

A richly decorated cross-slab from Kilduncan House, Fife: description and analysis *

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ABSTRACT

The discovery in late 2001 of a small slab with a sophisticated, innovative and, in part, unique decorative programme near the eastern seaboard of Fife, raises important questions about the cultural affinities and dating of sculpture in Scotland. Analysis of the Kilduncan slab's carving suggests that the majority of its expected connections of form and ornament lie not with other monuments in eastern-central Scotland but rather in two seemingly mutually exclusive zones: sculpture in a North Sea province, stretching from the shores of the Moray Firth as far as the Northern Isles, Shetland demonstrating particularly strong affinities; and another yet further afield in an Irish Sea province where unique parallels occur, some only on metalwork. A primary milieu is proposed for the Kilduncan slab in a context of Scando-insular culture in Northern Scotland, probably on proto-episcopal estates in Moray linked with St Andrews but drawing on cultural affinities on occasion as distant as south-west Wales and Southern Ireland, transmitted via western sea routes to a lively Christian culture in northern Scotland before redistribution southwards. Unexpected connections also occur with north-east England, implying St Andrews influence at work during Alban expansion southwards around the end of the first millennium AD.

INTRODUCTION

The discovery in 2001 (*Dundee Courier* 5 September 2002, illus; DES 2002, 161; Speirs 2003a, 24–5; 2003b, 4–7) of a substantial fragment of highly decorated sculpture at Kilduncan, Fife, provides a useful opportunity to study anew the relationships of early Christian insular monuments. Analysis of its form, iconography and abstract decoration reveals a surprisingly far-flung range of contacts and influences whose historical and political framework is examined. Though this is not the place for a full discussion, the shape and ornament of the cross-slab suggests the need for a revised chronology of Scottish sculpture considered against the background of other insular sculptural traditions. The familiar terminology of Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Scandinavian used to describe developments in

Ireland and England in the period of Viking and Norse activity is here augmented with the epithet Albano-Norse to describe Scotland during this period (and Scando-Manx for the Isle of Man), and all are set within an overarching concept of Scando-insular art within which they are local manifestations.

MAIN DESCRIPTION: KILDUNCAN 1A–E

FIFE: KILDUNCAN HOUSE, KINGSBARNES
PARISH; NGR: NO 5772 1215

Small slab monument

Substantial slab fragment with lentoid ornamented quadrilobate cross and S-beasts flanking a cross-of-arcs.

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Evidence for discovery First recorded in November 2001 lying against the outside, south wall of a barn opposite Kilduncan House. The slab, obscured behind a large bush, was not in its original position.

Present location Removed to St Andrews Museum in September 2002 on award from Treasure Trove Advisory Panel: TT.79/01 (DES 2002, 161).

Measurements H: 0.78m (30.7in); W: 0.525 > 0.49m (20.7 > 19.3in); D: 0.136m (5.4in).

Stone type Peach, medium sand-grained quartzite arenite, probably local (S Allison, pers comm).

Present condition All edges except the lower are original. Minor damage along the outline with up to 0.025m missing along short sections of the right edge of Face A but less is lost on the corresponding areas to the left. The top edge is extensively weathered. The lower edge is broken in an almost straight line at a shallow oblique angle dipping (on Face A) from left to right. The surface is worn, extensively locally, with a few deep pits but carved detail is generally recoverable. Wear is more extensive in the upper third of the slab. Ancient mortar, adhering locally to areas in the upper centre and top left of Face A and right of centre, near the left edge and left base of Face C, was removed in 2003 as part of conservation work by Graciella Ainsworth. Face C carries evidence of extensive, repeated artefactual wear in the



ILLUS 1 Kilduncan 1A

form of shallow lateral striation close to the top and bottom of the slab. A white staining which developed on the slab surface was identified by British Geological Survey as calcium carbonate residue (G Ainsworth, pers comm).

Description The slab is rectangular with a slightly convex upper edge and tapers minimally as it descends (0.035m). The surface appears naturally flat but has been dressed. Punch-carved and subsequently gouged with

a fine tool in shallow false-relief technique (0.005m deep).

FACE A (BROAD; ILLUS 1)

A worn, plain flat-band moulded border (0.025m wide, standing 0.003m proud) frames the slab (BAC 9a)¹ and rises from the baseline as far as the horizontal arms. Little evidence of the border remains above the level of the cross arms due to damage; however, vestiges to the upper right imply it continued all around the upper margin. Layout of the decorated areas of the slab surface is essentially continuous (consolidated by the continuity of the lower cross border around the base motif) but it is divided vertically into a square upper section filled with a cross (0.501 × 0.505m) and a large integrated pseudo-base below, of which almost half now appears to be lost beyond the lower slab edge. The upper area of the pseudo-base (0.23m high) is virtually complete while the lower section is largely lost. The upper base register is subdivided on the horizontal plane into three units filling the width of the slab. Beneath, along the line of damage, is a further incomplete register of two units (originally three units) of decoration whose remaining border is a strand extending downwards from that framing the right section in the upper base register. This small preserved triangular area of the lower register includes the right portion of the middle panel (80% of its width preserved) and full width of the right panel.

Upper panel

An equal-armed cross (RA 101, BAC 11A) dividing four quadrants, has circular arm-pits embedded into the crossing. The three upper cross arms running to the slab outline are irregular in design, the horizontals expanding a little towards the terminals, while the sides of the upper limb curve slightly in a concave manner. The lower arm descends squarely to fuse with the pseudo-base panel beneath. The cross is surrounded

with a plain, curved-profile border 0.015m wide, much damaged in the upper area, which extends along the upper edge of the cross base and fuses with the slab border. The internal cross decoration, interlace-constructed on the diagonal throughout (RA 198), is continuous but contains a different design in each arm. Interwoven plain strands (0.012m wide) in the well-preserved lower arm and also in the more damaged upper arms incorporate vertical breaks (RA 204); serious irregularities and broken strands occur, particularly in the weave of all except the left arm. The right arm has both horizontal breaks and looped returns within the pattern. Interweave in the crossing is irregular but contains pairs of looped returns, apparently to create hidden crosses above and below in narrows of upper and lower arm, while strands curving from arm to arm form a saltire in the crossing register.

The arm-pits (0.09–0.085m diam) are decorated with quadrilobate rings (BAC 3.4iii: four complete circular rings in the arm-pits, contrasting with the single large ring surrounding the whole cross found elsewhere); however, the ring strands break at the mid point of the outer curve (anticlockwise passing over clockwise in each case) and develop into lentoid frames forming radiate elements (upper = 0.165 × 0.09m; lower = 0.185 × 0.098m) which run the diagonal length of each quadrant. Quadrilobate elements appear to fuse with the cross border. The arm-pits are hollowed (0.005m deep) and the quadrants are carved to a similar depth. Lentoid elements decorating each quadrant are filled with abstract ornament, and worn decoration within the upper left lentoid motif is repeated in a better preserved form in the lower right quadrant, both containing a twisted twin-strand figure-of-eight motif – a modified unitary form of RA 519 tailored to fit the available space. Likewise, the lentoid element of the upper right quadrant frames an interwoven double figure-of-eight strand (RA 797), an interlocked pair of twisted rings, mirrored in the lower left quadrant. In each quadrant, flanking the lentoid element and

filling the opposite corners (on a radius from the crossing), appear two low-relief, undecorated circular bosses (0.045m diam).

Lower panel

This is framed by an extension of the cross shaft border turning outwards to fuse horizontally with the slab border. It forms a broad cross pseudo-base divided horizontally into an upper and lower register. The upper register is itself sub-divided in the vertical plane into three unequal panels. Beneath, all that remains is a small remnant of a lower register. In the upper register, the dominant central panel is twice the width (0.215m) of the flanking panels (ratio = 1:2:1) and filled with two and two half units of a low-relief carving of double-ended, vertically and horizontally multiply-linked, C-curve pelta-form and trumpet spiral decoration (RA 1064). Although well-carved, the pattern contains design flaws. The flanking panels (0.135 and 0.13m wide) are filled with diagonal interweave formed from thicker strands (0.018m wide). The left panel includes four Stafford knots, one in each corner (RA 214; BAC 15E), linked by strands which form a saltire in the centre. A strand emerges in the upper right corner and descends the dexter edge to form a border before being lost over the damage break below. A weave in the lower section of the right-hand panel is more irregular but the upper half contains two embedded units of the ubiquitous Carrick bend (RA 568; BAC 23Fiv) positioned above two sub-Carrick knots. A saltire arrangement of strands stands centrally in the panel between the



ILLUS 2 Kilduncan 1B

knots. The sinister margin of the right panel is bordered by a strand descending from the upper line of the pseudo-base border and continues to the lower break in the slab but the lower edge of this panel is formed from a strand erupting from the lower right corner of the panel interlace. A damaged triangular area beneath and to the right represents the remnants of a lower base register now divided into two remaining panels by the descending sinister border of the upper right panel. The left panel and leftmost section of the central panel are lost but the right half preserves a horizontal strand with returns at both ends in the manner of a large meander motif. A fragment of a second, similar but vertically orientated element is visible as a short strand to the lower right next to the panel edge. These fragments almost certainly represent parts of closed meander motifs repeated in a quadrant (based on RA 899). The remaining panel to the right (max height = 0.045m of a potential 0.23m) contains an upper arc of a disc in low relief with a slightly raised outer rim surrounding a shallow domed central area.

EDGE B (NARROW; ILLUS 2)

Within a plain border frame (0.019m wide) this incomplete edge panel preserves nine registers (unit length 0.1m) of low-relief twin-strand twist motif with interwoven crossings (RA 519; BAC 26Bi). Each strand is 0.018m wide.

FACE C (BROAD; ILLUS 3)

The face, carved in low relief and divided vertically into two unequal registers, is dominated in the larger

upper, rectangular area (*c* 0.62m high) by two confronted S-beasts in a mirrored motif flanking an encircled cross-of-arcs [RA 159 – in his analysis, Allen included the S-beasts amongst his symbol category, calling them *hippocampus* (ECMS, part 2, 77) but Alastair Mack (1997, 18) rejected them as symbol forms]. In the lower area are the remains of the upper parts of a beast's back and head (0.124m max height). There is no border on the upper area of the slab where the S-beasts' backs lie contiguous with the slab edge. Beneath their backs an irregular plain slab border is present, running as far as the damaged baseline. In places its width extends to 0.35m but is usually 0.15–0.2m. In its broadest sections, however, it slopes from the slab edge to merge with the general background.

Upper register

Close to the upper slab edge the confronted S-beasts' heads, with touching muzzles, are (like their bodies) both different in detail. The surface across both S-beasts' heads has been extensively rubbed and shallowly striated horizontally to the extent that locally important evidence of detail is lost (see also the comparable area at the foot of the slab). Worn, shallow carving occurs in two small areas above the S-beasts' heads at the top of the slab. In a small, protected area above the crown of the right beast is an incomplete motif apparently comprising two units of a stepped twist pattern (RA 887)

terminating close to the S-beast's ear with a return unit (RA 840). Further to the left the worn surface also appears to preserve other vestiges of carving, now too damaged to identify with certainty. Above the left S-beast's crown are



ILLUS 3 Kilduncan 1C

the remains of further light angular carving. In the upper right corner of the slab, to the right of the S-beast's ear, appears a shallowly carved

quadruped portrayed rising. The beast's right forelimb is gripped by its heavy lower jaw. Its long snout seems to terminate in a twist while its brow preserves the vestige of an eye carved immediately above a pricked ear. A trailing forelimb is tucked across the beast's lower body and its leading, nearside, rear limb interweaves with other limbs.

Of the S-beasts, the left beast is a little taller than the right and has a high, domed brow containing a small almond-shaped or ovoid eye with circular pupil and central dot pit iris. Behind the declining brow a prominent pricked ear, internally contoured, rises and curves leftwards to terminate in a point, filling the upper left corner of the slab. The muzzle, divided from the face by a narrow, double-curving S-shaped line, descends across the face from the front of the brow then runs backwards and contours the lower line of the jaw before curving upwards to terminate in a tight, curling lobe in an area of extensive wear. The muzzle has a contoured mouth with a prominently pointed upper tooth, beneath which a thin tongue emerges from the mouth, curves upwards and entwines with the tongue of the beast opposite. The mouth area is worn but seems open and contains faint evidence of other jagged teeth. The head of the shorter beast to the right has a flatter brow. The area around the eye is extensively worn but the depression of the tear-drop eye outline, round pupil and central point are just visible. The spear-shaped pricked ear has a sunken triangular central section. The double S-line dividing muzzle from face has a more angular curve than that of the opposite beast but also turns backwards, contouring the lower line of the jaw and, dividing the head from the decoration of the body, it too curves upwards defining the back line of the jaw to terminate in a lobe. The tip of the snout is worn, with loss of detail. The contoured open mouth has a faint pointed upper incisor and a protruding tongue which loops with that of the left beast.

From the neck downwards both bodies are similarly structured, being divided into three

linear sections which taper gradually and curl tightly into a spiralled tail, ending in a bulbous terminal. The broad rear segments of both beasts are covered with crescentic overlapping scales, becoming more linear towards the tip of the tail. A plain, narrow centreline strand of uniform width (0.01m), which divides the broader back from the narrower front segments, develops from a wedged terminal immediately beneath the beast-head (serif – 0.31m wide). The front segment, which is also plain (0.25m wide), tapers only when it enters the tail spiral below. From the lower back of each beast a short curled protrusion with heavy, lobed terminal (perhaps a residual dorsal fin) erupts. On both beasts this engages with a similar large, lobed form (ventral fin) emerging from the curled tail below; however, this element of the right beast is worn and only recoverable under a raking light. In the gap created at the centres of the spirals of both beasts' tails, a divided tail fin appears to develop as a terminal and each is embellished with a small circular element at the junction. Close inspection, however, suggests that each supposed tail fin comprises two small aquatic beasts (miniaturized S-beasts), whose open jaws grip the circular tail terminal perhaps representing a bulbous teat. Each has a distinctive snout and lightly etched lentoid eye.

The chests of the S-beasts curve around a low-relief encircled cross-of-arcs (RA 107) which is positioned on the slab's vertical axis. The cross, formed from strands (0.012m wide) interwoven at the crossing and encircled by a separate strand (0.012m wide) is orientated 5 degrees to the right of vertical. The strands, which form the cross outline, are linked at their terminals with neighbouring cross-arm strands on either side by a continuous loop (with pointed return) which plunges into the arm-pits. The cross terminals are open except for the presence of the encircling device. Each cross arm is ornamented by a relief-carved triquetra knot with pointed returns (RA 798). All strands are 0.012m wide. Fitting neatly within the gap

formed between the beasts' tails and positioned beneath the cross-of-arcs is a larger, plain-strand version of the triquetra knot also with pointed returns (RA 798).

Lower register

The incomplete lower register contains the remaining upper section of a beast, including its tail, back and head (0.113m max vertically). The animal is curtailed by damage and loss at the broken base of the slab. The low-relief surface across the beast has been extensively rubbed and shallowly striated horizontally (as on the section across the S-beasts' heads). The most prominent feature is a double folding strand, representing the beast's tail which, arising from the curve at the base of the back, encroaches on the border near the right edge of the slab, then weaves left and right to terminate in a tight curl above. Close to the centre of the spine an indent signifies a marked nape of the neck and a large worn ear, with narrow curved and pointed profile resembling a flap of skin lying horizontally above the beast's back, the terminal pointing rearwards to the right. To the left is a pronounced brow ridge and, further to the left, nearer the edge, a spade-shaped muzzle extends horizontally. Close to the left edge of the slab the beast's outline turns downwards at the point of the muzzle and, descending slightly to the right of vertical, reaches the slab's baseline. The brow ridge frames a tear-shaped eye, point to the rear, containing a circular etched pupil and dot pit iris. Beneath the jaw, along the damaged baseline of the slab, runs a contoured line, attached to the right, which curves left in an arc, perhaps portraying the lower jawline rather than a raised front limb. To the right and beneath the nape is a sizeable raised semi-circular area forming the upper part of a broad shoulder decorated with the remains of two incised vertical elements; to the left is the rising outline of part of a smaller beast's head and neck, while to the right are the remains of the parallel scores defining the rising lobe of stylized muscle in the shoulder. To the

right, vestigial evidence for the linked rear lobe also remains.

EDGE D (NARROW; ILLUS 4)

Framed within a plain border moulding (0.016m wide) with broader upper edge is an incomplete panel containing eight registers (unit length 0.09m) of low-relief angular twist (strands 0.014m wide) which, at the outermost point

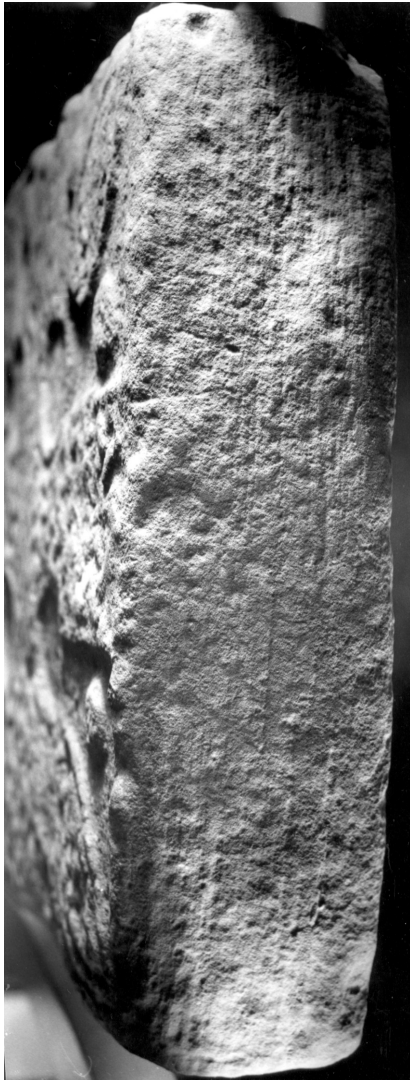


ILLUS 4 Kilduncan 1D

of each unit, develops decorative mirrored triangular loops along the margins (RA 721).

EDGE E (TOP EDGE; ILLUS 5)

The badly worn upper edge preserves vestiges of a single, raised circular element, filling the available width and positioned approximately two-thirds of the distance from Edge D towards the centre. Within the circle appear the base



ILLUS 5 Kilduncan 1E

cuts of an incomplete outline cross. Only two opposing arms are present, most plausibly explained as representing an incomplete wedge-armed cross (RA 82; BAC 2:12B). In a balancing position, approximately two-thirds of the distance towards the axis from Edge B, remains the faintest impression of a second small circular device.

BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS OF FORM AND DECORATIVE MOTIFS

ONOMASTIC AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Kilduncan seems to have been an early church site in the northern part of the original parish of Crail. Simon Taylor (1996; 2000, 212; pers comm), commenting on the onomastic implications of the place-name Kilduncan, suggests that the specific Dúnchad (Gaelic – Donnchadh) records an Iona abbot, Dúnchad mac Cinn Faelad, who, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, died in AD 717 (Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill 1983, 172) and was celebrated in the *Martyrology of Cengus* on 25 May (Stokes 1905, 137).² The name probably came into use for dedicatory purposes during the eighth century. The initial element, *cill*, in the name Kilduncan refers to the foundation of a church at the site – hence ‘church of Dúnchad’. The *cill*-name is interesting in its own right and Taylor (1996, 93–5 & 99) has pointed to its Gaelic origin and, as such, the rarity of its occurrence in the east of Scotland where two discrete clusters incorporating the element *cill* appear – one lies in east Fife, the other in Easter Ross and south-east Sutherland. Further he notes that it is not only the earliest datable Gaelic place-name element adopted in eastern Scotland but ceased to be productive as a name-forming agent before the Scots settled in Pictland, prior to AD 800–50. The likelihood is high that the name was assigned at some point between the second quarter and the end of the eighth century, and most probably it occurred early in this bracket (ibid, 100), potentially as part of Romanizing influences

begun in the first quarter of the eighth century, centred on *Cennrighmonaid* (Kinrimonth – St Andrews), promoted in accordance with royal policy during the reign of Naiton (Nechtán), son of Derile, king of the Picts. There is now a gap of over 500 years before the first documentary reference to Kilduncan appears; nevertheless, the survival of the place-name and the presence of sculpture suggests a significant continuity of function for the site from the Pictish into the Gaelic and Scottish kingdoms. The first extant record occurs in AD 1312 when the name Bartholemew of Kilduncan appears in a list of jurors for an inquest held at Cupar (Millar 1895, vol 1, 364), clearly indicating that the estate was by then in lay rather than ecclesiastical hands. ‘Kilduncan formed part of the royal territory of Crail’ and, as such, Crail is thought to have achieved parochial jurisdiction by the beginning of the 12th century, suggesting that any estate church at Kilduncan went out of regular use at that time. If the dating argued in this paper for Kilduncan 1 is accepted, it would seem that the site was still operative for burial approximately a century before.³ The continued presence of a church at this site until the end of the 11th century implies it was an estate *caput*. Although now in the parish of Kingsbarns, it was not until 1633 that this new parish was created by order of Parliament out of the old parish of Crail (deanery of Fife, diocese of St Andrews).

TOPOGRAPHY

Kilduncan sits on well-drained, rich, grain-producing lands 2km from the sea and is elevated some 40m above sea-level, providing a good view from the house out across shelving land towards the sea to the east and north-east. The present house is built on a steep knoll (47m OD) surrounded by a pronounced bend in the Kilduncan Burn which, running eastwards, curves around it on the west and south side before turning northwards a kilometre to the north-east of the site to join the Kenly Water shortly before it enters the sea. The land to the

north falls away less steeply and the site must in the past have been easily defensible except from this side, suggesting that the present settlement sits on or close to the historical focus of the estate. Despite the significance of the place-name, no archaeological evidence remains today for a chapel site and none appears in the historical record, nor is any detail known of the original find-site for the slab although it must be suspected that it was recovered in the vicinity of the farm buildings. The topography of Kilduncan is reminiscent of other typical early church sites.

