

# THE INCHYRA STONE AND SOME OTHER UNPUBLISHED EARLY CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS

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THE main purpose of this paper is to publish notes on some sculptured monuments or fragments that have either been found in Scotland in recent years or which are insufficiently published. Seven of them are Pictish or later Picto-Scottish (1-4, 6-8), two are Northumbrian (10) and three are Strathclyde British (12-13). Attention is also drawn to particular features of three better-known monuments, Pictish (5), British (11), and one now shown to be Norse (14).<sup>1</sup>

For though the number and variety of the sculptured stones of Pictland has led writers to concentrate on them, the art of the other ancient kingdoms belongs equally of course to Scotland in its present sense.<sup>2</sup> Indeed much of the interest for modern study lies not only in the differences of style conditioned by their ethnic and political history, but in the repeated interaction of those styles within a country which, despite them, shared what was no doubt broadly a common culture. Some discussion on these lines has already been attempted by the writer for Pictish art,<sup>3</sup> and for some of the crosses of Scotie Dalriada,<sup>4</sup> and brief general comments seem particularly called for here by the British sculpture to which little attention has been paid for a long time. The opportunity is also taken to print a summary of the chronological schemes propounded by various writers on Pictish sculpture; agreement is still far off even on relative chronology, and all absolute dates are intended only as approximations.

The Society and the writer are indebted to more people than it has been possible to name, for reports, information, and action to safeguard the stones described in the notes that follow.

## I. THE INCHYRA STONE, ST MADDOES, PERTSHIRE (Pl. III-IV)

On 19th February 1945 the cover-stone of a grave was struck by the plough in what had been parkland 130 yds. south of Inchyra House, in the Carse of Gowrie 6 miles from Perth (37/190211). A mound 120 yds. west of the burial is marked Witch Knowe on the O.S. map. Mr James Wood, then Curator of Perth Art Gallery and Museum, and Mr Harold de Pass the proprietor examined the site, and some weeks later when all had been levelled and harrowed the late Mr Thomas McLaren,

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations and descriptions of these, and of stones referred to for comparison - unless other references are given - see Allen, J. Romilly, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, III.

<sup>2</sup> Yet the Ruthwell Cross, by far our most important sculptured monument, has several times been omitted from professed surveys of Early Christian Monuments in Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> *The Problem of the Picts* (1955), ed. Wainwright, F. T., 97-128. To its bibliography should be added Curle, C. L., and Henry, F., 'Early Christian Art in Scotland', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (U.S.A., 1944), 257-72, which has important stylistic descriptions. The well-illustrated article, 'Some carved stone monuments in East and Central Scotland', in *IPEK*, xvii (Berlin, 1943-8), 52-76, by Mary E. Boyle is very subjective and chronologically unconvincing; cf. *P.S.A.S.* (1937-8), 115 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *J.R.S.A.I.* (1956), 84-96.

F.S.A. SCOT., Burgh Surveyor of Perth, made a record and examined the cover-stone, on which there were carved symbols. Following a paper read to the Society by Mr McLaren in January 1946, Dr James S. Richardson re-examined the stone. He recognised a third set of symbols and two further sets of ogam letters. He also noted that several fragments belonged to the same stone and added to the main inscription and to a symbol group. Mr McLaren's death later that year prevented the amendment of his paper; but much of it is incorporated in the account now put together at the request and with the help of Mr William Davidson, Director of Perth Art Gallery and Museum, where the symbol stone is preserved as a gift from Mr de Pass.

Though the stones were dug out before any bones were noticed,<sup>1</sup> it would seem that above and around the skeletal remains there were forty-nine water-rolled stones varying from 8 by 7 by 6 in. to 12 by 9 by 5½ in. On these the cover-slab rested, aligned WNW.-ESE., with its upper surface about a foot below ground level. The slab is slightly wedge-shaped, 5¼ ft. long and 17½ in. wide at one end tapering to 12 at the other; the thickness varies from 2¾ to 3½ in. The rock is local sandstone, reported by Dr A. G. MacGregor of the Geological Survey to be very fine-grained and mica-rich, containing both biotite and muscovite. Dr Richardson noted that while one surface is smooth and undulating the other is flaky, suggesting that it was obtained by cleavage from a water-worn exposure. Both long sides and the narrow end are smooth, and their edge to the smooth surface is rounded while the other edge is sharp. Part of one side was shattered at the time of the discovery but some fragments of it were recovered, and at the narrow end one face had flaked off but was also rescued. The wider end, which lay toward the west, had been roughly truncated in antiquity. A groove right across the smooth surface as well as several short ones seem to have been made after the side was shattered, and so probably while the stone was being moved from the site: a similar groove on the same side but nearer the end (not in the overall photograph) was unfortunately made to mark the depth the stone was to be set in a wooden stand. If some more erratic scorings on the rough surface were made by the plough they would indicate that that face lay uppermost.

### *The symbols*

There are three and evidently successive sets of Pictish symbols on the stone.

(a) On the smooth surface, which will be called the front, at the narrow end there is a 'spectacles' symbol (with no Z-rod) and below it a fish. The position of the fish and its fins make it obvious that the sculptor considered the narrow end to be the top of the stone. The symbols were first marked out in a pocking or stugging technique, and then deepened and smoothed, possibly by oblique 'chiselling' with the same round-nosed tool. The initial pocking did not follow at all carefully any drawing in some impermanent medium, for many strokes landed outside the final quite broad outline. This is particularly clear at the rear of the dorsal fin. An unfinished line behind the eye may be due to a change of mind: the oblique line may

<sup>1</sup> The upper part of a skull (at the west end), an arm-bone and shoulder socket were identified by Mr Wood and then re-interred on the spot at the wish of the proprietor.

be double or triple on other stones.<sup>1</sup> But in spite of these defects the artist was definite and accurate in the final execution. Unfortunately the stone has flaked at the fish's mouth, which was probably drawn as a single line slanting back and up with a loop at the inner corner, as at Easterton of Roseisle.<sup>2</sup> The angular notches on the 'spectacles' should be noted.

(b) On the same side but at the other end, which was thought of in its turn as the top, there is the lower part of the tall bifid rectangle or 'tuning-fork' symbol, and below it a mirror. These were never completed: the pocking was only beginning to form grooves – on the legs of the rectangle and the upper part of the mirror's rim work had gone further than on the circles of the handle. The natural surface of the stone has sprung off much of the area of the design, which makes it hard to see and also prevents certainty as to whether, as seems probable, there was some further symbol to the left of the rectangle. Certainly to the left of the mirror, on one of the fragments broken off, there is an L which may be the remains of a very unfinished comb.

The pocking goes so much across and below the legs of the rectangle that any mere irregularity of striking such as noted on the fish provides no explanation. The symbol has in fact been deliberately defaced. Possibly this was due to some antagonism. Yet it seems equally probable that the surface of the stone scaled under the strokes of the sculptor to such an extent that he decided not to continue; but later he or another took the rejected stone and made the half-finished symbols inconspicuous by pocking over the most complete parts (so successfully that Mr McLaren did not notice them), and cut other symbols in a technique that did not cause such impact.

(c) For on the back of the wide end, again treated as the top, there is a third pair of symbols; *above*, a fish now headless, rather less well drawn than the other, its dorsal fin a simple triangle (not clear in the photograph where it looks longer than it is); *below*, a snake with two slightly oval pupil-less eyes separated by a line that bifurcates to the back of the head. These creatures are not pocked, but executed in a V-sectioned groove which Mr C. A. Gordon considers to be chisel cut,<sup>3</sup> but which could have been engraved with a knife. Though the line does not always hold its direction accurately it is less irregular than appears in the photograph, for the undulations of the stone result in uneven depth and shadows, even though there has been some smoothing to prepare the surface to be decorated. Just short of the tip of the snake's tail part of the outline has flaked off, giving an illusory scorpion's tail. A line across the centre of the snake's body is similarly due to flaking, from which the fish also suffered. Some small dots nearer the centre of the stone than the snake's back are natural holes, as may be other little depressions elsewhere.

Although the broad end was broken in antiquity, destroying two pairs of symbols, there is no evidence how this happened nor does it help to deduce the order of the symbols. One would suppose, however, that the symbols on the naturally smooth side were earlier than the set on the rough side, and that for stability the broad end would have been best set in the ground. If so our description has followed the chronological order, and the preservation of the fish and 'spectacles' is due to their

<sup>1</sup> Easterton; Dunrobin.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 36 below.

<sup>3</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1954–6), 42.

being set in the ground when the fish and snake were uppermost. Some support for this view is provided by the relationship of the two longer ogams. But before considering these some comparisons should be made with other stones.

### *Comparisons*

From the conclusion that the Inchyra stone was intended by its sculptors to stand erect in two or three successive positions it follows that the use as the cover-stone of a grave was later, perhaps much later, than the carvings. There are indeed quite a number of other instances of symbol stones incorporated in later graves, and also of symbols cut successively; though only on the symbol-less Newton Stone is there a possibility of successive ogams on a Scottish monolith.<sup>1</sup> Two symbol stones seem to have been re-used in the Viking period: one, barely described as bearing an eagle, covered a cremation urn in an ancient mound (broch?) in Birsay, Orkney<sup>2</sup>; another was one of the cover-stones of a long cist containing two bodies and part of what might have been an iron spear-head, near Dunrobin in Sutherland.<sup>3</sup> No dating-evidence at all is available for other cases where a symbol stone again formed the cover; a short cist at Golspie near Dunrobin<sup>4</sup> and a cist in a cairn at Drumbuie near Urquhart, Inverness-shire.<sup>5</sup> A very roughly constructed cist, L-shaped, at Easterton of Roseisle in Morayshire, had a symbol stone as one long side.<sup>6</sup>

The latter stone is also an example of symbols on one face being reversed in relation to those on the other. In fact part of the reversed symbols have been defaced as at Inchyra, but not the symbol and a half which may be assumed to have been invisible in the ground when the famous goose and fish stood uppermost. In the grave the creatures were placed against the earth with the defaced side inward to the cist. It is perhaps worth noting that both at Inchyra and Easterton the animals on their own follow schematic symbols; they are in any case rare in southern Pictland.

