

Four Scottish crosiers and their relation to the Irish tradition

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ABSTRACT

The paper focuses on four crosier fragments, which represent the total survival from the Early Christian period, and which have not all been published together before. The paper is a by-product of the author's PhD thesis which, in re-assessing the dates and contexts of a number of Irish artefacts, forced a general reassessment of the metalwork as a whole.

The crosiers are closely related to those of pre-Norman Ireland, and demonstrate close contact between the craftsmen of Scotland and the northern half of Ireland. Indeed, the crosier of St Fillan and the cast drop from Hoddom point to the possible settling in Scotland of Irish craftsmen. However, the evidence also suggests that the Scottish tradition lagged approximately 50 years behind the Irish and it seems that, if Irish craftsmen indeed settled in Scotland, they continued to work in the manner current at their departure. The crosiers are treated in categories according to their structure and decoration, before being related to Irish examples. Their special interest lies in their coincidence with a stage of development badly represented in Ireland, and their consequent importance in relation to the tradition as a whole.

The appendix lists lost Scottish crosiers, which are separately located and mapped, and gives a chronological list of references for each.

INTRODUCTION

In the developing tradition of crosiers as a whole, the pre-Gothic crosiers of Scotland and Ireland form a distinctive group quite different in kind from those of the rest of Europe.

It is some years since any pre-Gothic crosiers of Scotland have been published (Finlay 1973, 170) and, although very few survive, they have not all been considered together (Wilson 1857; Wilson & Stuart 1878). Joseph Anderson's (1881; 1889) treatment of the subject was meticulous, but it was selective in that it was dominated by examples currently kept in Scotland. Thus he considered the crosier of St Fillan and the cast and inlaid drop from Hoddom, both in the National Museum, together with a highly unusual example of Irish provenance also in that museum. Rightly, he also included a reference to the crosier of St Dymrna, then in Petrie's collection. Unfortunately, however, he relied on Petrie's own drawing of the crosier, which was misleading and inaccurate. Indeed, all his illustrations were necessarily confined to drawings, and with the exception of the crosier of St Fillan, these have been reused for most subsequent publications. However, while drawings can clarify the details, they are necessarily interpretative, and they obscure the immediate appearance of the object.

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While the *Bachul Mor* has been referenced, it has not been satisfactorily illustrated. Moreover, the drop in the British Museum has not been published at all. This paper seeks to present all the Scottish crosiers together for the first time; to consider their dates in the light of recent studies of Irish metalwork; and to place them in the context of the developing tradition of Scottish and Irish crosiers as a whole.

THE CROSIERS

Four fragments are known today. [The other crosier of this type in the Royal Museum of Scotland (KD1) is excluded from this discussion as it is Irish, not Scottish.]

- A The crosier of St Moluagh or *Bachul Mor* (in possession of hereditary keeper), illus 2 & 3.
- B The inner and outer crooks of the crosier of St Fillan (RMS KC1-2), illus 4, 5 & 6.
- C A drop found in the ruins of a church in Hoddom (RMS KC3), illus 7 & 8.
- D A drop also found in the ruins of a church in Hoddom (BM 51.7-15.5), illus 9, 10 & 11.

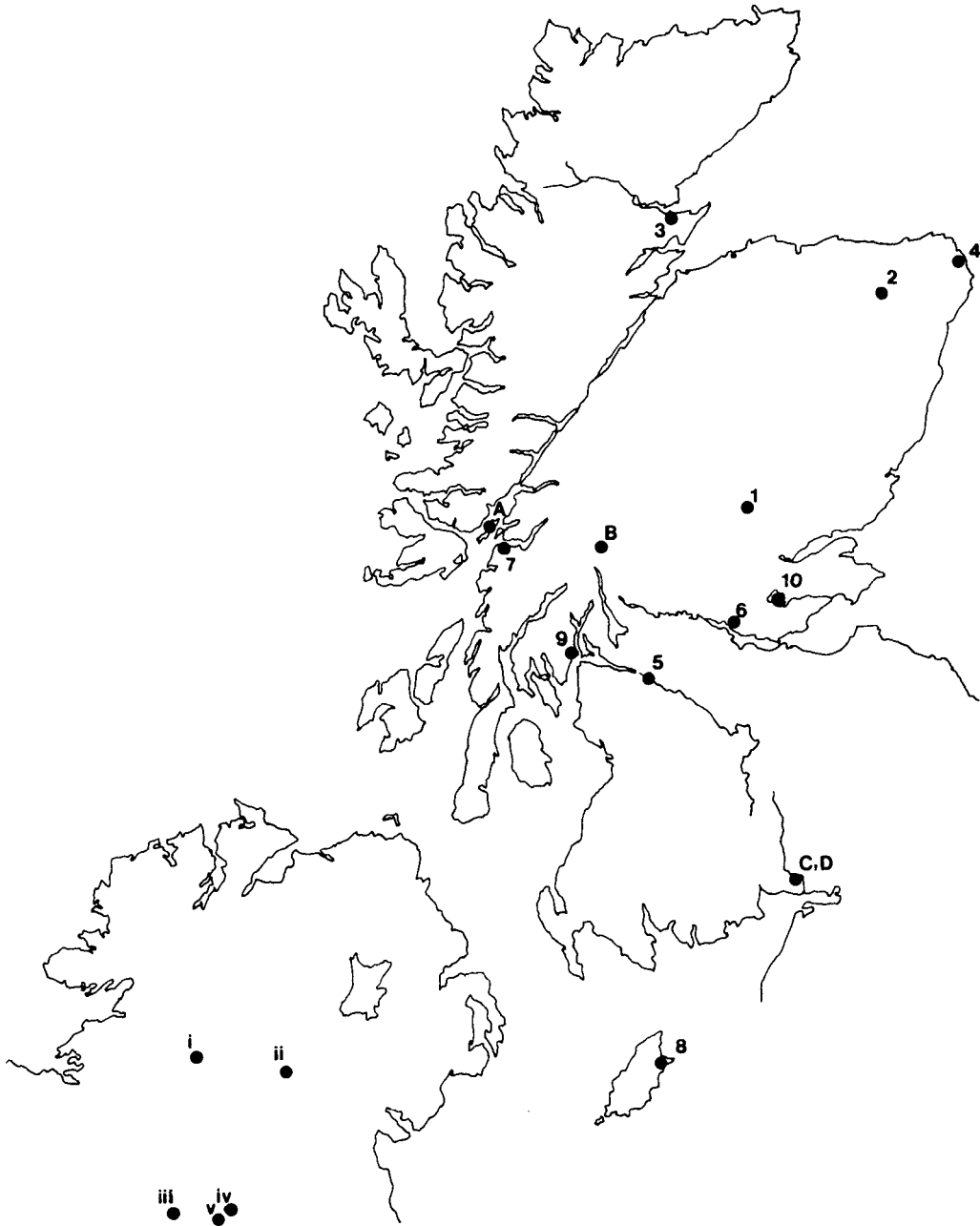
Added to these there were some 10 examples recorded between the 12th and 19th centuries which have now disappeared (see appendix). In contrast, some 50 pieces survive which belong to the Irish tradition.