GEOLOGY

Stuart Allison, University of St Andrews, School of Geography and Geosciences (pers comm via D Speirs), has commented that this quartz-rich sandstone displays no evidence for calcite cementation but may comprise a dolomite or quartz cement. He considers the available evidence is not particularly diagnostic. Douglas Speirs (pers comm) comments that the slab appears to be part of the Anstruther series, an undivided cyclic sedimentary Carboniferous sandstone in which the drift geology of the Kilduncan area abounds. The stone seems consistent with a geologically local identification in the Kilduncan area.

MONUMENT HISTORY

The outline and surface of the slab were almost certainly shaped and prepared. The white shell-aggregated lime mortar still adhering to the surface before conservation indicated that the slab was, at some date, recovered from a reuse context in a building (the removed mortar residue appeared to outline the stones with which it was in contact). The hard, creamy mortar texture (densely mixed and striated) and composition (using ground-up shore shells) is a type of shell lime mortar in use from the 13th until the 19th century (D Speirs, pers comm); Graciella Ainsworth (pers comm), who analysed



ILLUS 6 Drawing of Kilduncan 1A

the mortar during conservation work, suggested it may well be as late as the 19th century. Extensive natural wear and the pattern of wear evident on the surface (particularly to the upper edge and adjacent areas) indicate that the slab remained outdoors for a considerable period, almost certainly measurable in centuries, before reuse. The break at the base suggests that the monument was fractured when in situ in the graveyard, sustaining some damage down the right edge of Face A. The angle of the break suggests that a heavy object, perhaps another slab, fell against that side of the monument, shearing it off. The marked wear of the upper and lowermost areas of Face C, a lateral striation suffered a similar distance from either edge, occurred after it was broken off but prior to reuse in a building context, a fact evidenced by small amounts of mortar adhering to both areas prior to conservation.

The monument had a long and varied history, in the light of which the extent of preservation of the carved detail is remarkable. A potential chronology might read: (a) once carved, it stood in a graveyard for some time; (b) an upper portion of the slab became broken off; and (c) suffered a first recycle phase in which the top and bottom of Face C appear to have been used as part of a process consistent with implement sharpening. This was followed by a second phase: (d) when it was reused as material in a medieval (or post-medieval) mortared building then, after its recovery from the build phase, (e) it stood again for some time in the open air allowing the mortar to substantially weather off; finally, (f) it achieved its modern recognition and was taken into State care.

LAYOUT, FORM AND DECORATION

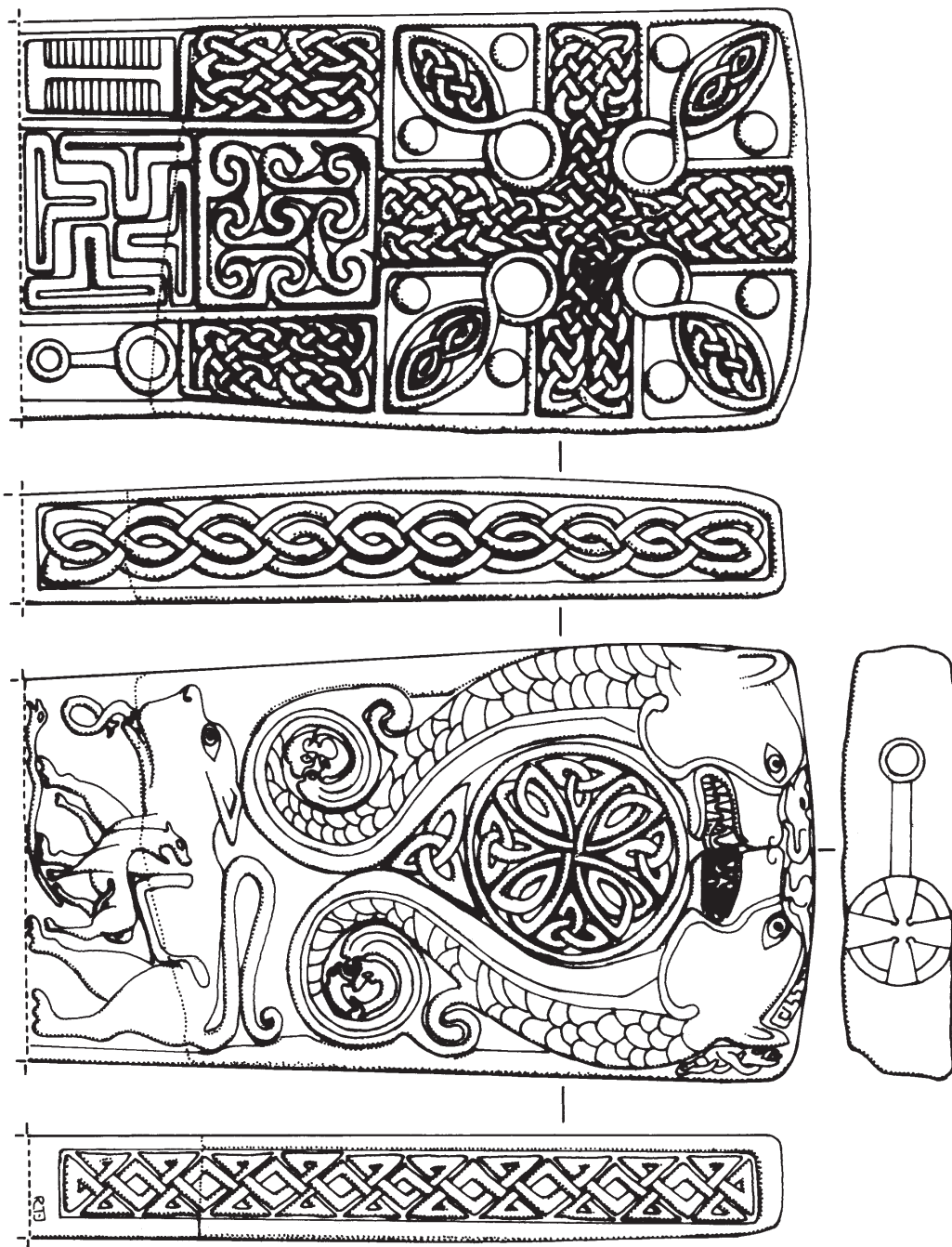
FACE A

The regular divisions of the surface indicate that, before damage, a panel, extending the carved surface by at least an additional 0.17m, has been

lost at the base of the slab. Extrapolations from the available measurements suggest the lower register was roughly equal in height to that of the upper register in the base panel (illus 6) and both, taken together, were equal to the height of the upper area of the cross. So, the rising proportions of the cross and base panels were most probably originally equal (1:1) but the cross panel was foregrounded by its overall size, the focused scheme of its integrated design and its elevated position. In addition to the original carved height, a further 0.2–0.25m minimum (but probably more) of undressed slab may be envisaged as essential to support the erected monument sunken into the ground, suggesting an original slab height exceeding 1.2m and a carved height of 0.95m for all faces (illus 7). The moulded slab border now appears flat (BAC 9a) but may originally have had a more curved profile (BAC 9b). Damage has removed 0.01–0.015m from the right edge of Face A on the line of the horizontal cross arms, removing the slab and cross terminal borders.

Upper panel

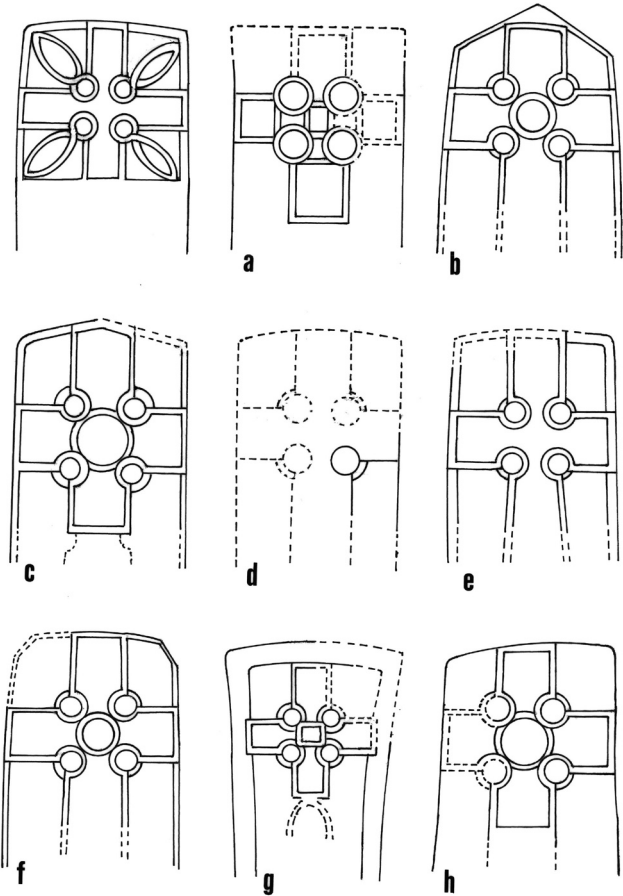
The cross form superficially appears to have been designed with quadrilobate rings but the break in the outer curve of the ring and the development of a radiant lentoid element in each quadrant is unparallelled⁴ (illus 8a–h). The irregular design of the cross interlace may be satisfactorily reconstructed for the three lower arms; however, several alternatives are possible for the upper arm and, given the extensive damage to the middle area, the overall pattern of decoration remains uncertain. The interlace shares similarities with the design of the altar frontal, ORK: Flotta 1A (ECMS, part 3, fig 19)⁵ – and the form of the arm-pits and the cross decoration also seems close to the arrangement on SUT: Lothbeg 1C (ECMS, part 3, fig 52; Close-Brooks 1989, 8, illus). However, part of the decoration of the left panel in the pseudo-base is formed from interwoven backed Stafford knots, a common Viking-age (Scando-insular)



ILLUS 7 Reconstruction drawing of Kilduncan 1A-E

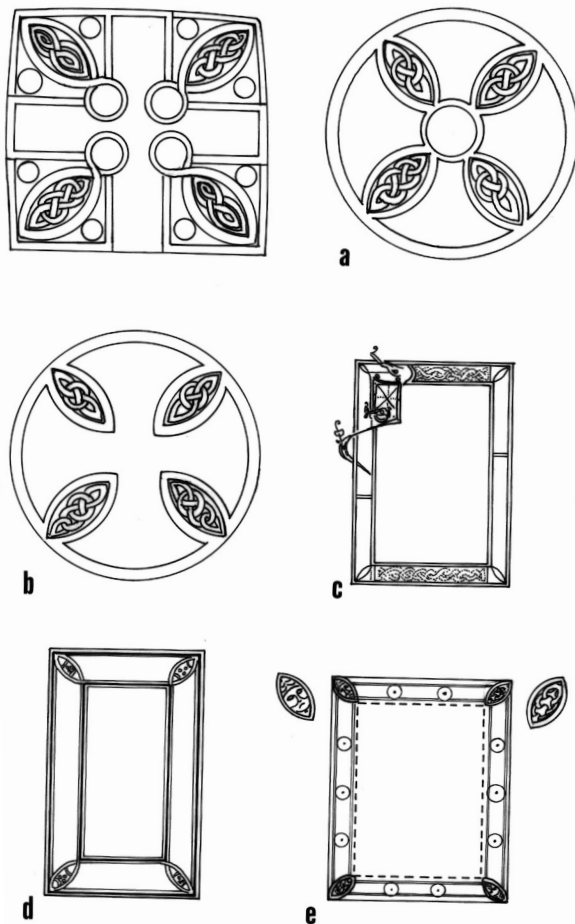
motif as found, for instance, on the monument ANG: Glamis 2A (ECMS, part 3, fig 234). The evolution of lentoid shapes on sculpture in Scotland, developing from a quadrilobate form, is a radical design innovation and quadrilobate crosses are themselves a fairly rare phenomenon. The certain examples are generally found only in a limited area of Perthshire and Angus, with very few possible examples north of the Mounth and a potential isolated instance on the Isle of Man. Although the quadrilobate form is otherwise usually found decorating larger slab monuments,⁶ an identification of the Kilduncan motif as quadrilobate would be a departure from this and would bring the total number of such monuments to nine and mark a further innovation through its introduction into the format of smaller slab monuments.

The only potential sculptural parallels for the form, if not the specific context or decoration of the lentoid elements, occur rarely and in northern Scotland where they appear on two Easter Ross monuments. On E.ROS: Nigg 1A-LL2 two examples, framed by passing strands, are decorated with dense interlace (although here they act as independent elements in a field, so the specific context for their use is unlike Kilduncan). A second example appears in the lowermost panel of E.ROS: Rosemarkie 1A-1 which Gibb (Stuart 1856, 33, plate CV) illustrates in his lithograph as having two lentoid elements (containing three sections of looping interlace) flanking a pair of discs.⁷ This evidence is now much damaged and, although sufficient, remains in Whyte's fine photograph (ECMS, part 3, fig



ILLUS 8 Comparison of quadrilobate ringed crosses with Kilduncan 1A (upper left): (a) KCD: Fordoun, (b) ANG: Aberlemeno 2, (c) ANG: Eassie, (d) ANG: Strathmartine 6, (e) PER: Logierait 2, (f) PER: Meigle 1, (g) PER: Meigle 5, (h) PER: Rossie Priory

60) to confirm Gibb; the panel is at present substantially recessed within a floor-socket in the Groam House Museum display at Rosemarkie and unavailable for study. An isolated western example of two undecorated vertical lentoids flanking the crossing, above and below, decorates a late freestanding cross: ARG: Kilmartin 1C (Fisher 2001, 149, no 68.4, illus B). However, the most relevant parallels are found on two Zetlandic monuments – Bressay 1A and Papil 1A (ECMS, part 3, figs 4 & 6) – where the distinctive lentoid shapes,



ILLUS 9 Parallels for Kilduncan lentoid motifs (upper left): (a) SHE: Papil 1A, (b) SHE: Bressay 1A, (c) *Book of Deer*, fol 30, (d) *Gospel Book of MacDurnan*, fol 70v, (e) *Soiscél Molaise*, reverse

characteristic of Kilduncan, ornament the cross arm-pits (illus 9a & b). Cecil Curle (1982, 98) drew attention to similarities between the cross forms of Papil and those of W.ISL: Raasay 1A and Raasay 2A (Fisher 2001, 103, illus A–C); this is significant, despite a lack of ornament, in so far as both crosses appear within a square frame. Both instances represent a useful parallel for the Kilduncan cross form. At Kilduncan, the adoption of quadrilobate arm-pits alters the shape of the cross fundamentally and uniquely so

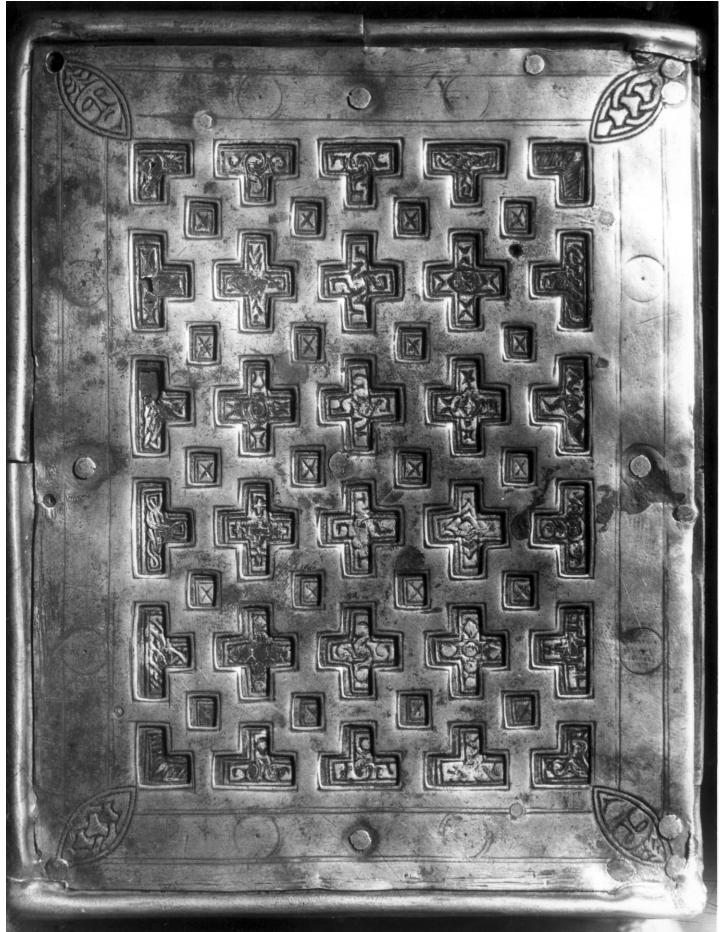
that it is as if the lentoid forms of the arm-pits of Papil and Bressay were expelled outward, as radiants, into the quadrants. In another medium, attenuated lentoid motifs containing no internal decoration appear in the unique tenth-century Scottish Gospel-manuscript, the *Book of Deer* (Cambridge University Library, Ii, 6.32: Stuart 1869, plates XII, XIII, XIX & XX; Hughes 1980, 25; Geddes 1998, illus 7 & 9; Henderson, forthcoming). The narrowed motifs appear in the four corners of the framing border on four pages of the manuscript⁸ whose borders and general decoration have an air of being drawn from a metalwork model (illus 9c). Similar, but better formed, broader lentoid dividers occupy the four corners of the framing border of fol 70v, the portrait of St Mark, in the later ninth- or early tenth-century Irish *Gospel Book of MacDurnan* [Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1370: Alexander 1978, 86–7 (Cat 70), illus 354; Henry 1967, plate 42] which are similarly decorated to the Kilduncan lentoid motifs in opposing corners of the field, although the specific decorative form differs (illus 9d). These manuscripts also provide potential sources for the Kilduncan forms.

One distant, although better-formed instance, thus potentially a more germane parallel for the Kilduncan lentoid motifs, occurs in Irish metalwork on a *cumhdach*, or book-shrine, known as the *Soiscél Molaise* (Mahr 1932, plate 57.2; Ryan 1983, 163; Michelli 1996, 14–15; Mullarkey 2004, 124–40), inscribed on a refurbishment phase of the shrine which dates to the first quarter of the 11th century.⁹ Four lentoid forms occupy the four corners of the border of the reverse face of the shrine surrounding a carpet of openwork multiple crosses and related truncated forms of ‘L’ and ‘T’ decoration. On this shrine the lentoid shapes form visual breaks in the corners of the rectangular field as they do in the manuscript

miniature-page borders (illus 9e & 10). Paul Mullarkey (pers comm) has indicated that this feature occurs elsewhere in secular and religious Irish art of the early Middle Ages, during the ninth century, but was a formula already present in the eighth century.¹⁰

It is of interest that the lentoid decorative motifs, although visually distinctive, are structurally quite similar: the RA 519 unit is simple and complete within the compass of the other strand's outer loop, while in RA 797 the strand takes a twist-turn around the outer element. The upper left and lower right Kilduncan lentoids contain a modified form of RA 519, a unitary version of the motif carved down Kilduncan's Edge B. Exact parallels for the figure-of-eight motif, albeit apparently presented in the more common serpentine form, appear flanking the top of the cross shaft of E.ROS: Shandwick 1A-LL3/LR3 (ECMS, part 3, fig 66) – a motif which also appears in modified form on the reverse of the same slab (Stuart 1856, 10, plate XXVII) (illus 11a). A similar design, also probably serpentine, occurs on a tall slab found near St Giles Church, Elgin (now preserved in the grounds of Elgin Cathedral), where it fills the upper arm of the cross (ibid, 8, plate XVI.1) (illus 11b). The dating of that monument is significant, as the design and dense, pelleted filling of the bodies of other decorative beasts carved in the lower panel on the cross face, in effect a pseudo-base with cruciform beasts, shows Scando-insular,¹¹ Mammen-style influence

suggesting a later tenth- to early 11th-century date (Wilson & Klindt-Jensen 1966, 119–33, esp 133: date bracket AD 950–1025), a date in keeping with the general design of that cross and other features on the reverse face. A close tenth-



ILLUS 10 Photograph of the back of the *Soiscél Molaise* (©National Museum of Ireland)

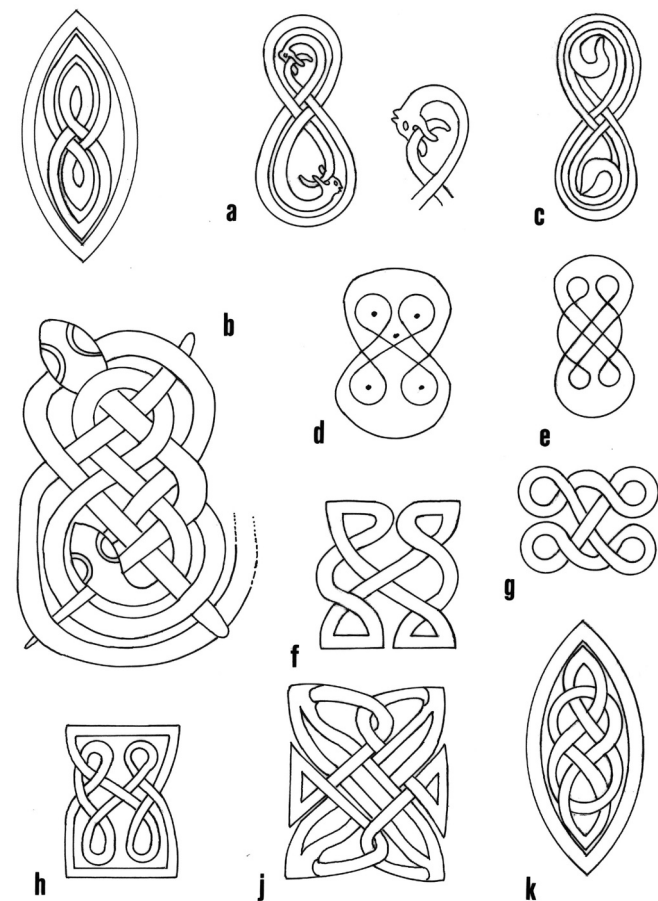
century Irish parallel with a delicate profiled leaf sprouting from the centres of the figure-of-eight is carved into a bone trial-piece from WFD: Dungarvan (Henry 1967, plate 56b; Cone 1977, 180–1, no 54) (illus 11c) and appears, *inter alia*, on a larger scale on the Scando-Manx monument

Maughold: Ramsey 1A (Kermode 1907, no 96, plate XLVI) in the form of two intertwined serpents. An elaborated version, almost certainly a cognate of the Shandwick form and model for Kilduncan's figure-of-eight ornament, appears in the lower area of the cross shaft on SHE: Papil 1A

closely related Zetlandic sculptural elements are also found in coastal areas of Cumbria, Ireland and Northumberland (illus 11j). The interwoven figure-of-eight motif (RA 797) decorating Kilduncan's upper right and lower left lentoid elements is only otherwise found on SHE: Bressay 1A (illus 11k).

