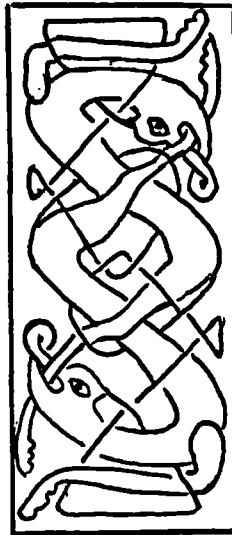# INTERLACED ANIMAL DESIGN IN BERNICIAN STONE SCULPTURE

EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF THE DESIGN CONCEPTS IN THE

LINDISFARNE GOSPELS

in Three Volumes

VOLUME II

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VOLUME II

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CHAPTER 9

ABERCORN I: THE CURVED NECK

Introduction.

Just as the early cross-shaft, called the Abercorn 1934, proved to be the ideal starting point for the discussion of the sculpture which followed the concepts of the Lindisfarne Gospels, now another cross-shaft from Abercorn, number 1^1, has the qualities necessary to begin the discussion of works of a later period. It was pointed out in chapter 2 that the monastery on its prominence overlooking the Firth of Forth would be in an ideal position to receive a confluence of ideas from the home monastery, Lindisfarne and also from the Pictish north and Dalriada, as well as western Northumbria. The site, now with its twelfth century church, has yielded up evidence of earlier monastic occupation over a period of time (Thomas 1984, 333), but Abercorn I, has long been its most famous work, and it heralds a new interlaced animal shaft.

I have called this chapter "The Curved Neck", not so much because this is the only telling feature, but because it is a symbol of the new attitude of the artists. In the main work to be discussed here, namely Abercorn 1A together with Lindisfarne 1A, the necks curve only 180° not 360° turn in the manner of the Lindisfarne Gospels. Other changes are made with strange turnings of body and limbs. Now the vital naturalism is reduced so that lethargic dragon-like creatures replace the natural and vigorous dogs of the Gospels and the naturalism, which was one prong of the concepts of the Lindisfarne Gospels is diminished.

The second prong of the Lindisfarne Gospels' concept, that is the placing of both animal and its lacing on an interlace grid following the laws of plaiting is still foremost, and designs have well developed complementary lacing, particularly with spirals and long loops, but designs lose something of the strength of the diagonal for a different rhythmic emphasis. The task here is to look into these new concepts so as to see how they have developed from the old and to establish a basis for a new group of works.

Figure 9a
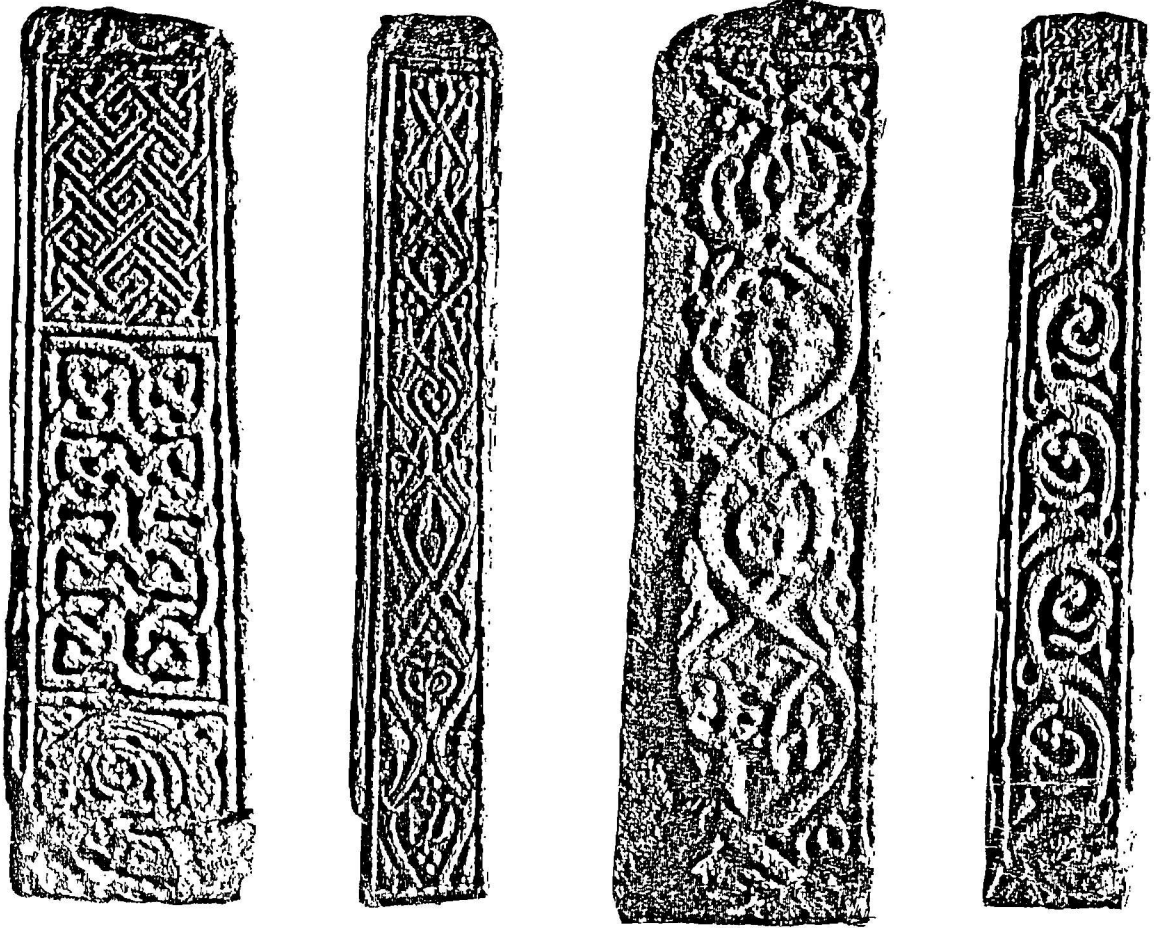
i Abercorn 1 (ECMS II, figure 435).

ii. Abercorn 1: main design lines.

A   B   C   D

1:12
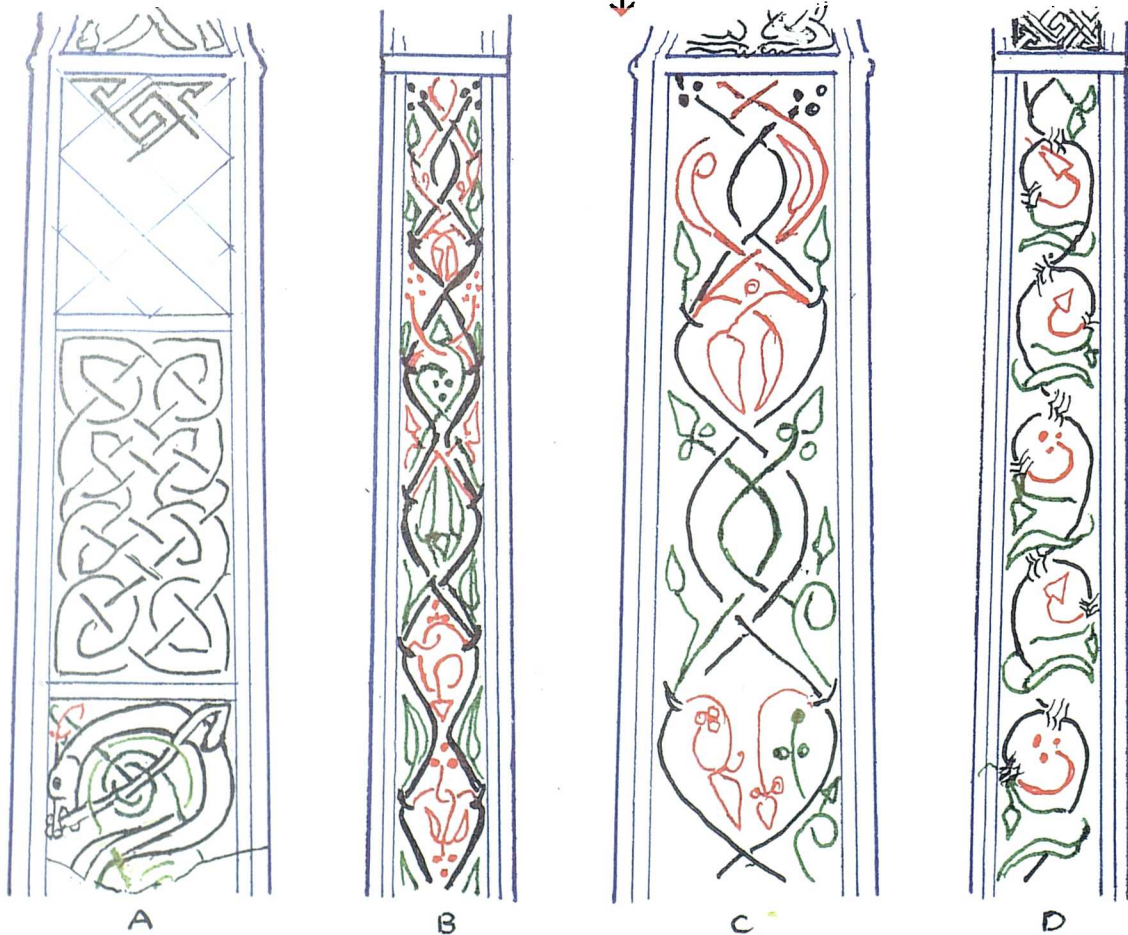
Abercorn 1, the cross-shaft

Abercorn 1 was used as a lintel in the church (ECMS II, 418) but was recovered during the 1838 repairs, and illustrated in Stuart (1856 I, plate 125), later discussed and illustrated with excellent photographs in J. Romilly Allen's work (ECMS II, 418, figure 435, here figure 9ai). These photographs show the work with clarity and happily indicate that no further damage has occurred. With them is a summary of the designs to clarify what is on the shaft (figure 9aii), while a detailed drawing of the A face of the shaft is shown in figure 9b contrasted with the upper half of Abercorn 1934.

The shaft itself is a fine, pale grey, silt-stone. The use of this type of stone means that it is not carved so deeply as its sand-stone companion, Abercorn 1934, but it is worked to a smoother finish with strands modelled into smooth curves, while detail such as leaf veins or medial grooves can be crisp and sharp, although there is considerable minor flaking now on the well carved surface. The ground is carefully worked but as the strands are heavy, slightly over half width, little ground remains. Unfortunately the broad face C, which was exposed to weathering during the time it served as a lintel, is greatly damaged but even here the main forms can be followed (figure 9aC).

The presence of a few centimetres of the lower cross arm establishes the position of the piece in relation to the whole. The moulding at the top dividing shaft from head is 34cm wide, giving promise of a large cross. On face A two and a half panels remain, totalling 120cm to the mid-point of the third panel. If it had five panels as did its companion Abercorn 1934, (figure 2a and b), then it would have had a carved surface about 240cm in length. This would have been shorter than Abercorn 1934 where five panels extended for just on 300cm; on the other hand it is wider than the early shaft 34cm to 30cm at the top and 42cm at the lowest measuring point compared to 34cm at the middle of the third design on the other. This is a much faster taper. Figure 9b show Abercorn I with the upper half of the earlier cross for comparison. The shaft Abercorn 1 is not only wider and shorter with a stronger taper but the effect of weightiness is increased by the tendency for heavier strands and strong divisions on the panelled side.

The cross format and programme

The cross shaft is set out in the Northumbrian manner with a double moulding along the edges. This is 5cm wide but as the outer edge is well rounded it does not look over-heavy, while the inner bead is substantial and deeply carved. The head starts after a single moulding, although it may step out just a mere few millimetres either side. The double moulding continues around the head as two even rolls, as is the case with the cross-centre from Abercorn which is assumed to belong to the tall shaft (figure 2a and b). Each panel is divided by a single moulding. Nothing in the format would set this cross apart from the eighth century style of its companion but the extra width with sharper taper.

Three faces have continuous plant ornament, all different, all imaginative (figure 9a). One side D, has what might be called a normal plant-scroll, similar to those at Aberlady (figure 3aB and D) except that ridged nodes are in the centre of the pattern and not at the sides, so that the design goes up in steps rather than with a smooth flow, and is decorated in the centres of the spirals with triangular leaves alternating with berries and with laterals that have long twining leaves (figure 9a, side D). It is the other side, B, which is unusual. It is finer, with two zig-zagging stems forming lozenge medallions but sometimes failing to cross and making interlace type "breaks" (see glossary). The nodes at the outer edge send the main stems on, with a leafy lateral to fill each outside triangle with decoration and another lateral filling the central diamond. These laterals may cross cleverly. Figure 9a and ci shows how the stems interrelate with green used for the outside lateral, red for the inside one, as the interesting interplay of the outside and inside laterals needs to be stressed.

D. McLean (1999, 180) points out that this design is like one on a horizontal border of the Book of Kells, folio 8r, where the "equivalent...trellised lozenges" are seen. The Book of Kells design indeed, has the same stem system but is formed with regularity, not with such imaginative waywardness shown by the Abercorn artist (figure 9ci). Nevertheless the pattern device, the intertwined stems of the central laterals which have used throughout the pattern in the Book of Kells, are too similar to the lowest two registers of the sculpture to be unrelated to it. This is an important connection, but there may be an unknown

Figure 9b
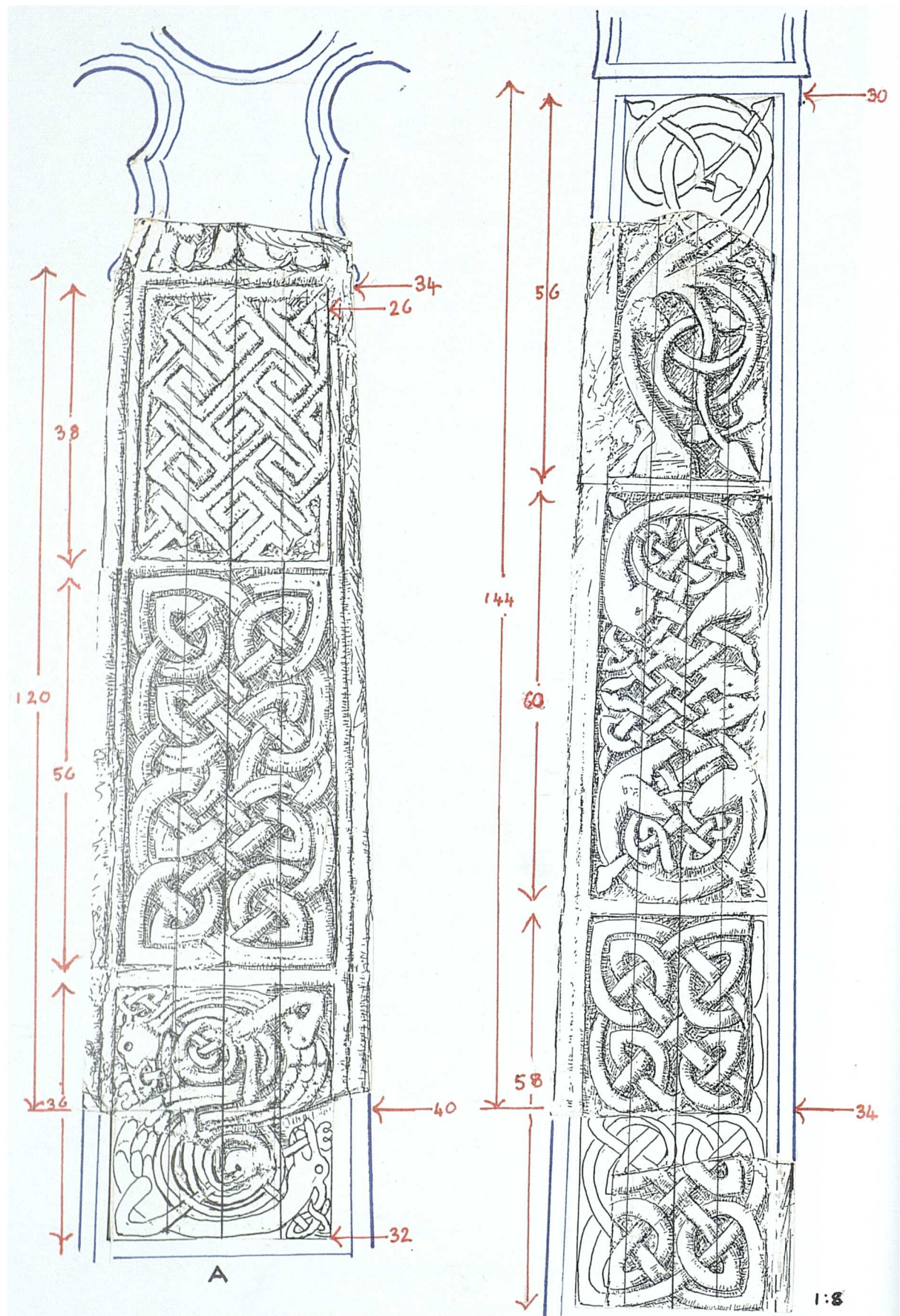
**Abercorn 1 and part of Abercorn 1934.**

intermediary and there is no indication as to which is first, nor has the Book of Kells an agreed date. Alexander (number 52), gives the date range held by authorities as the eighth to the ninth century but this is too broad to be of use.

The third plant-scroll, the one worthy of a main face, is a fluent curvaceous medallion scroll with ever changing foliage and forms, but is equally individual in the way that stems form the medallions (figure 9a, side C), varied with twists and "breaks". Each medallion is decorated too, in a different manner, and this is, in fact, like a modest cousin of Acca's cross, Hexham 1 (Corpus I, illustrations 897 and 898), especially 1dB. The same sort of design is perhaps also beginning on the opposite side of the head of Abercorn 1, where it seems there is the start of stems and pointed leaves (figure 9aA). This is an interesting start towards a plant-scroll cross-head on the more formal side, but however it developed it is now sadly lost.

The thing which is important about the three plant-scroll sides is the control the artist has over the designs, so that at no stage are these stultified by tradition but are freely designed within it. He alters the pattern registers at will, and even reduces the length of the motifs in response to taper and terminates them in a confident, if unorthodox, manner. The plant scroll had not become arid or geometrical as in Hexham 2.

The main face A is in sharp contrast to the fluid plant ornament, being set out in formal panels, two and a half of which are extant. The top one is in a rectangle of a moderate length of 38cm, and 28-26cm in width (inside the mouldings), filled with the common diagonal key design, which is formal, regular and finer in strand size than the interlace (ECMS I, 958, here figure 9bi and diagrammatically in figure 9cii). It is formed with a continuous line which steps into and out of each block so that there is a strand to continue on to fill the triangles at the sides. This is unlike the Aberlady design (figure 3a, here figure 9cii) which follows the simpler type of fret seen in the Lindisfarne Gospels (folios 138v and 210v). In these the strand steps in and stops in each motif, while the triangles, which form at the sides, and are necessarily left blank as there is no strand to fill them (figure 9cii). It is, however, exactly the form of design used on Norham 5A, although the
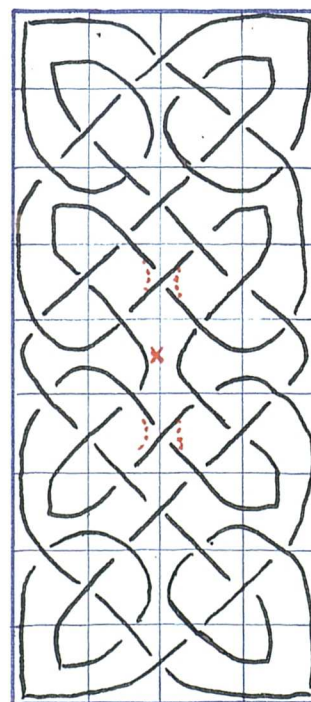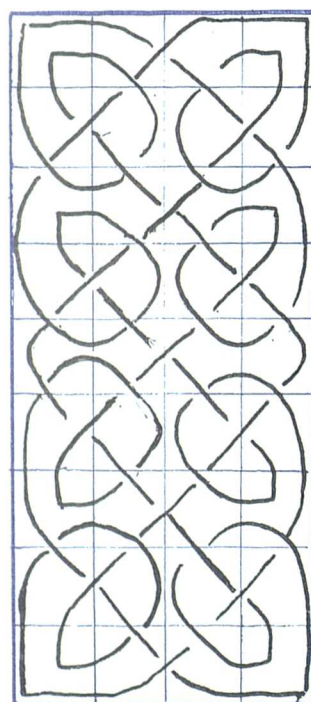
Figure 9c
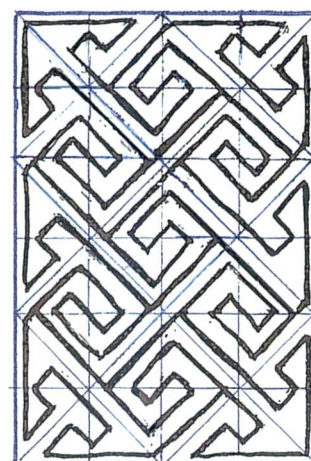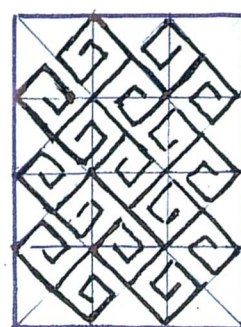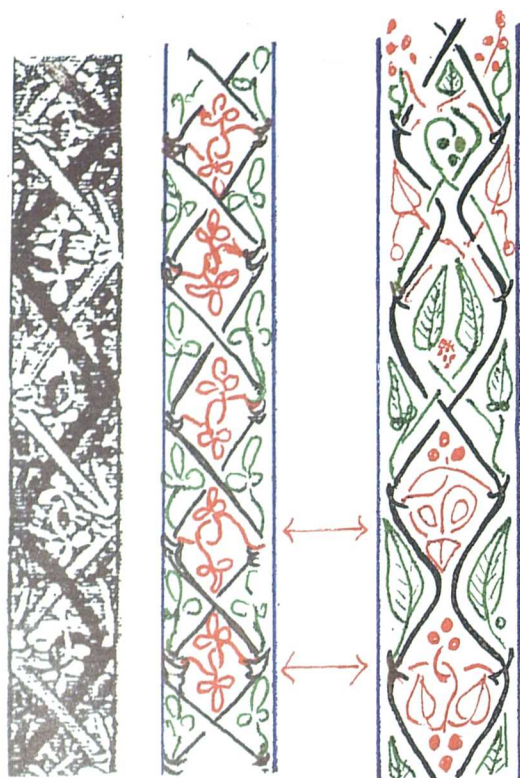
v   -scroll: Book of Kells, f.8v,   ii. Key patterns: Lindisfarne Gospels, f.138v

Abercorn 1D.   Aberlady 1C, Abercorn 1A

iii. Interlace: Abercorn 1934 and Abercorn 1A.

one there is a smaller version with a finer more elegant strand and also the same design, at the same size on Lindisfarne 5C but the latter is a clumsy crooked expression (Corpus I, illustrations 1174 and 1057). This standard key pattern is frequently featured in the Pictish area. It is in this form on the lower, almost obliterated, panel of St Andrew's cross-shaft, number 14A and on both sides of the Nigg cross-slab (ECMS II, figures 373A, 72 and 72A) and J. Romilly Allen lists many more appearances (ECMS I, figure 958) but these are mostly for forms other than rectangular panels. Another single motif with the same triangles can be seen on Abercorn 1 itself, extending up the side of the cross-arm (figure 9a, side D).

The interlace below the fret is in a longer panel, this time 56cm in length and 31-28cm in width, with four registers reversing on the horizontal axis. If it were not for a clever "break" and minor alterations this would have been simple pattern A reversing on the central horizontal like Abercorn 1934 (figure 9b and 9ciii, red crosses and dots). These simple alterations form a flowing design around the axis, an experiment repeated with more variation on Abercorn 4C (ECMS II, figure 436B) and simpler on Lindisfarne 1C (figure 4bC). In the Pictish area it became fashionable to make designs of more and more complex motifs[2] but these simple "U" bend designs, conceived in Northumbria, are large and legible at a distance.

The pattern A interlace design of Abercorn 1934 has a unit measure of 6cm both ways. The same unit measure is used along the vertical axis on Abercorn I of both fret and interlace, but because the cross is approximately 6cm wider, the units increase in size across the horizontal axis until they measure 7.5cm at the bottom of the interlace. In chapters 2 and 3 it was shown that measurements of units 3cm, 4.5cm and 6cm, were usual in the Abercorn/Aberlady workshop, so the measurement 7.5cm would be the next notch on a ruler, if such a thing existed and had a division every 1.5cm. However, a good cross-shaft designer could make small changes in measurement to allow for taper and this artist does not lose any control, which reinforces the argument that he is of the living tradition and could adapt designs to fit his stone. In the figure 9b vertical grid lines are shown drawn through from pattern to pattern on both shafts.

Figure 9d
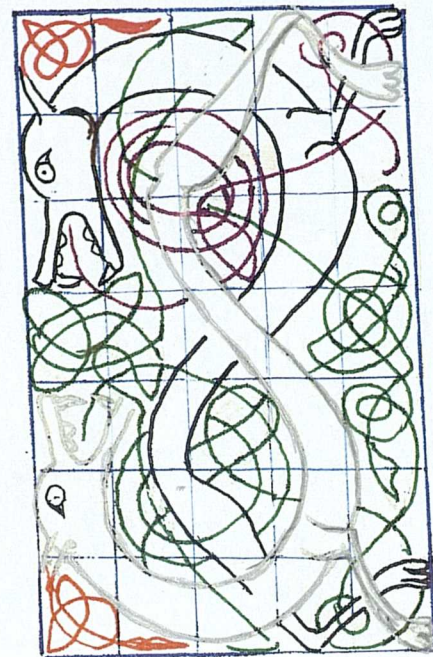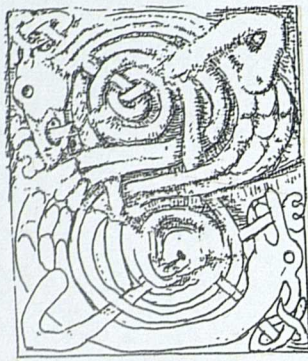
i. Abercorn 1A: drawing and diagram.

ii. Durham Cassiodorus, f.81v: photocopy

and diagram.
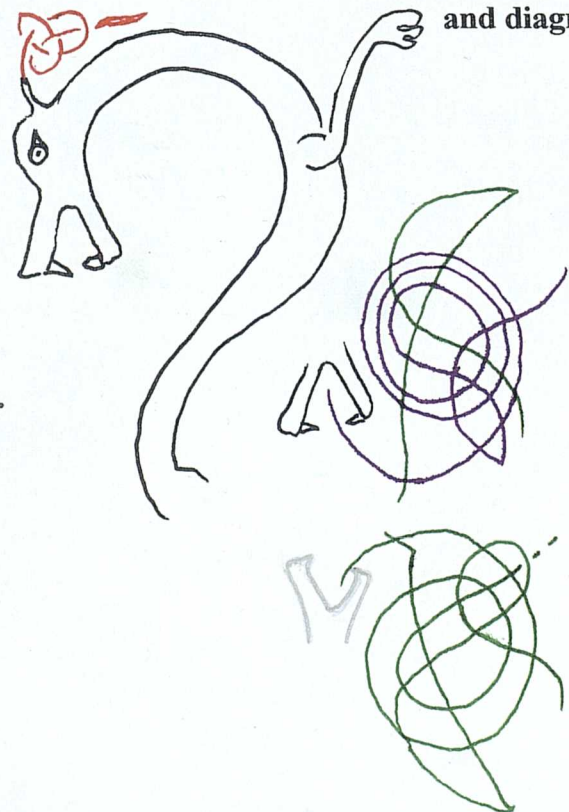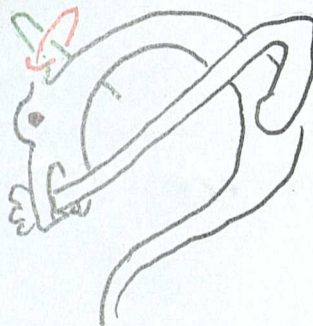
iii. Comparison of bodies and ear lacing.

iv. Comparison of lacing within the curves of the bodies.

The most important thing to note about this interesting shaft is that the method of setting out the shaft has lived on from the early eighth century, (the time of the Abercorn/Aberlady shafts) but that a generation or more has passed, since the plant-scroll is more varied and complex, the fret has been developed and the interlace made into a more comprehensive turned panel with an ABBA theme. The animal design can now be brought into the discussion, to see how it fits into this general framework.

The animal design of Abercorn 1

The animal design (plate 37) at the broken lower edge of Abercorn 1, described by Romilly Allen (ECMS I, 418) as a "beast whose tail forms knots", has never been adequately reconstructed. One animal is almost whole, while only a few scraps of the lower part of the design remain. Since a tracing of the upper part can be turned and reversed onto the lower remains and they fit in exactly, the reconstruction is simple (plate 37B, figure 9b and di). The animals form an overall "S" shape with whirling vortices in the hollows of their bodies. This feature Kendrick (1938, 136) described as a "whorl-like ribbon animal."

The whole design is crowded, even squashed into a squarish panel which is 36cm long (estimated) and about 32-1cm wide (plate 37B). The units are still 6cm on the vertical axis like the designs above but now they are 8cm across the design, which distorts the design noticeably so that the tails are pulled to a more horizontal position. Further the tight spirals are drawn on the secondary grid (plate 37B, figure 9di, red lines). The diagram of the pattern on this figure is on a 1cm grid to remove the distortion and show relationship to the grid clearly. However, as a tightly wound squarish design, it makes an ideal feature for a central panel on a shaft.

The animal has a large head hanging down to the side. The brow is round, housing a large drilled eye, 12mm in diameter. It has a long straight dog-like muzzle with a large mouth, slightly open but with teeth clamping around the leg, unlike mouths seen so far which are closed when biting. Damage on the left makes it unclear whether there is a pronounced nose or none at all, as the toes of

the foot are also in that area. An ear sweeps back (not clear) and laces[3]. Grooves mark facial features but they are difficult to pick out on the flaking stone.

The neck crosses gently around the top of the panel on the four unit grid and opposite to the head, a leg comes from an oval joint fitted into the body from the outside not the inside in the usual manner. The leg, with its elbow joint into the corner, is like an interlace box-point (see glossary), then it crosses diagonally, straight but spindly, to go through the mouth to end in a paw which seems to have three well rounded toes. The joint, the leg and the paw are without great conviction of naturalism when compared to the shoulder and elegantly turned legs and turned paws of Abercorn/Aberlady (plates 9 and 11), but are almost identical to the spindly leg on Lindisfarne 1A (plate 14). This lack of respect for nature is furthered by the rather bulgy body, which may have taken on its ugly shape to fill the uncomfortably wide rectangular units. Now, where there is a sharp turn and one might expect a back leg, the tail takes over and the animal is seen as a biped, and like the bipeds of Thornhill it slims to strand size in half a turn.

The surface decoration is interesting and varied. The neck has well worked contour lines with the central section slightly higher (plate 37B, cross section). This was the case with contour lines at Aberlady and probably also Abercorn 1934 (plates 9, 11 and 12). Then the body is divided into three with low pellets or rounded scales in two or perhaps three of the sections. Finally where the tail takes over there is a median groove until it becomes strand size.

Although much texture has been found on animals in Mercia, Deira, Wessex and also in the Viking-age work, the late shaft from Sutton upon Derwent (Corpus III, Lang 221, late tenth to eleventh century, illustration 870) comes to mind as being something similar to this. However, closer to Abercorn, the Rothbury shaft (Corpus I, Cramp 221, first half of ninth century) also has much texture on both animals and vine on 1cB and 1cD (illustrations 1219 and 1223). Raised diagonal scales are meticulously carved on the backs of animals, median lines are engraved on vine stems but most similar to the body of the Abercorn animal is the segmented vine stem on 1cB (Corpus I, illustration 1219). That we do not

often see surface details on Bernician work may speak only of its normally poor condition, otherwise cross-shafts may have competed with works of other areas and eras in their elaborate surfaces.

The lacing, of the Abercorn animal design, likewise has its own individuality, but no one has described it in detail. J. Romilly Allen (ECMS II, 418) comments that it has a Stafford knot and pattern A loop "with an extra sprial twist" (ECMS I, figures 214 and 247). The Stafford knot effect is in the space above the head which I believe is not so simple as it looks and is in fact the ear lappet is entwined with the end of the tail (plate 37A and B). The pattern A loop is in the centre of a spiralled loop which in turn is surrounded by the opposite tail while the leg runs as a pin through these. The "contour" lines of the neck, curving around this, are deeply grooved to add to the effect of a vortex, which appears to have confused other interpreters (plate 37).

The relationship of the two Abercorn crosses

The whole description of the animal on Abercorn 1 has been a litany of new features different from its predecessors Abercorn 1934 and Aberlady but one can see that the fret and interlace have developed from the former (figure 9cii and iii). The development of the animal design is less easy to see although it is the favoured turned and reversed type, as was on Aberlady A (plate 11).

Further, the curved animal design is reminiscent of the former Abercorn design (figure 9fi), albeit in one the body is curved around the top and bottom of the panel forming a complete loop with neck and legs, in the other there is no loop, the neck progresses from the shoulders around 180° not 360°. Here on Abercorn I the body and neck flow into one curve, it could however have been adapted from a simple Abercorn motif, and figure 9fi gives a suggestion as to how the neck may have been cut back and the front leg re-routed and the back leg turned into a tail. If an artist wanted a new design, then this is the simple method he could have used to produce the idea.

The Durham Cassiodorus and Abercorn 1

Folio 81v of the manuscript known as the Durham Cassiodorus (plate 6) has

already been mentioned for its decorative border of alternating strict interlace panels and fluent animal interlace designs, some of which were connected with Thornhill designs (figure 6e, f and g). This folio has three types of designs: the checkered corners covered in white interlacing which, in their formality may be equated with a key design; the panelled interlaces alternating with animal interlaces. The former are all reversing, mostly in four registers, often in the ABBA arrangement, with various breaks and twists. None of the interlaces is the same as that on Abercorn 1, since they all have five units, but they are exercises with the same concept. These alternate with animal designs, which are apparently free curling with much spiralling lacing, again not the same animal but essentially of the same concept.

One feature which is common to this manuscript and Abercorn 1 is the use of vertical lines of the grid running through all patterns: just as a four-unit grid is used in all the sculptural panels, so a five unit grid is used in the manuscript, for the side borders (not the corners). The overall impression is one of strict orderliness with each design reversing and being complete within itself.

There are four pairs of these animal designs and each pair is different. The tendency is for the animals to appear to flow as if unrestricted by a grid, although this is not so (figure 9dii). With curving lines predominating and longer forms the subtleties of nature are played down, while interlace fills spaces with whirling cobweb strands. It is the upper pair of panels on the sides which are particularly like the sculpture (figure 9dii), allowing for the fact that the manuscript design is only reversed and so is spread out, while the sculptural pattern is turned and reversed and therefore is interlocked more tightly.

The feature which has given the title to this chapter, the curved neck, turns in the manuscript basically on the same four units of its grid, (the fifth unit is mainly given to lacing). The animal type has a long tubular neck with a large head dropping down the side, set it seems on the same grid spacings as the sculpture. It also has a proportionately large head (figure 9di and ii), with a high rounded forehead and long, straight muzzle, but here also is an open mouth to allow a

tongue to extend between the vicious looking teeth. The ear, like the sculpture, sweeps back from the head to fill the corner with simple lacing (figure 9diii).

The neck, as it curved similarly, 180° not the 300° of the Lindisfarne Gospels (figure 9fii) and widens to become chest, a feature as unconvincing as that on the sculpture. The front leg is let into the body on a deep joint. It extends to the corner but stops there, as it has no need to return into the body. Both designs have the same spindly legs, and deep paw with three toes (figure 9diii). The manuscript design does have back legs whereas the sculpture extends straight into a tail, but a biped is in the repertoire of the Cassiodorus artist (figure 6gv).

The animals of Abercorn 1 and Durham Cassiodorus basically are of the same kind, and considering the different media, the interlacing is also of the same concept. Not only does the twist of interlace from the ear fill the corner in the same way (figure 9diii) but the manuscript artist favours spiralled interlace above all else. This appears to come from the tongues (normally purple) but I have used green for one tongue to distinguish its course more easily (figure 9dii). The spirals are shown in figure 9div. Just as the sculptured spiral is pinned by a leg so too is the manuscript design; but this time it is the back leg. As the sculptured spiral is made complex with the two tails curling together in the same way in the manuscript the two tongues come and go in an even more complex manner. Such is the calligraphic freedom of the manuscript artist.

The case then for the Durham Cassiodorus designs being of the same concept as Abercorn 1 is as follows: there is the general setting out of both border and shaft into firmly contrasted rectangles; the interlaces are of designed reversing panels on the horizontal axis; in both cases the animals are slim, curving and appear freer although they do sit well on a grid. The animals have large heads, curved necks, thin front legs and bodies, with little shape and are practically the same structure. Further both have spiralled lacing, complex enough to confuse the eye. The medium allows the manuscript artist to draw up more complex designs, the sculptor has less freedom because of his medium and because his design is only four units in width, even so he makes a complex but ordered "whorl" of lacing.

Figure 9e

i. Cup from Jelling, Denmark.

ii. Bronze brooch from Birka, Sweden.

iii. Pendant from Varby, Sweden.

iv. The Søllested horse collar, Denmark.

(detail).

Jellinge metalwork

Colour code: ___ ear lappet; ___ tongue; ___ nose lappet;   N.T.S.

___ spiralled hips; ___ tail.

T.D. Kendrick (1938, 136) when talking of Abercorn 1 says it comprises:

> ... an arrangement panels containing a diagonal key pattern, an
> interlace and a whorl-like Ribbon Animal that is a deliberate
> representation in stone of a manuscript style (c.750) used in the
> Irish Gospels at St Gall; moreover the interlace panel ... is
> almost exactly reproduced in the stone-carving.

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Kendrick is right in that panelled pages have the range of similar genres but was wrong on his pattern details: the only key pattern in the St Gall manuscript (Alexander, catalogue 44, page 238) is a more primitive diagonal type but with no filling in the triangular spaces along the sides; the relevant interlace of the St John folio (page 208) is sadly bungled and is quite unlike the Abercorn design although it has superficial similarities. It is the animals of pages 78 and 208 which are more like those in the Lichfield Gospels page 220 (plate 5) than those on Abercorn I, with long necks and parallel front legs and fine stick-like interlace. Spiralled interlace is not found in the St Gall manuscript. Beside the patterns chosen by Kendrick being wrong, there is an overall heaviness or clumsiness about all the groups of designs on the panelled folios of St Gall (Alexander 51, pages 1, 78 and 208), not the sense of orderliness that is found in both the sculpture or the Durham Cassiodorus.

The Jellinge style and Abercorn 1

It has been shown that T. D. Kendrick's connection between Abercorn and the manuscript of St Gall was very superficial. Is W.G. Collingwood's (1924, 182) proposal that it has Jellinge influence more valid? Collingwood in the closing pages of his great work, categorises Abercorn 1, together with the then recently found Lindisfarne pieces as:

> showing design that holds by one hand to the Anglo-Danish
> group with the plait and Jellinge animals, and by the other to the
> whole mass of eastern and central Scottish remains, with their
> still greater use of key-patterns and more complicated
> redundancy of repeated plaits.

I have shown that the interlace type is Northumbrian and there is no certainty the key pattern is Scottish but there is the third design, the animal. The criteria for the Jellinge style is often given as a list of physical features mainly seen in metalwork. D. Wilson (1978, 138) lists these features for the Jellinge style:

The style is basically represented by an animal, the contours of which are parallel or little removed from the parallel, which has double contours, a pig tail and a lip lappet. The animal sometimes has a spiral hip and is often caught in irregular interlace.

J. Lang (1988, 19) has a slightly different set of features, nor does he see them as necessarily Jellinge:

The Jellinge animals' diagnostic features of contoured outline, scrolled joint, fettering and body extensions are all matched by earlier Hiberno-Saxon beasts.

Figure 9e shows four pieces of Viking-age metalwork classified as Jellinge or proto-Jellinge by D. Wilson (1966, 95, 97, 118 and 99; plates 34a, 33d, 32d and 37b). All features mentioned by Wilson and Lang are present, although not all on one example. Abercorn 1 has nothing in common with any of these apart from contouring trace of which have been seen in the early Abercorn/Aberlady works. Metalwork of many ages had contouring or accented edge lines with the centre filled with billets or pellets so for example Hunterston. and Tara brooches in filigree (Whitfield, 1993, figures 14 1 and 2) while sculpture could have equally had similar decorative surfaces had the works survived.

It is the sudden changes in direction of short limbs which really characterise Viking-age metalwork, as in the brooch from Birka (body, neck and front leg) or even in a feature like the tail or lappet on the detail of the Sollested horse collar (figure 9e). The mildest, most orderly looking design on the Jellinge cup itself has animals with necks which rise suddenly in counter curves. Abercorn 1 has nothing of this as its curves are long and smooth and the diagonal is also long and straight. Further, spirals are common in Bernician interlace, but do not feature in Viking-age work.

R. Bailey (1996, 81) follows on:

It has been customary to approach the Viking-age sculpture in search of animal forms whose early developments were rooted in Scandinavia and the vocabulary of successive Scandinavian styles ("Borre", "Jellinge" and "Ringerike") has been used to describe a menagerie of beasts depicted in these carvings ... the terminology is largely irrelevant for most of the beasts in this art, which often display unimpeachable English ancestry.

Even D. Wilson, (Wilson and Klindt-Jensen 1966, 116) although the champion for Scandinavian origins of the Jellinge style does say:

> We have attempted to show that most of the elements of the Jellinge style are derived from native Scandinavian traditions, which stem back to the beginning of the ninth century when there may well have been some direct, or indirect insular influences in Scandinavia.

If this is true then the sacking of Lindisfarne in 796 and the sporadic raids along the coast in the first half of the ninth century may well have supplied and influences to Scandinavia in the form of stolen metalwork, wooden or whale bone objects and other small portable artifacts. The churches with carved ornament and the standing stone crosses like those at Abercorn and Lindisfarne may have had the "indirect influence" on the burgeoning Jellinge style: that is, the features seen by some as Scandinavian are the input into Jellinge style not the result of it.

Summary of Abercorn 1

It has been demonstrated that Abercorn 1 was the work of an artist who had full knowledge of the technique and repertoire of the workshop which produced Abercorn 1934 and Aberlady. The artist knew plant scroll, key patterns, interlace and animal designs and the developments of them or he may even have been himself responsible in part for their new forms, but at least used the wealth of designs with confidence and taste.

For all the variety there is little which can be accurately dated. The likeness to the panelled designs and the concept found in the Durham Cassiodorus is the strongest evidence and the manuscript is around the middle of the eighth century (chapter 1). The other designs add some evidence since the zig-zag plant ornament is shared with the Book of Kells, but this is not as useful as it should be because scholars have given a wide range of dates. The key pattern on Norham 5A has been dated to the mid ninth century (Corpus I, Cramp 210). The key pattern however, is a simple adjustment to the Aberlady design and could have been devised at any time. The surface patterning of the animals could fit in with the late eighth or early ninth century, but particularly with Rothbury dated to the first half of the ninth century (Corpus I, Cramp, 221). So a date from the second

Figure 9f

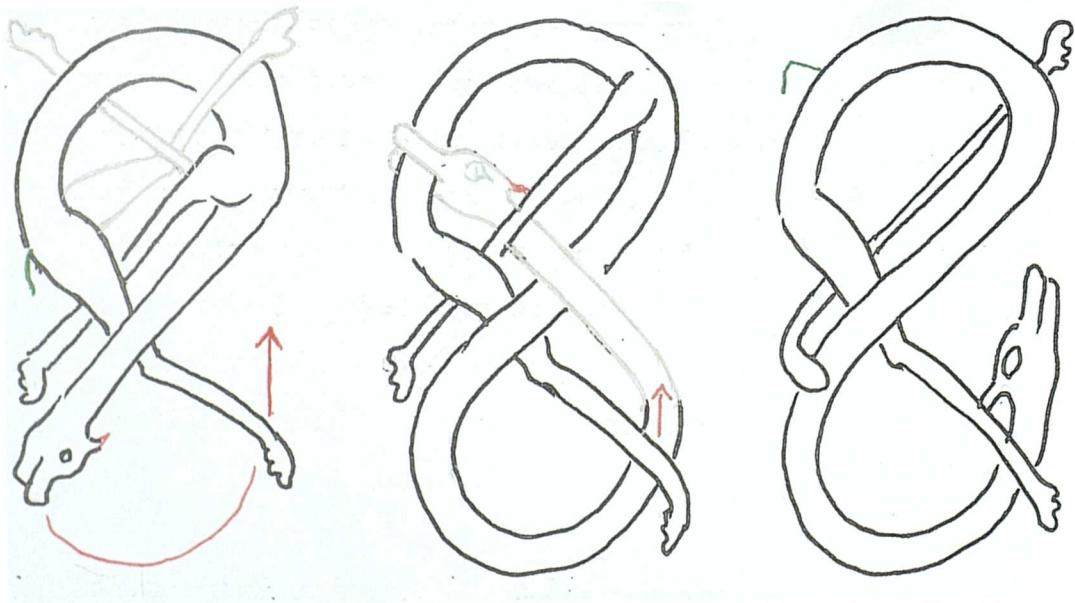**Simple changes from the Lindisfarne Gospels' pattern type to the curved neck type.**
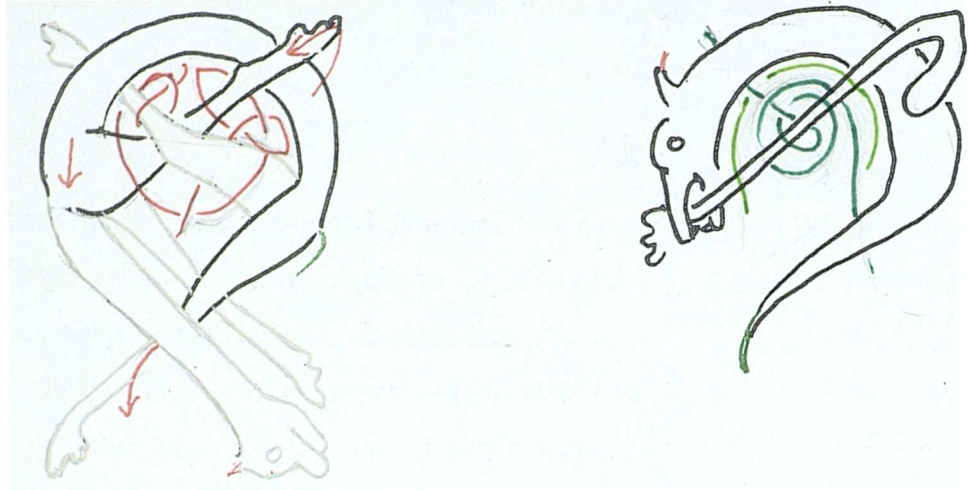
i. Abercorn 1934 to Abercorn 1A.
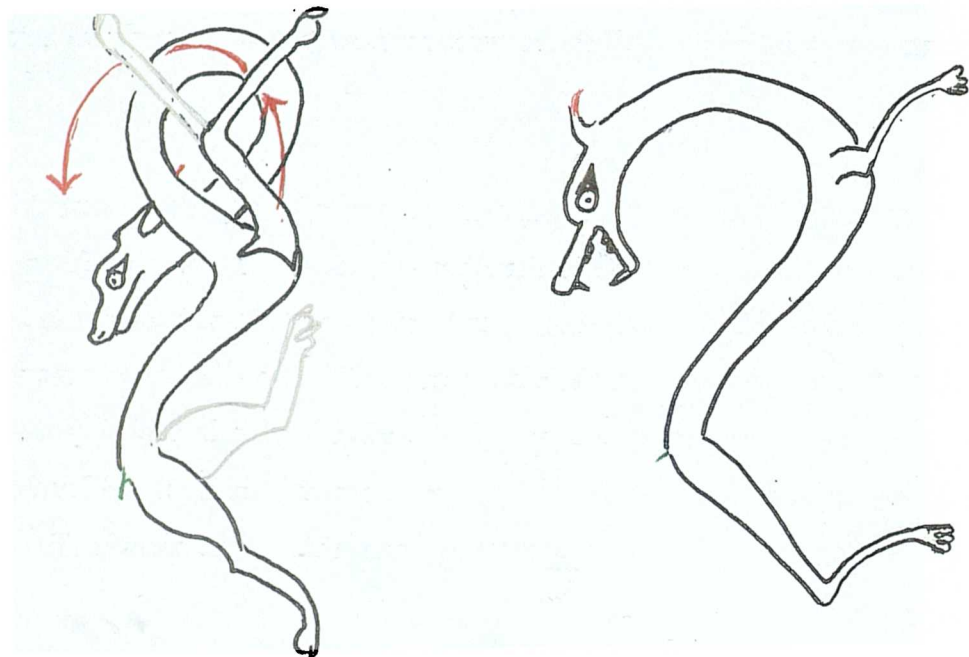
ii. Lindis arne Gospels f.211v to Durham Cassiodorus f.81v.

iii. Abercorn 1934 or figure-of-eight to Lindisfarne 1A.

half of the eighth to the early ninth centuries would suit all exigencies but not be very exact.

Lindisfarne 1, revisited

Lindisfarne 1 has been discussed, in Chapter 4, because it had animal designs (plates 13 and 14) which appeared changed or adapted from the design types of Abercorn/Aberlady (plates 9 and 11), and from the Lindisfarne Gospels. This was demonstrated as evidence for an early sculptured school, which created animal designs at Lindisfarne. As Abercorn 1 has now also been shown to have developed in all probability from the early designs and has been given a new context, so Lindisfarne 1 has been analysed to show its development but now can also be placed in its context.

The simplified diagrams of figure 9f, demonstrate what may have occurred with the animal designs. The change from Abercorn 1934 to Abercorn 1 (figure 9fi) is a matter of cutting back the design, and directing the front leg from the other side and lacing appropriately. The artist of the Durham Cassiodorus may have pruned designs in a similar manner (figure 9fii). So it is probably that the Lindisfarne sculptor formed his motif as was suggested in figures 4f and g but the gist of the diagram is repeated here in figure 9fiii, again showing the same sort of pruning and simplifying.

The unit measure on Abercorn 1 has been found to be 6cm down the vertical axis whereas the unit measure on Lindisfarne 1 for the interlace and animal design on the faces is 4.5cm and 3cm on the side. This is, however, a much smaller cross (figure 4a and b) and 4.5cm and 3cm, which are three quarters and half of 6cm, are suited to the size and these measurements were used on the animals and birds of Aberlady, so the measurements show some consistency. Also both works, Abercorn I and Lindisfarne 1 have similar technique with soft rounding of the animal surface, into which the contour lines are grooved (plate 37B and 10B, cross-sections).

Then there are many small details to reinforce the connection. In the adapted panels of Abercorn and Lindisfarne, the necks curve and the heads hang, to the

side, albeit one facing in, the other out. Both heads have long straight muzzles although the animal of Abercorn 1 bites a leg but as the other design cannot proffer a leg, so the mouth is closed. The superfluous legs of the early designs are dispensed with and both have a re-routed front leg, starting from with an oval joint set back within the body, then continuing over-long and over-thin. Each panel has a heavy paw with three toes.

The interlaces are different according to the needs of the design, perhaps based to some extent on the former lacing (figure 4f and g and figure 9fi). However, it can be noted that on side C of Lindisfarne 1 there is remaining a slight spiralled loop on what could be another animal design (figure 4a and b). The spiral and the long loop are used in interlace in later work (figure 11a).

Since these must have been much work lost from the Lindisfarne workshop and even Lindisfarne 1 may have had five panels on each side, yet not one of the three remaining designs is complete and Abercorn 1 has two and a half out of a probable five, it is not enough evidence to form a firm conclusion. There are, however, enough similarities between Abercorn 1 and Lindisfarne 1 to bracket them together into the same period.

Lindisfarne 1 and the Jellinge style

W.G. Collingwood (1927, 182) mentioned the newly found Lindisfarne works although he had not seen them and pronounced the animals Anglo-Danish. Professor Cramp (Corpus I, 194) says on this aspect:

> The ribbon animal on A, with only one clearly defined foot also appears to be a degenerate Lindisfarne beast. This creature has gone some way towards the Insular-Jellinge type of animal which is found on the shaft from Durham …

The shaft in question is St Oswald's Durham (plates 59, and figure 13 b and c). The first part of this statement is correct in that it is a "degenerate" or as is argued in chapter 4 an altered Lindisfarne beast, but the animal referred to on Durham 1 is not accepted but as Insular-Jellinge (chapter 13, plate 59) nor is the related Lindisfarne work. Again the only feature associated with Viking work is the contour lines (discussed above). The animal certainly has contour lines but there are hints of these in the Abercorn/Aberlady designs. There also may be

Figure 9g
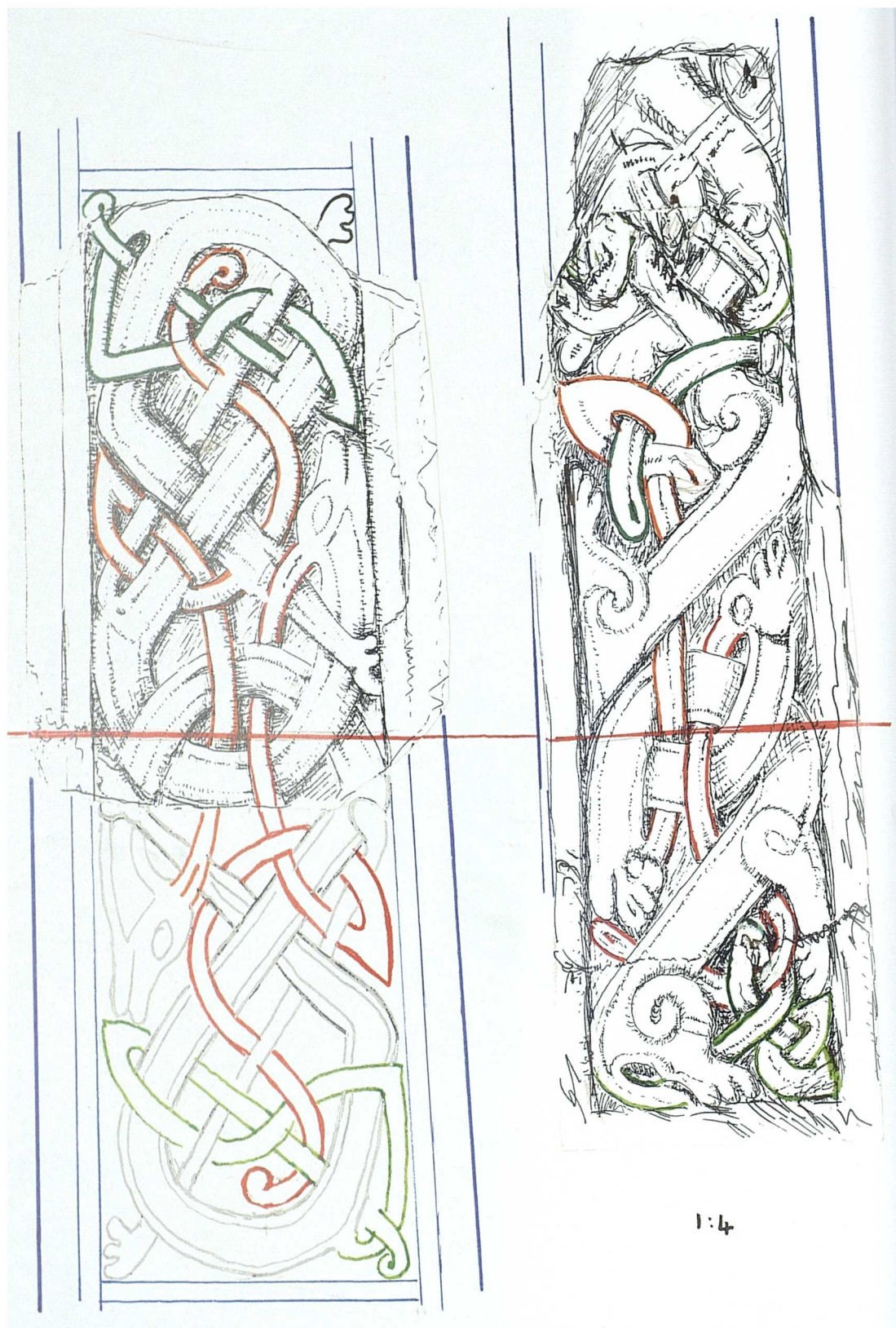
i. Lindisfarne 1A.   ii. York 2D.

pellets between the contour lines but likewise early work may have had them too. If Lindisfarne 1, with its smooth ribbon curves in a figure-of-eight conformation, contour lines and pellets is like any metalwork, then the Hunterston brooch (Whitfield 1993, figure 14.2) would be my choice.

There is however a design from York Minister 2D (appendix plate 12, figure 9g) which has some disconcerting similarities to the Lindisfarne design. In particular two animals have their necks in a linked join with their lappets pulled through the bodies, while the heads are hanging down at the side. Here the resemblance ends as there are many other strong Viking-age elements in the York piece[4]: short face, the nose curl, stubby legs, spiralled hip which are not seen on the Lindisfarne piece.

Two major elements of Viking-taste at York are not at Lindisfarne. Firstly there is the tightness almost of struggle, an element indicating effort, whereas at Lindisfarne there is only the serenity and grace of an animal drawn on a grid. Secondly, the York animals are forming a chain, the first two motifs are turned and reversed on the linked join then the next motif starting near the upper break is reversed. The chain formation, not panels, is typical of Deira. The design on Lindisfarne 1A is certainly terminating at the upper broken edge and, of course the design could have extended with any number of units downward but a single turned and reversed pair would be expected in the context of panelled crosses at Lindisfarne and the evidence on the cross itself points to Lindisfarne 1 as a panelled cross (figure 4a and b). If my analysis of the formation of the Lindisfarne animal is correct, then its inspiration is both earlier and independent of York Minster 2 which was dated to the late ninth or early tenth centuries by Lang (Corpus III, 55). Sculptors with patterns, manuscripts or pieces of transportable metalwork may have come before and between to inspire the York artist in the relevant snippet of design. We have so little of its total picture.

Conclusion

The argument of this chapter has been that new designs were worked from old patterns and adapted into the new fashion. This fashion while maintaining an excellence of lacing was without feeling or care for naturalism, one major

component of the Lindisfarne Gospels' concept: the dogs of the Gospels became more dragon-like. The grid and the order of the plait, the other part of the Lindisfarne Gospels concept, remained, but such devices as twists, links and breaks, weakened the diagonal thrust of the plait and gave designs a more undulating rhythm.