It is possible that the Scottish crosiers were subtly different from the Irish examples, but from such meagre evidence it is not possible to separate the two traditions. However, it can be demonstrated that there were close contacts between the craftsmen of Scotland and the northern part of Ireland, and also that the Scottish crosiers preserve early features that are badly, or unclearly represented in Ireland.

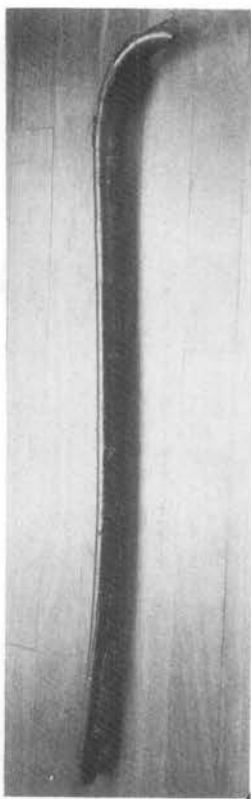
This contact is suggested firstly by the distribution of the Scottish crosiers. Although many have disappeared, most of their former locations have been recorded, and it may be seen on the map (illus 1) that they were associated mainly with sites along the west coast and main valleys of Scotland, while the Irish examples most closely related to the Scottish crosiers are from an area of less than 30 miles (18.6 km) in radius, in the northern half of Ireland.

Of the Scottish crosiers, the *Bachul Mor*, or Great Staff (illus 2 & 3), offers the least evidence to the archaeologist. The crosier is damaged at both ends and almost nothing remains of its metal casing. Its crook and shaft are liberally peppered with tiny nails and holes which largely defy attempts to identify the original decorative structure. However, the surviving metal is unique in its lead-like blackness and in its extreme thinness as compared with that of all other surviving crosiers of this type, and this is more suggestive of silver than of copper. Furthermore, there are narrow horizontal scars in the wood at the neck and at approximately two thirds down the shaft. These may be the results of the kind of 'patchwork' repairs seen on St Columba's crosier from Durrow (National Museum of Ireland (no W.8), see Raftery & Mahr 1976, pl 73.4) and the myriad nails on the *Bachul Mor* do suggest that this crosier has been much repaired. However, in view of the uniquely thin metal, a tentative parallel might be drawn between this staff and the Frankish crosiers eg the Quedlinberg crosier, dated 999 (Swarzenski 1974, pl 25). These, like the Scottish and Irish crosiers, were primarily wooden staves, but instead of being encased with cast metal they were covered with sheet silver, and had in place of knops narrow horizontal bands at irregular intervals down the shaft. (Cosmo Innes, who saw the *Bachul Mor* in 1854, suggested that it had once been covered with copper gilt, and this was reiterated by Joseph Anderson in 1881. However, in view of the present condition of the staff this must have been speculative, unless it had more decoration than now.) Certainly, the almost lead-black remains of the metal do not readily suggest copper, and no gilding survives.

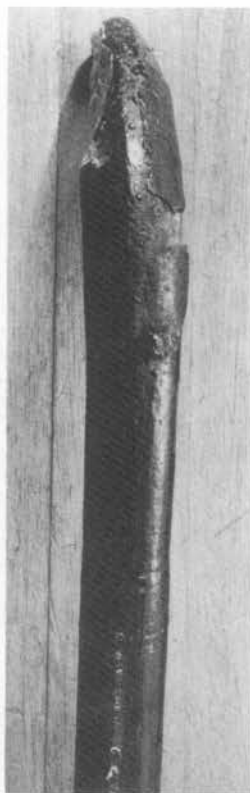
The connection between the early crosiers of Scotland and Ireland and the Frankish crosiers



ILLUS 1 Locations of the principal objects cited in the text: 1, St Columba's crosier, the *Cath Bhuaidh* – Iona, kept at Dunkeld; 2, St Donnan's crosier – Eigg, kept at Auchterless; 3, St Duthac's crosier – Tain; 4, St Fergus's crosier – St Fergus, Buchan; 5, St Kentigern's crosier – Glasgow; 6, St Lolan's crosier – Cambuskenneth, Kincardine on Forth; 7, St Maelrubha's crosier, the *Arwachyll* – Kilvarie (Bar-a-Goan), Isle of Kilmolruie; 8, St Maughold's crosier – Kil-Machon, Isle of Man; 9, St Mund's crosier – Kilmun; 10, St Serf's crosier – Loch Leven; A, St Moluagh's crosier, the *Bachul Mor* – Isle of Lismore; B, St Fillan's crosier – Glendochart, Strathfillan; C, BM drop – Hoddom; D, RMS drop – Hoddom; i, *Soiscél Molaise* – Devenish, Co Fermanagh; ii, St Dympna's crosier – Tedavnet, Co Monaghan; iii, St Mel's crosier – Longford, Co Longford; iv, Crosier of Fore Abbey – Fore, Co Westmeath; v, *Corp Naomh* – Templecross, Co Westmeath