Although all insular examples of this motif appear to belong to a Scando-insular context, closely similar forms occur in manuscript in the borders of a copy of Bede's *De Rerum Natura etc* (Karlsruhe, Landsbibliothek, Cod CLXVII, fol 32v) and on fols 5 and 117 of the MacDurnan Gospels (Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1370: Alexander 1978, illus 320, 322–3) dating between the late eighth and late ninth century.

The closest sculptural parallels for the internally decorated lentoid shapes appear in the cross arm-pits of the related monuments SHE: Bressay 1 and Papil 1. Both monuments use a similar basic cross-of-arcs format (SHE: Bressay 1A has an additional circular panel imposed over the crossing, which is a design feature it shares with W.ISL: Raasay 1;¹³ Fisher 2001, 103, illus A & B). Beyond the lentoid format itself, it is the presence of specific decorative motifs within the lentoids which offer the strongest sculptural links between Kilduncan, Bressay and Papil. The fillers of the Bressay arm-pits are reminiscent of, though more varied and sophisticated than, the ornament of the lentoid



ILLUS 11 Comparative figure-of-eight motif decoration (RA 551) for Kilduncan 1A (upper left): (a) E.ROS: Shandwick 1A, (b) ELG: Elgin, St Giles 1A, (c) I/WTF: Dungarvan, (d) SHE: West Burra, Papil 1A, (e) E/CUM: Irton 1B/D, (f) E/DRB: Bakewell 1N, (g) E/DRB: Eyam 1S, (h) I/WTF: Ballynaguilikee Lower 1B, (j) E/NBD: Bamburg 1A, (k) SHE: Bressay 1A

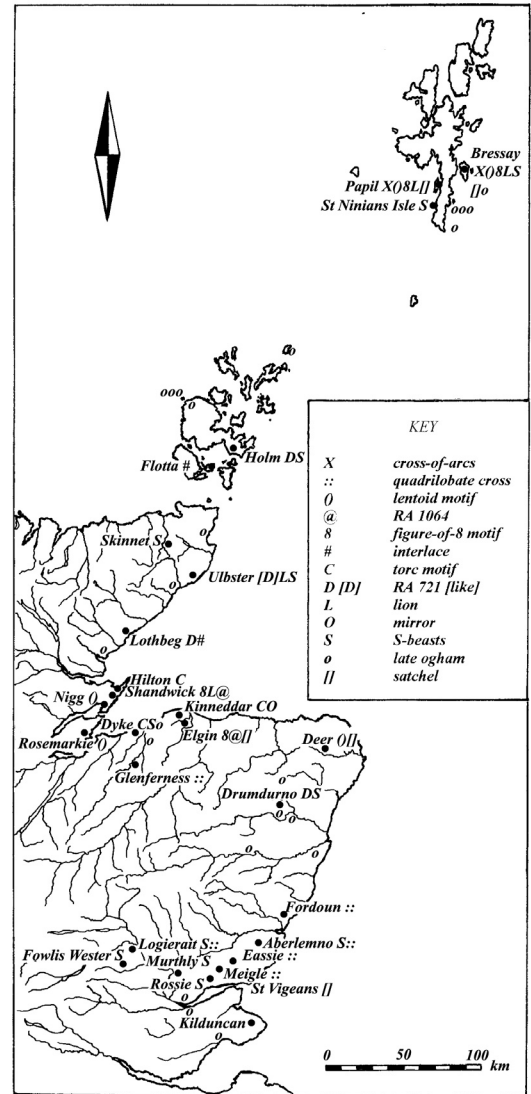
(ECMS, part 3, fig 7; Trench-Jellicoe, in prep c), a motif which also appears with slight variation in Cumbria, Derbyshire and in south-east Ireland¹² (illus 11d–h). It is significant that these rare and

elements at Kilduncan; nevertheless, it is as if the Kilduncan artist had seen and been impressed by the Zetlandic lentoid arm-pit motifs or their mutual source and decided to

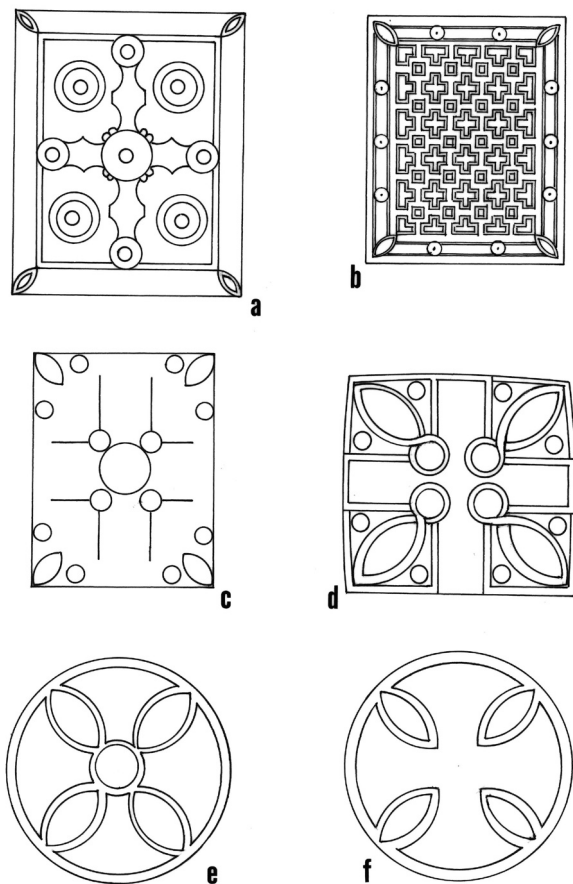
remodel his design to incorporate them thereby achieving this remarkable innovation and, in so doing, left us a clue to connections subsisting ultimately between Shetland and East Fife at this period. Significantly, the Irish metalworking parallel, the *Soiscél Molaise* (Mahr 1932, plate 57.2), is also decorated, in opposing corners, in a manner closely similar to the Kilduncan, Papil and Bressay slabs. The *Soiscél*'s upper left and lower right lentoid fields contain fronted, bearded masks with foliate hair design, while the upper right and lower left elements contain three units each of Borre ring-chain (BAC 27Bvii), the Viking-age abstract decorative motif *par excellence*.¹⁴ This indicates the extensive penetration of Scando-insular motifs into Irish art at this time (Mahr 1932, 120) – particularly in this case in the north of the country¹⁵ – and suggests its ready adoption into contemporary religious art there from the second half of the tenth century (Ryan 1983, 161–3, cat 75). A shaped Scando-Manx slab – Bride 3:124(97)C-LL (Kermode 1907, plate XLVII) – is decorated with a fronted male figure presented akimbo. The portrayal of his arms and body creates a lentoid shape in the arm-pits, in-filled with a ring-locked ring-twist form (RA 795) also found on Bressay and Papil and similar to those of Kilduncan, and provides a further example of the Scando-insular distribution of this motif. The lentoid arm-pit form of Bressay and Papil is also paralleled on a Northern Irish monument – DGL: Fahan Mura 1W (Harbison 1992, fig 277) – a monument which like the Zetlandic monuments shares other significant elements with Kilduncan's decoration. This evidence implies that the book-shrine and Kilduncan slab should not be dated too far apart although the specific decoration of the *Soiscél* suggests it may be a slightly later form.

The layout of Kilduncan's arm-pit decoration, incorporating a pair of bosses flanking each lentoid element, seems unique in sculpture. Although such bosses are reminiscent of the spirals developing from cross arms on the outer edge of the arm-pits on ANG: St Vigean's 7A

and PER: Gask 1C (ECMS, part 3, figs 278 & 307), and other monuments have prominent single bosses in their quadrants (SUT: Skinnet 1A and E.ROS: Rosemarkie 1C-2; ECMS, part 3, figs 29 & 60), these parallels are unlikely to be relevant in this context. Pellets and those bosses resembling large pellets are an important chronological element, being a feature of tenth- and 11th-century Scando-insular sculpture



ILLUS 12 Kilduncan parallels from the North Sea Province



ILLUS 13 Reconstruction of formation process of lentoid motif: (a) I/LGF: Lough Kinale shrine, (b) I/FRM: Devenish Island back of 'Soiscél Molaise', (c) hypothetical reconstruction of intermediate developmental phase, (d) Kilduncan 1A, (e/f) SHE: Bressay and Papil

and are otherwise a feature of contemporary insular art.¹⁶ Useful boss parallels, similar in profile and position, flanking a corner motif, occur in Northmavine, Shetland, from the site of Whiteness, Eshaness, on a relief-carved fragmentary slab probably dating to the 11th century, decorated with medially grooved interlace and ogham script (Stevenson 1946–7, 191, 193, plate XXII, 4; Stevenson 1981, 286, fig 1). Ultimately, the source for the Kilduncan bosses may have derived from metalworking on an object similar to the *Soiscél Molaise*

(Ryan 1983, 161–3, illus, cat 75), where lentoid motifs are each flanked within a contoured linear border by a balanced design of captured, etched and contoured roundels, centred on a pit excavated by compass point (Mullarkey 2000, 6–7; pers comm) (illus 10). Neither boss nor circular element is present flanking the truncated lentoid shapes in the pages of either the *Book of Deer* or the *Gospel Book of MacDurnan*. Overall, the *Soiscél Molaise* shares most features with the main Kilduncan cross although the Zetlandic monuments Bressay 1, Papil 1 and Whiteness also provide useful parallels. Notable differences between the use and decoration of lentoid motifs between manuscript and metalwork suggest that Kilduncan and related examples are more likely to be modelled on, and closer to, metalworking.

Thus far it has been necessary to make a separate study of each of the distinctive elements which form the cross's decoration, a need precipitated by a lack of any direct parallel for the overall feature of quadrilobate arm-pit, lentoid motif and flanking bosses but, despite the identification of superficial correspondences, it is clear that at Kilduncan these items are in fact one fused, integral and unitary motif and intended to be understood as such. The

parallels, in any case, have had to be drawn from a range of sources which are sundered geographically, in itself problematical. A use of the diagnostic, decorated lentoid motifs absorbed into the Bressay and Papil arm-pits in a unique evolution and should alert us that sculptors had begun to use this design motif in a generative and original way so that, although they were not employed in an exactly similar form, their design at Kilduncan is only an alternative development, indicating that all three examples are closely related and seem to draw on Scando-

insular metalwork models in Scotland which have failed to survive.

Small metalwork artefacts are by definition highly portable and, *inter alia*, religious books, some perhaps contained in ornamental shrines, must have been amongst the most commonly transported items. That this was so tends to be supported by representations of satchels hanging around the necks of ecclesiastics portrayed on monuments from Kirk Bride in the Isle of Man (MN/Bride 3:124(97)A-LR; Kermodé 1907, plate XLVII) and around Scotland, particularly on those previously noted Zetlandic sculptures, the two monuments at Papil and one at Bressay¹⁷ – but they appear also at ARG: Ardchattan, in Moray on ELG: Elgin, St Giles 1A and in the heartlands of Alba on ANG: St Vigeans 7A-LL1¹⁸ (ECMS, part 3, figs 137 & 278). Another strand linking sculpture, metalwork and book decoration appears in the formalized satchels, on six of the eight miniatures in the *Book of Deer* where, as in sculptural representations, they were suspended from the necks of fronted figures who are arguably evangelists. The presence in the *Book of Deer* of the diagnostic lentoid motif is also, of course, significant and carries dating implications. The degenerate representation of book satchels associated with undecorated and distorted lentoid elements in the codex may persuade us that it should be understood as late and certainly not earlier than the tenth century, despite the evidence of its Gaelic notes which, although dealing with the foundation and early gifts to the monastery were inscribed in the 11th century (Jackson 1972, 16). Nonetheless, the most impressive examples of decorated lentoid motifs closely associated with the cross form, apart from their appearance at Kilduncan itself, lie in Shetland on the Bressay and Papil slabs (illus 12). It seems most improbable that the coincidence of ecclesiastical book satchels and lentoid motifs, associated with identical or closely similar internal decoration to Kilduncan's lentoid elements, is fortuitous. It is possible to envisage the presence of a Hiberno-Norse piece with framed quadrilobate

cross (almost certainly on a metalwork model), similarly bordered to the Irish LGF: Lough Kinale book-shrine and the FRM: *Soiscél Molaise* (illus 13a & b), reaching Northern Scotland and being copied into a sculptural context with the consequent loss of the border. Loss of a border line would introduce a lentoid motif and flanking bosses into each quadrant (illus 13c). The next developmental stage would be to attach the lentoid to the quadrilobate cross arm-pit – which is exactly the form we possess at Kilduncan (illus 13d). If, alternatively, a sculptor chose to place the cross into a circular frame, the most satisfactory form of cross would be a cross-of-arcs with or without circular crossing panel, in which case the lentoid elements would be absorbed into the arm-pits, transforming and consolidating their shape; this is the form preserved at Bressay and at Papil (illus 13e & f). Containment within a circular format would inevitably lead to a loss of the flanking bosses from the original design. The variant forms of this design at Kilduncan and in Shetland, which appear on the face of it to be quite different, can thus be shown to be closely linked and allow us to speculate on their derivation from a Hiberno-Norse metalwork model present in the North Sea province.

Lower panel

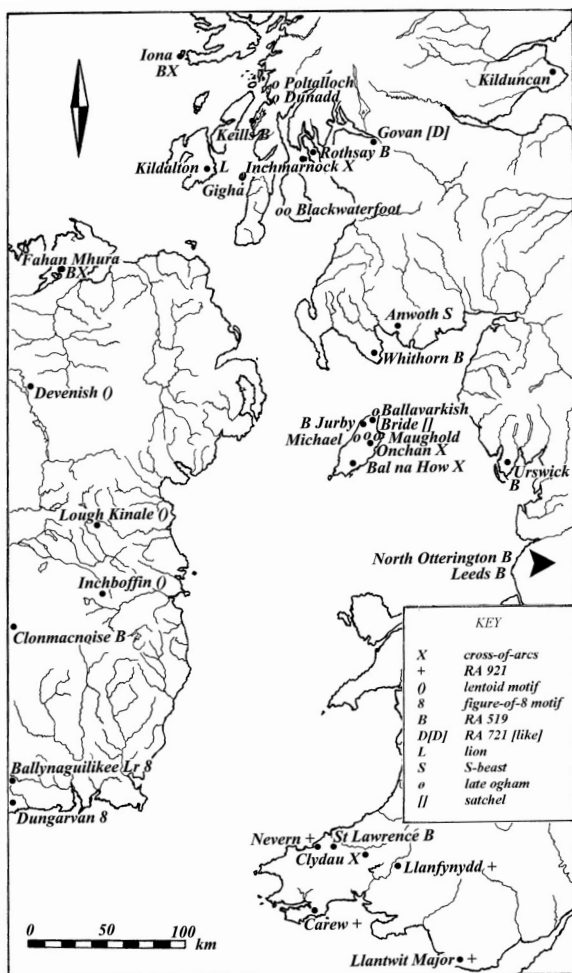
The cross pseudo-base fills the lower slab width. The damaged lower panels may be reconstructed as having been originally similar in height to the upper register, the whole cross base forming a large square equal in size to the squared upper area containing the cross. The implications to be drawn from the design and large dimensions of the cross base are uncertain. Some examples of cross pseudo-bases fill the slab width, which suggests a later dating, but the smaller pseudo-base tradition may have continued alongside the proportionately larger examples.¹⁹ Cross pseudo-bases filling the complete slab width are, however, fairly common in both northern and eastern-central

Scotland and all larger bases are related to a greater or lesser extent to Kilduncan's base and, in this instance, examples on Papil and Bressay slabs again become relevant.²⁰

The motif in the central panel of the upper register of the Kilduncan base, RA 1064 (a version of RA 1055), is found on E.ROS: Shandwick 1A in the cross shaft and on ELG: Elgin, St Giles 1C-2 decorating the Crescent and V-Rod symbol, a slab whose probable later tenth- to early 11th-century date has already been discussed above (ECMS, part 3, figs 66B & 137; Trench-Jellicoe, in prep a). It is significant that elements drawn

from the pelta-form decoration itself also form the border of the motif, representing a design feature repeated in both flanking panels. The interweave decoration of Kilduncan's flanking panels, with their remarkable extruded strands, points to a date after the introduction of Scandinsular motifs during the later tenth century when the distinction between panel borders and infill becomes less clearly defined, and confronting Stafford knots and the Carrick bend both became popular sculptural motifs. Each flanking panel seems to have a slightly different concealed christological meaning suggested by the saltire

motif lying at the centre of both (as with the saltire crossed paws of the confronting beasts discussed below which also indicate the presence of Christ). The decoration of the extensively damaged central panel in the lower register of the pseudo-base is reminiscent of a horizontal meander offset against the right panel edge. There is a gap, caused by damage beyond the left edge of the meander, of sufficient size to accommodate the upper edge of another similar vertically orientated (rising) unit, mirroring the upper edge of an incomplete, descending vertical unit which is still partly visible as an angular loop, to the right immediately beneath the horizontal meander. These remnants suggest that the panel should be reconstructed as a right-hand (clockwise) variant of motif RA 921, comprising four interlocking units of T-meander forming an offset cross or a negative swastika (illus 7). Although this motif appears already in a religious context in the early eighth-century continental, Anglo-Saxon manuscript border of the frontispiece of the *Collectio canonum* (Cologne, Dombibliothek Cod 213: Alexander 1978, illus 60), it does not seem to become a sculptural motif until considerably later. A double vertical unit of right-hand motif RA 921 occurs on fragment 13B from NBD: Norham-on-Tweed, dated by Rosemary Cramp



ILLUS 14 Kilduncan parallels from the Irish Sea province

(1984, 213, illus 1185) to the ninth century.²¹ The Norham panel is an isolated example and this Kilduncan motif is more extensively paralleled by a group of RA 921 examples found in the clockwise variant on three of four, tenth- to 11th-century Cambro-Norse monuments – CRM: Llanfynydd 159A; PMB: Carew 303A, Nevern 360B, Nevern 360C; GLM: Llantwit Major 222D (Nash-Williams 1950, figs 155 & 196, plates XL & XLI) (illus 14). These examples, all clustered along coastal south-west Wales and its immediate hinterland, come from an area recognized to have been heavily influenced by Scandinavian settlement,²² a littoral which also provides other rare Kilduncan parallels. Although not otherwise present on sculpture in eastern-central Scotland, motif RA 921 does appear on Scottish metalwork mounts dated to the ninth century from FIF: St Andrews (Bourke & Close-Brooks 1989, 228–9, illus 3) and PER: Cargill Mains (DES 2004, 100–1, fig 52), while other metalwork examples appear in Norway and Ireland and also in manuscript in the *Book of Durrow*, fol 1v (Brown 1981, fig 6). In the Isle of Man a version is carved onto an excavated pattern-stone from Kiondroghad, Andreas (Gelling 1969, 75, plate C).

The remaining arc element in the right panel of the pseudo-base's lower register is too small a segment to reconstruct with certainty but its profile is most



ILLUS 15 Drawing of Kilduncan 1B

reminiscent of the upper section of a Mirror symbol, which would be appropriate in this position on a slab (illus 7). This slab design recalls the presence of a Mirror and Comb symbol (RA 140) carved in similar low relief on a recently recovered slab – ELG: Kinneddar (Drainie) 26A (illus 12), preserved in Elgin Museum (DES 1996, 75; RCAHMS 1999, 35) – which can be shown from its accompanying decoration to belong to the later tenth or 11th century and is likely to be virtually contemporary with the Kilduncan slab. In Romilly Allen's classification scheme for sculptural decoration (ECMS, part 2), the presence of a Mirror symbol would be considered sufficient evidence for categorizing it as a Class II monument, nevertheless this is misleading as to implication both of date and cultural affinity and these implications will be considered below.