Folio 81v of the Durham Cassiodorus (plate 6), which shows something of this new style, was probably drawn around the middle of the eighth century (Alexander 1978, catalogue 17, Bailey 1978, 20). Here is a quick change from the naturalism of the Lindisfarne Gospels and one, which in its way is also in line with other manuscripts of the second half of the eighth century, the Barberini Gospels and the St Petersburg Gospels (Alexander, catalogue 36 and 39, here chapter 7, figures 7ei and ii). The two pieces of sculpture are broadly in accord with the concepts displayed in manuscripts both in the type of contrast seen between the formal interlace and animal, and in the designs themselves. This less natural biped or quadruped may have been the response of the artists of the Lindisfarne tradition to the dragonesque designs such as occur in Deira and Bernicia (chapter 7).

There is no hard and fast dating apart from this link to the south and some affinities with the Book of Kells, and a Norham fragment, but all this together would indicate a date in the late eighth and first half of the ninth centuries. It is possible during Scandinavian raids that designs like these could have been taken in the form of metalwork and small portable objects to feed into the formation of the Jellinge style. From the time of Abercorn 1 there seem to be many more animal designs. To say they increased, however, would be a shaky conclusion as such designs could have existed prolifically if only the work survived, and indeed would be expected if shafts which had decorative programmes of alternating genres had survived.

There is one enigmatic shaft in a way connected with the Abercorn and Lindisfarne shafts discussed here, and is possibly a product of the same sweep of new ideas. The work in question is further south in Bernicia not far from Wearmouth, Jarrow and Hexham: that is the Monk's Stone, Tynemouth 1.

NOTES

1.   The numbers used for Abercorn are those of J. Romilly Allen (ECMS II, 418-20). Also mentioned is number 4, a small shaft piece with key design and interlace. Both are in the Abercorn Church Museum.

2.   St Andrews 14 (ECMS, 373) has an interlace most like Abercorn in three reversing sets. Otherwise much Pictish complex interlace is based on circular arrangements; Tarbat 1, Rossie Priory and Meigle 1 (ECMS II, figures 87, 322A and 310).

3.   There appears to be a Stafford knot (plate 37A) but it is made of both ear and tail in a way which is not clear in the photograph. I interpreted it differently when I drew it (plate 37B).

4.   Lang (Corpus III, 34) argues that even these designs are Hiberno-Saxon in structure, with Viking-age features.

CHAPTER 10

THE MONK'S STONE: THE PIVOTAL CROSS.

Introduction

The cross-shaft called the Monk's Stone now stands as the only visible memorial to the pre-Conquest monastic site at Tynemouth. This monastic site is typically separated from the "world" on a spectacular promontory, but a sandy cove on either side and the Tyne estuary close by makes it readily accessible by sea from the founding monastery, Lindisfarne itself,[1] and others on the coastal fringe. As well as this it was within contact with monasteries with further south or on the Continent; Jarrow was across the estuary and further up the Tyne valley was Hexham. Tynemouth is in a pivotal position to drink in the influences entering Northumbria and those developing within the kingdom itself.

Fortune preserved this cross from destruction in the first millennium, probably because its original position was not on the monastic site but away from the centre on the road leading north.[2] Its purpose may have been as a boundary marker for the monastic lands or the site of a wayside shrine, since it was a well decorated cross. The near obliteration of its surfaces has been caused by modern maltreatment and weathering. Saved from the former, it is still subject to the latter, open on all sides to wind, rain and salt, as it marks now the site of its former monastery.

If the Monk's Stone can be well read its repertoire should reflect the richness of its time, so the task set for this chapter is firstly to read it, and then to place it in context. If a pivotal cross it should look back to the past and predict in some way the future, either way it will further our knowledge of sculpture and broach the question as to what was in place in this area before the arrival of the community of St Cuthbert and their final settlement at Durham in 996, when their arrival is believed to have started a late flourishing of the Lindisfarne style (chapter's 12 and 15).

Figure 10a
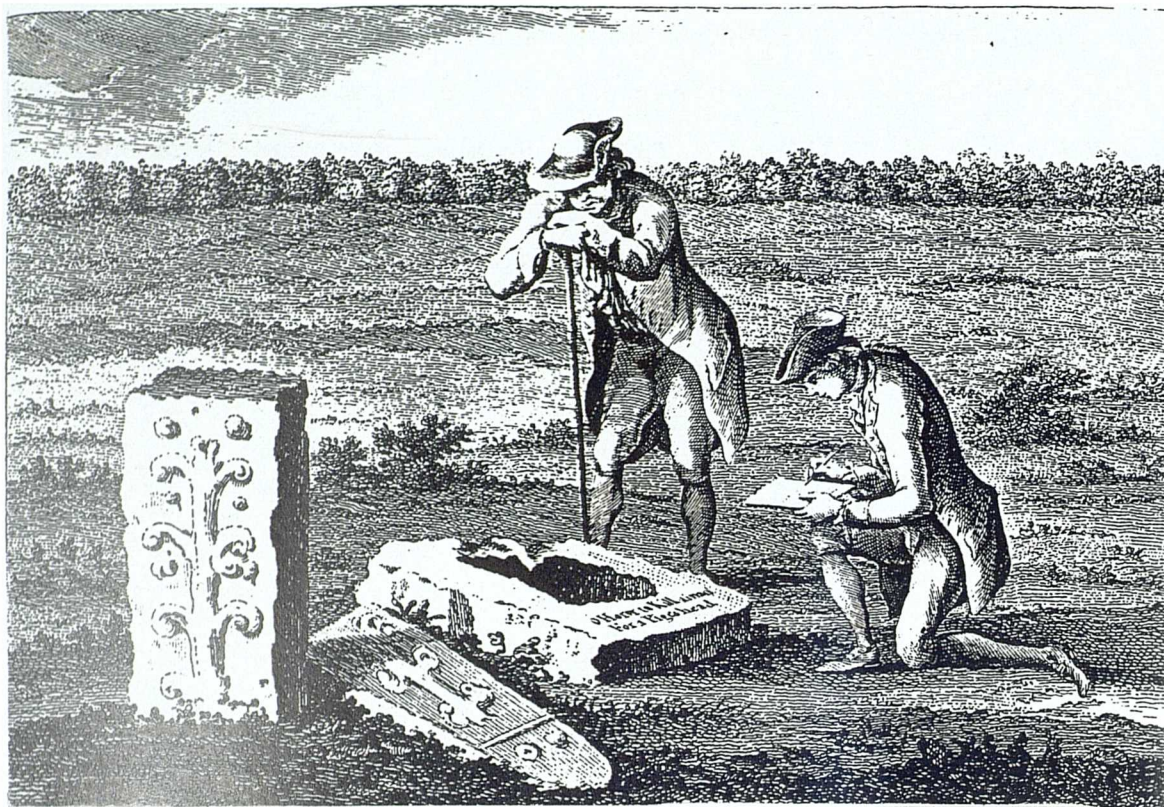
i. Th M͞ s S one, Tynemouth: Grose's drawing, "drawn in Anno 1773."
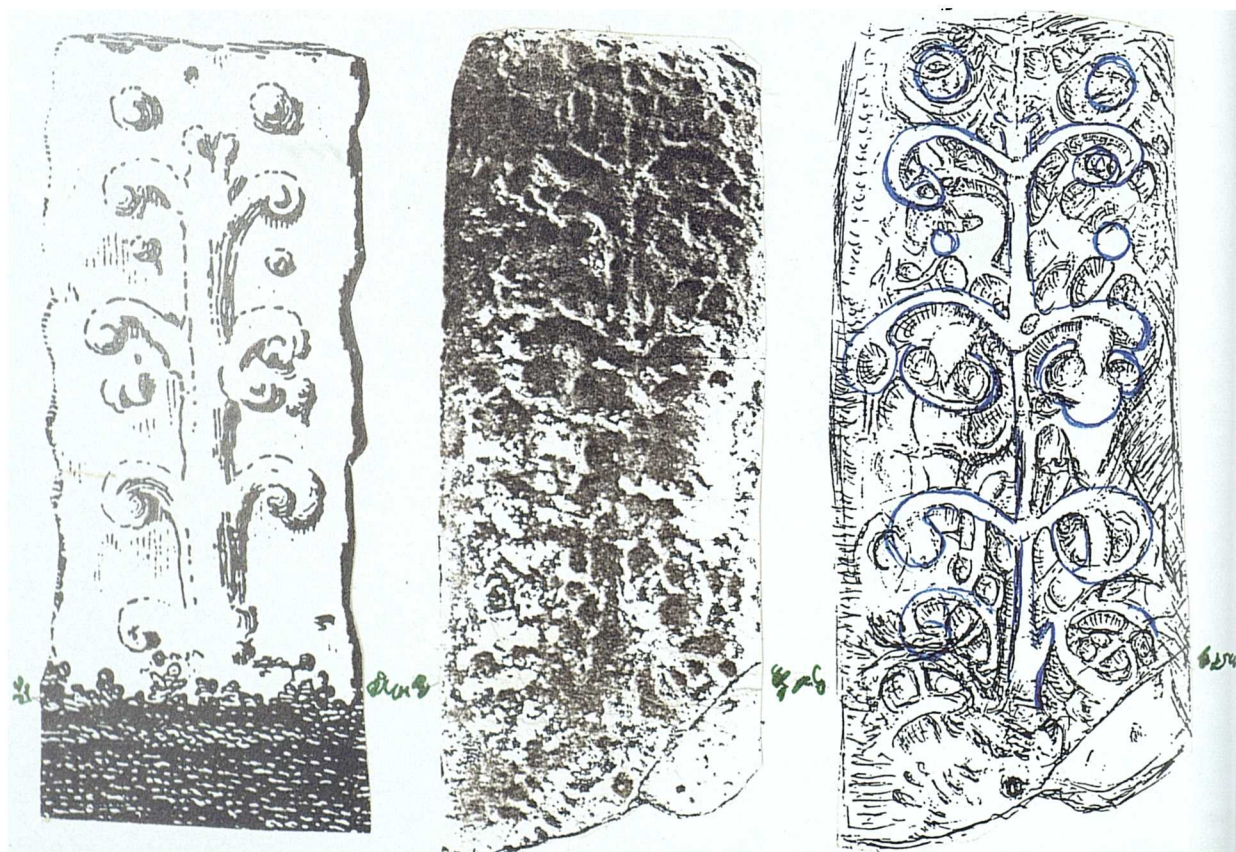
ii. Grose's drawing, a photocopy and drawing of the upper stone with features in blue.

The Monk's Stone: measurement and format

Captain Francis Grose (1775 III, no pagination and figure, here figure 10ai) in his volumes on *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, gives a brief description and a simplified drawing of what was to be seen of the Monk's Stone in his day. He gives this information:

> The ancient Obelisk, called the Monk's Stone mentioned in the account of Tinemouth Priory, is here delineated. It stood in a field about two miles north-west of Tinemouth. A gentleman resident in the neighbourhood remembers it standing, though in a tottering condition, and much out of the perpendicular; he thinks it was then near ten feet high. It has lately been thrown down and broken; two pieces of it are now remaining, one of which, measuring three feet and a half, has been set up; the other, of about three feet, is the part here represented as lying on the ground.

The illustration drawn in 1773 (here figure 10ai), shows the socket in the ground with one piece standing beside it and another lying in the grass. Although he notes that the standing piece is "three and a half feet" (105cm), and that it is "set up," it must simply have had its crooked end thrust in the turf since it clearly corresponds to the upper piece above the break in the shaft (as it is today). Figure 10aii (scale 1:10) shows his simplified drawing of the standing piece, a photocopy of the upper piece and my drawing with the main lines of his drawing stressed in blue. These main lines match the features exactly, and the general accuracy of the drawing is clear. The piece is about a metre long (100cm) which is close to the "three and a half feet" that Grose measured.

Since that part of the drawing is reliable enough, then the piece in the drawing lying diagonally towards the viewer may be "three feet" as he said or 90cm. The same design, shown in the artist's simplified manner, goes on, until it reaches a horizontal moulding, (estimated at 70cm). Then there is the start of the cross-head with the straightish blade of the lower cross-arm depicted. It is broken as is normal at the narrow arm-pit, although the writer refers to it as an "obelisk", there seems about 20cm of the lower arm shown.

The standing piece appears to be block-like but the one sloping forward on the grass is tapering and narrow at the head end. The artist is far from perfect in his perspective but he could be described as competent; so the upper piece must

Figure 10b

The Monk's Stone, "near ten feet high."
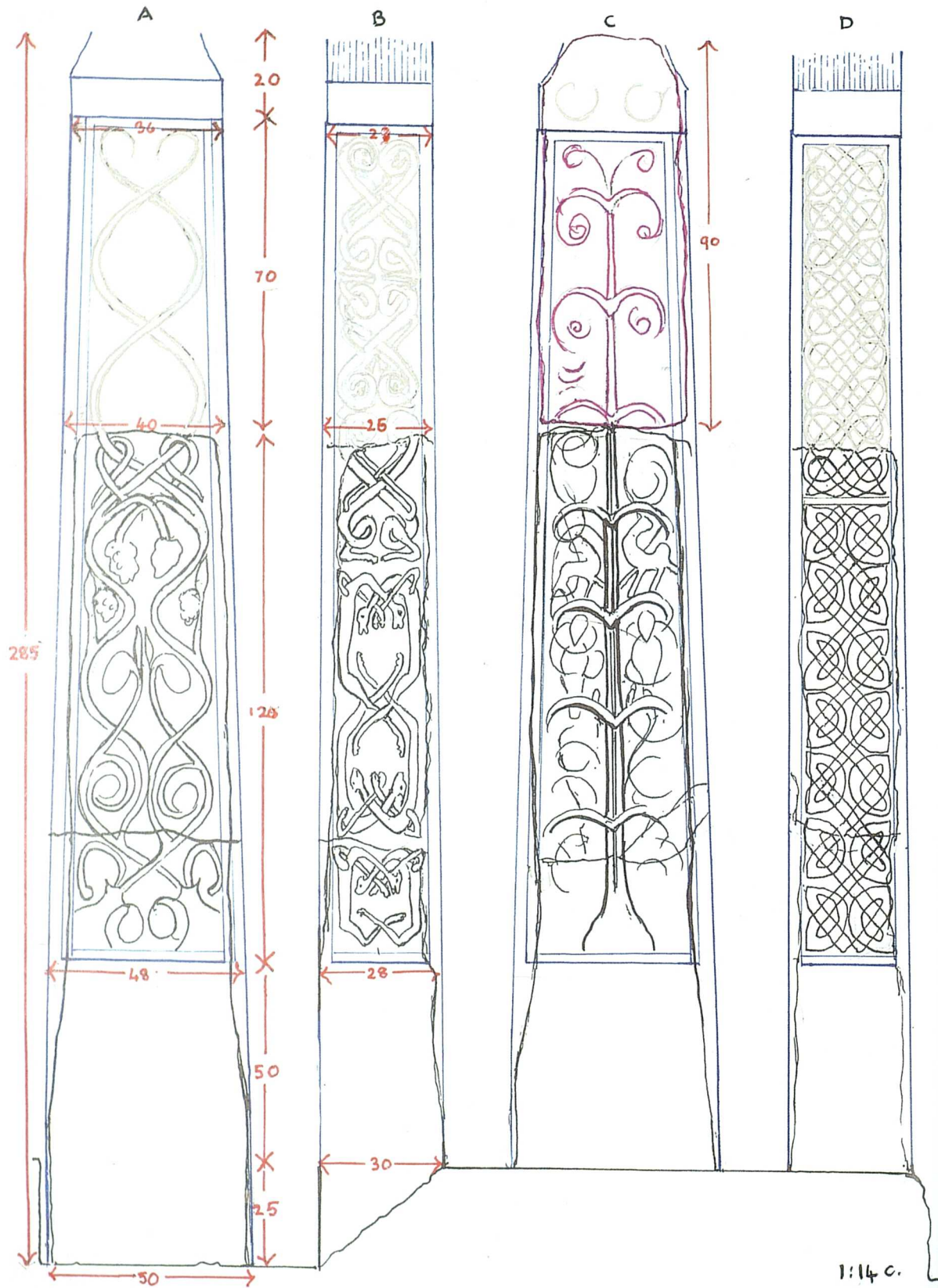
visibly taper, and it happens that taper is always more visible on narrow upper pieces. This piece is now missing, but it is plausible that a piece of 70cm could have completed the shaft. I have drawn the piece as 90cm, with 70cm of shaft and 20cm for the lower cross-arm, in the restoration of figure 10b.

However, the present lower shaft piece, which is not recorded in this early drawing could not have been far away as it is now joined with an excellent grain to grain join, to the standing piece shown by Grose. A. Gibb (Stuart 1867, plates 83-4, Corpus I, plates 1262-5) shows the lower shaft together with that standing piece with no readily discernible join. Sydney Carr (1904, plate 6) and Francis Greenwell (1907, plates on pages 132 and 3) recorded in photographs what is still seen now. These plates are taken with excellent exposure[3] but show the join only as a slight indication if one knows where to look. Therefore the shaft must have been put back together quickly and skillfully so that the break is scarcely visible. This break has not been emphasised so that Grose's drawing has not been valued, as a good drawing of the upper part only.

Carr (1904, 124) gives a reported version as to what happened to the upper piece when the whole had been erected again. He says that an irate farmer, whose crops were being trampled by sightseers pulled it down with horses, breaking the socket and using "parts" as building material, while the rest was once more erected as a rubbing post for cattle. The "parts" must have been the tapering piece broken, unless there were further shaft or head pieces still around and added in when the cross was re-erected.

Figure 10b reconstructs the present standing shaft outlined in black, and the break is shown clearly. This shaft piece totals approximately 195cm, consisting of about 25cm set securely in the ancient and broken base, 50cm of plain shaft, with 120cm of carved designs. Above this the piece shown by Grose, 90cm (three feet) long made up as I have conjectured, by 70cm of further shaft, and 20cm of the lower cross-arm. The total 285cm would concur with the "gentleman resident's" estimate of "near ten feet," although even if "tottering" some must have been set in the base, so the reconstruction falls short of ten feet depending on how much was buried.

One problem remaining is the width, which is difficult to establish as no unbroken edge remains although in places the pattern edge can be seen. Grose shows no mouldings, just broken edges. Gibb however, draws narrow mouldings on the sides, and on face A he shows a double moulding on the upper part (figure 10di), but unfortunately he has added part of the design into this. There is no double moulding in that place. Carr (1904, plate 6) and Greenwell (1907 on pages 132 and 133) in their photographs show that the edges were in little better condition then they are today. Careful measuring and observing has led me to believe that the broad faces may have had as much as five centimetres of mouldings either side, although this is anything but certain. Figure 10b gives the reconstruction at this size, which would have been enough to allow the typical double moulding. Since the main faces would be 48-50cm wide at the base by the socket, I estimate 47-8cm at the start of the pattern, now hollowed by the cattle, about 40cm at the upper broken edge and perhaps 36cm at the start of the head. The taper is quite marked.

The sides are straighter. The sides at the base are about 30cm in width, which would diminish to 28-29cm at the start of the designs with mouldings and about 26cm at the present broken edge. With the additional piece they would have been 23-4cm at the top of the shaft. The evidence points to fairly narrow mouldings, such as Gibb showed (Corpus I, illustrations 1262 and 1264), but these edges are so bevelled and the faces so worn that they could have been 4cm, but at least 2.5cm.

The main faces have taper and width in accord with Abercorn 1, illustrated on figures 9b. There, at the bottom of the broken shaft the measurement is 42cm tapering to 34cm at the cross arm, over 120cm length. The Monk's Stone is 42 cm (measured 120cm from the head) and about 36 cm at the top before the head. However, the Abercorn designs could have totalled about 240cm (chapter 9). This is 50cm more decoration than on the Monk's Stone. There is of course, no reason why more pieces than Grose records should not have been lying around, since he missed seeing the lower shaft altogether. This would explain why in his drawing (figure 10ai) the shaft looks wide and the top piece so narrow. A piece up to 60cm could have been lying around and if added to the height and still have

Figure 10c

Drawings of the Monk's Stone.
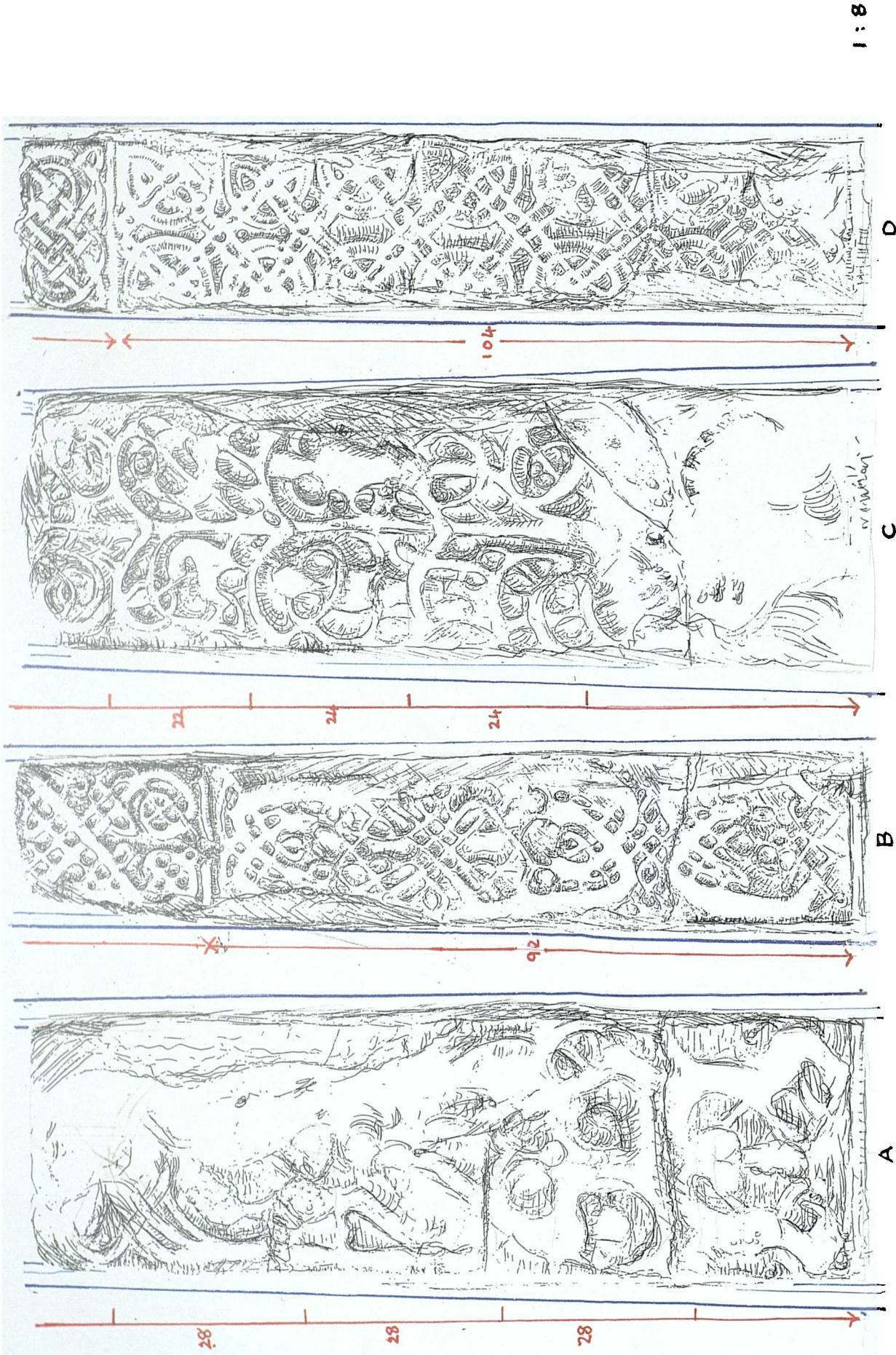
been around the estimate of "near ten feet," by the gentleman and would have given a more graceful result. The reconstruction of figure 10b however, takes account only of the more certain evidence.

## The programme: the restoration of the main faces

All four sides of the Monk's Stone are worn to the point of obliteration in places and even the parts which are in better condition still suffer from considerable deterioration. Large holes are often caused by erosion of the divisions between several smaller holes, or ridges may seem like strands when in reality they are bridges between two deeper chisel holes. Three things aid interpretation: firstly interlace tends to have more persistent holes and design can be read from the holes; secondly in places the dark lichen which lurks in the hollows causes the sandy ridges of the design to stand out like filigree (plate 40); and thirdly when patterns are familiar they can often be followed even with few reference points. There is an example of this where Gibb (Corpus I, number 1262) misinterpreted the damaged pattern of loops, of the double-stranded Stafford knots, but both Greenwell (1907,132) and Carr (1904, 121 and 122) recognised the design because they had seen it on other patterns recently found in the area, at Tynemouth and on St Oswald's cross at Durham.[4]

Side A is by far the most worn on the cross; a mere arrangement of holes and deeper holes. Gibb (Corpus I, number 1263, here figure 10di) saw heraldic animals, at the bottom, sitting either side of a shield shape. The early photographs mentioned, indeed brought this out more clearly, and since paired animals were popular sculpture of the early ninth century, exemplified here by the Thornhill face designs (chapter 7), this idea is plausible, but there are no mouldings anywhere dividing the face into panels and the only hiatus in the design is caused by the break in the shaft. Gibb's "hunting" scene above may also be questioned since he mistakes design for moulding and there is no horizontal division for that scene either. Gibb seems to be interpreting from the knowledge of Pictish art, and reads worn ridges as limbs of animals. What he saw is clear ~~what he saw~~ and the photocopy beside his drawings shows this (figure 10di, red arrows).

Figure 10d
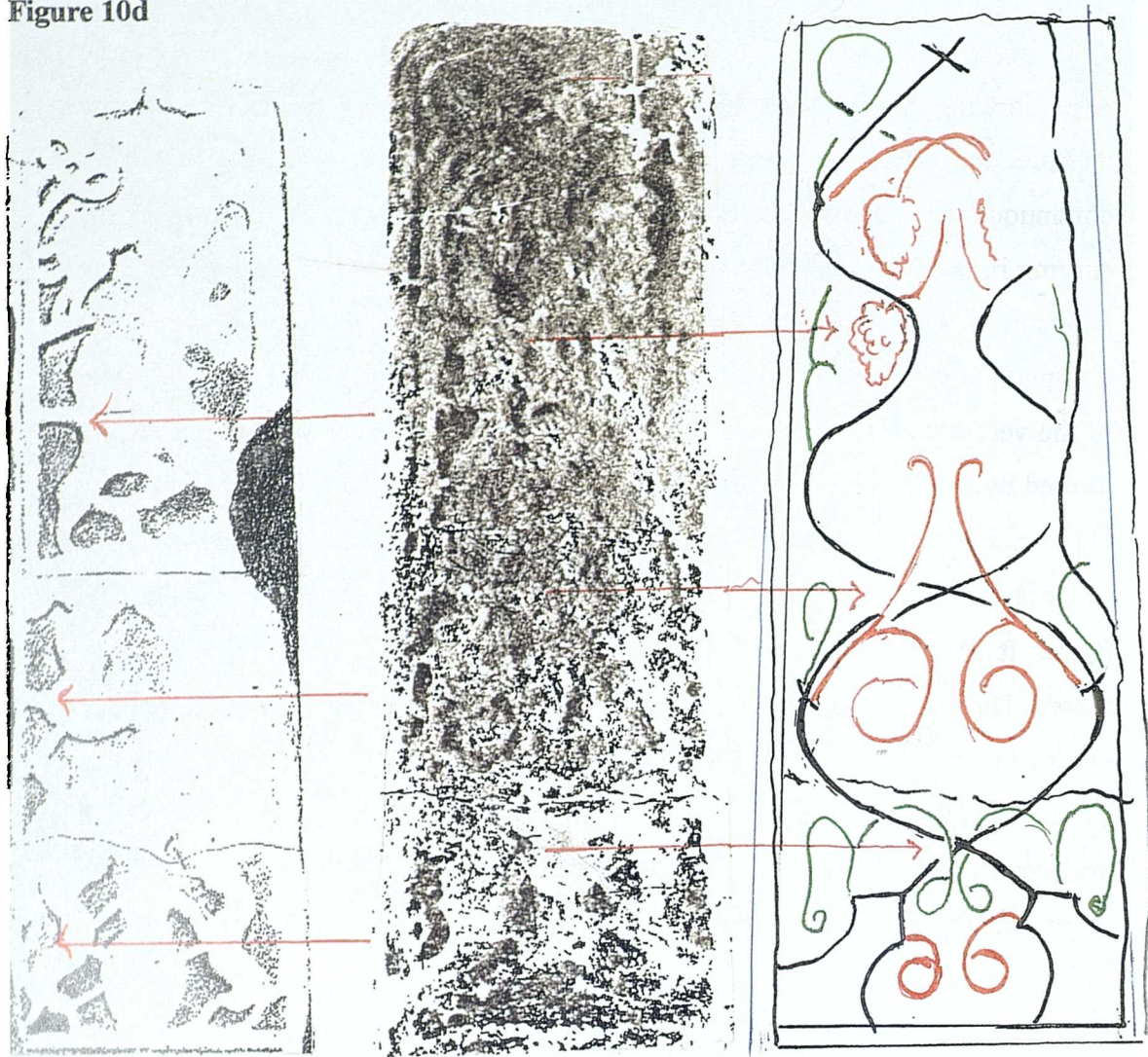
ne 1A: Gibb's drawing, a photocopy and a linear reconstruction.
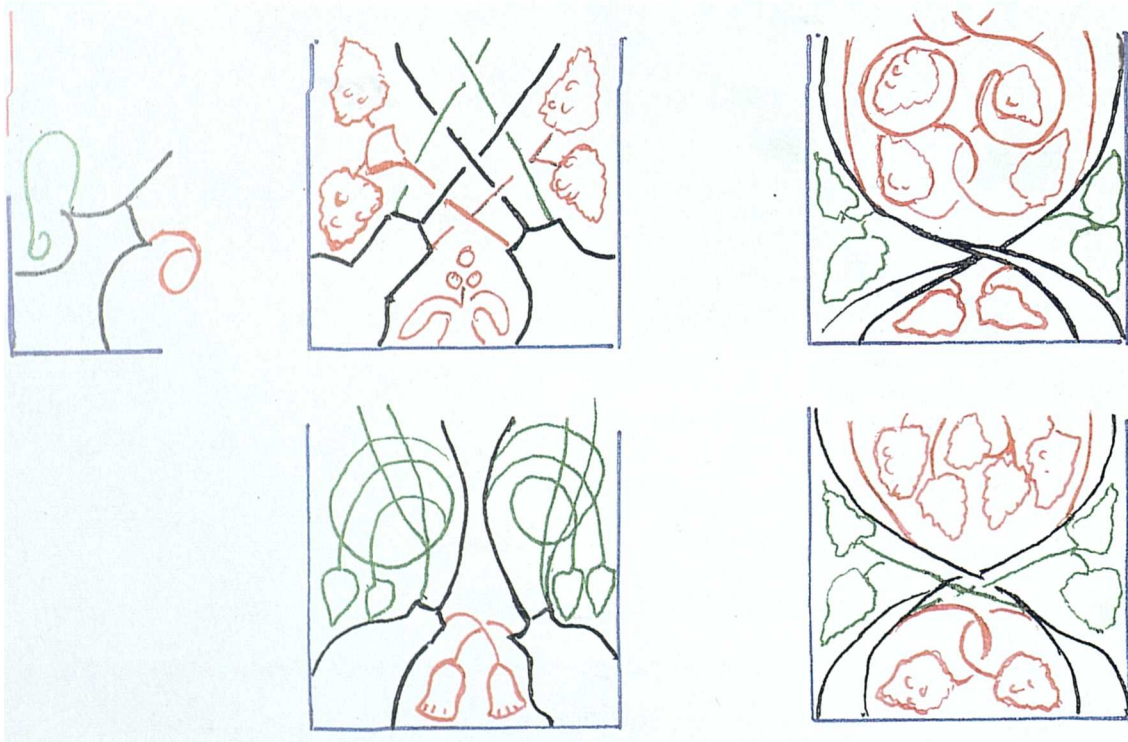
ii. Trunks of medallion scroll: Bewcastle 1 Bv, 1Dvii, Hexham 1dB, 1dC.

After looking at Abercorn 1C (figure 9a and b) it would be difficult not to interpret the whole design as a complex medallion scroll. Since the pattern is continuous with no dividing mouldings and a general upward flow, rhythmically curving in and out. One sees hints of medallion with some "breaks" like those at Abercorn. There are some general principles belonging to plant medallion designs: patterns must be continuous and reasonably symmetrical on either side of the vertical axis and this is the case for what is visible on the Monk's Stone, limited by damage on the right. The medallions may start as two stems, usually with their bulbous trunks either side. Figure 10dii shows examples from Bewcastle and Hexham, of which Bewcastle 1Bv seems closest to the Monk's Stone. It seems these bulbous trunks were seen as the "heraldic animals" by others. The stems of a medallion scroll usually form nodes with laterals to carry the foliage, here the lowest nodes can be seen with stem and two laterals coming from each and the same can be seen again high on the left. Lastly, medallions are even in length and often as wide as they are long and these medallions can be drawn about 35cm in length on the sculpture here, and the width is about 35cm. Those on Acca's cross at Hexham 1C, are also almost circular (Corpus I, illustration 906). Figure 10di shows the photocopy from Corpus I, with my interpretation to the right (red arrows).

If my interpretation is correct there are largish masses, probably foliage or fruit, including several of patches which still have grape texture (figure 10di) but it is now difficult to say whether this is a miracle of preservation or a geological freak. If there are indeed frequent bunches of grapes, it may put the scheme closer to that on Acca's Cross at Hexham (figure 10dii), since each of the medallions on the Monk's Stone's and at Hexham is filled with a different arrangement of grapes. On the other hand it may be even less formal than the Hexham work and more like Abercorn 1, where twists and breaks with individual foliage have kept a lively changing surface.

It is a relief to turn to face C (figure 10cC), where deeper holes and longer curled ridges give the impression that the design makes sense if only from a distance. It is certainly a fine tree-scroll as the early drawing shows, but on closer inspection the details disintegrate into a certain amount of confusion. The distance between
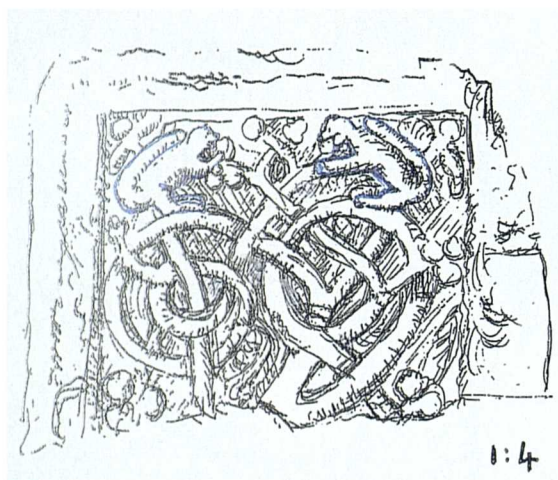
Figure 10e
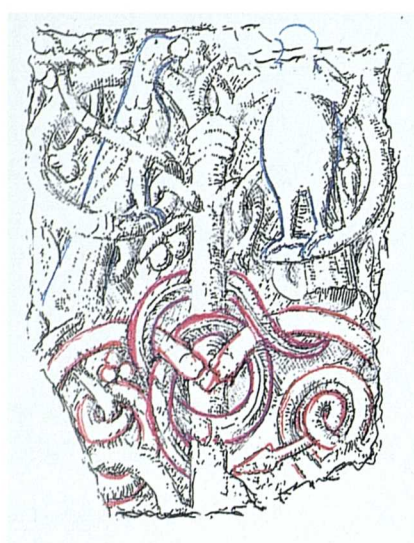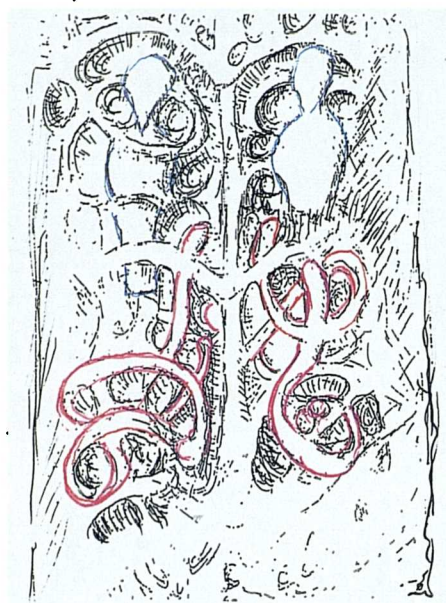
1:6   1:8

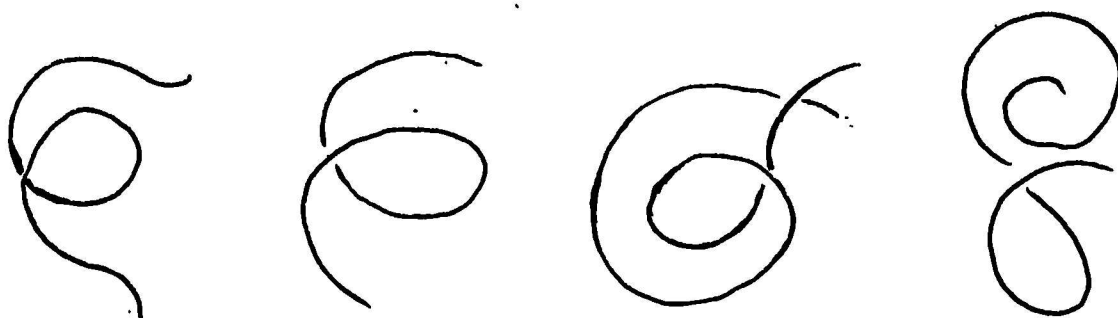i. Birds and serpents: Jarrow 19 and Monk's Stone 1C (middle area).

1:4   1:8

ii. Small animals on volutes: Jarrow 2A, Monk's Stone 1C (upper).

iii. Various forms of loops from Jarrow and the Monk's Stone.

the several sets of nodes up the main trunk are clear, and can be measured to be about 22cm apart, and branches curve out and around but do not spiral, rather they branch capriciously forming networks of lacy patterns in their space. Such curling and wandering is not typical of tree-scrolls but it can be seen close at hand at Jarrow, where three small pieces with this free vine ornament, have been found, (numbers 2, 19 and 20 Corpus I, illustrations 478, 526 and 525). The first is the upper part of a shaft and the other two probably belong to a frieze and all are dated to the first half of the eighth century by Cramp, (Corpus I, 107, 114 and 5). Naturalism not formality, linear expression rather than massed areas are characteristics, as they would also appear to be on Tynemouth 1C.

The comparison of the tree-scroll on Jarrow 19 and the central registers of the Monk's Stone (figure 10ei) shows the same type of free curves but two birds at Jarrow (19) are set in the upper volute eating berries; whereas on the Monk's Stone two birds sit also among curling branches, all with chests to the front.[5] Frontal bodies of birds are not rare, as shown by the Jarrow piece, but it is rare for the heads to be facing forward. Perhaps there is one on the falconer's arm on the Bewcastle cross, Avi (Corpus II, illustration 96). However if it is supposed that the two birds on this Jarrow piece are part of a frieze with birds in the upper level, it is not impossible that one should have faced forward.

The birds on Jarrow 19 are above a level, not of plant-scroll but swirling snakes arranged like curling branches (figure 10ei, purple and red). The birds on the Monk's Stone are on a level above curling lines with no substantial form so it is possible this too is a nest of snakes (figure 12 ei, purple and red). If this then is a register of reptiles then what is below in the lower register and around the tree trunk, now rubbed off completely by the nineteenth century cattle? It could possibly have been hunters and further monsters, such as we see on Jarrow 20.

Above the bird level on the Monk's Stone there seems to be a register of animals, where the quadrupeds are not enclosed by a volutes or even breaking out of them, but strutting on top of the branches which are curling under beneath their feet. This too, is the very thing that the small creatures do on the shaft piece from Jarrow, number 2A. Figure 10eii shows both for comparison at the sizes of 1:4

and 1:8. At Jarrow the design has the same type of free curling branches as are seen on the Monk's Stone (figure 10eiii) and is sparse in its flowers and fruit, which are mostly at the edges. Fruit and flowers are not seen at Tynemouth but if these too were mostly to the edge they would have disappeared in the general abrasion. Above is a volute crossing the break and there are two more registers according to the reconstruction, (figure 10b) with no information about birds or creatures within these. The shaft may have continued with a variety of lively forms although no other inhabited tree-scroll runs to seven or eight registers to allow comparison.

Looking at the evidence from these two faces, uncertain though it is, there is even so an eclectic feel and a freedom of expression since the medallion scroll has heavy forms while the tree scroll is mostly linear. The heavy forms may parallel Acca's cross or Abercorn 1C. The almost leafless wandering plant-scroll may be from nearby Jarrow or from "sprawling plant-scroll" (Corpus I, Cramp, 28) which was fashionable in the ninth century, at Norham. The Norham scrolls in particular, numbers 1D or 10A (Corpus I, illustrations 1159 and 1178) have the rhythmic but irregular curving tendrils with small fruit. In the discussion on these two faces Jarrow, Hexham, Norham and Abercorn have been mentioned as comparable in one way or another, to these enigmatic but very damaged surfaces.

The programme: the sides

It would be unusual for a cross to have interlace on the sides when the faces have plant ornament. There are panelled crosses with plant ornament on the sides as on Abercorn 1934 and Aberlady (figures 2a and 3a) or crosses with plant ornament on all faces, as Acca's cross at Hexham (Corpus I, illustrations 896-9), but no other cross in Bernicia is quite like the Monk's Stone where the faces have plant ornament and the sides interlaces. The sides themselves, only slightly less damaged may have a double 4cm moulding but probably a single narrow moulding, 2.5cm wide. These faces are divided, into long panels about half the shaft. The divisions which are seen occur half way up, if the sides are as they are shown in figure 10b. Lindisfarne 1D could be cited as similar to the type in both

the width of the edge moulding, and also has a horizontal division but as this piece is only 40cm long not sufficient is left to indicate how the sides developed.

Thornhill B and D (figure 6a-c) has sides where on one side interlace and animal interlace replaced vine-scroll, in what appeared to be a deliberate manner. Both are continuous over the length of the sides. The sides of the Monk's Stone, one interlace, the other animal interlace are similar, although main faces here have kept their plant ornament. The sides of the Monk's Stone are considerably wider with 21-24cm between the mouldings, whereas at Thornhill the designs were about 15cm wide. This width allows the designs on the Monk's Stone to be much more complex. Figures 10bB and D illustrate diagrammatically what the whole effect may have been like, while figures 10cB and D show what is remaining.

The Interlaces

Grose (1775, no pagination) continued:

> The country people have punched it so full of round holes and otherwise defaced it as to not only render its ornaments unintelligible but also to make it doubtful whether the sides or only the two broadest were ornamented.

He apparently did not recognise interlace of any kind because it is the hole pattern which enables interpretation. The lower design on side D has seven registers of double stranded Stafford knots (figure 10bD). Double-stranded designs are frequently used in manuscripts, especially the Lindisfarne Gospels, giving lightness to what otherwise would have been a heavy strand. This device was rarely used in sculpture, yet at Bewcastle, 1Bvii and Dv (Corpus II, illustrations 101 and 106) double-stranding was used to allow simple three and four unit designs to span the space without looking heavy. In Northumbria, unlike the Pictish area, simple designs were preferred which could be easily read from a distance. So on the Monk's Stone this three unit design, virtually six units because of the double strands, spanned 24-21cm tapering a little. The unit measure for the two strands is 7cm or 3.5cm with the strands counted individually.

The use of Stafford knots gives no hint as to the date. This simple knot had a long life, it was even seen in late classical times.[6] The Jedburgh shrine, believed
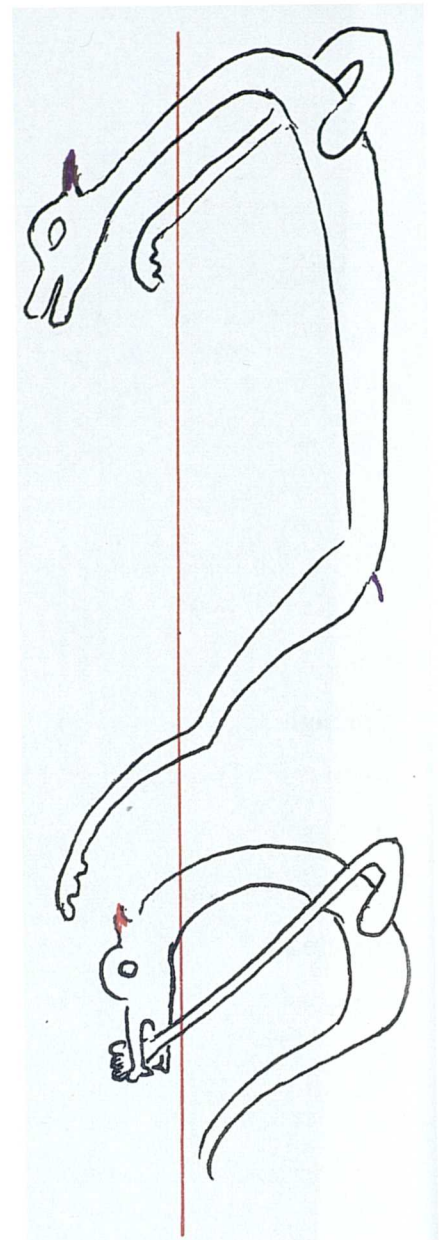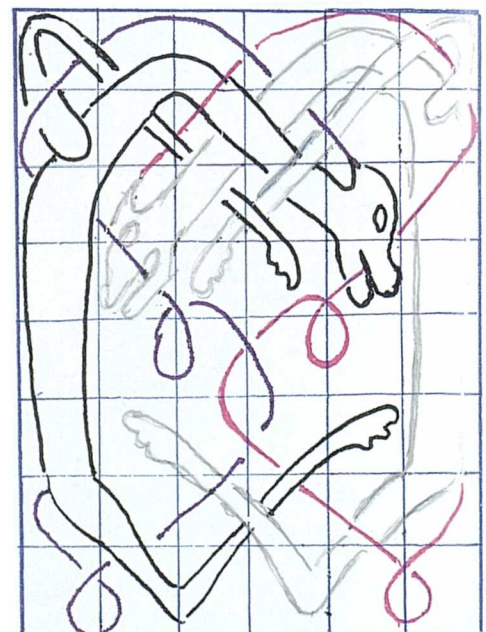
Figure 10f

The lank animal design.
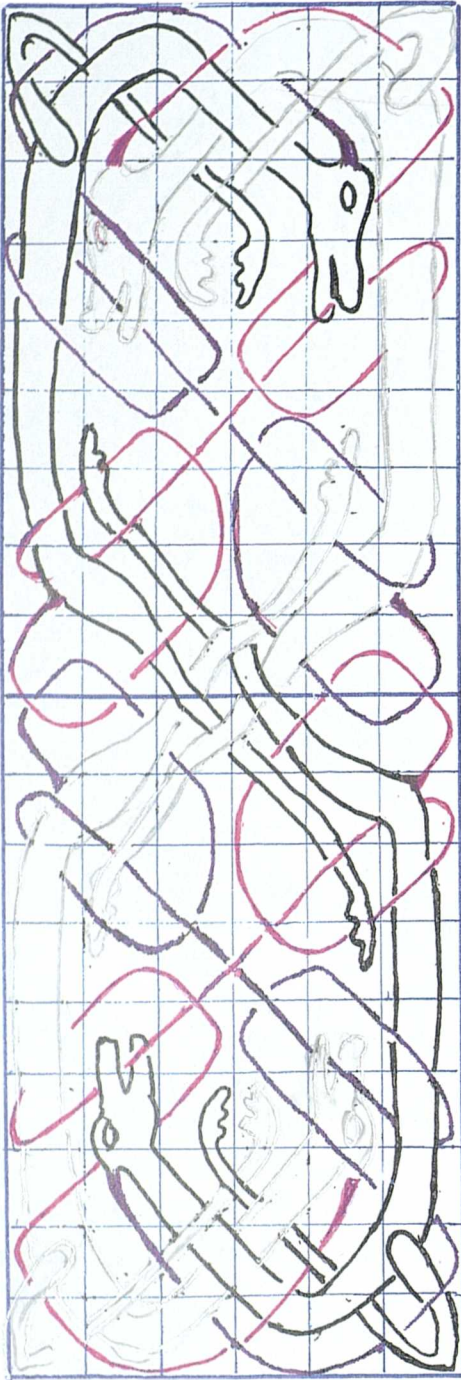
i. Monk's Stone 1B: set-of-four.

iv. Monk's Stone 1B: seperate register.

ii. Animals: Monk's Stone 1B,

Abercorn 1A.

to be eighth century, has a fine chain of them (Corpus I, illustration 1429). The double-stranded version has been noted on Lindisfarne cross-arm 18A (figure 4a) and will be noted frequently in future chapters: at St Oswald's cross (Durham 1A) and Tynemouth 3A (figure 13a and g); a broken version on the Great Farne Island piece, together with a slightly altered design at Coldingham (figures 11b and 11d), and on the Durham grave cover (figure 15b).

Of the upper interlace little can be said except that it is a pattern derived from symmetrical loops with outside strands (figure 10b, and cD, and 11aix), and being a terminal register the design could have spread upwards in another form, although for lack of other evidence, I show it extending as a repeated form in many registers to fill the 70cm available on the upper shaft (figure 10b D). There is a different symmetrical loop design on Abercorn 1934 (figures 2a and b) and there is the same terminal, at the same size as Woodhorn (new piece), this is on a panelled face (figure 14a). The use of both of the interlace patterns on the Monk's Stone, often at the same size in other places, is an argument that the interlace face at least belongs to the same stream as other works which are to be discussed. The Monk's Stone has been put forward as the pivotal cross so it is appropriate that its vines-scrolls look to early times; its interlaces point to later times although they also both could be early designs.

The long lank animal: an interpretation

The lower animal design on side B of the Monk's Stone is 92cm in length, occupying about half the likely length of the side (plates 38-41, figure 10bB and c B). It is in three registers and although Gibb saw this he made little sense of it (Stuart 1867, in Corpus I, figure 1624). Carr (1904, 122) called it a "somewhat angular interlacing pattern, interspersed with geometrical figures," while Greenwell (1907, 132 -3) saw among other things " a quatrefoil of flowers." Professor Cramp (Corpus I, 236) more correctly describes the design as made up of "three pairs of confronted beasts. Their extremities are interlaced." This latter feature is their saving grace, because if the laws of plaiting are followed, some sort of reconstruction is available.

The upper two registers form a set-of-four, plates 38, 39 and 40, while figure 10fi shows it diagrammatically The total length of the double register is 63cm and the width of the design, although difficult to measure, seems to be 24-22cm. Crossing strands are on the true diagonal with the holes between forming neat lozenge shapes, so it can be shown to be six units wide with a unit measure of 3.5cm more or less, on both the horizontal and vertical axis allowing for taper. This is about the same measurement as the double stranded Stafford knots on side D.

The animal itself is reasonably clear and whatever cannot be seen on one motif is clear on the next since there are four. The bodies are strange in that they hang slug-like, vertically at the outside. Much of their ugliness is due to the fact that they merge with the moulding because of abrasion but even as a slim ribbon-like animal such a long vertical (six units) is unprecedented in designs following the Lindisfarne Gospels' concept (figure 10fi). There may have been an earlier version of the pattern in which the animal bodies could have crossed the centre (figure 13eii) as the number of units is correct to enable a normal diagonal crossing.

The necks follow correctly on the grid and cross in the centre with heads extending as far as the opposite bodies and this is really in a sense "a curved neck" design but following a diagonal after reaching the apex of the curve. Like Abercorn 1, the body droops on the opposite side to the head, although on that work it is several units shorter on the vertical axis (plate 37, figure 9di). The necks, top and bottom frame the design and figure 10f ii show the animal motifs compared and they are not dissimilar.

No comparison can be made with the head, as mouth, teeth, eyes and nose have all but gone. The head is now a small, amorphous lump with various ridges and holes around it and of these only the lappet is clear, sweeping back (plates 38-40). However, each front leg appears out of the body, slim and straight and crosses its partner with little paws curled naturally, but combined information from all motifs shows that it starts on the opposite side of the body with a raised elbow turning as a box point, like that on Abercorn 1, although the junction with

the body cannot be seen properly. The back leg comes from the slim end of the body six units down, fine but well shaped. It crosses its neighbour in the centre and continues diagonally ending in a paw by the diametrically opposed body probably curled back like the trailing paws of the Lindisfarne Gospels (see glossary). At Abercorn the curved neck monsters had tails only but their tails entered into the space of the opposite animals and interlocked with it as do these legs on the Monk's Stone.

Good interlace complements its animals by filling the missed crossings and so closing the gaps on the web, while forming a decoration for it. Starting at the ear, the line of the lappet strand is clear going to the top of the pattern and from there it can only drop through the "elbow". There are only hints of the next manoeuvres as the strands are abraded on the outside and in the centre they have been washed out by running water. On the reconstruction of plate 38B some sense is made by turning the strand to cross through the mouth and curving it back to form a long loop, with the point beyond the body at the edge. It is now in a position to cross to the centre and this is clear. The point of this loop which has been formed at the back cannot be seen but holes can be felt. The alternative is that the strand first crosses the head and forms a loop through which the animal with long jaws can bite (figure 10fi).

The lappet strand after crossing the centre must now go on to lace around the second animal. One interpretation is to repeat the procedure by forming a long loop with the point lower down the back. Again this loop cannot be seen until the strand turns in to form the long "break" on the vertical axis, it continues around the back legs and extends with a twist to the tail. The back is all but rubbed away but distortion in the centre is caused by so many missed crossings, so that holes gape. Control is gained again where a fine web is formed between the upper and lower motifs of the set-of-four where legs and strands form a honeycomb pattern. Since no end can be found between ear lappet and tail, purple has been used on figure 10fi, to show a continuous strand (see colour key). This is on evidence of the register below and also the design above.
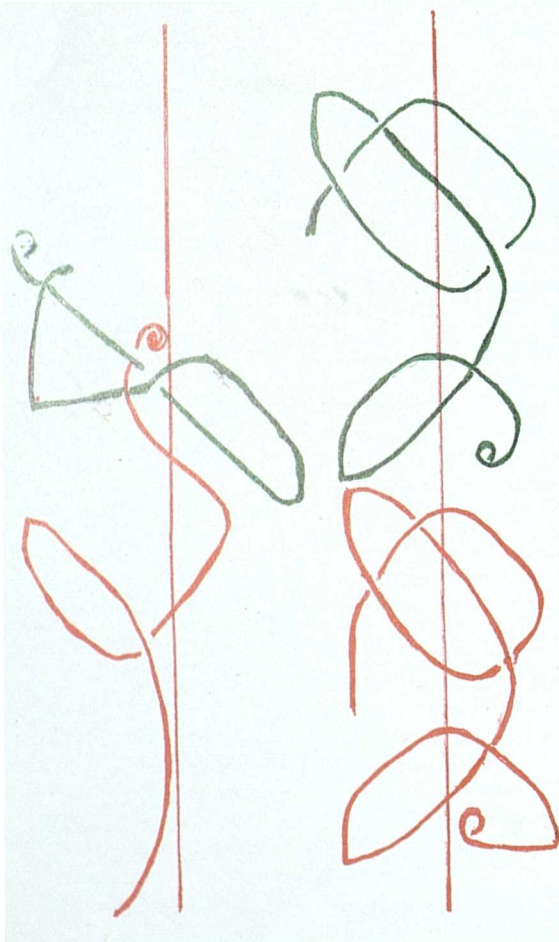
Figure 10g
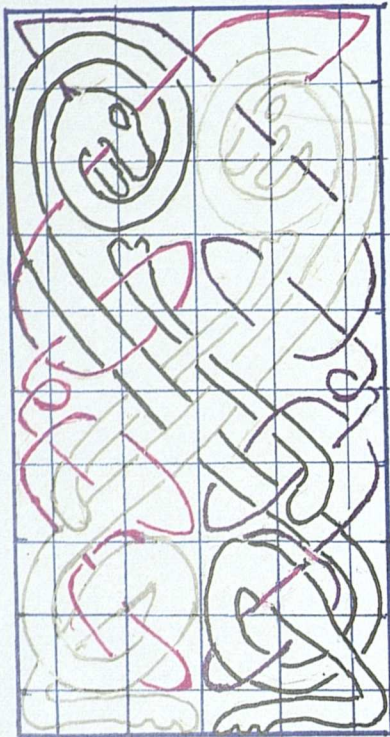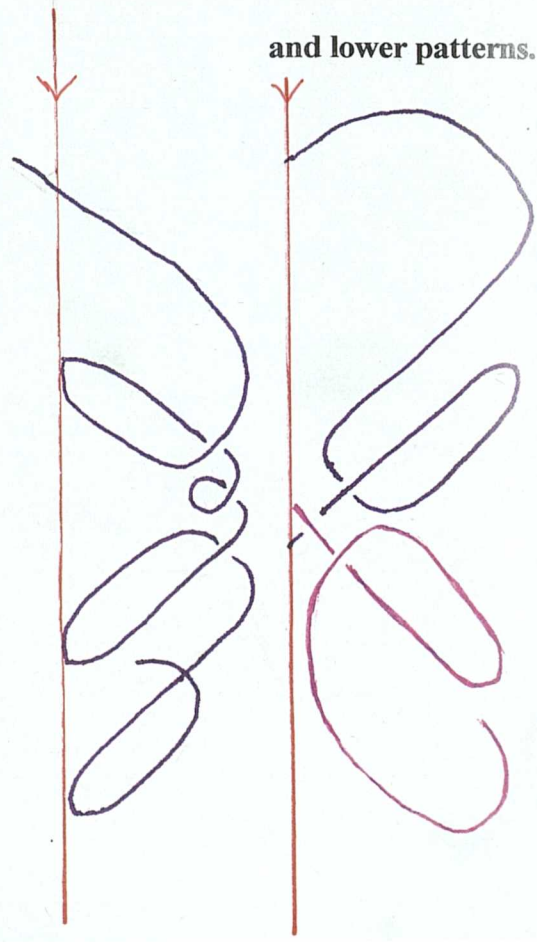
i. Monk's Stone 1B: upper pattern.
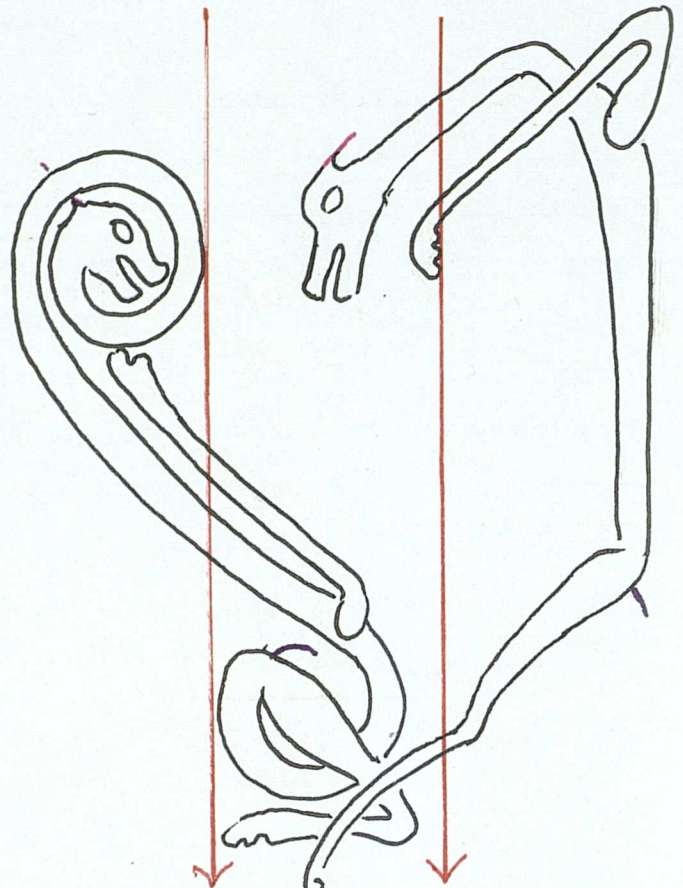
ii. Monk's Stone 1B: animals of the upper

and lower patterns.

iv. Lacing of Lindisfarne 1A and D.

iii. Lacing of the upper and lower patterns.