ILLUS 2 The *Bachul Mor*,
or crosier of St
Moluagh



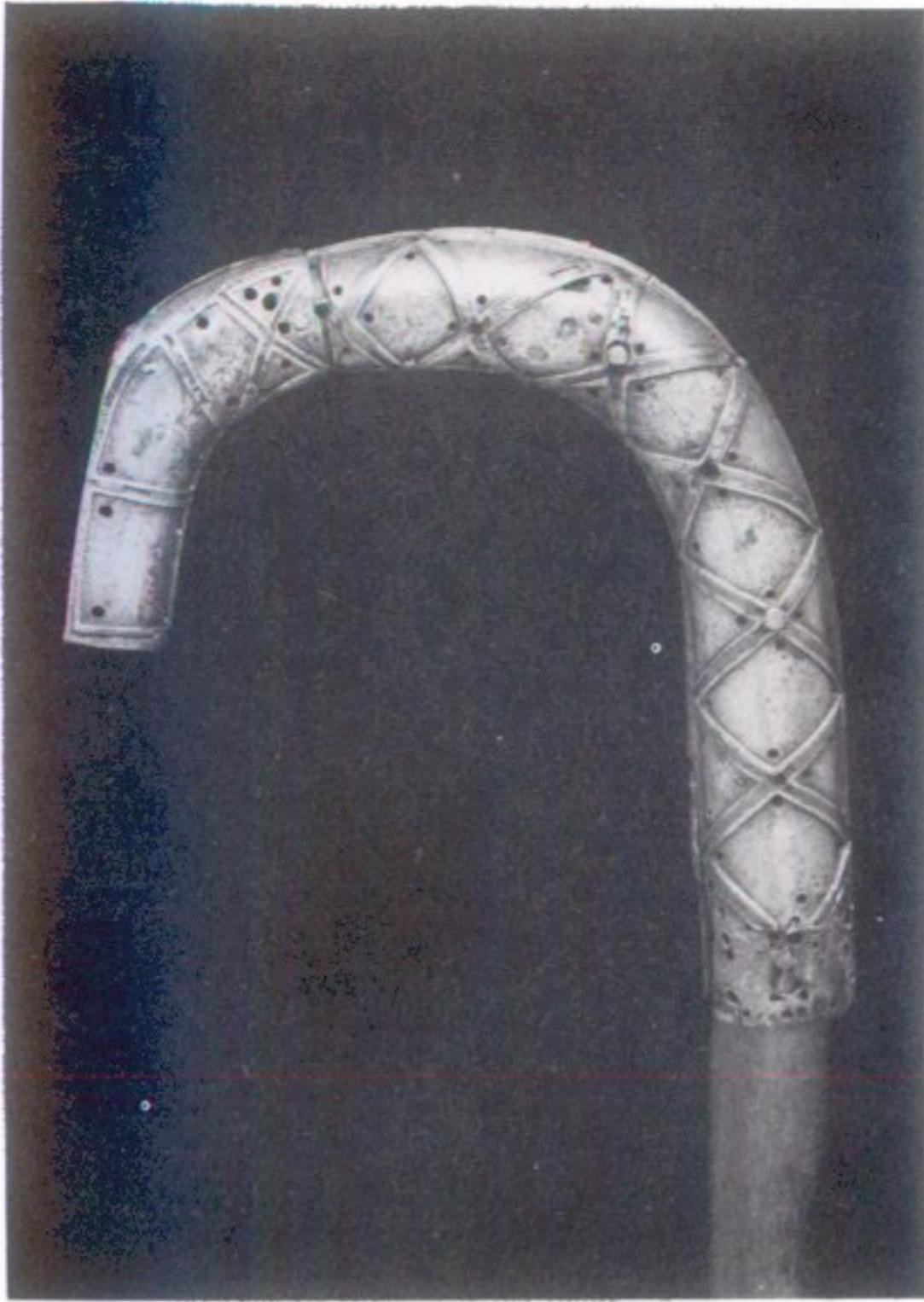
ILLUS 3 The *Bachul Mor*,
or crosier of St
Moluagh

certainly needs more consideration than is possible to give it here, but in such a consideration the *Bachul Mor* and the damaged Irish crook in the RMS (KD1) might both repay further study.

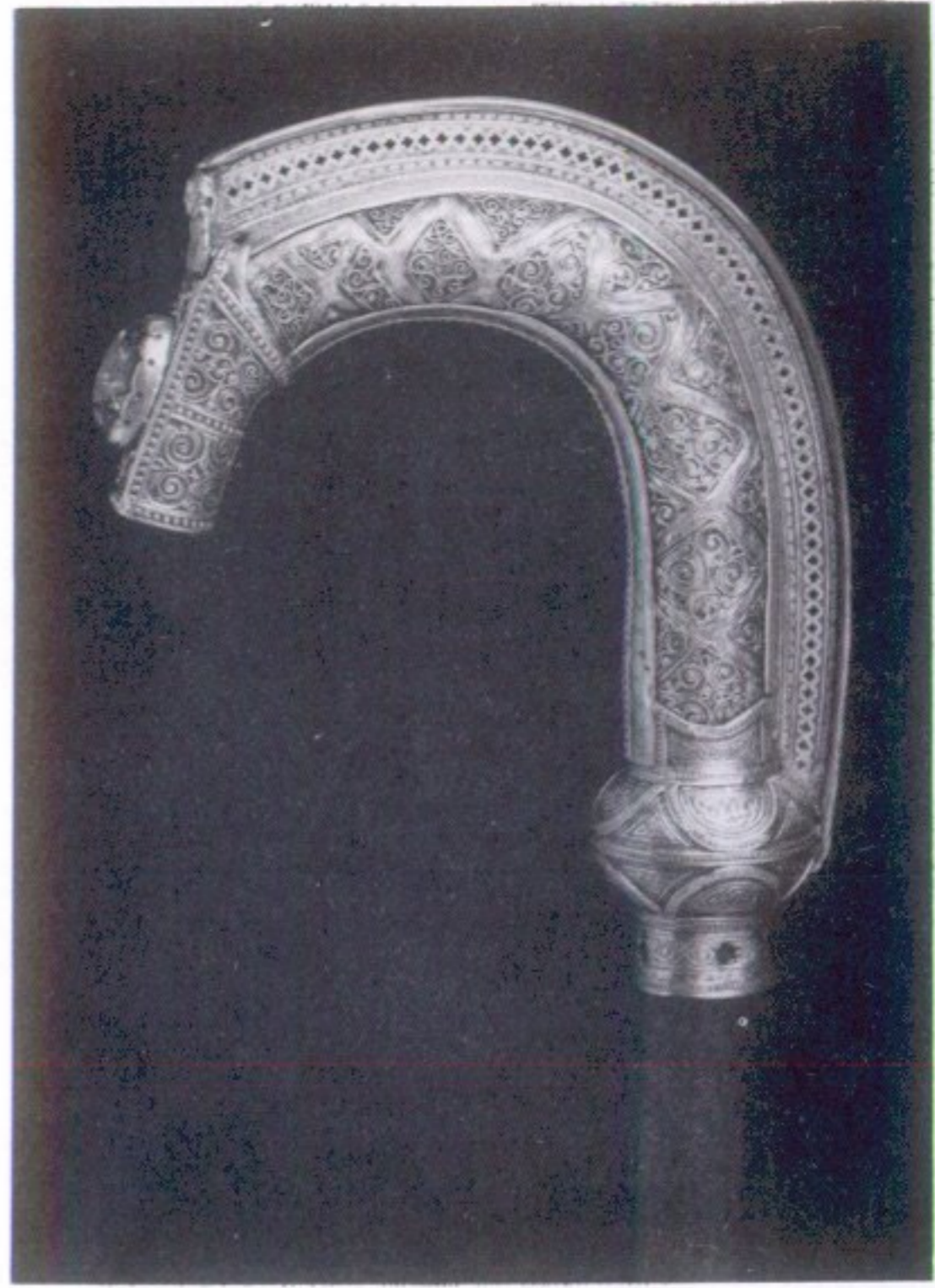
St Fillan's crosier (illus 4, 5 & 6) consists of two crooks of different dates. The original, much repaired and bereft of its filigree decoration, crest, knop etc, was discovered inside a later crook of silver. (The two have since been separated.) Anderson suggested that some of the filigree from the original crook has been transferred to the silver one, which is a fairly close copy of the original. This seems to be true, although the situation is complex and requires further consideration.