EDGE B

This edge potentially contained ten units of a twin-strand twist motif (RA 519) with return terminals above and below (illus 7 & 15). The motif is unparalleled in eastern Scotland but appears in western Scotland on ARG: Keills 5 and Iona 71, and on BUT: Rothsay 1B-1 [Fisher 2001, 41, illus 16P, 147(5); 41, illus 16Q, 131(71); 80, A1(b)]. It also occurs eight times altogether: on the Isle of Man and around the Irish Sea province; once, in modified



ILLUS 16 Drawing of Kilduncan 1C

form, on the coast of north Northumberland on Bamburgh 1A (Cramp 1984, illus 814); and in Yorkshire, implying an eastward spread of influence from the Irish Sea province²³ (illus 14). Allen (ECMS, part 2, 206) also recorded a manuscript example in the *Book of Kells* and on metalwork on the Tara Brooch, but its use was widespread in insular manuscript and metalwork art appearing as early as the second half of the seventh century in the *Book of Durrow*, framing a Canon Table on fol 8v (Dublin, Trinity College Library, A.4.5 (57); Meehan 1996, 24) and as infill decoration on fol 3v of a fragmentary Northumbrian Gospel book, Durham A.II.10 (Alexander 1978, cat 5, illus 10), although neither of these examples present in a different medium carries dating implications for Kilduncan. Its appearance on sculpture seems to have been a later and distinct phenomenon. It is of interest that this motif, present in running format on the edge of the Kilduncan slab, is also present as a vignette element ornamenting the lentoid elements on Kilduncan's main face (1A-3UL, LR).

FACE C

Horizontal striations along the top and bottom of this face appear to be evidence for tool or weapon sharpening (illus 16). It may

be speculated that performing such a task on a religious object, particularly across monstrous beasts, was considered not only acceptable but was believed to bestow especially potent qualities to the sharpened edge, as long as the cross itself remained undamaged. The full



ILLUS 17 ELG: Dyke 1C

surface was probably originally divided in a rising ratio of one-third to two-thirds (1:2). The unusual technique adopted here in which the slab border gradually shelves inwards to the level of the background is found also on the lower left border of the damaged tenth-century slab from ANG: Woodrae 1C (ECMS, part 3, fig 258).

Upper register

The area above the right S-beast's head, now preserving only damaged step-twist pattern, appears originally to have contained a supine beast facing left, of which only a suggestion of the limbs beneath the flattened body and perhaps the head shape remain. The remaining string of decoration to the right represents the small beast's tail; similar decoration is found also on the lappet of a symbolic beast at E.ROS: Shandwick 1C-7 (ECMS, part 3, fig 68). The presence of another worn beast in the upper right corner behind the S-beast's ear tends to confirm this identification. This small rising quadruped is reminiscent of a beast in the upper right quadrant of a Manx monument, Braddan 2:72(69)A (Kermode 1907, plate XXVII). The S-beasts (sea-serpents, dolphins, hippocampi: RA 159) find their closest parallels on ELG: Dyke (Brodie) 1C (ECMS, part 3, fig 136A) (illus 17 & 23b below) but also appear in pairs on ABD: Drumdurno (Maiden Stone) 1A-UL/UR, flanking a fronted figure, arguably Christ with arms outstretched (Ritchie 1989, 62, illus), PER: Logierait 2A (DES 1989, 64; Miller 1992, 29–30) and CAI: Skinnet 1A-LL/LR (ECMS, part 3, fig 29). An important parallel occurs on PER: Fowlis Wester 2A-UL/UR (Waddell 1931–2, 409–11; Henderson & Henderson 2004, illus 222), in which two S-beasts flank a cross of very similar design to that found on PER: Logierait 2. Fowlis Wester's beasts also have a line laterally dividing the body, large heads with open mouths but smaller and less complex tails than Kilduncan.²⁴ A degenerate version of the S-beasts appears far to the north on two of the corner-posts (nos 1

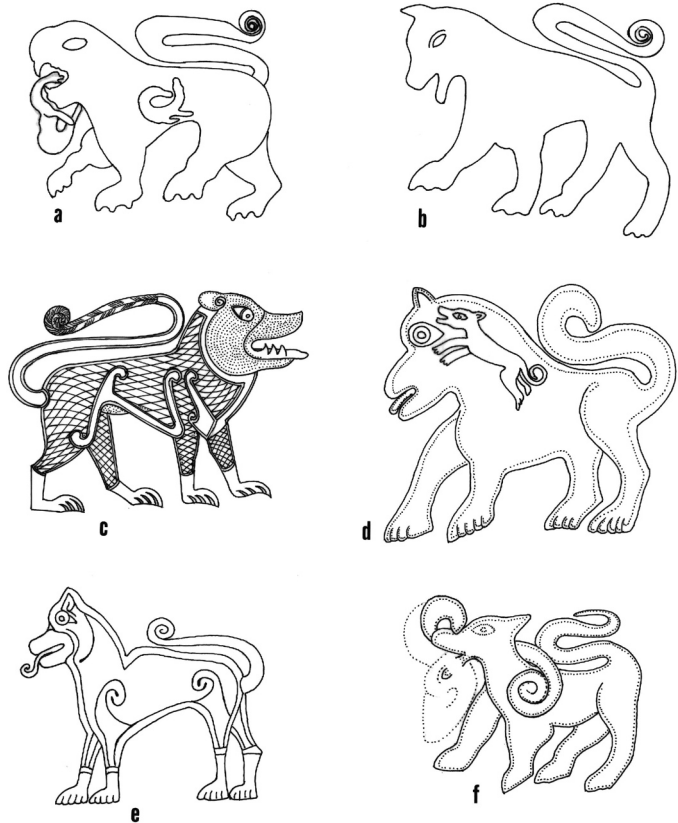
& 3) of the so-called 'Founder's Tomb' feature at SHE: St Ninian's Isle (Small et al 1973, 33, figs 12:1a & 12:3a, plates 3.1a & 4.3a) where attenuated confronting beasts with curled tails have each developed a pair of forelimbs and a single rear limb – the lower limbs are badly worn on corner-post 3a and compare also PER: Murthly (ECMS, part 3, fig 321) – but all pairs of opposing limb elements on these S-beasts are crossed. The trick of crossing beasts' limbs was already well established in insular art from the eighth century when they appear on DMF: Ruthwell 1W-3 (ECMS, part 3, fig 468B) and E/CUM: Bewcastle 1W-3²⁵ (Bailey & Cramp 1988, 63i–ii [IV], illus 90, 94 & 683), but the tradition seems to have continued at least as late as the 11th century on the cross-shaft panel of Kirriemuir 2A (ECMS, part 3, fig 240; Laing 2000, 641–2, illus 2). A recent re-examination by the author of the East Mainland, Orcadian slab, Holm (Graemshall) 1A indicates that, in an area of extensive damage and wear flanking the upper cross arm, two worn lug-like extensions should also be interpreted as small S-beasts which appear to be similar to but less degenerate than the forms present at SHE: St Ninian's Isle and on ORK: Ness (Burt 1991, 5). At Holm, the left-hand beast stands within an area of severe damage although the basic outline is secure, while the example to the right has open jaws, a curving body with lateral division, a tightly curling tail and a prominent fan-shaped fin on its back²⁶ (or curl indicative of lateness as on PER: Murthly and Kilduncan). The vestigial form of Kilduncan's dorsal and ventral lobed fins also suggests chronological development away from the forms found on ANG: Aberlemeno 2A-LR1 and PER: Murthly.

The scaled decoration on the Kilduncan S-beasts, apparently a rare feature, is prominent and most closely paralleled only on ELG: Dyke (Brodie) 1C-3 where it also appears to be portrayed, as at Kilduncan, in slightly varied form on the left and right beasts. A solo S-beast on KCB: Anwoth, Trusty's Hill may also carry lightly incised ornamentation (ECMS,

part 3, figs 136 & 508). The surface detail on the beasts of ABD: Drumduro 1A and PER: Logierait 2A is too worn to preserve evidence of decorative detail.²⁷ A disparity in the size of eyes at Kilduncan is also found on the framing beasts at the top of SHE: Bressay 1A (ECMS, part 3, fig 4) where the left beast has a large eye and the right beast's eye is smaller and differently shaped. Evidence for eyes, preserved on beasts at ELG: Dyke 1C (ECMS, part 3, fig 136A), suggests they, too, are differentiated by size. The protruding tongues of the S-beasts are found on lions at SHE: Bressay and Papil (illus 18d–e) and emerge twisting from the mouths of two confronting beasts on a fragmentary cross shaft from E.LOT: Tynninghame 1A (Stevenson 1958–9, 46–7, plate IX). Thick tongues curve upwards from the mouths of both the ELG: Dyke 1C S-beasts (illus 23b) but do not entwine as they do at Kilduncan.

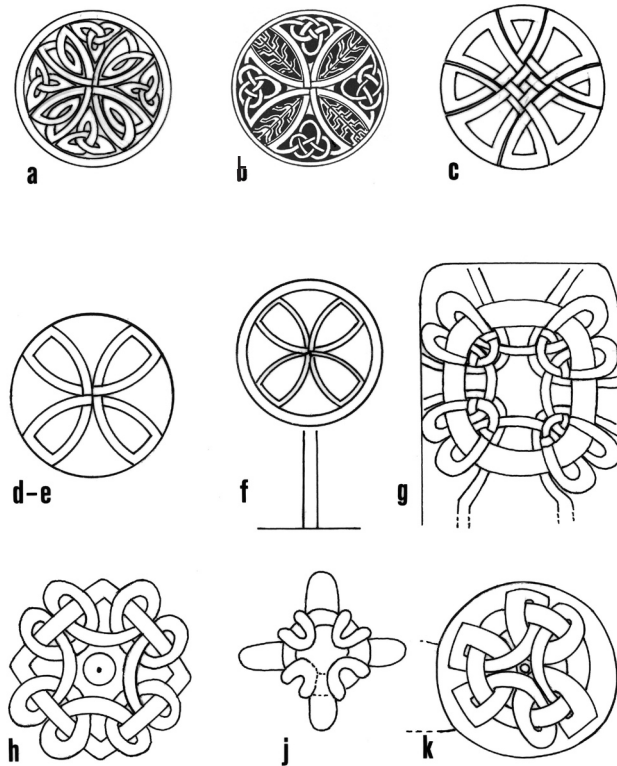
An upward curving tongue also occurs on the S-beast of PER: Fowlis Wester 2-UL (Laing 2000a, fig 1; Henderson & Henderson 2004, illus 222).²⁸ Robert Stevenson (1981, 287), discussing S-beasts carved on the St Ninian's Isle Founder's Shrine corner-post, noted the longevity of this motif in an insular context.²⁹

Parallels for the Kilduncan form of the encircled cross-of-arcs on the reverse face do not appear in eastern-central Scotland.³⁰ The trick of obliquely orientating the crossing ornament a few degrees away from the vertical–horizontal plane is paralleled on several larger Scottish monuments.³¹ The distinctive feature of the Kilduncan cross-of-arcs is the additional looped filler strand running continuously around the



ILLUS 18 Comparison of leonine forms: (a) E.ROS: Shandwick 1A, (b) CAI: Ulbster 1, (c) Book of Durrow fol 191v, (d) SHE: Bressay 1A, (e) SHE: Papil 1A, (f) ARG: Islay, Kildalton 1W

arm-pits, which is an extension of the strand that defines the cross-of-arcs itself. In this aspect Kilduncan is unique (illus 19a). The notion of developing the strands forming a cross-of-arcs into decorative infill is nothing new in insular art as it is, once again, already present in a different medium by the later seventh century on fol 85v of the *Book of Durrow* (Dublin, Trinity College Library, A.4.5 (57); Meehan 1996, 47–8) (illus 19b). However, the result achieved in *Durrow* is very different from that found at Kilduncan and no implications for dating may be extrapolated. Other cross-of-arc motifs also use an additional strand to define and decorate the arm-pits; for instance, SHE: Bressay 1C is in its basic design closely similar to Kilduncan despite



ILLUS 19 Comparison of elaborated crosses-of-arcs and related motifs: (a) Kilduncan 1C, (b) Book of Durrow, fol 85v, (c) SHE: Bressay 1C, (d–e) BUT: Inchmarnock 3A, W/SL: Muck, a'Chill 1A, (f) W/PMB: Clydai 308A, (g) MN/Onchan 3C, (h) E/YNR: York, St Mary Castlegate 3C, (i) W/SL: Muck, a'Chill 1A, (j) York, Coppergate, lead matrix, (k) I/Dublin, Fishamble Street, weaving sword

its orientation being *crux decussata* (or saltire fashion) and lacking triquetral decoration. This Bressay cross-of-arcs (RA 794) also has the rare stylistic feature of an independent looping strand running around the edge of the arm-pit (illus 19c). Both Kilduncan and Bressay's arciform crosses are carved on the reverse face of their respective monuments, indicating a substantive difference between the meaning of the obverse and reverse faces. Other monuments decorated with cross-of-arcs having their arm-pits decorated with an additional strand operating as a looped filler include BUT: Inchmarnock 3A and W/SL: Muck, a'Chill 1 (Fisher 2001, 77, nos 7.3 &

92, no 24.1) (illus 19d & e), while another example occurs in south-west Wales belonging to a reuse phase of the slab PMB: Clydai (Clydau) 308A (Nash-Williams 1950, 186, fig 201, plate IV) (illus 19f). On all monuments except for Kilduncan the additional strand passes across the outer line of the arm-pits instead of looping into them. In order to achieve this effect the strand passes across the cross arms close to the crossing before looping awkwardly around the edges of the arm-pits. These crosses may therefore be understood to relate at one remove to Kilduncan. Another unique and more sophisticated variant of the looped filler strand occurs on a Scando-Manx cross-slab from the parish kirkyard at Onchan, ONC 3:85(59)C (Kermode 1907, plate XXI; Trench-Jellicoe 1985, vol 1, 75–6 & 170 and vol 3, 286–8) (illus 19g). Here the strand behaves similarly to Bressay, Muck, Inchmarnock and Clydai but, displaying considerable sophistication, lies across an encircling device which it, in effect, binds to the cross. The

Onchan motif closely resembles decoration on a tenth- to 11th-century crossing boss present on a fragmentary free-standing York cross, St Mary Castlegate 3C³² (Lang 1991, 97–8, illus 305) (illus 19h) and both may be derived from Terslev-type motifs (Armbruster 2004, figs 3 & 7). In other media, related motifs appear on a Ringerike-style, quatrefoil (cruciform) lead matrix from 16–22 Coppergate, York (inv 10544), dated by Tweddle (2004, 453) and Mainman & Rogers (2000, 2476) to the first half of the 11th century. A more distant parallel, although closely similar to the St Mary Castlegate sculpture, occurs on a wooden weaver's sword (DW 23) from

Fishamble Street, Dublin (Lang 1988, 10–12, 57, fig 12) (illus 19k), probably dated to the later tenth century. All these devices, whose date bracket is significant, share general similarities with Kilduncan but are themselves individual formulations.

A slightly different form of the arciform cross, positioned above a triquetra knot, appears on ARG: Iona 77 (Fisher 2001, 42, illus 17Ga), while the arm-crossing S-beasts on Post 1a of the St Ninian's Isle Founder's Shrine are also positioned above a twin-strand triquetra knot (Small et al 1973, 33, fig 12.1a, plate 3.1a) indicating the presence of this arrangement elsewhere. A useful parallel occurs beneath a pair of elegant S-beasts whose bodies cross in saltire fashion above a triquetra knot on ANG: Aberlemno 2A-LR1 (ECMS, part 3, fig 227). These beasts resemble sea-horses with raised, mirrored forelegs whose long curving rear fin tips touch, reminiscent of the Kilduncan and St Ninian's Isle beasts. Presence of the triquetra knot, a symbol representing the Trinity (Blindheim 1985, 52 and references; Bailey & Whalley, forthcoming, no 13) suggests that all different types and representations of S-beast motifs with this feature have a similar iconographic significance.

However, the specific design of the reverse Kilduncan cross, far from being arbitrary, is likely to be based on a carefully considered choice of forms, in which each of the elements present may be seen to symbolically represent a number, a study of which, as numerology, was of absorbing interest to the Church Fathers and deeply influenced subsequent theology. St Augustine in *The City of God*, XII, Ch 19 (Dyson 1998, 526–7), confirms an association of God with number and the presence of the triquetra knot repeated four times within the encircled cross arm terminals is, therefore, likely to be significant. The triquetra, as noted above, represents the Trinity and has a value of three, while the four leaf-like loops in the arm-pits, together with the four cross arms themselves, represent *inter alia* the four

evangelists who wrote the Gospels to bring the Good News to mankind, a fact noted by the Anglo-Saxon monk, Byrhtferth of Ramsey, in his *Enchiridion* probably written between AD 1010 and 1012 (Baker & Lapidge 1995, 208–9). The four instances of the triquetra multiplied by their repetition (4×3) made 12, another important number as it signified the Apostles, disciples of Christ and first members of His Church, who spread the Christian message in so far as they took the Good News of the Trinity and spread it to the four corners of the Earth as suggested by Augustine in his lecture on St John's Gospel 6.60–72 (Augustine 1873–4, tractate 27) and expressed symbolically by the positioning of the triquetras within the orb in the Kilduncan cross arm terminals. More tentatively it might be suggested that the eight sides of the cross arms may also be significant in this context in so far as the number eight was widely recognized as symbolizing baptism in the waters of the Resurrection, hence the widespread construction of octagonal baptisteries in the early church and the octagonal form of many fonts (Bailey 2005, 23). Moreover, St Augustine argued that eight represented the Eighth Age of the World:

the Lord's day, as an eighth and eternal day, consecrated by the resurrection ... prefiguring the eternal rest not only of the Spirit but also of the body ... Behold what will be, in the end to which there shall be no end (Augustine, translated by Dyson 1998, 1182).

Thus, this cross form is constructed using a complexity of symbols which represents not only the primary saving grace of Christ in the cross but may conceal within it additional symbolism for the guidance of a Christian seeking Redemption together with a battery of protective spiritual measures against a surrounding world of evil forces, 'fiends of the pit ... always [waiting] in ambush to waylay a righteous man' (Strong 1925, xxviii). The significance of numerology was widely understood in the British Isles, having been discussed extensively in biblical



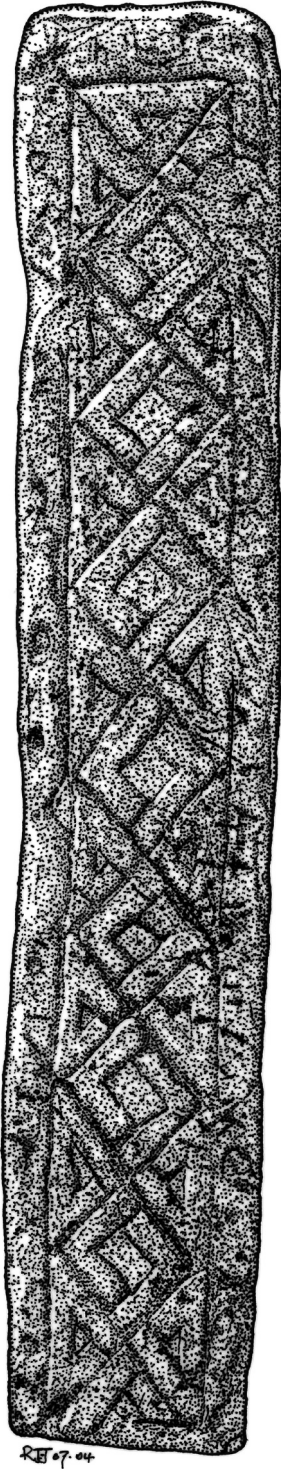
ILLUS 20 SHE: Bressay 1A – hound running up lion’s neck

commentary. Richard Bailey (2005, 22) has already noted its likely presence in Scotland in the cluster of eight bosses on E.ROS: Nigg 1A (ECMS, part 3, fig 72).

