The Chronology and Context of Pictish Relief Sculpture

By LLOYD LAING

SEVERAL alternative schemes for the dating of Pictish relief sculpture have been advanced during the last century. Representations of artefacts which can be dated archaeologically, decorative devices associated with the Viking Period and details of animal ornament are used to provide new date-ranges for some stones usually dated earlier. The early dating often advanced for some low-relief sculptures is accordingly questioned, and a tentative scheme for the dating of Pictish relief sculpture proposed.

VIEWS OF THE DATING OF PICTISH SCULPTURE

There has long been a general acceptance that the three classes of Pictish sculptures defined by Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson in 1903 are sequential, even if some overlap between them is allowed.[1] Fundamental to this scheme is an evolutionary assumption that Pictish sculpture followed a progression: incised work — incised work coupled with shallow relief — shallow relief without incised work — high-relief modelling. This was the view followed by R. B. K. Stevenson:

> The typological position of high relief sculpture in the succession of Pictish monuments is that it comes as a climax. It follows lower, generally quite flat, relief whose earliest stage includes stones on which the old incised technique continues to be used for their symbols, such as the Birsay stone from Orkney . . . and the principal one at Glamis not far from Dundee.[2]

A second assumption often made is that the use of symbols died out following the take-over of Pictland by Kenneth Mac Alpin in the 840s, and that subsequently very little art of any kind was created in what was formerly Pictland. Mrs Cecil Curle summarized it thus:

> all that was characteristic [of the Picts] gradually disappeared . . . owing to the Viking raids the new Kingdom of Scotland was cut off from the centres of culture of the Scots — Iona and Ireland — and consequently the quality of its art was very poor.[3]

[1] J. R. Allen and J. Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903, repr. Balgavies, 1993).

[2] R. B. K. Stevenson, 'Sculpture in Scotland in the 6th–9th centuries AD', 65–74 in W. Schrickel, V. H. Elbern and V. Milojčić (eds.), *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmitteralterliche Skulptur, Heidelberg, 1970* (Mainz, 1971), at p. 72.

[3] C. L. Curle, 'The Chronology of the Early Christian Monuments of Scotland', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 74 (1939–40), 60–116, at 105.

This view was vigorously disputed by Ralegh Radford,[4] but has been fairly persistent.

An overall chronology for Pictish sculptures has been attempted on several occasions,[5] though most studies tend to avoid making categorical pronouncements about date, except in relation to individual monuments.[6]

The position currently held by most scholars is that stated by Isabel Henderson, namely that relief sculpture made its appearance in Pictland in the early 8th century as a result of influence from Northumbria.[7] This dating has been recently elaborated upon in Douglas MacLean's consideration of the low-relief cross-slabs of southern Pictland, in which he has catalogued features which he has seen as pointing to a Northumbrian inspiration for Pictish relief work in the earlier 8th century.[8]

There are few fixed points which can be used to build up a meaningful chronology of the Pictish monuments. The 'Drosten' stone (St Vigeans 1), dated to 839–42,[9] and recently the Dupplin Cross supposedly of c. 820+,[10] have been dated through the identification of the people apparently named on them, though there are problems with this procedure since the monuments were not necessarily erected in the time of the named individuals,[11] and in any case the identification of the individuals named on the 'Drosten' stone is open to debate. Both cases, however, if valid, provide dates for these two monuments in the first half of the 9th century.

Epigraphic evidence suggests that relief sculpture may have been produced in Pictland in the 8th century.[12] Since they are without symbols, neither of the two inscriptions so far dated can be used to argue for an 8th-century date for relief

[4] C. A. R. Radford, 'The early Christian Monuments of Scotland', *Antiquity*, 16 (1942), 1–18, at 2–3.

[5] Curle, op. cit. in note 3; Radford, op. cit. in note 4; R. B. K. Stevenson, 'Pictish Art', 97–128 in F. T. Wainwright (ed.), *The Problem of the Picts* (London, 1955); id., 'The Inchyra stone and some other unpublished Early Christian monuments', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 92 (1959), 33–55, esp. Appendix; id., op. cit. in note 2.

[6] Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, cxiii, dated all the Class II stones to the 9th-10th centuries. Radford, op. cit. in note 4, 16, saw relief work commencing after 750, while Stevenson, op. cit. in note 2, 72, opted for relief in the second half of the 8th century. Mrs Curle, op. cit. in note 3, 78–80, believed relief work commenced in the late 7th/early 8th century.

[7] I. Henderson, 'Pictish Art and the Book of Kells', 79–105 in D. Whitelock, D. R. McKitterick and D. N. Dumville (eds.), *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1982), at 83–4; id., *Rosemarkie's Pictish Monuments* (Rosemarkie, 1990), no pagination but 13.

[8] D. MacLean, 'The Northumbrian Perspective', 179–201 in S. Foster (ed.), *The St Andrews Sarcophagus* (Dublin, 1998), at 345.

[9] T. O. Clancy, 'The Drosten Stone; a new reading', *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 123 (1993), 345–53.

[10] K. Forsyth, 'The Inscriptions on the Dupplin Cross', 237–49 in C. Bourke (ed.), *From the Isles of the North* (Belfast, 1995). See also L. Alcock and E. A. Alcock, 'The context of the Dupplin Cross: a reconsideration', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 126 (1996), 455–8.

[11] Forsyth, op. cit. in note 10.

[12] This is made clear from the dating of the inscribed stone from Tarbat, Highland, which has a type of display lettering that Higgitt has argued belongs to the 8th century, probably the latter half (J. Higgitt, 'The Pictish inscription at Tarbat in Ross-Shire', *Proc. Scot. Antiq. Scot.*, 112 (1982), 300–21), a date bracket which he also sees as reasonable for the Lethnott, Angus inscription (op. cit., 315). Behind both inscriptions he has seen the influence of Northumbria. The decoration on the Tarbat stone has no features that are distinctively Pictish — both the patterns that Allen identified are found nowhere else in Pictland, although the interlace can be found in the Book of Kells and on some Irish crosses. A recently discovered fragment from Tarbat, however, appears to be from the same monument, and has a leonine beast devouring monsters and the remains of four figures. This might seem to confirm the Pictish character of the stone, but could also suggest a later date for the inscription, perhaps in the 9th century (I am indebted to Dr Ross Trench-Jellicoe for drawing my attention to this).

cross-slabs with Pictish symbols, though of course that does not preclude their existence.

There are few sculptural remains in northern Scotland that can be categorically described as related to 8th-century Northumbrian sculpture rather than to be fragments of more distinctively 'Pictish' cross-slabs. Those that might have qualified thus are very fragmentary, and might be seen to have been parts of cross-slabs had larger portions of them survived.[13]

The only method that can be employed in dating Pictish relief sculpture is the traditional art-historical one — a comparative study has to be made of the iconography and ornament which matches elements in more closely datable Insular art elsewhere.

The problems of studying Celtic sculpture have recently been discussed by Stalley, who has drawn attention to the unreliability of the concept of typological progression as a means of establishing a sequence.[14] His concern was with the dating of Irish crosses, but, given the links generally seen between the Irish crosses, those of Iona and the Pictish cross-slabs, his caveats seem equally applicable here.

DATING EVIDENCE USED IN THIS STUDY

The following study considers a number of details on Pictish relief sculptures which it is argued provide dating evidence for the stones displaying them. This evidence takes four forms: (a) depictions of artefacts which on analogy with surviving artefacts elsewhere can be attributed to particular chronological horizons; (b) decorative devices which have a currency in a particular period outside Pictland and which can be assumed to have been current in a similar period in Pictland as well; (c) types of figural work; and (d) types of animal motif. Throughout the study the stones are given the numbering assigned to them by Allen and Anderson in *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (1903) — monuments discovered after this book was published are given the numbers assigned to them on their discovery. References to Allen's motif numbers derive from his scheme in this work.

There are inevitably problems in evaluating the material. As many of the sculptures are considerably weathered, detail has been lost. In the case of crucial details, an attempt has been made to examine them from different angles and in different lights, and to study a range of photographs and engravings taken at various times from the 19th century onwards. There are still ambiguities in a number of instances, however, and these will be pointed out in the discussion that follows. Secondly, there is a problem with 'sculptor's licence' — forms could be modified to fit available spaces (the sword pommel on Fowlis Wester 2, for example, appears more smoothly profiled than its prototype due to the need to fit it into the

[13] Some of the monuments from Tarbat and Drainie might appear to belong to a separate tradition from that of the main cross-slab series, for example Drainie 6 and Tarbat 7 and 9 (for Tarbat's sculptures generally, J. Harden, 'A potential archaeological context for the early Christian sculptured stones from Tarbat, Easter Ross', in Bourke (ed.), op. cit. in note 10, 221–7), as they employ spiral and confronted trumpet patterns which invite comparison with both Insular manuscript and metalwork exemplars of the 8th century, but the question remains open.

[14] R. Stalley, 'The tower cross at Kells', 115–41 in C. E. Karkov, M. Ryan and R. T. Farrell (eds.), *The Insular Tradition* (New York, 1997), at 118–19.

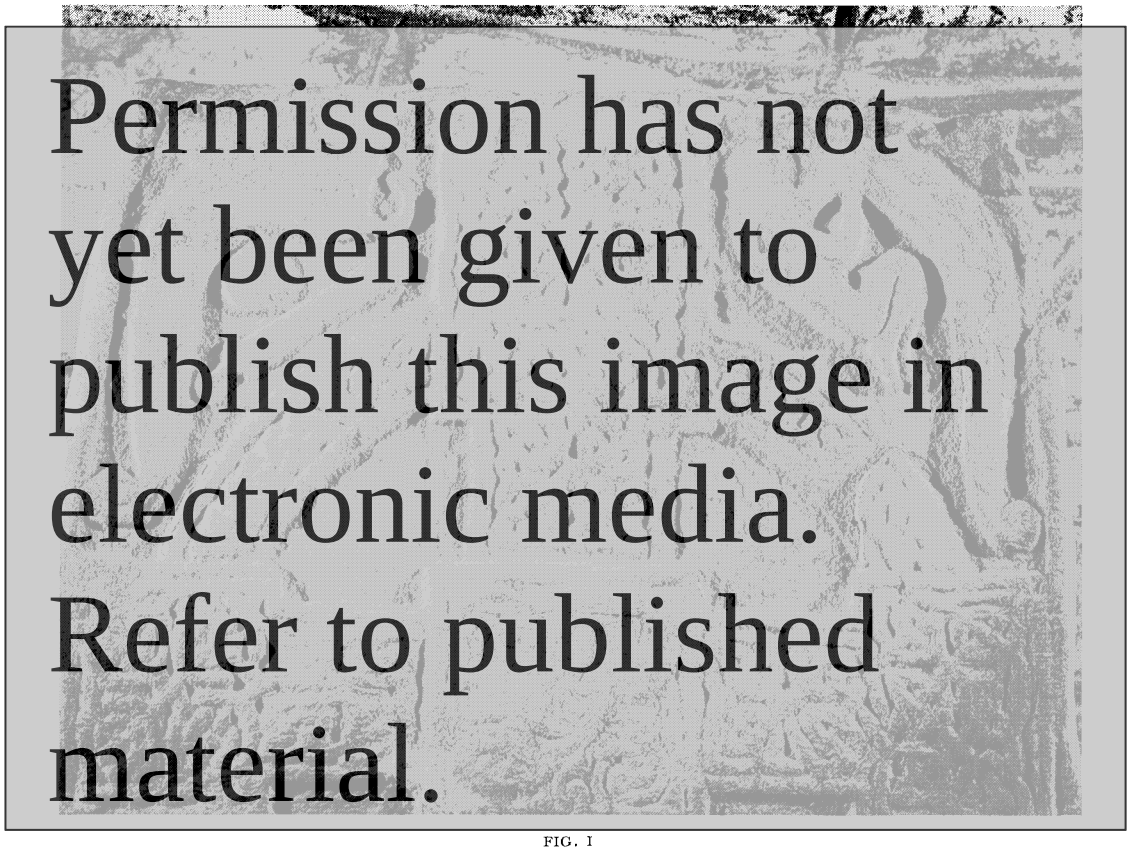

FIG. 1
Fowlis Wester 2, detail of top of slab showing sword and shield. *Photo: courtesy of Tom Gray.*

space next to an animal), or indeed may have been more or less stylized for artistic purposes. As Henderson has noted: '. . . allowance has to be made for artistic convention and artistic expediency, both of which can effect, for example, matters of relative scale. Artistic licence and incompetence have also to be allowed for'.[15]

There is also a problem over the general dearth of comparative artefacts from Pictland in the period under review, and it may be pointed out that many of the comparanda come from outside of Scotland. It is, however, difficult to argue that artefact-types which have a specific chronology outside Scotland, in England or Scandinavia, should have been current at a different date in Pictland — there is nothing to suggest that the Picts had a material-cultural inventory that was totally at variance from that of their neighbours, and the presence in Pictland, of, for example, swords of the type represented in sculptures, albeit few in number, would support this view.

[15] I. Henderson, 'Primus inter pares: the St Andrews sarcophagus and Pictish sculpture', 97–167 in Foster (ed.), op. cit. in note 8, at 157.

