

See also vol. xxxii, page 80.

EARLY SCULPTURE AT ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, IPSWICH

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During the extensive repair and enlargement of 1848 a number of carved stones were found built into the fabric of St. Nicholas' Church, Ipswich. These included a rectangular panel showing St. Michael fighting the dragon and a semi-circular stone on which a boar is represented. Both stones were found embedded in the west wall of the fourteenth century south aisle.¹ At the same time a fragment of a figure was found inside built into a window in the south aisle. A further search uncovered two similar figures. Two of the three had been cut for use as a window cill. Other small fragments were also found which suggested that there was a series of such figures. It is unfortunate that the drawings which were made of them at the time were never published since these small fragments are now lost. Also preserved loose in the church is a voussoir enriched with diaper ornament. Although there is no documentary evidence to substantiate such a claim, it seems quite likely that this, too, was removed from the fabric during the restoration of 1848 since a similar voussoir can still be seen in the exterior of the south aisle wall along with another voussoir with billet ornament.

After their discovery the stones were placed in the north wall of the east end of the north aisle. In March, 1966 they were removed, cleaned and re-set in the north wall of the chancel where they can now be readily examined. The cleaning revealed a number of details which are not visible on even the earliest published photographs known to the author.

The dates which have been proposed for the stones since they were first published in 1764 vary enormously. It is with this question of the date of these stones that this essay will be primarily concerned.

¹ Strictly speaking both the St. Michael panel and the Boar tympanum were known while still embedded in the outer aisle wall. They were first published by J. Kirby, *The Suffolk Traveller*, 2nd. ed., London (1764) and later published in 'Proceedings of the Committee', *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assn.*, I (1846), pp. 146-7. The restoration and the discovery of the figures is described by Dr. H. P. Drummond in *Suffolk Archaeological Association, Original Papers*, III (Nov. 1848). An extensive bibliography is provided in A. R. Dufty, 'St. Nicholas' Church, Ipswich', *Arch. Jour.*, CVIII (1951), pp. 136f. To these may be added J. Wodderspoon, *Memorials of Ipswich*, London and Ipswich (1850), pp. 273 and 330f. and G. Zarnecki, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture', *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, LII (1966), p. 100 n.4. Drummond, *op. cit.*, p. 26, is of the opinion that the stones had only occupied their position at the end of the south aisle for about a century. He bases his view on the quality of the mortar.

The Saint Michael Panel (Plate XXIV)

The Saint Michael panel (35 $\frac{7}{8}$ ins. by 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins.) is the most weathered of the carvings and is the only one bearing inscriptions in Old English. The very evident vertical breakage had occurred before the panel had been set in the west wall of the south aisle. It is difficult to say either if the panel has been trimmed or if it was meant to be part of a series. The upper edge and left side appear to be original but it is not altogether certain whether the right side and bottom are. The inscription which runs from St. Michael's wing tip above the dragon is illegible beyond a few letters: (.)SO (.....) : (A.)- -. This is particularly unfortunate. We can tell neither if it was complete nor if it was related to the scene beneath. Only slightly more legible are inscriptions on the left side of the panel. In the space between St. Michael's sword and wing an E is clearly visible next to the wing but other letters, now much weathered, also occur. Below the archangel's arm further lettering is visible. Below these the letters are quite clear: EL:. This has been taken to read ANGEL but is surely mistaken. In fact, it is very likely that these two groups provide an independent identification of the main figure and should read (SC)E||(.)IHA//EL://. The scene is clearly identified at the bottom centre of the panel: (:)HER:SCĒ||(M)IHA(E)L:FEHT¶ID//ÐANE:DRACA://.²

St. Michael bears a kite-shaped shield with a central circular boss flanked by four punched or drilled holes in his left hand while he wields his sword with his raised right arm. His wings appear to be attached to the back of his neck. His drapery is rendered in a most distinctive manner. Parallel grooves, each starting from a hole on the shoulder indicate the folds on the sleeves. The upper part of his clothing is covered with several rows of chevron or zig-zag highlighted by a further series of irregularly placed holes. His skirt terminates in a border of arrowhead forms while the remainder, made up of broad vertical folds, is enriched with a horizontal chevron motif which includes a regular pattern of holes in the depths of the central folds.

