

Adam and Eve scenes on kirkyard monuments in the Scottish Lowlands

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ABSTRACT

In the Scottish Lowlands, throughout the 18th century, farmers and tradesmen set up elaborate kirkyard memorials over the family lair. Carved emblems and epitaphs carried the teachings of the Church. A popular theme was the story of Adam and Eve's Temptation and their Expulsion from the Garden. Sixty examples of this scene have now been recorded in the Lowlands, although some of these have disappeared since Christison described 24 of them in these Proceedings in 1902 and 1905. It is likely that there were once many more. This article describes the scenes carved, and places them in geographical and chronological groups. A small number in England and in North America are also reported. The paper discusses the distribution of the carvings, the origins of the imagery, the masons and the nature of folk art, and the reasons for the popularity of this particular scene in Scotland.

INTRODUCTION

Before the Reformation in Scotland the prestigious and the wealthy were buried inside churches and chapels, and were commemorated on mural monuments, chest tombs, altar tombs and slabs. Commoners were buried outside the church or chapel in unmarked graves. After the Reformation there was an edict that no further burials should take place inside churches, so gradually the upper classes raised, over their kirkyard family burial lairs, those same types of monuments which had previously been erected inside the churches. The grand early 17th-century external mural monuments in Greyfriars, Edinburgh, are examples of this. In the 18th century a degree of prosperity among tenant farmers and tradesmen in the Scottish Lowlands led to commissions for an increasing number of such memorials for the graves of ordinary folk. Whilst the churches were stripped of Popish emblems and ornaments, and the newly built post-Reformation churches, with a few exceptions, were strictly plain, the Church did not object to the kirkyard monuments being carved with sets of emblems which promoted the new ideology.

These emblems of mortality and immortality were taken from the emblem books which were so popular in the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly Francis Quarles's *Emblems Divine and Moral* (1635) and *Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man* (1638). The emblem books drew heavily on Cesar Ripa's *Iconographia* (1603). The source of almost every emblem in the range may be traced back to an earlier usage in Greek, Roman, and other cultures, but the significance was changed to suit each new religious philosophy. The two main emblems were the winged head, taken from Italian Renaissance art (but stemming from an earlier source), representing the soul of the

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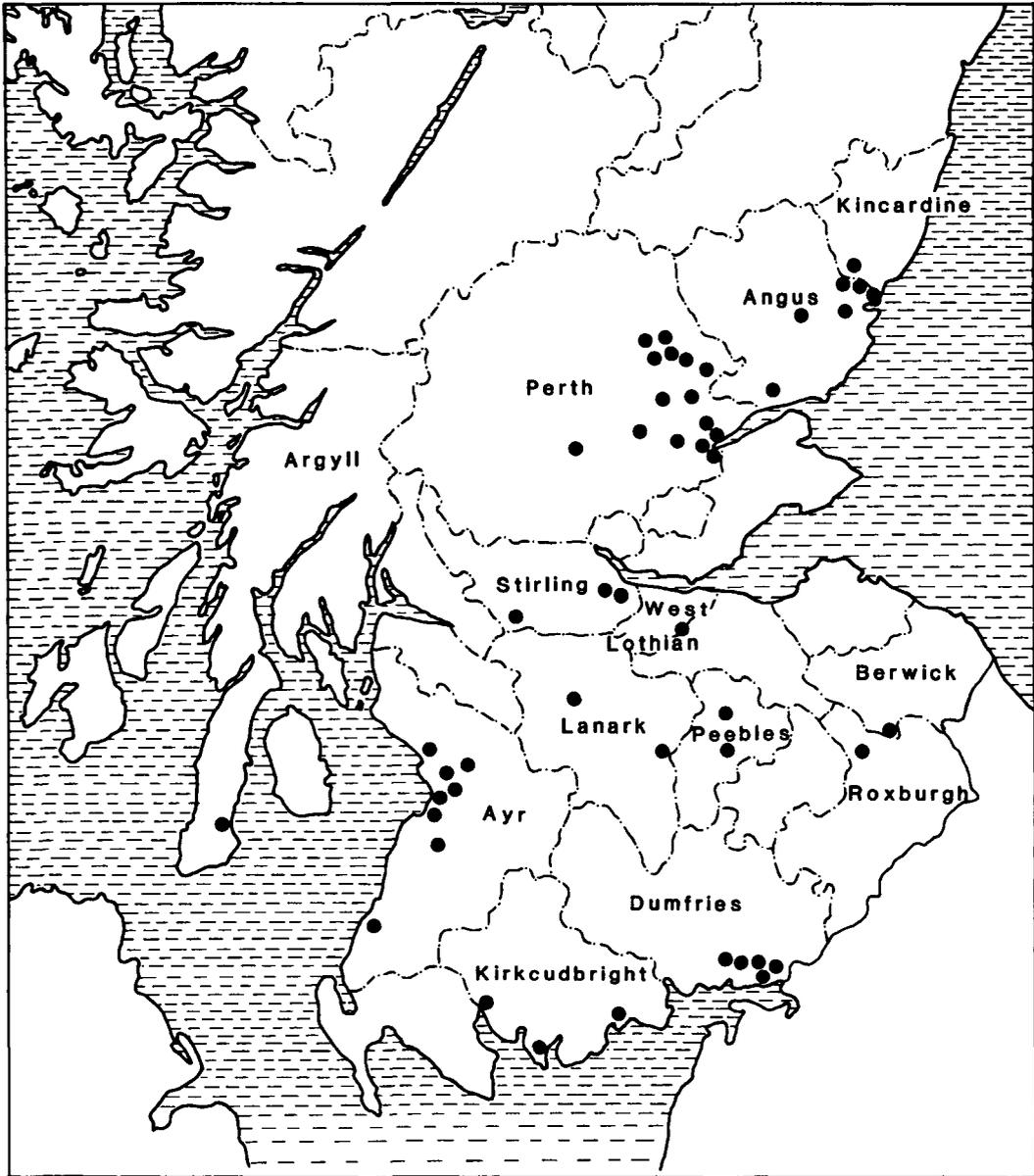
deceased, and the death's head, the selected condensed symbol for death. In addition it was permissible and popular to display emblems of the appropriate trade, and to decorate the monument with motifs taken from Renaissance art and architecture, such as volutes, cartouches and pediments. The stones in the kirkyards were cut by local masons, who were usually employed in other types of mason work; only rarely, in places where demand was high, did masons specialize and serve customers in several parishes. Carved kirkyard monuments are found in England, Northern Ireland, New England, in the Protestant areas of Germany, as well as in Scotland; in other Reformed countries, such as Switzerland and The Netherlands, the practice has been to remove or recut old stones regularly, so few monuments of this kind have survived.

In addition to the emblems, English and Scottish masons in the 18th century carved biblical scenes on memorials along with relevant texts from the scriptures, or with rhyming epitaphs. The masons very rarely signed their work, but many of the cutters in England and New England have been identified. Such research has yet to be done in Scotland, where the distinctive style of an 18th-century cutter may be recognized in two or three adjacent parishes. A signature was probably not considered necessary, for the mason would be known locally.

By far the most popular type of monument was the headstone. An agreement between mason and customer would decide upon the type of memorial: the shape, the decoration, and the emblems selected from the range. In Scotland and New England (and in some regions of England), the local mason used all the possible permutations in order to give each family a unique stone. These carvings were part of a widespread tradition. At the seminar on New England Folk Life, held in Dublin (USA) in 1978, one of the principal themes which ran through the papers was whether early American gravestone art can be construed as folk art. There were the usual associations between crude technique and folk provenance, but Lance Meyer argued, from his study of Connecticut Valley gravestones, that the carvers were part of a larger folk tradition because they shared a vocabulary of 'plebeian' motifs used by folk and native artists everywhere, particularly in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries (Meyer 1978).

SCOTLAND

Carved stones appear in areas where a level of prosperity in the local population created a demand; where there was a local source for stone which was suitable for cutting, and a mason capable of carrying out such work. In his papers on kirkyard memorials in the Lowlands, David Christison recorded 24 with scenes of Adam and Eve carved on them (Christison 1902; 1905). The present writer has recorded a further 34. Their distribution stretches from Kincardineshire in the north-east and through most of the southern counties, as far south-west as Kirkcudbright. Such is the loss of stones from our graveyards that it is likely there were many others. One of the most distinctive characteristics of headstone monuments in Scotland is that it was usual to carve them on both faces, and this gave more space for these biblical scenes. Most of the scenes are on headstones, the dates of which range from 1696 to 1799. However, as can be seen from the map (illus 1), there are certain areas where Adam and Eve scenes do not appear. In the Lothians, where 18th-century stones are heavily carved, the preferred biblical scene was that of the Sower and the Harvester ('As ye sow so shall ye reap'). In Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire and Stirlingshire (excepting Polmont and Holy Rude, Stirling), kirkyard monuments are relatively plain. In addition, in all of these counties and in Clackmannanshire, Kinross and west Fife, there was a tradition from the 17th century of setting up stones to identify lairs which had been bought. Such 'marker' stones are often plain, with only initials and dates, and such legends as 'Holds three lairs' and 'This is the property of —'. Among them may be found a minority of 'monument' stones, usually set up to



ILLUS 1 The distribution of Adam and Eve scenes on kirkyard monuments in the Lowlands

people of importance. Travelling from west to east the ratio of 'monument' to 'marker' increases, as does the incidence of carvings. A 'marker' was set up when the lairs were purchased; a 'monument' was set up after the death of a family member, and full information was inscribed and the stone embellished with carvings.

