

II.

FURTHER DISCOVERIES OF CROSS-SLABS IN THE ISLE OF MAN.

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On two previous occasions I have had the pleasure of submitting to this Society accounts of inscribed and sculptured stones newly found in the Isle of Man.¹ To these have now to be added nine more pieces, including two very small and imperfect fragments, making a total of twenty-six brought to light since the publication in 1907 of my *Manx Crosses*, and completing our record of this class of monuments to the end of the year 1915.

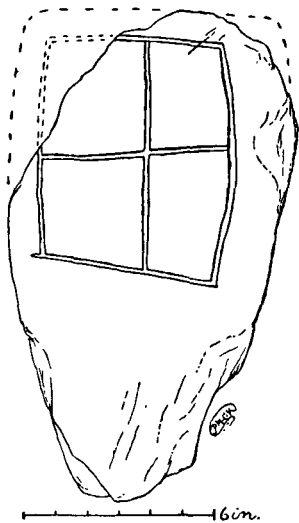


Fig. 1. Slab from East Keeill, Maughold Churchyard.

1 (fig. 1). An early slab from Maughold Churchyard. Besides the Parish Church, the foundations of which appear to date from the eleventh century, we have within the enclosures traces of four keeills or early Celtic churches. When in the course of our archæological survey we were excavating at the east keeill, this slab was found lying at the level of the floor just outside the doorway, which was in the west gable. It measures 16 inches by 8 inches and about 1½ inch thick, and shows on one face a plain, incised, linear cross within a rectangular panel. The lines, not carefully drawn, are from $\frac{1}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch wide, and less than $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch deep, some almost square in section; they appear to have been cut with a pointed knife rather than with a chisel.

2 (fig. 2). In Andreas Churchyard a water-worn slab of a pale, fine-grained altered slate, unlike others in that collection and apparently an ice-borne boulder, was found in perfect preservation owing to its having been long buried. It measures 20 inches by 5½ inches, and just over 3 inches thick. Each face has in outline a plain Latin cross with very slightly expanding limbs, the ends of which are left open, the angles at the junction having their sharpness rounded off. The lines are from $\frac{3}{8}$ inch to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, but only $\frac{1}{16}$ inch deep, and not cut with a chisel, but hacked or flaked out.

3 (fig. 3). In the ruins of Keeill Woirrey, Cornadale, Maughold, where an early cross-slab [18]² and a late runic inscription [114] had previously

¹ *Proc. S.A. Scot.*, vol. xlv. p. 437, and vol. xlvi. p. 53.

² The figures thus given in brackets refer to those in *Manx Crosses*.

been found, I turned over a slab which, when washed in the rain, revealed a cross somewhat like one at Maughold Church [20], and no doubt of the same period. It measures 42 inches by 16 inches at its widest part, and from 2 to 3½ inches thick. Within an "oval" ring is a plain Latin cross in outline; the surrounding ring looks as though the artist had been in

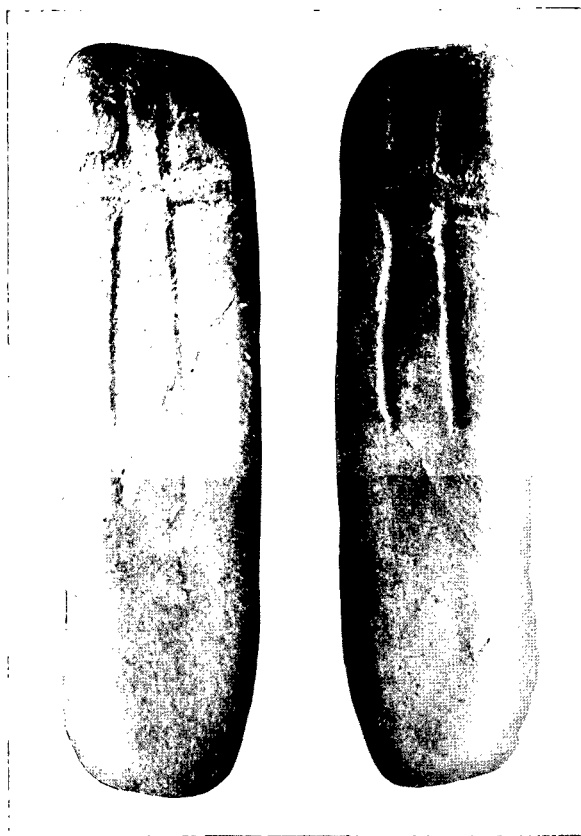


Fig. 2. From Kirk Andreas.