In contrast to St. Michael the dragon is devoid of any modelling. The scale pattern with which its body is covered enlivens the flat surface to a surprising degree. The hip joint is emphasized by a

² The author owes a special debt of gratitude to Mrs. Elizabeth Okasha for considerable help with the inscriptions. The readings of all the inscriptions and the following explanation of the system of transliteration are hers: A, a letter damaged but legible; (A), a letter damaged where the restoration is fairly certain; (. . .), two etc. letters lost; - -, text lost, number of letters uncertain; :, word division of any sort; //, end of line. Although communicated privately, I understand she will publish these readings shortly. In addition to this Mrs. Okasha has noted privately that in her view the Ipswich stones could be dated to the 'eleventh to twelfth century which fits the language and the script'.

spiral, the feet are two-toed, the almond shaped eye has the point toward the snout and the trifid tongue terminates in arrow heads. Holes again occur at the base of the ears, between the toes, on the spiral joint, on the wing and occasionally on the body proper.

The uneven background is not only pitted with shallow punch marks over much of its area but also punctuated irregularly with holes which bear no logical relationship to the inscription or to any other part of the sculpture. In some instances they occur quite irrationally within the letters of the inscription, a fact which suggests the possibility that the inscription was added as an after-thought.

The most striking influence at work on the style of this piece is Scandinavian in origin. This was recognized by Sir Thomas Kendrick who, while claiming a Saxon date noted: '... the dragon, still possessed of a truly barbaric ferocity, has the Anglo-Scandinavian spiral joint and a boldly interlacing tail with something of the Urnes spirit in it'.³ However, it is my belief that we are not concerned here with influence from the pure Urnes style but rather from the Mammen, Ringerike and transitional-to-Urnes styles of the later tenth to mid eleventh centuries. In addition to the points which will be outlined below in the discussion of the stone with the boar, there are several curious features which occur here which can best be paralleled in this phase of Viking art. First is the punched background which must be intentional. Although it occurs elsewhere and at various dates this can be easily paralleled in conjunction with other related features particularly in metal-work. The weather vane from Heggen, Modrum, Norway (Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo), the gilt bronze plate from Winchester (Winchester Cathedral Library) and the weather vane from Kallunge, Gotland, Sweden (Gotlands Fornsal, Visby) are particularly interesting from this point of view.⁴ In fact, although Viking scholars do not seem to mention the point, the evidence of the monuments suggests that this motif is a characteristic feature of Viking art.⁵ Moreover, that this motif was translated into stone in an extreme form is proved by the carving of the snake on the Christ panel at Jevington (Sussex) which has been dated to the early twelfth century.⁶ Further, the systematic decorative use of holes occurs on the Ardre III runestone (Gotland, Sweden) where two-toed dragonesque beasts with fore feet only are disposed in a

³ T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, London (1949), p. 123.

⁴ D. M. Wilson and O. Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art*, London (1966), Pl. LXIX, a-c, fig. 58.

⁵ It is certainly also prominent in the Jellinge and Urnes styles.

⁶ Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXIXa; Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXV; D. Talbot Rice, *English Art, 871-1100*, Oxford (1952), Pl. 10a; L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: the Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth (1955), Pl. 29B.

figure-of-eight pattern strikingly similar to that adopted by the Ipswich dragon.⁷ This comparison is instructive for paradoxically while it is obvious that the dragon at Ipswich stands in direct lineal descent from such creatures as these, at the same time it is equally clear that they are very different, as different as a ribbon from a rectangular moulding. These Scandinavian features should not, as they have been in the past, be permitted to overshadow the fact that other equally important influences are also at work. This is to say that despite these mainly early eleventh century Viking influences, the date of this sculpture must be post-Conquest.

There are a number of clear-cut reasons for this assertion. In the first place the lay-out of the inscription, that is its relationship to borders and scene, is very similar to that encountered in the Bayeux Tapestry.⁸ Secondly, the panel is executed in Caen stone⁹ which was not, so far as is known, used before the Conquest in church building. It could perhaps be argued that since Ipswich is known to have been a port that the stone could have been 'imported' in the form of ballast, dumped and used in pre-Conquest times. But its unwieldy size coupled with the presence of the many fragments of Caen stone visible in the walls of the present church renders this most unlikely. Thirdly, the kite-shaped shield apparently does not occur in pre-Conquest representational arts. So far as I have been able to determine, this form, in use from the tenth century on the continent and so familiar from the Bayeux Tapestry, was introduced into England by the Normans. In this connexion it is interesting to note that not only the form of shield but that of its central boss can easily be paralleled in the Bayeux Tapestry. Finally, most scholars have agreed that this panel is closely related to a group of representations of St. Michael and the dragon and similar subjects which are concentrated in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire all of which incorporate Scandinavian Urnes-derived motifs to a greater or lesser degree.¹⁰ The tympanum at Hoveringham (Notts.) in particular but also the lintel at Southwell (Notts.) are agreed by all to be markedly similar in style, but many scholars have insisted on a pre-Conquest date for these works. Prof. Zarnecki has recently pointed out that by analogy to the tympanum at Water Stratford (Bucks.) not only is their style consistent with a date early in the twelfth century but

⁷ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXVI illustrates both sides. One side only is reproduced in Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXI.

