to the other Urnes material in England, and in the ways in which it is distinguishable from the broadest view of the Scandinavian Urnes idiom.

For example, the design on the Durham crosier head lacks the overall homogeneity of the Scandinavian Urnes style. There is a contrast between the overriding simplicity of the upper creature, and the comparative complexity of the lower creature. The curvature pattern exhibits a significant change between the upper and the lower creature (fig. K). The design is not evenly distributed over the piece, in that there is more undecorated space in the upper half of the zone, than in the lower half. The complex and unusual foot contrasts starkly with the lack of ornamental detail elsewhere in the design, particularly in the depiction of the upper creature. However, because of the round shape of the object, which dictates that the whole design is not visible all at once, the lack of homogeneity is not striking.

The heads of the two creatures are not of the usual Scandinavian type. The upper one is elongated, with a very pointed nose. It has a simple, folded downwards nose extension, and a short, lower lip. The lower head is similar, though less elon-

gated, and slightly more detailed. The features of the heads are very clearly depicted, and less stylised and exaggerated than the Scandinavian Urnes heads. The eyes of both animals are small, and almond-shaped. The head of the creature on the Colchester mount (cat.no.8) closely resembles the heads of the crosier animals, particularly the upper one. The small eye is a feature they all share.

It is possible that the tight looping of the foot, and of the ear extensions and the intertwining tendril round the crossing points of major ornament lines, may be indicative of a minimal influence from the preceding Ringerike tradition. Certainly, the sparse usage of the thin tendrils, even by the standards of the English Urnes idiom, suggests that on the crosier head, the Urnes style is not fully developed. It seems likely, on stylistic grounds, that the crosier represents an early phase of the style in England, and this hypothesis is supported by the dating evidence of the find context (see chapter 9 and appendix E).

That the Durham crosier head is of English manufacture seems indisputable.⁴² Its relationship to other Urnes metalwork in England is clear, firstly through the sparse use of intertwining tendrils, which always emerge from the creatures themselves, and fail to form loop schemes of the Scandinavian kind. In addition, the two creatures represented are both ribbon beasts, instead of belonging to differing animal categories. The design is less stylised, as the heads in particular, with their resemblance to the Colchester animal head demonstrate. The disregard for an overall uniformity is also indicative of the English style. The affinities with English manuscript art, especially in the use of shaded areas, suggests an awareness of the English tradition as well as the Scandinavian, symbolised by the difficulty in inter-

preting the origins of the foot, or "terminal knot".⁴³ Largely because of the type of the object, the Durham crosier head has always been seen as a distinctive piece, without comparison in England. One may hope that with the present upsurge of discoveries of Urnes style material in England, the crosier head will no longer be represented as an isolated phenomenon, but seen as a fine example of an English facet of the Urnes style.

Wilson postulated that the Durham crosier head was made by an Anglo-Norman craftsman "possibly of Viking descent within the Norman Kingdom of England".⁴⁴ The connection of the Normans of late eleventh century England, with their Viking ancestors who settled in Normandy, seems a very tenuous one. Wilson makes the same assertion concerning the Norwich capital (cat.no.21).⁴⁵ Shetelig refers to the "intimate connection between the English and Norwegian clergy at this time"⁴⁶ which is a more acceptable explanation of why the Durham crosier head should have been decorated with Urnes style.⁴⁷ It is probable, against this background, that the Urnes style was a more acceptable stylistic idiom in England than has hitherto been recognised, permissible even for the decoration of this Norman bishop's crosier staff, that was produced in an English milieu.

The Mottisfont stirrup.

The bronze stirrup (cat.no.17), from a peat bog at Mottisfont, near Romsey in Hampshire, has unfortunately disappeared since it was first published in 1887.⁴⁸ The only known illustration of the object occurs in this publication, and may not be entirely reliable.⁴⁹ At the top of the stirrup, a rectangular plate was fixed, which had four holes drilled through it for attachment. On the front of this plate, there was incised zoomorphic ornament of the Urnes style.

This type of stirrup is rather unusual, and only two other

examples of it are known. These are the objects from Stenåsa, Öland, and Merkivoll, Iceland (pl. 67). The Stenåsa stirrup fragment is decorated with a backward looking, standing quadruped. The ornament is incised in bronze, and niello inlaid. Wilson refers to the decoration of the Stenåsa stirrup as a Scandinavian imitation of Anglo-Saxon art, which he would tentatively date to the end of the tenth century.⁵⁰ Arbman refers to the quadruped as an "Anglian beast" with an unmistakable Nordic influence;⁵¹ and postulates that horse equipment of this type must come from "a group of workshops which can be localised to tracts where Englishmen and Scandinavians came into contact with one another",⁵² namely, either England or Jutland.

The stirrup from Merkivoll, Iceland, whose ornamentation seems considerably closer to that of the Mottisfont stirrup than does the Stenåsa quadruped, demonstrates how far such objects could travel. Seaby suggests that as a native English stirrup is unlikely to have reached Iceland, while Danish horse gear could quite possibly reach Hampshire and Iceland, the objects probably originated from Denmark.⁵³ However, he comments that it is most curious that more stirrups of this sophisticated form have not been recovered actually in Denmark. Arbman, who was also aware of the existence of the Icelandic example, cites England as the most probable centre of production on the grounds of the ornamental links, and the historical background of the strong Scandinavian presence in England in the early eleventh century.⁵⁴

In relation to the Stenåsa fragment, Wilson also mentions the possibility that nielloed ornament showing Anglo-Saxon connections may indicate that the origins are English, but as nielloed ornament is also found in ninth-century Scandinavian contexts, he

reaches no conclusions.⁵⁵ Of the Mottisfont stirrup, Read, the only writer who actually saw the object, says: "the silver wire with which the design was traced has now almost entirely disappeared, and only the empty lines remain".⁵⁶ However, as Arbman commented, this description must be treated cautiously, and it is possible that the Mottisfont ornamentation was originally niello-inlaid.⁵⁷

In the absence of the object itself, it is impossible to be certain about the origins of the stirrup on ornamental grounds. According to the illustration, the decoration consists of two, symmetrically confronted ribbon beasts, akin, in some respects, to the animals on the Durham crosier head. They are simply executed, with no limbs, or ear extensions, but their bodies taper into tails, which form simple loop schemes. The heads would seem to be similar to those on the crosier, having pointed noses and small eyes; but the bodies of the ribbon beasts swell and taper in the Urnes manner, to a greater extent than do the bodies of the creatures on the crosier. They widen considerably by the spiral hips, but, as on the crosier, the spiral hips only occupy a small area of the wider portions of the bodies.

There also seem to be some Ringerike features in the design on the stirrup. For example, there are certain geometric and vegetal motifs incorporated into the decoration. These include a V-shaped feature in the centre of the plate; and a geometric feature located between the two spiral hips, which, taken as a whole, is reminiscent of a lobe with two offshooting tendrils.⁵⁸ It seems from the illustration that there may have been further vegetal ornament at the top of the plate, but this is not clearly depicted. The symmetry of the piece may also suggest a Ringerike influence.

It is most regrettable that the Mottisfont stirrup has been lost, for in its absence, it is not possible to determine the origins of the object, either by its ornamentation, nor indeed, by the form of the stirrup. It seems likely, from the only drawing available, that the object represents an early phase of the Urnes style, and is possibly, but by no means certainly, of English manufacture.

iii. Debased Urnes style in England.

The term "debased" is here used as an alternative to the more common term "degenerate", as the latter description may be taken to imply that the pieces thus labelled are typologically late in the series.⁵⁹ The debased examples of the Urnes style may be defined as "lower in quality, value or character".⁶⁰ They could be produced at any time during the life of an artistic style, and stylistic dating of such objects is usually particularly difficult. They may be the result of local influences, or of a mingling of stylistic influences; or due to the taste of a particular patron, or ingenious metalworker; or because the technique used required less skill than usual. Thus, here the term is loosely applied to those pieces, whose ornamentation consists of a debasement of the Urnes style.

The bronze mount from Ixworth Suffolk (cat.no.11) is comparable to the Urnes style bronze mounts, discussed above and, in particular, to the bronze mounts from Peterborough (cat. no.1) and Kemsley Downs (cat.no.2).⁶¹ The ornamentation is contained within a subtriangular frame, and consists of a ribbon beast, with a head seen from above. However, the manner in which the design is executed is not reminiscent of the designs on the Peterborough and Kemsley Downs mounts. The broken character of the design, the use of short, abruptly truncated lines, and of a

series of differing shapes all set in relief, produce an effect quite unlike the fluent ornament lines of the Peterborough mount. The design is not clear, and the details of the animal ornament are only discernible after careful study. Nevertheless, it is possible to locate the head, with its prominent nose ridge, and ears and eyes, viewed from above. Behind the head is a simple hook feature, which represents the spiral hip; and a front leg emerges, its position similar to that of the leg on the Peterborough mount, bending sharply at the knee joint, to terminate in a two-toed foot. The body forms a spiral loop and widens to represent a back hip joint, from which emerges a back leg, that tapers as it proceeds across the mount. The remaining features presumably represent intertwined tendrils and other features of the body, but it is not possible to distinguish the separate elements of the design.

Thus, although the Ixworth mount does not, initially, seem to resemble the Peterborough mount, primarily because the method of execution is so different, a closer study reveals that its ornamentation is, indeed, based on the pattern of the typical English Urnes style bronze mounts, such as that from Peterborough.

The difficulties encountered in analysing the design are largely caused by the fact that there is no distinction, as such, between the animal ornament and the plain background. For example, the prominent features of the head, the eyes, the ears and the nose ridge, are represented by a series of lines set in relief; but there is no way of assessing the overall shape of the head, because no other ornament lines are present. The remainder of the head is merely represented by the plain background. The Ixworth mount moves further away from the Scandinavian Urnes style in its uncharacteristic use of the background.

The features of the Urnes style noted from a formal analysis of the objects, such as the unbroken fluency of the ornament lines, and the juxtaposition of broad and thin lines on a plain background, are not features of the style of the Ixworth mount. It is only due to the fact that the pattern of the English Urnes style bronze mounts is reused here, that the Ixworth mount is discussed in the present context. It is stylistically more closely related to the English Urnes style bronze mounts, than to any other objects.

However, the overall impression of the piece, and the method of execution, may be compared to the design of a sword hilt from Sherborne Lane, London (pl.65b). On this object, too, the design is of a broken character, with the details of the ornamentation being difficult to discern. In this case, the design is also characterised by the liberal use of horizontal lines or ribbing. Wheeler suggests a date for the Sherborne sword hilt of the late tenth or early eleventh century, since the object has drooping quillons, common in this period.⁶² The style of the object, too, suggests that the piece belongs to the preceding Ringerike period, although it represents such a debasement of the style, as to make categorisation of it, into a style group, an unprofitable exercise.

Mention should here be made of an unusual object of lead, which was recently discovered in Lincoln (pl.68). It is unusual in that its purpose is unknown and it is decorated on both sides, but there is little stylistic relationship between the ornamentation of the two sides. The ornament of one face possibly represents another version of a debased Urnes style. As far as can be seen, although no animal heads are visible, two creatures are represented in a confronted position, but separated by a central

bar. Their bodies appear to take the form of spiral loops, and their straight, front legs proceed across the object, swell by angular bends in the ornament line, which may represent knee joints, and terminate in round lobes. However, the object is still in the process of conservation, and photographs are, as yet, unobtainable, which renders a full analysis not yet possible.⁶³ Nevertheless, a certain affinity with the ornament of the English Urnes style bronze mounts seems probable.

iv. Ringerike/Urnes style metalwork in England.

There are a number of objects in England which display elements of both the Ringerike and the Urnes styles.⁶⁴ Of these, two in particular, manifest Ringerike and Urnes characteristics in virtually equal proportions, and are dealt with below.

The design on the bronze mount from Mildenhall in Suffolk (cat.no.10) is composed of two ribbon beasts, positioned symmetrically, on either side of the mount. Their bodies are composed of fluent ornament lines, which gently taper and swell. Simple, hook-shaped spiral hips are represented in wider portions of the body, and the ornament lines of the body taper to terminate in round lobes. These are Urnes style elements, but in addition to these, the lines of the bodies form asymmetrical, figure-of-eight loop schemes, reminiscent of those in Scandinavia, and at Urnes itself.

The background is plain, but there is a minimum of encircled space in the ornamentation, so that the interaction between the animal ornament and the plain background is not so much a feature of the design, as it is on purer Urnes style pieces. The front legs adopt a foliate appearance, which is also atypical of the Urnes style; and the three element plants at the top and bottom centre of the mount, although akin to the motif that frequently

joins the bodies of two runic animals, occupy a disproportionate amount of decorative space for an Urnes style piece. The bodies are periodically crossed by lines, which detract from the fluency of the ornament, although they are not as frequently crossed as they would be on a purer Ringerike piece. The ear extensions of the creatures loop tightly round the crossing points of the bodies, as they did on the Durham crosier head. The front legs are also encircled by tightly looping, intertwining tendrils, but the characteristic Ringerike feature of clusters of tendrils is absent on the Mildenhall mount.

Holmquist traced the origins of the Mildenhall mount decoration to the illumination of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, such as the border of 183, Corpus Christi library, Cambridge.⁶⁵ He maintains that the composition found in this border is repeated on the bronze mount from Ixworth, Suffolk (pl.64b)⁶⁶ and that, although birds are replaced by animals, the composition on the Mildenhall mount is fundamentally the same.⁶⁷ Since, important elements of both the Ringerike and the Urnes style are absent from the mount, such as the clusters of tendrils, and the juxtaposition of broad and thin lines, and because there is a compositional resemblance between the Ixworth and Mildenhall mounts, it does seem likely that Anglo-Saxon influences are also present on the object.

The same may be true of the rectangular, cast bronze plaque from London (cat.no.19). Again, the design consists of a ribbon beast, whose body forms an asymmetrical, figure-of-eight loop scheme, which typifies the Scandinavian Urnes style designs. Two different line widths are juxtaposed on a plain background; and the ornament lines of the ribbon body are flowing, and have curves of mainly large radius.

However, the clusters of tendrils which occupy the spaces,

the lines which cross the body and form visual breaks in the ornament, and the occasionally tight interlacing of the tendrils are all elements of the Ringerike style. In addition, there are certain features which are atypical of both Scandinavian styles, such as the leaf ornaments at the bottom of the panel, and the double looping interlace motif at the top of the panel. Fuglesang points out that the unusual Ringerike feature of the horizontal grouping of tendrils in the middle of the panel is similar in arrangement to a design in the Cambridge Psalter.⁶⁸

Although Ringerike and Urnes elements are predominant on both of these pieces, certain Anglo-Saxon influences confirm that they are certainly English products, and were probably manufactured in an Anglo-Scandinavian milieu.

v. English metalwork showing Urnes style influences.

Sutton, Isle of Ely, brooch.

The Sutton, Isle of Ely brooch (cat.no.13) demonstrates, in its ornamental repertoire, a sufficient mixture of influences to make it unclassifiable in the normal way. The brooch is a unique object, for which no satisfactory parallels have so far been found. Bruce-Mitford claimed that the piece was an "English equivalent of late Viking style".⁶⁹ The type of the object is purely English, resembling, in particular, the larger of the two Beeston Tor brooches,⁷⁰ and the Stockholm brooch.⁷¹ It is a typical English disc brooch, with its surface divided up into fields, and with its bosses at the points where the borders of the fields join; and it has a rhyming Anglo-Saxon inscription on the reverse. However, the ornament is commonly held to be of the Ringerike style, due to certain features, quoted by Wilson as "the sense of movement", "the trilobate ornament in the corners of certain fields, (which is) a freer expression of the rather

stiffer motif on...Ringerike objects, such as...the St. Paul's gravestone", and "the ring round the interlacing portions of the snakes", amongst others.⁷² Wilson then goes on to quote a much closer parallel in the Velds stirrup plates in Denmark,⁷³ which are certainly English objects. The stylistic similarity between these objects and the Sutton brooch does not lie so much in the parallel use of details, (such as those details of the Ringerike style cited above) as in the overall artistic impression created on the pieces. The sketchy freehand quality of the drawings is similar; the freely distributed foliage on the Velds stirrups resembles some of the foliage on the Sutton brooch; and all three objects are decorated with lively and fantastic creatures, drawn using a similar technique. The foliage, the speckled backgrounds, the depictions of birds on the Velds stirrup plates, are all indicative of the English Winchester style, and it would seem that the same style exerted a lesser influence on the Sutton brooch.

The Ringerike elements on the brooch are best seen in the outermost fields, which contain vegetal ornaments and spiral motifs similar to those found on the Ringerike stones in Norway, particularly at the base of the non-figurative face of the Alstad stone.⁷⁴ The two standing quadrupeds have a similar curvature pattern to that of the St. Paul's stone, with a predominance of hooked lines. Their proportions are also reminiscent of the St. Paul's animal, in that they have long bodies with rather straight backs, and shorter legs, the length of the legs, and of the head and neck together, being rather similar. However, the dragonesque heads are atypical of the Ringerike style, and the absence of clusters of tendrils, which were so often the hallmark of the Scandinavian style, is a further reason to doubt the attribution of the piece primarily to the Ringerike style. Indeed, the ornament lines of the standing

quadruped are fluent and unbroken, much more so than on a normal Ringerike style creature, and the creatures are superimposed on a plain background, which becomes part of the design, in that its spaciousness gives added depth to the creatures. The "sense of movement", to which Wilson refers,⁷⁵ is more the dignified movement of the Urnes style, than the lively movement of the Ringerike style.

The treatment of the ribbon beasts in the remaining two fields also indicates that several influences were present. Again, the ornament lines are uninterrupted by additional elements. "The additive principle of composition"⁷⁶ is not present. The bodies of the creatures gently swell and taper, and form open loops, which encircle the plain background. The heads of the creatures also display Urnes style characteristics, with their folded backwards and downwards nose extensions, lower lips terminating in round lobes, and elongated proportions. The affinities with Urnes style ornament on the Sutton, Isle of Ely, brooch, were first perceived by Smith in 1925.⁷⁷ In addition, the "grotesque quadrupeds"⁷⁸ may suggest some Romanesque influences.

Ultimately, however, it is the English character of the brooch that prevails. As one of a series of late Saxon disc-brooches, closely related in design and construction to the Beeston Tor brooches, with an Anglo-Saxon inscription on the reverse, its Anglo-Saxon origins seem clear. It has a varied ornamental repertoire, amongst which is included several ribbon beasts displaying Urnes style influences; and there are some features, such as the treatment of the edge of the brooch, and the partial cross-hatching, which, as Wilson says, have no parallels at all.⁷⁹ In view of this, to emphasise the Ringerike style elements of the brooch is to give a distorted account of the object as a whole.

vi. Scandinavian Urnes Style in England.

Some fragments of silver (cat.no.18) have been discovered in London, under doubtful circumstances in the nineteenth century.⁸⁰ They appear to have originally plated a shaft of the same type as the crosier head. However, in view of the ornamentation on the fragments, which seems Scandinavian in character, it seems more likely that they formed the casing of a late Viking spearhead, brought to England by a Scandinavian. They are included in the present catalogue, since they have not always been considered to be Scandinavian in origin, and because it has been postulated that they may have covered the shaft of a crosier, comparable to the Durham Crosier head. Kendrick, for example, writes that "there is little doubt that the sheath was made and decorated in this country by an English craftsman".⁸¹ However, in the light of the stylistic study of the English Urnes style above, the fragments seem undoubtedly Scandinavian.

Part of a standing quadruped is visible on the fragments, which displays a close stylistic resemblance to the Scandinavian type, in the fluency of the ornament lines, the curvature pattern, and the ornamental details. The head even has two lower and upper pointed teeth, as did the Urnes portal standing quadruped. The head is more stylised than its closest English parallels, which are the profile heads of the Colchester and Wisbech mounts, and the Pitney brooch; and the large, almond shaped eye monopolises the head, unlike the eyes of the Durham and Mottisfont objects.

The head and neck of a ribbon beast are visible, whose ornament lines are narrower than those of the quadruped. Thus, broad and thin lines are juxtaposed in the Scandinavian fashion, in that the thinner line width has a separate entity as the body of a

narrower creature. In addition, a third and narrower line width is also present in the form of intertwining tendrils, which may, or may not, have emerged from the limbs or tails of the creature. The decoration of Urnes stave church also consisted of three separate line widths.

The background is plain, and from the surviving fragments, it would seem that the surface of the object was more uniformly covered than was the surface of the Durham crosier head. The fragments exhibit the overall homogeneity, for which the Scandinavian style is noted more than the English. The intertwining tendrils form loop schemes of the Scandinavian kind, which are without parallel amongst the English material. Kendrick refers to a "terminal knot", which he associates with the "terminal knot", or foot, of the lower creature on the crosier,⁸² but no such feature is to be seen on the London silver fragments today.

No crosiers are known from Scandinavia in this period, which may be accounted for by the fact that Christianity had only recently reached Scandinavia, through the activities of foreign missionaries. Since the ornamentation on the silver fragments from London suggests that they are Scandinavian, it seems most unlikely that they originally cased a crosier staff.

B. The functions of English metalwork objects of the Urnes style,
and a consideration of the techniques used in their manufacture.

The functions of several of the metalwork objects in the catalogue are self-evident. The Pitney brooch (cat.no.12) for instance, has the remains of a catchplate and hinge on the reverse side, which originally held the fastening pin. The Sutton, Isle of Ely brooch (cat.no.13) retains part of the long supporting plate of the pin on the reverse; and there can be no doubt as to the functions of the Mottisfont stirrup (cat.no.17) and the Durham crosier head (cat.no.16). It is almost certain that the silver fragments from London (cat.no.18) originally decorated a late Viking spearhead.

However, the functions of the other objects in the catalogue are less easily determined, usually because they may have served any one of a variety of purposes. For example, although the shape and style of the English Urnes bronze mounts (cat.nos.1-6) is so similar, the number and positioning of their rivets for attachment differs. It seems likely that they served similar purposes, but cannot have all been used in precisely the same manner.

The English Urnes style bronze mounts (cat.nos.1-6) and the bronze mounts from Mildenhall and Ixworth (cat.nos.10-11) are small objects, mostly subtriangular in shape. They have a variety of features associated with their functions, and these are outlined in fig. M, in a comparative table. Five of the mounts, those from Peterborough, Kemsley Downs, Lincoln, Mildenhall and Ixworth, have plates positioned at right angles to the bases of the objects. A rivet hole is drilled through the centre of the plates on the Lincoln and Ixworth mounts; and traces of iron rivets are visible on the plate of the Kemsley Downs mount. In addition, all eight mounts

have either a circular lug at the apex with a central rivet hole, or a rivet affixed to the back of the animal head.

The Lincoln, Kemsley Downs and Ixworth mounts may have been book clasps,¹ used in the manner shown in fig. L . . The plates, of which the Lincoln one is particularly well-defined, would have been affixed to the binding of the book with rivets. The object itself, with its ornamentation, would have crossed the pages of the book; and the book would have been securely closed by a cord or metal wire, which would have emanated from the other binding of the book, and passed through the central hole in the circular lug.

The other two mounts with plates affixed at right angles to their bases are those from Peterborough and Mildenhall, but the plates are plain, and instead, rivet holes have been drilled through the ornamentation on the surface of the mount, at the base. In each case, two rivet holes are present, and they appear to have been drilled through after the casting of the object, since they interrupt the ornament. It is possible that these also functioned as book clasps, in the same way as the Lincoln, Ixworth and Kemsley Downs objects; but the rivets would have been fixed into the edge of the thick binding of the book, with the plain plates acting as additional support, and holding the objects securely in place.

The unprovenanced mount, the Sedgeford and the Tynemouth mounts do not have subtriangular frames, (although their basic shape is subtriangular), and neither do they have plates affixed at right angles to their bases. The Tynemouth mount is exceptional, in that all four rivets have survived on the object. The rivet on the reverse of the animal head was cast in one piece with the mount. The other three rivets are attached through the rivet holes visible on the front of the mount. They vary in length from 0.35 cms.

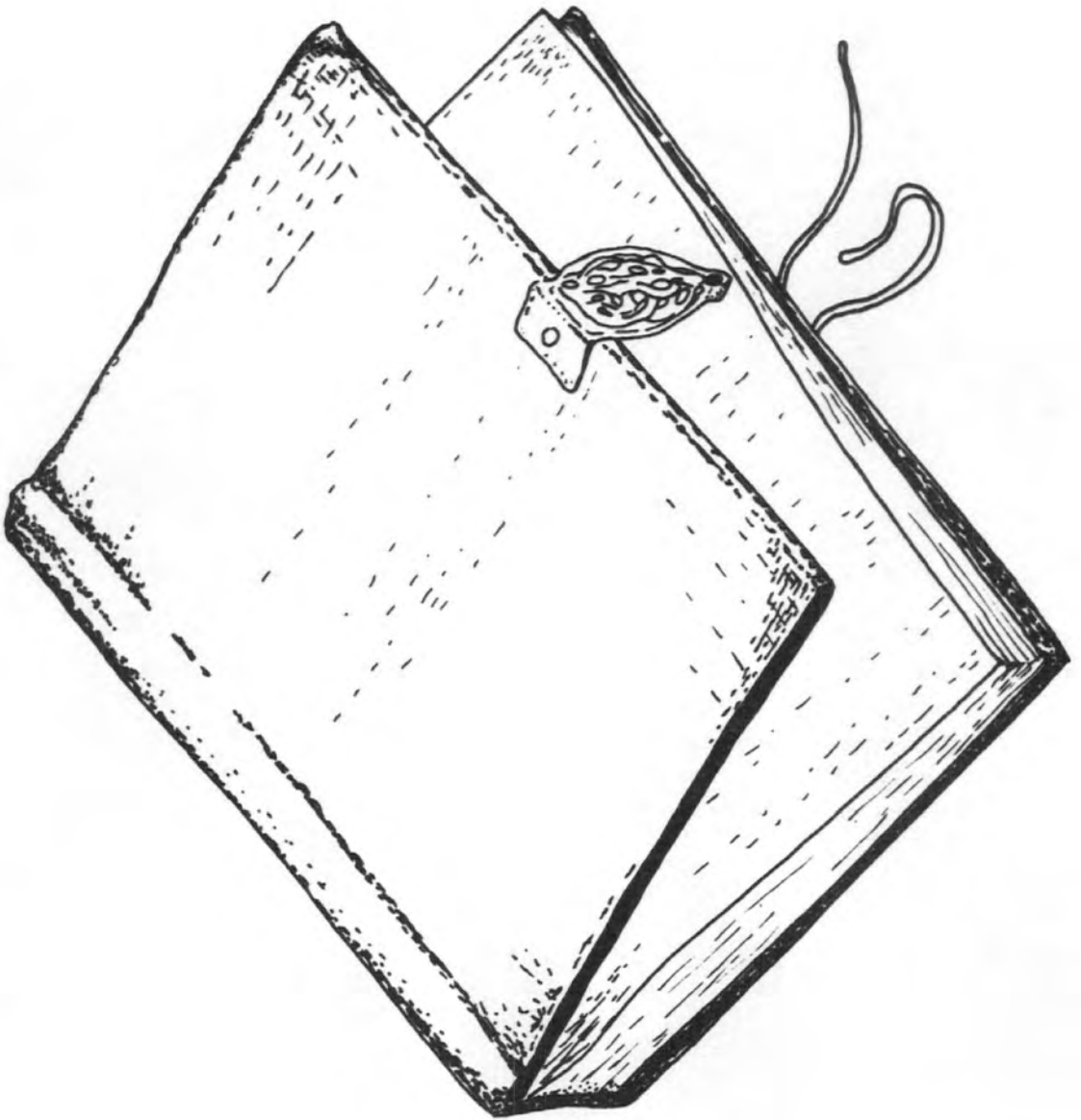


Figure L. Reconstruction of Urnes style book clasp in use

behind the head, to 0.7 cms. One rivet, 0.5 cms. long, still has its head preserved, and the others appear to be still their original length. The Sedgeford object also has three rivet holes appended at regular intervals to the spiral body of the animal ornament. It has no rivet cast behind the head, but two broken off extensions, cast at the end of the head, are almost certainly the remains of a circular rivet hole. Thus, both the Tynemouth and Sedgeford mounts had four rivet holes altogether, placed round the object at roughly regular intervals.

The unprovenanced mount has a rivet behind the animal head which was cast in one piece with the object.² No other rivet holes are immediately visible, but there is one particularly round hole in the openwork design, which looks drilled, and which is located at the edge of the object, in a similar position to one of the rivet holes of the Sedgeford mount. The mount is incomplete, and much of the lower portion of the edge is missing. It is conceivable that two more rivet holes would originally have been incorporated into the design round the edge of the object, in the same way as they are on the Sedgeford mount, but that they have now been lost.

These three objects would have been riveted to a flat surface, and could not have been used as clasps, as the Peterborough, Kemsley Downs, Lincoln, Mildenhall and Ixworth objects probably were. They are convex in profile, which would have emphasised the animal ornament, and made them more prominent on a flat surface. If they were book mounts, as has been suggested,³ they would probably have been riveted to the front cover of a book as purely ornamental features, perhaps intended to resemble the hinges of a door. However, it is not certain that they are book mounts. They could be mounted on any flat surface in need of some decoration.⁴

In the main, the English Urnes style mounts were cast in piece moulds of various types.⁵ The bronze mounts from Peterborough (cat.no.1) and Kemsley Downs (cat.no.2) were probably cast in moulds of two fitting pieces, since they are solid objects. As they are such similar objects, it is possible that the mould was made of metal, in which case it could have been used repeatedly, although it is not certain that the objects are identical (above p.73-75). The same method was used to produce the solid Ixworth mount (cat.No.11). The two rivet holes at the base of the frame on the Peterborough mount have been drilled through the ornament after casting; but a false core was possibly used to produce the central rivet hole in the circular lug at the apex of the mount, during casting. The base plates, set at right angles to the reverse of the frames of the Peterborough, Kemsley Downs and Lincoln (cat.no.3) mounts, were probably hammered into position after casting; and the rough finishes of the backs were also possibly the result of hammering the objects into their final convex shapes.⁶

The openwork bronze mounts from Lincoln (cat.no.3) of unknown provenance (cat.no.4), and from Sedgeford (cat.no.5) and Tynemouth (cat.no.6) were also cast in piece moulds. However, the openwork effect could either have been achieved through false core casting, or through hammering, drilling or cutting out sections of the ornament. The Lincoln mount has tool marks visible along the raised edge at the base of the triangle, possibly as a result of raising the edge with a scriber⁷ or graver.⁸ This edge is not neatly finished. A graver or tracer⁹ was also presumably used to cut the grooves around the edges of the frame, which held the niello; while the marks of a tracer are clearly visible along the central rib of the animal, which also had a niello inlay. The workmanship using small tools is carelessly done, but the niello

itself would have presumably hidden most of this.

The unprovenanced and Sedgeford mounts are of a higher technical quality, with smooth backs and no tool marks visible on the surfaces. The rivet holes of the Sedgeford mount were probably drilled through after casting, although most of the openwork on the piece was probably produced by false core casting. A rivet attached to the back of the head of the unprovenanced mount was apparently cast in one piece with the mount. The Tynemouth mount, however, was possibly not cast, but cut out. The edges of the openwork areas are graduated, and not cleanly bored. The groove on the nose extension was probably produced with a graver. The preserved rivets were formed by pushing short lengths of metal rod through the rivet holes, and closing the ends with a punch-shaped tool.

The Mildenhall mount (cat.no.10) may also have been cut from a hammered flat sheet of bronze, and the rivet holes drilled through afterwards. This method generally produces work of a lower standard. Tool marks are visible on the surface of the mount, particularly in the hollows of the design; and the ornamental lines were probably cut with a graver. The bodies of the creatures seem to have had a central backbone incised, but no trace remains of any inlay.

Similar methods were probably used to produce the oval Colchester mount (cat.no.8) and the circular Wisbech object, (cat. no.9). As Lowery and Savage remark, the technology of much ancient bronze-work is liable to present features which will remain uncertain, not because of their complexity, but "because their simple ends could be reached with more or less equal ease by several means, between which there is no practical way of deciding".¹⁰ Thus, it is only possible to suggest which methods were the most likely used. In addition, the functions of the

Colchester and Wisbech mounts are indeterminate. The oval-shaped Colchester mount has two rivet holes, positioned immediately adjacent to each other at the top of the object. Possibly, the smaller hole, which avoids interrupting the ornamentation, proved to be inadequate in size, and was replaced by a larger hole, drilled through the neck of the creature. The Colchester mount is now incomplete, with much of the lower edge missing. It is possible that, as with the unprovenanced mount, additional rivet holes have now been lost. The reverse is flat and plain, displaying no other features associated with the object's function, and in the absence of such features, it is not possible to specify the purpose of the piece. If the major rivet hole in the neck of the creature was always the only one present, the object may have been a pendant, a purpose for which it is suitably shaped. However, as the ornamentation is set in relief, and as in profile, it rises above the frame to achieve prominence, it seems more likely that the object was a decorative mount, on any prominent flat surface available for ornamentation.

The Colchester object was probably cast in a piece mould, and the openwork effect may have been cut out. It is possible that the indistinct feature below the creature's back hip should have been cut out to form interlacing tendrils, as has been done elsewhere on the object, but that this particular section was unfinished. The action of a scraper is clearly visible in the solid area between the oval frame and the animal ornament, as the piece is not well finished; although the pitted surface may be due, in part, to corrosion, rather than inferior workmanship. The major rivet hole was almost certainly drilled through after casting. Tool marks are visible on the reverse of the object,

probably left by light hammering; and other tool marks, probably caused during the cutting operation, can be seen in the pierced openings of the design.

The Wisbech object is cruder than others in the group, and it is doubtful that it was cast. It may have been cut out of an ingot of bronze made in an open mould, and hammered until it was the required width. This would explain the irregularity of the circular frame. It is also possible that extra bronze pieces may have been added to the design after the basic pattern was cut, possibly even some of the intertwining tendrils. Tool marks are visible on the surface and the reverse of the mount. The double contouring of the body, the spiral hip, and the eye lines, are likely to have been cut with a scribe. The reverse of the mount, and the frame on the decorated side, are covered with a series of irregularly positioned scratch marks, which may indicate that the object was sewn onto a leather or cloth artefact, or even onto a piece of clothing, as there are no traces of any other means of attachment. However, the roughly circular shape of the object dictates that its function is difficult to define, as it would have been attachable to any one of a number of objects.

The larger Lincoln mount (cat.no.7) also has no visible means of attachment. It is subrectangular in shape, with a plain, concave underside. The object is slightly larger than the other English Urnes style bronze mounts. Its purpose is indistinct, although it has been suggested that it is a purse mount.¹¹ The shape is reminiscent of other metalwork associated with purses, but these tend to be strictly functional. The elaborate frame of the purse found in the seventh century ship buried at Sutton Hoo,¹² for example, retained the outer edges of

the purse bag. Medieval purses, such as that represented on the brass of Thomas Andrewes from about 1490,¹³ tended to have a long bar at the top of the object, from which two frames were pendant.

The Lincoln object is slightly damaged. A fragment of bronze recovered near the mount during excavations, is thought to have broken off the long edge of the mount, by the foot of one of the outermost ribbon creatures. It has now been attached in this position, and was probably originally matched by a similar piece on the other side of the object. These two pieces together would have produced the effect of a "long bar", similar to that of the purse on the Thomas Andrewes brass. However, the Lincoln object is cast as one rigid piece, and the "long bar" must have been purely ornamental. If the Lincoln object is to be associated with a purse, then it must have acted as an elaborate metal mount with no practical application.

The Lincoln mount required much cold working after casting, as a result of its complex nature. Tool marks are visible on the back and in the openings of the design, which suggests that some of the openwork sections may have been cut out. Tool marks are also visible on the surface of the mount. Many of the grooves which help to differentiate one ornamental feature from another, have been cut with gravers or scorpers; and it is likely that larger spaces, such as that between the largest creature and the ribbon beast have also been cut with scorpers. Some features of the mount are less clearly cut than others. For instance, the details on the far right of the mount, which correspond to the details on the far left, are less finished with tools than their counterparts. The spiral hips have also been emphasised by being cut with gravers. Generally, the workmanship is of a good quality

and corrosion accounts for much of the present pitting of the surface.

The two animal head terminals from Northampton and Sussex (cat.no.14 and 15) may have been attached to any one of a variety of objects. They are also both made of bronze, and were cast in moulds. The channels which run down the backs of the objects were probably formed through the use of false core moulds. The Northampton object has tool marks on the surface. A graver was probably used to accentuate the grooves of the folded backwards and downwards nose extensions, and the ears; and the eyes are outlined with a series of engraved lines, incorporated into the design. As the Sussex terminal has not yet been cleaned, tool marks are not visible. The channels on the reverse sides appear to have fitted onto shaped ridges attached to an object. There are no rivets, or other means of attachment present, but it seems likely that the terminals were slotted onto ridges, probably of metal, and soldered into position. The animal head terminals are likely to have been box or casket fittings; used either as additional ornaments which would have stood out above the surface of the box, such as there are on the Bamberg casket,¹⁴ or as lock hasp terminals,¹⁵ such as were found on a wooden casket in a grave at Birka.¹⁶

The bronze cast plaque from Hammersmith (cat.no.19) has no visible means of attachment, besides which it is rather heavy for most purposes. The back is plain, except for the "blow holes of the casting"¹⁷ which occur over the whole surface. The object was possibly an ornamented weight, or a decorated plaque in its own right, but as Wilson says, in the absence of any evidence, the plaque is "unclassifiable" in the normal way.

The Pitney brooch (cat.no.12) is a particularly fine piece made of gilded bronze. There are a number of methods which could have been used in the production of this piece. The most likely is the lost wax method,¹⁹ since to have cut out the openwork effect would have required the utmost skill on such a fine object. This casting method would permit the manufacture of the scalloped edging, the fine interlacing, and the effect of granulation along the outer edge of the main body of the creature. However, it is not impossible that such features as the "granulation" were added after casting. There are no tool marks visible on the object, which is superbly finished. The lost wax method of casting requires the destruction of the original mould, so it is unlikely that a piece identical to the Pitney brooch will be found. The object is made of gilt-bronze. The back of the brooch is as smooth and well finished as the surface, although the remains of a catchplate and a hinge are visible, which were probably attached to the back after casting.²⁰

The Sutton, Isle of Ely brooch (cat.no.13), the casing of the Durham crosier head (cat.no.16), and the fragments from London (cat.no.18) are all made of silver. The ornamentation on these objects has primarily been produced through the use of scribes or gravers. Sketchy scriber marks are particularly visible on the Sutton, Isle of Ely brooch. The bosses on this piece are attached through small rivet holes in the surface. The silver plate of the Durham crosier head, and the silver fragments from London, were attached to the shafts they decorated by small rivets placed in the rivet holes that follow the edge of the plate. The Durham crosier head is partially inlaid with niello. Generally, the two English silver objects are less competently engraved than the Scandinavian silver fragments.

The metalwork objects of the Urnes style in England differ considerably in terms of their standards of craftsmanship, the reasons for which can only be hypothetical suggestions. It is tempting, but by no means conclusive, to see the similarities between the English Urnes style bronze mounts as evidence of their production in centralised workshops, with the Tynemouth mount being a less skilful imitation of the type in a more localised milieu. It seems unlikely that metalworkers travelled round a district, in the manner of the Upplandic runestone carvers. The equipment of a craftsman must have included many simple, but necessary, devices, which would have been best housed in a suitable workshop.²¹ Altogether, the equipment must have been bulky and heavy, and when it is compared with the portability of the objects produced, it seems unlikely that bronzesmiths of the period were commonly wanderers.²²

Yet a comparison between the technical skills exhibited, for example, on the Pitney brooch and the Wisbech mount, reveals that the English Urnes metalwork can vary enormously in quality. The environment in which an object was produced must have exerted a considerable influence on the final achievement. The Pitney brooch, for instance, may be the product of a workshop of long standing, patronised by clients of wealth and wider connections. However, such a hypothesis cannot be supported at the present time by any material evidence, and there are many other possible reasons for the singular excellence of the piece. The "workshop" is a problematical concept.²³ It is not possible to know if it signifies a place where one metalworker was engaged in production; or if it was, perhaps, a centre of activity where metalworkers could be trained by the finest teachers, with the use of the best equipment, so that any customers taste could be catered for. In the

final analysis, the success or otherwise of a piece is wholly dependent on the ability of the individual craftsman. Neither the technology of the age, nor the tool kit used were particularly sophisticated or complex; but it is the skill, inventiveness and good taste with which fundamentally simple techniques are used on the finest pieces that makes them so impressive.

The Urnes style has been associated with the advent of Christianity in Scandinavia by some writers,²⁴ and the functional nature of the English material indicates that, in England too, many of the clients must have been connected with the ecclesiastical world. The book mounts and book clasps are likely to have been riveted onto ecclesiastical books, since the majority of the literature of the period was produced by the Church. The Tynemouth mount was found in a thirteenth century level, during excavations at Tynemouth priory, which suggests that the object had long associations with the Church.²⁵ The Durham crosier head was found in the chapter house of Durham cathedral, in association with the grave of a Norman bishop;²⁶ and the object itself is indisputably ecclesiastical in nature.²⁷

However, the remainder of the objects may have been used in secular contexts. The Northampton and Sussex animal head terminals were probably fitted onto caskets, which could equally well have been secular, decorative boxes as ecclesiastical shrines. The larger Lincoln mount may have been attached to a purse or a pouch in either a religious, or a secular, everyday context. The Colchester and Wisbech mounts, and the Hammersmith plaque, are all obscure in function, but are more probably secular, by their shape and ornament, than ecclesiastical.

The Pitney and Sutton, Isle of Ely brooches are both fine objects, which are likely to have been used in a secular context, and

were probably the property of wealthy families, although the Pitney brooch was found in a churchyard. The Mottisfont stirrup was certainly a secular object. It seems that the Urnes style was felt to be appropriate in either a religious or a secular context, which indicates that it was a more acceptable idiom than is normally realised. The most recent discoveries of metalwork decorated with Urnes style bear out this surmise, for they, too, come from both secular and ecclesiastical contexts. In England, the Urnes style is not to be associated with the Church on the grounds of it being the final flowering of heathen art, as it has been in Scandinavia;²⁸ but on the understanding that it was a fashionable stylistic idiom, for which the ecclesiastical world was as able as anyone to pay.

C. Distribution patterns and places of manufacture.

There are two important limitations to the study to distribution patterns. The first is that the survival of the pieces is accidental. It is not possible to determine how many pieces have been irrevocably lost, nor how many remain to be discovered, with the consequence that a distribution pattern may be wholly unrepresentative of the original distribution of the style. The second is that the material is often portable, and may have travelled a considerable distance from its place of origin, with the result that the distribution map of find places of material is not necessarily informative, and must always be treated with caution.

Only one object amongst the metalwork material is unprovenanced, (cat.no.4). It has mistakenly been given an Irish provenance by both Shetelig¹ and Kendrick², but Franks, who donated the mount to the British Museum, wrote in his own register: "Origin unknown (bought many years since of Falcke, Bond Street)". In the "Book of Presents to the British Museum" it is recorded that all the objects donated by Franks were found in London, but Franks' own registration of the object is likely to be the most reliable source.³ The mount from Ixworth, Suffolk (cat.no.11) also has no exact provenance; and that area has produced so many objects whose history of discovery is unknown that it has been suggested that perhaps an antique dealer or collector was working there.⁴ The provenance of the object is thus dubious.

Information about the discovery of objects found in the nineteenth century, or in the early years of this century, tends to be sparse. For instance, the Peterborough mount (cat.no.1) was found on the site of "the singing schools"⁵; and the Lincoln mount (cat.no.3) was found in soil carted out of Lincoln by workmen. The provenance of the Kemsley Downs mount (cat.no.2) is usually described

as "Milton-next-Sittingbourne", or simply as "Sittingbourne", but it apparently comes from Kemsley Downs, near Milton in Kent. The Colchester (cat.no.8) and Wisbech (cat.no.9) mounts were both found in the centres of those towns,⁶ while cat.no.10 was found near Mildenhall in Suffolk.

Considerably more information is available about objects discovered recently, especially those found during archaeological excavations. The Tynemouth mount (cat.no.6) was found in a thirteenth century level in the sacristy of Tynemouth priory;⁷ the larger Lincoln mount (cat.no.7) was found during the excavation of Danes Terrace, Lincoln, in a mediæval pit;⁸ and the Northampton animal head terminal (cat.no.14) was found in a pit with late Saxon pottery, which lay sealed beneath the rampart of Northampton castle.⁹ Both the Sussex animal head terminal (cat.no.15)¹⁰ and the Sedgeford mount (cat.no.5)¹¹ were found by metal detector enthusiasts, and are thus unassociated objects.

The rest of the metalwork material was found many years ago, although information about the objects' discovery is slightly more specific. The Pitney brooch (cat.no.12) was found in the churchyard at Pitney; the stirrup (cat.no.17) was found in a peat bog at Mottisfont, near Romsey in Hampshire;¹² the crosier (cat.no.16) was found in a grave in the chapter house of Durham cathedral;¹³ and the Sutton, Isle of Ely brooch (cat.no.13) from Cambridgeshire, was turned up by the plough in 1694 in a lead casket, with about a hundred silver coins of William the Conqueror, five heavy gold rings, and a plain silver dish.¹⁴ Finally, the silver fragment (cat.no.18)¹⁵ and the Hammer-smith plaque (cat.no.19)¹⁶ both come from London.

In spite of the fallibility of distribution maps, it is striking to see that, of the nineteen metalwork objects, sixteen were found in

the eastern half of the country, and the majority of them come from the area of the Danelaw. This word first occurs in the eleventh century¹⁷ and is used to distinguish those areas of England in which Danish custom prevailed. The treaty drawn up at Wedmore, between Alfred and the Danish leader Guthrum, possibly in 886, provides the earliest evidence of the extent of the Danish conquests.¹⁸ Guthrum swore to confine the activities of his followers to those parts of England lying east of Watling 'Street and north of the Thames (see fig. O). Although the exact boundaries are unknown, the heart of this Danelaw lay where Scandinavian settlement was densest, in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. In this area, Scandinavian settlers left their mark on both legal and administrative nomenclature. In the Domesday Book, for instance, the local administrative divisions are called "wapentakes", a word of Scandinavian origin, meaning the flourishing of weapons at an assembly. 19

However, as Stenton remarked, "the prevalence of Danish custom within a particular district does not mean that it had been colonised in force by Danish settlers".²⁰ Considerable controversy surrounds attempts to determine the extent and character of the Scandinavian settlements, and particularly, the numbers of the colonists involved. These details are inadequately described by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicler,²¹ and so evidence has to be drawn from other sources, notably placenames of Scandinavian form, and archaeological discoveries.

There was undoubtedly an important Scandinavian influence on the nomenclature of England, particularly noticeable in the use of such characteristically Scandinavian place-name elements as -by and -thorp. (see fig. N). In the Domesday Book, a survey of 1086 in which most English places are described by name, it is revealed how Scandinavian influence continued to affect English place nomenclature

long after the original settlements were established. For instance, Ormesby was apparently named after a post-Conquest tenant called Ormr.²² This shows how persistent Scandinavian influence was, but it makes it very difficult to determine the extent of the original settlements. A map of Scandinavian settlement names can therefore be a misleading guide to the earlier stages of the Scandinavian conquest. Sawyer suggests that names with the element -by are earlier, as a class, than names with the element -thorpe, which means a secondary settlement, and indicates that new settlements were being formed in the tenth and eleventh centuries.²³ He comments on how few Scandinavian settlement names are to be found in the vicinity of such important early centres as Derby, Nottingham, Leicester and even Lincoln.²⁴ The same is true in Cambridgeshire, where, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for 903, Edward the Elder "harried all the land of the Scandinavians between the dykes and the Ouse, all as far north as the Fens".²⁵ This precise definition of the location of Scandinavian held lands is unique, and the lack of Scandinavian place-names in the areas that were first colonised by the Scandinavians, together with the English element in hybrid names, show that a substantial native population survived in those areas, a population that was in time to be deeply influenced by the Scandinavian presence. This evidence highlights the difficulties of equating distribution patterns with cultural groupings, such as with the inhabitants of the Danelaw area.

Similar problems accompany the use of Scandinavian personal names as evidence of the distribution of settlers and settlements, although these too are numerous. Some of these personal names were current in England for a very long time,²⁷ and denote that name-giving habits in England were profoundly affected by the example of the ruling class, rather than that a Scandinavian name is a guarantee

of Scandinavian ancestry. Conclusions about the number of colonists cannot be drawn from the popularity of the names they introduced. A recent study by Fellows Jensen²⁸ has shown that there are many cases of fathers with Scandinavian names giving their children English names, and vice-versa.

