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III.

CROSS-SLABS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE ISLE OF MAN.
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Since the publication of my work on the Manx Crosses, in December 1906, seventeen pieces have been brought to light, including one long exposed to view but not previously recognised as belonging to this series, bringing the total number of such monuments found in the Isle of Man to 134. One of these, having a Bi-lingual Inscription, I have already described and figured (Proc. Soc. Ant. of Scot., vol. xlv. p. 437), and I now submit a short account of the others, accompanied by illustrations.

For these discoveries we are indebted to the work of a committee, formed in the spring of 1908, to make an archaeological survey of the island,—not a mere list or inventory, as that had already been done in 1894, but a careful and systematic examination with pick and spade, and inquiry into the history of our monumental remains. His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor, the Lord Raglan, accepted the chairmanship, and a subscription was started to provide funds for the work, which is proceeding so very slowly only because we are handicapped by our limited means. Two fully illustrated reports have been published, and, at the time of writing, another is ready for the press. It was agreed to treat our antiquities in classes, exhausting each class throughout the island, parish by parish, before beginning on the next; and it was decided to take first the kecills or ancient churches and the rhullicks or Christian burial-grounds as being the most recent antiquities, connecting our historic with our prehistoric period. In this way we have now gone through the

northern half of the island, and, as we expected, have in so doing discovered several cross-slabs connected with our early Celtic church. One exceptional piece of later date, probably the end of the eleventh century, I add at the end of my list. If our work in the southern half of our district be attended with equally good results, this alone will have justified the appointment of our committee, and prove its claims to substantial support. But I trust that funds will permit us to carry out our full programme, and to proceed from our earliest historic to our prehistoric remains, doing for our pagan burial-mounds and cairns, our primitive earthworks and other antiquities, what we shall have done for our oldest Christian monuments.

With respect to these sepulchral remains we had already known of twenty-six early pieces showing crosses merely incised on the undressed faces of slabs or boulders; ten of these were linear, sixteen drawn in outline. To these we have now to add, besides the cross not hitherto recognised and the later one which is carved in relief, seven linear crosses and seven in outline; and taking the former as the earlier type I now briefly describe them in the order of their development, which, speaking generally, represents probably that of their execution. The material, when not otherwise stated, is clay-slate, which is the main rock formation of the Isle of Man.

INCISED. LINEAR.

1. In the summer of '1910 I found a small slab lying face down at the west end of the ruined keeill known as Cabbal Pheric, which stands in a plantation at the Spooyt Vane waterfall, on Ballacarnanemoor, in the parish of Kirk Michael. The stone (fig. 1) measures 25 inches by 5 inches, and an inch thick, and shows no surface-dressing. One face bears at the upper end a plain Latin cross rudely cut, as though with a knife, measuring from 7 to 8 inches long by 3½ inches; the lines, ½-inch wide and deep, being irregularly scored. Mr Keig, the owner of the farm, has given this to our Manx Museum
and Ancient Monuments Trustees, by whom it is proposed to have it set up under the Lychgate at Michael parish church.

2. In excavating the site of a keeill on Ballacurry, in Jurby, a flat, water-worn stone, brought probably from the sea-shore, was found to have on one face a very finely-cut cross, the ends of the limbs decorated by cross-bars (fig. 2). It measures 14\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches by 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches, and 2 inches thick, and has been broken along its length. The cross itself is 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches by 5\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches. The bars, at points about \(\frac{1}{2}\) to \(\frac{2}{3}\) of an inch from the ends of the limbs, are from 2 to 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches long.

Fig. 1. Incised Stone at Cabbal Pheric, Michael.
The lines are only \( \frac{3}{10} \)-inch wide and deep. This is now in the Museum till arrangements can be made for having the Jurby cross-slabs set up together at the parish church.

