

## II.

NOTES ON THE SURVIVAL OF PAGAN CUSTOMS IN CHRISTIAN BURIAL; WITH NOTICES OF CERTAIN CONVENTIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF "DANIEL IN THE DEN OF LIONS," AND "JONAH AND THE 'WHALE,'" ENGRAVED ON OBJECTS FOUND IN EARLY CHRISTIAN GRAVES, AND ON THE SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND, AND CROSSES OF IRELAND. BY JOSEPH ANDERSON, KEEPER OF THE MUSEUM. (PLATES XV.-XVIII.)

The process by which a custom gradually dies out, the modifications it exhibits in what Mr Darwin calls "the struggle for existence," the curious forms in which it crops up after long intervals, as if it positively declined to become extinct, and the strange ways in which it gets hooked on to new ideas, or incorporated with new methods of giving expression to old forms of thought, furnish analogies applicable to the whole field of archaeological research. There are no breaks, no well-marked lines of separation between the successive formations (if I may call them so), of the periods of archaeology. Stone passes gradually into bronze, bronze into iron, and pagan into Christian, each transition time exhibiting a peculiar set of phenomena which form the most interesting and suggestive subjects of research to which the student of archaeology can address himself.

It has been asserted, for instance, that the philosophical arrangement of the structural sepulchral remains of the earliest times is one of progressive advancement from the simple cist, by successive accretions and structural developments, up to the great chambered cairn. In this instance philosophy seems to be at variance with fact, because it has assumed that progress between the two extremes of a series in past times has been always in one direction—always upwards, never downwards—thus entirely ignoring the existence of decadence or degradation. The cairn or the cist may be older than the deposit found within it, but the deposit can never be older than the structure within which it has been placed, and this is the only true criterion of the relative ages of sepulchral structures. Judged by this test, the oldest structures are the great cairns, and the most recent is the simplest form of cist—that made of stones which a man can easily lift. The process has thus been one of degradation and not of

development, and the degradation can be accounted for by the known sequence of the funeral customs. The introduction of cremation gradually eliminated the cairn from the sepulchral arrangements by rendering the chamber no longer congruous or necessary. The idea of a house for the dead—such as was provided for the unburnt dead—where he was to be bodily present with all his prized possessions, became inoperative when the body was reduced to a handful of ashes. The contraction of the chamber to a simple cist sufficient to receive and protect the urn, was the obvious result of the change in the method of disposing of the body; and the same people who used cists for the urns of the burned dead, also used them for the dead which they did not burn—for it is conclusively established, and supported by the analogy of the modern practice among the Shan tribes, who bury their dead, but burn their priests, that the two methods of sepulture were simultaneously in use in prehistoric times. So strong was the force of custom among the prehistoric races that they adhered to the size of the cremation cist even for unburnt bodies, and doubled them up to make them fit. The full length cist—a further degradation, inasmuch as it is composed of smaller stones—marks the disappearance of the megalithic idea and of the custom of cremation. Degradation usually proceeds in divergent lines. What I have said illustrates the degradation of the internal structure. But the elimination of the external structure left as a survival the boundary ring of stones or the circular trench, which was one of the essential features of the complete cairn, marking off the special site of the burial from the common ground. That the stone circle is a direct survival from the older structure is also suggested by the fact that the interments within it are usually (if not entirely) interments after cremation.

In a previous paper I have illustrated the intrusion, among our Christian remains, of the phenomena peculiar to the contemporary paganism of the Northmen.<sup>1</sup> In doing this I was gradually led to the investigation of the general phenomena of early Christian burial, with a view to the discovery, if possible, of some clue to the comparative chronology of its undated interments. I cannot say that my efforts in this direction have been very successful, but they have led to some curious results, a summary of which I have endeavoured to embody in this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 520, and vol. x. p. 536.

It is obvious that any such investigation conducted on scientific principles must be comparative. In studying the antiquities of our own country alone in search of general principles, we should proceed upon the preposterous assumption that the human race originated in Scotland, and that all the arts and customs that have characterised humanity had their origin and subsequent development here. In order to understand the phenomena of early burial in any country of Europe, at any period, it is necessary to study its phenomena in all neighbouring countries—if possible, in all European countries. In cultivating his own little corner, the student is too apt to forget that it is a corner—and only a very small corner—of the great field, over which the phenomena of different periods are all related to each other, as manifestations of successive systems of progress and decadence.

If this be true of the earlier period, it is specially true of the phenomena of the Christian period. Before we can understand the peculiar modifications of Christian customs and Christian art in any country, we must first know the special phenomena of the paganism on which they were engrafted. Without this previous knowledge we should be utterly unable to account for the presence of Orpheus charming the beasts, as a Christian allegory in the catacombs; of “Sigurd Fafni’s bane” and the dragon on churchdoors in Norway; or of King Tidrik and the drake on churchdoors in Iceland; and equally unable to understand the full significance of the most striking forms of Christian burial.

One of the questions I had proposed to myself was this:—Is there any characteristic, or any set of characteristics, which, being present in an interment, enables it to be definitively and distinctively pronounced pagan? But I soon found that most of those accessories of interment which I had been accustomed to regard as indicative of paganism, were not exclusively confined to pagan burials, but were also found as *survivals* in undoubtedly Christian interments.

It is a comforting doctrine to one in search of general principles that the exception proves the rule; but how is one to know whether it is an exception that he has got hold of in the particular instance with which he is dealing? This was my first difficulty—a difficulty that increased with every step of the investigation, as the field widened, and the exceptions became ever more numerous and varied; until at last I became convinced

that if the whole phenomena of Christian burial were tabulated, they would furnish instances of almost every pagan custom prevalent previous to the introduction of Christianity, excepting, perhaps, the customs of cremation and human sacrifice. This, at first sight, seems a startling assertion, but reflection shows that it is nothing more than might be expected in the circumstances. The burial usages of a race are the most unalterable of all its institutions. Religious observances change with the convictions of the individual, but the sentiment which leads to the disposal of the dead who are "gathered to their fathers" in the same manner as the fathers themselves were disposed, resists innovation longer and more stubbornly than any other. It is in the burial customs pre-eminently, therefore, that survivals of the older usages may be looked for.

*Survival of the Sepulchral structure.*—In Rome, the cradle of the Christianity of Europe, the early Christians constructed their subterranean cemeteries<sup>1</sup> in direct imitation and continuance of the pagan cemeteries then in use. The arrangements of the tomb of the Scipios and those of the Christian cemetery of Domitilla are so similar, that if there had been nothing but the mere constructional features and sepulchral arrangements to guide us in forming an opinion, they would both have been assigned to one period and one origin.<sup>2</sup> The catacombs of Naples contain frescoes of purely classical design, having nothing distinctively Christian about them; and in many cases these have been plastered over and painted with Christian subjects of a later time. From what occurred here we might infer what must have occurred elsewhere. But we are not under the necessity of depending on mere inference. Cairn-burial was not only practised in Scotland in the time of St Columba, it was in one instance,

<sup>1</sup> Most of the great writers on the catacombs, Aringhi, Baronius, Severano, Bottari, Boldetti, D'Agincourt, Raoul Rochette, have asserted the pagan origin of the catacombs, but more recent investigation has shown that they were all constructed in Christian times, and by the Christians.

<sup>2</sup> Agincourt has long since shown that the first Christian sepulchral chambers were arranged and decorated after heathen models. In some of the most ancient chapels of the catacombs it has been truly said that "you are not certain whether you are looking on a pagan or a Christian work. There is the same geometrical division of the roof, the same general arrangement of the subjects, the same fabulous animals, the same graceful curves, the same foliage, fruit, flowers, and birds in both."—Burgon, *Letters from Rome*, p. 250; Agincourt, *L'Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments, Peinture*, pls. v., vi.; Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq. sub voce* "Fresco."

at least, practised in his presence,<sup>1</sup> and he allowed a convert who had believed, had been baptized, and had received the sacraments, to be buried in this pagan fashion.<sup>2</sup> In the churchyard of Penmachno, in Wales, there is (or was) a small cairn, with a pillar-stone, bearing the Christian monogram of the *chrisma* (or the conjoined Greek letters X and P for ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ) and the inscription CARAVSIVS HIC JACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM.<sup>3</sup> "This is," says Mr Westwood, "the only instance I believe on record of the statement of such a fact, and it proves that the raising of cairns and mounds of stones is not necessarily evidence of the paganism of the person interred beneath the mound." Dr Stuart also refers to the exceptional character of the monument.<sup>4</sup> It is still, so far as I know, the only one which specifies in precise terms that the burial was made in a cairn. My difficulty, however, is not with the monument, which speaks for itself with a clearness and precision which cannot admit of doubt. But suppose that this inscribed stone had been destroyed or removed, what would have been the result? Carausius would have been convicted of paganism by any jury of archaeologists, and would not have been allowed even the benefit of the doubt implied in the presence of his cairn in a Christian churchyard. And in dealing with undated burials, I cannot be sure that there were not many Christians buried like Carausius and Art-brananus, whose friends were not careful to leave an express record of their having been Christians.

There is a remarkable instance of a Christian monument associated with a great chambered mound at Jellinge in Jutland. The grave mounds

<sup>1</sup> One time as the saint was staying in the island of Skye. . . . a boat came into the harbour, on whose prow sat a decrepit old man, the chief of the Geona cohort. Two young men took him out of the boat and brought him before the saint. After being instructed by the saint through an interpreter, the old man believed and was baptised, and when the sacrament was administered he died on the same spot, . . . . and his companions buried him there, raising a cairn over his grave. This cairn may be seen still on the sea-coast, and the river in which he was baptised, is called to this day Dobur Artbranani.—*Adamnan Vit. St Columb.*, Reeves, p. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> When Brude Mac Bile, the King of the Northern Picts died, his body was brought to Iona, and after having received the blessing of Adamnan, it was buried in a coffin made of a hollowed oak, a mode of sepulture as old as the Bronze Age both in Britain and Scandinavia.—*Adamnan Vit. St Columb.*, Reeves, pref. p. xliv.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, ix. p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii., *Notices of the Plates*, p. 57.

of King Gorm the Old and his Christian Queen, are enormous barrows about 75 feet high. Queen Thyra's has been opened and found to contain a central chamber of oak beams. A beautiful silver cup, with the interlacing dragonesque ornamentation characteristic of the period, was found in it, but it was evident that it had been rifled of its most valuable contents in the Middle Ages. Enormous pillar-stones crown both the mounds. That on the King's mound bears a representation of the Saviour, with a crossed nimbus, and an inscription in Runes stating that these mounds were erected by King Harald, the Christianiser of Denmark and Norway, in memory of his father Gorm, and his mother Thyra. But for the inscription no archæologist would ever have concluded, from an examination of the chambered mounds themselves, that a Christian had anything to do with them.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we find cairn or barrow-burial, certainly the oldest form known, and the most universal in prehistoric times, continuing through all the phases of paganism, and all the forms of progress and civilisation down to the tenth century, and intruding itself to an extent that we have no means of rigidly defining among the burial customs of Christianity.<sup>2</sup> The policy of the early church was to consecrate existing customs which were not in themselves sinful, and there was nothing objectionable in this mode of burial, except that it had been from time immemorial the burial of pagans.

Other forms of pagan sepulture survived, and were permitted by the

<sup>1</sup> In the remarkable case of the Mammen How in Denmark there are obscure indications of Christianity. The burial was in a cell made of oak beams, below the natural surface of the ground underneath the mound. Among the weapons deposited with the corpse there was an iron axe inlaid with dragonesque ornamentation in silver, the pattern bearing a remarkable resemblance to that sculptured on some of the Rune-inscribed crosses of the Christian period in the Isle of Man. A large wax-candle had burned in the grave till it was extinguished by the earth thrown over it, and a bucket and bronze kettle deposited by the corpse seem to indicate the ceremonial washing of the corpse—a custom more suggestive of Christianity than of Paganism. Full details of this remarkable interment are to be found in the "Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed," 1869, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> A curious instance of burial in a mound which seems to have been unconsecrated, if not pagan, is recorded in the Annals of Loch Cé, under the date A.D. 1581:—"Brian Caech O'Coinnagain, an eminent cleric, died, and the place of sepulture he selected for himself was, *i.e.*, to be buried at the mound of Baile-an-tobair."

early founders of the Church, who sought rather to wean the people gradually from pagan practices than to uproot them at once. A striking instance of this is given in Dr Todd's *Life of St Patrick*.<sup>1</sup> Two daughters of King Leoghaire were baptised by St Patrick, and having died, "they buried them near the well Clelach, and they made a circular ditch like to a *ferta*,<sup>2</sup> because so the Scotie people and gentiles were used to do." The tombs of the early saints in Ireland, says Dr Petrie, "present a variety of forms, as in those on Aran, which are often rude sarcophagi, somewhat similar to pagan cromleacs or kistvaens, while at other times they are small cairns enclosed by a circular or quadrangular wall."<sup>3</sup>

I have already alluded to the process of degradation by which the chamber of the cairn was reduced to a simple cist. The cist of the later pagan times was usually so short as to necessitate the doubling up of the body. Even this form, repugnant as it must have been to Christian feelings, furnishes us with one well-authenticated instance of survival. I allude to the remarkable cemetery at Alloa, described by Dr Stuart, in which a cist, three feet long, had two crosses incised on its cover. The full length cist of stones (a further degradation) was used in many northern churchyards to a late date.<sup>4</sup> Along the northern and western coasts there are isolated burials of the bodies of shipwrecked sailors, sometimes in considerable groups, in shallow graves above the beach, in which the bodies have been laid in cists made of flat stones, gathered from the neighbouring strand. In fact, it was the Poor Law Act which, by obliging the inspector of poor to defray the expense of a wooden coffin and decent burial for

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Dr Stuart in the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii., Appendix to the Preface, p. xl.