The second source of information about the extent and character of Scandinavian settlements is derived from archaeological discoveries. As Giepel writes "there are disappointingly few relics that can, without reservation, be attributed to them [the Scandinavian settlers]",²⁹ a fact which emphasises the degree of interpenetration between the English and the Scandinavian invaders. This relationship is reflected in the archaeological monuments, such as in the sculpture from Yorkshire, which Lang calls "Anglo-Scandinavian".³⁰ He maintains that an Anglian conservatism continued through the tenth century even in thoroughly Scandinavianised areas, and that although a Scandinavian taste is obviously present, the evolution of the sculptural styles was an insular development.³¹

Despite the abundant and unambiguous proof of the Scandinavian presence in the east of England offered by the place-name evidence, archaeological discoveries highlight the problems of equating distribution patterns with cultural groupings. The internal variations in the Danelaw area in respect of race, density of Norse settlement, political allegiance and social organisation must not be underestimated. In just the same way as tenth century Yorkshire sculpture is termed "Anglo-Scandinavian",³² the style of the eleventh century metalwork described here reflects both Anglian and Scandinavian tastes to greater or lesser degrees, (compare the Colchester mount (cat. no. 8) to the unprovenanced mount (cat. no. 4)). Since most of the material, if not all, dates from after the Norman Conquest (see chapter nine), the persistent Scandinavian influence noted in the

giving of post-Conquest place-names, such as Ormesby, is reflected by a persistence, too, of Scandinavian stylistic taste. As Jones writes, the "separate, i.e. Scandinavian, quality of the Danelaw area was recognised "not only by Alfred and his English successors, but by the law of Knut in the early eleventh century, and by Norman lawgivers after the Conquest".³³

Thus, a comparison of the distribution pattern of the Urnes style metalwork, with the place-name and personal name distribution maps, (figs. N - O) leads to a balance of probability which suggests that it is valid to associate the Urnes style metalwork with the Danelaw area, although it may not be primarily associated with Danish settlers. There is one other notable tendency in the distribution pattern, for which less evidence of its validity is available. This is the stylistic distinction between objects from the northern Danelaw area and the southern.

Of the seven English Urnes style mounts, five were found north of Peterborough, and one is unprovenanced. Sawyer writes that Peterborough probably "lay close to the southern limits of the Danelaw proper",³⁴ by which he means the area of the five counties, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire. Of all the objects labelled on stylistic grounds, "Urnes style of English manufacture", only the Durham crosier head was found north of Peterborough. These latter objects mostly come from the Danelaw districts of East Anglia and Northamptonshire; or from southern English counties which are not associated with the Danelaw area, such as Somerset and Sussex. In addition, the Ringerike/Urnes style mount from Mildenhall, and the debased Urnes style mount from Ixworth come from East Anglia.

This distinction between the north and south Danelaw finds some support in Sawyer's enquiry into the economy of England in the eleventh century.³⁵ He discusses the "internal colonisation"³⁶ of England,

which began as a response to the growing economic pressure to extend the area of cultivation and settlement, and reached its peak in the thirteenth century. The expansion and subsequent prosperity was not peculiar to the Danelaw, and Sawyer records that there are clear indications of expanding settlement at this time elsewhere in England. In the eleventh century, the demand seems to have been above all for an extension of sheep farming, and so good sheep country, in the Danelaw and elsewhere in England, prospered greatly. Within the Danelaw, Sawyer notes an extension of settlement in the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire wolds, marked in part by place names ending in -thorp, and remarks that "both areas had more in common, economically, with the chalk hills of southern England, than they had with the 'Scandinavian' areas of Northamptonshire or East Anglia".³⁷ These latter areas, which had long been settled by the Danes, offered far less opportunities for expansion until much later, when the growing population increased its demand for food.

Sawyer's use of the words "the 'Scandinavian' areas of Northamptonshire and East Anglia"³⁸ leads to an interesting speculation, for it is precisely in these areas that the Urnes style metalwork tends to be more closely related to the Scandinavian style, and to be a less distinctly Anglian version of the idiom. However, this speculation, that the active participation of the northern Danelaw area in the more general economic expansion of eleventh century England led to a greater Anglicisation of artistic taste in the north than in the south, where change and progress came more slowly, can only remain a matter of conjecture. It must be remembered that, so far, there are relatively few Urnes metalwork finds in England, spread over a wide area, and that, as a result, conclusions reached from their distribution patterns are quite fallible. As new dis-

coveries are made, the above conjecture may be substantiated or invalidated.

One further speculation may be made as a result of this observation of the distinction between the northern and southern areas, and that concerns the place(s) of manufacture of the English Urnes style mounts. In the north, two major Scandinavian centres are known, York and Lincoln. Although the find places of objects are likely to be more representative of the homes of the owners of those objects, than of their places of manufacture,³⁹ it is notable that two good examples of English Urnes style have been found in Lincoln itself.⁴⁰ There is considerable evidence of bronzeworking in Lincoln, particularly in Flaxengate, which is very close to the find spot of cat.no.7. Crucibles and bronzeworking waste, including pieces of bronze sheet, in both tenth and eleventh century levels, indicate that bronzeworking was a major industrial activity, although no moulds for English Urnes style objects have been recovered.⁴¹ York was a major artistic centre, especially in the earlier period,⁴² and the closest parallels for the distinctive English Urnes style animal heads both come from York, i.e. the Fishergate ring and the Skeldergate ring terminal (pl.64a); both are probably tenth century pieces. It seems likely that, if there was a workshop for these objects, then Lincoln or York, and probably the former, would have been the most obvious centre to have used.

The Pitney brooch was found in Somerset, and is, perhaps, the finest English object of the Urnes style, both technically and stylistically. These two facts may have prompted Kendrick to assert that the brooch is either Irish or Anglo-Irish.⁴³ That it should be found in such an un-Scandinavian area is not surprising, when the easy portability of the material is taken into account. What is surprising is that, in spite of this inherent limitation of the study

PROVENANCE OF MOUNTS	SHAPE OF FRAME		NATURE OF PLATES AT RIGHT ANGLES TO BASE			MEANS OF ATTACHMENT				PROFILE		BACKGROUND TO DECORATION		DAMAGED OBJECTS
	NO FRAME	SUB- Δ	\bigcirc	L	L	L	CIRCULAR LUG AT APEX WITH RIVET HOLE	RIVET BEHIND ANIMAL HEAD	TOTAL NO. OF RIVETS	TRACES OF OTHER RIVETS ¹	RAISED	FLAT	OPENWORK	
PETERBOROUGH		•		•		•			1		•			•
KEMSLEY DOWNS		•		•		•			•	•	•			•
LINCOLN		•		•	•	•		•	2		•		•	
UNPROVENANCED	•						•	•	•		•		•	•
SEDFEFORD	•					•					•		•	
TYNEMOUTH	•		•				•				•		•	
WISBECH			•									•	•	
COLCHESTER						•			•			•	•	•
MILDENHALL	•			•		•						•		•
IXWORTH		•		•	•	•			•		•			•

Figure M. Comparative table showing those features of the Urnes style mounts in England which are associated with their functions

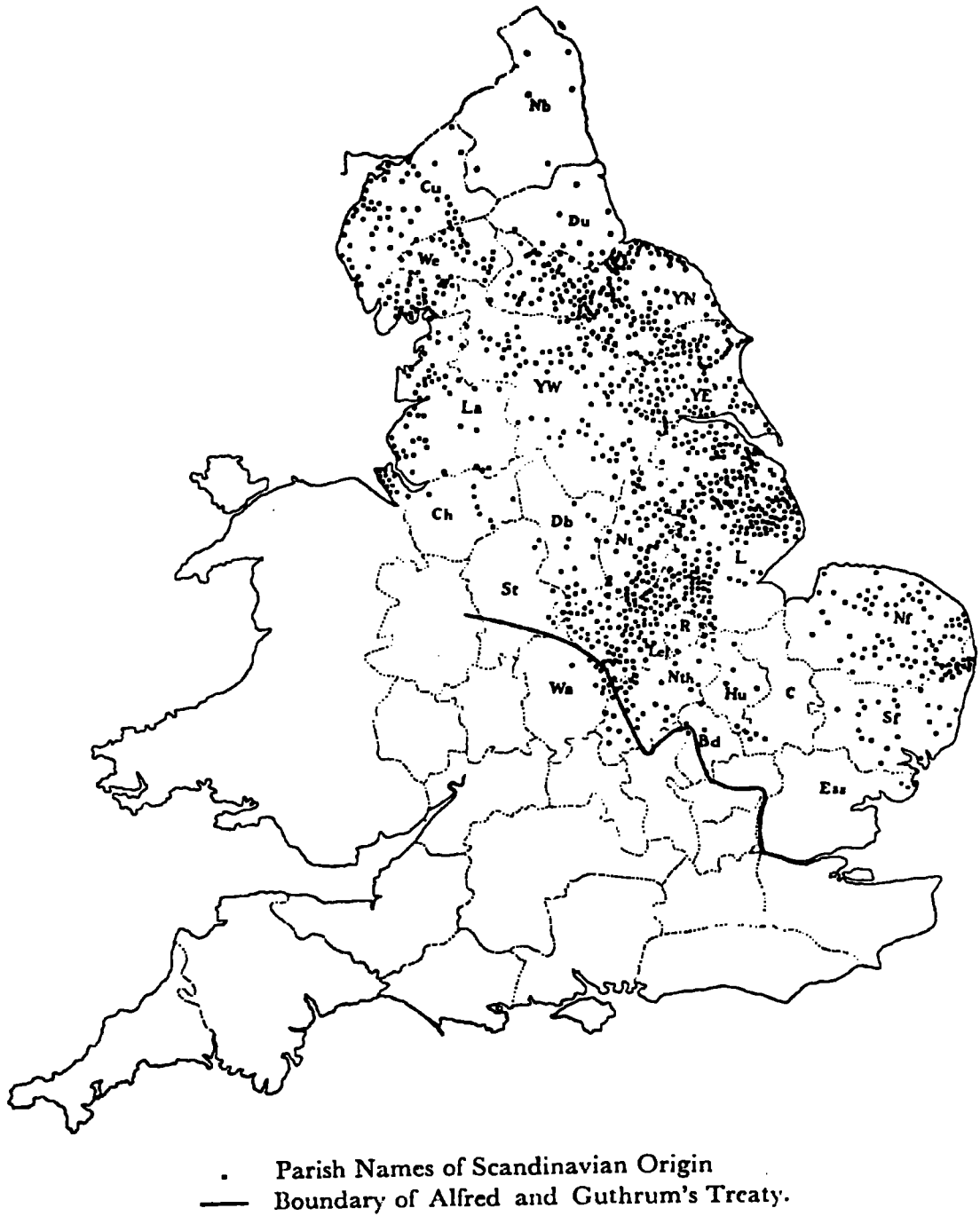


Figure N. Distribution map of parish names of Scandinavian origin

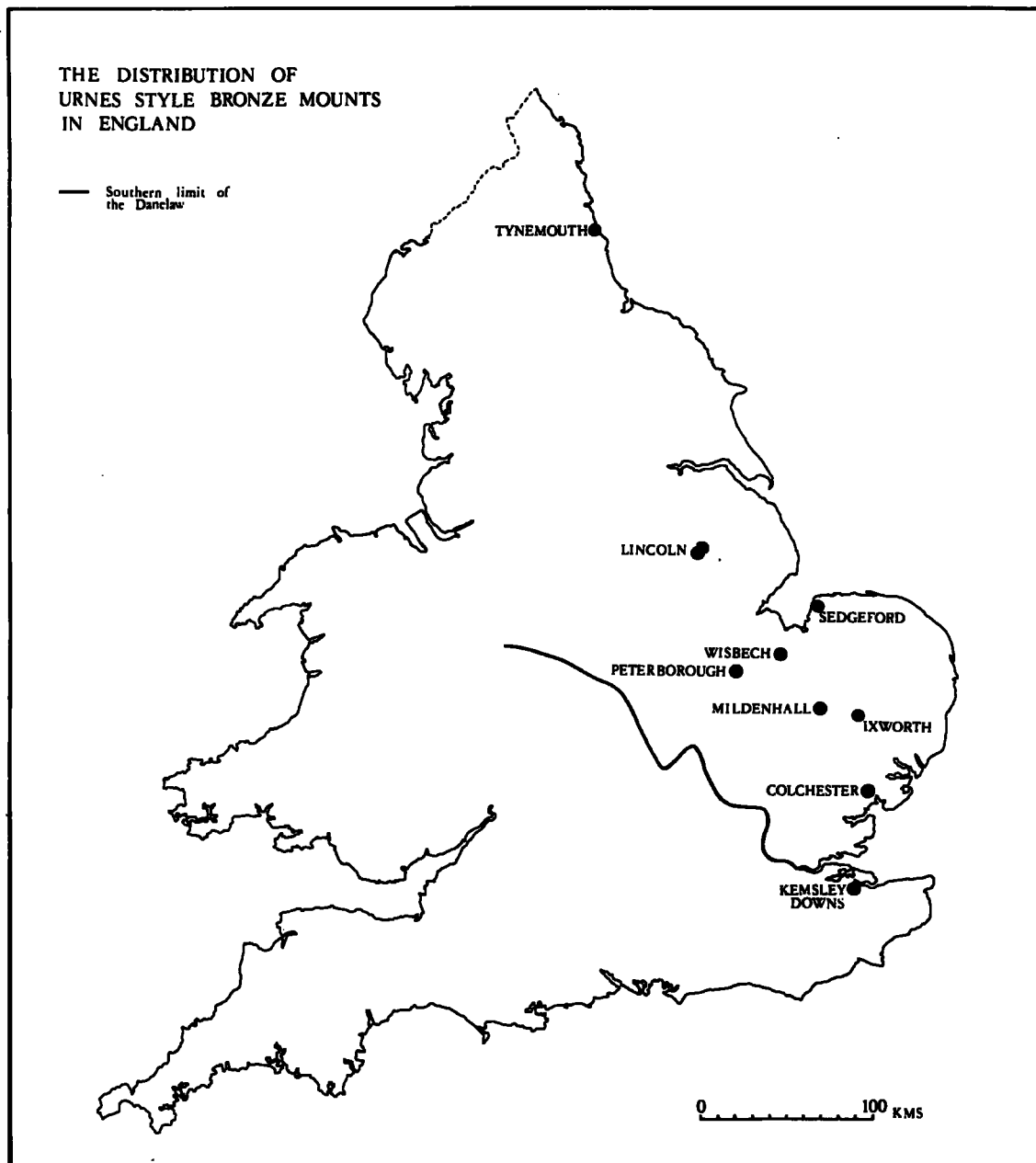


Figure 0. Distribution map of Urnes style bronze mounts in England

of distribution patterns of small metal objects, the Urnes metal-work; with the one important exception of the Pitney brooch, should have been found concentrated in one major area, the Danelaw, and that so far, the newest discoveries of material completely comply with this pattern.

Chapter seven.

Sculpture in England of the Urnes style.

With one exception, that of the monument from Jevington, Sussex (cat.no.20), there is no sculpture in England that can be called definitively Urnes style. Thus, there is a marked difference in situation between the two mediums of stone and metal. It seems that as the quantity and quality of Urnes style metalwork in England continues to rise as new discoveries are made, paradoxically, the number of sculptural monuments that have been thought to display Urnes style influences in the past, continues to diminish as the character of the style is clarified.

There are several reasons for this apparent discrepancy between the mediums, of which the political consequences of the Battle of Hastings are of major consideration. The English clergy had been active in their support for Harold, and as the Church was a powerful institution, William the Conqueror recognised the importance of consolidating his position, by replacing them with trusted men from Normandy, as soon as possible. Within twenty years, only one English abbot remained in charge of a monastery. It was largely as a result of this policy that, as Zarnecki states, "the process of Normanisation became very rapid almost immediately after the Battle of Hastings".¹ Almost as soon as a new Norman bishop or abbot was installed, the building of a new church began, and this "feverish building activity"² produced Durham Cathedral by the end of the eleventh century.

The rapid Normanisation of the Church had far-reaching consequences

for the sculptural art of the period. Unlike the metalwork material, which was not exclusive to the ecclesiastical world (above p. 134-135) sculptural monuments were almost always carved in connection with the building of a church. Thus, the logical artistic development in the medium of sculpture was interrupted. The slow process of adoption of Norman and Romanesque art, which would almost certainly have taken place in time,³ was unnaturally hastened, as a result of William's earliest policies following the Conquest. Consequently, the transitional Urnes/Romanesque phase, that is to be seen so clearly in Scandinavia, did not occur in England in quite the same way.

The tendency of art history to be viewed largely in isolation from the historical and political situation of a period has led, in this case, to an underestimation of the impact on art of the Norman invasion. For the period from 1066-1100, the variety and quality of sculpture is limited. Within the earliest Anglo-Norman churches sculptured decoration is scarce, which is surprising in view of the high standard of their architectural achievements.⁴ Zarnecki suggests that the use of wall painting was a principal means of decoration and that even the capitals were covered with painted designs.⁵

The direct influence and control of the Normans was limited in the eleventh century to the big cathedrals and abbeys in the main, and outside of these centres, Anglo-Saxon sculpture was influenced only indirectly.⁶ However, there can be little doubt that the imposition of Norman architectural ideas, and the consequent neglect of sculptural art in the major historical centres, can have little helped the artistic development of the sculptural tradition generally. The almost complete absence of Urnes style sculpture in the late eleventh century is indicative of the general disruption of artistic trends in this period.

The Norman neglect of sculptural art in the eleventh century was largely rectified in the twelfth century. The evidence is that the "feverish building activity"⁷ continued, and not only were more new churches built in place of earlier Anglo-Saxon buildings, but also, the earliest Norman churches were enlarged and improved.⁸ Whereas, in the eleventh century, sculpture had been restricted to some capitals and tympana, in the twelfth century, elaborate sculptural decoration was incorporated into the buildings on doorway frames, windows, along the walls on string courses and arcadings, on tympana, capitals, shafts, and even on wall surfaces. Zarnecki has termed this phase "Anglo-Norman",⁹ and the term is considerably more appropriate than the term for a logical artistic development, the "Urnes/Romanesque" phase, even when applied to the art, as well as to the architecture.

In the past, many references have been made to Urnes style influences on Romanesque sculpture, precisely because a natural development from the old style to the new has been envisaged. For example, although Kendrick acknowledges that very soon after the Conquest, in both urban and rural environments "Saxon schools both in the north and in the south of England came to an end",¹⁰ he believes that Viking taste survived the Conquest, and is expressed in a small number of stone carvings. He mostly refers to these carvings as examples of Urnes influence on Romanesque sculpture.

Two examples of Kendrick's Urnes/Romanesque phase carvings are to be found in St. Nicholas' church, Ipswich. These are a rectangular panel showing St. Michael fighting the dragon, and a tympana on which a boar is represented (pl. 70). Kendrick refers to the "surviving Urnes inspiration" of the St. Michael scene, the "Urnes spirit" of the dragon's tail, and "the extravagantly mannered Urnes mouth" of the boar". To refer to Urnes influences in this way is to misunder-

stand not only the Urnes style, but also the style of the period. The St. Nicholas' carvings represent twelfth-century Anglo-Norman art, that is to say, Romanesque art which is differentiated from that of the Continent, in that, after a lapse of almost fifty years, representing a political and historical transitional phase, sculptured ornament is introduced into Norman architecture by sculptors with a consciousness, and a new-found tolerance, of pre-Conquest sculptural art. After such an upheaval, their awareness is not primarily of the preceding Urnes style, as it was during the Urnes/Romanesque transitional phase in Scandinavia, but of the rich, pre-Conquest sculptural tradition in England generally, from which they drew different influences as appropriate.

In her enlightening article on the St. Nicholas' church sculpture, Kit Galbraith suggests that the hip joints of the boar are characteristic of the Mammen style, and the eye is "typically Ringerike".¹² Yet there is a considerable body of evidence to suggest that these carvings are twelfth-century works. The St. Michael scene is made of Caen stone, which was apparently only used in post-Conquest church building.¹³ The form of St. Michael's shield, and its central boss are closely paralleled on the Bayeux tapestry.¹⁴ The scene is comparable to several St. Michael and the dragon sculptural representations, in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire, in particular.¹⁵ Zarnecki maintains that, by analogy to the Water Stratford, Buckinghamshire tympanum, their style is consistent with an early twelfth century date, and that also for technical reasons, they should be dated after the Conquest.¹⁶ Galbraith argues that a comparison of the two St. Nicholas' sculptures reveals so many stylistic and technical similarities, that they are almost certainly of the same date and by the same workshop, if not by the same sculptor.¹⁷

In the light of this evidence, the concept of the use of Mammen and Ringerike features in the twelfth century, although surprising, is verified. The "volute-like"¹⁸ form of the front spiral hip of the boar, and the double contouring of both hips, are Mammen features; the short, almond-shaped eye, and the long, solid body of the creature are reminiscent of the Ringerike style; the mouth is Urnes derived, but lacks the Urnes lightness. The dragon also has a Ringerike style eye, as well as an Urnes style front hip, and a tail forming an asymmetrical, figure-of-eight shape. Both carvings have punched backgrounds, which Galbraith compares with the backgrounds of such Scandinavian objects as the Heggen vane, the Källunge vane, and the Ardre III, Gotland runestone, as well as the Winchester gilt bronze plate.¹⁹ However, the foliage and tendrils of the Ringerike style are absent; the addition of scales to the dragon and a crest to the boar is foreign to the Urnes style, and the clarity of the outlines are attributable to the Romanesque solidity of the creatures, rather than the fluent curves of the Urnes style. More importantly, the motifs of St. Michael and the dragon, and a boar, are without parallel in Scandinavian or pre-Conquest ornament.²⁰

Thus, it is inaccurate to consider the St. Nicholas' carvings in terms of an Urnes/Romanesque phase. They are Anglo-Norman carvings with Scandinavian derived influences of the Mammen, Ringerike and Urnes styles. The same is true of most other sculptures of this period, which have been previously attributed to the Urnes/Romanesque phase. These are briefly summarised in appendix D. Even those sculptures which display only Urnes influences can rarely be termed Urnes/Romanesque, for they, too, are primarily Anglo-Norman, and after a lapse in time, their sculptors have incorporated Urnes-derived features into predominantly twelfth century art. However,

there are a small number of carvings which do not merely contain Urnes-derived features, but which retain the impression of fluency and lightness, in contrast to the more usual, predominantly Romanesque character. To these sculptures alone, the term Urnes/Romanesque is applied, and they are dealt with below, as part of the same tradition that produced the Jevington carving.

The sculpture from Jevington, Sussex (cat.no.20) is dominated by the large figure of Christ. However, in two small panels at either side of his legs, there are animal scenes. To the left is a creature of Romanesque character, with Urnes derived features present in certain details. For instance, the tail terminates in a round lobe. The hindquarters of the body split into narrower tendrils, which loop in an uncontrolled fashion. The loops are almost circular, and the ornament lines again terminate in round lobes, but the loop scheme is unco-ordinated, and irregular. The eye is more reminiscent of the Ringerike style, and no hips are present. The head is paralleled on several Anglo-Norman sculptures, including the Kilpeck doorway (pl.72), and the St.Bees, Cumbria carving.²¹

The creatures in the right-hand panel are Urnes style ribbon beasts. The ornament lines are fluent; the bodies of the creatures gently taper and swell; and the proportions of the animals are elongated. Two animals are probably represented in the panel, although as the piece is damaged, and possibly unfinished, it is not possible to be certain. The major creature has an Urnes style head, viewed in profile, with an almond-shaped eye, a small ear, a folded backwards and downwards nose extension, and a pendant lower lip. The body divides at the end of a long neck to form narrower, intertwining tendrils, which loop in irregular schemes. The ornament lines terminate in round lobes. The secondary creature's head is positioned

immediately adjacent to the primary creatures', although a combat motif is not clear. Its body width is narrower than the main creature's, but it does not apparently loop at all, and terminates in a round lobe.

The shallowness of the carving, in comparison with the relief of the Christ figure and the Romanesque creature, as well as the rough finish to the plain background, indicate that the panel may be unfinished. In several ways, the ornament is reminiscent of the style of the Wisbech mount (cat.no.9). The body of the main creature is double contoured, until it divides into two; the head resembles the head of the Wisbech animal; and the irregular loop schemes are also indicative of the same tradition. The intertwining tendrils emerge from the body of the main creature, as they did on the English Urnes style bronze mounts; and the secondary creature, whose presence is unusual in the English style, is treated simplistically. The Urnes beast is carved less confidently than the rest of the ornament on the sculpture, but its stylistic origins are clear, and it differs little from the metalwork examples of the Urnes style in England. Only this small panel on the right side of Christ's legs may be termed definitively Urnes style.

The Jevington sculpture is carved on a flat stone, now incorporated into the north wall of the nave of Jevington church. Three decorated capitals, one from Norwich Cathedral (cat.no.21), and two from Kirkburn, in the East Riding of Yorkshire (cat.no.22) display the general characteristics of the Urnes style in their ornament, notably the lightness and fluency of curve.

It is ironic that, when the Urnes style on sculpture is generally so poorly represented, one of the closest parallels of all to the Scandinavian style is to be found on a twelfth-century, Anglo-Norman, sculptured capital. The Norwich capital is a particularly fine work,

comparable for both style and technical achievement to the Pitney brooch (cat.no.12). The ornamentation is continuous, round three sides of the monument. Several ribbon beasts are depicted, whose bodies swell and taper gently, before evolving into narrower tendrils, which intertwine forming multi-loop and figure-of-eight loop schemes. The decoration on the three sides is very similar. Charles Green's drawing of one of the sides (fig.P) reveals that the design is composed of broad and thin lines arranged in interpenetrating loop schemes, which encircle the plain background. The overall design is reminiscent of that on Urnes stave church itself, although there is a less spacious effect, as a result of the large number of intertwining tendrils. Two ribbon beasts are depicted on this side. Their heads are placed in each top corner, and although both damaged, they seem to have been viewed in profile, with folded backwards and downwards nose extensions, and pendant lower lips terminating in round lobes. Their heads are less elongated than their Scandinavian counterparts; their ears are long and pointed; and no eyes are visible. The curvature of the beast on the right side resembles that of the Urnes portal standing quadruped, although the hind quarters evolve into an intertwining tendril. The creature on the left side resembles the ribbon beasts of Urnes portal in its curvature. It, too, evolves into an intertwining tendril. The development into tendrils is marked by the termination of lengths of beaded ornament, which occupy the ornament lines of the animal bodies, and which are reminiscent of the beaded ornament on the body of the Pitney brooch animal. Every tendril in the design is a continuation of one or other of the animal bodies, and in fact, the tendrils from each animal are joined, so that the two creatures are inextricably linked together. In this, the design follows the English Urnes tradition, in that intertwining

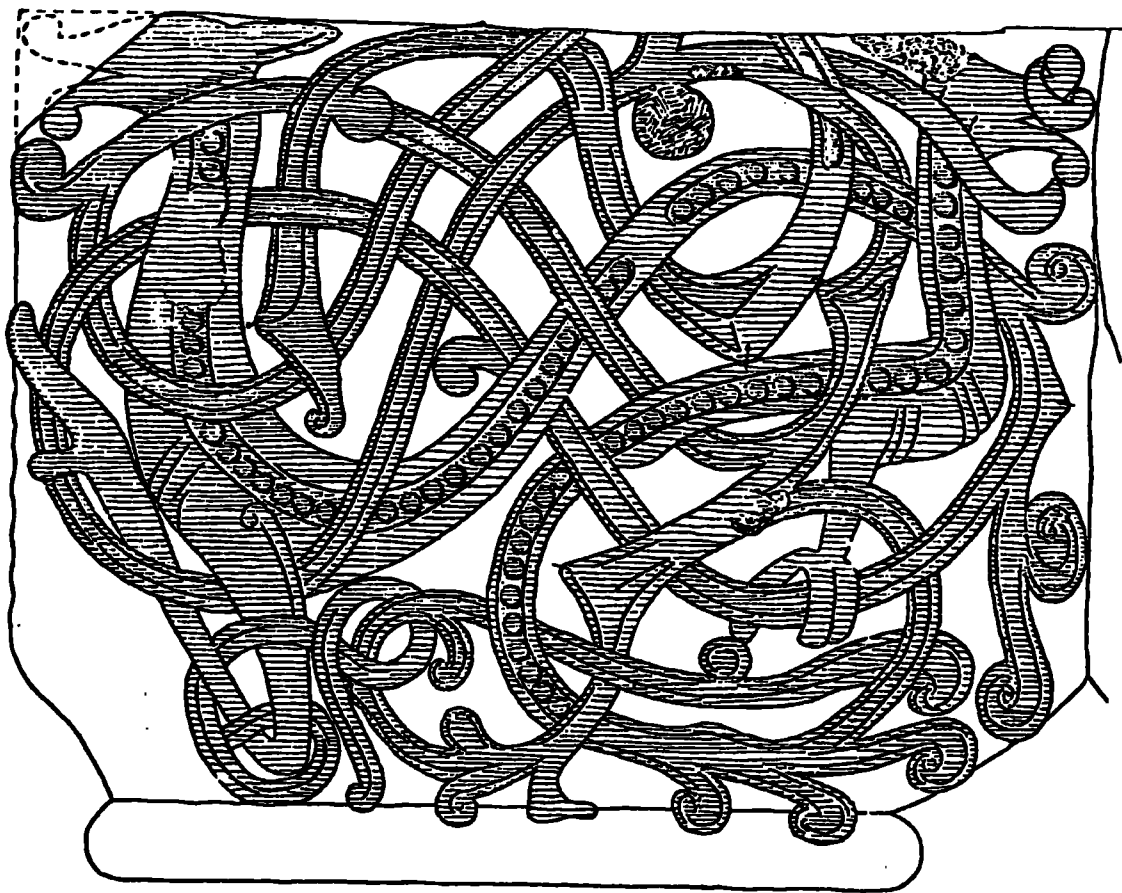


Figure P. One side of the Norwich capital

tendrils emerge from the animals' bodies and have no independent rôle; and the number of terminations is minimised, so that it is not immediately apparent from where they emerge, nor where they terminate.

Some elements of the design are untypical of the Urnes style. The beading on the bodies is one example. The ornament lines of the bodies and the tendrils are double contoured, and only the creature to the left has a spiral hip, and that is a diminutive version. Series of lines mark the animal bodies, at the junction of the necks and bodies. The leg of the creature to the right is short, and the foot is three-toed. The leg and foot of the creature to the left is reminiscent of the hind leg of the Pitney brooch animal, with a sharp bend at the knee joint, where the leg meets the border of the piece, and a foot with a vegetal appearance. The sub-triangular hip joints, such as those on the spiral bodies of the ribbon beasts on the English Urnes style bronze mounts, are also represented on the intertwining tendrils of the Norwich capital. However, there are five of them altogether, and they are decorative, rather than representative of joints. The intertwining tendrils frequently divide, and have a number of offshoots. Often these take the forms of round lobes, appended to the ornament lines, but many of them are vegetal in appearance, involving pear-shaped lobes. Nevertheless, overall, the fluency of the curves and the use of the loop schemes indicates an undoubted Urnes tradition for the piece. Zarnecki writes that the Norwich capital is the product of a direct Viking influence on Anglo-Norman art "in the area where the Vikings were once supreme, and where the Viking settlers could have been expected to have inaugurated a strong tradition".²² For all that, the comparative singularity of the monument expresses more clearly the predominance of Anglo-Norman art of the period.

The two capitals from Kirkburn (cat.no.22) display Urnes influences of a very different character, for there are no zoomorphic elements. Instead, both capitals are decorated with a series of broad and thin intertwining tendrils, which loop in irregular schemes. The two capitals are now part of an external window in the south wall of the church at Kirkburn. Although similar, the ornamentation of the two pieces is not identical. Simple human masks are positioned at the centre top of each capital, and the intertwining tendrils on the capital to the left of the window, appear to emanate from this head. The broader line widths contain engraved lines, which follow the outermost contours. The ornament lines tend to terminate in points or vegetal motifs, rather than round lobes.

The Urnes influence is to be seen more in the general impression of the capitals, rather than in the details of their designs. The work is not accomplished, although the outer face of the capital to the right displays more delicate intertwinings of the Urnes type than elsewhere. The loop schemes are unorderly, although the contrasts between broad and thin ornament lines, and between both line widths and the plain background, are of major consideration. The lack of zoomorphic character indicates that the Urnes influence is slight. It is unlikely that the pieces are directly imitative of the Urnes style; and more likely that they represent the unconscious re-use of a traditional form of ornamentation in a later period.

The sculptures from Hoveringham and Southwell (cat.nos.23 and 24) bear comparison with the Ipswich panel, in that they are among a group of sculptures associated with what Moe terms "the cult of St. Michael".²³ The tympanum from the St.Michael, and All Saints Church in Hoveringham depicts St.Michael, with the Agnus Dei behind him, fighting the dragon. The church of St.Mary the Virgin in Southwell

has a tympanum, now re-used as a doorway lintel, which depicts precisely the same motif. Although this scene recurs several times in Anglo-Norman sculpture, particularly in Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire, these two versions alone display obvious Urnes style influences in the Romanesque dragon motif.

The two works are very similar, both stylistically and technically. They are both carved in "flat figure style",²⁴ and it seems likely that, as Moe suggests, the two monuments may be the works of the same artist, or at any rate, the same school.²⁵ The close proximity of Southwell and Hoveringham, is another reason to suggest this. The forequarters of both dragons are typically Romanesque in style. However, in both cases, the hind-quarters loop back on themselves, and form strong, diagonal lines before terminating in Romanesque vegetal ornaments. The ornament lines of the bodies are intertwined with tendrils of a narrower line width, which emerge from the main bodies of the creatures. The impression of broad and thin lines juxtaposed with the plain background, and arranged in loop schemes formed of fluent curves, is undoubtedly indicative of the Urnes tradition. Pearshaped lobes and round lobes emerge from the narrower line widths, and are to be found in both Urnes and Romanesque art. The Hoveringham dragon is repeated in miniature above the major motif. The smaller dragon has an Urnes style head, which is viewed in profile, with a folded backwards and downwards nose extension, a pendant lower lip and an almond shaped eye, and a small ear. The ornament lines of both creatures terminate mostly in round lobes.

Below the Hoveringham tympanum is a lintel, decorated with a frieze of two intertwined ribbon beasts. Both animal heads are similar to that of the smaller creature on the tympanum. Again, the juxtaposition of broad and thin lines on a plain background is a

major feature. Narrow, intertwining tendrils emerge from the main animal bodies, to form wide loops and to produce a pattern of fluent curves. The design is subtly asymmetrical. A curious "angelic" creature confronts the ribbon beast to the right, while the animal to the left has a backturned head, and bites its own body.

This lintel frieze expresses the Urnes tradition even more clearly than the dragons on the tympanum. Although the winged creature to the far right is a Romanesque intrusion, the majority of the design is typically Urnes style. The ornamental frieze in the wall of Vamlingbo church, Gotland (pl.63) bears many similarities to the Hoveringham frieze. However, the bodies of the Vamlingbo ribbon beasts form figure-of-eight loop schemes. Although the overall impression is similar, the narrow tendrils on the Hoveringham frieze loop according to the English style, that is, in an unregulated fashion.

Both Kendrick and Moe remark on the fact that the "barbaric animals are done with greater zest than the ... Romanesque creature".²⁶ On the two tympana, the execution of the dragons' convoluted, Urnes influenced tails is certainly more confident than that of the St. Michael figures, and consequently, tends to dominate the designs. The implication is that the sculptor(s) of the two tympana was more familiar with the Urnes tradition than the sculptors of most other Anglo-Norman art. It is significant in this context that, unlike the sculptor of the St. Nicholas' church, Ipswich carvings, Scandinavian influences are limited to the inclusion of fine Urnes ornament, instead of a selection of pre-Conquest, Anglo-Scandinavian features. For this reason, the Hoveringham and Southwell carvings represent an Urnes/Romanesque stylistic phase, of which they are practically the only representatives.

It should be mentioned here that the smaller animal above the major dragon on the Hoveringham tympanum is possibly indicative of the re-use of an earlier Scandinavian element. The bronze vane from Söderala for instance, and the St. Paul's Churchyard stone both include miniature versions of the major animal motif in their ornament, which Moe terms "a kind of satellite".²⁷ However, generally, earlier Scandinavian influences are minimised on these two monuments.

Anglo-Norman sculptures displaying Urnes style elements amongst their usually varied ornamental repertoire are dealt with in appendix D. However, the five sculptures described above, those from Jevington, Norwich, Kirkburn, Hoveringham and Southwell, are distinguished as being the only monuments to retain the essential character of the style. In their ornamentation, they display an awareness, not necessarily of the typical ornamental details encountered in Urnes designs (although, some features, such as the Hoveringham lintel animal heads, do bear a close resemblance to Scandinavian versions) but primarily, of the underlying principles of the Urnes style, as defined by the formal analyses applied in chapter two. The comparison Kendrick draws between the "authentic barbaric power"²⁸ of the Urnes influenced dragons on the Hoveringham and Southwell tympana, and the "miserable, spiritless things",²⁹ as he calls the Southwell lion, and the Hoveringham Agnus Dei, may also be a comparison between those sculptures that have retained the essence of the Urnes style, and those which make use of Urnes derived elements in fundamentally Romanesque carvings. That so few sculptures should retain this essence, and that they should be as varied in distribution and ornamentation as they are, is a direct result of the rapid Normanisation of the Church following the Norman Conquest. That Scandinavian influences should be discernible at all in a number of twelfth-century Anglo-Norman sculptures reflects the fact that Norman sculpture, too, was affected in England by the dramatic effects of the battle of 1066.

Chapter eight.

Miscellaneous examples of Urnes style decoration in England.

There are only two additional examples of the Urnes style in England; one occurs on an unusual walrus ivory comb, and the other in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript.

A. The walrus ivory comb (cat.no.25).

This unprovenanced comb is unusual in every respect. It is considerably smaller than most early medieval combs, measuring 5.4 by 4.1 cms., and is made from a single slab of walrus ivory. The typical Anglo-Saxon comb is normally much larger, and made of several pieces of bone or ivory, which are joined by a central bar along either face, which is nailed on with rivets of bronze or iron, and acts as a strengthener; the teeth are cut into the longer sides.¹ Wilson records only one other single slab, double-sided Anglo-Saxon comb of small proportions, from Wallingford, Berkshire, dateable perhaps to the late tenth or early eleventh century.² However, this comb has teeth on the long sides, and thus belongs to Lasko's "horizontal" group, while the example here is of the "vertical" type.³ Although combs of such a small size and made from a single slab of bone or ivory are not unknown in earlier Romano-British contexts, they, too, like the Wallingford comb, are of the "horizontal" type.

Lasko divides single slab, double-sided combs into these two major typological groups, "horizontal" and "vertical", in which "horizontal" combs have teeth on the long sides, and "vertical" combs on the short.⁴ He subdivides these groups according to the shape of the decorative space available. "Vertical" combs may have either a rectangular or square, a semicircular, or a segmental shaped decorative area. This walrus ivory comb is "vertical" with a rectangular area for decoration.

Lasko records that "vertical" combs probably originated in Coptic

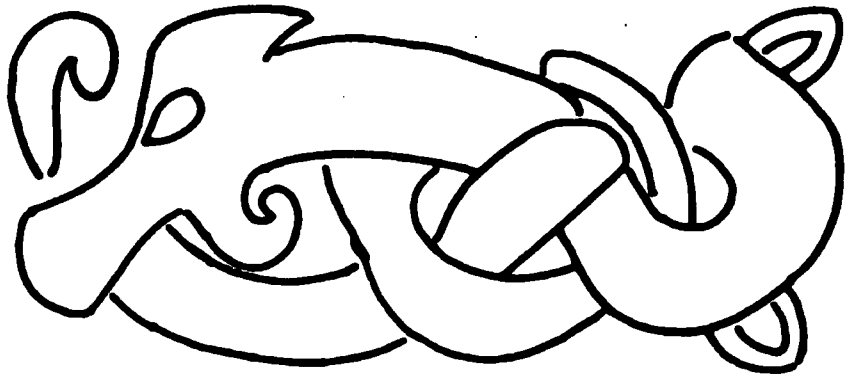
Egypt, that they range in date from the Carolingian to the Romanesque period, and that they are unknown later than the twelfth century.⁵ Twenty-six combs of the "vertical" type and made of a single slab of bone or ivory, are listed by him, from Europe and the Mediterranean.⁶ They are all much larger than the example here, up to 31.5 cms. in height. Three of Lasko's examples are of presumed Anglo-Saxon manufacture.⁷ These are St. Cuthbert's comb, a fragmentary eleventh century example probably from Wales, and a tenth century object which was preserved in Nivelles, France, but which has now been destroyed. These, too, are large examples; Cuthbert's comb, for instance, measures 11.85 by 16.3 cms. There is only one other, small "vertical" comb known; it measures 5.4 by 3.4 cms., and comes from the Khazar fortress at Sarkel on the Don.⁸ Thus, this walrus ivory comb is distinctive in both size and form, amongst the Anglo-Saxon material.

The object was originally published by Goldschmidt in 1923, when it was in the collection of Frau Tilla Durieux.⁹ He compared it to the Anglo-Saxon casket in Brunswick (pl. 69a) and suggested that it was of eighth or ninth century date, on the basis of the similarities between the juxtaposed cat-like creatures on one side of the comb and in one ornamental field on the casket. However, the other face of the comb is decorated with an interlaced ribbon beast, whose origins are Scandinavian. The ribbon body loops in an asymmetrical figure-of-eight shape, and is superimposed on a plain background. Only one creature is represented, as on the English Urnes style bronze mounts (cat.nos.1-7), and it interlaces with itself. There is some contrast between broad and thin line widths, in that an inanimate tendril, of narrower proportions than the animal body, encircles the central portion of the serpent. The animal head is viewed in profile, and has a pointed ear and an almond-shaped eye.

The latter is small, as were the eyes of the creatures on the Durham crosier head (cat.no.16) and the Colchester mount (cat.no.8). The nose is unusual, broad and round-ended, but upturned as if there was a nose extension. The short lower lip is pendant, and terminates in a round lobe, as does the narrowing tail of the creature. In essence, this is an Urnes style ribbon beast from England.

Wilson acknowledges that the "lentoid eye" and the "well-defined snake-like body" are indicative of the Urnes style, but he asserts that the design is typical of the "Anglo-Saxon/Viking Ringerike school of ornament".¹⁰ The fluent and uninterrupted ornament lines of the creature, and the absence of the "additive principle of composition"¹¹ do not support this view, but the piece was analysed by curvature in an attempt to determine its real affinities. When all the ornament lines present are juxtaposed in a drawing (fig. Q) it is immediately apparent that the most common type of line is the bow-shaped curve, with a varying, but continuously large radius. With very few exceptions, the lines are of the same type as those dominant in the curvature pattern of the bronze mount from Sedgeford, (fig.G.i) and even the Urnes church standing quadruped (fig.D.ii). They conform with each other in the distinctive Urnes manner noted on the above artefact and monument, and demonstrate that this is an Urnes style creature.

It is thus not possible to concur with Goldschmidt that the piece is of eighth or ninth century date. The cat-like creatures, on which he bases his conclusions, are "normal Romanesque art of tenth/early eleventh century England" asserts Wilson.¹² They may be compared to those animals on the London Bridge¹³ and Canterbury (pl.69) censer covers in the British Museum, which Wilson suggests are tenth-century objects.¹⁴ These early dates would coincide with the Ringerike assignation of the other side of the comb. However,



i



ii

Figure Q.

- i. Ribbon beast on the walrus ivory comb, prepared for curvature analysis
- ii. Ornament lines of the walrus ivory comb ribbon beast juxtaposed

the arrangement of the two animals is comparable to the ornament of several larger, single slab, ivory combs from the Continent. An example in the Cathedral Treasury in Bamberg¹⁵ has two similar Romanesque animals symmetrically opposed on either side of a central bar, and contained within a beaded frame, such as is found down the shorter sides of the field containing the ribbon beast on the English object. Goldschmidt dates this comb, which measures 10.5 by 11.1 cms., to the eleventh or twelfth century.¹⁶ Two combs in Prague¹⁷ and Siegburg¹⁸ are ornamented with Romanesque winged dragons; on each artefact, two identical creatures are symmetrically juxtaposed within a rectangular field. Goldschmidt also dates these to the eleventh or twelfth centuries.¹⁹

As cat-like creatures occur on the Brunswick casket, the London and Canterbury censer covers, and the walrus ivory comb, they cannot be used to ascertain the date of the latter. Since the ribbon beast is an Urnes style creature, and the arrangement of the ornament is reminiscent of eleventh and twelfth century continental combs, it seems likely that the walrus ivory comb is an Urnes/Romanesque piece, to be dated accordingly later than Wilson suggests (see chapter nine).

Although the ornament of both faces is much worn, it was obviously an elaborate object, carved in deep relief. Tool marks are visible in the recesses, but the animal ornament itself is well finished, the bodies of the creatures being rounded and polished. The comb may have been used for a variety of functions, either as a toilet implement, or as a hair decoration, or as a liturgical object, although this latter usage is undocumented before the thirteenth century.²⁰ It is not possible to determine the original use of the object.

B. A stylus addition to Royal I.E.VI (cat.no.26).

In a Gospel Book from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, which probably dates from the late eighth or early ninth century,²¹ a miniature has

later been added, painted on the reverse of one of the original purple-dyed leaves, It shows the Evangelist Mark, and probably dates from sometime between the late tenth and mid-eleventh century (see chapter nine).²² The Evangelist is contained within a rectangular frame, which has later been slightly impinged upon by a stylus addition, a drawing of an Urnes style ribbon beast, above which is written, in the same hand, *P ego*.²³

The creature is of the Scandinavian Urnes type. It is unfinished, as shown by the incompleting terminal lobe below the spiral hip and the lack of hindquarters. It also has the appearance of a sketch, particularly when series of short, overlapping lines are used to produce the more difficult curves of the neck and rump. However, apart from these lines, the ornament lines are fluent and uninterrupted, the proportions are elongated, the lines taper and swell very gently; the head is seen in profile, and is characteristically Scandinavian, although no eye is represented; the foot is typical with a heel and two long toes; and the front hip is a simplified spiral in a widening of the body. The arrangement of the head and neck, and the leg and foot produces an open loop, and all the lines have curves of a large radius. As the drawing is unfinished, no loop schemes are depicted, only the major animal characteristics. However, the incompleting terminal lobe indicates that perhaps the hindquarters of the creature should have evolved into interlaced limbs of narrow line width, which would have been arranged in interpenetrating loop schemes.

Although the design can be classified as a Scandinavian Urnes type, it was not drawn by a Scandinavian hand. The inscription above the animal head, *P ego*, and the beast are drawn by the same English Caroline miniscule hand. This eighth/ninth century Gospel book is an unlikely context in which to find an Urnes style drawing.

However, it seems as if the whole of folio 30v, on which the Urnes animal occurs, was available for sketches and unassociated free drawings. The miniature painting of the Evangelist Mark is an earlier addition, from about 1000-1050 (see chapter nine). The page includes other rough additions, some pre-dating the miniature, and difficult to discern beneath the painting, and some, like the Urnes beast, post-dating the miniature, but not all done in the same hand, or presumably, at the same time.

Wilson, writing about comparative material to the Trewhiddle hoard, cites M.S.Royal 1.E.VI.²⁴ He draws attention to the black and white treatment of the animals with their speckling in the manuscript, and speculates that the scribe was copying a metal prototype, and that his black and white are equivalent to the metalworkers' niello and silver. He points to other techniques, which are derived from metalwork by way of other manuscripts, and concludes: "it is an undoubted fact that there are more elements of metalwork in Royal 1.E.VI than in any insular manuscript illuminated since the Book of Durrow".²⁵ On the basis of the close connections between the Trewhiddle hoard and the ornamentation of Royal 1.E.VI, Wilson dates the latter to 840/850.²⁶ It is necessary to enquire whether the same relationship existed between manuscript art and the metalwork of the period, for a later eleventh century scribe, drawing in the same manuscript.

Since the animal ornament is so typically and distinctively Scandinavian in character, but the work of an Englishman, it seems likely that it is copied from a prototype. If it is compared to the Lindholm Høje openwork animal brooch (pl.47a), the similarities are striking. The main animal ornament is almost identical, and in addition, the neck and head of the creature form an open loop, and meet the raised front foot of the creature. The narrow interlacing

tendrils are missing from the manuscript sketch, and thus, so are the interpenetrating loop schemes. However, it is easy to imagine that the hindquarters of the creature would have evolved into Urnes patterns reminiscent of those on the Lindholm Høje brooch, and the incomplete terminal lobe below the spiral hip provides further evidence of this. Thus, it seems probable that the manuscript sketch is the work of an English scribe copying the design from a Scandinavian openwork animal brooch, which he may have had in front of him.