Why was the subject of the Fall of Man so popular in Scotland? It is certainly in line with the

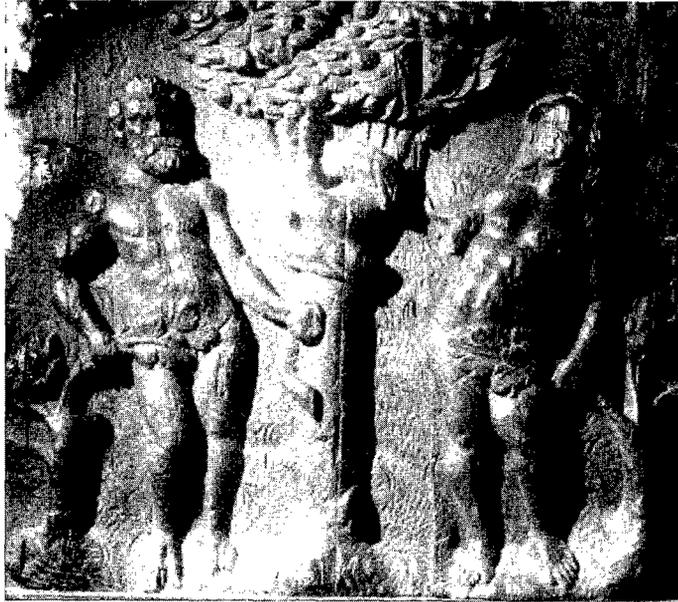
other messages which the graveyard carvings convey. *Memento Mori* is the most usual inscription; epitaphs and emblems and scenes all warn that death is inevitable, but for those who seek grace, that indestructible part of man, the soul, may attain a place in Heaven. Religious fervour was stronger in 17th- and 18th-century Scotland than in England, and great stress was laid on sin, death and the Resurrection. So it is not surprising that there were constant reminders of original sin, of the Temptation by the Devil, of the fall of Adam and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. God did not intend that there should be death; death and suffering was brought about by Adam's fall. A typical epitaph runs:

By Adam's sin death enter'd in
 All mankind to Devour
 Who to this day will still away
 Be subject to the power.

There is reference to Christ as 'the second Adam'; through His death he set man free, giving to him the chance of salvation. The portrayals of Adam and Eve in Paradise, of the Temptation and the Fall, and of the Expulsion are reminders and warnings. The winged souls on these stones are messages of hope. In addition, the scene carved may have been a bulwark to strengthen faith which



ILLUS 2 Detail of the Farnell Pictish stone,
 Montrose Museum



ILLUS 3 Detail of chest in Rosslyn Chapel, Midlothian

was wavering in the face of the loss of loved ones, in particular of children. The scene was a reminder that Death was not the fault of God. Dates of death on a third of the stones are indecipherable; of the dated ones, 19 were erected in memory of children – a significant proportion.

Christison (1902, 328) refers to earlier carvings of such scenes; for example on a Celtic cross on Iona, and on the Pictish stone which was removed from its site at Farnell, Angus, and set up in Montrose Museum (illus 2). This has recently been repaired and cleaned: two dumpy figures standing on either side of the tree may have served as models centuries later, but the two huge serpents making a frame to the picture were not copied. From a much later date, Christison gives an illustration (1902, 339) of the ceiling of the Skelmorlie Aisle, built and painted for Lord Montgomery of Skelmorlie in 1636–8, in the old church at Largs. Although many carvings and paintings in churches were effaced after the Reformation, some may have survived long enough for their iconography to be copied, and may have contained scenes of the Temptation and Fall. There were other examples of the familiar scene readily to hand: in illustrated bibles and religious books, in school primers, in chapbooks, on funeral broadsheets, on pottery and on furniture. Illus 3 shows the scene on a Flemish bog-oak chest in Rosslyn Chapel. Traditionally Adam stood left of the tree (to the onlooker) and Eve on the right (ie Eve was on Adam's left). The serpent appeared coiled up the tree trunk, emerging with its head looking down at Eve. Perhaps from diffidence the mason usually carved fig-leaf aprons, although if the scene is of the Temptation before Adam ate the apple, this is, strictly speaking, anachronistic.

ENGLAND

In England, churchyard memorials with scenes of Adam and Eve were identified by Frederick Burgess (1963). They were carved by two late 18th-century schools of masons, one

based in Suffolk, Kent and Essex, the other in the West Midlands, in villages around Evesham. These stones were signed, as was more often the case in England at the turn of the 18th century. Three biblical subjects appear to be common to both England and Scotland: the Sacrifice of Isaac; the Fall and the Redemption; and the Expulsion from Paradise. The last two, which fall into the general category of Adam and Eve scenes, are on gravestones at South Littleton (1804), Child's Wickham (near Evesham) and at Church Langton (Leics) 1777. The Church Langton scene shows Adam and Eve dressed in leafy skirts standing either side of the tree with the serpent coiled round it. Adam stands slightly higher than Eve and is on the left of the tree as we look at it. An angel admonishes them while Death directs his dart at Adam, below a figure of the risen Christ. Adam and Eve face away from us but their heads are turned to look at the serpent. The scene is very small and at the top centre of a tall stone; it is charmingly set in flowing arabesques. Burgess describes the carvings of this school of masons as 'sumptuous'; their work is sophisticated compared with that in Adam and Eve scenes on Scottish stones, where the cutters were parish masons (or may even have worked in some other trade, such as that of wright).

NORTH AMERICA

Three scenes on memorial stones in North America, which have been described and illustrated by Deborah Trask (1978), closely resemble the work of Scottish masons. Exemplifying the strength of this tradition of carving, they are as follows:

(1) ST PAUL'S CEMETERY, HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA Mary Freke Bulkeley, end panel of tablestone. This shows Adam and Eve on either side of the tree, but here Eve is standing on the left (to the onlooker). The two are alike in appearance with short bob hair styles, and wearing what resemble 'swimming trunks'. Adam and Eve face forward, with their feet turned inwards towards each other. Adam holds an apple in each hand; Eve has one in her right hand, and seems to be taking another from the serpent, which is in exactly the same position as in most of the Scottish stones. Trask reproduces an illustration from *The Child's Guide* (1725) of an Adam and Eve scene similar to that on the Bulkeley stone.

(2) CATHOLIC BURIAL GROUND, SPRING GARDEN ROAD, HALIFAX, 1795, no name. This is surely by the same cutter as the Bulkeley stone, but here Eve is on our right, the usual stance in Scotland. With her right hand she takes an apple from the serpent. Eve has long hair, and she and Adam wear similar apparel to that on the previous stone.

(3) BRISTOL, RHODE ISLAND, 1767, Sarah Swann (illus 46). Both figures are clad in short leafy aprons; again Eve is on the left to the onlooker, and is about to take an apple from the serpent which is hanging downwards round the trunk, as at Biggar in Lanarkshire. Inscribed on either side of this scene is 'For as in Adam all die, so even in Christ shall all be made alive'. The carving has been attributed to the mason Stephen Hartshorn (Luti 1983).

A CAUSE FOR CONCERN

As in America, the Adam and Eve scenes in our kirkyards form a distinctive collection of Scottish folk art sculpture, reflecting the religious philosophies of the 17th and 18th centuries, and their social history. These stones are only a part of the valuable art collection which survives in the graveyards of every parish. The importance of churchyard memorials has been recognized in those States of the USA where such mason work is to be found. There, the Association for Gravestone Studies has been the inspiration and guide to local groups to record graveyards, to put them in order, resetting loose and tilted stones, and recovering those which have been removed; the

Association also acts as a pressure group to bring about the introduction of state laws which make encroachment on cemeteries illegal, and which impose severe penalties on vandalism and the theft of stones. Historians and art historians, among others, have carried out a considerable amount of research. Here in Scotland, various local societies have made complete recordings of graveyards. Even so, a local authority recently gave permission for an old churchyard (in Paisley) to be turned into a car park, despite objections. The move to turn churchyards into 'gardens' is also a threatening one. Builders are interested in developing neglected city cemeteries in which there is some fine work by 19th-century sculptors.

Staring us in the face is the fact that most of the stones have a short future, as the carvings and inscriptions are flaking. Some of the stones recorded by Christison (or by earlier writers) have disappeared. There is constant loss. Through an annual grant from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and at the request of RCAHMS, the writer and Doreen Hunter and Jess Nelson have made sample records of the best carved stones in each parish in the Lowlands (excepting Aberdeenshire and Renfrewshire). The photographs are held in the National Monuments Record.