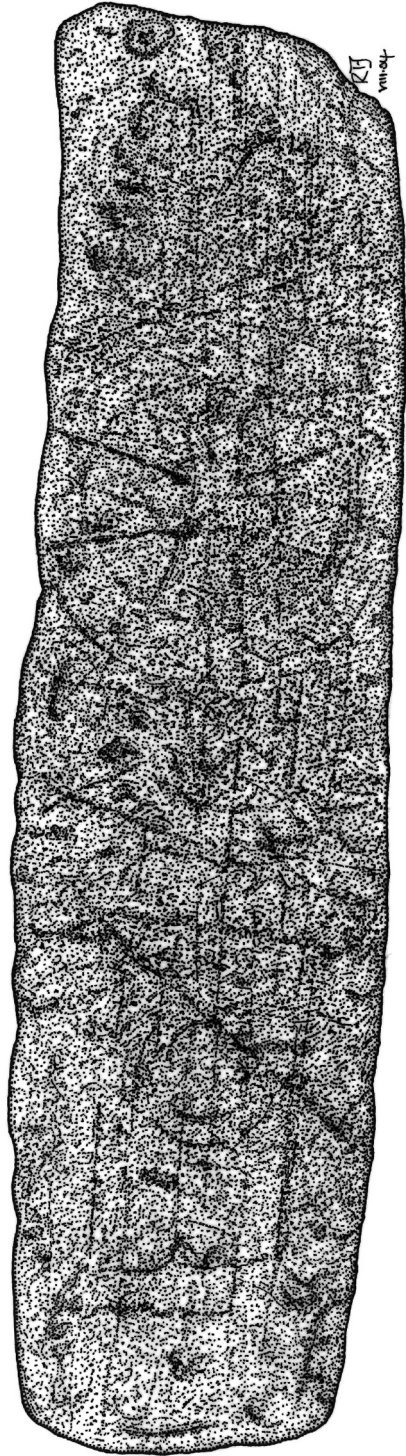
Lower register

The salient elements of the damaged lower Kilduncan beast comprising a double-bend tail, a prominent nape in the neck and an unusual flap-like ear laid flat are reminiscent of the upper beast flanking the shaft on PER: St Madoes 1A-LL2, the sea-beast on PER: Dunfallandy 1A-LL1 or the ear of the strand-bound beast of ANG: Farnell 1A-LL2 (ECMS, part 3, figs 309, 305 & 232A). These features, together with an incomplete incised semicircle, probably representing the upper line of the jaw, are

consistent with an identification of the beast as a lion, most similar in form to beasts present on E.ROS: Shandwick 1A-LR2 and CAI: Ulbster 1C-UR, or even the defensive beast of W.ISL: Canna, a’Chill (ECMS, part 3, figs 66, 30A & 31A, respectively; Trench-Jellicoe 1999a, illus 27; Fisher 2001, 98A, 99A) (illus 18a & b). This is an unusual tenth-century type of lion or monster,³³ closely similar, particularly in the tail design, to the Lion of St Mark in the *Book of Durrow* (Meehan 1996, 62), although different in detail from examples found on the monuments SHE: Bressay 1A-2 or Papil 1A-2 (ECMS, part 3, figs 4, 6 & 8) (illus 18c–e). It seems equally possible that this type of sculptural lion derives from (eighth-century) Iona School iconography, best exemplified on Kildalton 1W by a lion carved in the narrows



ILLUS 21 Drawing of Kilduncan 1D



ILLUS 22 Drawing of Kilduncan 1E

of the horizontal cross arms (Fisher 2001, fig 23A1) (illus 18f) or perhaps another in the cross arms of St Martin's Cross, W face (ECMS, part 3, fig 25W). All derive from earlier continental and ultimately imperial models. The Ulbster and Shandwick lions not only have diagnostically similar tails but Ulbster (like Golspie) has a pricked ear and displays the characteristic nape of the neck found at Kilduncan.³⁴ However, like everything else at Kilduncan, the motif does not stand alone but is qualified to intensify and clarify meaning, in this case by the addition of a damaged and worn outline beast's head which, emerging over the lower edge of the slab, bites at the lion's shoulder. The presence of a small head biting the flesh of the lion's shoulder completely alters our perception of this scene. The head almost certainly represents the upper body of a hound or similar type of symbolic aggressive beast who jumps up onto the lion, typical of contemporary baiting or 'worrying' scenes where hounds attack a quarry as part of a hunting motif, symbolic of representations of evil laying siege to the pure soul, as on ELG: Burghead 7 (ECMS, part 3, fig 138). Models for this type of scene, often referred to as 'the hart and hound motif', are common in Scotland, on Mann, in Northern England and Ireland (Trench-Jellicoe 1999b, 193–4) but the Kilduncan version is rarer because, instead of the hart as on ELG: Burghead 7, it shows a lion under siege. Exact parallels for this motif are difficult to find but the closest appears on the lion in the pseudo-base of SHE: Bressay 1A-1U, where a hitherto unrecorded worn quadruped, apparently a hound, symbolizing sin, chases up the lion's shoulder onto its neck, subjecting the beast to attack³⁵ (illus 20).

EDGE D

In all probability this edge originally comprised ten units of motif RA 721 with returning strands at top and bottom (illus 7d & 21). The motif occurs rarely in the British Isles, appearing otherwise only in the upper register of the late monument

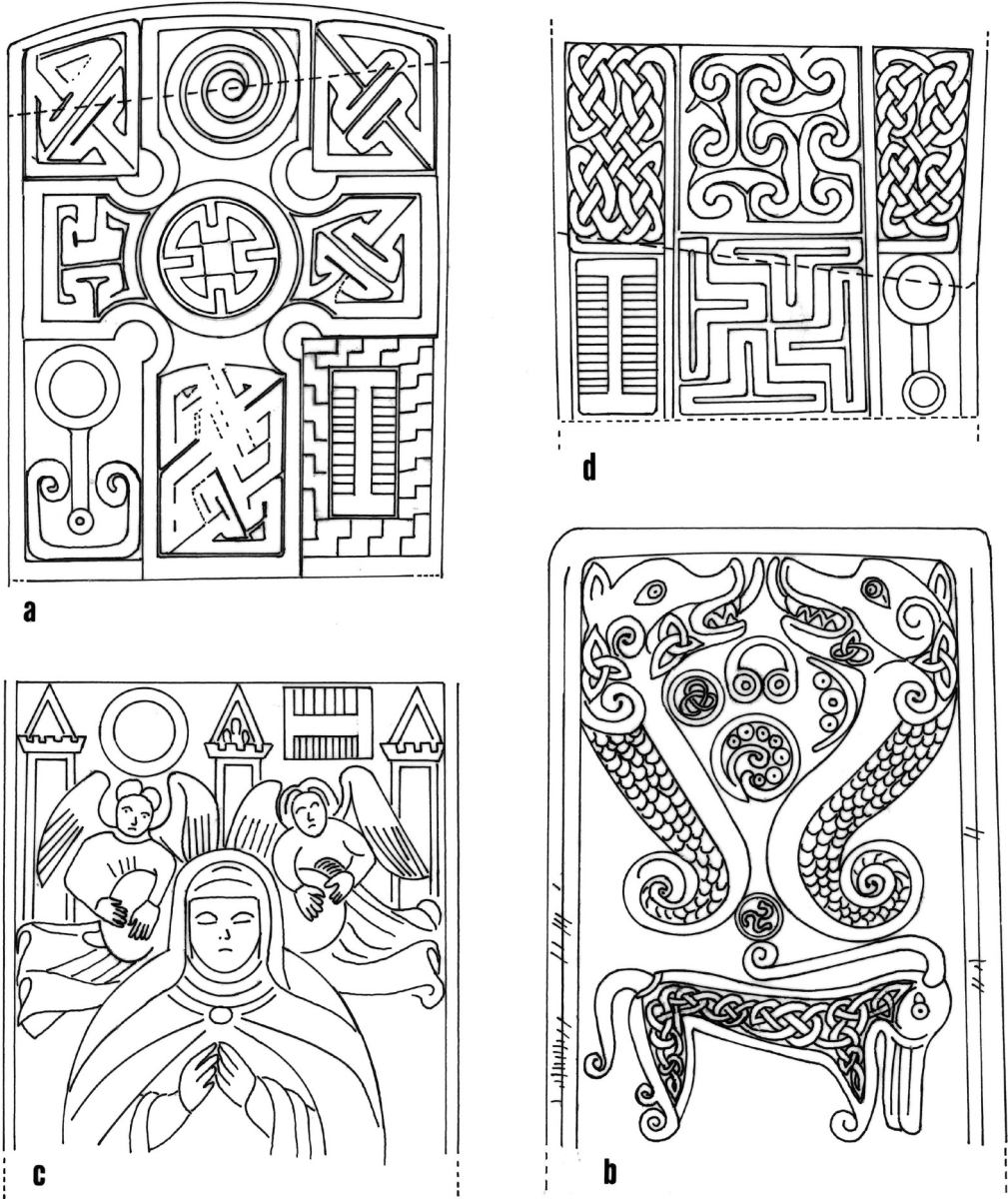
ABD: Drumdurno (Maiden Stone) 1D (ECMS, part 3, 21–3, fig 18 and 190–1, fig 207A), on the narrow edge of a later tenth- to 11th-century slab from SUT: Lothbeg 1D (ECMS, part 3, 54, fig 52; Close-Brooks 1989, 8, illus) and on the near-contemporary cross shaft of a slab at ORK: Holm (Graemshall) 1A (ECMS, part 3, fig 18). It is of interest that RA 721 is bracketed with its own developed form, RA 726, at Drumdurno, a unitary version of which is also found in the lower cross arm on PER: Meigle 5A. Another version of RA 721, designed to fit within a small panel (RA 730), occurs in Strathclyde on LNK: Govan 4C-1 (ECMS, part 3, fig 486B) and in slightly modified straight strand form (RA 729) on CAI: Ulbster 1A – in the narrows of the arms³⁶ (ECMS, part 3, figs 30 & 31). The motif has a widespread dispersal pattern although its simple form, as found at Kilduncan, is limited to northern and north-eastern Scotland.

EDGE E

The top edge may originally have had more extensive decoration, now lost, towards the narrow edges (illus 22). It is reasonable to surmise that the whole of the edge (as on other faces) was originally decorated but is now so worn that the presence of any cross shaft and evidence for the remaining arms has been obliterated. Carving of the upper slab edge would admit the monument to a restricted group of four contemporary small slabs all with decoration executed in similar relief style.³⁷ Kilduncan's decoration is perhaps closest to ANG: Kirriemuir 18E (RCAHMS 2003).

DATING

Factors that help in assigning a broad date for the Kilduncan monument include the relatively small size of the monument and the presence of decoration on all five faces, all of which are a guide suggesting the monument belongs to a later phase of sculpture development.



ILLUS 23 Comparison of Mirror and Comb and torc motifs: (a) ELG: Kinneddar 26A, (b) ELG: Dyke 1C, (c) ARG: Iona 204A – tombstone of prioress Anna MacLean, (d) reconstruction drawing Kilduncan 1A

More significant perhaps is any lack of differentiation in the carving on the faces from a flat, monotonous low-relief carving technique, a stylistic indicator also found elsewhere on Scando-insular sculpture in Scotland and its

neighbours and contrasting with the variety of carving techniques employed on earlier sculpture³⁸ (Henderson 1978, 49). Another dating marker is the production of irregular abstract ornament also paralleled amongst

contemporary Scando-insular sculpture. The monument carries a restricted range of abstract and iconographic motifs which, although some can be shown to have been present earlier in an insular context, only became popular, drawn together as a group, on Scando-insular sculpture. The raft of evidence present on the Kilduncan slab points towards a period for its creation during the mature synthesis of Scando-insular style at a time when the style had begun to affect the core areas of Gaelic Scotland between the latter parts of the second half of the tenth and mid-11th century and, in this instance, more specifically immediately around the turn of the millennium.

DISCUSSION

ICONOGRAPHY AND THE MEANING OF THE ABSTRACT DECORATION

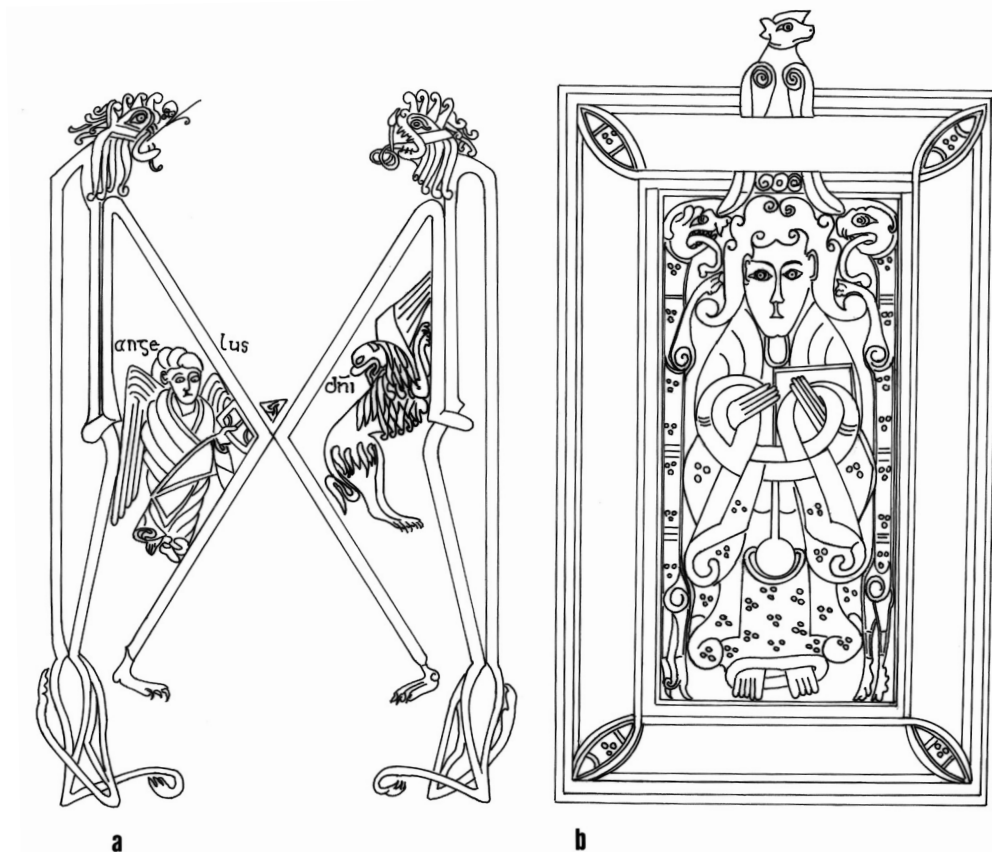
The iconography of the main face is, at the immediate level, straightforward. The cross, the dominant feature because of its raised position on the slab, size and centrality, represents the redemptive Christ, beckoning the audience towards salvation. However, at a more detailed level, the significance has been largely lost: the meaning of elements such as the lentoid motifs and their decoration and functional role in the design cannot be readily interpreted, despite their presence in part at least on other monuments, metalwork and in manuscript, while the specific form of the arm-pits (originally perhaps a form based solely on their structural integrity in metalwork pieces) and the ornamentation of the cross itself and the pseudo-base almost certainly also carried particular meaning amplifying the salvational message; however, the key to much of its significance now appears irrecoverable. The pelta-form pattern (RA 1064), central in the upper register of the cross base, together with its widespread related forms (see ECMS, part 2, RA 1042–1122) frequently appears in association with the cross – as at Dupplin, Meigle, Elgin,

Shandwick, Skinnet and Farr etc – where it perhaps signifies an abstract representation of the starry firmament of the Heavens as a background to Christ in Glory. This representation is often found from the sixth century onwards: in architectural mosaic representation in the apse of the Egyptian monastery of St Apollo at Bawit and in Italy in the Ravenna churches of San Vitale, Sant' Apollinare in Classe and the mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Grabar 1966, illus 186, 123, 133, 148 & 153). Later, they appeared in Carolingian sculpture, on a carved slab at Santa Maria Vecchia, Gussago; decorating architecture in the roof and dome of the Palatine Chapel, Aachen and in the apse of Saint-Germigny-des-Prés. They also occur in manuscript, in the *Fleury Gospel Book* and the *Gospel Book of St Emmeram of Regensburg*³⁹ (Hubert et al 1970, illus 11, 31, 37, 138 & 179). At Kilduncan, if this thesis is accepted, then the Cross (symbolizing Christ) is to be understood as set in the Heavens as a beacon of Salvation. This use of pelta-form patterns seems to be an overwhelmingly later, predominantly Scando-insular, motif in sculptural contexts.

The distinctive fragmentary arc in the incomplete lower register of the cross pseudo-base panel on Face A deserves special comment. If it is correctly identified as part of a Mirror symbol, the opposing lost panel to the left may convincingly be argued to have contained a Comb symbol, to complete the motif in an expected manner and balance the design (illus 7a & 23d). This precise formula occurs on the contemporary monument ELG: Kinneddar (Drainie) 26A (DES 1996, 75, fig 26; RCAHMS 1999, 35 – under Drainie 2) (illus 23a); however, the presence of such symbols here in no way implies a date earlier than that globally proposed, as all Kinneddar sculpture appears to belong to a late tenth- to 12th-century *floruit*. It is most significant that the otherwise unique U-shaped (torc-like) motif in the lower left panel, surrounding the handle of the Kinneddar Mirror, also appears on the reverse face of ELG: Dyke 1C (ECMS, part 3, fig 136A)⁴⁰ between those

S-beasts already noted as the most convincing parallel for Kilduncan's S-beasts (illus 23b). Nor should it be forgotten that the AD 1543 Iona tombstone representing prioress Anna MacLean (inv no 204) still portrayed a Mirror and Comb carved in prime position above her head while the Virgin and Child carved at the opposite end had, in identical position, a representation of the cosmological symbols of sun and moon as illustrated in Edward Lhuyd and Thomas Pennant's (1772) drawings, thus showing the continuing importance of such symbolism (Campbell & Thompson 1963; RCAHMS 1982, 232–3, illus 203A (Lhuyd)-B) (illus 23c). Thus multi-faceted connections subsist between the Moravian slabs from Dyke and Kinneddar

(perhaps some Easter Ross monuments) and the Kilduncan monument, underscoring their shared influence and contemporaneity. Several instances of the Mirror and Comb motif in Scotland are associated explicitly with religious iconography; moreover, the motif is also closely associated with female representations that have been identified as the Virgin accompanied by the Child, Jesus (Trench-Jellicoe 1999a). In such instances the motifs appear to operate as part of the Virgin's paraphernalia and thus symbolize Her. This suggests that a Mirror's presence on the main face of the Kilduncan slab, decorating the cross pseudo-base, would have been perfectly appropriate as part of a Christian iconographic programme as it surely



ILLUS 24 Beast-frame motifs: (a) *Book of Kells*, fol 187v, explicit St Mark, (b) *Gospel Book of MacDurnan*, fol 70v, miniature of St Mark

was on ELG: Kinneddar 26 and elsewhere – for example, ANG: Kirriemuir 1C-L and Kingoldrum 1C, PER: Meigle 1C and E.ROS: Hilton of Cadboll 1C-2 (ECMS, part 3, figs 59, 238B, 239B & 310B). Here at Kilduncan we have a monument displaying Albano-Norse features but which, like the Kinneddar slab, appears to carry symbolism dating to the second half of the tenth century or, more probably, later. The Kilduncan Mirror (and Comb), potentially symbolizing the Virgin's part in the redemptive plan, flanks the four-part, cruciform motif, RA 921 (illus 7a), the whole possibly commenting on Her own sacrifice, Her equivalent act to Christ's suffering on the cross, in submitting to God's will to deliver the Saviour amongst mankind and make redemption possible.⁴¹

An iconographic study of the reverse face of the Kilduncan slab is more readily coherent and rewarding. The iconography of the upper register, two S-beasts framing a cross, symbolizes a prophetic christological passage from the Old Latin text (such as that in the *Vespasian Psalter*) of the Canticle of Habakkuk,⁴² Chapter 3:2, '*In medio duorum animalium innotesceris*: In the midst of two beasts You will be revealed' (Wright 1967, fol 145r), an icon whose significance has been extensively discussed by Éamonn Ó Carragáin (1988, 4–5 & 27–9). Symbolic forms in Scotland of Christ as the instrument of Salvation, recognized between beasts or other monsters, are widespread and appear on monuments ranging from the Western Isles to Shetland, as far as southern Scotland⁴³ and across the early medieval Christian world. This Kilduncan motif almost certainly encapsulates the meaning of the long-standing formula cited above of two confronted beasts usually having their limbs crossed (symbolizing Christ in their midst) which were first apparent in panels in an insular context on DMF: Ruthwell 1W-3 (ECMS, part 3, 4–5) and E/CUM: Bewcastle 1W-3 and which were later carved on the SHE: St Ninian's Isle, so-called Founder's Shrine Posts 1 and 3 and ANG: Kirriemuir 2A-shaft

panel. This is almost certainly also the meaning of those slabs framed with a beast-headed border.⁴⁴ This mirrored beast motif operated at the most sophisticated levels of iconography, appearing *inter alia* on fol 187v of the *Book of Kells*, where it frames the *explicit* of St Mark's Gospel (Meehan 1994, 32) and as such provides an expanded context for us today to gain an understanding of its fuller meaning (illus 24). In *Kells*, each beast's rear legs cross while their tongues writhe and weave. Their forelimbs depict a prominent saltire cross formed between their bodies, so invoking Christ, and their bodies frame the Gospel text. A small red triquetra knot representing the Trinity is painted at the centre of the whole motif. Nearby, an angel of the Lord, whose identity is confirmed by a label above written in red script, '*angelus d[omi]ni*', offers up the completed Gospel-book, pressed closely against the cruciform beasts' legs and to the right the lion of St Mark observes the scene. That this beast represents a manifestation of the Deity is implied by its juxtaposition with the abbreviated letters *dni*.⁴⁵ The reason for the beast frame motif's appearance at this point, at the end of the Gospel (Mark 16:19–20), lies in the relevance of its meaning. The text to which it relates describes Christ's final words to the disciples (in the immediately preceding verses He stiffens their belief, bids them preach the Gospel 'to every creature', laying down the basic tenets of belief that 'he that *believeth* shall be *saved* but he that *believeth not* shall be *dammned*'). His ascent into Heaven to sit 'on the right hand of God' is then recorded, followed, in the final verse, by references to the disciples preaching and spreading the Word supported by the Lord's heavenly signs 'confirming the Word', manifested in the scene by the Gospel held in the angel's hand. Thus, Christ's divine credentials are confirmed as Son of God, visually represented by the beasts' forelimbs depicted in the saltire formation, the basic tenets of Christian belief are laid down and the presence of the Hand of God is seen at work intervening in the world of men, promising

Salvation to those who believe. This is made plain in the text: ‘All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth ... I am with you alway, *even* unto the end of the world’ (Mathew 28: 18, 20) and signified in the related iconography and, as such, it synthesizes with and functions as the fulfilment of the earlier Habakkuk text which offered the key to Christ’s recognition. It is obvious that the Kilduncan sculptor also intended to suggest equally complex and rich associations in his multi-valent composition, for this is also a primary image and text for conversion, although here surely of personal, in terms of the individual viewer, as well as universal import, and in this it is generally similar in meaning to those images found elsewhere of the Virgin and Child – for example, WISL: Canna 1E-2 (Trench-Jellicoe 1999a; Fisher 2001, 98–9, illus E face) and elsewhere. We should accept that although the general populous would not have comprehended the sophisticated underlying meaning, they would surely have understood what the symbol meant. Therefore, it seems most probable that the meaning of this redemptive iconography commanded widespread recognition and those short-hand versions of the *Kells* imagery which lack an exegetic text – as found at Kilduncan and *inter alia* on both the Bressay and Papil slabs – would have been comprehended by an erudite viewer as an epitome of the fuller intellectual exposition in sources similar to *Kells*. In effect, the beast frame is the marker for recognizing Christ, pointing the way through the portals of Salvation or, viewed alternatively, representing the Gateway to Paradise. A parallel scene appears on fol 70v of the *Gospel Book of MacDurnan* (Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1370: Henry 1967, plate 42) which, significantly, contains a portrait of St Mark within a beast frame (probably not a chair) all encapsulated within a border decorated in the corners with lentoid motifs, notably the only example of this motif in the manuscript (illus 24b).