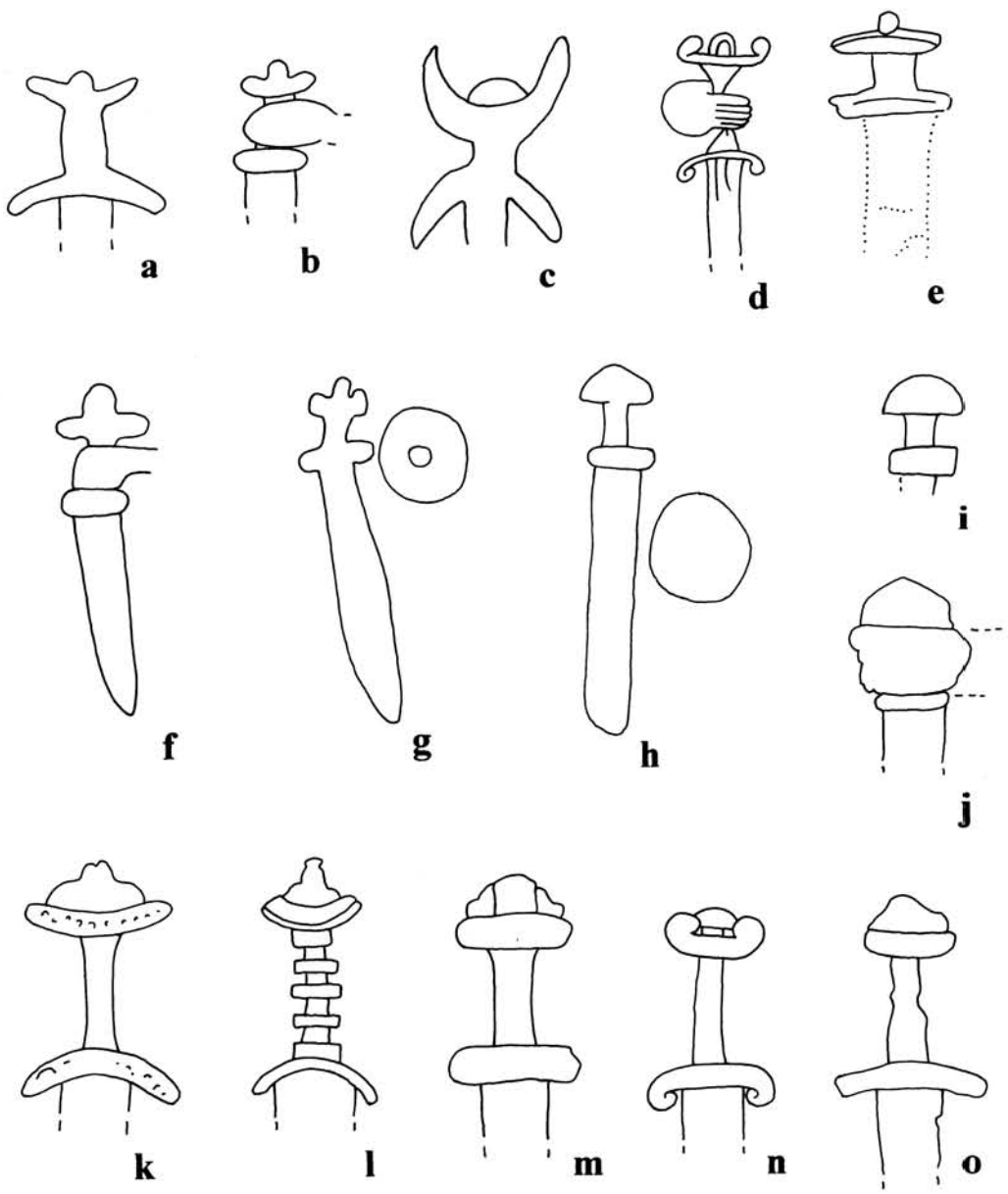

FIG. 2
Swords and Pictish sculptures: a–b, Aberlemno 2; c, Nigg, sword or sceptre; d, Book of Deer; e, Inchbrayock; f, Brailsford, Derbys.; g, Carndonagh; h, Fowlis Wester, 2; i, Kirriemuir 2; j, St Andrews 24. Surviving sword hilts: k, Abingdon, Berks; l, Gilling Beck, Yorks.; m, Ophus, Norway; n, Dale, Ø. Sildre, Norway; and o, Wareham, Dorset.

The same observation may be made about ornamental details — if decorative devices that are peculiar to sculpture of the Viking Period elsewhere in the British Isles appear on Pictish stones, why should it be assumed that they belong to an earlier chronological horizon in Pictland, if there is no firm evidence to substantiate that?

DEPICTED ARTEFACTS AND CHRONOLOGY

In an earlier study, partly by the present author, building upon comments by Joseph Anderson, attention was drawn to the depictions of objects on Pictish stones that are likely to represent items current in Pictland at the time the stones were carved.[16] This view has been endorsed by later writers.[17] Since that paper was published, it has been seen that some revision of the conclusions set out there is necessary.

The most readily datable artefacts shown on Pictish sculptures are items of weaponry.

Of these, swords are the most informative chronological indicators. Leaving aside the aberrant weapon held by David on the St Andrews sarcophagus, which appears to be a Germanic, probably Anglo-Saxon, *seax* and which is difficult to date precisely (though the decorated leather sheath is similar to 10th-century and later examples from Aachen, York and elsewhere),[18] three main types of sword are represented, with a fourth shown on one other stone.

The earliest type depicted is that shown at the top, left, on Fowlis Wester 2, Perth and Kinross, alongside a small round shield (Figs. 1 and 2h). The sword has straight guards and a domed pommel. This may well be a representation of the type of pommel represented in the St Ninian's Isle Treasure, Shetland[19] — the deposition of the hoard is conventionally dated to around A.D. 800, although the pommel may be somewhat earlier (Fig. 3).[20] It would seem to be a Pictish version of the type of more clearly lobed pommel found in Anglo-Saxon England at this date, for example on the Fetter Lane, London find.[21] The Fowlis Wester pommel seems to have developed further from the English lobed pommels of the 8th century than the St Ninian's Isle example, having a smoother profile, and a date around A.D. 800 is not impossible for it.

The second type of sword has a downturned guard at the top of the blade, and an upturned guard on the top of the hilt, on which the pommel is set. This type is that which is depicted both as an incised outline and less clearly is carried by one of the warriors on the Aberlemno Churchyard Stone, Angus (Aberlemno 2) (Figs.

[16] J. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2 ser. (Edinburgh, 1880), 122; L. Laing and J. Laing, 'Archaeological notes on some Scottish Early Christian sculptures', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 114 (1984), 277–87.

[17] E.g. Henderson, op. cit. in note 15, 156.

[18] Henderson, op. cit. in note 15, 161–5; E. Okasha, 'Anglo-Saxon inscribed sheaths from Aachen, Dublin and Trondheim', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 36 (1992), 59–66, for this type of sword sheath, with a catalogue of twenty examples. She sees them as probably of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, of the 10th or 11th centuries. This, however, might seem to be too late for that depicted on the St Andrews Sarcophagus.

[19] D. M. Wilson, 'The Treasure', 45–80 in A. Small, C. Thomas and D. M. Wilson, *St Ninian's Isle and its Treasure* (Aberdeen, 1973), and pl. XXVIa.

[20] J. Backhouse, and L. Webster, *The Making of England* (London, 1991), no. 177, where it is suggested that it may be late 8th-century and possibly of English manufacture, though this does not seem likely.

[21] Webster and Backhouse, op. cit. in note 20, no. 173.

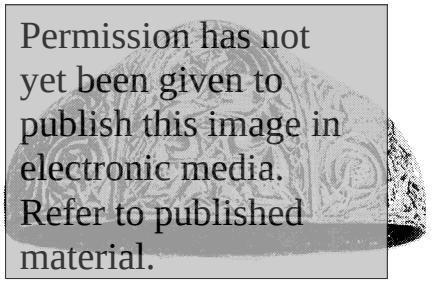

FIG. 3
Silver sword pommel, St Ninian's Isle Treasure, Shetland. Scale 1:1. *Photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.*

4 and 2a–b), and apparently by the striding figure on the reverse of the Nigg stone, Highland, who is carrying additionally a spear and small, roughly square shield (Figs. 5 and 2c). On this sculpture the detail of the sword is badly damaged, partly due to an old repair, but a drawing made in the 19th century by Petley, reproduced by Allen and Anderson and shown to be correct in all details that survive, depicts it quite clearly (Fig. 6).[22] Enough survives on the stone to show the downturned guards and the upturned grip — a suggestion of a pommel (absent from the published drawing) is also perhaps visible.[23]

The development of the curved guard has been discussed by a number of writers. In Scandinavia, Petersen's morphology of Viking-period swords focused on the significance of the form of the lower guard — his form G has a straight lower guard but an upturned upper guard with emphasized terminals (Fig. 2n),[24] while his form L has curved upper and lower guards (e.g. Fig. 2k, l).[25] Petersen was of the view that his type L appeared in the later 9th century and that type G originated outside Scandinavia, believing that type L originated in Anglo-Saxon England and spread to Scandinavia and Scotland, a view endorsed by Evison.[26] Wilson has argued that the curved guard was an essentially Anglo-Saxon development of the 9th century, which lasted in some areas until the late 11th or early 12th century.[27] He saw the type as originating 'at the time the Trewhiddle Style was at its peak', a style which elsewhere he has suggested was a phenomenon of the first half of the 9th century.[28] In a wider discussion of sword hilts, Davidson argued for the development of the curved guard in the second half of the century.[29] Other commentators, while agreeing with the 9th-century date, have not been as categorical about whether the development came early or later in the century.[30] Bone has followed the view that the curved guards were a distinctively English development, which was taken up in Scandinavia.[31]

[22] Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, fig. 18.
[23] The Nigg sword is problematic, since the position high up on the body would make it difficult to draw, and it appears to be very long and thin. The possibility remains that it is not in fact a sword but some kind of sceptre.
[24] J. Petersen, *De Norske Vikingesverd* (Oslo, 1919), fig. 71.
[25] Ibid., fig. 95.
[26] V. I. Evison, 'A sword from the Thames at Wallingford Bridge', *Archaeol. J.*, 124 (1967), 160–89.
[27] D. M. Wilson, 'Some neglected Late Anglo-Saxon swords', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 9 (1965), 32–54.
[28] D. M. Wilson and C. E. Blunt, 'The Trewhiddle hoard', *Archaeologia*, 98 (1961), 75–122, at 108.
[29] H. E. Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1962, rep. 1994), 63–4.
[30] E.g. P. Bone, 'The development of Anglo-Saxon swords from the fifth to the eleventh century', 63–70 in S. C. Hawkes (ed.), *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989); R. Pollington, *The English Warrior from the Earliest Times to 1066* (Hockwold, 1996), 106–7.
[31] Op. cit. in note 30, 66.

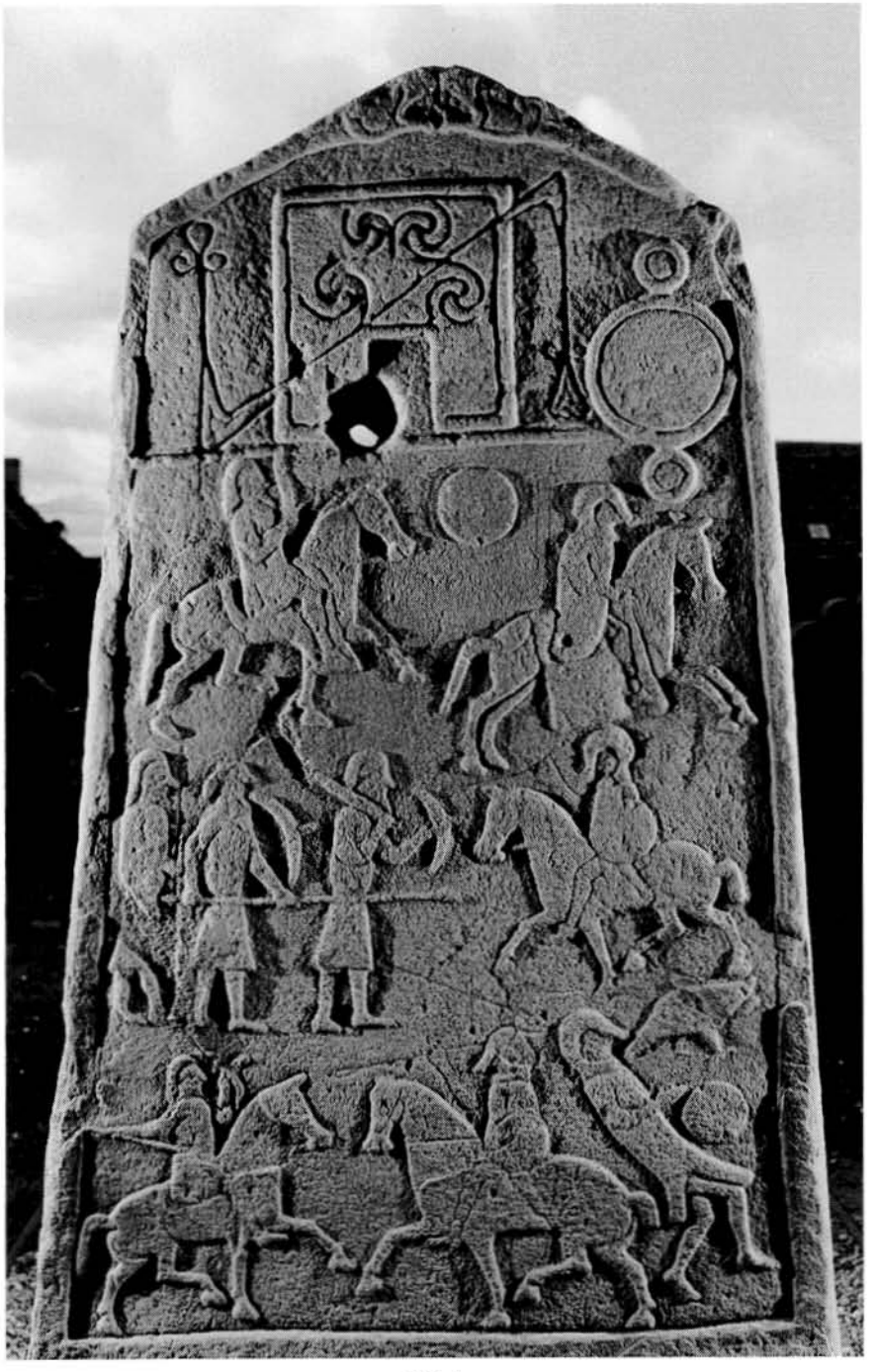

FIG. 4
Aberlemno 2, Angus. Back of slab showing incised sword (above rider, top right) and sword-carrying warrior (centre). *Photo: courtesy of Tom Gray.*

Two finds provide supporting evidence that type-L swords were reaching Pictland in the Viking Period. The first is a sword from Harvieston, Clackmannan, found in 1802 and now on loan in the Royal Museum of Scotland (Mus. reg. QL.1972.1; Fig. 7), and the second is from Gorton, Moray, in the same collection (Mus. reg. LA1; Fig. 8).[32] Elsewhere in Scotland a similar sword is represented from Torbeckhill, Dumfries and Galloway (Mus.reg. X.IL340; Fig. 9).[33] These two latter finds have been recently considered alongside the depiction of a sword on f.4^{v} in the *Book of Deer*, which has been seen as a cross between Petersen's types G and L,[34] as it has the spiral terminals of type G, with a down-curved lower guard (Fig. 2d). The *Book of Deer* is generally regarded as a 10th-century manuscript, probably of Pictish origin.[35]

Of the swords depicted on Aberlemno 2, the sword carried by the warrior in the central register is very close in style to that from Gorton — the Gorton lower guard is only very slightly down-curved, and could be the type intended to be depicted, given artistic licence.