In 1901, Christison, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, strongly recommended that the unique Faith, Hope and Charity stone in Greyfriars, Perth, be taken into a museum. Ninety years on, all plans have been agreed to set up a small museum, opening onto the graveyard, to contain that special stone and a representative sample of several others. It will be done as soon as money is available. The same measure could be taken in other graveyards, using an adapted watch-house or mort-house, or a shed, as at Abdie, Fife. A simpler method to protect a stone *in situ* would be to erect a small roof over the top of it, as rain followed by frost causes flaking. Where stones lie against the kirkyard dyke, and the carvings on the face are thus hidden, it might be considered feasible to select one or two for preservation in the church porch, in the church itself, or in the local museum. In the USA an increasing number of fibreglass models are being made for museums, or to stand in the place of the original stone which goes to the local museum. Funds for this are raised by local groups. Scotland should take note. Our District Councils should be made aware of the significance of gravestones, and they should not agree to their removal from graveyards. If local societies can record churchyard monuments at least there will be data for further research and for the management of this part of our heritage.

GAZETTEER

There follow descriptions of Adam and Eve stones, quoting as appropriate from Christison. The stones are grouped geographically, broadly from north-east to south-west, and where convenient chronologically. In some cases where the stones have deteriorated, drawings have been made by Rex Russell. I have been unable to find the stones reported at Farnell, Angus, at Tarbolton and Dunlop in Ayrshire, and at Dalbeattie (Kirkpatrick-Juxta).

ANGUS, PERTHSHIRE & KINCARDINESHIRE

DUN & TANNADICE (ANGUS); CARGILL (PERTHSHIRE)

Dun (1), †1696, James Erskine aged 28 and Agnes Burn aged 25. On the long panel of a tablestone are incised the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac accompanying that of the Fall of Man. Adam and Eve stand under a



ILLUS 4 Dun, Angus, †1699, Robert Paterson



ILLUS 5 Tannadice, 1715, fragment built into wall

tree with thin stick-like branches bearing apples (not unlike the tree in *illus 2*). They face outward in rigid stances, and an active serpent presents an apple to Eve. This scene is half hidden, and the carving is worn.

Dun (2), †1699, Robert Paterson aged 48 and his wife Margaret (*illus 4*). On the end panel of a chest tomb, we have a close-knit symmetrical tree with roots, and Eve passing an apple to Adam's outstretched hand.



ILLUS 6 Cargill, Perthshire, no name, no date



ILLUS 7 Logie-Pert, Angus, 1742, John Prestack

Each has placed the outer hand on the stomach. It is interesting that masons often put the hands thus – as if to indicate (as in a comic strip) the anticipated relish.

These are two of the three earliest recorded Adam and Eve stones.

Tannadice (illus 5). This stone, now built into the wall of a house near the churchyard, has been re-used; it bears the words AS IN ADAM'S FALL WE SINNED ALL 1715. The mason may have been the cutter of Dun (2), or may have been influenced by that depiction.

Cargill, no date (illus 6). This is a loose panel lying on the ground; there is also a panel with a carving of the Sacrifice of Isaac. The rendering is similar to the Paterson scene at Dun, but Eve has long hair.

LOGIE-PERT & STRACATHRO (ANGUS); FETTERCAIRN (KINCARDINESHIRE)

Logie-Pert (1), 1742, John Prestack aged 72 and Margaret Scott aged 56 (illus 7). Christison (1902, 313–14. fig 32):

As if to typify the readiness of Adam to accept the fatal gift, one arm with open palm is stretched towards Eve. A rose springs from Eve's right and Adam's left ankle, and on the outer side of each figure a conventional but elegantly foliated single-stemmed rose tree with a large flower at the top completes the design.

The roses are significant; they stand for Perfection and therefore for Paradise. The mason who carved all the stones in this group, and many others in the area, embellished his scenes with roses, often a single rose or a lily springing from a plant pot. The figures on his stones are delightful: small-bodied with short legs and very square shoulders, large-eyed, and with neat hair, in a rope, coil or long or short bob. At the top of the legs, a curved line, like the bottom of a vest, avoids embarrassing details.

Logie-Pert (2), tablestone support, loose and no date, not seen by us. Christison (1902, 314–15, fig 33):

The serpent descends the tree but with no apple in its mouth, and our first parents stand with hands clasped in front as if still able to resist the tempter's wily tongue. Above Eve . . . is inscribed HOMO DAMNAVIT.

Adam and Eve have similar hair-styles, and their feet are turned inwards to the tree.

Logie-Pert (3), †1743, Anna Annandal aged 29 (illus 8). Christison (1902, 313, fig 31) describes this: 'Adam and Eve in primitive innocence, appear to be walking in the Garden of Eden.' It may be the monument to the



ILLUS 8 Logie-Pert, Angus, †1743, Anna Annandal



ILLUS 9 Stracathro, Angus, †1730, Margaret Will (drawn by Rex Russell)

wife of the cutter of these five stones; he was James Annandal who died in 1754 aged 65. The shield on the other side of this, their family stone, carries the mason's tools of trade. Identical square-shouldered figures are clad in bikini-like pants. Each rests one hand on the stomach and holds up a rose in the other hand. A huge lily growing in a pot is placed in the centre of the scene.

Stracathro, †1730, Margaret Will aged 59 (illus 9). Reid (1914, 300, fig 11) describes this stone which was then in poor condition, mended by a metal clamp. We meet the wide-eyed gaze of familiar figures, resembling those at Logie-Pert.



ILLUS 10 Fettercairn, Kincardine, 1737, Margaret Dickie (after Christison 1902, 341)

Fettercairn, 1737, Margaret Dickie aged 75, and three infant children (illus 10). As Christison (1902, 341, figs 55 & 56) points out, the resemblance to the Prestack stone, Logie-Pert (1), is indeed striking; consider the trees, for example: at the end of each bough are two leaves with an apple between, looking like a sycamore fruit. Also note the roses springing from the ankles of Adam and Eve. Beneath is the inscription:

ADAM AND EVE BY EATING THE FORBIDDEN TREE
BROUGHT ALL MANKIND TO SIN AND MISERY.

DUNDURN NEAR COMRIE, CLUNIE & METHVEN (PERTSHIRE)

Dundurn Burial Ground, Comrie, †1729, Cathrine Dewar. Under the spreading wings of a large soul, Adam and Eve, hand in hand, walk in the Garden of Eden. Adam is on the left (facing); he has short bobbed hair, and Eve has long hair. They are clad in very short leafy aprons, and hold hands. Each grasps a lily, and two roses are carved between them. The east face of the stone bears a tree, possibly the Tree of Life.

Clunie, 1741, James Dog aged 73. This is so worn that it is impossible to distinguish more than the usual format of tree, figures and serpent.

Methven, 1748, John Watt's young children (illus 11). The mason, John Watt, who may have cut the stone, stands above the scene, wearing his mason's apron, his tools with freemason emblems displayed in the shield. The style of the carving does not match with any of the other scenes. The figures are dumpy and the heads seem to be fixed to the bodies, with no necks; short pants are worn. The tree, with long thin branches and tiny apples, is not unlike that on the Erskine stone, Dun (1). While the snake proffers the apple temptingly, Adam and Eve seem to be doubtful and pondering, each with hand to chin. As often occurs, the scene is set so that the figures and tree stand on a ledge. Here we find the only epitaph which places the blame directly on Eve:

All.ye. people .that.pas.by
on.thes.ston.youl.cast.your.ey
This.was.the.way.that.sin.began
woman.she.beckoned .unto.man



ILLUS 11 Methven, Perthshire, 1748, John Watt's children



ILLUS 12 St Martin, Perthshire, †1750, Janet Mitchell

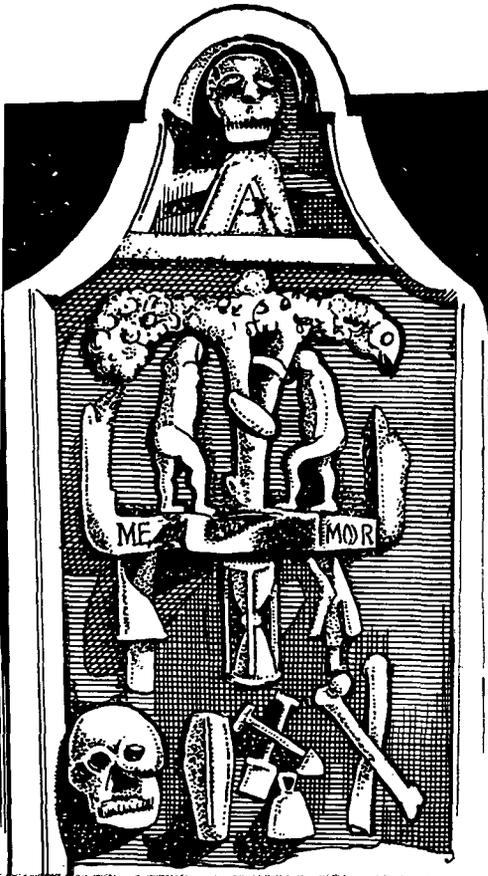
COLLACE, ST MARTIN & LOGIEALMOND (PERTHSHIRE); LUNDIE (ANGUS)

Collace, 1742, John Gardner aged 66, tablestone panel. The figures face inwards, in the same positions as at St Martin (see below), and may be by the same cutter.