[*Photograph by Mr T. H. Midwood.*]

doubt whether to make it oval or rectangular. The lines are from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide, formed by hacking to a depth of only $\frac{1}{16}$ inch.

4 (fig. 4). In the spring of 1913, Mr F. S. Graves found a slab on his place at Ballamooar, Kirk Patrick, which he presented to the Manx Museum. It is broken and badly weathered, but it is possible to make out the design. The stone now measures 21 inches by 17 inches, and 3 inches at the thickest part. Its upper half has been worked to a round. Within a circular

ring, formed by a single line and having an inner diameter of 9 inches, is incised an eight-rayed figure, the rays not reaching the ring but terminating at about two-thirds of the distance from the centre. This, taken with the fact that the lines are straight and are not connected

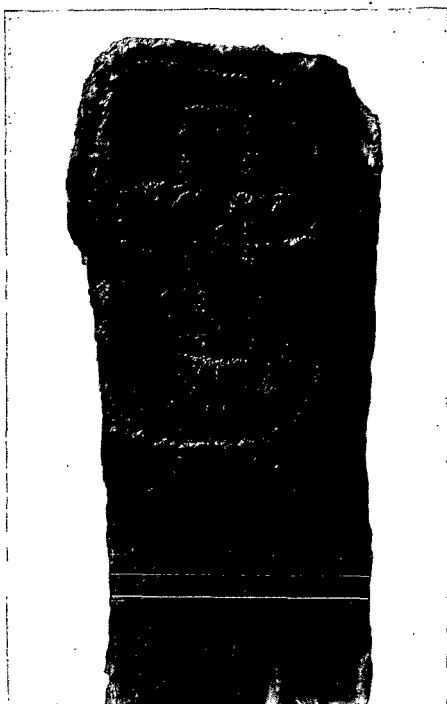


Fig. 3. From Keeill Woirrey, Corna,
Maughold.

[Photograph by Mr G. B. Cowen.]

at the ends, also that the angles at junction are acute, suggests that it was designed to represent one of the forms of the Chi-Rho monogram. That this symbol was known in the island appears by the use of two crosslets, evidently representing the monogram on the inscribed stone, Maughold [27], on which, too, the circle above contains a six-rayed figure, probably intended to suggest the same idea. Again, on a slab at Maughold [26], below the main circle which surrounds a cross-patee, is a smaller one containing a similar six-rayed design. Unfortunately, in the present example there is a crack down the central line, which is almost weathered away, and if at the top of it there were ever any indication of the Rho, this is now lost. In the alternative we must regard it as a cross-patee. We have one or two examples of outline crosses having the ends of the limbs left open, but acute angles at their junction are very exceptional, and we have no other instance,—unless in the peculiar forms at Peel [15 and 16], either incised or in relief, of a

cross-patee showing the limbs bordered by straight lines.

The stone was found near a wall about a quarter of a mile from the site of a keeill at the head of Ballaquayle Glen, from which it may have been taken at some time unknown.

5 (fig. 5). In a field on Middle Farm, in Braddan, a slab had been set up by a former proprietor of which no one now remembers the history. Last spring the present owner allowed our Museum trustees to place it along with others from the same parish in Braddan old church. It measures 66 inches high by 12 inches to 13 inches wide, expanding across the upper part to a width, originally, of about 16 inches, and is from 6 to 7½ inches

thick. One face is sculptured, and shows, in relief of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, a plain Latin cross hacked out. It is badly weathered, but the limbs appear to have expanded in the form of the cross on the large slab at Maughold [72], a detail of which we have no other example. Between the limbs are cup-hollows, 1 inch in diameter by $\frac{5}{8}$ inch deep. These, with the oval-shaped expansion of the upper part of the slab, give the suggestion of a surrounding ring. The upper and lower limbs are marked by similar hollows near their extremities.

Though there are now no remains of a keeill on Middle Quarterland, I find that a small plot of ground at its western end is freehold. This, in the Isle of Man, generally indicates ancient Church lands, and it seems most likely that a keeill once occupied the site, from the cemetery attached to which this interesting monument had been brought to its present position.