Another stone with similarly defaced symbols back to back, but the same way up, is that from St Peter's, S. Ronaldsay, Orkney. Reversed symbols occur again at opposite ends on one of the stones from Kintore, Aberdeenshire; on the smoother side are the presumably older symbols, and of these half the 'elephant' has been carefully defaced, the granite over an extensive area being pocked away; but curiously this is just the part that would be sunk deepest in the ground when the group on the other side was uppermost – while the 'spectacles' that would then be higher up are untouched. No one previously appears to have commented on any of these defacements.

Stones with the symbols the same way up front and back at Dingwall and Kintore (*E.C.M.* No. 1) have not been examined in this connection. There are also two monuments with relief sculpture on the second face, Glamis Nos. 1 and 2, Perthshire, while at Logie Elphinstone there is a palimpsest with 'spectacles' on the same side as later symbols; there may be a similar case at Fetter Angus, likewise in Aberdeenshire.

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1954-6), 44.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* (1854-7), 60, not in *E.C.M.* or *R.C.A.M.*

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* (1851-4), 297; *E.C.M.*, III, 42.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* (1942-3), 26.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* (1885-6), 355, and added details in *E.C.M.*, III, 99.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* (1894-5), 449, (1933-4), 55; *E.C.M.*, III, 124.

Though pocking seems to have been the normal method of incising symbols, and Mr Gordon in his study of the subject has only noted the Inchyra fish and serpent as examples of V-shaped profiles,<sup>1</sup> narrow unpocked grooves do occur elsewhere – for example the Golspie and S. Ronaldsay stones mentioned above.

The notches on the Inchyra 'spectacles' are unusual but a single round notch occurs at Newton in the Garioch, and at each side of the square-ended bifid rectangle (related to the 'tuning-fork') from Mill of Newton, also Aberdeenshire. Other rectangles, however, have enclosed circles or circles connected with a notch. It may be relevant that rectangular notches are found in two representations of square shields on later monuments, the tomb-shrine at St Andrews and the cross-slab at Ardchattan, Argyll. Mrs S. H. Pritchard has suggested to me, quite independently of the question of notches, that the 'spectacles' symbol represents or is derived from an otherwise unknown form of parrying shield.

### *The ogams*

Quite as remarkable as the sequence of symbols on the Inchyra stone is the presence of a sequence of ogam inscriptions. These have recently been published by Dr F. T. Wainwright,<sup>2</sup> and he has kindly agreed to his findings being summarised here, following my own descriptions. Professor K. H. Jackson, who has examined the stone along with us, is in general agreement. None of us offers any interpretation of the readings.

(a) When the narrow end with the fish and 'spectacles' was uppermost very boldly pocked-and-rubbed scores and a central stem-line were cut, starting from a point 31 in. down the left-hand edge and running across the top, but not down onto the other edge. Unluckily the back of the stone has tended to flake away, and though a large piece was recovered, and placed in position by Dr Richardson, thus completing the letters on the top, the left side is equally defective with it in place. It is clear, however, that the stem-line continues round the corner of the stone and had scores along it.

The letters on the end of the slab have the ends of their scores joined by a line, a peculiarly Pictish trick. These particular lines are completed grooves, but curiously enough the upper groups on the side have simply pocked lines while those of the middle groups are lightly incised, indistinct in the photograph but with every appearance of being ancient. The lowest groups seem to have had no ligatures at all.

It is noticeable that the lowest groups are less distinct than the others, particularly the first letter, and this is due to irregular punching of their margins: which suggests some defacement of that part of the inscription that would be visible if the fish were sunk in the ground to its tail.

The transliteration of this inscription is as follows:

$$\text{I N E H H E T E S T I E [ T D ] / I N N E}$$

$$\frac{\text{C}}{\text{D H}} \quad \frac{\text{D T}}{\text{Q}}$$

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1954-6), 40 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *OGAM*, xi (Rennes, 1959), 269-78, with map and bibliography of Scottish ogams; reprinted in *The Inchyra Ogams*, Dundee Museum, 1961.

The first nine letters and the last four are reasonably certain. For the tenth Dr Wainwright prefers on balance and spacing T, three scores, instead of the possibles with four, or three and a space. After the fourth E only the last two scores of an H-series letter are recognisable on the long side, but there is rather too much space even for a five-score Q, so D T or T D are suggested: the other side of the stem-line is clearly unmarked.

(b) On the same edge of the stone, starting  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. below the bold ogam and so probably later, Dr Richardson noticed a faintly incised inscription  $17\frac{1}{2}$  in. long. This can scarcely be a preliminary sketch intended to be deepened, for the stem-line is far from carefully and centrally set on the stone, indeed it is extremely erratic, and the scores are often very close together. Yet it may have been a quick note, to be set out better later on. One is tempted to associate it with the unfinished symbols,

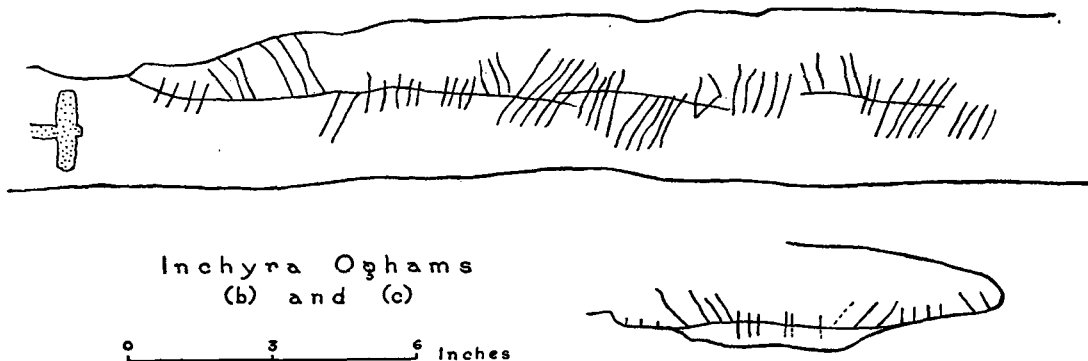


FIG. 1. Inchyra, sketches of ogams

and it does not stretch far beyond the mirror in either direction. On the other hand it bears a similar relation to the snake, and might have been made by a light application of the same tool: but this is unlikely as another ogam is definitely associated with the snake. In either case this inscription should be read upwards towards the broad end of the stone.

It may be noticed that though the scores are very irregular in length there seems to be a tendency for those of the vowels to be shorter than those of the consonants, reminiscent of Irish ogams and unlike the previous inscription on the stone. And there are no ligatures.

The following is Dr Wainwright's transliteration, with some alternative suggestions based on the drawing now offered, fig. 1; it is indeed as he says often doubtful if the scores cross the stem-line, partly because of confusing cracks, and whether they are meant to be vertical or oblique in relation to it:

Z T T L I E T R E N ? O I D D O R S  
E Q V

The letter o seems to occur in two forms, the first a triangle which may be considered equivalent to the lozenge of 'scholastic ogam'; from which an eighth-century date may be proposed.

(c) The remaining 9 in. of the edge are blank, up to where the stone is truncated. But for this it would have been possible to suppose that ogam (*b*) had extended right round the broad end. For letters are to be seen on the other edge, in an exactly similar style though perhaps with more pronouncedly short-scored vowels. From where the original flat edge now starts, 3½ in. from the broken end, they can be traced for 9½ in., but all in an area damaged at the time when the stone was found. This inscription does not appear on the loose fragments farther down the edge.

Dr Wainwright notes that several letters are completely lost; and the first recognisable letter may have lost one or two scores. Reading towards the broad end of the stone he records traces of

U	H	T	U	?	O	?	A	G	E	D
E							NG			
I										

(d) On the surface of the slab, to the right of the fish with the snake, Dr Richardson also recognised scores in the same technique as those symbols.<sup>1</sup> They form an inscription that runs parallel to the edge of the stone and differs from the others in having really short vowel scores and an imaginary stem-line. This is the most Irish in style (though in Ireland it would have been cut along the arris) and for this reason one might say that the order of the symbols argued above is in contradiction to the typological order of the inscriptions that seem associated with them.

Reading upwards, once more towards the broad end, we have

S E T U

The first two letters are certain; and third almost so, despite an area of flaking which causes the fourth to lose its original surface and perhaps one or two scores. The third score of the U underlies recent damage.

2. CULLAIRD, DORES, INVERNESS-SHIRE (Pl. V, 2)

Part of a symbol stone was ploughed up in May 1955 at Cullaird Farm near Scaniport, 3 miles SW. of Inverness, more precisely in the Ness Castle Field 300 yds. SW. of the River Ness (28/63(1-4)84(2-4)). Mr John F. Thomson, the farmer, presented it later that year to Inverness Museum, and Miss M. O. MacDougall, F.S.A. SCOT., the Librarian and Curator, kindly sent photographs with a request for a report. Further particulars have been provided by Mr D. A. Anderson.

One incomplete corner of the original monument remains. It is a slab of pink sandstone, some 2 in. thick, and measures 14½ in. at the base by 14 high. The left edge is original but the top is missing. The symbols are rather roughly drawn. There is a very simple mirror and a comb with six teeth on one side and three thick teeth on the other. The two larger symbols close up against them are not complete, which is particularly unfortunate as the reconstruction in each case must remain uncertain. Fig. 2 is very tentative. The symbol that came to the top of the stone was

<sup>1</sup> These are Mr Gordon's 'trial grooves': *P.S.A.S.* (1954-6), 42.

crossed by a Z-rod; it may have been a rectangle with a semicircle drawn inside each upright side, a variant perhaps of the notched rectangle symbol.