St Martin †1750, Janet Ritchy spouse to James Mitchell aged 20, and their children who died young (illus 12). This rendering is different from any so far described: the figures are presented sideways and facing inward to the tree and to each other; each places a hand over the private parts. But their faces are turned towards us, and wear guilty, anxious expressions. The serpent holds an apple immediately above Eve's head. The open books are inscribed (in Latin) 'For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' The scroll below bears the words *FATE MANENT OMNES*.

Logiealmond, 1764, James Nockel (age not decipherable) (illus 13). The mason here seems to have used the St Martin scene as a model, but being less skilled the carving is clumsy, though striking. With an inspiration of great originality he has made the shape of the tree long and thin and undulating, with the boughs above Eve terminating in a serpent's head. The scroll is inscribed *Memento Mori*.

Lundie, 1759, the five Ritchie children (illus 14). This resembles the St Martin carving in that the figures face inwards. Adam holds an apple, and Eve stretches out a large greedy hand to the serpent which has an apple in



ILLUS 13 Logiealmond, Perthshire, 1764, James Nockel (drawn by Rex Russell)



ILLUS 14 Lundie, Angus, 1759, the Ritchie children

its mouth. Although the figures are sideways, they are supplied with leaves which are the size of fig leaves. (Many of the aprons in other scenes look as if they are made with an apple tree leaf, or anything but the useful shape of the fig-leaf.) The most interesting feature here is that the serpent's tail ends in a dart of death. The tree is fuller and more graceful than the St Martin's one. The caption is 'The Serpent beguiled me and I did eat'. On the reverse side of this stone is a carving of the Sacrifice of Isaac – the only headstone known to carry both scenes.

LITTLE DUNKELD & LOGIERAIT (PERTHSHIRE)

Little Dunkeld (1), 1744, John Burry aged 'about 60' (illus 15). Christison (1902, 341, fig 54) comments that the stone shows: 'Eve holding an apple just received from the serpent, and Adam holding out his hand as if willing to take another.' A new feature is the very long aprons (or skirts) worn by Adam and Eve.

Little Dunkeld (2), †1762, John Campbell aged 35 (illus 16). Christison (1905, 83, fig 28):

The subject is treated in a totally different manner from those formerly described. [There is] a 'Memento Mori' ribbon, above the middle of which Eve, clothed in an apron and a kind of mantle, is sitting in the background under a tree, and points to Adam, who, also wearing an apron, stands forward with one hand on his stomach and the other stretched towards the tree.



ILLUS 15 Little Dunkeld, Perthshire, 1744, John Burry



ILLUS 16 Little Dunkeld, Perthshire, †1762, John Campbell

Between them, and in front of Eve the serpent crawls along the ground towards the tree. The attitudes suggest that Eve is asking the serpent to fetch an apple for Adam, who is quite ready to receive it.

The Burry stone was reported to Christison as being at Dunkeld, and the Campbell stone as at Birnam. The two actually stand side by side in the churchyard of Little Dunkeld, which is at Birnam; it seems strange that someone would report one without the other – or were the stones at that time not sited as now? (However, only one of the four Logierait stones was reported to Christison – maybe it was thought they were identical.) As Christison says, the treatment of the John Campbell stone is ‘grotesque’, but it is amusingly in line with children’s drawings, particularly in one feature – the boughs of the tree spring from the same place at the top of the trunk, as if they were twigs in a deep vase. Some features have been copied from the Burry stone: the exceptionally long leaf aprons, Adam’s stance (except that the hands are reversed), and the form of leaves on the tree; also the full-faced skull.

Logierait (1), 1769, John McLaren aged 22 (illus 17). This small stone has a scene similar to that on the Burry stone, but is embellished with flowers and angels, and the tree is fuller and more artistic. On the reverse face there is a small head portrait in an oval frame, just as is found on the Burry stone, and the lettering seems to be by the same hand.



ILLUS 17 Logierait, Perthshire, 1769, John McLaren



ILLUS 18 Logierait, Perthshire, 1784, Margaret Connacher

LOGIERAIT, DOWALLY & LAGGANALLACHY (PERTSHIRE)

Logierait (2), 1784, Margaret Connacher aged 56 (illus 18). Christison (1902, 340–1, fig 53):

The figures stand *within an archway*, and on the arch is inscribed *THE SERPENT DECEIVED EVE*. The serpent is coiled round the tree, on either side of which stand Adam and Eve, wearing aprons of fig-leaves, and Eve displaying an apple in her hand.

Christison gives the salient features of all the stones in this group. The tree is alike in all: small, compact and composed of leaves, with six to nine apples symmetrically placed. There are slight variations from scene to scene; this is in keeping with the tradition of mason work: the objective in the customer-mason agreement was to produce a unique memorial for each family, while using a set range of subject matter. This was done by playing on permutations. So it is very rare to find two stones which are identical (except in central Scotland). This mason usually gives us figures with neat hair-styles (rope band style, long or short bobs), broad foreheads and slightly pointed chins. Adam and Eve face forward, but there are differences in the positions of their feet. The captions on the arches vary slightly. The Connacher stone was recently accidentally broken, but skilfully restored and set up facing north and south. The cleaning has revealed that Eve has been given long hair by a shock of incised lines. Was this added by the cutter at the request of the customer, and after the completion? One can imagine an argument, for the addition is not in keeping with the style of carving.

Logierait (3), 1781, Margaret McLaren and Ann Steuart, first and second wives of Peter McFarland (illus 19). Presumably Margaret died young, Ann died aged 28. The death of a third wife was added later. Here the figures are cut short at the waist, as the scene is at the bottom of the stone. The inscription is 'The Serpent Beguiled Eve'.



ILLUS 19 *Logierait*, Perthshire, 1781, Margaret McLaren and Ann Steuart



ILLUS 20 Logierait, Perthshire, 1784, William Husband's mother



ILLUS 21 Dowally, Perthshire, 1782, John and James Douglas

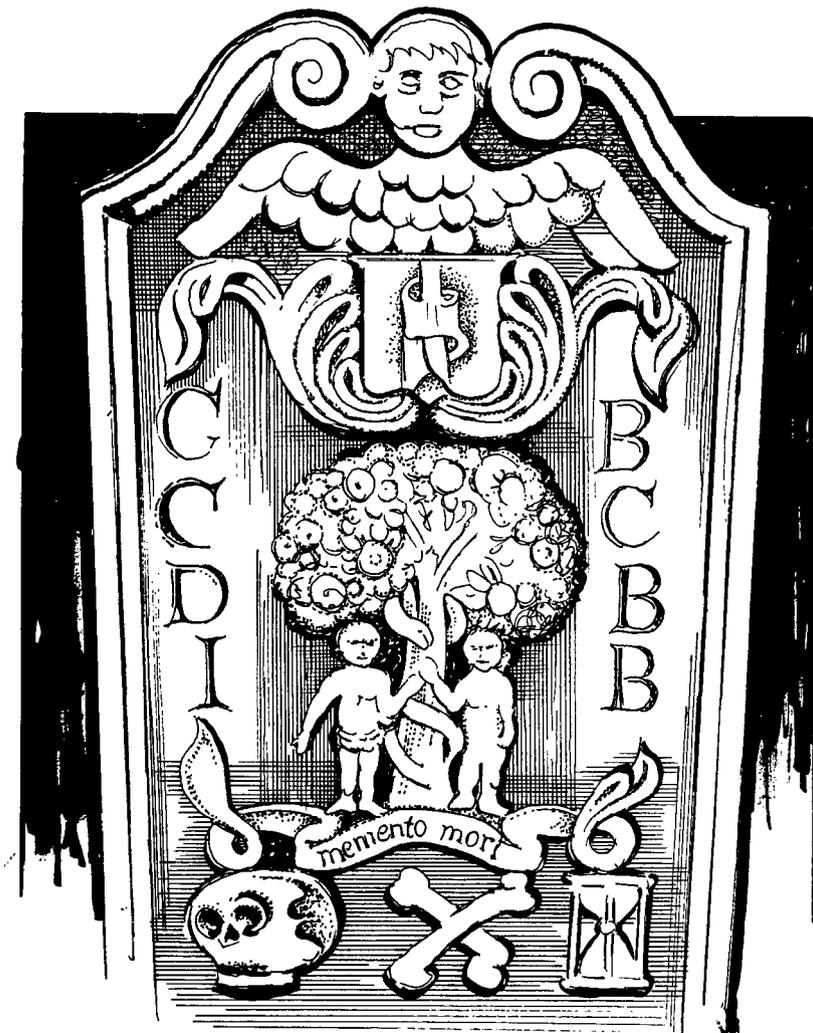
Logierait (4), 1784, William Husband's mother (no age given) and two young children (illus 20) is obviously by the same hand.