⁸ This is particularly evident in the placing of the additional identification alongside St. Michael.

⁹ I am indebted to Dr. F. W. Anderson of the Geological Survey for the identification of all the stone at Ipswich.

¹⁰ In addition to those mentioned below, the tympanum at Ault Hucknell (Derbys.) and the font at Thorpe Arnold (Leics.).

also for technical reasons they should be dated after the Conquest.¹¹ Working from the viewpoint of a specialist in Viking art, Mr. Wilson has remarked that 'it seems reasonable to suppose that most of the objects decorated in the Urnes style found in the British Isles were manufactured after the Norman Conquest'.¹² Further proof is not far to seek. A close examination of the Hoveringham tympanum reveals that the style, and this is particularly evident in the flanking figures, is closely related to and dependent on that of the figures on the crossing capitals at Southwell Minster. These are generally attributed to a date of *c.* 1120¹³ and have always been accepted as being of post-Conquest date. Moreover, the curious arrangement at Hoveringham where figures flank the tympanum is repeated on the unquestionably post-Conquest tympana at Tissington and Findern which are if not of a more advanced date then roughly contemporary with the capitals at Southwell.¹⁴

Although there is no need to indulge here in a lengthy digression on the incidence of 'Vikingisms' and this flat figure style in England it is perhaps not without significance that a similar flat style at least can still be seen on the capitals of the chancel arch at Adel (Yorks. W.R.) for which documentary evidence suggests a date *c.* 1170. Equally, the tympanum at Pitsford (Northants.)¹⁵ which incorporates the curious motif of the angel who has taken off his wings in order to do battle still displays Viking features in the mid-twelfth century. The figure of the angel, it should be marked, is quite similar to that at Hoveringham and certainly has much in common with the St. Michael at Ipswich. Moreover one further example may be cited, the lintel *en batière* at St. Bees¹⁶ (Cumberland) which by analogy must be of advanced twelfth century date for its dragon is remarkably similar to that on the west door of Kirby Lonsdale (Westmorland) of *c.* 1170.

Clearly, the Ipswich panel is not only post-Conquest but must be dated *c.* 1120. And not only is this panel not an isolated monument but rather it is but one example of a discernible substratum of taste for Viking ornament in English twelfth century stone sculpture.

The Boar Tympanum (Plates XXV and XXVI)

Unlike the St. Michael panel, the boar tympanum (39½ ins. by 22¼ ins.) is carved in Barnack stone. Parallel to the curving edge of the stone runs a raised band bearing the inscription: +INDEDI:

¹¹ Zarnecki, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture', pp. 99f.

¹² Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 153. See also p. 160.

¹³ G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066-1140*, London (1951), p. 18, 21.

¹⁴ C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels*, 2nd ed., London (1927), figs. 22 and 23.

¹⁵ Keyser, *op. cit.*, fig. 152.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 135.

CAT(IO . E):E(CL)E(SIE):OM(N.....)R(V)M - -¹⁷ which serves as a frame for the representation of the boar. This ferocious animal is depicted in profile in low relief with no modelling. The figure stands about one inch proud of the even expanse of background. A marked crest of bristles runs from the ears along the backbone transforming itself into a tightly curling tail similar in form to the snout. Both rear and both front legs and feet as well as both ears are quite illogically included in the composition. Although both hip joints are indicated by the double incised lines characteristic of the Mammen style, the front joint is emphasized by a volute-like form while the hind joint is treated more simply. The eye, large and with the pointed end toward the snout, is typically Ringerike. As on the St. Michael panel deep holes form a prominent part of the design, occurring between the toes, on the hip spirals, at the ends of the ribs, in the centre of the tail and snout 'volutes', once on the body and twice on the background as well as in the inscription.

Since the boar tympanum is in a better state of preservation, these holes can be more effectively examined. They appear at key points in the composition and it might be argued that they were simply used as pivot points in the laying out of the design. However, they taper to a depth of *c.* $\frac{1}{2}$ inch which is unnecessary for such a purpose.¹⁸ If the artist didn't intend them as a decorative device, and it seems most unlikely that he didn't, then he worked at them with a notably idiosyncratic excess of zeal. Surely this most unusual feature, though employed in a more organized fashion on the boar tympanum was used, as on the St. Michael panel, for decorative effect. It is the same idea we encountered on the Ardre III runestone.