<sup>2</sup> *Ferta*, a pagan burying-ground.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie's "Round Towers of Ireland," p. 450.

<sup>4</sup> In the churchyard of St Nicholas Church, in the island of Papa Westray, stone cists are frequently found in the older parts of the burying ground, and the late Mr Petrie informed me that they were not uncommon in other churchyards in the islands. I have seen on a northern headland the grave of a man whose grandchildren are yet alive, and I know it to be a cist of small slabs from the neighbouring beach, with a single covering stone seven or eight feet long. I own that when first I saw it I would have taken it for a prehistoric burial had I not been made acquainted with its history. It lies close to, but not within, the precincts of an ancient chapel, whose foundations are barely visible under the turf, and within these precincts there are probably many cists of similar construction, but of earlier date.

all penniless or friendless unfortunates,<sup>1</sup> finally extinguished in Scotland a custom which had survived, in one form or other, from the time when the first burials were made in its soil.

2. *Cremation and the strewing of Charcoal in Graves.*—I have met with no undoubted instance of the survival among Christians of the custom of burning the body. Although many pagan practices were tolerated by the Christian fathers, they seem to have drawn the line at cremation. Merivale, indeed, asserts that the early Christians did burn their dead, but as he adduces no evidence of the fact, his assertion is utterly unworthy of credit. Yet it is almost certain that it must have survived to some extent. In fact, we have cases in which the converts rebelled and went back to their old customs in spite of the efforts of the clergy to restrain them. Thus we find in A.D. 1249, that in Livonia, where heathenism lingered longer than in almost any other part of Europe, there is a solemn deed of contract entered into between the converts and the brethren of the Holy Cross,<sup>2</sup> by which the converts become bound, for themselves and their heirs, never again to burn their dead or to bury with them horses or slaves, or arms or vestments, or any other things of value, but to bury their dead in the cemeteries attached to the churches. Again we find that the Esthonian converts rebelled in 1225, took back the wives they had given up, exhumed the dead they had buried in the Christian cemeteries and burned them, after the fashion of the old pagan times.<sup>3</sup> Mr Kemble adduces the case of a barrow at Elze, near Hildesheim, as suggestive of a lingering preference for cremation. When the mound was removed the burials were found on the surface level. In five out of the six interments, the bodies had been laid over small holes in the ground, which were nearly filled with wood ashes. The base of the barrow had been enclosed with a ring of stones. There is nothing here to suggest

<sup>1</sup> The survival of the cist may be traced in another phase. It was continued above ground and symbolically, long after its disuse below ground. The sarcophagi and splendid stone tombs of the Middle Ages, and the ruder table-tombs and cromlech-like slabs supported on pillars which were so common in old-fashioned country churchyards half a century ago, are lineal descendants of the primitive sepulchral constructions.

<sup>2</sup> Dreger's "Codex Diplomaticus Pomeraniæ." See the note in the Proceedings, vol. x. p. 562, for the text of the passage.

<sup>3</sup> Gruber's "Origines Livoniæ," cited by Wyllie in "Archæologia," xxxvii. p. 46.



Christianity, but, on the other hand, it is difficult to see why the cremation should not have been complete if the burials were those of pagans in the pagan time. A modified custom of cremation, however, might have survived among half-hearted converts, or among pagans secretly practising their own customs in the Christian period.

The oft-quoted canon of the capitulary of Charlemagne of A.D. 785, "Si quis corpus defuncti hominis secundum ritum paganorum flamma consumi fecerit et ossa ejus ad cinerem redierit, capite punietur," refers to the case of the pagan Saxons whom he had conquered and removed from their own country, dispersing them through the Frankish territory. At the time of this capitulary, Christianity had been as long in France as Protestantism has been in Scotland, and we can scarcely imagine such a lengthened survival of the custom of cremation among the Franks themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Although the custom of cremation does not appear to any extent as an actual survival in connection with Christian burial, it survived symbolically.

The placing of charcoal in graves is a purely Christian rite. I cannot regard this custom in any other light than as a *simulation* of the effect of cremation, and therefore a direct survival of the older custom by symbol. I cannot conceive that the practice of strewing ashes and charcoal ritually in the open grave, and laying the unburnt body upon them, could possibly have arisen if cremation had not preceded it. It is true that the Christian liturgists account for it on other grounds, but we should not expect *them* to confess it as a pagan survival. Durandus says of it,<sup>2</sup> that they use charcoal in testimony that the ground in which the corpse is buried is no longer common, and should not be used again for common purposes. The reason he assigns for this use of charcoal is that it lasts longer under ground than anything else.

<sup>1</sup> Yet St Arnulphus is said to have saved a sick man from being sacrificed and burnt in Thuringia in the seventh century. The following passage describes the practices of the Saxons:—Promiserunt Saxones cum juramento quod infra annum cum suis, quotquot nondum baptizato, baptismum<sup>o</sup> suscipient, . . . quod sacrificia hominum et bestiarum cremationes hominum mortuorum, incerta auguria et divinationes infidas derelinquent. *Pertz. iv. (capit. Spur.) A.D. 784.*

<sup>2</sup> Carbones ponantur in testimonium quod terra illa in communes usus amplius redigi non potest; plus enim durat carbo sub terra quam aliud.—Durandus, *De Off. Mortuorum.*

When we find a set of graves, therefore, in which the bodies are buried in stone cists, and the ground on which they lie, as well as the earth over them, is intermixed with charcoal and ashes, instead of concluding that they are pagan, the probability is rather that they were Christians buried with this distinctively Christian ritual. This conclusion, I think, would certainly apply to the curious group of cists at Hartlaw, explored by Lady Scott, and described by Dr Stuart<sup>1</sup> as full length graves formed of stone slabs on edge, set in the direction of east and west, with the head to the west.<sup>2</sup> They were not paved in the bottom, and charred wood was found in and around the coffins, while close by them were small holes, or round pits lined with stones and containing charcoal—evidently the improvised fire-places made for the purpose of providing charcoal for the several burials.

3. *Burial with Urns or Clay Vases.*—The practice of placing clay vases in the cist with the unburnt body is one of the most widely diffused and most distinctively pagan customs connected with the interment of the dead. Yet the presence of clay vases in a stone cist with an unburnt body is by no means to be regarded as certainly indicative of paganism. It was also a Christian custom.

Vases of glass and of clay were buried with the early Christians in the catacombs.<sup>3</sup> The glass vessels were drinking cups, the clay vessels are in all probability such as were in domestic use. Garrucci gives a list of 340 of these glass vessels, many of which have the Christian monogram, or scenes from Scripture, depicted on them. There are others, however, ornamented with scenes from domestic and civil life, and even with subjects from the Pagan mythology.<sup>4</sup> As the presence of drinking cups in Christian interments is an exact parallel, or rather as I regard it, a true

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings, vol. vi. p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Debet autem quis sic sepelire, ut capite ad occidentemposito, pedes dirigat ad orientem in quo quasi ipsa positione orat.—Durandi, *Rationale, Div. Off.* lib. vii. c. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Aringhi, "Roma Subterranea," vol. i. p. 298. Aringhi supposes that the vases found in the catacombs contained the blood of the martyrs. Casalius, a Roman antiquary of the seventeenth century, who published a work entitled "De Veterum Sacris Christianorum Ritibus," is nearer the truth. He says, Aponebatur quoque in monumentis aqua benedicta, unde etiam reperiuntur in cemetariis vasa vitrea et lutea in dictum usum veresimiliter accommodata.

<sup>4</sup> Northcote and Brownlow, "Roma Sotterranea," p. 279.

survival of the well-known pagan custom of depositing food-vessels and drinking-cups with the dead, it is of some importance that the actual character of these vases should be completely established. That they are drinking cups is proved by the inscriptions which many of them bear, such as—"Drink, and long life to thee," "Drink, and propose a toast."—*Bibe et propina, &c.*, with many other similarly friendly and pious phrases.<sup>1</sup>

In Denmark, vases of a simple form filled with charcoal are found in Middle Age graves.<sup>2</sup> In a stone coffin of the ordinary form of the twelfth century (with a niche for the head) found at Roeskilde Cathedral, there were small *loculi* at the head, feet, and middle of the coffin, in which stood small clay pots with three feet, of the ordinary form of the culinary pot, filled with charcoal; a chalice and paten of tin were also in the coffin. In another coffin a vase filled with charcoal stood behind the head.

The custom of burying clay vases with the dead in France, which began in the Stone Age, continued through the transition period of Gallo Roman paganism to the ripened Christianity of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

In the Frankish graves of the Merovingian period, a single vase was almost invariably found at the feet of the skeleton, and this was the case whether there were indications of Christianity or not.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St Ambrose denounces those "qui calices ad sepulera martyrum deferunt atque illic vesperam bibant." See also Northcote and Brownlow's "Roma Sotterranea," p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Kornerup, "Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed," 1873, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> This curious and little known custom is fully illustrated in the Abbé Cochet's works *La Normandie Souterraine*, 2d edition, Paris 1855, and its sequel *Sepultures Gauloises, Romaines, Franques et Normandes*, Paris 1857. See also *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxii. p. 329-364, 425-447; vol. xxv. p. 103-132, 273-311; *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, vol. xxiii. p. 11, 12, 294-298, vol. xxiv. p. 5-8; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 233, vol. xxxvii. p. 399, vol. xxxviii. p. 66, vol. xxxix. p. 117; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 1855, pp. 206, 290; *Revue de l'art Chretien*, vol. ii. (1858), p. 420; *De Caumont, Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, vol. vi. p. 316; A. Murcier, *La Sepulture Chretienne en France*, p. 159-164.

<sup>4</sup> The indications of Christianity in many of these graves are not doubtful. They consist of the orientation of the grave, the presence of the cross graven or embossed on belt-buckles or other personal ornaments, or scriptural subjects similarly engraved, or Christian inscriptions. The sign of the cross is found on a great number of these ornaments. It was especially common in the graves at Charnay, where it was repeated not only on the beautiful fibulae, but on the large belt-buckles. In the "Jahrbucher

In the Carolingian period a species of clay vase appears which is distinctively Christian, inasmuch as it belongs to a usage which we only know as Christian. These vases are pierced with holes irregularly placed.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of these perforations is suggested by the contents of the vases, and confirmed by the testimony of the ancient liturgists.

When found they are usually about three-fourths filled with charcoal.<sup>2</sup> The inference is that when they were used the charcoal was lighted, and the holes were intended to keep alive the burning embers by promoting the circulation of air through them. This at once suggests the burning of incense. The fact that such a rite was performed at the grave is established by documentary evidence, altogether irrespective of the testimony of the tombs themselves. Johannes Belethus<sup>3</sup> who wrote in the twelfth century, and after him Durandus, Bishop of Mende, both mention the custom.<sup>4</sup> Durandus says that when the body is laid in the grave there

des Vereins die Altherthumer," &c., Bonn 1871, p. 97, there is an account of a Frankish cemetery of the Carolingian period probably about the ninth century. The corpses were placed either in sarcophagi, or in cists with built sides and flat stone covers: They all lay in the Christian position, with feet to the east and head to the west. In several of the graves there were single-edged swords, and belt-buckles with silver plates attached, on which crosses were engraved. Beads were on the necks of some, and with others were boars' tusks and Roman coins, combs and glass beakers.

<sup>1</sup> In some cases the holes have been pierced when the clay was soft. In other cases the vases have been pierced by holes driven through the side of the vessel after it was burned, as if by a nail or other pointed implement. They cannot be confounded with the earlier small urns usually known as "incense cups," for an account of which see Proc. vol. ix. p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Mabillon notices this custom:—"L'on trouve assez souvent dans l'anciens tombeaux des Chrétiens des petits vases de terre pleins de charbons."—*Dissertation sur le culte des Saints inconnus*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Aquam benedictam et prunas cum thure apponerent.—Beleth, *De Divinis Officiis*, c. 161.

<sup>4</sup> Deinde ponitur in spelunca in qua ponitur aqua benedicta et prunae cum thure. Aqua benedicta ne demones qui multum eam timent ad corpus accedant; solent namque desaeuire in corpora mortuorum, ut quod nequiverunt in vita, saltem post mortem egant. Thus propter factorem corporis removendum, seu ut defunctus creatori suo acceptabilem bonorum operum odorem intelligatur obtulisse, seu ad ostendendum quod defunctis prosit auxilium orationis.—Durandus, *De Off. Mortuorum, In Rationale Div. Off.* lib. vii. c. 35. Vascula cum aqua lustrali in sepulchris apponebantur.—Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, vol. i. p. 94. Statutum etiam fuit ut in sepulchris crux, et aqua lustralis seu benedicta apponeretur.—Durantes, *Ex Antiq. Ritual. Sacr. Libris*, apud Aringhi, *loc. cit.*

was placed with it holy water and charcoal with incense. They use holy water, says he "that the demons, who are greatly afraid of it, may not come near the body, for they are wont to fasten viciously on the bodies of the dead, that they may obtain the victory over them in death which they could not achieve during life. Incense also is used to remove the putridity of the corpse, to indicate that the dead person has entered the presence of his Creator with the acceptable odour of good works, and to show that he has obtained the benefit of the Church's prayers.<sup>1</sup> The shallow basin-like vessels found at the feet of the corpse were thus for holy water, and the pierced vases partially filled with charcoal were for the incense of these Christian sepulchral rites.<sup>2</sup>

The known range of this survival extends over the following countries of Europe—Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, and France, and before I finish this paper we shall add Scotland.