I have discussed the surviving Anglo-Saxon swords, and depictions of curve-guarded swords in art, in a forthcoming study of the date of Aberlemno 2,[36] where it is suggested a date around the middle of the 9th century was probable for this monument on cumulative evidence.

Once introduced, curve-guard swords remained in use into the 11th century. They figure in manuscripts[37] and in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, for example at Sockburn, N. Yorks.[38]

The swords held by the warriors on the base of the reverse of the Shandwick, Highland, slab may have curved guards — certainly the figure on the left may have one, though the right-hand figure's sword is too weathered to be certain, but appears more like the type of sword with domed pommel discussed below (Fig. 10).[39]

The latest type of sword depicted has, like the earlier sword from Fowlis Wester, straight guards and domed pommel.[40] This is the type represented on Kirriemuir 2, Angus (held by the mounted figure at the top on the reverse), where the form of the hilt is very clear (Figs. 11 and 2i), and less certainly on St Andrews 24, Fife (Fig. 2j). This type has also been seen as dating from the Viking Period, from the late 9th century onwards, and matches the depiction of one on the 10th-century cross at Middleton 2A, N. Yorks., dated to the 10th century, or the similar

[32] Gorton: S. Grieg, *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*, in H. Shetelig (ed.), *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, Part II, (Oslo, 1940), 159 and fig. 74. The Harvieston sword is unpublished.
[33] Ibid., 13, and fig. 2, where it was assumed to be a Viking sword.
[34] J. Geddes, 'The Art of the Book of Deer', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 128 (1998), 537–49.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Notably the Gilling Beck example: J. R. Watkin, 'A late Anglo-Saxon sword from Gilling Beck, North Yorkshire', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 30 (1986), 90–3; L. Laing, 'The Date and Significance of the Aberlemno 2 churchyard stone, Angus', forthcoming in M. Redknap (ed.), *Transactions of the Fourth International Conference on Insular Art* (Cardiff).
[37] Geddes, op. cit. in note 34, 546, provides a list of examples.
[38] J. Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (Aylesbury, 1988), fig. 9.
[39] For a convenient photograph, see E. Sutherland, *In Search of the Picts* (London, 1994), 184.
[40] Davidson, op. cit. in note 29, 57 and pls. XI–XIII.

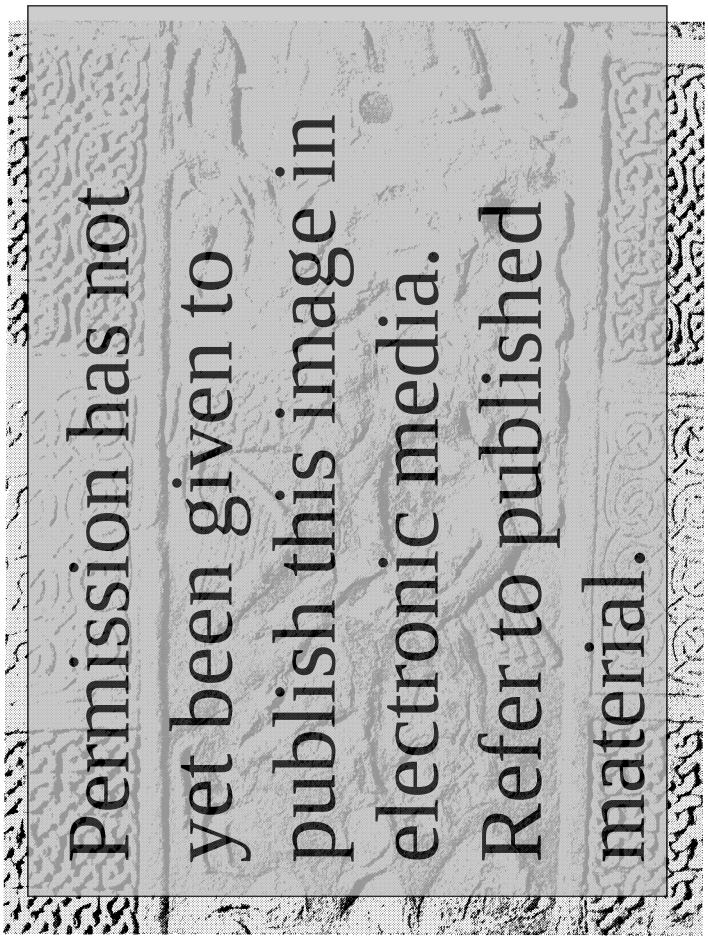

FIG. 5
Nigg, sword carried by warrior (top left). *Photo: courtesy of Tom Gray.*

representation on the Nunburnholme Cross, Yorks., dated to the late 9th or early 10th century.[41]

A sword depicted on the stone at Inchbrayock, Angus, was previously seen by the writer as being an early type, with a pommel skewered on to the tang (Figs. 12 and 2e).[42] Wilson, in his discussion of the St Ninian's Isle Treasure, argued that the pommel on this find may have been the kind poorly represented on the Inchbrayock stone.[43] The lower guard on the Inchbrayock stone is slightly down-curved, and its overall appearance is not totally dissimilar to that of the Gorton sword discussed above. Almost exactly the same kind of pommel, with straight guards, also appears

[41] J. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III, York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), 183, 193; pls. 677 and 721.
[42] Laing and Laing, op. cit. in note 16, 281. For an illustration of this stone, see Sutherland, op. cit. in note 39, 147.
[43] Wilson, op. cit. in note 19, 121.

FIG. 6
Petley's drawing of the Nigg slab (after Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1).

illustrated on a Midlands round shaft at Brailsford, Derbys, which is probably of the mid-11th century (Fig. 2f),[44] and the hilt may be a representation of the type of Late-Saxon sword on which the tang passed through a pommel guard and was gripped by an iron bar hidden by the pommel cap.[45] X-ray has suggested that this method was used for the fastening of the pommel on the sword from the Viking burial at Cronk Moar, Isle of Man.[46] In the case of the Inchbrayock stone the pommel knop has not been added, but there is a hint of the iron bar grip. An Irish parallel, without the pommel guard, is provided by a sword from the old finds at Lagore, Co. Meath.[47] A similar type of sword appears depicted at Carndonagh, Co. Donegal, on a 9th-century monument (Fig. 2g). The Inchbrayock stone

[44] T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), pls. XLVII and XLVI, 2.
[45] Wilson, op. cit. in note 27, fig. 15 and discussion.
[46] G. Bersu and D. Wilson, *Three Viking Graves in the Isle of Man* (Soc. Medieval Archaeol. Monogr., 1, London, 1966), 71–2.
[47] H. O'N. Hencken, 'Lagore Crannog, an Irish royal residence of the 7th to 10th centuries AD', *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, 53C (1950), fig. 25A.

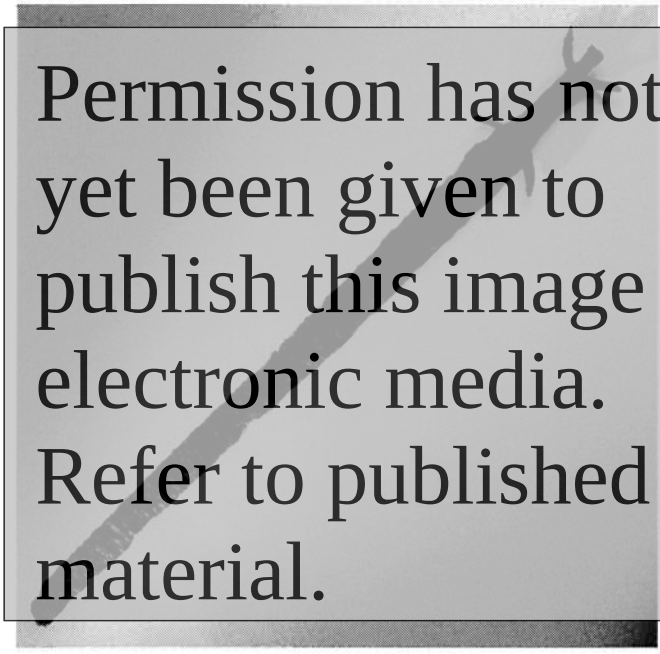

FIG. 7
Sword: Harvieston, Clackmannan. *Photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.*

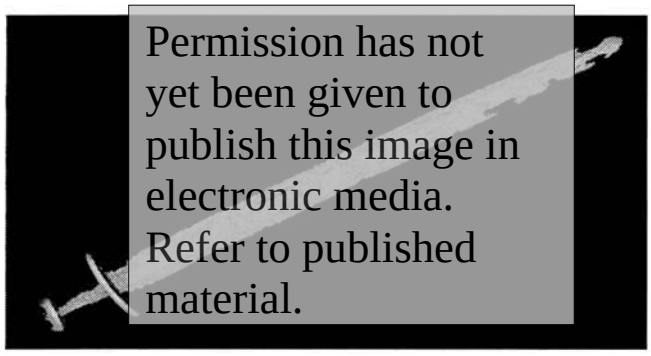

FIG. 8
Sword: Gorton, Moray. *Photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.*

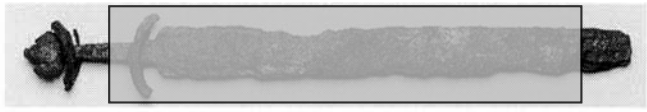

FIG. 9
Sword: Torbeckhill, Dumfries and Galloway. *Photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland.*

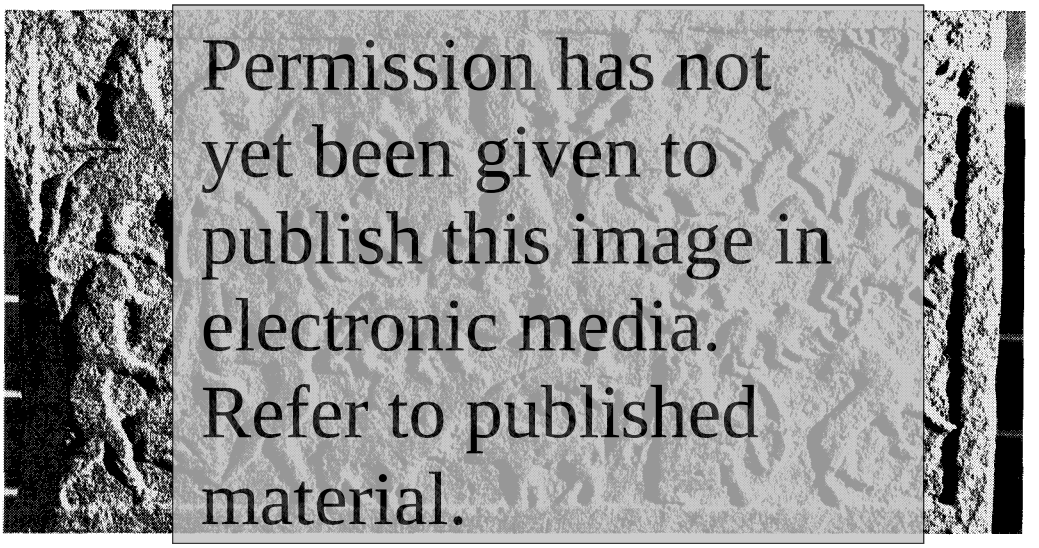

FIG. 10
Warriors fighting with swords, detail from the Shandwick slab, Highland. *Photo: courtesy of Tom Gray.*

displays a number of features which are generally regarded as late — the absence of Pictish symbols, the crude treatment of the horseman, the degenerate pelta patterns and Scandinavian-style knotwork in the interlace all argue for a date no earlier than the late 9th- or 10th century. Henderson has suggested by inference a 9th-century date, as she has compared its drapery with that on the Forteviot arch, generally agreed to be of this date.[48] Additionally, the form of the cross on the front of this stone is a simpler version of that on the late Conbelin's Cross at Margam, Neath Port Talbot, S. Wales.[49]

Turning to other weapons, the T-shaped axe can perhaps be seen as a chronological indicator. It probably originated among the Franks and was taken up in Scandinavia by the Vikings. Wilson has suggested that the most exaggerated form dates from the 9th century.[50] One is represented in an 11th-century hoard of tools from a craftsman's chest found in Lake Mästermyr, Gotland,[51] and in England there are Late-Saxon examples of around A.D. 1000, for example in the hoard from Hurbuck, Co. Durham and in a find from Crayke, N. Yorks., as well as from London (Fig. 13i, j).[52] The type is represented in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of

[48] Henderson, 'Sculpture north of the Forth after the takeover by the Scots', 47–64 in J. Lang (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture* (BAR Brit. Ser., 49, Oxford, 1978). See also L. Alcock and E. A. Alcock, 'Reconnaissance excavations on Early Historic fortifications and other royal sites in Scotland, 1974–84; 5: A Excavations and other fieldwork at Forteviot, Perthshire, 1981', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 122 (1992), 223–7, where it is assigned to the mid-9th century.

[49] V. E. Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), no. 234, where it is dated to the late 10th or 11th century — but see also M. Redknap, *The Christian Celts: Treasures of Late Celtic Wales* (Cardiff, 1991), 68, suggesting a 9th- or 10th-century date.

[50] D. M. Wilson, 'Anglo-Saxon Craft and Industry', 253–82 in D. M. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1976), at 257.

[51] H. Arbman, *The Vikings* (London, 1961), pl. 2.