3. One of the most interesting of these old ruined kecillls is that at the foot of Cronk ny Irree Laa, on the south-west coast, described in our first report. Here we brought to light three early pieces, and another had recently been found loose by the side of the kecill. One of these had been used as a sill-stone to the east window, and was found to be carved on both faces. This measures 39\( \frac{1}{2} \) inches by 11 to 12 inches, and 2 inches thick. One face bears an equal-limbed cross, measuring 11 inches each way; just above this is a very small cross, also equal-limbed, about an inch each way, cut in outline (fig. 3). The other face shows an approximately equal-limbed cross, about 8 inches by 10 inches, to the left of which, above the arm, is a small crosslet, 5\( \frac{1}{2} \) inches long, set on a triangular pedestal. Below the same arm is another very similar, 4\( \frac{3}{4} \) inches long, but with a diamond-shaped figure connecting the limbs at half the width of the arms. Each of these crosslets has a central bar as well as a shorter upper bar—a type new to our district; the ends of the limbs terminate
in drilled hollows. The owner, Mr D. M. Irvine, finding the stone in danger of ill-treatment from idle persons visiting the site, handed it over to the trustees, and it is now in the Museum temporarily housed in Castle Rushen.

4. In the cemetery attached to the same keeill, Mrs Taggart,

Fig. 3. Incised Cross-Slab at Lag ny Keeillee, Patrick.

searching among the loose stones in 1907, found a broken slab, measuring 27 inches by 15 inches, tapering to 3 inches, and 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) inch thick, which also is now placed in the Museum. It is broken along a line of joint, and the slab originally would have been rectangular (fig. 4). One face shows a Latin cross, 14 inches by 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches; the limbs are about 1 inch wide by \(\frac{1}{2}\) an inch deep, slightly expanding towards the ends, which appear to have been rounded or bulbous, as
in the crosses carved on St Patrick's Chair, in the parish of Marown: *Manx Crosses*, Nos. 5 and 6. Evidently they were formed by scratching in the outline and cutting out the space between, apparently with a knife, not a chisel.

**Fig. 4. Incised Cross-Slab from Lag ny Keeillee, Patrick.**

5. We met with another slab when examining this keeill early in 1909; it was very similar to the last, but rather larger, 38 inches by 16½ inches, and 2 inches thick, carved on both faces (fig. 5). One, which is badly weathered and worn, appears to have been equal-limbed, measuring about 12 inches. The other face shows a well-
formed Latin cross, 14½ inches by 7½ inches, the lines about ½-inch wide, cut out in manner similar to the last. This was left in the keeill.
6. Within the ruins of Keeill Vreeshey, in Marown, we found a broken fragment about 6 inches square by 1$\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, flaked off a slab which must have been about 16 inches by 14 inches, or larger.

![Fig. 7. Cross-Slab, St Trinian's, Marown.](image)

(fig. 6). This shows the end of one limb of a cross, the lines about $\frac{1}{4}$-inch wide and $\frac{1}{2}$-inch deep. The straight bar, which, as in No. 2, we sometimes find crossing the ends of the limbs, here takes the form of a curved line, suggesting the inverted D, or semicircular ending which was a favourite form in early Irish crosses, especially at Clon-
macnois. In *Manx Crosses*, at p. 16, I described this form under "fig. 10," as "derived from the Clonmacnois type." I should, however, have spoken of it rather as suggesting that type, as I do not think the form shown, for example, in Jurby No. 14, was actually derived from it, but that it, as well as the Clonmacnois forms with triangular expansions to the limbs, and probably the present example arose independently. This fragment is now in the Museum.

7. In clearing out the rubbish from St Trinian's, in Marown, the present ruins of which, though undoubtedly on a more ancient site, seem to date from the fourteenth century, we found in the chancel, at a depth of 3 feet below the level of the sill of the north door, a grave, of which one of the covering slabs measured 30 inches by 16 inches by 3 inches to 4 inches thick. Its upper face shows remains of a cross within an oval ring, $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 12 inches diameter. The side limb, which now remains, terminates in a crosslet, and there is a small (intended) equal-limbed cross in the space at the side of the upper limb (fig. 7). The lines are about $\frac{1}{4}$-inch wide and $\frac{1}{12}$-inch or less deep. The rest is worn away as if by the tread of feet when the stone had formed part of a pavement. We left this exposed on the surface, above the spot where it had been found. The design is an approach to that on a broken slab at Conchan (*Manx Crosses*, No. 11), which, however, is rather more ornate.