It may be interesting to indicate its range in time by a few instances, with well-defined dates. In the coffin of Urson, Abbot of Jumieges, who died in 1127, two pierced vases were found.<sup>3</sup> At Leure, near Havre, among many interments of the thirteenth century with similar vases there was one grave with an inscribed slab identifying it as that of Pierre Berenguier (1270–1290). In the stone coffin there were six of these pierced vases.<sup>4</sup>

In 1714, in removing the pavement of the choir of Notre Dame de Poissy, the coffins of the two princes, brothers of St Louis, who died in the early part of the thirteenth century, were disturbed. Each contained four of these vases set at the four corners. At Bouteilles great quantities of them were found. In several cases they occurred with crosses of

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian (A.D. 198), says "The Sabeans will testify that more of their merchandise, and that more costly, is lavished on the burials of Christians than in burning incense to the gods.

<sup>2</sup> The following are a few of the localities in which these two varieties of vases have occurred most abundantly. *Incense vases* pierced with holes and containing charcoal, have been found at Braquemont, Martin Eglise, Bouteilles, where over 100 vases occurred, Roux Mesnil, Neuchatel. Holy water vases have occurred at Roux Mesnil, Bouteilles, St Aubun-sur-Mer, Martin Eglise, Lillebonne, Londinieres, Ronen, Bernay, and Paris.

<sup>3</sup> One of these vases is in the Museum at Sevres. It is described and figured by M. Brogniart in his "Description Methodique du Musée de Sevres," Paris, 1845, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Mém. de la Soc. Antiq. de Normandie, vol. xxii. p. 388.

absolution of the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The stone coffin of Simon de Goucans, Bishop of Amiens, who died in 1325, contained three vases, two being placed at the shoulders and one at the feet. They were all pierced with holes and contained charcoal. In the graves of the family of Dunois-Longueville at Notre Dame de Clery, the same thing was observed. In the coffin of John Count Dunois, who died in 1468, seven vases occurred. In that of Francis 1st of Longueville, who died in 1491, twelve pierced vases with charcoal partially consumed were ranged along the sides of the coffin. On the right side of the wooden coffin of the Abbé François d'Orignai, who died in 1483, two pierced vases were found. In the leaden coffin of Agnes of Savoy, Duchess of Dunois, who died in 1508, there were four vases of common red unglazed ware containing charcoal. At Troyes a prodigious quantity were found in the cemetery of St James, one having the date 1576 scratched upon it. The custom is also on record in the seventeenth century. Claud d'Escarbotte left orders in his will that the young lads, orphans, who were to follow him to the grave should carry each a torch and a pot with incense. Jehan Thelinige described the custom more particularly, for he prescribes in his will that the small pots with the fire and the incense shall be thrown into the grave. The latest precise date for this practice is furnished by the grave of Charlotte Lenormant de Beaumont at the Benedictine Monastery at Mans. The coffin, on which the inscription was still legible, CHARLOTTE LE NORMANT DE BEAUMONT, DECEDE LE 12 AVRIL 1688, contained a vase with charcoal.<sup>2</sup> In the chapel of Notre Dame at the Cathedral of Troyes, the skeletons of a number of Canons who had been interred in wooden coffins were disinterred in 1844. M. Arnaud states that in each coffin there was a chalice of tin and several pots of clay, having side-handles and three feet, and containing charcoal. They were either of greyish clay covered with glaze unequally applied, or of red or brown ware unglazed. The form of these pots, he says, is exactly that of the clay pots still in use in this country.

In the cemetery of Verduil, holy water vases of the sixteenth century are

<sup>1</sup> See the description of these Crosses of Absolution by Dr Mitchell, in the Proceedings, vol. x. p. 625.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologie Céramique des Sepultures*, par l'Abbé Cochet ; *Mém. de la Soc. Antiq. Normandie*, vol. xxiv. p. 290 ; *Sepultures Gauloises*, p. 383.

common. The Abbé Barraud states that having obtained some of these he gave them to the Museum at Beauvais. The authorities, deeming them unworthy of a place on their shelves, threw them into the street. They did what has often been done before. In the eyes of many antiquaries the specimen loses its importance when the veil of mystery has been lifted from it.

This custom of burying clay vases with the dead is scarcely yet extinct, though it has now passed into the symbolic phase. In the district of Morvan, says M. Jules Chevrier, the peasants even in our own days continue the custom of using funeral vases. They throw upon the coffin, when it is lowered into the grave, a porringer or some such dish of earthenware which had been ordinarily used by the defunct; and in certain parts of La Bresse they still throw into the grave the holy water vessel which had stood at the feet of the defunct previous to the ceremony of inhumation.

Thus we trace the survival in France to the present time,<sup>1</sup> of one of the very oldest of the burial customs of the human race.

I have now to prove the survival of the custom of burial with clay vases to the Christian period of the Middle Ages in Scotland. In the "Pre-historic Annals of Scotland," Dr Daniel Wilson devotes a chapter to the domestic and sepulchral vessels of the Archaic or Bronze period, in which he gives an account of a very interesting discovery made on the demolition of the old town steeple of Montrose, in 1833. Three feet below the base

<sup>1</sup> In the garden of the Monastery of St Ouen at Rome, the Abbé Cochet found a burying place which had been successively used from the seventh to the fifteenth century. Uppermost were graves with wooden coffins, or without any coffin, and containing vases partially filled with charcoal, of which thirty specimens were found. The character of the pottery indicated the dates of the vases, as ranging from the fifteenth to the thirteenth century. They were of two kinds, of a whitish paste with a greenish glaze irregularly applied, or of reddish clay and pierced with holes. Below these were stone cists of the Capetian period (1050 to 1250), made of dressed stones set on edge in cement, widest in the middle and with a niche for the head. These cists are dated by the leaden crosses of absolution (found in similar cists at Bouteilles), the writing of which was of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Below these were coffins hollowed from single stones, straight-sided, wider at the head than at the feet, and with a circular niche for the head. This form marks the Carovingian era. Below these were coffins of the Merovingian era, hollowed out of single stones similar to those of the Carovingian era, but with the foot end sloping outwards instead of being vertical, and containing holy water vases at the feet. Below these were Frankish coffins of a single stone without niches for the head, but with roof-shaped covering slabs, and containing belt buckles and clay vases.

of the old tower, a skeleton was found disposed at full length in a rude stone cist, and with four urns beside it, two at the head and two at the feet. One of these urns, which is preserved in the Museum at Montrose, is of reddish clay, 4 inches in height, 5 inches in diameter at the widest part, and 3 inches across the mouth (see fig. 1). This vessel is figured by Dr Wilson, though he makes no remarks on its peculiar character.<sup>1</sup> It is manifestly one of the Middle Age vases or pots for charcoal and incense, and the five holes in its sides



Fig. 1. Clay Vase, one of four found in a mediæval stone coffin at Montrose.

for promoting the circulation of air in the burning charcoal have been pierced by driving a sharp-pointed instrument through it, not when the clay was soft, but after it was fired. It is so precisely similar to the French vases that there can be no doubt of its real character. Judging from its form and appearance, the vase is probably at least a century later than the date popularly assigned to the old tower, underneath whose foundations it was discovered. The full length burial, the cist of stones, the "urns" being disposed two at the head and two at the feet,<sup>2</sup> and their sides pierced with holes driven through them, are all unmistakable evidences of a Christian interment, certainly not earlier than the thirteenth century. In fact, the Abbé Cochet gives a representation from an illuminated MS. of the fourteenth century, of vases burning at the side of the coffin during the funeral service (see fig. 2), whose form is exactly that of the Montrose "urn." As has been already mentioned, these vases, after burning during the service, were placed in the grave. In the illumination the red colour of the fire within the vases appears through the holes pierced in their sides. This cannot be shown in the wood-cut (which is reproduced on the opposite page), but the escaping smoke indicates with sufficient certainty the position of the apertures.

<sup>1</sup> It is also described by Mr Jervise, F.S.A. Scot., in the Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 461, who remarks on its peculiar character and the unique features of the interment.

<sup>2</sup> At Bernay, where 150 of these vases were found, the most common arrangement was four in one coffin or grave, two at the head and two at the feet.



Another urn in the Society's Museum (fig. 3) in all probability belongs to this class. Unfortunately, the record of its discovery is of the most meagre and unsatisfactory kind. What is known about it has been told by Dr Stuart in a note in the *Proceedings*, vol. viii. p. 182. There we learn that it was found in 1829, with two others under a flat stone at the



Fig. 2. Illumination from a 14th century MS., representing incense vases placed, alternately with candles, round the coffin during the funeral service.

Castle Hill of Rattray, Aberdeenshire. One of these others was exhibited by Mr James Cumine at the Archæological Exhibition at Aberdeen, in 1859, and we possess a drawing of it<sup>1</sup> which is here engraved (see fig. 4). From a note attached to the drawing we learn that the urns were filled with ashes when they were discovered. For ashes I would read charcoal. One of the two vases is ribbed horizontally, and this peculiarity, which is never found in pottery of an early period, is not uncommon in pottery of the

<sup>1</sup> In the series of drawings by Mr A. Gibb, of Aberdeen, presented by the Committee of the Archæological Exhibition through Chas. E. Dalrymple, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. See the *Proceedings*, vol. x. p. 193.

fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The place where they were found may probably have been an old cemetery.

[While this paper was passing through the press, my attention was called by Dr Arthur Mitchell to a communication which he had received

Fig. 3.

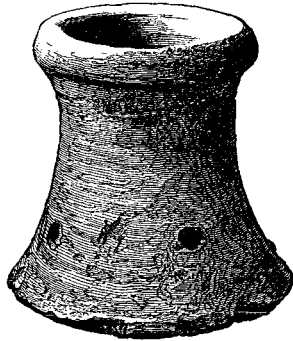
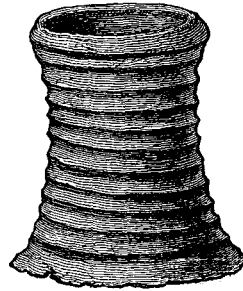


Fig. 4.



Figs. 3, 4. Clay Vases found at Castle Hill of Rattray, Aberdeenshire (5 in. high).

from the Rev. Gordon Ingram, minister of the parish of Urquhart, Elginshire, relative to the recent discovery in the graveyard there of a glazed clay jar with a hole pierced through the side of it near the bottom. I wrote immediately to the Rev. Mr Ingram, who obligingly sent the jar to the Museum that I might see it, and furnished me with the following particulars of its discovery. It was found at a depth of two and a-half feet from the present surface in digging a grave in the north-east end of the site of the old church of the priory of Urquhart—a foundation of the



Fig. 5. From a Cairn at Memsie (4½ in. high).

<sup>1</sup> Another vase of somewhat similar character (fig. 5), but unpierced, is in the Museum. It evidently belongs to about the same time; the green glaze with which it is coated did not appear in France before the thirteenth century, but beyond its having been found in a cairn at Memsie we know nothing about it.

early part of the twelfth century. The mouth of the jar was covered with a piece of slate, and there was nothing in it but a small quantity of very black earth, suggestive of the presence of charcoal. In digging graves on the site of the choir of the old church, which was removed after the Reformation and its site added to the existing burying-ground, many similar jars have been turned up from time to time, none of which are now known to be in existence. The present specimen is a well-made jar, in form resembling a *greybeard* jar, but wider in the mouth. It is ten inches high and four inches in diameter across the mouth, which is encircled by a collar slightly sloping outwards. From the neck it bulges gradually to eight inches wide near the middle of its height, and contracts slightly to six inches diameter at the base. In front of the jar, about an inch above the bottom, there is a small round hole sloping slightly downwards, and smoothly bored in the unburnt clay. The jar is furnished with a curved handle, flat, and slightly concave throughout the middle of its length. It has a salt glaze, and strongly resembles the ordinary coarse earthenware water-jars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the same time it was not unlikely that it might be analogous to the handled and glazed jars of similar form which were placed in the grave with burning charcoal and incense in France. Jars almost exactly similar in form to this one are figured by the Abbé Cochet, from the cemetery at Bouteilles, and attributed to the fourteenth century. In the absence of more examples of this custom in Scotland, I do not claim this vessel as a sepulchral jar of the same character and purpose as those I have described, although its form, its cover, its contents, and the pierced holes, are suggestive of this, while the reported occurrence of many others in the same burying-ground rather strengthens than weakens the supposition.]

4. *Burial Clothed, and with Arms, Ornaments, or Insignia.*—This custom, as is well known, was universal in pagan times. It was not extinguished even by cremation, and it survived down into the Christian forms of burial.