[52] Wilson, op. cit. in note 50, 257 and fig. 6.1; D. M. Wilson, 'Anglo-Saxon carpenter's tools', 143–50 in M. Claus et al. (eds.), *Studien zur europäischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (Neumünster, 1968); R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Vikings* (London, 1927), fig. 8 — his type 2.

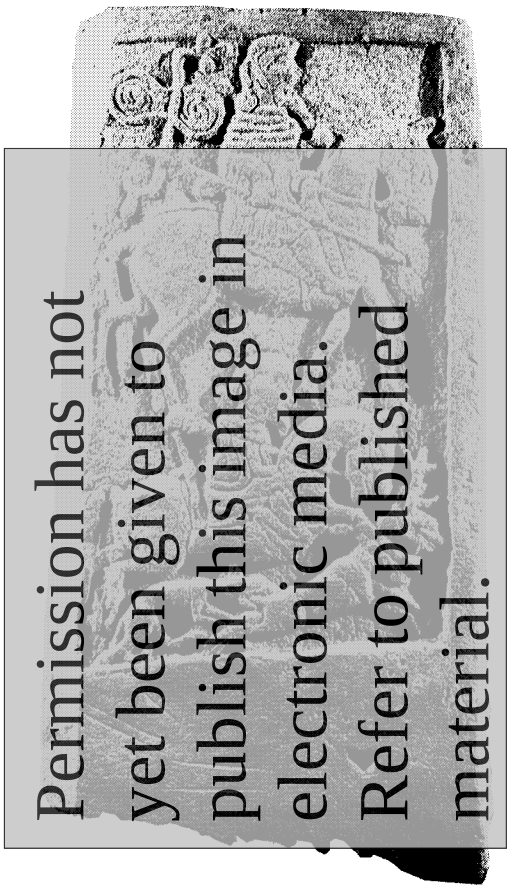

FIG. 11
Kirriemuir 2, Angus, warrior with sword. *Photo: courtesy of Tom Gray.*

the 10th and 11th centuries, for example as an Anglo-Saxon contribution to the copy of the Utrecht Psalter known as Ms Harley 603,[53] and in the Bayeux Tapestry.[54]

In a 'Celtic' context there is a T-shaped axe among the finds from Dunollie, Argyll and Bute,[55] datable to phases I–III (7th to 10th centuries A.D.), and another from Lough Faughan crannog, Co. Down (Fig. 13k).[56] A 9th- or 10th-century date is not improbable for either example.

[53] M. O. H. Carver, 'Contemporary artefacts illustrated in late Saxon manuscripts', *Archaeologia*, 108 (1986), fig. 16.

[54] The Scandinavian occurrence of the T-shaped axe has been noted by J. Petersen, *Vikingetidens Redskaper* (Oslo, 1951), fig. 120, but it does not seem to have been a specifically Viking type (for detailed discussion, *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (London, 1954), 58, where it is type III of the series). Once established in Britain, it remained current through to the 14th century.

[55] L. Alcock and E. A. Alcock, 'Reconnaissance excavations on Early Historic fortifications and other royal sites in Scotland: 2 Excavations at Dunollie Castle, Oban, Argyll, 1978', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 117 (1987), 119–48 at 141 and illus. 8, no 26.

[56] E. P. Collins, 'Excavations at Lough Faughan Crannog, Co. Down', *Ulster J. Archaeol.*, 18 (1955), 45–80 and fig. 11, no. 68, here apparently used as an axe-hammer.

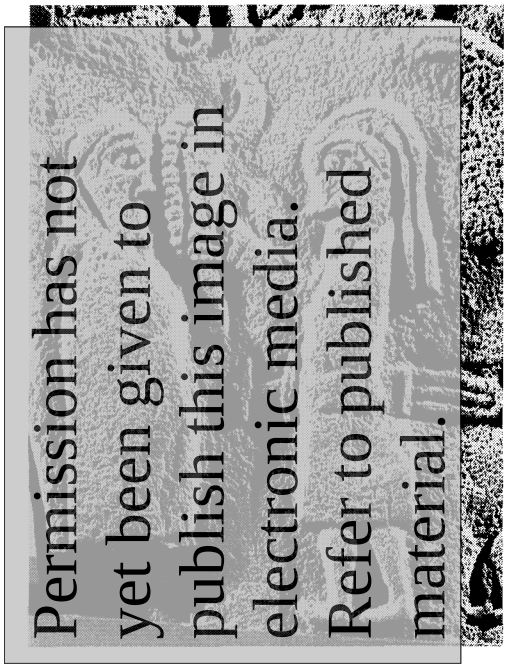

FIG. 12
Samson with a sword, detail from Inchbrayock slab, Angus. *Photo: courtesy of Tom Gray.*

The T-shaped axe figures on the stones from Papil 1, Shetland (Fig. 13g),[57] Golspie 2, Highland (Figs. 13b and 14), Aberlemno 3, (the 'Roadside' cross), Angus (Fig. 13a), Meigle 2, and less certainly on Glamis 2, Angus, where a form seems to be held by the centaur at the top right (Figs. 13c–f and 14), and less certainly still by the right-hand combatant at the bottom left (possibly also by the other combatant, although the stone is too weathered to be certain). The blade on the axes on this stone is less sharply angled to the stem, and has a shorter neck than on the Papil stone. It is thus less significant for dating (Figs. 15 and 13d–f).

A similar axe is wielded by the bird-headed man on the front, top right of the Rossie Priory stone, Perth and Kinross (Figs. 16 and 13h) and another appears to be wielded by a centaur on Gask lA, Perth and Kinross.[58]

The use of axes as weapons in hand-to-hand combat is a feature of the Viking Period — axes occur in earlier weapon-sets in Europe, but in the form of the *francisca* or throwing axe. Rynne has discussed the introduction of the use of the axe as a weapon in Early Christian Ireland, pointing out that Giraldus Cambrensis stated that the Irish used '. . . big axes well and carefully forged, which they have taken over from the Norwegians and Ostmen'.[59] Rynne also discussed an early 12th-century native Irish source (*Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*) which states that the Irish used *Lochlann* (i.e. Viking) axes. From this and the archaeological evidence

[57] Curle, op. cit. in note 3, pl. XXIV, a.
[58] R. Trench-Jellicoe, 'Pictish and related harps: their form and decoration', 159–72 in D. Henry (ed.), *The Worm, the Germ and the Thorn* (Balgavies, 1997), fig. 4.
[59] Quoted in E. Rynne, 'The impact of the Vikings on Irish weapons', 181–6 in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale delle Scienze Preistoriche e Protostoriche, Sezioni V–VII* (1961), at 184.

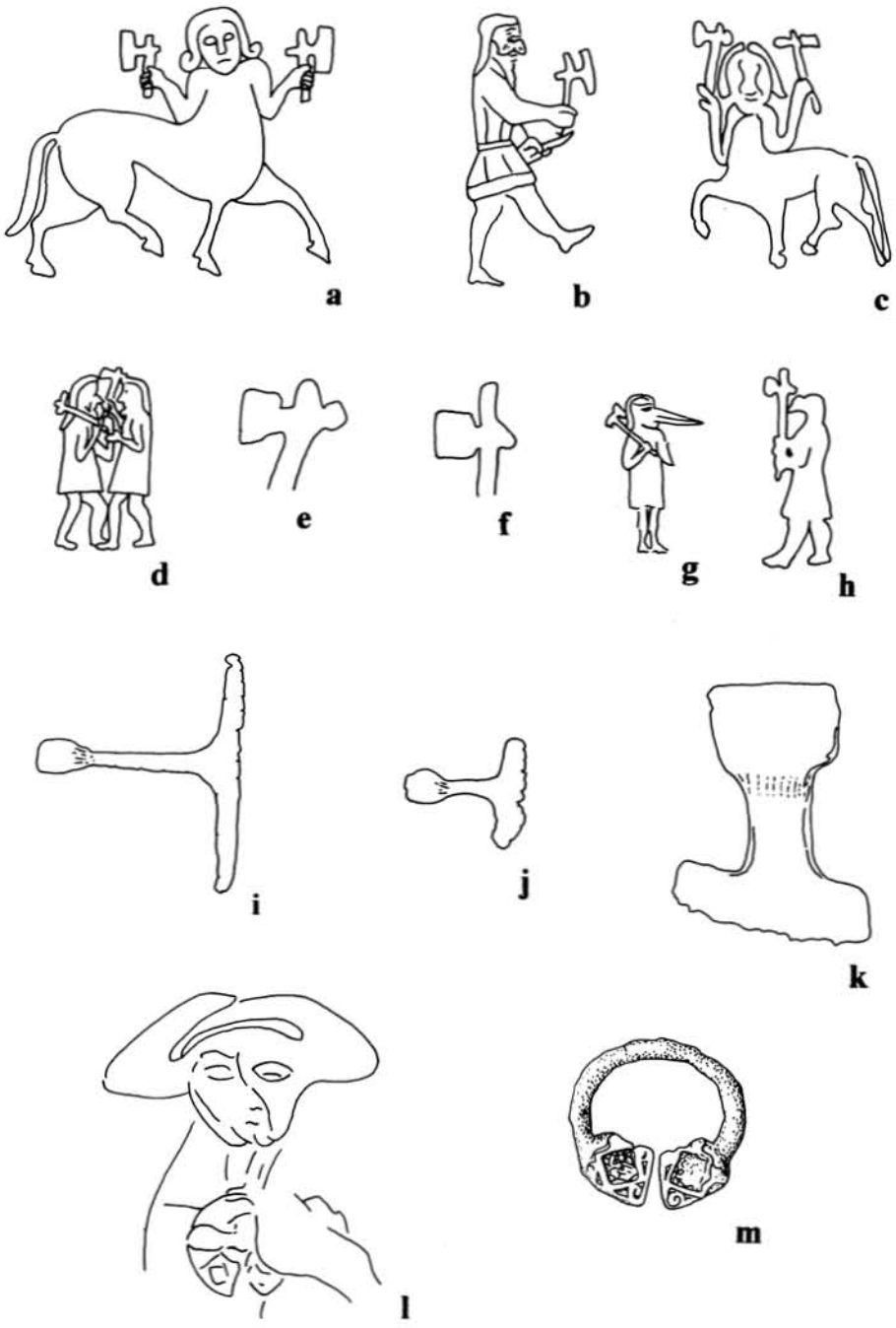

FIG. 13
Axes, brooches and Pictish sculptures: a, Aberlemno 3; b, Golspie; c–f, Glamis Manse; g, Papil; h, Rossie Priory; i–j, axes from Hurbuck, Co. Durham; k, axe from Lough Faughan crannog; l, penannular brooch on figure at Monfieth; and m, brooch from Aignish, Lewis.

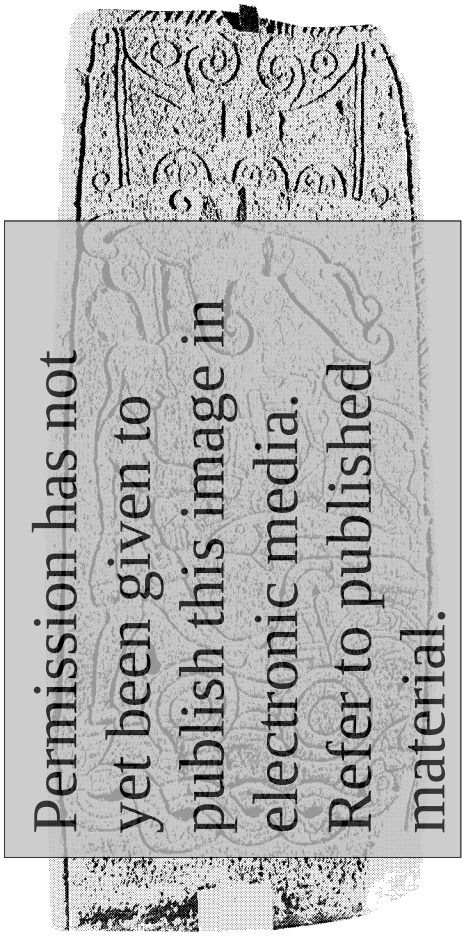

FIG. 14
Golspic 2, Highland. Figure with axe. *Photo: Tom Gray, courtesy of Lord Strathnaver.*

from Ireland he concluded that the use of the axe as a weapon was due to Viking influence. Scott has reviewed the evidence for battle-axes in the 9th to 11th centuries, concluding that the axe was in origin a Scandinavian weapon, and that in England its popularity was probably due to its use among Cnut's men-at-arms.[60] None of the depictions of axes on these stones are in the context of their use as tools — those on the Glamis manse stone are clearly being used as weapons, and the others possibly in a military context (Figs. 15 and 3b).

Outside Pictland, the T-shaped axe figures on the Barochan Cross, Renfrewshire, which is a 10th-century monument of the Govan School.[61]

On the subject of spears and shields, little need be added to the comments made in 1984, except to note that the small round shields with sharply pointed bosses that can be seen on many Pictish stones have their counterparts in Irish and

[60] J. G. Scott, 'An 11th century war axe in Dumfries Museum', *Trans. Dumfries Galloway Nat. Hist. Ant. Soc.*, 3rd ser., XLIII (1966), 117–20 at p. 119.
[61] Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, fig. 475.

FIG. 15
Glamis Manse, Angus, axemen. *Photo: courtesy Tom Gray.*

FIG. 16
Rossie Priory, Angus, axeman. *Photo: courtesy Tom Gray.*

Anglo-Saxon representations from the 9th century onwards, for example on the base of the Market Cross at Kells,[62] in the Anglo-Saxon manuscript Harley 603, f. 69^{r} and f. 12, dated to c. A.D. 1000,[63] or in the similarly dated MS. Cotton Tiberius Biv.