Dowally, 1782, John and James, sons of William Douglas, James aged 26 (illus 21). This resembles the Connacher stone closely and has the same caption but with a spelling mistake.

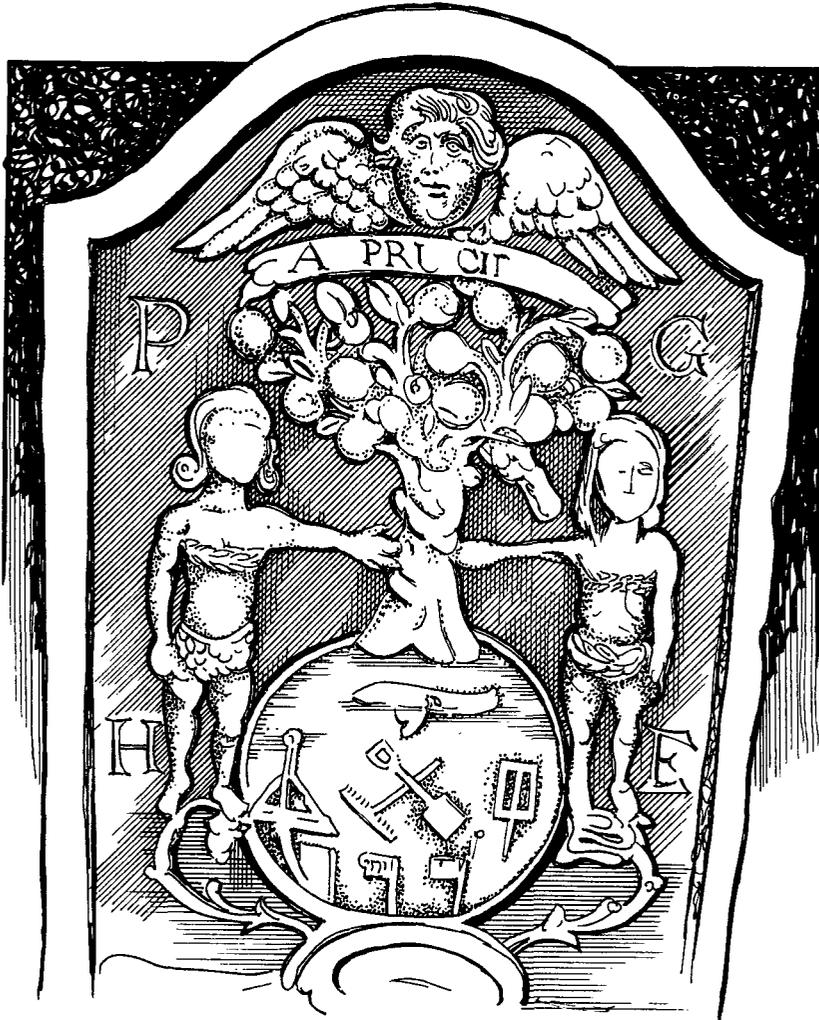
Lagganallachy, †1764, George Black aged 73 (illus 22). The tree here is similar, but the skull in the row of death emblems is not the same type as on the stones above which bear a very distinctive profile skull with rimmed eye sockets and a cranial line.

GREYFRIARS PERTH, KINFAUNS, ST MADDOES, & CAPUTH (PERTHSHIRE)

Greyfriars Perth, 1782, John Cameron and Janet McLaren, the parents of Daniel Cameron, gardener (illus



ILLUS 22 *Lagganallachy*, Perthshire, †1764, George Black (drawn by Rex Russell)



ILLUS 23 Greyfriars Burial Ground, Perthshire, 1782, John Cameron and Janet McLaren (drawn by Rex Russell)

23). The unusual feature is that the tree springs from a globe of the world, on which are inscribed the usual tools of the gardener – spade, rake, measuring reel – and something not seen elsewhere: two marker flags. The Adam and Eve figures are attractive, and tree and serpent well formed; the monument is of red sandstone and, standing under a tree, is deteriorating fast.

Kinfauns, 1782, the parents of James Morrison, gardener. Here we have two almost identical stones, cut by the same mason.

St Madoes, †1785, Gilbert Layell aged 55 (illus 24). Although in the parish adjacent to Kinfauns, it was probably the work of a mason who cut his own family stone at Kinnaird; both are of red sandstone, and each has an identical depiction of Father Time. But here at St Madoes he sits on top of the oval frame which holds the Adam and Eve scene. The tree is composed of a staggering array of very small apples and, parting the boughs, is an angel of a very primitive cut.



ILLUS 24 St Madoes, Perthshire, †1785, Gilbert Layell

Caputh, 1809, David Robertson's young children. There is simply a carving of the tree with apples and the snake coiled around it; underneath is a large-winged soul.

STIRLINGSHIRE

Falkirk, †1750, Christian Lauder. Christison (1902, 342, fig 57):

Eve receiving an apple from the serpent in the tree, and apparently handing another across its stem to Adam. They both wear girdles of fig leaves. The roots of the tree spring from a thigh bone.

This is a superior and pleasing carving; the tools of Christian Lauder's husband, Thomas Leishman, gardener, are shown in the side panels and under the scene of the Fall of Man. The stone disappeared from Falkirk, either before the clearance of the graveyard, or at the time; many of the stones were used for bottoming at Polmont.

Polmont (1), 1796, IS IG (illus 25). This stone is loose and is propped up against the north kirkyard dyke beyond the church. It is not possible to see the inscription face further than the date 1796. This surely must be the work of the cutter of the Christian Lauder stone (1750), but it is an unusually long date gap. The design of the face has been varied, so that the roses and tools are in different positions, but all the ingredients and the style of presentation tally. It is possible that this stone was cut between 1750 and 1775 and not used until 1796.



ILLUS 25 Polmont, Stirlingshire, 1796, IS IG



ILLUS 26 Polmont, Stirlingshire, 1754, TS EC



ILLUS 27 Campsie, Stirlingshire, 1799, GC AMcF

There is a splendid array of carved stones at Polmont and it may be that the three gardeners' stones were the work of Robert Hart who erected a monument to his young children in 1766, and died in 1775; this monument has naked Adam and Eve supporters, clad in leafy sashes which end in large fronds.

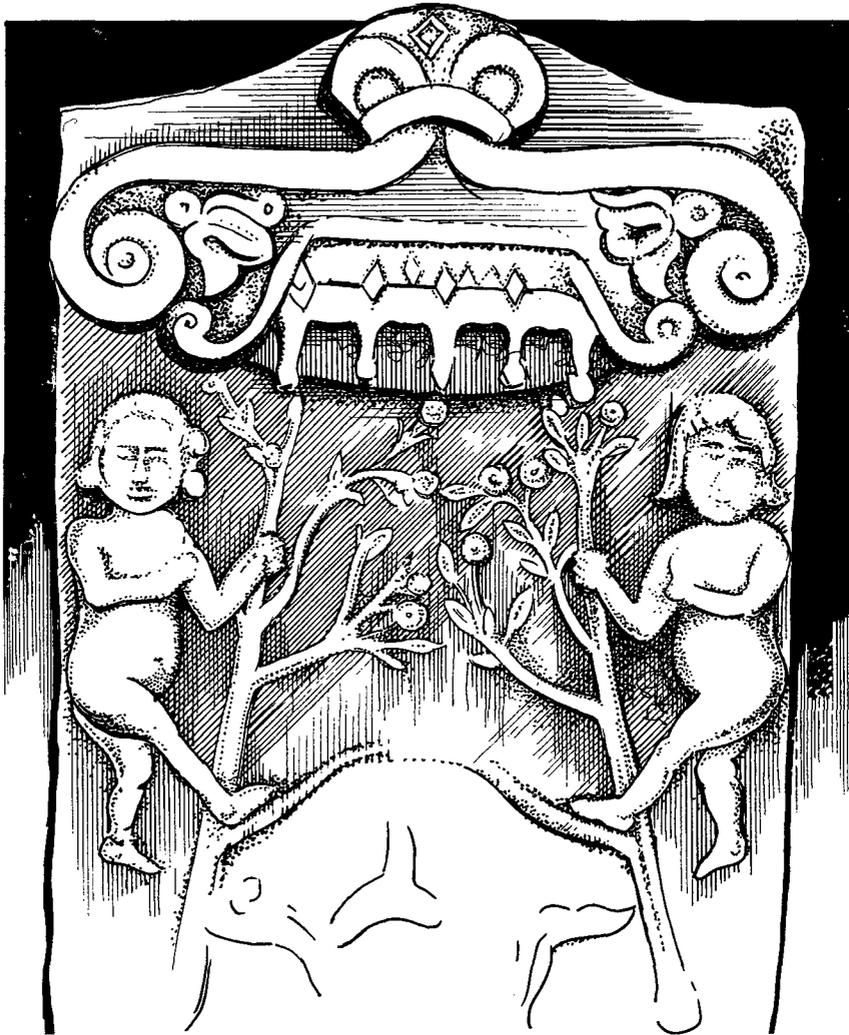
Polmont (2), 1754, TS EC (illus 26), and a revised inscription. It was a custom to take over a stone and inscribe a revised date and inscription. Fortunately the original date was left in this case. This is the third of the group. All bear the inscription 'Solomon in all his Glory was not arrayed like one of these'.