Incised. Outline.

8. When we came to examine the keeill at Ballaquinney, Marown, we found, as in several other cases, remains of the base of the altar, and in turning over the small, loose surface stones of which, with soil, it was composed, I noticed a fragment of rather different appearance; upon washing this in the little stream flowing by the enclosure I found marks of carving on one face. Upon searching further, another piece was met with which exactly fitted on to it, the two together measuring 14 inches by 10 inches, and from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$-inch thick (fig. 8).
Two more, smaller, uncarved pieces appeared to have belonged to the same slab, which originally would have measured probably about 24 inches by 12 inches. These are of the garnetiferous schist met with in the neighbourhood, at no great distance from the spot. The face shows a cross-patée formed by the arcs of four circles touching at the centre, and surrounded by a linear circle which has a diameter of 9 inches.

9. Another broken piece of the same material, found in the same altar, proved to belong to a separate slab. It measures 11 inches by 8 inches by ½-inch,—originally, perhaps, about 36 inches by 22 inches, and shows at the corner of one face the remains of a linear circle, having a diameter of about 12 inches, and the end of one limb of a cross of the same form as the last, but rather more neatly cut (fig. 9). These two have been placed for safety in the Museum. This form of cross, which in Ireland seems to be one of the oldest, though rare in Scotland, is in our district very rare, and till now has been met with only at Kirk Maughold, on the east coast (Manx Crosses, No. 26),
in which it is fully developed; Nos. 21, 25, and 117 show the arcs of the circles approaching, but not in actual contact.

10. At Lag ny Keeillee, literally "the hollow of the keeill" or church, which is the name of the site referred to at the foot of Cronk ny Irree Laa, in Patrick, we found yet another slab, 31$\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 10 inches by 2 inches, which bears on one face (fig. 10) an outline cross of Latin form, measuring 9 inches by 7$\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The stem expands from 1$\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the top to 3$\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom, and the arms are narrower, about 1$\frac{1}{4}$ inch. This we left standing in the keeill.

11. There is a tombstone in Kirk Andreas Churchyard, which, though now inscribed to members of the Lace family, with dates from 1675 to 1753, must, I think, have been an early cross applied to
secondary use. It is a blue slate stone, one face untouched by a tool and showing the bedding of the rock, the other surface-dressed probably when the late inscriptions were cut, for which any earlier carving was then sacrificed. It now measures 52 inches above the

![Fig. 11. Cruciform Stone in Andreas Churchyard.](image)

socket-stone in which it stands, and is cruciform in outline, being 18½ inches across the arms, which are formed by a notch cut in the stone at either side; it is 3 inches thick. The head has a curious bulge on one side, as though it had not been finished (fig. 11). The dressed face, which may originally have borne some simple design, such as that on the Bride stone (Manx Crosses, No. 44), now
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shows four modern inscriptions. One of these is rather quaint, and reads:

"1686, John Lace died.
O Captn. Lace too soone extinct by death
With thy dead wife art buried here beneath."

Early pieces, having the stone itself shaped to the outline of a cross, are exceedingly rare in our district, only two having been previously described.

12. In the spring of 1909, the son of Mr E. Christian of Ramsey found in Andreas churchyard the head of another cruciform stone,

Fig. 12. Cross-Head from Andreas Churchyard.

which in outline resembles that at Kirk Bride, No. 44, but is probably rather later. It measures 15 inches by 12 inches, and 2½ inches thick. Both faces are carved, showing a small ring in the centre, and a border formed by an incised line outlining the cross (fig. 12). The stone is cut at a sharp angle between the limbs, but the curved recess, which marks the Celtic type of cross, appears in the flat moulding and in the incised border line. This is now set up with the other Andreas' pieces in the cross-shelter erected by the Museum Trustees against the north wall of the church.