The depiction of a brooch may provide a 9th-century date for the cross-slab at Monifieth 2, Angus. The female figure on the reverse is wearing a penannular brooch with squared terminals decorated with a lozenge (Fig. 13l) — this shows clearly in a recent photograph of the stone.[64] This brooch has long been recognized, but the class represented has not been identified in the past.[65] The brooch belongs to the group which I have defined as Gd, and is almost exactly matched by a surviving example from Aignish, Lewis (Fig. 13m).[66]

VIKING-PERIOD ELEMENTS ON PICTISH STONES

Some Pictish sculptures display features directly inspired by Scandinavian work. A good example is the cross-slab now in Elgin cathedral, Moray (Fig. 17a). Beneath the cross on the front are four quadrupeds with lateral tendrils (additional to the tendril-like interlacing of limbs and tails), biting one another's bodies, arguably influenced by Jellinge ornament, which developed in the last quarter of the 9th century.[67] Although the characteristic pigtail and lip lappet of the true Jellinge animal is missing,[68] the double outline of the Elgin creatures is in keeping with Jellinge tradition (Fig. 17b). The line of pellets down the middle of the animals is perhaps inspired by 10th-century metalwork.[69] The use of dotted infill ribbons can be seen on Norse cross-slabs from Michael, Isle of Man (nos. 100 and 101), and on other Manx stones, notably Ballagh 77, Braddan 109 and Jurby 99.[70] The use of a cross on a base on the Elgin stone also points to a late date,[71] as does the

[62] P. Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland* (Bonn, 1992), fig. 338.

[63] Carver, op. cit. in note 53, 129.

[64] M. R. Nieke, 'Penannular and related brooches: secular ornament or symbol in action?', 128–34 in M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (eds.), *The Age of Migrating Ideas* (Edinburgh, 1993), fig. 15.1.

[65] E.g. R. Trench-Jellicoe, 'Hilton of Cadboll's female rider and her gear', *Pictish Arts Soc. J.*, 7 (1995), 3–9.

[66] L. Laing, *A Catalogue of Celtic Ornamental Metalwork in the British Isles, c. AD 400–1200* (BAR Brit. Ser., 229, Oxford, 1993), 16, discussion of the type, with Aignish listed as no. 95. That simple type-G brooches were in use in the 9th century is apparent from the association of one with the Trewhiddle hoard, deposited c. 875: Wilson and Blunt, op. cit. in note 28. There is additionally a long series of developed type-G brooches in Ireland, some with openwork additions, such as the Killucan, Co. Westmeath brooch — they were discussed in R. A. Smith, 'Irish brooches through five centuries', *Archaeologia*, 65 (1913–14), 223–50, at 238. Smith noted the 'lozenge on brooch-terminals seems to be a favourite motive of the ninth century' (loc. cit.). Two examples from the Ardagh hoard are illustrated in M. Ryan (ed.), *Treasures of Ireland, 3000 BC–1500 AD* (Dublin, 1983), nos. 51c and d, where they are dated to the 9th century.

[67] D. M. Wilson, 'The dating of Viking art in England', 135–44 in Lang (ed.), op. cit. in note 48, at 138.

[68] Though the pigtail appears on a related Jellinge beast on Dunblane 2.

[69] The device can be seen, for example, on the animals that adorn the brooch from Clunie Castle, Perth and Kinross, and on some bossed penannular brooches of the second half of the 9th century (Clunie Castle: Laing, op. cit. in note 66, no 29; S. Youngs (ed.), *The Work of Angels: Masterpieces of Celtic Metalwork 6th–9th Centuries AD* (London, 1989), 115, no.110; bossed penannulars: J. Graham-Campbell, 'Bossed penannular brooches: a review of recent research', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 19 (1975), 33–47 especially pl. v, from Ireland). The same type of dotted interlace is apparent on a 10th-century kite brooch from Co. Kilkenny: Ryan (ed.), op. cit. in note 66, no. 69. A simpler form of pellet infilling was in use on some Trewhiddle-style metalwork in the later 9th century.

[70] P. M. C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses* (Douglas, 1907), 101 — new numbering 128–9: M. Cubbon, *The Art of the Manx Crosses* (Douglas, 1977) — dated to the 10th or early 11th century.

[71] For this feature see Papil 1, discussed above, or some Welsh crosses, e.g. Nash Manor, Vale of Glamorgan: Nash-Williams, op. cit. in note 49, no. 250, dated to the 10th century.

appearance of the falconer, a motif which only became common in the Carolingian period.[72] The figural composition on the stone has been compared by Hughes and by Geddes to the *Book of Deer*, a 10th-century manuscript.[73] A date anterior to the late 9th or early 10th century seems on cumulative evidence very improbable for this monument.

Another stone from Michael, Isle of Man, has a Jellinge beast similar to that which figures on the stone from Dunblane 2, Perth and Kinross (Fig. 17c).[74]

In his study of the Viking-period hogback monuments of Scotland, James Lang discussed those from Brechin, Angus, and Meigle (no. 25), Perth and Kinross, in Pictland. In the case of Meigle 25, he argued that the animal heads on the hogback were closely related to those on Meigle 5, and had the same distinctive type of ear that appears on Aberlemno 2 and St Vigeans 14, Angus.[75] Additionally, Henderson has drawn attention to the similarity of the Meigle 5 beast to those that appear at Elgin, Meigle 4, St Madoes, Perth and Kinross, and Dunfallandy, Perth and Kinross.[76] Lang saw the Meigle monument as related to those of Govan, Glasgow, which he assigned to a date after 950.[77]

The Brechin hogback Lang saw as displaying ornament related to Ringerike work of the Irish School (Fig. 17d).[78]

A number of decorative elements that appear on Pictish stones do not occur in Insular sculpture before the Viking Period. Richard Bailey has drawn attention in particular to certain types of interlace and key patterns that, although found in other media prior to the Viking Period, in sculpture are characteristic of it (Fig. 18).[79] Among these the following may be singled out:

(a) A form of four-cord plait with knotwork, usually termed '*ring-twist*',[80] that is found on 10th-century Viking-period monuments at Govan and Whithorn, and is widespread in Viking-period sculpture in the north of England. This interlace is found at Bressay, Meigle 4 and 5, Drainie, Farnell, Papil, Monymusk, Kirriemuir, St Vigeans 10, Ardchattan, Abercromby, and Aboyne. Outside Scotland it occurs in Wales in the 10th to 11th centuries (Fig. 17e).[81]

[72] A. Carrington, 'The horseman and the falcon: mounted falconers in Pictish sculpture', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 126 (1996), 459–68, at 463.

[73] K. Hughes, 'The Book of Deer (Cambridge University Library Ms Ii.6.32)', 22–7 in D. N. Dumville (ed.), *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1980), at 28; Geddes, op. cit. in note 34, 538.

[74] Kermode, op. cit. in note 70, 89 (renumbered 89).

[75] J. Lang, 'Hogback monuments in Scotland', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 105 (1972–4), 206–35, at 215.

[76] Henderson, op. cit. in note 48, 54–5. All of these examples Lang saw as similar to a head on a bone stylus of the Viking Period from Clifford St, York — loc. cit. in note 75.

[77] Op. cit. in note 75, 214.

[78] He compared the frontal clerics on the Brechin hogback to those on the Camuston Cross, the figures at Kirriemuir (Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, fig. 239a) and the Aldbar slab now in Brechin cathedral (Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, 259a). He suggested that the clerics were representative of a Brechin school, perhaps inspired by Irish 11th-century metalwork such as the Stowe Missal shrine, and saw the Brechin monument as inspired by Irish monks on a pilgrimage route to the Continent: Lang, op. cit. in note 75, 217.

[79] R. N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture* (London, 1980), 71–4.

[80] Bailey, loc. cit. in note 79, fig. 7a; Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, design 503.

[81] For example at Penally, Pembroke (Nash-Williams, op. cit. in note 49, no. 365, dated to the early 10th century), or St Ishmaels (ibid., 397), where it is dated to the 10th-11th centuries.

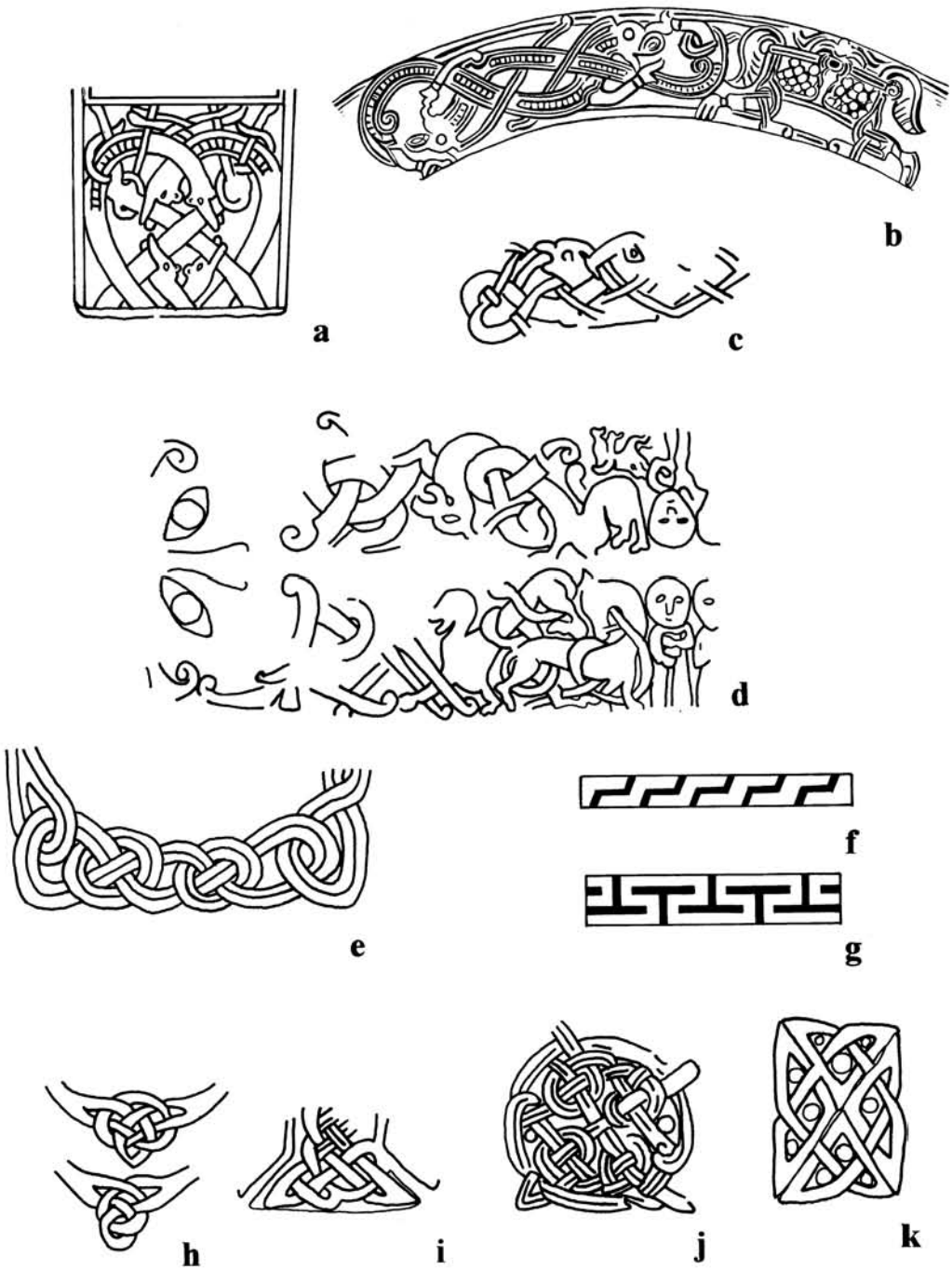

FIG. 17
Viking-period motifs and Pictish stones: a, Elgin; b, animal on Jelling cup; c, Dunblane 2; d, Brechin hogback; e, Bressay; f, Fortingall 1; g, Menmuir 2 (restored); h, Rosemarkie 1; i, Menmuir 1; j, Collieburn; and k, Forteviot 3.

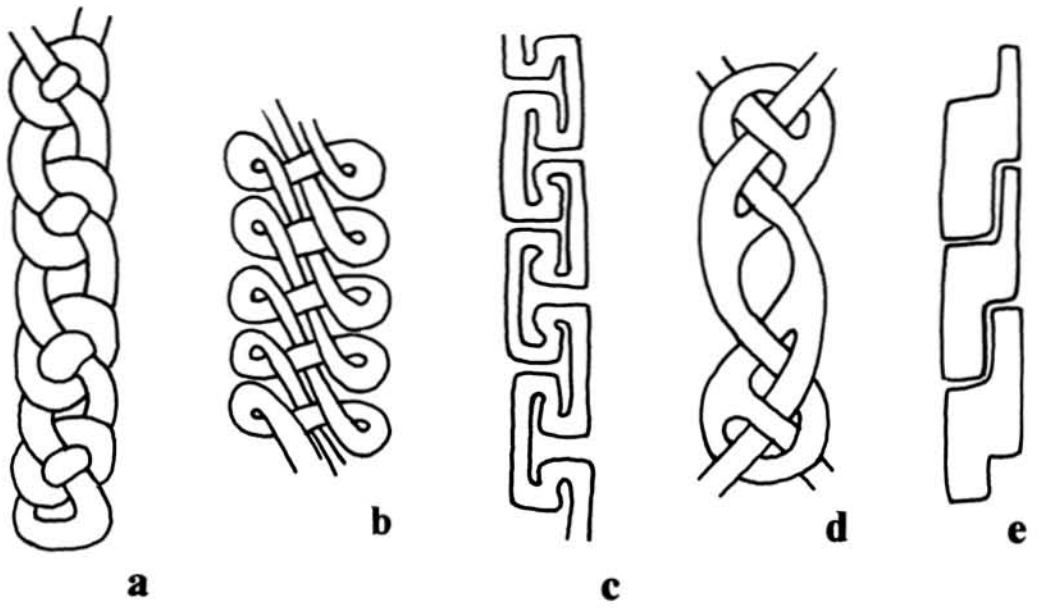

FIG. 18
Viking-period motifs (after Bailey, op. cit. in note 79): a, ring chain; b, looping pattern; c, key pattern 1; d, bifurcated strand; and e, key pattern 2.

(b) A *looping pattern*.[82] Although encountered in metalwork earlier, the design is not found in sculpture before the Viking Period. It is found on Papil 1, Glamis 2 and Meigle 22, and in zoomorphic form at Shandwick.