6 (fig. 6). A small fragment which came to light in excavating at the east keeill, Maughold Churchyard, appears to have been broken off a cross-slab. It is of a rather soft blue slate, unlike the material of the other slabs there, and measures 8 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and from $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to 1 inch thick. It seems to show the end of one arm of a cross in low relief. The

other face bears a little incised crosslet and some scores which may have been cut later.

7 (fig. 7). In the same keeill, near the position of the altar, I picked up another fragment, which was of a more gritty material, measuring 9 inches by 5 inches, and 1 inch thick; this has almost certainly been flaked off an early cross-slab. Too little of the design is left to show its position in relation to the figure of a cross, if, as I think, there was one; but though badly worn, it is of interest as giving an example of the C-spiral, doubled, which rarely occurs in our district. Hitherto it has been met with only on four pieces, two of them from this same churchyard. On the Calf of Man crucifix [50] it appears as one of the decorative designs on the lower part of the robe of Christ; a broken piece of zoomorphic interlacing from Maughold [60] shows four such devices between the plait and the

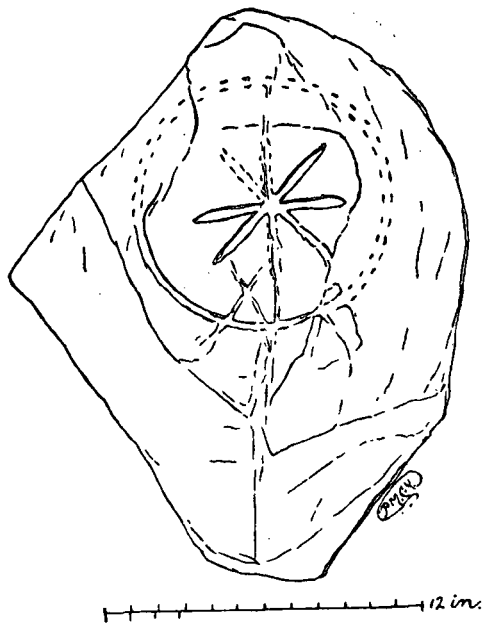


Fig. 4. From Ballamooar, Patrick.

border of the slab; on the main face of the large monument, Maughold [72], which I have suggested may date from the middle of the eleventh century, but Mr Collingwood thinks might be even a century earlier,



Fig. 5. From Middle Farm, Kirk Braddan.

[Photograph by Mr T. S. Keig.]

it occurs as one of the designs in a recess between the limbs; and, finally, the Thor cross, Kirk Bride [97], bears in a panel below the ring which surrounds the cross, on one face, the design of two such spirals doubled and set face to face.

8 (fig. 8). At the clerk's house, close by Maughold Church, was found a broken slab which gives another instance of this spiral design; and it

is not from the same piece as the last. The stone now measures about 11 inches by 9 inches, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick. The "grain" shows that the stone must have been set up either as represented in my figure, or the other way round. The spiral, which is $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in relief, was no doubt continued to form a similar one facing it, giving a square design, and below it we see the beginning of some interlaced work. This may have decorated the head or, possibly, the lower end of the shaft of a cross which would have been about 6 inches wide. The incised lines at the side of it look like remains of a square panel ornament, probably eight-rayed. If balanced by similar designs between each of the limbs

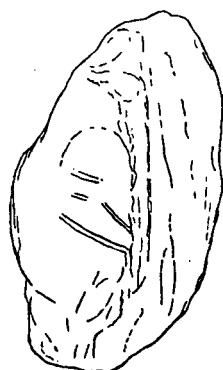


Fig. 6. Fragment from East Keeill,
Kirk Maughold.

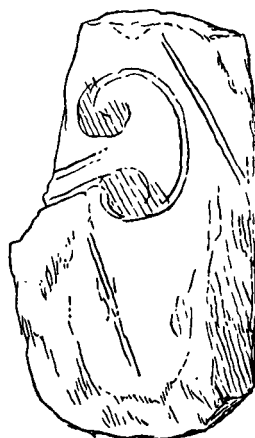
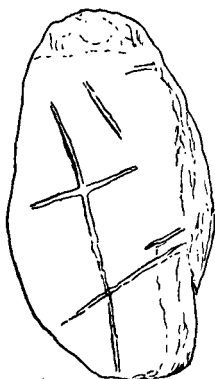


Fig. 7. Flake from East Keeill,
Kirk Maughold.

of a cross, the slab must have measured about 3 feet wide, and may have had another 2 feet or so in length to allow of being set into the ground. If the portion in relief be not part of a cross, it might perhaps be a border surrounding the panel, which does not seem likely; in that case, too, the border was evidently not continued round the four sides. In any event, the design is new to our district. The work is nicely executed with a smooth chisel; the incised lines, V-shaped in section, are nearly $\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide and rather less than $\frac{1}{8}$ inch deep.

