

Summaries

From anti-Christian Symbols to Ophitic Taste Animal art in prehistory and now

By *Karen Høilund Nielsen*

Throughout the post-Roman period, zoomorphic decoration has been widespread in Scandinavia, while in certain periods the same has been the case over much of the rest of Europe. In the study of this period in more recent times the animal art has been treated as of great significance; indeed for a long time was the only material available for scientific study. This has had a profound influence on the history of such research, an influence which remains substantial today. The subject of animal art is not simply a matter of style, but also of typological, chronological, relational, social, mythological, religious and cosmological questions.

The history of scholarship has been very different in relation to the two periods concerned, the Germanic Iron Age and the Viking Period. The styles of the Germanic Iron Age were defined at an early stage and have remained largely unaltered since. The Viking-period styles, by contrast, are still an issue of debate. As a result the two periods are treated separately, and in very different ways.

Animal art may also be the focus of a contemporary written source. In 747 Boniface referred, in a letter to Cuthbert of Canterbury, to »superstition« embodied in costume in the form of wide bands of snakes along the edges. Precisely this can be seen in preserved textiles from Evebø and Mammen. Although Boniface clearly regarded animal decoration as heathen, it came to be deliberately used by the Church.

As early a scholar as C.J. Thomsen recognized animal art as something special, and alluded to it as the *Ophitic taste*. Subsequently he distinguished an earlier and a later style: snake-motifs as opposed to dragon-motifs. The snake-motifs included, for instance, the D-bracteates, and the dragon-motifs of the Jellinge cup. Thomsen thus took the first steps on the road towards the comprehensive research into animal art that has subsequently been undertaken.

Germanic Animal Art (Salin's Styles I-III) A historical perspective

By *Karen Høilund Nielsen & Siv Kristoffersen*

The study of animal art has been a strong tradition within archaeological research in northern Europe and Scandinavia. The history of this field of research provides a perspective that helps one to understand the development of archaeology as a whole. Many scholars have contributed to the study of Germanic animal art, and an attempt is made to highlight the most important of these. This stands alongside an attempt to present the study of animal art in its entirety, in order to reveal the various research traditions. This is accompanied by a focus upon the individual scholars and their involvement in various debates, both of a methodological or theoretical character, and in respect of interpretation.

The history of the subject is divided into five principal sections. Under the first, *Animal art becomes a science*, the slender beginnings under C.J. Thomsen and Oscar Montelius are discussed, as well as the man who truly put the issue on the map, Sophus Müller. His thesis of 1880 considered most of the questions that have since remained live. The study of animal art became a scientific academic discipline, and attention was focussed upon understanding of the societies that produced these styles.

It was Montelius, however, who set the standard for the next generation, which consisted of *Typologists and Art Historians* such as Bernhard Salin, Nils Åberg, Sune Lindqvist and Haakon Shetelig. In their time, animal art became the central focus of research concerning the late Iron Age and early Middle Ages. They laid a foundation that is very much the one we work upon today. A large corpus of material was presented, covering most of the area in which animal art is found. The analysis of the style was divided between two different schools, one of which worked with individual style-elements and the other with whole compositions. The division into Styles I-III stood firm, and a sub-division of Style II was being developed. The origins of the styles remained a mat-

ter of discussion, however, even though the general view attributed Styles I and II to a Continental source. New finds such as those from the Vendel burials and the Oseberg ship grave affected the discussions.

Under *The Second Generation – Regionalism*, scholarship became more inward looking, with an emphasis on the publication of new excavations and attempts to look at the meaning of the finds in their local areas. In one way this ushered in a sort of regionalism. Finds such as Snartemo and Valsgärde were important in this phase. The leading figures were Wilhelm Holmqvist, T. D. Kendrick, E. T. Leeds, Eva Nissen Meyer, Bjørn Hougen, Greta Arwidsson, Pär Olsén and J.-E. Forssander. Holmqvist was one of the few who continued to work with styles generally on a European scale. Regional studies were otherwise undertaken for Anglo-Saxon England, Norway, and parts of Uppland. While Holmqvist, as also Nissen Meyer and Hougen, kept faith with Salin's stylistic groupings, the analyses of the finds from England and the Valsgärde burials saw some breaking away from this line. The social aspect was emphasized by Nissen Meyer, Holmqvist and the Uppsala school. This also involved increasing attention to the religions, social and political contexts. There was growing focus on Scandinavia as the most informative area in respect of animal art, as Holmqvist argued that Style II had been created there, while Leeds came to the conclusion that Anglo-Saxon Style I must have come to England from Scandinavia.