(c) A *key motif*,[83] which is found at St Vigeans 11, Menmuir 2, Dupplin and Whithorn. A variant occurs at Benvie and Fortingall (Fig. 17g).[84]

(d) Another type of *key pattern*.[85] This is found on St Vigeans 10, Glamis 1, Invergowrie and Fortingall 1. This 'Viking' type of key pattern occurs on later monuments in Wales, continuing into the 11th century (Fig. 17f).[86]

(e) The *'bifurcated strand'* is a type of interlace in which the strands are split and then interlaced.[87] This was employed in Scandinavian art of the Borre Style and even earlier, but does not occur in Insular art in any medium before the Viking Period.[88]

[82] Bailey, op. cit. in note 79, fig. 7b; Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, motif 551.
[83] Bailey, op. cit. in note 79, fig. 7c; Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, motif 899. Key motifs, although originating before the 9th century in manuscript art, gained particular currency in Ireland in the later 9th and 10th centuries, appearing commonly on the Class B slabs at Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly: R. O Floinn, 'Clonmacnoise, art and patronage in the early medieval period', 251–60 in Bourke (ed.), op. cit. in note 10, 254. It occurs for example in the Book of Macdurnan, dated to this period: F. Henry, *Irish Art During the Viking Invasions, 800–1020 A.D.* (London, 1967), pls. K and L), and on metalwork: Ryan (ed.), op. cit. in note 66, 150–1.
[84] Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, motif 893/4.
[85] Bailey, op. cit. in note 79, fig. 7e; Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, pattern 888.
[86] For example at Llangan, Vale of Glamorgan (Nash-Williams, op. cit. in note 49, no. 208), a panelled cartwheel cross of the 11th century.
[87] Bailey, op. cit. in note 79, fig. 7d.
[88] Bailey, op. cit. in note 79, 72.

It is apparent at Crieff, Menmuir 1, Bressay, and Rosemarkie 1, where it is used in the corners of the crescent symbol (Fig. 17h, i).

(f) The *incised swastika* is a feature of Viking-period sculpture in the north of England and South-West Scotland. It is found for example on monuments at Craignarget, Dumfries and Galloway, and Aspatria, Cumbria, and Bailey has suggested that these stones display a link between Cumbria and South-West Scotland in the Viking Period.[89] In Pictland a swastika occurs on a stone at Collieburn, Sutherland, Highland.

(g) *Pellets incorporated into interlace* are another feature of Viking-period work (Fig. 17j, k). This is found in Pictland at Collieburn, Rosemarkie and on Forteviot 3 (on what appears to be the arm of a free-standing cross), and in Wales appears to be a 10th- and 11th-century phenomenon.[90]

(h) *Outlining* (i.e. the use of double contour lines) is normally regarded as 'late' in Insular sculpture. This is found on Papil 1, St Vigeans 7 (the bull being pole-axed), Meigle 9 and Strathmartine 6 (where the swimming elephant has a double outline), and double outlining is also used on the symbols on the Glamis 2 stone. The same feature can be seen on St Vigeans 14.[91]

(i) The *median line* in non-zoomorphic interlace is encountered at Collieburn, Rosemarkie 1, Drainie 10, the Maiden Stone, Migvie, Kingoldrum, Invergowrie, Benvie, Kirriemuir 1 and 5, Strathmartine 7, St Vigeans 12, Crieff, Dunning, Forteviot, Meigle 21, 28 and 29, Abercromby 1a, St Andrews 4 and 14 and Dogtown (Fig. 17j). The median line is very common on Welsh Early-Christian stones, and, although it occurs in metalwork and in manuscript art at an earlier date, appears in sculpture to be a phenomenon of the 9th century and later.[92] The median line is also found in zoomorphic form on the Rossie Priory stone.

ICONOGRAPHIC PARALLELS BETWEEN IRELAND AND PICTLAND

There are a number of close iconographic parallels between Pictish relief sculpture and Irish high crosses. Obviously, for these to be meaningful in chronological terms, there has to be some measure of agreement about the date of the Irish high crosses on which the comparable iconographical details occur, and, equally, agreement that the iconography did not originate in Pictland to be transferred at a secondary stage to Ireland.

[89] Bailey, op. cit. in note 79, 223–8.

[90] It occurs for example on Nash-Williams, op. cit. in note 49, no. 47, (Llanddewi'r Cwm, Powys), also associated with Allen's pattern 551; on Nash-Williams no. 239 (Merthyr Mawr, Bridgend, with inscription dated to 11th century); Nash-Williams no. 252 (Newcastle-Bridgend, Bridgend); Nash-Williams no. 212 (Llangyfelach, Swansea), and Nash-Williams no. 291 (Caerleon, Newport). Nash-Williams saw the phenomenon as being mainly a 10th-century one (ibid., 45).

[91] J. B. Kenworthy, 'A further fragment of early Christian sculpture from St Mary on the Rock, St Andrews, Fife', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 110, (1981), 356–63 at p. 358, discusses these occurrences, where the monuments concerned were seen as influenced by early manuscripts rather than Viking art. Kenworthy has drawn attention to the double outlining on Monifieth 4, Invergowrie, Benvie, Farnell, and St Andrews, as well as Coldingham (ibid., 359). On Monifieth 4 the double outlining is displayed by animals that are clearly related to Jellinge work (Allen noted their 'Viking' affinities in Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1).

[92] See, for example, Nash-Williams, op. cit. in note 49, pl. LXVI.

Arguments in recent years have centred on the relationship between the free-standing crosses of Iona, Northumbria and Ireland, and the relationship of all three groups to the Pictish cross-slabs. R. B. K. Stevenson suggested that the Iona crosses were the model for those in Ireland, and saw the Ossory Group (notably the Ahenny crosses) as the closest relatives to the Iona crosses.[93] The Royal Commission on Historic and Ancient Monuments argued that the Iona monuments were inspired by Northumbrian crosses, and that they themselves in turn inspired those in Ireland, assigning them to the second half of the 8th century.[94] Dorothy Kelly has rejected the idea of a close association with Northumbria in the Iona crosses, while emphasizing their affinity to Irish monuments,[95] and this view has been supported by MacLean, who has argued for the influence of carpentry in the construction of the Iona monuments not apparent in Northumbria.[96] Although crosses on Iona itself may be unrelated to Northumbrian tradition, the cross at Kilnave, Islay, might be seen as a forerunner, and related to the undecorated stone cross at Whitby, N. Yorks., and the incised cross on St Cuthbert's reliquary coffin (datable to 698), which have been discussed by Bailey, who has seen them as a Celtic 'plant that failed to take' but which was developed further in Iona.[97] The current position would seem to argue in favour of the Iona crosses being the forerunners of those in Ireland, and owing little or nothing to Northumbrian inspiration.

The group of Irish crosses usually regarded as the earliest and most closely related to those of Iona are the Tipperary/Kilkenny group, within which lies the Western Ossory or Ahenny group, dated by Henry to the 8th century.[98] Recent detailed studies of this group by Edwards, Hicks and Harbison,[99] indicate that they are no earlier than the 9th century. Within the 9th-century bracket the dates have varied — Hicks and Edwards have assigned them to a date early in the 9th century; Harbison, on documentary evidence, favoured a date around 860.

Stalley has listed some of the recent literature on the chronology of Irish crosses in a discussion of the Tower Cross (Cross of Patrick and Columba) at Kells, arguing that this monument, traditionally assigned to the first half of the 9th century, should be dated closer to the end of it.[100] If he is right, there is good reason to assign the scriptural crosses to around A.D. 900, with implications for the study of Pictish sculpture.

Many of the iconographic connections between Irish high crosses and Pictish slabs have been discussed and listed by Harbison. He has argued that the Biblical

[93] R. B. K. Stevenson, 'The chronology and relationship of some Scottish and Irish crosses', *J. Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 86 (1956), 84–96.
[94] R.C.H.A.M.S. *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, *Iona*, (Edinburgh, 1982), 17–19.
[95] D. Kelly, 'The relationship of the crosses of Argyll: the evidence of form', 219–29 in Spearman and Higgitt (eds.), op. cit. in note 64.
[96] D. MacLean, 'Technique and content: carpentry constructed Insular stone crosses', 167–75 in Bourke (ed.), op. cit. in note 10.
[97] R. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Toronto, 1996), 50–1.
[98] F. Henry, *Irish High Crosses* (Dublin, 1964), 59.
[99] N. Edwards, 'An early group of crosses from the Kingdom of Ossory', *J. Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 113 (1983), 5–46; C. Hicks, 'A Clonmacnoise workshop in stone', *J. Royal Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 110 (1980), 5–35; Harbison, op. cit. in note 62.
[100] Stalley, op. cit. in note 14.

iconography of the Irish crosses originates in the Carolingian world, where he has seen possible models as being ivories or stucco work.[101] He has argued that this iconography was introduced no earlier than the 830s or 840s, and was transmitted from Ireland, eastwards with St Columba's relics — perhaps to an already established centre at Dunkeld — sometime between 830 and 850, probably from Iona. However, in the absence of any surviving traces of the same iconography on Iona, it seems reasonable to assume that 'Iona was only the intermediary, and that it was Kells that was the real supplier'.[102] Harbison has compared the iconography of Irish and Pictish monuments, and has suggested that details of stones at Kettins, St Vigeans 7, Dunkeld and Meigle can be most closely matched on the Market Cross at Kells which also provides a model for a detail at Burghead. He has seen the centaur on Aberlemno 3 as being matched on the Cross of St Patrick and Columba at Kells, while the Daniel on the Market Cross at Kells has its counterpart at Meigle. One of the Meigle animals, he has suggested, can compare closely with one on Muiredach's Cross at Monasterboice. Other comparisons with Irish high cross iconography can be seen, he has suggested, on monuments at Aldbar, Farnell, Woodwray, Dunfallandy, Invergowrie, Dunkeld, Glamis 2, Meigle 2, St Vigeans 7, Abernethy and Camuston.[103] It is notable, however, that the Irish Biblical iconography is not apparent on the St Andrews sarcophagus or in the sophisticated Boss-style monuments of Hilton of Cadboll or Nigg.

In her discussion of the Irish affinities of the St Andrews sarcophagus, Nancy Edwards has formed the conclusion that while 'there are general comparisons that can be made between the sarcophagus and Irish monuments, similarities resulted largely from the fact that sculptors, metalworkers and indeed manuscript illuminators on either side of the Irish Sea in the late 8th and early 9th centuries had a similar outlook, a similar attitude to art and design and were working in a similar milieu'.[104]

A number of monuments display robed clerical figures in frontal poses, sometimes holding books. These occur on the cross-slabs at Aldbar, Invergowrie, Benvie, Menmuir 1 and 2, Monifieth, St Vigeans 10, 11, 17 and 18, Dunkeld 2, Meigle 29 and possibly Fortingall 1. Carola Hicks has seen these as having Irish connections, and has drawn attention to the similarity of the figures at Aldbar, Invergowrie and Benvie to those on the crosses at Clonmacnoise.[105] The crossed 'dragons' on the Invergowrie slab also share features in common with the confronted dragons on the north face of the North Cross at Clonmacnoise.

They may originate with growing Irish influence in Tayside in the first half of the 9th century, but once introduced probably remained a feature of Pictish art into the 10th. Similar figures appear, for example, in the *Book of Deer*.

[101] Harbison, op. cit. in note 62, 328; J. Calvert in her M.Litt. thesis for the University of California, Berkeley (published as *The Early Development of Irish High Crosses and their Relationship to Scottish Sculpture* (Berkeley, 1978)) has similarly drawn iconographic parallels between the Irish crosses and Pictish cross-slabs. The Carolingian sources are discussed in P. Harbison, 'The Carolingian contribution to Irish sculpture', 105–10 in M. Ryan (ed.), *Ireland and Insular Art, A.D. 500–1200* (Dublin, 1987).

[102] Ibid., 326.

[103] Ibid., 325–6.

[104] N. Edwards, 'The Irish connection', 227–39 in Foster, op. cit. in note 8, at 238–9.

[105] Hicks, op. cit. in note 99, 19.

a b

FIG. 19
Birds and Pictish art: a, St Mel's crozier and b, Farr.

THE ANIMALS ON THE PICTISH SLABS

Some of the fantastic creatures on Pictish stones can be seen to have counterparts in sculptures elsewhere. The creatures flanking the shaft of St Vigeans 1 can be matched in both Anglo-Saxon and Irish sculpture: for example the treatment of the feline to the right of the shaft is similar to that of the griffin on the cross-shaft at Otley, W. Yorks.,[106] while the snakes underneath it are reminiscent of those on the underside of the arm and ring of the south side of the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise,[107] a monument which has been seen (above) to display a number of features similar to some in Pictish sculpture.

A later source may lie behind the birds that appear interlocked on the stone from Crieff, Perth and Kinross (Fig. 19). Here the closest model is to be found in Irish metalwork, for example on the Crosier of St Mel,[108] or, for the interlocking necks, the crosier of Cú Dúilig.[109]

Certain animal 'types' figure prominently on Pictish sculpture, and are clearly related to similar animal compositions elsewhere. These can be useful for chronological purposes. They comprise interlocked twin animals and crouching beasts.

The interlocked twin animals on Pictish sculpture (Fig. 20)

A motif which is apparent on a number of the mostly southern Pictish stones is a pair of confronted (sometimes addorsed) intertwining creatures, usually with snake bodies, the interlace frequently displaying median lines. The classic examples are the monuments from Kirriemuir 3, Dogtown, Benvie, Invergowrie and Rosemarkie 1. Related to these are confronted hippocamps, which are apparent on Aberlemno 2, Largo, Murthly, Meigle 26, Meigle 8 and, in variant guise, Skinnet. A possible starting point for the development of these zoomorphs may be seen in Northumberland, on Bamburgh 1, which appears to be from the top of a chair. It has been dated tentatively to the late 8th or early 9th century. Parallels

[106] W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (Kendal, 1927), fig. 60.
[107] Harbison, op. cit. in note 62, fig. 903.
[108] M. MacDermott, 'The croziers of St Dympna and St Mel and tenth century Irish metalwork', *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, 58C (1957), 167–95, figs. 4–5.
[109] M. MacDermott, 'The Kells crozier', *Archaeologia*, 96 (1955), 59–113, fig. 4.