This manuscript sketch is a valuable addition to the catalogue, since it offers a new perspective on the Urnes style in England. Here is an example of the style in a religious context, contained within a religious book, drawn by a scribe who was evidently attracted by the art of a metalwork object, and felt at ease copying it into an English manuscript, which had derived inspiration from metalwork patterns and techniques throughout its history. The manuscript sketch demonstrates again that the Urnes style was a common and acceptable style idiom in England, and was applicable in many different contexts and mediums.

Chapter nine.

The dating of the Urnes style in England.

In a recent article, Wilson outlined six bases of dating, which he defined in order of reliability thus:¹

- 1) Dating by inscription;
- 2) Dating by association with a known historical personage;
- 3) Dating by association with a known historical event (i.e. dating by political probability);
- 4) Dating by inclusion in a coin hoard;
- 5) Dating by inclusion in an archaeological stratification;
- 6) Stylistic or typological dating.

Two of the objects in the catalogue bear inscriptions, but in neither case are they of much value in dating the pieces. The Sutton, Isle of Ely brooch (cat.no.13) has two inscriptions, of which only one is legible. Written in Roman characters, it has been translated: "Aedvwen owns me, may the Lord own her. May the Lord curse the man who takes me from her, unless she gives me of her own free will". The second inscription is a cryptic script, possibly used for magical purposes.²

Secondly, above the ribbon beast added to folio 30v, as MS. Royal 1.E.VI (cat.no.26) is written *P ego* in an English Caroline miniscule hand, with the *P* appearing as a decorated capital. The animal and the inscription are done by the same hand.³ The inscription itself gives no information about the date of the drawing, but as it is a distinctive and skilful script, it may help in a discernment of the date of the animal ornament. The page on which the Urnes beast is drawn is itself an addition. It is a miniature painted on the reverse of one of the purple-dyed leaves of a Gospel Book from St. Augustine's, Canterbury,

which probably dates from the late eighth/early ninth century.⁴ It shows the Evangelist Mark, enthroned in an arched, curtained tabernacle, and holding, with both hands, a scroll, held by the hand of God above, and winding right down to the bottom of the picture. Temple notes that "iconographically, the picture is unusual and without close parallel among Evangelist portraits".⁵ However, seated figures holding long, curling scrolls are found in Canterbury manuscripts of the early eleventh century; and the "dynamic style" is also typical of Canterbury manuscripts from the late tenth to the mid-eleventh century. The date of the added miniature is controversial, although it seems likely to have been painted sometime between the late tenth and mid-eleventh century. Temple speculates that it was added about 1000, but Homburger, with perhaps as much justification, assigns it to about 1050.⁶

The Urnes drawing and the inscription post-date the miniature because the stylus grooves that form them cut into the pigment of the rectangular frame surrounding the Evangelist Mark. There are other additions on the same page, including a rough reproduction of an Evangelist's head, drawn in a different hand from the ribbon beast. Some stylus grooves apparently pre-date the pigment too, but they are difficult to discern. Since the whole page has so many subsequent additions, it is possibly only a sketch.

Thus, the inscription and the Urnes creature were added sometime after 1000, and maybe after 1050. As the script of *P ego* is so clear, it may be possible to find parallels for it in other manuscripts. It has been tentatively suggested that a similar hand wrote in some charters, also from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, dated from the mid- to late eleventh century.⁷ It is fairly certain that the page is a Canterbury work. The

inscription does not provide any close dating, but indicates that this stylus addition probably dates from the mid- to second half of the eleventh century.

The Durham crosier head (cat.no.16) has long been associated with Rannulph Flambard, Bishop of Durham from 1099 - 1128.⁸ However, recent investigations into the post-Conquest burials in Durham cathedral chapter house have revealed that the grave in which the crosier was found is not likely to have been Flambard's (see appendix E). The object can thus no longer be associated with a known historical personage.

It is clear that the Norman Conquest of 1066 greatly affected the sculptural art of the period, but how far one can date the metalwork on the same basis remains uncertain. Wilson maintains that most of the Urnes material in England has a *terminus ante quem* of 1066.⁹ The basis of this theory is that the "ex-Vikings", that is, the Normans of late eleventh and twelfth century England, rediscovered their Scandinavian heritage of up to three centuries earlier to produce such a fine work as the Norwich capital (cat. no.21). As Green points out, this is not a credible explanation.¹⁰ However, it evidently arises as an attempt to explain the surprisingly late date of the Norwich piece.

Norwich became the head of the East Anglian see in 1095, at which time it had no suitable cathedral church. Bishop Herbert began the building, and the church was apparently so far advanced by September 1101 that it could be consecrated for divine service. However, it was still unfinished when Herbert died in 1119, and his successor, Everard de Montgomery, is reported to have continued the building work.¹¹ The capital is thus presumably later than 1101, and probably not later than 1150 as it was part of the original fabric of the church. Zarnecki dates the Norwich capital to 1130-1140 on comparative, stylistic grounds.¹² He notes the similari-

ties between the Norwich sculpture and a font in St. James' church, Reading,¹³ (which was originally the clustered capital of a cloister pier), and believes that the two objects were contemporary.

Reading church was begun in 1121, and the cloisters were decorated between 1125 and 1140. In addition, he notes the influence of the Reading sculptures on the so-called Herefordshire school of sculpture, the chief monument of which, Shobdon,¹⁴ was built before 1143 on documentary evidence, indicating a date prior to this for the Norwich and Reading works. The 1130 date is reached through comparison with manuscript illumination. Zarnecki maintains that the flat, linear style of some early twelfth century designs is based on their derivation from manuscript ornament; and Whittingham has also suggested that the Norwich Urnes pattern may have been based on a manuscript design.¹⁵ The Reading font has a similar design to the MSS. of St. Albans, which is dated to about 1130. This dating has been widely accepted on stylistic grounds, and there is no reason to differ here.

Much sculpture was being carved in the first half of the twelfth century, but very little is recognisably Urnes style. In East Anglia, a culturally conservative region because of its situation away from the main routes of inland communication, the survival of Scandinavian taste, even as late as 1140, should not be unexpected.¹⁶ This survival was accompanied by the flat, linear style of carving of Viking origin, but produced by native masons in the twelfth century.¹⁷ As Zarnecki shows, the Norwich capital is only one of a group of diverse designs, perhaps carved by the same man who later carved the Prior's door at Ely, where the flat style also prevailed, but which is basically "typically English".¹⁸ The clear Urnes pattern of the Norwich capital lends to it a singularity; but in fact, the object has associations with much other Anglo-Norman sculpture, on stylistic and

technical grounds, and possibly even in terms of its carver, and the workshop that produced it. In the light of this evidence, it seems that the Norwich capital is not to be associated with a revival of Viking taste by the Normans in England, but seen as the work of an East Anglian carver, using a Scandinavian theme in an area where such traditions continued. Consequently, it is not true to say on the grounds that Wilson does that the Urnes material in England necessarily post-dates the Norman Conquest, although the sculpture associated with Norman churches obviously post-dates that major historical event of 1066.

Unfortunately, very little evidence is available concerning the dates of the other Urnes sculptures in England. The Jevington carving (cat.no.20) was discovered in a stone chest in the church in 1785, when the second stage of the belfry was refloored.¹⁹ The tower which is the oldest part of the present church dates from the mid-tenth century, and may have served not only as a place of worship, but as a watchtower or a refuge against Danish invasions. Its unusual width and the extreme thickness of the walls indicate this purpose. The construction of the rest of the church was a gradual process. Thus the Urnes carving, on historical grounds, can only be dated to later than about 950.

Controversy surrounds the dating of the Southwell and Hoveringham tympana (cat.nos.24 and 23). The Southwell carving is re-used as a door lintel in the present Minster, which was begun by Thomas II who was Archbishop from 1108 to 1114.²⁰ The lintel is incorporated into an early twelfth century wall of the north transept of the Minster, thus providing a *terminus post quem* for the piece. On this basis, Kendrick²¹ suggests that it is improbable that it is later than 1050, for it was probably transferred to its present position from the earlier church, (which by the early eleventh century had become a place of pilgrimage, owing to its containing the relics of St.Eadburgh.²²)

Later, Archbishop Kinsius (1050-60)²³ gave bells to Southwell, and his successor, Ealdred, founded prebends and built the first refectory for the canons. Thus, by the Norman Conquest, a collegiate foundation was fully established. All the evidence suggests that the early church was a building of fine workmanship, although nothing remains of it today.²⁴

Moe, in particular, refers to the dating of the Southwell carving.²⁵ He believes that the Hoveringham and Southwell works were carved before the Norman Conquest, and connects them with the "growth of Christianity" and the "cult of St. Michael" about 1000. He draws attention to the undoubted connections with Normandy before the Conquest,²⁶ to show that early eleventh century Romanesque influences in England are quite probable; and refers to the "distinctly Danish" character of the area at the time, curiously linking this observation with the fact the King Edgar gave Archbishop Asketil of York the manor of Southwell in the early eleventh century, and that Asketil is a Danish name.²⁷ He concludes that, as the Southwell and Hoveringham carvings agree in both style and composition, they may be the works of the same artist, or at least, of the same school; and that on the basis of the historical evidence from Southwell, they probably date from prior to 1020. This would make them amongst the "earliest Urnes monuments known", which involves important repercussions about the origins of the style.²⁸

The evidence for this early date is most tenuous. The pieces are so similar that Moe is probably correct in asserting that they must be roughly contemporary. However, the association of them with an "intellectual invasion, a cultural wave" in about 1000 is purely hypothetical; and the connection between the "cult of St. Michael" and the Normans and Scandinavian people cannot be substantiated.²⁹ The Southwell and Hoveringham sculptures are related to a group of repre-

sentations of St. Michael and the dragon and similar subjects. These are found concentrated in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire and normally incorporate some Scandinavian-derived features. Zarnecki suggests that the tympanum from Water Stratford, Buckinghamshire, which is analogous with the Southwell and Hoveringham works, is an early twelfth century piece.³⁰ For this, and for other technical reasons, Zarnecki dates the two Nottinghamshire carvings to after the Conquest. In addition, Galbraith demonstrates the affinities between the style of the Hoveringham tympanum, particularly the flanking figures, and the figures on the crossing capitals at Southwell Minster,³¹ which are generally dated to 1120, and have always been regarded as post-Conquest.³² The arrangement of the flanking figures on the Hoveringham tympanum is repeated on other post-Conquest tympana, such as those at Tissington³³ and Findern.³⁴

The only factual historical evidence relating to the Southwell and Hoveringham tympana is that the Southwell work is built into an early twelfth century wall. - Perhaps its prominent position in the new Minster indicates that it was a recent and fashionable piece in 1108, and thus, deserved preservation, when other carved stones were used as base material in the rebuilding.³⁵ However, most significantly, the Southwell and Hoveringham sculptures are not isolated phenomena, which they would be were they as early in date as 1020, but are associated stylistically with the Urnes material in England, and with the twelfth century Romanesque representations of St. Michael and the dragon, and are thus, almost certainly, post-Conquest carvings.

Two of the metalwork objects were found in association with coin hoards. The Sutton, Isle of Ely brooch (cat.no.13) was turned up by

the plough in 1694 in a lead casket with about a hundred silver coins of William the Conqueror, five heavy gold rings, and a plain silver dish. The deposition date of the hoard is found to be, by coin association, before 1088, and thus, the brooch was produced before 1088.³⁶ However, it is not "safe to date it to the late tenth or early eleventh century" as Wilson says;³⁷ it may also be a post-Conquest object, on the evidence of the coin hoard alone. The silver fragments from London (cat.no.18) were almost certainly found with a coin hoard, which was deposited about 1066 (see appendix F).

Wilson's fifth basis of dating is by inclusion in an archaeological stratification. Very little of the material in the catalogue has been found in a stratified context. Of the Urnes style bronze mounts, only two were found in archaeological layers, but in both cases the context was of no value for dating. The Tynemouth mount (cat.no.6) was found in a thirteenth-century level in the sacristy of Tynemouth priory;³⁸ and the Lincoln mount (cat.no.7) was a residual find, in a medieval rubbish pit.³⁹ The best stratified object is the Northampton animal head terminal (cat.no.14), which was found in a pit with pottery of late Saxon date, and lay sealed beneath the rampart of Northampton castle, probably built before 1100.⁴⁰

Finally, Wilson suggests that objects can be dated on stylistic and typological evidence. This is certainly the least reliable dating method, and is particularly difficult when a corpus of material has not one fixed dating point. In chapter five, it was found that the Scandinavian material of the Urnes style was being produced as early as 1020, notably on runestones in Eastern Sweden. There is no evidence to suggest that English Urnes material dates from the first half of the eleventh century.⁴¹ The stylistic study of

English metalwork in chapter six revealed that the Durham crosier head (cat.no.16) was probably an early example, due to the simplicity of the design and a minimal influence discernible from the Ringerike tradition. In addition, the study of the documentary evidence concerning graves in Durham chapter house (see appendix E) indicates that the object is not Bishop Flambard's, which suggests that it is pre-1099, as it is most unlikely to be post-1128 on the stylistic evidence.⁴² If the crosier belonged, as it now seems, to either Bishop Walcher or Bishop Carileph, then it can be dated to between 1071 and 1096.⁴³

The silver fragments from London (cat.no.18) cased a Scandinavian object and were probably found with a coin hoard deposited in 1066. They are fully evolved examples of the Scandinavian Urnes style, and show that imports of the style arrived in England before the Conquest; and by comparison with the Durham crosier head, that the style was probably transmitted from Scandinavia to England. Objects showing Ringerike influences, those from Mildenhall (cat. no.10), Hammersmith (cat.no.19) and Mottisfont (cat.no.17) may also be earlier examples, perhaps dating from the first half of or the mid-eleventh century. The Mottisfont stirrup is typologically uninformative.⁴⁴ The Sutton, Isle of Ely brooch (cat.no.13) also shows some Ringerike influences and is certainly pre-1088 on coin evidence.

The stylus addition to Royal 1.E.VI (cat.no.26) was probably copied from a Scandinavian object. It may be an earlier example of the style, and was probably drawn when Scandinavian Urnes objects were most seen in England, sometime after 1050. It is possible that the Colchester mount (cat.no.8), which is closest to the Scandinavian style among the English metalwork except for the Pitney brooch, was also manufactured in this period.

The Wisbech mount (cat.no.9) is based on the style of the Colchester mount, but the irregular loop schemes indicate less dependence on the Scandinavian versions. It is similar in style to the Jevington carving (cat.no.20); and the meandering tracery on the Kirkburn capitals (cat.no.22), built, as Kendrick says, into the "fabric of an eleventh century Northumbrian church",⁴⁵ may also be stylistically associated with these objects. A date somewhere in the last quarter of the eleventh century is suggested, in the absence of other evidence.

The English Urnes style bronze mounts (cat.nos.1-7) and the Ixworth mount (cat.no.11) are probably roughly contemporary, on stylistic grounds alone. These objects are envisaged as revealing a parallel development in the style to the Urnes objects of English manufacture. They too may be seen as products of the latter part of the eleventh century.

The Northampton animal head terminal (cat.no.14) is dated by archaeological stratification to pre-1100. On stylistic evidence, the Sussex terminal (cat.no.15) may be as late as the twelfth century. The Hoveringham and Southwell tympana (cat.nos.23 and 24), as has been shown, probably date from the early twelfth century. Finally, the similarities between the Pitney brooch (cat.no.12) and the Norwich capital (cat.no.21) suggest that they, too, are roughly contemporary, dating to the second quarter of the twelfth century.

Actual dating evidence of the Urnes material in England is negligible, and stylistic dating alone is always fallible. Nonetheless, taking all the evidence together, it seems that the Urnes period in England can be dated very generally to between the mid-eleventh century and the second quarter of the twelfth century. However, as the transitional Ringerike/Urnes pieces show, and the Anglo-Norman sculptures with Urnes influences indicate, these are, at best, only basic dating brackets. The Urnes phase in England

differs substantially from that in Scandinavia, not least because whereas in Scandinavia, the style was widely embraced and the most popular artistic fashion of the period, in England, although the style was more popular than has been hitherto recognised, it was always only one possible artistic expression in current use, out of several. The late date of the Norwich capital, and its singularity amongst twelfth-century Anglo-Norman sculpture, some of which may have been carved by the same man who produced the Norwich work,⁴⁶ indicate that the style may not have been in continual use, as it certainly was for a period in Scandinavia.⁴⁷ The dating brackets of the English Urnes period are, thus, necessarily vague, and even more conclusive dating evidence may not overcome this problem. Stylistic dating of the English Urnes material is perhaps even less reliable than usual, and its limitations must be emphasised.

Chapter ten.

The stylistic and chronological relationship of the Irish Urnes material to the English.

There is considerably more material in Ireland that can be considered in terms of the Urnes style than there is in England. In addition, in contrast to the English material, which is both secular and ecclesiastical, the Irish material, with the exception of the trial pieces is all unequivocally ecclesiastical. It occurs in all media, on bone and slate trial pieces, on metal-work, in manuscripts, on high crosses and other stone carving, and in twelfth century Romanesque decoration. The finest expression of the Irish Urnes style is undoubtedly to be found on metal-work, on such pieces as the cross of Cong (pls.75-77).

Henry has suggested that the Urnes style in Ireland represents the reintroduction of a traditional form of Irish animal ornament.¹ It is notable that, until this late period, Scandinavian influences made little impact on Irish art, far less so than they did in England. This may be partly explained by a lack of integration between the Scandinavian settlers and the local population, since settlers in the Norse towns did not disperse through the country in the same way as they seem to have done in England. It may also be partly explained by the lack, as yet, of many finds of tenth century material. However, the independent form of earlier Irish ornament indicates that, in the earlier period, Irish art was in no way subjugated to Scandinavian taste, and this tendency seems to have continued.

For example, although there is a recognisable Ringerike style phase in Ireland, it is different from its counterparts in Scandinavia and England. The Ringerike style standing quadrupeds of the Vang stone and the St. Paul's stone are entirely absent in Ireland. Instead, ribbon beasts predominate, and are usually arranged in open loop com-

positions. In this, the Irish Ringerike style approaches the Urnes style ornament. Farnes maintains that in Ireland, the Ringerike style did not penetrate into the workshops much before Urnes style influences became felt, and that the two styles lived side by side for a considerable period.² Thus, mature Ringerike foliage is to be found occasionally in twelfth century ornament of the Urnes style, as on the Doorty cross, Kilfenora, Co.Clare.³ The trial pieces from Dublin, which are connected with Norse workshops, are closest in style to the Scandinavian Ringerike type, but even in this case, traditional Irish motifs, such as the double contouring of the animal bodies, are retained. The Ringerike style design of the Dublin bone trial piece E71:708 (pl.78) is found in metalwork on the book shrine for the Cathach,⁴ which suggests that trial piece designs were transferred to other media which was made in monastic workshops.⁵ The Irish elements in the trial piece designs secured their appeal to craftsmen outside the Norse towns. Thus, the Irish Ringerike style is clearly distinguishable from the Scandinavian style, while the English material bears a much closer similarity with Scandinavian ornament.

This independence of style is also manifested in the Urnes phase in Ireland. At times, the Irish style becomes so far removed from the Scandinavian that, unlike in England, the term "Urnes style" hardly seems appropriate. Farnes has recently completed a thesis on the Urnes material in Ireland, and thus, a lengthy discussion is not intended here.⁶ However, an analysis of the ornament on some of the major Irish works should reveal to what extent the concept of the Urnes stylistic phase is applicable in Ireland, and provide a basis for a comparison with the English style.

Farnes differentiates between the early, mature and late stylistic phases, of the style in Ireland, which three groups, she maintains, correspond also to a chronological development of the style.⁷

In the early phase, the style occurs mostly on trial pieces and some metalwork. In the mature phase, the style is found on the majority of the metalwork, in manuscripts, and on some high crosses; and in the late or degenerate phase, the style occurs on some high crosses and in twelfth century Romanesque church decoration.

Thus, the leading medium of the metalwork falls into Farnes' early and mature phases. The crosiers constitute the largest group amongst the Irish metalwork, although their form differs from that of the Durham crosier head. The Irish crosiers were originally the shrine for a relic, and became an important piece of insignia for ecclesiastics in the eleventh century. On the Lismore crosier, (pls. 79-80) dated from 1090-1113,⁸ the ornament is found on a series of panels. The animals, as on the central knop, are either arranged in symmetrical pairs or appear as single animals, and they are intertwined with a finer interlace formed of their body extensions. Thus, there is a contrast between the broader and thinner line widths, in which the thinner ribbons form a background to the broader, ribbon shaped animal bodies. However, this motif can be noted in Irish manuscripts, and on Irish metalwork and stone-carving, from the eighth century through to the twelfth.⁹ In addition, the animals are not of a recognisable Scandinavian Urnes type. They are very stylised, but although they have no double contours or naturalistic limbs with long claws, as is normal for the traditional Irish animal motif, they do resemble the traditional type of Irish beast. Nevertheless, the composition of the loop patterns formed by the finer ribbons is reminiscent of the Scandinavian Urnes style, rather than of earlier Irish interlace. On the bell of St. Patrick's Will, (pl. 81) which may be the product of the same school or workshop as the Lismore crosier,¹⁰ the Lismore type of animal appears on two sides, but elsewhere, the animal bodies form a symmetrical network of thin ribbons. Although this network

is based on a figure-of-eight loop pattern, the regularity of the design shows an Irish influence. The constant repetition of the figure-of-eight results in a loss of vitality, and the zoomorphic character of the ribbons is of secondary importance to the decorative impact of the design. Two of the animals' hindquarters form scroll shapes, a design which has a long tradition in Ireland, but they terminate in subtriangular hip joints, common on Scandinavian Urnes animals. Thus, the combination of Irish and Scandinavian elements produces a distinctly Irish version of the style.

The Shrine of St. Lachtin's arm, (pl. 82) which is dated to 1118-1121,¹¹ has eight, long, ornamented plaques on it, each decorated with a different composition. The heads of the creatures display both Scandinavian and traditional Irish elements. Some of the animals are quadrupeds, while others terminate in scrolls. The combat motif is depicted, and some creatures are involved in the biting act, although this, too, is a traditional Irish motif.¹² On some panels, the zoomorphic character is only suggested by the animal heads, and the impression, then, is one almost of "regular knotwork".¹³ On the centre of the arm shrine is a broad panel decorated with an openwork, zoomorphic frieze, in which the broader animal bodies are intertwined with thinner creatures arranged into large, circular loops. However, the loops are connected by long, straight passages, so that the animal bodies, as Farnes maintains, form approximate N-shapes.¹⁴ This loop scheme becomes a characteristic of the mature Urnes phase, and is especially prevalent on stonework.

The tendency on these pieces then is towards a gradual stylisation of the animal forms, so that in some cases, the zoomorphic character is confined to the animal head and the body termination, and the regular interlace pattern is predominant. However, the formal composition is usually based on the figure-of-eight design,

although the contrast between broad and thin line widths is diminished.

On the cross of Cong, (pls.75-77) which is both a processional cross and a reliquary, the contrast between broad and thin line widths becomes a contrast between a limbed animal and a serpent. As in Scandinavia, the thinner serpents form independent loop patterns. This phase corresponds to Farnes' mature Irish Urnes period, and is found in manuscript decoration, on high crosses, and on metalwork.

The front of the cross is divided up into separate panels, each of which is decorated either with two animals arranged as a symmetrical pair, or with a single animal. On the reverse of the cross, similar animals are depicted, but they form a continuous frieze, and are not contained within panels. These creatures are intertwined with thinner elements, which are either ribbon extensions emerging from their own tails, or are independent, serpentine creatures. The Scandinavian origins of the ornament are to be traced in the composition of the thinner line widths of the serpents' bodies, which are arranged into figure-of-eight or multiloop schemes, and which form a contrast with the broader line widths. Some of the animal heads betray an Urnes influence, as do the subtriangular hip joints which terminate most of the serpentine bodies. In addition, the depth of the relief, especially on the reverse side, suggests an influence from the Scandinavian style.

The act of biting is occasionally represented, but this is common to both the Scandinavian Urnes style and to earlier Irish art. The loop schemes form a regular and disciplined background to the major animal ornament, and reflect the Irish taste for symmetry, so that the emphasis is on the decorative aspect of the design, rather than on the organic quality of the animal ornament. The limbed animals constantly vary in presentation, although they are all of

the same type (see pl.77b). As Henry asserts, they are "reminiscent of eighth century animal-decoration" in Ireland.¹⁵ Thus, on the cross of Cong, the distinctively Irish version of the Urnes style finds a clear expression on one of the finest objects of the period. Henry suggests that the view that the cross is the product of a very traditional milieu is reinforced by the use of discs of yellow and red chamlevé enamel on the reverse of the cross.¹⁶ However, the Scandinavian influence on the ornament should not be underestimated. The loop schemes, in particular, manifest this influence, despite the dictates of the Irish insular tradition, which would compose all ribbons into regular interlace patterns.

The cross of Cong is dated by its inscription to between 1127 and 1136,¹⁷ and Farnes associates it stylistically with a group of metalwork which includes St.Manchan's shrine,¹⁸ the mount from Holy-cross abbey, (pl.83), the shrine for the Book of Dimma,¹⁹ and an unprovenanced, openwork finial,²⁰ all of which, she suggests, may also date from the second quarter of the twelfth century.²¹ Moe suggested that the loop schemes on the cross of Cong may have influenced the later works of the rune-master, Öpir.²² On hypothetical and stylistic grounds alone, Moe dates Öpir's working lifetime to between 1070 and 1100.²³ However, the inscription of the cross of Cong deems Moe's thesis untenable, unless the later phase of the Scandinavian Urnes style occurred well into the twelfth century. Farnes maintains that this is the case, and that, therefore, mature Irish Urnes style works may have influenced the later style in Scandinavia.²⁴ On reviewing the evidence for dating the Scandinavian Urnes style (see chapter five), it seems unlikely that Irish art would have influenced Scandinavian art in any major way at such a late stage in the life of the style.

Thus, Farnes differentiates between the early and mature phases

of the Irish Urnes style, which are manifested particularly clearly on the metalwork material. In the early phase, the animals are entwined with thinner ribbons, which are formed of the extensions of their own limbs and tails. The English Urnes style bronze mounts also follow this pattern. In the mature phase, the animals are entwined with separate, independent serpentine creatures, so that the contrast of broader and thinner line widths is also a contrast between broader and thinner animal forms. This adheres to the pattern of the classic Scandinavian Urnes style. Amongst the material discussed above, the Lismore crosier best represents the early phase, and the cross of Cong, the mature phase. With the shrine for the Book of Dimma,²⁵ which probably dates to about the middle of the twelfth century,²⁶ the use of Urnes style decoration on Irish metalwork seems to come to an abrupt end, although the style continues to be found in manuscripts, on high crosses, and in Romanesque church decoration.

Largely speaking, manuscript illumination of the twelfth century shows the same tendencies as the metalwork, but belongs, almost exclusively, to the mature Irish Urnes phase. However, the manuscripts of this period are very conservative, in that they closely follow Irish traditions, established from the eighth century onwards, in both the layout of the works, and the types of initials used; and decoratively, this conservatism is expressed in the further adaptation of the Urnes style elements to an Irish ornamental idiom.

In the manuscript Rawlinson MS.B502 folio 80 (pl.84a) there is a large initial composed of a three-legged creature of typical Irish type, with a double contoured body and clawed feet. It is entwined with thinner serpents, which form very irregular, figure-of-eight loop patterns. However, the loops tend to be open, circular and fluent, and there is a contrast between the broader ribbon beast, and

the thinner, serpentine forms. On the whole, the page is closer to Irish than Scandinavian ornament, with the Urnes influences minimised. This move away from Scandinavian influences is also to be seen in the manuscripts *Liber Hymnorum* (2nd part) MS.A.2 (pl. 84b); Harley MS.1802;²⁷ and the gospel book MS.122.²⁸

The undated "Corpus Missal" (MS.282) (pl.86a) contains all the major elements of the Irish Urnes style in its ornamentation, as they appear on the cross of Cong. Again, the animals are of a traditional Irish type, although they are slightly more naturalistic than the distorted creatures in Rawlinson MS.B502, and its associated group. Some of the animal bodies are arranged into N-shapes (pl. 86a). This arrangement has a long tradition in Irish art, although it should be noted that it also appears on the Bjølstad door in Norway (pl. 61). Round the "Corpus Missal" animals are filiform serpents, which form regular and symmetrical patterns of figures-of-eight. The heads of the serpents are viewed from above and have large bulbous eyes, although they are not reminiscent of the English Urnes type of head. The long, straight passages in the N-shaped animal bodies are repeated in the loop schemes formed of the serpent bodies, and result in a loss of vitality in the animal ornament. Thus, although the designs display Urnes tendencies, particularly in the figure-of-eight loop schemes, the overall pattern with its extreme stylisation of the animal forms, draws mainly on insular manuscript traditions. This stylisation is carried one stage further than it was on the metalwork of the mature Irish Urnes phase, represented by the cross of Cong. There are several other manuscripts which can be associated with the "Corpus Missal" including the Psalter, Cotton MS. Galba AV;²⁹ the *Consolatione of Boethius* MS.LXXVIII, 19;³⁰ the "Roslyn Missal" MS.18.5.19 (ex A.6.12);³¹ the "Coupur Angus" psalter, MS.Pal.Lat.65 (pl. 85), and the Book of

Leinster MS.H.2.18. (pl.86b).

Farnes maintains that the manuscripts can be divided into two phases, the first of which dates from approximately the first half of the twelfth century, and the second group dates from the second and third quarters of the twelfth century.³² The first phase includes Ringerike foliage amongst mature Irish Urnes style elements, and is represented by the Rawlinson MS.B502. The second phase, which corresponds to the mature Irish Urnes phase found on the cross of Cong and in the "Corpus Missal", differs from the first phase, as far as the animal ornament is concerned, in that the creatures are less distorted, a new type of serpent head with large, bulbous eyes is introduced, and the loop pattern, formed of serpent bodies, is more regular and more stylised, and always expresses a clear figure-of-eight design, although the loops are connected by long, straight passages, which contribute towards the almost knotwork effect of interlace.

The Irish high crosses of this period, with Urnes decoration, also belong to the mature Irish Urnes phase, (with the one exception of the Doorty cross at Kilfenora,) and Farnes maintains that they were all carved within the second quarter of the twelfth century,³³ although only the market cross at Tuam, Co.Galway (pl.87) can be fairly reliably dated, to between 1126 and 1152.³⁴ Stylistically and chronologically, the group of high crosses is associated with the mature Irish Urnes metalwork, but, as on the Tuam cross (pl.87) the animal ornament shows a tendency towards degeneration. The loop patterns formed by the thinner, serpentine bodies are more repetitious and symmetrical on the high crosses than on the metalwork. The market cross at Glendalough, Co.Wicklow,³⁵ for instance, displays this repetitiousness. The N-shaped bodies of the animals have been extended, so that the length of the straight passages is increased,

and consequently, the distance between the loops is also increased, producing a further stylisation of the animal forms, and heightening the effect of interlace. In spite of the frequent figure-of-eight basis for the loop patterns, the connections with the Scandinavian Urnes style seem remote indeed.

The badly eroded St. Patrick's cross from Cashel, Tipperary³⁶ does, however, display elements which are closer to the Scandinavian style, and in this, it cannot be related to the other crosses. The broader line widths forming the bodies of at least three animals are entwined with thinner ribbons, arranged in open, figure-of-eight loop schemes, as opposed to the "regular knotwork" effect on most of the other crosses. In addition, the design is asymmetrical, and thus, not repetitious. It is reminiscent of the design on Urnes stave church itself, which the other crosses certainly are not. However, the long, straight passages incorporated into the ornament betray the Irish influences on the monument. The Cashel stone sarcophagus (pl. 88a) expresses a similar relationship to the Scandinavian style, as the St. Patrick's cross. The thinner ribbons form irregular patterns, based on the figure-of-eight loop scheme, and are reminiscent of some of Öpir's later carvings.³⁷ Nonetheless, the major animals are of a traditional Irish type, and are again arranged into N-shapes. The high relief of the Cashel sarcophagus should also be noted as indicative of the Scandinavian tradition.

The degeneration of the Irish Urnes style noted on the Tuam and Glendalough crosses continues when the style is used in Romanesque church decoration, probably from about the middle of the twelfth century onwards.³⁸ Indeed, often the term "Urnes style" hardly seems appropriate for the assemblage of influences manifested on most Romanesque church sculpture. For example, the window at Annaghdown abbey, Co. Galway (pl. 88b) displays degenerate Irish

Urnes style influences in the large serpent, with the type of head that emerged particularly during the mature Irish Urnes phase in manuscripts; mature Irish Urnes influences in the patterns formed by the thinner ribbons, which are also separate, serpentine creatures; and distinctly Romanesque influences, based on English and Continental models, in the foliage, and the geometric and chevron ornament. This assemblage of influences, which becomes common in Romanesque church decoration, makes stylistic classification, and dating on typological grounds, a difficult, if not impossible, exercise. Interestingly, Urnes style influences do not appear on some of the earliest Irish Romanesque churches, such as Cormac's chapel, Cashel, dated to between 1127 and 1134.³⁸

There are several striking contrasts between the Irish and the English Urnes style material. There is considerably more Irish material than English, and although it is true that in recent years several English Urnes style objects have been discovered, and that there is undoubtedly a corpus of English material which should not be dismissed as isolated examples of the style in England, it is completely outnumbered by the objects in Ireland, where the Urnes style was evidently a major, artistic movement on a large, national scale. In Ireland, the style is amply represented in all media. In England, although the picture is constantly changing with new discoveries, the true English Urnes style is only found on metalwork, and Urnes style influences are most prevalently found on metalwork too. The style is poorly represented in sculpture, and there is only one example of it in ivory, and only one in manuscript illumination. In Ireland, the style is unequivocally the province of the ecclesiastical world. In England, the ecclesiastical connections are less evident, and several of the pieces probably served secular functions. Perhaps because of its connections with the Church,

generally speaking, the Irish style occurs on more sumptuous objects, and displays more intricate technical achievements in the use of precious stones, metals, niello and enamel.

The Irish material can be considerably more closely dated than the English, or indeed, the Scandinavian. In addition, early, mature and degenerate phases of the style can be defined stylistically, and seem to correspond to a chronological progression; and the stylistic distinction is also a distinction between the media, so that, for instance, trial pieces belong to the early phase, and metalwork never belongs to the late, degenerate phase. Although it is possible to define stylistic phases in England, i.e. English Urnes style, and Urnes style of English manufacture, the absence of dating evidence makes the establishment of a chronology for the material a hazardous task. Faced with the lack of dated objects, it is necessary to be most cautious about typological deductions, particularly with regard to the issue of whether degenerate examples of the style are necessarily late.

Stylistically, the Irish version of the style is further removed from its Scandinavian origins than the English. It draws more extensively from traditional Irish ornament, particularly in the forms of the animal motifs themselves, which have few, if any, similarities with Scandinavian Urnes animals. Nonetheless, the loop schemes, particularly of the mature phase, cannot have resulted solely from the Irish indigenous tradition, for they have no predecessors in Irish interlace patterns, although, even here, Scandinavian influences are modified to suit Irish taste. However, to have broader and thinner line widths represented by separate, broader and thinner animal forms, is an innovation in twelfth century Irish ornament. It may be that the closer relationship of the English style to the Scandinavian results from the likely earlier appearance of the style in

England, while the style was still popular in Scandinavia. Some stylistic evidence to support this may be drawn from the fact that in the early phase of the Irish style, dated by the Lismore crosier, animals tend to be entwined with thinner ribbon extensions, which emerge from their own limbs and tails, as is the manner of the English Urnes style animals. This stylistic evidence may also support the theory that the Urnes style reached Ireland by way of England. The late appearance of the style in Ireland is rather confounding, particularly since Norse colonies in Ireland in the eleventh century are well known. However, as Fuglesang suggests,³⁹ the Norman Conquest may have resulted in the emigration of many Scandinavian settlers from southern England, where the Normans were strongest, to Ireland. The comparative lack of Urnes style objects from the south of England would seem to support this. If this was the case, then the version of the Urnes style which they would have taken with them would have been the English version, in which animals are entwined with their own tail and limb extensions, and that precisely corresponds with Farnes' major distinction of the early Irish Urnes phase. The absence of a classic Ringerike phase in Ireland may also result from the fact that during the Irish Ringerike period at the end of the eleventh century, the Urnes style was already fully developed in England. Thus, the Irish Ringerike material corresponds stylistically with the transitional Ringerike/Urnes phases in England and Scandinavia, as on the book shrines for the Cathach and of the Misach. In this period, there is some evidence of reciprocal influences between England and Ireland. For instance, the bronze buckle loop from the Thames at Barnes⁴⁰ shows stylistic similarities with the Dublin trial piece E71:708 (pl. 78) and with the two book shrines, mentioned above; and the crosier head from Durham shows some close stylistic similarities with the ornament on

the crosier of the abbots of Clonmacnoise (pl. 89).

Thus, on the evidence discussed above, it seems that the English material furnished the immediate prototype for the Irish Urnes style, but that the Scandinavian style provided the ultimate prototype. Removed chronologically from its Scandinavian origins by sometimes as much as a century, and removed stylistically from the same origins by an intermediate, English version of the style, it is not surprising that the Irish Urnes material should have developed away from the Scandinavian prototype so completely, to produce a distinctly Irish version, based, in the main, on indigenous principles of ornamentation.

PART THREE. The catalogue.

The catalogue comprises all the Urnes style material from England known at the present time. It includes metal-work, ivory, sculpture, and a stylus addition to a manuscript. Most of the pieces described show undoubted Urnes style characteristics. Some of them display influences from the Ringerike or the Romanesque styles, and one or two display Urnes influences amongst a varied ornamental repertoire. Accordingly, certain categories of classification are cited, depending on the evidence discussed in the text. These are as follows:

- i. English Urnes style;
- ii. Urnes style of English manufacture;
- iii. Debased Urnes style;
- iv. Ringerike/Urnes style;
- v. Urnes style influences;
- vi. Scandinavian Urnes style;
- vii. Urnes/Romanesque.

The first group consists primarily of the bronze mounts, which display a variation on the Scandinavian Urnes style.

The second group consists of pieces which are stylistically closer to the Scandinavian examples, but which are thought to be English objects, on both stylistic grounds, and because the type of object is usually without parallel in Scandinavia.

The third group consists of pieces whose ornamentation suggests a debasement of the English Urnes style.

The fourth group displays both Ringerike and Urnes style influences. Some pieces with very slight Urnes influences, but which are primarily Ringerike style objects, have been omitted from the catalogue.

The fifth group consists of pieces which display several different stylistic influences in their ornament, amongst which

certain Urnes style characteristics occur.

The sixth group comprises only the silver fragments (cat. no.18) which were found on English soil and have been considered to be English objects, but which must be Scandinavian. Many Urnes style pieces have been found here, or purchased from Scandinavia and are now in British museums, but these are not included in the catalogue.

The seventh group consists of pieces displaying both Urnes and Romanesque style influences. Again, many Romanesque sculptures displaying slight Urnes style influences have been omitted from the catalogue. A selection of these is presented in appendix D.

The objects and monuments are catalogued according, firstly, to the type of material in which they are executed; secondly, to the type of object; and thirdly, as far as possible, according to the order in which they are discussed in the text.

The information provided in the catalogue includes the present location of the pieces, and their registration or accession numbers where applicable; the date, circumstances and place of their discovery or purchase, when known; and where possible, their maximum measurements. I have seen and measured all the metalwork and small artefacts, (except, unfortunately, the Ixworth mount, and of course, the Mottisfont stirrup), and have also visited all the sculptures, so the descriptions in the catalogue are my own observations on the pieces. The photographs of the English material are my own, unless stated otherwise.

A bibliography has been appended to each catalogue entry. No claim is made to completeness, but it is hoped that it comprises the main works.

I have tried to be consistent in my use of terminology, and to keep the entries as short as possible, for easy reference, and because they are described comparatively at length elsewhere in the text.

1. BRONZE MOUNT

PETERBOROUGH

Present location : British Museum

Registration number : 62,3-21,6.

Size: 5.2 cms. long, 2.85 cms. wide.

Description: This bronze mount depicts an animal with a serpentine body, viewed from above, on a plain background and contained within a subtriangular frame, the base line being straight, and the two long sides convex. The ornament is cast in low relief. The basically spiral loop of the body occupies the wider base of the frame, while the protruding animal's head coincides with the apex of the triangle. The head has a short, square-ended snout with two nostrils, above which are two bulbous eyes; and two ears, which are canine in appearance, emanate from the sides of the head. A spiral hip occurs in the widening of the body immediately behind the head, and a thin, tendril-like leg emerges from it. It bends back on itself sharply at the knee joint, and terminates in a round lobe. The other front leg extends straight across the mount, and terminates in the corner of the frame. The creatures' hind parts are encompassed within the spiral loop of the body. At its termination the body divides into a back leg and a tail, which then interlace with the body as ribbon-like tendrils. The back leg culminates in a round lobe, balancing the lobe which terminates the first front leg, on the opposite side of the head. The round lobes take the place of feet.

At the apex of the mount is a circular projection with a central rivet hole. At a later date than the ornamentation, two more rivet holes have been drilled through the mount, just above the base line. There are traces of iron beside one of the secondary rivet holes. A plain plate projects at right angles to the base. The reverse side is concave and plain, although it has a rough finish

to it. The mount shows signs of wear.

Classification : English Urnes style.

Find context and history : single find from the site of the
"singing schools" in Peterborough. Presented to the museum in
1862 by Sir A.W. Franks K.C.B.

Bibliography : Kendrick 1949, 16

Moe 1955, 17 and fig.15b.

Wilson 1961, and pl.xxxviii a.

Wilson 1964, 48,51,58, cat.no.58, pl.xxvii.

2. BRONZE MOUNT

KEMSLEY DOWNS

Present location : British Museum

Registration number : 83,12-13,579

Size : 5.2 cms. long. 3.1 cms. wide.

Description : This bronze mount depicts an animal with a serpentine body, viewed from above, on a plain background, and contained within a subtriangular frame, the base line being straight, and the two long sides convex. The ornament is cast in low relief. The mount is in bad condition, and the details of the interlaced pattern cannot be fully determined. However, it seems that the design is very similar to that of the Peterborough mount (cat.no.1), which is also almost exactly the same size. The head has bulbous eyes, and ears that are canine in appearance. The front leg springs from the widening of the body, immediately behind the head, bends back on itself sharply at the knee joint, and terminates in a round lobe, to one side of the head. The remainder of the design is indistinct, but seems to represent the interlaced body of the creature, as it coils within the sub-triangular frame.

At the apex of the mount is a circular projection with a central rivet hole. The back is concave and plain, although there is a rough finish to it. Traces of iron rivets are visible on the plate that projects at right angles to the base.

Classification : English Urnes style.

Find context : single find from Kemsley Downs, near Milton, Kent, although the provenance is also sometimes described as "Milton-next-Sittingbourne", or simply as "Sittingbourne". Purchased by the Museum in 1883 from George Payne Junior, esq. F.S.A.

Bibliography : B M A S G 1923, 104

Kendrick 1949, 116

Wilson 1961, 212 and pl.xxxviii a.

Wilson 1964, 48,51,58, cat.no.26, pl.xix.

3. BRONZE MOUNT

LINCOLN

Present location : British Museum.

Registration number : 67,3-20,20.

Size : 5.7 cms. long. 2.8 cms. wide.

Description : This bronze, openwork mount depicts a creature with a serpentine body, viewed from above. It is contained within a subtriangular frame, the base line of which is straight, and the two, long sides, slightly convex. The basically spiral loop of the body occupies the wider base of the frame, while the animal's head protrudes, to coincide with the apex of the triangle. When the mount is viewed in profile, it can be seen that the animal rises above the subtriangular frame. The head has a long, clearly delineated snout, with two nostrils, above which are two, large, bulbous eyes, and two less prominent, subtriangular ears, which are flattened on the creatures' neck. The body quickly widens, and a leg springs from it, but there is no spiral hip. The leg adopts the form of a thin tendril, and terminates in a foot of indistinct character. Another leg springs from the body shortly afterwards, but again, not from a hip. The course of the second leg is difficult to follow, but it terminates in a foot, with two, thick toes. A third leg also emerges from the body, but this one takes the form of a ribbon-like tendril, and interlaces with the creature, before terminating in a point. The body swells again, before itself becoming an interlacing tendril, which eventually meets the ears of the animal. The design is not clearly executed, and the above description may be open to reinterpretation.

At the apex of the mount is a circular projection with a central rivet hole. A plain plate projects at right angles to the base, and this also has a central rivet hole. A thin, incised line is visible down the backbone of the creature's body. This was originally inlaid with niello, and traces of niello are still present.

The two curved sides of the frame were also inlaid with niello along their edges, as was the front face on all three sides. The remains of niello are particularly apparent along the edges of the frame. One corner of the base line of the frame is missing, where the mount has been slightly damaged. The reverse side of the mount is plain and concave, and reveals that the openings in the pattern were made by drilling. The mount shows signs of wear.

Classification : English Urnes style

Find context : single find discovered in soil carted out of Lincoln in 1850. Purchased from Arthur Trollope, esq.

Bibliography : B M A S G, 104, fig.126.

Shetelig 1940, iv, 99, fig.65.

Kendrick 1949, 116, fig. 19a.

Moe 1955, 17, fig.15a.

Wilson 1961, 212, pl.xxxviii a.

Wilson 1964, 48,51,58, cat.no.33, pl.xxi.

4. BRONZE MOUNT

UNKNOWN PROVENANCE

Present location : British Museum

Registration number : 62, 3-21, 7

Size : 4.6 cms. long. 2.8 cms. wide.

Description : This bronze, openwork mount depicts a creature with a serpentine body, viewed from above. The spiral loop of the body provides the mount with a basically, circular shape, with one protrusion in the form of the animal's head. The head, which is cast in relief, is semi-naturalistic, with a canine snout, round, bulbous eyes, and triangular ears flattened on its neck. Shortly below the head, the body widens out into a spiral hip, from which emerges a thin, tapering leg that terminates in a foot, with two, long toes, which grip the animal's own body. The back hip is represented in the centre of the mount, where the body widens to form a sub-triangular hip joint, from which a hind leg emerges. This passes beneath the body, and then forms a thin tendril, which interlaces extensively with the creature, without detracting from the overall circular composition. The design is asymmetrical.

The back of the mount is plain and concave, although behind the head is part of a rivet, which was cast in one piece with the mount. Two of the spaces in the openwork design are drilled, perfectly round holes, which may conceivably have also been intended as rivet holes. The edge of the mount is slightly damaged on one side. The mount is polished smooth as a result of wear.

Classification : English Urnes style.

Find context : single find of unknown provenance. Presented to the museum in 1862 by Sir A.W. Franks K.C.B.

Bibliography : Shetelig 1909, 100, fig.26.

Åberg 1941, fig.20g.

Kendrick 1949, 116, fig.196.

Wilson 1964, 48,51, cat.no.141, pl.xlii.

5. BRONZE MOUNT

SEDFORD

Present location : King's Lynn Museum, Norfolk.

Registration number : KL 171.978.

Size : 4.25 cms. long. 2.65 cms. wide.

Description : This bronze, openwork mount depicts a creature with a serpentine body, viewed from above. The spiral loop of the body provides the mount with a basically, circular shape, with one protrusion in the form of the animal's head. The head, which is cast in relief, has a canine snout, bulbous, almond-shaped eyes, and triangular ears flattened on its neck. Shortly below the head, the body widens out into a spiral hip, from which emerges a thin, tendril like leg that runs adjacent to the body for a short distance, before terminating in a foot. A back hip is not represented, but the body gently tapers into a leg as it completes the circle, crosses itself immediately behind the head, and terminates in a foot, with a rounded heel and two, long toes. A tail, in the form of a narrow tendril, also emerges from the body, close to where the body tapers into the hind leg. The tail loops around the crossing point of the neck and hind leg, and terminates in a round lobe.

Three rivet holes are incorporated unobtrusively into the design. A thin, interlacing tendril loops round the circular form of the body in three separate places, at either side of the circle and at the top. The openwork effect of these loops is formed by the drilling of round holes in their centres, which also function as rivet holes. The thin interlacing tendril loops finally round the crossing point of the body behind the head, before terminating in a round lobe.

The projecting head is long in relation to the body; it makes up 1.8 cms. of the entire length of 4.25 cms. In addition, there was almost certainly another rivet hole attached beyond the snout of the creature, which was cast in one piece with the mount, but which has been mostly broken off. The reverse of the mount is plain and

concave. The mount is in good condition.

Classification : English Urnes style.

Find context : single find from a known but unexcavated archaeological area. Found near Sedgeford by a metal detector enthusiast in the autumn of 1977. Purchased in June 1978 with a V. and A. grant.

Bibliography : Unpublished.

6. BRONZE MOUNT

TYNEMOUTH

Present location : Department of Archaeology, Newcastle University.

Registration number : 1979. 22.