The curved lines below this can be made into a rather broad version of the 'horseshoe' symbol. We may compare it with those at Clynelilton in Sutherland and Congash near Grantown-on-Spey. If Cullaird really had a 'horseshoe', the

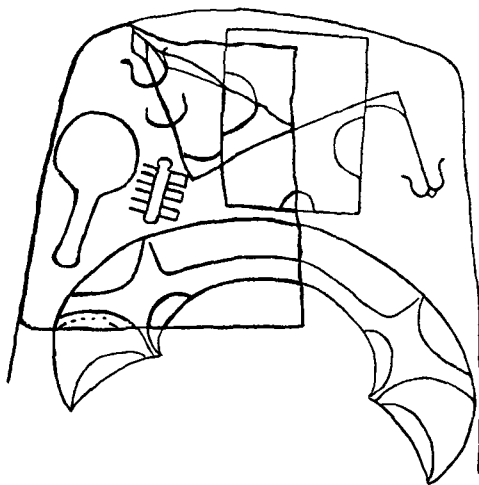


FIG. 2. Tentative reconstruction of Cullaird symbols (c. 1/10)

patterns on these three stones form a simplification series comparable to what is found on crescent symbols. Though poor execution does not necessarily imply relative lateness, the handle of the mirror is clumsy compared with the usual shape that includes one or two circles. Lateness would also explain why the other symbols diverge from normal.

### 3. LATHERON, CAITHNESS (Pl. V, 3)

While members of the Prehistoric Society under the leadership of our Fellow Mr R. J. C. Atkinson were visiting Caithness in the summer of 1956, they learnt that a piece of sculptured stone was built into a wall at Latheron 19 miles south-west of Wick. It forms the lintel of a false window in the south gable of the small farmhouse of Latheron Mains (39/198334) and was recognised by Mrs K. Brims when she was living in the house. Through her kindness and that of the late Lt.-Col. Ian McHardy, F.S.A.SCOT., a photograph was obtained for this note. It shows the common crescent-and-V-rod symbol, decorated with a straightforward version of one of the forms of pattern which may be called descriptively 'dome-and-wing' (see next section).

### 4. DUN OSDALE, DUIRNISH, SKYE

A suggested typology of the patterns on crescent symbols was set out in fig. 15 of *The Problem of the Picts*. One of the diagrams there (c.12) shows the pattern on the



Dun Osdale (Tobar na Maor) stone with a reference to the R.C.A.M. Inventory of the Outer Hebrides and Skye. As the photograph published in the Inventory was very indistinct and the stone is at Dunvegan Castle, Dame Flora MacLeod of MacLeod kindly supplied a full-size drawing. It was prepared by Mr and Mrs Sandwith with the help of Mr Sim. The pattern is an elegant version of the 'dome-and-wing', and they noted that it repeats in a smaller form the circles to be seen on the wings of a similar pattern at Pabbay near Barra.

The second symbol on the Dun Osdale stone, two concentric circles, the larger 10½ in. across, seems from its size, and position directly below the 13½-in. crescent, to be complete as it is, and not to be intended to be part of a 'spectacles' symbol.

#### 5. HILTON OF CADBOLL, ROSS-SHIRE (Pl. V, 1)

Probably few people have noticed the bearded profile of the consort of the lady who, riding side-saddle, is the most prominent figure on the great monument from Hilton of Cadboll.<sup>1</sup> Certainly Romilly Allen mistook it for hair coming down over her right shoulder, no doubt because it is symmetrical with the long hair on the other side of her head, and his description was repeated in the *Proceedings* when the stone came to the Museum nearly forty years ago.<sup>2</sup> He did, of course, note that her horse 'has a double outline as if to show another horse in perspective'.

A new photograph shows the male rider better than the usual small-scale reproductions, though it obscures the corrugations  $\frac{3}{8}$  in. long that do indicate the lady's hair on that side and help one to overlook the man. From the mirror-and-comb and her prominence the stone would seem to be hers. Yet it is interesting that he could not be left out when she took the place of the leading man whom the sculptor found on the prototype of the scene, to judge from the all-male, and fuller, version on the largest of the Aberlemno monuments (*E.C.M.* No. 3). A measure of the man's importance is the awkwardness of the device needed to get sufficient depth of relief to bring him in – the quadrangular recess for his face that had to be balanced by a similar one not really necessary for her hair.

The photograph also brings out what Romilly Allen called 'something held in her hands in addition to the reins'. It is three-quarters of a hoop. And the circular knobs at its ends do not look very like hands, are over-prominent compared with the hand of the next rider below, and do not come in right relation to the folds of the sleeves. It is tempting to think instead of an exaggerated or outside penannular brooch with disc ends, fastening the mantle across the breast. What has been supposed to be the second rein may be the pin placed horizontally across the brooch, for it does not run toward the 'hand'. The puzzling vertical feature may be one upright edge of the mantle, and below it a rounded area which is perhaps the true hand.

Brooches do not seem to be represented on Scottish stones, unless one includes the pair of circles marked with a cross to be seen on each shoulder of two of the three men on the cross-slab from Invergowrie. In Ireland men are shown wearing a

<sup>1</sup> *Problem of the Picts*, cit. 116–17.

<sup>2</sup> *E.C.M.*, III, 62; *P.S.A.S.* (1921–2), 62.

penannular brooch on the left shoulder, on Muiredach's cross at Monasterboice<sup>1</sup> and most clearly on one of the figures at White Island in Lough Erne.<sup>2</sup>

#### 6. OLD CHURCHYARD, EDZELL, ANGUS (Pl. VI)

In April 1952, Mr Charles Ruxton, keeper of the Old Churchyard which is situated a mile west of modern Edzell and 500 yds. SSW. of the Castle, discovered a stone in the churchyard buried only a few inches. He showed it to Captain R. G. Duke, R.N., F.S.A.SCOT., Edzell, and Mr F. A. Ferguson, F.S.A.SCOT., Brechin, who recognised it as the arm and central boss of a free-standing cross sculptured in bold relief. It is indeed of considerable importance as being a fragment of probably the earliest known free-standing cross in the areas where Pictish cross-slabs predominated, and the only one in the style of their most elaborate monuments.<sup>3</sup> Mr Ferguson took photographs and kindly communicated with the present writer.

The fragment is of red sandstone, 13 in. long and 7 broad. It tapers slightly from the centre of the cross-head, 7½ in. thick (excluding the boss) to 6½ in. at the end of the arm. The original span of the arms may be estimated at 21 in. (fig. 3). There was no continuous 'Celtic' ring joining the arms nor were the circles of the armpits completed in Pictish fashion, but apart from this last feature the form of cross will have been like those in relief on cross-slabs at Aberlemno (No. 2) and Eassie.<sup>4</sup> On what was doubtless the front the arm has an oblique meander pattern with the lines ending in small knobs, very like that on the stone in Aberlemno churchyard (*E.C.M.* No. 2). In the centre, however, there is a large hemispherical boss 5 in. across and rising 1½ in., covered with a close mesh of interlace. Such bosses are characteristic of a few, but outstanding, examples of sculpture in Scotland: the cross-slabs at Aberlemno (No. 3, by the roadside) in Angus and at Nigg in Ross-shire, the tomb-shrine at St Andrews and the free-standing ringed-head crosses at Iona and Kildalton, Islay. They mark the climax of Pictish sculpture and that of the Scots at a still disputed date, perhaps around A.D. 825.

Over all the back of the Edzell fragment there is an arrangement of medium-sized and small bosses, much weathered. They are linked by the tails of spirals which had covered the bosses. Such groups of bosses, particularly with spiral work, are another characteristic of some of the monuments already mentioned. Dr Françoise Henry has compared them to the spiral illumination of the Book of Kells (c. A.D. 800).<sup>5</sup>

The end and the upper and lower surfaces of the arm are intact and quite plain. A rounded hollow 2 in. deep and 4 in. across has been sunk into what may be presumed to be the underside of the transom. For this hollow seems an original feature: it is almost symmetrically placed behind the boss, and centrally between front and back, leaving two flat surfaces (one of which is reasonably intact) each 1½

<sup>1</sup> Allen, J. R., 'The Celtic Brooch and how it was worn', *Illustrated Archaeologist* (1894), 162-75.

<sup>2</sup> *Ulster J.A.* (1959), Pl. VI.

<sup>3</sup> To the same half-century may be ascribed the fragment of what seems to have been a miniature cross, the shaft only 4 in. wide and 2 thick, from Lethnott 2½ miles further west.

<sup>4</sup> We may note that the comparable Glamis No. 2 has cusped armpits derived from Anglian spatulate heads like fig. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period* (1940), 148. See also the present writer, 'Chronology of some Irish and Scottish Crosses', in *J.R.S.A.I.* (1956), 84 ff.

in. wide. These can be identified as the seatings by which the cross-head rested on the shaft made from a separate block, which will have had a round tenon projecting into the hollow. The end of the arm is tilted upwards relative to the plane of the best preserved seating, an irregularity which may or may not have been corrected by making the corresponding seating on the shaft also depart from the horizontal.

The problem of crosses made of more than one piece of stone, e.g. Ruthwell and two at Iona, are of considerable interest and complexity and merit more study than the writer has been able to give them.<sup>1</sup>

Deep marks in the hollow, if the interpretation as a contemporary mortice is correct, are a valuable indication of the tool used, and strongly suggest that the relief monuments were fashioned, if not finished off, with the same kind of round-nosed punch, which sculptors call a 'point', as made the characteristically 'stugged' incised sculpture of an earlier date (above, p. 37). Certainly the later carvings from Greens in Strathclyde, that are described in section 12 below, bear marks of a similar tool.