Campsie (1), 1799, GC AMcF (illus 27). On the main panel of this small stone a book is set over a winged soul, and on either side two dumpy figures with leaf aprons, outer hands placed on stomachs and inner hands touching the tips of the soul's wings. On the open book is inscribed 'GEN. 3.8 & JOB 2.26'.

Campsie (2), 1799, GC AMcF. This is a variation of the above stone, with a different soul, striated pilasters, crossbones and skull. To mark the second family lair, another stone was set up, a feature of Stirlingshire graveyards.

ARGYLLSHIRE

Kilchouland, 1720 (illus 28). This stone was reported by Robert Rodgers (1983). Adam and Eve are depicted as if climbing in the boughs of trees – an extraordinary and a very pleasing picture, perhaps representing their freedom in Paradise.



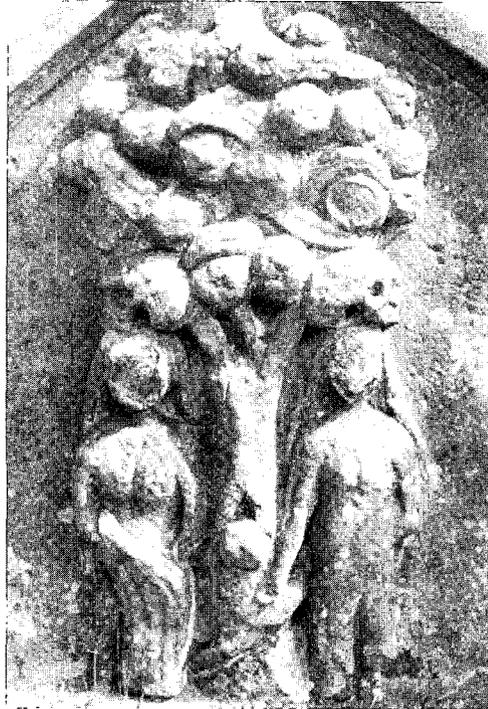
ILLUS 28 Kilchousland, Argyllshire, 1720 (drawn by Rex Russell)

LANARKSHIRE, WEST LOTHIAN, PEEBLESSHIRE

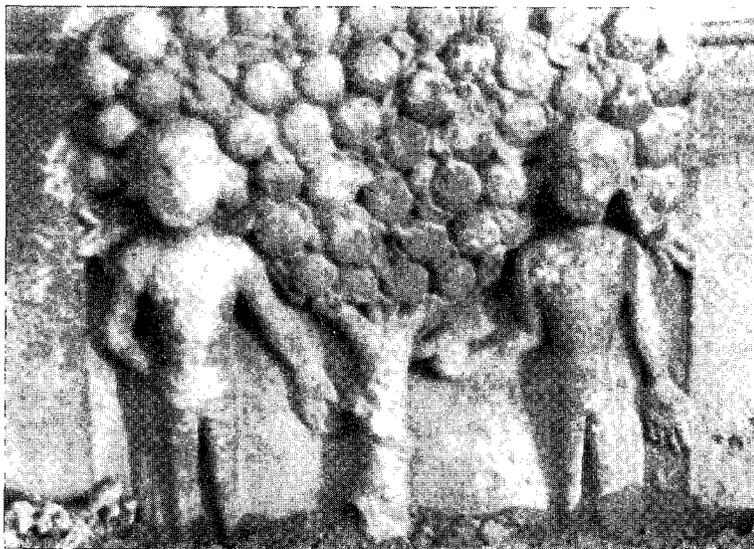
Biggar, Lanarkshire, †1713, Bertram aged 28 (illus 29). Christison (1902, 343, fig 58):

The treatment . . . has the peculiarity that Eve is nude while Adam wears a loincloth, . . . and that the apples immediately above their heads take the form of skulls.

In my photograph it looks as though Eve has a drape by her left leg. She holds her left hand in a concealing position. The appearance of skulls and doves is a feature of scenes on stones in Kirkcudbright and Ayrshire. The tree is composed entirely of large apples and leaves that resemble bananas. Both Adam and Eve have long hair, and the serpent is in a new position: apple in mouth, it hangs upside down on the tree trunk. Gazing ahead, Eve rather furtively holds her right hand ready at her side.



ILLUS 29 Biggar, Lanarkshire, †1713, –
Bertram



ILLUS 30 Uphall, West Lothian, †1733, James Reid

Hamilton, Lanarkshire, 1717, James Telfer. A report by John Traynor (Ardrossan) says:

The stone is about 20 in. (0.5 m) high with ADAM and EVE carved above the figures themselves. As you face the stone both figures (Eve virtually obliterated apart from the head) are to the right of the tree.



ILLUS 31 Lyne, Peeblesshire, 1712, Janet Veitch

Uphall, West Lothian, †1733, James Reid aged 49, tablestone end panel (illus 30). Christison (1902, 343, fig 59):

It is remarkable for the extraordinary load of large apples. Both figures have cloaks or drapes: again Eve takes the apple from the snake, and Adam stretches out a greedy hand.

The drapes are like sashes.

Lyne, Peeblesshire, 1712, Janet Veitch aged 16 (illus 31). Christison (1902, 344, figs 60 & 61):

The treatment of Eve is exceptional, as she faces the tree and seems to stretch her left hand towards the serpent which seems to be licking it, while she takes a huge apple bigger than her head from the tree with her right. Both she and Adam wear skirts or aprons, and her flowing hair is elaborately dressed.

This small scene is at the top of the panel and to protect it a transparent covering has been put on it. It is in excellent condition. The accompanying text is:

LIFE IS THE ROAD TO DEATH
 AND DEATH HEAVEN'S GATE MUST BE,
 HEAVEN IS THE THRONE OF CHRIST
 AND CHRIST IS LIFE TO ME.

ROXBURGHSHIRE & BERWICKSHIRE

Bowden, Roxburghshire, †1697, Basil Bonitone, in the hollow of a pediment of a tablestone. Alan Reid (1909, 63–4, fig 11) describes this tiny carving; the figures are 4½ in. (113 mm) high, the breadth of the grouping is 4¾ in. (117 mm), and the tree is 6½ in. (166 mm) high. This is a compact tree with a mass of apples. Adam leans forward and is turned towards Eve, an arm outstretched. Eve (rather strangely) has both her hands lifted to her left.

Dryburgh Abbey Graveyard, Berwickshire, 1745, William Pringle aged 69 and Agnes Guldilock aged 75 (illus 32). Christison (1902, 345 and fig 62):

This example is more artistic, the figures being well proportioned and the tree more like a tree. Eve has her hand on her head as if in doubt.



ILLUS 32 Dryburgh Abbey, Berwickshire, 1745, William Pringle and Agnes Guldilock

The frame of Jacobean scrollwork, the stylized leaves and a rose above help to make this an elegant scene. This is one of the rare occasions when Adam and Eve are naked yet face forward. The stone is loose and has been taken into the Abbey ruins for protection.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT & STRAITON (AYRSHIRE)

At Kells in Kirkcudbright there are four early stones with similar depictions of the Fall, all by the mason who cut the stone at Straiton in Ayrshire. The characteristics are pleasingly plump-limbed childish figures who wear girdles of leaves, Eve with flowing hair, Adam with thick parted locks. The tree is composed of stubby boughs bearing leaves and small apples. In the trees there are carvings of the skull and the dove. The serpent has a small undifferentiated head and long sinuous coils.

Straiton, 1705, John and Agnes Mure and their children (illus 33). The top part of the stone bears a shield with flowing sprigs of greenery above and on either side. The shield seems to sit on top of a very small tree, out of which pokes the small head of a serpent. Adam and Eve's hands meet over the top of the tree as she gives him the apple. Each rests outer hand on hip.

Kells (1), 1706, the McNaught children (illus 34). This portrayal is similar to that in the Straiton scene, but here Eve holds the apple in her left hand, and she and Adam hold hands awkwardly, in a furtive exchange of the apple. Note the differences in the positions of the feet in these two scenes, and that in the Kells scene Adam and Eve stand on bones.