Not only does the boar tympanum share this motif with the St. Michael panel but the style is also similar. Like the boar, the dragon not only has deep holes between the toes, at the base of the ears and on its body, but also shares the volute spiral on the hip joint, the same form of ears, and a similar form of curling upper lip. Were the body of the dragon not enlivened by scale pattern the similarity would be even more striking. The only conclusion which can be drawn from this is that both works are of the same date and by the same workshop if not by the same sculptor.

¹⁷ Unlike the St. Michael panel where early readings vary, all early readings of this inscription agree, giving the final word as SANCTORUM. This seems the most likely interpretation, although it would be more convenient if improbable if it were ANGELORUM. Comments on the use of the square C and lozenge-shaped O which leave out any consideration of manuscript material can be found in Zarnecki, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture', p. 98.

¹⁸ Very shallow, almost superficial marks made by compass points are often encountered in Romanesque sculpture.

The reverse of the tympanum is also carved. The modest ornament consists of what must be, in the light of the inscription on the obverse, a dedication cross which emerges out of a narrow border at the base of the tympanum. Its form is distinctive, the arms being split and interlaced in such a way as to give rise to a spurious swastica. The ends of the splits are marked by deep holes. This motif of interlaced arms is not entirely without parallel for it occurs on a mid-twelfth century tympanum at Salford (Oxon.). No other examples of precisely this type are known to me in England but a further instance is provided by the tomb slab at Aarhus (Denmark) which is also of twelfth century date.¹⁹ Thus, even the form of the cross supports my proposal of a more advanced twelfth century date for these stones than has previously been suggested.

It is undeniable that the style of the boar is remarkably similar to that of the lion and snake on the grave stone from St. Paul's churchyard which was most probably made *c.* 1030.²⁰ Although a monument of this type, that is to say in the Ringerike style, must lie behind the Ipswich boar this similarity has proved misleading since it only indicates that the boar can not be earlier than *c.* 1030 and not that it must be roughly contemporary. In fact, the differences between the two works are as instructive if not more so than the similarities. First and foremost, the boar is missing several vital features of the relevant Viking style: there is no interlacing stringy snake, no bulbous foliage and there are no interlacing tendrils about the tail or ears. In fact those very features which provide movement and complicate the design on the grave slab have been suppressed in favour of a Romanesque clarity of outline at Ipswich. Almost as significant is the fact that no comparable Mammen or Ringerike boars exist. Instead it was a rather limited repertoire of lions, snakes, birds, horses and occasionally men which interested Viking artists. The Ipswich boar is an English work in which the Ringerike style is re-interpreted with Romanesque undertones.

The Figure Panels (Plate XXVII)

The three fragmentary figure panels have received considerably less attention than the St. Michael panel or the boar tympanum. This is understandable since the eccentricity of the style is so pronounced as to inhibit investigation. At the same time it is a pity because in many ways these are the most interesting of the sculptured stone at St. Nicholas'. Although the panels have been cut on

¹⁹ I must express my gratitude to Prof. G. Zarnecki for bringing this example to my notice.

²⁰ Kendrick, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXVII; Stone, *op. cit.*, Pl. 23; Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *op. cit.*, Pl. LVIIIa.

all four sides it is known that the figures were originally surmounted by arches since a fragment of such an arch inscribed 'L.V.S.' was found during the restoration.²¹ Since two of the panels bear incomplete portions of the word APOSTOLVS on the preserved parts of the arcade this implies that names, e.g. Paulus, were carved on the arches. Paradoxically, assuming that the inscriptions read from left to right, not one of the figures is identified; the remaining inscriptions must refer to the preceding figures in the sequence. From this as well as from the fact that further small fragments of similar figures were found it is clear that there were at least five figures originally. How these may have been arranged cannot be determined. Each of the remaining fragments varies in thickness not only individually from top to bottom but also from stone to stone. It may well be that these figures were carved in small groups on panels of moderate size. In any event it seems possible that the three remaining figures come from different panels. This in turn means that they may have been represented in independent groups rather than in the continuous extended series which most writers seem to assume. Wodderspoon notes in his publication of 1850 that 'all the figures had been rudely coloured—red, blue (green) and portions of a purple tint remain'.²² Vestiges of a reddish orange tint can still be seen on one of the figures.