13. In making inquiries about the site of a keeill near Greeba Mills, in the parish of German, we learned that a carved stone had been found there some years previously, and was now to be seen in a house.
near by. This proved to be an early piece, cruciform in outline, but with the limbs projecting so very slightly that this was only recognised by the fact that the edges showed artificial cuts under the ends of the arms. It is of a soft, blue slate, and measures 32 inches by 11\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches wide, and 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) inch thick (fig. 13). It is carved on both faces; the more simple design on one consists of an elliptic figure crossed horizontally by parallel lines forming the arms of the cross, which is about 14\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches by 11 inches. The design on the other face is more difficult to make out, but upon careful examination shows an equal-limbed cross in outline, with a curved line above and another below it, suggesting the idea of a containing ring. The stem of the cross tapers from 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches at the top to 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches at the bottom,
and is divided by the arms crossing it into three parts; of these, the upper one is decorated with an equal-limbed linear crosslet, the central portion takes the form of a plain oval figure, and the lower is left plain. The arms, right-angled at junction, are 4¼ inches wide, and divided by a median line, which, on the left, bifurcates at the end; doubtless the other did so also, but its end is now worn away, and a flaw caused by a thin thread of quartz cuts it diagonally so as to give the appearance of an arrow-point. A short diagonal line radiates upwards from the middle of each arm; other radiating lines make a rude ornament, serving to fill up the space below the cross. The lines are formed by irregular scores, the spaces between being roughly worked out as though with a knife.

This has now been placed in Peel Castle, where the other crosses from the parish of German are gathered together.

14. In the spring of the present year (1911), we found at Knoc y doonee, in Andreas, the place where the Bi-lingual Inscription was met with, a flat, water-worn boulder of a reddish trap rock, 8 inches long, broken at one end, by 6½ inches wide, and from 2 inches to 3 inches thick. On the smoother surface (fig. 14) this bears a plain cross, 7¼ inches by 5 inches, the limbs, which are practically at right angles, connected by an elliptic penannular ring. The lines, about ⅛-inch wide and ⅛-inch deep, are worked with a punch or pointed chisel; they are not joined at the middle or the ends, and the ring is broken at the end, which now remains by two short lines radiating outwards; no doubt this would be balanced by a similar termination at the other end. One of the limbs is decorated by a short straight line at right angles to it on either side; their average width is 3 inches the two shorter being about ⅛-inch wider than the others.

1 My figure, from a photograph of the stone by Mr G. B. Cowen, Ramsey, makes the line of the short limbs appear to fall diagonally; but this, owing, I suppose, to the angle at which it was taken, is greatly exaggerated, the upper line actually falling only ⅛-inch in a length of 4 inches.
The curve of the surrounding ring shows that the broken limb must have extended for another 3 inches or 4 inches, giving the stone a total original length of at least 13 inches, but, if designed as a headstone, it must have been rather longer. This, if we include the one in the churchyard, as I think we should, will make the third pre-Scandinavian stone from Andreas parish. There must originally have been many more, but now that we have examined the few remaining keeills—the rest having been long demolished and ploughed over—it is unlikely that more will be brought to light. Not only in Andreas but throughout the six parishes which constitute the two
northern sheadings of Michael and Ayre, these pre-Scandinavian pieces are few and far between; only four have been found in Michael and seven in Ayre, while in the four remaining sheadings we have as many as seventy-seven; so that it would seem as if some other influence than that of mere natural waste and decay must have been at work, for that would equally apply to our other parishes; it would apply also in these parishes to our Scandinavian pieces which, in fact, number above the average. It is probable that the Scandinavian element was relatively stronger in these two sheadings, and it may be that the monuments of the old Celtic church suffered in consequence. It was on a cross at Kirk Michael that the Norse sculptor, Gaut, boasted in the eleventh century that he had carved it, "and all in Man," and it is difficult to believe that he had neither seen nor heard of the older Celtic pieces. The inference is that he ignored them as unworthy of comparison with those carved by himself. The Scandinavians, when they became Christian, introduced the Catholic system, and, possibly thought little of the Celtic church, and were at little pains to preserve their monuments.