The study of animal art and archaeology itself changed character with the Second World War. The scholars who then led the field had one thing in common – consciously or not, an anxiety over the potential misuse of their ideas. This led to positivism and logical positivism together with New Archaeology, and insistent demands that only that which could be measured, weighed, or directly observed could be used as evidence became central. Objective scholarship was the target. Under the heading *The Lost Innocence and Puritanism* belong the scholars Bertil Almgren, Mats P. Malmer, Mogens Ørnsnes, Egil Bakka, Günter Haseloff and Helmut Roth. The extensive excavations at Helgö brought production into the range of topics and the animal art of eastern Scandinavia was presented in Aarni Erä-Esko's dissertation. In Germany the contents of the animal motifs were discussed in relation to the iconographical tradition by scholars such as Herbert Kühn, Hayo Vierck and Helmut Roth. The relationship between Germanic animal art and Late Roman arts was the subject of works by Horst Wolfgang Böhme and Sonia Chadwick Hawkes.

In the section *Symbolism and the New Culture Historians* the »young Turks« join in, style-specialists who have made their mark from about 1980 onwards. These have attempted to a greater or lesser degree to bring out new aspects of the study of style and to place it within a different framework. This has gone hand in hand with increasing interest in theoretical archaeology and greater attention to symbols and the role of material culture in the mental and social spheres. Such work provides a basis for a quite different conception of the place of animal art in Iron-age society. In England it has been David Leigh and George Speake who have built further upon the classical traditions of style history. In Scandinavia we see individuals who broke radically away from the existing situation such as Arne B. Johansen and Lennart Karlsson. Throughout the period in which the animal styles have been discussed, attempts have been made to place the decorative art in the context of the development of Iron-age society, and one scholar who has particularly sought to integrate the style into the political and social development of the age and to link this with religion and cosmology is Lotte Hedeager. Complementing the theoretical impulses of this phase, Karl Hauck has been a highly influential figure. Hauck works in the tradition of German art history with iconographical analysis and investigating the iconographical context. Motif-interpretation of this kind can be found in the work of several scholars, such as Bente Magnus. For a long time scholars disputed over the origins of the styles, especially Style II – now it has become a basic premiss to see the animal styles as something essentially Nordic.

This has opened the way for the study of style to take on a significance beyond typology or chronology, an opportunity which has slowly, hesitantly, but increasingly been taken up. This has led to the situation in which Germanic animal art is seen as a gateway to lost myths, beliefs, cosmology, political divisions, and more: quite simply the gateway to the immaterial world that archaeologists have long regarded as essentially untouchable. In the work of the most recent generation of researchers in this field, the animal art itself, modern social theories, and the progressive German tradition of art history have come together. The latter has been lurking in the wings all the time, but it has taken three-quarters of a century for archaeologists to embrace it.

How They Came To Be Viking-period style groups from Broa to Urnes

By *Iben Skibsted Klæsøe*

The history of scholarship relating to the styles of the Viking Period is rather different from that of the Germanic art styles. The individual Viking art styles have been defined over the course of many years, some of them only recently, and continue to be debated. However for this period as for the Germanic Iron Age, it was Müller who fired the starting shot.

Plant ornament appears as a distinct but limited style in the early Viking Period. In connexion with the construction of a new chronology for the Viking Period the author has nonetheless based herself on this type of decoration. It was subsequently of decisive importance to the development of the animals of the Mammen and Ringerike Styles.