Although the scene in the lower register of the reverse face, a lion attacked by a hound,

like a hart and hound, is generally symbolic of sin surrounding and attacking a soul seeking salvation (Bailey 1977; 1996, 85; Trench-Jellicoe 1999a, 192–3 & 195), at Kilduncan the lion probably represents Christ in yet another of His manifestations, eternally under attack by evil but demonstrating His ability to withstand the assault of sin which can have no hold on Him. The beast seems securely identified as a lion and its presence is appropriate on this face as part of a christological programme including various motifs in which Christ is ‘recognized’, for the lion is also one of Christ’s allegorical symbols in the *Physiologus*, the Resurrected Christ (Henderson 1996, 6–7), His other allegorical natures in this form being ‘ever vigilance against sin’ and ‘power over death’. The potent lion iconograph at Kilduncan probably functions in a similar manner when it appears *inter alia* on programmes at Bressay (where another small quadruped attacks a lion), at Shandwick, Ulbster, Papil, Kildalton and on other Iona School sculpture. Although the Kilduncan lion appears in profile, its presence in the context of the overall programme on this face may echo something of the use of a lion mask on Charlemagne’s portal on the Palatine Chapel at Aachen (Hubert et al 1970, illus 205), a religious context in which it symbolizes a lion as the door-keeper of Heaven (Gannon 2003, 135). The upper and lower registers on this Kilduncan face complement each other and the lower statement intensifies the redemptive message of the upper.

Through a study of the iconography, the spiritual sophistication of the Kilduncan monument is revealed. Salvation through Christ is the focus of both sides (and perhaps of the narrow edges too if it were possible to understand the nuances of the significance of the ornament which may be derived from earlier vine-scroll motifs), and His redemptive power is made apparent to the audience in a coded, symbolic way that would have been understood at a variety of levels, dependent on education.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LOCATIONS OF THE SOURCES OF KILDUNCAN'S DECORATION

Kilduncan is a puzzling monument. None of its ornament derives from the adjacent region of eastern-central Scotland where its primary connections might have been expected. Available parallel evidence is incomplete – sculpture has been lost or carelessly destroyed over the last millennium – but from what survives, the main sources for the Kilduncan slab's decoration occur in the geographic spread from the southern shores of the Moray Firth to Shetland, an area referred to here as the North Sea province. Within that region two centres particularly emerge as significant. Numerically, the less significant area lies on the southern shore of the Moray Firth around Elgin and Forres. Here the closest parallels for Kilduncan's fine S-beasts and the Mirror (and Comb) symbol are found on related monuments (ELG: Dyke and Kinneddar 26). Both motifs in this particular form seem to belong securely to the North Sea province. More perplexing, however, the closest parallels for a majority of motifs at Kilduncan appear on one Zetlandic monument, the Bressay slab, while relevant, closely associated decoration occurs also on the nearby Papil, West Burra, slab. Bressay carries the lentoid motifs with their distinctive decoration, the lion under siege and the augmented cross-of-arcs. This is an outstanding assemblage intensified by the presence of framing beasts,⁴⁶ which together point to a unique and complex association between Bressay and Kilduncan although both stand as isolated examples. Apart from parallels found at these two prime foci, the most significant Kilduncan motif to derive from the North Sea province is the edge pattern of angular twist (RA 721), which in an insular sculptural context occurs exclusively in this region, preserved at only three sites.

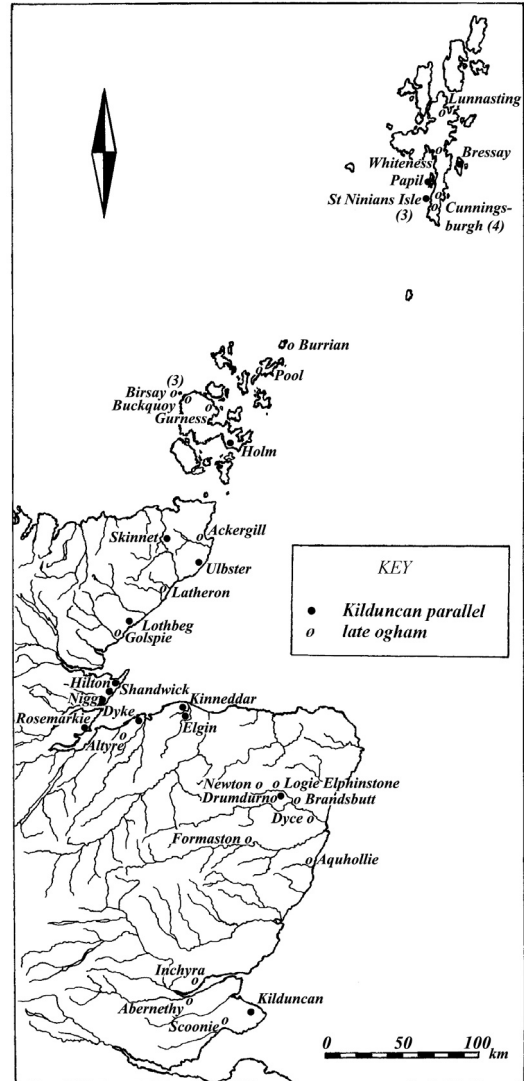
It is of signal importance that the North Sea province does not exhaust Kilduncan's decorative repertoire. A few motifs cannot be paralleled at all in contemporary Alba but

are drawn from the Irish Sea province, at this date comprising areas bordering the Irish Sea, settled or politically influenced by peoples of Scandinavian and mixed descent who were by now Christian. The region extends from parts of western Scotland and the Western Isles to West Wales and Southern Ireland and includes also parts of south-west Scotland, north-western England, northern (and perhaps western) Ireland and the Isle of Man. From this broad area alone comes the decoration of Kilduncan's Edge B (RA 519) – but notably it occurs ten times spread throughout this area – while the cruciform meander (RA 921) appears here on four monuments within a defined area of south-west Wales. These connections with Scando-insular enclaves in Wales only serve to intensify the nature to those observed connections of disc-headed monuments, particularly associated with the Viking-age Isle of Man. Equally significantly, it seems probable that the source of the shared lentoid motifs and other rare parallels for Bressay and Papil decoration, relevant to Kilduncan, are also to be derived ultimately from the resources of the Irish Sea province. The implication is, then, that the influence of Scando-insular decorative motifs derived from the west is an important background source for both the Zetlandic monuments and the Kilduncan slab.

A reference to Scando-insular art styles should not conjure notions of marauding Vikings moving into an area and imposing their native styles on local inhabitants. Well-developed insular art styles, sometimes referred to as Hiberno-Saxon art, were current in the British Isles in the ninth century when contact was first made with Scandinavian incomers and attempts were initiated for their conversion to Christianity. Insular art styles, used to decorate specifically Christian objects, were introduced into the Norse colonial world as part of the conversion process, as well as appearing on objects obtained by other less savoury means. This ornamental repertoire later became modified as local artisans took them up and, by turns, absorbed and synthesized native insular styles with a range

of contemporary semi-abstract motifs imported from their Scandinavian homelands. Such newly forged stylistic amalgams were eventually reabsorbed into the mainstream of insular art from the later tenth century and influenced all areas of the British Isles to a greater or lesser extent over a considerable period. This Scando-insular phenomenon is readily apparent in the Gaelic kingdom where vigorous but limited new styles from peripheral areas influenced artistic development within the context of a well-established Christian tradition. The decoration of the Kilduncan slab thus represents part of an ongoing renewal in taste, a small milestone bringing together a novel blend of influences drawn from disparate earlier styles over a wide cultural and geographic range.

Given the general paucity of evidence available for sculpture in the northern part of western Scotland and the Western Isles, it might seem to overstretch sparse evidence to suggest regular contacts in a sculptural context between the Irish Sea and North Sea provinces, were it not for a significant contemporary parallel phenomenon occurring in the transmission of ogham script between Ireland and the east coast of Scotland. Ogham script in a Scottish context now appears to belong not, as has hitherto been believed, to a Pictish or subsequent Picto-Scottish cultural milieu of the ninth century but to the baggage of the Scando-insular world reaching north Britain in the time of the Gaelic kingdom. The case for ogham as part of this pattern of exchange, taking place within a tenth- to 11th-century Scando-insular milieu, will be argued by this author elsewhere (Trench-Jellicoe, in prep a) but it should now be associated with other evidence suggesting that motifs along with scripts were imported initially from Ireland to the Irish Sea littoral, then transmitted along the western sea routes into the Norse settlements in western and, in this instance specifically, into northern Scotland where they achieved their greatest popularity. It is now demonstrable that cultural influence passed both ways in exchange from North Sea



ILLUS 25 Comparative find spots for Kilduncan parallels and ogham inscriptions in Eastern Scotland

to Irish Sea provinces, ultimately reaching from Fife to Southern Wales and Ireland, and perhaps beyond at both ends of the transmission. Significantly, the intensity of the distribution of sources for the decorative motifs from the North Sea province on the Kilduncan slab mirrors the intensity and overall distribution of ogham inscriptions along the

eastern seaboard and in the Northern Isles, the heaviest spread lying to the north and tailing off rapidly towards the south, suggesting that both phenomena may belong to the same eventuality. On occasion these disparate elements appear together on the same monuments (particularly Bressay and Dyke which, like Golspie, possess oghams and Christian motifs) confirming their contemporaneity (illus 25). Significantly, many of these sites also preserve late or degenerate examples of abstract symbolism – often erroneously referred to in this context as ‘Pictish’ symbols (ECMS, vol 2, 57–79, RA 117–62) – included alongside the repertoire of Scando-insular sculpture for the kudos they brought. This phenomenon, occurring *inter alia* on Bressay, Dyce 2, Dyke and Golspie slabs, implies that the developing Norse attachment to Christianity took place within a complex intermix of cultures and peoples in the area and should be seen in the context of a keen, eclectic Norse interest in abstruse communication systems of all types – including runic and ogham scripts as well as secular and ecclesiastical symbolism – a rich amalgam expressing an interest which faded overall only in the 12th century, and in some areas such as western Scotland and the Western Isles continued into later sculpture.

AN IMMEDIATE SOURCE FOR KILDUNCAN

Given the presence of what appears to be an irreconcilable spread of carved source motifs for the Kilduncan slab, yet faced with the task of explaining their transmission into the East Neuk of Fife, the inclusion of the distinctive Scottish motifs of Mirror (and Comb) and S-beasts suggest that its immediate origin was most likely to be found in Moray where the elements of the programme were finally assembled. Kinneddar with its dependencies would have provided a suitable contemporary focus for such a process, as this site was significant as the hub of the proto-bishopric of Moray from the later tenth century and would have attracted sculptors and related

artisans from a wide area, facilitating exchange of influence, technique and motifs. It is evident from an analysis of the spread of sculptural motifs that there was considerable contact throughout the east of (modern) Scotland. Despite the extent of shared motifs and ideas in Shetland, and visible also at Kilduncan, it is improbable that Kilduncan’s motifs were derived directly from the Northern Isles although they may have shared a common source situated elsewhere, a source no longer apparent.

Just how intimately the Kinneddar area may have been connected with eastern Fife has been revealed by Dr Simon Taylor’s recent unpublished research (pers comm) on the *Liber Sancti Andree* (Thomson 1841, 56–62) where, amongst the remarkable set of grants confirmed by Pope Lucius III to St Andrews Priory in 1183, he has identified gifts made by Bishop Simon of Moray (AD 1172–84). One item in particular refers to ‘the church of *Kinardor* (ELG: Kinneddar)⁴⁷ with a carucate of land and with the teinds of the rents of his lordships (*cum decimis reddituum dominiorum suorum*)’. Dr Taylor comments that:

this is unlikely to be a new or recent gift but one which recognizes (probably reluctantly) the status quo before the establishment or re-establishment of the bishopric of Moray, of long-standing rights owed to the Bishop of St Andrews as bishop of Alba in the north.

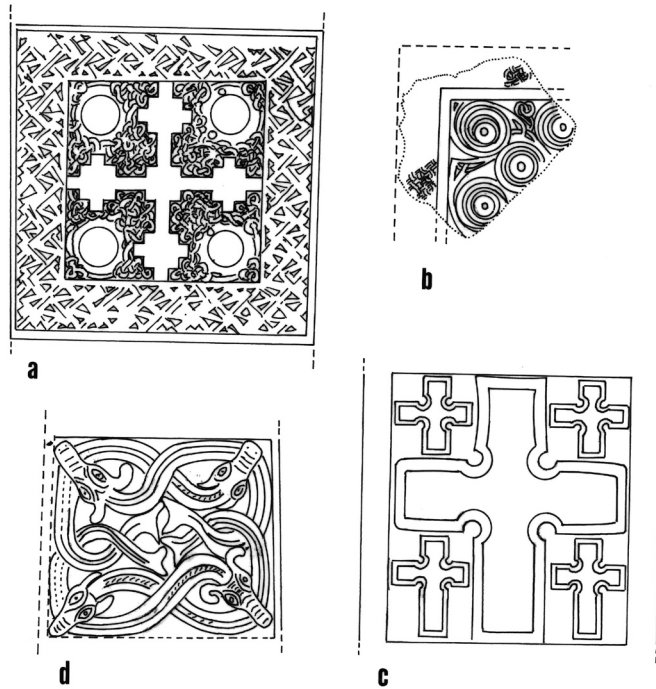
The considerable amount of sculpture dating to the second half of the tenth century onwards from Kinneddar (preserved in Elgin Museum) underscores the site’s importance as an ecclesiastical focus. By 1208 x 15, Kinneddar church was already a major focus within the diocese of Moray (*Mor Reg* no 46), with an extensive sculptural tradition behind it. Sculptural links between St Andrews and Kinneddar and their dependencies, presumably including Dyke and Kilduncan, highlight the politico-ecclesiastical connections and serve to reinforce evidence of a sustained relationship between the two sites, particularly through,

for instance, the presence of a stylistically similar David-the-Lion-Killer image at both sites (ECMS, part 3, fig 365; Ferguson 1954–6, 225, plate 43.1) and also, as Isabel Henderson has recently noted, the derivative form of the Kinneddar composite box-shrine shrine fragments apparently based on the form of the St Andrews sarcophagus (Henderson & Henderson 2004, 300, illus 298). But association is also indicated by style, design and the narrow range of similar abstract motifs on grave furniture at both sites and reinforced by the presence of the material under discussion here. Neither site preserves evidence of abstract symbolism on its sculpture and the relevance of the sole primary symbol stone at Kinneddar is unclear and perhaps unrelated.

panel, ARG: Kilmartin 1A-1 (Fisher 2001, 149, no 68.4, illus A). Although lacking an explicit cross design (the lower panel carries a hidden cross formed from the sea-serpents' tails), two panels from W.ISL: Canna, a'Chill 13C-1 & 2 also have all the appearance of deriving their decoration from a metalwork model that used applied ornamental strip borders to mask the joints along the plate edges (ibid, 100, no 28.13, illus Ac, Bc & D) (illus 26a–d). All monuments cited above belong to the tenth or 11th century and it is regrettable that no contemporary piece of metalwork survives to confirm this suspicion. However, a basic design format of a cross, surrounded by four similar elements, as on Kilduncan 1A, appears in metalworking on two silver penannular brooches deposited between AD 950 and 970 recovered from the Skaill hoard,

THE IMPACT OF METALWORK MODELS

In the analytical section (above) it was suggested that Kilduncan's distinctive design and execution implied that a specific piece of decorative metalwork, such as the front of a book-shrine, may have provided the model for the design *en bloc*, at least for some areas of the slab decoration. The suspicion that this transposition of a metalwork model onto sculpture was not unique⁴⁸ is supported by the presence of a fine cross-decorated panel on E.ROS: Rosemarkie 1C-2 which appears likely to be derived from a metalwork panel of this type (ECMS, part 3, figs 60A & 63, for a reconstruction see Hull 2003, fig 3.12), while a second occurs on a fragment from ELG: Kinneddar (Drainie) 6 (ECMS, part 3, fig 148). Another potential example of this category was carved on a distinctively designed



ILLUS 26 Parallels for metalwork modelled sculpture: (a) E.ROS: Rosemarkie 1C-2, (b) ELG: Kinneddar 6A, (c) ARG: Kilmartin 1A, (d) W.ISL: Canna, a'Chill 13B

Sandwick, Orkney – IL 6 and IL 841 (Graham-Campbell 1995, 111, figs 38 & 123, plates 13 & 17) – on which four snake-heads approach an encircled cross.

That such a potential model was available locally may be gleaned from an entry in the *Legend of St Andrew* (Skene 1867, 190), in a passage of the Latin account of the foundation of the Augustinian priory at St Andrews written c 1140 by Robert, the first prior (Taylor 2000a, 120–2), which refers to a high-status book-shrine at St Andrews inscribed with a legend recording the maker as Bishop Fothad:

Indeed from ancient times they [the bishops to the Scots] are called the bishops of St Andrew, and in ancient as well as modern writing they are found called high archbishop or high bishop to the Scots. Which is why Bishop Fothad, a man of the greatest authority, caused to be written on the cover of a gospel-book these lines:

Fothad, who is the High Bishop to the Scots, made the cover for an ancestral gospel-book.⁴⁹

The inscribed verse couplet is also quoted by both Walter Bower in the *Scotichronicon* (Macqueen et al 1995, vol 3, 242–4) and Andrew Wyntoun in the *Orygynale Cronykil* (Laing 1872–9, Book VI, 10) as part of their descriptions confirming that the book-shrine was still displayed on the high altar at St Andrews in the 15th century. The shrine, poetically described by Wyntoun as ‘platydoure with silvyre brycht: covered all over with shining silver plates’ or perhaps ‘chased with silver’, was apparently still a noteworthy relic four centuries after it was made. Bishop Fothad was banished from his see by King Idulb in AD 955 and died in AD 963.⁵⁰ Wyntoun claims that it was during this period of exile that the book-shrine was made:

Fodawche the byschape banysyd he	He (king Idulb) banished Fothad
Owt off Sanctandrewys his awyne Se.	From his see of St Andrews
Yhit this byschape nevertheless	Nevertheless the bishop

Aucht yhere efftyr that lyvand wes.	Lived yet for eight years after that.
He made a tysstyre in that qwhylle,	During which time he (Fothad) made a cover
Quhare-in wes cloyd the Wangylle.	In which the Gospels were enshrined.

The presence of such a book-shrine or *cumhdach* in St Andrews from the mid 950s would fit satisfactorily within the time-frame suggested here for a metalwork model as the source for Kilduncan’s decorative programme, and both Bower and Wyntoun record Bishop Fothad as maker of the shrine. However, complete reliance cannot be placed in a tenth-century claim as there were two bishops of St Andrews of that name, the second held office from AD 1059 to 1093, which led Marjorie Anderson (1974, 3 & 4) to observe rather unhelpfully, ‘One of the two [bishops] made a silver-plated shrine’ and ‘we cannot rule out the possibility of confusion between Fothad I and Fothad II’. Benjamin Hudson (1998, 159, no 60), nevertheless, has recently affirmed his belief that it is the earlier Fothad to whom the passage refers, elevating the probability that St Andrews possessed a metalwork book-shrine in the mid-tenth century which potentially provided a model for local sculpture. Fothad I’s death entry records him as ‘bishop of the Isles of Scotland’ (*Insi Alban*),⁵⁰ which has been assumed to indicate that he spent his exile in the Hebrides, and Anderson (1974, 3) goes as far as suggesting ‘possibly he spent his exile in Iona’. If Fothad was indeed exiled in the Hebrides, making his gospel-shrine, local craftsmen working in this milieu are likely to have been well versed by the mid-tenth century in decorating objects in a local version of the Scando-insular style; motifs such as the decorative cross and the pair of S-beasts from Kilduncan would have been particularly appropriate decoration for a shrine-cover for gospels in which Christ is pre-eminently to be found ‘revealed’.⁵¹

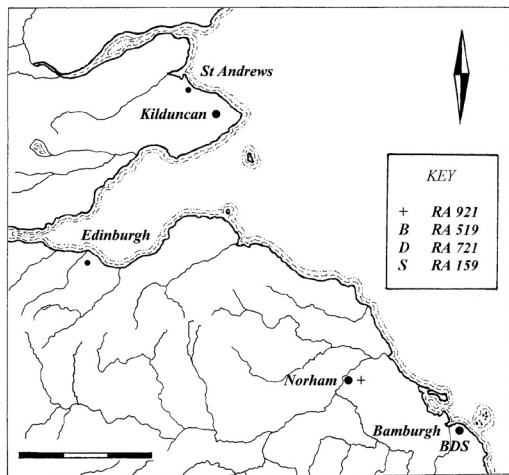
KILDUNCAN'S SCULPTURAL CONNECTIONS
SOUTHWARD

Hitherto, this article has stressed Kilduncan's extended connections northward and westward, highlighting a lack of more local relationships in eastern-central Scotland. However, two isolated connections remain which are more difficult to explain for they occur in what is now northern Northumberland in an area which, by the year AD 1000, had been part of the Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian territory of Bernicia for four centuries. The first motif, a parallel for Kilduncan 1A-1, is found as a double unit of RA 921 on a small fragment – NBD: Norham-on-Tweed 13B (Cramp 1984, *illus* 1185) (*illus* 27). A second monument, which preserves a raft of connections, comes from the coastal site of Bamburgh Castle (*illus* 28) and appears on a carved arm fragment from a stone chair or throne (NBD: Bamburgh 1A). This piece, fascinatingly and uniquely decorated with an amalgamation of Kilduncan motifs (*ibid*, *illus* 814) (*illus* 29), combines motif RA 519 (twin-strand twist here in its thick-and-thin form as at E/N.LNC: Urswick-in-Furness). The motif is found on Kilduncan 1B (and as a vignette in the lentoid units of Kilduncan 1A-2), drawn from the repertory of the Irish Sea province. Fused here with RA 519 are the distinctive triangular

loops from RA 721, found on Kilduncan 1D, derived from the North Sea province (*illus* 30a–c). The thicker of the contoured twisted strands (RA 519) on the Bamburgh fragment terminate above in two confronting beast-heads, of similar type to those S-beasts flanking



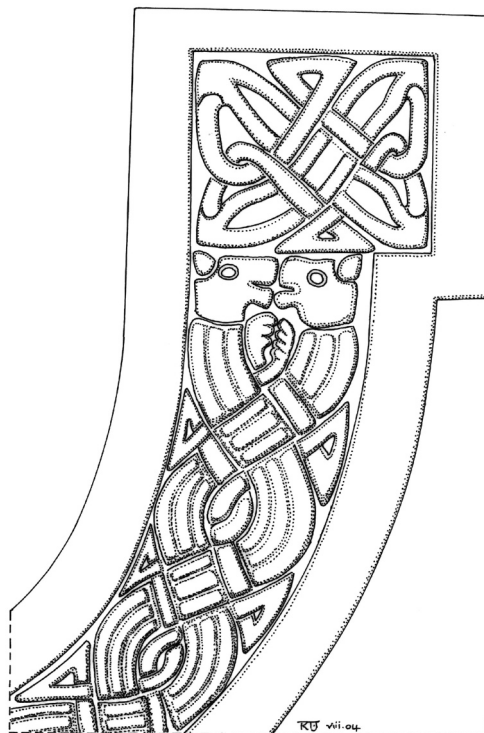
ILLUS 27 Panel from NBD: Norham 13B



ILLUS 28 (Map 4) Location of Kilduncan and related north Northumbrian sites.