ILLUS 33 Straiton, Ayrshire, 1705, John and Agnes Mure



ILLUS 34 Kells, Kirkcudbright, 1706, the McNaught children



ILLUS 35 Kells, Kirkcudbright, 1707, Agnes Herese



ILLUS 36 Kells, Kirkcudbright, 1702, Margaret Jardine (drawn by Rex Russell)

Kells (2), 1707, Agnes Herese and nine infant children (illus 35). This stone is in good condition. A dove surmounts the tree, and a large skull, turned inwards and sideways, looms over Eve's head. Adam hangs on to a bough as if to hold himself back from sin.

Kells (3), 1718, Annable Chambers. This is almost the same as the Herese scene, but the tympanum is more steeply domed, the skull has been inserted between Eve's body and the tree trunk (instead of above her), and on Adam's left side is a bone. The stone is broken in three places.

Kells (4), 1702, Margaret Jardine and two children (illus 36). On this small stone by the same cutter we have only the apple tree with the serpent coiled round it, and a skull above.

Kirkandrews, †1790, the McMonies children (illus 37). This stone is obscured. It is difficult to distinguish Resurrection scenes (in which the dead rise naked from the grave) from those which portray Adam and Eve without apple tree and serpent. Here (and at Alva Old, Clackmannan, on a slab dated 1700) the two figures cover their private parts as if ashamed. It is possible that the one at Alva is intended to be Adam and Eve, but the Kirkandrews one is so similar to two other scenes on headstones at Borgue and at St Johns Dalry, Kirkcudbright – both Resurrection scenes – that it leads one to think that this depiction is such. The marked difference in heights, and the fact that the taller figure stands on a skull and the other on a coffin, point to their representing William McMonies who died on 25 March 1790 aged five years and his sister Mary who died two days later aged one year.



ILLUS 37 Kirkandrews, Kirkcudbright, †1790, the McMonies children



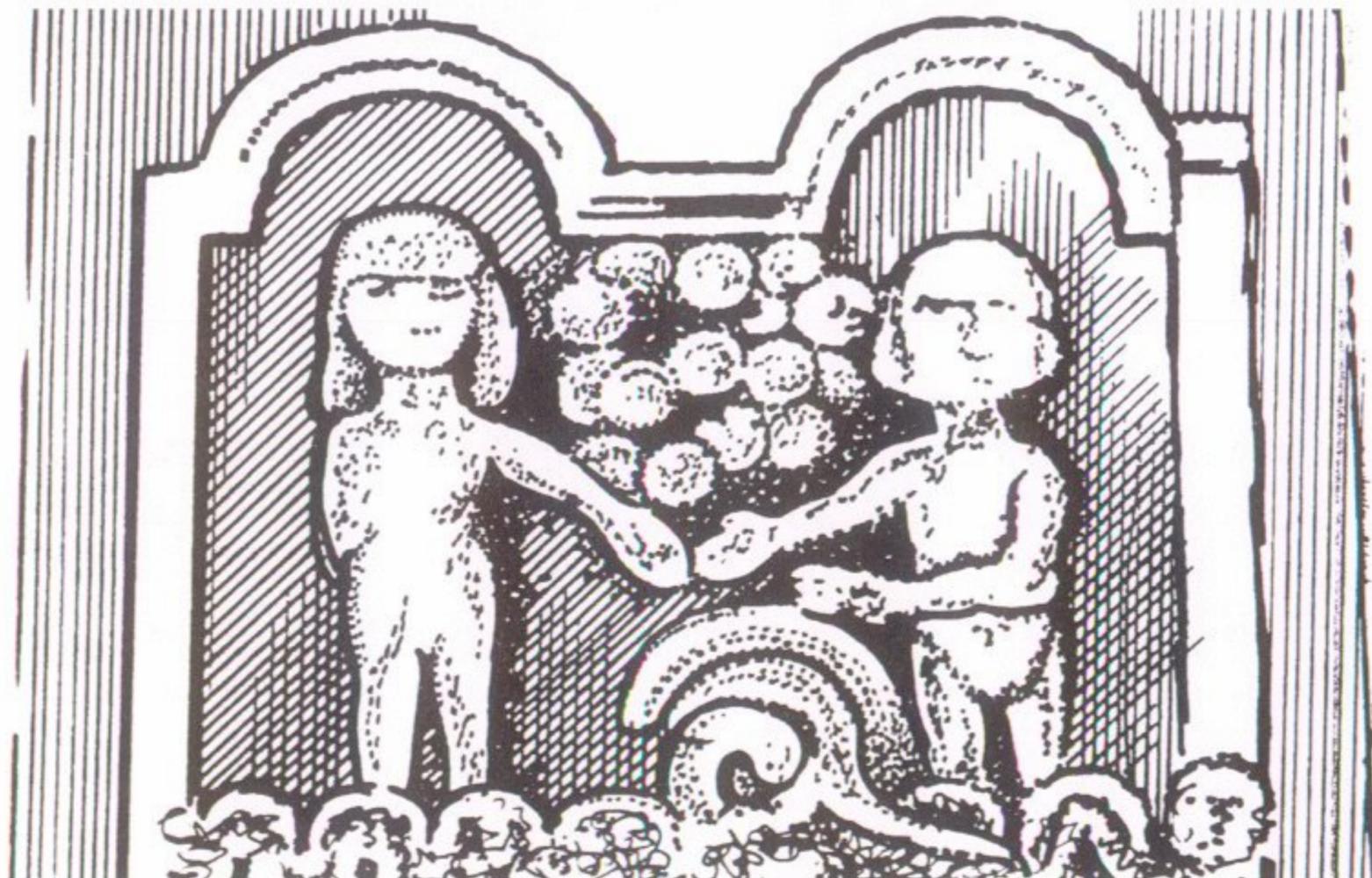
ILLUS 38 Tundergarth, Dumfriesshire, †1711, James Johnston

DUMFRIESSHIRE

Tundergarth, †1711, James Johnston aged 39 (illus 38). This very tiny scene at the bottom of the stone face has an almost token tree; huge leaves sprout from a centre and alternate with apples. Adam and Eve hold their outside hands behind their backs and their inner hands towards the tree and each other.



ILLUS 39 St Mungo, Dumfriesshire, †1737, John Bell



ILLUS 40 Kirkconnel, Dumfriesshire, 1768, William Garioch (drawn by Rex Russell)

St Mungo, †1737, John Bell aged 71 (illus 39). The scene is in the same style as on the above stone and also has a tiny tree, and the snake seems to be delivering another apple into Eve's hand. The figures wear small drooping pants. The serpent is coiled round the base of the tree, its head at the level of Eve's waist, and is turned towards her.

HERE STAND ADAM & / EVE TREE AND ALL
WHICH BY HIS FALL / WE WERE MADE
SINNERS ALL

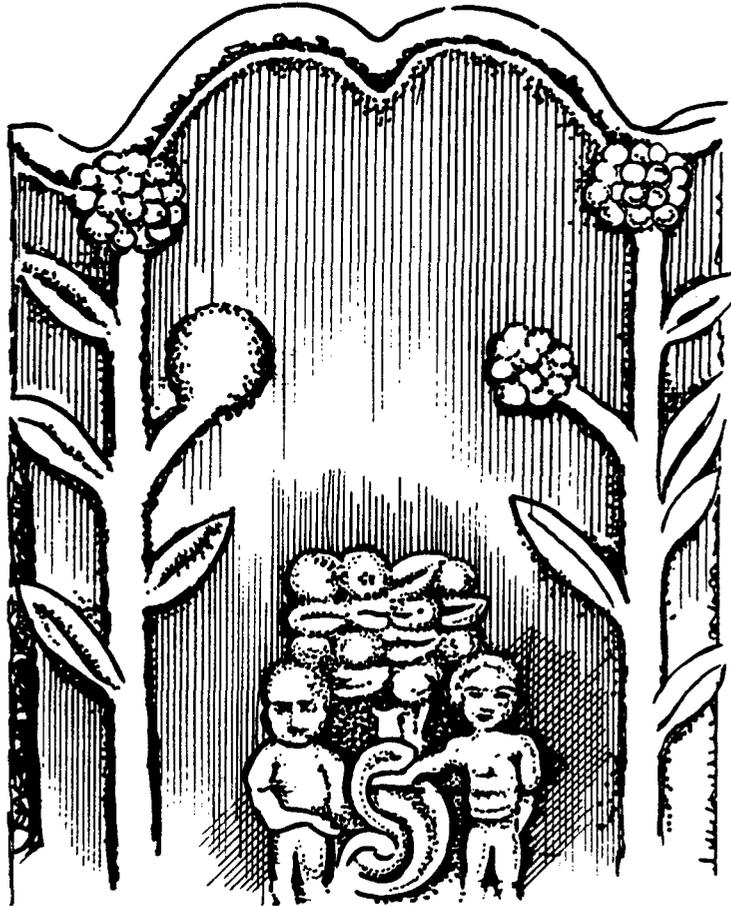
Portraits of John Bell, his spouse Janet Irving and a child surround the shield which bears three bells.