FIGURE A (Height, $21\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; width at bottom, 10 ins.)²³

The figure, evidently bearded, wears what is perhaps intended to be a chasuble, dalmatic and alb, the alb being indicated by the frill of pipe-shaped forms at the bottom. In his left hand he holds a maniple rather than having it hang over his wrist. While Archbishop Stigand is represented holding a maniple in just the same way *c.* 1070 in the Bayeux Tapestry, it is the norm in the twelfth century to adopt the second method. The point at which the maniple ceases to be held is unclear and would, in any case, provide only a *terminus ante quem* and that, to be precise, for the model alone. In his right hand he holds a cross staff, no doubt to be taken here as the insignia of an archbishop. The pointed end of this staff pierces the open mouth of a sharp-toothed dragonsque beast whose head can be seen in front of the shaft of the arcade. The identity of this figure is difficult to establish and all that can be said it that is probably represents an archbishop symbolically triumphing over evil. However, this should not be taken to imply that the figure can not be an Apostle.

²¹ Drummond, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

²² Wodderspoon, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

²³ The measurements of all the stones except the voussoir and the St. Michael panel were taken by Miss P. M. Butler, Curator of the Ipswich Museums and Art Galleries, to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude.

FIGURE B (Height, *c.* 22 ins.; width at bottom, 10 ins.)

On the arcade the letters -- *TO(L)VS(:)//* remain. This figure is obviously the work of the sculptor responsible for Figure A and is equally as square cut and flat. The figure apparently wears a gown enriched with bands of beading and cable ornament surmounted by a cloak or mantle whose edges are decorated with a cable border terminating in upward curving hooks from which volutes spring. Again the drapery fans out laterally in the most curious way above the feet. The figure clutches a long looped striated band in front of its chest. This strange object must be a misunderstanding on the part of the sculptor. His all too evident passion for linear ornament must have got the better of him for surely this was meant to be a scroll. Figure B, then, is quite acceptable as an Apostle.

FIGURE C (Greatest height, *c.* 21 ins.; width at top, 8½ ins.)

This sad fragment includes a good part of the arcade shaft with its inscription, -- *OSTOLVS//*. What drapery remains is rendered by simple parallel folds terminating at the bottom with a bold volute. Judging from the hood-like configuration around the shoulder this figure should be a monastic. The presence of the tau cross, a form which went out of fashion at an advanced date in the twelfth century, indicates an abbot. Again, as with Figure A, this may have been intended to represent an Apostle, but in this case there would be less justification.

The difficulty with these figures is that although their style is unique they look superficially like a number of objects of a variety of dates, but not convincingly like any one in particular. They are as much like the eighth century St. Chad's Gospels (Lichfield Cathedral Library), or the mid-to-late ninth century Book of MacDurnan (Lambeth Palace Library)²⁴ as they are like the tympanum at Kirtling (Cambs.) or the figures of *c.* 1140 on the jambs of the chancel arch at Kilpeck (Herefordshire).²⁵ There are, however, a modest number of points which can be made about them. They are in the same stone, that is Barnack, as is the boar tympanum. They are square-cut and essentially as flat as the boar tympanum and the St. Michael panel. Moreover, the sculptor shows a similar interest in volute forms. Most important is the presence of deep holes on the remains of the arcades. Despite their archaic look, the figures must be of the same date and by the same workmanship as the other two pieces.

Given the relationships between the stones themselves as well

²⁴ Illustrated in F. Henry, *Irish Art 800-1020*, London (1967), Pls. 36, 42, 44.

²⁵ G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture*, London (1953), Pl. 21 (Kilpeck).

as with the fragments both lost and still remaining in the walls of St. Nicholas' it is very likely that all came from the same source. Unfortunately, this question of the origin of the sculpture cannot at present be answered. The ecclesiastical history of Ipswich has yet to be written and consequently information is scarce. Although the notices of churches in Ipswich in Domesday Book are extensive, there is no mention of a church of All Saints. Wodderspoon notes the existence of and suggests the boar tympanum came from 'a chapel to the honour of All Saints, a small curacy . . . ruined and unproductive in 1535 according to the Liber Regis, but still annexed to St. Matthew'.²⁶ This chapel does not, however, seem a likely source. In the first place it is a chapel and not a church. In the second place, if stone were taken from it in the fourteenth and or fifteenth century it would be most surprising to find enough of it standing a century or two later to justify its being described as ruined rather than destroyed or vanished. Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that the chapel was not founded until the early fourteenth century.²⁷ Considering the number of uncarved stones with twelfth century diagonal tooling which still remain in the walls of the present church of St. Nicholas it is probably best to accept the assumption that there must have been an earlier church dedicated to All Saints on or near the site.²⁸

