VI.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS OF SCOTLAND.   By CECIL L. CURLE, F.S.A.Scot. (C. L. Mowbray).

This paper is not intended to be a complete study of the early Christian monuments of Scotland.   It is an endeavour to establish a classification and a tentative chronology, and to review the comparative material.

Although the whole collection of early sculptured stones in Scotland forms a very varied series, there is a main group of Christian monuments of a distinctive type of which there are more than a hundred still in existence.   These are distributed over an area extending northwards from the River Forth as far as the Shetland Islands, and westwards to the Hebrides, the majority, however, being on the east coast (fig. 1).   The uniformly Celtic character of their decoration makes it clear that in origin they go back to the period of the Celtic Church, and that they form part of the great group of early Christian monuments which extend over Ireland, the Isle of Man, Wales, and parts of England, as well as Scotland. But, although belonging to this series, the Scottish [1] sculptures show a definite originality.   The slab with a cross, as opposed to the free-standing cross of Ireland and Northumbria, developed, as in the Isle of Man, into the national type of monument.   It is an erect, rectangular slab of stone, sculptured in low relief, with a decorative cross on one or both sides of the monument, and the remaining space filled with ornamental or symbolic motives, animal carving, and figure scenes.   The art is characterised by the extraordinary intricacy of the decorative motives and the vigour of the animal carvings.

Since Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson published, in 1903, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland,* there has been no detailed study of these monuments.   This book is still the standard work of reference on the subject.   In it are photographs or drawings of all the monuments then known, and a detailed analysis of the decorative motives.   It was followed, in 1904, by Romilly Allen's *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times.*   His is the pioneer work on the subject on which much of this paper is based.   No very precise dating was at that time possible, and not much work had been done on the comparative material in the rest of the British Isles.   Since then a considerable number of books and papers have been published on the art of the Celtic Church in Ireland and on

[1] Throughout this paper the word "Scottish" is used in its modern, and not in its mediæval, sense.

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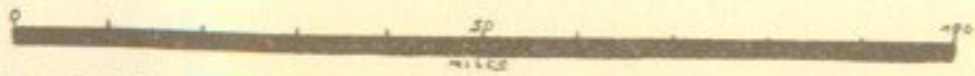
● PICTISH SYMBOL STONES
○ PICTISH ANIMAL CARVINGS } 6ᵀᴴ & 7ᵀᴴ CENTURY
● EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS
▮ CROSS SLABS 7ᵀᴴ 8ᵀᴴ & 9ᵀᴴ CENTURY
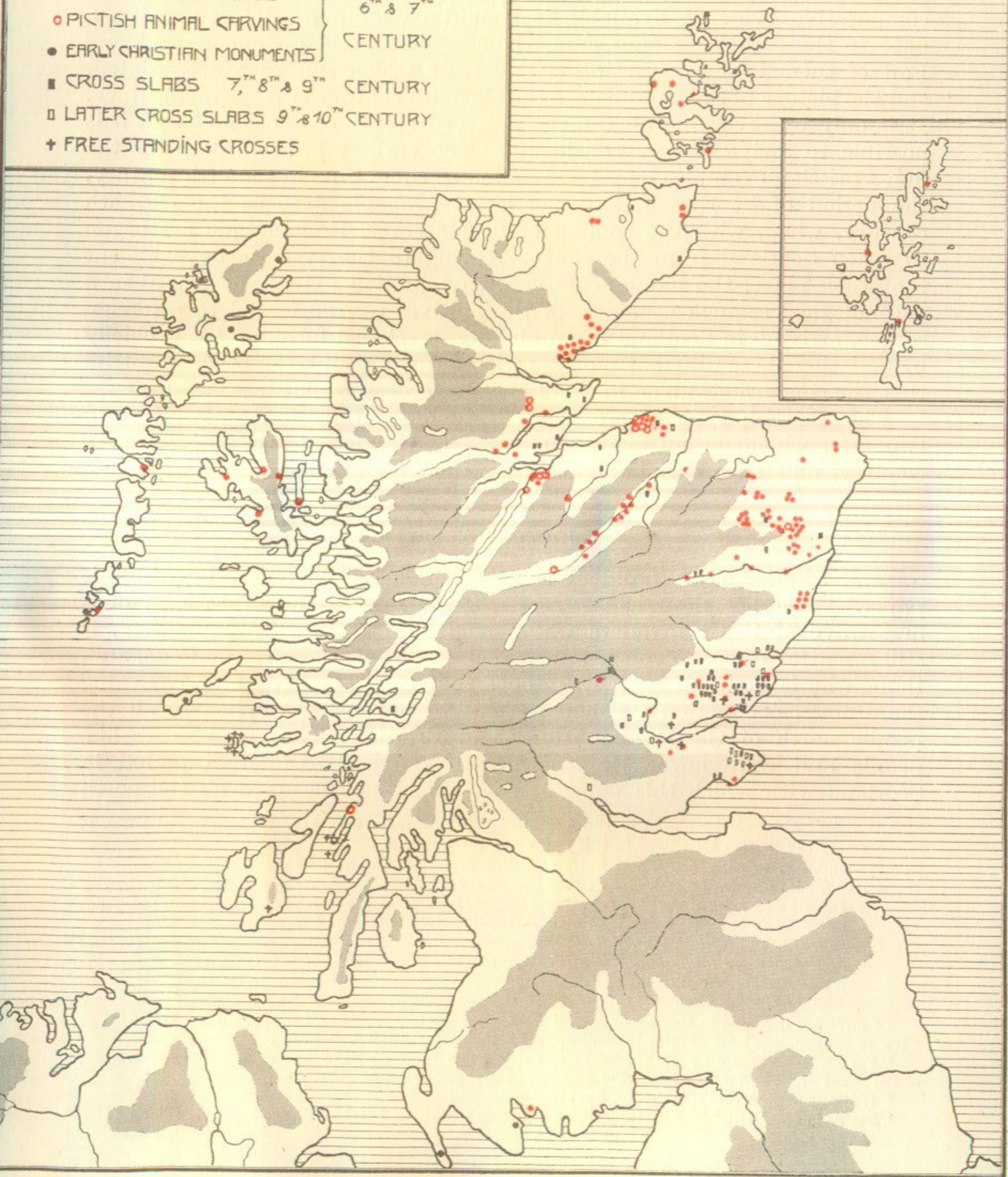▯ LATER CROSS SLABS 9ᵀᴴ & 10ᵀᴴ CENTURY
✚ FREE STANDING CROSSES

Fig. 1. Map.

the pre-Conquest crosses and carvings in England.[1]   With this increased comparative evidence available it should be more possible to assign a date to the Scottish monuments, though this is still a difficult problem. Few of them bear an inscription and none which can be exactly dated, and the history of Scotland before the eleventh century is very fragmentary. It is only by reviewing all the early carved stones of Scotland [2] that it is possible to arrive at any conclusion.   The earliest possible date for the first Christian examples may be accepted as some time in the fifth century, the period of St Ninian, and the latest probable date as the eleventh century, when, with the coming of St Margaret, Romanesque art began to reach Scotland from the south.   Owing to the stylistic development that took place, the monuments can, to a limited extent, be placed in a chronological sequence.   Many of the motives can be traced to a foreign source, arriving in Scotland in an already developed form, and it is chiefly by collating these different motives with dated examples in other countries that the conclusions given in this paper have been reached.

The Scottish type of cross-slab is fundamentally a manifestation of two arts, which, at an evolved stage, blend: Pictish art, native to the country, and Irish art, brought in by the Columban monks.

PICTISH ART.

The whole Pictish problem is too complicated to enter into in this paper.[3]   Whether the Picts were pre-Celtic inhabitants of Britain, or a first wave of Celtic invaders who mixed with the earlier population, is still a matter of controversy, but Watson considers them to be Celts, and, though he is nowhere explicit, implies that they are Brythonic.[4]   During the Roman occupation the name seems to have been applied to all the people north of the Roman frontier in Britain.[5]   They were a warlike people and were never Romanised.   In the early Christian period in Scotland with which this paper is concerned they occupied all the north

[1] A list of abbreviations used in the footnotes will be found on p. 116. The principal books of reference for the British Isles used in this paper are the following:—

Scotland.—J. Romilly Allen, The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland.

Ireland.—F. Henry, La Sculpture irlandaise and Irish Art; R. A. S. Macalister, Archæology of Ireland and Irish Epigraphy; Father J. Ryan, S.J., Irish Monasticism; Dom Louis Gougaud, Christianity in Celtic Lands; A. Mahr, Christian Art in Ancient Ireland.

England.—G. Baldwin Brown, Arts in Early England and The Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses; J. Brøndsted, Early English Ornament; W. G. Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age; A. W. Clapham, English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest; T. D. Kendrick, Anglo-Saxon Art.

[2] I have not included in this paper monuments south of the Forth and Clyde (with the exception of a few in the Candida Casa district in Galloway), for they were either British or Northumbrian.

[3] For various views on Picts see Watson, Celtic Place Names, p. 11; Pokorny, History of Ireland, p. 16; Macalister, Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times, p. 255; Hubert, The Celts, vol. i. pp. 203–8, etc.

[4] Watson, Celtic Place Names, pp. 68–71.

[5] See Eoin MacNeill, "The Pretanic Background in Britain and Ireland," J.R.S.A.I., lxxxi. pp. 1–28.

and east of the country.   In St Columba's time they were being gradually pushed back from the west coast by the Scots from Ireland, who had established the kingdom of Dalriada in Kintyre about the end of the fifth century.[1]   When Bede completed his history in 719 their southern frontier was the Forth.[2]

Their ethnic and national existence merged with that of the Scots when the two peoples were united under a Scottish king in the middle of the ninth century.

The art of the Picts is as enigmatic as their origin is obscure.   The indubitable examples that they have left are the so-called "symbols," of which there are fourteen different types (fig. 2), used over and over again in different combinations. Eleven of these "symbols" are apparently abstract designs. These may possibly represent particular objects, but, if this is so, they are produced in such a stylised form as to be no longer recognisable.   Of the remaining three "symbols," one is a fantastic animal with a long snout and lappet,
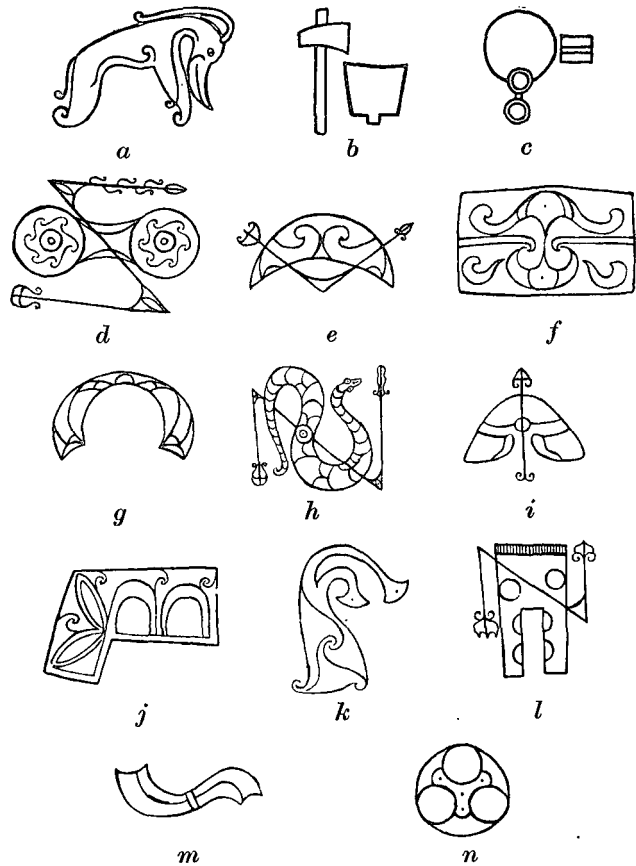

Fig. 2. Principal Pictish symbols.

always shown in the same attitude with hanging tail and drooping, fin-like legs (fig. 2, a); the other two are simple objective representations, a mirror and comb (fig. 2, c), a hammer and anvil (fig. 2, b).   No one has as yet succeeded in either dating them or explaining their origin or meaning. They are found over most of Pictish Scotland, unvaried in essential form, although differing slightly in decorative treatment.   They are engraved on rough stone pillars, on the walls of caves, on small objects of stone,

[1] See Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, p. 133 *sqq.*
[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. c. 26.

bone, and metal, and carved or incised on the majority of the main group of cross-slabs.

By far the greatest number of representations of these designs occur on the rough stone pillars generally known as "symbol stones," varying in height from 3 to 6 feet; occasionally on a natural boulder or on a pre-existing "standing stone" (Pl. XIII, a). There are more than a hundred and fifty still in existence, and on these are reproduced variations of all fourteen types of symbols. Their distribution extends from Shetland in the north to Perthshire in the south.[1] One example has been found outside this area in Galloway.[2] The greater number are on the east coast, there being nearly fifty in Aberdeenshire alone. There are no examples on the west coast of Scotland, but a few have been found on the western islands. The symbols are never found singly; there are always at least two, and sometimes as many as five or six, on the same stone. The four most common, the double disc and rod, the fantastic animal, and the mirror and comb, are found, one or other of them, on almost every symbol stone.

On the stone pillars are often associated with the symbols representations of animals: the fish, serpent, eagle, duck, stag, boar, deer, and wolf (Pl. XIII, d, and Pl. XV, a). In the same style and obviously belonging to the same period are a series of similar stone monuments whose only decoration is one of these animals (Pl. XV, b, and Pls. XVI, XIX, a, and XX, a). These are found, with one exception in Fife[3] and one in Argyllshire,[4] only in a rather limited area near Inverness. The style of the animal drawing is magnificently free, in marked contrast to the rather rigid patterns of the symbols. Although stylised and treated decoratively rather than realistically, the drawing is intensely virile. It is a hunter's art, the portrayal of animals with which, through long watching, the artist is closely familiar. In simple, decisive lines the essential characteristics of each animal have been seized: the strong curved beak and talons of the eagle, the heaviness of the bull, the grace of the deer, the light movement of the wolf. Here is clearly not an imitated art, although certain superficial features may have been borrowed; it is too alive and free, the animals are all native to Scotland and are those which the hunter artist would most intimately know. That such a spontaneous art is possible is shown by the prehistoric cave drawings and painted animals of Altimara, where again it is a hunter's art, with the form of the animal reduced to essentials. But although it seems to be a spontaneous art, created by the Picts, it does nothing towards settling the question whether or not they were a Celtic people; for, although on the whole Celtic art is confined to abstract design,

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[1] All the "symbol stones" and most of the places mentioned in this paper can be found in the *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, North Sheet*, published by the Ordnance Survey Office, 1938.

[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 478, fig. 508.

[3] East Lomond Hill, *P.S.A.S.*, lx. p. 33, fig. 2.   [4] Dunadd, see p. 67, and pl. XV, b.

a, Edderton, Ross, 10¼ feet high.
b, Invereen, Inverness, 4 feet high.
c, Dunnichen, Angus, 4⅔ feet high.
d, Knowe of Burrian, Birsay, Orkney, 3¾ feet high.

CECIL L. CURLE.

a

b

a, Easterton of Roseisle, Morayshire, 4 feet high.   *b*, Dunadd, Argyll.

CECIL L. CURLE.

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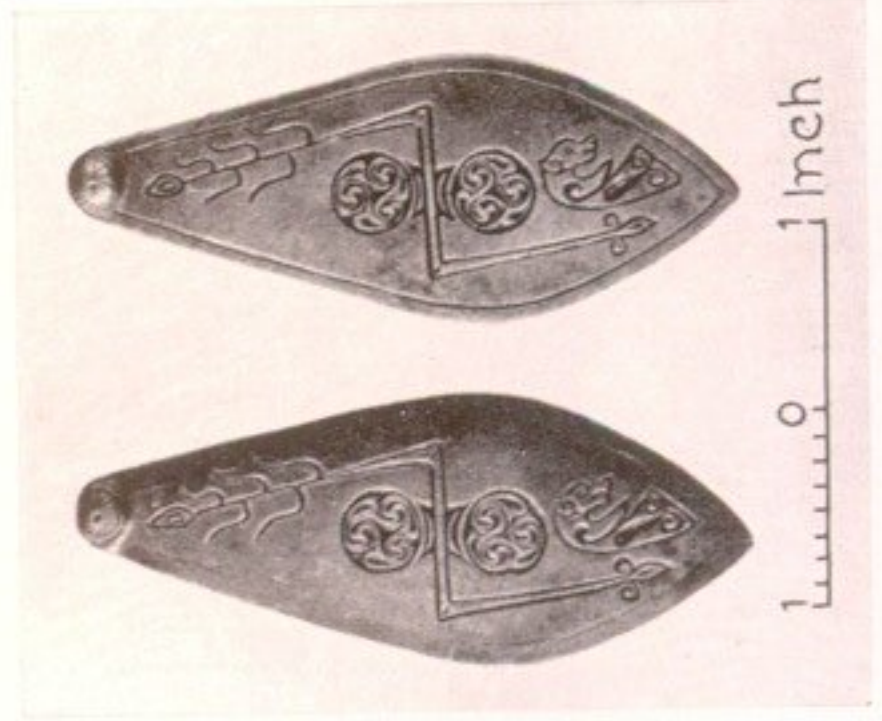
a, Mortlach, Banffshire; b, Dunachton, Loch Insh, Inverness-shire; c, Ardross, Ross-shire; d, Inverness;
e, Newbigging, Leslie, Aberdeenshire; f, Silver objects, Norries Law, Fife.

CECIL L. CURLE.

a

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b [*Photo F. Henry.*

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d

a, Kirkmadrine, Wigtownshire, 6¾ feet high; *b*, Ballivourney, Co. Cork, 3 feet high;
c, Papa Westray, Orkney, 2 feet high; *d*, Balblair, Inverness-shire, 4½ feet high.
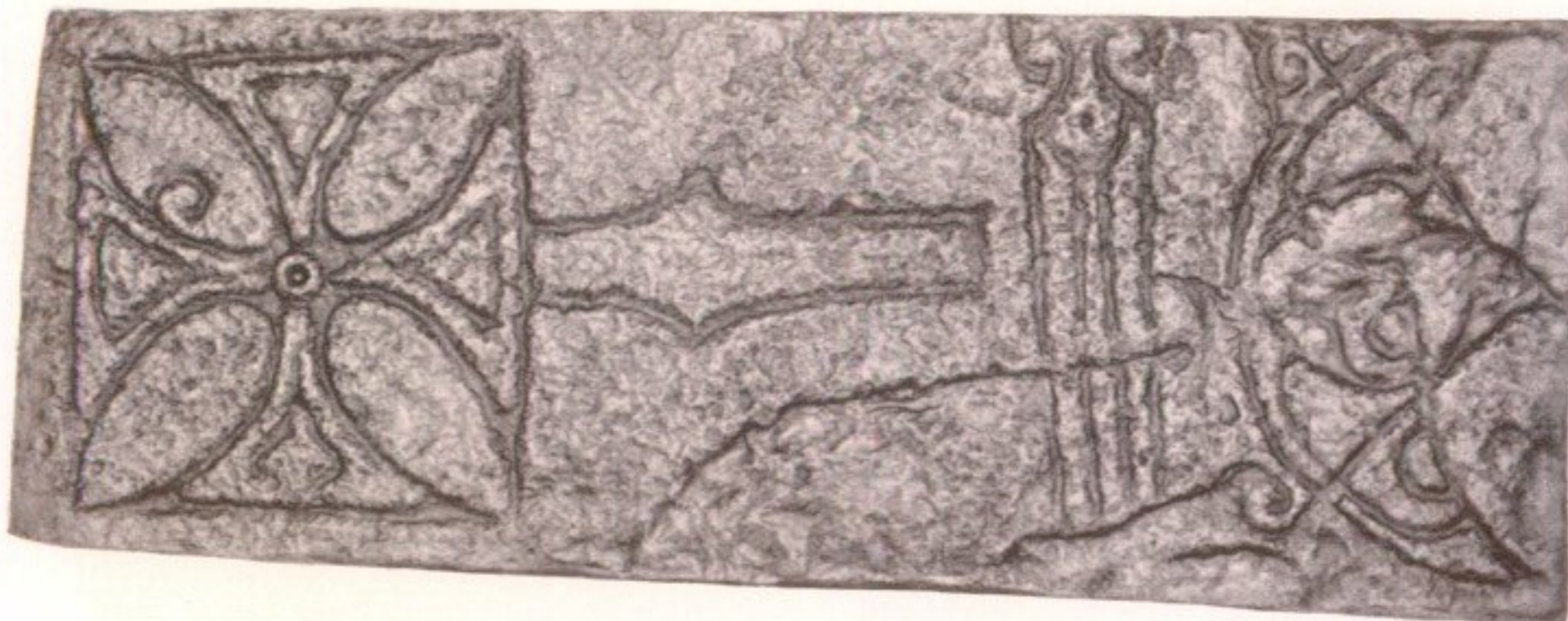
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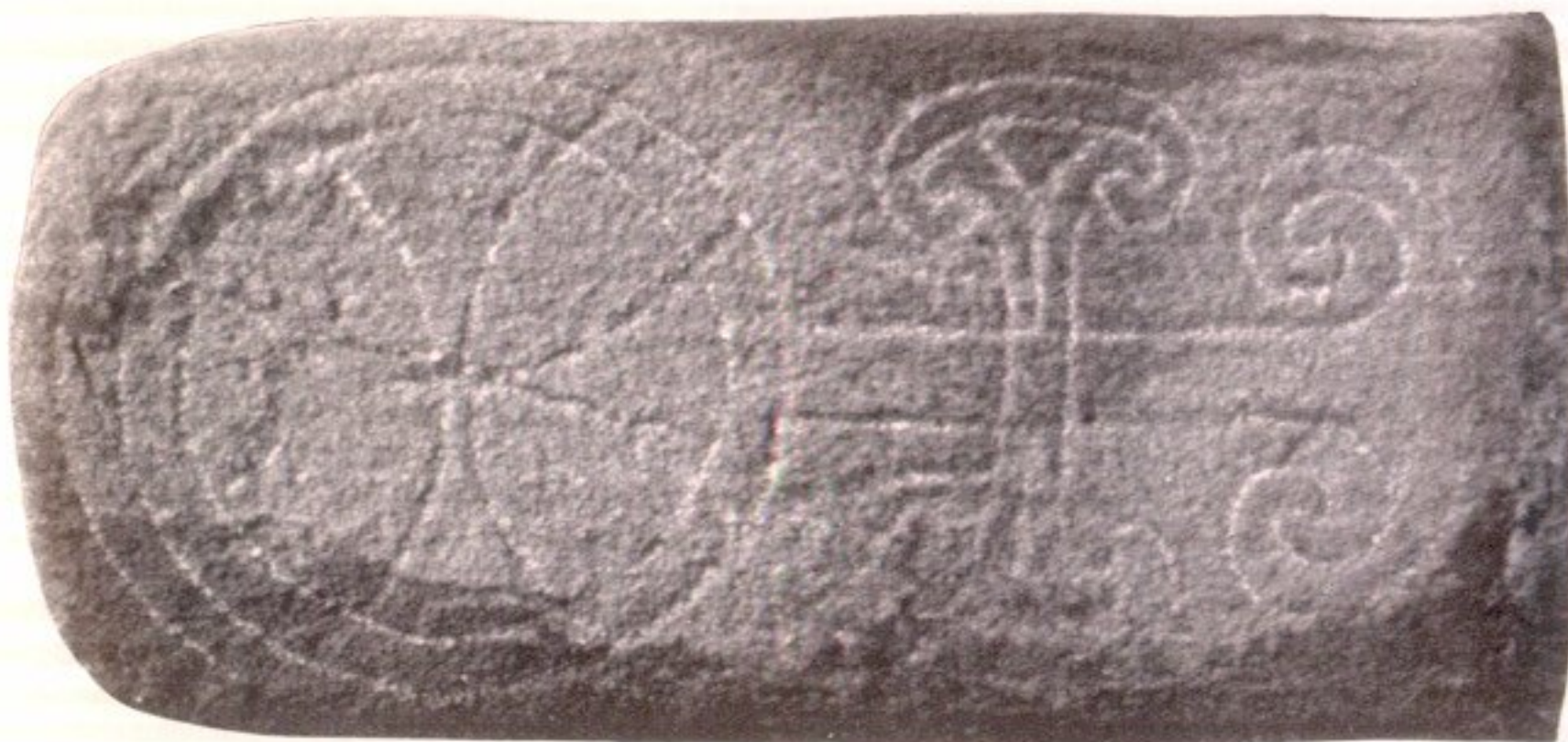
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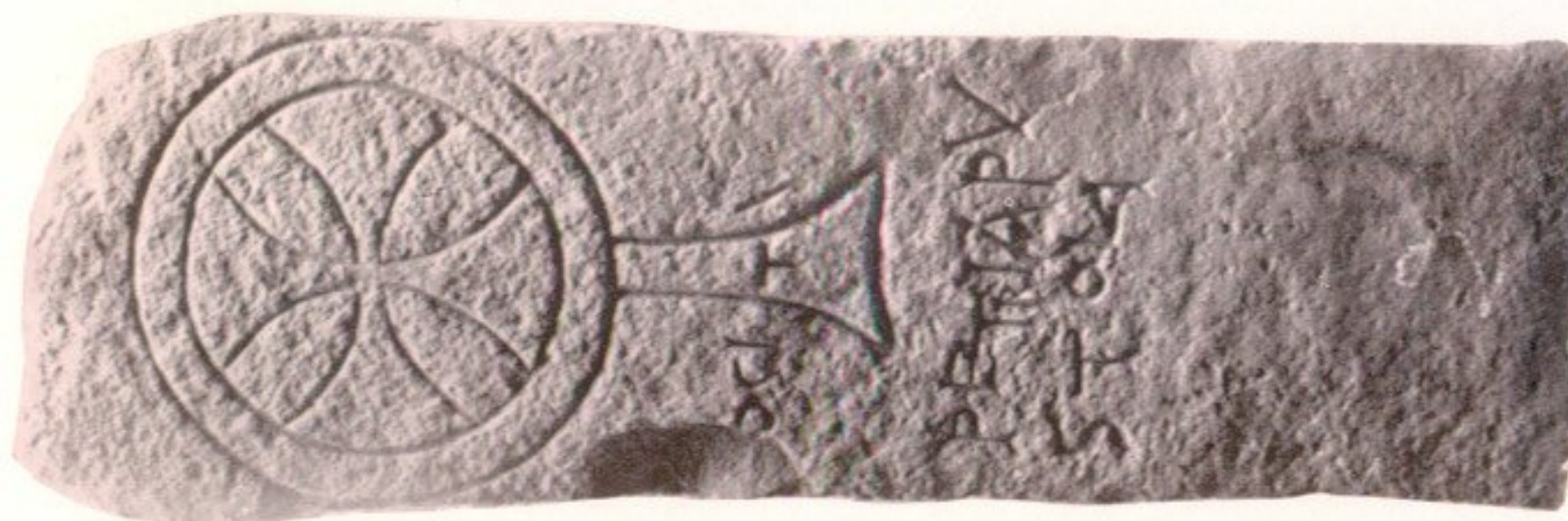
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a, Whithorn, Wigtownshire, 4 feet high; *b*, Inishkea North, Co. Mayo, 5¾ feet high; *c*, Raasay, Skye, 4½ feet high.