The first Christians, says Aringhi, did not follow the heathen custom of placing quantities of gold, silver, and other precious things in their sepulchres. But they permitted gold interwoven with the cloth in the preparation of the body for the burial, and such things as a gold ring on the finger. With young girls, too, they often buried their ornaments and

such things as they most delighted in, and sometimes even money.<sup>1</sup> This custom traceable in the catacombs as a direct survival of the older usage gradually becomes distinctively Christian, and confined to the higher orders in Church and State. The Merovingian Kings of France, heathen and Christian alike, were buried in their regal robes with their arms<sup>2</sup> and ornaments. Childeric and Charlemagne, the one the last of the pagan kings, and the other the establisher of Christianity as a national institution in France, were both buried after the same fashion, and their tombs and their contents are known and described. The Christian king was buried seated, with his robes, his arms and ornaments, and the book of the Gospels on his knee. Gregory of Tours tells of the robbery of the grave of the wife of Gonthram, who was buried in the Church of Metz, "cum auro multo rebusque preciosis sepulta est;" and Montfaucon adds that from this we see that it was not the kings only, but the great of the land also, who were at that time buried with things of price.<sup>3</sup>

The Kings of Denmark were also buried with arms.<sup>4</sup> When the grave of King Olaf at Sore was opened, a long sword was found over the body from the head to the feet. In the coffin of King Erik Glipping, in the Church of Viborg, his sword lay at his side. The Queens of France were buried with spindles.

The custom<sup>5</sup> must also have prevailed in this country, although the

<sup>1</sup> The body was swathed in linen, sometimes with the insignia of office, or with ornaments of gold, or gems placed in the coffin or sarcophagus.—*Euseb. Vit. Const.* iv. 66; *Ambros. Orat. in obit. Theodos*; *August Conf.* ix. 12, cited in *Smith's Dict. of Christ. Antiq. sub voce* "Burial of the Dead." The insignia of office, if the deceased had held any such position—gold and silver ornaments in the case of private persons—were often flung into the open grave, and the waste and ostentation to which this led had to be checked by an imperial edict.—*Cod. Theodos*, xi. tit. 7, 1, 14. *Ibid.* So common was the burial of weapons and ornaments in early Christian times among the Franks, that enactments against the violation of graves in search of treasure form a special feature in the Salic Laws. ("See Du Cange, *Sepulchrorum Violatores.*")

<sup>2</sup> The symbolism of the spear is illustrated by the following:—When Gonthram made over the kingdom to Childebert, he delivered to him a spear with the words—"Hoc est indicium quod tibi omne regnum meum tradidi?"

<sup>3</sup> Montfaucon, "Monuments de la Monarchie Française," vol. p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Kornerup, "Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed," 1873, p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> A variety of the custom of burial clothed took the form of burial in a monkish habit. It was not uncommon in the twelfth century for laymen to be thus buried, under the notion that the sanctity of the dress preserved the body from molestation

indications are few. Maitland, in describing the monastery of St Catherine at the Sciennes in this city, says that opposite to it and on the eastern side of Newington, there was a chapel on a gentle eminence called Mount Hooly, which he judged to have belonged to the Knights Templars, "from the position of the bodies buried cross-legged ways, with their swords by their sides, which were found lately in digging there."<sup>1</sup> The only other instance I have seen recorded is the occurrence of a scabbard-end in a grave at Coupar-Angus.<sup>2</sup> Giraldus describing the miserable circumstances attending the burial of Henry II., says that when the body was being prepared for burial scarcely was a decent ring to be found for his finger, or a sceptre for his hand, or a crown for his head, except such as was made from an old head-dress which by chance was found, nor were any of the usual insignia of royalty given except such as were obtained by earnest entreaty, and that was little suitable to the occasion. In the chancel of the parish church of Brougham in Westmoreland, in 1846 the skeleton of Udard de Broham "the Crusader," 1140-1185, was found under an incised slab, cross-legged, and on the left heel a prick-spur of iron. Near the head was a variegated glass globe broken in half. In another grave was the silver mounting of a drinking-horn, engraved with cherubs, and panels of interlacing work.<sup>3</sup>

The old pagan custom thus continued through the Middle Ages, though now disused in the case of the rulers of nations, nevertheless survives in the case of the Episcopal Orders of the Church in every country of Christendom. When it was disused for kings, it was retained for the clergy.<sup>4</sup> Archbishops and Bishops have always been buried with their

by demons. Thus Erik Ploupenning sets forth in a deed dated 1241, "Votum fecimus ut in habitu fratrum minorum mori deberemus et in ipso habitu apud fratres minores Roeskildenses sepiliri."—Pontoppidan, *Annales Eccl. Dan.* 1669. The idea of sanctity connected with the monastic orders led people to seek for burial, not only in the consecrated ground about the monastery, but in the habit of the monks. The right was in early times purchased by the great men of Brittany by the gift of lands and other offerings, as we have seen to have been the case in Ireland.—Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. lxiii.

<sup>1</sup> Maitland's *Hist. of Edinburgh*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 1861-64, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Jour.* iv. 61.

<sup>4</sup> In the "*Capitularia Regum Francorum*" we are told that the custom which had grown obsolete among the common people was retained for the clergy:—*Mos ille in vulgo obsoletus in funeribus episcoporum et presbyterum retinetur.*

insignia and robes of office.<sup>1</sup> It still survives, symbolically, in the pompous accessories of a military funeral. When we see the sword laid over the coffin, and the horse led in procession to the grave, we witness the survival of one of the oldest ceremonies ever performed by men, the only difference being, that of old the sword was laid in the grave beside the corpse, and the horse was actually slaughtered to accompany his master to the unseen world. The latest instance of this custom carried out in its integrity occurred at the interment of Frederick Casimir, a Knight of the Teutonic Order, who was buried with his horse and his arms at Treves, in February 1781.<sup>2</sup>

5. *Burial with Shoes on the Feet.*—It is well known that this custom

<sup>1</sup> Durandus says, Clerici vero, si sint ordinati, illis indumentis induti sint, quae requirunt ordines, quos habent; si vero non habent ordines sacros more laicorum sepeliantur. Verumtamen licet in aliis ordinibus propter paupertatem hoc saepius omittatur, in sacerdotibus tamen et Episcopis nullo modo praetermittendum est.—*De Div. Off.* lib. 7. Kornerup, describing the practice in Denmark, says of the burials of the higher orders of the clergy in the Middle Ages—“On their heads they bore the mitre, on their shoulders the cloak of gold brocade, on the finger the Episcopal ring, and the crozier lay by the side of the corpse. Their feet were shod, and the chalice and paten were placed in their hands. These particulars have been verified in many instances, among which it is only necessary to mention the graves of Bishop Absalon at Sore, and Bishop Suneson at Lund.”—Kornerup, *Aarbogerfor Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1873, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> An instance of its occurrence, not as a custom, but simply as a freak, is recorded in the newspapers of last week (Jan. 7, 1876), as follows:—At the pretty village of Hatfield, near Doncaster, there was solemnised a funeral of one of those remarkable gentlemen whose school or class is nearly extinguished. He was possessed of considerable property, and some people designated him Squire Hawley, but he delighted in “Jack Hawley,” and would not be accosted by his correct name, Pilkington, a family of the highest respectability. He died on Christmas Day, and was buried on Tuesday in his own garden, in the centre of the graves of his cattle which died during the rinderpest. He was laid out in full hunting costume, including spurs and whip, and was carried from the house to the grave on a coffin board, when he was placed in a stone coffin, which, weighing upwards of a ton, had to be lowered by means of a crane. His old pony, Nance, was shot, and buried at his feet in bridle and saddle, and his dog and an old fox were buried at his head. The funeral ceremony was performed by the Roman Catholic priest at Doncaster, who had specially consecrated the ground, and was witnessed only by a few mourners. He has left the whole of his estate to his groom, John Vickers, on condition that the funeral, &c., be conducted according to his expressed wish, and, should he fail in doing this, the whole of the property is to revert to the priest at Doncaster for the benefit of the Catholic religion.

was a common one among the Teutonic and Scandinavian people in pagan times. In the remarkable cemetery of the transition period at Oberflacht the interments were found in single-tree coffins, accompanied with swords, daggers, and spears of iron, bows, arrows, and shields, personal ornaments of bronze,<sup>1</sup> vases of clay, wooden bowls and platters, and vessels of glass. Some of the larger vessels contained remains of spoon-meat, others had bones of animals in them. In one grave a very small stone celt occurred, along with a bronze finger-ring, buckle, and stud. In others there were flints, and in some the flints were placed beside a wooden candlestick. Most of the bodies had been deposited clothed, and with sandals on their feet. In some of the graves there were obscure indications of Christianity,—the arms and legs of the skeletons were crossed, and a hazel-wand had been laid over the body lengthwise, a custom which in the Middle Ages became a Christian usage.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most striking of the northern Scandinavian sepulchral customs of the pagan time was that of binding the "hell-shoes" on the feet of the dead. In the "Saga of Gisli the Outlaw," it is stated that, when they were laying Vestein in his grave-mound, Thorgrim, the priest, went up to the mound, and said, "'Tis the custom to bind the hell-shoes on men, so that they may walk on them to Valhalla, and I will now do that by Vestein," and when he had done it, he said, "I know nothing about binding on hell-shoon, if these loosen."

This custom was also Christian. It was well-known to the liturgists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Durandus says, "Mortui habeant et soleas in pedibus qua significant se esse paratos ad iudicium"—the dead must also have shoes on their feet, by which they may show that they are ready for the judgment. As matter of fact, it is often found in Christian as well as in pre-Christian graves in Central Europe. Members of religious orders were usually thus buried, but the custom was not confined to them. Bernard, grandson of Charlemagne, who died in 818, was found with shoes on his feet when his coffin was opened in 1638. William Lynde-

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of notice that the bronze of the Oberflacht graves is a zinc-bronze. [See my remarks on the bronze peculiar to the Iron Age in "Remains of the Viking Period," Proceedings, vol. x. p. 558.] The analysis by Professor Fehling gives the following as the composition of the Oberflacht bronzes:—Copper, 87·68; tin, 6·94; lead, 1·15; zinc, 4·13=99·90.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of burials with hazel wands at p. 384, *infra*.

wode, Bishop of St David's, who died in 1446, was buried in St Stephen's. When his grave was recently disturbed during repairs, the body was found wrapped in cere-cloth. It was unclothed, but with shoes on the feet.<sup>1</sup> In the cathedral of Worcester a skeleton was found in 1861 having shoes or sandals on its feet, the soles of which were quite entire.<sup>2</sup> The Abbé Cochet mentions a large number of instances in France, proving the existence of the custom there from the twelfth century to the seventeenth.<sup>3</sup> In an account of the funeral expenses of Roger Belot, who died in 1603, there is a charge of 12 sous 6 deniers for a pair of shoes to place on the feet of the defunct.

6. *Burial with Hazel Wands.*—The custom of laying a hazel-wand over the corpse, reaching from head to foot, is apparently of pagan origin, although I have not succeeded in finding any notice of its origin or of its meaning, whether as a pagan or a Christian burial rite. A few examples will be sufficient. Those at Oberflacht have already been referred to.<sup>4</sup> When the coffin of Queen Bilichilde, the queen of Childeric II., at St Germain des Pres was opened, there was a hazel wand over the body. At St Wandrille, four of the burials with sandals on their feet had also hazel wands. At Etran an instance of a hazel wand occurred in a stone coffin, of the form assigned to the twelfth century. At Neubourg, a range of stone coffins was found, each of which contained a wand placed at the right side of the skeleton. At Toussaint, Angers, a wand occurred in the coffin of an Abbé who had been buried in his vestments and with shoes on his feet. In the tomb of Richard Mayo, bishop of Hereford (1504–16), in Hereford cathedral, a hazel wand was found.

7. *The Funeral Feast.*—The funeral feast was almost universally celebrated at the grave in pagan times. The occurrence of a quantity of the bones of animals in and around the tomb or grave, is usually held to be indicative of paganism. But it is not necessarily always so.<sup>5</sup> The custom

<sup>1</sup> See "Archæologia," vol. xxxiv. p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> "Gentleman's Magazine," October 1861.

<sup>3</sup> "Revue Archæologique," xxv. (Jan. to June 1873), p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> See the notice of them at p. 383, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Rolleston says on this subject: "It does not seem clear to me that any great probability attaches to an argument for the heathen character of an interment from the discovery there of such evidences of a funeral feast as the bones of domestic animals."—*Archæologia*, vol. xlii. p. 424.



was Christian as well as pagan, although it was denounced by the Church at an early date. Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian, and others of the fathers, frequently refer to the abuse of the funeral feast by the early Christians. One of the canons of the third council of Arles states that, "it does not become the Christians, and it shall not be lawful for them to carry meats to the graves of the dead, or to offer sacrifices to the dead"—*Non oportet, non liceat Christianis prandia ad defunctorum sepulchra deferre, et sacrificari mortuis.*<sup>1</sup> But at an earlier period the agapæ held on the anniversaries of the death of departed friends at their tombs were a distinctively Christian institution, and numerous representations of them occur on the frescoes of the catacombs.<sup>2</sup> In many of these representations of the agapæ there is nothing distinctively Christian, and Mr Tyrwhitt remarks the close resemblance between the agapæ of the catacombs of St Domitilla and St Callistus, and the confessedly heathen banquet of the seven priests in the Gnostic catacomb. In this, as in so much else, Christianity simply inherited existing customs,<sup>3</sup> purging them of idolatrous taint, and continuing them under the consecrating sanction of the Church. What took place at Rome in the earlier ages of the Church was repeated

<sup>1</sup> Similar references to this custom occur in the capitularies of Charlemagne:—"Admoneantur fideles ut ad suos mortuos non agant ea quæ de paganorum ritu remanserunt. Et quando eos ad sepulturam portaverint, illum ululatum excelsum non faciant . . . et super eorum tumulos nec manducare nec bibere presumant."—*Capit. Carl. et Ludov.* lib. vi. cap. 197.