The question of how the stones might have been used must now be considered. Because of its small size and the fact that carving appears on both sides it has recently been suggested that it is unlikely that the boar tympanum was used over a door in an outer wall of a church but rather that it formed part of an opening in a screen.²⁹ It is quite true that this example of the carving of a tympanum on both faces is unusual if not unique, but this does not necessarily mean that it can't have formed part of a doorway as I believe it must. In the first place, nothing is known of stone screens in parish churches at a relevant date in England, and the boar tympanum must have come from a parish church. Secondly, many tympana were visible from the back though uncarved and this is particularly so in East Anglia. It is also not impossible that some were painted on the reverse face. Several examples can be cited where the designer of a church door was at pains to preserve carving on the reverse side of ~~tympanum~~ when he was re-using or re-employing stones as, for example, at Elsenham (Essex) and Wordwell (Suffolk). It is perhaps not without significance that both of these are in East Anglia. x um/

Nor is the small size of the tympanum cause for alarm. Assuming

²⁶ Wodderspoon, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

²⁷ Information kindly supplied by Miss P. M. Butler from unpublished material.

²⁸ Assuming that the reading of SANCTORUM on the boar tympanum is correct.

²⁹ Zarnecki, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture', p. 100.

that it formed part of a normally constructed opening, i.e. that the tympanum overlapped the jambs by several inches on either side, it would be compatible with a doorway width of *c.* 3 ft. External doors of similar size are surprisingly not at all infrequent. The north door at Reed (Herts.) which incorporates an admittedly uncarved tympanum visible from both exterior and interior measures but 2 ft. 10 ins. from jamb to jamb. Similarly Barrow (Salop.), where the tympanum was originally carved externally, measures 3 ft. In any event, the size of the tympanum does not always indicate a door opening of smaller size. In some cases it may even be larger.

The use of a semi-circular frame within the field of the tympanum is a common feature of English Romanesque doorways. Although these frames are generally moulded or enriched with foliage or geometric ornament, the example at Pennington (Lancs.) bears an inscription on its frame in just the same way as the Ipswich tympanum. Inscriptions themselves are rare enough in English sculpture of this period, those recording dedications rarer still. The one recently discovered at Milborne Port (Som.) by Prof. Zarnecki occurs on the lower edge of the tympanum and provides the closest parallel to the Ipswich example.³⁰ The difficult inscription on the lintel at Little Wratting (Suffolk) is thought by some to be a dedication inscription. Not unrelated is the famous dedication tympanum at Castor (Northants.) which fills not a door but a window head. Even nearer at hand to Ipswich there is an inscription running along the jambs of the south door at Great Bricett (Suffolk) which also seems to record the dedication of the church. In short, it seems that in Romanesque times in England it was usual to display such inscriptions on the outer walls of the church.

In addition to this further evidence, albeit tentative, is available that a doorway not only existed but that it was not incompatible in size with the tympanum. Dr. Drummond remarks on '... the number of fragments of Norman mouldings to be seen in every direction amongst the rubble with which the church is built ... Billet mouldings peep forth in every part, with the small rounded columns of Barnack stone'.³¹ With the exception of the three voussoirs mentioned above all these have vanished since 1848. Although ideally several voussoirs are required to provide an accurate indication of the radius of the arch to which they belonged, I decided that it would not be entirely useless to see what could be learned from the one loose voussoir. This indicated a radius of 20½ ins. to the soffit of the arch. Allowing ¼ in. to ½ in. for mortar, this gives a figure remarkably similar to the radius of the tympanum. Admittedly the room for error in these calculations is great, but it is more than

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

³¹ Drummond, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

likely that tympanum and voussoir belong together. To this must be added the fact that diapered voussoirs only became fashionable in East Anglia *c.* 1120, the date proposed for the sculptures. There can be little doubt that the tympanum was used in the head of a small doorway in the outer wall of a church.

It is considerably more difficult to know how the other stones might have been employed. East Anglia being poor in figure sculpture it is not easy to find analogous material. The St. Michael panel could have been set above a door in a similar way to the panels at Holton and Santon Downham (Suffolk) or to the figure at Haddiscoe (Norfolk). Equally, it might have served as a lintel or been used as part of a larger composition. Our lack of knowledge about either the church to which they belonged or the identification, original number or organization of the figure panels inhibits conjecture. Their size, and the panels must have been at least about 28 ins. high, suggests a number of possibilities though the fact that much colour seems to have survived up to 1848 taken with their general condition makes it more likely that they were used inside the church.