CECIL L. CURLE.

a   [*Photo C. L. C.*

b   [*Photo F. Henry.*

a, Wolf, Ardross, Ross-shire; *b*, Wolf from Book of Kells.

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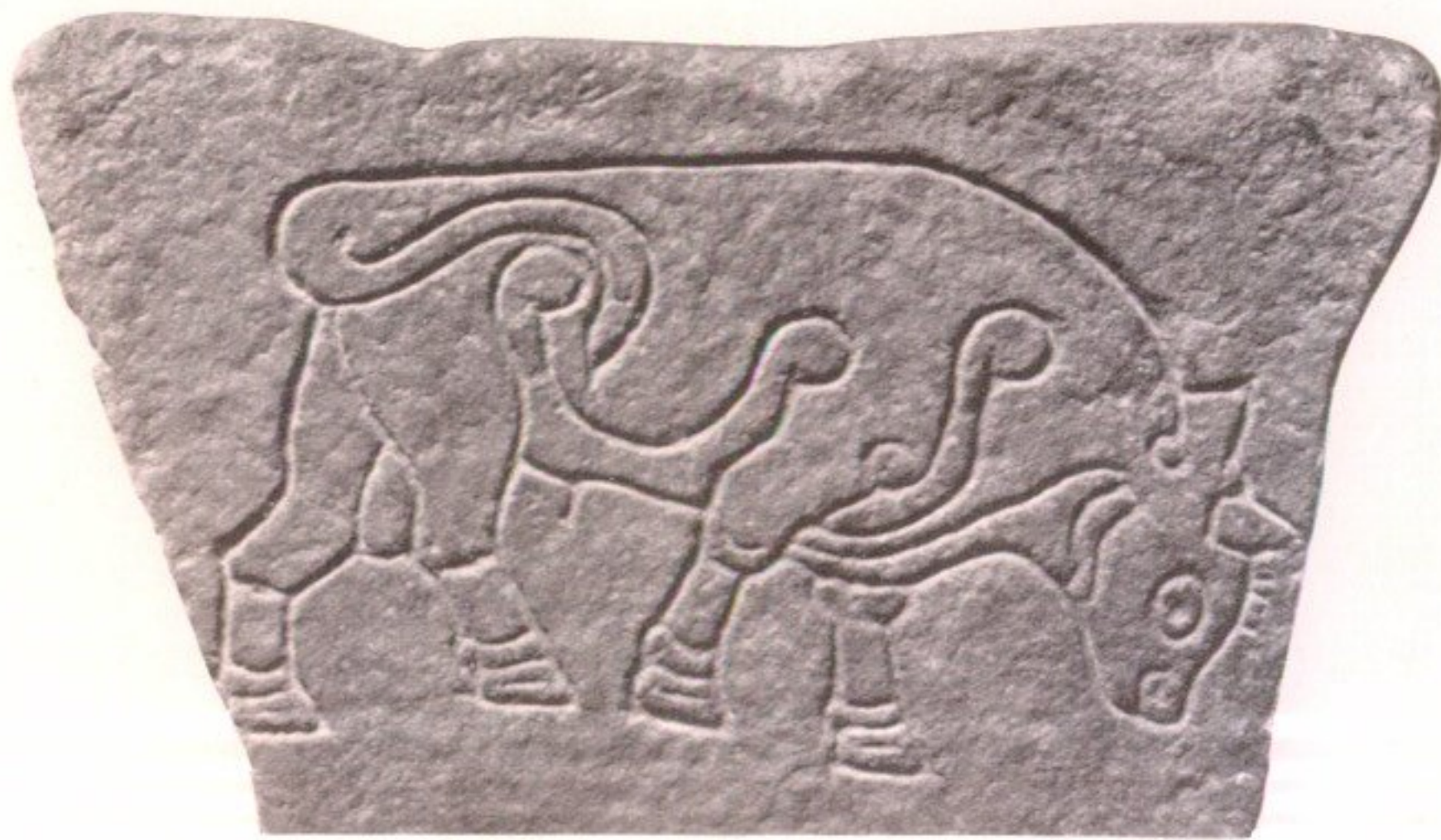
a   [*Photo British Museum.*

b   [*Photo F. Henry.*

a, Bull, Burghead, Morayshire; *b*, Lion from Book of Durrow.

CECIL L. CURLE.

a　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*b*

a, Rayne, Aberdeenshire, 2¾ feet 10 inches high.
b, Birsay, Orkney, 6 feet high.

Latheron, Caithness, 3 feet high.

CECIL L. CURLE.

a   [After F. Henry.   b   [Photo Cairo Museum.

a, Fahan Mura, Co. Donegal; b, Coptic funeral slab.

CECIL L. CURLE.

a

b

a, Papil, Shetland, 7 feet high; *b*, Page from Book of Durrow.

CECIL L. CURLE.

Ardchattan, Argyllshire, 6¼ feet high.

[Photo C. L. C.						[Photo O. G. S. Crawford.

Glamis, Angus, 8¾ feet high.

Cecil L. Curle.

a

b

a, St Vigeans, Angus, 5½ feet high; *b*, Fowlis Wester, Perthshire, 5¼ feet high.

Golspie, Sutherland, 6¼ feet high.

CECIL L. CURLE.

the Celts did occasionally produce extremely good animal art, for example the stylised engraving of a boar on the Witham shield [1] and the bronze boar from Hounslow.[2]

There is no means of knowing if the practice of erecting symbol stones continued over a long period or not. It seems unlikely that it should have done so, for the style of design, the technique of the engraving, and the type of monument appear to have remained unmodified, although there is considerable variation in the quality of design and workmanship; the best examples are found in Orkney and the extreme north of the mainland, while many farther south, particularly in Aberdeenshire, are very debased. Neither the age of the symbol stones nor the meaning of the symbols has been satisfactorily determined. Doctor Joseph Anderson dated them to the seventh and eighth centuries,[3] while A. W. Clapham,[4] on the strength of the apparent La Tène character of the mirror symbol, puts them as early as the fourth century.

Symbols, usually recognisable objects, and including the mirror and comb, were carved on funerary slabs in the Roman Empire, while the mirror and comb, the fish, the serpent, and the eagle attacking a fish, were used in early Christian symbolism too. It has been suggested that three of the objects carried in Roman Triumphs—helmet, shield, and spear—might have inspired respectively the "lily symbol" (fig. 2, *k*) (plume of a Roman helmet), the double disc and crescent (circular shields seen from the front and side),[5] and the floriated rod, one end of which is pointed, the other rounded (spear). Although a composite origin of the symbols does seem possible it would be surprising if Roman influence, which did not in any case affect the cultural life of northern Scotland, should remain submerged to reappear after so long. There is in any case no evidence that the Pictish monuments had any funerary purpose. The bull and other animals have indeed been taken as totemic crests, but, like the animals of the cave drawings, these may have been connected with magical rites to ensure good hunting; hence also the spears, shields, etc.

An examination of their decoration and distribution does, however, give some clue to their origin and date. The majority of the symbols are symmetrical both in form and decoration. They are as a rule cut in the stone with a neat, triangular incision; there is no effect of light and shade, it is simply a line drawing. Often a compass has been used, both for the outline of the symbol and for the series of curves which forms its decoration. This type of decoration is so close to that of the Late Celtic metal-work of England and Ireland that a connection between the

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[1] T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, London, 1938, p. 6, fig. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. II, figs. 1 and 2.
[3] *E.C.M.S.*, p. cix.
[4] A. W. Clapham, *Antiquity*, viii. 1934, pp. 43–57.
[5] The unusual symbol on a stone at Rayne (Pl. XXI, *a*) might be a rectangular shield with a spear behind it. J. Ritchie, *P.S.A.S.*, l. p. 283.

two seems almost certain.   Although such a style is not necessarily Celtic, since the use of compass-drawn curves in a circumscribed space must inevitably result in a somewhat uniform pattern,[1] yet it seems improbable that two similar systems of design should be found in adjoining countries if there were no connection between the two.   The question remains whether it is the natural art of the Picts developing along parallel lines with Celtic art in the rest of the British Isles, or whether it was taken by the Picts from their neighbours, the British and Irish.   The latter explanation seems the more probable for several reasons.   The decoration of the symbols is not Celtic in spirit—the characteristic freedom of design and the asymmetry of Late Celtic art are missing; the patterns are on the whole rather stereotyped and rigid.   Although this might be due to the small space within the symbol into which the pattern had to be confined, it seems more probable that it was owing to their being imitated and not original design.   This seems especially likely, as very few examples of Late Celtic metal-work have been found in the Pictish area in Scotland.   In addition to a general resemblance, not only in the patterns employed but in the spacing of the patterns within their frames, with the champlevé enamels of the sixth and seventh centuries (Pl. XIV), there are detailed features of design which occur on the symbols as well as on these late enamels.   Such are the development of a spiral into the head of a bird, to be seen on a sixth-century latchet and on sixth- and seventh-century handpins in the Dublin Museum,[2] and on symbol stones on South Ronaldsay[3] and at the Knowe of Burrian in Orkney (Pl. XIII, d); also the design of "running spirals" which, in metal-work, makes its first appearance on a late type of hanging bowl escutcheon (Pl. XXIX, a),[4] and which occurs on a symbol stone at Dunnichen, in Angus (Pl. XIII, c).   From this it seems a justifiable inference that the symbol stones bear some relation to the metal-work of England and Ireland of the sixth and seventh centuries.   Certain features of the fantastic animal symbol and of the animal carvings associated with the symbols, discussed later in this paper,[5] appear to have been borrowed from Irish illumination of the late seventh century.

The distribution of the symbol stones gives further evidence of their date.   With the exception of the boar at Dunadd (Pl. XV, b) there are no symbol stones or engraved animals in the Scottish territory in the west of Scotland.   The Scots established the kingdom of Dalriada towards the end of the fifth century.[6]   At the time of the arrival of St Columba

[1] For example the discs of Mycenæ, on which some of the patterns are identical with designs on British hanging bowl escutcheons and with carvings on some of the Scottish cross-slabs.

[2] A. Mahr, *Christiqn Art in Ancient Ireland*, Dublin, 1932, pl. II, fig. 8.

[3] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 21, fig. 17.

[4] For the dating of these escutcheons see F. Henry, *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxv., and *Irish Art*, pp. 36, 37, H. E. Kilbride Jones, *P.S.A.S.*, lxxi. pp. 209–246, and T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 51 *sqq.*

[5] P. 75.

[6] Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, p. 133 *sqq.*

in 565 there are varying accounts as to whether Iona belonged to the
Picts or to the Scots.[1] Presumably, as Dr Joseph Anderson points out,[2]
if the Picts had already been in the habit of erecting symbol stones before
the sixth century some examples would have remained in what later
became Scottish territory.   The one exception, the boar at Dunadd,
might be explained as the work of a raiding party of victorious Picts, for
Dunadd was a place of great importance to the Scots during the whole
history of Scottish Dalriada.[3]   In St Columba's time Skye was still Pictish,[4]
as were the Hebrides, and in both these areas symbol stones have been
found, in two cases in Skye associated with the cross.   At Pabbay [5] the
cross is a simple Latin one, probably added subsequently to the carving
of the symbol, but at Raasay (Pl. XVIII, c) it has not only been carved
at the same time as the symbol, but it is of a very distinctive type, to
which a date can be attributed at about the end of the seventh century.[6]

Thus from all the evidence it seems that the symbol stones cannot be
dated to earlier than the sixth century, the majority probably belong to
the seventh century, while some may be as late as the eighth century.

A number of small objects engraved with Pictish symbols appear to
be dated to the same period.   Several of such objects have been found
on broch sites in Orkney and Shetland.   A small ox bone and a small
pebble on which symbols were roughly scratched come from the Broch
of Burrian in Orkney.[7]   They belong to a secondary occupation of the
broch, and the fact that a Celtic Church bell came from the site gives the
possibility of a date in Christian times.   In Shetland a small stone disc
engraved with the double disc symbol was found during excavations at
Jarlshof.[8]   It can be approximately dated, on the analogy of other similar
discs from Shetland, one from Gletness [9] decorated with a design of curves
common in late Irish metal-work, another from Jarlshof [10] with a roughly
drawn design of diverging spirals, which is also a late pattern.   The other
objects bearing symbols are in metal.   A crescent-shaped plate of bronze
from Laws, Monifieth, in Angus,[11] is engraved with the crescent symbol
and floriated rod, with a runic inscription (which may have been added
subsequently) on one side, and on the other the double disc and a dog's
head.   Their treatment is almost identical with that of the same symbols

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[1] Bede (*Hist. Eccles.*, iii. c. 4) says that St Columba received the island from the Picts.   The *Annals of Ulster* gives, under the year 573, "The death of Comgall, son of Comgall, . . . who granted the island of Ia to Colum-Cille."

[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. cx.

[3] J. Hewat Craw, *P.S.A.S.*, lxiv. p. 112 *sqq.*   The relics confirm the occupation of Dunadd during the period ascribed to it in history from the beginning of the sixth to the middle of the ninth century.

[4] Adamnan (*Vit. Colum.*, i. c. 27) tells how an old Pictish chief called Artbrannan was baptised by St Columba in Skye.

[5] Parish of Barra; *E.C.M.S.*, p. 112, fig. 115.   [6] See p. 74.

[7] *Archæologia Scotica*, v. pp. 360–361, and *E.C.M.S.*, pp. 25, 26.

[8] A. O. Curle, *P.S.A.S.*, lxviii. p. 229, fig. 5.   [9] J. M. Corrie, *P.S.A.S.*, lxvi. p. 83, fig. 13.

[10] *P.S.A.S.*, xli. p. 33, fig. 16.   [11] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 280, fig. 298.
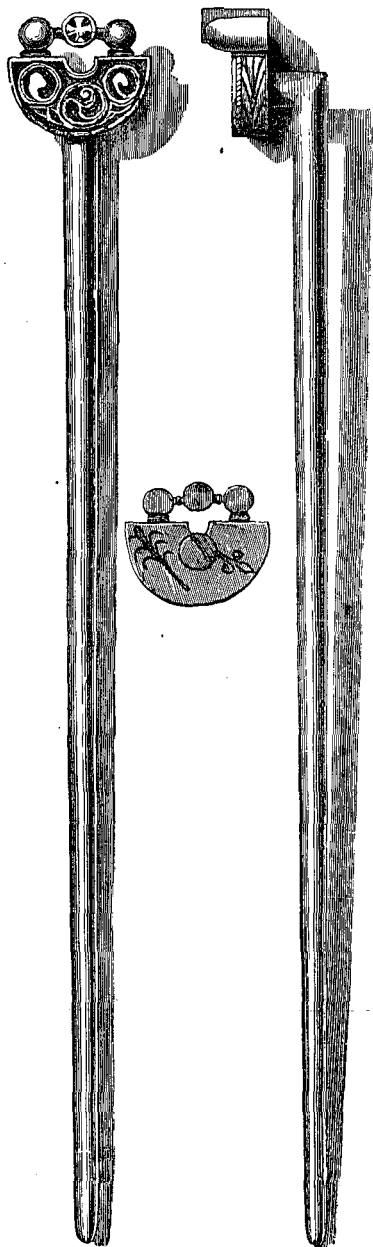
on two leaf-shaped objects in silver from Norrie's Law, in Fife,[1] showing traces of enamelling (Pl. XVI, *f*). Amongst other finds in the same hoard was a silver hand-pin, of a seventh-century type, which bears a Greek cross in a circle on the top, and symbols engraved at the side (fig. 3). The terminal rings of certain of the massive silver chains found in Scotland[2] bear engraved symbols, which from the type of the enamelling appear to be dated to the seventh or eighth century.

Caves in Moray[3] and Fife[4] have symbols roughly engraved on the walls, but no date can be suggested for these as the caves were in occupation over a long period.

The association of the cross with a Pictish symbol on the symbol stone at Raasay, and on the handpin from Norrie's Law, leads to the consideration of the second element in the cross-slab of the east of Scotland (on which Pictish symbols appear amidst the Christian motives)—the introduction of Irish Christian art into Pictish Scotland.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

The first mission to the Picts was that of St Ninian, who established his see in Galloway during Roman rule in Britain, probably soon after the death of St Martin in 397. The earliest and traditional account is given by Bede,[5] who tells how

> The Southern Picts, who dwell on this side of these mountains, had, it is said, forsaken the errors of idolatry, and received the true faith by the preaching of Bishop Ninias, a most reverend and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth; whose episcopal see,

Fig. 3. Silver Handpin from Norrie's Law, Largo, Fife.

[1] *P.S.A.S.*, xviii. p. 233.
[2] J. A. Smith, *P.S.A.S.*, x. p. 321 *sqq.*; A. J. Edwards, *ibid.*, lxxiii. 326.
[3] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 129 *sqq.*   [4] *Ibid.*, p. 370 *sqq.*   [5] *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. c. 4.

named after St Martin the bishop, and famous for a church dedicated to
him (wherein Ninias himself and many other saints rest in the body). . . .
The place . . . is commonly called the White House [1] because he there
built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons.

Three Christian monuments, of a type belonging to the Brito-Roman
Church and best represented in Wales and Cornwall, have been found
not far from Candida Casa at Kirkmadrine,[2] in Galloway.   They are
rough stone pillars, two of them about 7 feet in height, the third somewhat
less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.   Each is engraved with a stylised version of the Chi
Rho, which has been reduced to a Greek cross with expanded ends, a
comma-like appendage to the upper arm being all that remains of the
Rho; the cross is enclosed in a circle, and there is an epitaph in Latin
below (Pl. XVII, a).   They have been dated, by the form of the letters and
the style of the epitaph, to the period of St Ninian.[3]   No monuments of
this type are found north of the Forth in Pictish territory.   No more
is heard of St Ninian's mission, and St Patrick, writing about the middle
of the sixth century, speaks of the Southern Picts already as apostates.[4]

The next mission to the Picts was that of St Columba in the year 565.
Iona was founded at a time when the monastic development of the Irish
Church was reaching its height, and St Columba, before he came to
Scotland, had already founded several monasteries in Ireland.   Iona
was essentially an Irish monastery, and remained so until the monks fled
from it before the invading Vikings in 806.   It was no mere offshoot,
but the parent house of an extensive "paruchia" which soon extended to
England as well as Ireland and Pictish Scotland.   Scottish Dalriada was
both politically and racially Irish.   St Columba himself in the thirty-
two years that he was abbot of Iona, in addition to numerous journeys
to Pictish territory, often revisited Ireland.   Adamnan gives a picture
of constant coming and going between the two countries in the Saint's
time; hardly a day seems to pass when a stranger is not heard "shouting
across the strait," and he himself, when he was bishop and abbot of Iona, is
clearly much more familiar with the topography of Ireland than with that of
Scotland.[5]   But Iona, though an Irish monastery, was constantly engaged in
the conversion of the Picts; for nearly half a century after the coming of St
Columba there seems to have been peace between the Picts and the Scots.