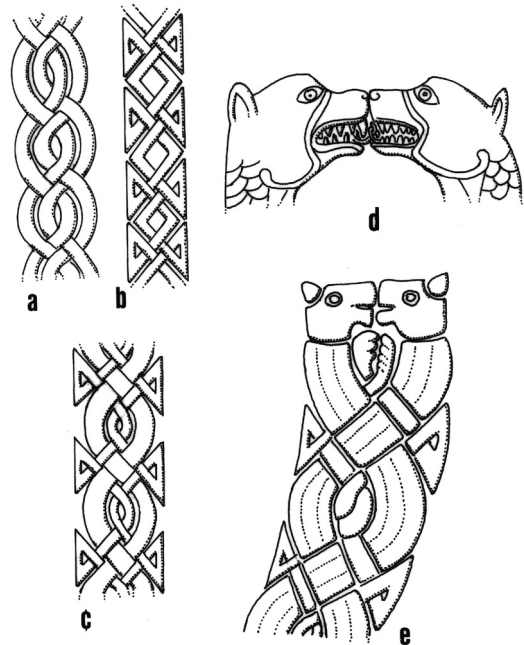
Kilduncan 1C-2, while the upper terminals of the narrower strands immediately below straddle the axis and develop into crossed forelimbs (illus 30c-d), suggesting once again the meaning of the overall iconograph may be found in the christological motif from the Cantic of Habakkuk 3:2, 'In the midst of two beasts You will be recognized', in which the crossed paws symbolize Christ. The beast-head elements were surely drawn from the Kilduncan model or, less probably, a close parallel such as ELG: Dyke or CAI: Ulbster 1C (ECMS, part 3, fig 30A). Such decoration of a chair-back is reminiscent of manuscript representations of evangelists and saints seated on beast-headed thrones (illus 24b) and the iconography of this finial would, essentially, be more appropriate to, and tend to confirm its identification as, ecclesiastical furniture rather than a high-status secular chair. The damaged upper rectangular register on the finial of this face (illus 29) supports this view, as it comprises a single-strand motif based on RA 551 with the addition once again of flanking triangular loops extrapolated from RA 721, whose basic design seems closer to and may derive ultimately from

the double figure-of-eight ornamenting the lower area of the cross shaft of SHE: Pupil 1 (ECMS, part 3, fig 7) than relating directly to the lentoid decoration of Kilduncan 1A,⁵² but at Bamburgh the form is essentially that of an enmeshed Greek letter 'chi' and, as such, symbolizes Christ.⁵³ The overall symbolism of this Bamburgh motif seems to be grounded in a recognition of Christ as Redeemer (Trench-Jellicoe, in prep c). The Kilduncan slab remains unique in Scotland in being decorated with both motifs RA 519 and RA 721 as well as the S-beast motif, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the synthesized ornament at Bamburgh is a distillation constructed from it. The Bamburgh design should therefore be recognized as a fine example of model reformation, where a source is readily identifiable and has been remodelled appropriately for its new context, here by



ILLUS 29 Reconstruction drawing of NBD: Bamburgh 1A

recombining four Kilduncan elements. These Northumbrian instances of rare Kilduncan motifs are totally isolated in terms of other insular examples (particularly from Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture) and their presence seems, with some certainty, to rely on a Scottish explanation. Both north Northumbrian sites of Norham and Bamburgh were longstanding, important political foci and, drawing on the implication of the sculptural evidence, also ecclesiastical centres. The Norham and Bamburgh sculptures may best be understood within a context of ongoing Scottish political ambitions for the annexation of Anglo-Saxon territory in the period after the AD 973 agreement between Cináed mac Máel-choluim (Kenneth II) and the Anglo-Saxon king, Edgar, acknowledging that Lothian, but probably not the Merse, was *de facto* under Scottish rule (Barrow 1974, 150–1). It may well be that the level of control required to permit the production of Scottish-related sculpture at Norham and Bamburgh was not established in these footholds south of the Tweed until after the decisive battle at Carham in AD 1018, a situation perhaps underscored by a politically significant entry in the *Scottish Chronicle* recording ‘many offerings’ (symbolic of overlordship) distributed to clergy and churches on the day of the battle by the Scottish king Máel-choluim mac Cináeda (Malcolm II): Norham and the ecclesiastical element of the Northumbrian earldom *caput* of Bamburgh may have been numbered amongst these gifts bestowed on the Scottish church, evidentially including St Andrews. If the key political focus of Bamburgh was delivered into Scottish hands and held for some time, as implied by the presence of the sculpture, then the results of the battle of Carham may indeed have been far-reaching, precipitating the removal of the Bernician’s northernmost defensive stronghold southwards for a time towards Alnwick and raising the ecclesiastical status of Bamburgh under a Scottish aegis.⁵⁴ The evidence of this southern connection



ILLUS 30 Development of motifs RA 519, RA 721 and RA 159 at Kilduncan and Bamburgh: (a) RA 519 – Kilduncan 1B, (b) RA 721 – Kilduncan 1D, (c) combined motif RA 519/721, (d) S-beast heads, Kilduncan 1C, (e) combined motif RA 519, RA 721 and Kilduncan S-beast heads as found on NBD: Bamburgh 1A

for the Kilduncan monument, together with the links northward to Kinneddar and Dyke, suggest an intimate association between the Kilduncan estate and St Andrews around the turn of the millennium.

CONCLUSION

What makes the Kilduncan slab such an exciting and significant monument is that for the first time it allows us to glimpse innovation at work, not once but twice, in the sculptural process, assembling and blending older styles in different media to forge a monument in a new style. A range of influences were drawn together, both geographically and culturally,

which developed at a particular point in time – crucially a moment when for the first time some historical evidence is available to let us guess dimly at the mechanism of its transmission and context in the period before the impact of the Romanesque. Above all it suggests that sculpture, although its purpose had changed and its format decreased, far from being degenerate or effete, was both valued and sophisticated and that contemporary religious art together with the thought that sustained it was vital and intense in the Kingdom of Alba and the widespread areas with which it was connected. Kilduncan’s demonstrable links northward at the turn of the millennium, apparently reflecting the highest levels of ecclesiastical links within the realm, are significant, but equally important are the connections southward linking Kilduncan with unexpected sculptural developments in northern Northumberland. These monuments attest the reality of a policy of Scottish expansion both northwards and southwards under the Gaelic kings in the later tenth and first quarter of the 11th century, a date which also chimes well with that proposed for the Kilduncan slab. Further, the evidence underscores the close working relationship of Church and State and demonstrates clearly a St Andrews participation in the southward advance, for Kilduncan seems almost certain to have been closely connected with, if not indeed part of, the St Andrews ecclesiastical estate at this date, drawing its iconography directly from the ‘central place’. Finally, it also demonstrates the potential of sculpture in the Gaelic kingdom as an agent of status and political propaganda otherwise clearly witnessed, for instance, on the Dupplin Cross and Sueno’s Stone. Thus the extent and depth of the network of St Andrews’ links with other centres becomes apparent in the ecclesiastical sphere and its more far-flung cultural connections are also illustrated. The dating offered for Kilduncan is equally relevant for other close parallels but particularly for the Zetlandic monuments from Papil and Bressay⁵⁵ whose demonstrable connections

with Kilduncan are as stimulating as they are surprising, suggesting, perhaps at one remove, both religious links and underlying political activity. These latter monuments are also linked with sculpture in the heartlands of the Gaelic kingdom, particularly sharing rare elements with monuments at Meikle, thereby expanding the complex web of connection. All monuments draw on earlier inspiration but the Kilduncan slab, and its satellites beyond the Tweed, are of particular interest because they reveal extensive innovation, sophistication and a widespread web of relationships.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

- 1 Analysis of slab form and decoration follows the system which appears in ECMS, part 2, here specified RA (Romilly Allen) quoted with a motif number. Also included, where appropriate, is the designation adopted in the British Academy Corpus, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, indicated here by the letters BAC with motif number.
- 2 Abbot Dúnchad (AD 707–13, 713–16) gave hospitality on Iona to Bishop Egbert (c AD 640–729), an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic living in self-imposed exile in Ireland and Scotland. Egbert brought the *familia Iae*, after 150 years of use of the pseudo-Anatolian (earlier) system for calculating the timing of Easter, to an acceptance of the Dionysiac (later and more accurate) reckoning. As this momentous change eventually took place under Donnchadh's abbacy and presumably under his guidance, considering the turbulence which surrounded the office of abbot after the death of Adomnán (Duncan 1981, 25–7), it may subsequently have given Donnchadh a particular aura and kudos.
- 3 Estate chapels lost their sacramental rights of baptism and burial when the parochial system came into operation. Simon Taylor (pers comm) has pointed out that Kilduncan, like many estate chapels, may have continued to be used in a similar manner to another local *cill*-site (for which records survive) at Kinglassie by Boarhills in St Andrews and St Leonards parish, where there is evidence that it still had quasi-parochial rights in AD 1198 when the *Liber Sancti Andree* (Thomson 1841, 318) records that the Culdees had all tithes and revenues (*obuentiones*) except for baptism and burial of the dead, indicating that they had lost those functions which were reserved to parish churches by that date. Surviving documentation for Kilduncan reveals that, in 1376, Marjory (Mariota) resigned the Kilduncan lands into the hands of King Robert II, who promptly regranted them to Robert de Roos of Kinfauns, Perthshire, and subsequently, in 1382, the king again reassigned them to Sir John Lyon. The lands were later held by the Lindsays and, in 1489, they passed to Steven Duddingston of St Ford (Sandford), Kilconquhar, Fife (RMS ii, no 1809).
- 4 Although no parallel for the lentoid loop motif has been identified in eastern-central Scotland, an angular loop which may be distantly related evolves from a plain cross border on the recently recovered slab fragment ANG: Kirriemuir 17A (Henderson 1999, fig 14.4).
- 5 Parallels for Kilduncan are discussed using the site name preceded by a three-letter shortened form in capital letters for the shire in which they were found, as they appeared (before local government reorganization) in Allen & Anderson (1903): ABerDeen, ANGus, ARGyll, AYR, BaNFf, BUTe, CAIthness, Easter.ROSSs, DuMFries, DuNBarton, East.LOTHian, ELGin, FIFe, INVerness, KinCarDine, LaNarK, NaiRN, ORKney, PeeBLes, PERth, ReNFrew, SHETland, SUTherland, Western ISLes. English, Irish and Welsh counties are similarly treated: CORnwall, CUMberland, DeRBysHire, KeNT, LaNCashire, NorthumBerlanD, YNR – North Yorkshire, YWR – West Yorkshire; DoNeGal, LonGFord, LiMeRick, MeaTH, OFFaly, SLiGo, WaterForD, West MeaTH, WeXFord; ANGLEsey, CaRMarthen, CaeRNarfon, GLaMorgan, PeMBroke. Non-Scottish counties also have an initial letter added to indicate the country (for example E/CUM, I/WXF, W/CRM and MN/ for the Isle of Man) when this information is not otherwise given.
- 6 Quadrilobate monuments include NRN: Glenferness 1A; ANG: Aberlemno 2A, Eassie 1A, Strathmartine 6; PER: Logierait 2A (DES 1989, 64; Miller 1992, 29–30), Meigle 1A, Meigle 5A, Meigle 19A, Rossie Priory 1A; and perhaps KCD: Fordoun 1A; and PER: Meigle 21A (ECMS, part 3, figs 119, 227, 231, 310, 314, 322, 210, 217 & 349; Stuart 1856, 39, plate CXXVII, no 15).
- 7 Similarly decorated discs to those of E.ROS: Rosemarkie occur on Hilton of Cadboll 1bC-3. The Rosemarkie discs measure exactly two-thirds of the diameter of those at Hilton.
- 8 The pages of the *Book of Deer* bearing lentoid decoration include fol 29v, the full-page miniature of St Luke, and opposite leaf, fol 30r, the opening page of St Luke's Gospel, also fols 85v and 86r.
- 9 The *Soiscél Molaise* (preserved in the National Museum of Ireland) is associated with Devenish Island, in Lower Lough Earn, Co Fermanagh. The relevant phase dates to a refurbishment of the book-shrine during the abbacy of Cennefaeled, AD 1001–25 (Cone 1977, 182–3).
- 10 Irish metalwork pieces carrying examples of lentoid motifs include the pin-head borders of two brooches, NMI-1874:102 and NMI-1874:104 from the LMR: Ardagh hoard [Cone 1977, 141 (no 40), 178 (no 48); Youngs 1989, 97 (no 76),

- 100 (no 81)] and the inner border of a Crucifixion plaque from W.MTH: Inchboffin (Youngs op cit, 150, no 146), all dated to the ninth century. The motif was, however, already present on a variety of types of Irish metalwork in the previous century such as the pseudo-penannular Tara Brooch from MTH: Bettystown (NMI R4015: Cone op cit, no 32; Youngs op cit, 77) on which narrow lentoid elements occupy the corners of the borders of the pin-head and the terminals. An early example, dated stylistically to the earlier ninth century, is present on the main face of the book-shrine from LGF: Lough Kinale (Kelly 1993, fig 20.1), where high-relief lentoid motifs decorate the four corners of the ornamental border.
- 11 Reference to Scando-insular styles here means current insular art modified through adoption into a Scandinavian context in the British Isles.
 - 12 Allen cites the expanded central section of the Papil motif as containing RA 551 but in fact the motif appears to be formed from two unitary registers of RA 519 elaborated with an additional unit of RA 551 inserted into the expanded central section. A developed form of this motif appears on the ends of the horizontal arms of E/CUM: Irton 1B/D (Bailey & Cramp 1988, illus 356–8), degenerating forms at E/DRB: Bakewell and Eyam, and a blundered version of the motif occurs on a lost Irish monument otherwise decorated with Scando-insular motifs from I/WFD: Ballynaguilkee Lower (Harbison 1992, fig 58, cat 17), although all are ultimately derived from continental sources (Trench-Jellicoe, in prep c).
 - 13 A similar motif also appears on the centuries earlier E/KNT: Lullingstone hanging bowl motif (Kendrick 1938, plate 28.1; Henry 1965, plates 26–7).
 - 14 Despite its popularity in the Scando-insular repertoire, the Borre ring-chain motif seems to have been readily acceptable in Christian contexts – see, for instance, its widespread use on Scando-Manx sculpture where it may even become an encircling device at the crossing as on MN/Michael 1:130(104)A (Kermode 1907, plate LIV), suggesting that it may have had a symbolic meaning (possibly Trinitarian) now no longer understood but perhaps recoverable through a close study of its context.
 - 15 Mahr (1932, 51) highlights the parallel between the *Soiscél Molaise* and the satchels carried by the ecclesiastics on the monuments SHE: Bressay 1A and Papil 1A.
 - 16 Pellets on sculpture occur *inter alia* on SHE: Bressay 1A, CAI: Skinnett 1A (as arm-pit bosses), SUT: Lothbeg 1C (ditto), E.ROS: Rosemarkie 1C and Rosemarkie 2 (ECMS, part 3, figs 4, 28, 29, 52, 60 & 83) and occur widely on tenth-century Manx, Welsh and Northern English carvings.
 - 17 The association of two rare motifs – the lentoid motif decorated with a ring-locked ring-twist (RA 795) and a figure carrying a satchel around the neck on the same monument in both the Isle of Man and Shetland [MN/Bride 3A/C (Kermode 1907, plate XLVII); SHE: Bressay 1A/C, Papil 1A and Papil 2A (ECMS, part 3, figs 4, 6 & 7; Moar & Stewart 1943–4, 91–9)] – points to important associative links between these widely separated Norse colonies in a Christian milieu during the later tenth and 11th century.
 - 18 In a sculptural context it appears that they functioned primarily as a symbolic indicator of the spread of Christianity.
 - 19 In southern Alba, cross pseudo-bases of smaller proportion occur on PER: Fowlis Wester 2A (Waddell 1931–2) and Rossie Priory (ECMS, part 3, fig 332), ANG: Cossins 1A (ECMS, part 3, fig 230) and St Vigean 7A (ECMS, part 3, fig 278), while examples further north are less common but include CAI: Skinnett 1A and ORK: Holm (Graemshall) 1A (ECMS, part 3, figs 18, 28 & 29) whose crosses and their bases closely resemble each other in basic design, proportion and form, although the detail of their decoration differs markedly. None of these monuments can claim to be particularly early. Larger cross pseudo-bases, filling the slab width, as at Kilduncan, include – in the south – in various forms: ANG: Aldbar 1A, Invergowrie 1A, Menmuir 2A, St Vigean 16A; PER: Forteviot 1A, Meikle 28A (ECMS, part 3, figs 259, 266, 274, 287, 335 & 354). North of the Mounth, examples occur at ABD: Drumdurno 1A (Ritchie 1989, 62, illus), ELG: Forres (‘Sueno’s Stone’) 1A and Elgin (St Giles) 1A (ECMS, part 3, figs 156 & 137). Forres and Elgin have a rare design feature for Scottish monuments, a sub-base panel beneath a prominent shallow bar which is fused with the shaft base. This may be paralleled on monuments in the Scando-Manx group such as MN/Andreas 1:131(103)A, Lonan, Ballakilly 1: 76(42)A, Maughold, Ballateron West 1:69(48)A (Kermode 1907, plates LIII, XIII & XV). NRN: Glenferness 1A (ECMS, part 3, fig 119) has two base registers including a small inserted panel of iconography. E.ROS: Edderton 2A has a complex

- base form with an arched construction on two levels which frames some hunt iconography, a similar design to that found on the cross base of CAI: Farr 1A and ANG: St Vigean 12 (ECMS, part 3, figs 82, 51 & 283). E.ROS: Shandwick 1A is designed on a similar model to the pseudo-base, having a cross above a large unbordered register of abstract decoration like Rosemarkie 1A (ECMS, part 3, figs 66B & 60). SUT: Collieburn almost certainly has a large pseudo-base panel on both faces, reminiscent of SUT: Golspie 1A, while CAI: Reay 1A (ECMS, part 3, figs 48, 32 & 50) has a large pseudo-base panel filling two-fifths of its overall size. Finally, in the Northern Isles, SHE: Papil 1A has a large cross pseudo-base panel containing a lion and measuring one-third the size of the overall cross format, while SHE: Bressay 1A has a low-relief cross shaft (partly overlain obscuring its presence) linking it to an unbordered base containing a lion positioned above another quadruped, which together occupy two-fifths of the carved slab height.
- 20 It seems most probable that the larger pseudo-base developed as a response on some monuments to a change in cross function and fashion leading to a remodelling of the overall cross design and a change in slab size – usually a reduction in height. Thus, earlier tall shafted crosses with flanking decorative panels appearing on larger slabs transmuted, probably in the tenth century, into equal-arm crosses or crosses with truncated shafts, surmounting large decorated pseudo-bases (occupying 40–50% of the carved slab area), offering a more compact and a proportionally better balanced composition for use on a smaller, squatter monument as the tall cross shaft shrank and probably eventually disappeared. The practice of decorating cross-slabs by dividing the full width of the face vertically into squares or rectangles seems to have begun in the tenth century, as on larger slabs such as E.ROS: Hilton of Cadboll, a formula which subsequently achieved dominance on Rosemarkie 1 (Henderson 1978, 52).
- 21 Unfortunately only one face of this monument, Norham 13, is presently visible, the other faces being built into a composite pillar of sculptural fragments inside the church of St Cuthbert. If Rosemary Cramp (1984, 213) is correct in linking this fragment with Norham 5 (*ibid*, illus 1174–6), on petrological and stylistic grounds, the motifs carved are more appropriate to the tenth or 11th century than the ninth century.
- 22 Of the four parallels from south-west Wales carrying motif RA 921, GLM: Llantwit Major 222D-1 is the sole monument to preserve only the anticlockwise variety. CRM: Llanfynydd 159A-2, A-5 bears only one of its six units as a right-hand version, while PMB: Carew 303A-7 has almost equal numbers of left- and right-hand types and PMB: Nevern 360B-1 and C-4 preserve only the right-hand version (Nash-Williams 1950, 115–16, 142–3, 182–3 & 197–200, figs 155 & 196, plates XL & XLI).
- 23 In south-west Scotland, RA 519 appears on WGT: Whithorn 2B in a tenth- to 11th-century context (Craig 1992, vol 4, plate 172B). On the Isle of Man it occurs once, decorating the cross shaft of a fragmentary Scando-Manx cross-slab (later tenth–11th century), Jurby 2:127(99)C (Kermode 1907, plate XLI), and is present in the north of Ireland on DGL: Fahan Mura 1W, within the cross shaft (Harbison 1992, fig 277, cat 100). It is preserved in the Irish Midlands on the outer edge of the southern upper ring segment of the South Cross at OFF: Clonmacnoise dated to the tenth century (*ibid*, fig 155, cat 56), and in south-west Wales on the cross shaft of PMB: Cilgerran, St Lawrence 398A (Nash-Williams 1950, 217, plate 38). The strands of the Pembrokeshire version are medially grooved, while the Jurby and Fahan examples have handsomely contoured borders. Harbison (*ibid*, 375–6), discussing the date bracket for the Donegal monument, suggests it can be no earlier than the ninth century and, he notes, in this instance more probably belongs to the tenth century, a date assumed by Robert Stevenson (1985, 92–5). In Northern England it appears in a thick-and-thin strand version in Cumbria on a shaft edge of N.LNC: Urswick-in-Furness 1B (Bailey & Cramp 1988, 148, illus 566) and in a similar thick-and-thin strand with modifications on NBD: Bamburgh 1A (Cramp 1984, 162–3, illus 814). Although Rosemary Cramp (*ibid*, 162–3, fig 18) has reconstructed the fragment as a chair arm and dated it to the late eighth or early ninth century, the associated abstract decoration and the contouring of the bodies suggest this is too early. In Yorkshire it appears on YWR: Leeds cross-shaft fragment 1 (Collingwood 1914, 210, fig b), and on a shaft fragment from YNR: North Otterington 3B, D (Lang 2001, illus 694 & 696); both appear in receipt of influence from the Irish Sea province. A developed (and presumably derived) form of this basic motif of twin-strand

twist with interwoven crossings, elaborated by the addition of a ring-lock or lozenge-lock element decorating the strand crossing points, is commonly found on Scando-Manx monuments (Kermode 1907) and in similar form occurs less frequently on contemporary monuments in Northern England (Collingwood 1927). The distribution of this motif and an assessment of motifs accompanying those examples firmly indicates that all belong within a tenth- to 12th-century Scando-insular context.