So with the set-of-four interpreted, the lower register can be seen to be different (plate 41, figure 10fiii) as there is less space for it eight units are available. Each animal after being twisted into the upper design by its lappet starts in the same manner, but its back is a little shorter and the lower legs bend back into the design. Here the designer has not tried to cope with the interlace but has dropped with unpinned loops and twists to the tail. This simple design is quite clear. It does suggest that whoever originally designed the set-of-four was not the same person as the one who drew up this more make-shift version, for the smaller space. There is also some irregularity in the units which shows that this register has an *ad hoc* element.

It has now been shown that the set-of-four complies with the Lindisfarne Gospels' concept of plaiting, apart from the long vertical of the animals. Why was such a long vertical used? One reason may be that the motif was a derivation from the Lindisfarne zig-zag dog (folio 211v) or Lindisfarne 1D (figure 4b), so that when the "curved neck" fashion was prevalent then the bodies were straightened to avoid being entangled with the heads.

It is possible also that such long bodies gained some legitimacy from the famous Monkwearmouth door jambs (Corpus I, illustrations 612-7), not far distant, where beaks of Style II animals cross and the bodies turn straight down the side. It might also be said that this strange pattern with the body to the outside and interlace decorating the centre may have been designed as an antithesis to the design above it, now to be discussed.

The spiralled animal

The design which is uppermost is not finished at the upper edge of the shaft: bodies and limbs can be picked out but the heads are gone (plate 42). One side is broken the other worn but the area in the centre is the clearest on the cross. This has even lozenge shaped holes, with ridges on the true diagonal, so the unit measure is easy to calculate in a pattern five units in width, 4.25cm, larger than the 3.5cm of the pattern below. However, in spite of its regularity the animals would have been difficult to envisage, had the design not been found also on the cross of St Oswald's Church, Durham (plate 5$). Greenwell (1907, 133) noted

this, but thought that "the pattern though similar is more elaborate than that on St. Oswald's cross." Here he did well to see the likeness but one is not more elaborate for the designs are strand for strand the same, and further they are the same size, except for the fact that the St Oswald's work is warped and pushed into a slightly narrower space while the other is perfectly straight. Since the cross from Durham is not to be discussed until chapter 13, the pattern must be previewed here so the heads can be substituted for the lost heads on the Monk's Stone.

The Durham piece is on a panelled face and one register of the design makes a fine rectangular panel. However this does not mean that the design on the Monk's Stone, being on a side, is in a single register. Like its companion below, the various strands and limbs may have also joined the motifs together to make continuity. If there were 70cm of space available on the missing piece of upper shaft, two more sets (figure 10bB) would fit but the unit measure may have been dropped to 3.5cm for the upper designs. I say this is possible with the fore-knowledge that there is a piece at Hexham (plate 62) where both unit measures are used and the design is repeated as a set-of-four.

The new animals like those of the design below, are long and slim and the necks which start low at the sides, cross diagonally in the centre of the pattern then spiral in the upper quarter of the design, so that the heads within the spirals are of necessity small. On the evidence of the heads on St Oswald's shaft they would have had a raised forehead, slight knob for the nose, a straight or slightly open biting mouth and almond shaped eyes which is also the type seen on the lowest register of the Monk's Stone, where the heads are more clear.

The front leg of the quadruped starts low down perhaps with an oval junction into the body, then it follows the neck line to end in two or three toed paw under the spiral. This almost strand-like leg is long and parallel to the body like that on Lindisfarne 1A (plate 14). The body curls, from the outer edge, and around the lower part of the pattern, up to the centre and the back leg moves diagonally to the corner. No niceties of shape are seen on the back leg on the worn Monk's Stone but the pattern on St Oswald's shows a thin but well-shaped leg. The lower

leg or foot now runs horizontally to meet its partner, almost as if it were a moulding, with three toes neatly carved.

Since the animal gives a strong structure to the centre of the design, by crossing its partner, unlike its lank companion (figure 10gii) the lacing can take a more secondary role as it fills and decorates. The ear lappet passes across the top through the mouth of the opposite animal and to the side, then it forms a long loop to the centre under the spiral of the neck. After a small space-filling unpinned loop the side the strand forms another long loop touching the lower curled body in the centre. These loops integrate through both neck and limb of each animal in turn. Lastly the strand loops around the back leg to join as the tail. There is clearly no end here, making a continuous ear lappet and tail, (purple, see colour key). To join ear lappet and tail is not easy in a complex design but it has been observed in simpler designs, possibly there is one on a Thornhill pattern, Civ (plate 23) and certainly on one from the Jedburgh cross-base D (plate 31). However, the design under discussion is a very sophisticated one and the use of one strand, not two separate strands, may be a feature of this particular designer.

The antitheses between the two Monk's Stone designs of side B can be demonstrated more clearly by separating the components. Figure 10gii shows the animals: the spiralled animal crosses the grid in the centre of the design, while the lank animal crosses it top and bottom. Figure 10giii shows the lacing, with the caveat that interlace of the lank animal is my reconstruction only. In this case, in the central area one pair of loops is formed pointing outwards while the other points in.

The use of a long loop which threads through body, neck or limbs, tying the design together is the same type of solution which was used on Lindisfarne 1. There the animal on side D (plate 13) had two pairs of long loops side by side as the pattern dictated, while the pattern on side A (plate 14) had single long loops reversed. On this cross the strands were not continuous from head to tail but two separate strands (figure 10giv). These patterns were shown in chapter 4 to relate to the Lindisfarne Gospels, the crouching dog being closer to the manuscript

Figure 10h
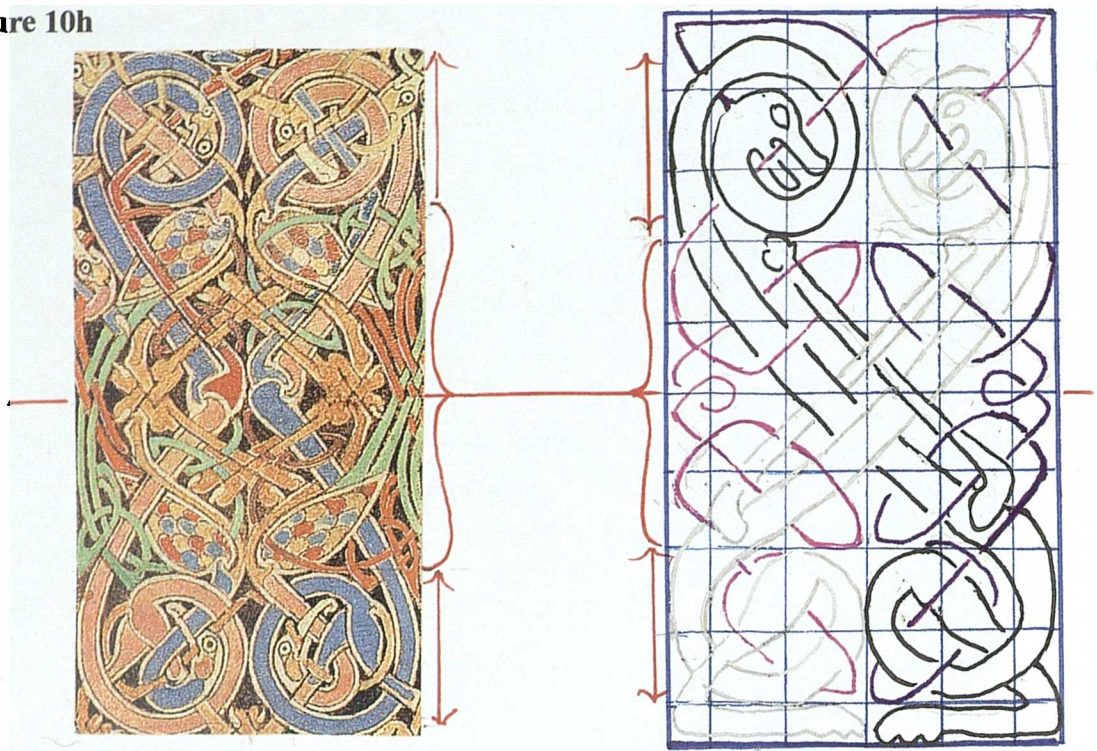
i. Lindisfarne Gospels, folio 26v (detail) and Monk's Stone 1B (upper):

divisions of the designs.

ii. Lindisfarne Gospels, f.26v: changes to make crossed animals (blue) and to

make birds into interlace (red).

form. The lank animal of Abercorn 1, was shown in figure 9fi to be derived from the Lindisfarne type of pattern and the lank animal of the Monk's Stone could have been also a distant cousin of the zig-zag dog. The spiralled design has a special relationship to the Lindisfarne Gospels.

The spiralled pattern and the Lindisfarne Gospels

R. Bailey (1996, 118) notes, but without detailed analysis, that the spiralled design is "strongly reminiscent of the lyre-like arrangement of animals in the Lindisfarne Gospels." By this he means the well known pattern on the cross-carpet page, folio 26v (plate 1). Spectacular though this is, it is the least typical of all Eadfrith's animal designs since the dog-like creature loses its naturalism by being so extended and it loses its ability to appear to be able to move naturally by being impossibly curled and spiralled. The design, illustrated in figure 10hi, is made up of two confronted dogs and four decorative birds, perhaps drawn on a grid of eight units by sixteen.

The popular appeal of this design seems to have been the feature wherein the legs walked through the curl of the body. This part of the design was used among the Picts and is seen frequently in the St Ninian's Isle treasure; figure 8dii illustrates these together with the animal at Norham from the ninth century. It may be added that it also played its part in metalwork; the back central panel of the Tara brooch (Backhouse 1981, figure 46) and perhaps the Steeple Bumpstead boss (Youngs 1993, figure 17.8).[7] The Book of Kells on folios 32v and 33r (Alexander 51) has spiralled designs which may be inspired by this part of the design. However, the Tynemouth sculptural design is a simplification of the arrangement of the whole Lindisfarne Gospels pattern, not just the lower part.

Like the pattern in the Lindisfarne Gospels the curl at the top and bottom of the dog like animal occupy about a quarter of the length each and the central "half" is for the crossing and decoration, interlace in the sculpture, birds in the manuscript (figure 10hi). The complex bone joints in the manuscript are replaced by a simplified form, wherein the bodies and front legs cross through the centre, and the front leg is on the opposite side to the back legs (figure 10hii: blue lines). The necks in the sculpture have quarter of a turn less to angle the head differently

and the bodies also have quarter of a turn less since only one leg is used which follows the diagonal to the corner. The feet in the Gospels thread but in the sculpture the foot turns horizontally. If another register were used this foot could have turned into the next register.

The thing which confirms the argument is that the interlace replaces the birds, so that the loops come across at the same angle as the birds' bodies and the points of the loops are where the birds' chests are. The neat knot of toes in the manuscript is replaced by the unpinned loop in the sculpture (figure 10hiii red lines). This is not then a device merely inspired by the Lindisfarne Gospels but rather a pattern copied and then cleverly modified for sculpture. When these modifications were made there is no answer now.

Further evidence from Abercorn 1

Abercorn 1 and Lindisfarne 1, which were discussed in chapter 9 have both been mentioned frequently in this chapter. The latter has been noted as having a format which has narrow mouldings on the side and is decorated with interlace and animal designs. It has been linked further by the way the animals are laced with long loops (figure 10gii and iii). Abercorn 1 is a cross of very similar proportions and even size to the Monk's Stone. Both are wide, with a strong taper and shorter decoration than on the earlier crosses and each has a main face with medallion design which is rhythmic and varied. Further the lower animal motif on the Monk's Stone has the distinctive features of the Abercorn animal, with the curved neck, drooping head, and a raised elbow to the corners coming in to cross the body (figure 10fii). There is one further link not mentioned by anyone which makes an even closer connection.

The small piece of cross-head design on the side of the medallion-scroll on Abercorn 1C looks like interlace (plate 43). It is not however interlace, as the curling strand has a definite variation in width as has an animal body and further, the apparent common "bar" terminal, should not be used on such a wide pattern. This bar however has a break in the middle, and worn though it is, it can be interpreted as the pair of opposed feet of the spiralled design. The strands, which can be seen, are all consistent with the body, leg and loop of the spiralled pattern

in question; in fact it would be difficult to interpret them otherwise although there is tantalisingly little left. On a cross-arm one could scarcely expect the complete design. If this cross-arm had single cusps (Corpus I, figure 2, type 10B) there would be little room for more than the curled body and the neck extended towards the centre, so that the noses could meet. If it were a double cusped head (Corpus I, figure 2, type 9D) there would be more room and the necks could cross with the heads filling the corners by the roundel, and there would be no room for the neck spiral; plate 43B shows the most likely conformation. However, even if the top part of the design were different, the lower part seems to be the distinctive lower quarters of the spiralled animal.

This is the strongest link yet between the Abercorn/Lindisfarne works, discussed in chapter 9, and Tynemouth. With the other features detailed here, both major and minor, there is an argument for all these crosses to belong to the same fashion sweep.

Conclusion

The title claimed that the Monk's Stone was pivotal. The plant ornament of the main faces may look back to Jarrow and Hexham in the early eighth century or to contemporaneous Norham and Abercorn. The interlace of the sides cannot be fixed in time. The animal designs belong to the time when there was a certain indifference to naturalism but still a delight in interlace. The designs of Lindisfarne 1, Abercorn 1 and the Monk's Stone seem to have this concept and an ability to adapt traditional designs to suit the task and fashion. A date late in the eighth but more likely to be the early ninth century suits these facts. There is no influence of the Viking-age types of designs, anymore than there was on the similar designs on Abercorn 1 or Lindisfarne 1.

If, however, it is pivotal it must not end with its era but point to the future. Mention has been made that three of its four side patterns are repeated. These are the subject dealt with in future chapters, and this will establish the Monk's Stone as perhaps a catalyst. Much has been said about the transference of patterns by mechanical means, either by "blowing up" a gridded design using a larger unit measure, or by using templates. By observing the patterns which are related and

even their mistakes can indicate whether a pattern is copied rather than being drawn afresh. The information will be developed, but for now the Monk's Stone, a major cross, may be regarded as a prototype, since it is made with excellent workmanship and demonstrates great skill in the drawing up of designs.

Professor Cramp (Corpus I, 32) says of the Monk's Stone:

> It is difficult to say when assessing its (the Monk's Stone's) relationships to the Durham/Aycliffe late tenth to early eleventh century group whether it served as a direct model, or whether it is fortuitously similar because the community of St Cuthbert preserved a Lindisfarne pattern book. Its nearest relation may have been Aethlwold's Cross which could have provided a pattern book in itself.

Before this problem is discussed it is well to look at the tenth century the time of Viking influence in the kingdom of Northumbria, so that all the facts are laid out before any judgement is made.

NOTES

1. Bede, HE V, chapter 6 tells that Tynemouth was a royal burying place. VCP, chapter 2 tells a story of St Cuthbert of Tynemouth but says the monastery was on the south bank.

2. Carr (1904, 123-24) says the stone was at a farm called Monk's House, Greenwell (1907, 131) says it was a mile north of the priory.

3. Carr's plate (1904, 122) "shows the design with a clearness with which it has not been seen before". The stone seems misleadingly clear as if in high relief but shows no further detail.

4. St Oswald's shaft and Tynemouth 3, are quite clear today, the former is also illustrated and described by Greenwell (1890-5, 283, plate 1) the latter by Carr (1895-6, 164).

5. Gibb's drawing gives the impression that humans not birds are the forms remaining. Bird bodies are clear, there are no limbs.

6. Guilmain (1993, 93, figures 10.1 and 2) show the late classical Stafford knot which was of a circular structure.

7. The Tara brooch, centre back (Backhouse 1981, figure 46) has two opposing animals, with crossed necks like those on the lower design on the Monk's Stone, side B and spiralled lower bodies with legs walking through like those on the upper design. The Steeple Bumpstead boss (Youngs 1993, figure 17.8) has its own version with one leg through the body loop.

Figure 11a
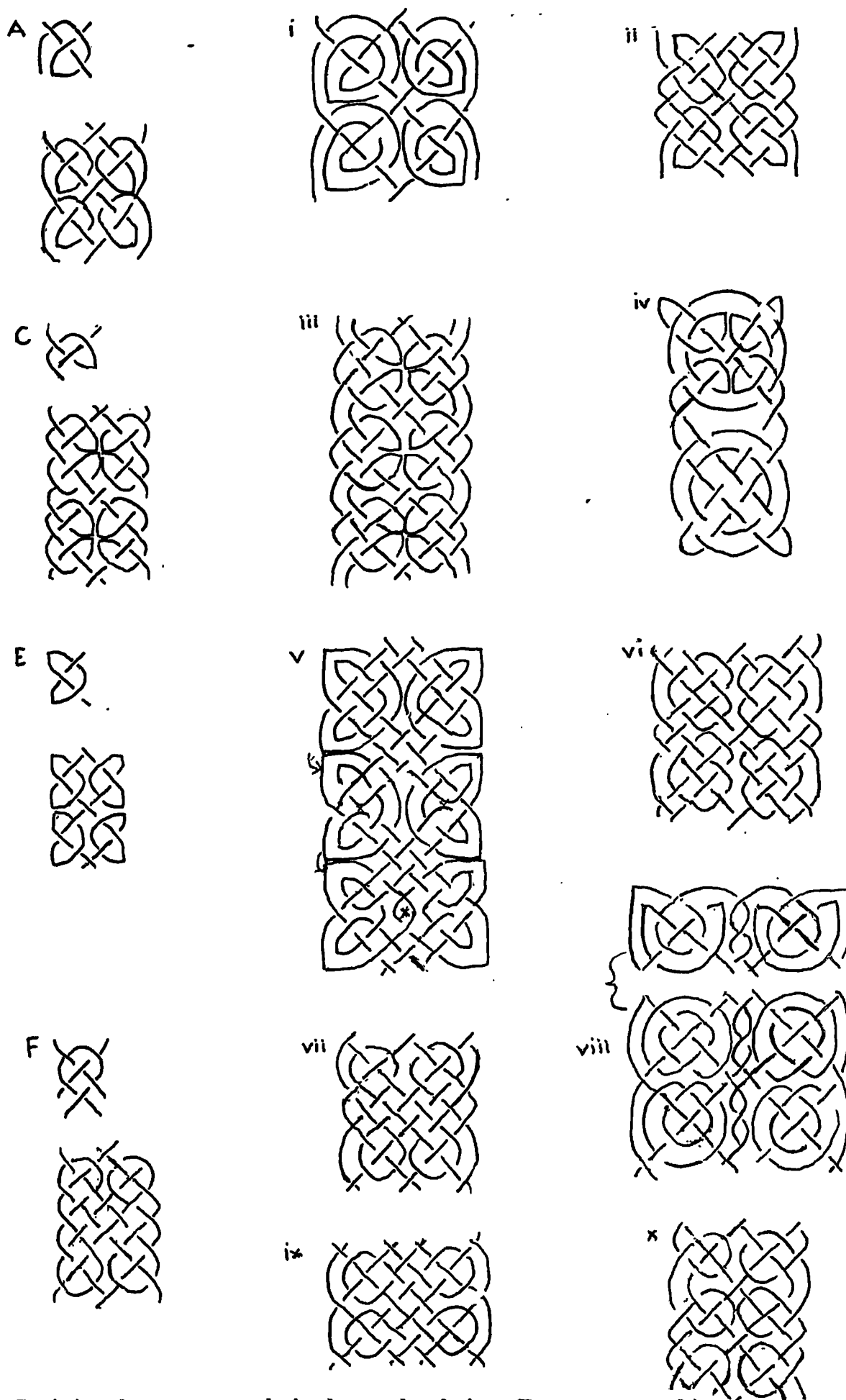
Basic interlace patterns; derived, complex designs (Roman numerals).

CHAPTER 11

LINDISFARNE: THE NEXT STEPS.

The Vikings sacked Lindisfarne in 793 but this dramatic event proved to be just a forerunner of Scandinavian activity during the ninth century, until the time came for conquest and settlement. It was during the time that York was captured (867) and placed under Scandinavian rule (879) that the Lindisfarne monks were so troubled as to leave their island home in 875 and flee to their safer holdings until finally they settled at Chester-le-Street in 882.[1] The trauma of these times will scarcely be reflected in the motifs of the decorative arts but poverty, lack of patronage or changing patronage and fashion will effect the art created.

At York a dynamic style was produced displaying Viking taste and much of this art consisted of animal designs (Corpus II, Lang, 33-6). Although Bernicia retained an Anglo-Saxon ruler, albeit subject to the incomers, the Scandinavian presence inevitably forged a new fashion. In this chapter works from Lindisfarne, which are of a different style from those discussed so far, will be analysed to see in what ways they developed from early work and how they may be placed in relation to these traumatic times.

The Lindisfarne works, different in the type of stone, technique, format and programmes, range from those with great creativity and competence to several with much bungling and poor technique. The better works, for which there is no hard and fast division, are generally known as the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth school (Corpus I, Cramp 27, 161 and 195) and the better pieces are Lindisfarne 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6 with Alnmouth 1 and 2, have their good points (Corpus I, illustrations 1044-57, 1071-4 and 808-811). The poorest of the works 7, 8 and 9, with a few small fragments, together with Norham 13 are truly degraded in all ways but useful echoes of derivations exist within them (Corpus I, illustrations 1060-66, 1078-9 and 1167-8). Two works, namely the Great Farne Island shaft and a piece from Coldingham each have something pointing to this new style (figures 11b and d). To aid the discussion figure 11a is a reference table for interlace.

The Great Farne Island cross-shaft

This sizeable piece of shaft was found among the ruins of one of the ancient chapels on the Great Farne island, a place associated with the death of St. Cuthbert. Canon *c‑p* Greenwell took charge of it and placed it in his collection of sculpture, which is in Durham Cathedral Chapter Library (Haverfield and Greenwell, 1899, number 1, 51-2 and figures). W.G. Footitt's drawings (figures on 51 and 2) are an accurate record but do not interpret the broken and worn remains. An interpretation of this large cross is of importance, and plates 44 and 45 and figure 11b are my drawings with reconstructions.

The piece is 62cm in length but it has been cut away almost to the middle of the designs when it served as a lintel, while the remaining side has been smoothed and partly chamfered with a few faint holes to indicate interlace. No moulding remains, only an edge of the pattern on lower A. With few reference points the width and depth are hard to ascertain but the designs themselves can be estimated roughly in width 38cm at the bottom and about 32cm at the top of the restored area in figure 11b. If the face mouldings were about 4.5cm, as they could have been since abrasion is so extreme, then the shaft would have been 47cm in width, tapering to 41cm. The depth seems to be less than half this (19-21cm). These proportions are in keeping with the wider Lindisfarne/Alnmouth group, but also a long shaft like Woodhorn (figures 14a and b). The 4-5cm mouldings on the face, allow room for the typical double moulding but the side may have had narrow 2.5cm mouldings like Lindisfarne 1.

This shaft however, is a medium sandstone with some bedding planes open on the side but it is a reasonable surface nevertheless. The main feature seen on both faces is a well dressed blank area 10cm wide flanked by well rounded, horizontal, beaded mouldings, edging the designs above and below it, in a neat and purposeful way. Blank areas on the main face are unique to this cross and the spaces here are so well dressed that they may have been intended for inscription (plates 44A and 45A). One finds inscriptions on the Alnmouth cross on side B but on much cruder and narrower bands between designs on both faces A and C (Corpus I, illustration 809, 808 and 810).

The technique of the interlaces is good, the strands are well rounded, even humped (see glossary) with deep holes and strong modelling. The holes enable even the worn

Figure 11.b

Great Farne Island Cross.
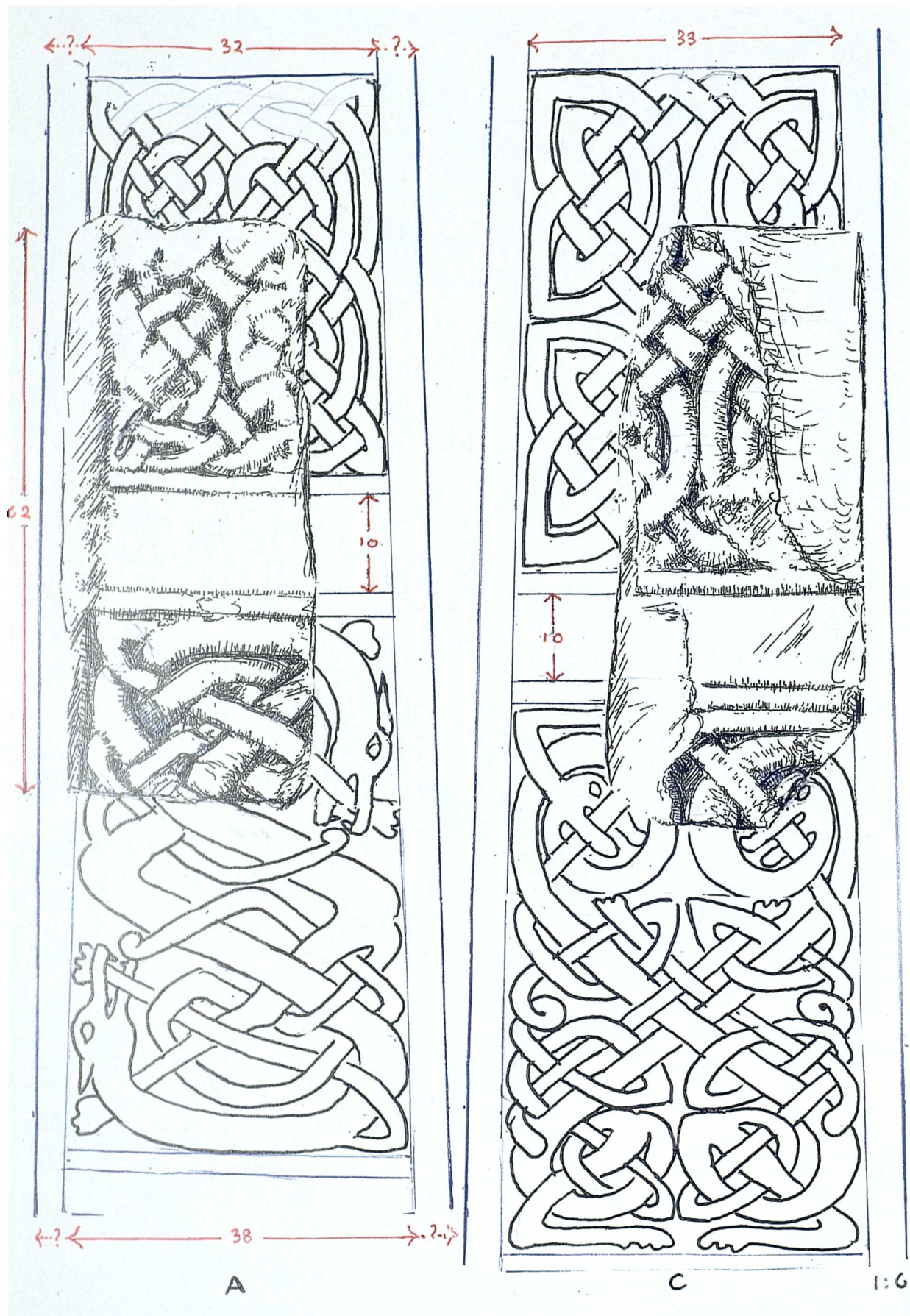
design on side A to be read. The animal designs below were on the part of the lintel which was mortared into the wall and so are in better condition in places and even the sweeps of the chisel rounding the bodies of the animals can be seen.

The programme

The two upper designs, on faces A and C, are interlaces and those below the blank spaces are of animals. On side D there is a vague hole pattern some seven units in length only just visible at a unit measure of 4.5cm, and the pattern seems to have been two or three units in width (depending on the width of the moulding), with perhaps a continuous interlace design. The face panels do have alternation but nothing more can be said of the whole face. On both fragmentary pieces, bold even crude animals contrast with orderly interlace. The reconstruction of figure 11b takes each of the four designs to a completion. The top panels could terminate level but 41cm would be unusually wide for a head. With a little change in unit measure from that in the reconstructions (figure 11b) the bottom faces could be levelled. The width would suggest that fragment is closer to the bottom than the top. [2]

The design which is easiest to interpret is the interlace on face C (Adcock 1974, 278 - 280, plates 132 - 3). It is once more the double-stranded Stafford knot design (figure 11av). The pattern is well formed and on the true diagonal at a large unit measure of 6cm over the single strand, a unit measure mentioned frequently at Abercorn on both shaft pieces.

The second interlace, the one on face A, is badly worn but holes are deep and evenly spaced giving the unit measure of 4.5cm, again a known measurement of Lindisfarne. The lacing is clear in places due to the depth of carving. The part solution to the visible remains is a twelve cord pattern (figure 11avi), one which is also on folio 172v of the Durham Cassiodorus top and bottom. It too, is a variation of the Stafford knot with extra diagonals passing through and an outside strand. On the sculpture the sides have disappeared but the pattern must be wider again as strands at the bottom are continuing off the broken edge. If an unprecedented second strand followed the outside edge or twisted with the other outside strand the problem would be solved. Figure 11ci makes this clear (red lines) and the result would be compatible with the remains and in keeping with the elaborate Lindisfarne/Alnmouth design shown for comparison in the

Figure 11c
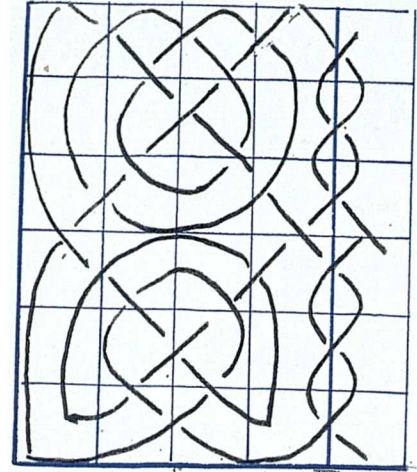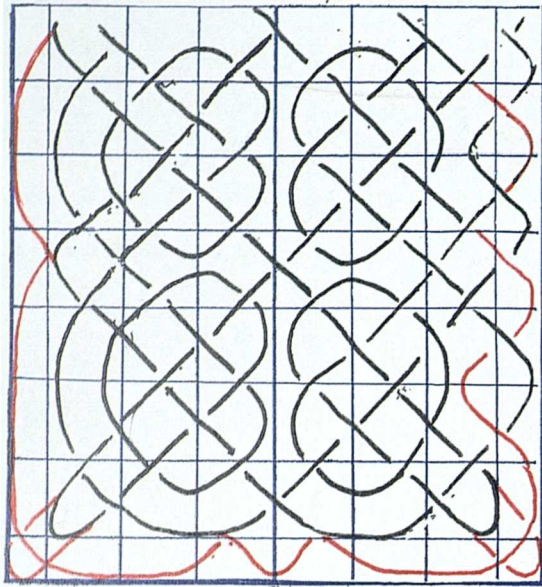
i. Elaborate patterns with high cord counts: Great Farne Island 1A (14cords),

Lindisfarne 2A (16 cords).
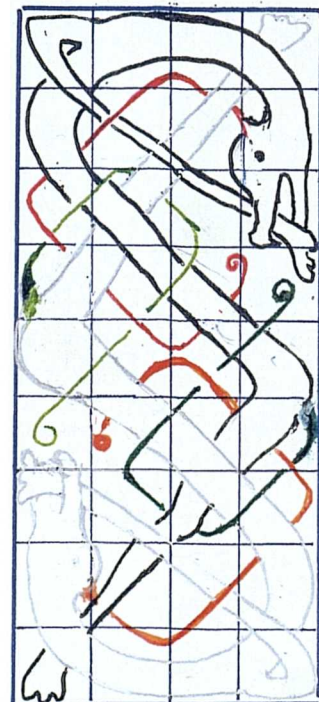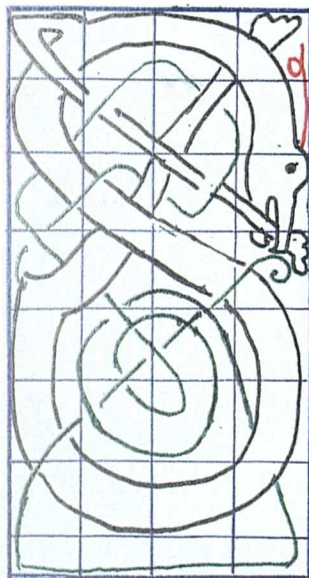
ii. Great Farne Island 1 A: two reconstructions.

same figure. The loose terminal also is like that on the pattern F with outside strands on the Monk's Stone (figure 10cD).

The animal designs on the Great Farne Island cross-shaft

Since both the interlaces of the Great Farne Island cross fit in with designs at or around Lindisfarne, how do the animal designs compare? The one on side C has but a few strands (plate 44, figure 11b), yet the little that remains is completely compatible with the spiralled animal which is seen on the Monk's Stone (plate 42), while sufficient is preserved to exclude most other explanations for the upper part at least. The head of the animal is within the wide ribbon body and the lacing strand is comparatively thin so it could carry out the lacing of the spiralled pattern as it is known. If it is like the other patterns then it has five units across at a unit measure of about 7.5cm although there is little left to measure. The vertical unit measure could remain 6cm as the pattern above or could be 7.5cm (plate 44, figure 11b) so the total length over 9.5 units would be 57 or 71cm. This spiralled animal was shown in figure 10h to be derived from the Lindisfarne Gospels and since the lower part has appeared in part on the cross-arm of Abercorn 1 (plate 43) and apparently in part on the Great Farne Island cross it could be tentatively thought that this design also may well have originated in the Lindisfarne workshop. It is important to note also, that if this is so then it is the second design from this shaft which also appears on the Monk's Stone.

The design on side A has flattish curves and diagonals which veer away from 45° (plate 47, figure 11bA and cii). No heads or paws remain to assist the interpretation but there is an elbow joint to the left hand corner and a spindly leg is seen crossing. This elbow is the unusual one which has been seen on both Abercorn 1 and the Monk's Stone (plates 37 and 38). If this is like the front leg on Abercorn 1, it should pass through the mouth and thus the head is located. The other large diagonal strand going towards the top right corner is a back leg by its shape. The finer, but still heavy strands, which wind around can only be the lacing tail or ear lappet. The irregular appearance due to the odd angles of the strands, may in turn be caused by the rectangular grid, which seems 8.5cm or so across the horizontal axis and 6cm on the vertical (plate 45B). This is very like the problem which faced the designer of Abercorn 1A (plate 37B).

Figure 11d

Coldingham.
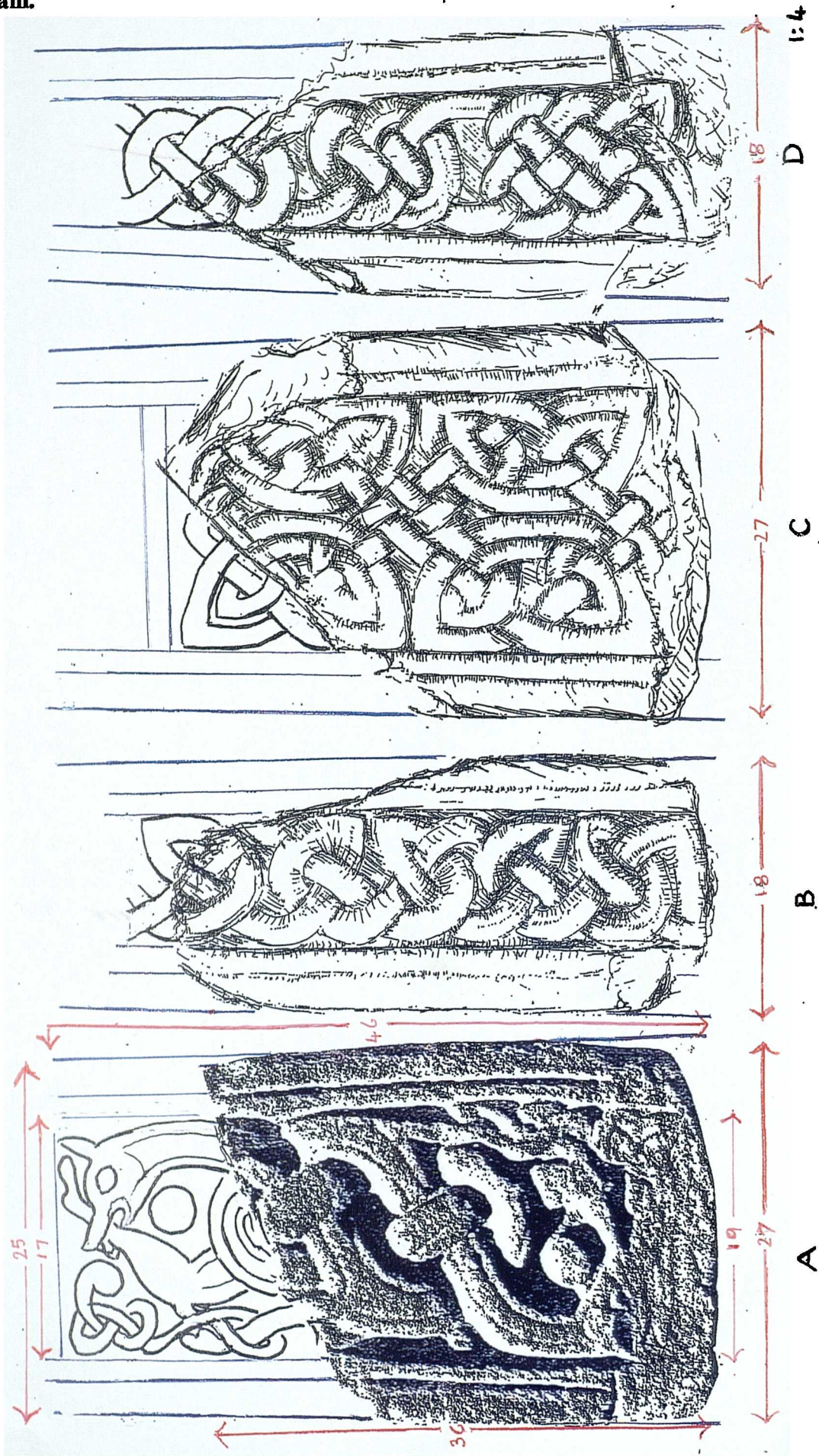
There are two choices for the reconstruction. It could be a figure-of-eight animal a little like Lindisfarne 1A, so that the back leg belongs to the same animal turned around and crossing the neck. Such a design would need seven units (figure 11cii). The restoration in this figure is a hybrid based on Lindisfarne 1A and Abercorn 1A. The second option would be a zig-zag animal turned and reversed, as Abercorn 1A but a quadruped not a biped (plate 37). The heads in either case could face inwards or outwards (figure 11cii), most likely inwards so that the strand would be from the tail. The whole design, however, could be formed on a grid of nine units in length as a turned and reversed design which does make better sense of the angles of the remnant (plate 45B and figure 11b), and whatever the exact details are, it is related to the design on Abercorn 1 more than to any other work.

Reconstruction is now pushed to the limit but it is clear now how this cross in many different ways has affinities with the Lindisfarne/Abercorn/Monk's Stone triad, although somewhat large and clumsy. There are no Viking features but a heaviness of the animal designs suggests a change in attitude. As it was probably a tall cross with the well dressed blank areas perhaps intended for inscriptions, it is tempting to think that this cross may have been set up hurriedly at a place identified with St. Cuthbert, in the time of trial. It is more certain to conclude that the cross was carved by still competent workmen from a workshop well stocked with patterns. It could have been done later during the ninth century before the departure of the community for Durham.

Coldingham: a small but impressive fragment

Coldingham, an early monastic foundation some 35km north of Lindisfarne, is the location of the famous story of St Cuthbert and the otters, but it is also mentioned in other early sources.[3] J. Romilly Allen (ECMS II, 429) says that the fragment was found in a farmhouse called God's Mount on Coldingham Hill, presumably near or on the site of the monastery.

The small, very pink piece of coarse sandstone is about 36cm in length, and is 27cm at the lower edge in width tapering sharply at about 1cm in 20cm, to 25cm (plate 46). The depth is 18cm but tapering more moderately. Small though it is the piece has a double moulding totalling about 4cm on all edges. The outer edge is well rounded, the inner moulding deeply carved. This is more in the traditional Bernician style, not

unlike Lindisfarne 1 (plate 14). Plate 46 and figure 11dA (ECMS II, figure 449B) show the texture of the coarse sandstone well, and the pristine nature of the carving except for the lower damaged edge.

The piece could be set near the top although the panels are not finishing level, the strong taper would prevent more than one or at the most two panels above. However, the lower edges of the designs certainly do terminate, some first sinking into the ground as if unfinished at the damaged broken edge (figure 11d). Three shortish panels at the most could have fitted or else it was a very stumpy shaft with one panel and the designs forced to a level. In a way it carries on one feature of early crosses, in that the panels alternate as on the one side is a turned and reversed animal panel and on the other a delicate interlaced panel in two registers.

The fresh surface allows appreciation of the sculptor's modelling of the forms, in deeper carving than any of the works seen so far, befitting the coarse nature of the stone. The strands are formed in a high humped style (see glossary) rising from a well dressed ground. The holes of the interlace patterns have often been shaped appropriately as in the best work, while the animals on face A have broad ribbons and cut in a deeper manner (plate 46B, cross-section). The tops of the ribbons are curved, with contour grooves which are cut into the curve like the design on Lindisfarne 1A (plate 14). There seems also, like that panel, to be a trace of low pellets up the central track between the contour lines. In all this the work has much in common with Lindisfarne 1.

The sculptor's work may be excellent but his interlaces are less than orthodox. Terminals on two designs (C and D) just stop as they follow the bottom loops, and are not tied off. The interlace on side D increases its cord count in the bottom motif. The artist in his design on face C stretches his pattern out to the required length by shifting what must be templates, leaving gaps or glides particularly in the lower register and strands not aligned (figure 11aC). Since Norham 5, a small and finer stone, has a side pattern the same in size and motif, but more delicately carved, it seems this may be also an example of a template being passed around, and used on various works, in the area.

Figure 11e
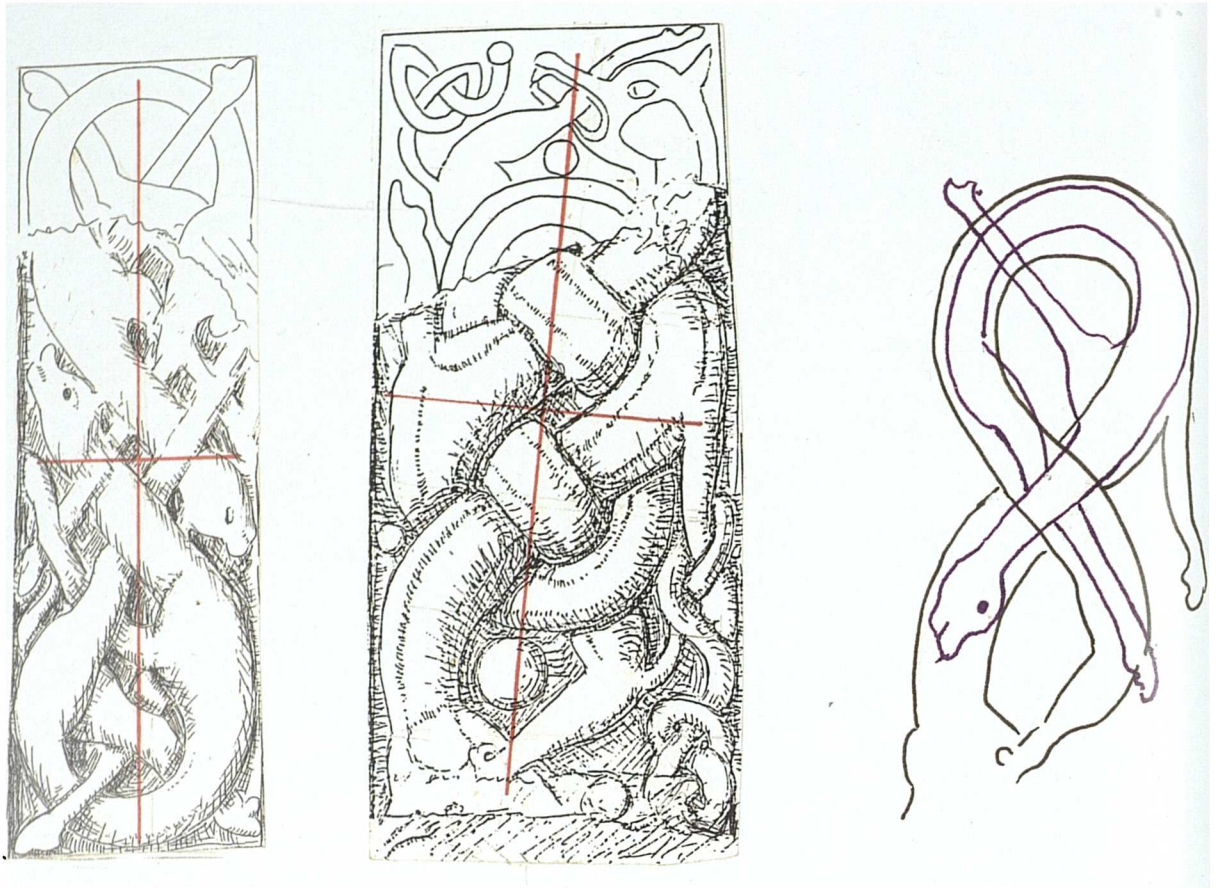
i. Relationships of designs: Aberlady, Coldingham and outlines superimposed.
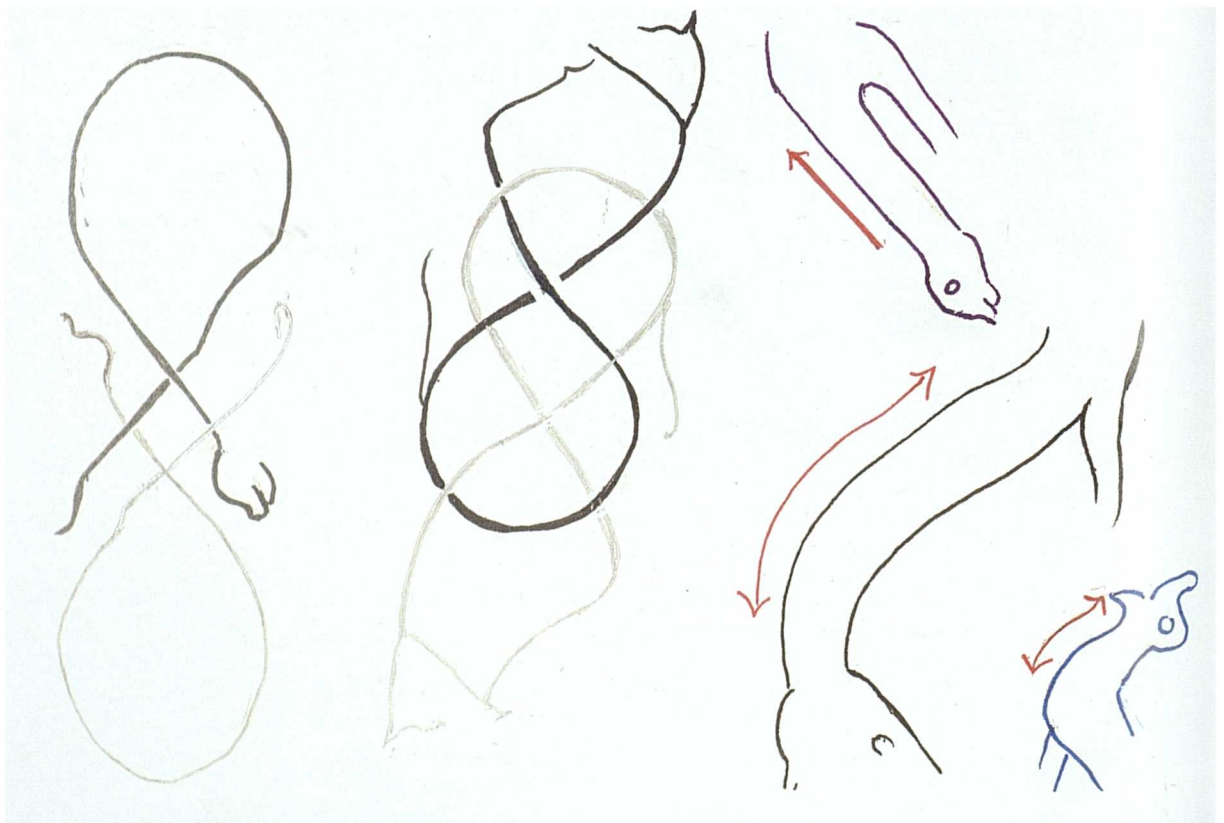
ii. Formation of the Carrick bend.

iii. The necks: Aberlady, Coldingham

and Lindisfarne 2B.

The sides are decorated with simple two-unit designs continuous over its short length if the cross has one panel. Face C has what is really the double-stranded Stafford knot design in two registers with one simple "break" forming asymmetrical loops within the outer knot (figure 11dC).[4] The plain double stranded Stafford knot has been noted now on the cross-arm Lindisfarne (figure 4a) and the Monk's Stone (figure 10b and c) and on the Great Farne Island cross (figure 11bC). The "break" makes it appear to make a complex looking looping design (figure 11av and 11dC), and J. Romilly Allen believes it is a combination of loops (ECMS I, number 652). This delicate design, with a fine unit measure of 3cm contrasts strongly with the simple animal design on face A (figures 11dB and C).

The Coldingham animal design

The Coldingham animal pattern (plate 46) is on a small panel estimated at 45-46cm in length, 19cm wide and about 17cm at the upper edge, in the turned and reversed formation. The animals are a little wider in body and wound more tightly than those of Lindisfarne 1A (plate 14). Their size and curves suggest that they too, like those on Lindisfarne 2B which were, in Chapter 5 (plate 15) shown to have descended from the Aberlady motif (figures 11ei and ii), simple though the design is. This becomes plausible in view of the fact that many designs have already been found so far which have been adapted rather than been drawn up afresh. In this case the changes are less than on Lindisfarne 2B as the looped motifs are pushed together and turned and reversed to form a Carrick bend. In the Aberlady design neck, body and back leg formed a loop with head and paws following within the line of the loop, but the Coldingham head and back leg are now tacked on at the end of each loop, and the superimposed motifs of Aberlady and Coldingham, figure 11ei, make this clear.

The necks are long with double curves in the manner of curves in Viking-age work yet longer and slacker rather than sharply contrasted to the more sudden curves seen on figure 9e. The one lower jaw is probably long, more like that on Abercorn 1, the mouth could be open a little judging from the large hole beside the leg as it goes through, but the broken edge prevents teeth or muzzle being seen: the ear and brow can only just be traced (plate 46A). The very short but well shaped back leg which threads through the mouth and the thin front leg which dribbles vertically down the side appear to be more the short Viking type. The axis of the design is not vertical (figure 11ei, red line). In

much of this it follows the attitude to design of Lindisfarne 2B (Chapter 5 and below). The lacing from the tail is only anchored to this leg, it continues as a space filling accretion. Space filling pellets are also added to do the same task, as would happen in metalwork.

The overall shape, the Carrick bend (figure 11eii), is common in all ages. The Jelling cup has a design (Wilson 1966, figure 43, here figure 9e) almost in the form of a Carrick bend in its turned and reversed form. There the lappets are short and thread where they can in a well spaced layout, more Northumbrian in type. Carrick bends however, are an old feature: there is an animal on a Style II design at Hackness on an impost (Corpus III, illustration 471); and the tails of the small animals on the Otley Griffin shaft also form this knot (figure 7b). The curve of the neck with its slight backward bend certainly adds to a Viking-age flavour of this small design at Coldingham.

So it can be concluded that this little shaft links in width, format and technique with Lindisfarne 1 but not in length. The interlace design on face C is derived from the double-stranded Stafford knot which connects it with Lindisfarne cross-head 18 associated with Lindisfarne 1 also the Monk's Stone, and the Great Farne Island shaft (figures 4a, 7c, 11b). Lastly the heavy, tight animal design with double curved necks, skewed bodies and lacing not integrated are more like the Viking-age approach, with the short legs adding to the Viking-age effect but the long jawed mouth biting a paw is pure Northumbrian. The design is probably derived distantly from Aberlady on the one hand, and concept of adaptation on the other. If influences were to run in a straight line, one would place this work half way between Lindisfarne 1 and 2 which is of the group now to be discussed.

The Lindisfarne/Alnmouth school; particularly Lindisfarne 2

The Lindisfarne pieces and Alnmouth 1 differ in all major respects: technique, format and programme and even the style of designs (discussed also in chapter 5). One main reason for this is not necessarily a change in taste or the troubled times but that these works are of a poor mud-stone or friable sandstone, which in itself may indicate troubled times, in that skilled masons may not have been available or quarries of good stone may have been inaccessible.

Figure 11f

Lindisfarne 2.
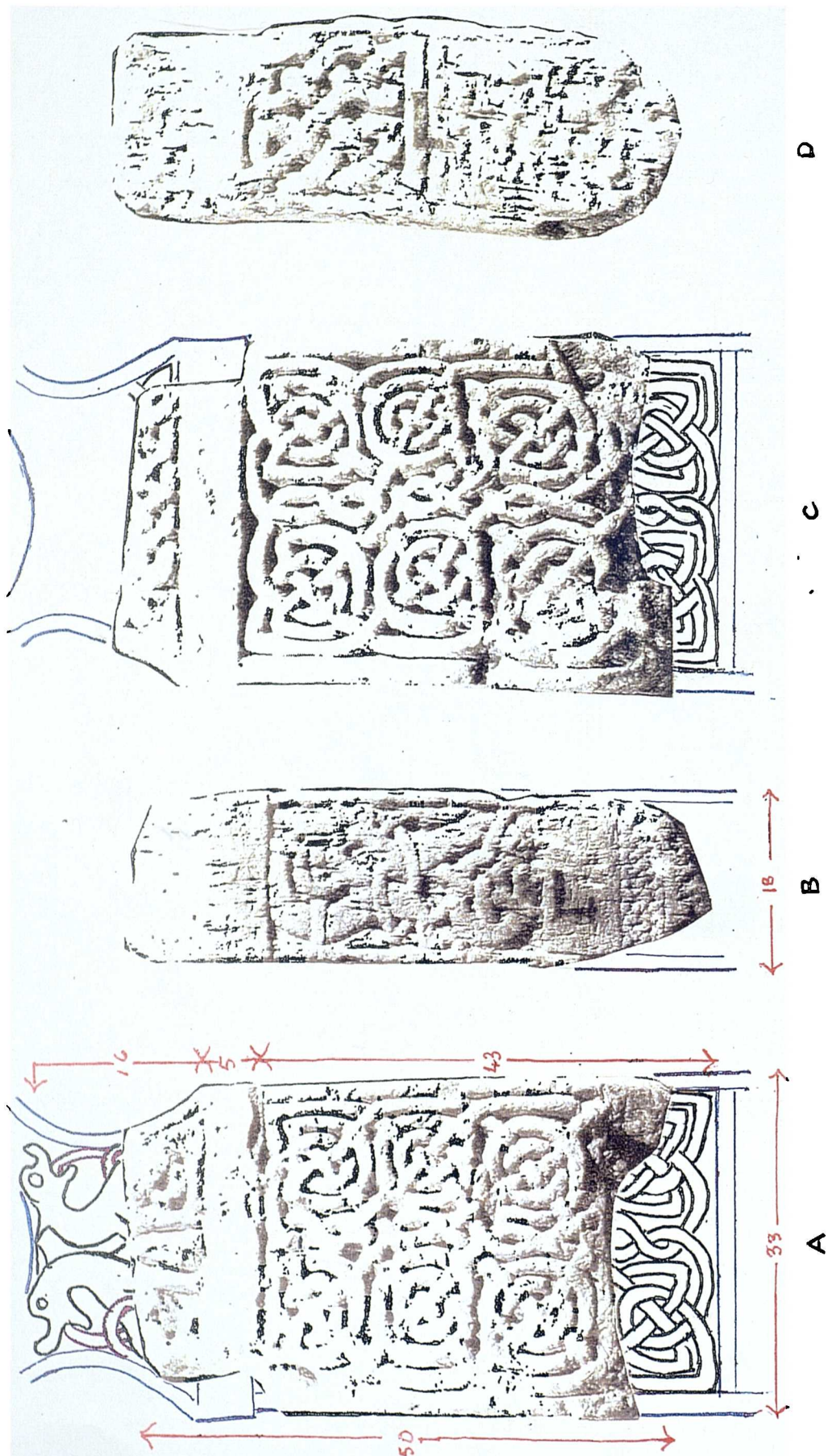
J. Lang (1997, 65) remarks about sculpture:

> The technique of cutting stone and shaping it into monolithic or composite standing monuments allows for little variation, indeed geology can impose the highest restrictions...