In stylistic terms, the transition from the Germanic Iron Age to the Viking Period involved a series of very different styles and concepts, which overlap with one another and often occur side-by-side. The Continental Tassilo Style, a product of the Insular mission to the Continent, has been recognized since Müller's time, and for a long time was called the Missionary Style; it was defined as the Tassilo Style by Haseloff in 1951. Style F was regarded by Ramskou (1965) as a southern Scandinavian derivative of the Tassilo Style. These styles are dated to the second half of the 8th century and around 800. The Broa Style was Almgren's term from 1955 for the later manifestations of Salin's Style III, described in 1904, and is practically the same as Arwidsson's Style E of 1942. Association with gripping beasts is characteristic of some of the material in this style. These gripping beasts were something quite new in Scandinavian animal art. They came to leave their mark both on the Berdal brooches and on the later Borre Style. The Broa Style/Style E is dated to the final third of the 8th century. The »Oseberg masters« is Shetelig's term for the woodcarvers who produced the carved wooden objects in and on the Oseberg ship. These wooden artefacts are stylistically very diverse and comprise several of the styles of the transitional period. Dendro-datings assign the boat to the year 820 and the burial chamber to 834. Gripping beasts are a feature found in the Broa, the Berdal and the Borre Styles and are therefore contemporary with all of these. They were identified by Rydh in 1919, and have since been the

subject of much discussion because of their lack of predecessors in Scandinavian art. Most recently (2001) Helmbrecht has questioned whether a Continental origin is plausible. The Berdal Style, which is found on oval (tortoise) brooches, moulds for which have been found in large numbers in the Ribe excavations, is in fact only regarded as a distinct style by Capelle and the present author. The studies of the moulds from Ribe date the Berdal brooches and the gripping beasts found upon them to the last quarter of the 8th century.

The most recent research on this particular style has been carried out by Wamers, who sees it as entirely the product of influence from Continental cloisters, with the Anglo-Irish mission and the Carolingian Renaissance. Helmbrecht, however, has identified certain chronological problems. The present author has suggested that the whole style group involving the early gripping beasts should be treated as one under the title of the Asymmetrical Style.

The Borre Style involves gripping beasts and much besides. Shetelig assigned both the finds from Borre and those from Gokstad to this category and regarded it as a derivative of the Oseberg Style. The Borre Style has been widely used as a portmanteau term for 9th-century material. The present author has suggested re-defining this style and its contents and calling it the Symmetrical Animal Style.

The subsequent animal styles are no longer based upon gripping beasts but upon ribbon-shaped and heraldic-looking, standing beasts and »the large animal«. The Jellinge Style, which Müller had identified but which was only christened by Shetelig, involves ribbon-shaped animals seen in profile. This style is dated to the first half of the 10th century. The present author has suggested using the term Profile Animal Style for the Jellinge Style. In 1931, Lindqvist distinguished the Mammen Style from the Jellinge Style. Characteristic of this is a large animal seen in profile and associated with a limited amount of plant ornament. Birds are also found in considerable numbers. The Mammen Style is dated to the second half of the 10th century. This style has most recently been discussed by Wamers in connexion with a new publication of the great Jellinge stone. While the Jellinge Style is regarded as of Anglo-Saxon inspiration, the Mammen Style is attributed to both Ottonian influences and the Winchester Style.

The Ringerike Style involves animals of many different kinds, as well as human figures and masks, while scenic views are also known. This style was identified by Shetelig as a later development of the Mammen Style and it is extensively associated with plant or-

nament. It was in fact first distinguished from the Mammen Style by Lindqvist in 1931. The most thorough examination of the style is that by Fuglesang in 1980, which attributed it to aristocratic circles and the newly established Church in Scandinavia, as a development reflecting Continental and possibly Anglo-Saxon influence, including, once again, the Winchester Style.

The Urnes Style, the last of the animal-art styles, developed out of the Ringerike Style and is based upon the large animal. Typical of this style are animals with very long and thin extremities. Shetelig had identified this style as early as 1909, and it is particularly well known for its occurrence on Norwegian stave-churches. The most recent comprehensive studies are those of Fuglesang from 1992 and Wilson of 1995. Fuglesang sees an Anglo-Saxon background and a logical association with the Church, while Wilson believes that the style is quite different from its predecessors. This style is dated from around the middle of the 11th century to a point within the 12th century.

The Viking-period styles merge into one another, and this makes it a difficult job to classify the material. Many scholars have worked with individual styles but only a few have looked at them as a whole sequence. The sharpest boundary falls between the earlier Viking Period and the later – between the gripping beast and the heraldic-looking, standing animal: to be more precise, between Borre and Mammen. Between these two styles – and contemporary with the later manifestations of the Borre Style – came the Jellinge Style. This style, which is characterized by snake- and bird-like animals seen in profile, is quite independent and has no link with the other Viking art styles. On the contrary, several elements can be seen to be congruent with the Style F of about a hundred years earlier.