9 (fig. 9). When excavating at the north keeill in Maughold Churchyard we came across a lintel grave just outside its south-west corner, at the east end of which was an upright slab. This, in the course of time, had become completely buried beneath the rubbish of the ruined walls. Evidently it had been moved before, as it was broken at both ends and

bore on each face cuts and scribblings which appear to be comparatively recent. It proved to be a Scandinavian monument of late date, and differing greatly from others previously recorded. The stone now measures about 30 inches high by 11 inches wide, and from 2 inches to 2½ inches thick. Each face shows remains of a long-shafted "Celtic cross," to which an appearance of low relief is given by the shallow cup-recesses at the junction of the limbs and by the cabled border. The head was plain, and the shaft shows a stiff and inartistic design, carelessly drawn, formed by a vertical step-pattern, having the angles of the "steps" con-

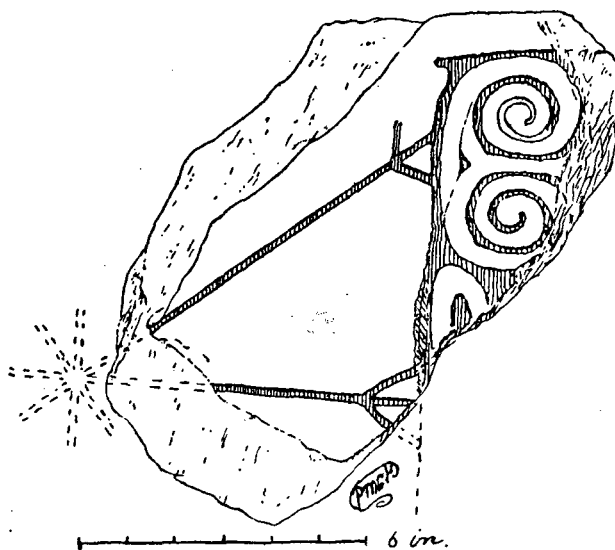


Fig. 8. Fragment from Kirk Maughold.

nected by double scores. The cross is bordered by a well-designed though feebly executed cable-moulding, and the idea of relief is accentuated by a slight gradual deepening of the surface of the slab along the length of this moulding, beginning at a distance from it of about 1 inch. The only other decorative work, just below one limb of the cross, takes the form of a Viking ship, most interesting as being the first example found in the island, and as affording a link with the later monuments in the Western Isles which bear the ship as a design.

The main inscription is on this face, and runs up the space at one side of the shaft. The arm of the cross coming in the way, the last word, which is the name of the person to whom it was erected, was cut parallel to it at the other side of the shaft—that is to say, beneath the other arm of the cross, where there was room for it above the sail of the ship.

ncidentally, this shows that the inscription was cut after the decorative work was finished. A short inscription, in a similar position on the other face of the stone, gives the name of the "rune-smith." The first