So slate, sandstone, limestone or even granite will be shaped into blocks practical for the type of stone and will be carved as is appropriate. Here at Lindisfarne the poor mud-stone blocks with bedding plairs need to be quite wide, often over 40cm but about half the depth, possibly short although there is no evidence for this. The technique for carving these poor stones with bedding plains had to be modified as high, straight sided strands would be liable to flake off, so holes are conical, not shaped and punched grooves separated strands allowing for as little flat ground as possible. Even when the strands were well modelled, there was a bumpiness as the stone does not accept the smooth gradations of sandstone. Further the sides of the slabs where the bedding plains can be seen now as open cracks were carved with simple shallow designs in short panels. Indeed it is clear that a side panel on Lindisfarne 2D (figure 2f) was chiselled off in early times, perhaps aborted because of difficulties in carving (figure 11FD).

Format and programmes

Several features give the impression of horizontality rather than verticality but no complete work has been found to tell of its height. There are narrow flat bands for edge mouldings about 2.5cm not 4.5cm so that verticality is lost and the panelled faces are divided horizontally by strong flat bands; the panels themselves are shortish rectangles which deny a feeling for height and the technique too means that they are tightly packed. This creates an inert heaviness as the designs turn in on themselves and are static. The sides have short squarish designs and blank spaces with no continuity, and the panels are firmly marked with wider horizontal mouldings. Some blank areas may have had inscriptions as is seen on Alnmouth 1B (Corpus 1, illustration 809). The group is so fragmentary that there is no evidence for five panels on a face or even three or that there was some sort of an alternation of decorative panels. Alnmouth 1C has two contiguous interlaces; Lindisfarne 3A has a figural scene and an interlace; Lindisfarne 5A has animals with a key pattern. Lindisfarne 4A is badly worn but there may be an interlaced animal above an interlace and this is the only sign of the alternating of animal/interlace such as is seen on the panels seen of the

early crosses (Corpus I, illustrations 810, 1050, 1055 and 1048). The only figure seen so far on a face of the crosses which have been discussed has been the single angel at Aberlady, perhaps used as a feature panel in the centre (figure 3a). Yet there are several figural figural scenes among the interlaces: Alnmouth 1A has a crucifixion scene with two interlaces on the miniature shaft, Lindisfarne 2A has a figural scene over interlace while the degraded Lindisfarne 8 has a figural scene on one side interlace or the other (Corpus I, illustrations 808, 1050 and 1061). This also shows a certain mixing of two genres. The figural panels are not inconsequential scenes. The one on Alnmouth 1 is a crucifixion with many doll-like figures not in natural spatial relationships but set as symbols around the central figure; and likewise in the cross-shaped picture on Lindisfarne 3A which is thought apocalyptic in meaning (Corpus I, Cramp, 196).

In general decorative interlaces predominate. The face patterns have high cord counts (see glossary) which enables them to stay at normal unit measures while spanning wider spaces. To increase the cord count they are widened with outside strands, extra diagonals, inside twists and spiralling. Some patterns, such as spiralled pattern A (figure 11ai), are ubiquitous in Northumbria, probably popular in later times while others are local, such as the one on figure 11aviii, which is found only on Alnmouth 1C, Lindisfarne 2A and C (figure 11fA and C) and 4A. It is a more complex version of the early ten cord pattern on Abercorn 1934 (figures 2a and b and 11avii), and contains closed circuits. It can be observed also that the Durham Cassiodorus on folio 172v as well as 81v (plate 6) displays many designs of high cord count using the same ploys used to make them complex. The Picts too seemed to revel in such designs, although mainly those based on circles: Meigle 1A (ECMS II, 310) has the supreme example of an elaborate circular interlace designs. The spiral on the other hand was rare in the Pictish area: Nigg 1A (ECMS II, 72) is an exception with a typical Northumbrian spiral in an engraved pattern (see glossary).

The third genre, the key pattern, frequently appears in this Lindisfarne set of sculpture but designs are not over complex, in fact they are quite close to the basic diagonal stepped design or have squares made up of the triangular side pieces. There is no need for these to be Pictish although such designs are used there also, but there is no evidence on the frequency of key patterns in the early Lindisfarne. W.G. Collingwood
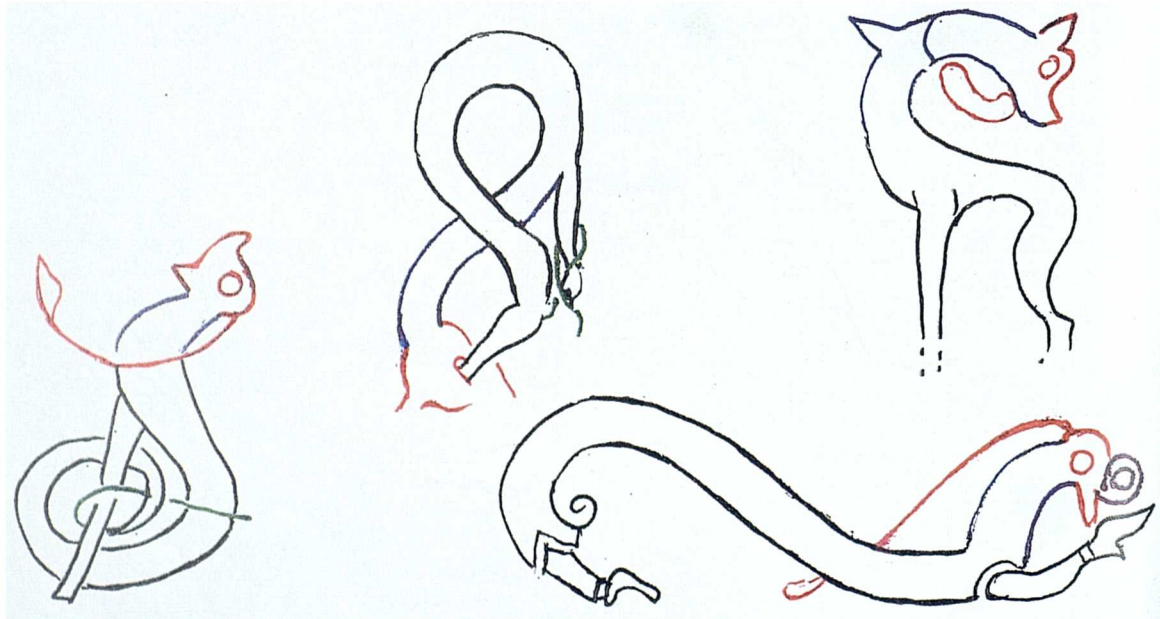
Figure 11g
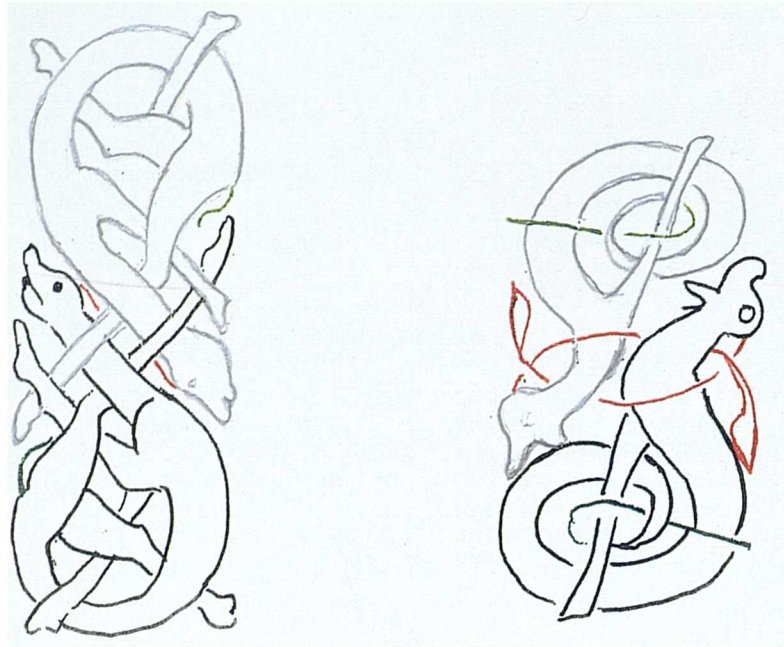
i. Aberlady 1A and the adapted design on Lindisfarne 2B.
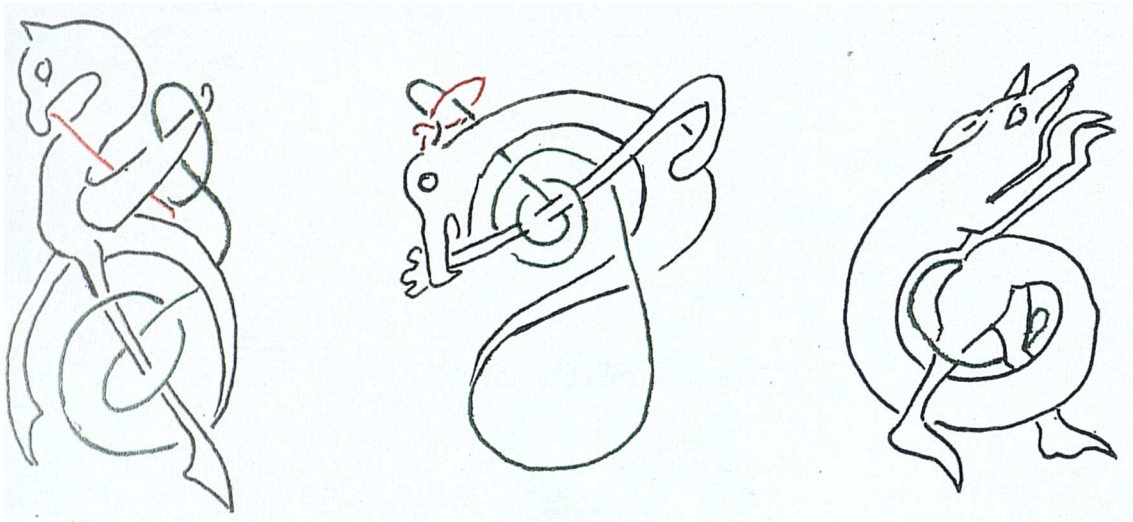
ii. Types of spirals pinned by legs: Thornhill 1C, Abercorn 1A and Miegle 1.

iii. Heads and necks: Coldingham 1A, Thornhill 1Aiii, Lindisfarne 2B, Jelling cup.

(1927, 182) who saw the animals as Danish said of the other patterns:

> ... showing design that holds on the other hand to the whole mass of eastern and central Scottish remains, with their still greater use of key patterns and more complicated redundancy of repeated plaits.

Since there is no evidence for "greater use of key patterns" and the "complicated redundancy of repeated plaits" are not of the same type, this seems an incorrect statement.

The last and sparsest genre, interlaced animals is represented by a complete panel on 2B and a few fragments the one on the head of Lindisfarne 2A and the other on 4A. If interlaces and key patterns were more complex, while the animal designs on number 2 are if anything simpler but throw light on the group's position.

Lindisfarne 2B: the complete animal pattern

The complete panel just under the stepped out arm of the cross-head of Lindisfarne 2, on side B is a rectangle just 24 by 13.5cm (plate 15, figure 11fB). This was analysed in chapter 5 to see how it reflected an earlier design but it is looked at now in its context. It is hard to follow, being in very low relief on the cracked surface. The relief is so low that the "under" movement is a groove cut down to the ground and the pieces so formed are separate and not aligned, therefore the work is not readily understandable. For all this, the ground has been well smoothed and the edges of the forms bevelled with care (plate 15B, cross section).

The turned and reversed design is of bipeds, which although sprung from the Aberlady pattern, has been changed from this well gridded original by various manoeuvres, until it has become a design which no longer responds to a grid (plates 12 and 15, figures 5b-e, here figure 11gi). The one remaining back leg of the animal has been converted to the spiralled tail which is pinned by a retained front leg. Two very different works have bipeds with front legs to do the pinning of the spiral: the Thornhill cross has three variations and there is in another form on Abercorn 1A (plates 21-23 and 37, here figure 11gii). On the other hand some Pictish sculpture, such as on Meigle 1 and St. Ninian's Isle metalwork has an even less similar motif where the back legs of the animal walk through the spiralled body (figure 8d, here figure 11gii). These are from

different streams but serve to illustrate the popularity of spiralling forms not necessarily a relationship.

The heads of the Lindisfarne animals are smallish with rounded foreheads, knobbly noses and open mouths, as each turns to nibble the rump of the other animal. This, too, is not unlike the Thornhill horses (plate 27) where the animal turns to lick (with a tongue) its own rump, but the short muzzle and open mouth is mostly associated with a Viking-age design (figure 9e). The Thornhill horse turns its neck in an Anglian manner with a full curve, and also on the Coldingham animals, while the head of the Lindisfarne animal turns up and back in a more sudden curve (figure 11giii, blue). The Jelling cup itself has necks using curves of this nature. It could be said that animal design of Lindisfarne 2 is the most Jellinge animal discussed so far.

There are further Viking-age features: the Lindisfarne design being drawn up the way suggested in chapter 5, (figures 5b-e), has no relation to the grid or to plaiting and the stress is almost vertical and horizontal, not diagonal and the curves are flat. The thing which relates this design most of all to the English sculpture which is considered to be in Viking taste, for example York 2B (appendix plate 12), is the tightness of the design. The animals of York appear to be bound rather than laced, in a dynamic balance responding to each other, while the Northumbrian gridded animals thread and loop around each other, each in its own space like trains on rails. On Lindisfarne 2 there is no sense of struggle nor a feeling of force such as governs many of the York animals, but there is a tightness and an interaction, more so than on other designs. So although based on the Aberlady design this turned and reversed piece seems to have been produced at the time of Scandinavian influence.

The cross-arm evidence

There is on Lindisfarne 2A (plate 47, figure 11f) part of a lower cross-arm with paired animals. This cross-arm curves inwards, curved in so sharply that it must have had a single arc and the blank band should be read as the blade. The animals are with chests on the vertical axis, paired front legs with the foremost crossing, and crouched on their back legs an interlace loop crosses the bodies from the mouth or ear and presumably joins as a tail. The loop from tongue to tail is seen complete on Jedburgh base D (plate 31) while the partly bent back leg may be compared with Abercorn 1C (plate 43)

Figure 11h
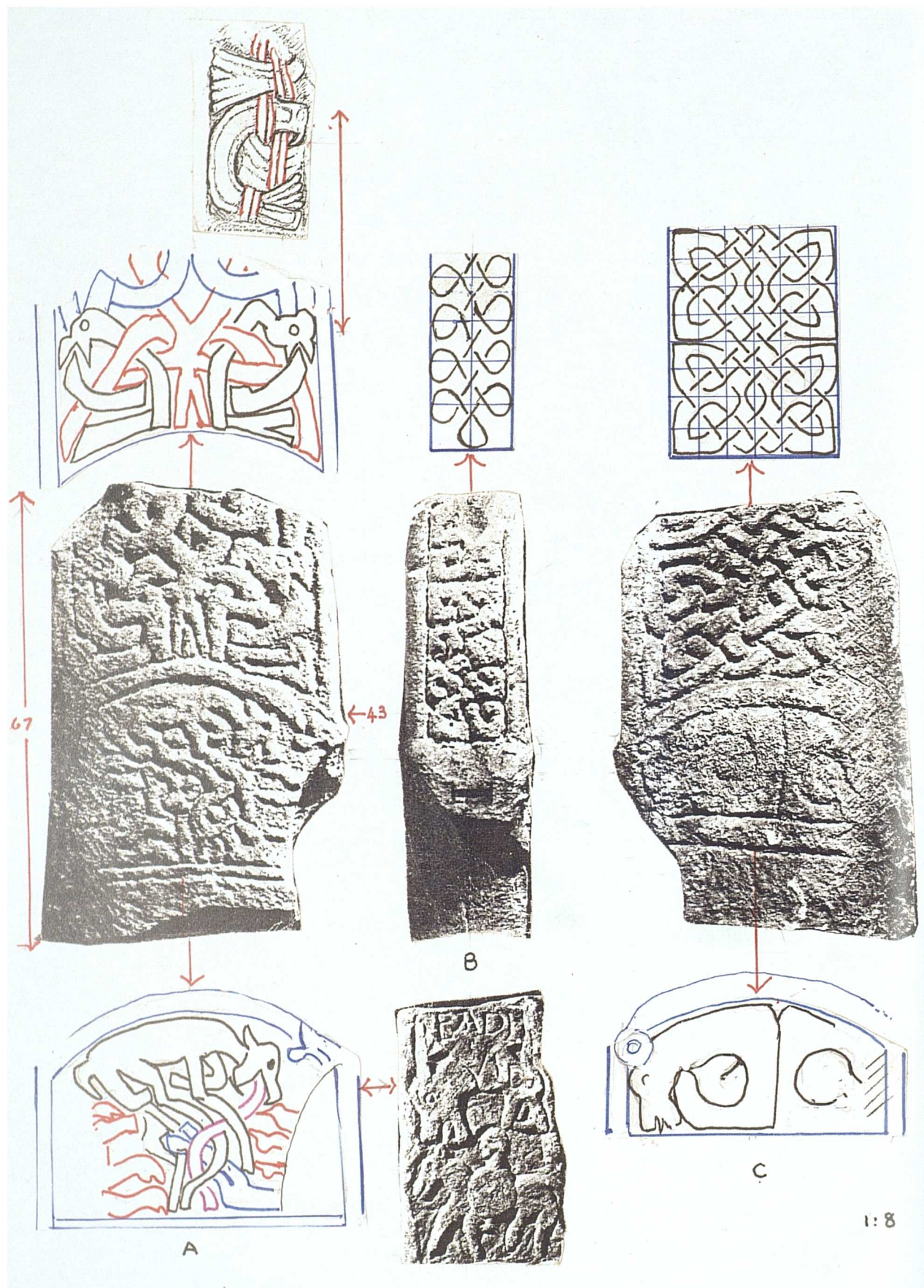
Lindisfarne 7: with interpretations and some comparative material.

although here the body does not curve. This seems well within the Anglian tradition, and there are several more lower cross-arms to be observed (chapter 14, figure 14fii and g, figure 15c).

To sum up: the visual impact of the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth group is of different technique, format and programme and some of the difference is possibly explained by the poor stone that is worked. The interlace, key patterns and animals have been developed from simpler early forms but the only strong evidence of Scandinavian taste is the small head and the set of the neck of the animal panel on 2B. This coupled with vertical and horizontal movement and the more tightly bound forms places it close the Viking age. The figural scenes have been placed at or after the departure of the Community and Coatsworth (1977, 198-201) dates the crucifixion to the tenth century. The inscription on Alnmouth 1 is thought by Okasha (1971, 47-8) to be probably tenth century.

The poor quality Lindisfarne works: Lindisfarne number 7

At Lindisfarne, cross-shafts, number 7, 8 and 9 and some cross-arm fragments, are carved in a rougher manner than those already discussed and have muddled designs. Two, numbers 7 and 8 have curved panels, otherwise they seem the same in format. Cross-arms, numbers 15 and 16 also are in the crude style, but are in shape like the finer piece, number 18 which was connected with Lindisfarne 1 (figure 4a; *Corpus* I illustrations 1096, 1082 and 1099).

The width of Lindisfarne 7 itself is just on 43cm in width and tapering and 16cm in depth but only 67cm of length remains (figure 11h). The technique is crude and simple, the grooved technique (see glossary). Interlace outlines are marked with the punch and not cut down very deeply so that the "under" strands are punched to the same depth. The strands which are formed in this way become separate flat sections, with little or no modelling. When these are not carefully shaped or aligned the design becomes fragmentary and difficult to read. So cross shaft number 7, is almost illegible even where the surface is in good condition (figure 11h).

There are two panels on either face, separated by a curved moulding. The lower panels are complete the upper panels are broken. One is a recognisable interlace and three

feature animals, but only one of these may be described as a decorative interlaced animal design (plate 48). Side B has a muddled pattern of unpinned loops, called Como braid, the other side has a few holes denoting interlace. The loops of Como braid are in two strands poorly constructed but may be unfavourably compared with the well handled design at Sockburn number 7, which is a Scandinavian influenced piece dated to the later tenth century (Corpus I, Cramp, 138, illustration 727 and 9). On the other hand, the interlace on face C makes some sense as a traditional design: it is the variety of the double-stranded Stafford knot used at Coldingham with one further variation in which the back of the outer knot is twisted with its partner (figure 11av, lower register). Formation of this design, as it is seen on the worn shaft, is neater on the left side and demonstrates that the sculptor had some substantial guidance since the right side shows a lack of understanding.

The two lower animal designs seem completely unfamiliar in the Bernician context, and quite without any concept of plaiting. The panel directly below the interlace has crouching animals simply engraved and very stylised.[5] The lower panel on face A opposite has an interlaced appearance as a large animal, with open mouth, teeth and curling tongue leaps with tangled legs. A second head may spring from the moulding itself. C. R Peers (1924, 268) sees two animals sitting vertically one on either side, and indeed many legs and paws do enter the legible part from the worn sides. Figure 11h shows my interpretation with a human being lying on the ground. This clearly is a picture with meaning and the symbol of threatening head or heads coming down from above is used also at Chester-le-Street on number 12C (Corpus I, illustration 150). Here too, I suggest that it is the same story which is also expressed more literally on Chester-le-Street 1A, the "Horseman Stone," (figure 12a and here figure 11hA) where two heads threaten a horse and rider.

Only the upper design appears able to be classed as animal interlace. Two birds sit symmetrically enmeshed in bonds emanating from an attachment which is like a human figure (plate 48). If this is a figure then this design is not decorative type but one with meaning, but the feature may be just a junction of strands. The design is poorly carried out so that neither bird nor bonds can be followed. It is possible that these birds, which are unlike any others in the north, have some connection with those on York Minster 2D (appendix plate 13), where the vertical chain of birds roll over,
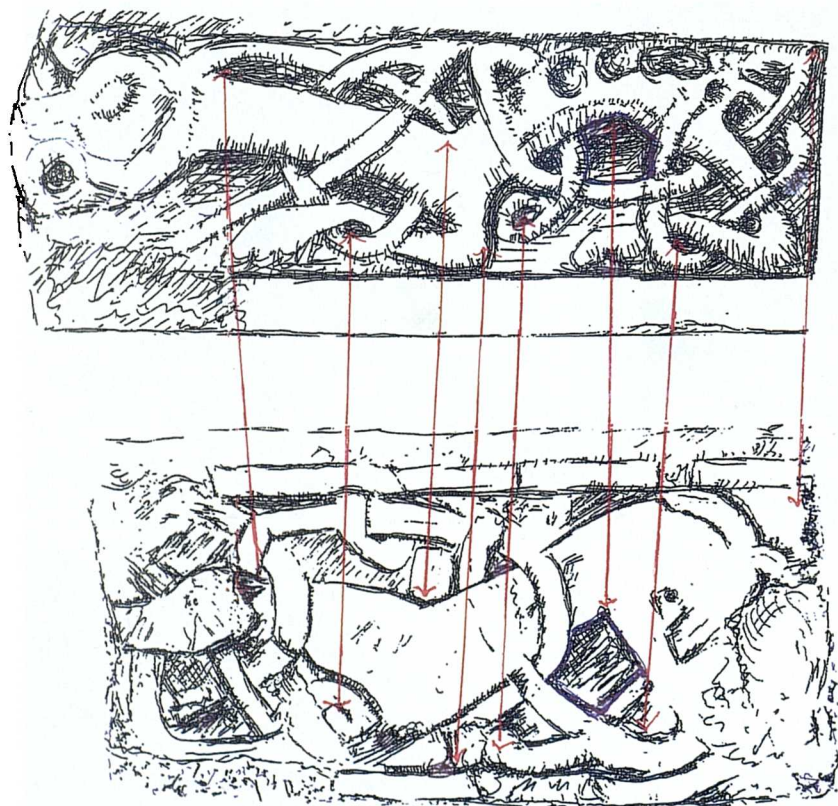
Figure 11j

Comparison of designs.
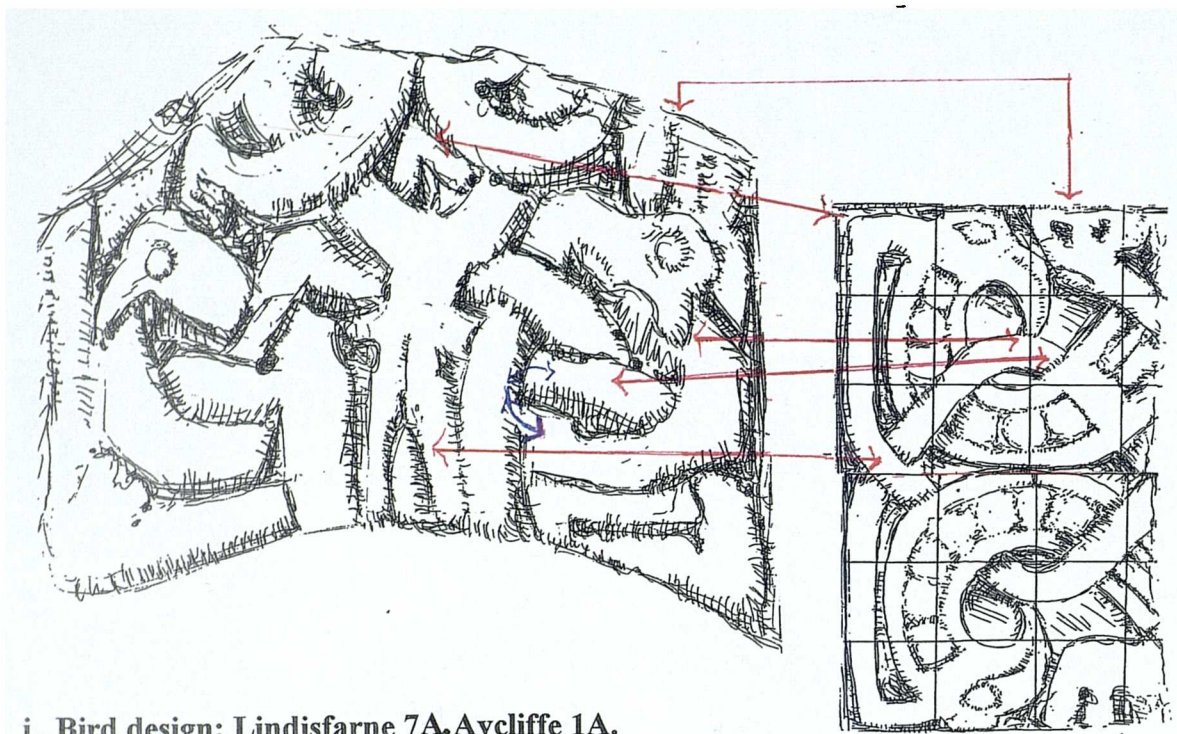
i. Bird design: Lindisfarne 7A, Aycliffe 1A.

ii. Zig-zag design: Lindisfarne 1D, Norham 3A.

1:4

c.1:3 c.1:6

biting their wings and are bound by their own lappets. Figure 11h shows this tentative idea, but it is without any evidence as to how a link may have occurred. Rolled birds in a set-of-four are used at Woodhorn, Jarrow and Aycliffe (plates 63, 64 and 76) make this likely to be an interlaced design, although misunderstood. Figure 11ji shows that the motif of these Northumbrian designs may have been laid out the wrong way up and lacing muddled through it.

This shaft at Lindisfarne, poor in technique, carries on a thread of the interlace tradition next to the Viking-age Como braid. The upper design on face A may be related to the bird design at Woodhorn (plate 63) or more distantly bird chains at Viking-age York (appendix plate 13) while the lower animal design seems to have mythological meaning and is also seen again at Chester-le-Street (numbers 1A and 12C). The piece is dated to the tenth century by Professor Cramp (Corpus I, 197) which suits its Scandinavian features. Yet, just as some form of traditional interlace survived into this late era on Lindisfarne 7, so too did one of the animal patterns survive at Norham.

Norham number 3

A very red piece of fine but crumbly bedded sandstone is mortared into the column at Norham. Its faces, A and B are on the north and east side of the column respectively. The shaft piece is close to 60cm in length as it disappears under the modern mortar[6]. It could be 30-32cm in its width, having a flat moulding 3-4cm wide and an inner flattish moulding which becomes pulled into the design from time to time. The technique is the grooved technique described for Lindisfarne 7 but shallower still and less successful because of the flaking surface.

The side has the simplest of all interlaces, just diagonals and circles, while the face has a long crouching animal (plate 49). In its damaged state, it looks a little like a crouching Scandinavian animal with a spiralled joint on the front leg (figure 9e). This is not the impression gained when observing it close up. It is clear that there are snippets of design like the little animal on Lindisfarne 1D (plate 13), and the spiralled joint is really the place where the front leg twists with the lappet strand outside the body and is completely misunderstood by the Norham artist, who perhaps did have a Scandinavian joint in mind. The conformation is roughly that of Lindisfarne 1D but

double the size (figure 11ji and ii, red arrows). These pertinent points are so accurate that the survival of a template is the only explanation. Traces of the misunderstood long loops of this lacing remain in a corrupted form of the Bernician style but the interlace remaining is certainly not Scandinavian.

This Norham animal can be explained by the Lindisfarne sculpture 1D (Plate 13) which in turn was explained by the Lindisfarne Gospels in the design on folio 211r, but it has now travelled a long way through time to become almost unrecognisable. Professor Cramp (Corpus 1, 209) dates this fragment to the last half of the tenth century, roughly contemporary with the Lindisfarne shafts of the poorest technique.

Conclusion

There is nothing of the Scandinavian age about the patterns on the Great Farne Island cross and although there is a coarseness about the designs, the animal designs in particular relate to Abercorn 1, Lindisfarne 1 and the Monk's Stone. The work could then be thought of as later in the ninth century. The Coldingham piece, likewise connects with the earlier group but its animals with moderate but unmistakable Viking-age tendencies show that it is later but perhaps still ninth century.

Then there is a completely new style shown at its best on Alnmouth 1 and Lindisfarne 2 and at its worst on Lindisfarne 7 and Norham 3. The technique is simplified for the poorer stone but becomes even more shallow and grooved on the rougher pieces. The new format is more horizontal in appearance with narrower side mouldings, wider horizontal mouldings, blank areas on the side with occasional horizontal bands. The panels are shorter rectangles with tight, static decoration. The programmes appear to be mixed panels with figural scenes, complex even denser interlaces and frets and a few animal designs. The latter all are based on earlier patterns: Lindisfarne 2B on Aberlady; Lindisfarne 7A on Woodhorn 1B (Chapter 14) and Norham on Lindisfarne 1D. These are adapted or changed so that templates are the only explanation.

It remains to gain some sequence in the Lindisfarne works. The one work which has aroused much discussion, although without animal designs, is Alnmouth, where figure panel and inscriptions have brought in experts from other fields. Coatsworth, working on crucifixions, believes the work shows late theology (1977, 198-201; 1978, 116) and

dates it to the tenth to eleventh century and Okasha (1971, 147-8) also dates it to the tenth century. Taking this as a guide, this distinctive work could be thought of as Viking-age, after the departure of the Community to Chester-le-Street.

So with the Great Farne island cross and Coldingham as ninth century, it is here suggested that there was a cataclysmic break in the sequence. Then with inadequate workmen but a workshop of now unintelligible patterns, Lindisfarne 7 and Norham together with other pieces were produced in the poorest techniques. After that as the times became more settled, good work was once more produced with a tinge of the Viking-age but with well understood interlaces and frets once more, Lindisfarne 2 and Alnmouth, are the result of regained confidence. Not only that, but Alnmouth and Lindisfarne reflect new theology in the figural pieces.

This interpretation reverses the normal structure wherein good work degenerates to bad but rather argues for poor work becoming more confident. The work of Chester-le-Street and Durham will be found to follow this reversed structure of degradation to a creative revival. The next chapter follows the Community to Chester-le-Street, explores the devastation and the partial recovery in the century of Viking influence.

NOTES

1. Cramp (*Corpus* I, 1-3), Lang (*Corpus* II, 8-9) give the general historical information used here.

2. The lower edge of the restored pattern is estimated between 46-8cm. This is also the size of the lower edge of the patterns on Thornhill, the Monk's Stone, and Woodhorn (figures 6c, 9c and 14b).

3. Bede (VCP, 1965, chapter 10) tells the story of St Cuthbert, at Coldingham. Eddius Stephanus (VW 1965, chapter 39) mentions King Oswiu's sister as abbess of Coldingham (681).

4. J. Romilly Allen (ECMS II, 429) notes that this pattern (ECMS I, figure 652) is a double stranded Stafford knot (ECMS I, figure 614) with horizontal breaks, or a knot of two different loops.

5. Engraved animals are seen at Bywell 1A and C in Viking-age designs (Corpus I, illustrations 853 and 5). There are engraved designs at Chester-le-Street, 9B and C, and 11C (Corpus I, illustrations 131-2 and 141).

6. This piece is cemented into the shaft upside down, but it is photographed and drawn this way (plate 49).

CHAPTER 12

CHESTER-LE-STREET: THE LACING TONGUE

Introduction

Eadfrith playfully used the tongue to lace the decorative finials around the borders of folio 94v of the Lindisfarne Gospels, and on the design with one animal on folio 211v (plate 2A) however this was atypical, the ear lappet and tail were normally used. The artist of Durham Cassiodourus, on the other hand, used the tongue strand with vigour and intricacy in several designs on folio 81v (plate 6, figure 9d). Again the artist of the St Petersburg Gospels used any extension, tail, ear lappet wing tip and tongue to form the lacy ground for his curling animals (plate 8). This is a sample, not an exhaustive history, to show that this idea if a lacing tongue had been used as far back as the early eighth century.

In sculpture the confronted and paired animals, particularly of Mercia, have tongues used sometimes as short space fillers and other times as lacing extensions. On the Elstow shaft, for example (figure 7gii) the tongue is space filler but on the Gloucester shaft (figure 7gi) it laces. On the Thornhill cross it could also be used either way (plates 21 and 22). In Jellinge metalworks it may or may not be used (figure 9e) and in the sculpture reflecting Viking-age taste at York or other places in Deira it was optional, used for example on the slab from All Saints, Pavement (Corpus III, illustration 201), or Collingham (Collingwood 1927, figure 31). The use of the tongue as a strand seems to become more frequent as time goes on but in the group of sculpture from Chester-le-Street and in the area around the tongue strand is used in some very simple designs on most occasions.

In this chapter it is a constant feature but one which did not arise from the Lindisfarne sculpture although it is seen on the late cross shaft from Lindisfarne, number 7A (figure 11hA, lower). This added feature in its context demonstrates that art, even in the most violently troubled times, does not stay still but constantly changes with tastes, fashion or attitudes. At Chester-le-Street after just seven years of travel, there *(Cramp, Corpus 1, 3)* is a huge loss of technical expertise and understanding of designs so that in this

chapter, Chester-le-Street work will be looked for what remains in the degradation and also the animal designs which arise with the burgeoning revival in the area.

Chester-le-Street

The spire which marks the medieval church is now a land mark of Chester-le-Street but the community of St Cuthbert built a wooden church when they arrived there in 893, which was not replaced by a stone one until Bishop Aethelric built one in the eleventh century long after the community had departed for Durham (HDE, III chapter 9). The early wooden church and the stone one which followed, may have stood centrally on the Roman fort as does the present church. E. Cambridge (1998, 368 - 73, figures 31 and 32), who believes the early church was on the fort, found only some slim evidence for this. Professor Cramp points out (1980, 3):

> Nevertheless, their position was precarious when in the midst of the remains of a Roman stone fort they built a wooden church which was to stand until 1056. The community had, apparently, neither the skill nor the resources to build a stone church, and even if they had wanted to it is difficult to see where they would have acquired masons in the vicinity.

However, sculpture has been found on the site, both in the present church and yard early in the nineteenth century (Stuart 1867, plate 91) and others during the 1883 renovations (Browne 1883, 182-8) and some more recently. Although Greenwell (1862-8, xiv) talks of a work, which is now lost[1], and "compares it with stones from Hexham, Lowther and Bewcastle, which may imply a stone with plant scroll"(Cramp, Corpus I, 53), the works which now remain are unprepossessing. The surviving stones are now in the anchorage museum, and show a range of style such as one might expect of a community in restrained circumstances although the church continued on even after the Community left as a holy site. The works themselves are so poor in all respects that E. Cambridge (1998, 371-378) discusses the options: whether this is because better works have not yet been found; because of the change in the nature of this community; a result of the temporary aspect of their stay or even the decline of sculpture in general. No one answer seems to solve the problem.

However, it is clear that not only are the stones poor in design and badly executed but that many of the shafts are badly shaped and dressed as if even the mason's art was lost. The famous Horseman Stone, Chester-le-Street 1, found in 1883 (Browne 1883,

Figure 12a

**Horseman Stone, Chester-le-Street I.**

1:8
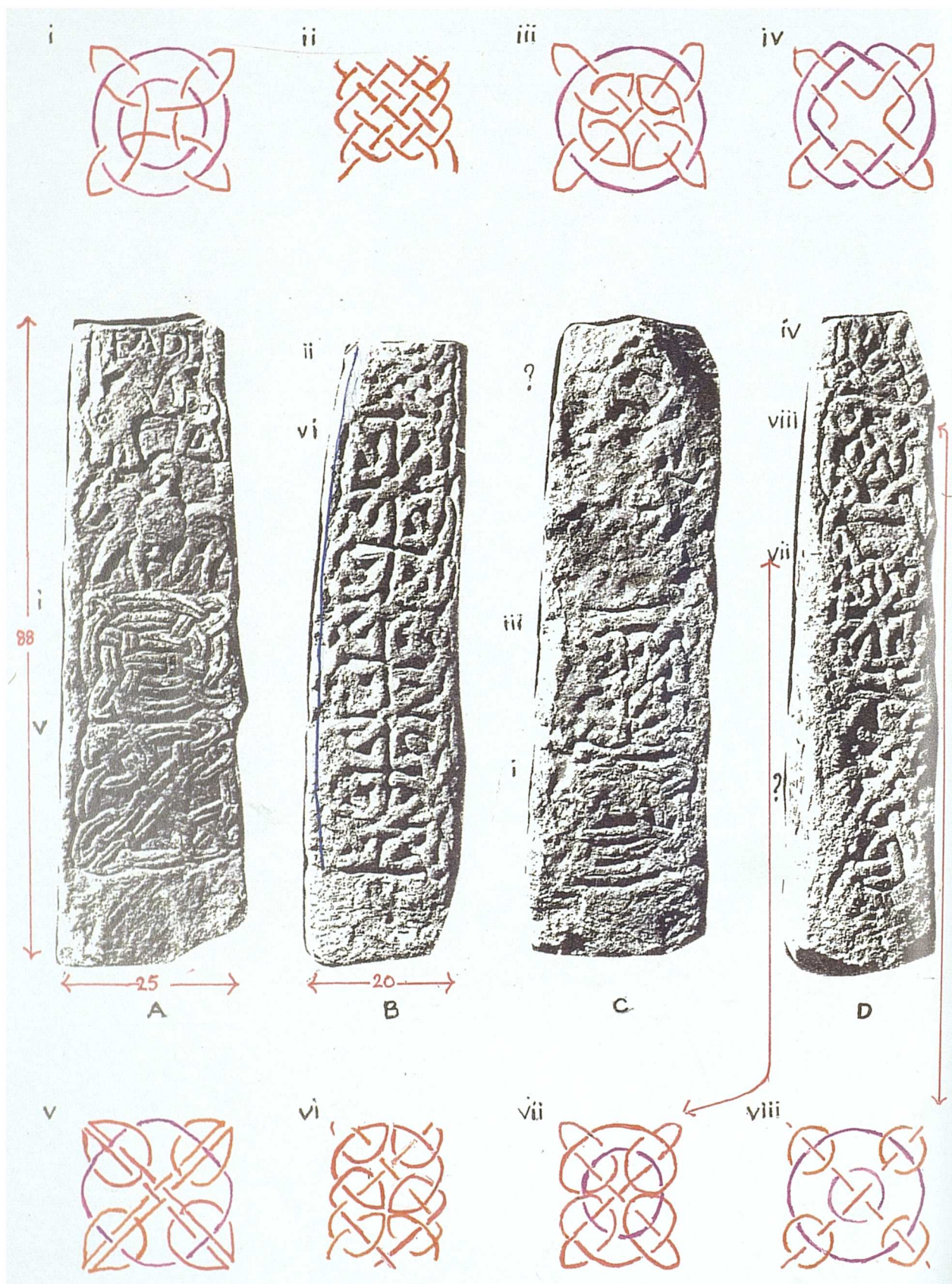
182 and plate,[2] figure 12a) although now badly damaged, was badly shaped so that it is curved (figure 12a, blue line), with no mouldings as such, little taper and the designs were just dug into the ground. On the other hand this stone has a wealth of designs; pattern C on side B, encircled pattern C or ring knots, together with a variety of simplified circular motifs which are shown in figure 12a demonstrate a background of interlace, but misunderstood. There is a Northumbrian tradition here, only on figure 12aviii is a design like a Scandinavian fetter not Bernician[3]. On this stone only there is an attempt to carve a half width strand. The designs were reproduced freehand, with no guidance for intervals or means of keeping them straight.

By way of contrast, number 2 (Corpus I, illustrations 110-1, 114-5) is well tapered and beautifully dressed with clear straight edge mouldings. The design formation however, does not measure up to this framework, being delineated in a rough grooved technique with crooked ill-fitting motifs. The contrast between the format and the design, which is distorted spiralled half-pattern A, suggests that a plain dressed shaft found on the site or nearby was taken over by the sculptor. Such plain shafts have been found at Escomb 5 or Gainford 21 (Corpus I, illustrations 263 and 347). Only the poorly conceived design work on number 2 seems to have been executed at the time under discussion. It may be, too, that the two cubic cross-bases, numbers 11 and 12 (Corpus I, illustrations 143-151), were Roman column-bases or altars: one is plain; the other seems to have had corner columns and architrave of a classical nature, so that a tenth century sculptor would only need to groove his designs into the surface. Again a rough piece of Roker dolomite, number 6 (Corpus I, illustrations 104-5, 108-9), appears as if new designs are carved on a rough block. On this fine-grained stone the sculptor has attempted to model the strands a little, but the result falls far short of the finish which can be achieved on this type of stone.

If the men who carved these lacked technical knowledge, they have achieved a greater variety of interlace than anywhere else in the area, with basic patterns A, C and E and various circular forms (figure 11A, first column iv). The wide patterns of the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth group are not present since at Chester-le-Street no shaft is over 30cm wide. It is possible too that local craftsmen were used, as several cable mouldings are carved, numbers 3, 5 and 6 (Corpus I, illustrations 118, 94 and 104), and this is a local feature found on Jarrow 16A, Monkwearmouth 12 (Corpus I,

Figure 12b

The animals with lacing tongue.
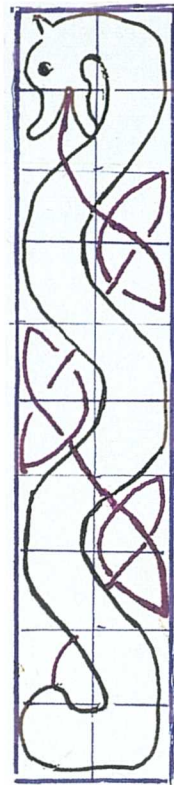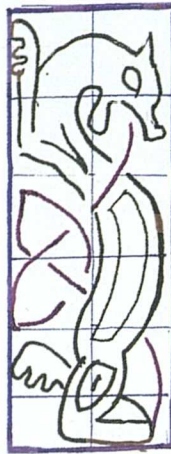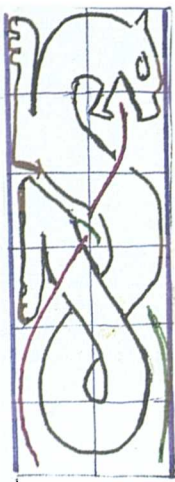
i. Construction of swaying animals: Chester-le-street 5B and 8A, Aycliffe 2B.
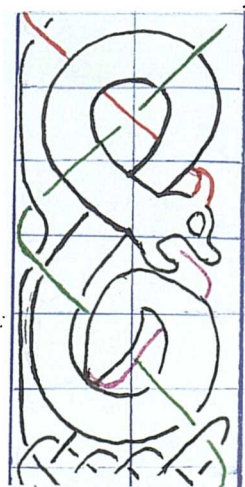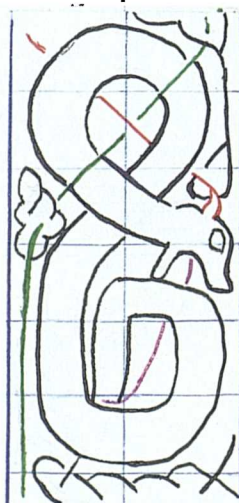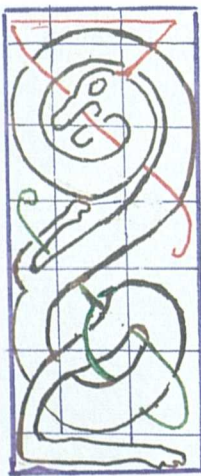
ii. The spiralled pattern (half) and derived forms; Gainford 5A and 2C.

illustrations 520 and 625). Also designs were continuous or contiguous on the Chester-le-Street stones not panelled like those in the work discussed and are like the continuous vine-scroll shafts of the area, and this also could be a local feature.

There is however, certainly Viking influence, even in this community who had fled before those same invaders. The horseman himself on the Horseman Stone (Chester-le-Street 1A) seems a recurring motif in the district and here on Chester-le-Street 1A (figure 12a) he rides with a shield while large heads threaten him.[4] Again on Chester-le-Street 12C (Corpus I, illustration 149) there is an animal descending and another with out thrown feet perhaps human; not the same composition as Lindisfarne 7A (figure 11hA, lower) but the same symbols. These works at Chester-le-Street, could be contemporary with Lindisfarne 7 and so show a link between the two places. There are, however, no animal interlaces, such as that on Lindisfarne 7 (plate 48).

Fragments 5 and 8: the animal designs

There are two fragments, numbers 5 and 8 (Corpus I, illustrations 94-7, and 126, here plates 50 and 51), which have slightly superior carving when compared with the other pieces. The fragments are small, number 5 is a shaft piece with a narrow cable moulding decorated on all sides, and is scarcely 21cm in length, 29-30cm in width, 18-19cm in depth.[5] The other piece, number 8, is 32cm in length and 22cm in width and rather crooked with one patterned face, while all other faces are broken. Both are carved in the grooved technique (see glossary) but with the hole points cut to deep conical holes and with grooves dug carefully to delineate the strands and show the crossings. This technique is not so well developed as that of the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth group but adequate and clear. The stones are of a coarse sandstone and this technique means that although the strands are wider than half-width the sculptor can give attention to rounding the edges enabling a pleasant grading of light and shade, while the grooves are carved deeply enough to give clarity through shadow. The animals have bodies about three times as wide as strands, one is flat and the other is contoured, (plates 50 and 51).

Number 5 has interlace on both the main faces in the form of pattern A with reversing loops, that is the loops on the left point up while those on the right point down. After so many warped and distorted patterns here is one correctly drawn, probably with the

aid of a template of the motif, as all loops are the same size on either side although a little warp is developing on the central axis. The Lindisfarne unit measure, 6cm is used. On side D is a key pattern, which is clearly like that on the small shaft at Norham, 5B.[6] The triangular motif is the normal one wound to the centre with an extra turn as it is on Norham 5B (Corpus I, illustrations 97 and 1174). This design starts in a regular manner but little remains.

The animal on side B (plate 50, figure 12bi) is a new type of crouching animal, different from the zig-zag dog of Lindisfarne 1 (plate 13). It lies along the vertical axis, front leg along by the moulding and the neck turned back so the mouth is towards the body. In fact only the open mouth, knob nose and tongue issuing forth can be seen because of the break. What is visible of the head is like the threatening head of Lindisfarne 7 or the heads which threaten the horse man on Chester-le-Street number 1 (figures 11h and 12a). The body curves across the vertical axis and back again, so that in the hollow of the body is the rear end of another animal, or perhaps it is the curved back of the same animal. Plate 50b shows the design as if part of a chain of animals, while figure 12bi demonstrates how it could be one animal terminating: the former looks more appropriate.

The concept of interlocked animals in chains is associated with Viking-age York, of which York Minster 2D (appendix plate 12) is an example. The typical chain has basic repetition but details differ in each closely locked register. Nearer to Chester-le-Street is an animal chain Haughton-le-Skerne 6A, (appendix plate 14) or Sockburn 8A (Corpus I, illustration 733). These works in the south of the Bernician area, are a different strain which will not be discussed here. If indeed they were carved in the tenth century (Corpus I, Cramp 103 and 139) their relationship to Jellinge ornament is "classic and confident" (Cramp, Corpus I, 29). The intricate designs and fine techniques of these works demonstrate to what extent the Chester-le-Street sculptors were struggling for even a minimum achievement.

The animal on Chester-le-Street, number 8 (plate 51, figure 12bi) is similar to number 5B and coincidentally broken at the same place across the face. This animal, too, flows across the vertical axis and back again but this time the tongue strand forms a comfortably fitting Stafford knot before crossing diagonally, perhaps to become the

tail. There is a clear but small pear-shaped hip joint, not a spiral, and a very short leg ends in a three toed foot. This animal, terminating at the broken edge seems to be a complete single motif, and the lacing, though not integrating, gives it an Anglo-Saxon flavour, whereas its companion on number 5 seems part of a Viking-age animal chain.

The motif itself, a crouching animal with back turned head, could fit into most fashions: Salin Style II (plate 3), the Lindisfarne zig-zag dog (plate 13) and the animals of Viking York (Corpus III, illustration 331). The hip joint here is not the Viking spiral, but a more pear-shaped joint. The tongue laces, although it does not lace in the Sockburn or Haughton-le-Skerne or the patterns mentioned (above) and the head is a larger more Anglo-Saxon type. This seems a version from another stream and information on the type is furthered at Aycliffe, on cross number 2.

Aycliffe number 2

Aycliffe church has visible Anglo-Saxon masonry in the walls over the arches in the nave. The Revd. J.F. Hodgson (1906-11, 1-10, plate 2) examined the church during repairs when the plaster was chipped away. He concluded that:

> In the first aspect we see a simple, massive, rude, but well built Saxon structure, consisting of a nave, thirty feet long, by sixteen feet six inches broad; and a chancel, probably about fourteen feet broad and of slightly greater length, both of very considerable height ...

He reasons from a butt joint of the quoins that the nave was extended westward in a second building phase. Taylor and Taylor (1965 1, 35) date the remains between 960 and 1100. C.D. Morris (1978, 99 –100 and 104) on the evidence of written sources gives an earlier date, possibly early tenth century or 930.

Morris (1978, 100) expected that influence at Aycliffe came from York until about 930, when the church came into the orbit of the Chester-le-Street Community. In turn, in 1006, it came into more secular hands as the dowry of Ecgfrida, the daughter of Bishop Aldhune when she married Earl Uhtred. This historical sequence allows for several building phases: nor is it surprising that in the thirteen pieces of sculpture that have been found, there is a considerable variety.

Figure 12c

Aycliffe 2.

A   B   C   D

1:10
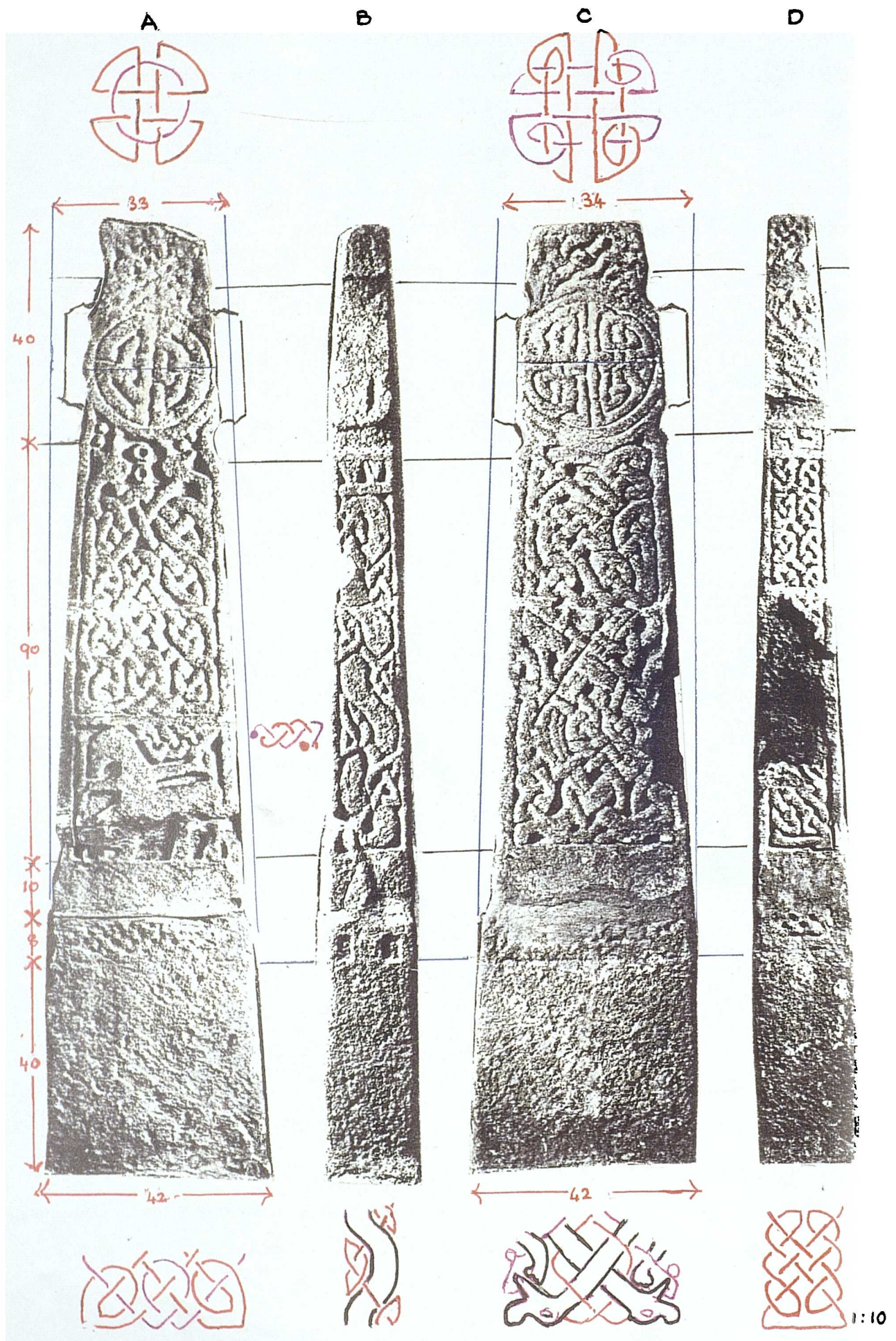
An almost complete cross (number 2) was used as a lintel in the medieval fabric, thus explaining the loss of the lateral arms (Hodges 1905, 219). It was drawn by Gibb (Stuart 1867, plate 89) when it stood outside in the church yard, restored as Hodges believed (1905, 219) to its own base and lower shaft, and later moved to the south aisle of the church where it still stands (figure 12c). If the lower shaft is the correct one for it, it is about a centimetre too large all round, so that an amount of about 20cm must have been cut from one piece or other at some stage. The taper of the top piece too is somewhat sharper than that at the bottom piece. As it stands now the total length from the bottom of the lower piece is 178cm and 138cm to the central roundel. It is 42cm wide at the base, 36cm wide of the start of the upper stone, then tapering to 27cm or 28cm at the roundel: a very, very sharp taper averaging about 1cm in 10. The depth of the shaft is roughly half the width and it has the typical narrow flat mouldings on all decorated edges, of the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth group and the Chester-le-Street pieces.

The lower shaft itself has considerable interest (figure 12c). There is a 40cm stretch which is quite plain then a few centimetres of designs can be seen. These designs disappear at the broken edge. Plain interlace is on the two main faces, about twenty cords wide, with a unit measure of 3.5cm. These may be simple in horizontal bands like those we see on Lindisfarne number 2D (figure 11f) or Aycliffe 1A and C (figure 15d), but the sides tell a different story. Side D has an interlace with a large unit measure expected to extend upwards, as a pattern panel as on Aycliffe 1D, not just a band. Side B appears to show the head of the crucified St Peter which most assuredly would need more space for the body than is available. There is further evidence for this interpretation and that is wedge shaped objects presumably inspired by the feet of St Peter which appear copied as a decorative motif just below the cross arm (plate 52B figure 12ci). These are not like the feet on the crucifixion of St Peter or Aycliffe 1A (figure 15d D) spread horizontally but like those of the crucified Christ on Alnmouth 1A, hanging vertically (Corpus I, illustration 808).

These oddities could easily be explained if this were the wrong base for the main shaft as well it may be and the evidence of the plain interlace bands and the crucifixion of Peter would make it contemporary of Aycliffe 1 or it may have been an earlier shaft than either (chapter 15). The upper part may have been that shaft reshaped and

recarved or another shaft altogether but the reshaping is indicated by its taper. The former designs would have been shaved off and the taper increased to allow short arms to be cut within the space of the original shaft (figure 12c, blue lines). The narrow armpits would agree with this and the arms of the revised shaft need not be more than 5cm to fit within the shaft it was cut from. The original shaft would have been wider and taller, perhaps a ninth century cross[7].

The carving of the upper piece starts strongly 10cm above the join. It is without lower mouldings, and continues up on the faces to touch the central roundels, although small panels on the sides indicate the start of the lower cross-arm but the face patterns are unbroken. The roundels are large, with quadrupartite designs, done in a shallow grooved technique, but the pattern type in quadrants appears in Pictish work (ECMS I, figures 777-786).[8] The upper arm is decorated with plain plaiting without great inspiration. The way the cross is set out is shown in figure 12c, with some designs drawn diagrammatically for clarity.

The technique used below the roundels is the modified grooved style which was used on the Chester-le-Street fragments 5 and 8. The strands are softly rounded so as to grade the light, which makes the work impressive as it stands now in the filtered light of the church. Such a large cross with many designs gives a broader picture of the patterns available, reinforcing what is known from Chester-le-Street and enlarging the repertoire for what appears to be work from one workshop.

The sides of Aycliffe number 2

The two sides have a common theme, Stafford knots: Side B has animal interlace with Stafford knots, side D has plain paired knots (figure 12c), with the upper four registers perfect Stafford knots while somewhere in a broken area the design was changed to pattern D (figure 12c D). The unit measure is about 3.5cm. One wonders if this excellent piece of workmanship was copied by templates from a workshop, since the knots are a great improvement on any at Chester-le-Street 6 (Corpus I, illustrations 108 and 112).