Captain Duke suggests that it may have been this cross-arm and not the large part of a slab with debased sculpture that stands in the Lindsay vault,<sup>2</sup> which was the fragment with interlaced and other carvings found in 1870 and reported by Warden in 1882 as lost again.<sup>3</sup>

#### 7. MENMUIR, ANGUS (Pl. V, 4)

There were dug up in 1943 in the manse garden at Menmuir, 5 miles SW. of Edzell, three sculptured fragments that are now kept on a staircase window-ledge in the church. One is quite enigmatic. Another is an irregular block of red sandstone about a foot square, with one flat side on which a cross with cusped armpits has been carved in 'false relief'; part of one arm is missing as the end of the stone is broken.

The third belongs to the same early group as the two stones previously known outside the church. It is a defective square about 1 ft. across, but has been part of a larger monument. It is of grey sandstone and was originally  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in. thick. One side bears part of a rather crudely drawn hunting scene in flat relief and on the short edge part of the original rounded border moulding. Below the scene is a narrower moulding separating it from a lower panel. The other side has had its carving almost obliterated, but there is trace of a meander pattern on a curve, probably part of a cross-head.

Mr F. A. Ferguson drew my attention to these stones and provided the photograph.

#### 8. BULLION, INVERGOWRIE, ANGUS (Pl. VII)

The drinking horseman who appeared in 1938 on the cover of the Ordnance Survey Map of Dark Age Britain (North Sheet) presents more problems than just the fact that he is evidently from a sculpture in relief such as O. G. S. Crawford excluded from the east Scottish part of the map and text. This is the stone which was briefly

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.S.A.I.*, cit. 86-88.

<sup>2</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1909-10), 358-60, (1914-15), 296-7.

<sup>3</sup> Jervise, A., *Epitaphs*, I (1875), 307, and *Land of the Lindsays* (2nd ed., 1882), 3. Warden, A. J., *Angus*, III (1882), 214: references kindly provided by Captain Duke.

recorded in the *Proceedings* of 1934, having been found before mid-March that year at Bullion west of Dundee during the making of the Kingsway by-pass (37/34333054).<sup>1</sup> The slab is of grey (not red) sandstone, 6 ft. 2 in. high and 2 ft. 5 in. wide, the back irregular as removed from its bed, the front where necessary smoothed by pocking; in the same way as a panel has been lowered 0.3 to 0.5 in. to leave the figure in flat relief with rounded edges. The front corners of the slab have been rounded similarly, while the sharpness of the oblique top edge suggests that the original top has been broken off; another irregular section of the stone is missing below the sculpture. After it was presented to the Museum by the County Council a cast was made and sent to Liff Church. Dr Graham Callander never wrote his promised communication about it, but did correspond with Scandinavian scholars in an endeavour to find parallels.

Nothing strictly comparable is known there, nor in Britain for that matter, whether artistically or archaeologically. Artistically there are two striking features; first, the way the horse is represented head-down plodding uphill, more or less on its own even if the reins are presumably held in the warrior's hidden left hand; second, the dominating drinking-horn which the man holds to his out-thrust lips with his right hand. The bird's head at the tip of the horn stares down at him and is emphasised by projecting beyond the frame made by the sunk background.

Mounted warriors are of course not uncommon, along with hunters, on the early monuments of eastern Scotland, and some of the later ones include panels on which there is a single rider, for example the stiff and deformed figures at Benvie. Perhaps the earliest and certainly the finest of the single figures is that, now wanting its upper part, which occupies all the back of the small but elaborate cross-slab Meikle No. 5.<sup>2</sup> Nearer in style to the Bullion rider is Meikle No. 3.<sup>3</sup> A rider goes uphill in the scene on Inchbrayock (Montrose) No. 1, but this may be an accident of placing as on the earlier Meikle No. 4.<sup>4</sup> All these have spirited mounts with their heads held high. Those carrying shields are usually shown riding to our left, to allow the round shield to be shown in its normal place, on the left arm. Two lines sloping up from the shield on the Bullion stone represent carrying straps, also seen on riders from Burghead (*E.C.M.* No. 8) and Benvie, and on the foot-soldiers on the Dupplin cross. The Bullion rider's 'cut-away coat' is also paralleled, most clearly on the monuments at Fordoun and Aberlemno (No. 2).

But on none of these monuments is there a drinking scene. There seem to be only two other representations of a drinking-horn on early Scottish sculpture. On the tenth-century cross-shaft from Monifieth, also in Angus, the pair of stiff doll-like men that stand full-face above a seated harpist hold horns mouth-upwards at their waist. Then on the Norse-influenced cross at Barochan in Renfrewshire (below, p. 49) a mounted man with a spear confronts a person holding a drinking-horn by its mouth, strongly recalling a scene frequent on the eighth to eleventh century monu-

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1934-5), 15. Map reference from Mr D. B. Taylor, F.S.A. SCOT.

<sup>2</sup> *E.C.M.* numbering: No. 7 in the new Ministry of Works site-guide, and their *Early Christian and Pictish Monuments of Scotland*, in which the Bullion Stone is Pl. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, No. 10 and Pl. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, No. 3 and Pl. 31.

ments on Gotland in the Baltic, supposed to represent a 'valkyrie' welcoming the deceased warrior to Valhalla.

The only other entirely solitary horseman on a Scottish stone, Dunkeld No. 1, is a spearman blowing a horn, like the horns blown by foot soldiers on the back of the Barochan cross; it is unique in being incised like the presumably earlier symbol stones, and in being at one end of a slab placed sideways.

The Gotland and other continental stones provide rather distant parallels to the horseman on Pictish sculpture, both being no doubt descended from a late Roman tradition;<sup>1</sup> but nothing suggests that the peculiarities of the Bullion stone are due to foreign impulses. In particular the Scandinavian archaeologists consulted by Dr Callander denied a Scandinavian origin for the drinking-horn.<sup>2</sup> They pointed out that bird's-head terminals on horns go back in Britain to the Taplow horn,<sup>3</sup> and that such terminals found in their Viking graves are considered to have been brought home from the west. None of these actual terminals have a beak projecting sharply from the curve of the horn, nor are they so naturalistic; the angle of the Bullion terminal may be for artistic effect, deliberately humorous like the horse's pose and the rider's lips and jutting beard – perhaps the only indisputable humour on a pre-Norman stone carving in Britain.

The Bullion stone, in short, appears to be the work of an unusually imaginative local sculptor, at a period when sculpture was becoming stiffer and more barbaric, say during the first half of the tenth century.

#### 9. ABERNETHY, PERTHSHIRE (Pl. VIII, 2)

In 1957 Lt.-Col. R. L. Hunter, F.S.A. SCOT., was shown in Abernethy a piece of sculpture that had been built into a house on the east side of the town, and the Museum was subsequently able to acquire it.<sup>4</sup> All that remains of what must have been a cross-shaft, recut as part of a window frame, is a rectangular block of cream sandstone 23 in. wide by 15½ high and 10 thick. One face has been chiselled off entirely and the sides are also defaced, doubtful traces of interlace remaining only on one. The other face fortunately retains its high-relief sculpture in fair condition up to 1 in. deep. An upper row of five human figures, now headless, stand close together facing full front. Their feet are splayed in profile, except for one with feet both going to the left and for the central pair which are apparently foreshortened and forward-pointing. The arms stretch downwards and each figure holds an object in its hands: (from left to right) a crozier with curved tip, a pair of scales (?), a bunch of fruit or a scourge with four knotted lashes, a harp or a noose, and again a crozier. Of a presumably similar row of figures, directly below with no intervening frame, only the heads remain. They are more or less damaged. The faces are framed by hoods or hair which comes down to the chest.

<sup>1</sup> *The Problem of the Picts*, 114; to references there add W. Holmqvist, *Germanic Art* (Stockholm, 1955), 72–88.

<sup>2</sup> Scandinavian influences were reaching Angus, probably by way of the Danish part of Northumbria, as shown by animals on the Monifieth cross-shaft and on Invergowrie No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Leeds, E. T., *Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, Pl. XXI.

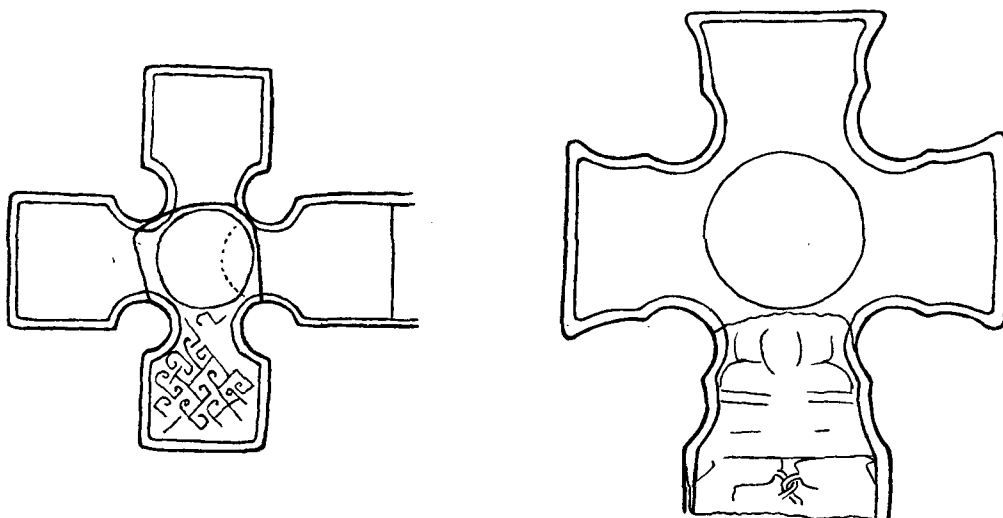
<sup>4</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1957–8).