Size : 3.9 cms. long. 2.4 cms. wide.

Description : This bronze, openwork mount depicts a creature with a serpentine body. The ornament is roughly oval in shape, with one protrusion in the form of an animal head, which is positioned to one side of the mount. The details of the head are indistinct. It is viewed in profile, and has a prominent, rounded cheek. A square-ended, and a round, projection from the front of the head appear to represent the mouth and nose. The eye is round, although two lines are faintly incised behind it, which give it an overall almond shape. A ribbon shaped body emerges behind the head. It forms a semi-circular shape, and then changes direction, to cross the mount diagonally, and terminate where it coincides with the thin tendril, that provides the external frame of the mount. A gentle swelling of the body marks the emergence of a front leg, which crosses the mount to terminate on the other side of the object. A subtriangular hip joint occurs after the change of direction of the body, and a back leg provides the termination of the body. A tail, in the form of an interlacing tendril, emerges from the same point to provide the external frame of the mount. Three rivet holes are appended to the external ornament line of the body. They are unequally spaced apart.

The reverse of the mount is plain, and slightly concave. Four rivets are still intact on the back, including one which still has a round head attached. They are made of bronze, and do not seem to be broken off. One rivet, on the reverse of the animal head, was cast in one piece with the mount. The other three rivets are attached through the rivet holes visible on the front of the mount. They vary in length. The one on the back of the head is only 0.5

cms. long, and the other two are 0.6 and 0.7 cms. long. In section, the head of the creature is almost twice as deep as the body of the animal, 0.3 cms. in comparison to 0.125 cms. The survival of the rivets appears even more fortuitous by comparison with the worn condition of the mount in general.

Classification : English Urnes style.



Find context : Found in a thirteenth century level in the sacristy of Tynemouth priory during excavations in 1963.

Bibliography : Jobey 1967,

7. BRONZE MOUNT

LINCOLN

Present location ; with the Lincoln Archaeological Trust.

Small find number : DT I 74   Ae 108

Size : 6.1 cms. long. 3.2 cms. wide.

Description : This bronze openwork mount is long and subrectangular in shape, with two protrusions, which take the forms of an animal head and a truncated animal limb, at approximately the centre of one long edge of the object. The ornamentation of the mount consists of a complicated design. It is composed of five creatures altogether, four of which are engaged in combat, and all of which are caught up in thin, interlacing tendrils. Three different line widths are present. The body of the animal whose head and back leg form the protruberances mentioned above has the broadest line width. The four creatures which are engaged in combat, have marginally narrower body widths; and the thin, interlacing tendrils provide a third, and the narrowest, line width.

The largest, protruding animal head has large, round bulbous eyes, a canine snout, and triangular ears flattened on its neck.

A large, spiral hip occurs in a widening of the body, from which emerges a thin, tendril-like front leg, that terminates in a foot with two, long toes, which reach the topmost, external border of the mount. The body loops to form a U-shaped curve, and widens slightly into a subtriangular hip joint, opposite the ears of the animal. The hind leg tapers, and appears to divide into two, immediately before its truncation.

The four creatures engaged in combat are similarly, though not symmetrically, arranged, above and to either side of the larger, central, U-shaped animal. In each case, their heads are biting the bodies of their nearest opponents. The heads have large, bulbous almond-shaped eyes, long, square-ended snouts, and triangular ears flattened on their neck. Their necks are longer than that of the

larger creature. From a front spiral hip, in each case, emerges a front leg. In the case of the two outermost animals, the front legs provide the external frame of the mount. In the case of the other two creatures, whose shape is not so influenced by any functional purpose, such as supplying the mount with a regularly shaped frame, the front legs are composed of short, thin tendrils, positioned like raised forepaws, and terminating in feet, each with two, long toes. The bodies of the outermost creatures form the shorter, rounded sides of the mount. They widen into a back hip, from which emerges a thinner leg, which terminates in a foot with two, long toes, in each corner of the mount. The bodies of the inner two creatures are clearly viewed in profile, and may be seen to represent quadrupeds, rather than ribbon beasts. The elongated bodies curve upwards and then turn back on themselves, towards their rumps. Their back spiral hips both coincide with the larger body of the central creature. In each case, a long, thin, tendril-like leg emerges, which terminates in a foot with two, long toes. Immediately prior to the back hips of these creatures, and possibly on the other two creatures as well, (although the details of the design are indistinct in the latter cases) a tail emerges, represented by a thin tendril, which interlaces with the main bodies of the animals. Other interlacing tendrils are present, which do not appear to have emerged from the tails or limbs of the five animals.

The reverse of the mount is plain and concave, although tool marks are visible on the back and in the pierced openings. There are no indications of rivets, or any other means of attachment.

The decorated side of the mount may possibly have been silvered. A small area was tested, and the results were faintly positive; but the possibility of damaging the mount did not allow for any further testing. The mount shows signs of wear, and is corroded. Apart from the truncated limb of the central creature, two fragments have

been broken off at either corner of the bottom of the mount.

One of these was recovered during excavation, and has since been appended to the piece, in its original position.

Classification : English Urnes style.

Find context : Found during excavation of Danes Terrace I, Lincoln in 1974. It was a residual find discovered in a rubbish pit dating from medieval times.

Bibliography : Wilson 1978, 143.

8. BRONZE MOUNT

COLCHESTER

Present location : Colchester Castle Museum

Registration number : 852 - 1936

Size : 4.7 cms. long. 3.9 cms. wide.

Description : This bronze mount has a roughly ovular frame, within which is an animal design. The mount depicts a creature with a serpentine body. The body forms a spiral loop, which occupies the broader end of the oval shape, while the head and neck occupies the narrower end. The creature has an elongated head, which is thrown back on the neck, and thus appears upside-down. It has a turned backwards and downwards nose extension, a short, downturned lower lip, which terminates in a round lobe, an almond shaped eye, and a thin, rounded ear. The body swells at the base of the neck, and a long front leg emerges, which crosses the mount and tapers towards its termination, where it coincides with the ribbon body at the base of the mount. A back leg emerges from a subtriangular hip joint in the centre of the mount, and proceeds diagonally across the mount, tapering along its course, to terminate, where it coincides with an interlacing tendril, in a foot with two, long toes. A tail also emerges from the end of the body, and adopts the form of a thin, interlacing tendril. A wedge-shaped feature of indistinct character occurs immediately below the crossing point of the front leg and the serpentine body. Two thin, interlacing tendrils emerge from it and terminate in round lobes.

Although the design is basically openwork, the area between the creature and the oval frame is plain and infilled. Tool marks are visible on this plain surface. The rim of the mount is raised, while in section, the ornament can be seen to rise slightly above the frame. The relief of the ornament varies up to 0.5 cms. deep. There are slight traces of silvering on the ornament, especially on the hind part of the body, which was possibly originally, double contoured.

There is a large rivet hole drilled through the neck of the creature, immediately below the ear. A small rivet hole is also present, immediately above the larger one, between the frame and the creature itself.

The reverse of the object is flat and plain, but also has tool marks on it, as do the piercings in the design. The reverse shows some corrosion. The mount is damaged along the bottom, and part of the frame is missing. It shows signs of wear.

Classification : Urnes style of English manufacture.

Find context : single find from Colchester in 1936.

Bibliography : Shetelig 1940, iv,60.

Kendrick 1949, 116

Moe 1955, 17, fig.16.

Wilson 1964, 102

9. BRONZE MOUNT

WISBECH

Present location : Wisbech Museum, Cambridgeshire

Registration number : 1.1846

Size : 4.25 cms. (maximum diameter). 3.75 cms. (minimum diameter)

The profile is irregular, measuring from 1-2 mm.

Description : This bronze mount has a roughly circular frame, within which is an openwork animal design. The mount depicts a creature with a serpentine body interlaced with itself. The body forms a spiral loop, which accentuates the circular composition of the mount. The outlines of the body, and the front and back leg are followed by two, lightly incised lines, which serve to emphasise the main design. The creature has an elongated head, with an almond shaped eye, and a rounded ear, which impinges upon the outside frame. The upper lip is exaggerated to meet the frame, and the lower lip extends to meet the body. A nose extension is folded backwards and downwards, and meets the lower lip at the back of the jaw. From the neck, the body gently widens into a spiral hip, and a sturdy front leg emerges to cross the centre of the mount and terminate in a foot with two long toes, which extend to the frame. The body loops into the centre of the mount, where it terminates, and a hind leg and tail emerge. The hind leg is strongly emphasised, when the body widens into a sub-triangular hip joint. The leg is straight, and crosses the mount to terminate in a foot with a heel and two toes, which impinge on the circular framework, to give the impression of standing on it. The tail tapers into a thinner tendril, which interlaces with the creature before ending in a round lobe, next to the foot of the hind leg. There are two further features of indistinct character, which serve to balance the composition as a whole. One of these connects the body to the framework where a space had been left in the design, but otherwise serves no purpose. The other springs from one of the loops in the tail, and runs adjacent to the tail across the mount, before ter-

minating in a round lobe, larger than the first one, but not forming a distinctive feature, such as a foot.

The mount is flat, but it has an irregular profile, varying from 1 to 2 mms. wide. The reverse of the mount is plain. There are no indications of the means of attachment, and no rivet holes. However, both the surface of the mount, and the reverse, are marked with a series of irregularly incised scratch marks. These are particularly noticeable round the circular frame.

Classification : Urnes style of English manufacture

Find context : Found in 1846 in Wisbech Castle ditch when the foundations for the present museum were being dug. Some fourteenth century pottery and miscellaneous animal bones were found at the same time, but their relative contexts were not recorded.

Presented to the museum by Mr. J. Rumball in 1846.

Bibliography : Shetelig 1940, iv, 61. fig. 29.

Kendrick 1949, 116, pl. lxxxii, 1.

Moe 1955, 17.

Wilson 1964, 51, 114, pl. x.

Wilson 1966, 154, pl. lxxiii d.

10. BRONZE MOUNT

MILDENHALL

Present location : Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Registration number : 1909.414

Size : 5.3 cms. long.

Description : The bronze mount is decorated with an almost symmetrical design, consisting of two interlaced tendrils positioned on either side of central plants. The interlaced tendrils almost certainly represent snakes, although the design is too rubbed to be positive. Nonetheless, two projections to either side of the mount probably represent the heads. The animals are not identical as we have them now, although a differing amount of wear over the mount may account for some dissimilarities. The snake to the right has a short, broad head ending in a flat snout, with a small, lower lip and a prominent, rounded ear. No eye is visible. The serpentine body loops upwards and over to cross the neck; and then a similar loop occurs in the lower portion of the right hand side, passes under the body and terminates in a neat stop. A front and back spiral hip are visible at the top and bottom of the right hand side respectively. A leg of indistinct character springs from the front spiral hip, and takes on a foliate appearance by the foot. From the back spiral hip, two tendrils emerge. One is the continuation of the body, or the tail, mentioned above; the other may be a back leg, which loops round, and eventually re-emerges to meet the mouth on the left hand side, but to be broken off on the right. It terminates inconclusively.

The central vegetation comprises two, separate, "rustic", three element plants, each proceeding towards the centre of the mount. The topmost one is affixed to a circular projection with a central rivet hole. Two more rivet holes have been drilled through at the bottom of the mount, partially interrupting the design. A plain plate projects at right angles to the base. The reverse side is plain

and slightly concave.

The pattern, executed in both relief and openwork, has some hollows in it, but there are no traces of any filling. There is some corrosion on the reverse side and in the hollows; and the mount is considerably worn, and in some places, projections have been broken off.

Classification : Ringerike/Urnes style.

Find context : Found in 1893 near Mildenhall, Suffolk as a single object. Donated by Sir Arthur Evans, from the collection of Sir John Evans.

Bibliography : Shetelig 1940,iv,60, fig.26.

Shetelig 1948,105, fig.29.

Holmquist 1951,33, fig.28.2

Moe 1955,26, fig.25

Wilson 1964, 116.

Hinton 1974, 25,pl.viii

11. BRONZE MOUNT

IXWORTH

Present location : University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

Registration number : A.1916.57

Size : 6.9 cms. long. 3.4 cms. wide.

Description : This bronze mount depicts an animal ornament through the use of series' of short, truncated lines set in relief, which give the design an unusual broken character. The animal is viewed from above and has a serpentine body. It is set against a plain background, and is contained within a subtriangular frame, which has two appendages to the corners of the short base line, and a cross-shaped lug affixed to the top through which a rivet hole has been drilled. The details of the design are not easily seen, although the basically spiral loop of the body occupies the wider base of the frame, while the animal head coincides with the apex of the triangle. A simple curl, representing the spiral hip, occurs immediately behind the head, and a thin leg emerges from it, which bends sharply at the knee joint and terminates in a two-toed foot. The creatures' hind parts are not clearly delineated, but seem to be contained within the spiral loop of the body. There is no real distinction between the background and the ornament lines set in relief.

Two rivets remain in their original positions. One is set through the rivet hole in the cross-shaped lug at the top, and one is in a rivet hole situated centrally through the plain plate which is affixed at right angles to the base line of the triangle. The rivets are of bronze, although slightly corroded at their inside ends, especially the lower one. The reverse of the object is concave and roughly finished. The mount shows signs of wear.

Classification : debased Urnes style.

Find context : unknown. Many objects are known from Ixworth, but they were acquired gradually on behalf of the Cambridge museum in the

early years of this century, and embrace all periods and are all kinds of artefacts. It is not clear whether this area of the Suffolk borders is particularly productive of interesting finds, or whether there may have been an antique dealer collecting and selling from there.

Bibliography : Wilson 1964, 51,58,105,106, pl.x.

12. GILDED BRONZE DISC BROOCH

PITNEY

Present location : British Museum.

Lent to the museum in 1931 by Miss Dudham, hence, no accession number.

Size : 3.9 cms. in diameter.

Description : This circular brooch of gilded bronze has a distinctive scalloped border within which is an openwork animal design. The brooch depicts a sinuous creature in combat with a snake. The interlaced elements are at first difficult to distinguish, since neither of the creatures' heads are clearly delineated. The primary creature seen in profile has its head thrown back on a long neck, so that in effect the head is viewed in an inverted position. The head is elongated with a large almond shaped eye predominating it. It ends in an S-curve, presumably representing a snout and tongue, which meets the circular frame of the brooch. The long, serpentine body has a beaded, external edge, adjoined to a plain internal one, and forms an approximate heart shape. Below the back-turned neck, the body widens into a spiral hip, from which evolves a straight, tapering leg which meets the border. The lower leg re-emerges immediately, and terminates shortly afterwards in a three clawed foot. The hind part of the creature also widens into a prominent spiral hip, from which evolves a straight back leg. This meets the frame too, but the lower leg remains visible, continuing parallel to the frame for a short distance before developing into a highly stylised foot, comprised of two tendrils. One ends fairly shortly in a neat terminal stop against the frame; while the other interlaces with the bodies of both animals, before further dividing into two separate shoots which also end in terminal stops against the frame. The second creature is more amorphous in character. Its head is viewed from above and it is apparently biting the neck of the other animal just below its combatants' head. The eyes are small and round.

Its thin, unornamented body is entwined with the first creatures', ultimately forming two intertwined loops and ending in a neat terminal stop against the frame. The whole design is asymmetrical, but the ornament is very evenly distributed, so that no one part seems over or under occupied.

The brooch is dished. Its back is plain, except for the remains of a catchplate and hinge.

Classification : Urnes style of English manufacture.

Find context : a single find from the churchyard at Pitney, Somerset.

Bibliography : Brøndsted 1924, 145, fig.120

Shetelig 1940,iv,57, fig.24

Kendrick 1949, 116-117, pl.lxxxii

Moe 1955, 17

VCH Somersetshire, i, 380 and coloured plate.

Wilson 1964, 3,48,51,52,160, cat.no.60, pl.xxviii

Wilson 1966, 154, pl.lxxiiie.

Present location : British Museum

Registration number : 1951, 10-11, 1

Size : 16.4 cms. (maximum diameter) 14.9 cms. (minimum diameter)

Description : This silver disc brooch of irregular circumference is ornamented with a variety of vegetal and zoomorphic ornament. The surface is divided into fields of decoration, formed primarily of four, double-contoured, overlapping circles, with the area outside of these further divided into smaller zones. The edge of the brooch is composed of two bands, the outer one made up of adjacent semi-circular shapes, with triangular nicks inside and out; and the inner band being plain. The fields between these bands and the overlapping circles are filled with linear patterns, some of which may represent highly stylised animal designs. The overlaps of the circles produce pointed oval fields, which are decorated with degenerate scroll ornament and linear patterns. The four major fields contain zoomorphic ornament of differing character.

One field contains two interlaced ribbon beasts, one of which has heads at both ends of the body. They are roughly sketched, with small, almond-shaped eyes and folded backwards and downwards nose extensions. One head has a floriate snout. The ribbon bodies form wide and open loops. They are mostly filled with widely spaced beading. They terminate in pear-shaped and round lobes. Small circles surround the crossing points of the bodies. Cross-hatched decoration occurs at the edges of the field, when the animal ornament does not reach the border. Another field is similarly ornamented with one ribbon beast. The creature's body loops with itself twice, forming open loops. Widely spaced beading fills the body. The snout is more floriate and the animal also has a rounded ear. Cross-hatching occurs at intervals round the edges of the field. In the background are two plant-like ornaments and a saltire, with scrolled

terminals and an interlaced ring at the crossing.

The other two fields contain quadrupeds, seen in profile, on plain backgrounds. In one field is a creature, apparently walking, with all four legs visible, the forepaw being raised. The head is two-faced, one face being zoomorphic, and the back of the head represented by wavy lines resembling a human profile. Wavy lines also occur horizontally over the neck. The joints of the animal appear as triangular nicks, and the tail passes between the legs. Again, cross-hatching occurs occasionally round the edges of the field, and a plant ornament and a saltire emanate from two corners. The second quadruped is backward looking. The head is long and pointed with an almond-shaped eye and a slightly floriate snout. The ear terminates in a round lobe. The long neck, which forms an incomplete loop, is crossed by wavy lines. The animal has four vertical legs and the forepaw is raised high. The joints appear as triangular nicks, although the back hip is a spiral. The tail is not clearly delineated. Cross-hatching occurs round the edges of the field, and an elaborate plant ornament emanates from one corner.

At the joints and extremities of this geometrical construction are nine dome-headed rivets, one of which is now missing. They are coarsely made. The ornament is engraved on the object, with a sketchy, freehand quality. Lightly incised lines follow the body outlines to form double contours. The back of the brooch retains part of the long supporting plate of the pin; the plate is broken at both ends, where the rivets fastened it. On the reverse of the brooch, an inscription saying : AEDVPEN MEAG AGEHYODRIHTEN DRIHTENHINEA PERIEDEMEHIRE AE TFERIEBV-TONNYOMESELLEHIREGENESPILLES appears round the edge. Other, possibly runic, symbols occur on the supporting plate of the pin, but the inscription is incomplete and illegible. Other scratches seem to be accidental. Classification : Object with Urnes style influences.

Find context : Turned up by the plough in 1694 in a lead casket with about one hundred silver coins of William the Conqueror, five heavy gold rings, a plain silver dish. The piece was then lost until 1951 when the British museum acquired it from a Dublin dealer.

Bibliography : Hickes 1705, iii, 187-8

Lewis 1840, 255

Stephens 1866-1901, i, 289-93

Black 1889-9, 340, fig.6

Fox 1923, 300

Smith 1925, 137, fig.2

Bruce-Mitford 1956, 193-198, pls.xxviii, xxix, a and
fig.38.

Thompson 1956, 131, pl.xxi,b.

Wilson 1958, 170

Wilson 1960, 69,162,223, pl.78.


Wilson and Blunt 1961, 108

Wilson 1964, 3,7,31,36,48-50,52,80,84,86-90,
pls.xxxi and xxxii, cat.no.83.

14. ANIMAL HEAD TERMINAL

NORTHAMPTON

Present location : With the Northampton Development Corporation
(Archaeological centre).

Find number : N75 M139. B (6) 4. Cu 

Size : 3.6 cms. long. 1.35 cms. wide (from ear to ear) 1.0 cms. in profile.

Description : This cast bronze terminal is a three-dimensional depiction of an animal head. It is a slim and elongated head, with large almond-shaped, bulbous eyes, and prominent ears. From above, the snout narrows and has a ridge across it. In profile, the nose is upturned, with folded backwards and downwards nose extensions, which terminate in round lobes. The details of the snout and eyes are emphasised with tooling; and the eyes in particular are outlined by a series of incision marks. Behind the ears, the hollow half cylindrical neck bears two wide helical depressions, one outlined with incised lines.

On the underside of the object is a hollowed out channel measuring 2.7 cms. in length, and 0.8 cms. in width. The inside surface is soldered, and there are traces of wood and charcoal in the corrosion in the cavity. The object is slightly damaged at the end of the neck, but remains its original length. It shows signs of wear.

Classification : Urnes style of English manufacture?

Find context : Found by the Northampton Development Corporation in 1975 in a pit with pottery of late Saxon date, which lay sealed beneath the rampart of Northampton castle, which was probably built before 1100.

Bibliography : Unpublished.

15. ANIMAL HEAD TERMINAL

SUSSEX

Present location : Sussex Archaeological Society, Barbican House, Lewes.

Registration number : 24179

Size : 4.2 cms. long. 1.3 cms. in profile.

Description : This cast bronze terminal is a three dimensional depiction of an animal head. It is a narrow and elongated head, with almond-shaped eyes, doubled contoured with a thick outline. The ears are small, rounded, and positioned close together. The neck is short and narrow. A prominent nose ridge runs from the ears down the centre of the object. Seen from above, the head ends in a V-shaped feature which runs along the edges of the snout. In profile, this feature is revealed as nose extensions on either side of the head. The extensions form thick diagonal lines, and terminate in simple spirals.

The object has not yet been cleaned or conserved, and thus tool marks are not visible. On the underside of the object is a channel which has not yet been cleaned out. However, a series of incision marks can be seen at the termination of the neck on the surface of the object. The object looks roughly finished and worn.

Classification : Urnes style of English manufacture?

Find context : Found in 1978 by a metal detector enthusiast, working on parts of a 1000 acre farm, which includes the multiperiod site of Bishopstone, and also the site of a tenth century Saxon church, and a Bishops' Palace from about the eleventh to twelfth century.

Bibliography : Unpublished.

Present location : The Treasury, Durham Cathedral.

Registration number :

Size : overall height of the object 14.2 cms.

Length of silver plating decorated with zoomorphic designs : 6.0 cms.

Maximum circumference:7.3 cms. Minimum circumference:5.2 cms.

Knob between handle and shaft : 1.8 cms. high 2.1 cms. wide.

Description : The crosier head, which is a typical crook shape, is made of iron. It is silver-plated, with zoomorphic ornament incised in the silver, and partially inlaid with niello. The head is probably a composite structure, and was wrought in several pieces. Traces of the wooden shaft of the crosier were found with it.

The silver-plating has been damaged in places, so that not all the details of the ornament are clear. It consists of two serpentine creatures whose ribbon bodies are entwined. The two heads resemble each other, but are not identical. The uppermost one, which is slightly damaged, has a long head with an emphatic nose that ends in a point. It has a folded backwards and downwards nose extension, a short, lower lip, a small, almond-shaped eye, and a long, narrow ear extension which, having begun as a small, rounded ear, then follows the line of the body for some distance, loops round the first intersection of bodies that it meets, and then disappears. The lower animal is more complex. The head is of the same shape, though less long, with a similarly pointed nose, folded backwards and downwards nose extension, and small, almond-shaped eye. The lower lip terminates in a round lobe, and a small, rounded ear is seen in profile. The ear extension also follows the line of the main body, loops around the first crossing point of ornament lines, but reappears to curve gently away, engrailing slightly as it changes direction, and terminating in a round lobe.

The tail of the uppermost snake terminates in a similar fashion.

Its body, drawn with clean, precise lines, curls round the top of the shaft, then turns downwards diagonally, crossing over its own body, and under the second snakes', and swells by use of an engrailment on the upper edge shortly before ending in a round lobe. The lower animal is again more complex. Its body weaves in and out of the body and ear extension of its companion, loops over itself once, gently swells into a hip, loops over itself again to form a figure-of-eight pattern, and ends in a highly stylised foot. The wider hip part contains a simple curl, the beginnings of a hip spiral, which is ingeniously associated with a tendril that weaves around the intersection of the body (where it crosses itself), and ends in another round lobe. The foot consists of a squared off heel, a bar across the main foot which gives to it an angularity, and a knot, from which evolve two small, weak tendrils representing toes. The bar, knot and two toes give it a three-cornered effect, so that the whole device vaguely resembles a triquetra. The lower creatures' head and hind parts are juxtaposed. The whole design is asymmetrical. Very faintly incised lines double contour all the animal ornament.

The knob between the handle and the shaft is square-sectioned. It is decorated on two opposite faces with a multicoil spiral done in niello; while the two other faces are adorned with circles divided into four equal segments, each segment containing a round lobe. Originally done in niello, these lobes now appear as black areas cut into the surrounding silver. The knob is quite badly damaged.

The silver plate is riveted onto the crosier shaft.

Classification : Urnes style of English manufacture.

Find context : Found in 1874 during excavations made on the site of the demolished chapter house of Durham Cathedral by Dr. Fowler. It was found in a bishop's grave, which also contained a gold ring with a sapphire and the remains of a pewter chalice. An iron ferrule in

the form of a plain spike was found, and traces of the wooden stem of the crosier. The remains of clothing were found on the partially crushed skeleton.

Bibliography : Fowler 1879, 404

Shetelig 1935, 24

Kendrick 1938, 236-240

Shetelig 1948, 107-108, fig.32

Kendrick 1949, 117-118, fig.20

Wilson 1966, 154, fig.68.

Present location : unknown. It was last recorded in 1887 as being in the possession of Philip B. Davis Cook.

Size : approximately 15 cms. long.

Description : As this object has apparently now been lost to us, the only evidence as to its original appearance is to be found in the publication of 1887 by C.H. Read, which includes an illustration. There is no way of being certain as to the accuracy with which the ornament on the stirrup is depicted, but the following description is a brief summary as to its basic characteristics, as shown in the illustration.

Read's drawing reveals that the design is composed of two, confronted, serpentine creatures. Their heads are simply executed, showing small eyes and prominent foreheads. However, they do appear to have had folded backwards and downwards nose extensions, and their lower lips terminate in pendulous round lobes. The bodies form pearshaped loops. They gently swell to accommodate spiral hips. From the hips, they taper until they form thin tendrils. The tendrils cross the body at the neck, to complete the loops, proceed into the topmost corners of the rectangular plate, loop back on themselves and finally, loop again around the crossing point of the body and neck, where they terminate. There is some ornamentation of indistinct vegetable character, occurring at the centre top of the plate, and between the animal heads. The two bodies are joined by a straight line that runs between the two spiral hips, and below which is an inverted V-shape. Another V-shape occupies a space below the two animals' lower lips.

The ornamentation occurs on a rectangular plate which is appended to the top of the stirrup itself. The plate is pierced by four holes. Read records that the design was traced with silver wire, which had almost entirely disappeared. From the drawing, it would

seem that two plain plates were positioned at right angles to the sides of the ornamented plate.

Classification : Urnes style, possibly of English manufacture?

Find context : single find from a peat bog at Mottisfont, near Romsey, in Hampshire.

Bibliography : Read 1887, 532-533
 Arbman, 1935-7, 268
 Shetelig 1940, 58
 Shetelig 1948, 109
 Kendrick 1949, 117.

18. SILVER FRAGMENTS

LONDON

Present location : Museum of London

Registration number : 3976

Size : (As reconstructed by the Museum of London, the shaft was 4.8 cms. high, with a maximum circumference of 3.7 cms.). The maximum dimensions of the three largest fragments are: 3.1 x 2.5 cms., 2.05 x 2.0 cms., and 3.2 x 3.2 cms.

Description : The fragmentary design includes two animal heads, both of which are viewed in profile, with large almond-shaped eyes, folded backwards and downwards nose extensions, and pendant lower lips, terminating in round lobes. One animal is a standing quadruped, and the second creature, probably a ribbon beast. The quadruped is larger than the ribbon beast, formed of broader line widths and being of elongated proportions. It has a spiral hip and an extended front leg. In its mouth are two, long pointed teeth. The long tapering lines of a leg belonging to another creature occur on the same fragment. It terminates in a foot with a rounded heel and two long toes. The remainder of the fragments are filled with patterns of broad and thin line widths arranged in interpenetrating, multi- and figure-of-eight loop schemes on a plain background. The ornament lines are fluent and uninterrupted.

Where the original straight edges of the fragments remain, they are followed by incised, straight lines forming a border to the ornament. Rivet holes occur intermittently on the pieces along these borders. The incision lines of the design are deep and well finished. Some niello inlay can still be seen. The reverse sides of the fragments are smooth and plain, with no signs of wear, or of the object to which they were originally attached. The fragments are curved, and there can be no doubt that they originally covered a cylindrical shaft.

Classification : Scandinavian Urnes style.

Find context : Probably found with a coin hoard deposited in
London in 1066 (see appendix E.).

Bibliography : Shetelig 1935, 22-25, fig.

Kendrick 1938, 238-239

Shetelig 1948, 108, fig.33

Kendrick 1949, 118-119, fig.

Moe 1955, 17-18.

19. BRONZE CAST PLAQUE

HAMMERSMITH

Present location : British Museum

Registration number : 1904, 6-23, 4.

Size : 10.6 cms. long.

Description : This bronze cast plaque is rectangular in shape with a fleur-de-lys terminal. The ornamentation is much worn, but consists of a ribbon creature arranged in a figure-of-eight loop design. The animal head appears in the centre of the plaque, on the right hand side, but the details are no longer clear. Many ornament lines of thinner width interlace with the creature, and terminate in round lobes. Occasionally they form clusters of tendrils, and they cannot be anatomically related to the animal. In the top corners of the ornamented area there are double looping interlace motifs; and at the bottom of the area are assorted leaf ornaments. The background is plain. Below the ornamented area is a plain space. The animal ornament is cast in low relief; and contained within a raised border, except at the top where the side elements of the fleur-de-lys terminal form the curled edges of the piece.

The plaque is much damaged. The entire surface is covered with blow holes left from the casting. The reverse is flat and plain. The object is heavy to hold.

Classification : Ringerike/Urnes style.

Find context : single find from Hammersmith, London, in the River Thames. Purchased from G.F. Lawrence, esq.

Bibliography : Shetelig 1909, 95, fig.20

BMASG 113, fig.141

Lindquist 1931, 165, fig.18

Shetelig 1948, 104-105, fig.28)

Kendrick 1949, 117, pl. lxix,2.

Moe 1955, 26, fig.24a and b.

Wilson 1964, 2, 48-50, 65, cat.no.42, pl.xxiii

20. CARVED STONE SLAB

JEVINGTON

Present location : Built into the north wall of the nave of St. Andrew's church, Jevington, Sussex.

Description : This stone slab is ornamented with a solid human figure, who plunges the staff of his cross into the opened mouth of a quadruped by his right leg. To his left is a ribbon beast, which may be combatting with a second creature, but the ornament is not clear enough to be certain. The animal's head is seen in profile, with a large, almond-shaped eye, rounded ears and an open mouth. Its broad neck is elongated, and tapers into a body and legs of thinner line width which are arranged in open loops and terminate in round lobes. The ornament lines are faintly double-contoured. The background is plain. The hindquarters of the quadruped on the other side of the figure are also arranged in open loop schemes, and composed of tendrils of thin line width that terminate in round lobes.

The relief of the ribbon animal is not so deep as the relief elsewhere on the carving. The plain background is pitted and rough, more so in some places than others, suggesting that this part of the sculpture may be unfinished.

Classification : Urnes style, English work.

Find context : Discovered in 1785 by Sir William Burrell in a stone chest, when the second stage of the belfry was refloored.

Bibliography : Kendrick 1949, 120-121, pl.Lxxxv

Moe 1955, 18

Wilson 1966, 154, pl.Lxxix a.

Smart 1973, 20.

21. CARVED CAPITAL

NORWICH

Present location : Museum in Norwich Cathedral.

Size : approximately, any one side is 25 cms. across, and 18.5 cms. high.

Description : This carved capital, made of Caen stone, is decorated on three sides, and the fourth side is attached to the remains of another capital, which is plain. The second side has been shaved almost plain, but enough remains to show that the ornamentation was originally continuous round three sides. The animals' forequarters seem to be those of standing quadrupeds, but then the bodies evolve into ribbons which taper into narrower line widths, arranged in interpenetrating, regular, open loop schemes. On each side, two creatures are asymmetrically juxtaposed. Their heads are seen in profile, with folded backwards and downwards nose extensions and pendant lower lips, terminating in round lobes. They have long, thick necks, and series of engraved lines mark the hip joints where the bodies widen. Sturdy front legs emerge, which often bend sharply at the knee joints, and taper into intertwining tendrils. Where feet are shown, they are large, with two long toes and a separated heel. The main sections of animal body contain beaded ornament. They, and the narrower tendrils, are double-contoured. The narrower line widths frequently have engravements along their lengths, and also, considerable numbers of offshooting elements, which terminate in substantial round lobes. The background is plain.

Although the capital is slightly damaged on all sides, and badly damaged on one, it is evident that the workmanship is of a high quality. The ornament is carved in deep relief of up to 1.5 cms.

Classification : Urnes style, English work.

Find context : Found in the buttresses on the south side of the cloister of Norwich Cathedral, during repairs made at the turn of the last century.

Bibliography : Zarnecki 1951,a, 38.

Wilson 1966, 154-155.

Green 1967, 240-242.

Present location : Part of an external window in the south wall of the church at Kirkburn, in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

Size : approximately, any one side is 20 cms. across and 21 cms.high.

Description : Each capital has two visible, decorated sides, round which the ornament is continuous. At the centre top of each piece is a mask-like human head. A thin tendril springs from the head on the left capital, but the head on the right capital is not connected with the rest of the pattern. The surfaces of the capitals are covered with tendrils of broad and thin line widths, which are arranged in interpenetrating, irregular loop schemes. The ornament lines gradually taper and swell, and when they become wider than 1.2 cms., they are filled with striped ornament. The outward facing side of the right-hand capital has no ornament lines of this width. The pattern here is more delicate, and composed of thinner, looping line widths. Tendrils emerge from other tendrils at any point, thus minimising the need for terminations. Ornament lines terminate in points, or in vegetal motifs. Nowhere on the capitals is zoomorphic decoration discernible, and no animal heads are visible. The background is plain.

Both capitals are badly eroded, and in some places, damaged. However, the right-hand capital is in a slightly better condition than the left. The workmanship is of a generally poor quality.

Classification : Urnes style influences.

Find context : The two capitals are built into the fabric of the present Kirkburn church, which may have been founded about 1153.

Bibliography : Kendrick 1938b, 239, pl. Lvii, 1.

Kendrick 1949, 120, pl. Lxxxiv.

Zarnecki 1951, a, 27-28.

Moe 1955, 18.

Present location : Above the north doorway, inside the porch of St. Michael and All Saints' church, Hoveringham.

Description : This tympanum is a low relief carving, representing St. Michael, with the backward looking lamb of God behind him, fighting the dragon. The dragon is a solid creature, with a Romanesque head, a feathered wing, and a double-contoured, scaled body. The hindquarters of the creature are formed of gradually tapering ornament lines, which form a wide and open loop, continue to narrow, and terminate in an extravagant vegetal ornament with offshooting round and pear-shaped lobes. From this section of the animal ornament emerge tendrils of narrow line width, which are arranged in asymmetrical, interpenetrating loop schemes, caught up with the creatures' body. One thinner tendril also emerges from the animal's wing. These line widths terminate in vegetal ornaments too. A type of ribbon beast occurs in miniature immediately above the dragon's head. Its head is viewed in profile, with a folded backwards and downwards nose extension, a pendant lower lip terminating in a round lobe, an almond-shaped eye, and a small, pointed ear. The body is scaled and angular by the forequarters, but evolves into an elongated section of tapering line width, which eventually loops in an asymmetrical, figure-of-eight shape, and interlaces with itself and with the larger creature. Its ornament lines terminate in round lobes. The background is plain.

Below the tympanum on the door lintel, is a low relief carving of interlaced ribbon animals seen in profile, one of which is confronted by a cherub-like winged creature. The two ribbon beasts are very similar. Their heads are the same as the head of the smaller creature on the tympanum, and their bodies are elongated, gradually swelling and tapering. There are no hips represented, but front legs emerge (one animal has two front legs shown) which

terminate in feet with rounded heels and long toes. Their tapering hindquarters form wide and open loops and terminate in small, vegetal ornaments. One of the creatures is backward looking, and bites its own body. Narrow line widths emerge from the animal bodies, (in one case, possibly from a subtriangular back hip joint), and are arranged in interpenetrating loop schemes, caught up with their own bodies and with that of the other animal. The narrow tendrils also terminate in round and pear-shaped lobes. The animal bodies are double-contoured, but not scaled. The background is plain. The tympanum and lintel are damaged, but the workmanship is of good quality.

Classification : Urnes/Romanesque

Find context : unknown. Re-used in its present position.

Bibliography :. Clapham 1930, 135-136, pl.59b.

Kendrick 1949, 122.

Moe 1955, 18-20, fig.17,18a and b.

Galbraith 1968, 175-176.

Present location : Built into the west wall of the north transept of Southwell Minster, immediately above a doorway.

Description : This incomplete tympanum is a low relief carving, representing St. Michael and the dragon, with, on the left, David rescuing the lamb from the lion. The dragon is a solid creature with a Romanesque head, a ribbed wing and a scaled body. After the front hip, which is represented by a simple spiral, the elongated body of the creature gradually tapers. The hindquarters form a wide and open loop, continue to narrow, and terminate in a leaf ornament. From this section of the animal ornament emerge tendrils of narrow line width, which are arranged in asymmetrical, interpenetrating loop schemes, caught up with the creature's body. Offshooting elements emerge from the narrow line widths, and terminate in round and pear-shaped lobes. The background is plain. Romanesque vegetal ornament also covers the underside of the door lintel. The tympanum, although now only fragmentary, is a work of good quality.

Classification : Urnes/Romanesque.

Find context : Found in its present position, built into the Minster which was started in 1108.

Bibliography : Kendrick 1949, 121-122, pl.Lxxxvi.

Moe 1955, 18-20, fig.19.

Wilson 1966, 154

Summers 1972, 5-6

Galbraith 1968, 175-176

Present location : British Museum.

Registration number : 1957, 10-2,1.

Size : 5.4 by 4.1 cms.

Description : This small, double-sided comb of walrus ivory is rectangular in shape and made out of a single slab of ivory. It originally had nineteen fine teeth on one side, and eleven coarser teeth on the other side of which fifteen fine, and eight coarse teeth remain. Seen from the side, the comb is lenticular in shape. The central panel of the comb, which is 2.1 x 4.1 cms. in size, is ornamented on both sides with zoomorphic decoration of differing character.

On one face, the panel is outlined by a rectangular frame with looped corners, and divided down the middle by a bar, surmounted by a notched, circular head. In the two frames thus formed are two confronted, almost identical, cat-like creatures. The animals are juxtaposed, with their heads full face in the upper central part of the panel, and with one cheek resting against the central bar. Their heads are especially cat-like, in both shape and details, such as the small rounded eyes and protruding ears. Their rounded bodies are seen in profile. Only one foreleg is visible on each animal, emerging from the body in a realistic fashion, with the lower leg of the left animal impinging on the rectangular frame. The animals' tails appear to pass between their legs, and end in a neat terminal stop in the lower central portion of the panel. The animals are set in relief on a plain background, with the effect that the bodies are highlighted in certain areas, where the light catches the shiny surface of the polished ivory. The animal on the right side is considerably more worn and the details are unclear, whereas the animal to the left is much less worn and completely visible.

On the other face of the comb is an interlaced snake within a

rectangular panel. The border consists of a plain line on the long horizontal sides, and a beaded one on the shorter sides. The snake has a long, slightly upturned, snub-ended snout, and a scrolled lower jaw. The eye is long and lentoid, and the ear is pressed back and pointed. The body of the creature is a figure-of-eight shape, looping back over itself once, with the tail passing under the snout and ending in a terminal stop in the upper left corner of the panel. In the centre of the field, a single ring encircles the crossing of the body. On the right hand side of the panel, two small ear-like features emerge from the loop of the body and penetrate into the corners of the field. The snake, too, is set in relief on a plain background, with certain parts of the body highlighted due to the polished surface of the ivory. The decorated area on this face is slightly concave. The ornament is somewhat worn, but is wholly discernible.

Classification : Urnes style (ribbon beast side only), of English manufacture.

Find context : Unknown. Purchased in 1957 from Mr. Backer of London.

Bibliography : Goldschmidt 1923, iii, 40, pl.1, 149
Wilson 1960, 223, pls. 76-77
Wilson 1960-61, 17-19, pls.7b and c.
Wilson 1964, 45.

Present location : British Museum.

On folio 30v in British Library Manuscript Royal I.E.VI.

Size : 2.2 x 5.5 cms. (maximum dimensions of the ribbon beast).

Description : This stylus addition depicts a ribbon animal, above which is written, in the same English Caroline miniscule hand, *P ego*. The head of the creature is viewed in profile. It is elongated, with a rounded ear, a folded backwards and downwards nose extension, and a pendant lower lip which terminates in a round lobe. There is no eye. A short stroke crosses the forehead of the creature, and seems unintentional. The neck is long and slim, and curves round to form a wide and open loop. The body widens to accommodate a simple spiral hip, from which emerges a front leg, which tapers into a foot with a heel and two long toes. The leg is positioned so that the foot almost meets the head, thus completing the loop formed by the head and neck. The body is elongated, and tapers very gradually. The curve of the rump is begun, but the drawing at this stage is left uncompleted. The lines of the rump begin to transverse the rectangular frame, associated with the earlier addition. Immediately below the spiral hip, but externally of the ornament lines of the animal's body, is a small, incomplete circular feature, which would have been a terminal lobe. Where the curves are particularly pronounced, over the top of the neck and by the rump, they are depicted by series' of several short, overlapping lines, in the manner of a sketch.

The drawing appears as silver lines on a background of purple, for the whole leaf is purple-dyed. The main ornament of the page is a miniature depiction of the Evangelist Mark, enthroned in an arched, curtained tabernacle, and contained within a rectangular frame. This painted scene is, in itself, an addition to the late eighth or early ninth century Gospel Book. The stylus grooves of the ribbon

beast cut into the pigment of the rectangular frame where it is transversed by the creatures' rump, showing that the animal post-dates the miniature. There are several other additions on the same page, both pre- and post-dating the miniature.

The inscription is written in a distinctive and skilful script, with the first letter drawn as a decorated capital.

Classification : Scandinavian Urnes style, but drawn by an English hand.

Find context : This particular addition was only noted in 1979 by Milly Budny.

Bibliography : Although the page has been published e.g.

Temple 1976, no.55, 74, pl.172

this stylus addition is not previously recorded.

APPENDIX A:

Summary of the conclusions of Bertil Almgren in his thesis:

Bronsnycklar och Djuromamentik (1955)

In 1955, B. Almgren published his thesis on bronze keys and their animal ornament. All of the keys he examined dated from the Vendel and early Viking period, and were decorated with Vendel styles D and III/E, and with the "naturalistic" and "gripping beast" styles.¹ Almgren had difficulty in arriving at a secure relative chronology for the keys, based on both their stylistic typology, and their find association dating.² Obviously, it was possible that different styles had been used simultaneously, as was amply demonstrated by the finds from Broa and Oseberg.³ In the case of the Broa mounts for example, one mount is decorated mainly in style III/E; on another, the "naturalistic" style predominates; and style III/E occurs together with gripping beasts on the same mounts.⁴ At their most typical, he recognised that these styles are, of course, quite different phenomena. However, atypical versions of them also exist, which can be regarded either as representing the transitional phase of a chronological typological development, or as constituting a contemporary, hybrid form.⁵ Almgren found it difficult to believe that in art of such a high standard as that from Broa and Oseberg, different styles could be repeatedly mingled together, and he began to question whether he was in fact dealing with truly different styles. He asks: "May they rather be not styles, but different motifs, executed in the one characteristic and dominant style of the period?"⁶ If this were to be the case, then the current definitions of the styles involved could not be retained. He felt that there had to be some qualities that united them all, that were obviously not the current criteria of heads, feet and legs, since these are variable.

From this premise, he began an analysis of the curve shapes involved, and found that the curvature of style III/E elements, and of the "naturalistic" beasts and the gripping beasts of Broa, was similar and comparable, and that all of these three elements could be assembled under one stylistic rubric, and

ascribed to one style concept.⁷ By means of curve analysis, he was able to distinguish between style D and the elements on the Broa mounts; and to show that the gripping beast motif occurred in at least two different styles, at Broa, and as a purely Viking age motif, in addition to its appearance in the Borre style.⁸

APPENDIX B

STAVE CHURCH AND OTHER WOODCARVING OF THE URNES

AND URNES/ROMANESQUE STYLISTIC PHASES.

In addition to the Urnes stave church carvings, there are a number of other fragmentary examples of Urnes style stave church carvings in Norway, notably those from Bjølstad, Torpø and Hopperstad I. In each case, these examples are surpassed in excellence and magnificence by the Urnes carvings themselves.

Two door planks survive from the old chapel at Bjølstad in Heidalen (pl. 61). They are ornamented with Urnes style standing quadrupeds, which are intertwined with ribbon beasts and filiform tendrils. The style is flat, and the designs are dominated by the strong, diagonal lines formed by the bodies of the quadrupeds. Although of Urnes type, the loop schemes are less uniform than at Urnes. The heads are simplified versions of the Urnes type, although the feet are completely typical of the style. Moe suggests that the Bjølstad planks are later than the Urnes carvings, representing a degenerate phase of the style¹. There is no concrete evidence to support this supposition.

Moe believes that the fragment from Torpø stave church, Hallingdal (pl. 59b) is also later in date than Urnes². It is of finer technical quality than the Bjølstad planks, although again, the style is much flatter than at Urnes. The Torpø fragment demonstrates some early Romanesque influences, for the creature now has a wing³, and bears some resemblance to animal figures on early Romanesque doors, such as that at Imshaug⁴. The Hopperstad fragment⁵, like the example from Torpø, was found under the floorboards of the church. Discoveries such as these have led to the assumption that the Urnes style was primarily associated with the ecclesiastical world. Excavations in Norway of medieval townships have yielded a quantity of Urnes style objects of a secular nature, which must cause this view to be modified.

The fragment of wood from the church at Hørning, Randers, Denmark

(pl.59a) is decorated with a simple, but unequivocal, Urnes style design. A single snake with an elegant head is carved in flat relief on this portion of the grooved beam, which held the tops of the upright members of the original stave church. The wood still shows traces of paint, which reveal that the snake was painted in red on a black background.

The early Romanesque carvings of Urnes II, Hopperstad II⁶ and the Ulvik portal⁷; display lingering Urnes style elements. For example, although in the latter two instances, the creatures have evolved into Romanesque dragons, the ornament lines form asymmetrical loop schemes, reminiscent of those at Urnes, with figures-of-eight and interpenetrating loops, juxtaposed broad and thin lines, and a circular emphasis to the composition. In Urnes II, the capitals on the south side of the west doorway and from the arcade in the nave (pl.60) are decorated with partially evolved, Romanesque creatures, whose bodies form open and circular loop patterns, which are juxtaposed with the plain backgrounds, and are also reminiscent of Urnes I designs.

From Sweden comes a fragment from the top of a stave church portal from Brågarp, Skåne (pl.58a) (which was, anyway, originally Danish territory), decorated with classic Urnes style ribbon beasts. On a reused plank from Hagebyhöga, Ostergötland (pl.57a), there is a creature of the Urnes type, although the thin, interlacing tendrils form atypical patterns; and a fragment of a reused plank from Ramkville, Småland (pl.57b) is ornamented with a design that is probably of Urnes type, although not enough survives to be conclusive.

The two planks from Guldrupe, Gotland (pl.56b) which originally came from a stave church portal, are reminiscent of Hopperstad II and the Ulvik portal, in that, again, the bodies of Romanesque creatures loop in a fashion which derives from the Urnes style loop schemes, and are intertwined with thinner tendrils, all of which are juxtaposed with a plain background. Urnes style influences are seen even more clearly on the

fragments of a stave church portal from Hemse, Gotland (pl.57c). The planks from Skalunda, Västergötland, and Vrigstad, Småland (pl.58 b-c) also betray Urnes style influences in their choice of loop patterns, although in both cases, the symmetry of the designs and the predilection for floriate terminations indicates that foreign influences were equally as strong. The Kungsåra bench from Västmanland (pl.62) also demonstrates the survival of certain Urnes style features on an object which is primarily decorated with Romanesque ornament. Once again, broad and thin lines are arranged in loop schemes reminiscent of the Urnes style, but the design has lost the simplicity of the Urnes style, and the ornament lines, although still fluent, are often broken by crossing lines.