The opposite side, side B (plate 52, figure 12bi and 12cB) has the new form of animal interlace, in fact it features a rhythmic snake which has the same head and turned neck

as those quadrupeds of Chester-le-Street 5 and 8 but no limbs, just a long ribbon body, swaying either side of the vertical axis, while the tongue extends diagonally to place Stafford knots appropriately within the hollows created. Although this is not an orthodox gridded interlace it has regular intervals along the central vertical axis of 10-11cm or subdivided +5cm. Measurements and lines which may have aided drawing are suggested on plate 52B and (figure 12bi). Whatever systems was used, it seems that the Chester-le-Street works, with the same angles and intervals, used something equally regular, figure 12bi. The divisions on the Chester-le-Street pieces on the vertical axes are about 6cm.

Although the turned neck and head of this snake are like those of Chester-le-Street there are no limbs. As a snake, it is a motif found over a wide area perhaps like one on the Manx cross from Kirk Braddon which "is derived directly from the art which inspired the ribbon shaped animals of the Jellinge style" (Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, 1966, 112, figure 52). That one is adorned in its rhythmic curves with a decorated lappet strand. Also there is a snake with Stafford knots in the hollows of its body on a grave-slab at Bexhill, Sussex (Kendrick 1949, plate 56) and even closer to Aycliffe, on a shaft from St Mary's Bishophill Senior (Corpus III, illustration 249). T.D. Kendrick (1941 a, 128) makes a penetrating remark, and although he was speaking of other work, it is most appropriate here:

> I believe they are neither Scandinavian animals nor English versions of Scandinavian animals, but barbaric animals returning to fashion as a result of Viking interest in them.
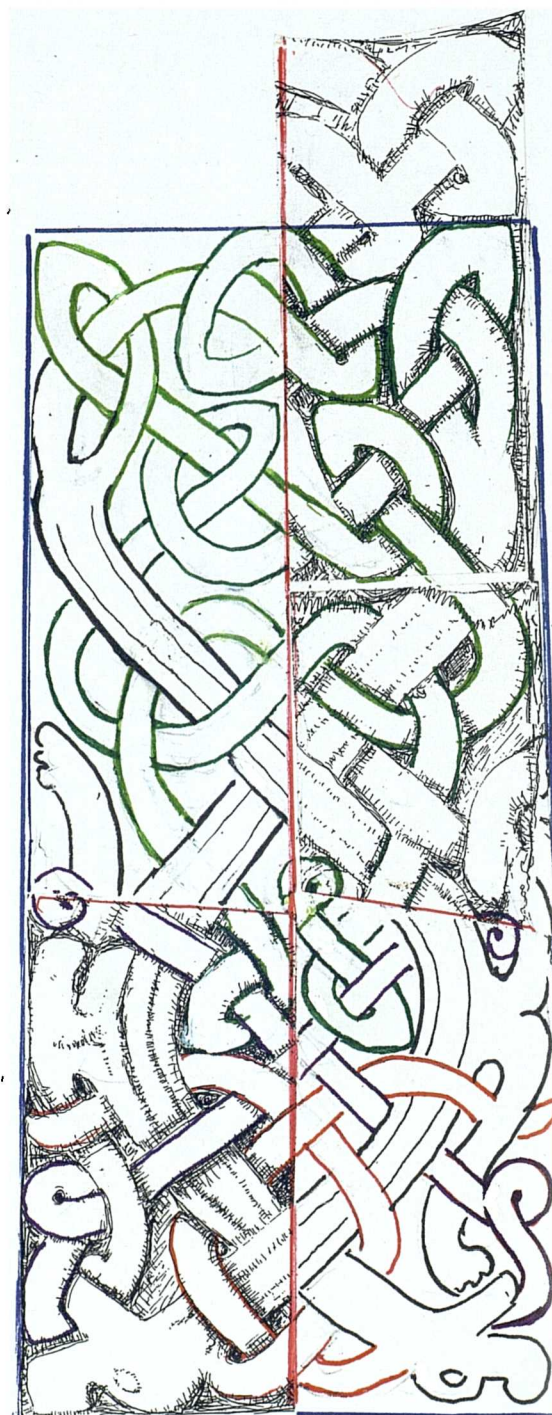
Faces A and C

The old and new styles are represented on the faces.. The "old" may have been inspired by what had been on the shaft or other works in the area or templates survived from the ninth century while the "new" was the Viking-age taste with new expressions.

The lower panel on side A has another representation of a horseman or at least a horse with arms, perhaps a centaur although no face is discernible in the manner that Hodgson (1906-11, plate 14) shows it. This seems a Viking inspiration like the horseman of Chester-le-Street 1A, Sockburn 3A, Gainford 4A, Hart 1A (see note 4)

Figure 12d
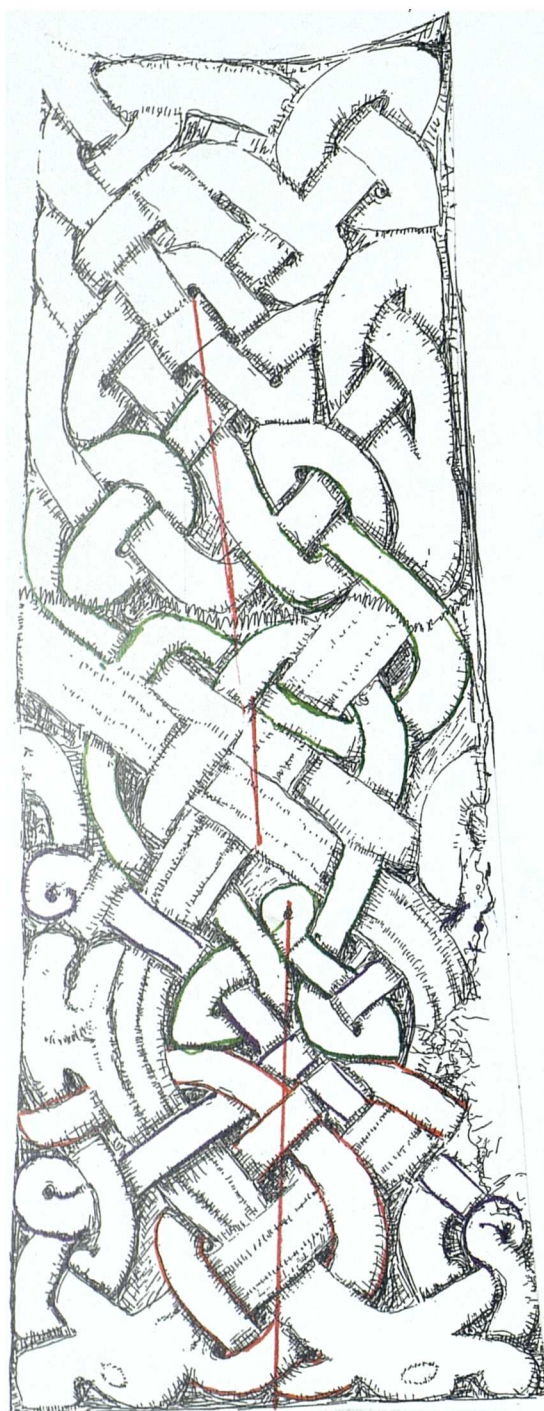
i. Aycliffe 2C: the design with axes. ii. Aycliffe 2C pulled onto one axis.

but most like a panel on Tynemouth, number 2C (Corpus I, illustration 1252) which certainly has a centaur. At Aycliffe there are no large threatening heads above the rider as there are at Chester-le-Street or a head with a snake as is on the Sockburn piece, but there is an interlace above the back of the centaur which is a modified version of snakes (Aycliffe and Tynemouth), and one which seems to have snake head terminals (figure 12cA). This also appears on Tynemouth 2C.

The panel above this horse panel, has by contrast a strictly gridded interlace in twelve cords, as the 29cm width on this piece expects (plate 53). Its unit measure is 4.5cm which was also a common measurement in the Lindisfarne group. The design is simple pattern A separated by symmetrical loops up the middle which is another ploy to increase the width of a pattern.[9] This is not a Lindisfarne idea but is a simple answer to a wide shaft. However, after three nearly perfect registers, the pattern, when squeezed by the taper, runs suddenly out of control and finally terminates its four strands with heads and lappets. These heads do not threaten but are upturned with open mouths as if devouring the space filling pellets. This appearance, of apparent rejoicing, is also on an upturned head on the Gosforth cross 1C (Corpus II, illustration 189 and 301). Did these animal heads have some connection with the horse or snakes below or were they simply a way of filling the awkward space under the central roundel?

It is face C (plate 54, figure 12d and e) which has a remarkable interlaced animal, adding to the evidence that behind this cross was a ninth century work. The design, strange and muddled, appears to harken back to ideas expressed in the St Petersburg or the Barberini Gospels and other media of the late eighth to early ninth centuries where paired animals, usually bipeds, are entwined in a mirror-image formation with fine shapely bodies and long slimming tails to form medallion shapes (figures 7ei and ii and 7hiii).

Here on Aycliffe 2C the bodies of two animals form this typical medallion shape about the vertical axis, but their bodies are for the most part shapeless ribbons and the (surviving) tail does not diminish in width, it simply bifurcates in the Viking-age manner and goes on to lace in what was perhaps a second lozenge made up of interlace only. The heads are on the bottom of the design facing outward, while two

legs come from the outside not the inside of the bulge in the lozenge, starting close together as a pair of biped legs, then following the vertical edge, one up one down. This is another case of many already noted of a motif in which legs are started on the outside not within the hollow of the body where expected (plates 14, 38, 41, 46 and 58).

The heads in this design are akin to the others under discussion. They have the same rounded foreheads almond eyes, open mouths and tongues which issue forth to lace, and noses with large knobs, but there are no ears since the ear lappets are also present. The area around each mouth is difficult to read because the paw, lower jaw and tongue (complete with a twist) are in close proximity. However this would be an area changed from the more normal course where a diagonal leg crossing to pin the interlace and to thread through the mouth could be expected. Figure 12eiv shows hypothetical motifs, one a biped, the other a quadruped, which illustrate this. Such motifs may have been forerunners, before the fashion in Bernicia developed whereby limbs were turned around or inside out.

In the confused design it is clear that there is something wrong with the symmetry. If the vertical axis is drawn in, starting from the bottom, through the central points, it can be seen to favour the left side, being 15cm wide, while the right side becomes cramped for room by the taper (figure 12di). Then, after a straightish area at the top of the lozenge, the right side is given favoured treatment and the left side is now starved for room, to the extent that the tail on that side is cut off. Figure 12di shows the broken axis, while dii shows the better sides of the design pulled back onto a central axis and the opposite side made symmetrical. The original pattern may have continued upward, with interlace, as on side A (plate 53). The design even has snatches where the unit measure is 4.5cm. However this muddle can only be explained by a use of templates which the designer could not adapt to the taper.

Without reading back into it any ninth century predecessors, the design when reversed in direction top to bottom is surprisingly like the nasal piece of the Coppergate helmet (figure 12ei and ii). They both have the basic medallion shape formed by the crossed bodies, both animals are bipeds with the two legs coming from a central feature, both are laced simply from the ear lappet (the sculpture also has the tongue, figure 12dii,
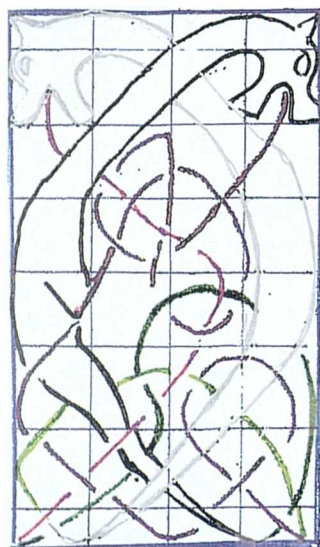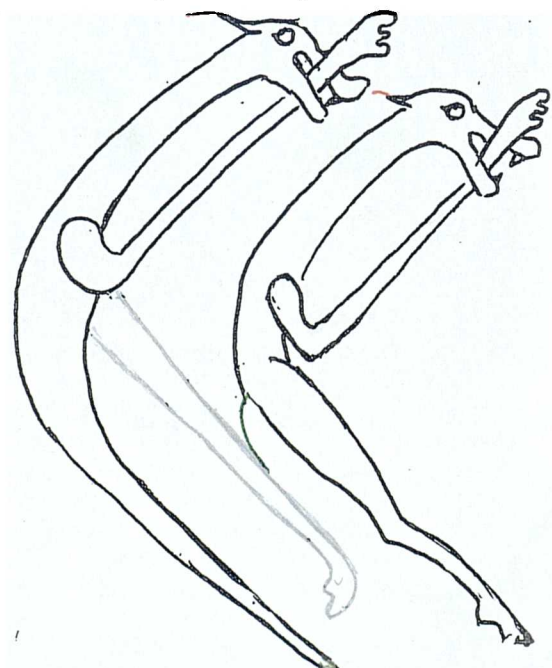
Figure 12e
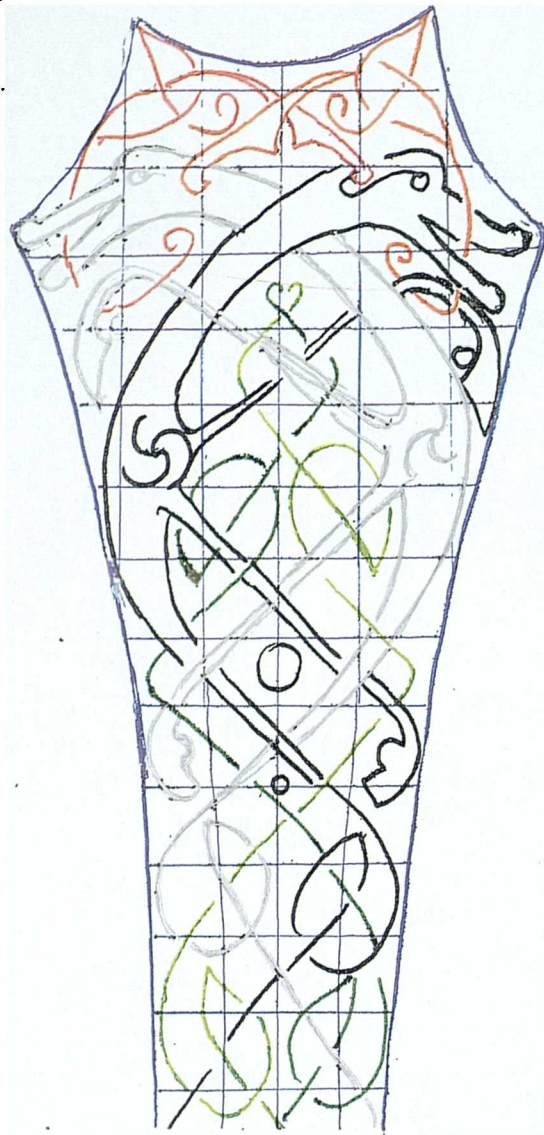
i. Coppergate helmet design.
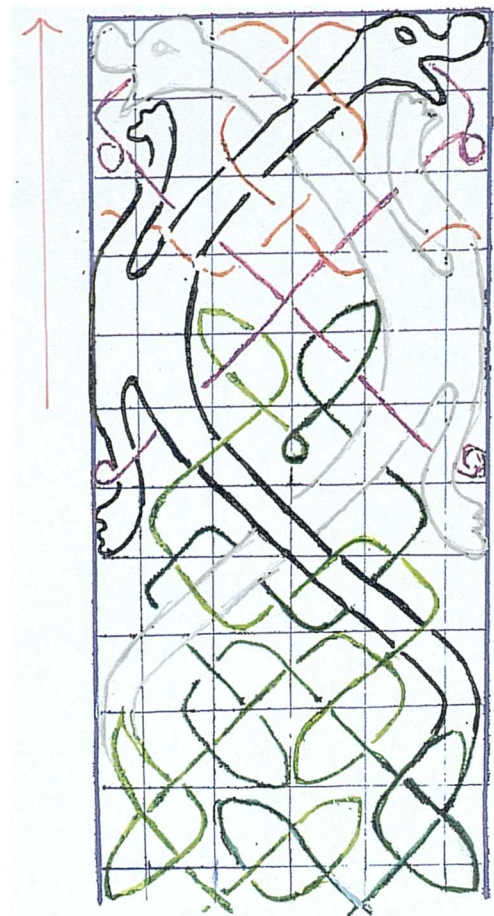
ii. Aycliffe 2C (reversed in direction).

iii. Steventon Manor_1B.

iv. Hypothetical basic motifs.

purple); then both have the major lacing from the tail forming for the most part simple asymmetrical loops soon extending below the body. The helmet tail strand winds to the end of the design then returns to finish in the lozenge directly under the crossed necks. The sculptured animals' tails could have done the same, however long the original design happened to be, and so finish in the lozenge also. The helmet piece because of its function has of necessity a long repetitive pattern, while the sculpture appears to need a framework of almost two lozenge shapes for a cross-face panel. The tail is reconstructed in figure 12eii, to be symmetrical and return down the design back into the lozenge formed by the bodies.

D. Tweddle (1992, 1165) dates the helmet to 750-75 but says it could have been buried a hundred years later, so that this and similar designs could be made or seen during the ninth century in metalwork. He (1992, 1165, figures 579-81 and Corpus IV, 34-40, figures 10-12) shows similar designs from sculpture and other media: possibly none are as close as this overlooked piece of muddled sculpture from Aycliffe. In figure 7h, the lozenge medallion is drawn in various forms, but these designs are connected with Thornhill 1B.The examples are however, equally relevant for Aycliffe. Therefore it is clear that behind the Aycliffe work lies a fine, even ambitious, ninth century design which survived until the tenth century in template form, as no other method could have produced the axes which were so crooked.

Another medallion pattern from the south of England reinforces the idea of adaptation and, that is on a shaft from Steventon Manor 1C in Hampshire (Corpus IV, illustration 472, here figure 12eiii) which changes not by having outside legs, but no legs at all. The animals this time have heads which hang down the sides, but heads not unlike the Aycliffe ones with tongues extending and their limbless bodies form a lozenge medallion while the tails go on to lace. However one can still see the elbow joint on the left animal towards the centre of the bulge and the shape of a lower leg on the same animal just before it becomes a tail (figure 12eiii). All the lacing now comes from tongue to tail in a sorry tangle with no loops or symmetry. D. Wilson (1984, 146) says it is a Jellinge type of animal, while D. Tweddle places it with his eighth century group (Corpus IV, 37, figure 9). Both these are right to a certain extent, in that it is clearly an early pattern type but the adjustment by turning lacing into a tongue strand and eliminating limbs seems to be Viking-age. These changes are also similar

to those made at Aycliffe. Figure 12eiv shows motifs of the animals based on the Coppergate form, with long heads but biting a front leg in Northumbrian style. Each motif could be easily changed from quadruped to biped and then to a snake if desired. All in all, Aycliffe 2 must be one of the most interesting of shafts, reflecting as it does earlier streams of influence together with Scandinavian features. Moreover, the great animal interlace on face C show that there was a survival of templates. The latter connects with the great animal designs of Mercia or more probably Deira. On the other hand a new taste prevailed, seen in the centaur or the heads on the interlace on side A or in the rhythmic snake on side B. This is Viking-age in fashion but certainly without the many Viking-age details used in other places such as the sudden counter movements the tight bonds, the small heads, open mouths and nose lappets, or spiralled joints with short legs. One other centre has something of this new style which allows us to broaden the picture a little further: the centre is Gainford.

Gainford

Gainford on the river Tees is a few kilometres to the south-west of Aycliffe, and was linked closely with the latter in the tenth century, although a separate estate (Morris 1978, 99 and 104). The medieval church there has yielded an abundance of Anglo-Saxon sculpture "numbering upward of thirty pieces" (Hodges 1894, 81), found during renovations, while some pieces are still embedded in the church walls. Three sizeable shafts, 1, 2 and 5 (Corpus I, illustrations 280, 282 and 294) are of importance here and in many ways they are like Aycliffe 2, in that they each have a lower rough uncarved section and considerable taper; and it is possible they also have been reworked shafts. Their technique, conical holes, broad strands grooved in outline with a medial groove is like that at Aycliffe or Chester-le-Street but more shallow and perhaps a little less developed. There are figural panels, animal designs, with an abundance of plain plaiting without the variety of interlace patterns, which was seen at either Aycliffe or Chester-le-Street.

There are two great animal panels tangled or chained with lacing, rather than interlaced on 1C and 2A (Corpus I, illustrations 280 and 282). These are more the realistic animals of Deira and Mercia. Professor Cramp (1978, 13 -14 figure 1.2) has placed them in a sequence with such animals. The animals with heads turned back, stand in pairs one above the other, enmeshed, or fettered with tongue interlace. There

seems to be another order in the designs, as the animals do not respond to each other, nor is the lacing gridded. This type will not be discussed other than to note that these patterns like those on Aycliffe 2C, show influence from the south.

However, there is a panel on face 1A just below the head which has relevance here, (plate 55). The top of the design has half width curling and spiralling strands suggesting the upper part of the spiralled animal design (plate 58). After these curled volutes in fine strands, the design drops back into the wider, characteristic strand-type forming plain but confused basket plait. Yet there is a sway even in this plain plait which suggests the bodies and limbs of the spiralled pattern. Added to this the width of the panel 21cm, the unit measure 4.5cm and number of units corresponds roughly to the design on St Oswald's cross 1C, except that it is shorter as if ended at the eighth unit (plates 55 and 58). This may really have been an attempt at the spiralled pattern, aborted when the designer could not follow the template or the sculptor did not understand how to carve it.

If the theory is correct, namely that the spiralled design was known even misunderstood, at Gainford in the tenth century it shows once more how patterns survived from the ninth century where it has been noted on the Monk's Stone (plate 42). Further the snake patterns on 2C and 5A (plates 56 and 57) give the appearance of being the simplified half pattern of the spiralled design, that is just one animal with a double volute. Figure 12bii shows how I would expect this half pattern to look, with the two patterns from Gainford. On the Gainford sculpture the body curls one way then counter curls but has no limbs, although on both one can see a change of direction and a bulge exactly where one would expect upper back leg to be. The design is simplified, too, by the neck forming a loop not a spiral. Figure 12bii shows these patterns diagramatically on a grid. They have much in common with Chester-le-Street and Aycliffe (figure 12i) although the Gainford patterns have cruder heads. Plain basket weaving above and below is not of the designs, but performs a space filling function. Nevertheless both snake like animals can be seen to have had their origin in the spiralled design which has been noted on the Monk's Stone (figure 10h), but now they stand several times removed.

ᕦ **Conclusion**

This chapter began with the question as to what happened to the sculptural style of Lindisfarne when the community of St Cuthbert arrived at Chester-le-Street after seven years of wandering. Many answers have been given, all of which may be partially right but it is certain from most pieces remaining that at first there were no craftsmen, who could either carve stone skillfully or draw up designs accurately at either centre. We also know that the cross of Aethelwold was carried with the community, but seems to have had little influence on the work which has been described as degraded.

The Horseman Stone, because of the use of half-width strands and the wealth of Lindisfarne interlace, is perhaps part of the new beginning in sculpture, as was Lindisfarne 7. It had patterns and variations which one would expect on a narrow stone shaft, paralleling the Lindisfarne repertoire especially with circular patterns or ring knots. Many of the Chester-le-Street pieces are badly dressed, with an inability to measure, and sundry mistakess which add confusion. In a sense, the Horseman Stone mirrors the work Lindisfarne 7 with its over flying monster panel and partly remembered interlace, and poor technique.

At some stage however a revival began to take place and this would be most likely when the Community felt it had some security of tenure and had sufficient revenue, possibly not until near the middle of the tenth century. The small fragments, numbers 5 and 8, show the beginning of a new simple style and new animals. Aycliffe 2, as well as being carved in an even more competent technique and an ordered manner, also has the new animal style, simply presented and easy to read. The spiralled animals at Gainford, 2 and 5, also belong to this simple style but as they have little plainer interlace and are rougher they may show a more provincial style. At Aycliffe and Gainford there is, behind various designs, some knowledge of Deira and the south, particularly in the design on Aycliffe 2C and Gainford 1C and 2A, but also influence from Lindisfarne in the north in the spiralled animal design. There is too, a strong element of Viking-age taste, but not the overtly Scandinavian features such as are found at Haughton-le-Skerne or Sockburn. These two places have some excellent work but seem to be influenced more directly by the Scandinavian ascendancy at York than from the Anglo-Saxon styles.

The work discussed could be fitted into the tenth century, parallel with some work at Lindisfarne. The array has now been set in place so that the cross of St Oswald's Durham can be discussed. Is it a work of the ninth century created before these animals with the lacing tongues or was it done in the eleventh century after the Community of St Cuthbert arrived at Durham? Depending on the answer there is a whole group of sculpture to be fitted into the scheme, from Durham itself, Tynemouth, Aycliffe, Hexham, Woodhorn and Jarrow.

NOTES

1. Browne (1883) on plates facing 182 and 184, shows all the stones now at Chester-le-Street except number 10, but including number 3 now lost (Stuart 1867, plate 91). In Browne's plate there are two contiguous pieces with a fine moulding standing on number 2, which may be the missing piece noted by Greenwell, but designs cannot be seen in the photograph.

2. Browne 1882-4, 95-8 figure on 100; and 1983, 182-3, plates facing 182, Stephens 1885, 88-91 and plates Allen and Brown 1885, 442-3, all emphasise the inscription and describe the stone in part.

3. The ring knot is an encircled or closed circuit pattern (Corpus I, figures 19 and 24) used in Norham 7A as a repeating pattern, but on Lindisfarne 5B and Alnmouth 1B as single units (Corpus I, illustrations 1169, 1056 and 809) and the type of split-plait is on Norham 10B (Corpus I, illustration 1179). This is discussed further in chapter 13. The Viking fetter is seen on a figure on Gainford 5C (Corpus I, illustration 297) and as a design on Forcett 2A (Corpus VI, 252).

4. Horses and riders, often associated with snakes are on Gainford 4A, Hart 1A, Sockburn 3A (Corpus I, illustrations 290, 394 and 710). Horses like centaurs, also associated with snakes are on Aycliffe 2A and Tynemouth 2A (Corpus I, illustrations 29 and 1252).

5. Chester-le-Street 5 is mounted upside down in the museum, photographed and drawn that way (plate 50). Number 8, too is oddly shaped and perhaps upside down.

6. Cramp (Corpus I, 56) believes the key pattern links with Lindisfarne 5 and 6 and Alnmouth (Corpus I, illustrations 1055, 1057, 1071, 1073 and 811); Cambridge (1989, 375, plate 46 and 47) likens it to the Norham shaft (5, B) which has a more intricate design and Lindisfarne 5 (Corpus I, illustrations 1175, 1055 and 7).

7. The shapes of Durham 2 and 3 suggest recutting and there are traces of designs on the lower shaft. Other sharply tapered shafts, like Gainford 1, also suggest this (Corpus I, illustrations 197, 199 and 280).

8. Pictish designs were frequently circular or square, divided into quadrants but were not usually used in cross-centres. ECMS I, 778 and 783 show these particular patterns among other similar forms.

9. Wide slate shafts of Whithorn have three columns of loops. Whithorn 6 and 7 are most like the Aycliffe form (ECMS II, figures 525A and 526B).

CHAPTER 13

ST OSWALD'S DURHAM: THE CONTROVERSIAL CROSS

Introduction

> In bringing with them from Lindisfarne their first great stone monument
> and implanting it in the cemetery at Durham the hard-pressed community
> of St Cuthbert proclaimed their heritage.
>
> (Cramp 1989, 228)

The monument referred to is the cross of Bishop Aethelwold which the community

brought to Durham in 995. Simeon of Durham (HDE, chapter 12) says that

Aethelwold:

> ... caused a stone cross of curious workmanship to be made, and directed
> that his own name should be engraved upon it, as a memorial to himself, ...

Since the bishop died in 740, whether the work was finished at the time of his death or

soon after, the cross must have been carved in the first half of the eighth century, a

time from which not a single cross fragment survives from Lindisfarne, but here the

Abercorn/Aberlady shafts were dated to this time (chapter 3).

In the early chapters of this work I proposed many things about the eighth century

sculptural school, demonstrating that the animal designs from Abercorn/Aberlady,

and the late adapted designs from Lindisfarne pointed to Lindisfarne as the centre.

This fragmentary evidence is summarised here for the purpose of finding out what an

early eighth century Lindisfarne cross may have looked like, so that there may be

some inkling as to what was brought to Durham so laboriously by the community.

The purpose is to see how the cross-shaft of St Oswald's Durham measures up to this.

So the main part of this chapter is about the cross-shaft found at the church of St

Oswald, just across the river to the east of Durham cathedral in the nineteenth century.

The discovery of this shaft raised the hopes that it was the very cross of Bishop

Aethelwold to the extent that Canon Greenwell (1890-5, 282) felt bound to refute

these expectations. He reasoned that it would not have been the fabled cross since he

believed that the district of Elvet where St Oswald's church stands predated the arrival

of the community and that the works found there would have predated it also.

Figure 13a   Panelled shafts:
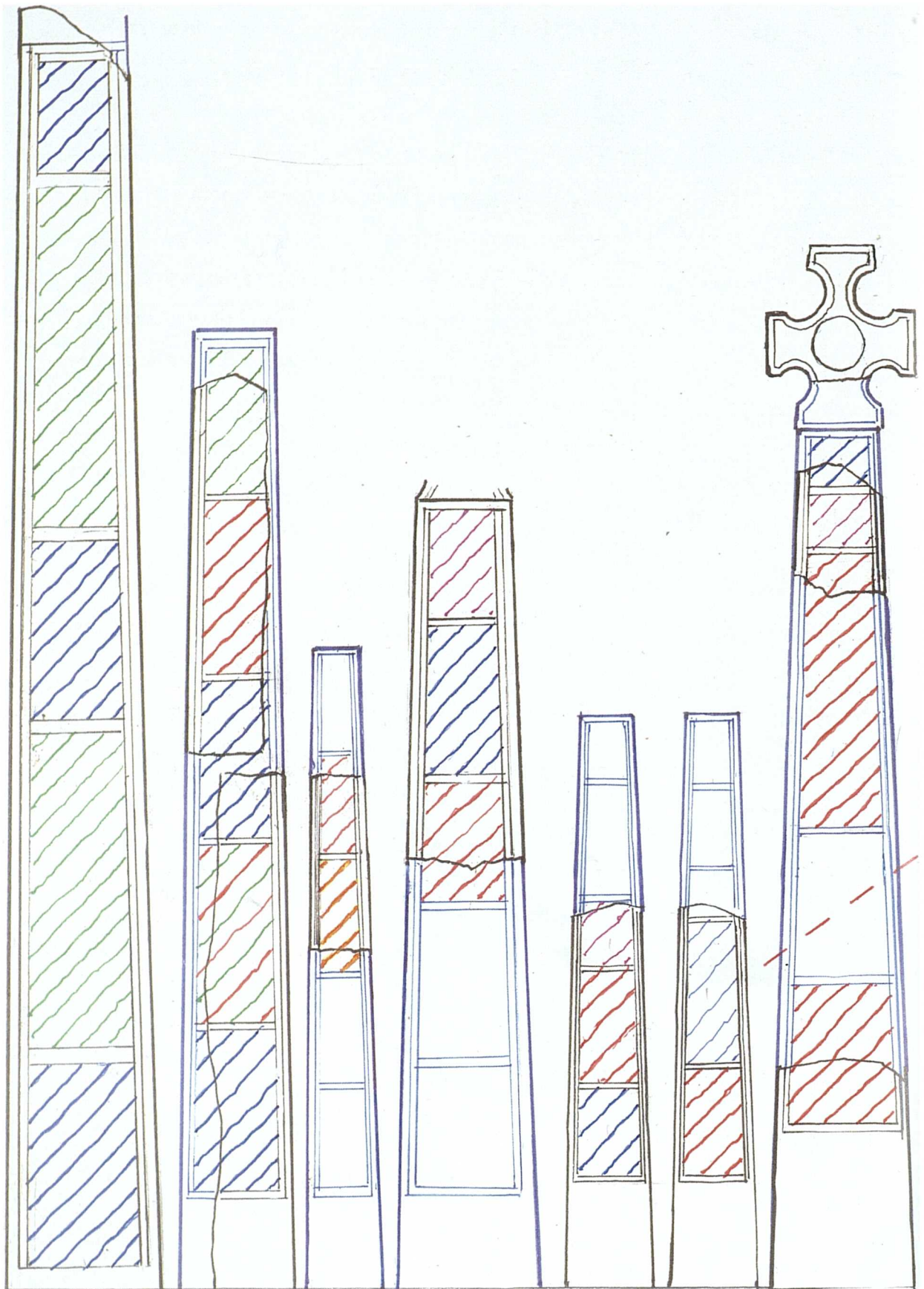
Bewcastle 1B, Abercorn 1934, Aberlady 1A, Abercorn 1A, St Oswald's 1A,C, Woodhorn 1A/C.

interlace,   animal interlace,   plant-scroll,   figural,   geometrical.

1:20

Recently Eric Cambridge (1995, 148-54) has argued along these same lines, saying that Durham may have been a royal centre, with Elvet an episcopal site.

Then, if the cross from St Oswald's is not the cross of Aethelwold where does it fit into the range of works. It has been dated from the eighth to the eleventh centuries[1]. So there is need then to establish from its programme and individual designs how it fits into the scene. In 1974, I believed (Adcock 1974, 217-219) that this was a ninth century work on the grounds of its interlace only, since both the fluid designs and the relaxed technique seemed best in a ninth century setting. Professor Cramp believed that it was a later response to the arrival of the community (1980, 6):

> I still favour the tenth century and that this cross marked the place where St Cuthbert's body rested before a place on the peninsula was ready.

Bishop Aethelwold's Cross

There is much peripheral evidence as to what the cross of Bishop Aethelwold or an early Lindisfarne cross may have been like. All the crosses discussed in this thesis so far (except the Monk's Stone) have designs on panelled faces bound in by the strong vertical force of the generous double edge mouldings but are lightly divided horizontally by single roll mouldings. In effect they are something like the panelled letter stems of the Lindisfarne Gospels (folios 27r, 95r, 139r, 211r, plates 2A and B and figure 2c) which also have schemes whereby the lengths of the panels and the genres alternate, sometimes with small geometric designs or frets added as foils for the interlace and animal designs. The Durham Cassiodorus artist working about the middle of the eighth century, does much the same with his borders (folio 81v, plate 6).

The common number of panels on these decorative faces, including those of Bewcastle B and D (Corpus II, illustrations 92 and 93) seems to be five. It is an easy number of panels for the eye to cope with and may even have had some significance not obvious now. The almost complete shaft Abercorn 1934 has five panels (figures 2a and b). Aberlady may well have had five (figure 3a) and Abercorn 1, (figure 9b). There is little definite information as to where the fragment of Lindisfarne 1 fits into its shaft or the worn Great Farne Island cross piece but all had schemes of alternating genres as far as can be seen. The rich variety is shown in figure 13a. This diagram also shows that animal interlaces are more numerous than generally conceded

although this is not always acknowledged for example R. Bailey (1996,118) says:

> Animal ornament closely resembling manuscript types is relatively rare among surviving pre-Viking sculptures - the interlaced birds of Aberlady represent the often quoted exception.

If the Aethelwofld cross were to have animal designs alternating with interlace and the occasional key patterns, it is clear why Simeon of Durham (HDE, chapter 12) writing in twelfth century said that it had curious workmanship (*artifici operi*), since by then the understanding of such designs would have been lost although plant-scroll and figural scenes would remain clear. The interlace designs however, if like those on Abercorn 1934 (figure 2a and b) would be able to be read by contemporaries at a glance, and the animal patterns would be equally as simple, as they are shown to be recognisably derived from the Lindisfarne Gospels (figure 2). Frets too, if they were present, may have also been uncomplicated designs with strands stepping into the unit but not out again (figure 9c). These would seem "curious" or intricate at a later date, although understandable to contemporaries.

The sides of the Abercorn shafts and Aberlady are decorated with continuous plant scroll but the Monk's Stone and perhaps Lindisfarne 1 have very long, if not continuous interlaces and animal ornament (see chapters 8 and 9 figures 9b and c). Continuity was probably an essential for sides, regardless of the genre. The absence of vine-scroll ornament among the sculpture of Lindisfarne does not prove it was not there since early work does not survive. On the other hand its use at Abercorn does not indicate that it was used at Lindisfarne as there may have been a flow of influence from the west, along the river valleys to Abercorn, from places like Hoddom where vine-scroll was favoured, and this flow may not have effected Lindisfarne itself.

To summarise the expected appearance of the cross of Bishop Aethelwold which was brought to Durham, one could say it should have been tall with little taper like the earliest crosses and have strong vertical double mouldings up the edges and panels on one or both faces divided by single mouldings. The panels probably five in number, in some alternating scheme or plan, would feature animal and plain interlace in particular. The sides would have been continuous, in plant scroll, interlace or interlaced animals. The inscription referred to may have been in a reserved panel space as in Bewcastle 1Av (Corpus II, illustration 104) or the Great Farne Island cross

Figure 13b   St Oswald's Cross-Shaft.
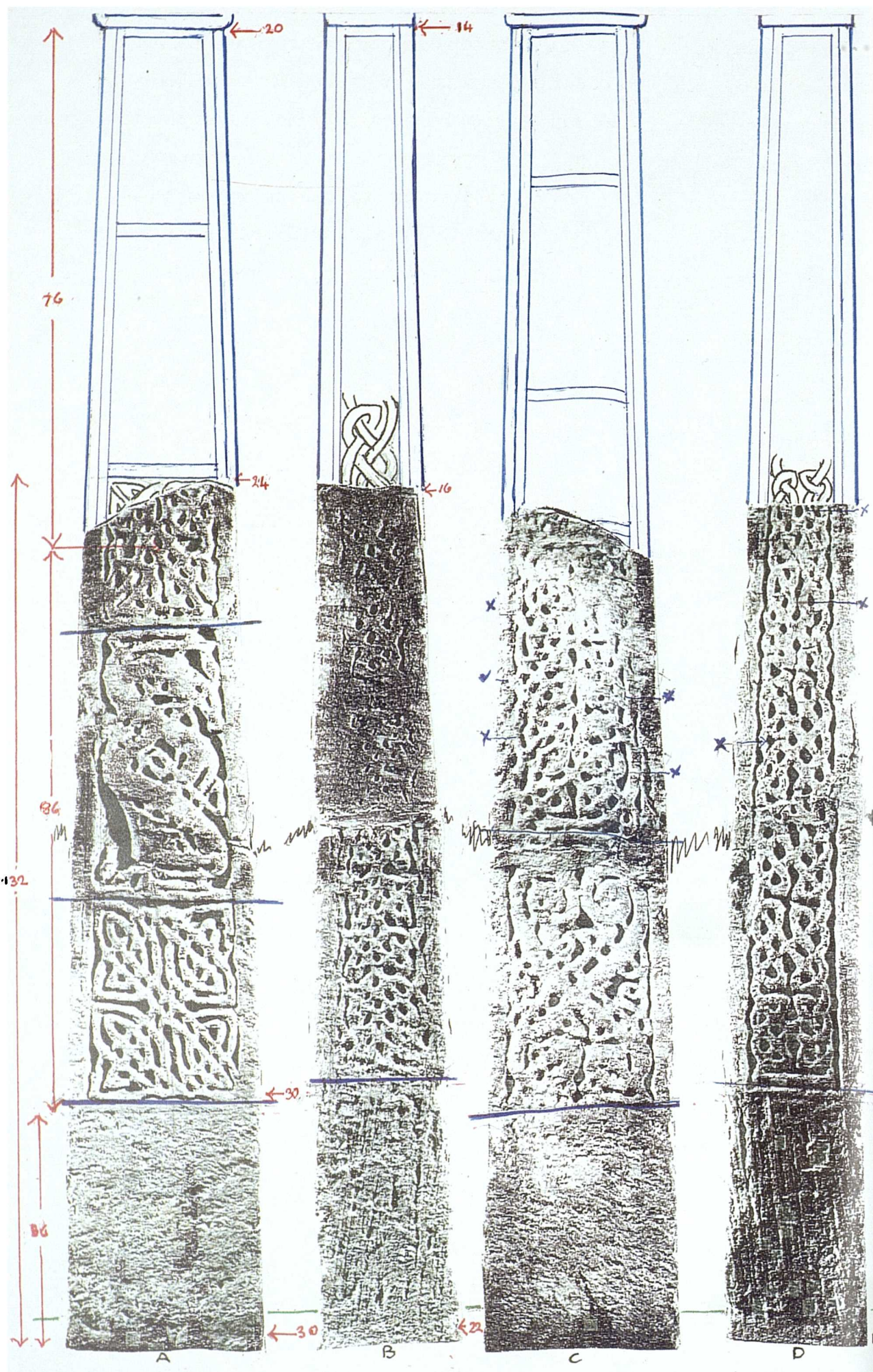
on faces A and C (plates 44 and 45). If the cross was transportable it was not huge, but figure 13a shows a range of sizes. Even a small cross like Aberlady, which had about two metres of shaft, would have impressed Simeon, if it were mounted on a tall base like the Jedburgh base (figure 8f), and was surrounded by the aura of an ancient saint. How then does the cross found at the church of St Oswald measure up to this standard: as the very cross of Bishop Aethelwold; as a Lindisfarne styled work in its own right or even as a work influenced by the cross when it was brought to Durham?

St Oswald's shaft

The shaft, in two separate pieces, was taken from the west wall of the tower of St Oswald's church late in the nineteenth century.[3] W.G. Footitt's drawings of the faces (Greenwell 1890-95, plate 1) are accurate and interpret the visible patterns well. The drawings also serve to show that the work was no clearer then than it is now since it has been protected in Durham in the Cathedral Chapter Library. It is 132cm with 96cm of the face decorated but the lower 36cm is plain. It is a slim shaft with the decorated faces about 30cm wide tapering to 24cm while the sides are 22cm tapering to 16cm. The odd thing is that the taper increases slightly above the break in the shaft so that one wonders if it were broken in ancient times and whether, the bottom or top has been re-trimmed at some stage. The only clue from the patterns is that the lower design on face D looks to have been deepened carelessly as if that design were recarved below the break (figure 13bD). Be that as it may, it is clear from the wear on the stone that ten centimetres at the bottom had been set in a base, and weathering shows the work was out of doors for a long while. The illustrations on figure 13b demonstrate these points.

The technique used on this cross, damaged though it is, appears to be like that of any early Bernician cross. The strands are fine and slightly less than half-width. The animals are wider but with a curved surfaces (plates 58 and 59, cross-section) and over-under movements are modelled well enough to look natural. The original was carefully worked despite its present poor aspect.

Format and programme

A double moulding, 3-4cm wide now very damaged, completes all edges and a single moulding separates the designs. Three panels on face A are alternating pleasantly:

interlace, animal and "interlace." Symmetrical designs are above and below the animal design, which is formed in a simple and bold "z" shape. Face C however, has only two designs but these are of matching circling rhythm, the one interlace, the other animal, there are a few centimetres of the third design starting near the broken edge. The sides have longer interlace patterns: side D has one continuous design, while side B has two patterns. In all it conforms to the standard for a Lindisfarne type of cross but with strong taper. Figures 13b and c show the scheme of all the faces in photocopies and drawings.

The shaft has been believed to be complete,[4] although no terminal strand is actually seen: face C has begun a new design, while side B could terminate or continue, and side D appears to continue. Only face A is certain to have a terminating design within a centimetre of the break. If the shaft were to go on to have five complete panels there would be another 70cm or so (figure 13b, blue lines) above the middle of the upper design on face A. Then it would be more in the proportion of the other shafts on figure 13a. If this were the length then the taper would bring the face to about 18-20cm in width and the sides to 14cm. With about 7cm of mouldings the upper designs would have been narrow but workable.[5]

With this extra height making a total of decoration at about two metres the cross it fits well within the range of sizes (figure 13a). Its width (20cm at the top broken edge) is a little smaller than Lindisfarne 1, which on the face was 30cm tapering to 27cm (figure 4a and b), near the middle of its shaft (chapter 4, figure 4a) extending 24 or 22 at the top. The one disconcerting feature of St Oswald's cross is the way some patterns warp (figure 13b, blue lines) which shows considerable carelessness. There is nothing about the format or programme of the cross to indicate where and when it was carved, only the last point indicates that it was not the "first great stone monument" of Lindisfarne where one would expect the precision of Abercorn/Aberlady. The designs themselves must now be analysed to see what evidence they hold and the drawings of the designs with details (figure 13c) clarify the points to be discussed.

The Interlaces of St Oswald's cross. i. The face patterns

The lowest panel on side A is 32cm in length and about 24cm tapering to 22cm in width inside the mouldings. The double-stranded Stafford knot design in a set-of-

Figure 13c

St Oswald's shaft: drawings with grids; details of designs.
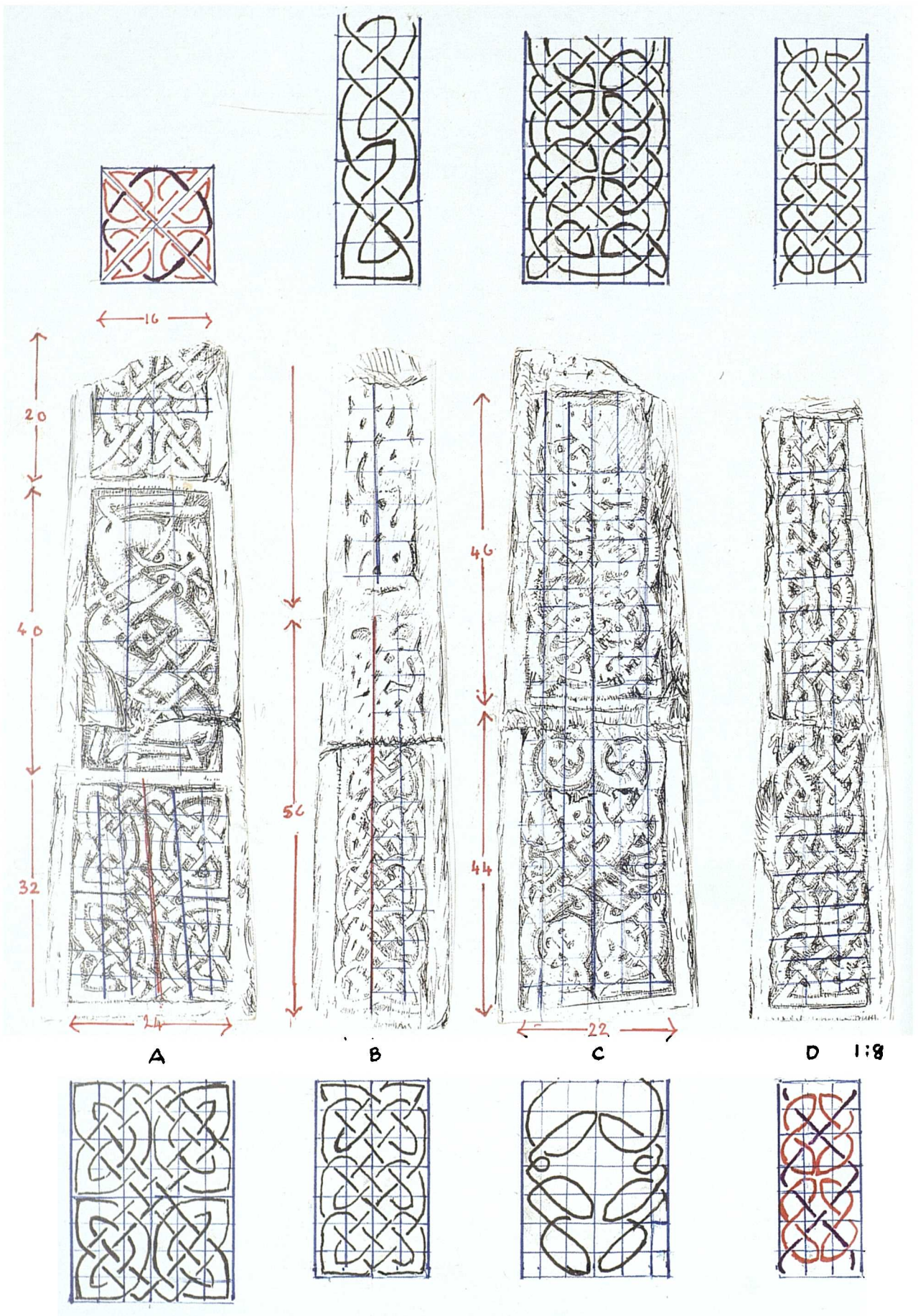
four, lowest on side A, is a most attractive design, weathered though it is. It is clear (figure 13cA, red line) that the axis is crooked so that the right hand loop almost makes a point at the bottom corner but the left hand loop is well rounded, yet the reverse is true of the upper pair. This sort of fault would happen if a warped template were used and turned or if the template was too large for the space so one side was normal but the other squeezed. The unit measure is 3.5cm over the single strand or 7cm over the double strand in the middle (not at the warped edges) and this is the same measure as was used on the Monk's Stone (figure 10c), and more importantly the warp there too has the same tendency to be down on the right (figure 10c). Further, Tynemouth 3A (figure 13g) has a face pattern in at least three registers, which also is about the same size with something of the same warp, which points to defective templates, rather than poor measuring.

The similarity in size and warp makes a stronger link with Tynemouth than the places in the Lindisfarne area where there are a variety of expressions and sizes in the double stranded Stafford knot, Lindisfarne cross-head 18A (figure 4a), the huge design on the Great Farne Island cross, the small neat variation on Coldingham and the wilder varied design on Lindisfarne 7A (figures 11b, d and h). Still to be discussed is a smaller, neater design on the Durham grave-cover (figure 15b).

The second design (figure 13b or cA) on the same face at the top, is a split-plait, really a pseudo-interlace, in that it is not formed on the interlace grid (Adcock, 1974, 298, figure 45) and is designed for a square. It seems to have been difficult for the designer to draw up, judging by the inaccuracies which clearly exist, probably because it was not placed in a square (20cm by 17-16cm). It is easy to describe: double diagonals cross to each corner and are linked by a back turning loop in each quarter, while all is laced down by a circuiting strand, whether circular or lozenge shaped. Many Pictish patterns that have double diagonals (ECMS I, numbers 736, 738-45.) of which this split-plait is the simplest form (758) and they are in squares. Very complex versions but with continuous strands are seen on eighth century manuscripts.[6] There is a similar design in sculpture used as a space filling piece, under a cross-arm at Norham 10A (Corpus I, illustration 1179) but circles not loops are used on this, but it is ninth century (Corpus I, Cramp 212). Since there is a crooked version of the split-plait on the Horseman Stone at Chester-le-Street (figure 12aA) which has been dated early

among the work there (chapter 10) so the design must have begun earlier. It does not appear in Scandinavian work. One expects continuous interlaces to be early in date and the simpler closed circuit designs to be later. However the split-plait which has closed circuits (figure 13c, detail) may not have been considered as an interlace by the artist but a geometrical filler.

The design would have been easier to draw if it were square and yet no Bernician example of it is square which may account for all the inaccuracies. The expression on St Oswald's is in a rectangle (20cm by 16cm) with gaps in the middle to make up the difference in length. It has crooked strands and the artist seems to have been uncertain how to draw it up. There is on Tynemouth 3C (figure 13g) a rectangular version with glides and a certain amount of crookedness, but it is a larger size 30cm by 25cm and on Jarrow 4C is another more crooked larger design 32cm by 26cm (Corpus I, illustration 490). These three are of similar structure so they may be from a set of templates of different sizes, which workshops may well have possessed. A different form is carved on Aycliffe 4 which is 28cm by 24cm and on a stone of unknown provenance, 22cm by 20cm, where both have two separate circuiting strands instead of one (Corpus I, illustrations 35 and 776). The work which comes nearest to square is a small version on the side of Aycliffe 1D (13.5cm by 12cm), where the split-plait is used with repeating registers as if a continuous interlace in two registers, and continuity is a completely different concept while the Durham grave-cover artist overcomes the problem of the rectangle, 24cm by 19cm, by putting in space filling pellets, again altering the appearance. The last two designs are discussed in chapter 15 (figures 15b and d).

The third major interlace, that on side C, is pattern C with outside strands, a design which has a circling effect (figure 11aiii, 13c detail). This design could be early, since pattern F with outside strands was used on Abercorn 1934 (figure 2a and b), and like that pattern it has five units. The important thing to stress is that it is not a series of ring knots like Norham 7 (Corpus I, illustration 1169) but an orthodox continuous pattern (figure 11aiii and iv). Other examples at Woodhorn 1B (figure 14b), Alnmouth 1A (Corpus I, illustration 808) and the Durham grave cover (figure 15b) pull the inner ring in tightly to make it more circular giving the effect of a ring knot.

The panel is a long one, 46cm in length in four registers and 20-17cm in width, terminating just before the break, mostly at a standard unit measure of 3.5cm but made larger at the bottom cleverly (4.5cm), and diminishing towards the top to cope with taper. It is tailor-made for a tapering shaft. To fit a pattern so well is rare and the designer must have given it considerable thought. Again however, there is a certain carelessness which allows warping and irregularities. The latter are shown on figure 13b with blue crosses.

ii. The side interlaces

Side B has two definite designs. The upper one is a pattern which is two units in width, a version of pattern D (figure 13c, detail), with a large unit measure of 4.75cm, yet if the cross was as tall as expected it would have had the usual unit measure of 3.5cm higher up. There is below this a sudden change from this two unit pattern to basic pattern B a fine four unit design, which unlike the others is fitted badly. Its seven registers, at a unit measure of 3.5cm on the right, are squeezed on the left until only at the bottom the stone widens sufficiently to accommodate it (figure 13cB, central red line). The designer appears to have miscalculated somehow with this design and a template applied first to the right side seems the only explanation (figure 13cB). Pattern B itself is rare as loops are normally preferred to "U" bends although there is a variety of it on Abercorn 1A (figure 9a). This design also appears in works discussed in chapter 15.

The other side, D, has the common three unit design of pattern D all the way, the continuous variety in the upper part but the closed circuit type is below the break (figure 13c detail), which is the area suspected of being recarved. Like the design on face C the continuous design has changes in unit measure (basically 3.5cm) to fit the taper, enlarging to 4.75cm at its lower extremity. This continuous design also has odd "breaks" (figure 13b: blue crosses), after the manner of the encircled pattern C, which makes it appropriate to the cross. The closed circuit design is easier to produce. Closed circuits appear in the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth group but here importantly, they appear at the same size on Tynemouth 3B and D (figure 13g). This is the third interlace in common to both works, namely double stranded Stafford knots; the split-plait and the now closed circuit pattern.

The relationships of all the interlaces are very numerous but there is no pattern that was not or could not have been known in the Lindisfarne area and many patterns could even have been used at an early date. The closed circuit split-plait is a puzzle, needing more information, but it is possible that it was regarded as a special pattern not an interlace. Interlaces on St Oswald's cross, however, stand apart from other works with the sense of rhythm and the artist's ability to change the unit measure with the taper: a feat consistent with a clever designer belonging to a living workshop. Apart from the crookedness and carelessness, and the closed circuit design on side D (which may have been reworked later) there is nothing inconsistent with the eighth or ninth century in the interlaces. It is left to an analysis of the animal interlaces to see if there is a definitive answer as to its date of origin.

The animal interlaces. i. The spiralled animal

The animal design on the lower panel of side C is the spiralled animal pattern (plate 58, figures 13b and cC) which has already been used to help the analysis of the design on the Monk's Stone (plate 42, figure 10g). Here there is need of only one pair of animals forming a shortish panel 42cm (on the cential axis) and 22-20cm wide, which because of the spiralling top and bottom give the appearance of being a set-of-four in a complete panel. The unit measure is about 4.25cm and the pattern is five units wide placed below the pattern C which is also five units, giving a continuity of rhythm.

The technique here, much worn though it is, shows the animals not flat but with curved surfaces (plate 58B: cross section) but with no trace of contour lines. The animals have shapely back legs with slim feet. The front legs are almost strand-thin ending in paws which are not clear. The head is small of necessity because it is surrounded by the neck, but it has a rounded forehead, straight but fairly short muzzle, slight knob for the nose. The mouth opens a little, possibly with a tooth in the gap, as it bites the lappet which threads through. Unfortunately no engraved details are visible except for a vague almond shaped eye. The lacing is fine and elegant, yet the whole design has a slight warp.

The Monk's Stone, (plate 42) on side D has a straighter more regular version of this pattern but is even more worn and headless. There the design is on the side of its cross, which is as wide as the face of St Oswald's, and should have several continuous

Figure 13d
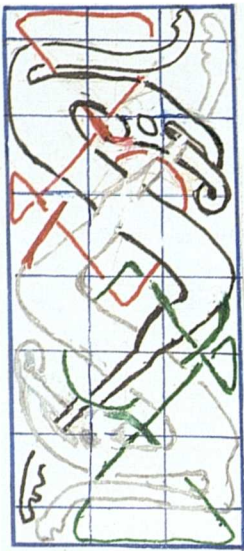
i. St Oswald's design.
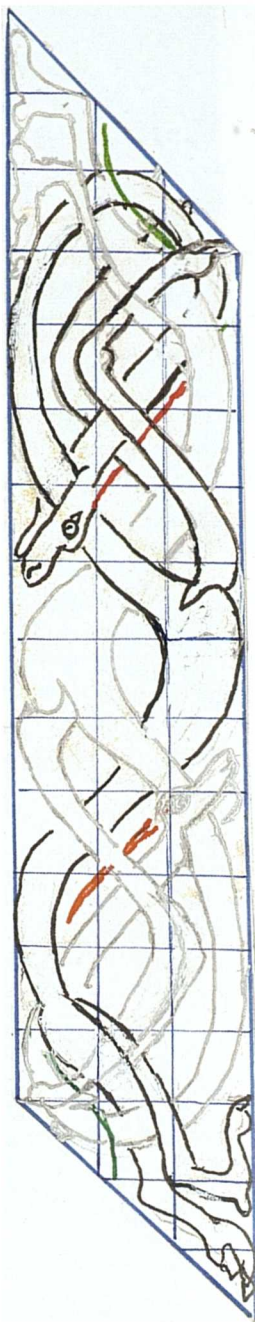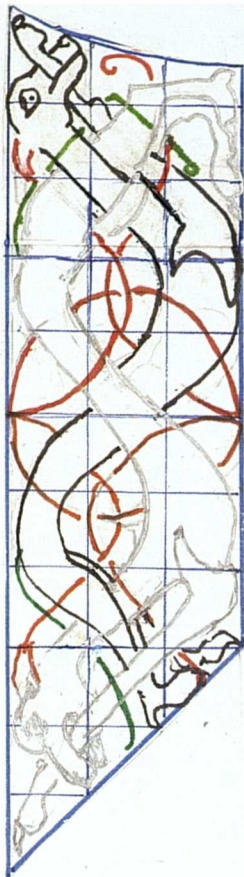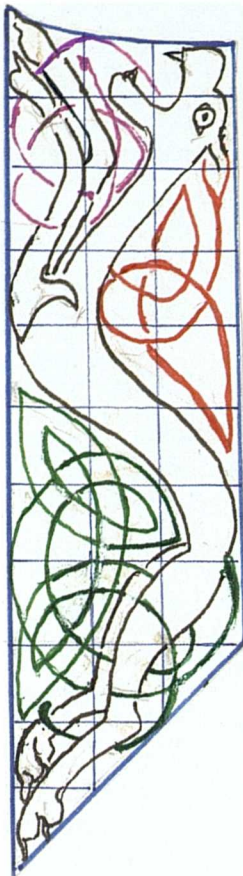
ii. Lindisfarne Gospels folio 211r.

iii. The animals compared.

registers (figures 10b and c) whereas St Oswald's being on a face has a single register. Both, however, have the same unit measure with the same details of lacing (figure 10cD and 13cC). These factors give an inextricable link between the two crosses.