The figures resemble the row of heads and shoulders to be seen below part of a Crucifixion on another piece of cross-shaft from Abernethy (*E.C.M.* No. 4). It has a similar history, but is not from the same monument as it had been only 15 in. wide. An advanced tenth-century date may be supposed for both fragments. The rows of figures, as on Sueno's Stone at Forres and Dunkeld No. 2, suggest influence from rather late Irish High Crosses.

#### 10. TYNINGHAME, EAST LOTHIAN

##### (i) *Cross* (Pl. IX)

About 1930 a fragment of Anglian sculpture was found in the core of the masonry of the tower of the twelfth-century church at Tynninghame between North Berwick and Dunbar. Though one of St Baldred's churches, and destroyed in 941 by Olaf Godfreyson, King of Dublin,<sup>1</sup> no pre-Norman remains were previously known there. Preserved in the chapel of the mansion, this is now illustrated and described by kind permission of the Earl of Haddington, K.T., F.S.A.SCOT.



FIGS. 2 and 3. Reconstructions of cross-heads, Edzell and Tynninghame (c. 1/10)

Carved out of pink sandstone with red streaks in it, the fragment formed the upper part of the shaft and the lower part of the head of a free-standing cross. Enough remains to show that the head had been of the quite common design that W. G. Collingwood calls spatulated, each arm having a double curve with a cusp between.<sup>2</sup> The width of the shaft is 10½ in., the thickness 7 in. and the original span of the arms may be estimated at 22½ in. (fig. 4). The fragment does not quite reach up to the centre of the head, where a daisy design would have been normal. On the downward arm there is an awkwardly drawn full-face human figure with bushy hair, and very stylised drapery. The arms form a central bar, quite horizontal, but unfortunately damage at the hands makes it impossible to decide whether the hands

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, A. O., *Early Sources*, 1, 444.

<sup>2</sup> *Northumbrian Crosses* (1927), 83.

were clasped or whether they held something. Below the hands the central folds of the clothing turn in to suggest, despite further damage there, a V-shaped pattern of knees, legs and feet such as can be seen more elaborately on seated figures in illuminated manuscripts. If this interpretation is correct a plain broad bar across the stone represents a seat. It also serves to divide the figure from the panel below, the point at which the shaft proper begins. (As on the Thornhill cross there is not the usual offset at the base of the head.) On this panel there are the remains of two inward-facing animal heads, perhaps horses, their tongues starting an interlace pattern.

On the right side of the shafts two birds like gannets with short crests, in the tradition of the Lindisfarne Gospels, face one another, their necks sloping backwards. Between them is a formalised spray of leaves and berries growing downwards, and a pair of leaves occupies the angle between neck and back. On the left side of the shaft there is a curious version of the 'inhabited vine-scroll': a thick stem ends in two bunches of just three grapes each, and a small animal turns its head backwards to grasp one bunch between the curling tips of its jaws. Its body is now incomplete and the shape uncertain, but the rear portion forms an upright triangle from the apex of which a pair of legs project, one horizontally and the other downwards. Lastly the back of the stone is covered with thick double-strand interlace.

The clumsy drawing and folds of the main figure, the character of the vine and its animal, and the stylisation of the spray on the other side, all suggest a date later in the ninth century than most of the other fine examples of Anglian sculpture from the Lothians. The double outline of the birds and animal, popular in tenth-century Northumbria, is already found on the cross-shaft from Aberlady, now at Carlowrie, which has been dated to the mid eighth century but might be early ninth.<sup>1</sup> The shaft from Morham may be about the same date.<sup>2</sup> At any rate the relief of both is much higher and more rounded than that of the Tynninghame cross. Then of the two main crosses represented at Abercorn the one published by Mr C. S. T. Calder may well be mid ninth century rather than a century earlier as he suggested.<sup>3</sup> The other Abercorn cross, long known, has been variously dated from the time of Bishop Trumwin (681-5) to the tenth century<sup>4</sup>; to judge from the form of the panels on one side, including prominently a dull diagonal meander, and from the stylised leaves and three-grape bunches on two other sides, it certainly seems to be at least well on the way to the tenth century, as represented by the main cross-shaft at St Andrews.<sup>5</sup>

(ii) *Hogback tombstone* (Pl. VIII, 1)

Dr J. S. Richardson noticed about 1955 that a trough in a field at Kirklandhill had carving on it, and recognised it as a cut-down Anglian hogback tombstone. It was therefore moved to the Factor's garden at Tynninghame just across the Tyne, and

<sup>1</sup> Kendrick, T. D., *Anglo-Saxon Art* (1938), 135.

<sup>2</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1932-3), 241-3.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* (1937-8), 217 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *E.C.M.*, III, fig. 435. Kendrick, *cit.* 136, dated it to the eighth century, but bracketed it with St Oswald's, Durham, which in his *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1949), 95, he re-dated to the tenth.

<sup>5</sup> *E.C.M.*, fig. 373.

later generously given to the Museum by the Earl of Haddington.<sup>1</sup> There is no reason to suppose that it originally came from anywhere but Tynninghame churchyard, erected there rather later than the cross just considered.

Of red sandstone and formerly about 5 ft. long, the monument has had its ridge and one end removed and the underside hollowed out. Its present length is 42 in.; at widest it is 21 in. tapering to 18 at the end; the greatest height is 14 in. The relief carving is considerably weathered, so that on the remaining end there can just be made out a conical shape rising from a broad base. On one of the long sides there is first a narrowed raised upright band of shingle pattern, then a bold chequer as far as the probable centre, where there is a ball 6 in. across on which a standing animal places a front paw (fig. 5). The animal's head is missing, but had been turned half or fully backwards, possibly snapping at a bird on its back as Mr John Brown suggested when preparing the reconstruction drawing. On the other side two animals stand on either side of another ball, each again placing one paw on it, while their heads meet above. Behind the left animal there is a curious device consisting of a ring with a double loop rising from it; and behind that on the end there is a raised band originally presumably shingled.

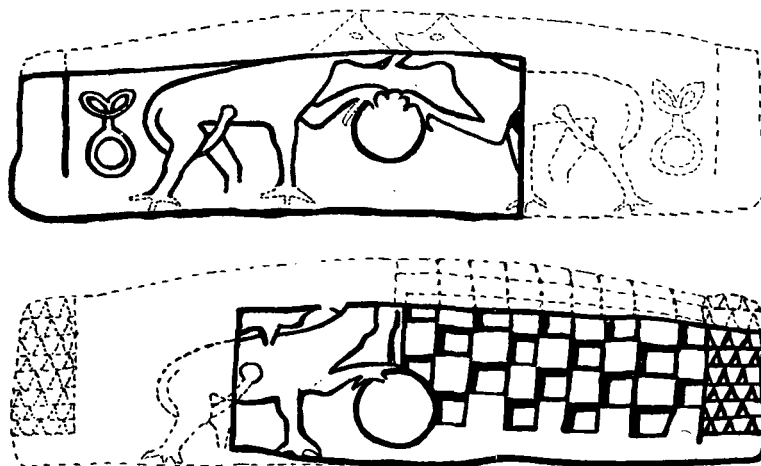


FIG. 5. Front and back of hogback tombstone, Tynninghame, with tentative reconstructions (c. 1/16)

The many and very varied hogbacks of northern England are often carved with elaborate scenes, as well as with different kinds of shingle or roofing patterns,<sup>2</sup> but this is only the second of the Scottish examples to have a scene on it: the other is the extremely curious one in Brechin Cathedral, which is nowhere well illustrated. Though found in the territory of several of the ancient kingdoms, undoubted tenth to eleventh-century hogbacks are not common here, the largest group being at Govan, Glasgow; the majority of our related monuments are either very fragmentary,

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1956-7), 261.

<sup>2</sup> *Northumb. Crosses*, ch. 16.



or else of post-Norman date – shading off in shape to the coped-stone or coffin-lid of triangular cross-section.<sup>1</sup>

The scenes on the Tynninghame hogback may, as suggested to me by Mr A. Fenton, F.S.A. SCOT., represent a story like the Norse myth of the two wolves Sköll and Hati which follow and go in front of the sun and will capture it and the moon.<sup>2</sup>

#### II. NETHERTON CROSS, HAMILTON, LANARKSHIRE (Pl. X)

When Romilly Allen described the cross in the grounds of Hamilton Palace near Nether-ton motte and church site the lower part of its shaft was sunk in the ground.<sup>3</sup> It now stands outside Hamilton parish church on a base inscribed 'The Nether-ton Cross removed from its original site in the Nether Haugh and re-erected here March 1926'.<sup>4</sup> Recent photographs kindly provided by Mr J. L. A. Evatt, A.R.P.S., F.S.A. SCOT., not only show the present height of 7 ft., compared with 5½, but make clearer some of its weather-worn details. It can be seen that on the front and one side the interlace continues to the lower border, while on the back the concentric pattern is complete, with an undecorated space below it. On the fourth side there is a curious pattern of chevrons. It may be noted that the defacing hollow across the back face is, like several other hollows on the edges particularly of the arms, due to much later knife-sharpening – as my father once suggested was the case with the hollows on the ridge of two hogbacks at Govan.