Little is known of the early monasteries on the mainland of Scotland.
As in Ireland, where the monasteries of the plains have been almost

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[1] Ad Candidam Casam.   [2] E.C.M.S., p. 494 sqq.
[3] A. W. Clapham, English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest, p. 5.
[4] St Patrick's Confessio et Epistola, ed. N. J. D. White. London: S.P.C.K., Texts for Students, No. 4,
1918;   cf. Dom Louis Gougaud, Christianity in Celtic Lands, p. 26; W. Douglas Simpson, Celtic Church
in Scotland, pp. 62, 67.
[5] An example of the close touch Adamnan kept with Ireland is given by the story of the monks of
Clonmacnoise who, in a contest over the abbacy, appealed to him to appoint an abbot for them.   E. J.
Gwynn and W. J. Purton, P.R.I.A., xxix. c., p. 162, para. 85.

entirely destroyed, so in Scotland it is only on desolate islands, where the land had little value, that traces remain of early church settlements. The love of the Irish monks for island sites, both for their monasteries and for the cells of anchorites, could be easily satisfied in Scotland, in the islands of the west and north as well as in Dalriada. Until much more excavation has been done, not a great deal can be known of the Columban settlements in Pictish Scotland, but there are a number of sites which, from their close resemblance to early church settlements in Ireland, seem certainly to belong to the Columban Church. For example, in the Hebrides there is a primitive oratory dedicated to St Flannan, and a double-chambered cell on Eilean Mor in the Flannan Isles; [1] on the little island of North Rona is found the chapel of St Rona—"Teampul Rona"— and a small cell. [2] Dicuil, an Irishman writing in 825, says: [3]

> There are many other islands in the Northern Ocean, two days and two nights sail from the "Northern Islands" of Britain. A certain cleric on whom I can rely, told me how, having sailed for two days and one night, he landed on one of these islands, which are for the most part small and separated from one another by narrow channels. They were inhabited by Scottish hermits about one hundred years ago; but just as they had lain waste from the beginning of the world, so now they are again desolated by the incursions of the Northmen. They are full of sheep and innumerable sea birds of different kinds.

During St Columba's lifetime Orkney was visited by his monks. Adamnan, in his account of the voyages of the monk Cormac, tells how [4]

> St Columba, who was staying in those days beyond the dorsal ridge of Britain, commended him [Cormac] to King Brude in the presence of the under-king of the Orkneys, saying, "Some of our people have lately gone forth to find a solitude in the pathless sea, and if perchance after long wanderings they should come to the Orcades Islands, do thou earnestly commend them to this under-king, whose hostages are in thy hand, that no misfortune befall them within his territories."

Cormac was saved from "impending death in the Orcades" by these recommendations, and returned to Iona after some months. It is very probable that the islands, once visited, would be noted down for future settlement, and traces have been found there of the Columban Church. Three Celtic Church bells of an early type [5] have been found on the mainland of Orkney, one from Saevar Howe at Birsay, [6] another from what is probably a monastic site on the tidal island of the Brough of Birsay, [7]

[1] T. S. Muir, *Ecclesiological Notes on Some of the Islands of Scotland*, pp. 58-60, Edinburgh, 1885.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 92-95.
[3] See Mario Esposito, *Dublin Review*, 1905, ii. p. 335, and *Studies*, 1914, p. 651 *sqq.*
[4] Adamnan, *Vit. Colum.*, ii. c. 43.
[5] See F. C. Eeles, *P.S.A.S.*, lx. pp. 409-420. The early type of Celtic bell is made of a sheet of iron bent into a roughly quadrangular form, riveted and dipped in copper or bronze. The later tenth-century type is a complete casting.   [6] James Farrer, *P.S.A.S.*, v. pp. 9-12.
[7] Excavated by the Office of Works in 1936, not yet published.

and a third from the Broch of Burrian,[1] from whence came the bone and pebble, engraved with Pictish symbols, which have already been mentioned in this paper. There are remains of a monastic settlement on the Brough of Deerness. These have not yet been excavated, but they appear, from surface indications, to follow in plan the smaller Irish monasteries.[2] On the island of Papa Westray, at a place called Munkerhouse, there are groups of circular huts with connecting passages. On the same island there is a typically Irish site, a small peninsula in a lake, and here there is a small oratory and the ruins of beehive huts. On this island was found a slab engraved with a cross in a circle, surmounted by a Latin cross with expanded terminals (Pl. XVII, c). This has been thought to be a type of cross derived directly from that of the Kirkmadrine slabs and therefore belonging to St Ninian's Church. This, however, is not so; the cross formed by the intersecting arms of a circle within a circle, though uncommon in Scotland, is found over a wide area in Ireland in the second half of the seventh century, as well as in the Christian East and in Gaul.

PRIMITIVE IRISH AND COLUMBAN CROSS-SLABS.

After the withdrawal of the Romans when the churches in Britain and Ireland were cut off from the Continent by the invasions of the pagan Saxons, the two countries remained in close touch with one another, and the British Church in the south of Scotland had an important influence in Ireland,[3] where Candida Casa was celebrated as a school of monastic training.[4] Amongst the most famous of its Irish pupils was St Enda of Aran, whose pupil St Finnian founded the monastery of Clonard, where St Columba underwent part of his training.[5] In view of this close connection it is not surprising that similar types of Christian monuments should be found in Ireland, the Candida Casa district, Iona, and in the Columban sphere of influence in Pictish territory. Between the fifth and seventh centuries it is impossible to date any monuments exactly, but at the earliest monasteries in Ireland there was generally an upright slab carved with a cross,[6] and a similar type of slab is found at various monastic sites in Dalriadic Scotland and the western islands, for example on Eilean na Naomh [7] and Tiree.[8] These monuments bear the simplest form of Latin cross, but there were other more elaborate types. Such

[1] *Arch. Scotica*, v. pp. 360–61.

[2] *Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Orkney and Shetland*, by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments (Scotland), in the press.

[3] See Father J. Ryan, S.J., *Irish Monasticism*, p. 107 *sqq.*

[4] See *Catalogus S.S.Hib.*; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ii. p. 292, Oxford, 1869–78.

[5] J. Ryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–20.

[6] F. Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 27.

[7] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 402, fig. 421. [8] L. M. Mann, *P.S.A.S.*, lvi. pp. 123–126.

is the form of cross derived from a ship, a motive going back to the earliest period of Christian symbolism.[1] This is found, with the ship reduced to a few stylised lines, at Drumore (fig. 4) and at Kirkmadrine [2] in Galloway, at Cloon Lough [3] and Kilshanig [4] in Ireland. Another type bears small crosslets within the arms of the cross, a motive found on a piece of fifth-sixth-century Coptic cloth in the British Museum. This occurs on slabs
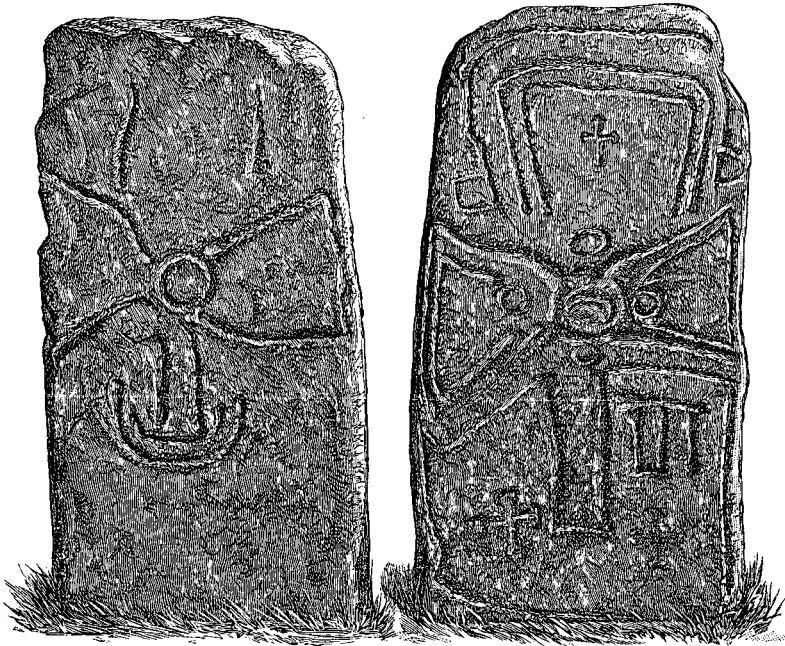

Fig. 4. Cross-slab from Drumore, Kirkmaiden, Wigtownshire.

at Laggangarn [5] and Craignarget [6] in Galloway and, amongst other places in Ireland, at Inishmurray.[7]

None of these monuments have any clearly dateable character. Mlle. Henry considers their origin to be a composite one, in part derived from the almost purely Latin funerary monument of the Brito-Roman Church (of a type already described at Kirkmadrine), in part from St Patrick's custom of "engraving crosses" on stones or rocks venerated by the pagans.[8]

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[1] Graves, "On Similar Forms of the Christian Cross found on Ancient Monuments in Egypt and Ireland," *J.R.S.A.I.*, 1890, i. p. 346 *sqq.*

[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 500, fig. 543.   [3] F. Henry, *Irish Art*, pp. 30, 31 (figs. 11 and 12).

[4] F. Henry, *J.R.S.A.I.*, 1937, p. 274.   [5] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 501, figs. 545, 546.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 498, fig. 541.

[7] W. F. Wakeman, *A Survey of the Antiquarian Remains on the Island of Inishmurray*, fig. 23, Edinburgh, 1893.

[8] F. Henry, *Irish Art*, pp. 28, 29.

Seventh-century Crosses and Cross-slabs.

With the seventh century there began a period of great artistic activity
in Ireland—the development of Celtic Church art—not only on stone
monuments, but also in illuminated manuscripts, and in metal-work on
such objects as reliquaries, croziers, etc.   The chief decorative motives
have been analysed by Mlle. Henry in *La Sculpture irlandaise.* Summed
up briefly they are: the spiral, derived from metal-work of the Late Celtic
period; interlacing,[1] a new form in Celtic art, later to succeed the spiral
in popularity; angular designs of fret and key pattern; and animal inter-
lacing, derived from Germanic forms,[2] and showing a connection with
Saxon art and the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon ribbon style.[3] All
these motives are found in a dated form in the Book of Durrow,[4] which
was executed in a Columban monastery about the year '670.[5]

Dalriadic Scotland shared too in this artistic development.   It is
possible that the Book of Durrow was transcribed at Iona.[6] Of metal-
work, the most important surviving example is the Monymusk Reliquary,[7]
with its decoration of writhing animal forms, not yet certainly dated but
probably going back to the seventh century, if not actually to St Columba's
time.

On the stone monuments of this period the carving became more
decorative and elaborate, and carving in relief appeared as well as
engraving.   The compass-drawn cross became for a time one of the most
popular forms.   It has already been described at Papa Westray,[8] in
Orkney, where it is surmounted by a Latin cross with expanded terminals
(Pl. XVII, *c*).   A further development occurs when it is accompanied by
other motives.   At Ballivourney,[9] Cork, the cross is surmounted by the
engraved figure of a little man with strangely pointed nose and flowing locks
(Pl. XVII, *b*).   The connection between the Ballivourney figure and the
portrait of St Matthew in the Book of Durrow [10] is unmistakable.   A rather
similar little figure, leaning on a staff, is engraved on a boulder at Balblair,[11]
near Inverness (Pl. XVII, *d*); and another curious little figure, also shown
in profile and wearing a long cloak, is engraved on a slab found in the
ruins of a broch at Burness,[12] Firth, Orkney.   Other monuments, still

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[1] The derivation of interlacing in Irish art is a complex question: simple interlacing was used in the
East from 3000 B.C. and was common in Roman art, but the elaborate interlacing with knots appeared
at about the same period (the seventh century) in Egypt, Sweden, the British Isles, and Lombardy.
F. Henry devotes a chapter to it in *La Sculpture irlandaise*, pp. 89–101.

[2] See B. Salin, *Thierornamentik*, pp. 245–70.

[3] F. Henry, *Irish Art*, pp. 41, 42.

[4] Dublin, Trinity College, 57 (A, 4.5).   Zimmermann, iii. (Pls. 1–5).

[5] See F. Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 63 *sqq.*, and T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 94 *sqq.*

[6] F. Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 68.   [7] F. C. Eeles, *P.S.A.S.*, lxviii. pp. 433–438, pl. VI.

[8] See p. 71.   [9] F. Henry, *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxvii. p. 271.

[10] Folio 245 *b*.   [11] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 95.

[12] H. Marwick, *P.S.A.S.*, lviii. p. 295 *sqq.*

with the compass-drawn cross, have a pattern of spirals beneath the cross, as at Inishkea North,[1] in Ireland, where they form a stem (Pl. XVIII, *b*). At Whithorn, in Galloway, there is a very similar cross with a stem, ultimately derived, as is shown by the comma-like appendage to the upper arm of the cross, from the early type of monument with the Chi Rho at Kirkmadrine (Pl. XVIII, *a*).[2]   Below the cross there is an inscription in Latin: LOC STI PETRI APOSTOLI.[3]   Apart from stylistic evidence, the monument can be dated to about the end of the seventh century, for the dedication to St Peter would not have been used before 664, when at the Synod of Whitby the Roman usage was adopted in Northumbria and St Peter took a chief place in dedications.[4]   Additional evidence comes from Ireland, for at Kilnasaggart,[5] County Armagh, a pillar engraved with crosses bears an almost identically worded inscription, but in Irish instead of Latin, and mentioning a certain Ternoc, who is known to have died in 714.   With the Whithorn monument can be associated two slabs from Raasay,[6] in Skye, which bear a similar cross with a stem and the rudiment of the Rho, but with the cross set in a square instead of in a circle.   One of these monuments has already been mentioned [7] in connection with the Pictish symbols with which it is engraved in addition to the cross (Pl. XVIII, *c*).   A rather more elaborate form of cross with a stem is found at Kilmory Knap [8] in Argyllshire, and at Glendalough,[9] in Ireland.

There are other examples of the Greek cross in a circle, carved in low relief, on slabs at Clad Bhile,[10] Ellery, in Argyllshire, and at Abirlot,[11] in Angus.   A more elaborate form of this type of cross is found at Inishmurray,[12] Sligo, where the cross is decorated with simple interlacing, carved in light relief, with a decorative arrangement of spirals between the arms. This is very similar to the fragment of a slab from St Donnans,[13] Eigg, which has, however, triquetras between the arms instead of spirals.

These examples are sufficient to show the close connection that continued between Ireland and the Columban sphere of influence in Scotland.   And the Irish monks in their missionary journeys into Pictish territory must have become familiar with Pictish art, of which some traces appear in Irish manuscripts, and it seems possible that some decorative features of Pictish animal art may have been borrowed from Irish illumination.

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[1] F. Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 55.   [2] See p. 69.

[3] See R. A. S. Macalister, *P.S.A.S.*, lxx. p. 315 *sqq*, for a different reading of the inscription.

[4] See pp. 81, 82.

[5] G. Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, ii. p. 27, Dublin, 1872 and 1878.

[6] J. S. Richardson, *P.S.A.S.*, xli. p. 435.   [7] See p. 68.

[8] *P.S.A.S.*, lxix. p. 19, fig. 7.

[9] F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, pl. 6, fig. 5.

[10] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 401, fig. 418.   [11] *Ibid.*, p. 205, fig. 222.

[12] F. Wakeman, *A Survey of the Antiquarian Remains*, fig. 27.

[13] *P.S.A.S.*, lxvii. p. 66, fig. 4.

A comparison of the bull from Burghead (Pl. XX, *a*) [1] and the wolf from Ardross (Pl. XIX, *a*) with the lion of St Mark in the Book of Durrow (Pl. XX, *b*) and a drawing of a wolf in the Book of Kells (Pl. XIX, *b*) show many points of close resemblance. One of these is the inner decorative line ending in a spiral, which occurs in all these animals. This is only a formal decorative feature which might have come independently to Ireland and Scotland from the same foreign source. The inner decorative line and the emphasis of the articulations of the body is a decorative feature common in the East; it is found in Assyrian, Scythian, and Sassanian art. Much later it became a part of Teutonic and Scandinavian animal design. It is a constant feature of the Pictish engraved animals. It is usually present in Irish metal-work, and is found in all animal interlacing in Ireland in the eighth century. This feature taken alone is not enough to show a connection, but there are other features of these Pictish and Irish animals which are closer parallels. For instance, the eye of the bull of Burghead and that of the lion of the Book of Durrow are drawn in the same way; the ear of the Pictish wolf is connected with the spiral termination outlining the jaw, and is noticeably small in proportion to the size of the animal, and the same feature is found in the lion of the Book of Durrow. The wolf of the Book of Kells might almost have been a copy of the Pictish wolf; in this case there seems little doubt that the influence went from Pictish to Irish art. On the other hand, the Pictish "fantastic animal" symbol is merely another version of the animal with the lappet of the Lindisfarne Gospels [2] and must be derived from the same source— the Teutonic animal (Salin Style II) [3]—which is found in an earlier form in the Book of Durrow (fig. 5).

It is clear from the two symbol stones with crosses on them, already described, at Raasay and Pabbay, that the symbol stones were still in use at the coming of Christianity. In the north and east of Scotland there are a few other examples of a transition stage between the symbol stone and the cross-slab.

A beautifully carved slab, now in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, was found at the Brough of Birsay, in Orkney [4] (Pl. XXI, *b*), on the same site as the Celtic Church bell mentioned earlier in this paper. At the top are engraved the double disc symbol, the crescent and rod, the eagle, and the "fantastic animal," all of the pure symbol stone type, but below these symbols are the figures of three warriors carrying spears and square, decorated shields; they are still incised but almost merging into light relief. While they are in style not unlike the figures of

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[1] There are six very similar examples of engraved bulls from Burghead, *E.C.M.S.*, pp. 118–124.

[2] British Museum, Cotton Nero, D. 4. Dated to about 700. See E. G. Millar, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, British Museum, 1923, and Zimmermann, iii. pls. 223–244.

[3] Salin, *Thierornamentik*, p. 322 *sqq.*

[4] To be published in *P.S.A.S.*

ecclesiastics on cross-slabs, to be described later in this paper, at St Vigeans and Fowlis Wester, they are still, with their oddly pointed noses, in the tradition of the figure on the slab at Ballivourney.

At Latheron, Caithness (Pl. XXII), there is a slab with a crudely carved cross, formed of a pattern of spirals and interlacing in low relief, surmounting an eagle and fish. This seems to be the eagle and fish of the symbol stones, re-interpreted as a Christian symbol.

On some of these half-Christian, half-Pictish monuments, as well as on some debased symbol stones on the east coast, there are ogham inscriptions. They have not yet been satisfactorily translated. In the opinion of Professor Macalister the Picts copied the ogham alphabet from the Irish, and in using it they were awkwardly adapting a script ill suited to their phonetics.[1]

So closely do the earlier Christian monuments in Scotland resemble those in Ireland that there can be no doubt that they were the work of the Columban monks. The transitional group, ho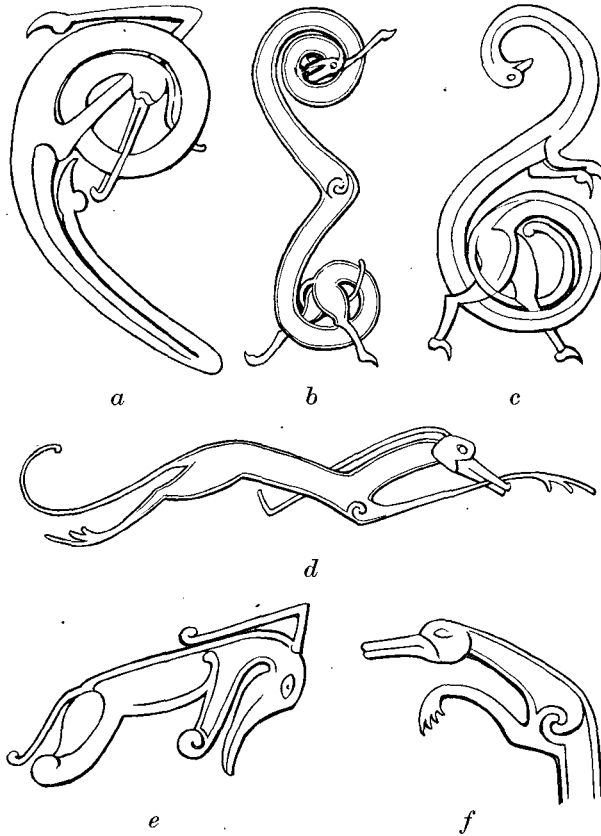wever, all found in Pictish territory, and in style far nearer to the symbol stones than to the Irish slabs, must surely be the work of recently Christianised Picts who later, under further influence from Ireland, were to evolve the type of monument characteristic of Pictish Scotland.

Fig. 5. Lindisfarne and Pictish Animals.
a and c, Animals from cross-slab, Aberlemno.
b and d, Animals from Lindisfarne Gospels.
e, Pictish "fantastic animal" symbol.
f, Animal from cross-slab, Meigle.

[1] R. A. S. Macalister, "The Inscriptions and Language of the Picts," *Essays and Studies presented to Prof. Eoinn MacNeill*, Dublin, 1940.

CARDONAGH GROUP—LATE SEVENTH-CENTURY CROSSES AND CROSS-SLABS.

In the next stage of development in Ireland there occurs the transition between the cross-slab and the free-standing cross. At Cardonagh [1] (fig. 6) is found the earliest type of free-standing cross in Ireland which, from the analogy of its broad ribbon interlacing with that of the Book of Durrow, can be dated to the end of the seventh century. Beside the cross are two stone pillars,[2] obviously carved by the same hand as the cross. On them, amongst other motives, are shown David as a harpist, and Jonah and the whale. On the Cardonagh cross, and some approximately contemporary monuments at Duvillaun,[3] Inishkea North,[4] etc., are representations of the Crucifixion.

The Cardonagh group makes the first break-away from the simple pillar monument, with the cross, either alone or with a few simple decorative forms, as the only motive. In addition to the development of a new form of monument there is apparent a sudden influx of influence from abroad, and the first appearance in Ireland of Christian iconography.

Although from this time onwards the free-standing cross became the chief type of monument in Ireland, the cross-slab was not immediately abandoned, and it followed, for a time, a parallel development, as can be seen in the slabs of Cardonagh,[5] Ferbane,[6] and Fahan Mura [7] (Pl. XXIII, a), which are all that have survived the destruction of the monasteries. But
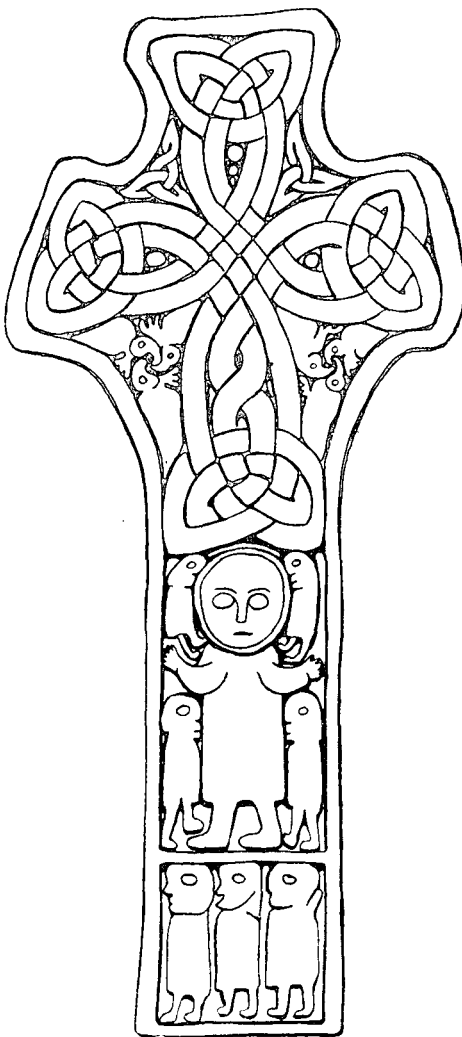
Fig. 6. Cross at Cardonagh, after F. Henry.

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[1] F. Henry, *Irish Art*, pp. 56, 57.
[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 21.
[3] *Ibid.*, 58; and F. Henry, *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxvii. pl. XXXI, fig. 1.
[4] F. Henry, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV, fig. 1.
[5] F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, pl. XII.
[6] F. Henry, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII.
[7] F. Henry, *op. cit.*, pls. XIV and XV.

in addition to the new iconography there is also a change in the form of the slab, which from a roughly dressed slab or pillar became a carefully shaped monument, sometimes rectangular, sometimes with a rounded or pedimented top, often with projections at the top or sides. There seems to be here a possible connection with contemporary Coptic funerary slabs (Pl. XXIII, b), which are somewhat similar in conception, with a decorative cross and figurative scenes and often a rounded or pedimented top.