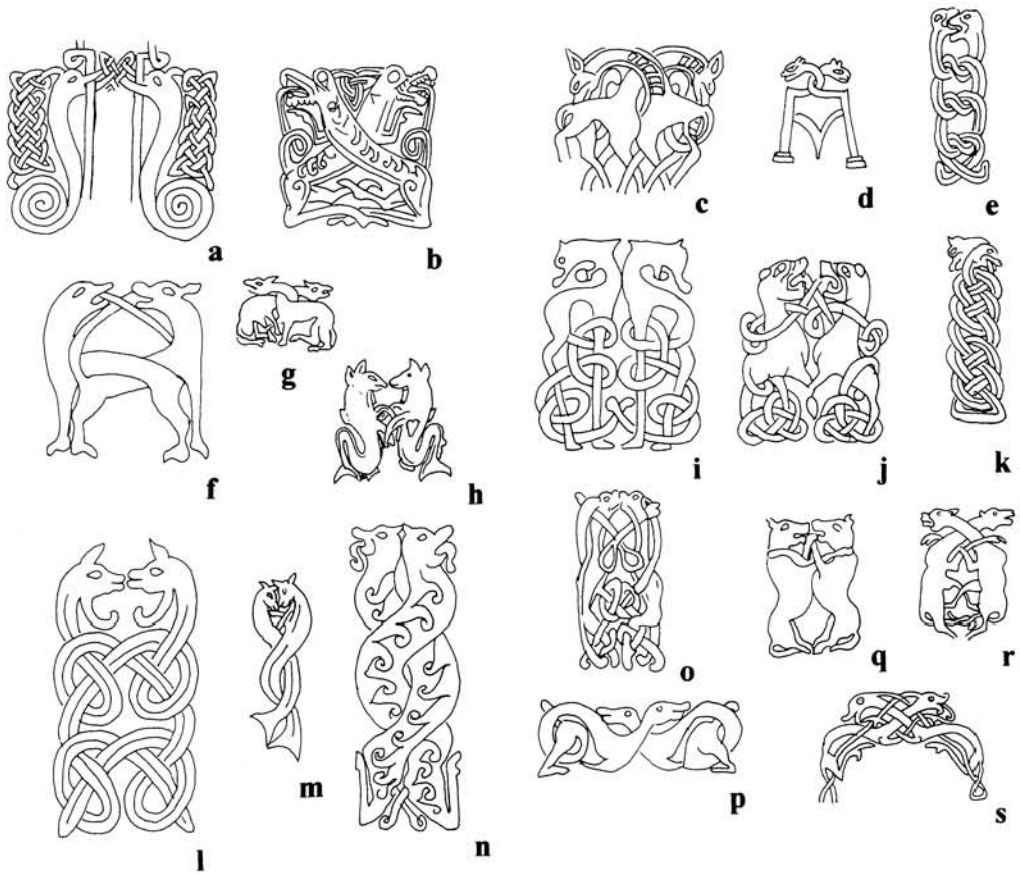

FIG. 20
Confronted beasts and Pictish art: a, Skinnet; b, Invergowrie; c, Crofton; d, Durham Ritual; e, Dogtown; f, Kettins; g, Meigle 23; h, Murthly; i, Thornhill; j, Gloucester 2; k, Kirriemuir 3; l, Rosemarkie 1; m, Largo; n, Benvie; o, Collingham 2; p, Kilkieran; q, Dupplin; r, Tower Cross, Kells; and s, crosier of Cú Dúilig.

additionally have been cited in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, notably at Collingham.[110] Similar, but more complex, creatures appear on the nose-guard of the Coppergate, York, helmet of the late 8th century. A parallel in Ireland can be seen at Clonmacnoise, on the north face of the North Cross, usually dated to the 9th century. The same motif has been noted by Stevenson as appearing on a *Pressblech* panel on the Chur Reliquary, a 9th-century Carolingian object from Switzerland.[111]

[110] Collingwood, op. cit. in note 106, fig. 31; R. J. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture. 1: County Durham and Northumberland* (London, 1984), 163. The animals on Pictish stones have been the subject of consideration by C. Hicks, *Animals in Early Medieval Art* (Edinburgh, 1993), 139–59 and 217–20. Many of her points but not her chronology are agreed with here.

[111] R. B. K. Stevenson, 'Further thoughts on some well known problems', 16–26 in Spearman and Higgitt (eds.), op. cit. in note 64, 19.

A useful typology for the English relatives of the Pictish confronted dragons has been provided by Cramp,[112] who has traced their evolution from inhabited vinescroll as found on the Jedburgh panel through those on the Melsonby shaft to the creatures that adorn the Elstow and Gloucester 2 crosses. She has equated Masham and Newent with Meigle 2, and has set them in the first half of the 9th century. The flattening out of the bodies and the patterning by formal blocks of ribbing, which is a feature of the Pictish monuments, she has seen as developing by the mid-9th century, when 'tails develop into elaborate meshes of interlace'.[113] In the later 9th century animals are two-dimensional, and 'can be bound into chains by their tail and tongue extensions and survive as quadrupeds'.

She has similarly traced the development of the single fantastic beast from the last quarter of the 8th century through the 9th to the mid-10th. 'They originate as leonine or griffin-like, but evolve into more anonymous canines, long-necked beasts and lizard-like bipeds'.[114]

Another sequence, partly based on Cramp's, has been traced by Kenworthy.[115]

The crouching beast in Pictish sculpture (Fig. 21)

A crouching, backward-looking animal with lolling tongue and back-curled tail, sometimes biting itself, is a common motif on the Pictish stones. Some of its relatives have been discussed in a study of the Aberlemno 2 stone,[116] and the detailed analogies for those at Aberlemno need not be repeated here. There is evidence that they are a phenomenon of the 9th century, but continue into the early 11th. Apart from Aberlemno 2, other stones displaying them include Dunfallandy, Dupplin (which provides a fixed date in the early 9th century), Aberlemno 3, Strathmartine 5, Menmure, St Madoes and Rossie Priory.

MONUMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO DATES PRIOR TO 750

Few now consider that any relief sculpture was produced in Pictland before the 8th century. A number of northern Scottish monuments have been assigned by some scholars in the past to dates earlier than 750, most notably by Mrs Curle,[117] who believed that relief began in the late 7th century, and who put into her earliest group of sculptures the incised monuments from Papa Westray, Raasay, and Arbirlot, Balblair and Burness, and the Broch of Birsay slab along with the monuments at Ardchattan, Kilmartin, Bressay and Papil 1. Her dating for these monuments was re-appraised by Stevenson, who assigned them to the 9th and 10th centuries, with the exception of Papil and Brough of Birsay slabs, which he saw as belonging to the late 8th century.[118]

[112] R. J. Cramp, 'The Anglian tradition in the ninth century', 1–32 in Lang (ed.), op. cit. in note 48, fig. 1.1.
[113] Ibid., 14.
[114] Cramp, op. cit. in note 111, 13.
[115] Kenworthy, op. cit. in note 91, 357–63.
[116] Laing, op. cit. in note 36.
[117] Curle, op. cit. in note 3.
[118] Stevenson, 1959, op. cit. in note 5, 55. See also R. B. K. Stevenson, 'Christian sculpture in Norse Shetland', *Fróðskaparrit*, 28–9 (1981), 283–92.

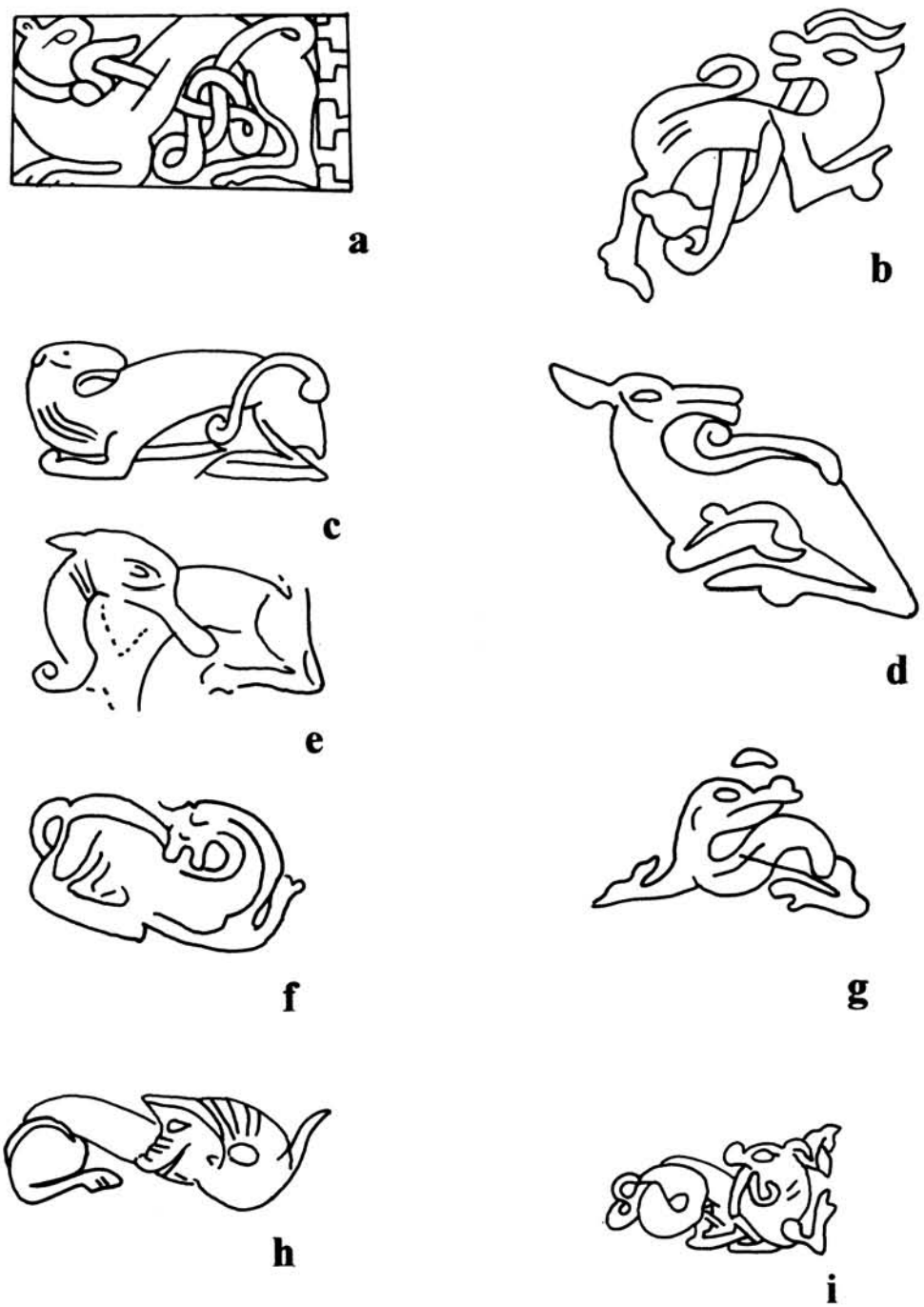

FIG. 21
Crouching backward-looking animals: a, Dupplin; b, Aberlemno 2; c, Meigle 15; d, Aberlemno 2; e, Meigle 5; f, Monifieth 4; g, Bologna shrine; h, St Madoes; and i, motif-piece, Dublin.

In a previous study of the stones from Papil, I argued that none were Pictish but all were almost certainly of Dalriadic Scottish derivation and datable to the 9th century.[119] The significance of the T-shaped axe and double outlining on Papil 1 was considered above (pp. 93, 95).

The Brough of Birsay stone appears in contrast to have been a 'Pictish' monument, as suggested by the symbols. The treatment of the figures is distinctive, with one figure with curling hair and beard, which is almost exactly matched on a motif piece found in a midden adjacent to House 1 at Jarlshof, Shetland.[120] This belonged to the first phase of the Viking settlement in the 9th century, and is likely to have been residual from the presumed Pictish occupation which preceded the Viking farmstead, as Stevenson and Ritchie have suggested.[121] The similar treatment of the hair and beard can be found in the Book of Kells. Given this, there are no serious arguments for supposing that the Brough of Birsay stone pre-dates the end of the 8th century.

One other monument of the Northern series deserves particular consideration. This is the cross-slab from Golspie 2, Highland, which, if the postulated evolution of Pictish sculptural technique is accepted, should be early since it uses incised technique on the back and shallow relief on the cross-slab on the front. The Golspie stone displays a marching, bearded man carrying a knife and a T-shaped axe, which it was suggested above does not pre-date the 9th century.[122]

[119] L. Laing, 'The Papil, Shetland stones and their significance', *Pictish Arts Soc.*, 5 (1993), 9–18. All probably belonged to a monastic offshoot from Iona — the low-relief lion on Papil 1 seems to be modelled on the lion evangelist symbol in the Book of Durrow, and may have been a deliberate 'borrowing' from an already-old and revered product of the Iona sciptorium, if the arguments that Durrow is an Iona manuscript are accepted: L. Laing, 'The Provenance of the Book of Durrow', *Scottish Archaeol. Rev.*, 9/10 (1995), 115–24.

[120] J. R. C. Hamilton, *Excavations at Jarlshof, Shetland* (Edinburgh, 1956), 121, no. 129.

[121] Ritchie, *Viking Scotland* (London, 1993), 70, and Stevenson, op. cit. in note 118, 289.

[122] Several other features point to a 9th-century date for the Golspie stone. The inscription in ogham round the edge seems to incorporate the word MEQQ, 'son of', suggesting Irish influence, and the use of ogham itself is in keeping with a 9th-century date: K. H. Jackson, 'The Pictish language', 129–66 in Wainwright, op. cit. in note 5, 140.