It has been shown that this spiralled pattern is very close to the design on folio 26v of the Lindisfarne Gospels (see figure 10h), yet it has an individuality of its own. Whether the design was adapted from there and simplified for sculpture in one movement or whether there were several lost prototypes is not knowable now. Traces of the design appears on the cross-head of Abercorn I (plate 43) and part of the head spirals are on the Great Farne Island cross (plate 44) so with these two snippets of pattern it would seem the design under discussion originated at or was known at Lindisfarne. All these examples are earlier than the tenth century. It appears also, to be known at tenth century.At is Gainford where an aborted pattern on 1A (plate 55) and half patterns on 2A and 5C (plates 56 and 7) suggest the design predates those works of the tenth century.

The new styled zig-zag animal

The animal design, face A (plate 59) is 40cm in length and 21cm wide tapering to 18cm but seems to be three units across and six with two halves in length (figure 13di). For the most part the animals respond well to this grid but a few features, such as the position of the paws or the size of the triangular figure made first by the lappet seem variable as if less certain adaptations are made to some earlier well gridded design. The unit measure is close to 6-7cm. Three units across fit with the Stafford knot pattern below (figure 13c, blue lines). The large unit measure enables the animals to have wide bodies and the design to appear bold so that the creature contrast with the interlaces.

The simple design is made up of two zig-zag animals in the turned and reversed position (plate 59, figure 13b and cA, and 13di). The back legs and bodies are on opposed diagonals so that the animals are placed the opposite way from each other and a diamond hollow is formed in the middle. Each neck however, instead of moving forward on the next diagonal, curves back to the diagonal of the body. The mouth then grips the back leg of the opposing animal. The animal is not ribbon-like, as some have interpreted it, but has moderate shape: a deeper chest, thin neck and shapely legs. The
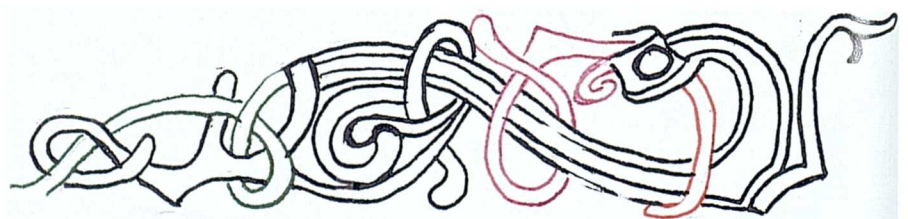
Figure 13e
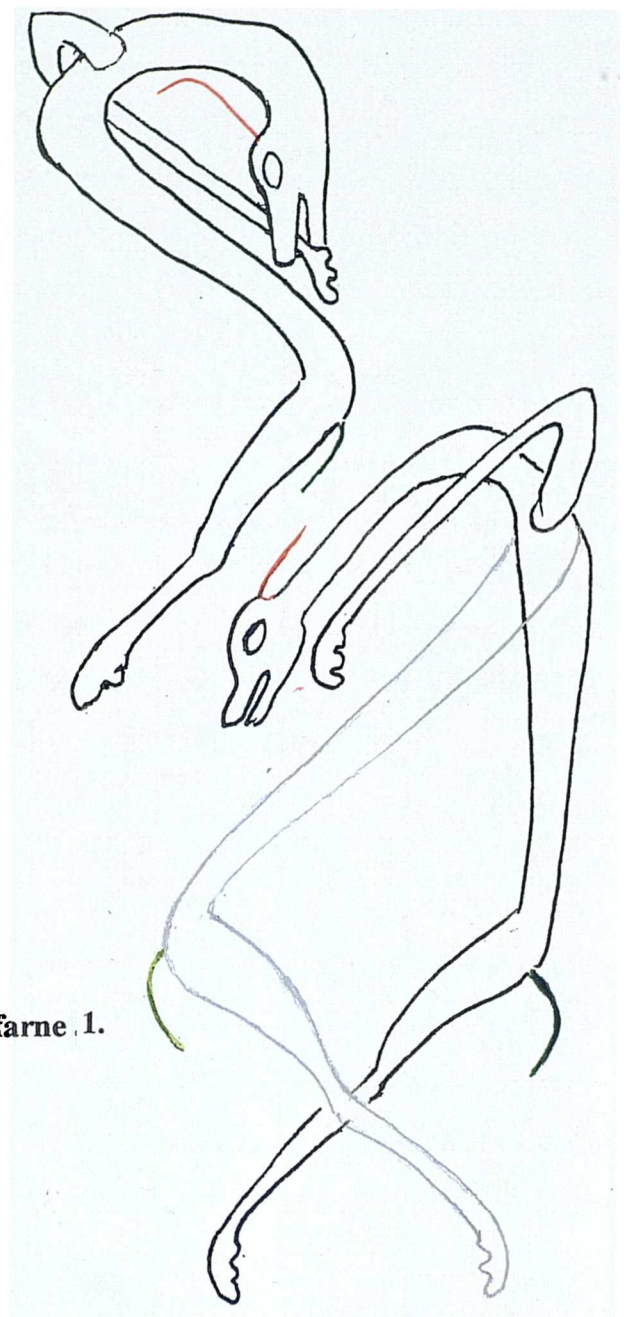
i. Phase 1. Neck and head forward:

Lindisfarne Gospels and Lindisfarne 1.

ii. Phase 2. Curved neck, elbow up:

Great Farne Island and Monk's Stor e.

iii. Phase 3. Curved neck and front leg free: St Oswald's and Søllested horse collar.

lower leg is slim with a paw turned according the joints of the bones. The trailing paws are on the manner of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Monk's Stone (plate 38). Although the junction of front leg and body is worn it was probably an oval joint with the front leg free of the body, it extends horizontally to frame the work, just as the back legs of the animals on the opposite face perform the function of framing.

The head is different, even unique. The brow is rounded and the lappet streams back, the muzzle is long and straight, the mouth opens a little with the leg threading through; all this is normal. Then strangely, the jaws are extended so that the lower jaw crosses and forms a loop with the upper one in a manner unparalleled in early work but not known in Viking-age work. The ear lappet continues to lace in an angular manner filling the little available space until it can join as tail, which was also a feature in the pattern opposite. There is no complementary looping, since there is little space.

Whence did such an animal design come? The type of animal seems to have originated in the letter stems of folio 211r of the Lindisfarne Gospels (plate 2) where in five major animal panels the zig-zag theme is explored: first a single animal then two animals turned, then turned and reversed. Figure 13dii shows three designs on this theme, the last two with lozenge shapes created by the crossing of bodies and limbs, and figure 13diii shows the two motifs separated from the design.

There must have been several steps in the development of this new motif in sculpture. The zig-zag crouching animal of the Lindisfarne Gospels seem to have inspired the single animal of Lindisfarne 1D (plate 13) where the head is forward and the front legs beneath it (figure 4c, here figure 13ei). The next phase can be seen among the sculptured animal patterns where curved necks are fashionable, and the front leg has its elbow fitted into the corner outside the body, then crosses through the body on the diagonal. The design on side A of the Great Farne Island cross could well have been a design of this nature (figures 11b and cii, here 13eiii) while the lank animals of the Monk's Stone, side B, could have evolved from a zig-zag proto-type (figure 13eiii). If these are valid the design of St Oswald's is a further development in that the neck here turns back until it is on the diagonal again while the front leg is free of the body and horizontal (figure 13eiii) to frame the panel.

Now however, there is an element of controversy. Is this back curved neck, with the front leg outside the body, a Viking-age feature? Richard Bailey (1996, 74, figure 6) talks of "the slick but powerful curve" of the Jellinge styled necks and illustrates this with an animal from the Sollested horse collar, which like all Scandinavian work turns sharply and as if under tension (figure 13eiii). The forward facing head on a concave curved neck has been discussed (chapter 11, figure 11ciii) as this short curved neck is one of the most characteristic Viking-age traits. The back turned head has equal claim. The question is whether the curve of these animals on St Oswald's cross is a natural progression of the "curved neck" of Bernicia (first discussed on Abercorn I, chapter 9) or whether it was influenced by Jellinge work. The sequence allows the former, as the other animal patterns with curved necks Abercorn 1, Lindisfarne 1, the Monk's Stone (plate 37, 14 and 38) are legitimately Northumbrian, and this stronger curve is simply a step in the development. There is too, an animal on Elstow 1B (Corpus IV, illustration 270) dated by Tweddle (Corpus IV, 208-9) to the late eighth/ early ninth centuries which has a similar pose, although a biped.

The second feature which is called Viking-age is the extraordinary nose, already mentioned, made of the two jaws forming an unpinned loop. Professor Cramp (Corpus I, 66) thinks this is like a Viking-type nose lappet, although this is not the open mouthed version where a nose lappet curls back with a weak lower jaw opened wide but not known in Viking-age. The Sollested design shown in figure 13eiii is typical, also this type of nose and mouth are seen in York sculpture (appendix plate 12) or Haughton-le-Skerne 6 (appendix plate 14) and Lindisfarne 2B (plate 15). The unique unpinned loop of St Oswald's seems to be an invention to fill space, where the interlace could not reach after the neck was curved back.

If it is allowed that these two elements are pre-Viking or part of the milieu which went into the Scandinavian mix in the ninth century there is no problem about a ninth century date. The animals still have a semblance of naturalism and response to the grid which makes them heirs, albeit somewhat distant, of the Lindisfarne Gospels' concept.
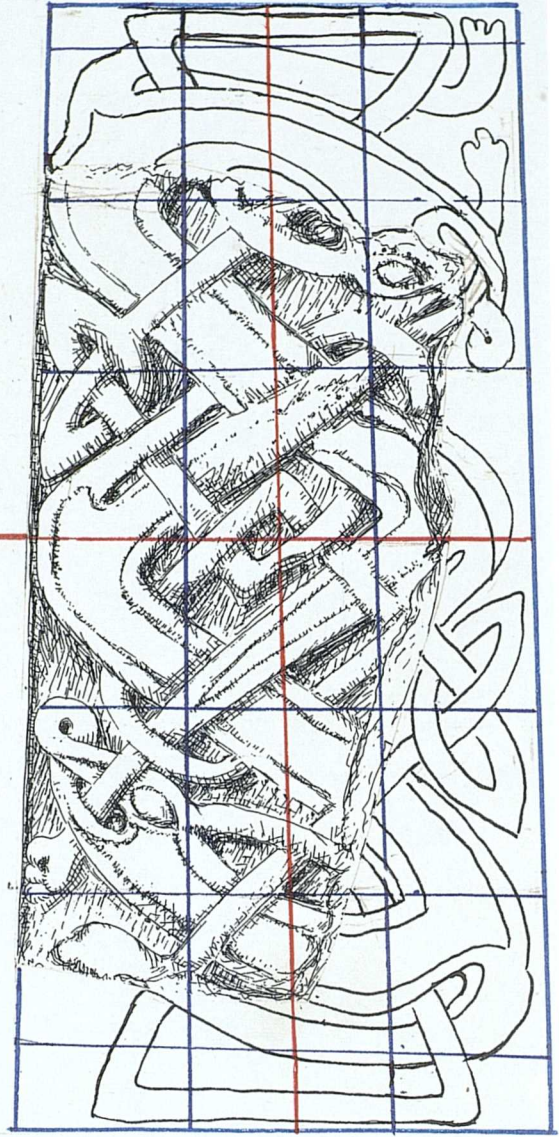
Another version of the zig-zag animal: Tynemouth 4

This zig-zag dog with its fine trailing paws is suited to the Monk's Stone although it is
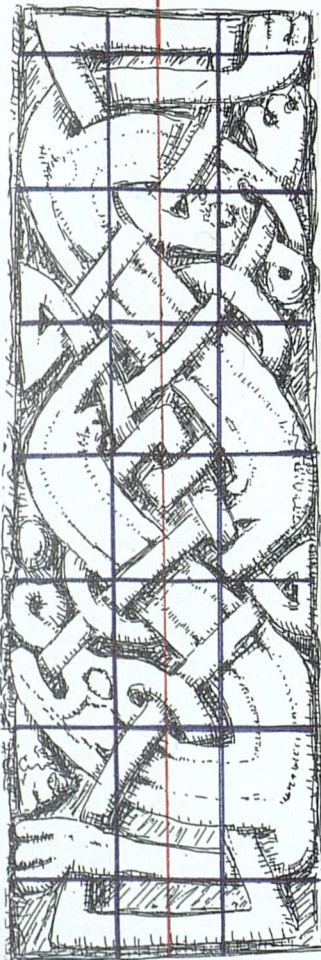
Figure 13f
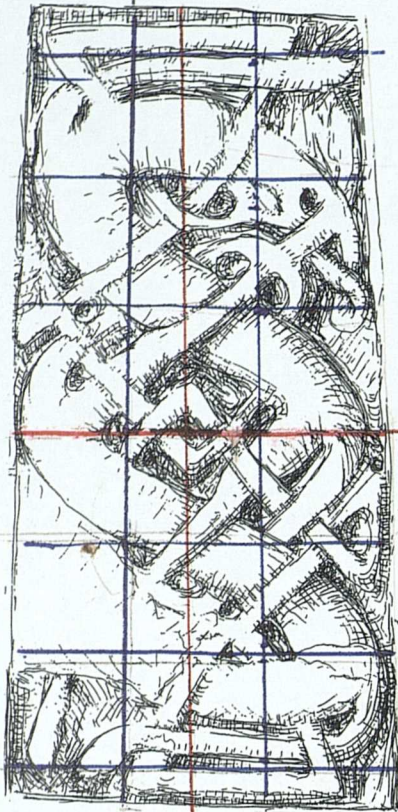
i. St Oswald's.

ii. Tynemouth 4.

iii. Aycliffe 1.

1:4

not found there. There is however, a connection with Tynemouth. A small piece of carved stone was excavated up by G. Jobey in 1963 during archaeological excavations on the promontory. It was first discussed by Professor Cramp (1967, 99-104) who saw the link with the zig-zag animal of St Oswald's and discussed it various relationships. These two designs with one to be discussed from Aycliffe in chapter 15 are shown at the scale of 1:4 on figure 13f for comparison of size and design features.

The Tynemouth piece is a fragment just 42cm by 24cm, used as building stone and broken on all faces except one, with one length of damaged moulding attached along one edge. For all this loss, the carved surface of that face is in pristine condition (plate 60). The design itself restored follows the lines in the fragment on plate 60B and figure 13fii and seems to be 57cm in length and 28cm tapering to 25cm in width. If the grid is put through the same pertinent points as that on St Oswald's (plate 59) the unit measure is 8cm or more. Units of this size have not been observed although large unit measures were on the small fragment of the Great Farne Island shaft (plates 46 and 47).

The condition of the surface allows tooling to be seen clearly and there is even a drilled hole in the nose loop. The strands are vigorously modelled and the ground is neatened (plate 60B, cross section) but there is one technical difference from the one on St Oswald's, the animal is flat not lens shaped, just the edges are bevelled. Contour lines are quite deeply punched so as to dominate the design but with a certain roughness, giving a vigour and freshness, not unlike some designs at York (Corpus III, illustrations 12, 331 and 343).

Neither of the front leg junctions are present but the back legs can be seen to be joined with normal transition from body to leg with no hint of the tell-tale Vikings-age spiral. Here the contour lines continue down the narrowing leg until they join at a point when the leg becomes a strand, then finishing with a natural·paw with three rounded toes. It is a paw of different character from the trailing feet of the Monk's Stone and St Oswald's (plates 39 - 41 and 59). In fact the contour line, the leg and the paw is a little like that on the animal on Lindisfarne 1A (plate 14). The face of the animal can be seen clearly with the grooved line curving under the eye and around the

Figure 13g

A   B   C   D

i. Tynemouth 3.   1:8

ii. Tynemouth 3 reconstructed with Tynemouth 4.   1:6
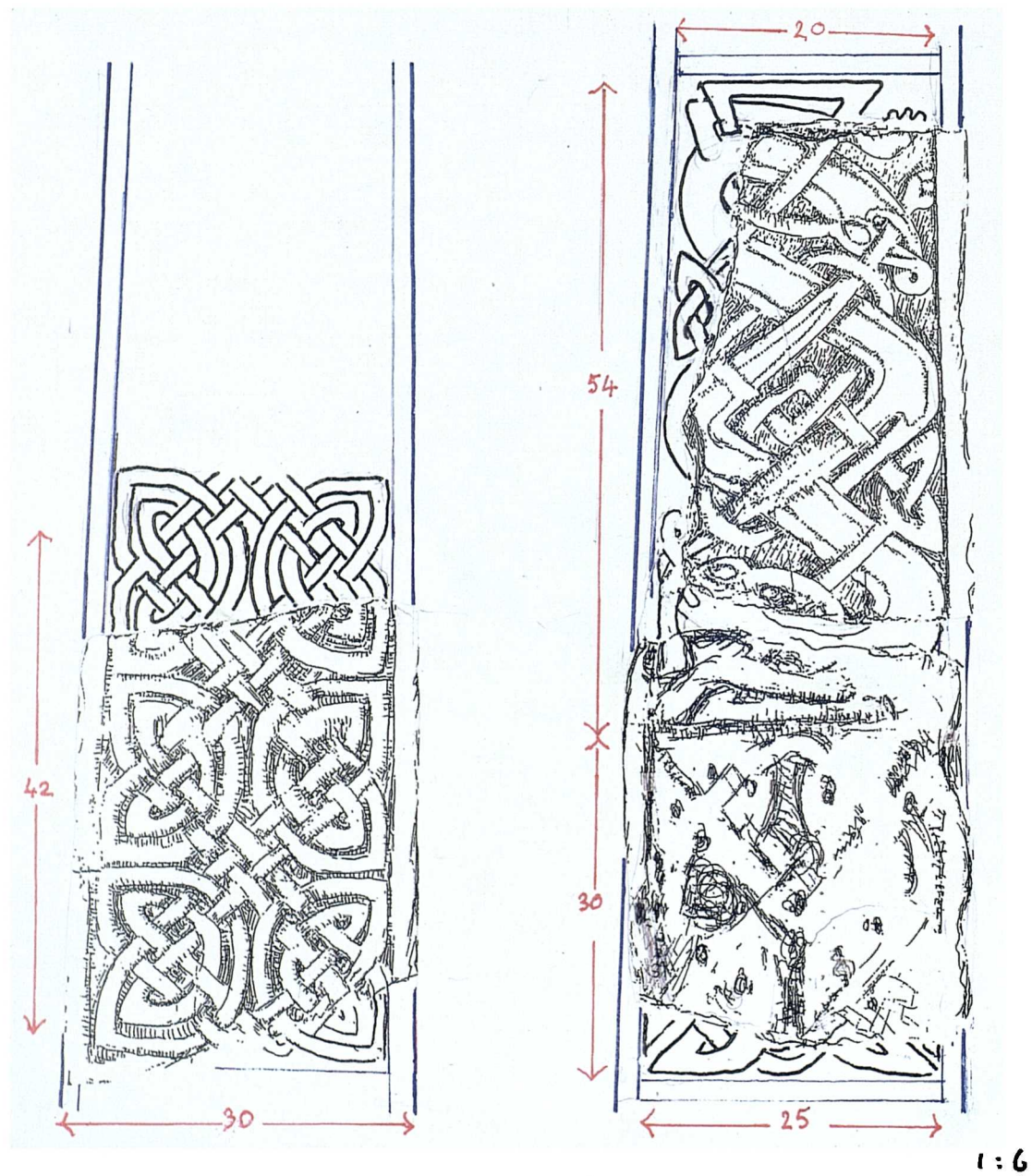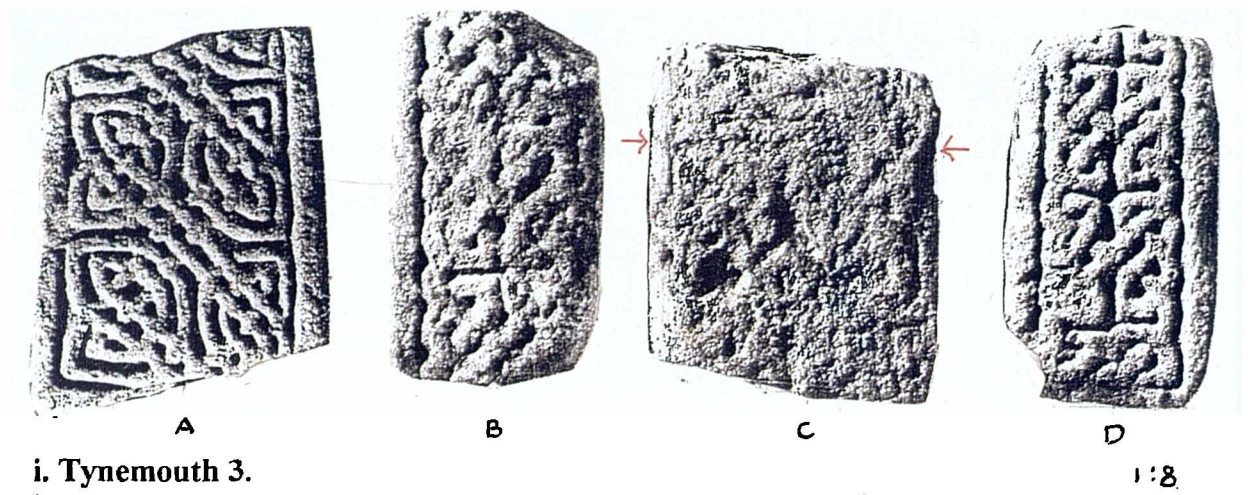
mouth. This too, is not unlike Lindisfarne 1A but wear and breaks on all other pieces prevent us knowing if this was just the common engraved form.

The one difference in the design from the one at Durham is the use of a Stafford knot in the lacing where the designer had larger space caused by the motifs being warped around the central diamond (plate 60B). So instead of a triangular unpinned loop the larger knot is used, otherwise the design has all the components of the design on the shaft of St Oswald's but on a larger scale.

There is, too, a possible extension for this fragment. Tynemouth 3 which was found in the castle area in 1895 (Carr 1895-6, 162-4, figure facing 164), and was likewise used as building stone. This stone has been already mentioned because three of its patterns are common with St Oswald's (figures 13gi and ii). It has one face which is chiselled almost flat but the features are just traceable. The split-plait can be picked out (figure 13gi and ii), and above (red arrow) there is an amount of coarse strand work. These strands can be interpreted as the front leg and lappet of the zig-zag animal and the two pieces would then fit together as is shown in figure 13gii. This reads the taper the opposite way to plate 50 and figure 13f, which is less natural for the lines but possible. It seems there is no moulding between design and the designs are separated by the lappet itself. There was no moulding on the Monk's Stone (figure 10cD) between animal designs as the horizontal limb made a visual moulding. If this reconstruction holds any truth all four patterns on Tynemouth 3 and 4 are on St Oswald's cross: two being the same size, two being larger. The order of patterns is changed in that the Stafford knots are on opposite side of Tynemouth 3/4 not associated with the zig-zag animal.

Three features would convince one not to bracket this cross with the Monk's Stone and St Oswald's in date: the mouldings are the narrow late kind; the tops of the animals are flat rather than with curved in section which tends towards the technique used on Chester-le-Street 5 and 8; finally the paw is not the extended type which are on the other two stones, but blunt ended with round toes more like those on Lindisfarne 1 (plate 14). One might add that the closed circuit pattern D, which is used on both sides of number 3 is a later idea, but one would have to be sure that

those loops on the St Oswald's shaft were indeed recut later as suggested earlier in this chapter.

Conclusion

The cross found in the walls of St Oswald's church has raised several questions as to whether, as Professor Cramp asked (1966, 120) is it:

> A cross brought by the Community when they came to Durham 995?
> Evidence for an early settlement at Elvet before the Community came to Durham? A revival of early sculptural traditions under Scandinavian influence, and if so, why?

These questions are answered by the evidence in this chapter. Although the cross of St Oswald's has everything in format and programme expected of an early Lindisfarne styled cross, it is not the cross of St Aethelwold even if many of its designs could have been early eighth century especially the interlaces; also both animal designs can be traced back to the Lindisfarne Gospels. Other elements have crept in of the ninth century. The strong taper together with the setting out with its wayward streak shows a confidence and a familiarity suggesting a long established tradition, not a first monument.

The animals with forms of curved necks are from fashions which seem to have been developing since the late eighth or early ninth century, but the most important feature is the link to the Monk's Stone which was dated here to that time. Not only are the spiralled designs the same in structure and technique but the unit measures are the same 3.5cm and 4.25cm, which are not measurements of the northern centres. More convincing are anatomical details, especially the legs and paws of the two designs on the Monk's Stone and the two on St Oswald's cross, where there is elegant curving of the bone joints and fine paws. The bodies of animals seem to have been modelled but the pity is that other features such as surface pattern, which could strengthen or weaken the case, have been obliterated by weathering and misuse. The second work at Tynemouth (3/4) with all four patterns, two patterns the same and the same size and two similar to St Oswald's, makes the bond between the places stronger, even if that particular piece (or pieces) is later.

The clever designing of patterns on St Oswald's, so that they change unit measure with taper or have matching units for designs on the same faces, tell of a great deal of experience which is built up in the workshop. The ever present warping of designs has been attributed not to incompetence, but rather to the carelessness of an artisan who is over-familiar with his tasks. The answer to the second question posed above is in the affirmative. St Oswald's shaft is a ninth century cross and as such is roughly contemporary to the Monk's Stone. What size the settlement was which produced it or whether the workshop was at Elvet or Tynemouth or both is not knowable from the evidence of the sculpture but a strong link has been established between these two places.

The third question, that of revival after Scandinavian influence poses no problem. There is no Scandinavian influence but some proto-Viking-age ideas. Of the type of work seen at Chester-le-Street, Aycliffe and Gainford there is no trace. There is no shortness of limbs, no tongue strand, nor is there simplified interlace with plain plaits and closed circuits (apart from the pattern D). The cross shaft of St Oswald's looks directly to the Lindisfarne concept and reflects nothing of tenth century simplicity. So on this evidence St Oswald's cross comes before the move to Chester-le-Street by the Community. Further it is far too relaxed in its interpretations to be credible as part of a deliberate revival, and this is in sharp contrast to works discussed in chapter 15.

If St Oswald's shaft is ninth century and there are other shafts which are closely connected with it: namely Woodhorn 1, Hexham 6 and Jarrow 4 which fall into place. These when looked at separately, yield further knowledge of the repertoire and reinforce much which is already known of the decorative panelled crosses. When this is firmly established then the works of the eleventh century can be sought.

NOTES

1. The arguments put forward for the date of the cross are summarised by Cramp (Corpus I, 32). Kendrick (1938, 137) in particular saw the cross as eighth century and associated it with Abercorn I and the Durham Cassiodorus. This reasoning is on the line of thought expressed here, although Kendrick changed his mind later (1949, 95).

2. The Bewcastle cross has an almost square section. Sides B and D are panelled as if faces, while face C has continuous vine scroll.

3. Gibb (Stuart 1867, 63-4, plate 110) drew the upper part, while still in the tower ((___) 1880-9, 32) notes both pieces were removed. Greenwell (1890-5, 281-3) also notes this and publishes the drawing by W.G. Footitt plate 1 and number 15 in Haverfield and Greenwell (1899).

4. Greenwell (1890-5, 281) said it was almost complete and this has been accepted, Cramp (Corpus I, 66), and Adcock (1974, 209-10).

5. The shaft at the top could be estimated to be 20cm wide, with 13cm width for the designs. The Aberlady A and C (plates 11 and 12) designs are 16cm; Hexham 5 (plate 73) is 12-14cm in width. The side would be 12-14cm with 6-8cm for designs which would be sufficient for a 2 unit pattern. Also the zig-zag dog of Lindisfarne 1B was only 8-9cm wide.

6. The split-plait could be related to complex but continuous square designs seen in manuscripts: Cologne Dombibliothek 213, folio 1r (Alexander catalogue 13, date, early eighth century); and the St Luke, Vienna, folio 110v (Alexander catalogue 37, dated late eighth century). Allen (ECMS I)) puts such designs in the category of triangular interlaces (figures 721-57), circular interlace (758-65).

CHAPTER 14

WOODHORN CROSS: THE SURVIVAL

Introduction

The status of "cross' may be given to four battered fragments from Woodhorn, since there is a base piece, two shaft pieces and most of a head. This cross, together with an upper shaft with part of the lower arm from Hexham and a slab-like-shaft piece from Jarrow form a group because of their pattern types, or more particularly because of the mistakes and oddities which are seen in these patterns. None of the group has attracted much attention. Although each has the advantage of being displayed in its ancient church, the battered surfaces, the designs poorly set out by the original artist and the difficulty in seeing the total works has not aided the understanding of their significance.

Although Hexham and Jarrow have their early illustrious histories and Woodhorn's history also extends back to the eighth century (below), the works do not belong to early times The problem set for this chapter is to establish their place in the sequence of decorative sculpture with animal designs. Analysis is needed to establish their designs, which have been ignored or misinterpreted, so as to add them to the known repertoire or if they are new designs, show how they relate with others. With an almost extant cross-head, now some idea can be formed about the appearance of the complete decorative cross.

Woodhorn: a major cross

Woodhorn *Wudecastre* was mentioned by Simeon of Durham (HDE, chapter 14) as one of the vills given to the community of St Cuthbert by Ceolwulf, King of Northumbria when he became a monk at Lindisfarne in 737. It is not known when the church was first built first. C.C. Hodges (1893, 82) thought that the present church contained no Anglo-Saxon fabric but H.M. and J. Taylor (1965, II 682) believed the windows which were pierced by the Norman arcade, were eleventh century. The proportions and several features reinforced its Anglo-Saxon date and further work at the church and excavations in 1975[1] has established that this was a pre-conquest

**Figure 14a   Woodhorn cross: relationship of the pieces.**
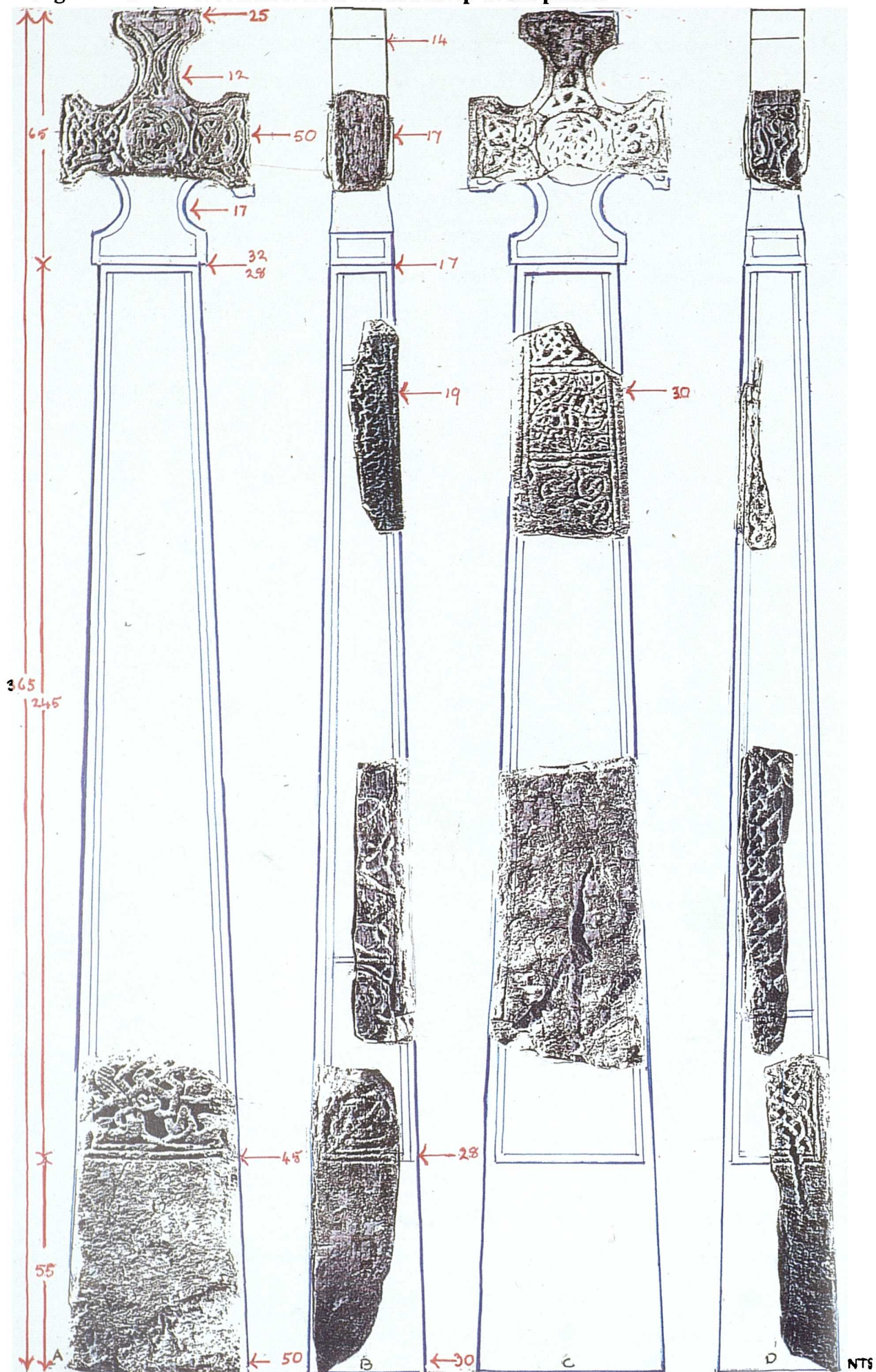
church of no certain date. The church stands now surrounded by an industrial landscape but once was on a rise close to the sea and as a coastal monastery it would be within easy contact of others, especially Tynemouth, just 20km to the south.

The cross-head and shaft base were noted after repairs to the church in 1872 ([__] 1869-79, xliv-xlvii). Hodges (1893, 82) described the head and observed Anglo-Saxon pieces, some cemented to the tower screen, while the base piece was in the church porch. Little study has been done on these pieces. Some were drawn there by D.R. Fyson (1960, 147-52, figures 1 and 2), who showed little understanding of the designs. The pieces were removed in 1974 and later, when the church became a museum they were displayed on a wall.[2] Dr E. Coatsworth (1981, 17-18) discussed them in a pamphlet on the church and Professor Cramp (Corpus I, 18 and 19, 231-2) placed some designs in context.

A new piece has appeared at some stage since 1981, one not noted by the museum staff. With dirt and plaster still clinging, it may well have been used first as building stone and then thrown into the graveyard. Its condition where the surface remains, is good to excellent. The piece has since been photographed by Professor Cramp in 1997, (appendix plates 15A and 16A) and my drawings (appendix, plates 15B and 16B, figure 14b) were also done in that year. It will be known here, as the "new stone" as it fits between pieces "a" and "b". Measurements show that the new piece is suitable in size to accept the crosshead aftera space of a few centimetres (figure 14a and b). There seems to be a gap of about 60cm between it and the lower shaft to allow the correct taper. Figure 14a shows the fragments arranged with measurements demonstrating how the new piece relates to the three other pieces. My drawing and reconstructions of the patterned surfaces of all pieces, as far as this can logically be taken, are reproduced in figure 14b at the proportion of approximately 1:12.

The cross is made of the same type of bedded, sandy-mudstone, as was used in the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth works which tends to flake and the sides to split, nevertheless the sculptor attempts to use the traditional technique. The strands have been worked by a coarse punch to a considerable depth and these holes are exaggerated by weathering so that if a strand has flaked away the rows of punch holes witness to its outline. Where the surface has been protected and is good enough to show the marks

Figure 14b   Woodhorn cross: drawn reconstruction of designs.
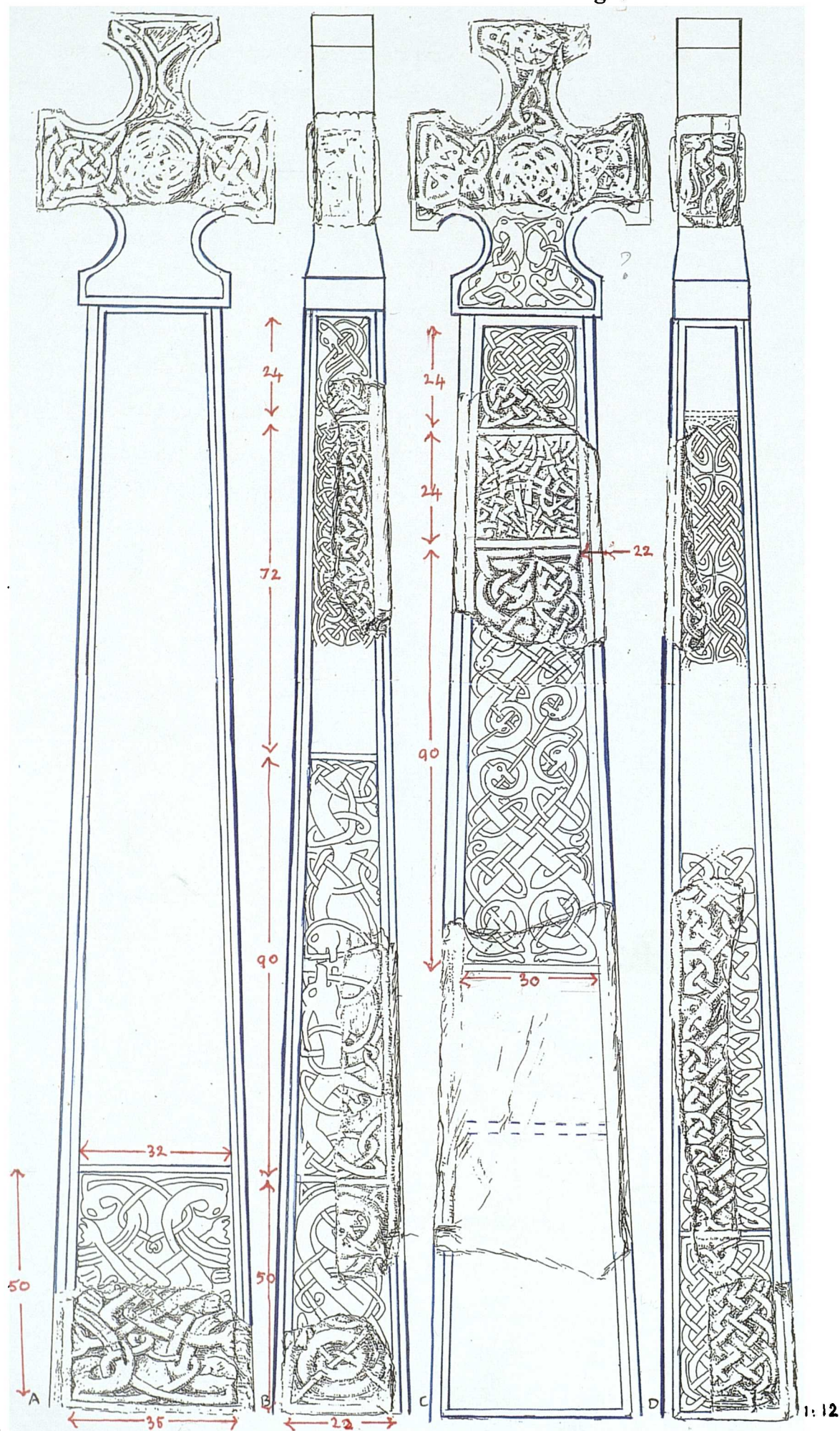
of the chisel, seen best on the animal of the new stone, face C (plate 61) the marks are similar to those on the Great Farne Island cross, face C (plate 46), hatching in both cases may represent fur or scales. Most other details have been obliterated but for a few striated grooves on the bird's wings and median and contour lines on the upper panel of the crosshead. Even this surviving amount indicates that such details were still valued parts of the patterns.

The measurements are difficult to take because of damage. The three shaft pieces, lowest to highest, are 85cm, 85cm and 58cm in length which, when placed on a tapering format, show that the shaft was close to three metres, the lower 60cm being uncarved. The cross-head as restored here would rise another 65cm and the width across the centre of the head is just on 50cm. The width at the base is about 50cm and at the bottom of the designs is 45cm tapering to 30cm at the highest measuring point and close to 28cm at the junction with the head. The head rises 65cm (estimated) and is 51cm across. The depth, is more difficult to measure, about 32cm tapering to 17cm at the top. The depth of the head at its widest, through the bosses, would be 17cm, but the arms are trimmed to 14cm to allow the bosses to protrude. All measurements are given on figures 14a or b and while the outline of the cross face is shown in proportion to other relevant crosses on figure 13a (1:20).

The format and programme

The format is the usual one for the Lindisfarne styled panelled group which have been discussed (figure 13a). Double mouldings are along the face edges, a generous 4.5cm on the faces, slightly narrower on the sides. Single mouldings divide the panels horizontally. The important question is whether the programme of the faces consisted of five panelled faces in a scheme of alternating sizes and genres which seems to be the type for the decorative group. The faces on the new stone and piece "c" (bottom) have interlace and animal designs; much depends how they are fitted together. Piece b is mounted in the museum faces the wrong way on the evidence of the side patterns (see description of the side patterns) and its remaining face (now C) has been chiselled almost clear of designs adding little to the argument except that designs existed on it. The new stone fits the taper about 60cm above piece b. Again on the evidence of the side patterns (below), the carved face appears to be face C as reconstructed in figure 14a and b. An interlace, a square panel and an animal interlace

(top to bottom) form the start of perhaps an alternating rhythm, which could easily be completed by another square filler and short rectangular interlace, starting the arrangement ACBCA, which is also that of Bewcastle 1D (figure 3c). The position of the possible panels is marked in with blue dots on figure 14bC. On side A there is now only one part of an animal (bird) design. Two things only are certain: firstly the cross has panels and secondly it has the proportions of the other crosses, so that five panels would have fitted the reconstructed space well.

The sides are unique in that there are four panels on one side B, and a fourth could be fitted to side D with short panels at either end and the typical long ones in the central strips (figure 14a and b). Here mainly animal interlace seems best on one side and just interlace on the other however, there is a marked lack of continuity of rhythm whichever way it is reconstructed: tight and spindly, heavy and delicate designs follow each other, in large or fine unit measures. This all breaks the rhythmic flow as much as do the changes of pattern however, the sides have no blank panels like those of the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth group, even though the stone is the same poor type with bedding cracks. The top and bottom panel, and unevenness of rhythm may point to the approach of the new fashion.

The almost extant cross-head has mostly interlace with patterns in each arm on the lateral arm ends and also raised central roundels with patterns. The head of this decorative cross-shaft will be discussed, as this is the first occasion that a whole head can be reconstructed. The almost overwhelming sense of pattern on the whole work is obvious as the details are filled in. On the existing cross there are parts of twenty designs remaining: most are interlace but eight of them are animal designs. Even so, much is missing on this important work.

The face patterns. i. The new stone
Each of the three face panels on the new stone (appendix plate 15) contains a surprise. The broken uppermost panel has just one motif of a horizontal symmetrical loop design with outside strands, with odd terminals but two registers would fit neatly as a panel about 24cm by 22cm at about 3.5cm unit measure. The unexpected thing is that this small piece is enough to show that it is the same design as the remnant of interlace at the top of side D of the Monk's Stone (figure 10cD) which, as a side

Figure 14c
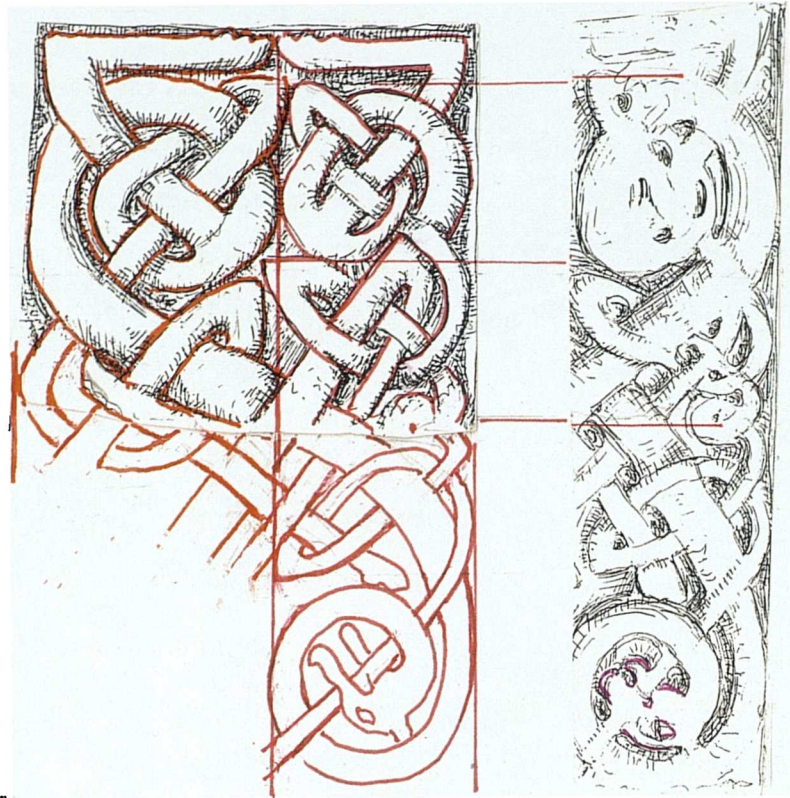
i. Woodhorn 1C with St Oswald's design for comparison.
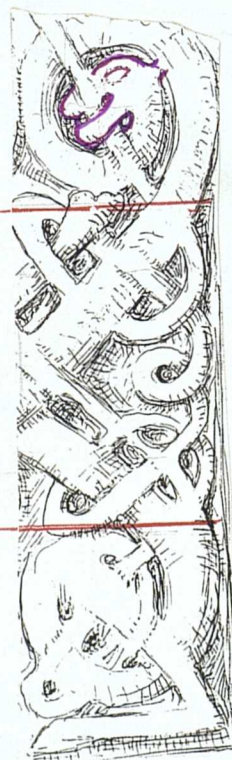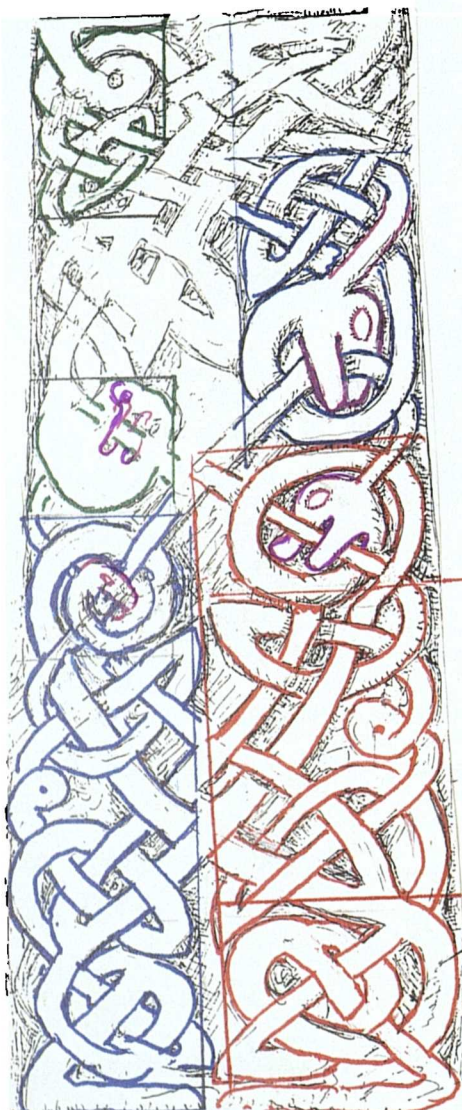
/	5+cm
/	4.25
/	3.50
/	2.00+
/	heads

1:4

ii. Hexham 6A with St Oswald's design for comparison.

pattern it presumably continued upwards. There is not just a likeness here, the designs are the same size strand for strand. The terminals are loose because each strand does not tie with its near neighbour but crosses to a further strand. This is rare, although it happened in similar manner on a different pattern, that on the Great Farne Island cross (figure 11bA and Ci). The motif itself is used only on the Monk's Stone and Woodhorn, but it may have been common as there are many other variations of the symmetrical loop with outside strands occur (figure 11avii-x).

The square filler (24cm by 22cm) below this is very surprising indeed. At first it looks like no other pattern but it is best described as a variation of the split-plait where small triangles are formed from the loops to the corners (figure 12a, detail). Odd square designs are thrown up from time to time in various places: at Ilkley (Collingwood 1927, figure 49j) and on Irton 1C (Corpus II, illustration 357) are examples. The Picts too, used complex square designs, and there is one on Govan 4 (ECMS II, figure 486B) which has similar edge triangles but little resemblance otherwise to the Woodhorn fantasy.

The spiralled animal pattern as the central panel

The lowest design too, is surprising, since it shows the spiralled animal design correct in every detail, traceable to the middle of the register, but upside down (plate 61). The three toed feet are clear by the moulding of the upper edge. The technique with rough diagonal chiselling on the animal is that of the same motif on the Great Farne Island cross (plate 44), perhaps a special texture for that pattern.

There is something even more strange in this pattern and that is that the two motifs side by side are each a different size: the left one is heavy and at a unit measure of +5cm, while the one on the right is visibly finer at a unit measure of 4.25cm. Plate 61B and figure 14ci restore most of the first register following the lines of the design. The right side matches the half motif from St Oswald's shaft also 4.25cm in unit measure but by extending the body strands in the direction to which they are tending, the right hand motif must have been much shorter and narrower than that on the left (figure 14bC) and the artist would have been struggling to make any semblance of symmetry, and further, the space is widening because of taper. The pattern cannot end with one motif many centimetres too short, so logic demands a second register the

right way up, making the design into a set-of-four. This time a larger sized motif would be needed on the right with a unit measure of around 7cm to fill the widening space. Such a size is within the bounds of possibility since the Great Farne Island cross design, on the right side, has a unit measure of estimated at 7-8cm (plate 44B). Figure 14bC shows a restoration of the Woodhorn design on these lines and the result is a panel nearly 90cm long and about 30cm wide at the bottom; an ambitious but effective panel for a cross centre.

The designer at Woodhorn could not have drawn up this pattern by using any other method than templates of various sizes. This strange method of working is confirmed by a panel of the same design in a set-of-four at Hexham, 6A, where the motifs are several different sizes as if that designer had a veritable pile of graded templates.

Hexham 6: The spiralled animal pattern

Hexham 6 was found in 1876 used as building material in the "ruins of the commonhouse" (Hodges 1888, figure 42H). It is the top part of a shaft with the lower arm of the head attached (plates 62 and 68). The shaft part is 60cm long and is 32cm wide tapering to 28cm, which is more or less the same size and taper as the upper 60cm of the Woodhorn shaft as reconstructed in figure 14b. The sides may have been narrower but are now difficult to measure. On the face there is a generous double moulding on all edges about 4.5-5cm wide. The shaft has a single horizontal moulding before the head but no panel is complete. The sides have continuous closed circuit pattern D as did St Oswald's on side D (lower) or Tynemouth 3 (figures 13b and gi). It is the face pattern which has a tangled form on the theme of the spiralled design (plate 62).

C.C. Hodges, in his great work on the abbey (1888, plate 42H) reproduces the design quite well, but because the pattern is least damaged where it is most astray, he makes no connection with St Oswald's or the Monk's Stone[3] which he could have known. It was Collingwood who misinterpreted the design, although claiming that he saw the stone "plainly in the raking light of evening". He drew (1925, figure 16 and 1927, 154-5, figure 181) a looping tangle with a small animal and snakes' heads, yet his drawings have the pertinent features of the spiralled design even though he did not

recognise them. Cramp (Corpus I, 179) saw it as "an irregular tangle" including a "reptilian head with a round eye".

The clearest motif, but one suffering much damage (plate 62) is on the lower right, at the unit measure of 4.25cm. The motif can be followed with a little effort (figure 14cii, red outlines). Apart from warps and wobbles and distortion it corresponds pretty well to that on St Oswald's, placed beside it in the figure. The motif on the left has the common 3.5cm unit measure, and although this fits the space left by its wider companion, the strands and bodies cannot meet to form symmetry (figure 16cii, blue). Worse is to come, when this template is turned upside down on the upper right. The artist fits only half of the design reasonably (figure 16cii, blue), then the top half (the lower body) becomes nonsense. Here the head escapes from its spiral (figure 14cii, purple) and is unfortunately the only clear head on the whole panel, "the reptilian head with a round eye" seen by Professor Cramp (Corpus I, 179). A very small template was used to complete the design (2.5cm unit measure). It fits both length and width in a distorted manner (figure 14cii) but only snatches of it are recognisable.

The patterns on both works demonstrate that templates existed, even if the memory of how to use them was lost. Woodhorn and Hexham show better this process of reproducing designs than do the more perfect works. The poor animals at Hexham with bodies no wider than strands attest to the fact that not only the understanding of the original concept has gone but also there is no interest at all in any form of naturalism. Perhaps for the artisan himself, as well as for the modern scholars, these were tangles of snakes with heads. Hexham 6, stands further removed from this vital Lindisfarne form than even the Woodhorn work.

Woodhorn: the bird pattern

If the theory of alternating pattern forms, particularly interlace and interlaced animals, on panelled crosses is correct, then there should be a larger pool of animal designs than has been noted so far. At Woodhorn there is another, a bird pattern.[4] This is on the lowest piece of shaft side A, a small length of pattern, broken off in the middle, so that one pair of birds can be seen with legs extending upwards beyond the break but another pair of legs and feet near the heads must come down from an upper pair, indicating a set-of-four (plate 63, figure 14di). There has been no bird design in a set-

Figure 14d
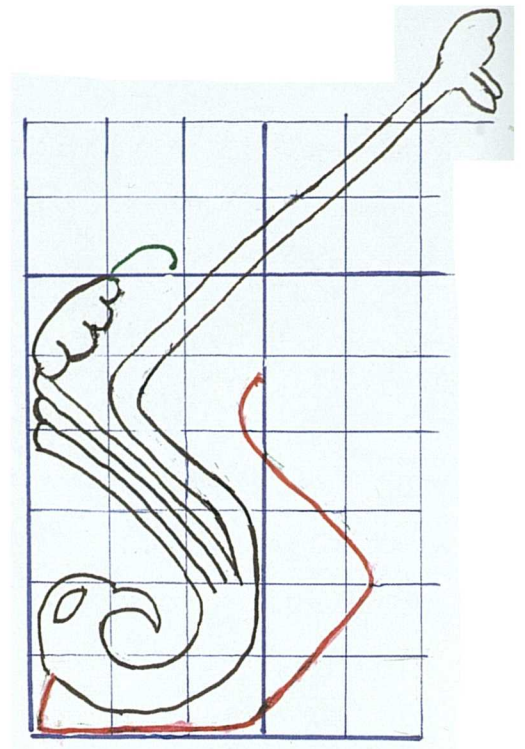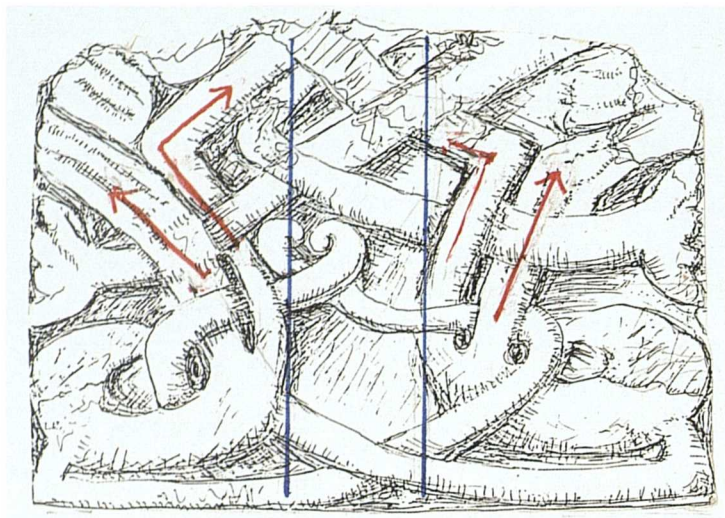
i. Woodhorn: bird pattern and motif.
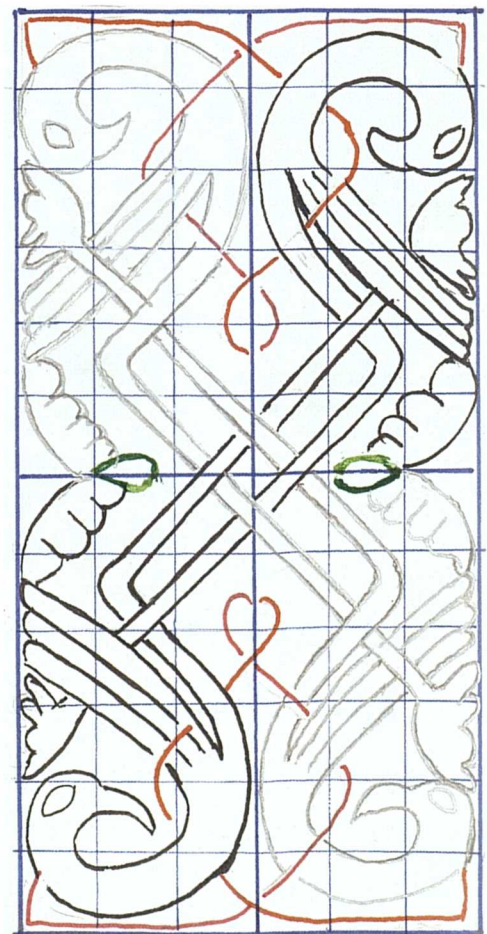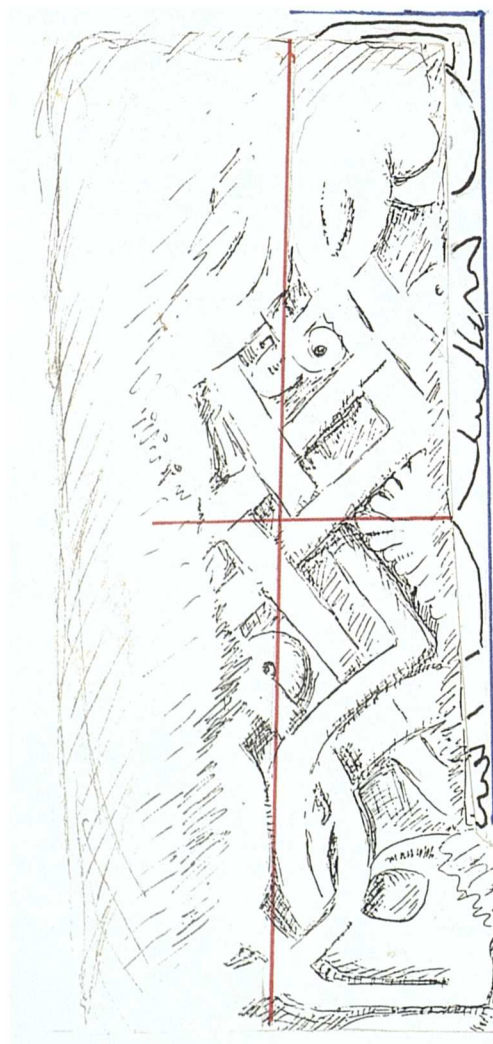
ii. Jarrow 4: bird pattern and the set -of-four.