This paper is primarily interested in the original crook, which should be considered together with the British Museum Hoddom drop (illus 9, 10 & 11), as the two have much in common. They are of a similar crook-type with perpendicular drop, and their decoration is in line with the mainstream of decorative metalwork, consisting of thick copper-alloy or bronze, with the surface divided into small panels for more detailed decoration. Indeed, their basic decorative structure is identical, with a large lozenge pattern and a border round the spring of the drop which cuts it off decoratively from the rest of the crook. This reiterates the message of the sharp angle between the crook and drop, that the drop is a conceptually separate element. (The shoddiness of the British Museum drop in no way undermines this observation.)

Thus there are three separate elements to be considered here: the angular crook shape, the



ILLUS 4 Crosier of St Fillan, inner crook



ILLUS 5 Crosier of St Fillan, outer crook



ILLUS 6 Crosier of St Fillan, detail of outer crook



ILLUS 7 Cast and inlaid crozier drop from Hoddom, RMS

ILLUS 8 Cast and inlaid crozier drop from Hoddom, RMS

drop and the pattern; and it is only after they have been separately related to the corpus of croziers as a whole that their significance becomes clear.

In Ireland there are two basic crook shapes. The most common is horseshoe-shaped, being relatively tightly curved with the drop almost continuous with the rest of the crook. The other has a more angular appearance, with a less tightly curved crook and almost perpendicular drop. In Ireland this is the less common form and it tends to be early: the examples are an unprovenanced drop (UM 1906: 110) and a crozier found in the River Bann (UM L20: 1932), both now in the Ulster Museum; the Prosperous crozier, now kept at Clongowes Wood College, Naas; and a drop found in a churchyard in Shankhill, Co Antrim, now in the National Museum of Ireland (1893.19). These are all of the 10th century or earlier. The other two examples belong to the 11th century: they are the croziers of St Blathmac and St Mel (NMI R.2991; Longford Cathedral Treasury, for which see below). Irish croziers of the horseshoe type date to the 11th and 12th centuries. The crozier of St Fillan and the British Museum drop are both of the angular type, and this suggests that they follow the earlier tradition.

The separate drop is a feature of all surviving pre-11th-century Irish crooks or fragments and some others prior to the middle of the 11th century, except for the tiny Ekerö crozier, which is a different type. On these croziers the crest terminates abruptly some distance behind the drop, and



ILLUS 9 Engraved crosier drop from Hoddom,
BM



ILLUS 10 Engraved crosier drop from Hoddom,
BM



ILLUS 11 Engraved crosier drop from Hoddom,
BM

they lack two features common to all the later 11th- and 12th-century crosiers. Firstly, they lack the raised and pierced framing element round the face of the drop. Secondly, they lack the large human-head boss which terminates the crest at the top of the drop. The drop of the Crosier of Con Dúilig, in the British Museum, shows both these features very clearly (illus 12). The framing element and human-head boss are both lacking on the British Museum drop, and while it is unclear whether St Fillan's crosier ever had the human-head boss, there is no provision for a crest directly behind the



ILLUS 12 Crozier of Con Dúilig, drop

drop and it is quite clear that the drop never had the framing element. Thus in their separation and decorative treatment the Scottish drops follow Irish practice prior to the middle of the 11th century.

The decorative appearance of the original crook of St Fillan's crozier has been somewhat modified. The loss of the original crest and binding strip destroyed the means of holding the two halves of the crook together. This is now effected through large rivets, whose heads can be seen at the intersections of the lozenge pattern decorating the crook. Originally there can have been no accommodation for studs of any sort, since the present rivet-heads break up the inlaid niello borders of the pattern. Evidently then, St Fillan's crozier and the British Museum drop were alike in their use of an unstudded pattern.

The lozenge pattern may be paralleled on several 11th- and 12th-century Irish croziers, ie those of St Tola, St Aodh, St Blathmac and an unprovenanced copper crook, all in the National Museum of Ireland (NMI nos P 1013, 1880.60, R 2991, & R 2992 respectively). All, however, differ from the Scottish specimens in the use of studs at the intersections of the pattern, and in the continuation of the pattern on to the drop. Moreover, their drops also have (or had) the framing elements and the human-head bosses lacking on the Scottish examples.