In the west of Scotland there are a number of monuments closely related to these late seventh-century Irish slabs and crosses.

At Riskbuie,[1] Colonsay, there is a complicated pillar which reveals in its elements a crucifixion, a free-standing cross (with the arms barely emerging from the sides of the slab as at Cardonagh), the $i\chi\theta\acute{v}\varsigma$, and also a cross with a stem. It is a good illustration of the complexity of ideas in the mind of a primitive artist. At Kilmartin,[2] Argyllshire, there is a free-standing cross with almost the same decoration as occurs on one of the Cardonagh pillars. The arms of the cross are very short. At the base of the shaft on one side there is carved a small cross with four crosslets between the arms.

The free-standing cross did not spread to Pictish territory, but there are two examples in Shetland of elaborate cross-slabs of a purely Irish type, at Bressay[3] and at Papil[4] (Pl. XXIV, a). The Bressay slab is nearly 4 feet high; that of Papil 7 feet. Both monuments have the compass-drawn cross in a circle so common on earlier slabs, and on both it is ornamented with the type of ribbon interlacing found in the Book of Durrow, and closely recalls a similar cross on a page of these Gospels (Pl. XXIV, b). On each slab there is carved a lion similar to the lion of St Mark of the Book of Durrow; on the Papil stone it is the same strange beast with small ears, protruding tongue, long curling tail and sharp claws, and the inner decorative line, but on the Bressay stone it appears in a very simplified form. Both beasts are derived, if not from the Book of Durrow itself, then from some similar source, by an artist who had no conception of what a real lion looked like. On the Bressay stone there are two animals *affrontés* of the same type as on the Ferbane slab in Ireland. The iconography of both monuments is very limited. Legends from the lives of the Egyptian monks, St Paul and St Anthony, provide some of the most popular themes on cross-slabs in Ireland and in Scotland. At Papil there appears to be a representation of the temptation of St Anthony by women, disguised as birds, who whisper in his ear:[5] a human head is shown between two creatures with the beaks and legs of birds. The legend of Jonah and the

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[1] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 396, fig. 413.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 394, fig. 411.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 5, fig. 4.   [4] *Ibid.*, p. 10, fig. 6.
[5] See A. Kingsley Porter, "An Egyptian Legend in Ireland," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, v. pp. 12–14.

Whale was another popular theme [1] (fig. 7). A different version from that on the Cardonagh pillar is given on the Bressay slab, for instead of the fish there is a monster,[2] and the swallowing and disgorging are shown in one scene by a human form extended between the mouths of two monsters that outline the top of the slab. On both monuments there are figures of monks with cowl, staff, and satchel, advancing towards one another.

The similarity to the style of the Book of Durrow in the flat ribbon interlacing (which existed only for a short time in Irish art [3]), the type of the lion, the decorated compass-drawn cross, as well as the flat style
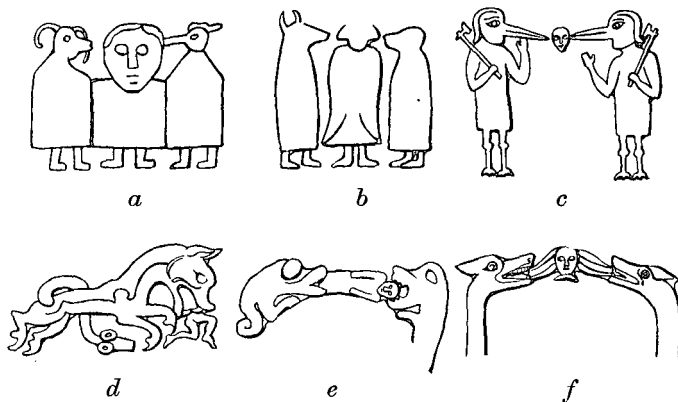

Fig. 7. Temptation of St Anthony and Deliverance of Jonah.

a, Cross of Moone.   b, Kettins.   c, Papil.
d, Dunfallandy.   e, Bressay.   f, Dunfallandy.

of carving and the broad figures, closely recalling the technique of the Cardonagh cross and slab, make it probable that these two monuments in Shetland can be dated to the late seventh century. An objection to this dating can be found in the ogham inscription on the Bressay stone, in which the Norse word "dattr" occurs. This led Doctor Joseph Anderson to date the slab as late as the ninth century. In the opinion of Professor Macalister, however, the inscription may be considerably earlier than this. That an infiltration of Norsemen into Shetland and Orkney had begun long before the Viking immigration seems now to be generally accepted.[4]

The only cross-slab of a developed type in the west of Scotland is at

[1] It was a widespread motive in early Christian art. See Cabrol et Leclerq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris, 1907–31.

[2] "Monster" was the word used in the account of Jonah in the "Old Latin Version," the translation of the Bible thought to have been brought to Ireland by St Patrick; in the Vulgate, in use in Northumbria by 700, St Jerome used the word "fish."

[3] See F. Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 56.

[4] See H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland*, Oslo, 1935, pp. 6–9.

Ardchattan,[1] in Argyllshire (Pl. XXV), and belongs stylistically to this group. It is 6½ feet in height and sculptured only on one face. The cross has rounded angles at the junction of the arms, and a ring joining them, on which is carved the fret pattern shown on the cross on a page of the Book of Durrow (Pl. XXIV, b). On the upper arm of the cross there is the figure of a man with elaborately curled hair; he is holding a book, and his legs merge into interlacing. The rest of the cross is decorated with patterns of spiral, interlacing, and diagonal key pattern. One side of the slab is missing, but the panels forming the background to the cross on the side that remains are filled with strange animals and a vertical row of three ecclesiastics with cowls drawn over their heads, one playing a harp, another pipes, and the third holding what appears to be a crown. Below these is the figure of a warrior holding a spear and a rectangular, notched shield.[2] Although the broad ribbon interlacing, and the flat, rather heavy style of carving should date this slab to the late seventh century, there are several features which indicate a later date; the human figure merging into interlacing is found in Irish manuscripts of the eighth century, and the whole slab bears a general resemblance to the post-Viking monuments of the Isle of Man.

PICTISH CROSS-SLABS.

We have seen how, stage by stage, the development of the cross-slab in Ireland has been paralleled by examples in Scotland. Now, from early in the eighth century, the Christian monuments in Pictish Scotland developed into a national type along lines independent of Ireland. This type, as was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, is formed fundamentally from the merging of the art of the Pictish symbol stones with that of the Irish Christian monuments. The form of the monument, the Christian iconography, the majority of the decorative motives, came from Ireland, but they were gradually interpreted in a new way, and, in addition, the Pictish gift for animal art found expression in an elaboration of hunting scenes and imaginary animals. The Pictish symbols themselves were retained and were an important decorative feature. New themes and decorative motives arrived from abroad and were adapted to suit the Scottish monument. Ireland ceased to be the only outside source of inspiration, and Scotland's other neighbour, Northumbria, became an important influence.

Northumbrian art was a curious mixture—in part developed from the decorative art of Ireland, in part from the naturalistic art of the Mediterranean. This was due to the position of Northumbria as the meeting-point of the Roman and Celtic Churches. After the conversion

[1] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 377, fig. 393.

[2] Possibly connected with the figure of David the Warrior on the sarcophagus at St Andrews, see fig. 14.

a   *b*   *c*

[*After Leeds.*]

[*Phot. F.H.*]

d
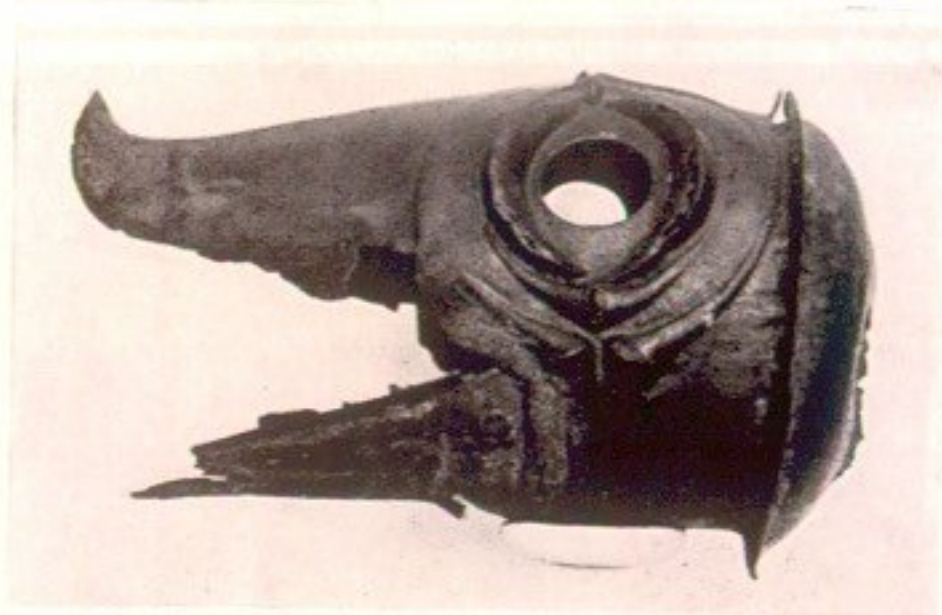
e

a and *c*, Hanging bowl escutcheons.
    b, Handpin, Dublin Museum.
    d, Bronze plaque from Torslunda, Stockholm Museum.   (Nat. size.)
    e, Bronze helmet from Deskford, Edinburgh Museum.   ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

CECIL L. CURLE.

Meigle, Perthshire (front), 8 feet high.

Cecil L. Curle.

Meigle, Perthshire (back).

Rossie Priory, Perthshire, 5½ feet high.

Aberlemno, Angus, 7½ feet high.

Cecil L. Curle.

St Vigeans, Angus, 5⅔ feet high.

¡From a cast in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

CECIL L. CURLE.

Meigle, No. 5, 2½ feet high.

a

b
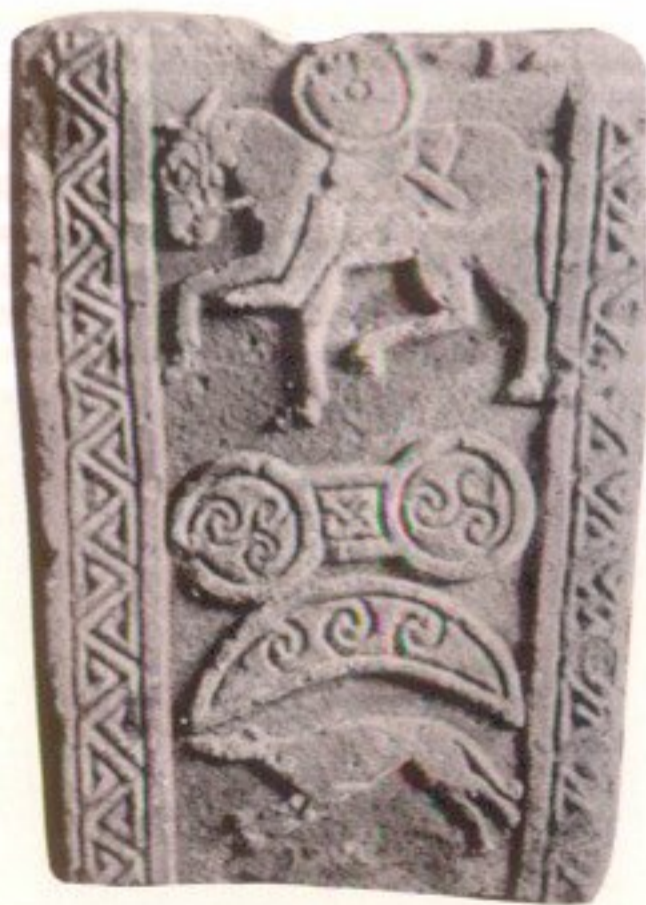
c

a and *b*, Inchbrayock, Perthshire, 2½ feet high; *c*, Meigle, No. 6, Perthshire, 1¾ feet high.

CECIL L. CURLE.

Meigle, No. 26, Perthshire, 5 feet long.

Cecil L. Curle.

Meigle, Perthshire. *a* and *b*, Slab No. 11, 5½ feet long; *c* and *d*, Top and end of slab No. 26.

CECIL L. CURLE.

Dyce, Aberdeenshire, 4½ feet high.

CECIL L. CURLE.

Keills, Argyllshire, 7⅓ feet high.

CECIL L. CURLE.

a

b

c

a and *b*, Sarcophagus at St Andrews; *c*, Coptic carved chest, Cairo Museum.

CECIL L. CURLE.

Nigg, Ross-shire, 7¼ feet high.

CECIL L. CURLE.

Hilton of Cadboll, Ross-shire, 7¾ feet high.

Cecil L. Curle.

Rosemarkie, Ross-shire, 8½ feet high.

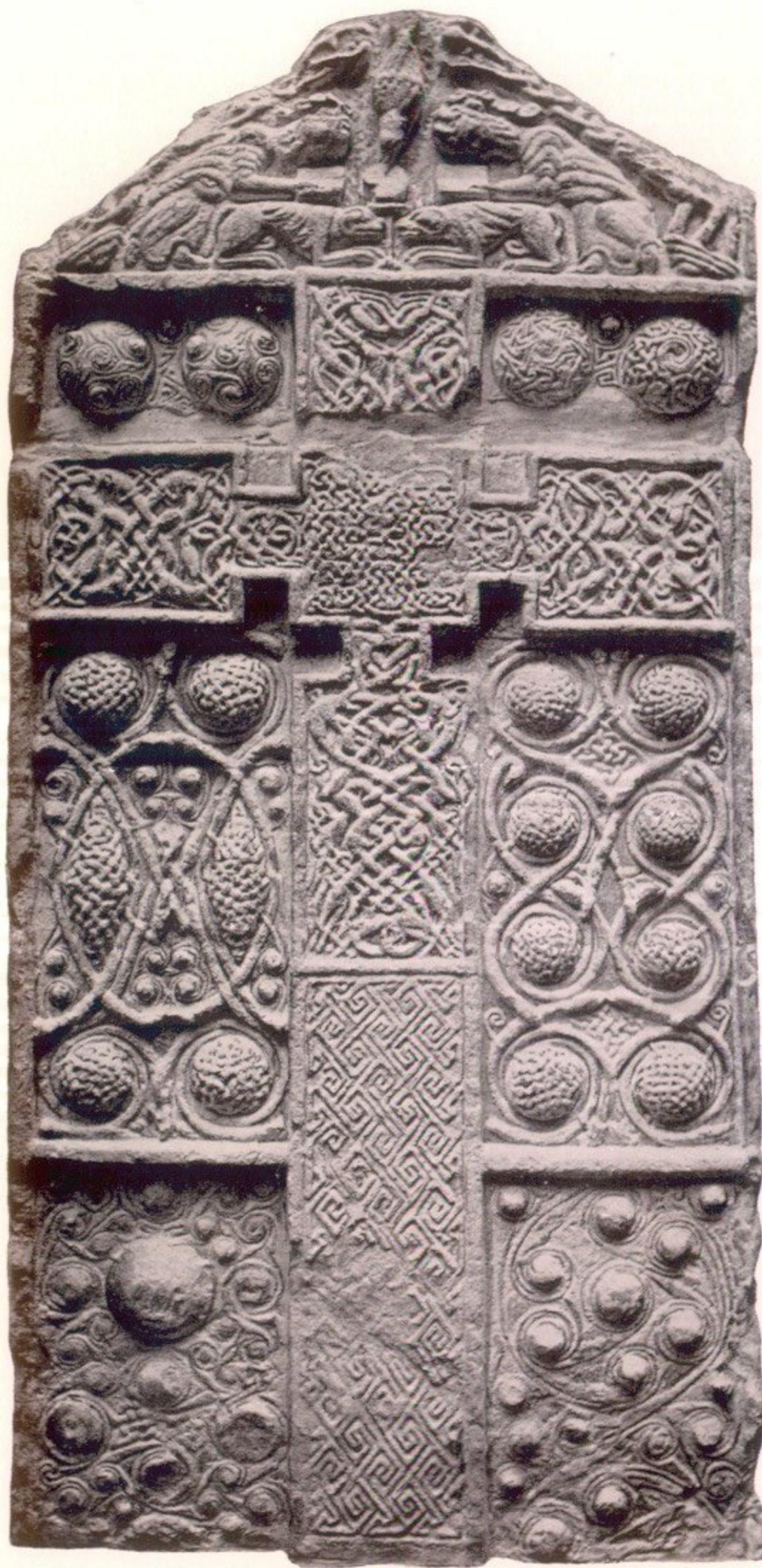of the Picts the next great missionary enterprise from Iona had been to Northumbria, when, in 635, Aidan, sent from Iona at the request of King Oswald, had established his monastery and see on the little island of Lindisfarne, off the coast of Northumbria.[1] In spite of contact with the south of England, which had been Christian since the establishment of St Augustine's see at Canterbury in 597, Northumbria followed the usage of the Celtic Church for a number of years, but, after a long controversy, which terminated at the Synod of Whitby in 664, the Scottish party was defeated, and Northumbria accepted the Roman usage.[2] Colman, Abbot of Lindisfarne, left with his party, consisting of the Irish monks and some of the English, first for Iona and then for Ireland.[3] Aidan had brought with him Irish monks and Irish art, and Lindisfarne remained in spirit an Irish monastery long after the departure of Colman. The Lindisfarne Gospels, dated to about 700, are almost purely Irish. But, in addition to Irish art, Northumbria was familiar, even before the Synod of Whitby, with Mediterranean art. The Irish artistic tradition is disclosed for the most part in manuscripts, the Mediterranean in stone-work, on the carved high crosses which are found all over Northumbria.

There was considerable contact between the Northumbrian Church and the Church in Pictish Scotland. Bede tells how, in 681, Archbishop Theodore of York added two more to the three bishoprics already existing in Northumbria. One of these was at Candida Casa, "the number of the faithful having increased"; the other was "in the province of the Picts who at that time were subject to the English," under Bishop Trumwine. Although his diocese appears to have been in Pictish territory, and he had been "made Bishop over them," his headquarters were the monastery of Ebbercurnig (Abercorn), which was "seated in the country of the English, but close by the arm of the sea which parts the English and the Picts." [4] In 685 King Eagfrid, "rashly leading his army to ravage the province of the Picts," was defeated and slain. The Picts recovered their own lands, "which had been held by the English and the Scots that were in Britain." Trumwine and his people withdrew and took refuge in one of the monasteries of the south.[5] By 710 the Pictish king Nechtan had accepted the Roman observance of Easter and wrote to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, asking him for a letter of exhortation "by the help of which he might the better confute those that presumed to keep Easter out of due time; as also the manner and form of tonsure whereby the clergy should be distinguished . . . he also prayed to have master builders sent him to build a church of stone in his nation

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[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. c. 3.   [2] Bede, *op. cit.*, iii. c. 25.   [3] Bede, *op. cit.*, iii. c. 26.
[4] Bede, *op. cit.*, iv. c. 26.   In all the original versions of Bede the passage is given as "sed in vicinia freti quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disterminat." In the translation of Mr Stevens, edited by the Rev. J. A. Giles, London, 1840, the translation of this passage is erroneous, giving *Scots* instead of *Picts*.   [5] Bede, *op. cit.*, iv. c. 26.

after the Roman manner, promising to dedicate the same in honour of the blessed chief of the Apostles." [1] A lengthy reply was sent, thought to have been written by Bede himself, and he tells us that the nation "thus reformed, rejoiced, as being newly put under the guidance of Peter, the most blessed chief of the apostles, and committed to his protection." [2] Though Bede, in his eagerness that all should enter the Roman fold, may have taken an exaggerated view of the acceptance of the Roman usage by the whole Pictish nation, there is no reason to suppose that he deliberately distorts the facts. Summing up the political situation in 731, he states that "the Pictish people are at this time also at peace with the English nation." [3] There were English monasteries at Candida Casa, Melrose, Abercorn. Northumbrian crosses are found in all these districts, but except for a few ornamental motives, the monumental art of Northumbria had little effect on the development of the cross-slab in Scotland, which was chiefly influenced by the Irish-Northumbrian manuscript style.

Early Group of Eastern Cross-slabs.

A first group of cross-slabs in Pictish territory shows a strong Irish influence. They have the same flat, broad, rather clumsy figure carving as have the Irish monuments of the late seventh century. The interlacing, however, has developed, from the simple ribbon interlacing found in the Book of Durrow, into the extraordinarily intricate thread interlacing which is a characteristic feature of the Scottish slabs. It is not only a great deal more intricate than the earlier type, but the scale is much smaller, and this change from a large scale to a small one is a typical feature of the alteration in style between the period of the Book of Durrow towards the end of the seventh century and that of the Lindisfarne Gospels at the beginning of the eighth century. The cross has become a much more important feature and is almost a structural part of the monument, and the arms of the cross are generally joined by a ring in the usual style of the eighth-century crosses in Ireland.

Probably one of the earliest monuments of this group is at Glamis, [4] in Angus (Pl. XXVI). It is a massive, roughly-shaped slab of rock, nearly 9 feet in height, with a pedimented top. One side is bare of decoration, except for three Pictish symbols—the serpent, fish, and mirror—which are engraved in the centre. It is quite possible that the monument had first been a "symbol stone" and that later the top and other face were roughly dressed to receive the Christian carvings. On the carved side there is a large cross with rounded angles at the junction of the arms, which are joined by a circle, indicated by lightly incised lines. The interlacing

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[1] Bede, *op. cit.*, v. c. 21.   [2] Bede, *op. cit.*, v. c. 21.
[3] Bede, *op. cit.*, v. c. 23.   [4] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 221.

on the shaft and circular centre of the cross is very elaborate, while that on the arms is formed by the elongated bodies of serpents with small heads and long beaks in which they grasp their fish-like tails. The top of the slab is outlined by the bodies of two monsters, and, although the carving is sadly defaced, there appears to be a human head between their jaws. In the upper panels behind the cross there is on one side an animal of the same type and in the same attitude as the animals *affrontés* of the Ferbane slab; on the other side is a hippocentaur, carrying two axes, and almost identical with a similar figure on the pillar at Tybroughney,[1] in Ireland. In one of the lower panels are two Pictish symbols—the deer's head surmounting a triple ring. In the other is a curious scene representing a human sacrifice: two men in tunics, with cowls, appear to threaten one another with axes, while above them is a cauldron out of which emerge human legs. This might be taken to represent a Christian martyrdom, but its resemblance to a scene on the Gundestrup Cauldron[2] (fig. 8) makes a pagan origin more probable.
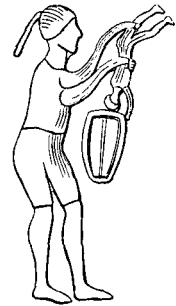

Fig. 8. Human Sacrifice on Gundestrup Cauldron.

Cross-slabs at Fowlis Wester[3] (Pl. XXVII, *b*) and at St Vigeans[4] (Pl. XXVII, *a*) are carved on one side only. Both show the shaft of the cross rising from a rectangular base, and on both the carving is intricate and delicate and in very low relief. Part of the slab at St Vigeans has been destroyed, but most of the cross remains except the upper portion. It has rounded angles at the junction of the arms, but no ring joining them. The decoration on the cross consists of key pattern on the arms, rather angular interlacing on the upper part of the shaft and on the base, and, on the lower part of the shaft, a symmetrical pattern formed of eight spirals, four of which terminate in birds' heads, either biting one another's necks, or else with the beaks meeting at a small disc at the centre. The latter is quite a common Celtic pattern and is found, for example, on the Cardonagh cross and in the Rome Gospels.[5] The other four spirals terminate in the bearded heads of men, with noses touching. The iconography of the figure scenes in the panels on either side of the cross is more varied than is usual in Scotland. The only theme of which the derivation is clear is that of St Paul and St Anthony parting the bread. The two saints are shown seated on chairs facing one another, with long tunics and short boots with pointed toes. This version of the story of their meeting is taken from St Jerome's life

[1] F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, p. 42 and pl. XVIII.