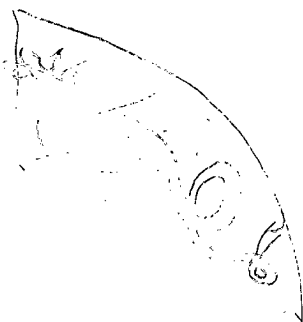
In conclusion, it is my belief that the St. Michael panel, the boar tympanum and the figures are all the work of the same workshop and that they should be dated *c.* 1120. In view of their archaic style and the marked Scandinavian influence, such a date may seem surprisingly late. But in their East Anglian context it is not unreasonable. At about 1090 at Ely a curiously flat two-dimensional style which owed much to pre-Conquest sources made its appearance.³² This style, at variance with the more architectonic sculpture of the Normans, was accepted and widely diffused since it can be traced in Northamptonshire, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk. So far as we can tell, it was not until the 1130's and 40's that new more advanced ideas of what sculpture could be and do were introduced in the greater churches of the region, that is at Ely, Bury St. Edmunds and Norwich. Especially in the first quarter of the twelfth century East Anglia was a conservative region as far as sculpture was concerned; it could hardly have been otherwise. Pre-Conquest motifs lived on in various forms in this region throughout the Romanesque period. Nor should we be surprised at the persistence of Viking influence in this area. Connexions with and an interest in Scandinavian art are particularly well documented. In Norway at Stavanger features stemming from East Anglia have been identified.³³ The later Romanesque sculpture of the doorways at Ely

³² G. Zarnecki, *The Early Sculpture of Ely*, London (1958), pp. 9f.

³³ C. Hohler, 'The Cathedral of St. Swithun at Stavanger in the Twelfth Century', *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assn.*, xxvii (1964), p. 115.

appear to have Scandinavian connexions.³⁴ At Norwich a capital, presumably from the cloister of *c.* 1140, is enriched with a Romanesque version of Urnes ornament.³⁵ Equally, the so-called Losinga monument has been claimed as the source for the motif of the animal-head base so common on the stave church doorways.³⁶ The curious fragment at Great Canfield (Essex) with its Urnes ornament provides, no matter what its date, a further illustration of this taste. For the pre-Conquest period the evidence supplied by monuments is less clear since little survives. Presumably because the area is lacking in stone for building much work must have been carried out in wood, an all too perishable material. Still, indications of a pre-Conquest interest in Viking art occur in the famous Psalter from Bury St. Edmunds (Rome, Vatican Ms. Regin. lat. 12) of the second quarter of the eleventh century.³⁷ Further, there is the curious disc brooch now in the British Museum which is ornamented with an English version of the Ringerike style and was found in a hoard at Sutton, Isle of Ely. Although it has been dated to about 1085 it may well be earlier since this is the date provided by the coins found with it.³⁸ To these one further example, no doubt dating well after the Conquest may be added and this is the small openwork object ornamented with an Urnes snake found at Wisbech (Cambs.) which is not so far afield.³⁹ In this of all regions of England we should expect rather than be surprised at the appearance in the twelfth century of old fashioned Viking forms.

Canfield, St. Margaret's
late 12c. from door head
or tympan.



³⁴ M. Blindheim, *Norwegian Romanesque Decorative Sculpture 1090-1210*, London (1965), pp. 46f.

³⁵ Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066-1140*, Pl. 76.

³⁶ Blindheim, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

³⁷ F. Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, London (1952), Pl. 28b.

³⁸ Wilson and Klindt-Jensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 and 146, Pl. LXVI.

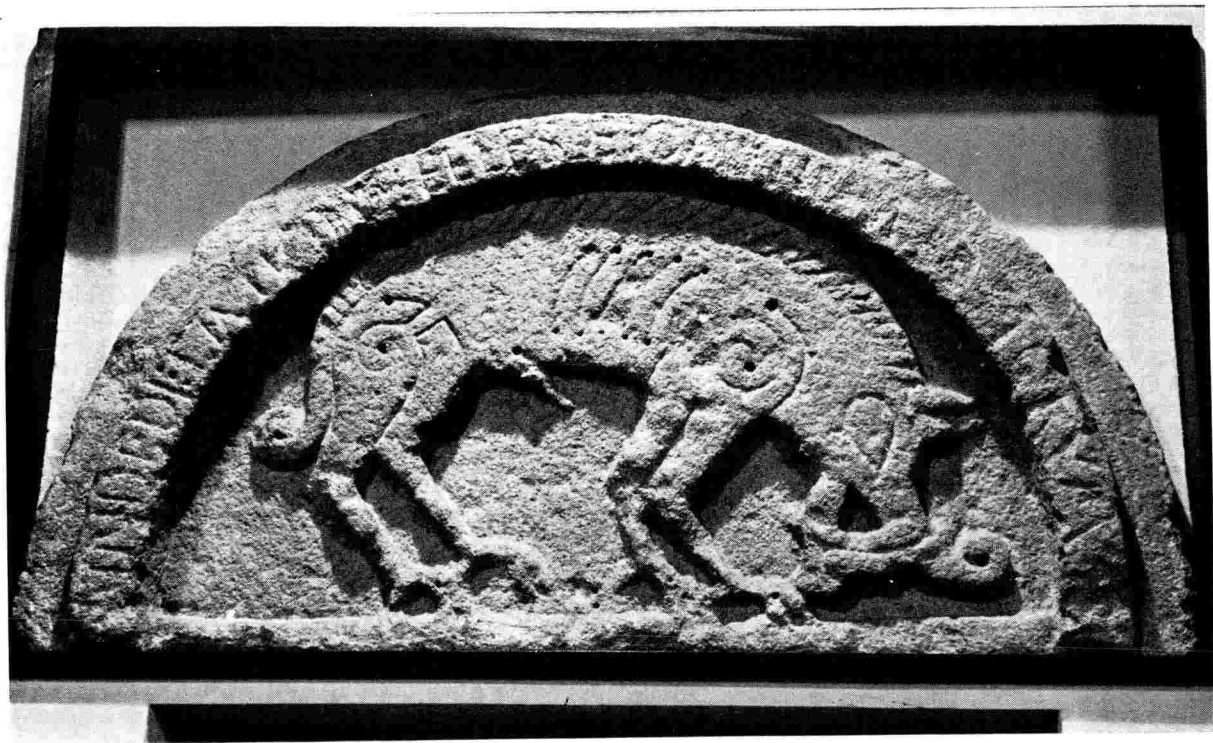
³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154, Pl. LXXIII d.