ILLUS 13 Crosier of St Mel

In this context, the Irish crosier of St Mel, from Longford (illus 13), is helpful. St Mel's crosier is currently dated to the second half of the 10th century (MacDermott 1957, 167–95; Bourke forthcoming), but this may be disputed through a consideration of the interlace panels, which cannot be paralleled on any 10th-century metalwork. These have a distinctive feature at their edges in a narrow ridge which matches the thickness of the interlace strands and forms a low inner frame within the raised borders of the overall pattern. This is not found prior to the 11th century. Moreover, the panels are tiny, the surfaces rounded and the patterns simple and regular. All these features may be seen in the small panels of interlace set into the front of the crest of the bell shrine known as the *Corp Naomh* (NMI 1887: 145, 146; Raftery & Mahr 1976, pl 68), which comes from Templecross, Co Westmeath, less than 20 miles (12.4 km) from Longford. The *Corp Naomh* has many features closely related to inscription-dated objects such as the *Soiscél Molaise* and the *Cumdach* of the Stowe Missal, and cannot be dated other than to the first half of the 11th century. St Mel's crosier, then, must also take this date.

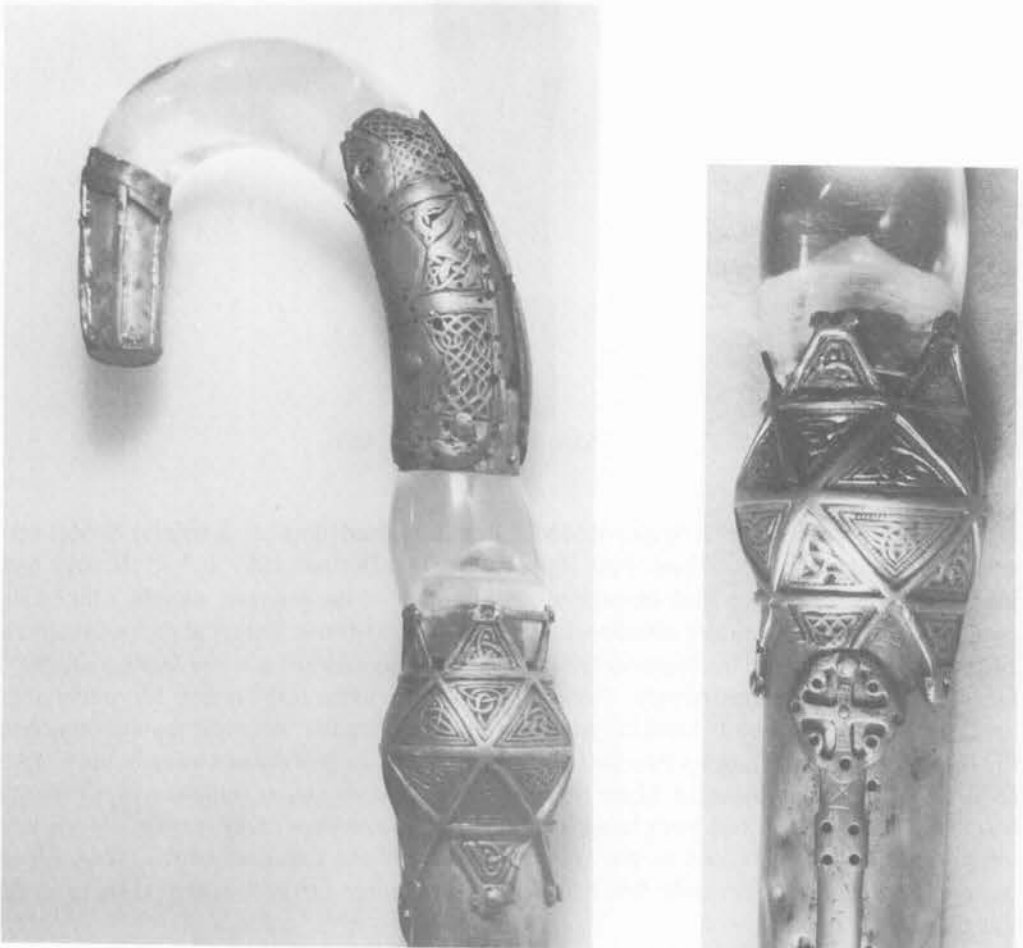
The decoration of St Mel's crosier is complex, consisting of a combination of a large, unstudded lozenge pattern with separate drop, and a new pattern like a string of crosses with central studs. This

pattern is contained in sections within the lozenge pattern, and appears in continuous form on the drop. If this element of the decoration is ignored, it may be seen that the crosier of St Mel is designed exactly along the lines of St Fillan's crosier, and that both represent an intermediate phase between the earlier and late forms of the Hiberno-Scottish crosier.

The Scottish use of the angular crook shape, the separate abstract drop, and the unstudded version of the lozenge pattern, therefore, is consistent in suggesting a phase of development which pre-dates the middle of the 11th century.

The dates of the Scottish crosiers, however, are somewhat later than their decorative idiom seems to suggest. The British Museum drop is best dated by analysis of the interlace on its face. Similar interlace is found on the *Soiscél Molaise*. The execution is shallow in both cases, with tightly-woven multiple strands of a rather fleshy appearance. The weaving is sinuous rather than angular and this adds emphasis to the 'elbows' projecting into the corners of the fields. These mannerisms are also found in general form on the crook of St Dympna's crosier (illus 14), and in detail on a panel of the uppermost knop, where the strands are tripled as on the British Museum drop.

The *Soiscél Molaise* is dated by its inscription to the first quarter of the 11th century, but the



ILLUS 14a & b Crosier of St Dympna

date of St Dympna's crosier really needs more discussion than can be given here. However, suffice it to point out that an early 10th-century date is most unlikely for it. The cast panels are in no way related to the chipcarved or *kerbschnitt* work of the eighth and ninth centuries, and cannot therefore be seen in terms of a continuation of that tradition. Moreover, MacDermott (1957, 167–95) has rightly seen the roots of the crosier of St Mel in the crosier of St Dympna, where the main technical features of St Mel's crosier are reproduced in more emphatic form. However, the differences between the two crosiers are not such as to argue a long lapse of time between them, and St Dympna's crosier should probably, therefore, be placed early in the 11th century. (The far-reaching implications of the dates of these crosiers and other objects will form the subject of a separate paper.)

Thus it seems that the crosier of St Dympna is contemporary with the *Soiscél Molaise* in the early part of the 11th century, and the British Museum drop, therefore, should probably also be attributed to this period.