[2] See Hubert, *The Rise of the Celts*, p. 124; Brøndsted, *Danmarks Oldtid*, iii. pp. 88–96; cf. *P.S.A.S.*, lxiii. pp. 196–213.

[3] *P.S.A.S.*, lxvi. p. 409, fig. 1.   [4] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 268, fig. 278.

[5] Vatican Barb. lat. 570. Folios 18a and 125, dated to the end of the eighth century.

of St Paul, written at the end of the fourth century, which tells how a raven having brought them a loaf of bread, they disputed who should be the first to take a share, each wishing to give preference to the other, until finally each took hold of the loaf and they pulled it apart [1] (fig. 9, *b*). In a similar version of the scene in Ireland, on the crosses of Moone [2] (fig. 9, *a*) and Armagh,[3] the raven is shown above the two saints. On the slab at St Vigeans there may originally have been a bird too, but the portion of the slab just above the figures is missing. In the lower part of the same panel there is carved a curious scene where a little naked man is shown crouching below the figure of a cow, or ox, apparently about to thrust a dagger into its throat. In the panel on the other side there are four marching figures of ecclesiastics, with cowls and long fringed tunics.
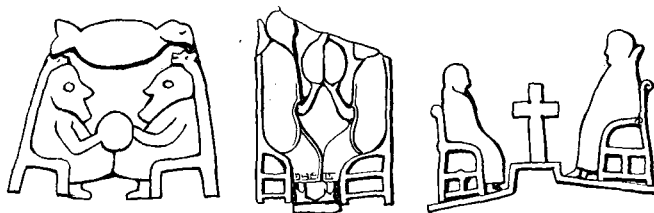

Fig. 9. Meeting of St Paul and St Anthony.

a, Cross of Moone.   *b*, St Vigeans.   *c*, Dunfallandy.

Between the two upper figures is the half-naked body of a man, suspended upside down with his head resting on a block or cauldron. No explanation has been found for these two scenes; possibly both may represent a sacrifice. The cross on the slab at Fowlis Wester has square, instead of the usual rounded, angles at the junction of the arms, and the ring joining the arms is very prominent. The interlacing and spiral pattern on the cross is very finely executed. In the upper panels there are, on one side, a realistic scene of Jonah and the monster; on the other, a sea monster associated with a sword and circular shield. On either side of the shaft are two seated figures of ecclesiastics. Behind one chair is the figure of an angel; behind the other a flowering tree. In front of one of the ecclesiastics is a flowering rod. This is evidently a simplified version of the theme of St Paul and St Anthony, as represented on the St Vigeans slab and the cross at Moone. It occurs in this form on one other slab in Scotland, that of Dunfallandy (fig. 9, *c*), which is described later in this paper, and on a cross-slab from the Isle of Man.[4] Below this scene are two more ecclesiastics walking towards the cross, as on the Papil stone, but the

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[1] See H. Waddell, *Desert Fathers*, p. 49.
[2] F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, p. 146, fig. 109*a*.
[3] F. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 152, fig. 119.
[4] At Kirk Maughold. See *E.C.M.S.*, p. 10, fig. 5.

corresponding figures on the opposite side of the shaft are missing. The tunics of the four figures, as well as the sides of the chairs, are elaborately carved with key pattern. A curious feature of this monument is that the original block of stone had only been roughly dressed so that, in spite of the delicacy and precision of the carving, it was executed on an uneven surface.

The carving on the cross-slab at Golspie,[1] in Sutherland (Pl. XXVIII), recalls in technique the monument at Glamis, where some of the motives are carved in light relief and others are incised. There are no figures on the side which bears the cross, nothing but ornamental motives, consisting of interlacing (part of it formed of snakes with fishes' tails, as at Glamis), and patterns composed of spirals or fret patterns. The other side, however, is covered with a profusion of Pictish symbols, no less than five, and in the centre a scene where a bearded man in a short tunic, bearing a dagger in one hand and a strange weapon, possibly an axe, in the other, is shown threatening a wolf-like beast, somewhat resembling the lion of the Book of Durrow (fig. 10). An ogham inscription runs up the edge of the right side of the slab and across the top, and the actual edge of the monument is carved with a "running spiral" in fairly deep relief.

Fig. 10. Detail of Golspie Cross-slab.

Still another cross-slab belonging stylistically to this group is at St Madoes,[2] in Perthshire. It is carved in a rather clumsy style which gives it what is probably a falsely archaic appearance. It has the usual cross on one side with the arms joined by a ring; there is a square panel at the centre with raised bosses. The top of the slab is outlined by the crouching forms of two beasts. In the upper two panels are two beasts with heads turned back. In the lower panels on either side of the shaft of the cross are a pair of animals with elongated bodies, biting one another, which appear to be a rough attempt at the strip form of animal interlacing of the Book of Durrow (fig. 11, a). The back of the slab has six panels, in three of which are single horsemen, with cowls and cloaks, and in the other three Pictish symbols.

MAIN GROUP.

In spite of their composite origin and the variety of sources that influenced their development, the Pictish cross-slabs gradually evolved into a remarkably constant type. The Irish influence declined as the influence from Northumbria increased, and the Pictish genius for animal

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[1] E.C.M.S., p. 48, fig. 48; for the inscription see Macalister, loc. cit., pp. 206–208.
[2] E.C.M.S., p. 292, fig. 309.

art became a dominating feature. The Christian iconography introduced was never very varied and became more and more limited. The foreign motives became absorbed in a strongly individual style.

The two sides of the monument were differentiated. One side was devoted to the cross. It is usually of the type, already described in the early group of eastern cross-slabs, with a ring connecting the arms, and sometimes it has a base; occasionally it is framed in a decorative border as in a page of manuscript. It is always, although the dominant feature of the monument, essentially decorative; the whole of the cross being carved with intricate designs of interlacing, spirals, or key pattern. In the panels forming the background to the cross there are carvings of fantastic animals, ornamental motives, Pictish symbols, and occasionally figures with a symbolic meaning. The other side of the monument is generally treated as a whole and not divided into panels. The plain surface is covered with an asymmetrical assortment of strange animals, horsemen, scenes of Christian iconography, and Pictish symbols. The spatial arrangement is curious. There is no background in the sense of landscape or vegetation. There is sometimes a feeling towards narrative art, but the figures may be grouped vertically as well as horizontally. As a rule they are all on the same plane although in a few cases three horsemen may be shown one behind the other. The artist seems to have attached little importance to scale; on the same panel one horse may be twice the size of another. The carving is in low relief on a flat background.

A remarkable feature of the cross-slabs is the animal art. This falls into two categories: the imaginary and the realistic. There are a variety of imaginary types of animal. One, developed from the beaked animal type of the Book of Durrow and the Lindisfarne Gospels, has already appeared in a rather different form in the Pictish "fantastic animal" symbol; on the cross-slab it is generally closer to the animal of the Lindisfarne Gospels and is shown with the elongated body, the inner spiral at the joint, and the feathered feet; it may be with or without the lappet (fig. 5). The majority of the other imaginary animals seem to be original to the cross-slabs, and they are nearly all characterised by the same curious feature: the foot is formed of a rounded, bulb-like heel attached to a single, curved, pointed toe or claw, with occasionally a pronounced dew claw above the heel. This is found on the most diverse types: on wolf-like creatures as at Forteviot,[1] on animals with long serpentine necks and long legs as at Meigle [2] and Woodwray,[3] on a monster with large goggling eyes and a parrot's beak as at Meigle [4] (Pl. XXXVIII, a), on creatures with short snouts, elongated bodies, and tiny forelegs as at Aberlemno [5] (Pl. XXXIII), and on a pair of interlaced animals of the Lindis-

[1] E.C.M.S., fig. 335, c.   [2] Ibid., fig. 313, a.   [3] Ibid., fig. 258, a.
[4] Ibid., fig. 345, b.   [5] Ibid., fig. 227, a.

farne type on the same monument. Even a naturalistic representation of a stag at Dunfallandy [1] has the same strange feet. The tails of these animals sometimes form a maze of interlacing as at Meigle [2] (Pl. XXXVIII, *a*); sometimes they turn into animal heads as on a slab from Gask [3] and a monument at Meiglé (Pl. XXXVII). With the exception of the last feature, which was common in Scythian art, was an Oriental feature in classical art, and is found in Christian sculptures in Lombardy,[4] this series of animals appears to be a purely local development. They certainly do not appear anywhere else in the British Isles. Quadrupeds with human heads, such as are found on slabs from Gask [3] and Rossie Priory [5] (Pl. XXXII), show a southern influence. This type occurs in the Cuthbert Evangeliar [6] and other manuscripts in England.

The naturalistic animal art is equally virile; horses, hounds, and other animals, such as the boar and bear, are carefully portrayed. There are two types of horses: one is small and lightly built, with sloping quarters and tail set low; it has a very high action and is schooled to carry the head very high. The other type is an equally small but heavier animal, with a big, clumsy head, and strong, high quarters. There are also two types of dog: a hound of the greyhound type, and a small dog like a terrier. The majority of the animals are, as on the engraved Pictish stones, natural to Scotland, such as would be familiar to the artist. Human figures, except for horsemen, are rarely represented. Always, both humans and animals, when treated naturalistically, are shown in profile.

There are Pictish symbols on the majority of the cross-slabs of this group. They are essentially the same symbols as on the symbol stones, and the "fantastic animal," the crescent and rod, the double disc and rod, and the mirror and comb are still the most popular. They are sometimes incised, but more often carved in low relief in the same style as the rest of the monument. The "running spiral" is a frequent decoration of the interior of the symbol, and designs from seventh-century metal-work are still in use (Pl. XXIX).

As well as the tall cross-slabs, there are also in this group a number of smaller cross-slabs, varying in height from about 2 to 3½ feet, and in addition there are two other types of monument: a recumbent monument and a rectangular slab carved only on one side, which from the style of decoration must be contemporary with the tall cross-slabs.

[1] *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 305, *a*.   [2] *Ibid.*, fig. 345, *b*.
[3] *Ibid.*, fig. 307, *a*.
[4] See G. T. Rivoira, *Origine della Architetture Lombarda*, Milan, 1908, p. 286.
[5] *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 322, *a*.
[6] Late eighth-century York or Mercian work. See Zimmermann, Text, p. 137.

TALL CROSS-SLABS.

Amongst the many tall cross-slabs of this group, four selected for description and illustration will give an idea of the variety and scope of the art.

One of the most important of the cross-slabs is at Meigle [1] (Pls. XXX and XXXI). The cross is unique and elaborate; it is equal armed, comprised within a circle with square-angled recesses at the junction of the arms. The surface is decorated with fret-work and interlacing, and a number of raised bosses give the impression that they are derived from large circular-headed nails. The ring forms the outline of the top of the slab. A very wide shaft has been added to the cross, below the ring, with spiral attachments at each of the four corners. This shaft is divided into three panels, in each of which there are a pair of animals *affrontés*. They are derived from the Irish type, such as is found at Papil and at Bressay, but they are in the later style of the east of Scotland, less simplified, more fantastic. In the deeply-recessed panels on either side of the shaft, animals with bodies coiled into a loop form a vertical strip pattern somewhat similar to that described at St Madoes, but in a more developed form, on the right of the shaft (fig. 11); on the left the carving is too defaced to be intelligible, but there appear to be human forms climbing upwards. The other side of the slab, with its naturalistic, narrative art, is a typical example of this group. There are four scenes, only separated from one another by the grouping of the figures. At the top are five horsemen, three of them abreast, moving briskly in the same direction. The men are bearded and carry spears; they do not appear to have stirrups, and two of them have square saddle-cloths. Beside the topmost horseman are the rather squat figure of a four-winged angel and two hounds. This scene might be taken to represent a hunt, but there is also the possibility that it is derived from the story of the three Magi. Next, in the central position on the slab, is a group representing Daniel and the Lions. The prophet is shown clad in a long tunic, with arms outstretched, and surrounded by four lions. This theme belongs to the same cycle of illustrations as does that of Jonah. It is widespread in early Christian art; examples have been found at El-Bagawat, in Egypt,[2] on the sarcophagi

Fig. 11.

a, St Madoes.   b, Meigle.

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[1] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 297.

[2] See Cabrol et Leclerq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie.*

of Rome and Arles,[1] on the engraved glass cups from Podgoritza.[2] It is one of the rather limited set of themes found on the Irish monuments of the seventh century.[3] The antithetical grouping of the lions round the figure of Daniel recalls the standardised "hero dompting lion" group popular in the Orient from 3000 B.C. This grouping was retained in Western art, but it is surprising to find in Scotland such a close stylistic resemblance to an Eastern version of the scene as the group at Meigle presents, and although the theme was probably introduced into Scotland by way of Ireland, an Eastern prototype in this case seems probable. Such a source might have been a portable object, such as the piece of Coptic cloth woven with this theme, which is preserved at the cathedral of Sens. Immediately below this scene is the figure of a hippocentaur, carrying two axes, and with the branch of a tree under its arm. This curious motive is found on Anglo-Saxon sceattas.[4] The fourth group at the base of the slab is too defaced to be intelligible, but there appear to be a human form, and two animals fighting. Projections, one at the top and a pair on either side, an unusual feature on a monument in Scotland, recall the Irish cross-slabs of the late seventh century.

The hunting scene described above is found on another slab at Meigle,[5] but the angel associated with it has wings standing out at right angles to the body rather like an Assyrian sun god.

Elements of the same scene occur also on a cross-slab at Rossie Priory [6] (Pl. XXXII), but they have become disintegrated; two horsemen appear in the two recessed panels on the shaft of the cross, two other horsemen and a pair of hounds are in a panel to one side, while the figure of the angel, with folded wings, is in one of the panels above the arms of the cross. In the corresponding panel there is a human figure holding, in either hand, a bird by the neck. This motive occurs on one of the pillar figures from White Island, in Ireland, which can be dated to the eighth century by the large penannular brooch carved on the shoulder of one of the figures and by their analogy with certain bronze figures; [7] it is also found on the Franks Casket, a whalebone box carved in Northumbria about 700 A.D.[8]

A cross-slab at Aberlemno [9] is another important example of this group (Pl. XXXIII). It is more than 7 feet in height, with a pedimented top. The cross has the usual ring joining the arms; the recesses at the

[1] Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, Paris, 1886, pl. XV.

[2] Le Blant, *Etude sur les Sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la Ville d'Arles*, Paris, 1888, p. xxviii, pl. XXXV.

[3] F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, p. 149 *sqq.*, figs. 110 and 113.

[4] Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, iii. p. 45. These may be so late as to show a Carolingian influence.   [5] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 296, fig. 310, *b*.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 306.   [7] F. Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 100 and pl. 36.

[8] British Museum, *Anglo-Saxon Guide*, p. 97 *sqq.*, and see T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 122–125, pls. XLIV. and XLV.   [9] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 209.

junction of the arms are rounded. At the centre there is a circular disc with a pattern of "running spirals" such as is found on hanging-bowl escutcheons (Pl. XXIX, a). The arms are decorated with fret pattern, and the shaft with very elaborate interlacing. In each of the panels above the arms there is a fantastic animal with turned-back head. In the panel on the left of the cross there is a vertical row of strange animals, with tiny forelegs, and heads with short snouts, their serpentine bodies each coiled into a loop as on the cross-slab at Meigle (Pl. XXX). In the corresponding panel on the other side of the shaft there is a Pictish version of the animal interlacing of the Lindisfarne Gospels, and below it two beautifully carved and classically treated hippocamps. The back of the slab is outlined by two very attenuated animal forms with dragon-like heads and snarling jaws. At the top there are engraved the Pictish symbols of the rectangle and rod and the triple disc. Below these symbols the whole side of the slab is treated as a single panel on which is depicted the most realistic scene which occurs on any slab in this group. It is a battle scene with horsemen and foot soldiers, armed with spears or swords, with circular shields and helmets. One of the horses is depicted galloping, a movement found on no other Pictish slab. The figure of the foot soldier attacked by a bird in the bottom right-hand corner gives the impression that the scene represents some actual or legendary incident. There is a general similarity of style and treatment to the Franks Casket, and the helmets of the soldiers have the same heavy nose guards. Both sides of the monument are good examples of the Pictish transformation of Northumbrian elements.

A cross-slab at Dunfallandy [1] also belongs to this group, although it shows more Irish influence than do the majority of the others. The cross has no ring joining the arms. It has a square centre and is decorated with interlacing, key pattern, spirals, and small raised bosses formed of spirals. The panels beside the cross are subdivided into smaller panels in which are carved a variety of the imaginary animals typical of the group, a realistic representation of Jonah and the monster (fig. 7, d), and two clumsily portrayed angels with double wings. On the other side there is a strange medley of motives consisting of Pictish symbols, St Paul and St Anthony seated on chairs on either side of a cross, and a cowled ecclesiastic on horseback. Some of the motives are incised, some carved in low relief. The whole of the slab is outlined by the creatures so often found on these slabs, with the heads of animals and the tails of fishes. In this case there is a human head between their extended tongues (fig. 7, f). This motive of a head between two beasts, which is so common in this group, seems to be a confusion of thought between the themes of the swallowing and disgorging of Jonah and the temptation of St Anthony, with possibly

[1] E.C.M.S., p. 286, fig. 305, a and b.

some dim connection with the Celtic legend of the devouring animal god.[1]

A cross-slab at St Vigeans [2] (Pl. XXXIV) has a rather heavier, although not essentially different, style of carving to the monuments of this group which have been previously described.   The cross is simple in form, decorated with regular interlacing outlined by a plain moulding; strange birds and animals and snakes filling the narrow panels on either side, with a small squatting demon in the left-hand top panel.   On the pictorial side there are a realistic hunting scene with a stag and two hounds, several Pictish symbols, a varied assortment of animals including a bear, and a man in a cloak and tunic, shooting in a kneeling position with bow and arrow at a boar.   The bow shows the loop to which the string is attached in the same way as on the Franks Casket.   Down one side of the slab is carved a delicate strip of interlacing, with below it an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon semi-uncials.[3]   On the other edge of the slab there is a Northumbrian vine scroll pattern, a motive rarely found on the Pictish cross-slabs, derived from the version which is found on the cross shafts from Aberlady [4] and Abercorn.[5]

SMALL CROSS-SLABS.

The small cross-slabs follow, as a rule, the plan of the larger monuments, with a cross on one side and a figurative scene on the other.

Four of these monuments have only a single horseman on the pictorial side, in some cases accompanied by Pictish symbols.[6]   The most elaborate of these is at Meigle [7] (Pl. XXXV).   The cross, which is very ornate, with part of the shaft turning into animal heads, is set in a frame of interlacing.   The four deeply recessed panels on either side are filled with examples of the usual types of strange animals.   On the back of the slab is a single horseman, carved in very low relief, and on one edge are incised two Pictish symbols.   Another of these slabs at Meigle shows a horseman bearing a circular shield, above the Pictish symbol of the crescent, and

[1] See E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des Bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1907–15, i. p. 102.

[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 235.

[3] Romilly Allen gives the reading for this inscription as

<div style="text-align:center">

DROSTEN
IPUERET
ETTFOR
CUS·

</div>

Its meaning has never been satisfactorily determined.   *Cf.* Macalister, *loc. cit.*, p. 195.

[4] See O. G. S. Crawford, *Antiquity*, xi. (1937) pp. 469–473, for examples of the vine scroll on cross-slabs in Scotland.

[5] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 418, fig. 435, *d.*

[6] At Meigle, *E.C.M.S.*, p. 300, fig. 314, p. 299, fig. 312, and p. 301, fig. 315; and at Logierait, p. 291, fig. 308.

[7] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 300, fig. 314.

a hound (Pl. XXXVI, c). The design of running spirals within the crescent closely resembles Late Celtic designs on metal-work (Pl. XXIX, b).

Other of these small cross-slabs show a hunting scene with horsemen and hounds pursuing a stag. Examples of these are at Scoonie,[1] in Fife, and at Inchbrayock,[2] in Angus.

The most curious of these monuments comes from Inchbrayock [3] (now in the museum at Montrose) (Pl. XXXVI, a and b). The carving is clumsy and grotesque. The arms of the cross are decorated with an asymmetrical design of spirals (recalling Late Celtic metal-work). In the upper panels there are debased animal forms, and in the lower panels, on the one side a strange beast suckling its young, and on the other a representation which might conceivably be Delilah cutting off Samson's hair. On the upper part of the pictorial side a horseman and hound are shown pursuing a deer; there are some strangely elongated animal forms, and a pair of decorated discs. In the lower part there is a curious scene which is presumably meant to show Samson slaying a Philistine with the jawbone of an ass, while beside him crouches a female figure. This interpretation of the scene cannot be taken as certain, for it is not found elsewhere in Scotland nor in Ireland, and is not one of the usual scenes of early Christian art. The monument is obviously a freak one and not easy to date. The sword worn by Samson is, however, exactly of the type shown on a Swedish bronze plaque from Torslunda [4] (Pl. XXIX, d), which is dated to the seventh century.

RECUMBENT MONUMENTS.

The recumbent monuments belonging to this group are rectangular blocks of stone, approximately 5 feet in length by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 1 foot high. From their shape it seems certain that they must be funerary monuments. Their distribution is limited, for they are only found in Perthshire and Angus.[5]

The most elaborate example is at Meigle [6] (Pls. XXXVII and XXXVIII, c and d). It is carved on the top, at both sides, and at one end. The top is outlined by two serpentine bodies, terminating at one end in the heads of birds and at the other in animal heads which enclose in their jaws a socket, presumably for a small cross-slab.[7] In the centre four triangular panels con-

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[1] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 347, fig. 360. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 255, fig. 265. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 223, fig. 235.
[4] See Hjalmar Stolpe, *La Nécropole de Vendel*, Stockholm, 1927, p. 54.
[5] In Perthshire at Meigle, *E.C.M.S.*, p. 330, fig. 343, a and b, p. 333, fig. 346; in Angus at Strathmartine, *E.C.M.S.*, p. 231, fig. 244; at St Vigeans, *E.C.M.S.*, p. 269, fig. 279, and p. 273, fig. 285.
[6] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 303.
[7] Romilly Allen gives two examples from Angus of very small cross-slabs, only about 1 foot wide, with tenons projecting from the bottom (*E.C.M.S.*, p. 264, fig. 274, and p. 270, fig. 281). These may have been of the type which fitted into the sockets of the recumbent monuments. A slab at Alyth *E.C.M.S.*, p. 287, fig. 304) is engraved with a cross with a tenon.

taining raised bosses form a rectangle. At one end there is a coiled serpent, and at the other two hippocamps appear to be dancing together. One of the sides of the monument has a hunting group consisting of five horsemen and two hounds at one end; a grid design in the centre; and two imaginary animals, one with a serpent entwined in its tail, at the other end. In the panel formed by the other side there is a horse or mule, shown with its legs doubled up to compress it into the narrow space available, then the prowling form of a bear; in the centre a swastika formed of four human bodies (a motive found on the market cross at Kells[1] (fig. 12)); and at the end an unusual version of the "devouring monster" showing two animals facing one another, one with a human leg protruding from its jaws, and with a human head above. The carved end of the monument shows the naked figure of a man fleeing from a monstrous bird.
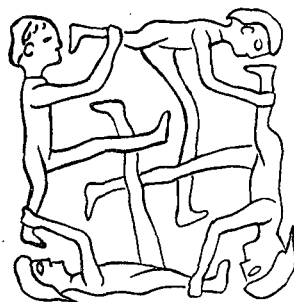

Fig. 12. Human Swastika, Market Cross, Kells, after F. Henry.