The Eagle flies – on Style I in Scandinavia

By *Bente Magnus*

During excavations in 1998 for a new section of the motorway E 4 through Väderstad, Östergötland, Sweden a unique square-headed relief brooch came to light in what was interpreted as a ritual area in the vicinity of Abbetorp. The brooch, which is 11.4 cm long and 6.8 cm across the headplate, is made of gilded silver and decorated with Style I animal figures in high relief and further embellished with silver and niello. It is one of the most beautiful relief

brooches found in Sweden in the twentieth century. The brooch belongs to the category of ridged foot relief brooches, with the footplate divided along the middle by a bar like the ridge of a roof. In spite of this feature the artisan provided the brooch with a unique and elaborate catch-plate for the pin in the shape of a flying bird of prey attached to the back of the footplate. The Abbetorp brooch provides a starting point for a discussion of the first Germanic animal style, Style I, its cultural background and how it was used by the Germanic societies.

The Evolution of Fabulous Beasts An analysis of the D-bracteates

By *Elisabeth Barfod Carlsen*

The D-bracteates, the subject of this paper, constitute more than a third of the whole corpus of Migration-period bracteates and thus are the second largest group after the C-bracteates. The design of the D-bracteates comprises one or more animals in the early Germanic animal style. As these motifs are distant from the original models of the bracteates, on Late-Roman coins and gold medallions, they have often been ignored in bracteate studies. The objective is to show that the D-bracteates were produced and deposited during a longer period than previously thought, and that the production of D-bracteates should not be regarded as merely a post-script to that of the other types.

Migration-period bracteates in Denmark and Sweden have virtually all been found in hoards that can be interpreted as either votive or secular. Because of the great uncertainty over the date of deposition, hoards are not ideal for chronological studies. More than 20 per cent of the total number of D-bracteates have been found outside of Scandinavia (fig. 1). Many of these come from well-dated graves with rich artefact assemblages.

The finds have been recorded in accordance with the catalogue and series of Karl Hauck et al., where all of the bracteates are photographed and drawn in a common style that does them justice. For the stylistic analysis of the D-bracteates the computerized data-processing method of correspondence analysis was used. The seriation that resulted is interpreted as a sequence of production that reflects the development of the style elements.

The analysis comprised 174 specimens from Sweden and Denmark involving 85 different dies (fig. 2). »Production group« is abbreviated Pg. The seriation yields five usable groups (Pg. D I – D V). There is also a minor regional production group (Pg. D VI) which can be linked to the seriation on stylistic grounds. The selected bracteates of figure 3 only represents examples of the groups (App.).

Thirty-nine different D-bracteate dies distributed amongst 66 specimens have been found outside of Denmark and Sweden. The seriation of the southern Scandinavian D-bracteates is used as the reference point for D-bracteates found outside of Scandinavia (fig. 4). This reveals whether these D-bracteates belong to the Scandinavian tradition or were locally made copies. In the finds from the Continent and England a new group appears with only one representative in southern Scandinavia: the local group from Kent, Pg. D V, which has much in common with Pg. D IV.

What distinguishes this sequence of the D-bracteates from earlier schemes is the order of the groups. Previous scholars have regarded the bracteate design as having emerged fully formed, subsequently to degenerate. My seriation shows that the opposite is the case (fig. 5). The »degenerate« examples represent the inception of production, and the bracteates with the »optimal« designs represent its end. In relation to earlier bracteate specialists' conclusions, the stylistic evolution is turned on its head.

A comparison between the earliest specimens, particularly Pg. D I, and contemporary animal art reveals a congruency with both the Nydam Style and early Style I (fig. 6). One must infer, therefore, that the production of D-bracteates began no later than the inception of Style I, around AD 450/475. The demise of production, Pg. D IV, shows a stylistic agreement with the latest dated objects in Style I such as the Overhornbæk brooch (fig. 7).

D-bracteates found outside of southern Scandinavia are to be viewed in terms of their stylistic similarity to bracteates in the southern Scandinavian seriation. On the Continent there is a greater diversity of style, and here direct importation cannot explain what we find. The tendency is for greater stylistical similarity to occur the closer one is to southern Scandinavia. This similarity is also found in hoarding practice. In Anglo-Saxon England there is greater similarity to the D-bracteates of southern Scandinavia, although here the objects are deposited in graves. Pg. D V represents the adoption and development of the southern Scandinavian practice of producing D-bracteates.