While detailed discussion of the sculptures of British Strathclyde as a whole is quite beyond the scope of these notes, some comments to put them in perspective may be useful, particularly because being relatively late they were in the main excluded from Mrs Curle's 1939 paper and are not referred to in the Ministry of Works' recent guide.<sup>5</sup> There do not appear to be any stones sculptured before the tenth century in the Strathclyde series, as listed in *E.C.M.* and supplemented by occasional later finds such as those described in the next sections. Barochan cross in Renfrewshire, referred to in section 8 above, is probably relatively early although its side-arms and connecting ring are atrophied. Riders and animals and the frequent occurrence of cross-slabs point toward the Pictish tradition. Even if Strathclyde cross-slabs may have been usually recumbent and not erect, the undoubted recumbent at Inchinnan has a row of animals along the sides, that is strongly reminiscent of the ninth-century recumbents at Meigle<sup>6</sup>; while in general effect the Govan cross-shaft is very similar to that at St Andrews and need not be much later.<sup>7</sup> In default of close dating it is not possible to decide whether the borrowing was mainly direct from eastern Scotland, begun say 945 when 'the Gallic kings of Scotia for the first time gained a [temporary] foothold south of the Forth-Clyde line'.<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1903-4), 422 ff; (1920-1), 133; (1927-8), 88-95 and 103-6; (1934-5), 419; also Wilson, J. A., *Lanarkshire*, II, 148-9.

<sup>2</sup> *The Elder Edda* (Grimnismál, 39) and *Snorri's Prose Edda* (Gylfuginning, XII).

<sup>3</sup> *E.C.M.*, III, 471; cf. *Scot. Eccl. Soc.* (1917-18), 247 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, J. A., *Contribution to the History of Lanarkshire*, II, 116-17.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 44 above.

<sup>6</sup> *E.C.M.*, Nos. 9, 11, 12 and 26.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, figs. 479 and 373. Cf. p. 47 above.

<sup>8</sup> Jackson, K. H., 'The Britons in Southern Scotland', *Antiquity* (1955), 87. Mr Ralegh Radford, in a lecture on the Govan stones delivered after this note was written, stressed the Anglo-Norse elements to the exclusion of the Pictish and suggested a different historical context.

alternative is that the strongest influence was round about, by way of the Isle of Man where the Manx-Norse cross-slabs ultimately inspired by Pictish sculpture may have begun about the middle or even in the latter part of the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> Frequent ring-knots and ring-twists certainly point south-westward, and are found only once in the east.<sup>2</sup> Related developments took place (without cross-slabs) in Anglo-Norse Cumberland compared to which the sculpture of Strathclyde is less varied, poorer and 'provincial', though rather less so than that of Gallo-Norse Galloway at the same period. The art, at least, of all these states and provinces was becoming increasingly barbarous, and the sculptors of Strathclyde, starting late, became progressively worse. Their fellow Britons in Wales had similarly failed to make an early response to the inspiration of Northumbrian sculpture (with more excuse for Ruthwell, and Hoddam,<sup>3</sup> were not to them just over the hills): Nash-Williams considered that Welsh decorative sculpture began in the middle of the ninth century,<sup>4</sup> which may even be too soon, though Haseloff has suggested earlier still.<sup>5</sup>

The Netherton Cross is so evidently late and derivative – it might be called tenth to eleventh century or even later – that it is interesting to see that it has features that are intermediate between better sculpture of an earlier period and monuments that are so debased as sometimes to have been mistaken for primitive. For example Mrs Curle, when searching for antecedents for the Pictish monuments, classified certain stones in SW. Scotland with 'Primitive Irish and Columban Cross-slabs'.<sup>6</sup> One of these, from Drumore in Wigtownshire, has a form of cross which she supposed derived from a ship; but a preferable explanation is that it is a very debased version of the Anglian expanded-arm cross, as implied by W. G. Collingwood,<sup>7</sup> and this is borne out by the two 'elephant ears' on the arms of the Netherton cross. The swastikas on the Greens and Netherurd stones (described in the next sections) are parallel to that on the Craignarget stone, which is another of Mrs Curle's 'early' Wigtownshire crosses and linked to that from Drumore by a curious type of crosslet. A late date for all of them allows a Norse derivation for the swastikas to be presumed, as Collingwood suggested.

Again parallels to the pattern of chevrons and curves on one side of the Netherton cross are to be found on stones at Rathdown near Dublin. These stones also have concentric rings rather like those on the front of the cross, but generally with cup-marks in the centre. A recent well-illustrated paper on Rathdown by Mr P. O hEalidhe recognises a relationship with the Craignarget stone and assumes an early date.<sup>8</sup> A degeneration, or simplification, from ring-cross and interlace to concentric rings seems much more probable, even apart from the analogy of Netherton, for the same sort of thing was happening in the north of England<sup>9</sup> and in Wales.<sup>10</sup> Cup-and-rings, however, are also to be seen in the centre of the small cross-slabs from Hartlepool and at Lindisfarne which may be rather earlier.<sup>11</sup> The very curious cup-and-ring design on what may have been a cross-shaft at Innerleithen, Peebleshire, could

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> St Vigeans, No. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *T.D.G.A.S.* (1952-3), 174 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *E.C.M. of Wales* (1950), 202.

<sup>5</sup> *Germania* (1951), 106.

<sup>6</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1939-40), 71-72.

<sup>7</sup> *T.D.G.A.S.* (1922-3), 230, and *Northumbrian Crosses*, 14.

<sup>8</sup> *J.R.S.A.I.* (1957), 75 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Northumb. C.*, 179.

<sup>10</sup> Nash-Williams, cit. No. 236.

<sup>11</sup> *Northumb. C.*, 11; *Archaeologia* (1923-4), 255 ff.

be explained as ultimately derived from a design like that of another of the Lindisfarne stones. It may be added that a cross-head at Killegar, Co. Wicklow, which has a cup-and-ring on the back and a crucifixion on the front, was tentatively dated about 900 by Sean O'Riordain.<sup>1</sup>

12. GREENS, CARNWATH, LANARKSHIRE (Pl. XI, 2)

In 1957 Mr Robert Allison of Greens Farm kindly gave to the Museum, at the suggestion of Mr N. K. McCallum, two stones recently found there during ploughing. They were 200 yds. from one another in fields on the left bank of the North Medwin, about half a mile north of Newbigging (36/014466 and 014469). The site does not appear to have any known associations.

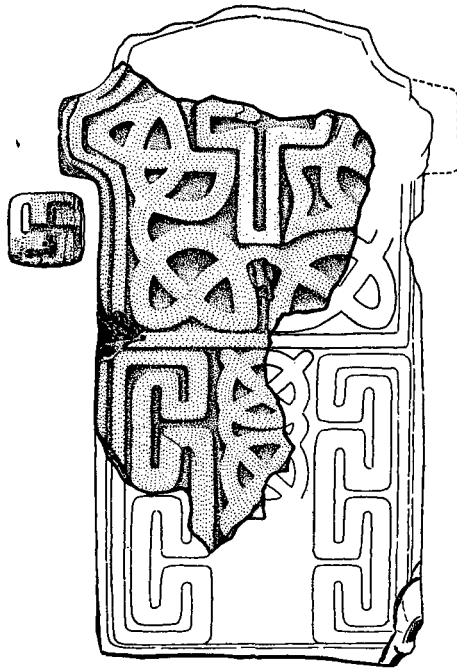


FIG. 6. Small tombstone from Greens (1/8)

(i) The smaller sculpture is of unweathered red sandstone 15 in. wide, 5½ in. thick, and now only 16 in. high. It may be presumed to have been a small cross-slab. A panel of interlace 8 in. wide, the shaft of the cross, starts 6 in. and more above the irregular foot. Much of the back is broken away but was probably plain. On the dexter edge there is a simple two-strand interlace, occupying the whole width and starting from the same level as the panel on the front. The other edge is abraded but was probably similar. The interlace on the front, formed by unsmoothed pocked lines and hollows, is not only irregular in thickness but does not have quite regular overs-and-unders. One of the loops at the bottom forms a loose end, while the band

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.S.A.I.* (1947), 84-85.

running up the centre from the other loop crosses two transverse bands, one of which has forked from a vertical on the left.

(ii) The second is a small upright tombstone, uniquely shaped with a slightly convex top below which projected stumpy cross-arms (fig. 6). Of reddish sandstone, more weathered or poorer in quality than the other, its present height is  $27\frac{1}{2}$  in., its thickness  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and its width across the arms originally  $16\frac{1}{2}$ . Unfortunately about half the decorated front surface has scaled away: the back and sides are smoothed down but plain. Low rounded relief has been quite carefully executed. The raised parts are slightly pock-marked, the hollows rough. Most of an outline Latin cross remains in the centre of an upper panel, surrounded by interlace within a two-line border. This interlace includes three regular Stafford knots but appears to be irregular at either side of the cross, and makes no distinction between over and under. Less remains of the lower panel, on which a ring-twist was flanked by meander. Lastly a swastika is neatly sunk on the end of the remaining arm.

The irregularities in interlace on these two stones are characteristic of tenth to eleventh-century work and have been noted for example as far afield as East Anglia.<sup>1</sup> Small headstones, though probably going much further back, particularly at Lindisfarne, seem also generally to be late in our period.<sup>2</sup> The central cross on Greens No. 2 is somewhat reminiscent of that on a small stone from Sinniness in Wigtownshire (a double outlined cross potent however) that had been flanked by meander. The Sinniness stone was linked by Collingwood with the swastika-bearing Craignarget stone as both have groups of three dots. Swastikas it should be noted are uncommon in Scotland, the only example not mentioned in the previous section being the large double-outlined one on the cross-shaft from Cambusnethan, 12 miles WNW. of Greens.

When found, the Greens stones were the most easterly known examples of Strathclyde sculpture.

### 13. NETHERURD MAINS, KIRKURD, PEEBLESSHIRE (Pl. XI, 3)

A further late example of the Strathclyde style, providing a link perhaps towards the Innerleithen stone mentioned on p. 50, was recognised 6 miles east of Greens in 1958 by the staff of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, to which we are indebted for the accompanying photograph. The small monument of coarse white sandstone had been ploughed up some fifteen years before at Netherurd Mains in Peeblesshire and has generously been presented to the National Museum by Mr A. Sanderson. The find-spot was on the crest of a slight rise  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile west of the farm buildings, in the angle between two converging tracks (36/104440).