Another elaborate recumbent monument is also at Meigle[2] (Pl. XXXVIII, *a* and *b*). It has two deeply recessed panels on either side filled with carvings. In the panel on one side there are a number of motives: the version of Jonah which is found on the cross-slab at Papil, where the body of a man is shown extended between the jaws of two monsters (in this case instead of outlining the slab in the usual way, the bodies of the monsters surround a circular design of raised bosses), a rectangular design of raised bosses, an unintelligible group of animals, and finally two imaginary animals with bodies entwined round one another. In the panel on the other side there is a spirited rendering of three horsemen, riding in single file, preceded by a dog, and followed by a strange little dancing figure.

RECTANGULAR SLABS.

Like the recumbent monuments the rectangular carved slabs are few in number and limited in distribution, for they have only been found in Perthshire.[3] They are thin slabs, carved only on one side, and as there is no part which could have been sunk in the ground, they must have been presumably attached to the wall of a building.

One of these slabs, from Meigle[4] (fig. 13), appears to have been carved by the same hand as the recumbent monument (Pl. XXXVII) described on page 92. In the centre of the slab there are two hippocentaurs dancing together; on one side of them a naked man is shown fleeing from a monster,

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[1] F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, p. 84, fig. 46, *d.* This is a late ninth-tenth century cross. The persistence of such motives is not unusual in Ireland.   [2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 332.

[3] *Ibid.*, at Murthly, p. 305; at Meigle, p. 331; at Dull, p. 315, fig. 329.   [4] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

and on the other, two creatures with human bodies and the heads of beasts are fighting one another.   These probably represent men wearing helmets in the form of animal masks, similar to those shown on a bronze plaque from Torslunda [1] (Pl. XXIX, d), and the helmet in the form of a boar's head from Deskford [2] (Pl. XXIX, e).

The fragment of another slab, now lost, from Meigle,[3] showed three men in a cart, drawn by a pair of horses; an archer similar to the one on

Fig. 13. Slab at Murthly, Perthshire, after Romilly Allen.

the cross-slab at St Vigeans (Pl. XXXIV), and a huge beast devouring a man who is thrusting a dagger into its throat.

This main group is, as has been shown, remarkably coherent, and the origin of the cross-slab is clear: derived from the cross-bearing slabs of Ireland and Dalriada, and in style retaining much of the Pictish animal art and technique of the "symbol stones."   But, except for the analogy of the decorative motives with dated objects in other countries, there is little evidence for the date of the monuments.   Their essentially decorative character, to which the idea of sculpture in the round was entirely foreign, made it natural that the sources of influence would be chiefly those with surface decoration and therefore portable objects such as manuscripts,

[1] Hjalmar Stolpe, *La Nécropole de Vendel.*
[2] J. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times,* i. p. 117.   [3] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 331, fig. 344.

carved objects of wood or bone, and metal-work, rather than monumental sculpture.

On the whole the style of the decoration of the cross-slabs is closer to that of the illuminated Irish manuscripts than to anything else, and many details resemble so closely motives found in the Lindisfarne Gospels that an approximate similarity of date seems probable. Such points which have already been noted on individual monuments are: the general style of interlacing, both in its intricacy and in the small scale on which it is executed, compared to the broader, simpler type of the Book of Durrow; the frequent appearance of the typical animal of the Gospels as an outline to the slab; the small strip of animal scroll at Aberlemno (see Pl. XXXIII) which might, except for the strange Pictish feet, almost have been taken direct from a page of the manuscript; and finally the way in which any animal, however fantastic, or however much it be contorted into interlacing, always retains its lifelike character, which is one of the characteristics of the animal style of Lindisfarne of the early eighth century, and remained a constant feature of Irish art up to the end of the ninth century.

Other contacts with eighth-century Northumbrian work are the vine scroll, which belongs essentially to the monumental art of Northumbria, and a general resemblance to the style of carving of the Franks Casket.

Contact with Ireland was evidently maintained; the human swastika on the recumbent monument at Meigle being one example of the introduction of a specific motive.

The parallels with the seventh-century Torslunda finds—the sword on the cross-slab from Inchbrayock and the animal-headed helmets on the slab from Meigle—raise an important question as to connections between Scotland and Scandinavia before the period of the Viking raids.

The Christian iconography is limited, with the exception of a few doubtful motives, to themes which are found on the series of Christian monuments in Ireland dated between about 650 and 750.[1]

The dating of the main group of Pictish monuments on stylistic grounds seems to place them in the early eighth century, which accords with the historical contacts between Pictish Scotland and Northumbria summarised earlier in this paper.

NORTHERN CROSS-SLABS.

Except for a few examples the cross-slab of the main group is not found north of Angus. Farther to the north the older form of rough monument, with the cross carved on the surface of the slab and not forming a structural part of it, remained the usual type.

[1] See Henry, F. *La Sculpture irlandaise*, p. 134.

In Aberdeenshire there is a small group of such monuments, little more elaborate than roughly dressed boulders, on which are carved crosses, decorated with interlacing, and sometimes associated with Pictish symbols. An example of this group is at Dyce [1] (Pl. XXXIX), where the arms of the cross terminate in spirals. This type of spiral termination is found on slabs at Inishmurray,[2] in Ireland, and was common on the Continent. It is found, for example, on a slab at Narbonne,[3] in the south of France, dated to the eighth century, and on a chancel panel from the Church of Santa Maria in Trastevere,[4] in Rome, dated about 800. It may have been a common Eastern type; it is found in Armenia on slabs dated to the sixteenth century.[5] Although this group of Aberdeenshire monuments belongs more to the type of the seventh-century slab, yet the elaboration of the interlacing, and this detail of the spirals, makes it more probable that they can be dated to the eighth century.

Other more elaborate monuments in the north are closer to the main group, but the cross, as in the Aberdeenshire group, is not in any way structural, nor is it framed in the slab, and the figure scenes consist of only one or two isolated themes. An example of such a monument is at Fordoun,[6] in Kincardineshire. The carving on this cross-slab is delicate, partly incised, partly in low relief. The cross takes up only a part of the slab; horsemen, accompanied by hounds, are shown, two on either side of it and one on the shaft. The Pictish symbol of the double disc and rod, below the cross, is decorated with a design recalling the disc of a hanging-bowl escutcheon.[7]

IONA CROSSES.

Apart from the seventh-century monuments allied to the Cardonagh group there are very few examples of crosses or cross-slabs in the west of Scotland, with the exception of a group of elaborate free-standing crosses in the Iona district.

On the island of Iona only one cross remains intact, that of St Martin,[8] but there are fragments of five or six others.[9] They were tall crosses of the eighth-century Irish type, with a ring connecting the arms, and that of St Martin has curiously short arms. The iconography, which includes Daniel and the Lions, the Sacrifice of Abraham, etc., is purely Irish, with the exception of one motive, the Virgin and Child, which is never found in Ireland but was known in Northumbria. The decoration

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[1] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 189.
[2] W. F. Wakeman, *A Survey of the Antiquarian Remains on the Island of Inishmurray*, figs. 46 and 47.
[3] J. Baum, *La Sculpture figurale en Europe à l'Epoque Mérovingienne*, Paris, 1937, pl. LXXII.
[4] J. Baum, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXIV.
[5] See Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Etudes sur l'Art mediéval en Georgie et en Arménie*, Paris, 1929.
[6] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 201, fig. 217.   [7] F. Henry, *J.R.S.A.I.*, lxv. fig. 3.
[8] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 381, fig. 397, *a* and *b*.   [9] *Ibid.*, pp. 381–393.

a   *b*

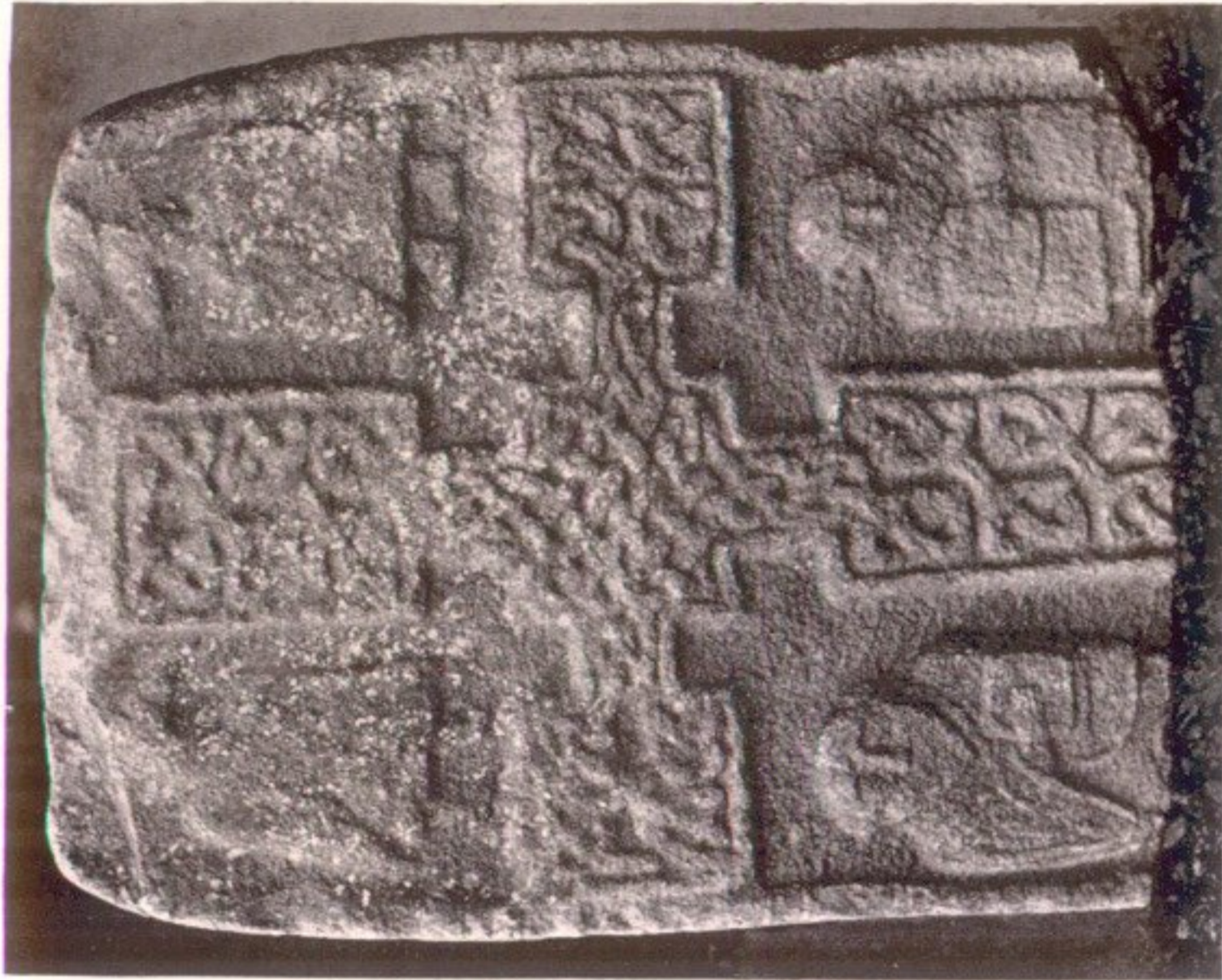*a*, Tarbat, Ross-shire, 1½ feet high;   *b*, St Andrews, Fife, 8 feet high.

CECIL L. CURLE.

a, Kirriemuir, Angus, 2¾ feet high; *b*, Brechin, Angus, 3¼ feet high.

Kirriemuir, Angus, 2 feet high.
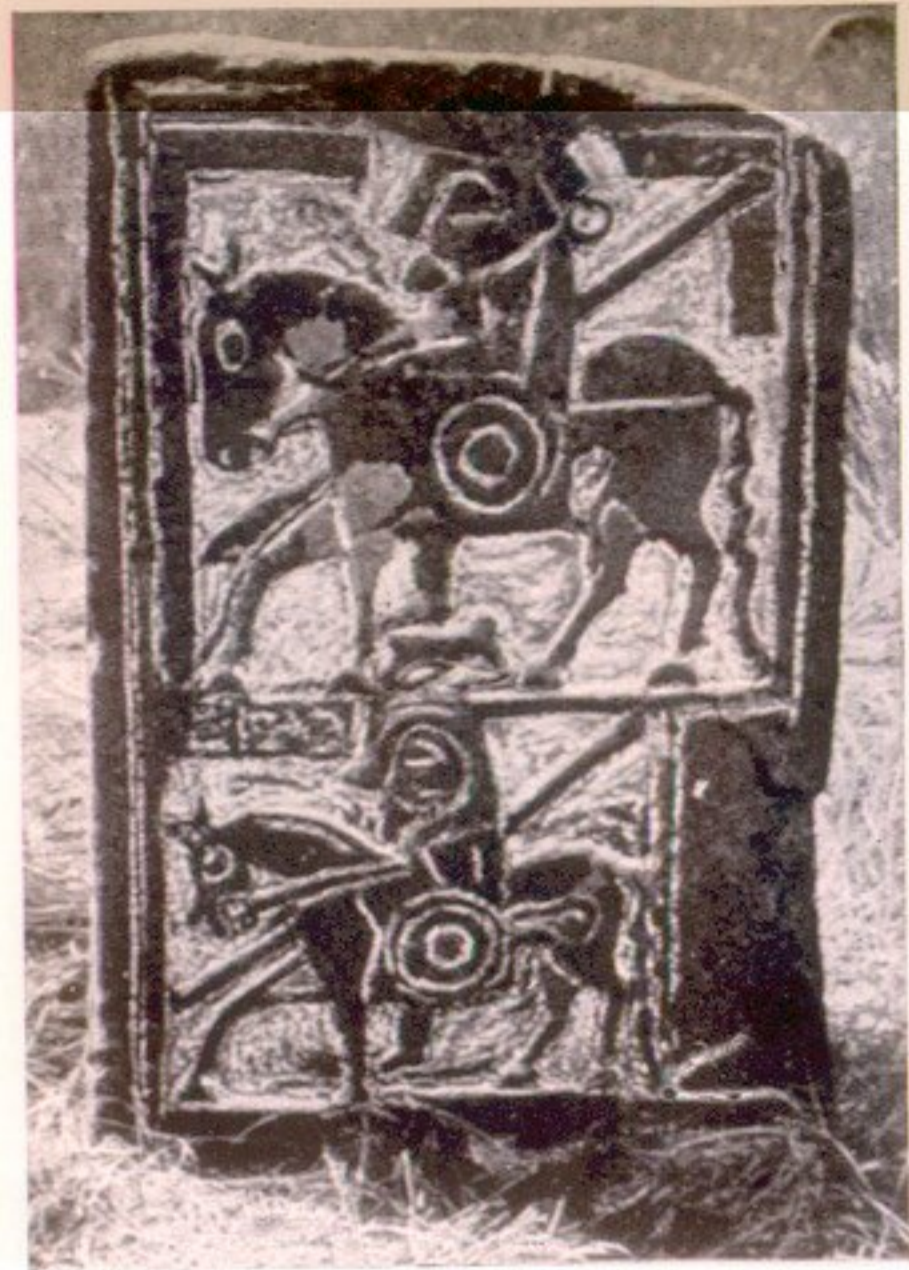
Cecil L. Curle.

a   [*After M. Boyle.*

b

a, Benvie, Angus, 3 feet high; *b*, St Andrews, Fife.

Cecil L. Curle.

Invergowrie, Angus, 2¾ feet high.
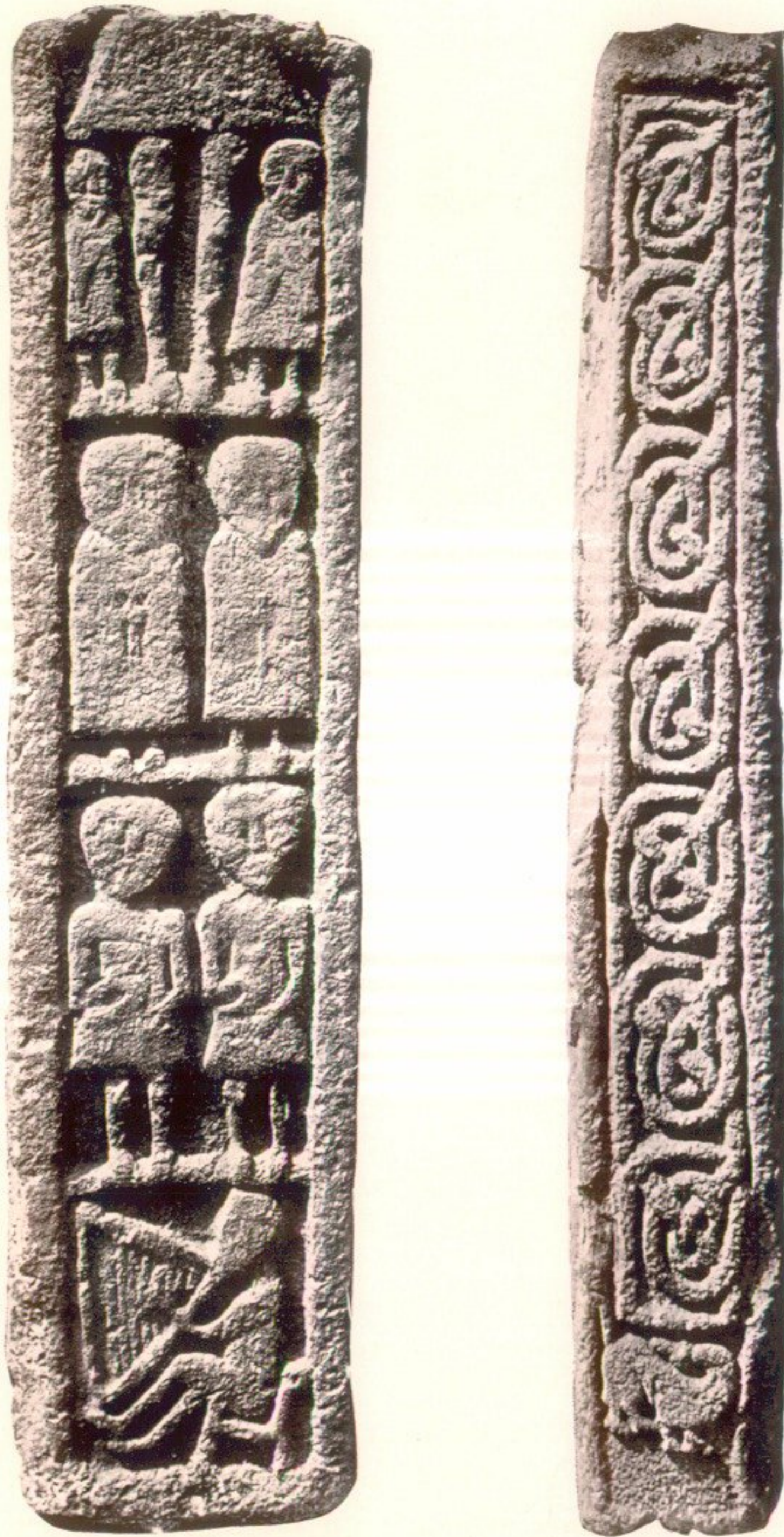
CECIL L. CURLE.

The "Corp Naomh" in the National Museum of Ireland.

CECIL L. CURLE.

Forteviot, Perthshire, 6¼ feet long.

Monifieth, Angus, 3¾ feet high.

Cecil L. Curle.

of the crosses consists chiefly of panels filled with large raised bosses; some are of interlacing, some have a circular depression in the centre in which are three much smaller bosses; some are placed on a background of writhing snakes, others on a background filled with smaller bosses and raised spirals. Some panels of spirals are practically identical, both in composition and in the type of spiral, with parts of the Chi Rho page of the Book of Kells.[1] From their connection with the Irish crosses it seems probable that they belong to about the same period, when the community at Iona would be in touch, not only with Ireland, but with Northumbria and the east of Scotland. It is certain that they must have been erected sometime before 806, when the monks, fleeing from the Viking invasions, took refuge at Kells and there built a new monastery. There has been so much destruction and rebuilding at Iona that nothing but the fragments of these crosses, and a few grave slabs of the Clonmacnoise type,[2] which may be as early as the eighth century, remain of what must have been a centre of carving. There is a legend that there were once three hundred and sixty crosses on Iona[3]; two are known to have been called after St Matthew and St John.[4]

Traces of this school of carving exist elsewhere in the west. A cross on Islay[5] resembles closely in its proportions crosses in Ireland. At Keills,[6] in Knapdale, there is a cross of a similar type to those of Iona (Pl. XL), with the short arms of St Martin's cross, but without the ring joining them. A large raised boss, with three small bosses in a depression at the centre, occupies the centre of the arms. Above it there is the figure of an angel trampling on a serpent, below it the figure of Daniel, and around it the four lions. The shaft is decorated with a diagonal key pattern, two pairs of beasts on a background of interlacing, and at the base an elaborate spiral pattern in low relief.

ELABORATE EASTERN MONUMENTS.

The next series of monuments in the east of Scotland, while continuing the tradition of the main group of cross-slabs, show both a stylistic development and a sudden influx of new motives, bringing in a wider iconography. The Picts appear to have turned for inspiration from their native art of surface decoration and the models taken from manuscripts and metalwork which had satisfied them up to now, to monumental art and

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[1] See F. Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 148. She considers the date of the Book of Kells to be between 760 and 820. It is probable that different painters went on working at it for a number of years. Part at least of the illumination must have been executed at Iona.

[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 390, fig. 405, and R. A. S. Macalister, *The Memorial Slabs of King's County*, Publication of the R.S.A.I., 1907–8.   [3] Reeves, *St Columba*, p. cxxxvii.

[4] Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 419, and see F. Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 101. Apparently elaborate crosses dedicated to the Evangelists were frequently erected at the eighth-century Irish monasteries.

[5] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 391, fig. 410.   [6] *Ibid.*, p. 390.

sculpture in the round. There is a general elaboration of the whole
monument and for the first time an attempt at portraying drapery on the
figure carving. The flat style of carving has given way to a definite
feeling of *ronde bosse*, and the elaborate raised bosses found on the
crosses of Iona, and possibly coming to the east of Scotland from there,
play an important part in the decoration of the monuments. The distri-
bution of this new style is wide. There are three monuments in particular
which appear to derive their figure scenes directly from a foreign source.
These are: an altar tomb at St Andrews,[1] in Fife, a cross-slab at Nigg,[2]
in Ross-shire, and a slab from Hilton of Cadboll,[3] in the same county.

The altar tomb at St Andrews is incomplete (Pl. XLI). Originally
there must have been four narrow, upright slabs, one for each corner,
grooved vertically to receive the four thinner slabs which formed the
sides of the box. The complete tomb would have measured 5 feet 9 inches
long by 2 feet 11 inches wide by 2 feet 4 inches high. Two of the corner
posts remain, and one long panel and one end panel are complete.