<sup>2</sup> "The recent investigations of De Rossi do much to dispel the idea of the specific and exclusive character of the Christianity of the primitive Church. Rejecting the abuses arising from the license of pagan morals, there was nothing in itself to take exception at in the funeral feast."—*Smith's Dict. of Christian Antiquities, sub voce "Cella Memoriarum."*

<sup>3</sup> The erection of a "cella memoriæ" at the tomb of a person deceased, at which memorial feasts were held by his surviving relations and friends, was not an uncommon custom among the Romans in pagan times. A copy of a will once engraved on the testator's tomb at Langres is given by De Rossi. It contains minute instructions for the completion of the *cella memoriæ*, which had been begun in the testator's lifetime, and provides for its being furnished with couches, coverlets, pillows, and garments for the guests who were to meet annually in it on the day specified to feast together. Another inscription is extant relating to a *collegium* for the burial of the dead, dated A. D. 133. One of the regulations was that the confraternity were to dine together six times in the year in honour of Diana, Antinous, and the patron of the *collegium*.—Northcote and Brownlow's *Roma Subterranea*, p. 51, and *Smith's Dict. of Christian Antiquities, sub voce "Cella Memoriarum."*

in other parts of Europe in subsequent times, and burial amid the debris of a funeral feast, whether in Celtic, Scandinavian, or Anglo-Saxon graves, may not be always indicative of the pagan character of the rite, or of the paganism of the person buried. The custom has survived almost to our own day in Scotland in a modified form, represented by the "lyke-wakes," and the special baking of "dirigie bread" of the last century.<sup>1</sup>

I do not know that Christians ever buried food or other provisions with the body, in the belief that it was to be of service to the dead, as we assume that the pagans did. But Weinhold mentions that in remote districts of Sweden, up to a very recent period, the tobacco-pipe, the pocket knife, and the filled brandy-flask, were placed with the dead in the grave.

These examples may suffice for the present. They show that we shall greatly err if we conclude, from the appearance in a grave of the customs characteristic of paganism, that the person thus buried was a pagan.

#### "DANIEL IN THE DEN OF LIONS."

It was while examining into the prevalence of the custom of "Burial Clothed," that I became interested in the subject of the curious representations of "Daniel in the Den of Lions," engraved on the "agrafes" or belt-

<sup>1</sup> A curious instance of the cropping up of an old custom, in a freak of eccentricity on the part of an individual, is afforded by the terms of a will made in Haddington in the year 1800. The testator, who wrote his own epitaph, claimed to have "died a Christian." His testament contains the following clauses:—"I desire that there shall be no dregy at my funeral, but that there be carried to the grave as much wine and biscuits as will be 3 glasses to each." He then gives directions that after the funeral service is over his epitaph shall be read, and for the three glasses of wine the following toasts are set down, apparently in a seriously religious frame of mind:—" *Toast 1st.* To the honour and glory of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. *2nd.* The cause and success of true religion in general without superstition. *3rd.* To the memory of — — (the testator), and that he may be happy in an eternal state." He left the bulk of his property to the poor, bequeathed his library to the Episcopal Church, and nominated the clergy of the town as his executors, leaving them £.10 each for their trouble. I have no information as to how much, or rather how little, of the testator's directions regarding the conduct of his funeral was carried out by his executors, but the mere fact that such things were considered by one Christian as appropriate to a nineteenth century funeral in a Scottish churchyard, demonstrates the possibility of the earlier custom being looked on as appropriate by many Christians in a much less enlightened age.

clasps so frequently met with in Burgundian and Frankish graves of the early Christian times. (See Plate XV.) The peculiar treatment of the subject, and the rudeness of the style, was strongly suggestive of certain groups on the sculptured stones of Scotland. With this casual suggestion as a stimulus to further investigation, I reasoned that if the meaning of the groups represented on these belt-clasps were ascertained and found to harmonise with the character of the sculptures on the Scottish stones, the analogous groups on them would be also explained and accounted for.

The first question, then, was—What did the wearers of these belt-clasps mean by the subjects which they engraved on them? The obvious answer was, that they were probably talismanic and Christian. The most common representation among them was the figure of the cross, sometimes singly, sometimes as the central figure of a composite group, and sometimes marked upon the figures of subjects of which it was not a principal member. The common composition of this last group was a man standing with outspread or uplifted hands, between two lions, sometimes rampant upon him, at other times licking his feet. The specific meaning of this group is established with certainty by the occurrence of certain engraved or embossed belt-clasps having a border round the figures inscribed with their description.<sup>1</sup> The clasp from the Burgundian cemetery of Dailleus, for instance (Plate XV. fig. 4), has engraved on the border in debased Roman characters round the group of the man and the two lions, the words *DAGIHIL DVO LEQES PEDES EIVS LEHGEBAHT*—Daniel, two lions licked his feet. Another in the museum of St Germain's (Plate XVI. fig. 1) is divided into two compartments, one containing the customary group of the man with the lions, the other a single human figure. These are entitled respectively *DANIEL PROFETA* and *ABBACV PROFETA*. The association of Habakkuk with Daniel is not given in the authorised English version of the Scriptures, but it is contained in the Vulgate.<sup>2</sup> The story

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the inscription gives the name of the owner, as for instance on one of the clasps from Lavigny: *NASVALDVS NANSA*, followed by the formula common in early Christian inscriptions:—*VIVAT DEO VTERE FELIX*.

<sup>2</sup> They cast him (Daniel) into the lions' den, where he was six days. In the den there were seven lions. . . . Now there was in Jewry a prophet called Abbacuc which had made pottage and broken bread into a bowl, and was going into the field for to bring it to the reapers. But the Angel of the Lord said unto Abbacuc: "Go, carry

is also represented in detail on the embossed gilt copper mountings of a wooden bucket found in a grave in the Merovingian cemetery of Miannay near Abbeville in France. (See Plate XVI. figs. 4 and 5.) On one part of the bucket the angel is represented lifting Habakkuk by the hair of the head, and on another he is being set down in the den. He bears the pot with the pottage in the one hand and the symbolic fish in the other. Daniel stands clothed and crowned. Only one lion is represented, rampant. The inscription in Roman letters, distributed among the figures, may be read:—

[ANGE]LVS MISS[VS]  
 DANIEL PROFETA  
 ABBACV FERT [PANEM]  
 IN LACV LEONVM

Only those portions of the bucket which illustrate the story of Daniel and Habakkuk are figured. It had also representations of the Saviour,<sup>1</sup> nimbed, and seated on an ornamental chair, treading the serpent under foot. To the left were Adam and Eve, with the serpent twining round the tree and presenting the forbidden fruit.<sup>2</sup>

the meat that thou hast into Babylon unto Daniel which is in the lions' den." And Abbauc said: "Lord, I never saw Babylon, neither do I know where the den is." Then the Angel took him by the crown of the head and bare him by the hair of the head, and through the might of his spirit set him in Babylon upon the den. And Abbauc cried, saying: "O Daniel, Daniel, take the dinner that God hath sent thee." — *The Book of Daniel*, chap. 14.

<sup>1</sup> The presence of these interesting representations on this bucket is suggestive of a new explanation of the frequent occurrence of these vessels with Frankish and Anglo-Saxon interments. They have been explained as "ale-vessels" for a festal carouse. In this case such an explanation is inadmissible. The subjects of the ornamentation impart to the vessel a sacred or ritualistic character, and suggest that it may have held the holy water placed in the grave to drive away the demons. This suggests also that as the ritualistic washing of the body was a purely Christian custom, it may be that the bucket and bronze kettle, so often found in graves, may be due to this Christian custom, of which Durandus says—"Deinde corpus, nisi vivens noviter inunctus fuerit debet lavari, ad significandum, quod si anima per confessionem a culpa mundata sit, utrumque (scilicet anima et corpus) eternam glorificationem et claritatem in die iudicii consequetur, &c."—*In Ration. Div. Off.* lib. 7.

<sup>2</sup> This conventional representation of the Fall appears first in the catacombs, and is found treated in precisely the same manner on the Sculptured Stones of Scotland and Ireland. It is important to note also that these supply the missing link referred

The meaning of these curious representations being thus ascertained, the next question was—What is their origin? The probability seemed to be that the Franks and Burgundians did not invent these conventional representations of subjects, with which they had been familiar only for a comparatively brief period; but that they had received the traditional types of them along with their Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Their origin therefore was to be looked for in Rome, among the sculptures and paintings of the earliest Christian period.

The story of Daniel and his miraculous deliverance, his example of abstinence, and his constancy under trial, were favourite themes with the early fathers. His preservation in the den of lions was specially suited to strike the imagination in an age of persecution. Hence it is one of the earliest of the pictorial groups which occur in the catacombs. While the infant Church was struggling for existence, its lessons of constancy and comfort under the severest trials were continually kept before the minds of the converts. They saw in Daniel the figure of the Church, and in the lions the figure of the persecutors restrained by Divine power. Thus this conventional representation so constantly present to their eyes and their imagination, became gradually associated with other symbolisms not primarily suggested by the story itself,<sup>2</sup> and where superstition had not been supplanted by intelligent faith (as among the uninstructed Franks), the group would be readily invested with talismanic powers.

to by Miss Irving in her work on the types and figures of the Bible illustrated by the "Art of the Early and Middle Ages," in which she remarks on the apparent blank existing from the fourth to the thirteenth centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Clovis, the first of the Frankish kings of the Merovingian dynasty, was baptised with 3000 of his warriors in A.D. 486. The Burgundians were baptised wholesale on their entry into Gaul in the beginning of the sixth century.

<sup>2</sup> The attitude in which Daniel is invariably represented in the catacombs became a symbol of the crucifixion. One of the early writers says that God shut the mouths of the lions when Daniel spread out his arms in the den, and thus conformed to the similitude of the cross. Another says—"When the Prophet Daniel spread out his hands in the similitude of the cross, he passed safe from the jaws of the lions blessing Christ the Lord." In the same way the bread presented to him by Habakkuk is constantly referred to as a type of the eucharist. This enables us to see how an altar might be substituted for the central figure of the group, and how the same figure with outspread arms might be appropriately replaced by the cross, as is suggested by two of the representations on the Scottish stones, viz., at Nigg and at Ulbster,

The conventional group of Daniel and the lions in its earliest form<sup>1</sup> (Plate XVI. fig. 6) represents the prophet clothed, and standing with outspread arms between two lions. It is in a good style of art, the lions natural and lively. In later representations, the figure of the prophet is entirely nude or but slightly draped, and the lions are seated on either side in the attitude of attentive mastiffs. Habakkuk is introduced in the later examples with the decussated bread<sup>2</sup> in a basket. (Plate XVI. fig. 2.) To balance the figure of Habakkuk, sometimes an angel, oftener a human figure, was introduced, to represent the protecting presence of the Divine power. (Plate XVI. fig. 3.) Aringhi, in his "Roma Subterranea," figures twenty examples of this group of Daniel and the lions among the frescoes and sculptured sarcophagi of the catacombs.<sup>3</sup> It is of constant occurrence on the sculptured sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries, not only at Rome, but at Ravenna, Arles, and other places. The treatment never varies unless in the minor details: Few of those in the catacombs are later than the early part of the fifth century, at which time they ceased to be commonly used as burying places.

Eusebius states, in his "Life of Constantine the Great," that he erected a brazen statue of Daniel standing between the lions, in the forum at Con-

<sup>1</sup> The earliest representation of this subject is a fresco in the cemetery of Domitilla of the second century.

<sup>2</sup> This decussation of the circular rolls of bread is said to symbolise the eucharist, the decussation representing the sign of the cross, but it was the common method of making the bread.

<sup>3</sup> The cycle of scriptural subjects represented in the *frescoes* of the catacombs is as follows:—Adam and Eve by the Tree, Cain and Abel, Noah in the Ark, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Moses removing his Shoes, Moses receiving the Tables, Moses striking the Rock, David with his Sling, Elijah in the Chariot, the Three Hebrews in the Furnace, Daniel in the Lions' Den, Jonah thrown Overboard, Jonah being Swallowed, Jonah being Disgorged, Jonah under the Gourd, Job on the Dunghill, Tobit and the Fish, Susanna and the Elders, the Magi, the Water made Wine, the Woman of Samaria at the Well, the Paralytic carrying his Bed, the Blind Healed, the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, the Raising of Lazarus, the Triumphal Entry, with Zaccheus in the Tree, Pilate washing his Hands, the Annunciation, the Baptism in the Jordan, the Wise Virgins. Most of these subjects are represented in a fixed traditional form, varying only in slight details of treatment. The range of subjects on the sculptured sarcophagi includes most, if not all, of these, with a few that are not in the foregoing list such as the Destruction of Pharaoh, the Vision of Ezekiel, &c.

stantinople. It is mentioned in the "Liber Pontificalis," that Gregory IV. adorned altar frontals with gilded representations of the same subject.

The group also appears on the small medallions of green glass enclosing scriptural subjects executed in gold leaf,<sup>1</sup> which were enclosed in the clear glass forming the bottoms of the glass drinking-cups deposited in Christian tombs in the catacombs. In these cases the prophet is often separated from the lions, his figure forming the ornament of one medallion, while two others are occupied by the lions. Thus the three figures are not so placed as to suggest to the eye that they are component parts of a single group. In the same way Adam and Eve are placed in two separate medallions, and the tree with the serpent in a third. These gilded glass vessels have not been found out of Rome except in two instances, in which they have occurred at Cologne.<sup>2</sup>

#### "JONAH AND THE WHALE."

Another subject frequently engraved on these Frankish and Burgundian belt-clasps, consisting of a man with one hand raised in the attitude of preaching or prophesying, is always accompanied by a monster or dragon-esque creature, having two feet and a long convoluted fish-tail. (Plate XVIII. fig. 6.) This subject usually occurs in connection with the figure of the cross. The cross occupies the centre of the clasp, and the figures of the man and fish-like monster are repeated on either side of it.