The fact that there are no fewer than seven symbols on the stone might argue that it is late in the series, a fact supported by the character of their representation, although they are less 'degenerate' than many on the later stones. The intertwined serpent and dragon at the base does not appear to be a symbol which figures on any Class 1 stone, but is represented in almost exactly the same form on the bottom (front right) of St Vigeans 1, the 'Drosten' stone, which has been dated by its inscription to around 840 (Clancy, op. cit. in note 9). The rather crude ornament on the cross-side of the slab links Golspie to monuments usually assigned to the late 8th or early 9th centuries, including the St Andrews sarcophagus (Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, patterns 607 and 974), Nigg (ibid., patterns 662 and 970A), Rosemarkie 1 (ibid., patterns 969 and 974) and Farr (ibid., patterns 969 and 974).

The running-spiral patterns along the edges of the Golspie stone are almost the same as those on the base of the Castledermot cross, as Hicks, op. cit. in note 99, 12, has noted (for an illustration of Castledermot: Henry, op. cit. in note 83, pl. 70). Castledermot is assigned to the later 9th century by Harbison, op. cit. in note 62, 377, but some have seen it as a later (10th-century) monument.

Hicks, op. cit. in note 99, 12, has additionally drawn attention to the fact that the rendering of the feline on the Golspie stone is very close to the Durrow lion. Given the argument for the appearance of the 'Durrow lion' at Papil 1, the Golspie stone might be seen as further evidence for conscious borrowing from the Iona tradition. The figures on this stone and those that follow have recently been discussed in I. Henderson, *Pictish Monsters: Symbol, Text and Image* (Cambridge, 1997, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures, 7).

If a 9th-century date is accepted for Golspie, there is no reason to assume that the incised linear human figures on the stones from Barflat, Rhynie,[123] Balblair,[124] Collessie, Fife,[125] or Cunningsburgh, Shetland,[126] are any earlier.

Of the northern slabs dismissed by Stevenson as late, it was noted above that the one from Collieburn employs pellets within the interlace, a Viking-period feature, and also bears a possibly secondary swastika which is also a feature of late monuments. The other monuments all share decorative features with monuments of the 9th and 10th centuries.[127]

THE LOW RELIEF SOUTHERN PICTLAND SLABS

A second group of monuments is closely related and has been seen by many scholars to represent the beginning of the Class II series of cross-slabs. Several of these were seen by Mrs Curle to pre-date 700, and more recently claims have been made for a late 7th-century date for Aberlemno 2, mainly on the basis of the supposed depiction on this slab of the Battle of Dunnichen, fought in 685.[128] I have argued that it cannot pre-date the 9th century, and is likely to belong to the middle of it. A later date is also possible.[129] Apart from its use of 9th-century swords, discussed above, its use of a secular battle scene and its choice of certain forms of animal ornament point to a date in the 9th century. The group as a whole bears a similarity in the use of low relief and, in the case of Aberlemno 2 and Glamis Manse, a pointed apex, that is found in a group of 9th-century slabs in Co. Donegal, notably that at Fahan Mura.

Six other stones can be considered alongside it: the two stones from Glamis and the stones from Eassie, Angus, Rossie Priory, Fowlis Wester 2 and Dunfallandy, Perth and Kinross. In addition, shared ornamental patterns link stones from this group with Meigle 1 and St Vigeans 7.

The group as a whole has been considered as belonging to the 8th century by most commentators, the most recent view being that expressed by Isabel Henderson and D. MacLean, who believe that relief sculpture was introduced from Northumbria in the second quarter of the 8th century.[130]

The two Glamis stones have been seen as very early in the Class II series on account of the incised symbols on the backs. On Glamis 2 (Glamis Manse) the

[123] I. A. G. Shepherd and A. N. Shepherd, 'An incised Pictish figure and new symbol stone from Barflat, Rhynie, Gordon District', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, 109 (1978), 211–22.

[124] Allen and Anderson, op. cit. in note 1, 95.

[125] S. Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots* (London, 1992), 230 and pl. 7.

[126] V. Turner, 'The Mail stone: an incised Pictish figure from Mail, Cunningsburgh, Shetland', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 124 (1994), 315–26.

[127] The monument at Ulbster, as already noted, shares Allen's pattern 503 with Bressay, Benvie and Whithorn, and Collieburn shares pattern 714 with Brodie, Gartonside and Glamis 2. The slab at Farr shares pattern 969 with Kettins, Rosemarkie 1, Inchbrayock and St Andrews 4; it shares pattern 653 with Brodie, Woodwray, St Madoes, Meigle 25, Arthurlie and St Andrews 15. Pattern 668 is shared with Brodie, and pattern 1054 with Dupplin, St Vigeans 2 and Meigle 27 and 28.

[128] G. Cruikshank, *The Battle of Dunnichen* (Balgavies, 1999), discusses the interpretation of the battle scene. His early dating for the stone has been advanced in a number of studies, notably in G. Cruikshank, 'Explaining the Aberlemno battle-scene', 39–42 in J. R. F. Burt, E. Bowman and N. M. R. Robertson (eds.), *Stones, Symbols and Stories: Aspects of Pictish Studies* (Edinburgh, 1994).

[129] Laing, op. cit. in note 36.

[130] Henderson, op. cit. in note 7; MacLean, op. cit. in note 8.

symbols are orthodox (serpent, fish and mirror), but on Glamis 1 the incised motifs include a quadruped which seems very much like a mirror-version of one of those on the front of the stone (just under the right hand cross arm), and which certainly does not belong in the series of Class 1 symbols. This type of striding animal can be seen on Irish motif pieces.[131]

Isabel Henderson has demonstrated that the decorative patterns displayed on the Glamis stones show them to be closely related to other Pictish monuments.[132] The possible occurrence of a battle axe on Glamis Manse and Rossie Priory has been noted above and points to a date not earlier than the 9th century.

A feature of Glamis 2 is its distinctive use of zoomorphic interlace (which displays a median line) on the cross arms. This is an unusual device, and the type of animal heads, with long jaws and bulbous nostrils, show them to belong to a long tradition of Insular art.[133] The form they take on this stone is unlikely to be earlier than the 9th century: the animal heads are close to those on Meigle 4, and the double-strand interlace (without its zoomorphic features) on the Cross of Muiredach at Monasterboice.

Three other monuments can be considered along with this group. Dunfallandy is linked to Aberlemno 2 by its use of a distinctive type of animal, which appears at the bottom right of the front of the stone. So close is it to that on the Aberlemno 2 stone that a common source for both animals must be postulated. Dunfallandy, likewise, shares with Aberlemno 2 the 'guardian' dragons that frame the shallow-relief sculpture on the back.[134] The Dunfallandy stone employs the same type of ball-and-claw feet on the animals that figure on the front of Aberlemno 2, and has bosses on the cross-head which establish its relationship to the 'Boss-style' monuments. Its abstract ornament, however, comprises four patterns, of which 914 and 553 are matched at Rossie.

Harbison has noted that the motif of the quadruped with human legs dangling from its mouth is represented at Woodwray and at Dunfallandy, and also on monuments at Iniscealtra and possibly Seir Kieran, in Ireland, while the centaurs

[131] For example on one from Nendrum (U. O'Meadhra, *Early Christian, Viking and Romanesque Art: Motif Pieces from Ireland* (Stockholm, 1979), no. 135A), or, for the tail curled between the legs, one from Strokestown (ibid., no. 158). The same treatment of the tail was once apparent on an animal from the lowest part of the shaft of the cross at Moone (Harbison, op. cit. in note 62, fig. 522).

[132] I. Henderson, 'The shape and decoration of the cross on Pictish cross-slabs carved in relief', 209–18 in Spearman and Higgitt (eds.), op. cit. in note 64, at 212–13. Glamis 2 shares Allen's pattern 786 with Rossie and St Vigeans 7 and pattern 671 with Rossie and Meigle 1. Glamis 1 shares patterns 69, 744 and 1013 with Eassie. By the same process, Aberlemno 2 shares pattern 739 with Meigle 1 and pattern 764/5 with Eassie and Meigle 1.

Meigle 1 is badly weathered, but the animal ornament on the front shares features with Aberlemno 2. The creature with convoluted hindquarters to the left of the shaft recalls the similar figures at Aberlemno in the same position, while the confronted hippocamps to the right can be compared with those on Aberlemno 2 as well.

[133] The starting point for this type of animal head can be seen in the *Collectio Canonum* in Cologne of the later 8th century, but the best parallels are in metalwork, most notably on a boss from Valle, Aust-Agder in Norway, dated to the 9th century (in H. Shetelig (ed.), *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, Pt. v: J. Petersen, *Viking Antiquities of the Viking Period found in Norway* (Oslo, 1940), 26; E. Bakka, 'Some decorated Anglo-Saxon and Irish metalwork found in Norwegian Viking graves', 32–40 in A. Small (ed.), *Transactions of the Fourth Viking Congress* (London, 1965), 39 and pl. 3). A similar type of creature appears confronted with another on the nose guard of the Coppergate, York, helmet, dated to the later 8th century — this shares with Glamis a kind of double-strand sharply angled interlace.

[134] This includes incised 'symbols' (hammer, anvil or crucible, and tongs) which are not encountered elsewhere and which should therefore be discounted as symbols, if Forsyth's analysis (K. Forsyth, 'Some thoughts on Pictish symbols as a formal writing system', 85–98 in Henry (ed.), op. cit. in note 58) is followed.

on Glamis 2 (and also on Meigle 2) are close to those at Tybbroughney, where the spiral ornament matches some at St Vigeans 7.[135]

In another context Harbison has also pointed to the positioning of a horseman beneath a Maltese cross head at Rossie Priory and Dupplin, which is also found in the Isle of Man at Santon.[136] He has compared these occurrences with that on a cross from Begerin, Co. Wexford, and has suggested that all belong to the 9th-10th centuries.

Monuments related to the group discussed above which can be dated by archaeological detail are Fowlis Wester 2, which it was suggested above has a sword of around A.D. 800, and Kirriemuir 2, which has a probably 10th-century sword (see above). Kirriemuir, however, has a design on the front which closely matches the composition on the front of Eassie. On the left hand of the shaft on both is an elongated striding figure with small square shield and staff/spear. On the right side both have a hunt scene, and at the top both display cherubim.

St Madoes, which Mrs Curle grouped with Golspie 2, shares some features with the above stones, but is somewhat different in style. Most of the abstract ornament is peculiar to this one stone, but Allen's pattern 971 is also found on Aberlemno 2, St Vigeans 7, Fowlis Wester and Meigle 3 and 5. The use of bosses and the shape of the cross link it with Dunfallandy. The animals are similarly distinctive in style — Isabel Henderson has seen the prancing canines as related to the creature on f. 212^{r} in the Book of Kells,[137] but in fact her detail does not make it clear that the St Madoes animals are pairs which bite one another, in contrast to the Kells model, which is discrete. The animals are certainly not from the same family as those on the other stones discussed above. The ball-and-claw feet are absent, and the creatures are not from a 'Physiologus'-type of iconographic scheme. Perhaps most informative for comparative purposes are the two flanking beasts at the top of the cross, with forepaws outstretched and heads bent back to grip their own bodies. They are arguably relatives of the Anglo-Scandinavian creatures that adorn northern English cross shafts.

In Henderson's sequence, the slabs should be arranged (Eassie, Glamis 1), (Glamis 2, Meigle 4), (Aberlemno 2, Rossie), Meigle 1, St Vigeans 7,[138] an arrangement which though hypothetical has much to support it if the monuments are seen as belonging to the 8th century. If however it is accepted that Aberlemno 2 is of the (mid-) 9th century, and Fowlis Wester 2 is of the early 9th and Kirriemuir 2 of the 10th, then St Vigeans 7 and Meigle 1 might reasonably be placed towards the start of the sequence rather than at the end. The animal interlace on Glamis 2 might suggest a date early in the 9th century for it, in which case Eassie might be seen to be a product of around A.D. 800, with Fowlis Wester 2 perhaps at the start of the sequence and Glamis 1 at the end.

[135] Harbison, op. cit. in note 62, 325.
[136] P. Harbison, '"Exotic" ninth- to tenth-century cross-decorated stones from Clonmore, Co. Carlow and Begerin, Co. Wexford', 59–66 in G. MacNiocaill and P. F. Wallace (eds.), *Keimelia: Studies in Medieval Archaeology and History in Memory of Tom Delaney* (Galway, 1988); Kermode, op. cit. in note 70, 139 (Santon).
[137] Henderson, op. cit. in note 7, pls. VIIa and b for a juxtaposition.
[138] Henderson, op. cit. in note 132.

Little in the detailed iconography of these monuments (with the possible exception of Aberlemno 2) is helpful for comparative purposes. The close comparisons with details in the Book of Kells displayed by Nigg and some of the stones at Meigle and St Vigeans, for example, are not to be found in this group, which instead display what Henderson has described as 'the fantastic animals [which] are not the imaginative fantasies of an artist's mind the way the letter combination animals are in the Book of Kells',[139] although she has seen some general family connections.

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing discussion, it is argued that most of the relief sculptures of Pictland belong to the 9th and 10th centuries, rather than to the 8th, as has been generally thought. Most scholars have always accepted that a number of stones belong to the 9th century and later — it is usually assumed that all the Class III stones of Allen and Anderson's scheme (i.e. those without Pictish symbols) belong to this chronological horizon — but it is also usually assumed that the zenith of Pictish relief sculpture lay in the 8th century, and that by the second quarter of the 9th century, if not before, Pictish art had passed its apogee. While not discounting the probability that some relief sculptures are of the later 8th century, among them the St Andrews Sarcophagus, the development of Pictish sculpture in the 9th century should be seen as a counterpart to the development of Irish high crosses and not as a forerunner to it. Given the fact that Pictish symbols can be seen on some monuments in the far north of Pictland as late as the 10th century,[140] there is surely an argument for abandoning the Class II/Class III classification originally proposed by Allen and Anderson, since the presence or absence of symbols is culturally rather than chronologically significant: the corpus of Pictish relief sculpture should be treated as a whole.

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[139] Op. cit. in note 132.

[140] For example on the stones at Elgin, Brodie, Shadwick, Ulbster, Skinnet and possibly Rosemarkie 1, if the dating arguments set out in this paper are followed. The latest occurrences of Pictish symbols in relief sculpture are the subject of L. Laing, 'How late were Pictish symbols employed?', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 130 (2001), forthcoming.