PLATE XXIV

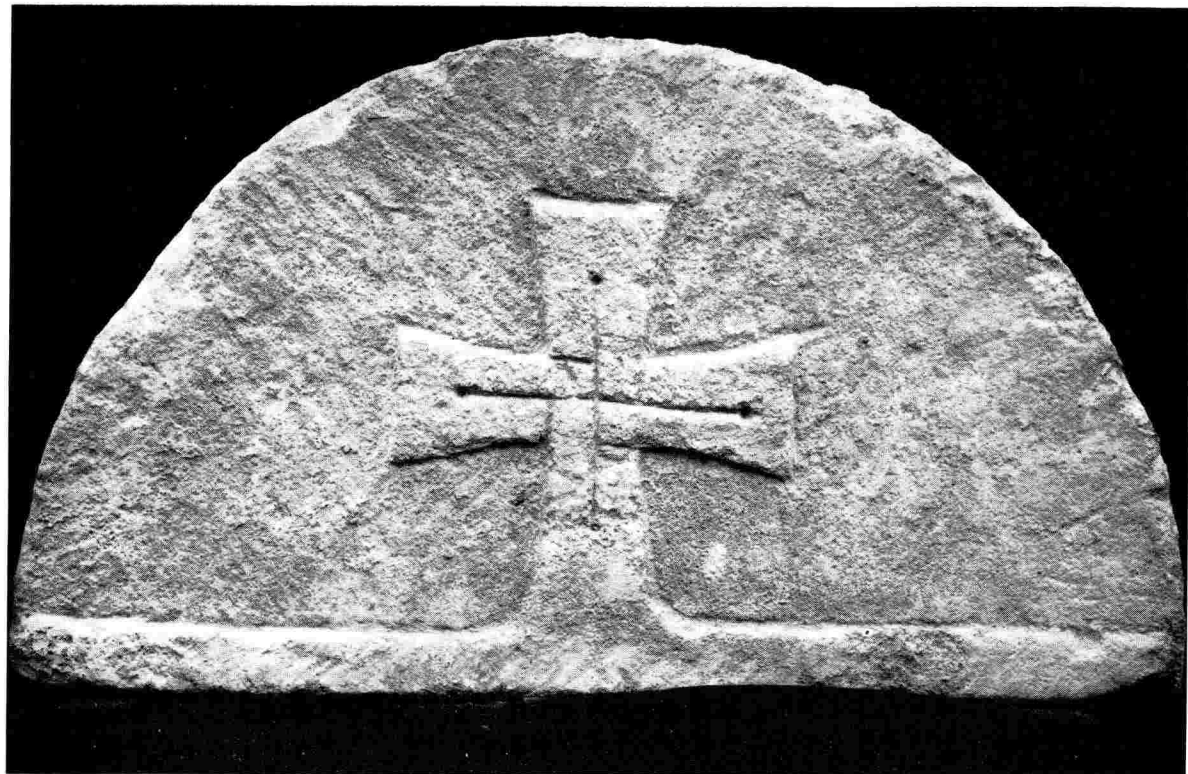


St. Michael and Dragon.

PLATE XXV



Boar Tympanum, front.



Boar Tympanum, back.

By courtesy of the Courtauld Institute

PLATE XXVII



Figure Panels.