St Fillan's crosier is difficult to date. Sometime before the crook was enclosed in its silver covering, a major adaptation was made to it: At some stage, the drop was carefully severed from the rest of the crook, and the adjacent panels stunted. These panels thus lost their original lozenge shape and became chevron-shaped instead. Such an adaptation is quite common among Irish crosiers too, and is often accompanied by the loss of the crest, binding strip and crook knob, together with the telescoping of the crook into one of the knobs from the shaft. This indeed appears to have been the case with St Fillan's crosier, as the flattened area at the base of the original crook shows. This operation has important implications for the study of the decoration.

Thus the silver knob is a copy, not of the original crook-knob but of the cast knob from the shaft which was holding the crook together at the time. The crest, binding strip and miniature bust all replace elements which were missing when the new covering was made. None of these is quite authentic in type, but they place an exaggerated stress on the quality of their craftsmanship and design. Thus the knob, which imitates the type found on St Dympna's crosier, has a greatly swollen silhouette, and the borders of its panels are embellished with immaculate beading. The crest is excessively long and tall; it is carefully engraved and pierced with a series of perfect quatrefoils. The bust at the top of the drop is an extension of the concept of the human-head boss traditionally located there, but is more realistic than any such boss. Indeed, the applied decoration of the silver covering is all intensely competitive in its intentions, and this also applies to the filigree.

There are two types of filigree on the silver crook. The heavier and more regular type seems to have been made for it, and for the most part occupies the lozenge-shaped panels and the drop. These panels exactly fit their fields, which approximate but are not identical to their equivalents on the original crook. All the panels of this type are complete, as the survival of their framing wires demonstrates. The finer filigree of twisted wire is rarer on the crook. These panels too were originally framed by a single continuous wire, and some are still complete. These panels were evidently transferred from the original crook, but the fact that one of the complete panels of this type is chevron-shaped to fit the stunted panel at the break in the drop demonstrates that this filigree post-dates the severing of the drop. The incomplete panels occupy the triangular fields along the edges of the crook. Thus it seems that the original crook was first cut in two, and then covered with new filigree. When the silver case was made sometime later, this (secondary) filigree was transferred to it where possible, and supplemented where necessary.

The style of the supplementary filigree panels is such that they were thought original by Anderson (1881, 223–4). The evidence of the history of repairs to this crosier refutes this, demonstrating instead that they are contemporary with the silver crook. However, the intentions behind the filigree are clearly as imitative and competitive as the rest of the silver covering, and they are therefore deceptive.

Evidently then, none of the original applied decoration of the crook survives, and it is possible that the settings were originally filled in some other way. This is unlikely, however, since the repertoire of panel fillings over the corpus of medieval decorated metalwork is very limited. It is confined either to cast forms, which generally survive intact; or to filigree, which is very often lost, leaving a distinctive pattern of nail-holes at the corners of the panels. It is likely, then, that St Fillan's crozier was indeed originally decorated with filigree, and by the same argument this was probably also the case for several other croziers too, such as an unprovenanced crook and the croziers of Lismore and St Tola (illus 15) (NMI nos 1882: 227, L 1949: 1, & P 1013 respectively).



ILLUS 15 Crozier of St Tola

St Fillan's crozier cannot therefore be dated through the filigree itself, but it is possible to make certain deductions about the crozier's date, based on the distribution of the empty panels (illus 4). These, it may be seen, covered the entire crook and, with reference to the three croziers just cited, it is likely that the original crook-knob would have been covered with filigree too.

After its superlative use during the eighth century, filigree became common again during the



ILLUS 16 Crozier of Fore Abbey

11th and 12th centuries, but its distribution over the metalwork varied from time to time, and this forms the basis of a convenient chronological framework. (The objects cited in the following discussion are conveniently illustrated in Raftery & Mahr 1976, pls 57, 89, 79, 93, 92, 99 & 97 respectively.) During the first three quarters of the 11th century, filigree is used sparingly in small panels, either as a framing element for the decorative foci or as a focus proper. It is found used in this way on the *Soiscél Molaise* (1001–25 by inscription), and on the crozier of Innisfallen (currently dated to the third quarter of the 11th century). At the end of the century its use becomes suddenly very lavish: by 1094 (the date furnished by the inscription) it is found on the shrine of the Bell of the Testament (NMI R.4011) in panels of varying size, shape and design covering an entire surface. This marks the beginning of the more generalized use of filigree such as was found on the crosiers of Lismore and St Tola, which date to the years around the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries. Again, the panels cover entire surfaces, but are smaller and repetitive in shape. This is also the case with the crozier of St Fillan. By the end of the first quarter of the 12th century, its use is reduced once more to smaller, more focal areas, such as the hand of the shrine of St Lachtín's Arm (dated by its inscription

to 1118–21), or the area around the central crystal of the Cross of Cong (dated by its inscription to 1123–1127/36). The date for St Fillan's crosier, therefore, is limited to the very end of the 11th century, or the early years of the 12th.

One must thus note that the chronological indications of this crosier are widely disparate. Firstly, if the silver knob is a reliable copy of the original, it represents a type and a style belonging to the early part of the 11th century in Ireland. Secondly, the type of the crosier together with its decorative structure belong to the middle of the 11th century in Ireland. Finally, the all-over filigree decoration belongs to the late 11th or early 12th century in Ireland. The crosier of St Fillan cannot be earlier than the latest of these indications, but its general archaism makes it impossible to date with precision.

The Edinburgh Hoddom drop (illus 7 & 8) is distinctive, with its dished and waisted face, and its curved back profile. Moreover, there are the remains of a large human-head boss at the front, and a small abstract boss at the back. These features clearly identify the drop as having been part of a horseshoe-shaped crosier, a type which it has been said belongs to the 11th and 12th centuries. However, it has evidently never had the raised and pierced framing element. When present, this almost universal feature of the drops of this type of crosier is integral with the human-head boss. In Ireland there is only one horseshoe-shaped crosier whose drop has never had this framing element. This is the crosier of Fore Abbey in county Westmeath (illus 16). This crosier bears detailed consideration as it is related to the Edinburgh drop by decoration as well by type.