1:4

of-four noted apart from Aberlady (plate 12), although a type of bird was paired on Thornhill Ai and quite a realistic pair of birds in a turned and reversed position Closeburn C (plates 25 and 19).

In the spiralled design just discussed, the use of templates is betrayed by the array of the sizes of the motifs. In this bird design the motifs side by side are drawn at one size, but one that is too small for the width (35cm) so that no less than a 7cm gap has opened between the motifs. This has put stress on the strands crossing the centre. The motif on the left is normal in its curves and diagonals while that on the right is sloping away from the true diagonal. Figure 14di shows the problems, while beside it is drawn an "ideal" motif.

The motif is of a bird upside down with chest to the centre, neck curving at the bottom and turning in to allow the hooked beak to rest by the back. The striated wing and leg extend diagonally outwards, then the leg turns to cross. The leg which threads in from above ends in a round foot with apparently four toes. The wing either bends or becomes a tail with feather striations, and a curled extension. The motif is decorated also with an ear lappet, going straight along the bottom, then curling up around the opposite bird, to end in a comma curl on the central axis. In this expression a reconstruction would have been difficult had the same pattern not appeared on Jarrow 4, where the sides are broken but the central axis is clear.

Jarrow 4: the bird pattern

Jarrow 4 was found archaeologically by Professor Cramp in 1969 (Corpus I, 108, illustrations 487-490), among medieval foundations. It is a long piece carved on extremely poor friable stone. What survives is the broken part of a large shaft, now 84cm in length, with an estimated width of 38cm but its taper is difficult to measure. Like many bedded sandstones it is slab-like, scarcely 14cm in depth. It may be linked with another stone from Jarrow,3 (Corpus I, illustrations 482-86), recovered from the tower in 1866 (Corpus I, 107), which has only interlace. The poorness of technique and setting out on both these stones again suggests the time when good stone or competent masons were not available.

It is number 4, with the bird panel on face C (plate 64) which creates the link with the panelled crosses, and this is reinforced by the fact that the design is placed above a split-plait, the kind which is the design of St Oswald's and Tynemouth 3 (figures 13b and 13gii). Although there is a double moulding along the outer edge in the usual manner, there is no moulding at all between any of the designs. The other side, A, breaks with the tradition with three interlaces running the lower one being plain basket weave, a phenomenon not observed in previous panelled work, but may be performing the function of a square filler. The plain plait seems particularly to be a tenth century feature (chapter 12).

The bird pattern itself has one clear and almost complete motif, but a little compressed, on the lower right (plate 64B). Many irregularities can be picked out but the one detail to which the sculptor has devoted attention is the tail. This is delicately carved like a scalloped leaf meeting the tail from the upper bird and forming a fan shape with perhaps a very small comma curl at the apex (figure 14dii, green). Another interesting feature, shown clearly in this length is the crossed legs forming a lattice in the centre.

When the information of the Woodhorn and the Jarrow birds is combined the pattern can be pieced together. The bird design estimated ideally to be 52cm in length, 26-8cm in width design responds to a grid twelve units in length and six units in length. Figure 14dii shows diagramatically how it would fit on a grid. Leaving out the miscalculation which gave a 7cm strip of extra space between motifs at Woodhorn and allowing for the compression at Jarrow, the unit measure of both seems to average 4.5cm.

The origin of the pattern

To say that the bird design goes back to the Lindisfarne gospels would seem to be drawing a long bow. It has been accepted as a fact almost beyond question that the Aberlady bird design is close to the Lindisfarne Gospels' type (chapter 3, plate 12, figure 3c). At Aberlady there are well formed birds with shapely striated wings, long necks natural heads and legs with large feet showing the typical form, two claws forward one back. These have the naturalism of the Lindisfarne Gospels, together with fine contour lines and are arranged in a set-of-four with necks crossing.

Figure 14e
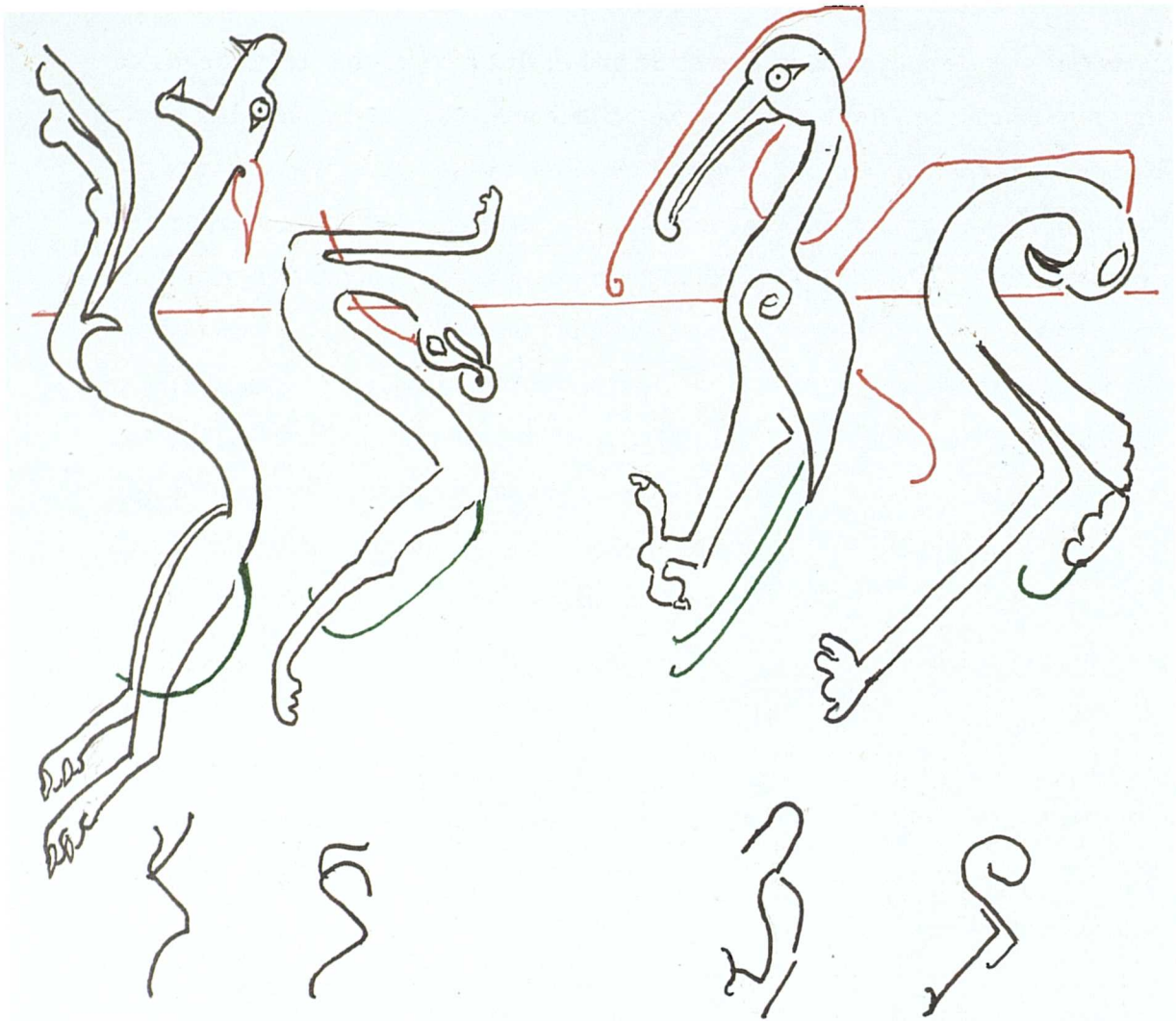
i. The dogs: Lindisfarne G, St Oswald's.   ii. The birds: Lindisfarne G, Woodhorn.
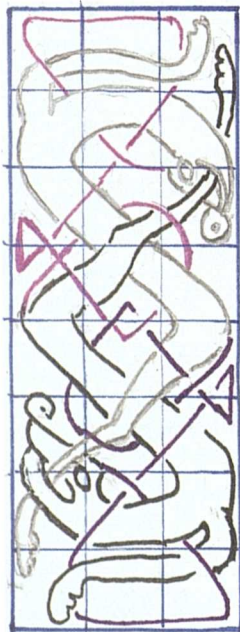
iii. Turned and reversed designs: the dogs, the birds.

However, it was demonstrated in figures 3c and d, that a set-of-four could be varied by the motif being turned different ways. So although the Aberlady set has necks crossing in the centre the design, on folio 139r of the Lindisfarne Gospels' birds have legs crossing in the centre, and the chest on the vertical axis so that the heads are at the top or bottom facing the axis (plate 2A, figure 1eii). The Woodhorn/Jarrow birds likewise have chests to the centre, legs crossing, but the necks are drawn back and the heads are to the outside. So just as figure 14ei shows the Lindisfarne Gospels' dog of folio 211r (plate2B) with the motif from St Oswald's differing basically in that the neck curves back; so figure 14eii shows the Lindisfarne Gospels' bird motif (folio 139r, plate 2A) together with the Woodhorn bird, also with its neck drawn back in the same type of movement. In both cases this change is accompanied by a reduction of naturalism and this disguises the origin.

Since the zig-zag dog and bird motifs are so similar in structure that they could also be interchanged as motifs from which a design can be formed, the birds can be envisaged as a turned and reversed design on almost the same grid as the dogs (figure 14eiii), and a set-of-four version of the dogs would be equally possible. Such interchanges are not in existence, but the patterns described are have been associated together, notably both appear on Aycliffe I (chapter 15, plates 75 and 76). Further, the zig-zag dogs appear associated with a split-plait on both St Oswald's and Tynemouth 3/4 if this reconstruction is valid (figures 13a and g), whereas on Jarrow 4 the birds appear above the same type of split-plait.

If the birds are thought of as connected to York Minster2D (appendix plate 13, figure 11h) which are the Viking-age style (Corpus II, Lang 55) then there is a hint of Viking-age here as there was on Lindisfarne 7 (plate 48). J. Lang (1978, 147) says of York Minster 4, another bird chain, (Corpus III, illustration 21):

> One might say of this creature that it is the Mercian bird dressed
> anew with fashionable Scandinavian tricks of detail.

Is the bird pattern of Woodhorn/Jarrow then a Bernician bird with Scandinavian tricks? Again the only feature that could be remotely Jellinge is the turned back head. It would seem that if the neck of the dog design (chapter 13, figure 13d and e) was

Jellinge this would be also, and yet in Bernician work there have been many changes to the neck so it is credible that both are natural Bernician developments. The relaxed lacing and diagonal pose which is here in the set-of-four, make an Anglo-Saxon origin more likely. The distorted form on Lindisfarne 7, thought to be tenth century, could have been copying this pattern (figure 11h and j) and its very existence points to an earlier set-of-four being in use in the Lindisfarne area.

The side patterns

The broken nature of the sides of the Woodhorn cross makes reconstruction difficult but reasonable measurements can be made close to the bottom and top (figure 14a) to give a limit to the width of patterns. The two spiralled animal sections of the lower and middle fragments (1bAand 1cB) must be placed together (plate 65, figure 14b and ei). There is no firm evidence for the way the new piece sits with the other pieces, but the Stafford knots would be expected to follow the apparent pattern D, as both are three unit designs, as on Aycliffe 2 (figure 12C). Also the circling interlace seems best on the side with spiralled animals, as it was on St Oswald's shaft (figures 13b and 14b).

Odd things occur: firstly the Stafford knots on side D become smaller in size as they descend until they are distorted almost beyond recognition as the panel widens because of taper, as if a template was used upside down; secondly the highest design (new stone D) is carved in a rounded but heavy strand with a medial groove but lower the strand is finer; lastly on the opposite side at the same level instead of a three unit design a delicate five-unit design is in a fine half-width strand. This graceful pattern is the design on St Oswald's (figures 13b and cC, compare 14a and bB) with the same sort of mistakes, but at a smaller unit measure, about 2.75cm.

i. The single spiralled animals

There are two main animal designs on side B. The design lowest in a panel of about 50cm by 22-20cm but impossible to measure accurately as the stone is mounted wrongly and badly broken. It is a single spiralled animal, the half pattern (figure 12bii, see glossary) with the head wound within the neck (plate 65). It has the same head as the paired spiralled animal on other works, but the body has an extra half turn so the back leg turns up not down. The lacing defies positive reconstruction because
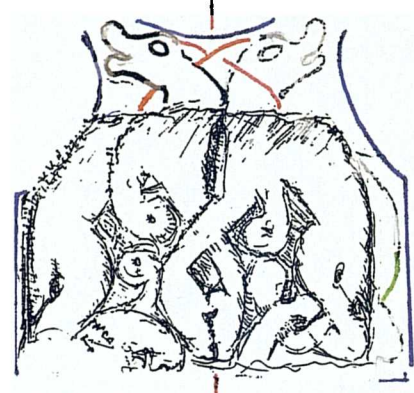
Figure 14f
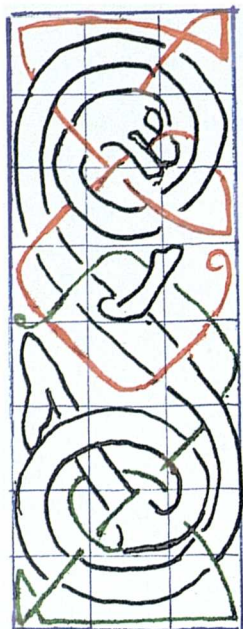
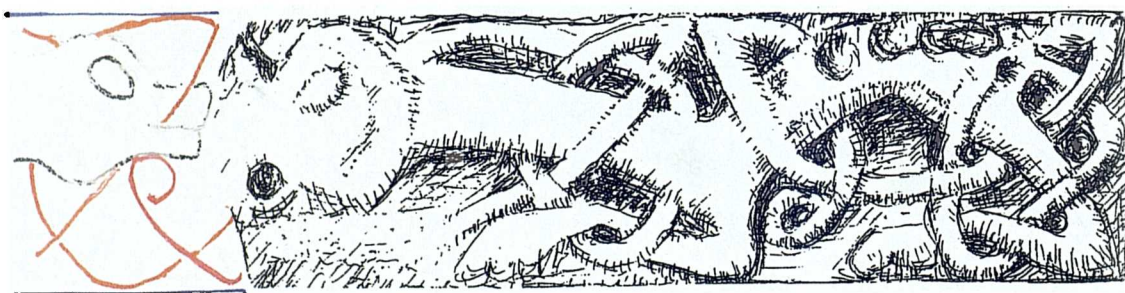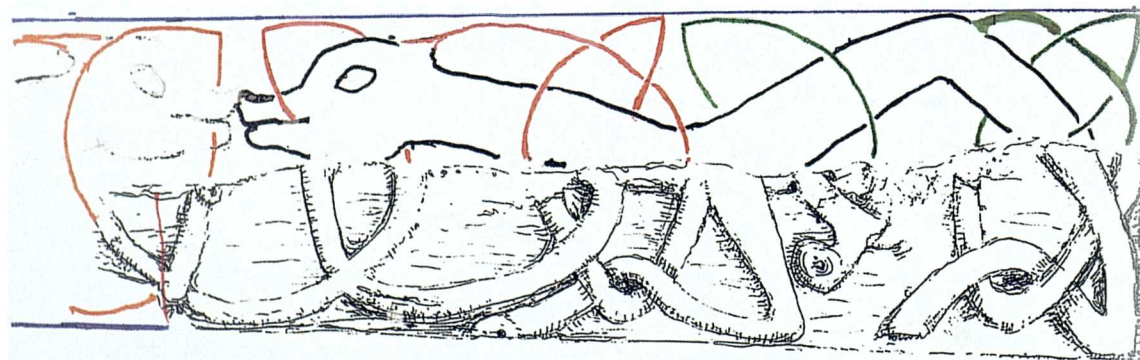**i. Woodhorn B:**

single spiralled animal pattern.
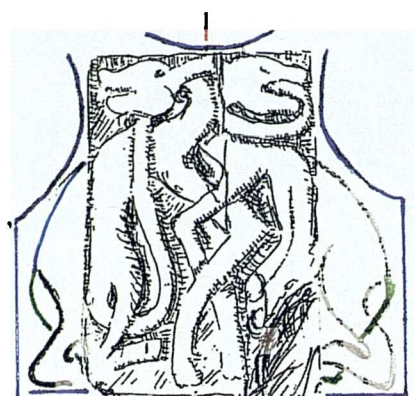
ii. Crossarms: Woodhorn 1D, Hart 9A

1:4

1:4

iii. Crouched animal patterns: Lindisfarne 1D; Woodhorn 1B.

1:2

1:4

of the break but plate 65B and figures 14bB and fi show a reconstruction which makes some sense of all the evidence.

This is clearly a deluxe version, making the single spiralled animal interesting with lacing. It may have been designed originally as a main face panel and used in a simplified form at Gainford (plates 55 and 56). The pattern is well thought out as can be seen by the matching triangular loops of the top right and bottom left framing strands. The single animal, consisting of volute and counter volute, may well have been popular. On the top of Woodhorn side B in the narrow width of 10cm is part of a curled body of another animal wherein just one leg with a paw crosses the body curl, and there are vague contour lines. This small piece is shown on plate 73 together with what is a similar scrap of animal on Hexham 6, and these are discussed in chapter 15. A possible reconstruction is shown in figure 14bB which could suit this and the Hexham piece, but it is a suggestion only.

ii. The crouching dogs

Above the lower spiralled animal is a design with intermittent spindly strands and big blank areas of ground (plate 66). It looks to be a nonsense until it is read as a crouching zig-zag animal such as was on Lindisfarne 1D. Figure 14fiii reproduces both, with the Woodhorn animal turned and reduced in size 1:4 compared with 1:2 (compare figure 12jii). The designs are clearly the same, strand for strand, but the Woodhorn one so lacks naturalism and discipline of interlace, that it scarcely appears related. The strand seems to finish with terminal flourish (plate 66A) but this was not the case because the strand does go on. A small extension, now broken off, can be seen on some photographs, and Plate 66B was drawn in 1974 before it was broken. This small piece of strand continuing makes it logical for two dogs to meet face to face, which means that about 45cm more would be needed to fit in the upper register (a total of 92cm). There is plenty of space to accommodate this other animal before the next known design (figure 14bB). Conversely the reversed design helps the interpretation of Lindisfarne 1D, where a second animal may face the present animal (chapter 4 figure 4c).

Did the Woodhorn artisans receive this pattern from Lindisfarne itself or was it in the repertoire of Tynemouth, the nearer source for Woodhorn designs? If the latter then
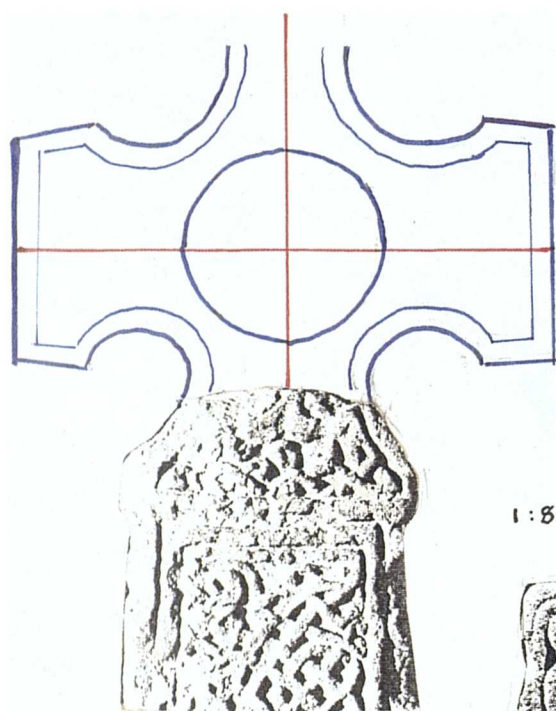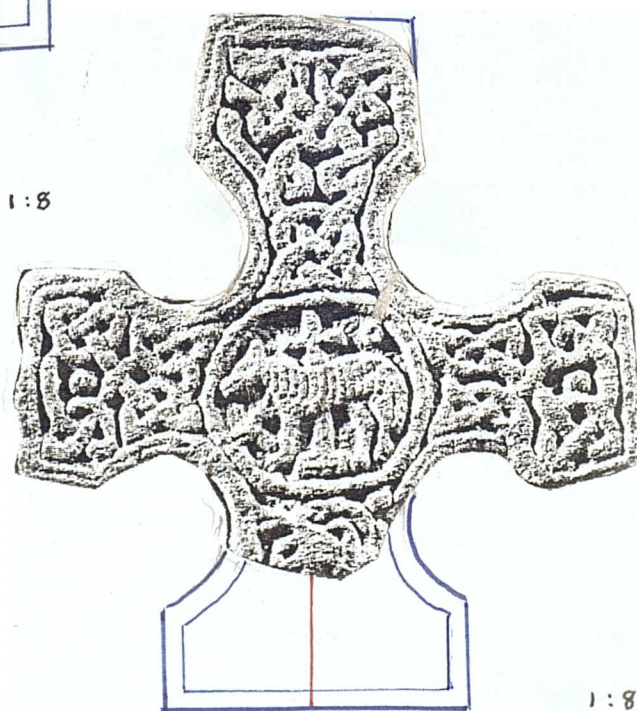
Figure 14g
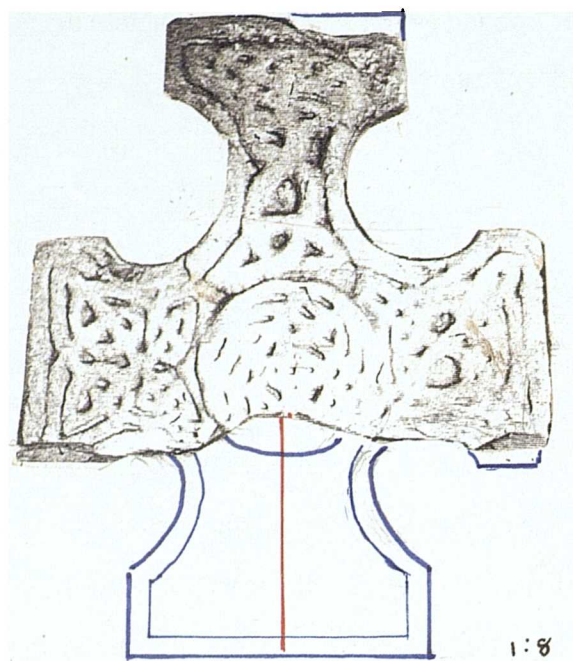
i. Woodhorn 1C.
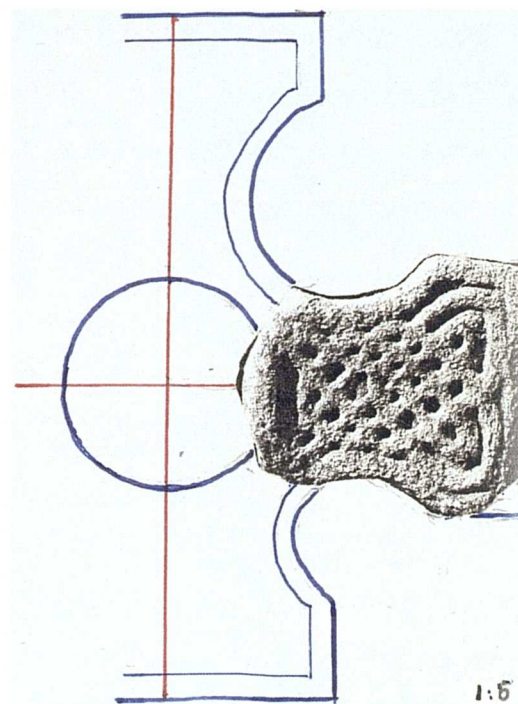
ii. Tynemouth 5C.

iii. Hexham 6.

iv. Durham 8C.

this is a timely warning of how fragmentary our knowledge is, since its appearance at both Lindisfarne and Norham (plates 13 and 48, figure 4c and 11jii) would otherwise have placed it firmly in the north.

The cross-head

It is rare in Bernicia to have a cross-head with three extant arms so the Woodhorn head gives visual evidence to sum up gleanings from various fragmentary sources. The arms, classed as 10A or C (Corpus I, figure 2), have very short squared or chamfered blades with wide armpits around a central boss. The central arm rises much higher and on a thinner neck than the lateral arms, so that the radius of the arcs on the upper part of the cross-head are wider, whereas the arcs seen on the lower side of the arms have a narrower radius, to allow a more substantial lower cross-arm (figure 14gi).

There is Tynemouth 5, a smaller arm of the same shape which looks lopsided (Corpus I, illustrations 1270 and 1272) because of the arc of wide radius on one side and narrow on the other, but it looks normal when fitted as a lateral arm (figure 14gii). There is on this piece too, a fragment of a central boss protruding. Tynemouth 5 was therefore of the Woodhorn type on a smaller scale. Durham 8 (chapter 15, plate 70, figure 15ai, here figure 14giv), although with a different blade type is another extant example of a head with a tall upper arm. Only Hexham 6 gives definite information on the lower arm, where a section of it is attached to the shaft top (plate 68, figure 14giii). This work has been noted as the same size as the top of the Woodhorn shaft. The head is stepped out from the shaft by a few centimetres and surrounded by its own single flat moulding to form a substantial lower arm. When combined, this is the evidence for a complete head.

The Woodhorn head seems overwhelmingly ornate, covered with interlace although the designs themselves are individually simple. The bosses which protrude a centimetre or so are just quasi-interlace made up of rings simulating a design with interlace loops of the type seen on Hart 8C (Corpus I, illustration 415). The arm designs are simple each of which would fit a squarish panel but are pulled or pushed into the shape of an arm. Most are successfully fitted, only the split-plait uppermost

on side A is badly centred and distorted. In its position of grandeur, it sets the theme of incompetent draftsmanship which has been observed through the whole work.

It appears that the heavy stranded design on the tall slim arm of side called C started as an animal design which has been aborted (plate 67), made clear by analogy with Durham 8C (plate 71, figures 14gi and iv). In both one sees an interlaced knot nestling into the roundel as tails, but each develops two contour lines not a single medial groove as the wider body curls upward. In the Durham design the two animals develop limbs but at Woodhorn the strands turn to scribble.

A paired animal design is on the lower cross-arm at Hexham, number 6A, (plate 68, figure 14gii). Collingwood (1927, 154, figure 181) saw an evangelist symbol "a lion of sorts," in this he was partially right as it is paired eagles "of sorts." The striated wings,[5] skinny necks, bony chests can be seen before the break. The legs fit with their hocks to the corner and toes to the centre while tails twine around the legs ending in curls. The lappets from above loop around the bodies and also end in curls. On figure 14b, I have placed this design in the lower arm to complete the alternating rhythm, although this is simply a calculated guess.

One panel type remains at Woodhorn, the ambiguous design on the end of the lateral arm D and traces of this same design or a single animal on the end of the other arm B (plate 69 A-D). The design shows confronted animals, with necks which are crossed or more probably back curving[6]. The front legs entwine about the vertical axis but the animals have little in the way of hindquarters. The lappets straggle ineptly, one appears to go from one head into the mouth.

The bird design just discussed on the lower arm of Hexham 6 (plate 68) is like it but confronted animal design where front legs cross seen on the cross-heads Hexham 5A and Hart 9A (plates 72 and figure 15c) is more appropriate. Figure 14fii shows that the rectangular design at Woodhorn was really based on lower cross-arm design about the size and type of Hart 9A and the Woodhorn artist has failed to adapt his design properly to the necessary size but just chopped off the outer sides. Strangely the two designs together have evidence to restore each other: in the case of Woodhorn, the

animals can be interpreted as crouching beasts; in the case of Hart, the out turned heads may be supplied to complete the top.

Conclusion

When was this Woodhorn cross carved, with the very similar piece at Hexham and the one less similar from Jarrow? The work at Woodhorn is on poor bedded stone but the attempt is to carve it with a normal half-width strand. Poorly set out work shows that there was a breakdown in workshop traditions. Naturalism has gone and patterns are badly interpreted even though the carving still has some confidence of technique. This proud three metre cross of Woodhorn stands proud with so many glaring faults in the designs. Hexham 6 which is the same size in the upper part and has the same type of mistakes is closely related. In both there is no break in the decorative flow only in the competence. The Woodhorn cross shows a distinct resemblance to the Great Farne Island cross especially in technique and size[7]. Both may be of the same date.

A late ninth century date seems most probable as all the designs show no Viking-age subject matter, all go back to the ninth century, or earlier. Only a few features have crept in which might indicate a date towards the tenth century date. First there are a couple of closed circuit designs, not just pattern D on the sides of the Hexham piece but a circle and diagonal pattern on the right lateral arm (side A) at Woodhorn. At Woodhorn too, there is perhaps a tongue strand (cross-arm D). These are small details and may strengthen a later ninth century date or one into the early tenth century. Another late feature is the wider strand with medial groove, which appears well rounded on Woodhorn D (new stone) and Jarrow. There is even a basket plait on Jarrow 4A which is common in the tenth century. Further there are no mouldings between patterns on the Jarrow designs which makes Jarrow 4A seem a step further removed from Woodhorn and Hexham so that it was perhaps carved early in the tenth century. At some time during the tenth century such a Jarrow or Tynemouth sculptor may have worked at Chester-le-Street.

An important aspect made clear in this chapter is the practical method of reproducing designs. Designs, now clearly are not measured and drawn-up on the cross, but are in template form, some too big or others too small with gaps and distortion. Animal designs in their ineptness demonstrate this very clearly, but even interlace, normally

better understood, shows the use of templates, as for example, in the extraordinary length of Stafford knots on side D. Again, it seems the template existed in sets of different sizes providing a sequence of over 7cm to about 2cm: the strongest evidence is in the spiralled patterns of Woodhorn and Hexham. The favoured unit measures were 3.5cm and 4.25cm as there were on the Monk's Stone and St Oswald's cross. There may be halving and quartering of a standard large unit say 7cm or some sort of measuring ruler with small units of about a centimetre. Less worn stones and much processing of data would be needed to accurately assess this.

The final thing is in spite of such incompetently set-out designs, the repertoire is increased and much of what is already known is reinforced. If five-panelled crosses, which included decorative interlace, animal interlace and the occasional square had schemes in ABCBA, BACAB and other variations, then a pool of patterns would be needed in each genre. Interlace designs in a wide cord count, shown in figure 11a, can be varied to make any number of designs but the animal patterns are less numerous and more difficult to adapt. The spiralled design has made five appearances, while the birds and zig-zag dogs seem also to have been popular. Woodhorn hints at another design on side B, the single spiralled animal is the size and complexity suited to a face panel. The crouched animal on Woodhorn B is probably more suited as a long side panel, as its presence also on the side of Lindisfarne 1 suggests but this in itself raises the possibility of the survival of the figure-of-eight animal on Lindisfarne 1A as a face panel. The lank animals of the Monk's Stone or a zig-zag variation or the Great Farne Island cross (plates 38 and 47) make other possibilities. All these patterns would give a sufficient pool of ideas for these tall panelled crosses. Yet if all crosses had ten panels, and only five survive on St Oswald's, four at Woodhorn and less on other works then our knowledge is pitifully small and even popular designs may have disappeared entirely because of the whims of fate.

With this group there is survival, into the later ninth century or perhaps into the early tenth century of traditional designs but it is not part of the bulk of the Viking influenced tenth century discussed in chapters 11 and 12. A style which has the hallmarks of a conscious revival is the one remaining to be discussed. Here new Christian iconography is coupled with the traditional decorated forms perhaps now

converted to have a symbolic meaning, which has not been obvious in the panels of the decorative crosses.

NOTES

1. B Harbottle carried out excavations in the church in 1975 (not published). Diagrams and plans are in the church museum, dowsing was involved in these.

2. The museum displays the cross a few centimetres from the wall so the back of the head cannot now be seen, also medieval grave covers mask the sides. Drawings used in plate 67 and lower plate 65 were done in 1974.

3. Hodges published Hexham 6 (1888, plate 42H) after the two pieces of St Oswald's were found, Greenwell (1880-9, 32, plate 1) reports that both pieces were taken out. The Monk's Stone itself was clear and drawn by Gibb (Stuart 1867, plate 83 and 84).

4. Coatsworth (1981, 17-18) correctly recognised the pattern as birds and like that on Aycliffe 1 (plate 76). She dated the work to the eleventh century.

5. The wing striations are clear in some light but not seen on plate 58A, or drawn by Hodges (1888, plate 42H).

6. As lower cross-arms are normally broken at the narrow part, so that all the animals on lower cross-arms are without necks and heads. Information on the cross-arm end of Woodham 1D (plate 69 A and B) is a little ambiguous but would have explain Lindisfarne 2A Hexham 5A, 6A and Hart 9A (plate 47, 68, 73A and B).

7. The Great Farne Island shaft with mouldings would be 46-8cm at the bottom of the reconstructed area at the top, which is slightly wider than the Woodhorn piece near the bottom but with similar taper over 120cm.

CHAPTER15

DURHAM: THE REVIVAL

Introduction

The community of St Cuthbert came to Durham and was building a church there by the end of the tenth century, under Bishop Ealdhun (HDE 1993; chapters 26, 27 and 29). Towards the end of the eleventh century the Norman Conquest disrupted society in the north. These facts give rough termini for a sculptural revival. The peak of the Durham revival, which is the subject of this chapter, may be dated to an even narrower time span. The new church building phase, which took place after the disruptive tenth century, could well have stimulated artistic creativity. So Bishop Ealdhun, who presided over the move to Durham and the new church building until 1018, may well have been in office during the first part of the revival. Then Eadmond, a man with contacts in the south, became monk and bishop a few years later in 1021, and opened up the way for new ideas from the south and the Continent (Cramp, 1980, 8) and he died in 1042. His time in Durham may have inspired the peak of creative intensity which occurred.

Four great cross-heads and a part of a large grave-cover were found in the Norman foundations of the chapter house at Durham in 1891. This was a magnificent cache, which Canon Greenwell (1890-5, 123-33) noted with enthusiasm calling it a "remarkable and valuable discovery", but his enthusiasm was tinged with displeasure at the "hidden mysteries of symbolism and other arcana" which he freely admitted he did not understand. C.C. Hodges (1894, 77) was more forthcoming, saying that "they are richly sculptured and the cross-heads have, all of them, figure subjects." The symbols and the figure subjects which intermingle with the traditional designs on panels.

Chester-le-Street and work of the tenth century was discussed in chapter 12 so that there would be a factual basis by which to judge works which are placed by various scholars from the ninth to the eleventh century. After analysis St Oswald's cross has been placed in the ninth century because of content and on

stylistic grounds. On the same grounds Woodhorn and Hexham 6, both poor in craftsmanship and full of mistakes, are placed later in that century with Jarrow 4 later still even in the tenth century (chapters 13 and 14). All the decorative, five-panelled crosses have been now grouped in a sequence ending before the simplified and cruder work of the tenth century at Chester-le-Street, Aycliffe and Gainford and Lindisfarne itself. A preference for basic animal designs together with simple interlace, even plain basket weave, accompanied by muddled traditional designs is the hallmark of work before the revival gained pace. It is easy to observe the novelty of the style which emerges into the eleventh century, which reintroduces interlaces and interlaced animal designs in a new context.

The starting point: Durham cross-head 8

Durham cross-head 8 (Corpus I, illustrations 217-220, here figure 14giv) is often placed after the other three cross-heads (5-7) since number 8 is cruder in expression and technique than the others. It is these very things that indicate that it was first, because in both technique and designs it resumes where the best work of Chester-le-Street (numbers 5 and 8 plates 50 and 51) left off. The cross-head is impressive with three extant arms and part of the lower arm. It is a little wider than the Woodhorn head (65cm:50cm) and the upper arm is taller (40cm:35). If the arcs of the armpits are extended downwards it could join its shaft at a width of about 32 or 34cm. Its blades are longer than those on the Woodhorn head and slightly less chamfered. The Woodhorn cross was over 3 metres but there is no surviving fragment of any shaft at Durham, for this large head or for the other three heads.

Canon Greenwell (1890-5, 128), who saw the stones taken fresh from the foundations, says that number 8 was of a different type of fabric from that of the other three heads. The stone is good quality but coarse which would point to the fact that quarrying for the stone of the church, or even the ability to travel and trade may have enabled better stone to be obtained. The technique is a slightly more refined version of that described in chapter 12. The holes of the interlace are worked conically and the strands are a little over half-width, while forms fit closely giving the surface a flat crowded appearance although they are cut to an

adequate depth. The edges of forms and strands are rounded and grooved between deeply enough for clarity. The surface has a rough matt finish without a final polish, so that there is a pleasant gradation from light to shade. In this case the sculptor has shown a great interest in surface pattern and texture: the folds of garments, the fleece, contour lines, fur and wing striations are all clear. So there is interest in all parts allowing no form to appear to be heavy. This surface engraving is more than is on previous works but since most other works are badly weathered this judgement may not be accurate.

The programme is full of interesting features. Side A is the most Scandinavian (Corpus I, illustration 217) in that the crucified Christ or perhaps Daniel the Old Testament forerunner (Coatsworth 1978, 90), is stretched into the arms of the piece, not confined by a roundel but pressed, even bound by design. The figure in some way has affinities with the figure on the Jelling Stone itself (Wilson 1966, plate 48), where animals do the binding, but the Jelling Stone is a very different style from this orderly Anglo-Saxon work.

The animal within each chamfered blade (plate 70) is close in style to the Chester-le-Street types, numbers 5 and 8 (plates 50 and 51). There is no back leg spiral although the left animal seems to have a spiral on the front leg. Each has a contoured body and a back turned head with a little ear. It is the tongue which extends under the body to the tail but there is no room for lacing. The legs of each are straight, and have well carved paws with three long toes, except one leg on each of the lateral animals which extends to bind the hand of Christ and becomes lacing (plate 70, right).

A feature just below the animal of the upper arm is a band of plain plaiting, which fills the narrow neck of the arm (plate 70, upper). Plain plaiting was on Jarrow 3 and 4, much at Gainford and at Aycliffe 2 on the arms. Plain plaits did not appear on any early panelled cross mentioned or allied work: such a thing would have been out of place among the designs of Bewcastle, Abercorn 1934 or Rothbury. Horizontal bands of plain lacing are something which now become a

feature being on this head, and on Hexham 5 (plate 73A and B) and Aycliffe 1 (figure 15d) and one was observed also on Lindisfarne 2B (figure 11f).

The second face, C, is more Anglian with a central roundel surrounded by traditional designs in the three arms (figure 14giv). In the central circle is the *Agnus Dei*, with a scroll between its front legs, standing in front of a cross like the one on which he is represented, with a book between its front legs and a ring in the sky possibly to hold brightly coloured enamel.[1] Although this "elongated and drooping creature" (Coatworth 1978, 90) does not convince in the way the same animal does on the grand cross-head 5 (Corpus I, illustration 205), the fleece on this poor animal has strongly curved folds which define form in a classical manner, while those on cross-head 5 are straightish, lacking a feeling for form. This would suggest that both were copied independently from a classical model, not the one from the other.

Even more novel is an animal entwined by a snake in the lower arm which after so many great beasts and serpents of the tenth century Viking era, this could be just one more. However this, and one similar on cross-head 7, could be the beast of the Apocalypse and the dragon (Revelations 13.1-14). Such a theme would be significant on cross-head 8 below the all-conquering lamb of the apocalypse (Cramp, Corpus I, 71). If the roundel and lower design are linked by their subject matter, do the traditional patterns, both interlace and animal interlace, add something to the iconography?

This description of the new iconography has been necessary to show the changing climate in which the traditional designs are set. The lateral arms each have a set-of-four of Stafford knots, well twisted into shape with a space filling pellet assisting at the wide end (figure 14giv). R. Stevenson (1981-2, 1-27) wrote on the symbolism of interlace and how it forms cross shapes in both the positive and negative spaces, a feature which anyone who draws interlace is well aware. Were these Stafford knots in *chiasma* formation put there as cross symbols? Although these are simple, common and like designs on the Woodhorn cross-

Figure 15a

A cross-head with animal interlace.
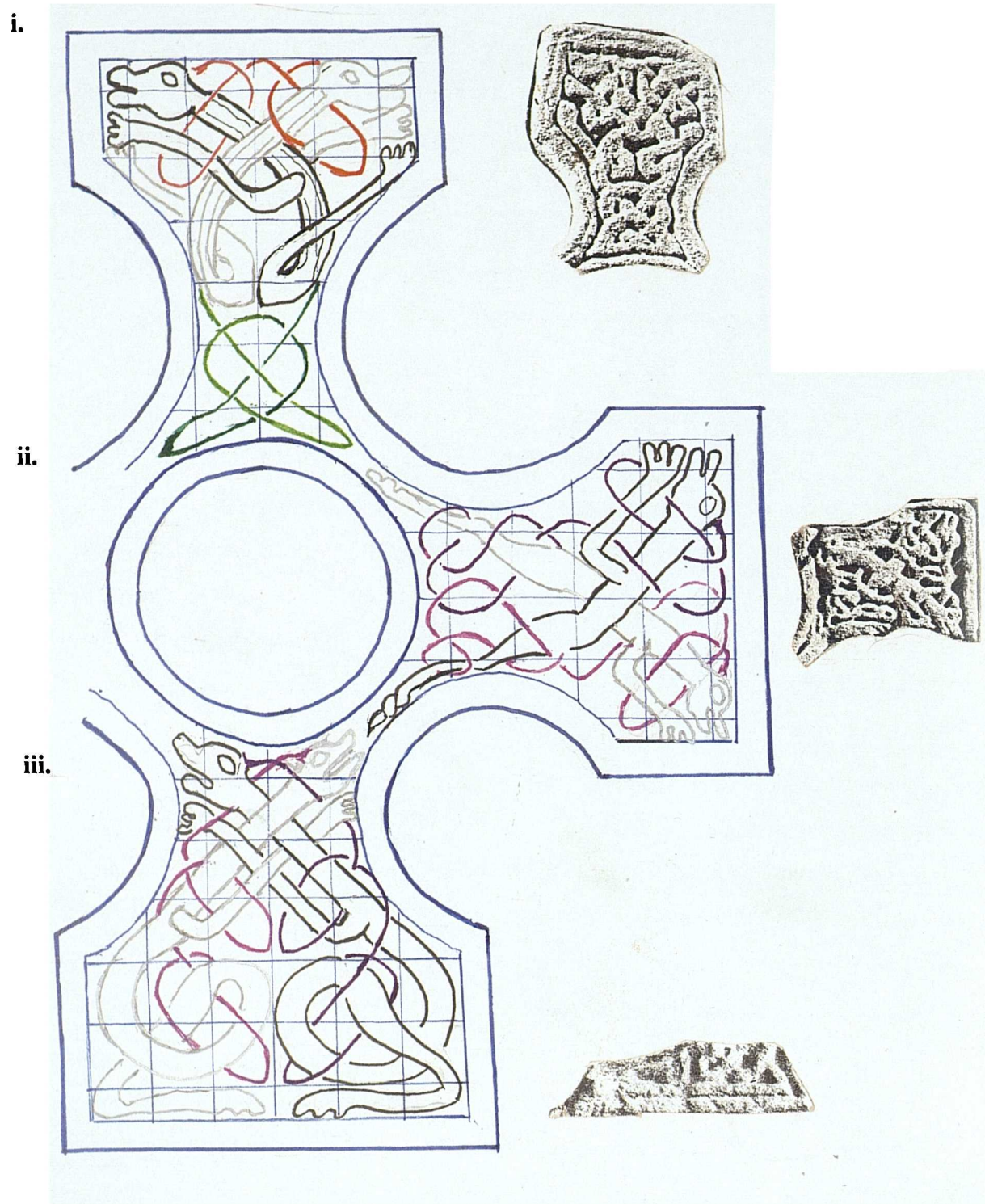
i. Durham 8C.   ii. Durham 7A.   iii. Abercorn 1C.

head fill the space well (figure 14 a and b), perhaps they acquire further meaning here.

The animal interlace (plate 71, figure 14giv and 15ai) which extends up into the tall arm is the type of the ninth century seen at Woodhorn (plate 67B). The bodies are lacking in naturalism but they are contoured, tiny as they are and plausible in attitude. The heads are the sort found in spiralled animal designs; the front legs follow the neck up, the back legs turn upwards into the wider space and all legs end in a paw with three round toes. The lacing from each lappet, first forms a long loop around neck and paw, and since it cannot move downwards it joins its partner. The tails move down to form an interlace motif at the central roundel, so that the long space is filled well. These animals respond to a grid five units wide and the unit measure is about 4 cm. This looks traditional, and the Woodhorn arm, side C (plate 67) which had a comparable design and it was also accompanied by interlace designs on the lateral arms. So this arrangement may have been a common form. Woodhorn, among the last of the decorative panelled crosses, is dated here to the late ninth century but after simpler work of the tenth century, here again is a well understood traditional type of design within the new iconography.

The Durham grave-cover artist

Before following the works of artists who used more complex iconography, there is important work of a traditional artist which adds weight to the idea of revival. This sculptor whose work, the Durham grave-cover (Corpus I, illustrations 234-6, here figure 15b), is both monumental and memorable, took interlace to a height only seen in the great early work.

This coped grave-cover has a double ridge which branches to form a hip-roof possibly at both ends but only one end remains. The ridge moulding extends, and divides, to end in animal heads (figure 15b). Professor Cramp (Corpus I, 73) notes how similar the head here is to animal heads on the mouldings of Sockburn 8, a cross-shaft with many Anglo-Scandinavian connections (Corpus I, illustrations 730-6). The strong edge moulding and broad flat mouldings between

Figure 15b
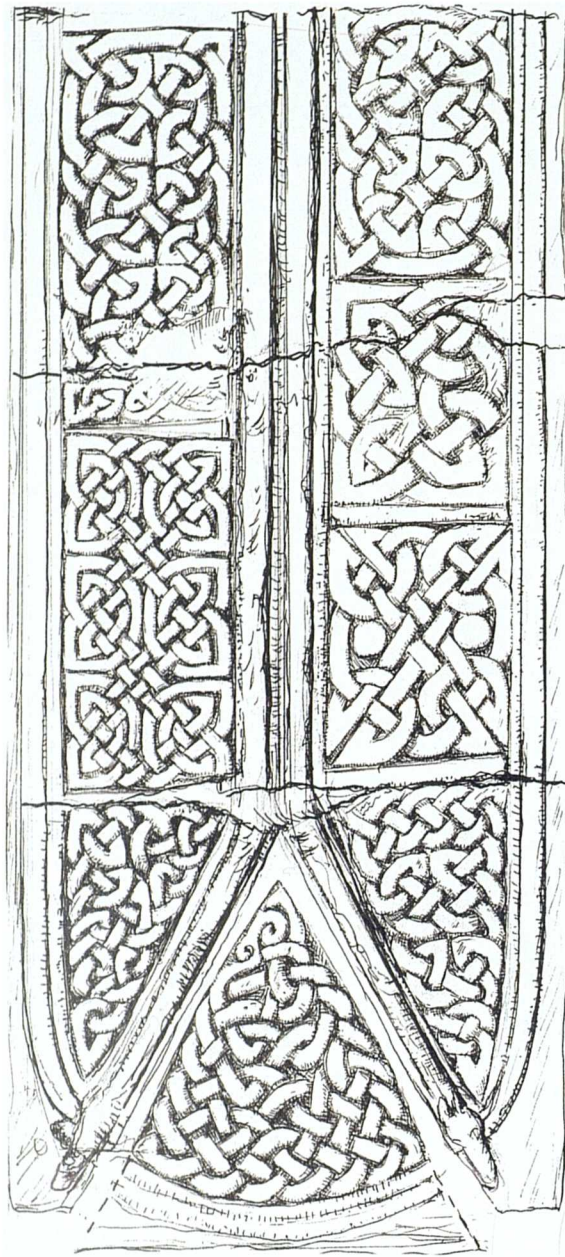
i. Durham grave-cover. 1:8
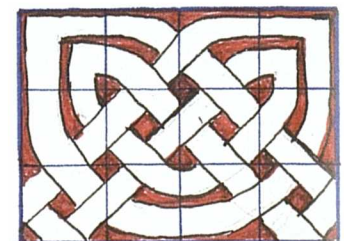
ii. Motif.

iii. Motif on a 1cm grid.

panels are also reminiscent of some of the better works at Sockburn, but the interlace panels are of pure Bernician origin. Conjecture might hold that a talented artisan, who learned his trade at Sockburn came north and studied the old patterns from the early workshop or those brought by the community.

Each of the grave cover designs is tightly bound in by broad flat mouldings, internally complete and static (figure 15bi); whereas the same patterns on St Oswald's cross (figures 13b and c) flow within themselves and from design to design. The real difference is subtle and hard to demonstrate: that is each design motif is drawn up "pedantically" on a grid. This is illustrated with the double-stranded Stafford knot which, when drawn on a grid, has a blockish outer knot and a more pointed inner one (figures 15bii and iii). Artists usually compromised and let the curves flow concentrically, but here the ridged structure remains. The holes form accurate diamond and wedge shapes like the early interlaces, which is a result of careful setting-out, and carving. The grid and designs were probably drawn directly on the stone as the underlying grid structure is crooked, and all motifs in each design vary from each other, some by more than a centimetre, which shows that a template was not used. This contrasts strangely with the careful drawing within each motif.

There are several other characteristics of this artist, who may have revived the interlace method or at least was a great exponent of it. The strands are just over half-width, slightly heavier than those of the eighth or ninth centuries but lighter than those of the tenth. They are cut deeply, rounded on the edges and firmly modelled, but even so they remain flattish on top. Finally they are finished to an almost polished smoothness. The artist "could carve Northumbrian interlaces with a calm, hard competence" (Cramp, Corpus I, 33). There is no great range of designs: double-stranded Stafford knots the split-plait, pattern C with outside strands but the inner ring pulled in to look circular, reversing and half pattern D and a version of pattern B. All are on St Oswald's cross but with different unit measures. This narrowness of scope could be an accident of fate. There is also a preference, even pride, in filling odd spaces with plain basket weave which decrease and count by the use of missed crossings and unmet "breaks" (see

glossary). Such forms are exemplified by the triangles of the grave-cover (figure 15bi) and in this the grave cover artist follows the tenth century tradition of the plain plait but makes it an art form.

Durham cross-arms 9 and 10, a shaft piece from Hexham (5) and a small piece of cross-arm from Hart are the most likely are examples of the man's work and perhaps Gainford 7 and Hart 6 belong (Corpus I, illustrations 221-227, 918-921, 425-8, 441 and 303). All have interlace of the sort mentioned, but only Hexham 5 and Hart 9 also have animal panels. If however, the artist was able to draw up interlaces afresh on grids with new unit measures one would expect animal patterns would be drawn up likewise.

### Hexham 5A and Hart 9A; confronted animals

The stone which now shares the niche at Hexham abbey beside Hexham 6 is a small piece of shaft with part of the lower arm attached (Corpus I, illustrations 918-921). It was found in 1908 in the foundations of the apse.[2] It is an orderly, deeply-cut piece with a wide, flat edge moulding and a precise narrow inner roll. In its precision it could not be more unlike its wilder companion Hexham 6, yet both have the same head shape, Hexham 5 being smaller, 26cm across the lower arm compared with 32cm. The very short blade may be a Hexham characteristic as it is seen not only on these works but on number 8, 10 and 11 (Corpus I, illustrations 910, 946 and 948) and a recently found piece (Cambridge and Williams 1995, 108-111, figures 33-4). The Hart fragment[3], much damaged, has a slightly longer blade than Hexham 5, with a slight cusp and has an even wider outer moulding and fine inner roll (Corpus I, illustrations 425-428).

The interlace patterns on the two pieces are those of the grave-cover artist: pattern C with outside strands is on the shaft of Hexham 5A and the arm of Hart 9A; two unit pattern D is on the side B of Hexham 5 while it is on the ends of the arm at Hart. Further, Hexham 5C has a plain plait decreasing in cords to the shape of the arm, and a plain basket weave strip below it and down side D. On the sides of the arm is a bold triple moulding carved in the manner of the grave-cover moulding (not the same). So the paired animals on the A faces of the lower
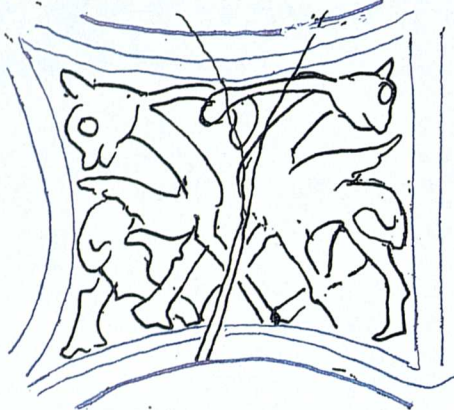
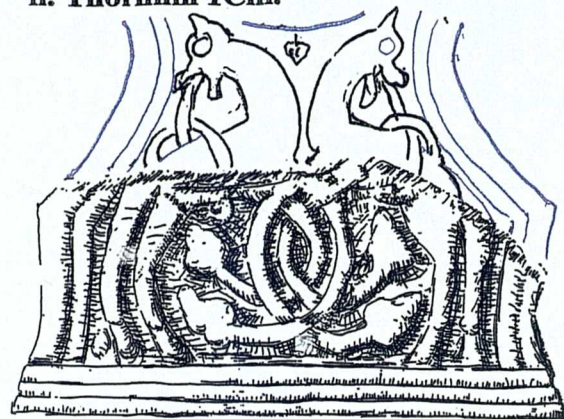# Figure 15c Paired designs, continuing in cross-arms.
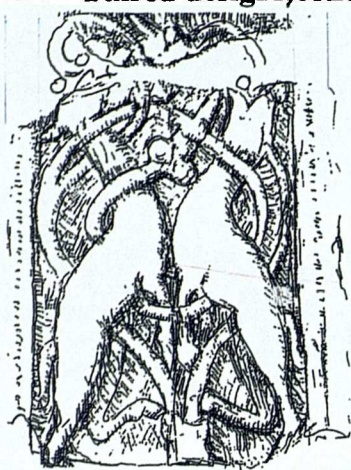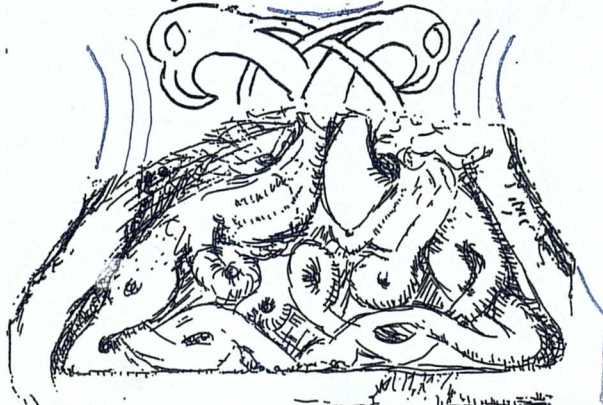

i. Cundall/Aldborough 1eBvi.
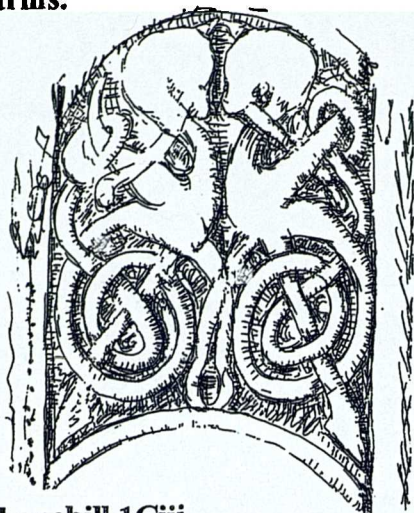
ii. Thornhill 1Ciii.

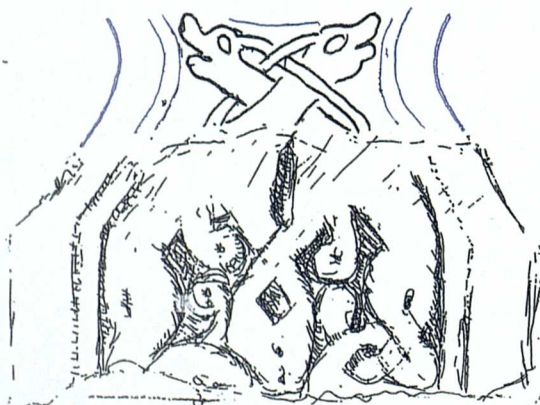iii. Hoddom1A: right cross-arm.

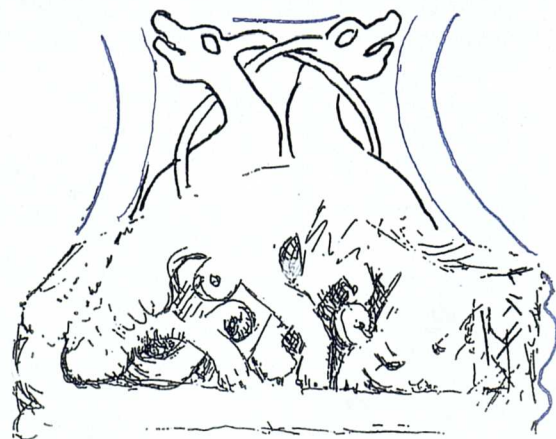iv. Nunnykirk 1A: lower cross-arm.

v. Lindisfarne 2A: lower cross-arm.

vi. Hexham 6A: lower cross-arm.

vii. Hart 9A: lower cross-arm.

viii. Hexham 5A: lower cross-arm.