With the exception of the carvings from Urnes itself, stave church carvings decorated in Urnes style are sparse in number, fragmentary in nature, and variable in quality. The style is better represented in transitional Urnes/Romanesque stave church carvings, when the Urnes loop schemes, in particular, are occasionally re-employed in the predominantly Romanesque period, in Norway and Sweden at least.

APPENDIX C

"Urnes ornament" on the sculpture from Gosforth, Cumbria.

Kendrick refers to the "thick, coarsened form"¹ of the Urnes ornament on the hogback at Gosforth, known as the "Saint's Tomb". He is describing a panel at the base of the stone, decorated with a frieze of intertwined ribbon beasts. He also refers to the Gosforth "fishing stone" which he believes has an "unmistakeable Urnes character".² The identification of these two sculptures as part of the Urnes tradition is very dubious, and results primarily from a tendency to view them as isolated monuments, rather than in the context of the Gosforth and Cumbrian groups, of which they are an integral part. The inter-relationship of the Gosforth carvings makes it highly unlikely that these two carvings are of eleventh century date.

The fragmentary "fishing stone",³ which has a depth of 5½ inches, was probably either a slab, or part of an architectural frieze. The upper half of the stone is decorated with a quadruped and ribbon beast scene, which has been attributed Urnes style characteristics. Bailey rightly states that the implications of the Urnes style identification are "startling",⁴ for both dating, and in the Cumbrian context, in that there is no other traceable effect of the Urnes style in the surrounding villages. The fact is that the sculpture has more similarities with the other Gosforth carvings than with the Urnes style. For instance, the stafford knots formed by the interlacing of the serpentine body are not found in Urnes ornament, but do occur on the south face of the Gosforth cross;⁵ and the thin knotwork and the fleshy plait of the "fishing stone" are also present on the east face of the cross. In addition, the flat treatment of the human figures in the fishing boat, with their drilled eyes, is also similar to the treatment of the figures on the cross. Bailey maintains that the details of the execution and the similarities of the overall intention indicate that the "fishing stone" is a product of the same historical and religious setting as the Gosforth cross, and may even be the work of the same sculptor.⁶

The "Saint's Tomb" (pl.73a) is also closely linked to the other Gos-

forth carvings, and the serpent motif is also found on the Penrith⁷ and Bolton le Sands⁸ hogbacks. The human figures enmeshed in the interlace of ribbon bodies also resemble the human figures on the cross and the "fishing stone" in their treatment. As Bailey records: "there is nothing particularly Urnes about the motif of a serpent struggle as such - indeed we have already seen that it seems to be a motif with widespread popularity through having a particular appeal to Viking age sculptors in the north-west, perhaps even to sculptors of hogbacks in particular".⁹ The panel which Kendrick describes as "Urnes ornament"¹⁰ does involve the juxtaposition of broad and thin ornament lines on a plain background, although the difference in body widths is not so great as Collingwood's drawing¹¹ led Kendrick to suppose. There is no Urnes style parallel for the animal heads, whose jaws are extended into long tendrils, which become more ribbon beast bodies. The panel on the south side of the same hogback has similar ornamentation, but highlights more clearly the dubiousness of an eleventh century date for the monument. Half of the panel is occupied by broad and thin ribbon beasts, which closely parallel the northern panel. However, in this case, the ribbon bodies evolve in the other half into a fleshy plait of precisely the same character as the plait interlaces on the cross.

After an extensive survey of the Cumbrian sculptural material, Bailey concludes that all the Gosforth carvings represent the work of a distinct group of sculptors, and perhaps only of one man, of great originality and competence, who, by analogy with other local carvings, and by their pictorial content, were working in the tenth century.¹² On stylistic and technical grounds therefore, the "Saint's Tomb" hogback and the "fishing stone" do not represent a phase of the Urnes tradition. The two stones were found underlying a twelfth century wall of the church at Gosforth in a very worn condition, which also makes an eleventh century date improbable.¹³

APPENDIX D.

Possible Urnes derived elements in Anglo-Norman sculpture.

Several authors, notably Kendrick,¹ have discussed so-called Urnes elements to be found on Anglo-Norman sculpture. In most cases, as with the Gosforth stones (appendix C), the attribution is dubious, and of little value. As was noted in chapter seven, the Anglo-Norman period of sculpture tends to involve a reinterpretation of traditional artistic elements, and their occasional incorporation into predominantly Romanesque art.

Kendrick refers to the Durham chapter house crosshead no.22 (pl.71) which includes in its ornament, a quadruped and ribbon beast scene. He maintains that the beasts hind leg and the serpents tail "are in the form of a graceful Urnes detail".² The cross head can possibly be dated to between 995 and 1083,³ but the carving on this cross arm is reminiscent of the Jevington panel to the right of the Christ figure, which could also not be called Urnes style for the reasons stated above (p. 150). The Jevington carving, on which the panel to the left of the Christ figure is probably the earliest Urnes carving in England, and the Durham crosshead are probably similar in date, sometime in the second half of the eleventh century.

Wilson writes that the ribbon beasts on the jambs of Kilpeck portal (pl. 72) "exhibit the last flickering traces of the true Urnes style",⁴ an idea which has been recently reiterated by Loyn.⁵ It is worth recalling Bailey's words: "there is nothing very Urnes about the motif of a serpent struggle as such".⁶ The creatures at Kilpeck only retain very general elements of the Urnes style. The juxtaposition of broad and thin ornament lines on the Kilpeck jambs is not achieved with the characteristic lightness of the style, largely because of the thick, coarsened forms of the undulating snake bodies. This type of ribbon beast is found on several Norman tympana, such as those from Brinsop and Ruardean. Zarnecki⁷ maintains that the Kilpeck carvings form part of the Herefordshire school of sculpture, and draws a parallel between the thick, fleshy snakes on the Kilpeck jambs and the carvings on the label of the left doorway and the fifth shaft at Shobdon,⁸

which he identifies as the work of the chief master of the school. The motif of a snake like ribbon beast interlaced with single strand bands of foliage is very persistent in Herefordshire. He concludes that the Kilpeck carvings are the work of the same group of sculptors who carved the Shobdon pieces. On the whole, it is more rewarding to discuss the Kilpeck work in a regional context, as it was with the Gosforth stones discussed in appendix C.

Nevertheless, there are certain Scandinavian affinities at Kilpeck, such as the five corbels at the top of the angle buttresses of the nave, which take the form of monster's heads, with open jaws and S-shaped tongues, and are carved in openwork. These are strikingly similar to the dragon heads on Norwegian church gables, such as those on the mid twelfth century church at Borgund.⁹ The general appearance of the Kilpeck doorway is similar to certain stave church doorways. Thus, although the attribution of the Kilpeck doorway ornament to the Urnes style is dubious, it seems likely that the decoration represents a continuing taste for some Scandinavian forms of ornament in the Romanesque period. Bearing in mind the geographical position of Herefordshire in relation to Ireland, and the very late flourishing of the Urnes style in Ireland, it seems that Ireland may be the source of the Kilpeck sculptors' familiarity with the Urnes style idiom.

With less justification, Kendrick cites several other examples of English sculpture which he believed contained Urnes elements in their designs. He points to the "rare survivals of Urnes design in the form of dragons with boldly knotted tails"¹⁰ at Ipstones, Staffordshire on a tympanum; at Caster, Northamptonshire, on a capital on the north side of the chancel arch; and at Bradbourne, Derbyshire, on the orders of the arch. He also refers, in this context, to a fragmentary cross shaft at West Marton, near Skipton, which has "to an appreciable degree an Urnes character"¹¹ (a view supported by Wilson¹²); and to a cross at Hawsker, near Whitby, which has an "uninterrupted length of Urnes interlace".¹³ In each case, the main

reasons for this opinion seem to be the serpent motif, or the contrast between broad and thin ornament lines; but in general character, these pieces are so far removed from any Urnes prototype, and fixed so firmly in Anglo-Norman contexts, that the attribution of them to the Urnes style is of little value.

APPENDIX E

Summary of recent research into the post-Conquest burials in Durham cathedral chapter house, with particular reference to the grave which contained the Durham crosier head (cat.no.16).¹

The Durham crosier head was discovered in 1874 during excavations on the site of the partially demolished chapter house of Durham cathedral, conducted by Dr. Fowler.² The object was found in one of a row of three graves in the eastern end of the chapter house (see pl. 74). Below the level of these bishops' graves, Fowler found several other interments of men, women and children, which he concluded probably dated from before 1083, when Bishop Carileph expelled all the secular married canons at the transference of the monastic fraternity from Jarrow to Durham.

As the slabs covering these three graves had been displaced, the task of identifying the bishops in each grave was complicated. The three slabs were engraved: RANNVLVUS EPISCOPVS; WILLS EPISCOPVS: SECVNDVS; and GAVFRIDVS EPI[SCOPVS]; and belonged to bishops Rannulph Flambard (1099-1128), William de St.Barbara (1143-1152) and Geoffrey Rufus (1133-1140).³ Fowler turned to a plan of 1727,⁴ which he refers to as his "only guide",⁵ believing the plan to have been drawn before any displacement occurred. Although there are many problems with this plan, for instance, fifteen names are applied to thirteen recorded graves, and Robert de Insula's name is mentioned twice, the row of three graves was shown and the names of the occupants were Flambard, St.Barbara and Rufus. However, Fowler had found the displaced slab of Geoffrey Rufus in the north, that of St.Barbara in the centre, and Flambard in the south. The plan of 1727 showed that Flambard was buried in the north and Rufus in the south. The crosier head was found in the northernmost grave of the row of three; hence, since Fowler's publication, the object has commonly been known as "Flambard's crosier".⁶

Simeon of Durham, a contemporary source, recorded that three bishops were buried in a row in the chapter house: Carileph to the north, Turgot in the middle, and Walcher to the south, but the siting of this row is uncertain.⁷

There is one other pre-Reformation reference to Turgot.⁸ When Robert de Insula was being buried in 1284, the gravediggers discovered Turgot's grave, which they refilled. They buried Robert de Insula elsewhere, apparently in the apse of the chapter house, just before the bishop's chair, which stood on the centre line of the building. It has been suggested that by 1284, it was prestigious to be buried at the eastern end, on the centre line.⁹ If so, Turgot must have been buried just below the step on the centre line, with Carileph and Walcher to either side of him.

Two sixteenth century lists have been uncovered which are of interest. They are Bodleian Library MS Tanner 46 folio 51^b of 1576, copied by John Stowe from Leland's original, and Durham University Library Mickleton and Spearman MS.vol.71, front past-down (recognised by Brian Gill 1979) of about 1560. Unlike most others, the bishops on these lists are not recorded chronologically. The lists correspond very closely, and it seems probable that their compilers wrote them from the names on the gravestones in the chapter house, i.e. in the order that the graves were set out in the chapter house in the mid-sixteenth century. The differences in the lists suggest that they are independent sources, and that the graves of at least some of the bishops were laid out in rows. The row of Carileph, Turgot and Walcher is confirmed by another source, Hegge, who was working in Durham in the 1620's. There is evidence to show that Richard Kellawe was buried above the steps, that is, in the apse of the chapter house;¹⁰ and the first name on the Mickleton and Spearman list is probably Richard Kellawe's.¹¹ Although, as yet, there is no independent evidence to suggest that De Insula was also buried above the steps (his name being second on the Mickleton and Spearman list), it seems fairly certain that the writer of that list was working east to west in the chapter house.

There are many problems to be solved before the chapter house burials can be fully understood. For example, a series of entries in the Durham obituaries appear to refer to the translations of several of the bishops, including Carileph, Turgot, Walcher and others. This has been taken to mean

that when the chapter house building was completed, by Flambard or Geoffrey Rufus, the bodies of earlier bishops were exhumed and reburied in the new structure. Yet Simeon of Durham says explicitly in 1115 that Turgot was buried "in capitulo", thus proving that there was a chapter house in 1115, and that Turgot was buried there, and not translated there, and Simeon also states that he was buried between Carileph and Walcher. This discrepancy in the sources must be resolved before any conclusions can be reached.

Nevertheless, at the present stage of the enquiry, which is continuing, the evidence strongly suggests that the row of three graves, one of which contained the Durham crosier head, belonged not to bishops Flambard, St. Barbara and Rufus, but to Carileph, Turgot and Walcher. The crosier head was found in the northernmost grave, which recent work suggests was the grave of Carileph, bishop from 1081-1096. Such a finding can only be corroborated by the stylistic evidence of the object itself.

APPENDIX F.

The association of the silver fragments from London (cat.no.18) with a post-Conquest coin hoard.

Shetelig's publication of the silver fragments from London does not mention that they may have been found with a coin hoard.¹ However, Kendrick twice mentions this probability,² as does a pencilled note in the margin of the catalogue in the Museum of London.³ The problem is to ascertain with which hoard they were found.

Thompson says of the large Walbrook hoard, found about 1872, that it "was found during excavations, but great secrecy was observed about the exact site and circumstances of the discovery".⁴ The workmen "co-operated" with Mr. Baily of Gracechurch Street, who had a sizeable collection of antiquities, which he left to the Guildhall Museum on his death in 1881. The numismatist Willet had seen Baily's possessions in 1876,⁵ and Sir John Evans listed the coins in 1885.⁶ About 3,480 coins have now been listed in detail, although there is considerable confusion over how many coin hoards Baily possessed, and the contents of each.

Thompson maintains that the Walbrook hoard contained about 7,000 coins of Anglo-Saxon, Norman and foreign manufacture, and that it was deposited about 1070.⁷ However, Dolley suggests that, in fact, Thompson's one hoard represents a conglomeration of two distinct parcels, and draws attention to several inaccuracies in Thompson's inventory.⁸ Thompson apparently assumed that all the Baily coins in the British Museum came from the same source, but without warrant. For instance, Elmore Jones notes that the Aethelred II coins, which were "part of the Baily collection" came from a hoard found in St.Martin Le Grand.⁹

Dolley suggests that the two parcels were extremely disproportionate in size, and that they may also have been found in two quite different places.¹⁰ The earlier of the two hoards seems to have numbered some six thousand Anglo-Saxon pennies, predominantly of Edward the Confessor. The comparative paucity of coins of Edward's last (Michaelmas 1065) issue, and the rarity of

coins of Harold II lead Dolley to speculate that this huge treasure was part of the "bullion" reserve of one or more of the London Moneyers, and that William entered London while it was awaiting conversion into current coin.¹¹ This would give it a deposition date of 1066.

The second hoard numbered only a handful of coins, and may have been deposited about 1075. However, it is the large hoard that concerns us here, for Dolley finds further evidence for his theory from the fact that the hoard contains three foreign coins. Foreign coins had been forbidden to circulate in England since the time of Aethelstan at least, indicating, with the obsolete English issues included, that the hoard could not have been speculative. The three foreign coins are German, Danish and Byzantine. Thompson does not include the Byzantine coin in his hoard inventory, nor is it a well-known element of the coin collections. However, in the "catalogue of the Museum of Roman and Romano-British, Medieval and other Antiquities, discovered in the City of London 1863-1872; and collected by the late John Walker Baily of 71, Gracechurch Street..."¹² written after 1881, is the following: "...A heap of silver coins, part of a large find, preserved as a specimen to show the state in which they were discovered; and portion of the bowl containing them. The following 230 coins forming part of that find....

- 63 Ethelred
- 134 Edward the Confessor, 1042
- 14 Cnut 1016
- 14 Harold I and II 1035-1066
- 5 William the Conquerer 1066

[Also] 30 halves of the same kind of coins....

- 1 of Emperor John Zimisces 969

[Also] About 50 boxes or parcels, containing roundly from 100 to 150 coins, Roman and English, silver and copper". It is not surprising that there is considerable confusion over Baily's coin collections; yet here is an undoubted reference to part, at least, of the huge 1066 hoard, and with it is included the Byzantine coin of Emperor John Zimisces.

This early catalogue makes no mention of the silver fragments, but as it is a vague and incomplete list, this is not a problem. There is, however, evidence of a connection between the silver fragments and the find containing the Byzantine coin. In the Museum of London is preserved a fragment of a manuscript,¹³ on which is written: "Coin of John Zimisces, Emperor of the East A.D.969-976. Found in a coarse earthen urn with a pair of gold mounted Saxon spurs, fragments of a silver ferrule of a walking staff engraved with runic ornament, and about 17 lbs. of Saxon coins, consisting of Athelred (two types) Cnute (two types) Harold (1st and 2nd, one type each) and Edw. the Confessor (about 13 types); all these objects being about 1 century later than this coin. All the foregoing, with the pick of the coins, were in the possession of J.W. Baily". If the identification of the silver fragments with Baily's "silver ferrule of a walking staff" is correct, then the fragments can be firmly associated with a coin hoard. That coin hoard must be the large hoard of about 1066, as evidenced by the description of the contents, and by the quantity of coins. It is roughly estimated that 17 lbs. of coins would be about 5000 pieces, not allowing for broken or otherwise damaged coins.¹⁴ In the light of the evidence of the Byzantine coin, the Walbrook hoard, and the manuscript note linking them with the silver fragments, the latter can be dated, reasonably firmly, to before 1066.

APPENDIX G.

An Urnes style strap end from Freswick.

The Freswick strap end (pl.73b) is the only Urnes style object from Scotland known to me.¹ It was found during excavations of the large Viking settlement at Freswick, carried out by Curle in 1937 and 1938.² Unfortunately, the object was a single, unstratified find, discovered in the sand near the Viking houses.³

The ornamentation consists of a single animal. Its head is seen from above, and it has a long, tapering snout, which seems to bite the ring beyond it. The body is serpentine, and forms a loop from which the limbs emerge. The width of the ornament lines is fairly constant, thus minimising the contrast of broad and thin elements. Although the decorated area on which the animal ornament occurs is similar in shape to the English Urnes style bronze mounts (cat.no.1-6), the design has a more linear aspect, with the limbs proceeding straight across the object in various directions, and not forming interpenetrating loop schemes. Nevertheless, the concept of the decoration recalls the English Urnes style, and a subtriangular hip joint on one of the limbs is suggested. Generally, the ornament lines cannot be related to parts of the animal's anatomy with any certainty, but the model of the English Urnes style bronze mounts enables the ornament to be interpreted thus far. In this, the object is related to the Tynemouth mount (cat.no.6), which also depended on seeing it as part of the group of English Urnes material for an understanding of its ornamentation.

The Freswick strap end derives from the English Urnes style, but the dating and art-historical position of the object, isolated as it is in a north Scottish context, do not allow for further deductions.

FOOTNOTES

The history of the study of the Urnes style

- p.1 1. Shetelig 1909
2. Müller 1880
3. This system is used, for example, by Wilson, 1966.
4. The Ringerike district is a few miles north of Oslo. A number of carved stones were found there, all ornamented in a similar artistic style, which came to be known as Ringerike style. The stones came from Vang, Alstad, Dynna, Tanberg and Strand.
5. Jelling in Jutland was a royal burial place. It was here that royal burial mounds were raised, and complex stone alignments were built. Several carved stones were also raised, including the famous Jelling stone, which bears the following inscription: "King Harald ordered this stone to be raised in memory of Gorm his father and Thyra his mother : (he was) that Harald who won all Denmark, and Norway, and made all the Danes Christian". The reference is to Harald Bluetooth, and the stone is dated on the evidence of the inscription to between 965 and 985.
6. i.e. Christiansson 1959
- Malmer 1963
- Holmquist 1963
- p.2 7. Particularly those of Britain, Ireland and Germany due to the activity of Christian missionaries. See Moe 1955, 30.
- p.3 8. Christiansson 1959, 11-31.
9. Wilson 1966, 95-160
10. Christiansson 1959, 47-50
11. Holmquist 1963, 9-29, 65-67
12. Malmer 1963, 244
- p.4 13. Shetelig 1909, 83-106; 1948, 107-113; 1949, 140-141
- He believes that the Urnes style developed from earlier Scandinavian art styles, particularly the Ringerike style. He sees the origins

of the style as Central Swedish, from where, he maintains, it was transmitted to Norway.

14. Åberg 1921, 68, sees a revival of the Vendel styles in the Urnes phase.
15. Lindquist 1931, 167-178 agrees more closely with Shetelig, believing that the origins of the style were Gotlandic-Central Swedish, and that the style developed from earlier Scandinavian styles, particularly the Jellingstyle. However, he also admits certain Irish influences.
16. Kendrick 1949, 110, also believes that the Urnes style developed from the Jellinge and Ringerike style phases, and probably originated in East Sweden, the Urnes carvings representing a later Norwegian version.
17. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, 1966. Wilson also believes that the Urnes style represents a development from the Ringerike style. He would also see the Ringerike style as a Scandinavian development which first appeared on the Central Swedish runestones. The appearance of the style in Britain is ascribed to the assimilation of Viking taste by the native population.
18. Anker 1970, 214-215; believes that a purely Scandinavian tradition accounts for the development of the Ringerike and Urnes styles.
19. Hauglid 1973, 53-57, also sees the Urnes style in the light of a Scandinavian tradition, running through the Jellinge and Ringerike styles. He regards the origins of the style as being found on the Central Swedish runestones, but does not totally disregard Irish influences.
20. Brøndsted 1924, 299,303 sees the Urnes standing quadruped as a development from the Northern English Anglian beast.
21. Holmquist 1951, 34-37, believes that English manuscripts and the Anglo-Saxon art styles were influential in the development of the Urnes style, and that the Irish Urnes style also developed from an Anglo-Saxon source.

22. Moe 1955, 20-29, also believes in an English origin for the Urnes style, particularly the early eleventh century Northern English sculpture. He credits the Anglo-Saxon missionary activities as being responsible for the transmission of the style to Scandinavia, first to Norway, and then to Sweden; but he also acknowledges Irish influences to have been active in the later phase.
23. Müller 1880, 265-324.
24. Holmquist 1963, 147-50. Holmquist's theory does not seem tenable in the light of the secure dating of much of the Irish metalwork to the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.
25. The Lismore crosier is the earliest dateable object with pure Urnes style elements. Its inscription indicates a date somewhere between 1090 and 1113.
26. Henry 1933, 76-77;
Henry 1962, 65-67; Henry 1970, 192-95.

Part one : chapter one

- p.6 1. Wilson 1966
2. Fuglesang 1974, 9-21
3. Almgren 1955, 88-95
- p.7 4. Fuglesang 1974, 9-21; Fuglesang 1978, 205-213
5. Fuglesang 1978, 205
- p.9 6. Fuglesang 1978, 205
- p.11 7. Fuglesang 1974, 16-21
- p.12 8. Almgren, however, does not differentiate between motifs in this way.

Chapter two.

- p.13 1. Christie 1958, 49-73
2. Moe 1955, 1
- p.16 3. Fuglesang 1974, 9-21
- p.18 4. Fuglesang 1974, 17
5. Fuglesang 1974, 17
6. Christiansson 1958, 145,146
- p.20 7. Christiansson 1958, 145,146
8. Fuglesang 1974, 17
- p.23 9. A description used by James Lang in a lecture in 1978.
- p.28 10. I have heard the creature described thus, but can find no reference.
11. Wilson 1966, 120
- p.31 12. Fuglesang 1974, 18
13. Fuglesang 1974, 17
14. Fuglesang 1974, 20
- p.32 15. Fuglesang 1974, 17,18
- p.33 16. Fuglesang 1974, 16-21
- p.35 17. i.e. Wilson 1966, 147
Blindheim 1965, 41 talks of the Urnes doorway as being decorated
with a scene of "ferociously struggling animals".
18. Kendrick 1949, 89 talks of "a splendid lion, struggling in the
coils of a serpent".
19. i.e. Fuglesang 1974, 63, 109
Wilson 1966, 120,121
20. i.e. Wilson 1966, 120,121
Kendrick 1949, 89
21. See above, footnote 18
22. There are innumerable examples of this. To take one, Kendrick 1949,
88, fig.8 shows a detail of a Danish horse collar on which two ribbon
beasts are entwined; but he does not conclude that they, too, are
engaged in combat.

- p.36 23. i.e. in Vendel style art, see Shetelig 1949, 97, figs.36-38.
24. i.e. The Book of Lindisfarne fol.26v and fol.94v
The Book of Kells. fol.7v and fol.183v
25. The Jelling stone, for instance, commemorates Harald's conversion of the Danes to Christianity, amongst other things. If the animal scene is taken as a piece of figurative symbolism, it may be seen as representative of the fight between good and evil, or of the success of Christianity over its adversaries. Alternatively, the crucifixion scene on the stone may be the pictorial representation of Christianity; while the animal scene may be representative of royal power to which another part of the inscription alludes, claiming that Harald was king of Norway, and Denmark. . Since the symbolic interpretation of the ornamentation is purely hypothetical, so too are the conclusions reached.
26. Genesis 3, v. 1-15
27. Moe 1955, 30
- p.37 28. Curman 1932, 144-146, fig.1
Fuglesang 1974, pl.iii : A
29. The terminology of the vegetal motifs is taken from Fuglesang 1974, 119-144.
30. Wilson and Klindt-Jensen 1966, pl.LIX a-b
31. Eldjárn 1953, figs. 6-7
- p.38 32. Shetelig 1910-11, 47-49
Åberg 1941, 47-49
33. Fuglesang 1974, 125-128
34. The terminology used here is taken from Thompson 1975, 30-31.

Chapter three.

- .39 1. Lindquist 1931, 163-178
Holmquist 1951, 26
Christiansson 1959, 31
Capelle 1968, 63
2. This view coincides with Wilson's in Wilson and Klindt-Jensen 1966, 149-150 and Fuglesang's 1974, 7.
3. The inscriptions quoted are literal translations of the modern Swedish translations found in Sveriges Runinskrifter.
4. The runestone numbers are taken from Sveriges Runinskrifter. Since this is a standardised and universally acceptable sequence for the stones, there will not be individual bibliographical references as such, except in the case of recently discovered stones which are not included in Sveriges Runinskrifter.
- .40 5. The word "styrunapr" also appears on four other stones: Sö161, U1011, U1016 and DR1 Haddeby; and there are other references to seamen, on stones such as U654: "he could well steer the ship".
- .41 6. It is very doubtful that Vigmund and Áfrid actually carved the stone; the inscription probably refers to the fact that Vigmund and Áfrid were the patrons of the monument.
7. Thingelid - an army of men, both English and Danes, taken into the personal service of Knut, who reigned in England from 1016 - 1035.
8. cf. "Yngvar's saga viðförli", Jóhansson 1950, ii, 423-459
9. The apportionment, among the various territories, of the late Viking runestones and Eskilstuna cists, is approximately as follows: Uppland - about 1200; Södermanland - almost 400; Östergötland - nearly 300; Småland - about 10; Öland - about 70; Gotland - about 40; Västergötland - about 130; Närke - about 30; Västmanland - about 10; Norrland - about 50; Skåne - about 50; Bornholm - about 40; the rest of Denmark - about 100; and Norway - about 10.
- .42 10. i.e. U462, U489, U104, U122, U179, U262 etc.
11. This cross type is not always found on Ásmund's works. For example, U871 has a cross with pointed rays between the arms. Ásmund's work is also characterised by his predilection for small, free-standing quadrupeds among the usual ornamentation, and by certain runological traits, such as the use of the word "markaði", amongst others.

- p.43 12. i.e. U938, unsigned but almost certainly the work of Öpir
- p.44 13. cf. Thompson 1975, 23-26
- p.45 14. Gustavson 1976, 106, fig.13
15. Von Friesen 1913, 29-33
- p.46 16. Christiansson 1959
17. Moe 1955, 8-9
- p.47 18. Gustavson 1975, 104
- p.48 19. U1165 is from Rotbrunna, Harveni. The name "Airikr" is written in code. The sixteen letters of the younger futhark were divided into three groups, thus:

Y N P F R Y : * + | + 4 : ↑ B Y I A

Erik numbers the groups from right to left one, two and three.

Within each group, the letters are numbered from left to right. He transmits the numbers by means of long and short strokes, long strokes for the number of the group, and short strokes for the number of the letter within the group. Thus, the first letter of his name, A, is the fourth letter of the second group, and is written thus:

||'''' and the message continues ||''''||''''||''''||''''||''''||''''||''''||''''

A

20. Wessen and Jansson 1940-1958, U379 and U391. Wessen and Jansson maintain that this sort of art was a manifestation of the "bonde" culture in eleventh century Uppland, which quickly languished. Guilds were known as early as the eighth century in France and England; for example, the "gilda mercatoria" in England is perhaps the oldest known guild. A peace guild was also formed during troubled times, such as under the kingship of Aethelstan from 895-940, when neighbours presumably rallied to each other's aid, when troubled by plunderers and so on. However, the guilds primarily had monetary origins, and the word may derive from the Scandinavian "geld". It seems likely that Frisian and Saxon businessmen in the north felt themselves to be vulnerable. They were also able to be more commercially effective, once they were organised into guilds. Scandinavian guilds, which

were set up by incoming groups, such as the Frisians, were based on the Germanic models of organisation, and were started for the twin purposes of business, and personal co-operation, and were already Christian organisations when introduced into Scandinavia. The significance attached to blood brotherhood during the Viking period was underlined by the economic and spiritual brotherhood felt by guildbrothers of the same era, as indicated by the use of the word "felaha" on U391, translated here as "business partner", rather inadequately. The Swedish names of the guildbrothers, the choice of type of memorial, and the use of the Swedish runic alphabet, indicates that the people involved were of Frisian ancestry, but had dwelt for some time in Sweden. The club possibly had a mixed Swedish and Frisian membership.

21. The Sigtuna carver Torbjörn is not to be confused with other rune-carvers who have the same name, such as Torbjörn Skald who carved U29, and had considerably more talent than the man responsible for the Sigtuna stones.
22. Von Friesen 1913, 67
23. Lindquist 1941, 40-48 (Lindquist's type C picture stones)
24. i.e. Wilson 1966, 150
Moe 1955, 10
- p.49 25. Lindquist 1941, 76-82
- p.50 26. Christiansson 1959
27. Christiansson 1959, 265
28. Christiansson 1959, 265
- p.51 29. i.e. Thompson 1975 studies the Upplandic material exclusively.
- p.52 30. Sveriges Runinskrifter no. Sö 356
31. Jansson 1962, 157
32. Lindquist 1917-1924

Chapter four.

- p.54 1. Eg. Oslo U.O. C27822 Lesja, Oppland; U.O. C26519 Hole,
Buskerud; U.O. C28696 Eidanger, Telemark
Skien Bymuseum 3934 Telemark
- p.55 2. They are usually approximately 3.5 - 5 cms. across
3. København Nat. Mus. reg.no's D.26462, D.10977, D.11058 & D.13401
4. e.g. Statens Historiska Museum, 6765 Särestad, 3315 unprovenanced.
5. Shetelig 1910-11, 46
Wilson 1966, 127
6. Shetelig 1920, 322
7. Fuglesang 1974, 155
- p.56 8. The vanes from Heggen, Norway and Källunge, Gotland are seen as
belonging to the classic phase of the Ringerike style,
Fuglesang 1974, cat.no's. 42 and 44.
9. Fuglesang 1974, 37-38
10. Rydh 1919, fig.71
- p.57 11. i.e. Wilson 1966, 141
- p.58 12. Eg Heda, Östergötland and Anundsjö, Ångermanland, Socket.
Karlsson 1976, figs. 155 and 111
13. Wilson 1964, 51 postulates that this object was the prototype for
the English bronze mounts (cat.no's. 1-7 in the present work)
14. Eg. U938, U644, U859, U860
- p.59 15. Wilson 1966, pls. xxxv, xxxvii
- p.60 16. Moe 1955, 12
- p.61 17. Shetelig 1909, 12-26
Lindquist 1931, 167-178
Kendrick 1949, 110
Wilson 1966, 149-153.
Hauglid 1973, 53-57
18. Moen 1971, 55-56

p.62 19. Herteig 1957, 43, fig.22a

20. Fuglesang 1974, 21

21. Blindheim 1965, 30-31

Chapter five.

- p.64 1. Stenberger 1947, Vol.II, 175-177
2. Stenersen 1881
3. Wilson 1966, 160
4. Wilson 1978, 135. Wilson produces a list of dating methods of the post-Roman period, in order of reliability
- a) Dating by inscription
 - b) Dating by association with a known historical personage
 - c) Dating by association with a known historical event
 - d) Dating by inclusion in a coin hoard
 - e) Dating by inclusion in an archaeological stratification
 - f) Stylistic or typological dating.
5. Da 42. (As in chapter 3, the runestone numbering follows the system used in Sveriges Runinskrifter, Norges Innskrifter med de yngre Runer, Danmarks runinskrifter.)
6. Moltke 1971, 10-31
7. Archbishop Absolon lived from about 1127 until 1200
- p.65 8. Von Friesen 1909, 64
- Jansson 1962, 81
9. Von Friesen 1909, 62-63
- Jansson 1962, 81
10. Von Friesen 1913, 34-36
11. Brate 1925, 37
- p.66 12. Von Friesen 1913, 41-46
13. It is impossible to give any fixed boundaries to the Serkland, "the Saracen's land" of the runestones. The norsemen probably meant by it the lands of the Abbasid Caliphate, whose capital in the Viking age was Baghdad.
14. Yngvar's saga viðforli, Jonsson ed. 1950, ii 423-459.
15. Ingvar apparently raised an army of men mostly from the Mälardistrict. These included men such as Gunnler, who "could well steer the ship"

(U654); and references are made to men who joined him and steered their own ships, as on U778 which records that Banke "had a ship of his own and steered eastward in Ingvar's host".

16. The expedition, on runestone evidence, apparently ended in disaster, as no mention is made of any survivors, who returned to Sweden. All of Ingvar's men seem to have died "south in Serkland". The Gripsholm stone (Sö 179) was set up by Tola in memory of her son, Harald, who was Ingvar's brother. The inscription closes with the stanza:

pæir foru draengila	They fared like men
fiarri at gulli	far after gold
ok austarla	and in the east
aerni gafu	gave the eagle food.
Dou sunnarla	They died southward
a Saerklandi	In Serkland.

17. Jónsson 1950, ii, 447-448. In fact, the date is given in two ways.

18. These are U127, U149, U164, U165, U212 and two lost stones, L403 & L445

19. These are U101 and U143

20. U150

21. U140

22. For example, Jarlebanke's grandmother Estrid, and her first husband,

Östen raised U137 for their son Gag; and Estrid raised U136 after her husband, Östen. Their children, Ingefast, Östen and Sven raised U135 after Östen, and so on.

p.67 23. Von Friesen 1913, 51

24. Moe 1955, 8-9

p.68 25. Thompson 1975, 80 fn.10. Visäte frequently uses Fot's basic structure (A-2); and on U668, he is clearly imitating Balle cf. U724, U735, U739; and on U449, he copies the beast of U428.

26. Balle, and an otherwise unknown carver named Frøystaein, freely acknowledge themselves as pupils of Livsten, in the signature of U1161. Such explicit testimony is rare.

27. Taken from Fuglesang 1974, 232. This information was kindly supplied to Fuglesang by M. Rydbeck.
28. Fuglesang 1974, 232 fn.72. e.g. The fragments from Köping church, Öland, were reused in the twelfth century building cf. Jansson 1954, 83-89
29. Shetelig 1909, 103-105
30. Bugge 1935, 163-164
31. Mowinckel 1929, 393-401
- p.69 32. Mowinckel 1929, 398-400, fig.5
33. Christie 1958, 49-73, figs. 2 - 3
34. Bjerknes 1958, 81
- p.70 35. Wilson 1966, 160; Krogh and Voss 1961, 20
36. Fuglesang 1974, 25, first employed this logical deduction
37. Fuglesang 1974, 15, 64-66
38. Blindheim 1965, 4
- p.71 39. Kjellberg 1953, 81, figs. 2-3, 5
40. Blindheim 1965, pls. 172, 183-186

Part two. Chapter six.

Section A.

- p.72 1. Kendrick 1949, 116
2. Kendrick 1949, 116
- p.73 3. Since the catalogue numbers of the English material correspond to the plate numbers of the objects, no plate numbers are referred to in the text, when catalogued items are mentioned. Thus, bronze mounts (cat. nos. 1-7) are illustrated on plates 1-7 in their respective order.
- p.75 4. In a recent lecture in Durham, Dr. Arrhenius of Stockholm University related how experiments in Sweden had showed that when clay dies were used more than once, shrinkage of the clay die during the process of manufacture led to the objects produced being a different size. Hence, no two Swedish bracteates are identical.
5. Mistakenly referred to by Kendrick 1949, 116, as having an Irish origin. See chapter 6, section C.
- p.77 6. The wearing away of such details as a spiral hip may be seen on the bronze mount from Mildenhall (cat.no.10) where differing details of a symmetrical design have remained visible on either side of the composition.
7. Some niello is still visible, (see catalogue entry).
- p.80 8. The Peterborough mount was presented to the museum in 1862; the Kemsley Downs object was purchased in 1883; the Lincoln mount was found in 1850; and the unprovenanced mount was presented to the museum in 1862.
9. Jobey 1967, 88-89, fig.13
10. Neither the Lincoln mount nor the Sedgeford mount are published.
- p.81 11. Wilson could not see the eye on the Tynemouth mount. Jobey 1967, 89
- p.83 12. The Tynemouth mount is, however, the only mount which still has the original rivets *in situ*.
- p.88 13. The commonest expression of the head viewed from above in Scandinavia is to be found on the Swedish runestone series.
- p.90 14. Wilson 1964, 51
15. Cramp 1967, 18, pl.VIIb. For the Collingham cross shaft, see Wilson 1966, fig.48

16. Wilson 1964, fig.8, pl.xi, 1.
17. Wilson 1964, fig.29, pl.xxviii, 61
18. Found, for example, on a bronze die from Torslunda, Sweden.
Wilson 1966, pl.IIIa
19. In 869, the Viking leaders of a Danish "horde", Ubbi and Ivar, moved south into East Anglia, defeated the English levies, captured and cruelly executed King Edmund, a deed which lastingly impressed itself on the English imagination. Jones 1968, 220; Garmonsway 1972, 70-71
20. MacGregor 1978, fig.24, 4
21. MacGregor 1978, 42
22. Wilson 1964, pl.xviii
23. Kendrick 1949, pl.LXII. This parallel was suggested to me by Mr. James Lang.
24. Wilson 1964, pl.XLII, 136-137
- p.93 25. Eg. U1142, U884, U890
- p.96 26. Eg. U489
- p.97 27. Wilson 1966, 151
- p.101 28. The Northampton terminal was discovered in 1975, and the Sussex object in 1978. Neither of them have been published.
- p.102 29. Blomkvist 1971, 17-19
30. At the time of writing, the object had not yet been fully cleaned or conserved
- p.103 31. Henderson 1972, 32
- p.104 32. Fowler 1879
33. Kendrick 1938(b); Kendrick 1949, 117-118
34. Late Viking spearheads of Petersen type G seem to be the only type of spearheads with Urnes decoration. Decorated spearheads of type G all provenate from East Scandinavia, the East Baltic, and Russia. Type G spearheads tend to have a shorter, broader shaft than that of the Durham crosier head.
eg. SHM 5826 Kyrings Vall, Gotland; SHM 1273 Kyrkogården, Verdel, Uppland.

Also Nerman 1929, 106 illustrates an Urnes type G spearhead from Treyden, Lettland.

35. Farnes 1975, 75-76. "The Irish type of crosier differs from the Continental type in both form and symbolism. Whereas the Continental crosier has a scrolled handle, the Irish type of crosier has a slightly curved crook which terminates in a short perpendicular drop at the end. This drop also served the function of a reliquary box. The continental type of crosier, which was common in both England and on the continent in the late 11th century, was designed to represent the shepherd's crook, and it gradually developed into an episcopal emblem".

p.107 36. Wilson 1966, 151

37. Kendrick 1938(b), 239

38. Kendrick 1938(b) 239, pl.LVI

39. Kendrick 1938(b), 239, pl.LVI

p.108 40. Kendrick 1949, 118

41. Kendrick 1938(b), 239

p.109 42. However, Shetelig 1935, 24, believed that the Durham crosier head was a "foreigner in England...easily accounted for by the intimate connection between the English and Norwegian clergy at this time". The only objects that Shetelig believed were made in England are those that have distinctive forms, such as the bronze mounts and the Pitney brooch. He did not discover that they were English products through stylistic analysis.

p.110 43. Kendrick 1938(b), 239

44. Wilson 1966, 154

45. Green 1967, 240-242 refutes Wilson's assertion emphatically, as far as the Norwich capital is concerned.

46. Shetelig 1935, 24

47. Storm 1911-1912, 220-231. e.g. King Eric Eiegod sent to Evesham for monks for the Benedictine monastery at Odense about 1100, and invited abbots, priors and clergy from England to send workers to revitalise the Danish church.

48. Read 1887, 532-533
49. Fowler's lithograph of the Durham crosier head was also produced at the end of the nineteenth century. The inaccuracies of the drawing of the crosier's ornamentation serve as a reminder that the illustration of the Mottisfont stirrup may not be entirely reliable.
- p.111 50. Wilson 1964, 41
51. Arbman 1935-37, 270
52. Arbman 1935-37, 268
53. I am most grateful to W.A. Seaby for the information and comments on the Mottisfont stirrup that he gave me. His and P.Woodfield's work on late tenth and early eleventh century Viking'type stirrups is shortly forthcoming in Medieval Archaeology
54. Arbman 1935-37, 268
- p.112 55. Wilson 1966, 117
56. Read 1887, 532
57. Arbman 1935-37, 268. Read possibly mistook the incised lines as containers of silver wire originally, instead of niello, which seems more likely.
58. The terminology is taken from Fuglesang 1974, 119-144.
- p.113 59. e.g. in the way in which the word is used about the Kemsley Downs and Ixworth mounts in Wilson 1964, 51
60. Taken from the Concise Oxford Dictionary, 4th edition.
61. Wilson 1964, 51, notes the relationship of the Ixworth mount to the Urnes style bronze mounts in the British Museum. He mistakenly refers to the Kemsley Downs mount as a "degenerate form of the same ornament".
- p.115 62. Wheeler 1935, 181
- p.116 63. This object is a recent discovery by the Lincoln Archaeological Trust, and is, at present, under analysis and conservation.
64. e.g. The Thames buckle loop from Barnes; Wilson 1964, pl. xxi, no. 34.
- p.117 65. Holmquist 1951, 32-33, fig. 27
66. Not to be confused with the debased Urnes style mount from the same

provenance, Ixworth, Suffolk, cat.no.11

67. Holmquist 1951, 33
- p.118 68. Fuglesang 1974, 56
69. Bruce-Mitford 1956, 197
70. Bruce-Mitford 1956, pl.xxvii, A.
71. Bruce-Mitford 1956, pl.xxxi, A.
- p.119 72. Wilson 1964, 49
73. Wilson 1964, 50, pl.IX,a
74. Wilson 1966, fig.59
- p.120 75. Wilson 1964, 49
76. Christiansson 1959, 145, 146.
77. Smith, 1925(a) 137
78. Bruce-Mitford 1956, 197
79. Wilson 1964, 49
- p.121 80. As Thompson 1956, 99 writes: "The hoard was found during excavations, but great secrecy was observed about the exact site and circumstances of the discovery".
81. Kendrick 1949, 118-119.
- p.122 82. Kendrick 1938(b), 239.

Chapter 6. Section B

- p.124 1. A function ascribed to them, e.g. by Kendrick 1949, 116 and Moe 1955,17.
- p.125 2. Wilson 1964, 203
3. Wilson 1964, 58-59
4. Wilson 1964, 59 says "the exact use of these mounts can never be finally settled".
- p.126 5. Technical terminology has been taken primarily from Hodges 1976, and Lowery and Savage 1971.
6. I am grateful to Louise Bacon for the many helpful suggestions she gave me concerning the possible techniques used in the manufacture of the metalwork material
7. A pointed tool often used for light preliminary marking of designs on metal
8. A sharp, hard, hand-held tool, which cuts away metal from the surface of the object being made.
9. A tool held and moved along the metal with one hand, and driven into the surface of the metal with a hammer held in the other, thus pushing the metal aside to make a groove.
- p.127 10. Lowery and Savage 1971, 168
- p.129 11. Personal communication with the Lincoln Archaeological Trust
12. Phillips 1940, pl.xxv.
- p.130 13. London museum medieval catalogue 1954, 164, fig.51
- p.131 14. Wilson 1966, pl.LIV b
15. The Northampton terminal, while on exhibition by the Northampton Development Corporation, has been reconstructed as a lock hasp terminal
16. Arbman 1943, taf.263-264
17. Wilson 1964, 150
18. Wilson 1964, 65
- p.132 19. A suggestion of Louise Bacon's, with which I concur
20. Wilson 1964, 160, fig.28
- p.133 21. This would have included a variety of hammers, heads and stakes of various

sizes and shapes, against which to hold the work as it was hammered; grinding and polishing stones, a controlled fire and its bellows, a supply of high quality fuel etc.

22. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that tinkers, or founders of small objects, travelled light and improvised much of their equipment on the spot when they found a customer.
23. It is problematical from every point of view. The present tendency is to talk of "schools" as Bailey 1974 does. Too many hypotheses are involved in the interpretation of the "workshop" concept.

p.134 24. Moe 1955, 30

25. Jobey 1967, 54-55

26. Fowler 1879, 388

27. Fowler 1890

p.135 28. Moe 1955, 30.

Chapter 6 : C

- p.136 1. Shetelig 1948, 109
2. Kendrick 1949, 116
3. Wilson 1964, 204
4. Personal communication with M.D. Craster, of the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge
5. The find places of objects found in the nineteenth century or early this century are usually recorded in the accession registers of the various museums which house the objects; and these seem to be the earliest sources of information
- p.137 6. The Wisbech mount was found in 1846 in Wisbech castle ditch, when the foundation for the present Wisbech museum was being dug
7. Jobey 1967, 54-55
8. Information kindly provided by the Lincoln Archaeological Trust
9. Information kindly provided by the Northampton Development Corporation
10. Information kindly provided by the Sussex Archaeological Society
11. Information kindly provided by the staffs of Norwich Castle Museum and Kings Lynn Museum
12. Read 1887, 532
13. Fowler 1879, 388
14. Hickes 1705, iii, 187-188
15. There is some doubt about the find circumstances of the silver fragments, (see chapter 9)
16. Found in the River Thames
- p.138 17. Sawyer 1971, 152
18. Liebermann 1903, 216
19. Andersen 1934, xxi - xxiv
20. Stenton 1971, (3rd ed.), 499
21. He was primarily concerned with the movements of Scandinavian "hergas", or armies, and with documenting events as they happened
- p.139 22. Sawyer 1971, 159

23. Sawyer 1971, 159-162
24. Sawyer 1971, 166
25. Garmonsway 1972, 94-95
26. Sawyer 1971, 166
27. Geipel 1971, 169-179
- p.140 28. Jensen 1968, lxii-iii
29. Geipel 1971, 54
30. Lang 1978, 145
31. Lang 1978, 145
32. e.g. Lang 1978, 145
- p.141 33. Jones 1968, 421
34. Sawyer 1971, 153
35. Sawyer 1965, especially 162-163
36. Sawyer 1971, 174-175
- p.142 37. Sawyer 1971, 175
38. Sawyer 1971, 175
39. It seems likely, however, that both the owners and the manufacturers
- p.143 were prone to the same stylistic influences
40. Cat. no's. 3 and 7
41. Personal communication with the Lincoln Archaeological Trust
42. Lang 1978 subtitles his paper "A study of the Metropolitan School at York".
43. Kendrick 1949, 116

Chapter 7.

- p.145 1. Zarnecki 1951(a), 7
2. Zarnecki 1951(a)
- p.146 3. The art of pre-Conquest England had numerous links with Normandy, and the pro-Norman sympathies of Edward the Confessor are well-known. Westminster Abbey, for instance, (consecrated 1065) was modelled on Jumièges Abbey in Normandy. Thus, the Norman form of Romanesque art may well have been adopted in England eventually, with or without the political conquest.
4. Sculptured decoration occurs mostly on capitals, such as those in the small chapel in Durham Castle (Zarnecki 1951, figs.3, 5-9) founded in 1072. However, such examples have less variety and quality than the decorated capitals in Normandy itself.
5. Zarnecki 1951(a), 11-12
6. The earliest Norman churches include Archbishop Lanfranc's cathedral at Canterbury (c.1075), Lincoln Cathedral (before 1092) and Durham Cathedral by the end of the eleventh century.
- p.147 7. Zarnecki 1951(a), 8
8. For example, Lanfranc's cathedral at Canterbury was enlarged with a new choir, which was dedicated in 1130; and Reading Abbey (1121) was King Henry's own foundation
9. Zarnecki 1951(a), 5
10. Kendrick 1949, 139
11. Kendrick 1949, 123
- p.148 12. Galbraith 1968, 177
13. Galbraith 1968, 175
14. Galbraith 1968, 175
15. See in particular the tympanum from Hoveringham (cat.no.23) and the lintel from Southwell (cat.no.24)
16. Zarnecki 1966, 99
17. Galbraith 1968, 177

- p.149 18. Galbraith 1968, 177
19. Galbraith 1968, 174
20. Although Moe 1955, 20, would date the Southwell and Hoveringham sculptures to as early as 1020- see chapter 9
- p.150 21. Calverley 1899, 259
- p.153 22. Zarnecki 1951(b), 118
- p.154 23. Moe 1955, 20
- p.155 24. Galbraith 1968, 176
25. Moe 1955, 19
- p.156 26. Kendrick 1949, 122. Also Moe 1955, 18-19
- p.157 27. Moe 1955, 19
28. Kendrick 1949, 122
29. Kendrick 1949, 122.