The long panel is divided into three compartments. The centre one
contains chiefly representations of David with the lion, as a hunter, and
as shepherd or warrior.[4] In early Christian art David was used as a
prefiguration of Christ, and David as a harpist is one of the themes found
on seventh-century monuments in Ireland,[5] but these scenes from the life
of David are very different. He is here shown with the lion (that it is
David and not Samson is made clear by the figure of the sheep in the
background), in the traditional attitude of the Babylonian and Assyrian
Gilgamesh, instead of in the Mithraic attitude which is usual in the West.
He is dressed in flowing drapery, and the figure is evidently related to
the classical figures of the fourth-century sarcophagi of Italy and southern
France,[6] which belong to the tradition of the Hellenistic bas-reliefs, but
the elaborate folds and pleats of the costume with the ends forming a
symmetrical scalloped edge seem nearer to the formalised drapery of
Byzantine art. The sword, with the pattern of interlacing on its sheath,
is an unusual feature to find on a classical figure. It is an Eastern type,
closely resembling the sword attributed to Charlemagne in the Treasury
of the former Imperial House of Austria at Vienna, and that on the
Byzantine porphyry statues of emperors at Venice.[7] The lion too is

[1] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 350; and see also Cecil Mowbray, "Eastern Influence on Carvings at St Andrews
and Nigg, Scotland," *Antiquity*, 1936, viii. pp. 428–440.

[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 75; and see Cecil Mowbray, *loc. cit.*   [3] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 61.

[4] See Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland before the Tenth Century*,
London, 1887, pp. 203–208. R. Allen points out that there are two examples of David as poet or warrior
in the Saxon Psalter in the Bodlian.

[5] F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, p. 134.

[6] L. Brehier, *Le Sarcophage des Carmes Dechaux*, Études Archéologiques, Clermont Ferrand, 1910;
and L. Brehier, *L'Art chrétien primitif*, p. 14.

[7] R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 6, pls. 31–34.

Eastern, the small lion of Assyrian art, very different from the Celticised versions found in Irish art. David the hunter is shown on horseback defending himself with a sword from the attack of a lion. This scene closely resembles the representations of lion hunts in Sassanian art,[1] and the suggestion of a Sassanian prototype is emphasised by the fact that the horseman of St Andrews has a hawk on his arm, which can be paralleled by engravings on Sassanian silver dishes.[2] The figure of David as shepherd or warrior is dressed in a short tunic, and bears a spear and a rectangular notched shield. It is preceded by two hounds, a deer, and two beasts of prey. Above this scene there is a curious group where a deer with a monkey on its back, another monkey in a squatting position and a hound chasing a beast of prey, are all entangled in the branches of a tree. This use of vegetation, unknown in Scotland, also points to an Eastern origin. A close analogy is found on a Coptic carved wooden chest of A.D. 600 in the Cairo Museum, where the branches of a vine are twined round the bodies of a lion and a hare (Pl. XLI, c). Another motive on the St Andrews slab, that of the gryphon devouring a quadruped, although derived ultimately from the East, was widespread in the Roman Empire. The two side compartments of the panel are decorated with animal interlacing. The sculptor has taken two animals from the centre compartment, the lion and the deer, and from them formed a purely Celtic design of animal interlacing, but the head of the deer and the curling mane of the lion are clearly distinguishable. This type of animal interlacing is fairly close to that found in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Examples in Northumbrian sculpture are found on the cross shafts from Rothbury,[3] and at Aberlady,[4] where interlaced animals have the same serpent-like heads as have the interlaced lions of St Andrews.

The end panel has a square-angled cross, another parallel with the Book of Lindisfarne, and both the cross and the frame within which it is set are covered with interlacing. In the centre of the cross there is a raised boss with spiral decoration, and in two of the recessed panels behind the arms are raised bosses of interlacing out of which emerge serpents. These recall the raised bosses of the Iona crosses, and are similar in conception to the bosses formed of serpents on an Irish reliquary of bronze in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at St Germain.[5] In each of the other two recesses there is a squatting pair of monkeys.

The purely Celtic character of the decorative motives, which appear

[1] Freidrich Sarre, *Die Kunst des Alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, pl. 104, showing a fifth-century Sassanian silver dish in the British Museum.

[2] *Catalogue of Eastern Silver and Gold Vessels from the Oriental Provinces of the Russian Empire*, St Petersburg, 1909, fig. 157; and see C. Mowbray, *Antiquity*, 1936, p. 431, fig. 2.

[3] T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 154–158, pl. LXIV.

[4] T. D. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–136, pl. LI, and *E.C.M.S.*, p. 428, fig. 448.

[5] F. Henry, "Deux Objets irlandais au Musée des Antiquités nationales," *Préhistoire*, vi. pp. 65–91.

to have been carved by the same hand as the rest of the sarcophagus, show that the whole monument was carved in Scotland and it is most likely that the figure scenes were taken from some portable eastern object in ivory or metal. The Persian and Coptic parallels described belong to a period between the fifth and seventh centuries, and, allowing for a period of time to elapse before they reached Scotland, would fit in with the dating of the monument, on the evidence of the Celtic decorative elements, to sometime in the eighth century. This accords with the legend of the foundation of St Andrews given in the Chronicle of the Picts and Scots.[1] It tells how Hungus, King of the Picts, was promised, in a vision, victory over the Britons if he would dedicate a tenth part of his kingdom to God and to St Andrew; and that after his victory he met a monk called Regulus, a pilgrim from Constantinople, who had come to Scotland bringing the relics of St Andrew. King Hungus gave the city where he met Regulus "to God and to St Andrew to be head and mother of all the churches in the kingdom of the Picts." Though, as Skene points out, this legend is obviously borrowed from the conversion of Constantine, the mention of relics brought from Constantinople may provide a clue to the origin of the figure scenes of the sarcophagus. Of two Pictish kings called "Hungus" (Aengus) one reigned from 731 to 761; the other from 822 to 824. Skene took the view that the monastery was dedicated to St Andrew in the reign of the first Hungus and it is generally accepted that he is right. It seems probable that such an important monument as the altar tomb would belong to the period of the dedication of the church. The fact that such an elaborate type of tomb has not been found elsewhere in Europe belonging to the same period does not disprove this, for so little sculpture of the eighth century has survived that it is impossible to say that such a type did not exist elsewhere at that period, and the stylistic evidence seems conclusive.

A cross-slab at Nigg [2] (Pl. XLII) is closely related to the sarcophagus of St Andrews. It is over 7 feet high, with a pedimented top. Unfortunately it has been broken and part of it is missing. It is more elaborate than the cross-slabs of the main group, but it retains the usual plan of the cross on one side and figure scenes on the other. The square-angled cross might have been taken from a page of the Lindisfarne Gospels, so closely does it resemble it in proportion, standing out, as Strygowski has pointed out,[3] above a sunk background—an effect produced in colour in the manuscript: The square centre of the cross is decorated with interlacing, and the lower part of the shaft with key pattern; the arms are filled with interlaced lion-like forms derived from the animal inter-lacing on the St Andrews sarcophagus. The panels behind the cross

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[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, p. 297.   [2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 75.
[3] J. Strygowski, *Origin of Christian Church Art*, Oxford, 1923, p. 240.

have raised bosses of spirals and interlacing, bosses formed of interlacing on a background of snakes, and raised bosses on a background of spirals, recalling both the monument of St Andrews and the Iona crosses. The triangular space above the cross contains a small figure scene, representing St Paul and St Anthony. It is much more elaborate than any of the other versions on monuments in Scotland or Ireland and has clearly been taken directly from St Jerome's life of St Paul. The story [1] is followed faithfully: the ancient palm whose wide-spreading branches roofed the natural courtyard where St Paul lived is shown by two trees outlining the panel. The loaf of bread is brought by a crow, and here the scene is used as a symbol of the sacrament; the loaf is in the form of a wafer and the dish below resembles a paten, while the two saints, with books in their hands, kneel in adoration on either side. The two dog-like forms are no doubt the lions which, after the death of St Paul, when St Anthony was lamenting the lack of a spade with which to dig his grave, "came coursing, their manes flying, from the inner desert" and dug a hole with their claws large enough to hold the body. The other side of the slab consists of a figure scene set in a wide frame made up of panels of key pattern and interlacing. The figure scene, although too defaced to be entirely intelligible, is obviously derived, if not actually from the central panel of the tomb of St Andrews, then from the same source. The chief motives are there: David and the lion, with the figure of the sheep beside them; David on foot preceded by a deer and a hound; the gryphon devouring a quadruped. The lion hunt of St Andrews has been transformed into the more usual Pictish deer hunt, and there is the additional figure of a man holding what appear to be cymbals. The carving is crude and in very flat relief.

The monument at Hilton of Cadboll [2] is an upright rectangular slab, 7 feet 9 inches high, sculptured only on one face (Pl. XLIII).[3] Three panels, outlined by plain raised mouldings, occupy the centre of the slab and are set in a wide frame, the sides of which are filled with a Celticised version of the Northumbrian vine scroll (of the type found at St Peter's, York), and the top with the Pictish symbol of the double disc and rod. The top central panel contains a symmetrical grouping of the Pictish crescent and floriated rod, decorated with key pattern and spirals, and two ornamented discs of interlacing. The centre panel introduces a new version of the hunting scene. The chief figures are a man and woman on horseback; the woman is seated sideways on her horse, so that she is seen full face. The man is riding alongside her so that all that can be seen is the bearded profile of his face and the outline of his horse behind hers.

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[1] See Helen Waddell, *Desert Fathers*, p. 48 *sqq.*   [2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 61.

[3] Romilly Allen states, *E.C.M.S.*, p. 62, that there was probably a cross on the other side which had been obliterated to make room for a seventeenth-century inscription.

They are followed by two trumpeters, with long trumpets and draped garments. The scene is completed by two other horsemen bearing spears and circular shields, and a deer closely pursued by two hounds, while a third hound is shown above the woman's shoulder. The symbol of the mirror and comb is carved in the left-hand top corner. This scene is not dissimilar to that described on a cross-slab at Meigle (see Pl. XXXI), but apart from the novelty of the framing of the scene in a separate panel and in the compactness of the composition, there is the introduction of a woman's figure, which is found on no other Pictish slab, and the trumpeters with their rather crudely portrayed drapery. Possibly both scenes are derived from an Eastern source, which would account for their similarity. A scene with trumpeters following behind a horseman occurs on the seventh-century rock carvings of Tac-i-Bostan in Persia.[1]

There are a number of very tall cross-slabs in the north-east showing the influence of these three monuments in their figure scenes, in the *ronde bosse* style of carving, and in the animal interlacing. This is no longer the flat animal interlacing of manuscript or metal-work, a drawing transferred on to stone, but the animals whose distorted bodies form a symmetrical pattern now have both depth and solidity. In this group there is a tendency to put the whole of a figure scene into a separate panel, isolated from the Pictish symbols which, on the earlier monuments, were placed in a haphazard way amongst horsemen and fantastic animals. The symbols themselves have now developed into elaborate decorative motives, and only the principal symbols—the discs, the crescent, the mirror and comb, and the fantastic animal—are used. They are now on a very much larger scale than previously, and are placed in a dominant and symmetrical position at the top of the monument; the asymmetrical grouping of the older monuments has given place to a carefully balanced arrangement of motives.

Examples of this group are found at Rosemarkie [2] and at Shandwick [3] in Ross-shire, both of which slabs are elaborately carved and almost purely decorative. The slab at Rosemarkie (Pl. XLIV) has a cross with square-angled terminals (of a type found in the Book of Kells) set in a background of interlacing and with a frame of key pattern. The edges of the slab are decorated with interlacing which terminates in the heads of birds, animals, or serpents. The monument at Shandwick stands in a commanding position overlooking the sea; it is so badly weathered that not much of the carving remains, but amongst other motives four large, interlaced serpents, carved in very high relief, and a panel of trumpet spiral, are still recognisable.

[1] Freidrich Sarre, *Die Kunst des Alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, plates 86, 87.
[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 63.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 68, fig. 66.

A cross-slab at Aberlemno [1] also belongs to this group, but has a more varied iconography than is usual at this period. The figures of angels on either side of the cross are clearly derived from the figures of St Paul and St Anthony on the cross-slab at Nigg; they have books in their hands, and the same curiously long-shaped heads are bowed in prayer, but the cloaks have been transformed into wings. On the other side of the slab, beneath a group of Pictish symbols, there is a large panel containing a slightly altered version of the hunting scene from Hilton of Cadboll; there is an additional figure of a warrior on foot with shield and spear, and the female figure on horseback is missing. Below this scene are two small panels; in one there is a stylised hippocentaur with the branch of a tree under its arm, of a type already described at Meigle [2]; in the other are David and the lion, in the Gilgamesh attitude, with a sheep and harp above. The complicated circle interlacing is similar to that found in the Gospel-book of the Irish monastery of Bobbio,[3] which is closely related to the Book of Kells.

There are other fragments of slabs at Tarbat, in Ross-shire, showing the *ronde bosse* style of carving of the Iona crosses.[4] There is also a particularly interesting fragment of a thick slab,[5] about 1½ feet high, carved on one side with a design of spirals of the Irish chip-carving type (inspired by late metal-work) of the Ahenny cross,[6] and on the other with an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon capitals (Pl. XLV, *a*). The lettering is carved in relief and is very close to that on the Ardagh Chalice [7] in the National Museum at Dublin. The lines are short and the letters at either end have been partly broken away. Romilly Allen gives the probable reading as:

> IN NOMINE
> IHESU CHRISTI
> CRUX CHRISTI
> IN COMMEMORATIONE
> REO (TE) TII
> REQUIESC (IT)

The church of Tarbat was dedicated to St Colman, and the parish of Tarbat originally included that of Fearn, where was situated the monastery of Nova Ferna. "Reotetii" has been suggested as the partially illegible name commemorated on the monument. The death of "Rethaide" or

[1] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 214, fig. 228.
[2] P. 89.
[3] Turin, O. iv. 20. Zimmermann, iii. pls. 198 and 211.
[4] *E.C.M.S.*, pp. 88–94.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[6] F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, pls. XX, XXI.
[7] L. S. Gogan, *The Ardagh Chalice*, London, 1932, fig. 8.

"Reodaide" is recorded under the year 726 in the Annals of Ulster, and under the year 763 in the Annals of Tigernach, in both of· which he is called "Ab. Ferna." The inscription and the spirals, resembling those on the Ahenny cross, show an interesting connection with the south of Ireland, for Ahenny was near the monastery of Ferns in Ireland, of which it may be assumed that Nova Ferna in Scotland was an offshoot. The south of Ireland had accepted the Roman usage even before the Synod of Whitby and by 710 King Nechtan of the Picts had also accepted it, whereas the monks of Iona refused to conform until 716,[1] so it is probable that at the beginning öf the eighth century Pictish Scotland would be in close communication with southern Ireland.

An unusual cross-slab at Kirriemuir [2] (Pl. XLVI, a), in Angus, probably belongs to this period. It follows the general plan of the Pictish cross-slabs with a cross on one side and a figure scene on the other, but with
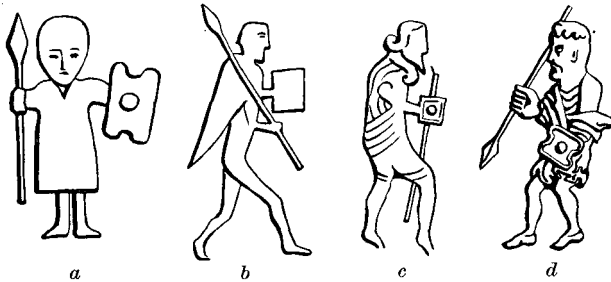

Fig. 14. David the Warrior.

a, Ardchattan, Argyllshire.   c, Kirriemuir, Angus.
b, Eassie, Angus.   d, St Andrews, Fife.

the exception of the decoration of the cross, which is in key pattern with a pair of interlaced animals *affrontés*, there is little that is Celtic about it. In the two upper panels behind the cross are a pair of angels; they are no longer the stylised type with four wings found on the other Scottish monuments, but they are the conventional angels with long robe and large wings of the type found in the Saxon chapels at Bradford-on-Avon [3] in Somerset, and at Winterbourne Steepleton [4] in Dorset. In the left-hand lower panel there is the figure of a man with a staff or spear and a small square shield on his arm, evidently related to the figure of David the warrior on the St Andrews sarcophagus (fig. 14). In the right-hand panel there is a crudely drawn scene of animals hunting: an eagle attacking a stag at the top, and two hounds or beasts of prey below. On the other side of the slab there is one large recessed panel containing a hunting scene of unusual type. Two horsemen with spears are shown one above the other, and below a hound seizing a stag. A crude version of the double disc and rod is carved at the top left-hand corner .of the panel.

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, v. c. 22.
[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 227.
[3] T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. CIII, fig. 1.
[4] T. D. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pl. CIII, fig. 3.

NINTH- AND TENTH-CENTURY CROSS-SLABS AND CROSSES.

The tall cross-slabs of the last group, with the elaborate *ronde bosse* carving, are with a few exceptions the last of the national type of Pictish cross-slab. They are succeeded in the ninth and tenth centuries by a number of monuments, both free-standing crosses and cross-slabs, in a variety of styles. The cross-slab, although continuing for a time, had lost all the vigour and originality of the Pictish monument. With the establishment of the dynasty of the Scots in 850, Pictish culture must have merged with that of the Scots, and all that was most characteristic gradually disappeared. Owing to the Viking raids the new kingdom of Scotland was cut off from the centres of culture of the Scots—Iona and Ireland—and consequently the quality of its art was very poor.

A group of cross-slabs in Perthshire and Angus show an influence from the later Irish manuscripts and probably belong to the ninth century. With the exception of one monument at Aldbar [1] in Angus which is nearly 6 feet high, they are mostly small slabs, and have a square, rounded, or pedimented top. The carving is in flat, very low relief. The interlacing is simple and rather crude; there are a few representations of Pictish symbols, but no animal art. The cross sometimes has a ring joining the arms and sometimes the shaft is attached to a base.   The group is characterised by representations of ecclesiastics with broad, flat figures, usually shown full face, their large, triangular heads hanging heavily between bent shoulders. They are dressed in a tunic, over which a cloak hangs in straight, stiff folds, and are shown holding a book or a staff.

A typical example of this group is at Kirriemuir,[2] in Angus (Pl. XLVII). The cross has square angles at the junction of the arms and is covered with interlacing of a broad, simple type. In the upper panels behind the cross are two bird-headed figures probably meant to represent evangelists.   This motive has not occurred in Scotland before, but it may easily have come by way of Northumbria, where it is found as early as the beginning of the eighth century on St Cuthbert's coffin.[3] In the lower panels are two figures with books, probably also representing evangelists.   The other side of the slab is divided into two panels.   In the upper panel there is a figure with a book, and a crude version of St Paul and St Anthony parting the bread.   In the lower panel a figure is shown full face, seated on a chair, the arms of which terminate in animal heads. This type of seated figure is derived from Syrian and Egyptian manuscripts and is found for the first time in Ireland in the St Gall Gospel,[4] dated to

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[1] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 245, fig. 259, *a* and *b*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

[3] T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 114.

[4] St Gall Gospel Book (M.S. 51), see Zimmermann, iii. pl. 186, and G. L. Micheli, *Revue Archéologique*, Juin 1936, pp. 192 *sqq.*

the middle of the eighth century.   The arms of the chair ending in animal heads are often found in Irish manuscripts.[1]   On one side of the seated figure is the mirror and comb symbol, and on the other an undecipherable motive.

A tall cross-slab at Elgin [2] is a survival of the elaborate Pictish slabs. Figures representing the evangelists surround the cross, and in a panel beneath the cross interlaced animals closely recall a panel on a fragment of a cross-shaft from Colerne,[3] in Wiltshire (fig. 15).   On the other side of the slab an elaborate stag hunt fills the lower half of the panel, the hawk on the arm of one of the horsemen recalling the figure on the sarcophagus of St Andrews.   The upper half of the panel is filled with a symmetrical arrangement of Pictish symbols.
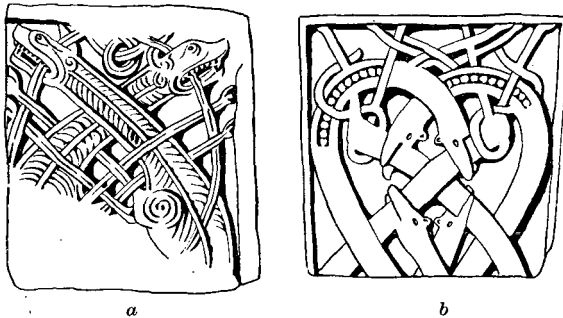
As well as the influence from Irish manuscripts there was also a strong influence from Northumbrian carving. There is a unique cross-slab from Brechin [4] (Pl. XLVI, b), so purely Northumbrian in style that it seems certain that it must have been executed in that country, although the cross-slab was unknown in England at that period.   It is a rectangular slab, carved on one side only, in low relief.   An equal-armed cross extends to the sides of the slab.   A large medallion at the centre of the cross contains the figure of the Virgin and Child, with an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules given by Romilly Allen as

Fig. 15.

a, Cross-shaft, Colerne, Wiltshire.
b, Cross-slab, Elgin.

S.MARIA.MR.XPI,

and set in a frame of small raised bosses.   The figure of a bird, possibly a dove, is carved on the upper arm of the cross; on the arms on either side are angels, and on the shaft two saints.   In the panels forming the background there were probably representations of the four evangelists; the two upper figures have been partially destroyed, but the lower two are still clear and show the eagle-headed symbol of St John and the lion-headed symbol of St Mark.   In style this slab is fairly close to a fragment of a cross from Hoddam or Luce,[5] in Dumfriesshire, which is carved with a medallion decorated with similar small raised bosses.

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[1] For example in the *Book of St Chad* at Lichfield Cathedral and in the *Cassiodorus in Psalmos* in the Durham Cathedral Library.   Zimmermann, iii. pls. 245 and 246.

[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 135, fig. 137.   [3] T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 211, and pl. LXXXIII.
[4] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 249.   [5] *Ibid.*, p. 440, fig. 463.

An interesting fragment of the shaft of a free-standing cross was found built into the wall of the twelfth-century church of St Mary on the Rock [1] at St Andrews (Pl. XLV, b).   The shaft is divided into panels containing a variety of motives.   There is a curious scene where two naked human figures hold a disc over the head of a smaller figure; above it is the beginning of a plant scroll, and below, separated by a band of step pattern, two birds *affrontés* surmounting a pair of beasts' bodies with a single human head.   On the other side, beneath a scroll pattern, are two creatures with human heads and bodies, with fishes' tails, entwined.   This motive recalls somewhat similar forms on a slab at Banagher,[2] in Ireland, which belongs to an Irish group dated to about 800.[3]   Down one edge of the shaft is a debased vine scroll pattern.   This cross-shaft is a blending of Pictish and Northumbrian elements, with the Northumbrian predominating.   It is stylistically fairly close to the Nunburnholme cross and belongs probably to the latter half of the ninth century.

Another semi-Northumbrian cross belonging to approximately the same date is at Dupplin, in Perthshire [4] (fig. 16).   It is nearly 9 feet high, and resembles in shape the Northumbrian cross at Thornhill.[5] There is a raised boss at the junction of the arms, and around it is entwined a plant form: the fat creeper with three-lobed leaves which appears in the Book of Kells and the Leningrad Gospels [6] (dated to about the middle of the eighth century).   All four sides of the shaft are divided into panels, some of them separated from one another by a strip of step pattern as were the panels on the cross-shaft at St Andrews, others by plain raised moulding.   The smaller panels are filled with compact designs of inter-lacing, key pattern, or spirals, the larger with animal motives or human figures.   There is the Northumbrian animal with its head turned back and its tongue coming through a slit in its body, of a similar type to that found at Wamphray,[7] in Dumfriesshire; there are pairs of animals *affrontés*, and groups of birds.   Of human forms there is David as a harpist, David and the lion, a horseman with long drooping moustache, and groups of foot soldiers with spears and circular shields.