D-bracteates found outside of southern Scandinavia are often wear-marked in a way that reveals a considerable period of use before deposition. The chronological study assigns the deposition of D-bracteates found in this area to the period from AD 500 onwards. The find-circumstances do not at present allow them to be dated any earlier, and these examples either belong to or are copies of the later production groups (Pg. D III – D IV). In Anglo-Saxon England the earliest burials of D-bracteates in graves occur around AD 520/525.

Production began in southern Scandinavia and then spread to southern German groups, both through imports and imitation, while both importation and the development of local production took place in England. The earliest date for the deposition of a D-bracteate is from the Års find, with a *terminus post quem* of AD 425. How far into the 6th century deposition continued in southern Scandinavia depends upon when Style II began to be predominant in the artefactual range. The deposition of D-bracteates outside southern Scandinavia continued considerably later than this, and the Rhenen grave may be the (or at least one of the) latest dated burials containing the D-bracteate design.

Migration-Period Animal Ornament in South-Western Norway

By Siv Kristoffersen

Southern and western Norway, the regions from Vestfold to Sogn og Fjordane, is a leading area for the distribution of Migration-period animal art (fig. 1). This paper discusses the characteristics and regional distribution of both the Nydam Style and Style I, and their archaeological and social contexts. The relation of the styles to political processes in the period is also touched upon. There are 98 finds involving 137 gilded objects decorated with these styles. The frequency of objects increases during the Migration Period and is by far the greatest in the last phase (tab. 1). Important pieces with the Nydam-style are found in Vestfold, at Lista, and in Jæren, such as the relief brooches in finds F3, F25 and F47 (fig. 1). Characteristic local traditions of Style I are also found in Vest-Agder/Rogaland (the area of F16-F62) and in Sogn og Fjordane (the area of F80-F93). 83 finds are from burials. Most of these were

found under mounds, usually large ones. The majority were inhumation burials in stone cists. They were richly furnished, many including gold and silver objects as well as imported glass and bronze vessels. There is variation however, especially in the latest phase. Skeletons are rarely preserved. Two categories of burial are distinguished: burials with weaponry (14) and burials with relief brooches (42). Relief brooches are often combined with smaller brooches and spindle-whorls. Keys, iron weaving-battens and gold bracteates occur as well (fig. 9). Seven of the assemblages with weaponry contained decorated sword equipment, forming a small group of exceptionally rich assemblages. In considering the social context, the idea of the construction of social identity is applied. The small, exclusive group of burials with decorated swords is related to the role of the political leader. The larger group of burials with relief brooches is, with particular reference to the keys, related to the construction of the image and role of the *Lady of the house*.

Om at tyde dyrestil Salins style I og angelsaksiske støbte cirkulære skålfibler

Af *Tania M. Dickinson*

Cirkulære skålspænder er faktisk de hyppigste bærere af Salins stil I i England, men er blevet overset på grund af, at man blot har opfattet ornamentet som degenereret. Denne artikel søger at rette op på denne ensidighed ved at acceptere, at tydingen (i fysisk og sproglig henseende) er *nøglen* til at forstå både den udformning, som stil I fik på de cirkulære skålspænder, og muligvis dens betydning. Analysen er baseret på 281 støbte cirkulære skålspænder (næsten halvdelen af den totale mængde af typen): halvdelen har alene zoomorfe motiver, og den anden halvdel kombinerer zoomorfe og geometriske motiver. Dyrestilen er karakteriseret ved motiv, fremtræden og komposition. Medens »sammenhængende« motiver, genkendelige fra det klassiske tidlige stil I-repertoire, er godt repræsenteret, bliver opmærksomheden her overvejende rettet mod måden, hvorpå motiver og design blev omformet, idet både etablerede principper for stil I design (forkortelse, addition gensemstilling og dobbelttydighed) og tilpasning til den alle-

rede eksisterende, geometrisk baserede tradition for cirkulære skålspænder er involveret. Selvom en justering af forandringens gang (devolution?) er vanskelig, kan processen påvises at have fundet sted gennem hele 6. årh. og at have været mest praktiseret i de vestlige distrikter af de angelsaksiske områder. At forklare denne omformede dyrestils betydning og rolle er tydeligvis vanskeligt, men det påstås, at det var resultatet ikke af uvidenhed eller ligegyldighed, men af et bevidst valg. Ved at overføre billeder fra den nordiske germanske mytologi og blande disse med andre symboler (romerske og saksiske) blev meningsindholdet både bevaret og spidsfindigt forandret, hvilket muliggjorde, at vigtige slægtninge udenfor Kent og de engelske hovedområder kunne skaffe sig deres egen identitet og tilhørsforhold.