N.T.S

arms might also belong to a part of a limited but well understood repertoire of designs.

The animals (plate 72 A-D) are confronted with their backs tightly fitted to the moulding, their chests rounded and bodies slimming, naturally curved back legs with front legs crossing around each other. All legs, which we see have neat but have heavy paws with three rounded toes. Since both designs are broken at the narrow part of the arm, so that both have lost the necks and heads. The distorted Woodhorn design (plate 69, figure 14fii) could indicate how the heads may have faced the corners by the roundel, but it is ambiguous as to whether the necks crossed or turned back.

These "heraldic" animals are more realistic than the true interlaced animal. They are orderly but do not respond to a grid in the same way as interlace, nevertheless they are laced with two strands: the ear lappet forms a comma curl under the body, as well the tail which curls around the leg and forms another comma curl below the first. Lacing ending with comma curls seems to look back to early forms like Lindisfarne 1 (plates 13 and 14) not to the conjoined lappet/tails of other designs.

Paired animals with front legs crossing can be seen on many panels of ninth century shafts. Figures 15c gives a sequence: a panel of Cundall/Aldborough (1eBvi) in plant-scroll and another interlaced on Thornhill (1Ciii); there are also some very decorative cross-arms, with the legs as the feature, at Hoddom (1A) or Nunnykirk 1A (plates 29 and 28). However, since seated or crouched animals with necks crossed or turned back fill the lower cross-arm well, variations on this theme may have been numerous: the animals of Lindisfarne 2A with both front legs present and the birds of Hexham 6 (plates 47 and 68, figure 15cv and vi) with no front legs, are examples. An artist who could redraw interlace at new unit measures and fit it to all sizes and shapes would have no trouble reintroducing this basic and probably common animal to fit various cross-heads, as at Hexham and Hart (plate 72, figure 15cvii and viii).

The single curled or spiralled animal

On face C of the same Hexham stone below the head, firmly separated from it by a band of basket weave, is a panel where only part of a wide arc and a paw in the right corner and a strand to the left is remaining (plate 73). Collingwood (1927, figure 180) thought a figure would be standing under an arch but the 6cm space is scarcely room for a figure. There are other possibilities but the only information is a contoured arc and paw at Woodhorn on the upper shaft on side B. These are shown together on plate 73A-D with one suggested reconstruction on figure 14bB. There is no reason to claim they are bottom and top of one pattern, but that both probably belong to the same group of patterns with double volutes. What is clear, even in the very fragmentary and damaged state, is that the Woodhorn form was rounded with the contours dug into the curve in the ninth century manner but the Hexham animal has grooves on a flat surface, in the later manner.

Evidence has been presented to show that the grave-cover artist or associates revised interlace by redrawing it and carving it in a competent manner, although there does not appear to be a wide range of patterns and all were patterns used on crosses still in existence belonging to, as I believe, the ninth century. The cross-arms and the face pattern demonstrates of Hexham 5 that traditional animal designs were treated in the same orderly manner. The precision of the work is one important thing which differentiates it from the wilder works of the ninth century.

Durham cross-heads 5, 6 and 7

The Durham grave-cover artist may have led the way in reviving, even reconquering traditional designs, and he or artists equally knowledgeable designed interlaces on the sides of the three great heads, numbers 5, 6 and 7 (Corpus I, illustrations 205-216). These have comparatively broad flat outer mouldings and very narrow inner roll moulding strongly defined with six cord pattern D designs or eight cord pattern A and B. The unit measure on these is small, 2.5cm or 1 inch[4]. Among these finely drawn traditional designs are some equally well drawn ring knots which were associated with the tenth century (numbers 5B and 7B and D).

The cross-arms have longish, straight or slightly cusped blades and the arcs are shallow to enable the central roundel to be wide so as to present the themes; the Baptism, the Crucifixion and the *Agnus Dei*. The arms, mostly with figural subjects, seem to be linked to or to expand these themes.

R. Bailey (1978, 182, figures 9.6-9.9) has shown that the figures of clerics were drawn up with the aid of templates but behind the figures and symbols was a clever draftsman who either designed them or "blew them up" with considerable skill. The technique is excellent: shapes have clear, simple outlines and are also modelled so as to have some form, even with sophisticated overlapping to develop spatial relationships and to negate the "cardboard cut-out" look. The broader surfaces are relieved with details of patterns and textures, such as folds on garments, striations on wings and fur on animals.

Cross-head 7A in its roundel has the crucifixion and on the extant lower arm there is a figure in a sheepskin cloak and a bird with human legs surrounded by a vine. This may represent the Eucharist (Cramp Corpus I, 71), a suitable subject under the crucifixion, Coatsworth (1978, 88 and 90) thought it may be St John and his symbol; it could be the Garden of Eden and the entry of sin; or even John the Baptist preaching Christ. Whichever of these it represents there seems to be a link with the crucifixion. Why then does the lateral arm have a traditional animal interlace? In fact, it is the only one out of the fourteen arm faces in the group which has a traditional design.

The interlaced animal design of cross-arm 7

The lateral arm of 7A (plate 74, figure 15aii) has a new animal design but clearly of a ninth century origin as it responds to a grid five units wide but in the new unit measure of 2.5cm or one inch. The animals are a refined version of the common type, heads with slightly knobbly noses, round foreheads and straight mouths similar to those in the spiralled designs and the ones on cross-arm 8C (plate 71). The lappet streams behind and the bodies contrast with the strands in weight and have shape, although in simple *chiasma* formation. The front legs follow the neckline in the normal manner but the apparent back legs continue

along the diagonal, either ending in a foot with three toes spread out or in a triple twist, which then must be read as a bipeds, although they have another tail.

The lappet lacing winds first in a long loop around neck and front leg, twists with its partner, turns around the body, twists again before forming a single loop around the leg and then returns as if a tail, but one which here fits too low and is on the wrong side of the animal. This style of lacing with long loops is the early ninth century type, of Lindisfarne 1 or the Monk's Stone (Plates 12 and 13 and 38-42). Now there is a set of patterns for all arms (figure 15a) based on the spiralled animal or the zig-zag animal although the pattern from cross-head 7, on the lateral arm, is a little more complex than the other two designs in the figure. Interlaced animal designs, may have been available for all arms, just as some cross-heads had all interlace or all vinescroll, but on the other hand animal designs may simply have alternated with interlace, as or the cross-heads, Woodhorn 1aC and Durham 8C which both have an animal design on the upper arm and lateral interlaces.

Since the association of traditional designs with new Christian iconography, may have given the pattern meaning, so this design, forming a diagonal cross in the manner of the Stafford knots on cross-head 8, may represent one other cross at Calvary, or being on the *sinister* side of Christ, the laced animals may be the bound Satan or evil even though, although this is loose Anglian lacing. To know more fully if meaning was imbued in it by the artist we need the *dexter* pattern and the upper arm. The design may just fortuitously have filled the gap, coming from the repertoire of the decorative five panelled crosses of the ninth century, and have no meaning.
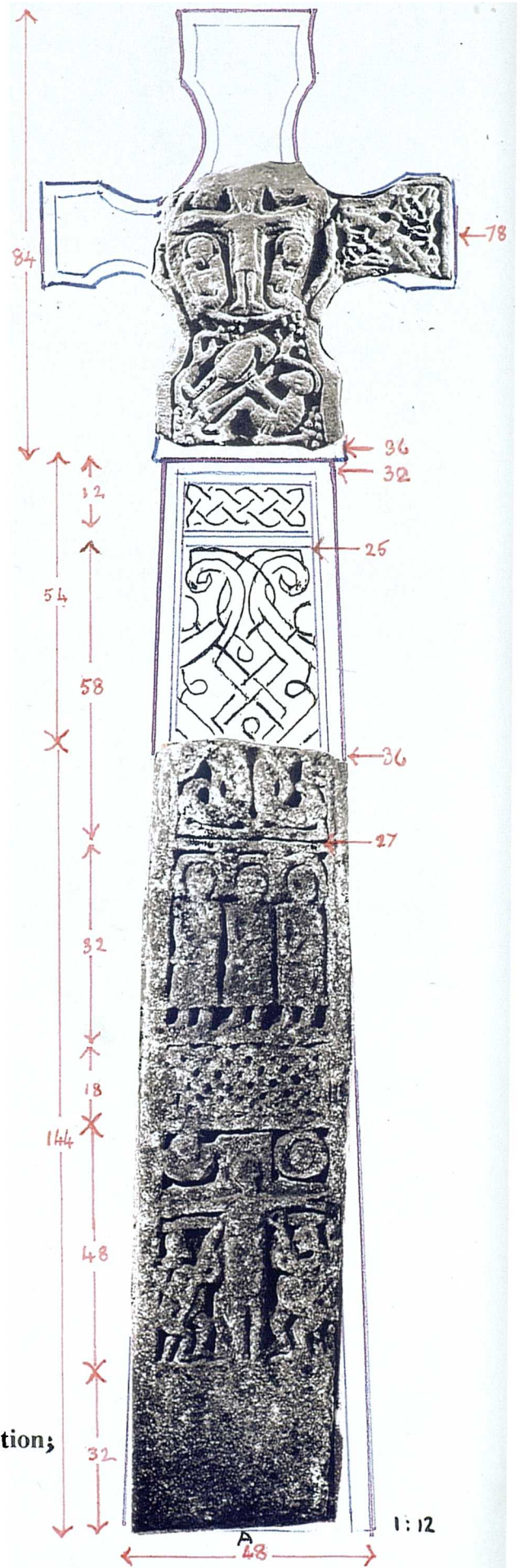
Aycliffe 1

There are no shafts corresponding in design to these great cross-heads at Durham but there is a relevant cross-shaft at Aycliffe, number 1.The solid shaft standing now in the north aisle of Aycliffe church, has been trimmed for its use as a lintel (Hodgson, 1880-9, 1906-11, plate 14) and is in fact a shaft with a strong taper. Although damage because of this and weathering on face A is considerable, the

Figure 15d
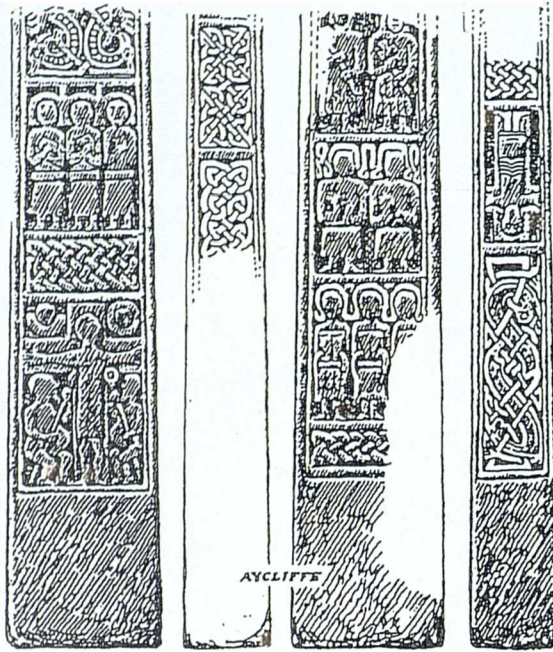
i. Aycliffe 1: the stress on the horizontal

(Collingwood 1927, figure 97).

ii. Aycliffe 1: measurements and reconstruction; head of Durham 7.

shaft gives the impression of being well preserved maintaining its bold designs. It is 144cm tall and estimated 46-8cm wide at the base tapering 36cm at the broken edge of the top. The depth is 23cm tapering to 19cm. The lower 32cm is uncarved. To meet the smallest of the cross-head, like Durham number 7, where the shaft is about 32cm at the junction, the shaft would only need about 50cm more, but this would very short stocky shaft compared with earlier ones (figure 15dii). There is no claim that this is the head, but it is one in the group where size and shape are known. It may be that the smaller cross-arm Aycliffe 9 (Corpus I, illustrations 21-24) would suit in both size and iconography.

The massive sandstone, without a trace of bedding cracks has accepted precise carving. The forms again fit tightly in their spaces, like cut-outs but with edges neatly rounded. There is little modelling here on I the flat surfaces, and like the Durham cross-heads, they are relieved with surface pattern and texture. The interlace and interlaced animals have as much clarity and precision in their drawing as have the Durham cross-heads or the work of the grave-cover artist. Even if the figures are more naively conceived, an interlace specialist could have been brought from Durham to carve the traditional patterns at Aycliffe.

Format and programme

The format shows stiff formalism. The mouldings, where clearly seen (side B left), are basically the broad with a flat outer band and a much finer inner roll used by the grave cover artist on Hexham 5 and other works losing the vertical effect of the more equal divisions of the former double mouldings. The horizontality is enhanced by mouldings between designs which are broader and flatter than those formerly used; and by plain plaits in horizontal bands with squarish figure panels. The horizontal stresses the static nature of the work: with no upward, rhythmic progression. Figure 15di demonstrates this static form, brought out in Collingwood's sensitive drawing (1927, figure 97). It can be seen even shoulders, belts and hemlines further the stress on the horizontal on Aycliffe 1 at the expense of the curve diagonal or vertical. This difference in the format is a major factor which separates this work from the earlier decorative works.

The programme of Aycliffe 1 is also vastly different from the former ninth century crosses with their decorative genres. Here three sides have figure work in Christian themes, and are again mixed with traditional designs but even on side B, where there are two old style interlaces, the designs are not used in the traditional manner: pattern B is upside down, and the split-plait is continued into two registers not used as a single square of a filler.

W.G. Collingwood (1927, 80, figure 97, here 15di) sees the shaft as retrogressive:

> In this rude, though laboured carving, a certain amount of Anglian tradition is obvious but still further concessions ... are made to Danish motives; and all that can be called real figure drawings has disappeared.

T.D. Kendrick (1949, 60-61, plate 41, 2) sees other aspects:

> This cross is not, and was not intended to be, an exposition of Bible stories; it is a highly decorative exercise in low relief sculpture in which certain Biblical scenes have been included and, as it were, enmeshed; and, indeed if we look closely at the figured scenes we can detect them dissolving into the general ornamental composition...

There is truth in both of these statements: the figures do depart from nature and they do have decorative aspects. However the forward staring figures have a power not unlike that of Byzantine icons. Dr. E. Coatsworth (1978, 91) spoke of "an intellectual and liturgical revival". The figures are symbols with apparent meaning and if this is so, there may be meaning in the traditional designs enmeshed in the programme with them. Symbolism is not a subject dealt with in this thesis, but nevertheless it must be mentioned now that it appears bonded to traditional designs.

The crucifixion itself raises another interesting point. There is a link with the Alnmouth shaft, with the sun and moon in the upper area of both. Dr. E. Coatsworth (1978, 116) says of Aycliffe 1:
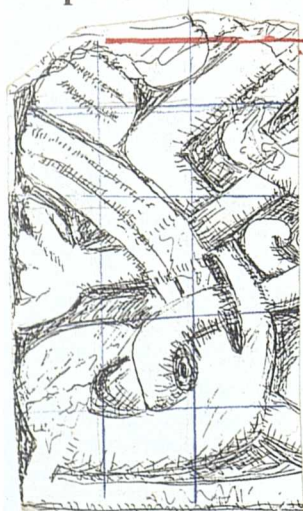
> It is even less closely related to pre-Viking crucifixions from eastern Northumbria, such as those from Hexham and Auckland St Andrews. The Alnmouth cross and a fragment from Bothal, both from Northumberland also suggest new models in Eastern
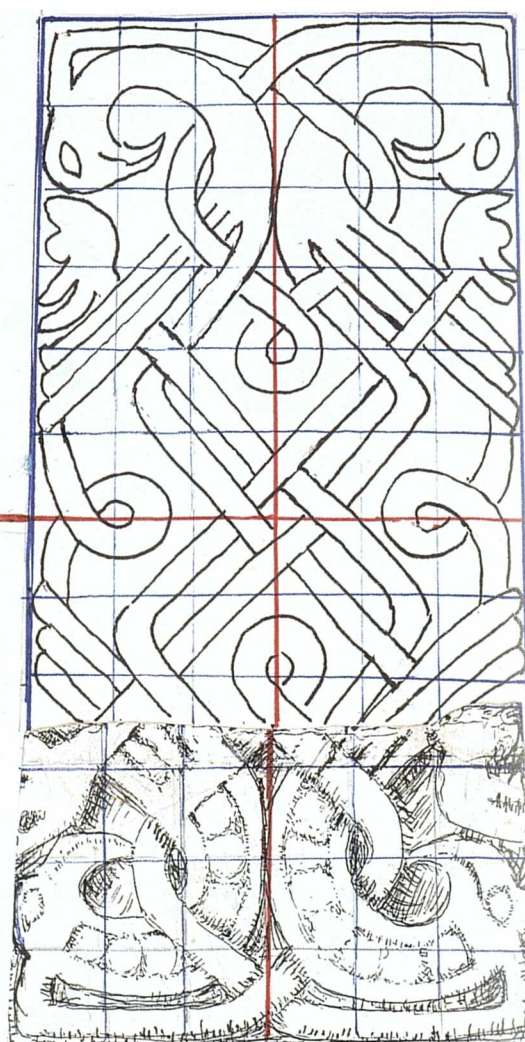
Figure 15e
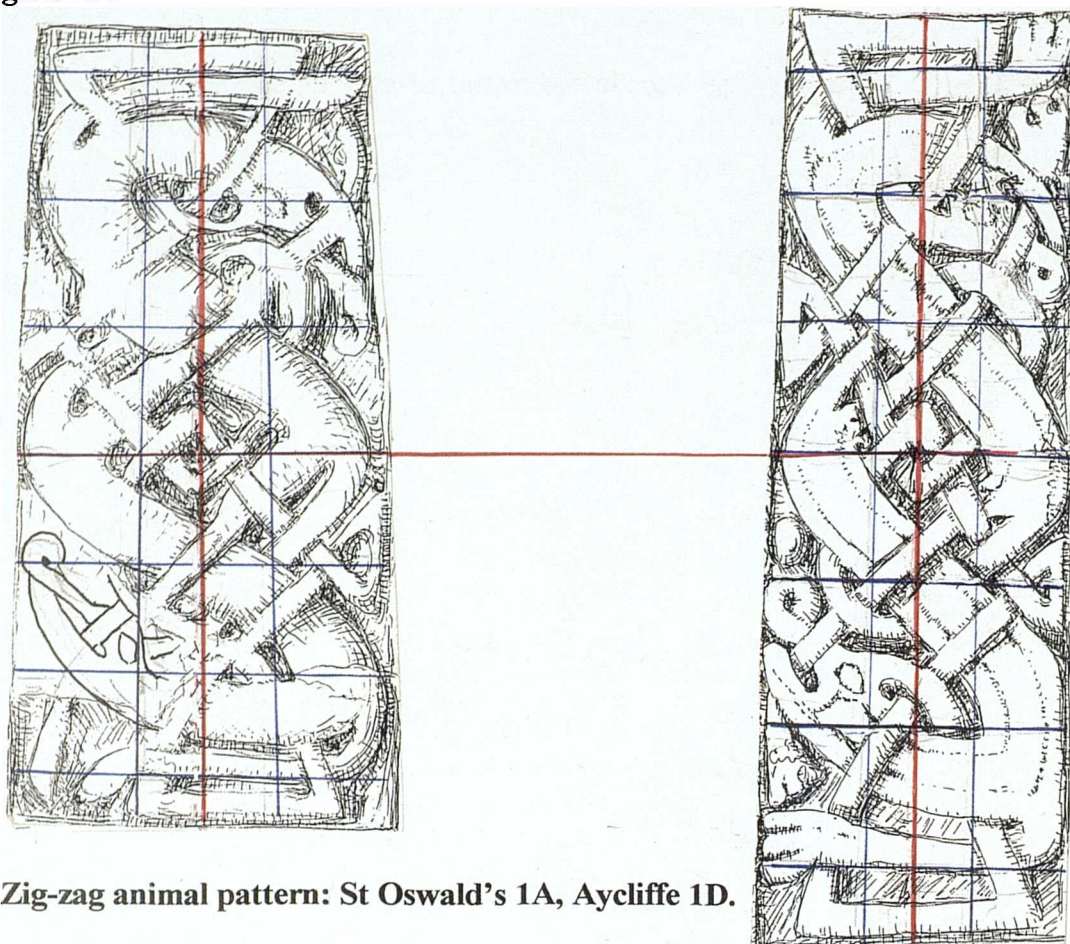
i. Zig-zag animal pattern: St Oswald's 1A, Aycliffe 1D.

ii. Bird pattern: Woodhorn 1A, Aycliffe 1A .

1:4

Northumbria north of the Tees in the tenth and eleventh centuries.
The programme of the Chapter house cross-heads indicates Durham
in the eleventh century as one centre at which such new models
could be found.

Other work in the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth group had figural subjects (numbers 3A
and 5A) just as there is an array at Durham and or Aycliffe 1 and other places. If
figure subjects of this type, are an eleventh century development, in both places
then the connection between traditional interlace and animal designs is common
to both.

The zig-zag animal design

The pattern on Aycliffe 1D (plate75) is the same in structure as the ones on St
Oswald's shaft and Tynemouth 4 (plates 58 and 60, figure 13g) and this is the
major reason for the confusion which is caused when the two works are
bracketed together[5]. This design is narrower and longer than the version of St
Oswald's, being 48 by 16cm, compared with 41 by 20cm, but the Aycliffe artist,
did not make a superficial copy of the former but had knowledge of how it fitted
on a grid, a creditable task since his grid was rectangular units 7cm by 5cm not
squares of 6cm (figure 13f). This is further evidence of a designer who
understood how to draw up a design, having relearned the traditional methods,
and was not just transferring designs by means of templates (figures 13f and
15ei). For this reason, to bracket this design with that on St Oswald's is
superficial.

The neat style is carried on: the animal bodies are flat but the edges are rounded
and they have neat shallow contours engraved on them, while strands are fine
with the edges curved and the modelling to sufficient depth to show the lacing.
Yet the effect is of stiff lacing with a scarcely flexible appearance, after the style
of the grave-cover artist. Not only is the carving stiff but there is a lack of
naturalism. The animal bodies are ribbons and the legs like strands; even the
usual muscular back legs are strand-like and the paws are clumps of three long
rubbery looking toes, even less natural than those of the animals on the cross-
arms of Hexham 5 or Durham 7. The knowledge of drawing on a grid, the first

concept of the Lindisfarne Gospels, is counter balanced by the lack of naturalism and life, which was the second concept.

The expression lacks the rhythmic balance of the designs on St Oswald's and is more, in details, like Tynemouth 4 but lacks its vigour. However different this expression is, the designer went to a lot of trouble to draw a difficult design correctly to fit the slim space, rather than to use a simple interlace in the area. Had this design also has acquired meaning? Being beneath the crucified Peter, it could show Peter's final triumph over Satan, not because of a change in the pattern but only by its position.

The bird design

The bird design (plate 76) is a fragment with less remaining of the pattern than at either Woodhorn or Jarrow (plates 63 and 64), but the little available is more substantial and well formed. The parts which can be seen show that it is the same design, so if it were reconstructed it would make a long panel of about 60cm in length and 27cm tapering to 25cm width, with the unit measure near 4.5-5cm (plate 76B). Figure 15eii shows the design against the muddled motif of Woodhorn. Although that design is earlier by perhaps a hundred years, it makes little sense, whereas the Aycliffe strands are set correctly (plate 76B and figure 15eii) so as to make reconstruction simple.

Interesting details are clear here. The beak is strongly curved and divided by an engraved line and there is an almond shaped eye. Of greater interest are low pellets along the neck (plate 75). Low pellets were possibly on the animals of Lindisfarne 1 and Coldingham (plates 14 and 45), although popular on Viking-age work. They are appropriate on this cross, where all flat spaces are broken up by some form of surface design. The worn condition of most designs does not show whether these were featured there or not. There is no information on the tail here but in the reconstruction of plate 76, I have used a comma curl extending from the striated tail as it appeared to be at Woodhorn (plate 63).

This pattern with the zig-zag dogs (chapter 14, figure 14e), could have been together on St Oswald's, Tynemouth 3/4 and Jarrow 4, but are actually on this one cross, showing that they were indeed associated. If the dogs, lowest on the side showed a defeat of Satan, the birds on the face above the crucifixion and the three nimbed figures may well show triumph. They have eagle beaks, and they soar upwards with the only curling lines on the cross and the longest panel. This traditional design is again placed in a context, possibly gaining meaning by its position and perhaps concludes the programme with a note of triumph. The reconstruction of this panel, together with a little plain plait also may be the top of the shaft and one not overloaded with design work (Figure 15d).

Conclusion

Cross-head 8 is the one which bridges the gap between the Scandinavian tinged tenth century style of Chester-le-Street and Durham. It shows renewed interest in Christian subject matter linked with traditional designs. One can even see the change from faces A to C of this head. It may represent the early work at Durham, when the new stone church was begun, and enthusiasm has been given a boost by availability of materials and the stability of the times.

The work of the Durham grave-cover artist is crucial in this revival. He or another in the workshop found the secret of drawing interlace afresh, so that there was no need for the old templates which may have still been lying around. No patterns other than those seen on standing crosses, such as the Monk's Stone, St Oswald's and perhaps the cross of Aethelwold were used. The magnificent grave-cover could have been for Ealdhun himself, with Viking symbolism on the ridge given Christian meaning but interlace carved to the standard and type of the earlier centuries.

Bishop Eadmond (1021-42), may have instigated some of the outside influence which was flowing in. The Christian content, with new models and symbolism was carved alongside the venerated interlace and animal interlace designs. The designs did not change although a new unit measures, one about the size of the standard inch, were frequently used. The designs do seem to have picked up

meaning by their position and proximity of Christian themes. The three great cross-heads are examples of the new thinking, with the more naive work of Aycliffe 1, the only shaft evidence.

This summary places the emphasis of the eleventh century on Christian iconography not on the patterns themselves. Not only did traditional designs continue in this new era of symbolism but they were fitted to a new format with its emphasis on the horizontal. There were flatter mouldings, squarer designs, stronger dividing mouldings. The crosses may have been wider and shorter. Designs were interspersed between figural scenes, both front and sides while plain basket weave bands broke up any flow.

Now that this is clear, it can be seen that the same ideas prevailed in the Lindisfarne/Alnmouth school, which has all the above characteristics expressed but in a set of designs of its own choosing. Further the group may be thought of as a northern counterpart to the Durham group, but one which added frets and more complex interlaces. At Lindisfarne the style was perhaps continuous through the tenth to the eleventh centuries, with no problems of relocation. Christian iconography is important in both areas and the modern iconographers may be the ones who settle this questions of relationships.

The claim here is that the decorative patterns themselves have leapt over a hundred years to enter this new phase; executed in a precise manner but lacking in fluidity. It has been shown again and again, that designs and templates had a long life. The animal design of Abercorn 1934 of the early eighth century appears to have been adapted for Lindisfarne 1A later that century or again; the metamorphoses of the Aberlady animal design appears at Coldingham in the ninth century and even on Lindisfarne 2. Patterns survived long, continuing into a time when there was a lack of ability to use them but this was not the case with the revival. After the disruption of the tenth century, the designs were redrawn for the late Durham group of the eleventh century. This is a true revival, although rhythm and life of early designs disappear for a static expression perhaps with new meaning.

The eleventh century now makes sense. There is rigid order and an accent on symbolism, while the joy of naturalism had departed. After more than three hundred years, the new expression still has as its foundation the order and precision in interlace and interlaced animal designs which were created by the master of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

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NOTES

1. Durham 5A and 8C have the lamb with the same symbols, including a hollow pellet. Coatsworth (1978, 86-87) suggests it may represent the host. Hart 7A (Corpus I, illustration 417) a shallow limestone work has several drilled holes around the lamb which may have been for the same purpose. All could be filled with enamel.

2. Hodges and Gibson (1919, 47) report that the piece was found by Gibson in 1908 in the apse of the Norman choir.

3. Greenwell (1880-9, May 1866, lxxvi) mentions the stones at Hart, found when plaster was removed. Hodges (1905, 232) mentions the piece, number 9.

4. Lang (1986 153-60) discusses the inch in Viking work and multiples of it.

5. Gibb (Stuart 1867, plates 110 and 90) drew St Oswald's and Aycliffe 1 wherein the animal designs are clear. Collingwood (1927, 103), Kendrick (1949, 61-62) and Bailey (1980, 196) associated with two works, and Cramp, on many occasions, but again in Corpus I, 32, 42 and 47, links the two stones.

CHAPTER 16

CONCLUSION

In this thesis the interlaced animal designs have been formed into a comprehensive group, which can be thought of as a sequence making a framework for their study, but because of the attrition over time and the fragmentary nature of surviving pieces, the framework is thin and incomplete. Nevertheless, the works which were formerly disconnected and considered in isolation can be seen as part of a whole, which is distinct from other systems, either Celtic or Viking-age. The more famous animal designs of the Aberlady fragment, the Thornhill cross and St Oswald's shaft and many others have been analysed in detail, while many previously unrecognised or mistakenly identified fragments have been added to the number. Even if some of this restoration is experimental and conjectural, there is enough understood about the designs for a structure to emerge.

The preliminary task in all discussions has been to establish the whole programme of the cross or context to which the designs belong, as animal interlace is frequently accompanied by other decorative forms, often plain interlace. My previous study (Adcock 1974), with drawings, notes and measurements, has made this task easier, but much careful study of other designs and many more measurements and drawings have been needed. As a result, lengthy sections of the Monk's Stone, the Woodhorn cross and the Great Farne Island shaft have been interpreted, as well as that elements of many other crosses, and even well known works have been reconstructed to yield greater information. This has led to the reasoned theory that animal interlace is found on decorative five-panelled shaft faces, which have controlled, alternating programmes resulting in a great variety of arrangements. Other types of faces with figural work or plant ornament have their own format and rarely cross over into the company of the decorative schemes, by which I have meant interlace, animal interlace and the occasional key or geometrical pattern.

The sides of shafts differ from the faces in that they have continuous patterns not panels, whether vine-scroll, interlace or animal interlace, (except for in the very last

works of the eleventh century). The arms of cross-heads, too, sometimes had animal designs but evidence is still too disjointed because of the fragmentary condition of the pieces which obscures what could also have been controlled and alternating arrangements on the arms. Some later evidence in chapters 14 and 15 suggests that lower cross-arms at least were frequently filled with paired beasts, which were easily fitted to the shape.

Interlace designs remain fairly stable over the centuries but animal designs are less common and have distinctive features which enable them to be placed in time. ' Relationships too, are easier to see. So the main part of the thesis has been to analyse the animal interlaced designs themselves. Analysis needs a broad system not just the observation of details which can lead to false relationships; nor do aggregations of details lead to a description of the whole style, as seen in the problems developing in Viking-age derivations. The broad system has been based on the concepts of the Lindisfarne Gospels, since it is the concepts not the details which are important. It has always been stressed that it was the concept not the patterns which crossed the border from one media to another, as each discipline must keep its own integrity.

The first concept is the structure of animal designs as they are drawn on a square grid following the rules of interlace with the lacing of the extension of ear and tail filling the web, pulling the design together and decorating or complementing the animal. The validity of this method of working can readily be put to the test by comparing the grids put through the natural holes of the pattern (drawn plates) and the diagrammatic representations throughout the text on one centimetre grids. This concept belongs particularly to the Lindisfarne Gospels and although it is not used in the other more calligraphic manuscripts discussed in Chapter 1, it is one which is especially suited to sculptors.

One by-product of analysis, which places a grid through the natural holes, as has been done on the "B" plates, has been to find common measurements or sequences. There is, for example, a sequence in the work connected with Lindisfarne of 3cm, 4.5cm, 6cm and 7.5cm; while the group centred around the Monk's Stone seemed to have a sequence 3.5cm, 4.25cm, 5cm. The evidence points to workshops having standard

measurements, even rulers, perhaps, with large units about 6cm, subdivided into halves and quarters, or a sequence of small units close to the old half inch. A number of scholars have worked on measurements in recent years both large for buildings and very small for manuscripts. The sequences here, although still in a tentative stage may contribute to the wider picture.

However, there are many difficulties in measuring, not least is that grid points are not seen since they are cut out as holes in sculpture, and further cross-shafts have taper, which influence the fitting of panels and may necessitate compromises to the strict adherence to a grid. In addition weathering and breaks do not assist the accuracy of the modern scholar. However, seeing that vine-scroll, key patterns even figural designs have regularity, the database would be increased if the whole programme of all genres were measured. This thesis points to the feasibility of such a study.

A second by-product is in the means of drawing up designs. Templates in the form of stencils with holes may have been used generally but they are the only explanation for the mistakes on the poor works like the Woodhorn cross or Aycliffe 2; whilst templates in the form of outlines, are an explanation for the composite animals of the Thornhill cross or the Jedburgh (base). Templates explain how designs were adapted for fashion by connecting up the old designs a new way. Lindisfarne 1A, with the withdrawal of a neck so as to leave missed crossings, is the classic example. So observations which started as by-product have now themselves become the means of analysis.

The second concept of the Lindisfarne Gospels, that of naturalism, allows the animal to have anatomical form and lively movement which has exaggerations only in the length of the body or neck and the ability to turn in an extreme manner. The turn is always with the movement of the bone joints not against it. This concept is changed in the animal motifs over the centuries but this change has been demonstrated to be a diagnostic feature.

Hitherto the cross of Aethelwold, mentioned by early historians, has suggested that there was an early school of sculptors at Lindisfarne, carving free-standing crosses.

The analysis of Abercorn/Aberlady (Chapters 2 and 3) shows designs close to the concepts of the Lindisfarne Gospels and when these very designs are found somewhat adapted on later the Lindisfarne cross-pieces 1 and 2 (chapters 4 and 5) this is convincing evidence for a Lindisfarne school. Further it suggests that a cross made at the time of Bishop Aethelwold in the first half of the eighth century could have had at least one decorative face with alternate panels including animal interlace.

Ireland has not been mentioned in connection with this school as the animal interlaces seem to be from the Germanic Salin Style which had been established in Northumbria itself, compounded with the classical naturalism which flowed in from the Continent. The Bernician sculptors had need only to incorporate this new attitude into traditional designs. What occurs in later Irish manuscripts and sculpture is a different brand of animal design which does not seem to influence the Northumbrian style.

Apart from the dogs and birds of the Lindsfarne Gospels, other animals are depicted in some Bernician sculpture, in places like Ruthwell and Bewcastle, a natural type with quadrupeds, bipeds and bird in vine-scroll, and these also became motifs of interlaced animal designs. This interesting development (chapter 6) and has not hitherto been commented on. The only examples which can be noted are those on the Durham Cassiodorus and a number used in a fresh manner on the Thornhill cross and at a later time on the Closeburn shaft. These may belong to a fleeting fashion which was favoured around the middle of the eighth century, and may fill a gap in time which is particularly barren as far as the interlaced animal designs in sculpture are concerned.

However, by the end of that century and during the ninth century new ideas spread probably from the south and Deira into Bernicia and even to Pictland and affected all media, that is manuscripts, metalwork, embroidery and ivory (chapter 7) as well as sculpture. The motif, which exemplifies the new ideas, here called the dragonesque, is in a mirror-imaged form, reversed on the vertical axis and is quite different from the early Lindisfarne patterns, although the motifs are still placed on a grid as interlace and laced appropriately. The Thornhill cross, reconstructed in this thesis with a more conventional head, has a number of these designs which have unity of line and rhythm as befits a masterpiece. Together with the dragonesque animal there is a horse motif

(chapter 8), which, perhaps, by accidents of survival, is found in many places: Waberthwaite, Closeburn, Jedburgh, Nunnykirk and as far east as Norham. Both the horse and dragonesque motifs are used with playful ambiguity so that they can be fused into plant-scroll in some cases and made into composite animals in others. This factor has not been hitherto appreciated to any extent.

Some interchange of ideas has been noted with Pictland but each area has kept its own integrity. The Picts, with their literal forms were less likely to represent the fantastic. The Nigg panel (appendix plate 2) shows the typical expression of animals, still with correct anatomy and with the use of four legs and it is formed into a pattern which is finely laced. This complex arrangement is very different from the broad simple style of Bernicia.

Another form of interlaced animal is found in the Lindisfarne area which may be considered roughly contemporary with the dragonesque, but is one which continues into the eleventh century. I have called the type the "curved neck" after this pertinent feature. However, there is a general turning and changing of features, bodies and limbs from the order of the early patterns on the Lindisfarne Gospels' type. Although these are adapted, modified and even turned inside out they maintain their place on a grid and it has been shown that changes are done by adapting designs from template. The animals of Abercorn I, Lindisfarne I, and the Monk's Stone (chapters 9 and 10) display these tendencies.

The cross shaft of St Oswald's Durham has been a source of controversy in relation to its dating and so it was discussed towards the end of chapter 13 after the evidence of the Viking-age style had been reviewed. However, from the technique, format, programme and designs, especially the animal designs, this cross fits unequivocably with the Lindisfarne/Abercorn/Monk's Stone triad, and those features which have been called Jellinge are simply developments following the direction in which Anglo-Saxon sculpture had been tending during the ninth century: the very elements which feed into the Scandinavian style rather than those which come from it. The case has been made for this work being made in the first half of the ninth century. Similar designs with more warping and inconsistencies are seen at Woodhorn, Hexham 6, and Jarrow 4 and

perhaps the Great Farne Island cross which should all be dated later in the century. This wayward group may be looked at as the type of work produced during the increasing disruption of the Scandinavian invasions of the later ninth century.

Yet, when the real disruption came in the tenth century, a very different style ensued, unlike the rich style at York or north of the Tees at Sockburn. At both Lindisfarne and Chester-le-Street sculptural techniques and designs dropped to a low ebb. On the one hand interlaced designs and animal interlaces were of the simplest possible type: plain plaits, ring knots, Como braid, crouching animals and snakes with basic lacing; while on the other hand even on the roughest works, complex designs of a traditional nature were attempted and frequently reduced to chaos (chapters 11 and 12). This shows that workshops in whatever condition they were in, must still have had pattern templates available but no skilled sculptors to reproduce designs from them. Added to and mixed with these decorative motifs were panels of mythological scenes and at that time the decorative five-panelled faces disappeared for a new arrangement.

With the decorative and often "wild" crosses placed in the ninth century, the theory is put forward that a new style developed in the eleventh century starting at Chester-le-Street, extending to Durham and Aycliffe in particular, in the south; while at Lindisfarne and Alnmouth in the north the same tendencies are seen but a smoother transition may have occurred from the tenth century onwards. Four major factors mark this new style. Firstly, the overall feeling is static and horizontal in both format and the designs which are within the shorter panels. Secondly the new theological subjects of figures and symbols are in panels on the main faces, the sides and also the heads. Thirdly former traditional designs are drawn up to a neat perfection at new unit measures. It is the use of these designs which has been the cause of confusion between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Lastly the traditional animal designs are intermingled with figural iconography so as to suggest that they themselves have gained symbolic meaning by their propinquity to figural scenes.

Symbolism and new theology bring us to the brink of the Norman invasion, where afterwards other symbols and designs, with veritable bestiaries, create a different aesthetic effect. The inheritance of the Lindisfarne Gospels: the gridded interlace and

interlaced naturalistic animals became a feature of a past age, so that Simeon of Durham looking at Bishop Aethelwold's cross can say that it was with *artifici opere*.

GLOSSARY

Animal chain (also bird chain)

Animal motifs threaded or linked together to form a chain which could continue in a regular or irregular manner.

Animals with interlace (not interlaced animals)

Naturalistic animals which are not formed on a grid but are decorated with interlace.

Basket weave

A wide plain plait of any number of strands or cords, forming an area.

Blade

The broad end of a cross-arm, often straight, sometimes chamfered or cusped.

Bone joint

A wide triskele formed by the junction of neck, front leg and body. It represents bone and movement.

Box point

The point of an asymmetrical loop or "u" bend which fits into grid boxing.

"Break"

A term used by J. R. Allen for two strands turned back from a crossing. The "breaks" govern the pattern. Here used with inverted commas to distinguish it from broken stone.

Carpet pattern

An arrangement of motifs continued both vertically and horizontally to form an area of pattern.

Carrick bend

An ancient pattern motif, common in interlace, formed with two symmetrical loops.
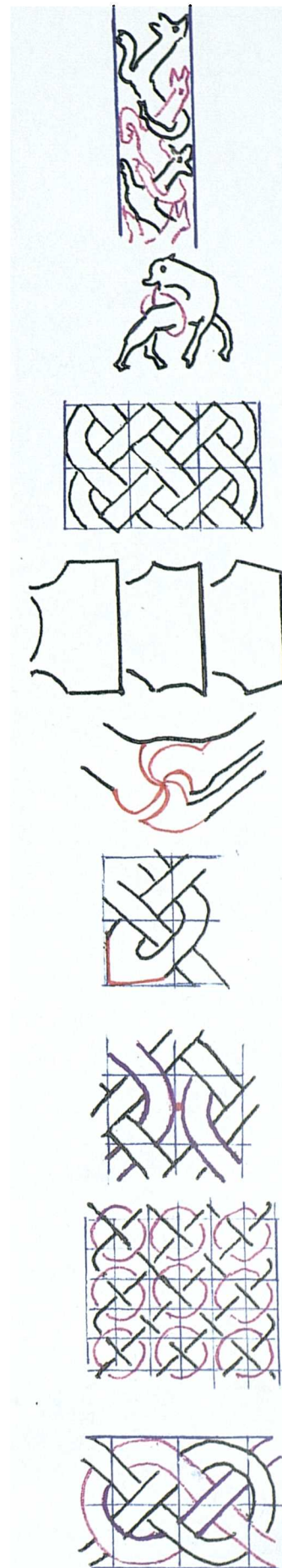
Closed circuit

An interlace strand which joins itself in an obvious circle or figure-of-eight, so as to make a simple interlace design with diagonals.

Comma bend or curl

The curl or knob on the end of a lacing strand, either lappet, tail or tongue.

Contour lines

An extra line or groove following close to the edge of an animal body, carved into the curve of the body or on the flat top.

Cord

A term used by J. R. Allen for the number of strands in a plain plait which he saw lying behind an interlace. A design occupying the same grid or cord space will have fewer strands.

Cord count

The number of crossings horizontally (plus one) not the number of strands in an interlace. There are two cords to a grid unit.

Double loop

A favourite loop used in the Lindisfarne Gospels which moves in two separate directions to combine the design. It often has the appearance of a triquetra.

Double stranded pattern

Two strands moving together make a motif, but the strands are laced in the opposite manner.

Double twist

A twist made of two strands laced in the opposite manner.

Ear strand

A strand from the ear or instead of the ear. See lappet strand.
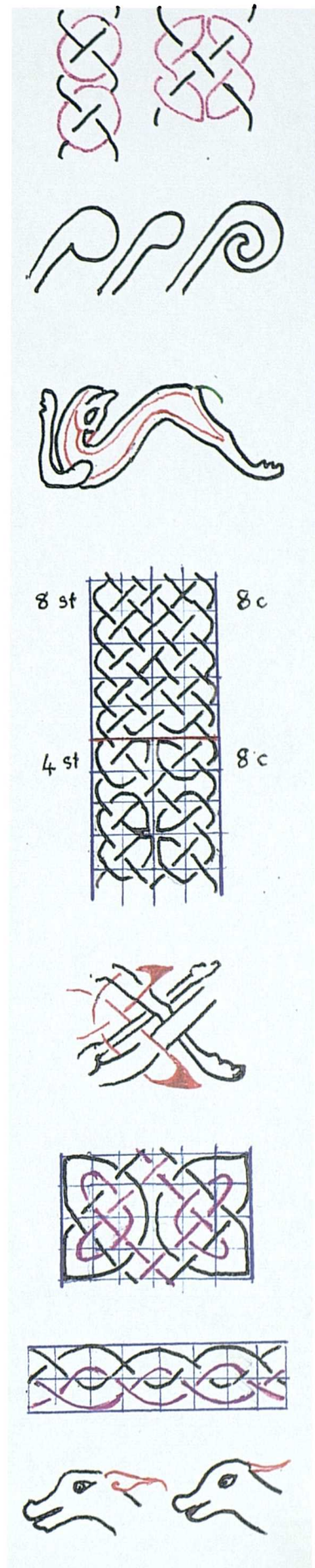
Engraved lines

Lines carved into a flat ground, also used on interlace strands or to show details on animals, birds or other features.

Extended point

If an interlace loop is not met by another loop it will not need to stay within its boxing and so may extend, sometimes forming space filling point.

Extended animal

An animal where neck and body are stretched more than normal.

Format

The way a cross is set out with mouldings and panels, or continuous designs.

Full width strand

A strand which takes up all its grid space leaving only the hole point. Such pattern were probably drawn on a grid with a line through every hole.

Genre

A category or subject matter: interlace, key pattern, plant-scroll and figural scene. Animal interlace is more a branch of interlace than a separate genre.

Grid or square grid

A grid of squares (occasionally rectangles) which is used to guide the drawing of interlace and interlaced animals, according to strict rules.

Gridded pattern

An interlace or interlaced animal drawn according to strict rules governing the discipline (see interlaced animal).

Grid crossings points

The holes of an interlace and animal interlace are at the crossings of a grid. Secondary holes form in the centres of the squares.
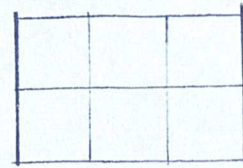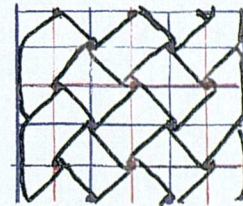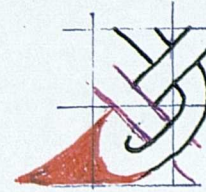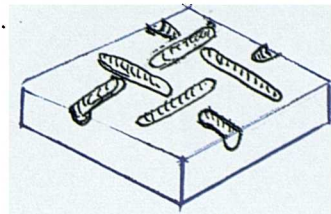
Grooved technique

The most basic technique when forming interlace using grooves between strands and as over/under divisions. This may leave the interlace standing as separate small flat blocks.

Half pattern

Single motifs, which would normally be in pairs. Common used in interlace to form chains or as fillers for small spaces.

Half-width strand

Strands which occupy half the width of a grid section. The visual effect of the pattern is an equal width of hole and strand.

Hole point

The hole carved at the grid crossing or centre of a grid square. These holes are regular and may have been used as the starting points for drawing up a sculptured design.

High-modelled technique

Carving where the strands are cut to about the same depth as their width. This allows plenty of room for rounding and modelling. These strands are often half width.

Humped technique

Low strands curved right to the ground without straight sides. The over/under modelling is often almost level with the ground.

Interlaced animal designs

The animal and the interlace both follow the rules of the interlace grid and integrate through each other to form a unified design.

Knot or knotwork

A misnomer often used for interlace. The alternate lacing does not form true knots and the design is always too loose to form knots.
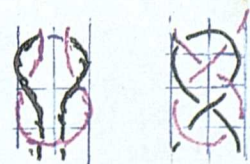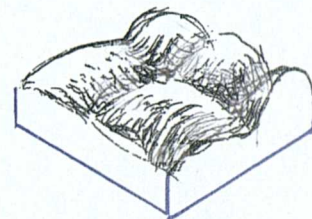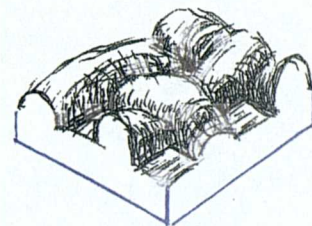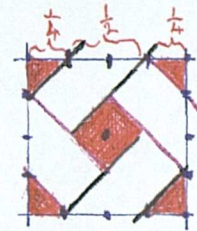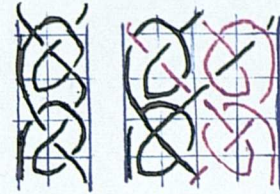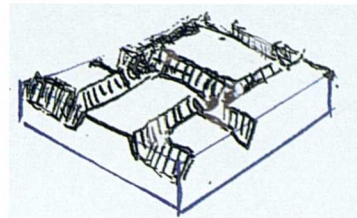
Lace (to)

To form loops with strands around animals or other lacing strands so as to combine or decorate the design.

Lappet strand or ear lappet

An extension of the ear or a strand from the head in place of the ear which is used for lacing.

Linked join

Two animal motifs or strands joined by a large twist, often curving over several units.

Long loop

A loop which crosses two or more strands or animal parts.

Median line or groove

A line in the form of a groove along the centre of a strand so that it serves to make a heavy strand appear lighter or the design more complex than it is.

Mirror-image

A pair of interlace or animal motifs reversed either side of the vertical axis, with few parts crossing it, but laced the opposite way.

Missed crossings and unmet breaks

A weakness in the web of interlace where a strand has been withdrawn so that crossing points are not counter crossed, and "breaks" are not met by a partner.

Model (to)

To curve and shape the surface so that it has natural three dimensional form.

Motif

A single pattern unit which is able to be repeated. In animal designs, if the lacing is not integral, the motif is the single animal.
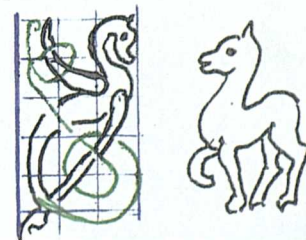
Outside strands

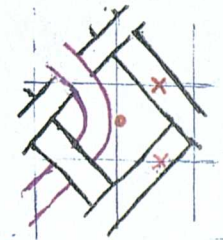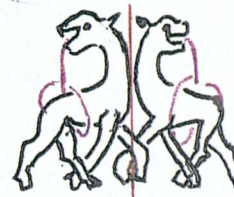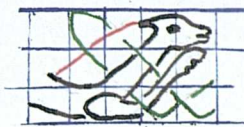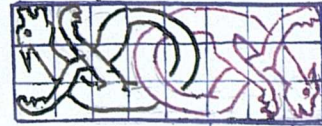An interlace term for strands which curve outside a motif to increase the cord count.

Oval joint

A front leg joint fitted into the body as a simple oval shape so as to look natural.

Over/under

The lacing action of a strand moving over and under alternately to give the appearance of a plait. The alternation is never broken in interlace but may occasionally be in animal designs.

Paired or parallel legs

Two legs drawn so that only the edge of the second leg is seen for most of the way. This was used in the Lindisfarne Gospels and other manuscripts, and also used in Pictish Sculpture.

Panel

A rectangular shape on faces of cross-shafts into which is fitted an interlace, animal interlace or other design which is terminated at both ends.

Pear-shaped joint

The shape of the upper front and back leg of animals which are classed as Salin style II.

Pellets

Globular elements in metalwork used to fill spaces and to decorate. Often used in sculpture for the same purpose in spaces or in lines along the bodies of interlaced animals to decorate them.

Pin (to)

To place one or two diagonals through a loop so that it cannot be undone visually.
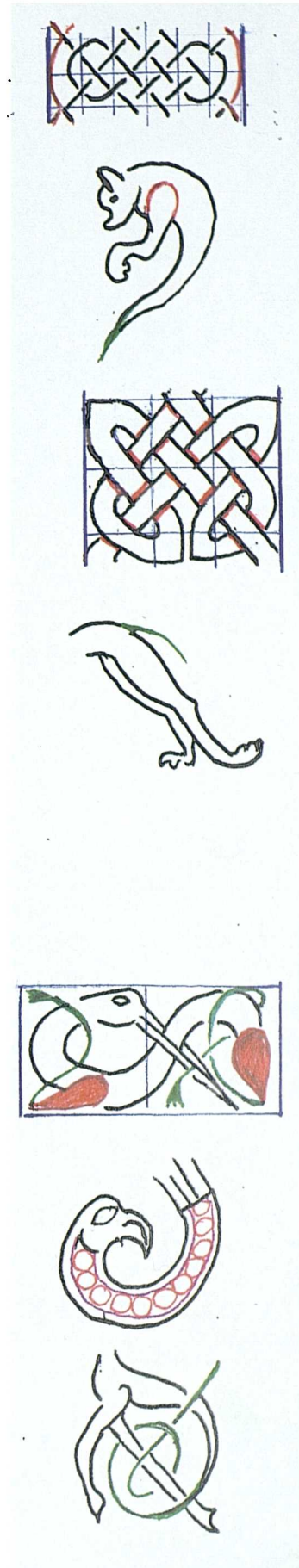
Programme

The patterns on a cross which make up a comprehensive whole.

Register

One or two motifs abreast which form the section of pattern which can be repeated.

Reversed design

A pair of motifs at right angles to each other on the vertical or horizontal axis. The lacing in each motif will be the opposite (that is "overs" on one will be "unders" on the other).

Ribbon animal

An animal which is extended out without anatomical shape.

Secondary grid or holes

The primary grid has holes on all corners of the squares and also in the centre as secondary holes. If a grid is drawn through these it is the secondary grid.

Set-of-four

Four motifs reversing on both the horizontal and vertical axis. By its nature the design can be made in four ways but normally animal bodies face inwards.
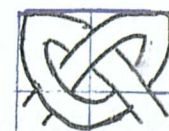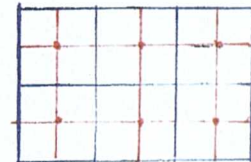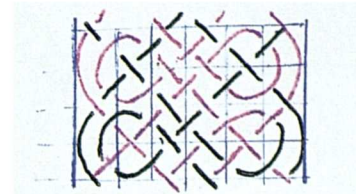
Spiral joint

Used on the front leg of animals in the Lindisfarne Gospels to accentuate the movement. Often used on both legs in later or Viking work.

Stafford knot

An ancient knot in the form of a double loop.

Stencil

A sheet with holes or slots enabling the main points of a design to be drawn through it. See template.

Swirled loop

An interlace-like strand which loops or curls around sloping, vertical and horizontal pins but with no accent on the diagonal. This may or may not be fitted into grid spacings, and will not have box points.

Tail strand

An extended tail which laces through an animal design. It may be used in conjunction with the ear lappet or tongue, or even join onto one of these

Taper

Cross-shafts become narrower towards the top and this can cause distortions or changes in the unit measure in long patterns.

Template

Any means of copying a design either as a simple outline or as a stencil with holes and slots cut out so as to enable drawing of pertinent information to the stone below.

Thread

A limb or strand which crosses a pattern diagonally, without turning and so pinning other strands.

Tongue strand

An extended tongue which assists the lacing of the design. It is used occasionally in the Lindisfarne Gospels and early work but usually in tenth century sculpture.

Trailing paw

The paw with the toes uppermost on an outstretch back leg.

Triangular loops

A space filling loop on the edge of a pattern where a Stafford knot cannot fit.

Triskele

A Celtic spiral form where the spiral opens with three off shoots. Used as the joint for neck, body and front leg.
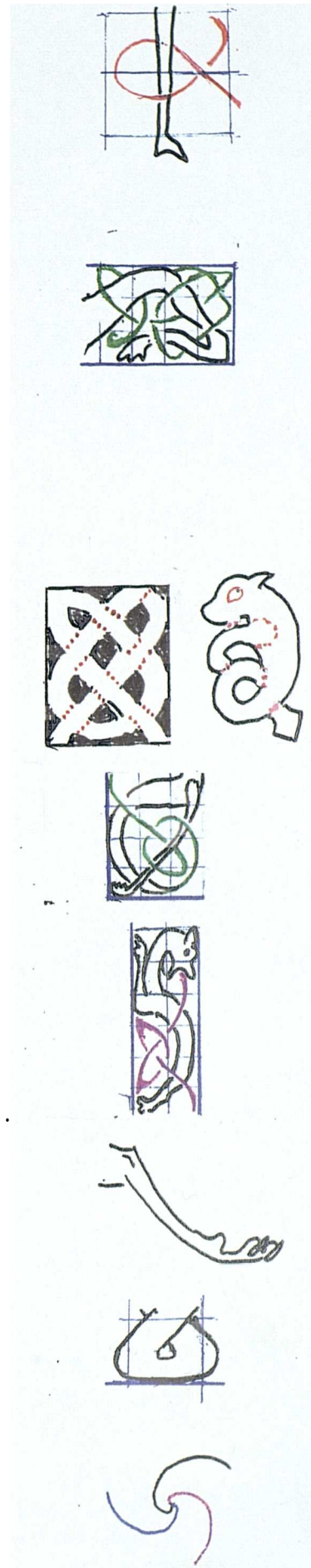
Triquetra

A loop with three points, usually a regular figure but one which does not fit well on a square grid. Double loops often look like uneven triquetras.

Turned and reversed design

A pattern where a motif is turned 180° to face the opposite way from its partner. In this case the lacing must be the same on each part.

Twist

Two strands which turn around each other. Twists were based on circles in classical times but drawn as interlace in later Anglo-Saxon times.

Unit measure

The size of the squares on a grid. In sculpture it is but measured along the vertical and horizontal axis but as distortion may occur because of taper in sculpture so many measurements must be taken.

Unpinned loops

A loop too small to be pinned by a diagonal, often fitted into one grid square, and used as a space filler.

Walking legs

Legs which are stretched at right angles to each other.

Working strand

The strand which does most of the looping or lacing, usually the ear lappet or tail but both may work.

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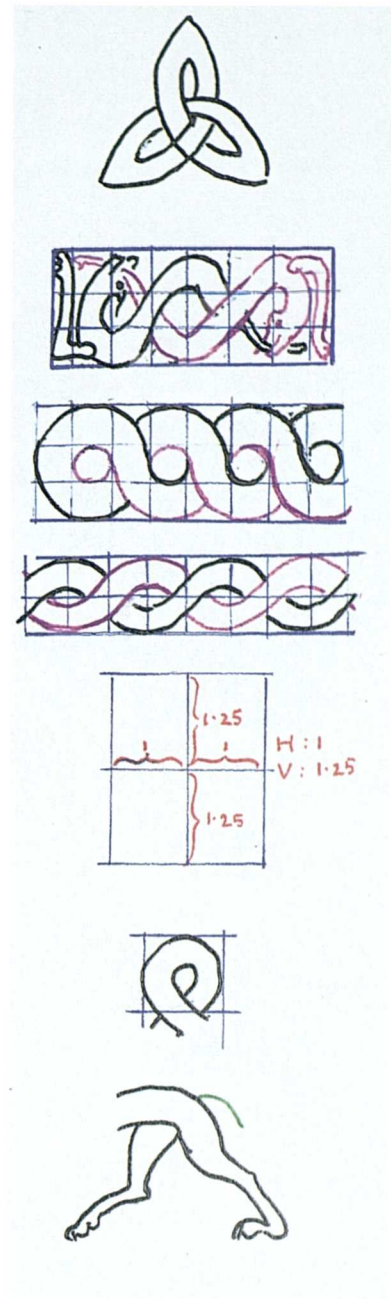(—), 1869-79   'Meeting 28th June 1872', *Trans. Architect. Archaeol. Soc. Durham Northumberland*, II, xliv-xlvii.

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