<sup>1</sup> A list of the subjects represented on these *Glasses* may be of interest:—Adam and Eve, Noah in the Ark, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Joseph in the Pit (?), Moses striking the Rock, Moses lifting up the Brazen Serpent, the Spies bearing the Grapes of Canaan, Joshua commanding the Sun to stand still, Jonah thrown Overboard, Jonah Swallowed by the "Whale," Jonah Disgorged by the "Whale," Jonah under the Gourd, the Three Hebrews in the Furnace, Daniel in the Den of Lions, Daniel destroying the Dragon, Tobit and the Fish, the Three Magi, the Water made Wine, the Paralytic carrying his Bed, the Seven Loaves Multiplied, the Raising of Lazarus, the Good Shepherd, the Virgin Mary, St Peter and St Paul, and a few of the Early Martyrs. These glasses were mostly of the fourth century.

<sup>2</sup> One of these, found in the neighbourhood of the Church of St Severin, was a glass plate or paten about ten inches diameter; the other was found with charred bones in a rudely made stone cist, 30 inches in length and 15 inches in width and depth, near the church of St Ursula. The first is figured in Northcote and Brownlow's "Roma Sotteranea," p. 290. The other is in the Slade collection in the British Museum. It is considered to be of the fourth or fifth century.—Northcote and Brownlow, "Roma Sotteranea," p. 277.

This group I interpret as a conventional representation of the story of Jonah and the fish.<sup>1</sup> I am not aware that it has been hitherto so regarded, but the evidence, I think, is conclusive.

In the first place the subject is manifestly as distinctively Christian as that of Daniel and the Lions, and was evidently placed on these belt-clasps from the same feeling. It must, therefore, have been a subject as popular and well known among the early Christians as that of Daniel's deliverance. Now, the story of Jonah is an exact parallel to that of Daniel, and was equally popular in the early Church. In fact, it holds the first place among all the subjects from the Old Testament represented in the catacombs.<sup>2</sup> "It was continually repeated in every kind of monument connected with the ancient Christian cemeteries; in the frescoes on the walls, on the bas-reliefs of the sarcophagi, on lamps, and medals, and glasses,<sup>3</sup> and even on the ordinary grave-stones. The Christian artists, however, by no means confined themselves to that one scene in the life of the prophet, in which he foreshadowed the resurrection, viz.; his three days' burial in the belly of the fish, and his deliverance from it as from the jaws of the grave." The story is represented in four scenes. (Plate XVIII. figs. 1-4.) First there is the throwing overboard of the prophet. This is sometimes treated historically; the vessel is seen labouring in the tempest, the sails and rigging in disorder, and part of the crew attempting to combat the storm, while part are engaged in "lightening the ship" of the person of Jonah. Sometimes it is treated conventionally. A small canoe,<sup>4</sup> dug out of one piece, and with neither oars nor sail, appears on a smooth sea, and its single occupant is thrusting Jonah over the side head foremost into the open mouth of the "whale." Sometimes the "ship" is dispensed with

<sup>1</sup> M. Troyon's explanation of these figures is too ingenious, I think, and the meaning too recondite. He regards it as emblematic of conversion, the human figure being supposed to represent a pagan priest turning his back on the false gods, typified by the fish-like monster, and worshipping the cross.

<sup>2</sup> Northcote and Brownlow's "Roma Sotteranea," p. 243. Of the fifty four sarcophagi enumerated by Burgon in his letters from Rome, twenty-three have the story of Jonah among the sculptures on them, and fourteen that of Daniel.

<sup>3</sup> Garucci figures a large number of examples in his "Vetri Antichi," Roma, 1858, fol.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly the ark is represented as a square box not higher than the knees of Noah, who stands up in it to receive the dove with the olive branch. It is often placed in the same sea with the ship of Jonah.



altogether, and the prophet is simply seen half swallowed by the beast. Frequently the two scenes of the swallowing and the disgorging are placed side by side by way of contrast. In the swallowing scene, the dragon-like beast appears with head and neck extended, and only the legs of the human figure are seen dangling out of its mouth (Plate XVIII. fig. 2). In the disgorging scene, the upper half of the human figure is seen rising from the beast's open mouth (Plate XVIII. fig. 3).<sup>1</sup> The last scene shows Jonah reposing under the gourd, and the "beast" contemplating him from a little distance (Plate XVIII. fig. 4).<sup>2</sup> As in the case of Daniel, Jonah some-

<sup>1</sup> The swallowing was emblematic of death, the disgorging of the resurrection. One of the directions for painting a "morality," in which the Seven Ages of Man form a part, by Dionysius, author of the *Ἑρμηνία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς* (fourteenth or fifteenth century), is as follows:— . . . "Write 'Old man of 75 years,' then make a tomb on which is a large dragon having a man in his throat, head downwards, and of whom only the half can be seen. Near the tomb write 'Hell all-devouring' and 'Death,' and near him who is swallowed up by the dragon, 'Alas! who will save me from all-devouring Hell.'"—Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 404. Paris, 1854.

At a later period it was differently spiritualised by the Western Church—

" Ionam glutiverat,  
Sed non consumpserat  
Marina bellua;  
Quem, ut trajiciens,  
Ita rejiciens  
Remansit vacua.

" Sic Christus Gentibus,  
Emergens fluctibus,  
Salutem praedicat;  
Tunc mundus timuit,  
Timens poenituit  
Et culpas abdicat."

<sup>2</sup> On one of the many sarcophagi figured by Aringhi, the history of Jonah is represented with great detail. First he is cast out of the ship, the large sail of which is filled with wind from the conch shell of a winged figure above, personifying the winds in the well known classical style. The "whale" opens his mouth to receive the prophet, and a female bust in the sky personifies the calm which succeeded. The fish is next represented as vomiting forth the prophet on the dry ground, on which crabs, lizards, and snails are seen crawling about. Close to this scene is the figure of the prophet reposing under the gourd. The sculptor has filled every available space with figures, and the same water which is the scene of these incidents in the life of Jonah, floats a little square box in which Noah receives the dove with the olive

times appears clothed, but is more frequently represented nude. The form of the "whale" or sea monster is absolutely constant, and is unlike any real inhabitant of the deep. Throughout the whole series of the representations in the catacombs it never varies in outline or attributes, though there are slight variations in the details of its mane, its jaws, its claws, or its tail. It is this form, so common as "Jonah's fish," on the sculptures and frescoes of the catacombs, which reappears on the belt clasps from Burgundian and Frankish graves.

There is an interesting point in connection with the *form* of "Jonah's fish" as represented in the catacombs, which is illustrative of the first part of my subject. It is not a creation of Christian art, but a pagan survival. It is the old classical dragon of the pagan myth of Andromeda unchanged in a single feature.

"A school of art," says Mr Tyrwhitt, "cannot be improvised. There was nothing exceptional about early Christian art. It was no more than the continuation of the art Christianity found already existing as the exponent of the ideas of the age. The artists who executed the work were not necessarily always Christians, although working under Christian guidance. In the earliest frescoes in the catacombs there is absolutely nothing distinctively Christian. They are simply the common wall decorations of the time." By and bye these common decorations of the time, and subjects from pastoral life, began to be treated symbolically. The fish and the fishermen became emblematic objects instead of merely decorative. Orpheus charming the beasts with his lyre, and Ulysses closing his ears to the voices of the sirens, were adopted from the pagan mythology as symbolic of scriptural teachings. Elijah is represented as ascending to heaven in a *quadriga* over the river Jordan, which is still figured in Christian sculptures as a river-god reposing on his urn. Jonah is represented as being swallowed by the same conventional "whale" with which we are familiar in the fabulous tale of Andromeda.

Having thus traced these conventional representations of Daniel and Jonah to their origin in the infancy of the Christian Church, we find them surviving in more or less modified forms to late mediæval times. In the early ages they occur, as we have seen, on the sepulchral frescoes and

branch, while on the otherwise unoccupied shores, the artist has placed an angle hooking a fish, and a water-bird looking for prey.

sarcophagi in Italy and Gaul,<sup>1</sup> and Africa,<sup>2</sup> on lamps of terra-cotta, or drinking-cups of glass in Italy and Germany and Albania, and on diptychs, ivory plaques, and ciboria of the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>3</sup> They occur engraved or embossed on Burgundian and Frankish belt-clasps in graves, dating from the fifth to the ninth centuries in Switzerland and France.<sup>4</sup> They occur on the tympana of church doors, on paintings in the interiors, on fountains, on altar frontals, on embroidered vestments, and depicted in stained glass windows of early mediæval times. They were gradually supplanted by New Testament subjects in more recent times; but we have in the Museum some curious illustrations of the inherent vitality of such conventional representations.<sup>5</sup> One of these I have represented here,

<sup>1</sup> At Rome, Naples, Ravenna, Arles, and other places.

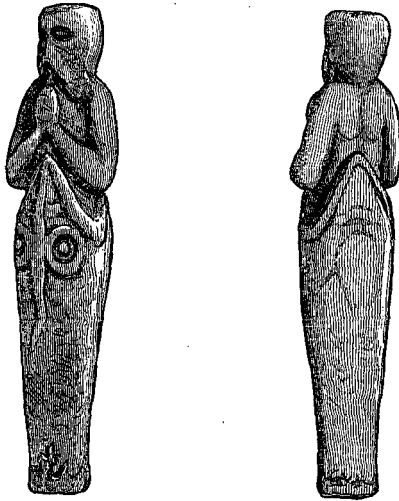
<sup>2</sup> A sarcophagus in white marble, found at Chullu in Algeria, bears a number of Christian subjects, in bold relief, in panels divided by palm-trees, among which are Daniel and Jonah as usually represented in the fourth and fifth centuries, except that Daniel is clothed in a classical tunic (as on the glass vessel from Podgoritz) and the tail of Jonah's fish wants the usual convolution. It is figured in the "Annuaire de la Société Archæologique de la province de Constantine," 1856-7, and described as "Bas-relief énigmatique."

<sup>3</sup> In the Church of San Michael de Murano, at Venice, there is an ivory plaque with a representation of the Saviour as a centrepiece, and containing also the two principal scenes from the life of Jonah. In the scene under the gourd an angel is introduced bringing to the prophet the word of the Lord. Jonah (see Plate XVIII. fig. 5) is represented as reposing on the body of the "fish," which has a pair of long ears, a fish-like tail, and an elongated, attenuated snout, which suggests a resemblance to the similar appendage of the so-called "elephant" of the Scottish sculptured stones.—*Jahrbucher des Vereins von Aelterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, Bonn, 1863, Taf. v.

<sup>4</sup> These belt-buckles, says M. Troyon, are all found in graves of the same description, oriented and formed of undressed slabs. They contain also swords and daggers of damascened work, finger-rings, necklaces, and vases of coarse pottery.—*Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich*, Band ii. Heft 8, Zurich, 1844. In the cemetery of Pré de la Cure, the graves lay upon the ruins of Roman fortifications, and yielded agrafes and fibulæ of the usual Burgundian types, with beads and bracelets, rings, and other ornaments of bronze, and swords, daggers, spears, and hatchets of iron.—*Mitt. der Ant. Gessell. Zurich*, Band xiv. Heft 3, Zurich, 1862. Bonstetten figures a clasp with a human figure between two lions, which was found in the cemetery of Tronche Belon. The only other things found were an iron fibula and a coin of Constantine 1st, A.D. 335 or 337.—*Recueil des Antiquités Suisses*, pl. xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> On two carved Norwegian powder-horns (which I brought from Christiania in 1872) the subjects are partly scriptural. Adam and Eve under the tree are represented by the same conventional group treated almost in the same manner as in the catacombs, and in a style of art quite as archaic as on the sculptured stones of Scot-

not so much on account of its relation to my subject, as because it is now of rare occurrence, and the subject might not be generally recognised. It is a small statuette-like figure in brass,<sup>1</sup> two and a half inches in length, representing Jonah issuing from the mouth of the fish, with hands clasped



Brass Knife-handle, representing Jonah being disgorged by the fish (Actual size).

in allusion to his prayer from the fish's belly. He is here represented as an old man with a long beard. It has evidently been a knife-handle,<sup>2</sup>

land and Ireland, though one of the horns bears the date of 1759. Thus this conventional representation of the Fall exhibits an absolute constancy of type through fifteen centuries. David, Samson, and Daniel are also represented, but instead of the lions, it is the dragon that accompanies the last-mentioned figure.

<sup>1</sup> Bellerman describes and figures one exactly similar in an article, entitled "Mittelalterliche Bronze-figur des Propheten Jonas," in the "Jahrbucher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden in Rheinlande," Bonn, 1863, p. 44 and Taf. v. They seem to be rare, for he states that only other two are known to him—one found at Andernach, and now at Cologne, and another at Wesel.

<sup>2</sup> Bellerman, however, suggests that they may have been part of the handles of spoons used ecclesiastically for ritualistic purposes.

similar to several of the mediæval knife-handles of brass in the Museum, which are cast as figure-subjects, and are sometimes enamelled. This specimen belongs to the Bell collection, and was probably found in Ireland.