15. Our most recent discovery has been that of a broken slab in the keeil at Ballavarkish, in the parish of Bride, which has on one face a carefully chiselled Celtic cross, the limbs connected by a circular ring, and the whole contained within a rectangular panel. The stone now measures 23 inches by 20 inches, and 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) inch thick. The original width must have been about 26\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches, and the length probably about 5 feet. It is surface-dressed and well-finished, the centres of the arcs and circle being marked by drilled holes; the lines V-shaped in section are \(\frac{1}{4}\)-inch wide and about the same deep. The cross and the lower margin of the connecting ring are bordered by lines which in the latter are extremely fine (fig. 15). We have an example of this form of cross incised on a broken piece at Maughold church: *Manx Crosses*, No. 23. Unfortunately it is but a fragment; it shows, however, that the stone was surface-dressed, and bore an incised
Celtic cross, with the limbs connected by a circular ring, and the whole surrounded by a rectangular panel. The present example is the more valuable, as indicating the period when this form appeared in the Isle of Man, as the lettering points to the close of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century.

Fig. 15. Cross-Slab from Keeill at Ballavarkish, Bride.
Just above the centre is a name carefully chiselled and contained within a rectangular panel, the corners of which are decorated with finely-drawn birds’ heads. A flourish, in appearance not unlike the figure of a mushroom drawn sideways (which, at a first glance, might be taken for a letter), is followed by the word LUGRI. In the middle of the upper limb is another name, also chiselled and contained within a rectangular panel, which is, however, not ornamented, namely—DIPRUI. The upper border of the same limb contains a third name, cut lightly and not with a chisel, which reads—CONDLICCI. There is yet another inscription on the upper band of the rectangular panel, which encloses the cross; this is scratched rather than cut, and some of the letters are flaked or worn away, but it appears to read—MAB[O]R[AI]SCRIBA +BRERB. . . . There would even seem to have been yet another word scratched very lightly below the name on the upper limb; the initial is distinctly the small Celtic R, and is followed by still fainter marks, which now look like UUI.

On the upper bar of the surrounding panel, and on the cross, are several small figures of animals and crosslets lightly cut or scratched. One of them, just above the first name, may possibly, to judge from its position on the cross and from the fact that there is a small crosslet cut above it, be intended for the well-known symbol, the Agnus Dei; if so, it is the first instance on our Manx monuments. The other figures would seem to be purely decorative, and resemble the little figures scribbled in the margin of Celtic MSS. These small panels, with the inscriptions, are given in an enlarged form in fig. 16.

In the first two names the letters consist of capitals and minuscules mixed; they are evenly spaced, and well formed; in the others they are in minuscule. Their character indicates the period as that of the seventh or early eighth century. It is interesting to compare them with the other four inscriptions in Latin, which so far are all that have been brought to light in the Isle of Man. See description, with figures, in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., vol. xlv. p. 437. The names all appear
to be Latinised forms of Celtic men's names; but Sir John Rhys, to whom I sent drawings, did not recognise any as previously known.

Fig. 16. Enlarged View of Panels and Inscriptions.

I would suggest, from its position in the place of honour, as well as from its more finished and decorated appearance, that the central one is that of the man, possibly a cleric, to whom the monument was first erected, and that the one on the upper limb was the next. The
fact that these two are chiselled, the others being only lightly cut or scratched with a pointed instrument, that they are both contained within small panels, and that there is a resemblance in the lettering, leads to the conclusion that there was very little, if any, interval between the carving of them. The next would be the name on the border of the same limb. One reason why so many should have been commemorated on the same tombstone might be that they belonged to the same monastic "family"—were clerics connected with the same Keeill Varkish, St Mark's church; again, such a finished monument would in those days be rare and costly, and even to get a suitable slab from the nearest point where rock is to be met with, some 6 miles south to south-west across the curragh, would be no easy task. The inscription on the top, which is entirely in minuscule, gives the name of the man who cut the little figures on the cross, and, perhaps, cut the name on the border of the upper limb. No decorative skill is displayed in their arrangement; but these little figures, as well as the forms of the small letters with their flourishes, strongly suggest the hand of a penman rather than that of a sculptor, and the word SCRIBA explains this; the man, whatever the precise form of his name, having occupied the position of scribe in some Celtic monastery. From the beginning of the sixth century onwards the scribe was a very important personage, and in the Annals of the Four Masters we meet with many of their names; but in the Isle of Man, where we have no such annals or early records, the present example is the first contemporary evidence of their existence.