Kirkconnel, 1768 William Garioch (illus 40), tablestone support. Christison (1902, 345–6, fig 63):

Across the stem [of the tree] Eve's right hand nearly meets Adam's left, but no apple is to be seen either there, or where Eve's other hand touches the serpent's mouth.

This resembles the relationship between Eve and the serpent on the Little Dunkeld (2) stone, and the scene at Lyne. The serpent is in dreadful convolutions at the base of the tree.

Repentance, †1768, George Douglas aged 100 (illus 41). Christison (1902, 347–8 and fig 64):



ILLUS 41 *Repentance*, Dumfriesshire, †1768, George Douglas (drawn by Rex Russell)

A tree with half a dozen apples and as many leaves. Eve seems to be aided by the serpent in handing an apple to Adam, whose folded arms indicate he has not yet fallen.

The serpent has similar convolutions to those at Kirkconnel. Huge vines flank the scene. These three stones seem to have a common source.

Hoddam, 1777, James Wightman and children. Christison (1902, 348–9, fig 65), suggests that this is a Tree of Life; it cannot come under the category of Adam and Eve stones because the two figures on either side of the tree are not Adam and Eve but men in 18th-century costume.

AYRSHIRE

The 10 Adam and Eve stones are given by Christison (1905), except the Straiton scene already described with the Kells group, and the Dundonald stone (see below). They are a disparate group, each seemingly the inventive creation of different masons.

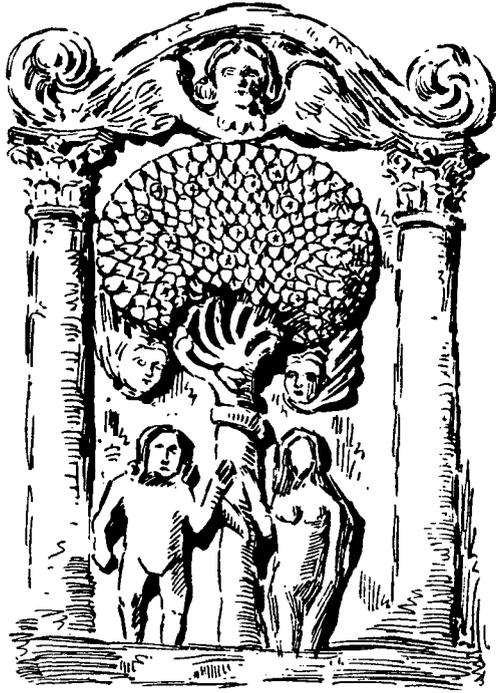
Riccarton (1), no date (illus 42). Christison (1905, 85, fig 29):

The tempter is not the serpent but the woman. Adam makes a vigorous resistance. He is represented fleeing from her. . . . The design is quite peculiar in one respect. The figures, instead of standing with their heads towards the top of the stone, are placed horizontally. Eve stands firmly with clasped hands as if piqued by his refusal, but resolved to conquer.

What a wonderful departure! The trunk (not shown in Christison's drawing) is squashed in between them, and



ILLUS 42 Riccarton, Ayrshire, no date, no name



ILLUS 43 Craigie, Ayrshire, no date, no name
(after Christison 1905, 87)

at the sides are two superb specimens of Green Men, and at the very top of the stone a skull spewing out greenery, which droops down either side of a framed portrait head. We were unable to decipher the inscription.

Riccarton (2), date and name not given by Christison (1905, 86, fig 30):

Adam and Eve, robust figures stand on either side of the tree, which has a very small head. No details of leaves or apples visible, neither is there any sign of the serpent.

It seems that Eve stands on the right of the tree, and Adam on the left; we were unable to find this stone, but it may have sunk so that the figures are no longer visible. On both these Riccarton stones the figures are naked.

Craigie, †1692 'given as the earliest date but obviously cut later', no name. Christison (1905, 86) gives a good description of this stone and his fig 31 is reproduced here (illus 43). Apparently the stone was removed by the family who owned it. Never was there a more closely packed tree. The little winged souls below the tree are of the style to be found in the Dreghorn/Dundonald area, with two upswept wings, but here only one wing shows because of the angle of the head. Adam is naked and Eve has a loincloth.

Dundonald, no inscription deciphered. This headstone is very worn. The dumpy figures stand either side of the tree, long arms stretching towards each other. The other hands cover their nakedness. The serpent is not apparent on the sturdy tree trunk, but may be in the boughs. There is a faint impression of a dove in the tree.



ILLUS 44 Colmonell, Ayrshire, 1758, Andrew McKissock and Maram McNiellie

Colmonell, 1758, Andrew McKissock and Maram McNiellie (illus 44). Christison (1905, 88–9, figs 32 & 33):

A monstrous fat serpent trailing on the ground offers the apple in its mouth to a bold-looking, robust Eve, who takes it with one hand while grasping with the other the hand of a poorly developed and reluctant Adam, whose abject terror seems to cause his limbs to give way under him.

As at Riccarton (1) the woman is shown as dominant. The two wear short aprons; above are angels on either side of a skeleton, and at the bottom of the stone the familiar Ayrshire ploughing scene. This is a splendid folk art carving. Adam seems to stand on one of the oxen (or horses?). Eve's hair lies on her head like a wig, and the goodman flourishes his goad.

St Quivox, 1766–84, James McCalla and his wife and their children (illus 45). Christison (1905, 87):

Here the tree with its fruit is depicted, with the inscription 'In the day thou eatest of it thou shalt surely die'. Above is a shadowy outline of another tree which Mr Wilson took to be 'the Tree of Life, on which the hapless pair are turning their backs as they go forth from the garden'.

This is perhaps the most appealing of the scenes. Eve is on Adam's right – a departure to be found only in Ayrshire. They are long-legged, which gives them a certain grace, and they look forlorn. The thin trees tower above them; the incised tree in the centre seems to have had apples, and may have been a branch from the tree on Adam's left. Damage and wear at the top centre of the stone almost obliterate the inscription.



ILLUS 45 St Quivox, Ayrshire, 1766–1784, James McCalla



ILLUS 46 Bristol, Rhode Island, USA, 1767, Sarah Swann

LIST OF ADAM AND EVE SCENES IN SCOTLAND, ARRANGED BY COUNTY

ANGUS			LANARKSHIRE		
Dun	T	1696	Biggar	H	1713
Dun	T	1699	Hamilton	H	1717
Farnell	H*	nd	PEEBLESSHIRE		
Lundie	H	1759	Lyne	H	1712
Pert	H	1742	PERTSHIRE		
Pert	H	1743–54	Caputh	H	1809
Pert	H*	nd	Cargill	T	nd
Stracathro	H	1730	Clunie	H	1741
Tannadice	T	1715	Collace	T	1742
ARGYLLSHIRE			Dowally	H	1782
Kilchousland	H	1720	Dundurn	H	1729
AYRSHIRE			Little Dunkeld	H	1744
Colmonell	H	1758	Little Dunkeld	H	1762
Craigie	H*	nd	Kinfauns	H	1782
Dundonald	H	nd	Lagganallachy	H	1764
Dunlop	H*	nd	Logiealmond	H	1764
Riccarton	H*	nd	Logierait	H	1769
Riccarton	H	nd	Logierait	H	1781
St Quivox	H	1766–84	Logierait	H	1784
Straiton	H	1705	Logierait	H	1784
Tarbolton	H*	nd	Methven	H	1748
BERWICKSHIRE			Perth, Greyfriars	H	1782
Dryburgh	H	1745	St Madoes	H	1745
DUMFRIESSHIRE			St Martins	H	1750
Kirkconnel	T	1768	ROXBURGHSHIRE		
Lockerbie	H*	nd	Bowden	T*	nd
Repentance	H	1739–1768	STIRLINGSHIRE		
St Mungo	H	1737	Campsie	H	1799
Tundergarth	H	1711	Campsie	H	1799
KINCARDINESHIRE			Falkirk	H*	1750
Fettercairn	H	1737	Polmont	H	1754
KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE			Polmont	H	1796
Dalbeattie	H*	nd	WEST LOTHIAN		
Kells	H	1702	Uphall	T	1733
Kells	H	1706	KEY:		
Kells	H	1707	T	Tablestone panel	
Kells	H	1718	H	Headstone	
(Kirkandrews)	H	1720)	nd	no date known	
			*	no longer to be found	

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of the carvings are poorly preserved or difficult to photograph. I am extremely grateful to Rex Russell for drawing these for me; they are reproduced here as the following illustrations: 9, 13, 22, 28, 36, 40, 41. With the exception of illus 46, taken by Dan Farber, the photographs are all by the writer. They include the following, taken for the National Monuments Record of Scotland: 2–7, 13, 15–19, 30, 32–6, 39, 44–5. I am grateful to RCAHMS for permission to publish them here. The distribution map was drawn for publication by Margaret Finch; this was funded by a grant from the Society's Angus Graham Bequest. Finally, my thanks go to Doreen Hunter and Jess Nelson for all their help with the fieldwork.

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