The crosier of Fore Abbey is very worn but it is still possible to trace the skeleton of the decoration. Thus it may be seen that the decoration was cast and apparently confined to the drop and the connecting section of crook. It is even possible to see that the pattern consisted of the string of studded crosses noted on St Mel's crosier. This conveys considerable information. The lack of framing element round the face of the drop, and the location and restriction of the decoration recall the early and intermediate forms of the non-European crosier, despite its late crook shape. Moreover, the very small panels surrounded by raised borders recall St Mel's crosier, itself an intermediate type, which distributed the new cross pattern in precisely the same area. It is likely then that the crosier of Fore Abbey dates with St Mel's crosier during the first half of the 11th century.

The Edinburgh drop has two main points in common with the crosier of Fore Abbey. The similarity of structure has already been noted, while in decorative terms it produces a twisted variant of the studded cross pattern and fills the spaces with cast panels. In detail, however, better comparisons may be made elsewhere.

The style of the drop is closely paralleled by that of the crosier of St Dympna (illus 14), with its broad-threaded, random interlace bordered by an equally broad inner frame. The interlace on the two crosiers is particularly closely linked in its mannerism of articulating the sinuousness of the threads with sharp 'elbows' at the corners and at the 'dropped stitches' (which seems to be a development of the interlace found on the British Museum drop and the *Soiscél Molaise*). The drop appears rather later than the crosiers of Fore and St Dympna, however, with its simplified animal and foliate motifs, its flush surface in place of raised borders, and the use of niello inlay and large studs. These features recall several objects of the early 12th century, such as the Lismore crosier, and the carved panels at the base of the shrine of St Lachtín's Arm. (The shrine of St Lachtín's Arm brings with it three more objects executed in a very similar style, ie the crosier of St Mura (NMI P 1015), the shrine of the bell of St Senan, or Clog-an-or (NMI 1919: 1), and a tau cross from Kilkenny (NMI 1901: 61) (Raftery & Mahr 1976, pls 90, 82, & 86.1), although none of these parallels the stylistic mannerisms of the drop so closely as the rather earlier crosier of St Dympna.) The technical features of the drop therefore, despite stylistic considerations to the contrary, suggest a date for it no earlier than the first years of the 12th century.

This date and the chronological discrepancies between its type, its style of decoration, and its technique of decoration, closely parallel the evidence of St Fillan's crosier (see above).

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, technical and stylistic features demonstrate some contact in the 11th and 12th centuries between the artisans of Scotland and the northern half of Ireland. The evidence suggests that the structural features of the Scottish crosiers lagged approximately 50 years behind the Irish, while decorative features could be preserved in Scotland for as long as a century after they had been abandoned in Ireland. This may be due to the occasional immigration of artisans from Ireland who then continued to work in the manner current at their departure. It is possible, for example, that this was the case with the artisan of St Dymphna's crosier, and that his influence (which was also strong in Ireland) is seen on the Edinburgh Hoddam drop and on St Fillan's crosier.

Having examined the Scottish crosiers and set them in context, we now have a clearer idea of the development of the Hiberno-Scottish crosier as a whole. The evidence points to the angular crook as being the established shape until the 11th century, when it began to give way to the horseshoe-shaped crook, both types and an intermediate form appearing concurrently during the 11th century. Possibly the earliest crosiers were decorated in the Frankish manner, but this needs further investigation. The lozenge pattern belongs properly to the intermediate form of the angular type of crook, while the string of crosses and anthropomorphized drop accompanied the introduction of the horseshoe-shaped crook. The appearance of the lozenge pattern was then modified, and at the end of the 11th century began to appear on the new type of crook, complete with studs and anthropomorphic drop. At this point, overall decoration with filigree became briefly widespread.

Abbreviations

- BM British Museum
 RMS Royal Museum of Scotland
 NMI National Museum of Ireland
 UM Ulster Museum

APPENDIX

PART I: LIST OF LOST CROSIERS WITH REFERENCES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

- 1 St Columba's crosier, the *Cath Bhuaidh*, or Yellow Battler
 - *Fragments of Irish Annals transcribed by Macfirbis, from the Book of Gillananeamh Macegan*, in Skene, W F (ed), 1867, *The Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Edinburgh, 405–6 (for 909 AD).
 - *The Pictish Chronicle*, in Skene, W F (ed), 1867, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Edinburgh, 8 (10th-century reference to 850 AD) & clxii.
 - Saxon document c 1058, in Hickey, G (ed), 1703, *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesauri Grammatico-Critici et Archaeologici*, Oxford, vol 3, 117 & note e.
 - *An anonymous collection of Irish annals*, Brussels, Burgundian Library (ref no: 7.c.n.17), 66.
 - Reeves, W 1857, *Adamnan's Life of St Columba*, Dublin, 332, no 18.
 - Skene, W F 1876, *Celtic Scotland*, vol 1, 348 & 339; vol 2 (1877) 305–7.
 - Anderson, J 1881, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Edinburgh, 240–1.

Note

The *Cath Bhuaidh* was apparently kept at Dunkeld, head of the Columban *paruchia* in Scotland, and used as a battle standard by the men of Fortrenn. The transfer of some (unspecified) relics of St Columba from Iona to Dunkeld is recorded in *The Pictish Chronicle*. The crosier's use as a battle standard is recorded in the Irish fragments transcribed by MacFirbis, which also records the death of Tuathal Mac Artguso, *primus episcopus Fortrenn et abbas Duincaillean* at 865.

- 2 St Donnan's crosier (destroyed)
- Dempster, T 1829, *Hist Eccles Gent Scot*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, t.I, 207.
 - Robertson, J (ed), 1843 *History of the Shires of Aberdeenshire and Banff*, 505. The Spalding Club.
 - Robertson, J [2nd] Addendum to Innes, C 'Notice of the Crozier of St Moluach', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 2 (1854–7), 125.
 - Smith W, & Wace, H (eds) 1877, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, London, t.I, 898.
 - Anderson, J 1881, 226, footnote 1.
- 3 St Duthac's crosier
- Robertson, J [1st] Addendum to C Innes, 'Notice of the Crozier of St Moluach', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 2 (1854–7), 15.
 - Anderson, J 1881, 226, footnote 1.
- 4 St Fergus's crosier
- *Breviarum Aberdonensis*, Pars Estivalis, in festo S Fergusani (November), fol clxiii, lect 9.
 - Robertson, J [1st] Addendum to Innes, 1857, 14.
 - Anderson, J 1881, 226, footnote 1.