Wolf, Horse, and Dragon An iconographic analysis of the animals of Styles II-III

By *Karen Høilund Nielsen*

The fauna of animal Styles II and III can be identified by species to a certain degree, although not so many of the quadrupeds. Meanwhile the corpus of material is now so large that a systematic analysis should provide some insights into the matter.

This systematic analysis is based on the occurrence, on single objects, of combinations of body-elements that are supposed to be relevant to the identification of species. Correspondence analysis is applied to the objects and body-elements and the result presents the general relationship between various types of body-elements, with a frequent tendency to clustering.

The material is analysed separately for each of the following regions: Scandinavia, Anglo-Saxon England, and the Continent. A series of other details were also recorded: the number of legs, special head-types, and the relationship with earlier and later styles.

The result for Scandinavia was a division of the material in seven sub-groups, probably involving three different species. The old terminology of Styles B, C and D is maintained, although the content may vary. B1 is the classical one-ribbon animal, and B2 to some degree the same except that the body-ribbon is now split in two and may diverge. The feet are in both cases usually fringed,

the head looking backwards, and the jaws open. The C1 animal still has a body of two ribbons, and the head looking backwards, but the feet are framed and the jaws closed into a muzzle. The C2 animal is growing more triangular and the head is forward-looking. From the D1 animal onwards we are back to the one-ribbon bodies, but the limbs are growing longer and thinner as is the body. The head is forward-looking, the jaws look more like a pair of pincers and the feet are becoming more claw-like. The eyes change into an oval (almond shape) rather than the usual round-type. The body has an almost swan-like shape. The entire expression is now more aggressive. The primary change of D2 is the backwards-looking head and a body wound in different figure-eight loops. D3, finally, has its body in a swan-like fashion, but the body diverges markedly and its aggressive attitude is very significant.

In the Anglo-Saxon material only B1 is identifiable. The other animal types seem to a large degree to be developments of the Scandinavian B1 animal. It is, however, possible to see some links with the Scandinavian C2 and D1/D3 creatures. On the Continent, the B1 animal and developments based upon it are predominant.

The B1 animals, therefore, seem to be well known in all Style II areas, whereas the other Scandinavian animal types seem to be virtually confined to Scandinavia. Only a few traits in the Anglo-Saxon material may indicate some contact within the wider area of the style. On the Continent no adoption of the aggressive attitude can be identified, although it does turn up in some of the Insular manuscripts.

The study of legs shows that the animals in Scandinavia very rarely are seen with less than the expected two pairs of legs. In both Anglo-Saxon England and on the Continent one pair often goes missing. Additionally it can be claimed that form B1 has its roots in Scandinavian Style I, whereas it is impossible to show that the Anglo-Saxon and Continental B1 animals have their roots in the local Style I.

In Scandinavia there is thus a continuous development from Style I to II; there is a development of the style as such, but always in a way that makes it clear that the artisan was well aware of the animal and its species and its anatomy. In respect of both Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent the Style II animal seems not to have any roots in Style I. Most of the Style II animals are variations of the B1 animal, and the artist is not very conscious of the animal's anatomy let alone its species. This may reflect significant differences in the societies of the respective regions. Consequent-

ly, the identification of the animals only seems to be significant in respect of the Scandinavian material.

The B1 and B2 animals can be identified as wolves primarily on basis of their teeth and their repeated appearance in set combinations with other animals, which may or may not have the teeth. Furthermore, the wolf is basis of many early Scandinavian names and is linked with the wolf-warriors: the *Úlfheðnar*.

The C1 and C2 animals have muzzles and hoofs and bear a clear resemblance to other, more sculptural animals that are undoubtedly horses. They are less easily related to other sources, although many horses appear in Norse mythology, albeit few of them with any still identifiable function.