Chapter eight.

- p.158 1. e.g. Lethbridge 1931; fig.30
2. Wilson 1960-61, 17. It was found with a miniature hone-stone and an ivory seal, which can be dated by comparison with coins to the late tenth or first half of the eleventh century; although there is some doubt as to whether these three objects actually formed a closed find
3. Lasko 1956, 345
4. Lasko 1956, 345, figures
- p.159 5. Lasko 1956, 344-345
6. Lasko 1956, appendix, 350-355
7. Wilson 1960-61, 18
8. Bank 1959, 333ff.
9. Goldschmidt 1923, iii, 40, pl.L, no.149
- p.160 10. Wilson 1960-61, 18
11. Christiansson 1959, 145,146
12. Wilson 1960-61, 18
13. Wilson 1964, pl.xxiv, no.44
14. Wilson 1964, 43-45
15. Goldschmidt 1923, pl.L1, no.156
- p.161 16. Goldschmidt 1923, 40
17. Goldschmidt 1923, pl.L1, no.155
18. Goldschmidt 1923, pl.L1, no.154
19. Goldschmidt 1923, 40
20. Lasko 1956, 343
21. Opinions vary and dating the manuscript must be on a hypothetical basis. Wilson 1964, 26 says that conventional art-historical dating is to the early ninth century; palaeographers tend to date it to the late eighth century. Temple 1976, 74 agrees with the latter date.
- p.162 22. Temple 1976, 74
23. I am greatly indebted to Milly Budny for drawing my attention to this manuscript sketch, and for giving me access to much of her, as yet, un-

published work on MS. Royal I.E.VI. Much of the information within this text, such as that *P ego* is written in the same hand that drew the Urnes animal, is a personal communication from Miss Budny.

- p.163 24. Wilson 1964, 25
25. Wilson 1964, 25
26. Wilson 1964, 27.

Chapter nine.

- p.165 1. Wilson 1978, 135
2. Page, in Wilson 1964, Appendix A, 86-89
3. Personal communication with Milly Budny
- p.166 4. Temple 1976, 74
- Wilson 1964, 26-27
5. Temple 1976, 74
6. Homburger 1928, 401
7. Personal communication with Milly Budny
- p.167 8. Especially by Kendrick, whose article of 1938(b) is entitled:
"Flambard's crosier"
9. Wilson 1966, 153
10. Green 1967, 240-242
11. VCH. Norfolk, ii, section on ecclesiastical history
12. The following argument is summarised from Zarnecki 1951(b), especially
p.118
- p.168 13. Zarnecki 1951(b), p1.48d
14. Lewis 1852, contains assorted drawings of Shobdon sculpture
15. Green 1967, 242; Zarnecki 1951(a), 19
16. Zarnecki 1951(b), 118
17. Zarnecki 1951(a), 17. Reading Abbey, for instance, was built under the
supervision of monks sent from Cluny, but its sculpture "bears not the
slightest trace of Burgundian influence".
18. Zarnecki 1951(a), 38-39
- p.169 19. Smart 1970, 20
20. Summers 1972, 2-7
21. Kendrick 1949, 121
22. A daughter of a king of the East Angles
- p.170 23. Moe 1955, 20 records the date of the presentation of the bells to the
Minster by Kinsius as 1020, but he is mistaken
24. A fragment of tessellated paving can still be seen below the pews of the

south transept; and its position is consistent with being part of the transept of a "substantial Saxon cruciform church on the site" (Summers 1972, 6). During nineteenth century repairs to the south wall of the nave, a number of carved and moulded stones were uncovered in the foundations, which were pre-Conquest in date, by their design, and workmanship.

25. Moe 1955, 19-20

26. Such as the fact that Edward the Confessor employed Norman architects for Westminster Cathedral

27. Weakened from Asketil

28. Moe 1955, 22 asserts, from this argument, that the essentials of the Urnes style came from Britain, and that the Hoveringham carving is the earliest extant example of the style. The earliest Scandinavian monuments left to us, he says, are to be found among those from Gotland. In this, he differs from most other scholars - see "History of the Study of the Urnes style", Introduction.

29. Moe 1955, 20

p.171 30. Zarnecki 1966, 99

31. Zarnecki 1951(a), figs. 29-30

32. Galbraith 1968, 176; Zarnecki 1951(a) 18, 21

33. Keyser 1927, fig.22

34. Keyser 1927, fig.23

35. This is an important point, for a number of carved and moulded stones, probably of pre-Conquest date, were found during nineteenth century reparations to the south wall of the nave. They were uncovered in the foundations, and had been used as base material in the rebuilding. As Summers 1972, 6 says, this was an "understandable economy when the nearest stone quarries were at Mansfield twelve miles away". However, the Southwell tympanum was used decoratively within the new church.

p.172 36. Bruce-Mitford 1956, 193-195

37. Wilson 1964, 50

38. Jobey 1967, 54-55

39. Information kindly given by the Lincoln Archaeological Trust

40. Information kindly supplied by Gwynne Oakley of the Northampton Development Corporation

41. Discounting Moe's arguments in favour of a pre-1020 date for the Southwell and Hoveringham tympana

p.173 42. Flambard was Bishop of Durham from 1099-1128

43. Walcher was Bishop of Durham from 1071 until 1080; and Carileph from 1081 to 1096. Of course, it is always possible that the crosier was made earlier, or for someone other than who it was buried with. However, it seems more probable that it was the exclusive property of one bishop, since it is decorated so distinctively, and that when he died, it was buried with him.

44. The type of the stirrup is unusual, only two similar examples being known, those from Stenåsa and Merkvoll

p.174 45. Kendrick 1938(b), 239; Zarnecki 1951(a), 27 dates them to circa 1100

p.175 46. Zarnecki 1951(a), 23-24

47. For instance, runestone art was continually in use in the second half of the eleventh century in eastern Sweden

Chapter ten.

- p.176 1. Henry 1933, 76-77; Henry 1962, 65-67; Henry 1970, 192-195
- p.177 2. Farnes 1975, 45
3. Henry 1970, pl.56 on the right
4. Henry 1970, 92, fig.7
5. Farnes 1975, 54. The shrine for the Cathach can be dated to about 1090 by a donor inscription on it, and the shrine for the Misach probably dates from the same time. If the trial piece designs were transferred to other media, such as the shrine for the Cathach, then the date of the shrine provides a *terminus* ante quem for the trial piece
6. Farnes 1975, unpublished thesis, Dublin University
7. Farnes 1975, 65
- p.178 8. The inscription reads: "ŌR DO NIAL MC MEICC AEDUCAIN LAS AN[D]ERNAD IN GRESA ŌR DO NECTAĪ CERD DO RIGNE Ī GRESA" which Henry 1970, 97 translates as "pray for Niall Mac Meic Aeducain who caused this object to be made, pray for Nectan, the craftsman who made this object". Mac Meic Aeducain died in 1113 according to the Annals of Inisfallen. He succeeded Maelduin who died in 1090 according to the Four Masters - hence, the dating of the crosier to between 1090-1113
9. e.g. In the Book of Kells, there is frequently a network of thin ribbons in the background of broader animal bodies. See also the portrait of St. John, page 193 in the Book of Mulling (Nordenfalk 1977, pl.48)
10. Farnes 1975, 78. However, the inscription on the bellshrine implicitly states that it was made between 1094 and 1105 at Armagh
- p.179 11. Henry 1970, 104-105
12. It appears, for instance, in the book of Kells (Nordenfalk 1977, pls. 39-47)
13. Farnes 1975, 82
14. Farnes 1975, 82
- p.181 15. Henry 1970, 110
16. Henry 1970, 110

17. Henry 1970, 107-109
18. Farnes 1975, pls.76-77
19. Henry 1970, pl.48, top left
20. Farnes 1975, pl.61
21. Farnes 1975, 88
22. cf. a new find from Uppsala Cathedral, Fornvännen 1976, 106
23. Moe 1955, 9
24. Farnes 1975, chapter 2 and p.86
- p.182 25. Henry 1970, pl.48, top left
26. Henry 1970, 116
- p.183 27. Henry 1970, colour pl.G, left
28. Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1962, pls.xxix - xxii
29. Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1962, pl.xxiii
30. Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1962, pl.xxii, a,b,c and d
31. Henry and Marsh-Micheli 1962, pl.xxxiv, c-d
- p.184 32. Farnes 1975, 102
33. Farnes 1975, 102
34. Henry 1970, 124
35. Farnes 1975, pls.115-119
- p.185 36. Henry 1970, pls.61-62
37. Farnes 1975, 86, suggests this possible relationship between mature Irish Urnes material, and some later Öpir carvings
- p.186 38. Farnes 1975, 114
- p.188 39. Henry 1970, 169-175
40. Fuglesang 1974, 92
41. Wilson 1964, cat.no.34

Appendix A

- p.239
1. These names are those used by Almgren
 2. Almgren 1955, 70-87
 3. Almgren 1955, 88
 4. Almgren 1955, pls.46-55
 5. Almgren 1955, 88
 6. Almgren 1955, 88
- p.240
7. Almgren 1955, 92
 8. Almgren 1955, 88-95

Appendix B

- p.241
1. Moe 1955, 6
 2. Moe 1955, 6
 3. An otherwise classic example of an Urnes style runestone also has a winged Urnes style ribbon beast on it : U887 from Skillsta
 4. Hauglid 1973, 166, fig.144
 5. Hauglid 1973, 42, fig.25
- p.242
6. Blindheim 1965, pls.164, 165
 7. Blindheim 1965, pls. 166, 167

Appendix C

- p.244
1. Kendrick 1949, 125
 2. Kendrick 1949, 125
 3. Kendrick 1949, pl.xc
 4. Bailey 1974, 336
 5. Collingwood 1927, 156, fig.184
 6. Bailey 1974, 341
- p.245
7. Collingwood 1927, 165, fig.198
 8. VCH 1906, 266
 9. Bailey 1974, 349-350
 10. Kendrick 1949, 125
 11. Collingwood 1927, fig.212, reproduced in Kendrick 1949, 125, fig.21
 12. Bailey 1974, 359
 13. Bailey 1974, 342

Appendix D

- p.246
1. Kendrick 1949, 122-125
 2. Kendrick 1949, 125
 3. The dates between the building of the Saxon church in Durham and the present Norman cathedral begun by Carileph, although there are difficulties attached as far as building dates for the cathedral chapter house are concerned (see appendix E)
 4. Wilson 1966, 160
 5. Loyn 1977, 114
 6. Bailey 1974, 349
 7. The following arguments are taken from Zarnecki 1951^b, found in his section on the Herefordshire school of sculpture
 8. Illustrated in Lewis 1852
- p.247
9. Anker 1969, pl. 121
 10. Kendrick 1949, 122
 11. Kendrick 1949, 124
 12. Wilson 1966, 154
 13. Kendrick 1949, 125

Appendix E.

- p.249 1. This work is being carried out by myself in conjunction with Brian Gill and Kevin Brown. I am particularly grateful to Brian Gill for allowing me free access to his research into the documentary evidence for the post-Conquest burials in the chapter house.
A publication is forthcoming.
2. Fowler, 1879
3. Godwyn 1601, 627-672 (Durham bishops)
4. Willis 1727, 223. The plan was actually drawn by John Rymer for Willis
5. Fowler 1879, 386
6. Kendrick 1938b. This article is entitled "Flambard's crosier".
7. Simeon of Durham. ed. Hinde 1867, 97
- p.250 8. Chronicon Lanercost, folio 193 (ed. J. Stevenson 1839, 113 f)
9. Personal communication with Brian Gill
10. His will is extant, and states: "item lego corpus meum sepeliendum in capitulo Dunelmensi, supra gradus..."; and this positioning is later verified by the writings of Graystones
11. The first name on the Mickleton and Spearman list is garbled: Ricardus de Farnham, which is an amalgamation of the names of Ricardus Kellawe and Walterus de Farnham, the latter of which appears later on in the list.

Appendix F.

- p.252 1. Shetelig 1935
2. Kendrick 1938, 238 : Kendrick 1949, 118
3. Formerly, the Guildhall Museum
4. Thompson 1956, 99
5. Thompson 1956, 99 ; Dolley 1960, 49
6. Evans 1885, 254
7. Thompson 1956, 92, no.255
8. Dolley 1960, 40
9. MS. list of the coins in the Guildhall Museum, London, by Mr.F.Elmore Jones, 1938. Now superseded by Mrs. Merrifield's register, 1950
10. Dolley 1960, 40
- p.253 11. Dolley 1960, 40
12. Guildhall Museum MS. Catalogue 86
- p.254 13. Manuscript note in the Guildhall Museum, Annotated Catalogue.
- I am grateful to John Clark of the Museum of London for bringing this note to my attention
14. Personal communication with W.A. Seaby.

Appendix G

- p.255
1. I am grateful to Colleen Batey for bringing this object to my attention
 2. Curle 1938-1938, 71-110
 3. Curle 1954, 56, footnote 39, fig.24. The object is now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Its registration number is 1L 672 1947. 21.

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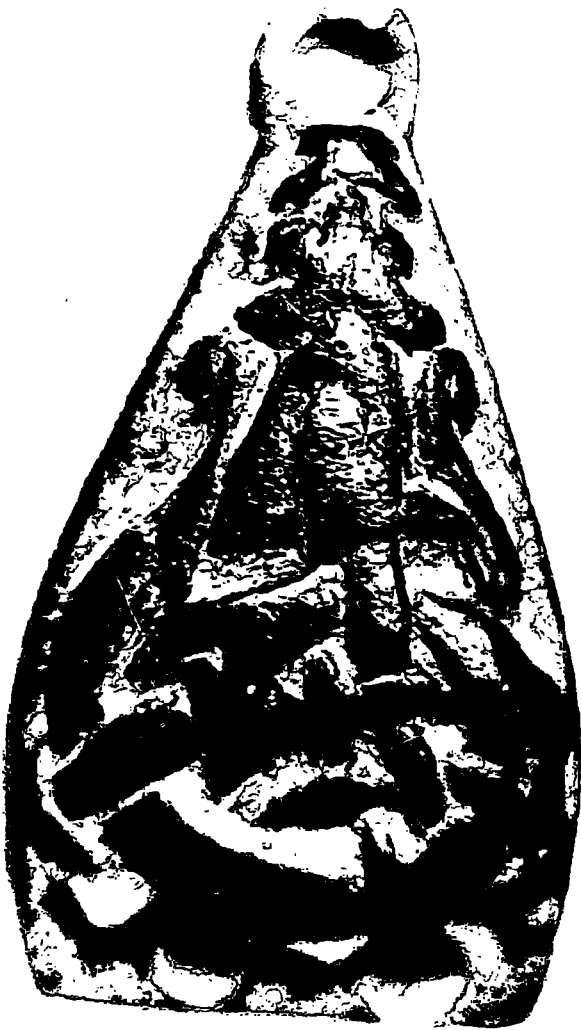
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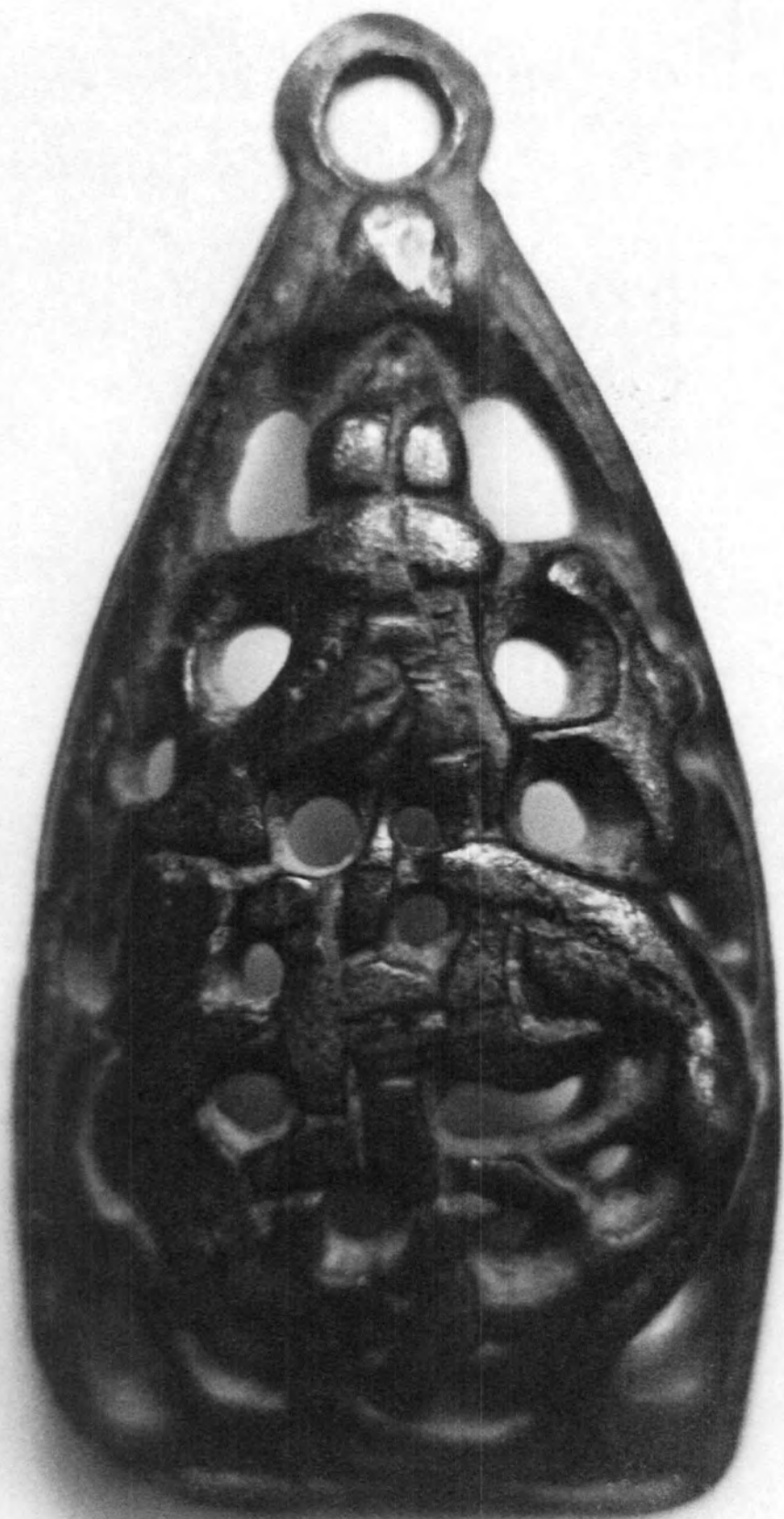


1

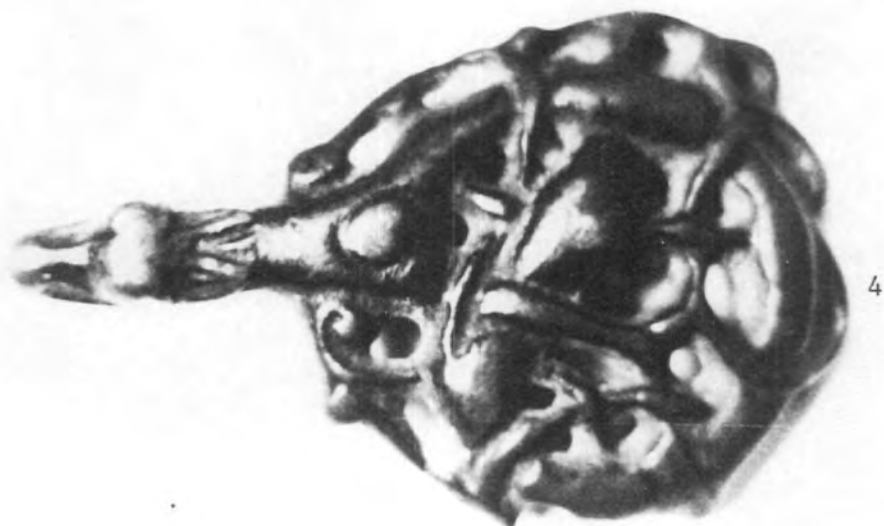


2

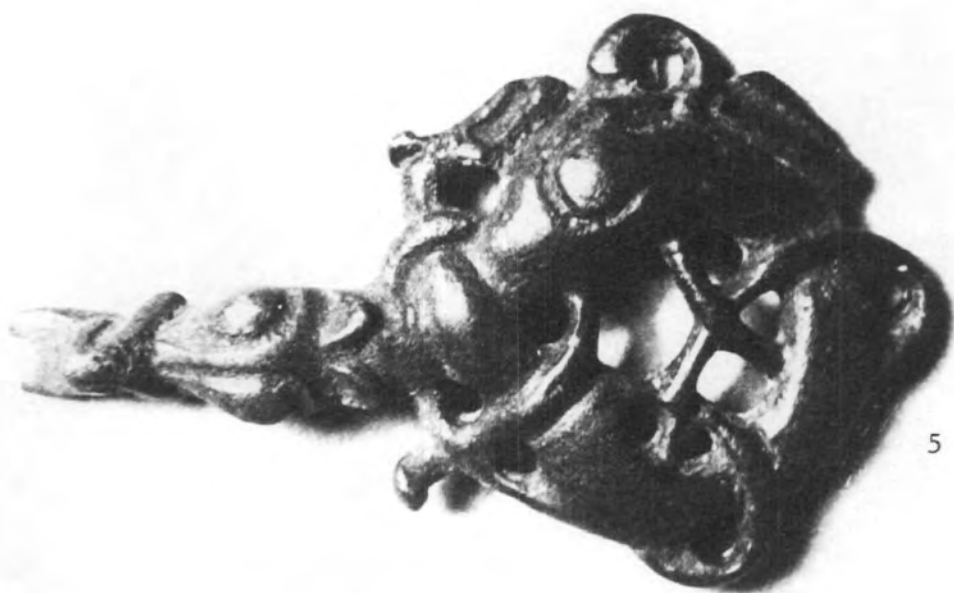
1. Bronze mount from Peterborough
2. Bronze mount from Kemsley Downs, Kent



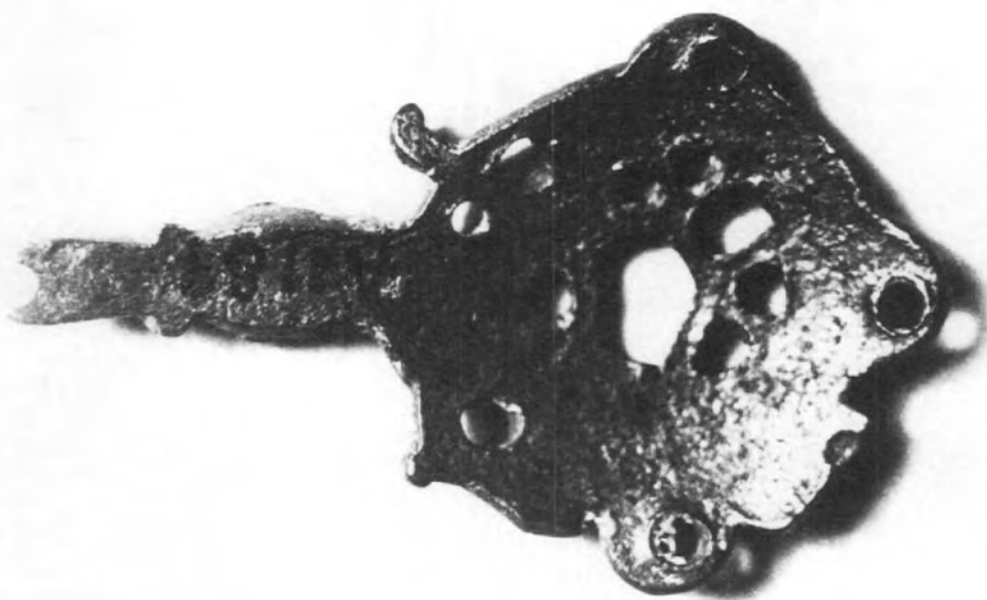
3. Bronze mount from Lincoln



4



5



4. Bronze mount of unknown provenance
5. Bronze mount from Sedgeford
(front and back views)



6. Bronze mount from Tynemouth (front, back and profile views)



7. Larger bronze mount from Lincoln



8



9

8. Bronze mount from Colchester, Essex
9. Bronze mount from Wisbech, Cambridgeshire



10

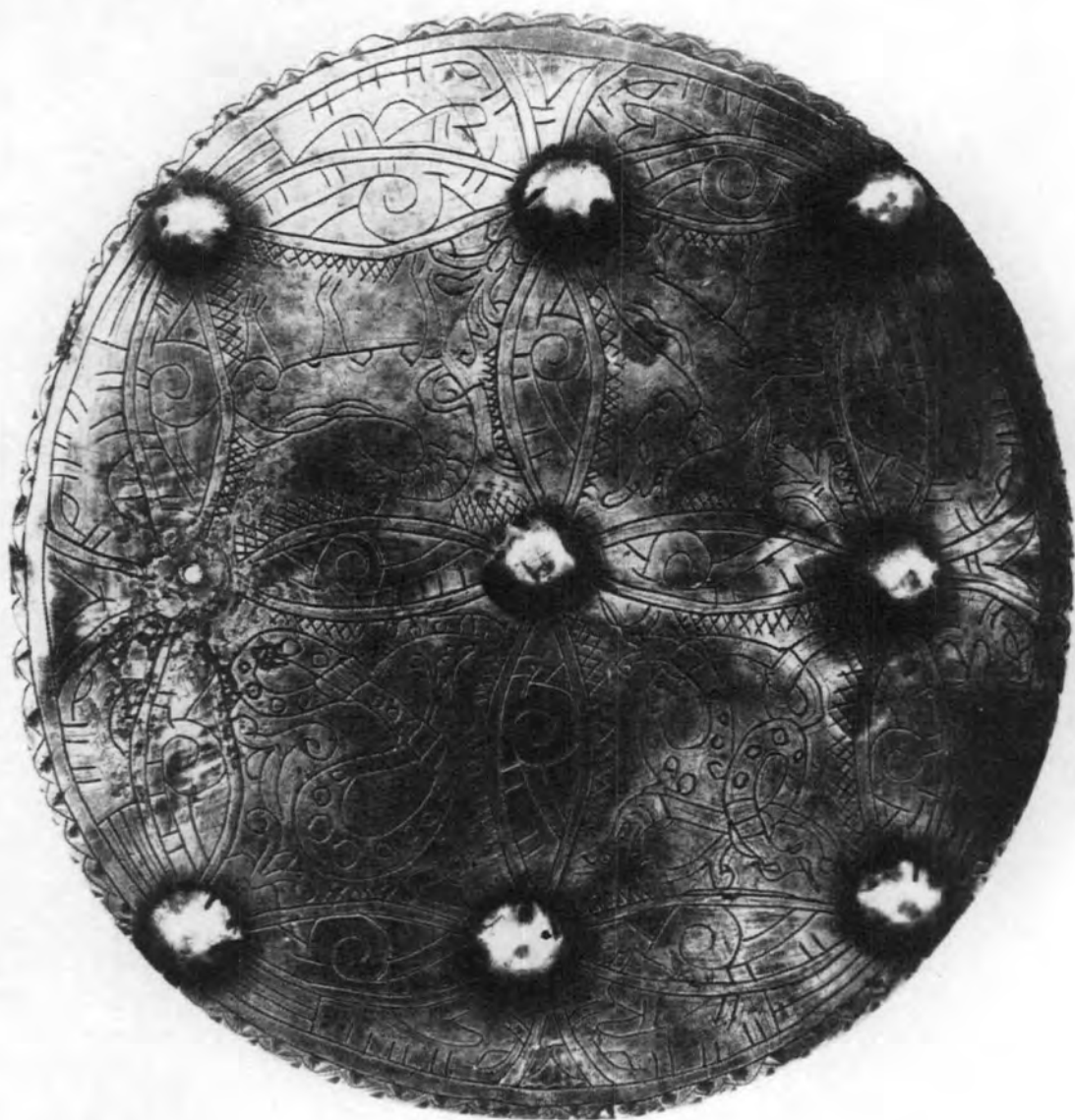


11

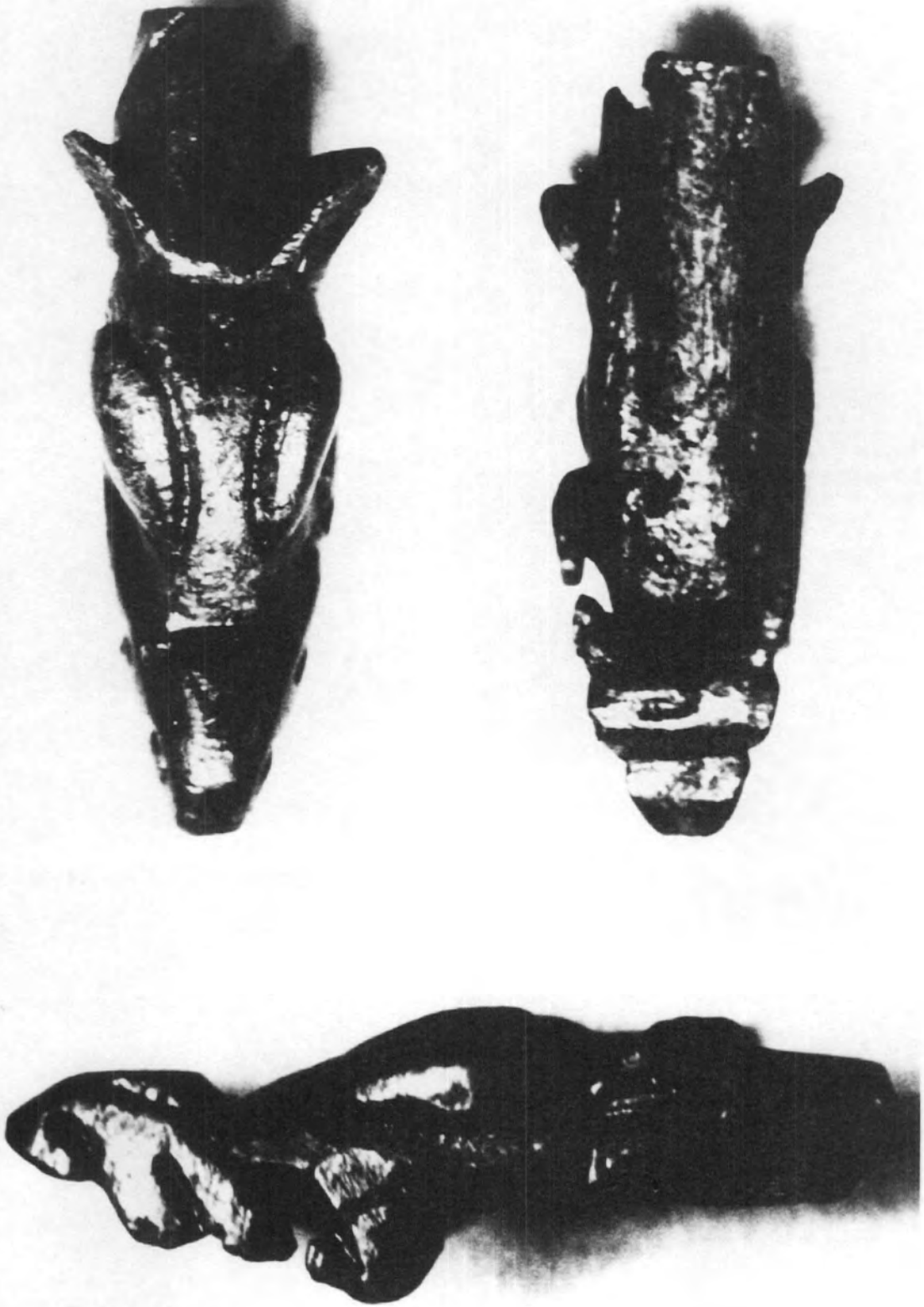
10. Bronze mount from Mildenhall, Suffolk
11. Bronze mount from Ixworth, Suffolk



12. Gilt-bronze brooch from Pitney, Somerset
(front and back views)



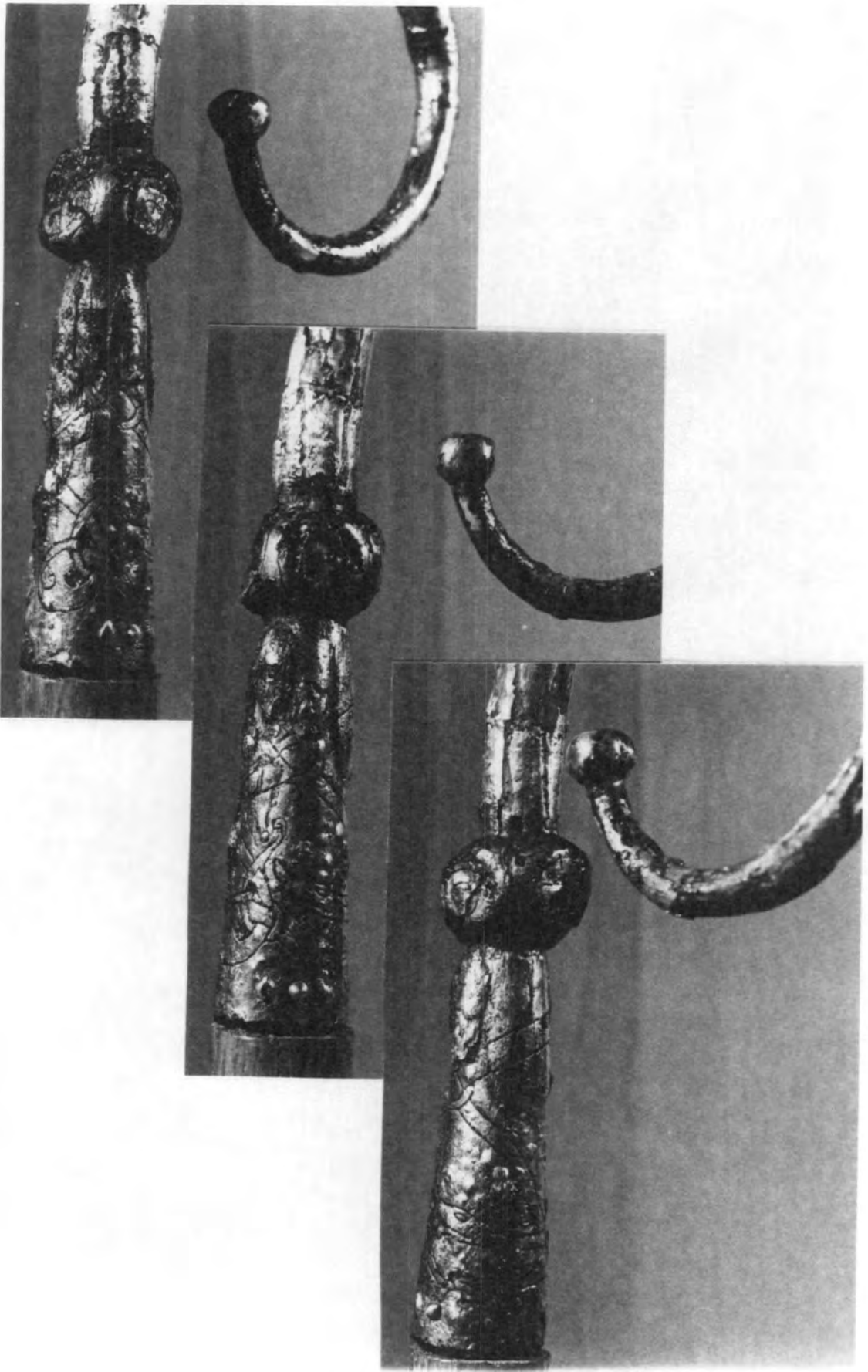
13. Silver-disc brooch from Sutton, Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire



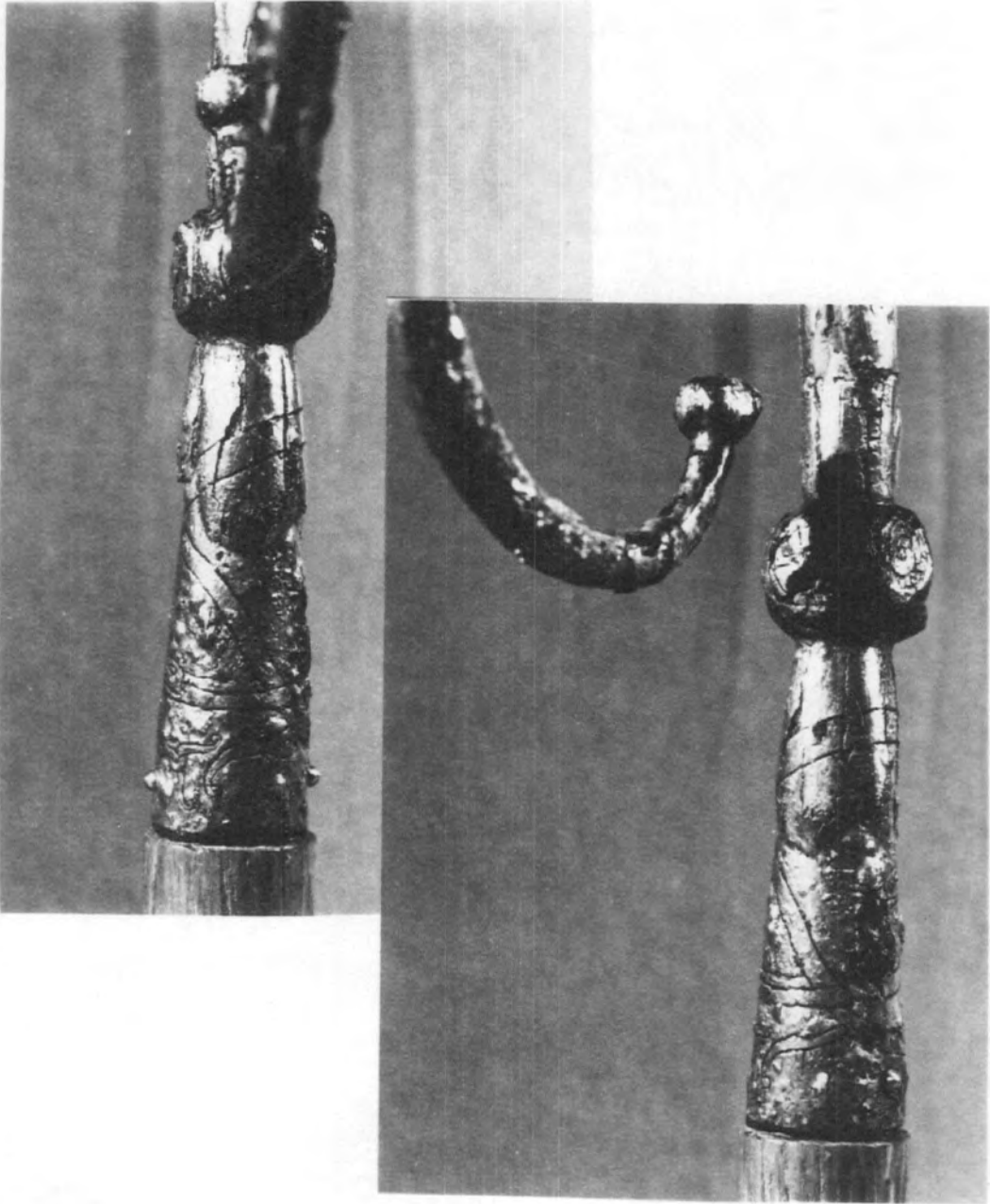
14. Animal head terminal from Northampton (front, back and profile views)



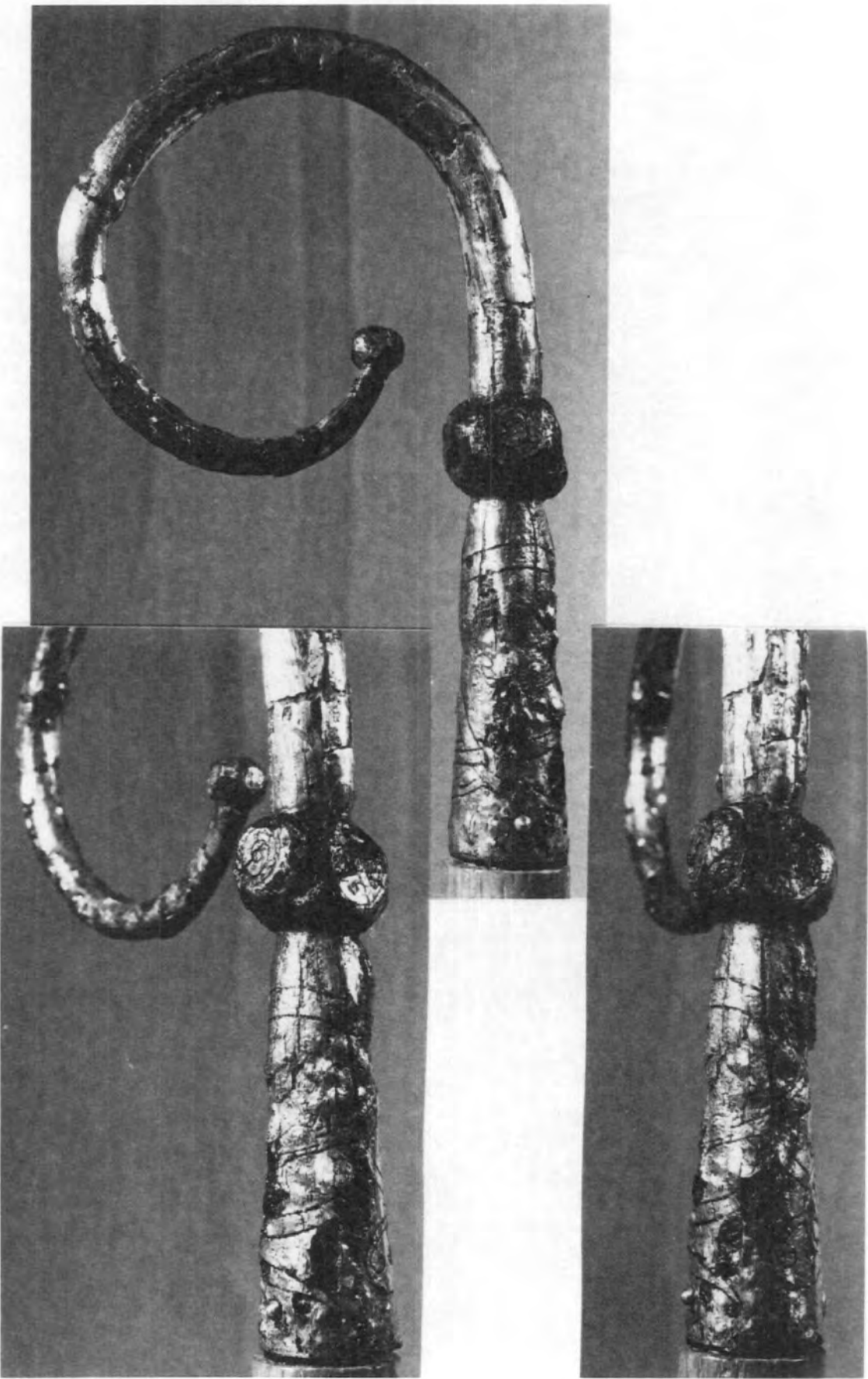
15. Animal head terminal from Sussex (front and profile views)



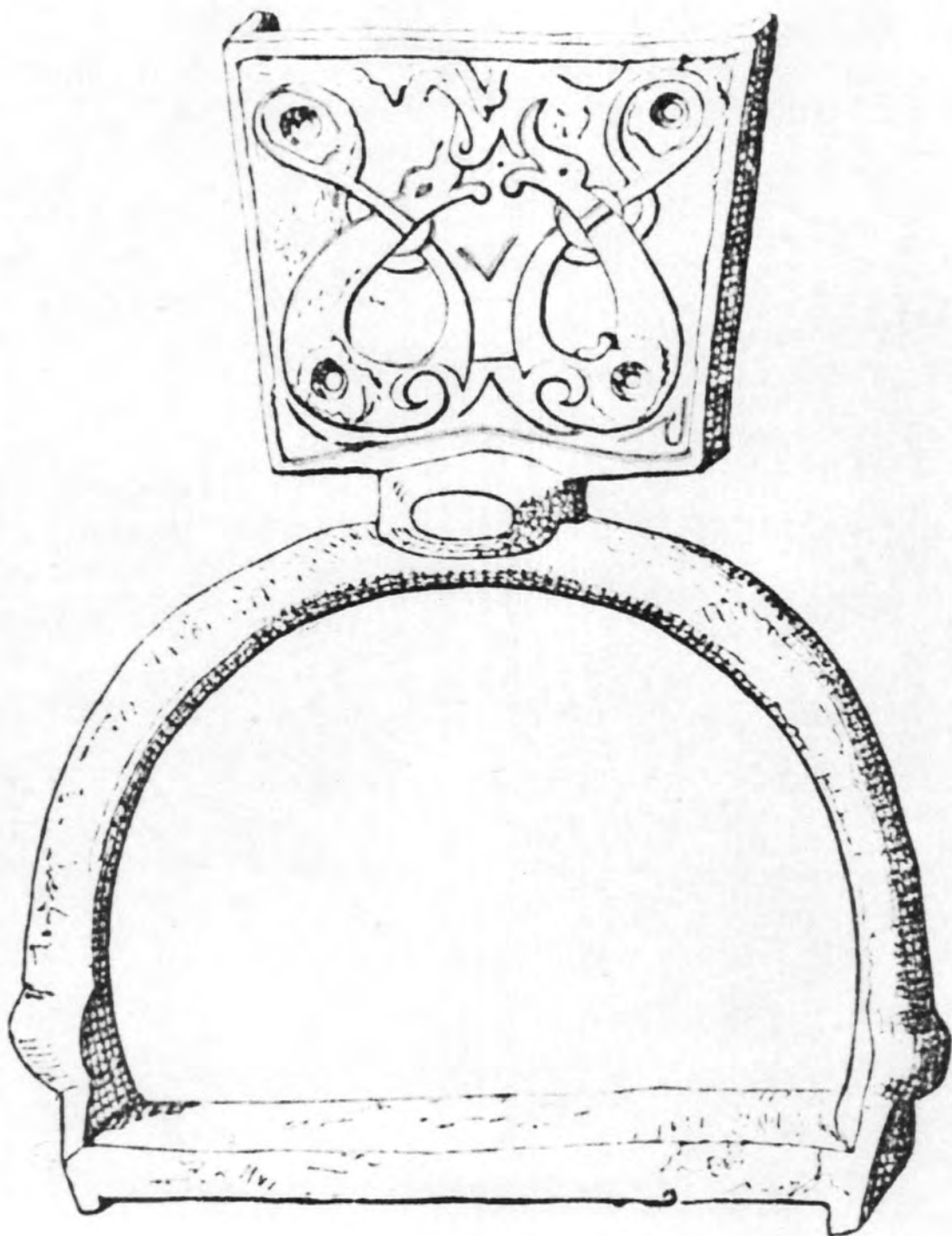
16. Durham crosier head



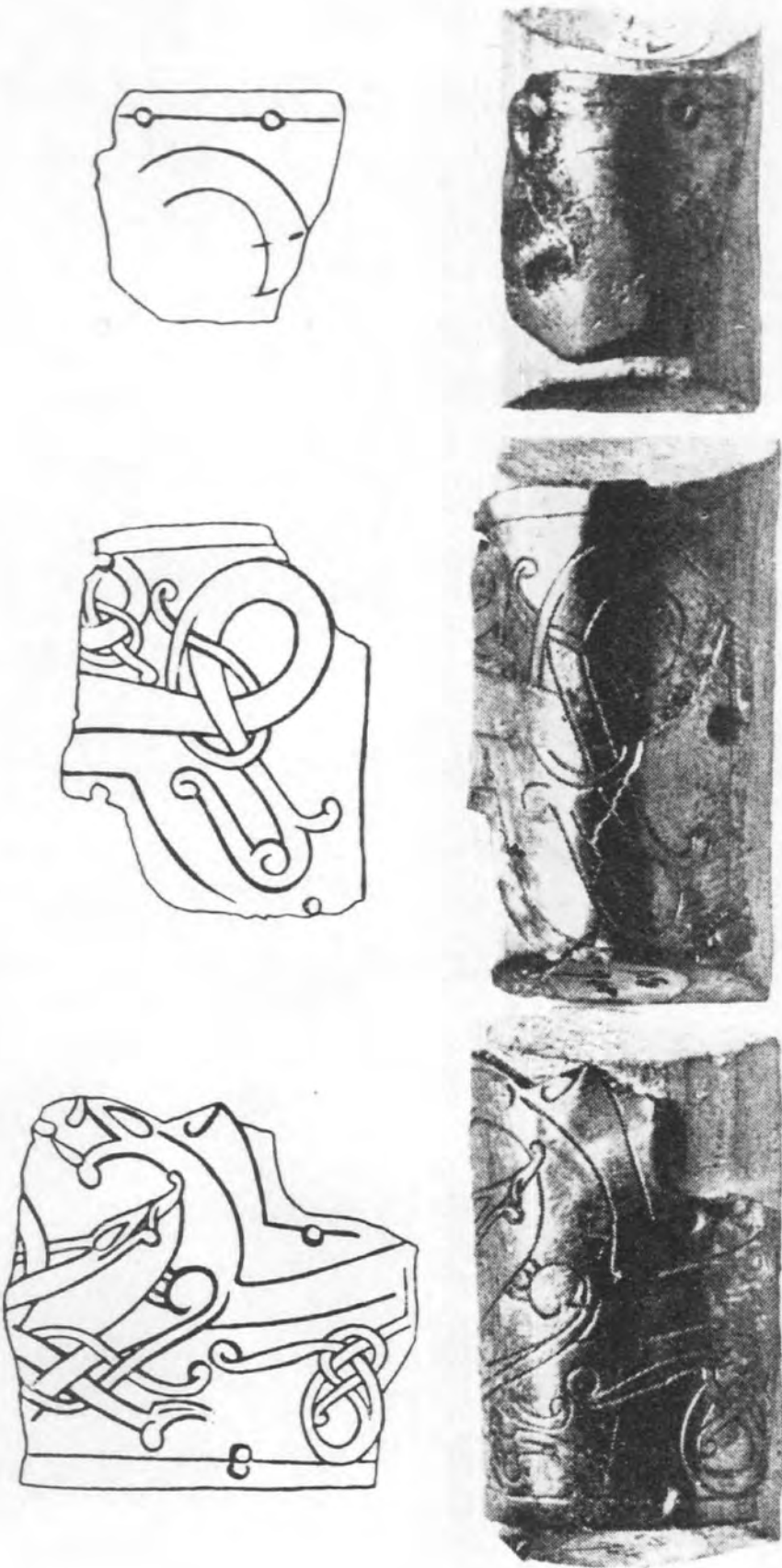
16. Durham crosier head (cont.)