Now 18 in. high, the stone has lost its foot and one of the two projecting arms that are only paralleled by Greens. The sides slope so that while the flat top is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide the bottom was at least  $14\frac{1}{2}$ . The carving is very crude and most of the design within the plain border defies description but is probably broken-down interlace. Whatever the intention the effect is generally of deep incision rather than of relief. Central between the arms there is however a small boss. Below it to the left a bold

<sup>1</sup> *P. Camb. A.S.* (1920-1), 21 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* and *T.D.G.A.S.* (1952-3), 190.

swastika has been unequivocally incised. The back of the stone is uneven and undecorated.

#### 14. DÒID MHÀIRI, PORT ELLEN, ISLAY (Pl. XI, 1)

Haakon Shetelig unfortunately only discussed one West of Scotland monument in his 'Norse Style of Ornamentation in the Viking Settlements'.<sup>1</sup> There he described the well-known stone from Kilbar, Barra, as a simplified copy of the Scottish type [of cross-slab] and wrote, 'Apparently this first and crude attempt at an imitation of Christian monuments had no further consequences in Scotland, while it is highly important as the starting point of the remarkable series of Norse monuments in the Isle of Man.' While agreeing that the Manx-Norse cross-slabs must derive from Scottish, ultimately Pictish, prototypes, it is hard to believe that the isolated Kilbar stone is anything but a still later derivative. It has irregularities of interlace such as we have noted at Greens, and extremely simple S-spirals and meanders flanking the cross; further a date in the first half of the tenth century has always run counter to Magnus Olsen's observation that one of the contemporary and seemingly clear runic letters on the back is first known about A.D. 1000.<sup>2</sup> An early eleventh-century date for the Kilbar stone would seem more probable.

The fine cross-slab at Ardchattan in Argyll, also apparently related to Manx sculpture, has been considered by the present writer in another paper,<sup>3</sup> while what may even be part of an actual Manx cross brought to Iona has been discussed by several writers.<sup>4</sup>

One monument whose date and entirely different style do not seem to have been commented on at all, was found long ago at 'Mary's Croft' on Islay and is now in the National Museum. It is a cross-slab, 33 in. high and 14 in. wide at the top, which must similarly belong to the Norse-Christian period. Its ringed cross, fluted like a small one at Iona,<sup>5</sup> is flanked above by what Romilly Allen suggested were the sun and the moon, and below by what he described as 'interlacing bands crossing each other at right angles and terminating at the top in what resembles foliage'.

The bands are a disorganised form of triple-ribbon interlace (seen at its best on the Ardchattan stone) into which half a ring has been introduced. The foliage on the other hand is a stiff version of the tendrils of 'Ringerike' style that occur on many notable stones and other objects in England and Scandinavia. The best Scottish example, very different from the Dòid Mhàiri stone and far from stiff but also a late-looking variant of the style, is the little dragon incised in Maes Howe in Orkney, whose character was demonstrated by Dr Hugh Marwick in 1937 in a paper in the *Proceedings*.<sup>6</sup> A gilt bronze strap-end found at Jarlshof in Shetland is also described

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Archaeol.* (1948), 69-113; also in *Viking Antiq.*, v.

<sup>2</sup> *Viking Antiq.*, v (1954), 174-7, and Shetelig, cit. 80 note.

<sup>3</sup> *J.R.S.A.I.* (1956), 93-94. As the late date there proposed for the related Donegal monuments has not been generally accepted, attention may be drawn to the occurrence of their peculiar type of interlace in the late 10th-11th century 'Southampton Psalter': *P.R.I.A.* LXI (1960), 34 and pl. XI.

<sup>4</sup> Collingwood, W. G., *Saga-Book of Viking Club*, III (1901-3), 304-6. Cf. Shetelig, *ibid.*, IX (1914-18), 340; also ill. Drummond, J., *Sculpt. Mon. Iona*, Pl. XXIX.

<sup>5</sup> Drummond, J., cit. Pl. II, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *P.S.A.S.* (1936-7), 157-73.

as Ringerike.<sup>1</sup> Again the hogback in Brechin Cathedral has tendrils that must be derived from this style.

The origins of Ringerike have been reconsidered by W. Holmqvist.<sup>2</sup> He stresses southern English rather than Scandinavian factors, and proposes a later initial dating. This would affect the dating of those Manx crosses that may contain early Ringerike features (none have the developed style) and modify only in detail the pre-Conquest date of the main examples in England. The Islay cross-slab as a provincial echo may be dated sometime after 1050.

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton, J. R. C., *Excavations at Jarlshof*, 149 and Pl. XXIX.

<sup>2</sup> 'Viking Art in the Eleventh Century', *Acta Archaeol.* (1951), 1-56.

## APPENDIX

### RELATIVE CHRONOLOGIES OF PICTISH SCULPTURE

Site numbers according to *E.C.M.*, III.

J. ANDERSON (*Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, I, 1903)

Incised symbol stones (Class I), 7 and 8 c.

Cross-slabs and symbol stones with carving in relief (Class II), 9-10 c.

Relief without symbols (Class III), overlapped with Class II and lasted till 12 c.

C. L. CURLE (*P.S.A.S.*, 1939-40)

*Incised symbol stones*: not earlier than 6 c, majority 7 c, some as late as 8 c.

Burghead bulls and 'elephant' symbol, late 7 c onwards.

*Cross-slabs*, 7 c: Papa Westray, Raasay (late 7 c), Arbirlot. Figures at Balblair and Burness; Brough of Birsay - relief, begins mid 7 c.

[Irish late 7 c crosses and slabs: Fahan Mura and Carndonagh]

[Ardchattan, Kilmartin], Bressay, Papil 1.

*Early Eastern Cross-slabs*, late 7 c - early 8 c.

Glamis 2, Fowlis Wester 2, St Vigean 7, Golspic, St Madoes.

*Main Group*, 8 c:

(a) Tall Cross-slabs: Meigle 2, Meigle 1, Rossie Priory, Aberlemno 2, Dunfallandy, St Vigean 1 (Drosten).

(b) Small Cross-slabs: Meigle 5 and 6, Scoonie, Inchbrayock.

(c) Recumbent monuments: Meigle, St Vigean, Strathmartine.

(d) Rectangular slabs: Murthly and Meigle.

*Northern Cross-slabs*, 8 c: Fordoun, Dyce 2, Aboyne, etc.

[Iona Crosses, before 806]

*Elaborate Eastern Monuments*, late 8 c or early 9 c: St Andrews shrine, Nigg, Hilton of Cadboll, Rosemarkie, Shandwick, Aberlemno 3, Tarbat.

9 and 10 c *Cross-slabs*: Aldbar, Kirriemuir 1 and 4, Elgin, Brechin, Crieff, Benvie, Invergowrie 1, etc. etc.; Forres (Sueno), Forteviot arch.

*Crosses*: 9 and 10 c - Dupplin, St Andrews 14; 10 c - Monifieth, Strathmartine, Abernethy, Forteviot.

C. A. R. RADFORD (*Antiquity*, 1942)

Incised symbol stones ?4/5 c – mid 8 c.

Relief begins after 750.

Late 8 c – 850, Meikle 2, 26, 5, St Madoes, Fowlis Wester and Dunfallandy.

Hilton of Cadboll c. 800; St Vigeans 1 mid 9 c.

Bressay 2nd half 9 c – Pabil earlier.

St Andrews

Small symbol-less slabs 8–9 c.

Cross, No. 14, 9 c.

Shrine 900–940.

Nigg, as St Andrews shrine – symbols dying after 900.

Class III. 900/950 – early 12 c.: Benvie, Invergowrie 1 etc.

R. B. K. STEVENSON (*Problem of the Picts*, 1955, with additions and adjustments)

*Incised symbol stones* 650–9 c: crescent and rod from 650 or later, animals alone (bulls, etc.) late 7–8 c; 'elephant' from end 7 c; latest examples, Aberdeenshire (cf. Dunrobin part-incised cross-slab).

*Early cross-slabs*, Southern Pictland, second half 8 c: (a) ? Scoonie; (b) Glamis 2; (c) Aberlemno 2, Monifieth 3, Meikle 1, Strathmartine 5 and Meikle 9 recumbent; (d) Rossie Priory, Fordoun; (e) Eassie.

*Later Development of same style*

Late 8–early 9 c. Woodwray; St Vigeans 7, Fowlis Wester church.

Later 9 c. Gask, Carpow; Meikle 4; Kirriemuir 2, Glamis 1, St Vigeans 1 (Drosten); Cossins.

*Cadboll Style*, Ross-shire c. 800: Hilton of Cadboll, Tarbat.

*Boss Style*

early 9 c. Aberlemno 3, St Andrews shrine, Nigg, Edzell (free cross).

[Iona Crosses – St Oran's, St John's and St Martin's]

mid-late 9 c. NORTH: Shandwick, Rosemarkie, Glenferness, Brodie.

SOUTH: (traditional): Dunfallandy, St Madoes 1, Fowlis Wester 1.

SOUTH (Meikle School): Meikle 2, 11, 26, Murthly.

*NE. Cross-slabs*, mid-late 9 c: Aboyne, Formaston, Dyce 2, Garioch; later, Migvie.

*Far North Relief-monuments*: late 8 c, Pabil 1 and Brough of Birsay; late 8–early 9 c, Ulbster and Dunrobin; mid 9 c, Skinnet, Clyne Kirkton 3; late 9–10 c, Collieburn, Farr; later, Bressay.