It is most unfortunate that this piece has been flaked off a slab which was probably about 3 inches thick originally, though now reduced to 1 1/4 inch, for, on the left edge, as one faces the cross, are three carefully chiselled scores, which have all the appearance of being the remains of an Ogam inscription, making, if that be so, another Bi-lingual in Celtic and Latin, and the first example in which the Latin is in mixed minuscules and capitals. The proprietor of
the farm, Mrs E. C. Farrant, has presented it to the Manx Museum and Ancient Monuments Trustees, by whom it is proposed to have it set up, along with the others from the parish, in the shelter erected by them at Andreas church.

**IN RELIEF.**

16. The last piece to be mentioned is one of much later date and of a different character, belonging to our Scandinavian series, and dating probably from the twelfth century. This was found last summer by Mr J. Sayle in his garden, which adjoins the parish churchyard of Kirk Michael, and was presented by him to the Museum Trustees, who have
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arranged to have it set up under the large Lych-gate there. This fragment (fig. 17) measures 16 inches by 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches, and 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)-inch thick, and has been flaked off what must have been a large and handsome slab. The carved face shows a portion of the shaft of a cross and of the space to the right of it. The former had evidently been decorated with a design met with on several of our Scandinavian pieces, e.g. the Joalf slab, also from Michael, of a double twist interlaced with

Fig. 18. Robed Figures from Cross-Slabs at Jurby.

diamond-shaped rings, the outer bands being scored with diagonal lines. The space to the right of this shows above, a robed figure, with a four-pronged staff in one hand, resembling that on a Jurby slab (*Manx Crosses*, No. 99), in which case I suggested that it might have been intended for Hyndla, the wise woman, the Seer, who foretold of Ragnarök and the Day of Doom. As in that, we note the dog-face, the conventional mode of representing the skirts of the flowing robe, and the long braided hair (fig. 18), but the latter carries no staff, and the decoration of the garment is by cross-hatching. At
Jurby, however, there is another broken slab, No. 98, on which is seen the remains of a similar figure that does carry a staff with four-pronged fork; the head is broken off, but the folds of the skirt are indicated by lines, as in the present example; the design, too, on the shaft of the cross on one face is similar, and these three pieces show altogether so many resemblances that they are probably contemporary.

Taken by itself I should have supposed the figure below this to represent Grani, the steed of Sigurd the Volsung, though I should not have expected to find it alongside one of Hyndla. The horse is tethered by a conventional piece of knotwork, and has upon its back the chest containing the gold-hoard won by Sigurd from the dragon Fafni. We have four pieces—from Jurby, Malew, Andreas, and Maughold (Manx Crosses, Nos. 93, 94, 95, and 96)—which undoubtedly illustrate scenes from the Volsung Saga. In each of these the horse appears; and in the latest, 96, which from its having been found at Ramsey, where King Olaf was slain in 1153, we may suppose to have been erected to his memory, the chest on the back of Grani is greatly emphasised. But the character and the execution of this new example differ from all four, and it must be the work of another artist, possibly that of the Heimdall stone, Jurby, No. 99.

We get but little help from the few broken runes on the remaining edge, the tops of which alone are visible. I can clearly make out the word AIFTER, which no doubt was preceded by the customary formula, A. B. raisti cms thona, and followed by a name of which only the letters MU . . are now left. The spelling of this word varies on different monuments; but only at Ballaugh, No. 87, do we meet with it in this form, having the diphthong AI for E.