Finally, the D1, D2 and D3 animals bear no resemblance to real animals. They are aggressive animals with long limbs and a long body. It is suggested that they are dragons or serpents. Such creatures are known from the surviving literature, but their appearance is not clearly documented.

The wolf must have been a well-known feature all over Style-II Europe, whereas the horse and the dragon seem to be Scandinavian interlude. The origin of the aggressive attitude is unknown, and it may have occurred earlier in Scandinavia than in Britain. Its explanation, although unknown, could still be common.

Insulære dyrestile Udviklingshistoriske aspekter

Af *Uta Roth*

Hensigten med denne artikel er at præsentere nogle aspekter af udviklingen af dyreornamentet i irsk kunst. Selve begyndelsen af disse dyrestile kan spores tilbage til det 6. årh. (*MS Cathach of St Columba*) med den første anvendelse af små dyr i forbindelse med keltiske ornamentale detaljer af dekorativ karakter. Kristne symboler og andre mediterrane motiver kan findes i udsmykningen af de tidlige kristne manuskripter, på den anden side må man anerkende stærk indflydelse fra angelsaksisk kultur (germansk stil II). Her skal specielt omtales *the Book of Durrow* (kort efter 600 e.Kr.f.), hvor vi finder dyr (firbenere, båndfletsornamentik, »dyreprocessioner«), hvor kroppene er bygget op af brede bånd med konturlinjer, hoveder med øre og øje, forlængede kæber med udløbere, et

(forlænget) forben og et bagben. Fødderne har tæer, der ligner fjerlignende duske, eller de er fremstillet vifteformede. Illustrationer i andre manuskripter (*Durham A II 17; Köln, Dombibl. 213; Cambridge, CCC 197B; Trier, Domschatz Cod.61*) viser videre udviklinger med hensyn til detaljer som udformning af ben med trædepuder og af kæber, eller forlængelse af ører (flige). Haler og flige bliver omdannet til et kompliceret entrelac-mønster. Et nyt mediterrant motiv med brug af fugle bliver indført (rovfugle med fødder, der ender i kløer). De er udformet på en temmelig naturalistisk måde. Højdepunktet inden for denne ornamentale gruppe ses i dyrene i *the Book of Lindisfarne* (ca. 698 e.Kr.f.), som repræsenterer en ny impuls af dyrestil med en naturalistisk behandling og adfærd af fugle og rovdyr, som er kombineret i varierende og komplekse grupper.

Videre aspekter af udviklingen af insulær dyrestil skal betragtes på baggrund af historiske begivenheder som for eksempel det stærke samkvem mellem Irland og Northumbria, forårsaget af den irske mission og også af angelsaksere, der udførte studier i Irland (Beda). Disse kendsgerninger synes at vise, at det irske og northumbriske kunsthåndværk fremstår homogen fra begyndelsen af det 7. årh. Denne kulturelle enhed af kunsthåndværksprodukter kan bedst beskrives med betegnelsen »hiberno-saksisk«.

Lions, Snakes and Birds

By *Iben Skibsted Klæsøe*

A quite different naturalistic sort of animal ornamentation was introduced at the beginning of the Viking Age compared to the art of the preceding periods. Lions, snakes and birds were introduced. These animals quickly changed from a naturalistic form into stylized creatures. On the trefoil brooches the animal of the so-called Borre Style changed from a symmetrical bear to a snake or a dragon-like monster.

All the animals are compared with the Christian symbolic repertoire. The lions used for decoration at the beginning of the Viking Age are known as the symbol of God and as the symbolic token of the Evangelist Mark. Many different birds are known from Christian iconography, e.g. the eagle, pigeon and peacock. They all have different symbolic meanings. These birds are used in the art of the

10th and earlier 11th century. The snake appears in the so-called Jelling Style. This motif is used on the famous little cup from the North mound at Jelling, and on a bronze censor. The use of snakes and birds is compared with the Anglo-Continental style – the Tassilo-chalice Style – of the second half of the 8th century.