16. Durham crozier head (cont.)



17. Stirrup from Mottisfont, Hampshire



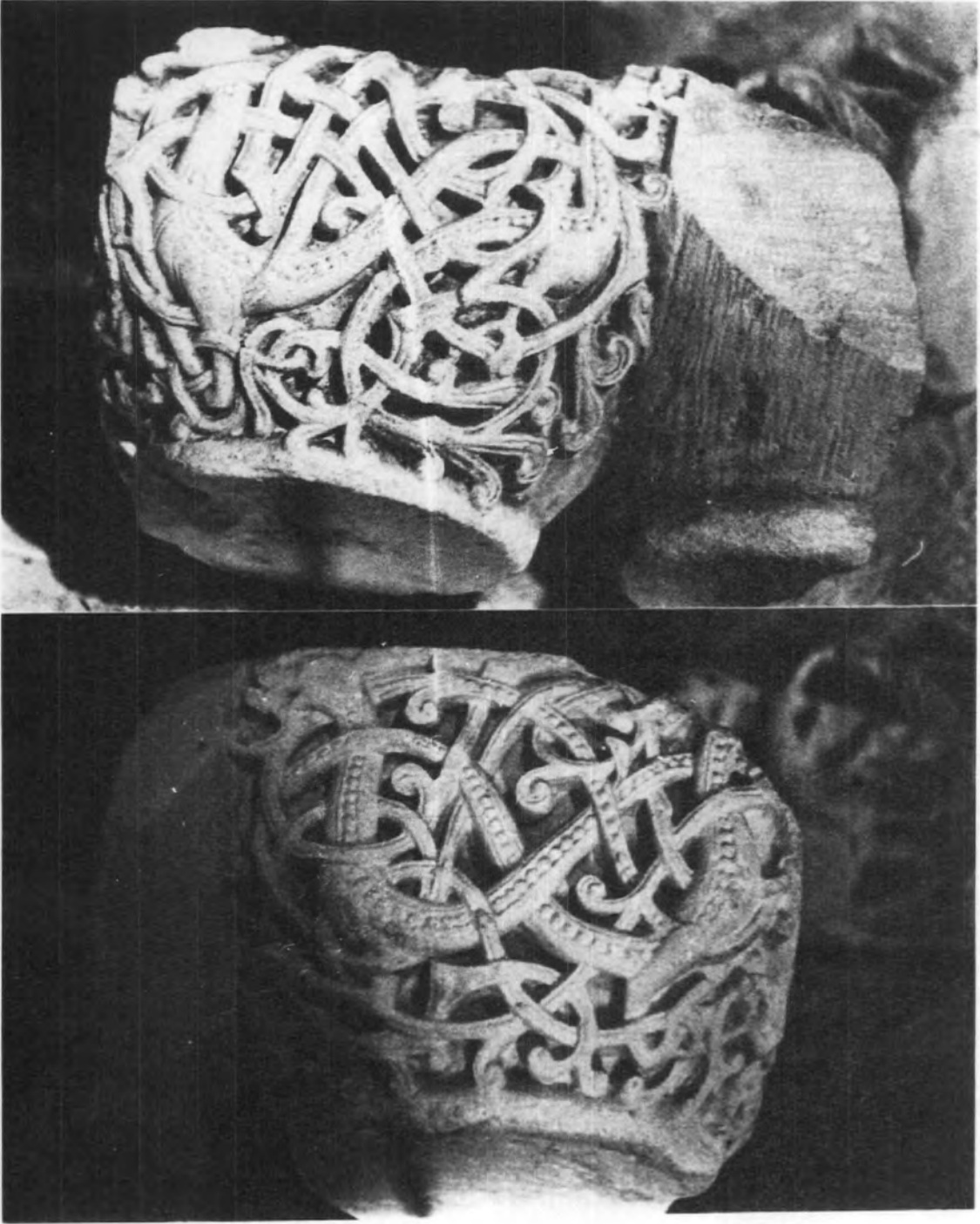
18. Silver fragments from London



19. Cast bronze plaque from Hammersmith



20. Stone slab from Jevington, Sussex (detail)



21. Two sides of a capital, Norwich Cathedral



22. Carved capitals from Kirkburn, Yorkshire



a

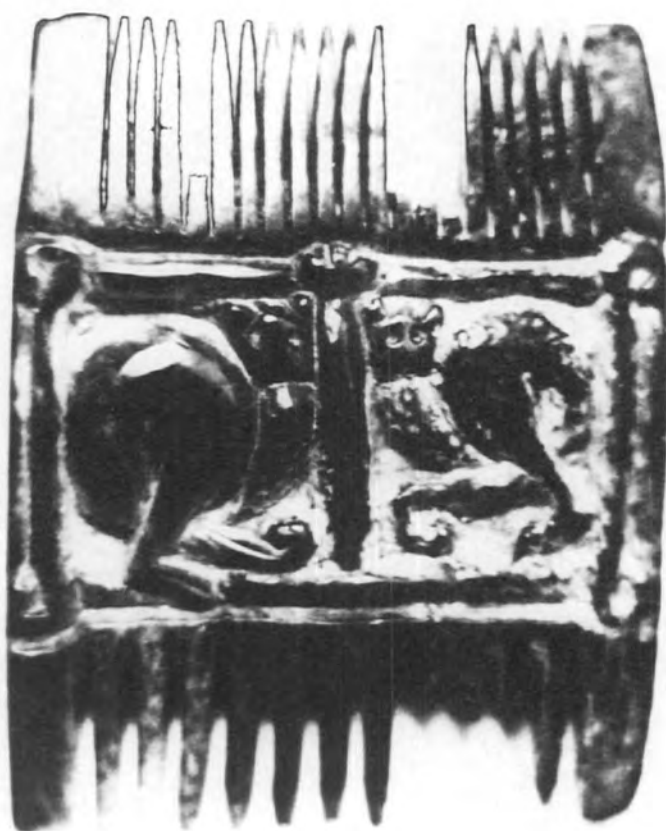


b

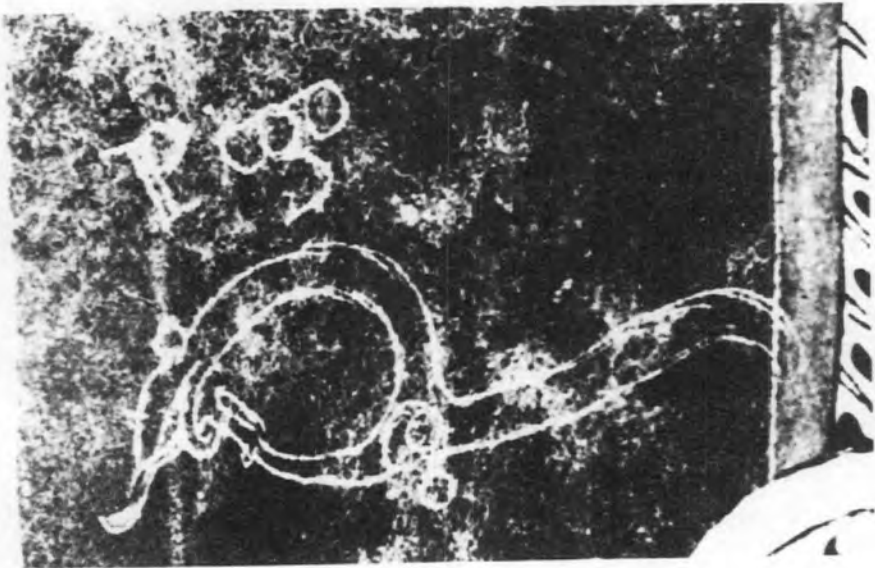
23. Designs on a tympanum and lintel, Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire



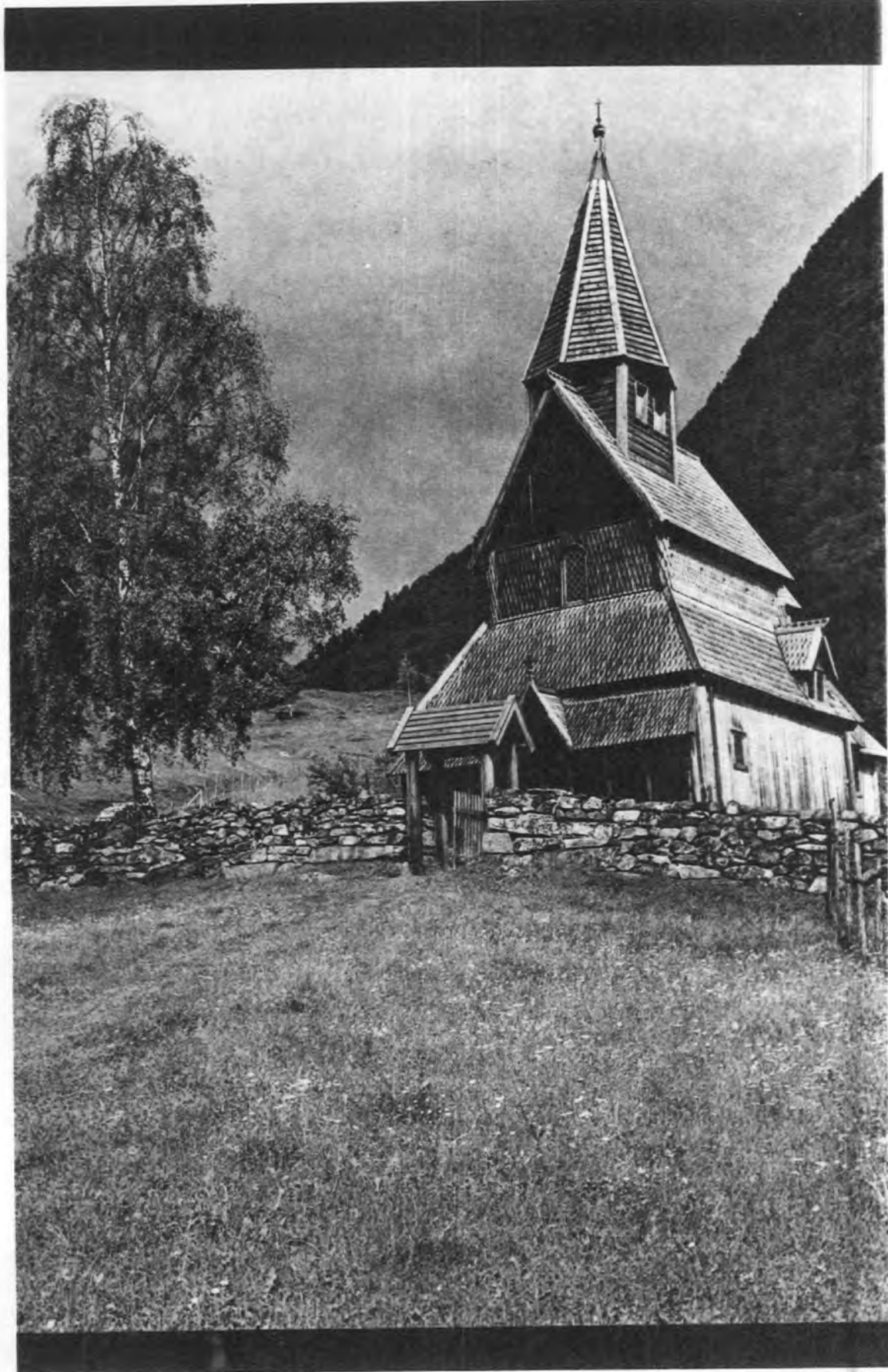
24. Tympanum from Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire



25. Walrus ivory comb (both sides)



26. Folio 30v of MS. Royal I.E.VI with detail of stylus addition



27. View of Urnes stave church from the south-west



29. North wall of Urnes stave church



29. Detail of portal, Urnes stave church



30. Detail of portal, Urnes stave church



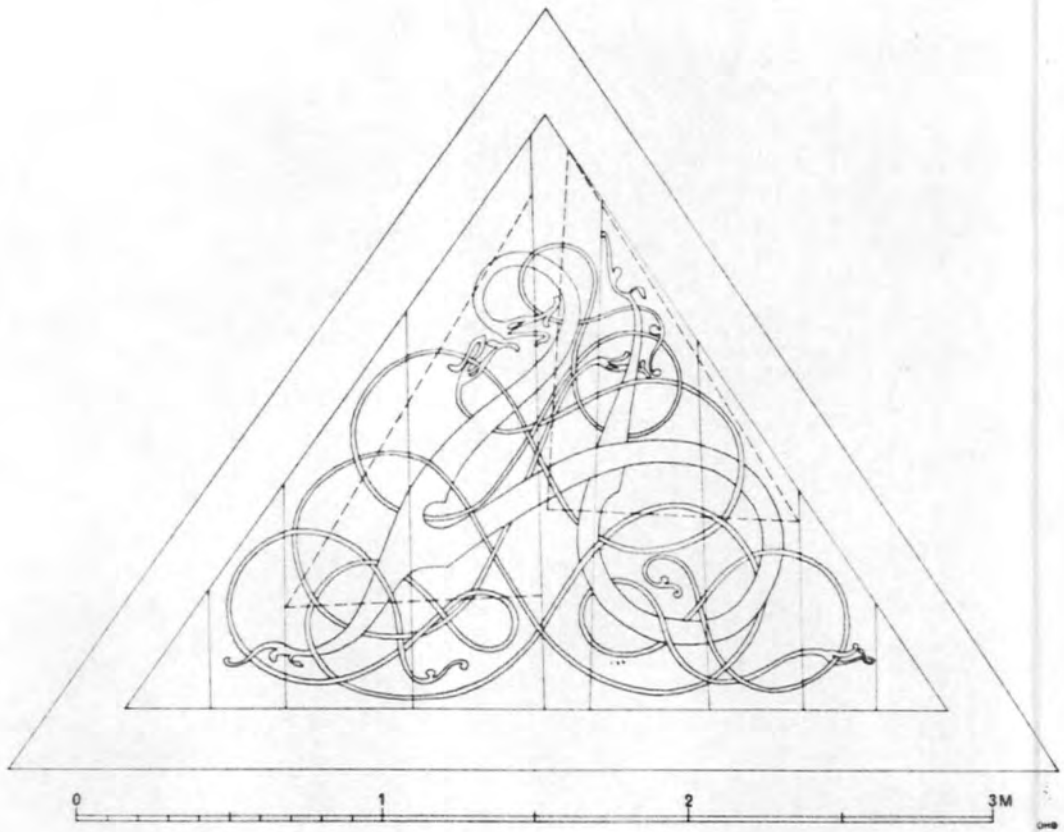
31. Detail of door and portal, Urnes stave church



32. Exterior column at the north-east corner of Urnes stave church

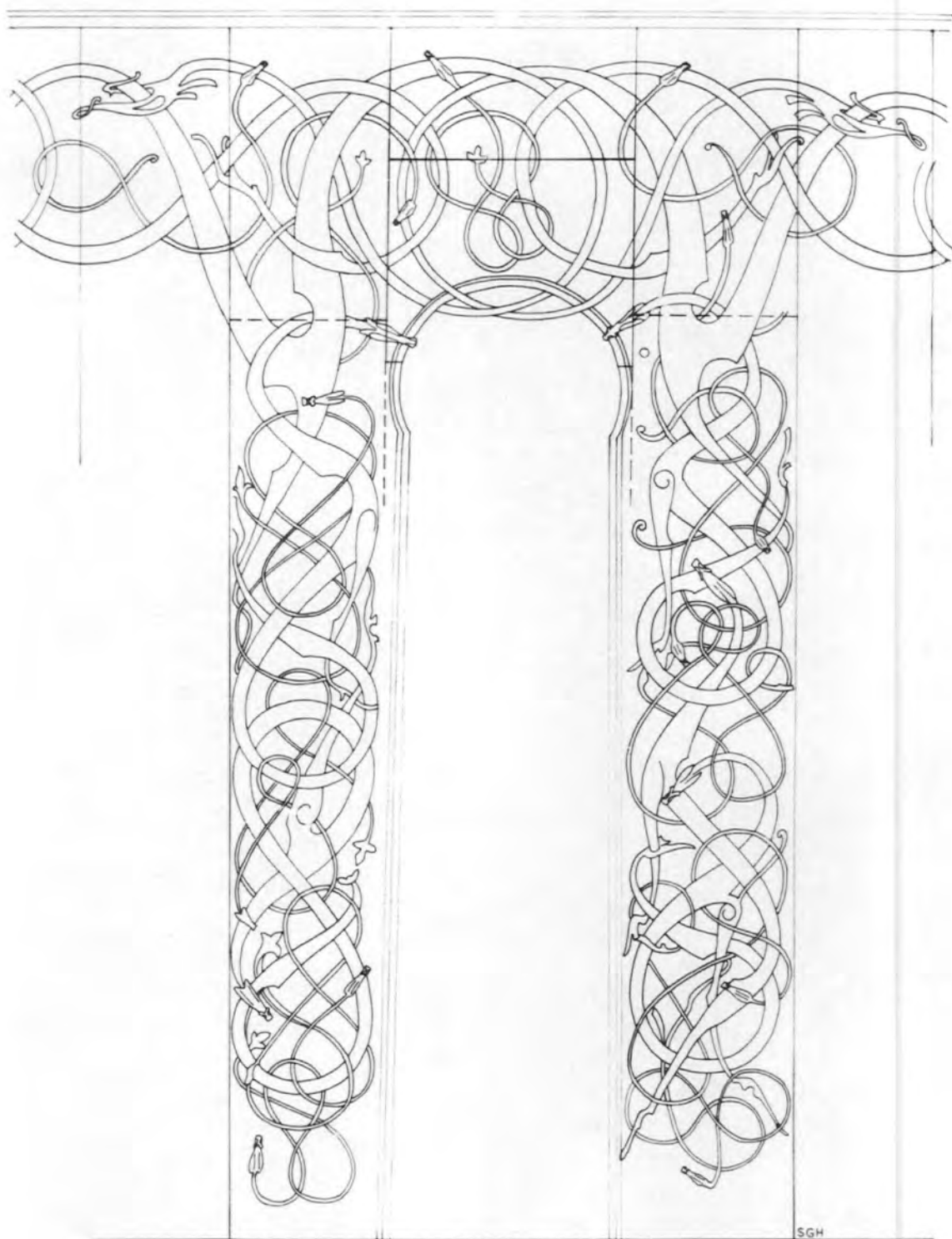


a



b

33. a) West gable of Urnes stave church
b) Reconstruction of east gable of Urnes stave church



34. Reconstruction of Urnes stave church portal



35. Jelling stone, Denmark



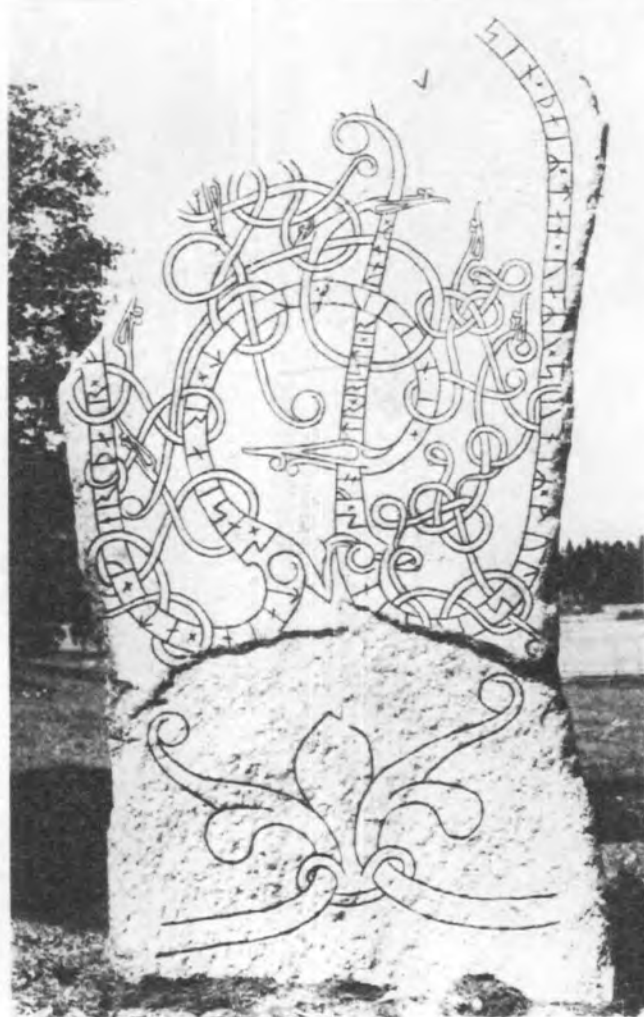
36. St. Paul's churchyard stone, London



37. Källunge vane, Gotland



a



b

38. a) Runestone from Ardre, Gotland (Ardre III)
 b) Runestone from Stav, Roslagskulle, Uppland



a



b



c

39. a) Runestone from Uppsala, Kvarteret Torget, Uppland
 b) Runestone from Morby, Lagga, Uppland
 c) Runestone from Uppsala cathedral, Uppland

("Early", "classic" and "late" examples of the carver Öpir)



A-1



A-2



A-3



A-2a



A-2b



A-2c



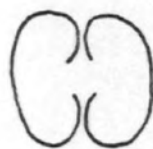
A-3a



A-3b



A-3c



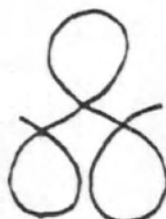
B-1



B-2

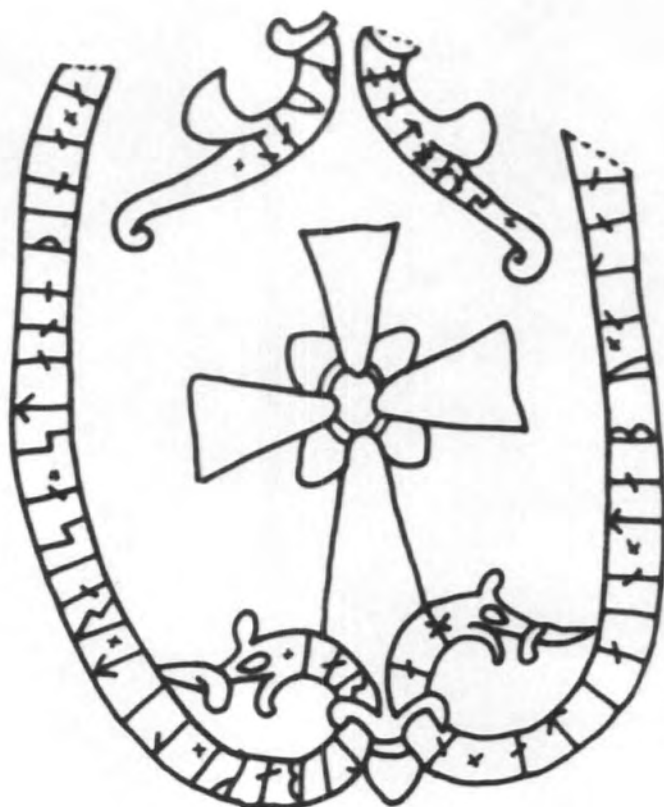


B-3



Type C

40. Typological study of runestone designs



a

Ingvar g. m. Estrid

Ragnvald Sigvid Ingvar Jarlabanke

b

Östen g. m. Estrid

Gag Ingefast Östen Sven Ingvar

g. m. 1. Ragnfrid

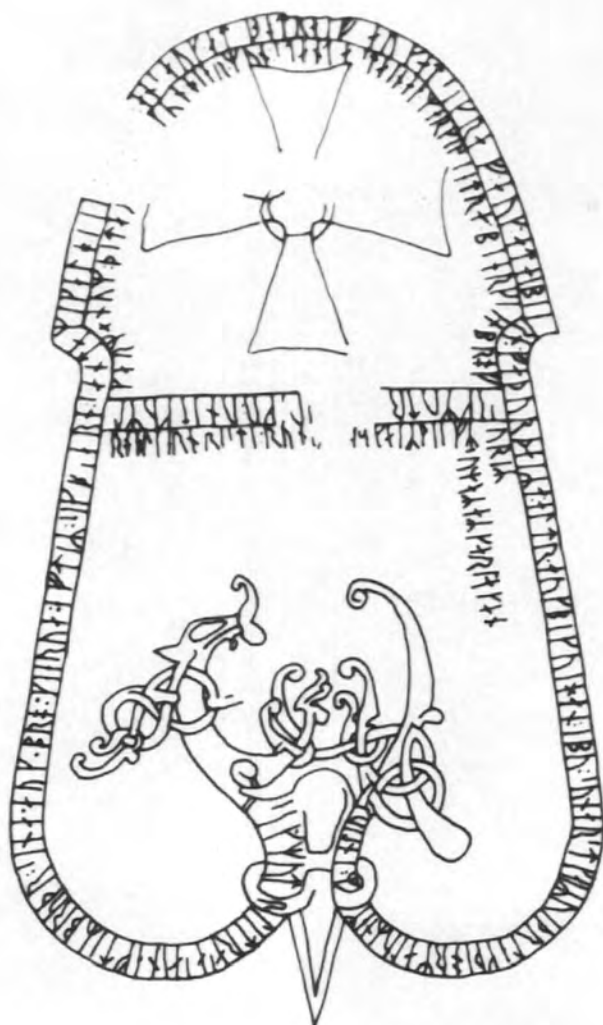
2. Jorun

1. Häming 2. Jarlabanke

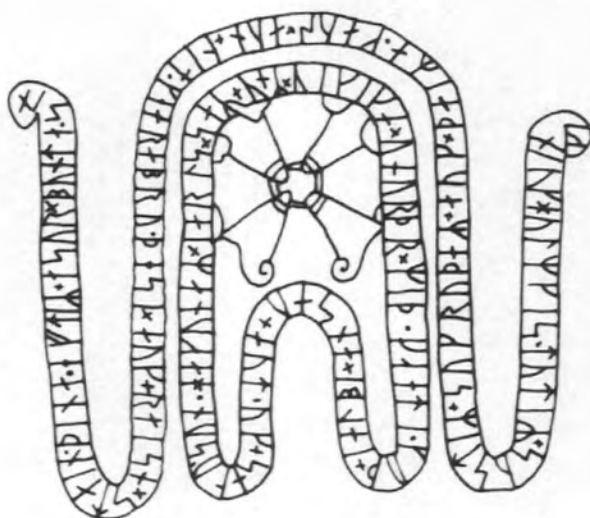
g. m. 1. Fastvi 2. Kättilö

1. Sven 1. 1. 2. Ingefast

41. a) Runestone from Vallentuna Kyrka, Uppland
 b) Jarlebanke's family tree
 (his grandmother Estrid married twice)



a

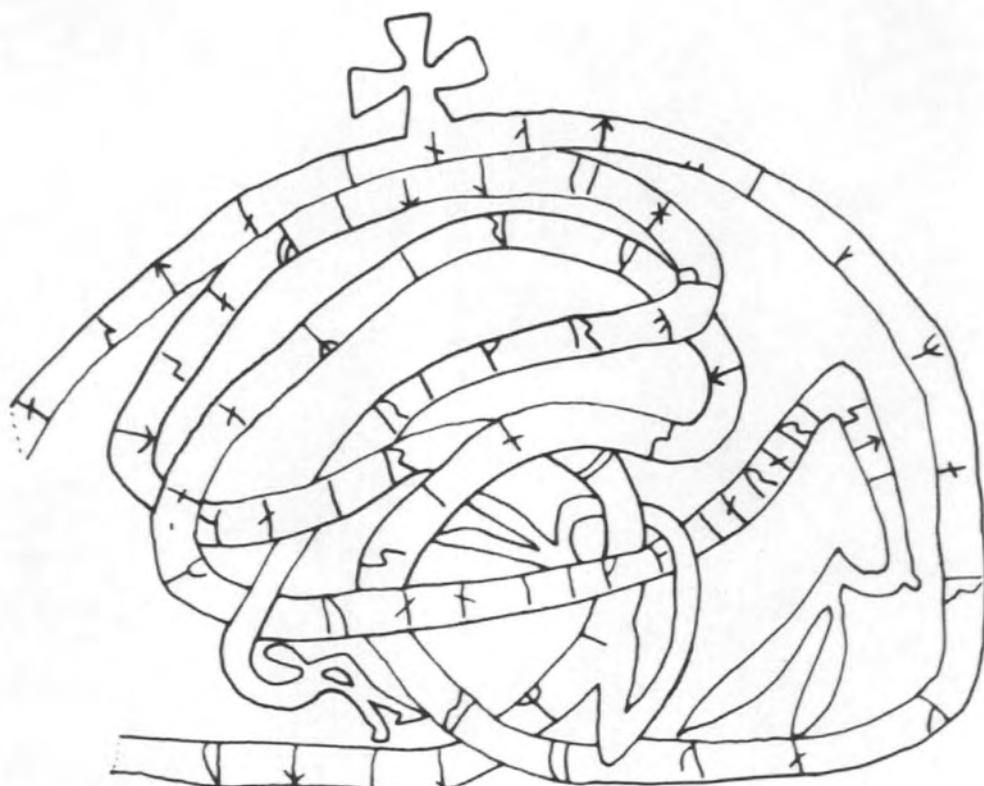


b

42. a) Runestone from Högran, Gotland
 b) Runestone from Bro Kyrka, Uppland



a



b

43. a) Runestone from Håga, Bondkyrka, Uppland
 b) Runestone from Uppsala cathedral, Uppland

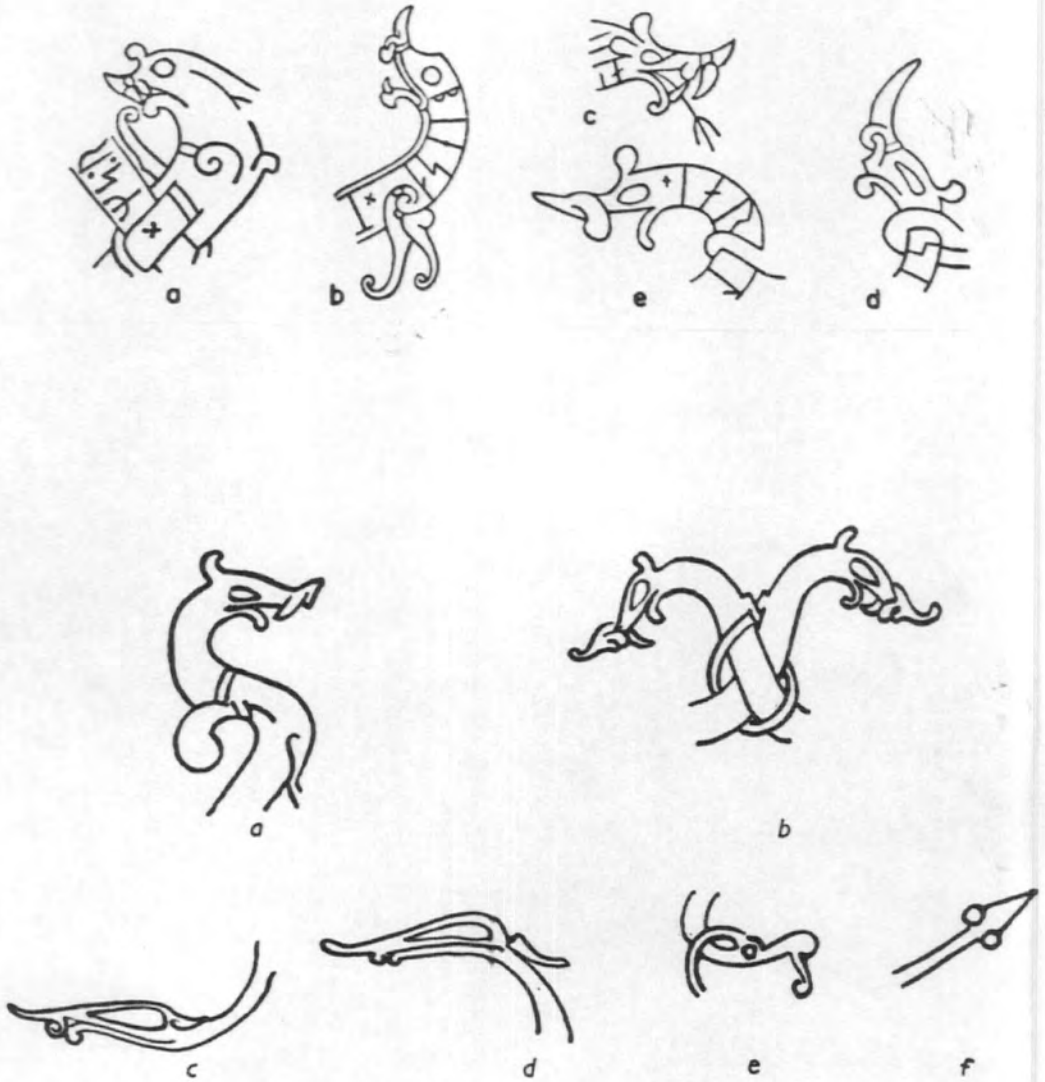


a

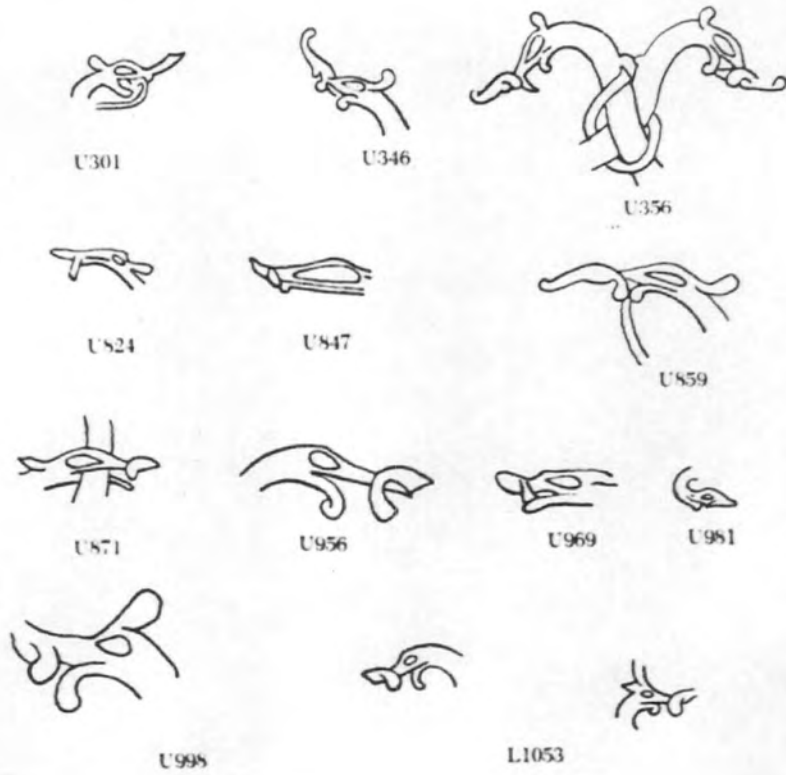


b

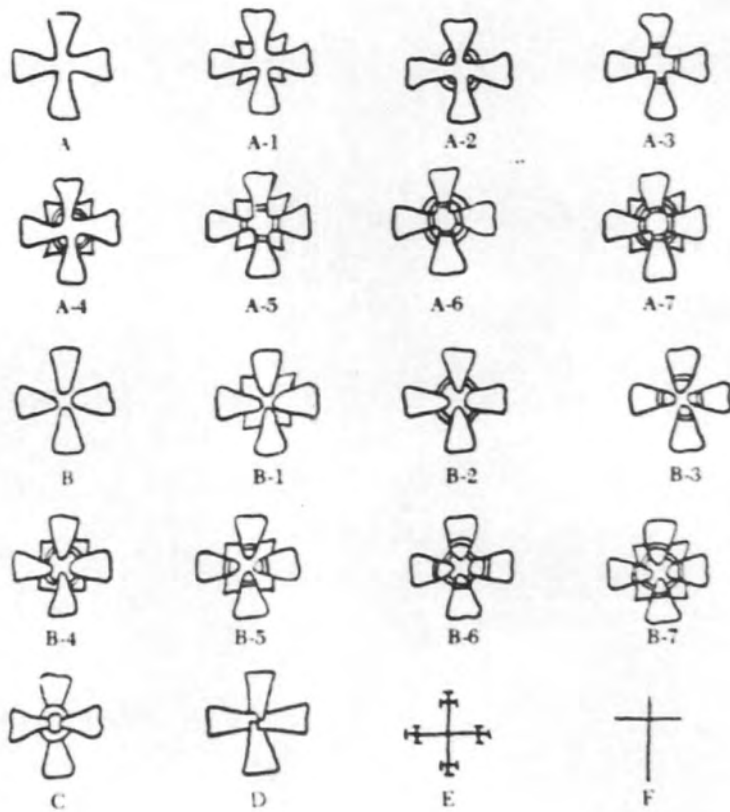
44. a) Runestone from Täby, Uppland
 b) Runestone from Gillberga, Össeby-Garns, Uppland



45. a) Selection of animal heads from Swedish runestones (Wilson 1966 "showing the development towards the Urnes style".)
- b) Selection of animal heads from Swedish runestones (Moe 1955 : work of different carvers)



a



b

46. a) Animal heads from runestones carved by ^oÅsmund Karresson
 b) Typology of crosses found on Upplandic runestones

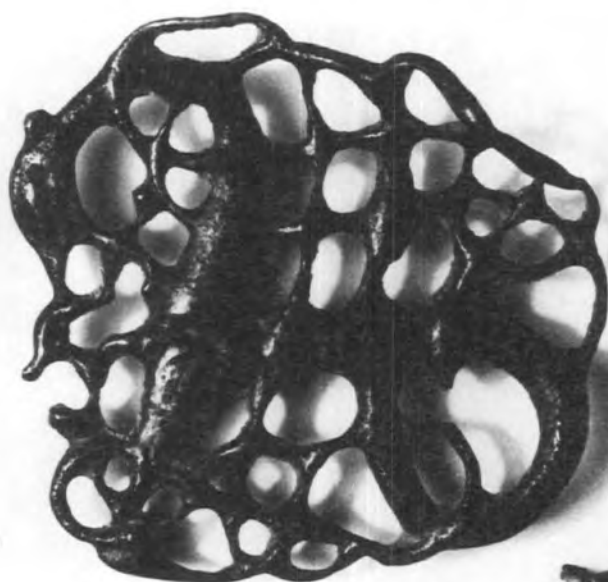


a

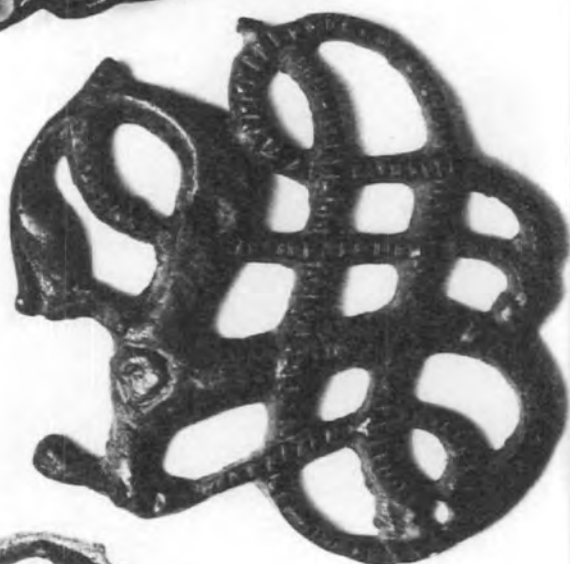


b

47. a) Brooch from Lindholm Høje, Denmark
b) Unfinished object from Lindholm Høje, Denmark



a



b



c

48. a) Brooch from an unknown provenance, Sweden
b) Brooch from Särestad, Sweden
c) Brooch from an unknown provenance, Sweden

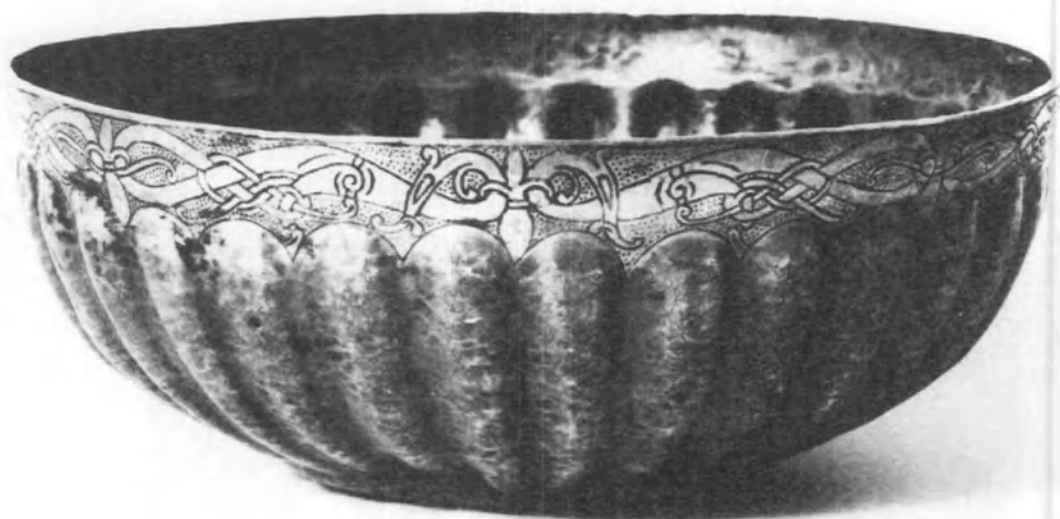


a

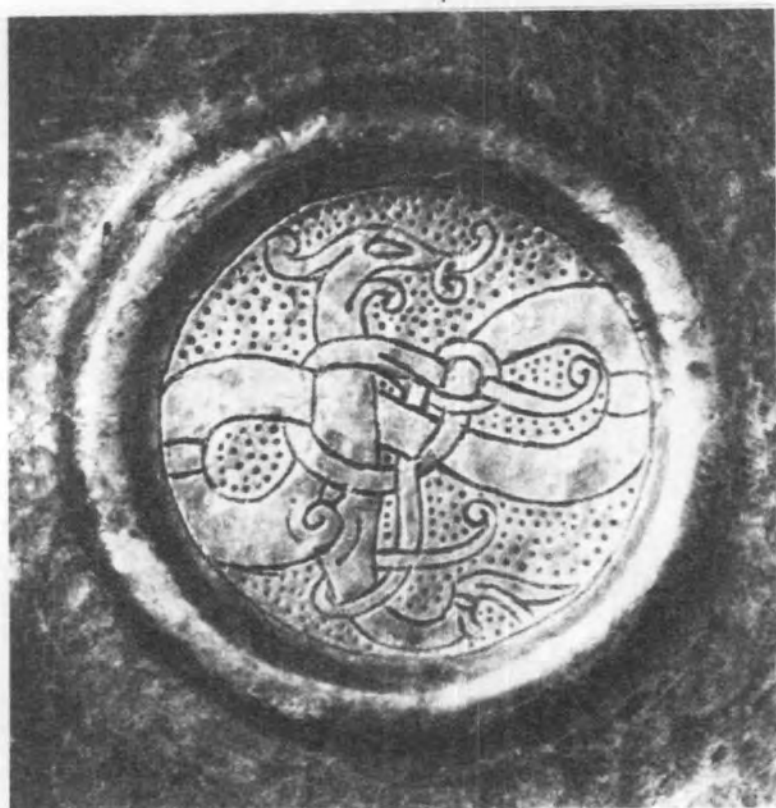


b

49. a) Brooch from Gresli, Tydal, Norway
 b) Söderala vane, Sweden



a

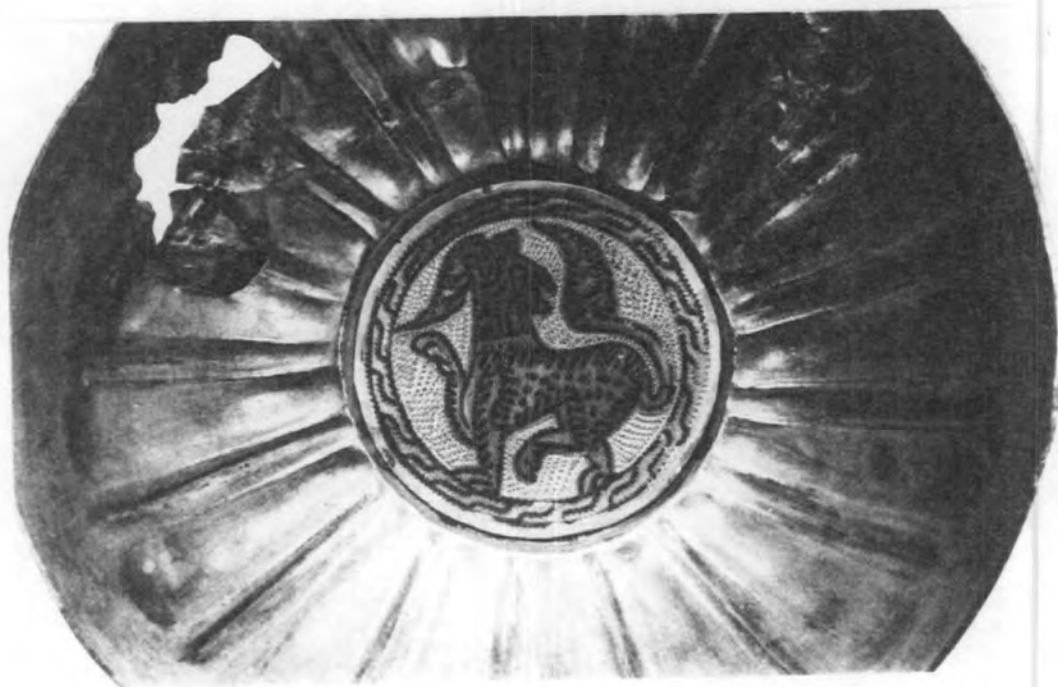


b

50. a) Silver bowl from Lilla Valla, Rute, Gotland
b) Detail of interior roundel of Lilla Valla bowl



a



b

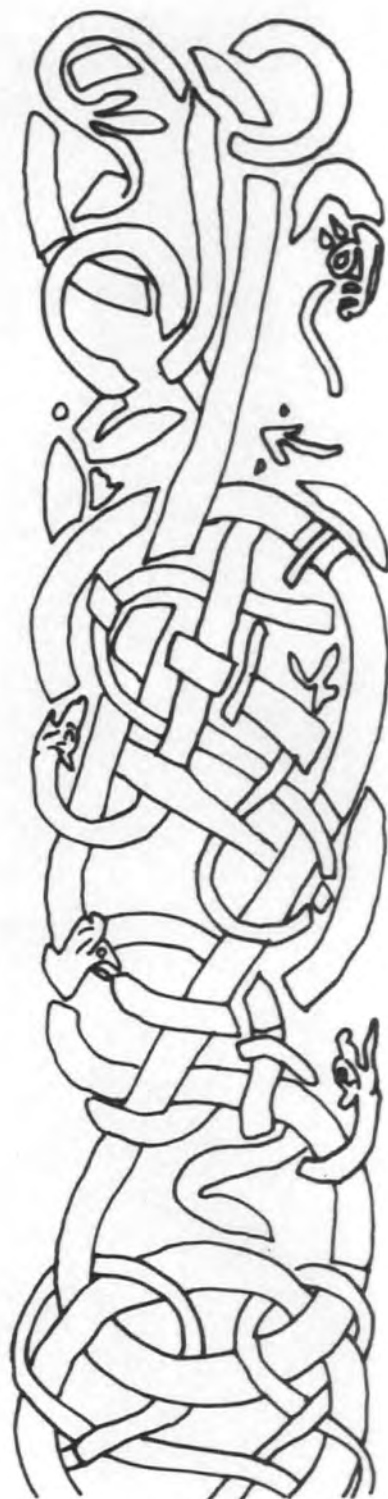
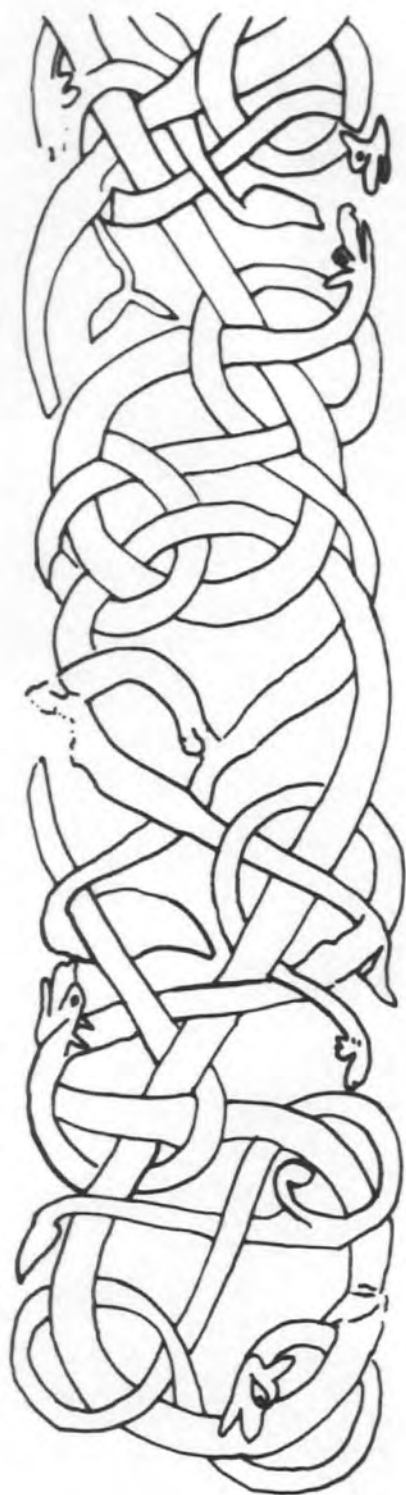
51. a) Silver bowl from Gamla Uppsala, Sweden
b) Detail of interior roundel of Gamla Uppsala bowl