Note

The passage in the *Breviarum* does not support the idea that the crosier was preserved at St Fergus's Church, Buchan, as suggested by Robertson and Anderson.

- 5 St Kentigern's crosier
- Jocelyn, Vita Kentegerni (written c 1180), c XIII & XL, in Forbes, A P (ed), 1874, *The Historians of Scotland*, vol 5, Edinburgh, 184, 231–2.
 - Johannis de Fordun, *Scotichronicon* (written c 1420), Edinburgh, 1852, Lib III, c XXX.
 - Robertson, J [1st] Addendum to Innes, 14.
 - Reeves, W 1857, *Adamnan's Life of St Columba*, Dublin, 324, no 7.
 - Anderson, J 1881, 226, footnote 1.
 - Gougaud, L 2: Crosse (Chretienés Celtiques), in Cabrol, F & Leclercq, H (eds), 1948, *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie*, vol 3, Paris, col 3154.

Note

This crosier, given to St Kentigern by St Columba in exchange for his own, should not be confused with the *Cath Bhuaidh*, (no 1, above) or the *Bachull Mor* which was lent to Scanlann. It was later kept at Ripon cathedral.

- 6 St Lolan's crosier
- Chartulary of Cambuskenneth (c 1535), in Dalzell, J G 1828, *A Brief Analysis of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth*, 17.
 - Anderson, J 1881, 226, footnote 1.
- 7 St Maelrubha's crosier, the *Arwachyll*, or Great Staff
- *Breviarum Aberdonensis* (written c 1520), Pars Estivalis, in festo S Maelrubha (August), fol xc, lect 8 (in Blew, W (ed), The Bannatyne Club, No 96, 1852).
 - Book of the Thaness of Cawdor (a letter written 1518), in The Spalding Club, 1859, 129.
 - Reeves, W 1859, 'St Maelrubha: His History and Churches', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 3 (1858–59) (1861), 292.
 - Anderson, J 1881 226, footnote 1.
- 8 St Maughold's crosier
- Johnstone, J 1786, *Antiquitates Celto-Normannicae, containing the chronicle of Man and the Isles* (ref c 1158), Copenhagen, 17–20.
 - Robertson, J [1st] Addendum to Cosmo Innes, *ibid*, p 15.
 - Stenning, E H 1978, *Portrait of the Isle of Man*, London.

- 9 St Mund's crosier
 – Innes 1857, 13.
 – Anderson, J 1881, 226, footnote 1.
- 10 St Serf's crosier
 – *De Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, by Androw of Wyntoun* (c 1420–4) MacPherson, D (ed), 1795, London, 130.
 – *Breviarum Aberdonensis*, (c 1520) Pars Estivalis, in festo S Servanus (July), fol xvi, lect 8 & 9.
 – *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Life of St Serf, Skene, W (ed), 1867, Edinburgh, 419.
 – Stuart, J 1878, 'Historical notices of St Fillan's crosier', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 12 (1876–8), 137.
 – Anderson, J 1881, 226, footnote 1.

Note

Stuart is mistaken in his reference to Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, which does not mention the crosier, although the version in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, which Skene believed to be Wyntoun's source, does. The staff still existed c 1876, when Stuart referred to a previous notice he had made of it. Unfortunately, he did not state where he published this notice.

PART 2: CROSIERS MENTIONED IN THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS, BUT WHOSE SURVIVAL IS UNDOCUMENTED

- 11 Adamnan's crosier
 – Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, p 128, line 1164 ff.
- 12 St Ninian's crosier
 – Ailred of Reivaulx, *Vita Niniani* (written c 1150), in Forbes, A P (ed), 1874, *The Historians of Scotland*, vol 5, c X.
 – *Breviarum Aberdonensis*, Pars Estivalis, in festo S Niniani (September), fol cviii, lect 6.
 – Robertson, J [2nd] Addendum to Innes, 1857, 226, footnote 1.

PART 3: LIST OF SURVIVING CROSIERS WITH REFERENCES

- A St Moluagh's crosier, or the *Bachul Mor*
 – Innes, C 'Notice of the Crozier of St Moluach', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 2 (1854–7), 12–14.
 – *Catalogue of Antiquities etc in the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, held in Edinburgh 1856*, Edinburgh, 1859, 31–2.
 – Lord Talbot de Malahide, 'The Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan', *Archaeol J*, 16 (1859), 46.
 – Wilson, D & Stuart, J 'Notice of the Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 12 (1876–78), 136.
 – Anderson, J 1881, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Edinburgh, 224–5.
 – Gougaud, L, 2: Crosse (Chretienés Celtiques), in F Cabrol & H Leclercq (eds), 1948, *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie*, vol 3, Paris, col 3154.
- B St Fillan's crosier (Edinburgh, RMS, KC 1–2)
 – Bowie, W *The Black Book of Taymouth* (Innes, C ed), The Bannatyne Club, 1855, p xxxv.
 – Lord Talbot de Malahide, 'The Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan', *Archaeol J*, 16 (1859), 41–52.
 – Wilson, D 'Notice of the 'Quigrich' or Crozier of St Fillan', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 3 (1857–60), 233–4.
 – Wilson, D & Stuart, J, 'Notices of the Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 12 (1876–78), 122–82.
 – Skene, W 1877, *Celtic Scotland*, vol 2, 407.
 – Anderson, J 1881, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Edinburgh, 216–41.
 – Anderson, J 'Notice of the "Quigrich" or Crozier of St Fillan', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 23 (1888–89), 110–18.
 – *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1892, 285–86.
 – Gougaud, L 2: Crosse (Chretienés Celtiques), in Cabrol, F & Leclercq, H (eds), 1948, *Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie*, vol 3, Paris, col 3155.
 – Finlay, I 1973, *Celtic Art*, London, 170, pl 110.

- C Cast and inlaid drop from Hoddom (Edinburgh, KC 3)
 – Wilson, D & Stuart, J ‘Notices of the Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan’, *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 12 (1876–8), 164–4.
 – *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1892, 286.
 – Anderson, J 1881, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Edinburgh, 224–5.
- D Engraved drop from Hoddom (British Museum, 51.7–15.5)
 – *Archaeol J* (1851), 88.

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