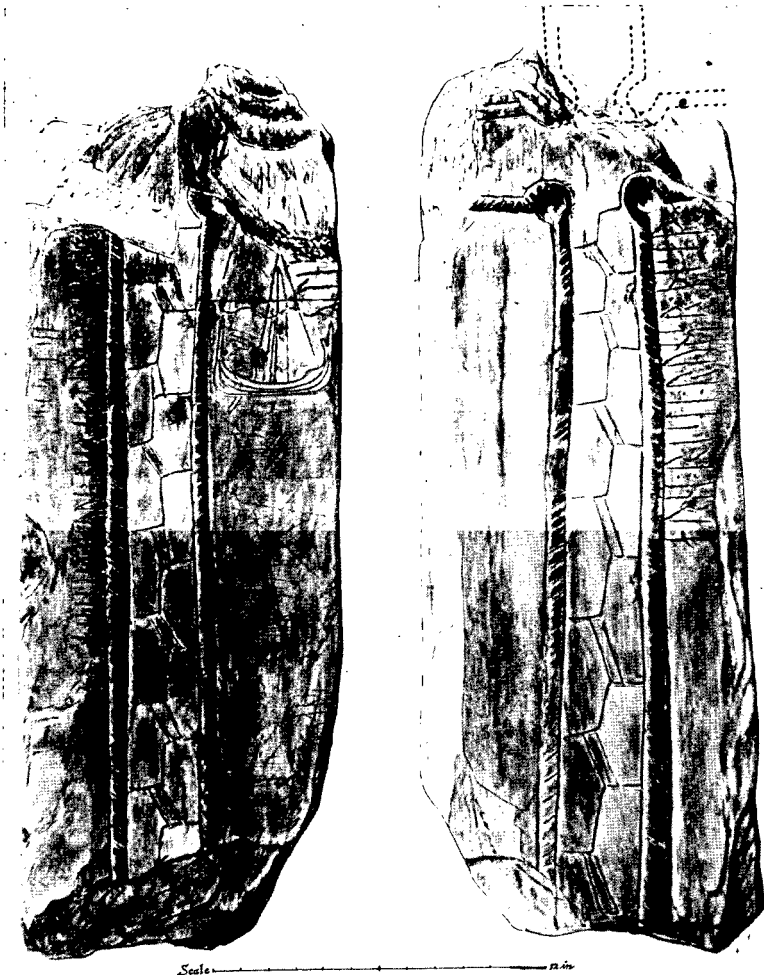


Fig. 9. Hedinn Cross, Maughold.

reads—"Hedinn : seti : krus : thino : eftir : dutur : sino—Lif"; the other—"Arni : risti : runar : thisar." That is to say, "Hedinn set this cross to the memory of his daughter (H)lif." "Arni cut these runes."

The runic characters show peculiarities in form and in value. For

the first time in Man we see the H, *hagel*, in its ordinary Scandinavian form of a stem-line crossed at the centre by two small diagonal lines. The stung-rune, which in certain of our inscriptions represents H, here stands for E, as it does in those numbered in *Manx Crosses* [85, 104, 112, and 113]. The fourth rune in the Scandinavian Futhork, Oss, is formed in all other Manx inscriptions in which it occurs by two diagonal strokes down-falling on the right side of the stem-line; here the character strokes are on the left, which in the Isle of Man is the form elsewhere used to represent the letter B; as a late form for O we meet with it at Maeshowe. The runes for A, N, and T have their character strokes on both sides of the stem-line, a peculiarity which in our district only occurs elsewhere on the Mal Lumkun cross, Michael [104]; though, unlike that inscription, we find here the rune for S in our usual form of a half-stroke ending in a dot.

The main inscription gives us a new word, and this constitutes also a formula new to the Island, namely, *SETI*, where elsewhere we find *RAISTI* in one or other of its forms. The word occurs in the old heathen formula—*SATI STAIN*, “set up a stone,” and, as Mr Collingwood tells us, was introduced into Britain by the Angles. In 1911 Mr Collingwood described an Anglian cross-shaft from Urswick Church with the inscription—“*Tunwini set up* in memory of *Torhtred* a monument to his lord.”¹ He tells me of two shafts from Thornhill, near Dewsbury, which he takes to be of late ninth century, in which we find “*sete*” and “*sett*.” However, though these were crosses, we do not find the actual word for “cross” expressed as in the present instance, and in the Urswick inscription the objective appears to be “*becun*,” *i.e.* monument. The word, he adds, was used in this district as late as the middle of the twelfth century, and occurs in the tympanum at Pennington, Furness: “*seti thesa kirk*” (*Cumb. and West. Trans.*, N.S., iii. 373). The word for “daughter” is here spelled “*tutur*,” as on the slab at Peel [113], and not as on the Mal Lumkun cross, which has “*totir*.” The T-rune generally in this district serves also to represent D. In the short inscription we meet with “*risti*,” cut, carved, from “*rista*,” as in [81, 113 (*raist*) and 115 (*raisti*)], and not from “*raisa*,” to raise, as in [100, 105, 108, 109, 111].