52. a) Bronze animal head, probably from Gotland
 b) Round brooch from Tändgarve, Sweden
 c) Silver and niello crucifix from Gåtebo, Öland, Sweden



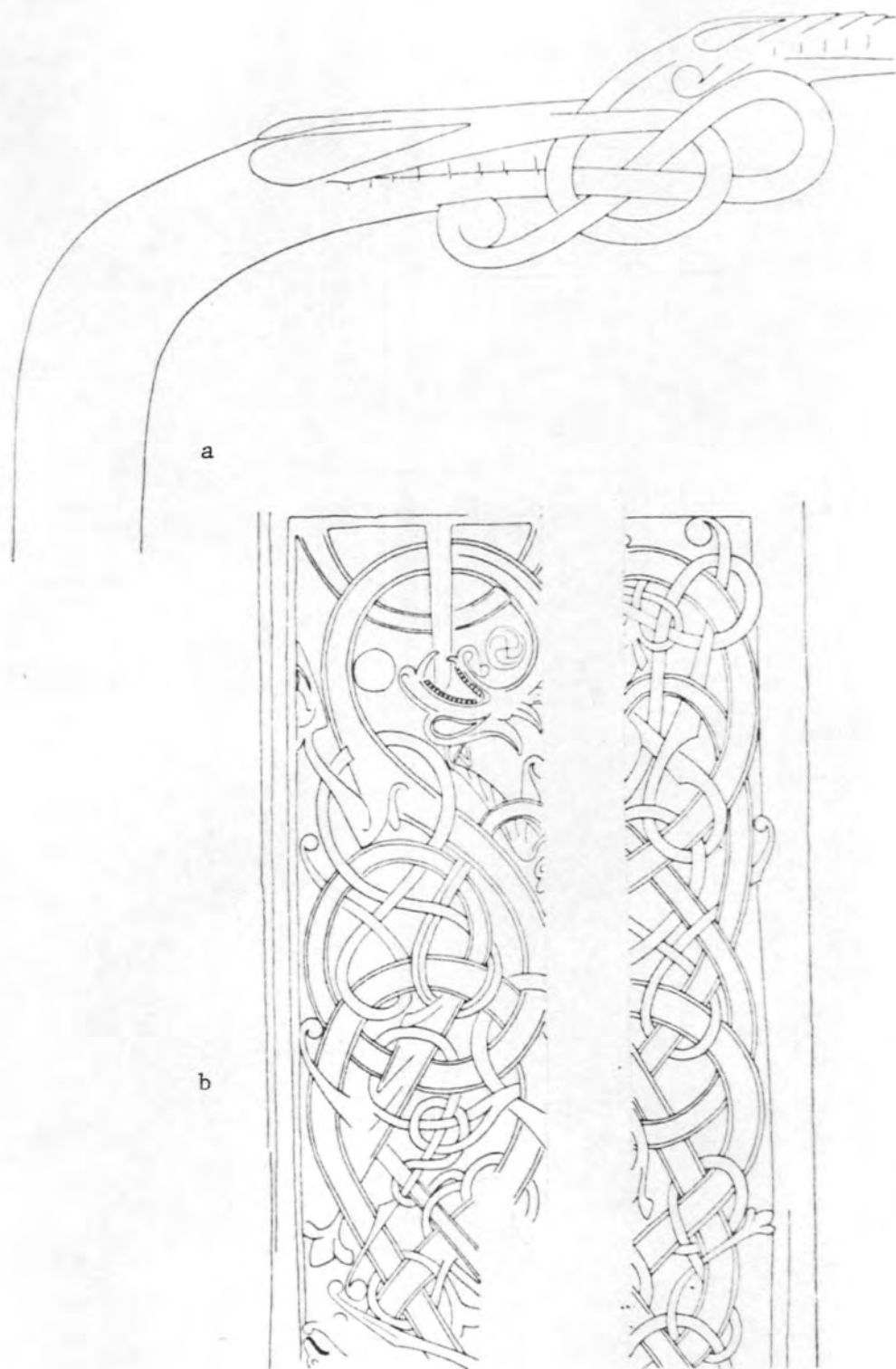
53. Bronze strap distributor from Gotland



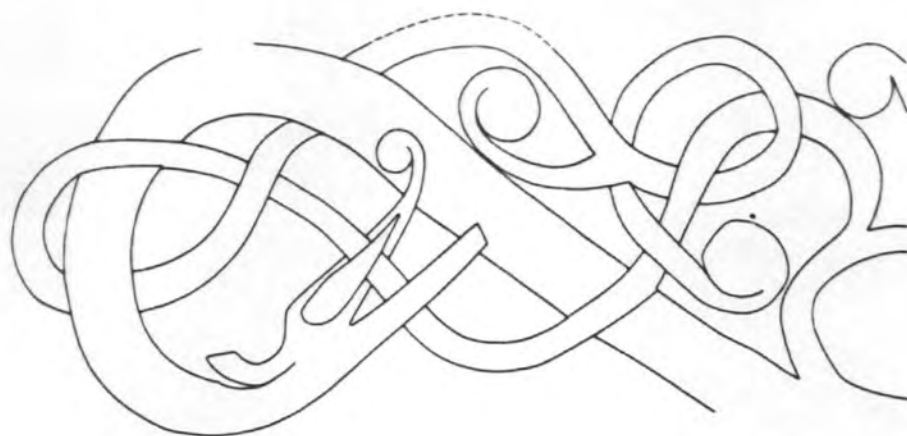
54. Bottom moulding of the Lisbjerg altar, Denmark



55. Selection of bone and wood artefacts from Trondheim excavations



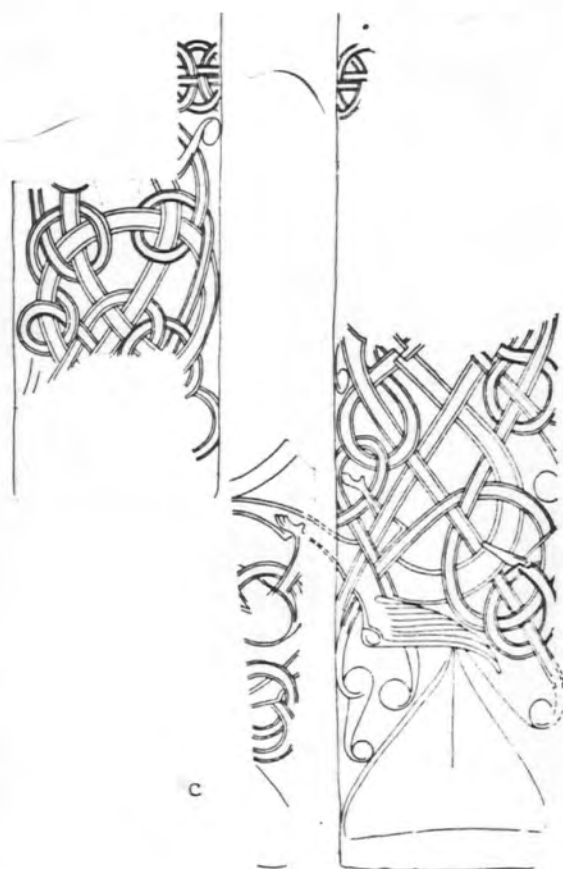
56. a) Wooden cask handle from Uppsala, Sweden
b) Fragmentary stave church doorway from Guldrupe, Gotland



a

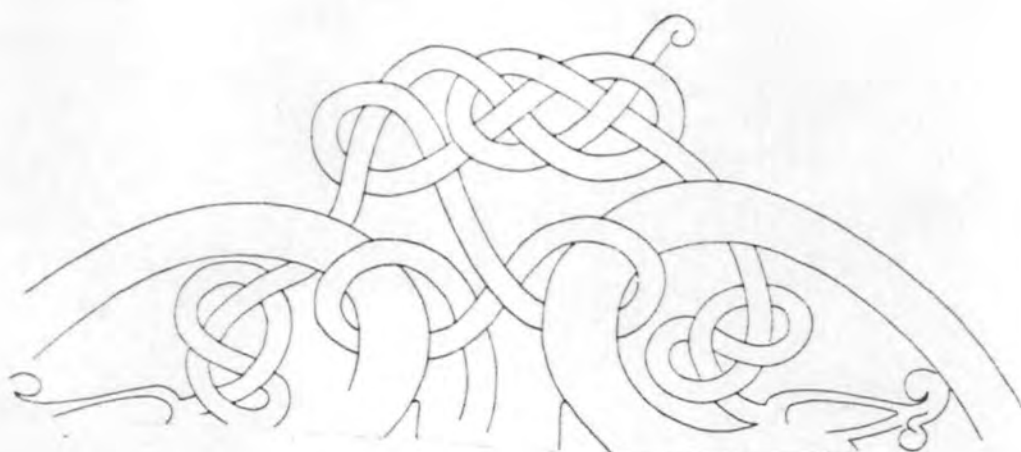


b

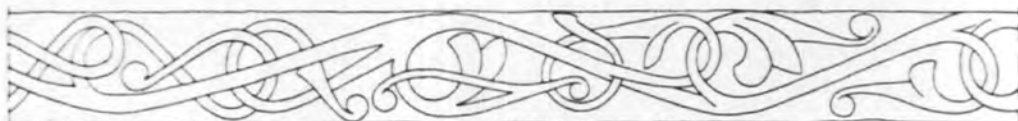
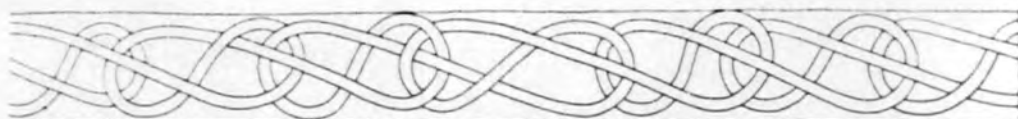


c

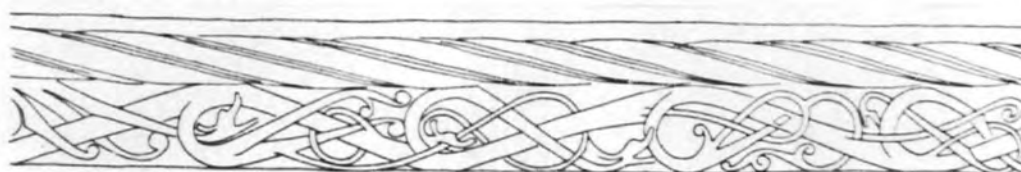
57. a) Plank from Hagebyhöga, Östergötland, Sweden
 b) Plank from Ramkvilla, Småland, Sweden
 c) Fragmentary stave church doorway from Hemse, Gotland



a

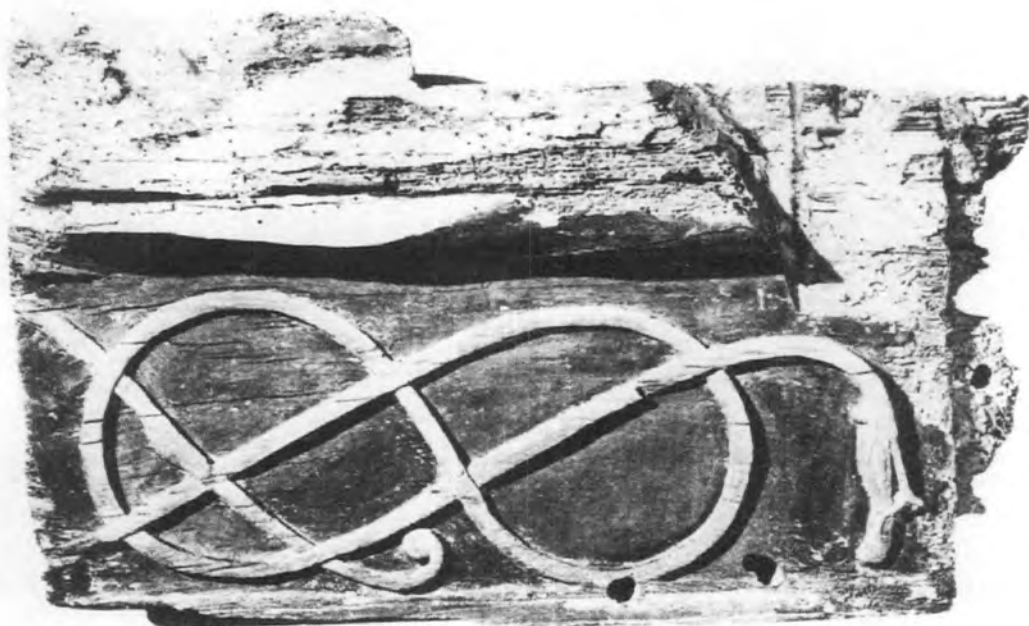


b



c

58. a) Fragmentary stave church doorway from Brågarp, Skåne, Sweden
 b) Planks from Skalunda, Västergötland, Sweden
 c) Plank from Vrigstad, Småland, Sweden

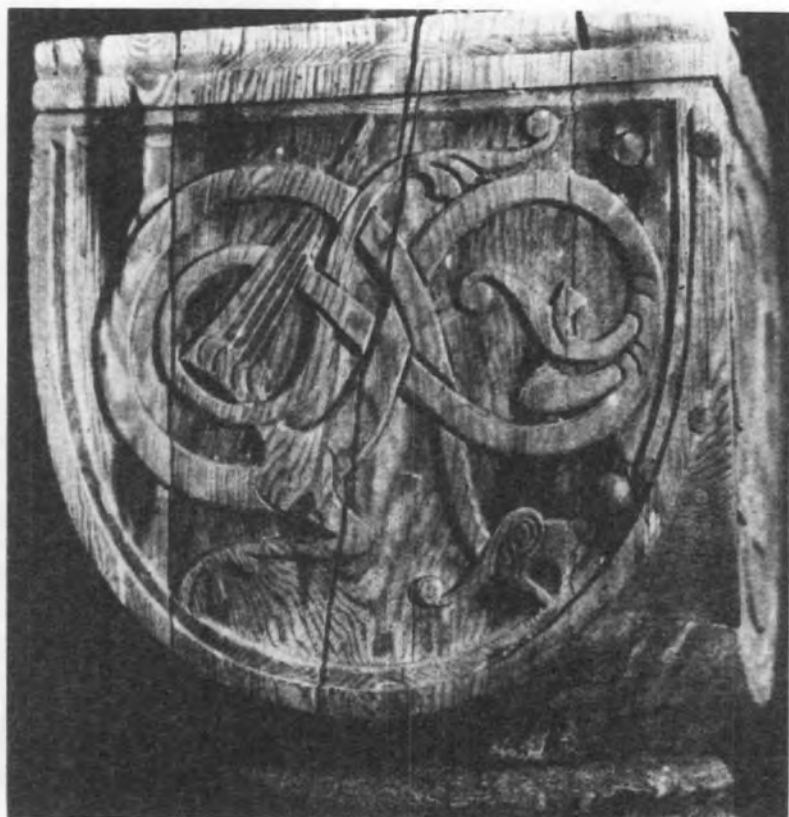


a



b

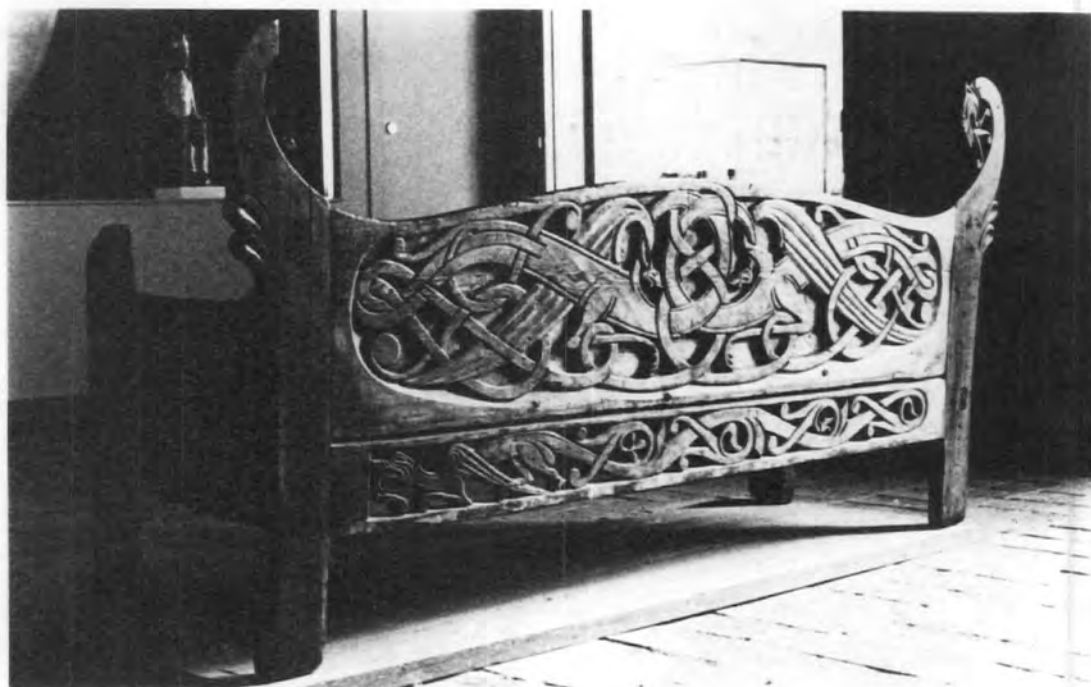
59. a) Fragmentary panel from Hørning stave church, Denmark
b) Fragmentary panel from Torpø church, Hallingdal, Norway



60. Capitals from Urnes stave church, Norway



61. Portal of the church at Bjølstad, Heidalen, Norway

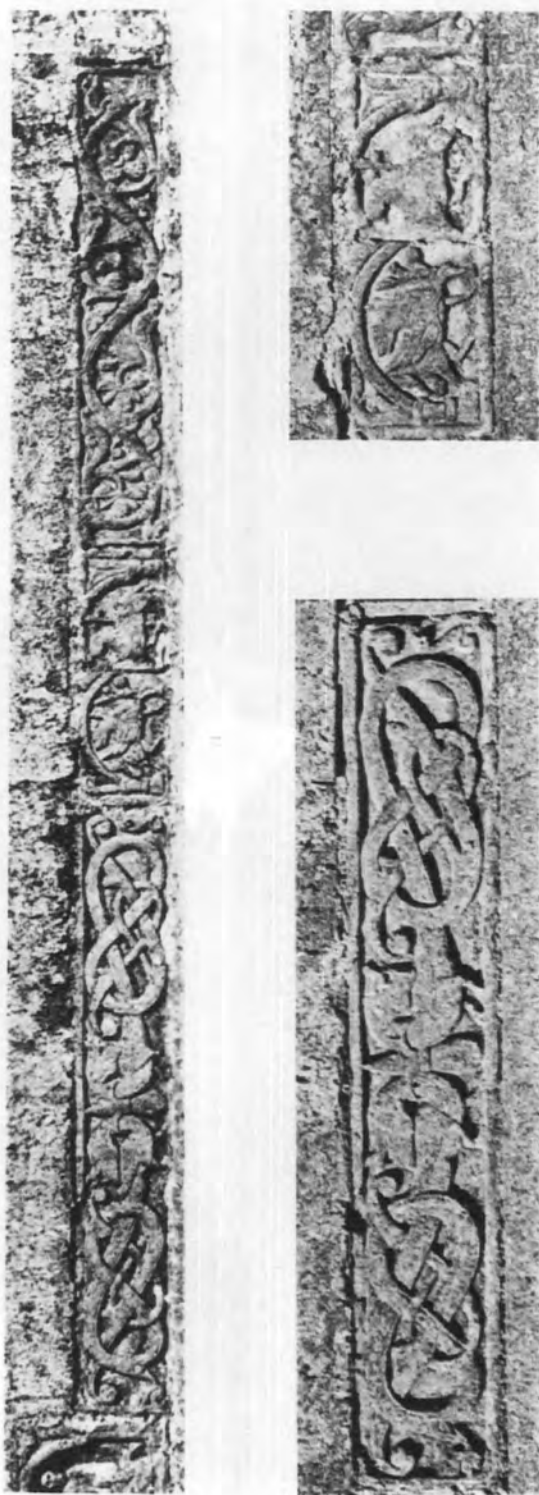


a

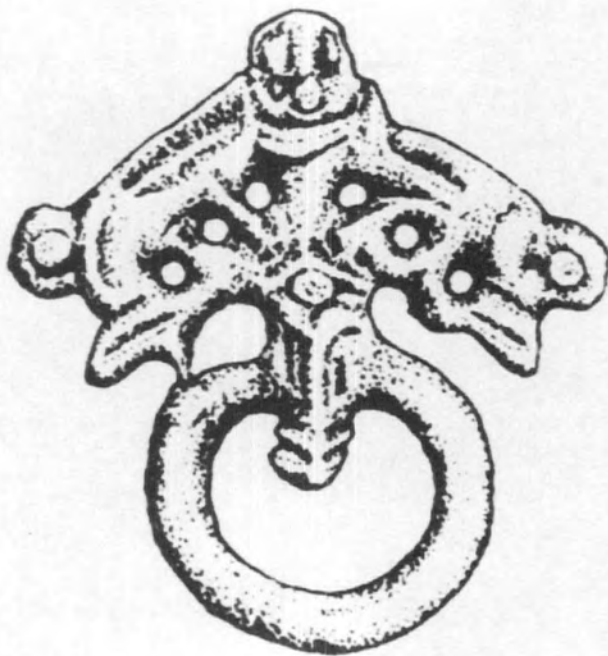


b

62. a) Bench from Kungsåra, Västmanland, Sweden
b) Detail from Kungsåra bench



63. Stone frieze from Vamlingbo church, Gotland

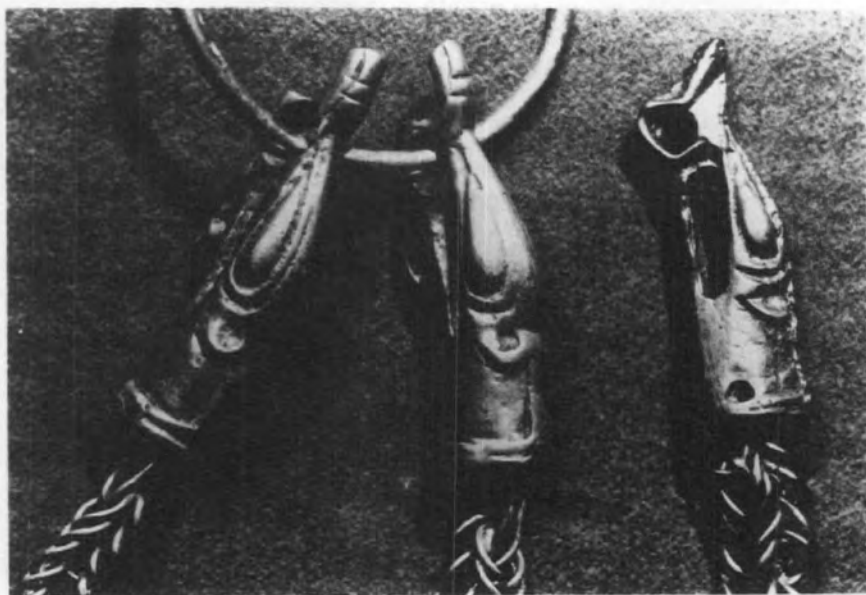


a



b

64. a) Ring terminal from Skeldergate, York
b) Bronze mount from Ixworth, Suffolk



a



b

65. a) Animal head terminals from Gamla Uppsala, Sweden
b) Sword hilt from Sherborne Lane, London



66. a) Detail of British Museum MS. Caligula A.vii, folio 11
 b) Detail of British Museum, Royal 7 D, xxiv, folio 906



a



b

67. a) Fragmentary stirrup from Stenåsa, Öland, Sweden
 b) Design on a stirrup from Morkivoll, Iceland



68. Lead object from Lincoln



a

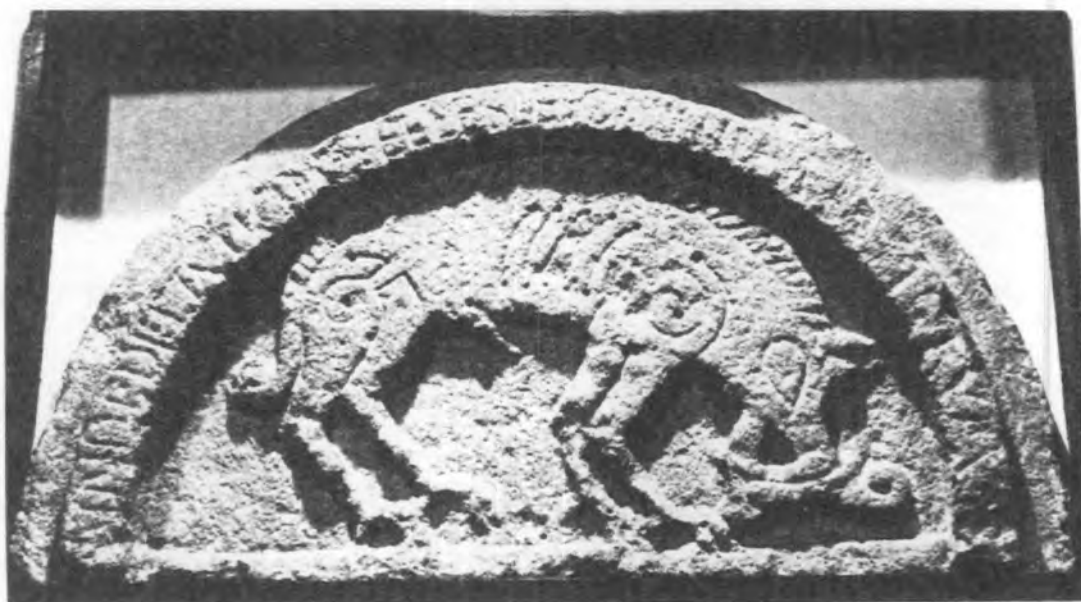


b

69. a) Gandersheim ivory casket, Brunswick
b) Bronze censer cover from Canterbury



a

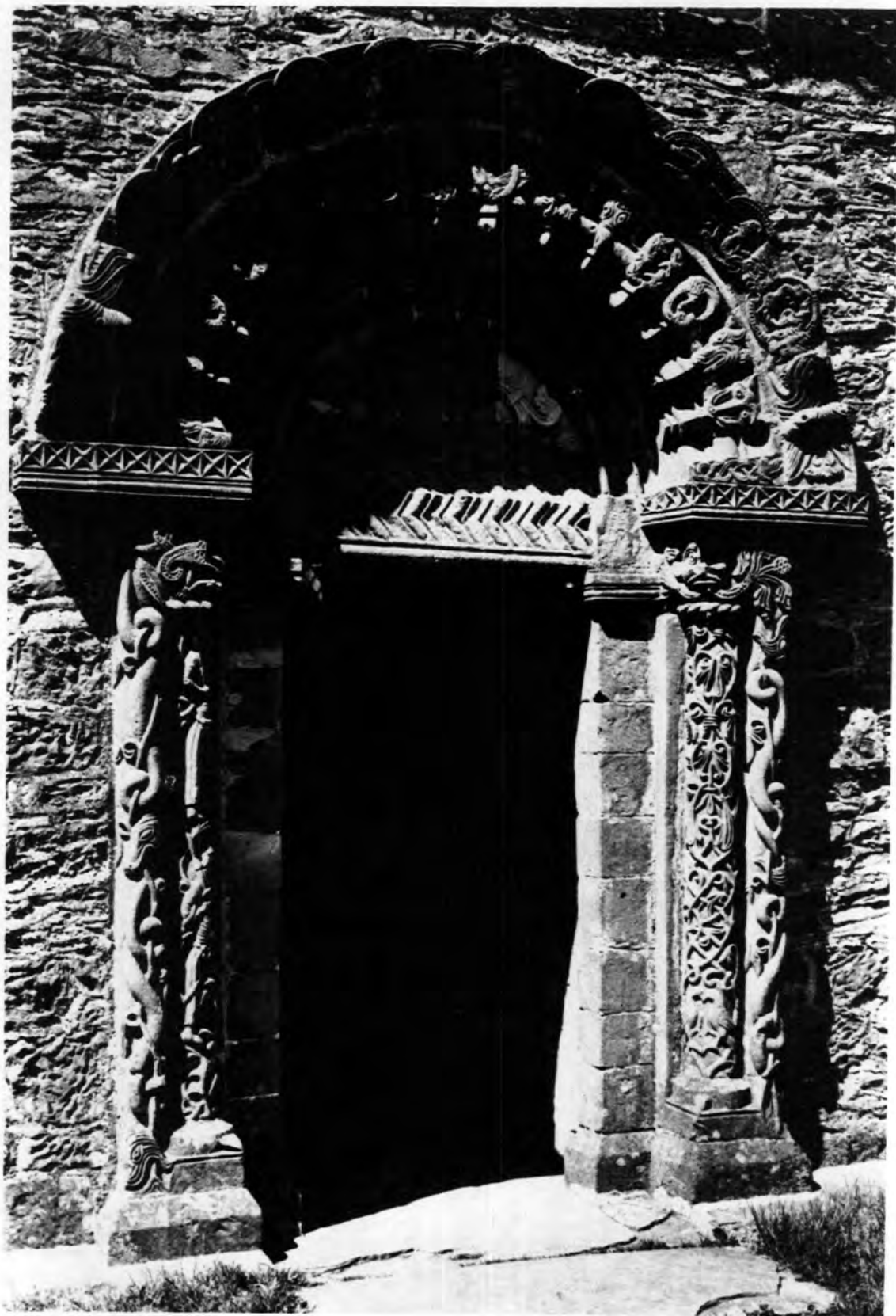


b

70. a) St. Michael and the dragon carving from St. Nicholas' church, Ipswich
b) The boar tympanum, St. Nicholas' church, Ipswich



71. Two sides of crosshead, no.22, Durham cathedral



72. Doorway of Kilpeck church, Hertfordshire

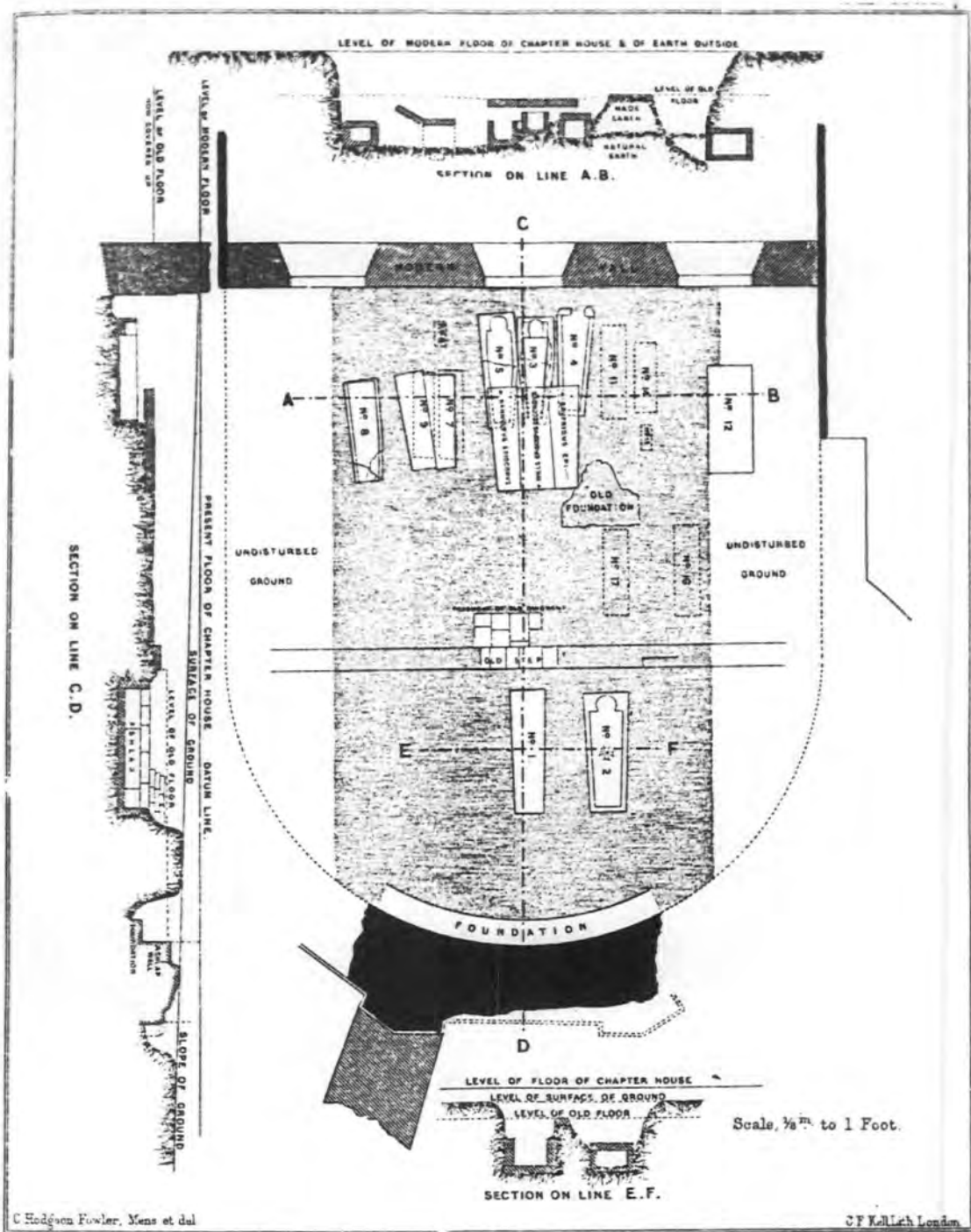


a



b

73. a) "Saint's tomb" hogback, Gosforth, Cumbria
b) Strap end from Freswick, Caithness



74. Plan of the excavation of Durham chapter house, 1874



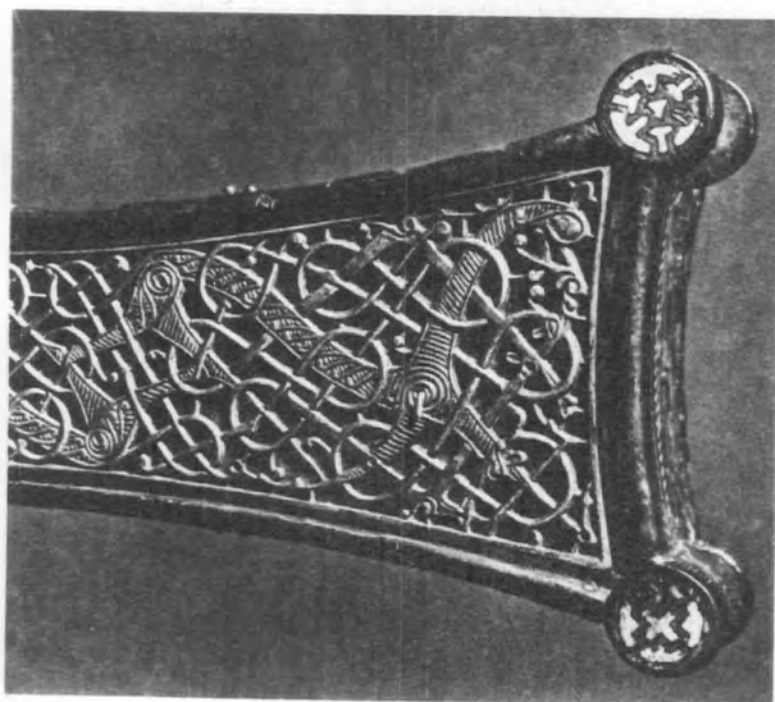
75. Cross of Cong (back view), Ireland



76. Detail of the cross of Cong (front)



a



b

77. a) Detail of the Knop, Cross of Cong
 b) Detail of animal figure on arm of
 cross of Cong

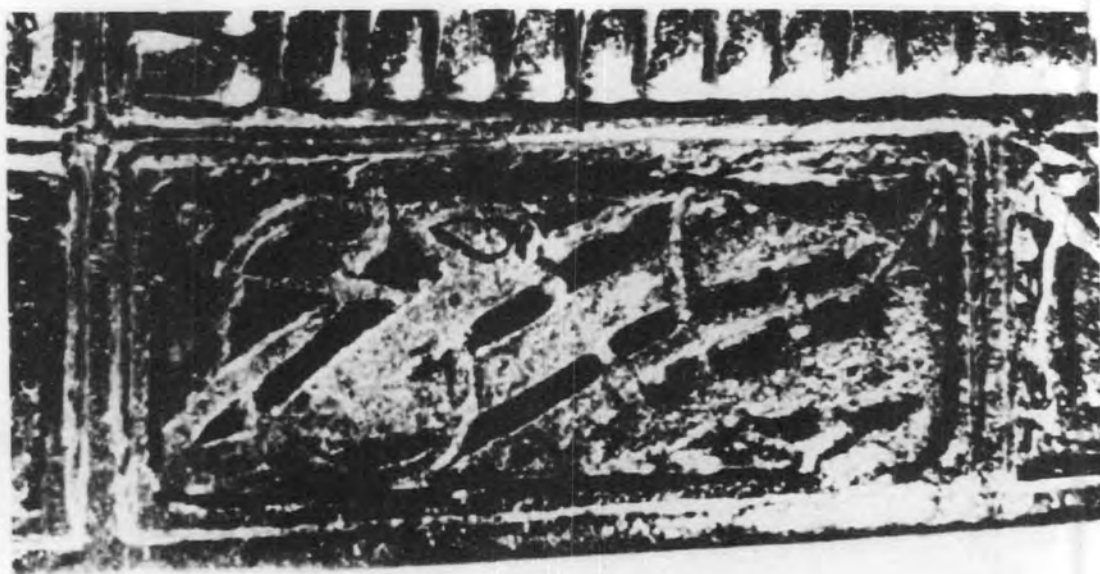


2 cm

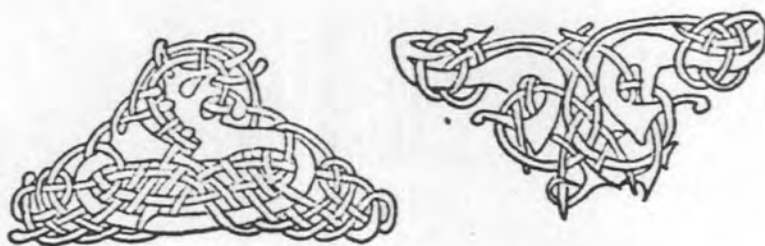
78. Two sides of a bone trial piece from Dublin, Ireland
(E71 : 708)



79. Detail of Lismore crosier, Ireland



a



b

80. a) Detail of animal figure on Lismore crozier, Ireland
b) Detail of animal figures on Lismore crozier, Ireland



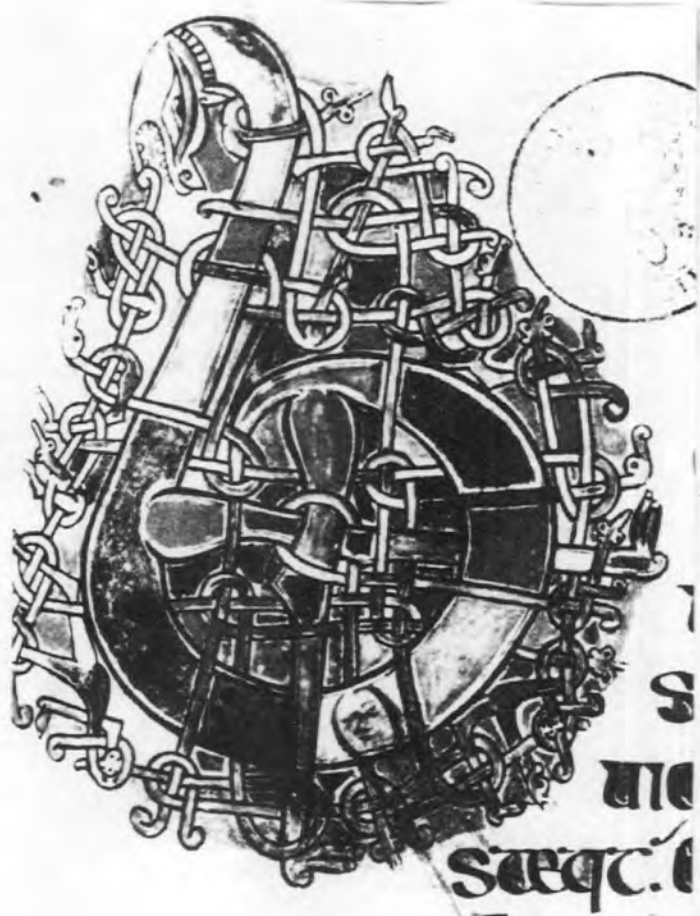
81. Shrine of the Bell of St. Patrick's Will, Ireland
(narrow side)



82. The Shrine of St. Lachtin's arm, Ireland
(detail)



83. Mount from Holycross abbey, Ireland



85. Initials from MS. Pal. Lat. 65, Vatican library

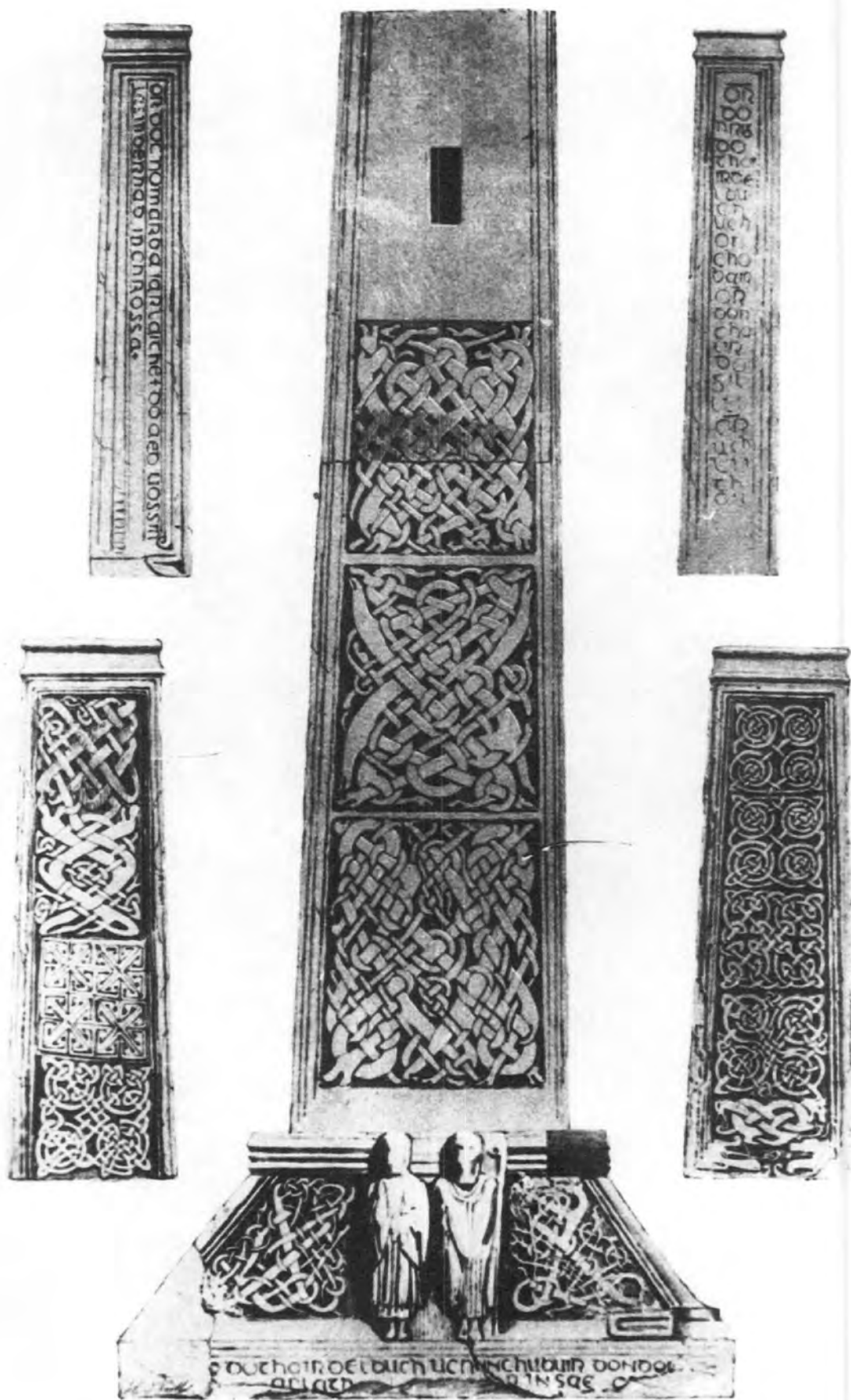


a



b

86. a) Initial from the "Corpus Missal"
 b) Initial from the Book of Leinster



87. The market cross, Tuam, Co. Galway (centre)
The four sides of a cross shaft now in Tuam
cathedral (to left and right)



a



b

88. a) Sarcophagus from Cashel, ^{Co.} Tipperary
 b) Detail of window jamb, Annaghdown, Co. Galway



89. Detail of ornament on the crosier of the abbots of Clonmacnoise