DANIEL AND JONAH ON THE "SCULPTURED STONES" OF SCOTLAND  
AND CROSSES OF IRELAND.

As these conventional representations of Daniel and Jonah were so universally connected with the sepulchral monuments of the early Christian Church, and with the ecclesiastical symbolism of the Middle Ages, it was reasonable to suppose that they might be found among the subjects represented on the sculptured stones of the early Christian time in Scotland and Ireland. This probability was strengthened by the fact, that in the few cases in which these interesting but mysterious groups have been identified, they have been found to represent scenes from Scripture. It was also reasonable to suppose that the further the conventional representation was removed from its original locality and time the greater would be its variability. This is exemplified by the fact that the variations of the representations in the catacombs are few in comparison with those in Switzerland and France, and these fewer than those in Scotland and Ireland.

The early Irish sepulchral slabs bear no emblems or sculptures except the figure of the cross.<sup>1</sup> They are usually incised and inscribed with simple formulæ. The later crosses, elaborately sculptured in bold relief, are more rarely inscribed. The subjects of their sculptures are altogether scriptural so far as they have been recognised,<sup>2</sup> and scarcely one-fourth of the whole remain unidentified.

<sup>1</sup> See the exhaustive monograph, "Christian Inscriptions in Ireland," in course of publication by the Royal Archæological and Celtic Society of Ireland, edited by Miss Stokes.

<sup>2</sup> The following are the most common of the subjects sculptured on the *Irish Crosses* :- 1. Adam and Eve under the tree ; 2. Cain and Abel (Cain with a club) ; 3. The Sacrifice of Isaac ; 4. Samuel selecting David ; 5. Samuel and David, with an attendant carrying the Head of Goliath ; 6. David and the Lion ; 7. David playing on the Harp ; 8. The Adoration of the Magi ; 9. The Flight into Egypt ; 10. The Baptism of the Saviour ; 11. The Temptation of the Saviour (by two dog-headed Demons) ; 12. The Five Loaves and Two Fishes ; 13. The Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem ; 14. The Betrayal ; 15. Pilate Washing his Hands ; 16. The Crucifixion ;

If the majority of subjects on the sculptured crosses of Ireland are thus certainly known to be scriptural, it is reasonable to suppose that the sculptured monuments of the ecclesiastical sites of the early Scottish Church may have been similarly decorated. In point of fact, Mr Westwood, one of the best authorities, though believing that on the Scottish stones the religious subjects were very few, and the secular subjects very numerous, had recognised David and the lion on the Aldbar stone, and Sampson smiting the Philistines with the jaw bone of an ass on the stone at Inchbrayock,<sup>1</sup> but no one seems to have thought of following up the clue, and comparing the Scottish sculptures in detail with the earlier and contemporary cycle of Christian subjects so commonly represented on the sepulchral monuments, and on objects of domestic and ecclesiastical use from the second to the ninth and tenth centuries.

As I am only concerned, in the meantime, with the two groups representing Daniel and Jonah, I now proceed to specify the instances of their occurrence on the Scottish and Irish sculptured monuments, and to indicate their identity in composition with the similar groups I have already described as prevailing in the earlier ages of the Church, and exemplified in the frescoes and sculptures and other relics of the catacombs, the decorations of churches, and the belt-clasps from Frankish Christian interments.

*Daniel and the Lions.*—Taking Scotland first, I find that the group representing Daniel and the lions occurs on its sculptured stones<sup>2</sup> as follows:—

1. On the transom of the cross at Camuston, parish of Monikie, For-

17. The Transfiguration; 18. St Michael Weighing the Souls; 19. The Last Judgment. O'Neil, in the preface to his "Illustrations of Irish Crosses," has recognised the most of these, but the group which he identifies as the three Marys at the Sepulchre is unquestionably the three Hebrews in the furnace. And the group which he calls conjecturally "Mary Magdalene and the Seven Deadly Sins," is undoubtedly Daniel in the den amid the seven lions. He has also failed to recognise the second scene of the flight into Egypt, representing the downfall of the idol, on the transom of the west cross at Monasterboice, and the ascent of Elijah in the chariot on the shaft of the same cross. Thus no fewer than twenty-three of the subjects on the Irish crosses are scriptural.

<sup>1</sup> See his remarks in a notice of Dr Stuart's work on the Sculptured Stones in Arch. Jour. xiv. p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> See the Plates of Dr Stuart's great work on the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

farshire (Plate XVII. fig. 1). Here the prophet is represented clothed, and with his arms fully outspread over the lions (compare fig. 7, on Plate XVI.), which are bending as if licking his feet. This group has been regarded as a crucifixion,<sup>1</sup> but there is no instance of a crucifixion represented with lions, and there is an example of the group representing Daniel in a similar attitude on the transom of a cross at Kells, in Ireland, while the crucifixion with the usually accompanying figures occupies the opposite face of the transom. As Daniel was a type of the crucifixion, there is no inappropriateness in the group occupying this place on the cross. In fact, there is reason to believe that the cross itself was sometimes substituted for the figure of Daniel. The stone at Ulbster, in Caithness, bears a cross on one side with two lions *regardant*, and at a little distance a figure kneeling with a pot or vessel, which might represent Habakkuk with the pot of pottage.<sup>2</sup>

2. On the stone at Dunkeld, Daniel is represented clothed in a long tunic, and with outspread arms, standing between two pairs of lions (Plate XVII. fig. 2).<sup>3</sup>

3. On the stone at Meigle,<sup>4</sup> he is represented clothed in a long tunic, and with arms partially outspread, standing between two pairs of lions, which have each one paw placed against his body (Plate XVII. fig. 3).

4. On one of the stones recently discovered at St Vigean's<sup>5</sup> the prophet

<sup>1</sup> It is so described by Commissary Maule in his description of the Barony of Panmure, 1611, given in the *Registrum de Panmure*, Appendix to the Preface, p. xciii.

<sup>2</sup> A glass vessel found at Varpelev, in Denmark, was ornamented with a group representing two lions similarly regarding a double cross of the equal armed form. It is figured in the "*Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*," 1861, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> He is represented with four lions in the Cathedral at Amiens; and with five in the Cathedral at Lincoln (*Arch. Jour.* xxv. 6). On the cross at Kells the number of lions is four.

<sup>4</sup> In his Preface to "*The Sculptured Stones of Angus and Mearns*," Patrick Chalmers states that he has not attempted to describe the figures. "With how little success this has been tried formerly," he adds, "may appear from the principal figure on the Meigle stone having been said by one to represent a woman torn by dogs or wild beasts, by another to be Daniel in the lions' den."

<sup>5</sup> See the account of this interesting discovery of many fragments of sculptured stones, including the upper part of the famous inscribed stone, by Rev. Mr Duke, F.S.A. Scot., minister of St Vigean's, in the *Proceedings*, vol. ix. p. 494. I am indebted to Rev. Mr Duke for a rubbing and full-sized drawing of the group here described.

is represented half length with outspread arms touching the mouths of two lions *couchant* on either side of him (Plate XVII. fig. 4.)<sup>1</sup>

5. On St Martin's cross at Iona, he is represented as a full-length clothed figure, with two lions rampant on either side of him, with open mouths applied to his ears (Plate XVII. fig. 5).

6. On a stone with mouldings at Inchinnan, Renfrewshire, he appears as a bust between two lions, having their open mouths applied to his ears (Plate XVII. fig. 6, and compare with Plate XVI. fig. 8).<sup>2</sup>

7. On the stone at Barrochan, the group occupies the lower part of the shaft of a cross. As there was not room for the figure of Daniel between the two lions, the sculptor has placed him over them, and under what seems a canopy, introducing the angel on one side and a figure which may be Habakkuk on the other (Plate XVII. fig. 7).

On the Irish crosses Daniel appears with two, four, or seven lions. On the shaft of the cross in the churchyard at Kells, he is placed in the same panel with the three Hebrews in the furnace, while on the reverse of the cross is the crucifixion. His figure is clothed, and as it rises into the narrow part of the intersection of the cross, his arms are but slightly outspread, his hands resting on the upturned heads of the two lions. In the centre of the transom of another cross which stands in the street at Kells, he appears with four lions and with arms fully outspread. Two of the lions are at his knees, and two above his arms, with open mouths

<sup>1</sup> On a sculptured font in the Museum at Copenhagen there is a similar group, the man's arms being entirely included in the lions' mouths. It is figured in the "Guide Illustré" to the Museum by M. Engelhardt. On three gold pendants found at Brangstrup in Denmark, and probably of the fifth century, there are representations which I cannot but regard as degraded copies of the conventional group of Daniel and the lions. See the figures of these and the interesting description by Archivary C. F. Herbst, a Corresponding Member of the Society, in the "Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed," 1866, p. 344, and pl. iv. See also the same group of Daniel with outstretched arms and his hands included in the lions' mouths on the tympanum of the door of the church at Tonnere in France, figured in Du Caumont's "Abecedaire," vol. i. p. 95. A curious representation of the group, in which Daniel appears kneeling, and with clasped hands, in the modern attitude of prayer, occurs on an "ivory pyx" in the Newcastle Museum. It is figured in W. B. Scott's "Antiquarian Gleanings," plate xxi.

<sup>2</sup> On one of the gold bracteate-like plates found at Brangstrup in Denmark, a similar bust-like figure with rudimentary arms is represented between two open-mouthed lions. (See Plate XVI. fig. 8.)



close to his head. In a panel on the base of the shaft of the cross at Moone Abbey, he appears as a rude cloaked or armless figure in the midst of the seven lions.<sup>1</sup>

Other examples might be adduced from the Irish crosses, but these will suffice for the present.

*Jonah and the Whale.*—The representation of Jonah, which, as we have seen, was the most popular of all the Old Testament subjects in the earlier ages of the Church, does not appear at all on the Irish crosses figured by O'Neill.<sup>2</sup> It is rare even on the Scottish stones, and is treated in a manner which shows that the recognised conventional treatment of the subject by the earlier Church was unfamiliar to the Scottish artists. In one case, on the stone at Dunfallandy, however, the recognised form of the "whale" so common in the catacombs, is fairly reproduced (Plate XVIII. fig. 7). The "dragon" or "whale" of Jonah was regarded as the leviathan of the Book of Job, and was figured as a "dragon" with two feet and a long convoluted tail terminating like that of a fish or seal. The head was sometimes provided with ears, and usually with a crest. On the Dunfallandy stone this monster appears with one leg of a naked human figure in his mouth. This is the third or disgorging scene in the full series of the story of Jonah, and its special significance on sepulchral monuments was, that it was a type of the resurrection. In the earliest representations in the catacombs, the prophet is represented as only half emerged, with both legs still in the throat of the beast, but in later representations he is usually represented, as at Dunfallandy, with only one leg, sometimes with only one foot, in the beast's mouth.<sup>3</sup>

On the stone formerly at Woodwray, near Aberlemno, in Forfarshire, and now at Abbotsford, there occurs a representation which seems to be the second or swallowing scene in the story of the prophet (Plate XVIII.

<sup>1</sup> "In the den were seven lions," Vulgate, Dan. chap. xiv. The sculptor of this group had evidently never seen a lion. His conception of the king of beasts is anything but complimentary. See the plates in O'Neill's "Irish Crosses" for these Irish examples.

<sup>2</sup> The only Irish example of Jonah is thus presumably the brass knife-handle of a late mediæval date which I have figured at p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> He is so represented on a marble bas-relief in the Church of St Maria del Popolo, on a frieze on the exterior of the Cathedral at Strasbourg, and on stained glass windows at Mans, Bourges, and Chalons-sur-Marne.

fig. 8). In this scene the position of the body of the prophet in the beast's mouth was always represented as the reverse of that in the disgorging scene which I have just described, the head and body being included in the mouth and the legs only visible, dangling from the open jaws of the monster.<sup>1</sup> In this case the "whale" or "dragon" of the usual conventional representations has become a four-footed beast, with a serpent-headed tail, but such liberties were not uncommon in the later treatment of these subjects.<sup>2</sup>

Had these representations originated independently in this country, the composition of the groups would have certainly exhibited greater variation from that of the same subjects as treated and fixed by the early Christian Church. In the cycle of early Christian art, each subject had in its main features a well-defined traditional type, consecrated by repetition, from which it was considered irreverent to deviate. It is impossible to conceive separate schools of art arriving independently at such closely similar and purely conventional representations of these subjects.

It is not impossible, however, to suggest the channel by which the subjects of these sculptured representations might have been introduced into Scotland directly from Rome. Bede, in his *Life of Benedict Biscop*,<sup>3</sup> states that in A.D. 648, when he returned from his pilgrimage to Rome, he brought with him paintings of sacred subjects, representations of the gospel histories, and placed them in his church at Jarrow or Monkwearmouth, "so that all who entered, even those ignorant of letters, might call to mind the grace of the Incarnation." Again, in A.D. 685, he brought other pictures from Rome, this time of saints and subjects from the Old Testament, among which the sacrifice of Isaac and the brazen serpent are specially mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> See the representations on a fresco, figured by Aringhi in "*Roma Subterranea*," vol. ii. p. 39, and on the glass vessel found at Cologne, figured in the "*Jahrbucher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunder im Rheinlande*," Bonn, Heft xxxvi. Taf. 3, for early examples of this scene.