The names are all new to our district. They appear in Saga literature, and are not distinctive of nationality. *Hedin*, in which Thorn, TH, the third rune, is used to express the D, means literally a “jacket of skin or fur,” and appears as the name of a heroic being in “*Bragi’s Shield-lay*” as the husband of *Hild*. At least six men of the name are found

¹ *Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, vol. xi., new series.

in the Icelandic Book of Settlement, and others in the Orkneyinga and other Norse Sagas. It is rather curious that in two instances we read of a Hedin having a daughter named Hlif, namely, in Vaga Glum's Saga (period of Olaf Tryggvason) and in Landnama,—Hlif, the daughter of Hedin of Meola in Norway. Hlif, literally "cover, protection, shelter, especially of a shield," appears in heroic days with Hlifthrasa and others as maids that sit at Manglaed's knee on the hill of healing. Landnama mentions several of the name, and Turf Einar had a daughter Hlif. The initial H is omitted in our inscription, as it is in the older pieces Michael [100] and Braddan [110], in which we find respectively "Rumun" and "Roskitil," with the initial dropped. Regarding the name Hlif, however, it must be pointed out that it is broken at the letter F (the stem-line and upper character stroke of which can be traced), between which and the arm of the cross there would have been room for three or four runes. It is just possible, therefore, that the name was a compound. This is suggested by some scribbled runes finely scratched between the stern and the sail of the vessel. The first three of these runes are certainly copied from those below them, as shown particularly in a slight peculiarity of the rune for L. If the other three were also correctly copied, we find a name Lifilt [H]lif[h]ild, a compound, however, which appears to be not otherwise known. Arni, also a well-known name occurring in the Sagas, and, about 1170, in Iceland, is found as that among others of the noted builder of the cathedral at Skalholt.

The runes, especially in the short inscription, are deeply scored, evenly spaced, and well formed, but differ to such an extent from those of any other of our inscriptions that, taking into consideration also the novel formula, we must believe it to be the work of a new scribe who had come from or gained his knowledge of runes in a district other than that of our Manx rune-cutters. The inferior workmanship of the cross makes it seem unlikely that he was the artist of that; had he been so, he would also have expressed himself differently, and, instead of saying "risti runar thisar," "cut these runes," he would have said "gerthe," as Gaut the sculptor of Andreas [73] (garthe), or "gerthe thano," *i.e.* made, worked this cross, or this monument, as did the same Gaut on Michael [74] (girthi). There can, I think, be no doubt that both artist and rune-cutter were new to the Island, no other example of the work of either of them being known. The form of the cross on each face, with its long shaft and absence of ring connecting or surrounding the head, is met with among the Scandinavian pieces in our district, but is unusual. Cable-moulding is rare, and, in only two late instances, Michael [104] and Braddan [108], is it applied as a

border to the figure of the cross. But in this case the design of the cable is different, and may afford a clue to the district from which the artist came.

The border is flat, and not really in relief; it is badly weathered as well as unevenly worked, but the better-preserved portion seems to show a double strand which the sculptor had attempted to represent by deep and by thin lightly cut lines alternately, with a very slight scallop between. The nearest approach to this treatment that I know of is on a Scandinavian stone from Bilton, as figured (Class "BC") by Mr Collingwood in his excellent account of "Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding," which he describes as an "unusual cable-edge, imitating a double-strand cord twined round a roll of soft material."¹ At pages 164 and 166 he figures two Anglian crosses from Dewsbury with peculiar cable-work of slightly different character. We may surmise that the artist of Hedin's cross had seen these or work like them, and had tried from memory to execute a similar design. As to the feeble decoration of the shafts, I have seen nothing like it elsewhere.

The ship is more carefully drawn; it has nothing in common with the rest of the decorative work, and looks as though it had been done to order and placed for a definite purpose in a conspicuous position. Possibly it was added by Arni. It is drawn in outline, and ornamented with two lines between the bulwarks and the keel, with a little flourish also at the stem and at the stern. The treatment is realistic; it is high at the prow and the poop, and shows clearly the raised "lypting" on which the commander stood and steered; the bulwarks are low amidships. The sail is furled, and instead of the fixed rudder at the stern we find the steering-oar near to it on the right side, "stjorn bordi" (our "starboard"), not, I think, elsewhere met with. Are we to regard this as merely ornamental, or as in the nature of a heraldic device?