*Free Crosses*: early 9 c, Edzell (bosses); mid-late 9 c, Dupplin; 10 c, St Andrews 14, Monifieth 4, Abernethy 2 and 3.

*9–10 c Cross-slabs*: Crieff, Benvie, all St Andrews, Inchbrayock, Kinneddar; Forres (Sueno), Dunkeld 2, Bullion warrior.

do. full-face figures, Invergowrie 1, Aldbar, St Vigeans 11, Elgin.

10–11 c: [Ardchattan and Kilmartin (Argyll), Fahan Mura and Carndonagh (Donegal)], Dunblane.

K. H. JACKSON (*ibid.*)

Sculpture dated by lettering of inscriptions: Fordoun, 8 c; scholastic ogams 8–10 c; St Vigeans 1 (Drosten), 9 c.

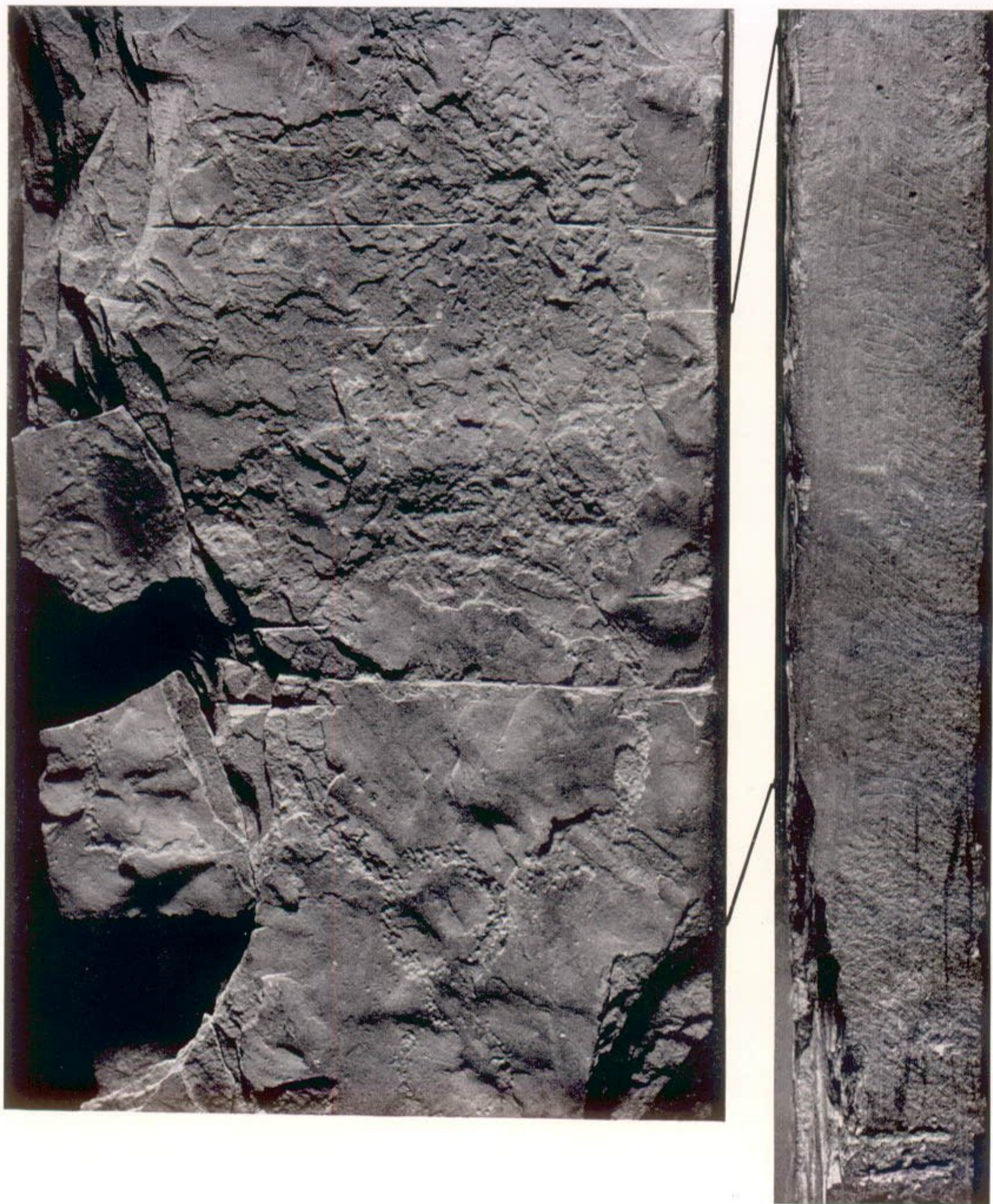


*Photo: Star and P. K. McLaren*

Inchyra Stone: Left side, front, top and back, showing the three sets of symbols, the large ogam and the position of the others (c. 1/12 except top)

ROBERT B. K. STEVENSON.





*Photo: P. K. McLaren*

Inchyra Stone: Unfinished mirror symbol and defaced area above it; on edge scratched ogam (b)

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1. Detail of Hilton of Cadboll Stone (c. 1/8)



2. Stone from Cullaird (c. 1/5)

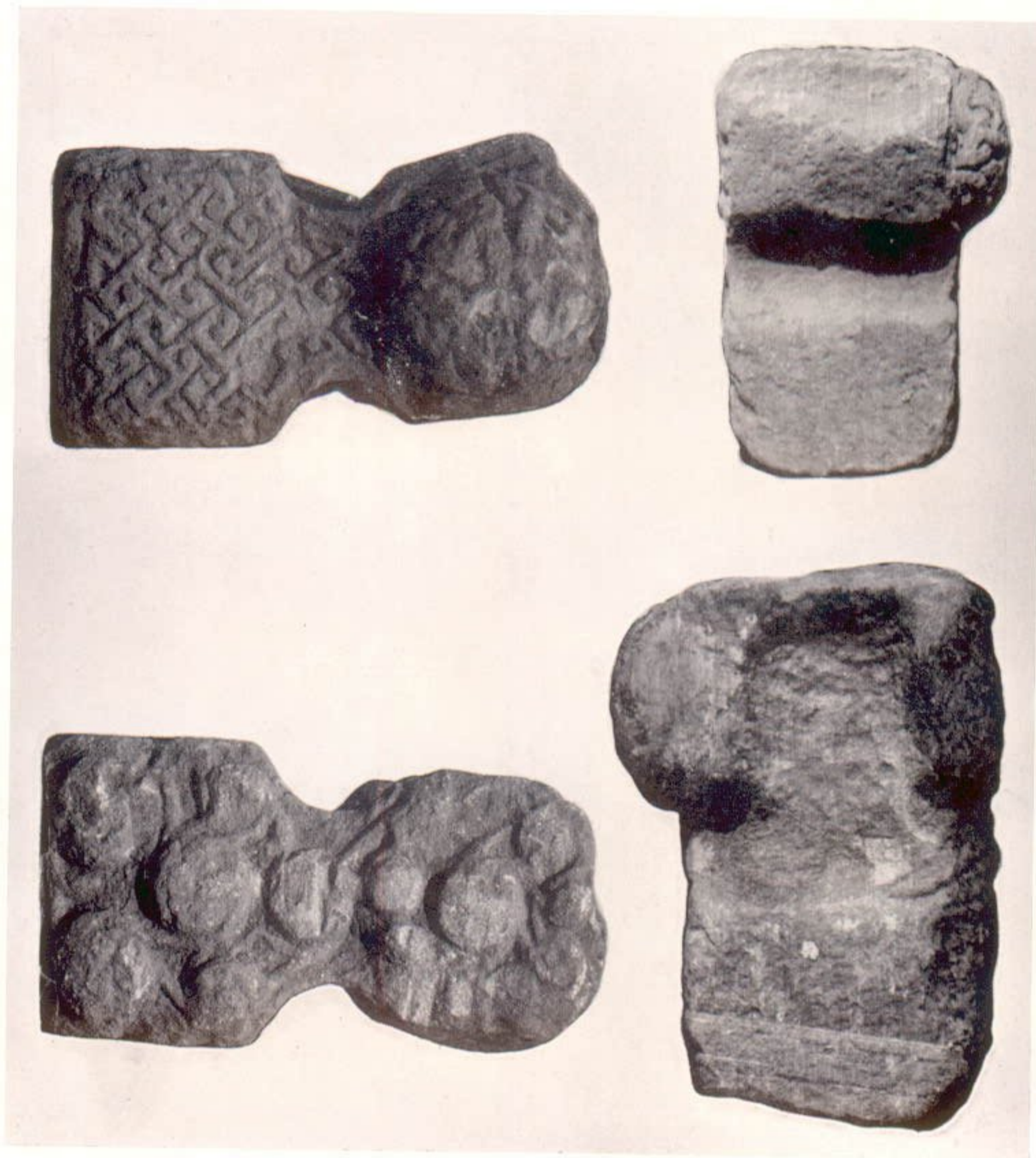


*Photo: Mrs K. Brims*

3. Stone at Latheron (c. 1/10)



4. Cross-slab fragment at Menmuir, back (c. 1/7)



Edzell cross-arm: front (c. 1/5), top, back and underside



Rider stone from Bullion, Dundee (c. 1/9)

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1. Hogback tombstone from Tynninghame (c. 1/8)



2. Cross-shaft fragment from Abernethy (c. 1/4)

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Tynninghame cross-shaft fragment: left (c. 1/4), right, front and back

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[Photo: J. L. A. Evatt

Netherton cross, Hamilton: front, back, left, right (c. 1/16)

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2. Dòid Mhàiri cross-slab (c. 1/5)



1. Greens, fragment i (c. 1/8)



*Photo: R.C.A.M.*

3. Netherurd stone (c. 1/7)