<sup>2</sup> In the "*Hortus Deliciarum*" (twelfth century) the fish swallowing Jonah is a carp. In the apse of the church of St Jean a Lyon it is a shark turned on its back which disgorges Jonah. As to the serpent-headed tails so commonly given to the beasts of these sculptures, and the dragonesque work of the period, the idea is descriptive of the horses of the Apocalypse. "Their power is in their tails, for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads wherewith they do hurt."—Rev. ix. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Vita B. B. Abbatum Wiremuth (Op. Ed. Giles), vol. iv. p. 363, 375).

Now, it was to this very monastery of Benedict Biscop's, and to his immediate successor Ceolfrid, that King Nectan sent his famous letter in 710,<sup>1</sup> requesting instructions and assistance to enable him to reform the Pictish Church, and promising "that he and all his people would imitate the manner of the holy Roman and Apostolic Church as much as they, sequestered at such a distance, were able to learn." This was followed in 717 by the expulsion of the Columban clergy for non-conformity, and then, says Bede, "the nation of the Picts had a league of peace with Northumbria, and rejoiced in being partakers of Catholic peace and truth with the Universal Church."<sup>2</sup> Thus we see how the same cycle of Christian subjects that prevailed at Rome might have been introduced into Pictland, or that portion of Scotland to which these sculptured stones are chiefly confined, through the medium of the Northumbrian Church.<sup>3</sup>

Having thus added Daniel and Jonah to the subjects represented on the sculptured stones of Scotland, it might have been expected that I should have endeavoured to answer the question which naturally arises, whether there may not be more of these rude representations similarly recognisable by comparing them with their traditional prototypes. But it was no part of my purpose to do this, and if it had been, the facilities are not within my reach, for Scotland is singularly destitute of the ordinary sources of information on these interesting subjects.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bede's Eccles. Hist. Edit. Giles, London, 1860, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> The only indication of date we obtain from the sculptures is found in the coronal tonsure of St Peter, introduced into the Scottish Church by this same King Nectan in 717, which appears on one of the stones at St Vigeans.

<sup>4</sup> It may be desirable, however, to suggest that increased familiarity with the scope and treatment of the cycle of Christian subjects in the early ages might verify, and would no doubt greatly extend the following list, which I have hastily selected from among the rude groups on our "Scottish Sculptured Stones," and which is here given provisionally, viz. :—

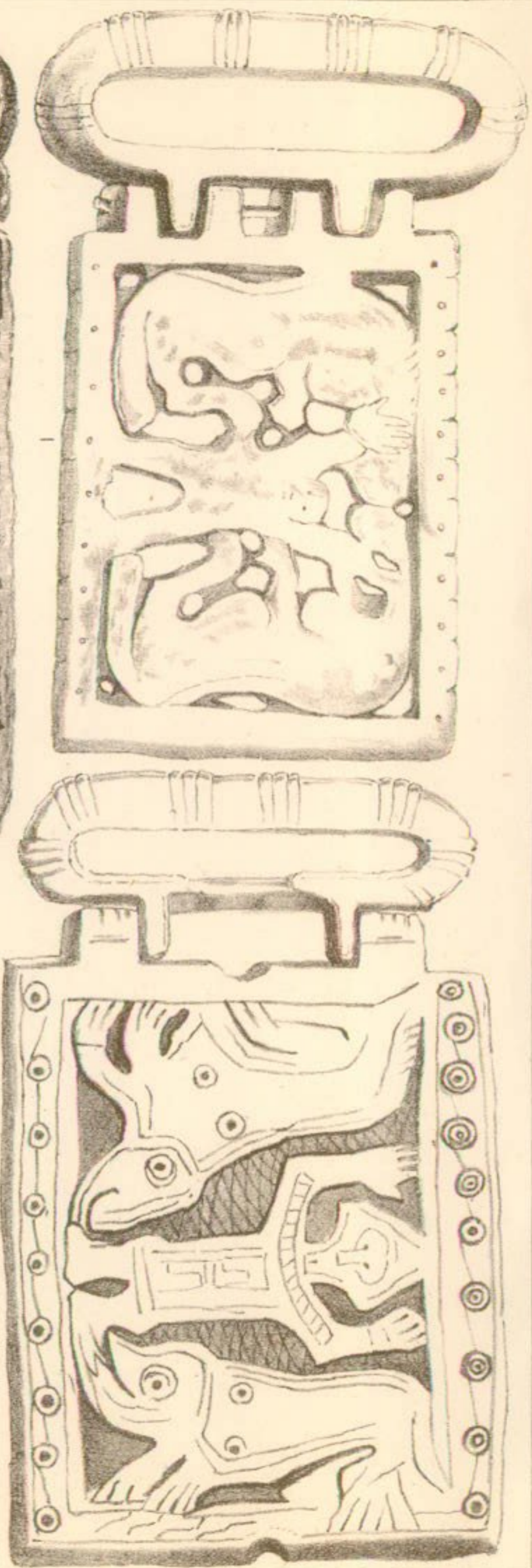
(1.) Adam and Eve under the tree, at Farnell and Iona. (2.) Samson smiting the Philistines with the jawbone, at Inchbrayock. (3.) Elijah in the Chariot, with the bear tearing the children, at Meikle. (4.) Daniel and the Lions, at Camuston, Dunceld, Meikle, St Vigeans, Iona, Inchinnan, and Barrochan. (5.) Jonah and the Whale, at Dunfallandy and Woodwray (the latter now at Abbotsford). (6.) David rending the jaws of the Lion, at Aldbar, St Andrews, Dupplin, Aberlemno, Drainie, and Nigg. (7.) David playing on the Harp, at Dupplin and Monifieth. (8.) Joseph's budded Rod, and the young men of the house of David bringing their Rods, at Eassie. (10.) The Annunciation, at Ruthwell. (11.) The Visitation, at Ruthwell and St Vigeans. (12.) The Virgin and Child, at Crail, Brechin, Kildalton, and on St Martin's

It is a pleasing thought—that these early sons of the Scottish Church exerted their skill to raise such pictured monuments over the graves of their spiritual fathers, for I presume that most of them are monuments of ecclesiastics. What could be more appropriate than that the sacred stories which these old teachers had spent their lives in repeating should adorn their grave-stones—that when the eloquent tongue lay silent in the dust, the dumb enduring stones should still speak and edify their people?

Cross, Iona. (13.) The Flight into Egypt, at Ruthwell. (14.) The Temptation of the Saviour (by the two dog-headed demons), at Hamilton and Kettins. (15.) The Healing of the Blind, at Ruthwell. (16.) Mary Magdalene washing the Saviour's feet, at Ruthwell. (17.) The four Evangelists, at Camuston. (18.) Pilate washing his Hands, at Canna. (19.) St John and the Agnus Dei, at Ruthwell. (20.) The Crucifixion, at Monifieth, Kirkecolm, &c. More doubtful, perhaps, are the following:—The Destruction of Pharaoh's host, with the twelve tribes, on the shore of the Red Sea, at Dunkeld; the Burning Bush, at Meigle; Ezekiel's Vision, at Dunkeld; Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate, at St Vigean and Aldbar; Aaron making the Golden Calf, at St Vigean; the Downfall of the Idol of Egypt, at St Vigean; the Trinity (significantly accompanied in either case by the same set of three of the mysterious symbols), at Dunfallandy and St Madoes. The symbolism of these monuments, however, is a separate subject, still awaiting a process of demonstration similar to that which has been applied to the sculptured groups of Daniel and Jonah. Enough has been said for the present, when it is suggested that the "hunting scenes," the centaurs, and other "impossible beasts," which so often occur in Scotland, have their counterparts on other Christian monuments of the early ages, and are explained by the allegorical teachings of the Fathers, or by the Bestiaries and Church decorations of the early Middle Ages.



Terra-Cotta Vase, in the Museum, from the Catacombs at Alexandria.



BELT CLASPS, WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF DANIEL AND THE LIONS, FROM EARLY CHRISTIAN GRAVES.  
 Fig. 1. From Arnex. Fig. 2. From Severy. Fig. 3. From Lavigny. Fig. 4. From Dailheus.

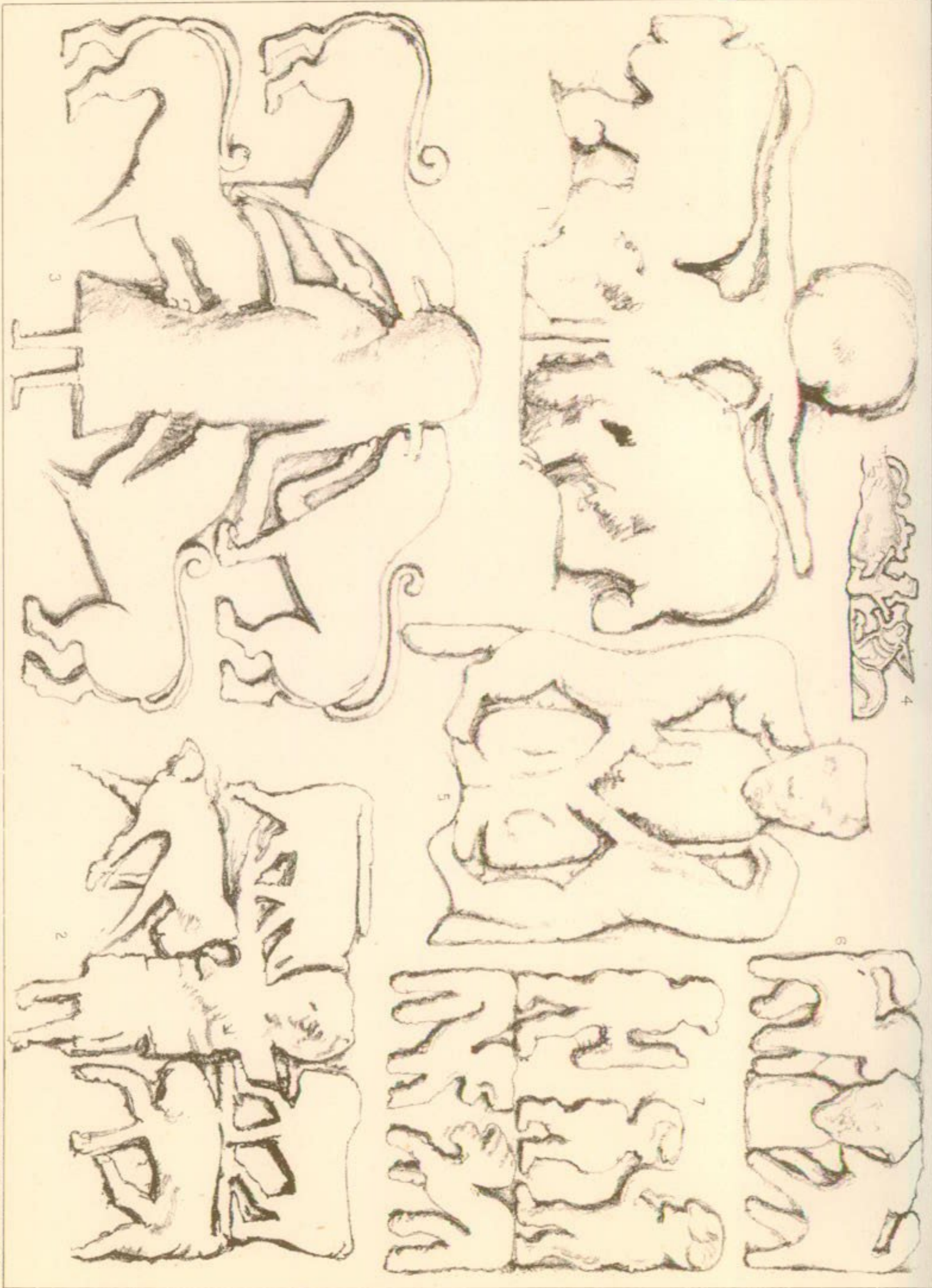
*Lithograph. By A. G. Johnson, Edinburgh.*



Lithograph, W. A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

REPRESENTATIONS OF DANIEL AND HABBAKUK AND THE ANGEL.

Fig. 1. Belt Clasp in Museum at St Germain. Fig. 2. The Central Group on a Sculptured Sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum at Rome. Fig. 3. On a lamp in Terra Cotta, in the Museum at Lausanne. Figs 4 & 5 on a Bucket from a grave at Mianray. Fig. 6. Earliest known representation of Daniel, a Fresco of 2<sup>nd</sup> Century, in the Catacombs. Fig. 7. From a Fresco in the Catacombs. Fig. 8. on a gold pendant of 5<sup>th</sup> Century, found at Brangstrup.



DANIEL AND THE LIONS ON THE "SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTTLAND"

Fig.1. At Camuston, Monkrie. Fig.2. At Dunkeld. Fig.3. At Meigle Fig. 4. At St Vigean.  
 Fig.5. At Iona on St Martins Cross. Fig.6. At Inchinnan Fig.7. At Barrochan.

Traced by W. & A. Woodman Edinburgh



JONAH AND THE WHALE, FROM FRESCOES, BELT CLASPS AND SCULPTURED STONES.

Figs. 1-4. Jonah from frescoes in the Catacombs: (1) Thrown overboard; (2) Being swallowed; (3) Being disgorged; (4) Under the Gourd. Fig. 5 The same on an Ivory Plaque. Fig. 6 On a belt clasp from a grave at Martens. Figs. 7-8. On Sculptured Stones, Scotland; (7) At Dunfallandy; (8) At Abbotstford.

Engraved by W. & A. Johnston, Edinburgh.