The device used as the arms of the Kings of Man and the Isles when heraldry was in its infancy was a ship, which appears to have been taken over later by the Lord of the Isles when dropped by the Manx Sovereign. In the time of Camden there was in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster a perfect seal, which has now long disappeared, of Godred Crovan; this was described by him as bearing a "ship in ruff sables," the reverse showing the effigy of a man on horseback. A seal of King Olaf to a charter in 1134 bore a ship with sails furled; and in the British Museum are two of King Harold, 1245 and 1246, with the same design. These are figured in Oswald's *Vestigia*, Manx Society, vol. v. One of them shows neither sail nor yard; the other has the sail furled, and shows remains of the standard. But the form of the vessel is conventional

¹ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 141, figs. *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g*.

and not that of the Viking ship. Attached to a Paisley charter (*circ.* 1175) is a seal of Reginald, second son of Somerled, which bears a ship filled with men-at-arms; the reverse has a man on horseback, like that of Godred Crovan, of whom Reginald's mother was a granddaughter. Woodward's *Heraldry* states that "on a seal of Angus of the Isles, of the year 1292, appended to a homage deed in the chapter-house at Westminster, the lymphad or galley with furled sail appears, but not included in a shield." He gives as reference Laing, *Scottish Seals*, i., No. 450.

After heraldry had grown to be an established science the ship apparently had passed to the descendants of Somerled, now become "Lords of the Isles." It is a well-known heraldic device on sepulchral monuments in Kintyre and the Western Isles from about the fourteenth century. These all show a vessel of the same conventional form, with high prow and stem, but differing from the realistic drawing on Hedin's cross; the sail where shown is generally furled, but in Islay, where are eight instances, two have the sails spread. Sometimes standards are figured, sometimes sailors. All appear to have a fixed rudder at the stern. In 1903, Mr G. Collingwood turned over a slab in St Oran's Chapel, Iona, and found on the other face the worn remains of "a large ship in which six little figures are apparently acting as crew, one seeming to manage the sail." Some of the other figures appear to be in illustration of the Sigurd legend, so favoured in Man, whose royal house claimed descent from the hero. The rude drawing and the hacked work, adds Mr Collingwood, is "extremely unlike the native sculpture of Iona, though strikingly similar to the Manx carvings."¹ He thinks it may have been erected to Godred, King of Man. Now we learn from the *Manx Chronicle* that Godred died at St Patrick's Isle in 1187, and was buried at Iona. Mr A. Ritchie of Iona has kindly sent me a rubbing of the stone and a tracing of the figure of it given by Drummond. The ship shows high prow and stern, but is more rudely drawn than in our present example; no raised poop appears, and the hull is represented as very low, evidently to allow more space for the figures; it shows neither oar nor rudder. Mr Collingwood's figure confirms his account of the slab. It may seem late for this kind of work, but the tradition of it survived in the Isle of Man till the close of the Scandinavian period, and his surmise that this was a memorial to Godred, King of Man, seems quite likely.

In earlier times we find a boat figured on Scandinavian or Anglian monuments in the north of England, as on the Fishing Stone at Gosforth, and, in 1906, Mr Collingwood gave an account of an Anglo-Danish hogback found at Lowther which he regards as tenth-century work. This figures

¹ *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, vol. iii., part iii., Jan. 1904, p. 305.

a Viking ship filled with men and their shields; it has high prow and stern, but, possibly for want of space, no mast is shown.¹ On an elaborately sculptured cross-slab at Cossins, Forfarshire, which notwithstanding some "Pictish" symbols appears to be of rather late date, the figure of a boat is seen, with six men; that no mast is shown is probably due to want of space; it has straight bulwarks, but high prow and stern.²

The whole appearance of the Hedin cross is late, certainly a good deal more so than the monument to Godred Olafsson in Iona. The inscription is no great help in dating it, as the form of the runes and the precise wording are due to the district from which Arni came as much as to the period. Nothing in the inscription, however, is opposed to a late date, which is rather supported by the use of the B-rune to represent O. Neither do we learn anything from the names, as, unfortunately, we have no other record by which to identify them. There was, I think, a distinct purpose in figuring the vessel, which, I suggest, was added by Arni when he came to cut the runes, making it, as it were, a part of his inscription. This would be recognised by contemporaries as an indication that the descent of Lif either on the father's or on the mother's side, could be traced to Godred Crovan, from whom both the Kings of Man and the Lords of the Isles had derived the ship as an armorial bearing.

¹ *Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. vii., new series.

² *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, by J. Romilly Allen, p. 217, fig. 230, B.