- 24 Significantly, the left beast at PER: Fowlis Wester is associated with a sword and almost certainly a shield – viewed frontally (both are almost exactly similar to those found on ANG: Aberlemno 2C-1, top register) – and the beast to the right holds the form of a dangling human figure or anthropoid monster in its jaws [which also appears in a slightly different form on PER: Gask 1C-LR5, Rossie Priory 1A; ANG: Aberlemno 3A-LR, Woodrae 1A (RCAHMS 1994, 103, fig J; Trench-Jellicoe 1997, fig 4; ECMS, part 3, figs 228, 258 & 322)]. This anthropoid figure has large spatulate hands with three digits – a sign of the monstrous – so probably represents the devil in human form. The sword associated with an S-beast at Fowlis Wester and Aberlemno should be considered also in the context of the sword and S-beast at KCB: Anwoth, Trusty's Hill.
- 25 The presence of three crossed members at SHE: St Ninan's Isle may be related to the presence of lines of triple crosses carved on the sides of shrines from as far apart as FIF: St Andrews 43A (Hay Fleming 1931, 38, fig 60) and PER: Fortingal 4A (Robertson 1997, 139–40, figs 10–11), together with another newly discovered (Sept 2004) unpublished example from the same site, and in Ireland at SLG: Inismurray (Trench-Jellicoe, in prep b) and also illustrated on the side of the entombed Christ in Ireland on OFF: Clonmacnoise, Cross of the Scriptures W2 (Harbison 1992, fig 140). Such cross groups probably carry a salvational implication.
- 26 There also exist significant solo parallels for S-beasts. One appears in south-west Scotland, incised onto a rock face at KCB: Anwoth, Trusty's Hill (accompanied by a degenerating Double Disc + Z-rod symbol, with mirrored terminals, suggesting a tenth-century date). Rather different versions occur on E.ROS: Hilton of Cadboll 1C, ELG: Dyke 1C, ABD: Dyce 2A and KCD: Fordoun 1A, which resembles an S-beast on CAI: Ulbster 1C (ECMS, part 3, fig 30A). A degenerating, late version of a pair of S-beasts occurs above the cross at BNF: Mortlach 2A (ECMS, part 3, fig 162). More distant (and sometimes quite degenerate) parallels occur on ANG: Aberlemno 2-LR1 (the beasts' limbs cross, forming a Greek letter 'chi', as at St Ninian's Isle'), Kettins 1A-UL (solo S-beast but perhaps originally with a mate, mirrored in the UR), Monfieth 3C (a solo example with straight tail) and PER: Meigle 1A-LL1 (a good parallel with an appended fishtail) and Meigle 26A-L (a pair of confronting hippocampi) almost exactly similar in design to Murthly 1A (a mixed pair). FIF: Scoonie 1C-UR has an incomplete version (Stuart 1867, plate 12), Largo 1A-LR has a pair of S-beasts twisting around each other (ECMS, part 3, fig 359) which appear also but in transmuted form as quadrupeds on ANG: Benvie 1A-LL/LR (ECMS, part 3, fig 260) and again changed into interlaced beasts on Kirriemuir 3A-LL/LR (ECMS, part 3, fig 269). There are also similarities with beasts appearing on PER: Dunfallandy 1A-LL1 (where the beast may represent the leviathan of Jonah and the whale) which has become transmuted into a monstrous quadruped on ANG: Woodrae 1A-UR (ECMS, part 3, figs 258 & 305). Many of these S-beast parallels preserve the lateral division of the body – CAI: Ulbster 1C-LL (ECMS, part 3, fig 30); ANG: Aberlemno 2, Kettins, Monfieth 3, St Vigeans 1, Tealing (fig 249), Woodrae; PER: Dunfallandy, Fowlis Wester 2, Logierait 2, Meigle 1A-LL1 (right beast), FIF: Scoonie) – although some, like CAI: Skinnet and ABD: Drumduro, are now worn and less certain, while PER: Murthly 1A-2 and Meigle 26A-1 appear never to have possessed this feature, although Murthly is intricately decorated.
- 27 Closely similar scaling decorates the neck of the Norse dragon incised a century later onto a buttress supporting the inner chamber of Maes Howe, Orkney (Ritchie 1993, 131).
- 28 A human tongue similarly portrayed appears on ANG: St Vigeans 7A-LR1 (ECMS, part 3, fig 278).
- 29 Robert Stevenson cites the earlier presence of S-beasts on a fifth-century hanging bowl escutcheon from E/KNT: Faversham (Kendrick 1938, fig 17.6, plate 33.2; Henry 1965, 164; Kilbride-Jones 1980, 245, fig 80.2), where S-dolphins flank a large cross-of-arcs. Although the beasts are miniaturized at Faversham, they are marked by a

- similar distinction of body and head, open mouth, lateral division of the body by a narrow central line with decoration on both sides. The Faversham tails differ insofar as they loop and terminate in front of the beast's chest; nevertheless, on the beast to the right, there is already evidence of a tendency to spiral.
- 30 Decorative motifs similar to triquetra knots appear in the arms of the obverse cross of SHE: Bressay 1, and a basic cross-of-arcs appears etched on metalwork on the top of a pin from the Skaill hoard, Sandwick, Orkney (Graham Campbell 1995, plate 15), with a deposition dated in the third quarter of the tenth century. First impressions suggest that the damaged relief cruciform decoration on PER: Gellyburn (Murthly) 2C of an encircled cross with triquetra knots in the cross arms (Calder 1950–1, 175–7) shares some similarities with Kilduncan, but crucially no cross-of-arcs is present and the pierced arm-pits are distinctly quadrilobate in form. The Gellyburn design is highly unusual. Another slab fragment with an encircled cross head, recognized in the summer of 2003, built into a farm wall at FIF: Carnbee just 7km from Kilduncan, is reminiscent of the Kilduncan design and possibly derives from it. Although Carnbee preserves an encircled group of four triquetra knots it, like Gellyburn, lacks a cross-of-arcs. A close Manx parallel for the cross form appears on a damaged slab fragment carved in relief – Santon, Bal na How 1:95(68)A (Kermode 1907, no 68) – now preserved at Santon parish church. This small monument was originally illustrated in less damaged state by G W Carrington's early 19th-century watercolour sketches published in the *Transactions* of this Society (Oswald 1823, plate XVII, A, no 1, reproduced in Kermode 1907, fig 50). Copies of the original paintings still survive in the Manx Museum Library (MS 15018) and in the Society's library (NMS, Soc Antiq Scot 614B). Bal na How is otherwise linked closely with Scottish parallels of the later tenth and 11th century. The paintings showed a static representation of a rider framed by irregular and misunderstood vine-scroll ornament of a type closely replicated in a similar scene with riders on PER: Meigle 11A (ECMS, part 3, fig 345A). The vine-scroll element perhaps evolved from vine-scroll motifs such as those on the cross head of Dupplin 1E (ECMS, part 3, fig 334C), or alternatively they represent serpentine interweave. Although connections with Alba are suggested, it is also probable that these similarities were derived through a Northern Scotland interface.
- 31 Monuments with disorientated crossings include the crossing panel of ANG: Glamis 2A, St Vigeans 7; PER: Meigle 1; SUT: Golspie (ECMS, part 3, figs 234, 278, 310 & 48).
- 32 More distant parallels appear in the crossing panels surrounding the central boss of ARG: Islay, Kildalton 1W (Fisher 2001, cover illus, 48, illus 23A) where pairs of serpents erupting from small spiral bosses form similar shapes – a motif similar to that found on SUT: Clyne Kirkton 3A. Both latter versions are, however, distinctive images and are probably not relevant parallels for the Kilduncan motif (ECMS, part 3, fig 49).
- 33 The precise designation of this large quadruped is uncertain because, although it appears leonine in some contexts, closely similar beasts in other contexts are clearly monstrous, as on the upper right of the PER: Murthly slab (ECMS, part 3, fig 321).
- 34 A parallel for the tail alone attached to a quadruped, probably representing a hell monster, appears on the right of the monumental slab from PER: Murthly (ECMS, part 3, fig 321). Murthly's quadruped is exactly similar to a pair of monsters devouring a human, on PER: Meigle 26D-1R (ECMS, part 3, fig 318B), except for the tail which is an unbent line with curled terminal, suggesting that this feature was in free variation between species and is therefore no sure guide to a specific beast.
- 35 Another example of what may be intended for a lion but is more probably a boar under similar assault is carved on a Scando-Manx monument, Maughold 8:97(66)C-LR (Trench-Jellicoe 1985; 1999b, fig 9; Kermode 1907, plate XXV, no 66B) where the scene occurs in a panel adjacent to a 'hart and hound' motif.
- 36 An elaborated version of RA 721 – RA 722 – appears in the border of a lost late slab fragment PER: Meigle 24A (Stuart 1867, plate 7) and another elaborated version – RA 723 – in which the outer angular loop developed into a triquetra knot, fills the upper left and upper right border of ANG: Woodrae (ECMS, part 3, fig 258), but neither is a useful parallel for the Kilduncan version of the motif. The source of the pattern may be derived from the contemporary popular diagonal key patterns although it is ultimately related to twist motifs of which it is an elaborated angular type (and was perhaps influenced by the angular

- version of vine-scroll in the borders of E.ROS: Hilton of Cadboll 1C). The central element of this motif – an ‘incised pattern formed from two right-angled strands positioned to enclose a diamond shape’ (that is, a pair of mirrored roof-tops forming the frame of a lozenge) – which appears within all these examples, also decorates the roof of ‘The Saint’s Tomb’ hogback, E/CUM: Gosforth 5A/C (Bailey & Cramp 1988, 106ii, 107i, illus 322, 325, 326 & 328).
- 37 Amongst the Scottish corpus, four monuments only, including Kilduncan 1, have so far been identified with carving on five faces. All are of late-date (that is, late tenth to 11th century) and all belonging to a set of diminutive monuments: ANG: Invergowrie 1, Kirriemuir 18; PER: Abernethy 12 (Proudfoot 1997, 96–7, illus 15; RCAHMS 2003).
- 38 Earlier monuments often have their faces differentiated by carving the main face in higher relief than the reverse face.
- 39 Parallel heavenly symbols of stylized clouds, found widely in Late Antique decoration *inter alia* in Rome and Ravenna are also found, although more rarely, in contemporary insular sculpture at E/NBD: Rothbury (Cramp 1984, illus 1210; Hawkes 1996, 85, fig 6) and W.ISL: a’Chill, Canna 1E (Trench-Jellicoe 1999a, 633–4, illus 30), and RA 1064 may equally be an abstract representation of cloud and/or stars in the firmament.
- 40 In the context of the potential Marian significance of the Mirror symbol and its relationship with the torc-like object depicted at Kinneddar and Dyke, it is perhaps significant that a similarly-shaped object appears on the chest of the female rider on E.ROS: Hilton of Cadboll 1C-2 who has also been tentatively identified as the Virgin (Alcock 1993, 231; Trench-Jellicoe 1999a, 614 & 642, no 15). An implausibly early date of AD 800 has been proposed for this monument and it was almost certainly carved considerably later. It seems possible that those motifs appearing between the S-beasts at Dyke may carry a similar significance to the cross-of-arcs and triquetra knot between the S-beasts at Kilduncan.
- 41 Mary’s sacrifice in bearing Christ into the world to bring about mankind’s redemption is linked to the part played by the Cross in the Anglo-Saxon poem ‘The Dream of the Rood’, lines 90–4 (Swanton 1987). Swanton (note 92) observes that such connections were current much earlier in the works of Irenaeus (*Patrologia Orientalis*, xii, 684–5) and such ideas as Mary’s sacrifice are also likely to have been current in tenth-century Alba.
- 42 The *Vespasian Psalter* dates to the second quarter of the eighth century (Alexander 1978, 55–6, no 29) but a similar version of the text was still being used in the mid-12th century in the *Eadwine Canterbury Psalter* (Cambridge, Trinity College MS r.17.1: James 1900).
- 43 The Habakkuk motif of Christ symbolized between two beasts occurs on W.ISL: Canna, a’Chill 1W-1 (Fisher 2001, 98–9, illus W face), SHE: Papi 1A-1, BNF: Mortlach 1A, ABD: Drumdurno 1A and *inter alia* in another form on PER: Crieff (Strowan) 1D-2, perhaps SHE: Bressay 1A (ECMS, part 3, figs 4 & 328C; Hall et al 2000) and on a hogback, E.LOT: Tynninghame 2A (Stevenson 1958–9, 47–9, plate VIII; Lang 1972–4, 211–12 & 233, plate 17d), on a Tynninghame cross shaft fragment (no 1A) and latterly in the 11th century above the crossing boss on PBL: Netherurd Mains, Kirkurd 1A (ibid, 46–7 & 52–3, plates IX & XI.3). A version of this motif is perhaps also present on the pseudo-base of ELG: Elgin, St Giles 1A (ECMS, part 3, fig 137) discussed above.
- 44 Monuments with a beast-headed slab border include SHE: Bressay 1A; ANG: Aberlemno 2A, Cossins 1C, Farnell 1C, Glamis 1A, Glamis 2A, Kingoldrum 1, Kingoldrum 2, Monifieth 2C; PER: Dunfallandy 1C, Forteviot 1C, Meikle 4A, St Madoes 1A etc (see ECMS).
- 45 The meaning for this page and its parallels are discussed by John Higgitt (1991, 450).
- 46 SHE: Bressay 1 carries on its main face a rare form of the slab-framing beast motif with a human figure stretched between the beasts’ mouths, a form only otherwise found in a panel of the Perthshire monument Meikle 11D and, as if to further demonstrate the complexities of sculptural relationships, the Meikle beast-frame motif is set around a series of relief linked spirals (RA 1091) found on E.ROS: Shandwick and in closely similar form on E.ROS: Nigg 1A-LR1 (RA 1071) as well as an incised version on ANG: Aberlemno 3C (ECMS, part 3, figs 345, 67, 72 & 228). Motif RA 1091 appears on E.ROS: Shandwick 1C-4 and on ANG: Aberlemno 3C-3 decorating a Double Disc symbol, both of which are at a late stage developmentally. The Bressay monument (and both Papi sculptures) have clerical figures with satchels, a later type of representation of a rider and a lion, all of which are firmly associated with

- sculpture in eastern-central and northern Scotland and demonstrate a range of connections with Alba. It is, however, impossible to demonstrate any precedence for the southern motifs as they show no primacy developmentally and numerically they are more popular in the north.
- 47 The positive identification of ‘*Kinardor*’ as Kinneadar is made clear from later confirmation charters in the *Liber Sancti Andree* [Kinador 1187, Kinador 1188, Kinador 1206 (Thomson 1841, 64, 69 & 73)].
- 48 Isabel Henderson (1993, 216) has drawn attention to other sculptures which may also have been drawn from metalwork models. She also notes (ibid, 217, no 2) the reported presence at KCD: Banchory of St Ternan’s relics, c AD 1530, which included ‘a *cumhdach* chased with silver and gold’. Jane Hawkes (2003, 5–8) has remarked on the use of metalwork models in ninth- to tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England, specifically at E/CHE: Sandbach. Another useful example occurs in a Scando-insular context at E/CUM: Irton (Bailey & Cramp 1988, illus 362).
- 49 *Sic quippe, ab antiquo, episcopi Sancti Andree dicti sunt, et in scriptis tam antiquis quam modernis inveniuntur dicti Summi Archiepiscopi sive Summi Episcopi Scotorum. Unde at conscribifecit in theca Evangelii Fothet episcopus, maximae vir autoritatis, versus istos:*
- Hanc Evangelii thecam construxit aviti.
Fothet qui Scotis summus Episcopus est*
- (Skene 1867, 190).
- 50 The Annals of the Four Masters (O’Donovan 1856, vol 2, 682) record Fothad’s death in the year 961 (recte 963) ‘*Aois Criost naoi ccéd seascca a haon ... [item 2] Fothadh, mac Brain, scribhuidh 7 espucc Insi Alban [decc]: 961(= 963). 2: Fothad, son of Brian, scribe and bishop of the Isles of Scotland [died].*
- 51 Examples *inter alia* of two beasts flanking Christ occur in Irish metalwork spread over a long period. A fine example of a cast gilt-bronze flat mount occurs on the upper arms of the Tully Lough Cross, an altar cross of the eighth to ninth century (Kelly 2003, 9–10), while another appears on the lower knopf of the Urnes-style Lismore Crozier made for Nial mac meic Áeducáin, Bishop of Lismore, who died in AD 1113 (Henry 1970, 97–9 & 201–2, plate 26; Michelli 1996, 23–4). Both are preserved in the National Museum of Ireland.
- 52 RA 519, RA 721, beast heads and figure-of-eight motif with RA 721.
- 53 The enmeshed saltire cross motif at the head of the Bamburgh Castle chair arm, apparently a Greek letter ‘*chi*’, is similar to a faintly preserved example inscribed on the cover of a book carried by Christ (unpublished) on the earlier DMF: Ruthwell Cross – in panel E-3 (Mary Magdalene washes the Saviour’s feet) (Trench-Jellicoe, in prep d). The purpose of the weaving strands linking the cross terminals is unclear but stylistically the triangular loops are highly diagnostic and once again, at this date, underscore Bamburgh’s links northward with Kilduncan/St Andrews and northern Scotland.
- 54 The sculptural evidence may also help to elucidate the confusion surrounding the apparently duplicated record of the cession of Lothian and the death of Earl Uhtred (Duncan 1976; Meehan 1976), and suggests that Scottish encroachment across Lothian occurred in two phases: the first acknowledged in AD 973 between kings Cináed mac Mael-choluim [Kenneth II] and Edgar, when Lothian – except apparently for the rich coastal lands south of the Haddington Tyne, the middle Tweed and the Merse – was ceded; and a second following the Battle of Carham in AD 1018, when not only the remaining territory in Tweeddale but probably also a tranche of land south of the Tweed fell into Scottish hands including, for a relatively short time, the *caput* of Bamburgh itself. Such a major strategic loss would, as Duncan (1976, 27–8) suggests, have been seen as sufficient reason to precipitate Earl Uhtred’s death.
- 55 To some extent corroborating this view, it is significant that the focus of dating around the year 1000 for Kilduncan, Bressay and Papil sculptures follows soon after that of AD 995, recorded in Orkneyinga Saga, Kap XII (Guðmundsson 1965, 26), as the date when the Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvason, forcibly converted Earl Sigurd the Stout of Orkney, but such high drama from saga is likely to be a symptomatic parable for a more general trend towards conversion in Norse areas around this time (as we know from Icelandic events in the year 1000). The same saga chapter records the marriage of Earl Sigurd with the daughter of ‘Melkólmr Skotakonungr’: Máel-choluim mac Cináed [Malcolm II], King of Scots (ibid, 27), indicating a potential contemporary political backdrop for sculptural links with the Gaelic kingdom.

ABBREVIATIONS

BAC = R J Cramp 1991

ECMS = Allen & Anderson 1903

Mor Reg = Innes (ed) 1837

RA = Allen & Anderson 1903, part 2, 'General results arrived at from the archaeological survey'

RMS = J M Thomson et al (eds) 1882–1914

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