When the Tassilo-chalice Style and the Jelling Style appear on male equipment the objects carrying this often very fine decoration are of silver and gold. Both styles combine animal decoration, which is usually pagan, with plant ornaments which symbolises the Christian Tree of Life (seen only on the cup in the Jelling Style). Although not very numerous, the objects with these styles are very widespread and comprise a variety of objects. The styles occur on both profane and sacred objects (e.g. the Jelling Style on the cup and the censor). Moreover, the Tassilo-chalice Style was used on the Continent during a period of conversion. In Scandinavia the Jelling Style is used on objects with the same functions, just 150 years later, in a period when knowledge of Christianity and a Christian population was increasing in Denmark. Perhaps both styles reflected a conflict between paganism and Christianity?

Fra hængesmykke til fibula Udveksling af motiver fra Borre- og Jellingstil over Nordsøen

Af *Caroline Paterson*

Den populære hobby med at gå med metaldetektor forklarer den umådelige forøgelse i antallet og omfanget af vikingetidsfund, som er blevet gjort i Danelagen i de senere år. Mange af disse genstande er simple, masseproducerede smykker. Selvom disse genstande ofte mangler informationer om fundkontekst, så afslører deres fundsteder og væsentlige detaljer meget om størrelsen og arten af den skandinaviske påvirkning af England i det niende og tiende århundrede.

I de skandinaviske oprindelseslande viser visse motiver fra Borre- og Jellingstil sig at have været knyttet til bestemte genstandstyper, et aspekt der er karakteristisk for masseproduktion. Mange sådanne genstande optræder nu i fundene fra Danelagen, og som små bærbare genstande forklarer de, hvorledes de skandinaviske kunststile fik så stor betydning på de Britiske Øer og i Irland. Imid-

lertid er adskillige fund, selvom de overfladisk synes at være af skandinavisk oprindelse, faktisk forskellige fra deres skandinaviske prototyper og giver som sådan bevis for kulturel integration i Danelagen. Motiver fra Borre- og Jellingstil medregnet varianter af Terslev-ringknuden og det bagudseende Jellingstilsdyr ser ud til at være overført fra hængesmykker, med hvilke de traditionelt blev forbundet i Skandinavien, til små skivefibler. Der synes at have været i det mindste to trin i denne kulturelle integrationsproces, den første er en overførsel af motivet fra hængesmykker til små konvekse skivefibler af skandinavisk type og dernæst til små flade skivefibler af angelsaksisk type. Sammen med nogle ledsagende ændringer af motivet er sådanne forandringer vidnesbyrd om produktionen af skandinaviske motiver i de angelsaksiske samfund i Danelagen.

Reflexes of an Ideology of Power Towns, tenements, craftwork and animal art

By Anna Hed Jakobsson

Human activities and cultural features such as art, crafts or trade are ascribed different meanings and significances through time. The practical consequences these ascriptions may have are inevitably variable too. During the Late Iron Age and Viking Age art and crafts seem to have been understood differently from later periods. The knowledge and proficiency of the smiths, on how to transform raw materials into splendid objects, were associated with supernatural powers. The myths, poetry and art, not

least the animal art, often deal with or express this transformation. The execution of power involved having control over this kind of knowledge, both the knowledge itself and the people who held it, i.e. the smiths. Claiming and using this knowledge, those in power appeared to be the guarantors of creativity, fertility and wealth.

In the »towns« of the period, e.g. places like Birka in present-day Sweden, the spatial order seems to reflect this. The spatial organization resembles that of a big farm, except that instead of fenced arable fields lying next to the house or hall-building we have the tenement plots, lying below buildings on terraces. There seems to have been a metaphorical equivalence between the fertile field in the countryside and the productive town plot, where skilful smiths, under control, created valuable things.

During the late 10th and 11th centuries many of the Viking-age towns and harbours were abandoned. New centres emerged; Sigtuna »replaces« Birka. Not only economic changes but also ideological shifts may explain this. The magico-religious notion that man was a co-creator in nature stood in sharp contrast to the teachings of the Church, i.e. that everything was the creation of God. The traditional legitimacy of those in power, based on the claim that they could further prosperity and control knowledge associated with the supernatural, did not work any longer.

During the 12th century the church obtained a strong hold over the population of Scandinavia. Tithes were introduced, churches built, and the Romanesque Style totally replaced the centuries-old animal art. Power expressed itself in new ways, and we can see how crafts developed in new directions. Artisans became more independent. This is also reflected in the spatial order of the medieval towns, with market-places and shops at their centre.