A number of monuments in Perthshire and Angus are related to the Dupplin cross, and are carved in the same style of very low, but deeply cut, relief.

A cross-slab at Crieff,[8] in Perthshire, over 6 feet in height, is carved with the three-lobed plant of the Dupplin cross, which sometimes, on this slab, ends in an animal head.   This transformation of a plant into

[1] *P.S.A.S.*, xliii. p. 385.

[2] F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, pls. XXXVIII and XXXIX.

[3] F. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 165.   [4] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 319, fig. 334.   [5] *Ibid.*, p. 449, fig. 469.

[6] A Northumbrian Gospel Book (Lat. F.V.I.N. 8); now in Leningrad. See Zimmermann, iii. pls. 321–326.

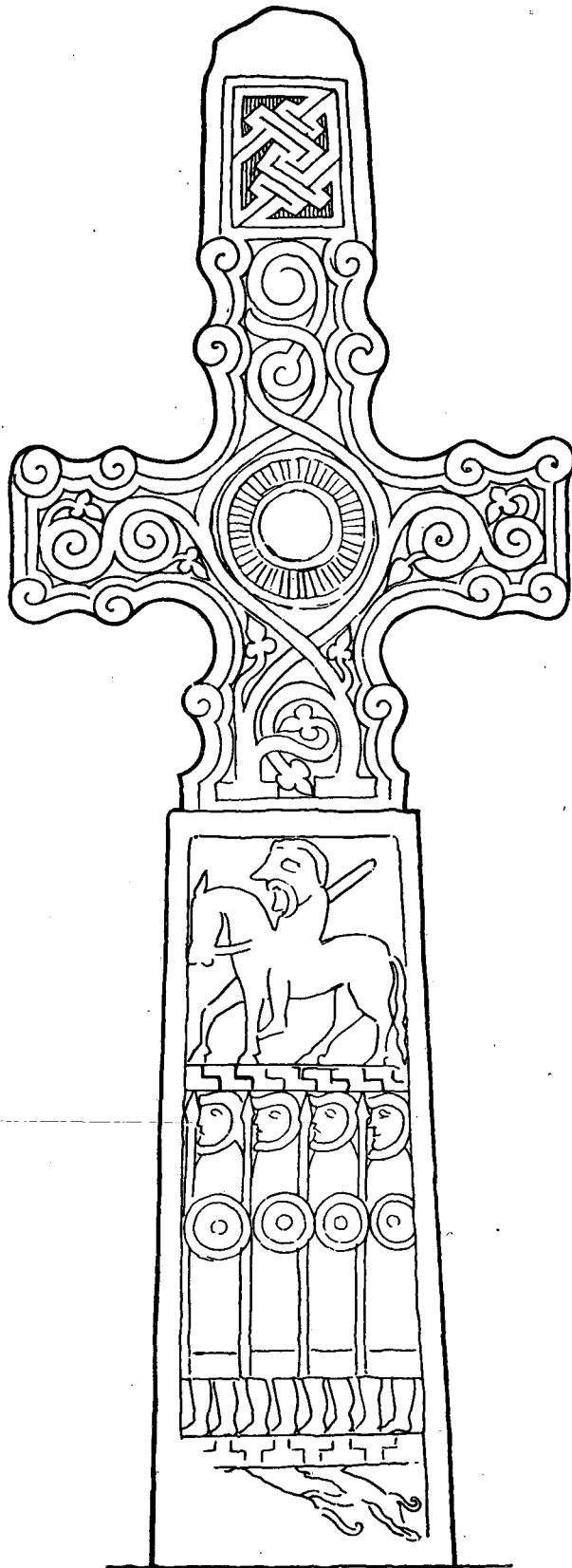[7] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 449, fig. 470.   [8] *Ibid.*, p. 313, fig. 328.

Fig. 16. Cross at Dupplin, Perthshire, after Romilly Allen.

an animal form is also found in the Leningrad Gospels. The monument is remarkable in no other way and bears no human nor animal figures.

A group in Angus is composed of small cross-slabs, one of the most elaborate of which is at Benvie [1] (Pl. XLVIII, a). It is 3 feet in height and fairly close in style to the cross at Dupplin. Broad interlacing, terminating in animal heads, decorates the shaft and upper arm of the cross, and one edge of the slab. In the upper two panels behind the cross are the stylised figures of four-winged angels—the wings attached to the body by discs. In the lower panels are pairs of entwined, dragon-like creatures, their bodies ornamented with a spiral design. The other side of the slab is divided into two panels, in each of which there is a horseman with long drooping moustache, carrying a spear and circular shield, and with a short sword. The upper of these two figures is accompanied by a small dog, and is very evidently related to the figures on the cross at Dupplin. A cross-slab at Kirriemuir [2] follows closely the same plan and is clearly carved by the same hand.

Another slab at Kirriemuir [3] is carved with the figure of an angel in the same flat, but deeply cut, style of all these monuments. The angel recalls those on the cross-slab at Benvie, but it is more elaborately treated, and in addition to the discs at the junction of the wings there are a pair of circular brooches at the shoulders. A band of step pattern remains down one side of the figure. This type of angel is found carved on the shrine of the Stowe Missal [4] in the National Museum in Dublin.

A cross-slab at Invergowrie [5] (Pl. XLIX) follows the usual plan of these later cross-slabs. The side with the cross is reserved for purely decorative motives, one of which is a design of key pattern set in a rectangle. This is a common design in Ireland on crosses and in manuscripts, but not before the tenth century. There is a small strip of rope moulding, which is a motive common on English crosses,[6] but which has not been found in Scotland before. The other side of the slab is divided into two panels and outlined with step pattern. In the upper panel there are three figures wearing long tunics and cloaks and carrying books: the outer two have disc brooches with a cruciform pattern at the shoulders. This closely resembles the central figure on the top of the "Corp Naomh" [7] in the National Museum in Dublin (Pl. L). In the lower panel are two interlaced dragons; they bear the same spiral decoration on their bodies as do the dragons on the cross-slab at Benvie and are evidently related to those on the cross-slab at Elgin. This decoration on the bodies of

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[1] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 247, fig. 260.   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 258, fig. 269.   [3] *Ibid.*, p. 260, fig. 270.
[4] A. Mahr, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, pl. 67.
[5] *E.C.M.S.*, p. 255, fig. 266.
[6] For example on the St Andrew Auckland Cross, County Durham. See T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. LII.
[7] A. Mahr, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, pls. 68 and 69.

the dragons recalls a West Saxon version of ribbon style animal inter-
lacing. It is a Norse type of decoration and might imply a Viking influence
in the east of Scotland, but in view of the close relationship between the
dragon design on the Elgin slab and that of Colerne in Wiltshire, a connec-
tion with the south of England seems more probable.

Some fifty fragments of small cross-slabs were found in excavating
the foundations of the Church of St Mary of the Rock at St Andrews [1]
(Pl. XLVIII, b). The majority of these are of no special interest; they
have neither figure nor animal carving, nothing but stereotyped designs
of spiral, interlacing, and key pattern. From the style of carving and
decorative motives they appear to belong to the same period, late
ninth and early tenth centuries, as do the monuments of the group just
described.

Another carving which is somewhat similar in style and which probably
belongs to approximately the same period, is part of an arch from
Forteviot,[2] in Perthshire (Pl. LI). It is carved with a small cross at
the centre, at the side of which there is an animal figure, possibly intended
to be a lamb. On one side of the cross there is a large seated figure, shown
in profile, holding a staff with both hands. It has the curiously elongated
eyes of the figures on the cross at Dupplin, a long moustache, elabor-
ately curled hair, and is dressed in a tunic with a band of key pattern at
the foot, and a cloak; the folds of the garments have the ribbon-like
appearance which is common in such Irish manuscripts as the St Gall
Gospels. At the foot of this figure there is a small animal similar to that
beside the cross. On the other side of the cross there are two similar
but smaller human figures, also holding staves, and possibly the remnant
of a third.

A unique cross-slab at Forres,[3] Elgin, seems also to belong to this
period of mixed influence, although it differs from any other cross-slab in
Scotland. It is 20 feet high, which is quite exceptional, and very much
narrower in proportion to its height than are the usual cross-slabs. A
cross with a ring joining the arms covers most of one side of the slab. The
shaft and the panels on either side are covered with interlacing on a small
scale. In a panel below the cross there is a figure scene, too much defaced
to be intelligible. The other side of the monument is divided into five
or six panels containing confused scenes with little figures of men arranged
in vertical and horizontal rows. Some of these clearly represent battle
scenes; for there are warriors with shields and spears and decapitated
bodies. There is a panel with a row of horsemen, another with a Celtic
church bell beneath which are five human heads. The sides of the monu-
ment are very badly weathered, but the description given by Romilly

[1] *E.C.M.S.*, pp. 357 *sqq.*   [2] *Ibid.*, p. 325.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 149, fig. 156.

Allen of a panel containing a row "of four mermaids or mermen with their fishlike tails interlaced in pairs so as to form two figure-of-eight knots" sounds not unlike the mermen on the cross-shaft at St Andrews.

Tenth-century Crosses.

Fragments of a series of small free-standing crosses have been found in Angus,[1] and in Perthshire,[2] as well as in the south of Scotland in Northumbrian territory at Borthwick,[3] in Midlothian, and at Jedburgh.[4] Not one is complete, but they appear to have been small crosses, not more than 6 feet in height, with rather slender shafts and a curve at the junction of the arms.   The figure carving is crude and the interlacing of a debased type.   The shape of the cross is nearer to that of the crosses carved on the cross-slabs than it is to any of the Northumbrian crosses, but both the iconography and the decorative motives are essentially English. The three shafts which survive have each a crucifixion at the centre of the arms; the figure of Christ is clad in a tunic, and small figures on either side represent the two soldiers.   This type of crucifixion and its setting between the arms of the cross are found on tenth-century Yorkshire crosses, for example at Aycliffe.[5]   Beneath the crucifixion, on the shaft from Monifieth [6] (Pl. LII), there are two pairs of figures probably representing the evangelists, and at the base David as a harpist.   Pairs of figures shown full face are also found on the late Yorkshire crosses.   Other English motives, but not of a dateable character, are the rope moulding, the animal with its head turned back, and the vine scroll, which is found on the edge of the shaft from Abernethy.[7]   It seems certain that these crosses belong to the tenth century and are Northumbrian rather than Scottish, in spite of the form of the cross and an occasional Celtic motive, such as the little naked man on the fragment of the arm of a cross from Strathmartine.[8]

Conclusion.

The conclusions reached in this paper are set out in the accompanying diagram, which shows the evolution of the Christian monuments of Scotland.   There was first an early group of simple engraved Christian monuments in Ireland and the west of Scotland derived from funerary monuments of the Brito-Roman Church.   Then in the middle of the seventh

[1] At Monifieth and Strathmartine, E.C.M.S., p. 265, fig. 275, and p. 266 fig. 277.
[2] At Abernethy and Forteviot, E.C.M.S., p. 310, fig. 325, and p. 326, fig. 337.
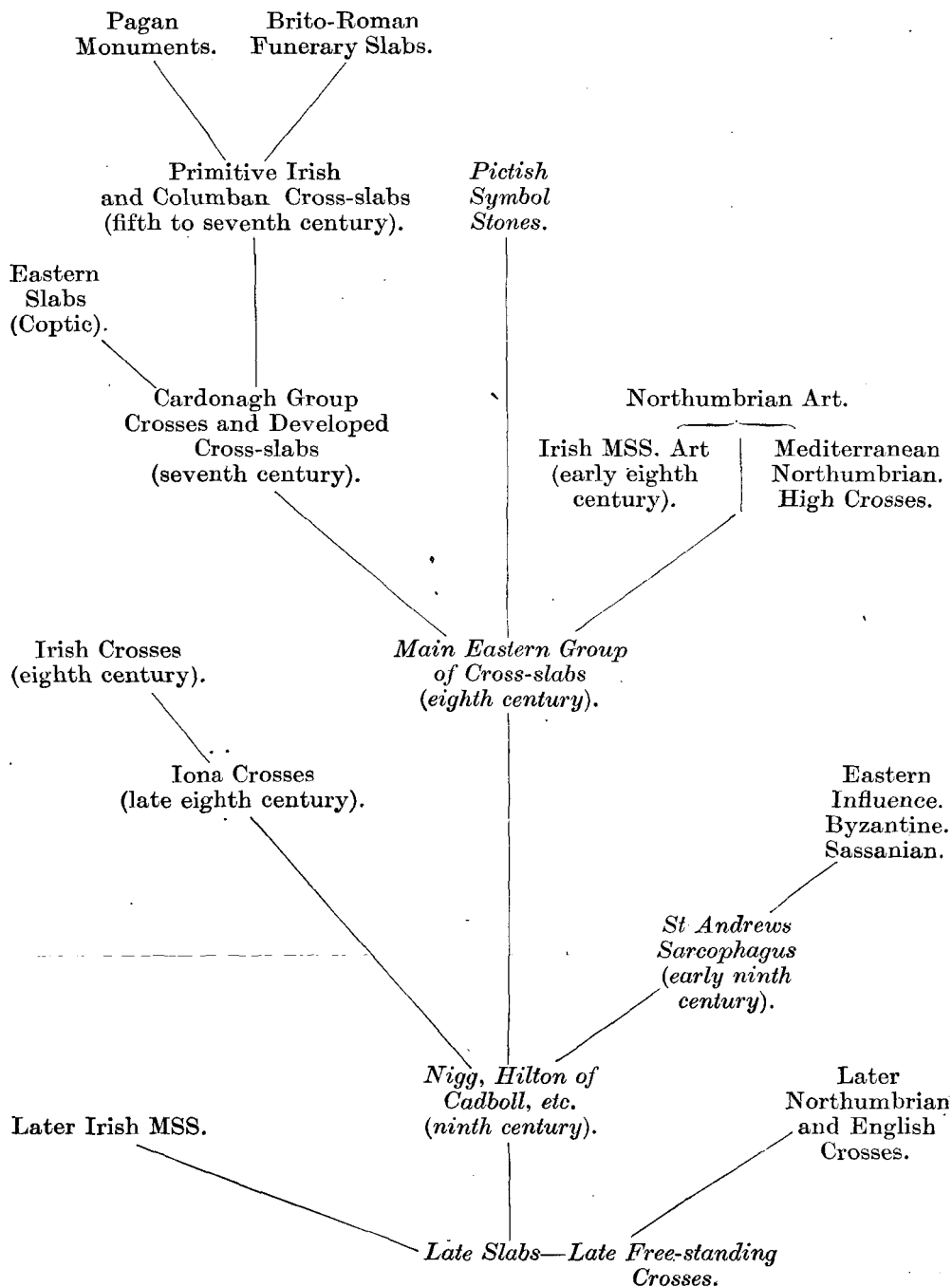[3] E.C.M.S., p. 423, fig. 422.
[4] Ibid., p. 514, fig. 564.
[5] Collingwood, Northumbrian Crosses, p. 79.
[6] E.C.M.S., p. 265.
[7] Ibid., p. 310.
[8] Ibid., p. 266, fig. 277, b.

Pagan
Monuments.

Brito-Roman
Funerary Slabs.

Primitive Irish
and Columban Cross-slabs
(fifth to seventh century).

*Pictish
Symbol
Stones.*

Eastern
Slabs
(Coptic).

Cardonagh Group
Crosses and Developed
Cross-slabs
(seventh century).

Northumbrian Art.

Irish MSS. Art
(early eighth
century).

Mediterranean
Northumbrian.
High Crosses.

Irish Crosses
(eighth century).

*Main Eastern Group
of Cross-slabs
(eighth century).*

Iona Crosses
(late eighth century).

Eastern
Influence.
Byzantine.
Sassanian.

*St Andrews
Sarcophagus
(early ninth
century).*

*Nigg, Hilton of
Cadboll, etc.
(ninth century).*

Later Irish MSS.

Later
Northumbrian
and English
Crosses.

*Late Slabs—Late Free-standing
Crosses.*

century came the development of a more complex decoration: carving in low relief, the first appearance of a Christian iconography, the elaboration of the slab, and, before the end of the century, the first free-standing crosses in Ireland. This art was in use also in Scottish Dalriada. Next there came a transitional group in Scotland, in Pictish territory, of monuments which are partly Christian, partly Pictish "symbol stone," and at the same time there were a number of cross-slabs that were almost purely Irish in character. In the eighth century came the development of the Church in Pictish Scotland, no longer entirely in Columban control and in close touch with Northumbria. At this period the main group of cross-slabs was evolved, combining Pictish, Irish, and Northumbrian elements. These monuments, while retaining their national character, came, about the middle of the eighth century, under new influences from abroad which brought in a *ronde bosse* style of carving, and traces of classical sculpture in the figure scenes. By about the middle of the ninth century the tall cross-slab seems to have been abandoned, perhaps owing to the union of the Picts and Scots and the gradual merging of the Pictish culture with that of the Scots, but also partly owing to the closer contact of the Church in Scotland with the south. At about this period there were a few semi-Northumbrian free-standing crosses, and a number of small cross-slabs, some taking their style of carving from these crosses; others, of a rather debased type, from the later Irish manuscripts. Finally in the tenth century there appeared a small group of free-standing crosses, closely associated with some of the Yorkshire crosses of the same period and, except for a few minor details, purely English.

The exact purpose of the tall cross-slabs of Scotland is not known. Adamnan several times mentions the erection of crosses: on one occasion to mark the spot where St Columba rested on one of his last walks.[1] Crosses and cross-bearing slabs were often raised in monastery grounds in Ireland, and a constant feature of the early Irish monasteries was the presence of a big cross-bearing slab beside a very small oratory.[2] But the cross-slabs of Scotland which appear to be in their original position are often in the open country where there is no tradition of any ecclesiastical building. In the *Hodoeporicon of St Willibald*[3] (a Saxon saint), written about the year 754, it is said that:

> "It is the custom of the Saxon race that on many of the estates of nobles and good men they are wont to have, not a church but the standard of the Holy Cross, dedicated to our Lord, and reverenced with great honour, lifted up on high, so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily prayer."

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[1] Adamnan, *Vita Colum.*, iii. c. 24.

[2] See F. Henry, *Irish Art*, p. 27.

[3] *The Hodoeporicon of St Willibald*, *The Library of the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, vol. iii., London, 1897.

Very possibly a cross-slab would mark the site of a preaching place in Scotland.

What factors constitute the national character of the Pictish cross-slab is an interesting problem, for, apart from the animal art and the Pictish symbols, there does not appear to be one single motive that cannot be traced to an outside source, and yet all that the Pictish artists adopted was so thoroughly absorbed that the monuments present a surprisingly harmonious whole. What they neglected is as revealing as what they accepted: decorative motives from any source, from manuscripts, from metal-work, from carvings of wood, of ivory, or of stone, were eagerly adopted, but although at the same period the free-standing cross was in use both in Ireland and Northumbria, the Picts remained resolute in their refusal to adopt it, and the tall cross-slab, unknown in Northumbria and little used in later days in Ireland, remained their national monument. In iconography it was the same; they seem to have been singularly un-interested in Christian themes. Those found on the monuments of the main group—scenes representing David, Jonah, Daniel, the meeting of St Paul and St Anthony, the temptation of St Anthony—are all found on monuments in Ireland belonging to a period from about 650 to 750,[1] and it is no doubt from that country that they were introduced into Scotland. All the Christian themes have a tendency to be transformed into motives that are decorative rather than iconographical, far from their early Christian meaning as symbols of deliverance and redemption. With the elaborate Eastern monuments there seems to have been a widening of interest. The sarcophagus of St Andrews shows a more realistic use of the theme of David, and its connection with Sassanian art makes a directly Eastern source seem probable. The Nigg cross-slab shows a familiarity with St Jerome's life of St Paul and gives a more elaborate version of the theme than is ever found in Ireland. The introduction of the beast-headed symbols of the evangelists may have come through Northumbria or through manuscripts, but they cannot have retained their significance in Scotland, for they are nearly always shown with two symbols of St John on the same slab. The crucifixion, although found on monuments in Ireland as early as the seventh century, never occurs on slabs in Scotland. Even the cross, which forms the dominant motive of the slab, is presented in a purely decorative way. The source and meaning of the non-Christian themes are obscure. Doctor Joseph Anderson has suggested the mediæval Bestiaries as the source for a number of the animal scenes,[2] but there seems to be no parallel exact enough to make such a derivation more than a supposition. Reference has already been made to traces of totemism in the clan names of the Picts, and their preoccupation with animal art

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[1] See F. Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, p. 134.
[2] *E.C.M.S.*, p. lxxxii.

might have its source in this.   Too little is known of the religion of the Picts to do more than guess at the pagan background of the monuments,[1] but it seems probable that they show traces of Northern European mythology.[2]   Mention has been made of the analogy of the human sacrifice on the cross-slab at Glamis with that of the Gundestrup Cauldron;   the numerous scenes of stag hunts might be connected with the Celtic god Cernunnus, the god with a stag's horns, and the woman on horseback at Nigg with Epona, the goddess associated with horses,[3] while some of the versions of the deliverance of Jonah might be a confusion with the "devouring monster" of Gaulish art.[4]   Legends and folk-tales very probably account for many other motives, such as that of the man grasping two birds by the neck which is found on the slab at Rossie Priory, as well as at White Island in Ireland, and on the Franks Casket.   It has not been possible to determine the significance of the "Pictish Symbols" on the cross-slabs, whether it was religious or tribal, but it is one of the strangest features in the strange episode in Christian art which the Pictish monuments present.

[1] Adamnan mentions more than once (ii. c. 34 and i. c. 37) opposition to St Columba by the "Magi"; this has usually been taken to mean "druids," but it is by no means certain that they were really such. Druidism had two sides to it, the intellectual and the magical, and it is quite possible that any form of magic would be taken by the Irish monks to be Druidism.   References to "sacred springs" (ii. c. 9) seem to indicate some form of nature worship.

[2] F. Henry finds traces of Celtic paganism in the Irish Christian monuments. *La Sculpture irlandaise,* p. 131.

[3] See H. Hubert, *The Celts,* p. 238.

[4] Rheims and Châteauroux museums.

ABBREVIATIONS.

E.C.M.S.   The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, a classified, illustrated, descriptive list of the monuments, with an analysis of their symbolism and decoration, by J. Romilly Allen, and an introduction, being the Rhind Lectures for 1892, by Joseph Anderson.   Edinburgh, 1903.

BEDE, *Hist. Eccles.   Venerabilis Baedae historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum.*

Annals of Ulster.   Annals of Ulster, otherwise Annals of Senat, a Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from A.D. 431 *to* A.D. 1549, edited with a translation and notes by William M. Hennessy.   Dublin, 1887 and 1893.

ZIMMERMANN.   *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen,* by E. Heinrich Zimmermann. Berlin, 1916.

SALIN, *Thierornamentik.   Die altgermanische Thierornamentik: typologische Studie über germanische Metallgegenstande aus dem IV bis IX Jahrhundert, nebst einer Studie über irische Ornamentik,* by Bernhard Salin.   Stockholm, 1904.

ADAMNAN.   *Vit. Colum.   Vita Sancti Columbae auctore Adamnano.   The Historians of Scotland,* vol. vi.   Edinburgh, 1874.

P.S.A.S.   Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

J.R.S.A.I.   Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

P.R.I.A.   Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.

F. HENRY.   *La Sculpture irlandaise pendant les douze premiers Siècles de l'Ere chrétienne.*   Paris, 1933.

F. HENRY.   *Irish Art in the Early Christian Era.*   London, 1940.