An Early Christian Cemetery and Chapel on Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright

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THIS REPORT *describes the excavations (1964–65) on an uninhabited tidal islet off the coast of south-western Scotland. Five superimposed phases (excluding modern and possibly prehistoric occupation) were revealed. The final report on phases V and IV, a tavern of* c. *1780–1800 and a hall-house of* c. *1250–1350, appears in the appropriate regional journal.[1] Phases III, II and I are Early Christian. In phase I, which may go back to the later 5th century, extended Christian inhumations were related to a focus, a small rock-cut hollow which is identified as the underground element of a 'slab shrine'. Phase II was marked by the construction of a small timber structure, an oratory or chapel, whose plan and extent are defined by post-holes, and possibly by another visible shrine of 'corner-post' type; further burials were aligned on the axis of this structure. In phase III, the timber structure was replaced, perhaps in the early 8th century, by a stone-walled chapel of larger dimensions, some features of which present points of unusual interest, and by two rows of further inhumations due west of, and on the axis of, this chapel. At a later, but pre-medieval stage, perhaps the 10th and 11th centuries, further burials were inserted in the floor of the (now roofless?) chapel. A low bank, perhaps as early as phase II, encloses an oval area around the site, and traces of ruined circular foundations were noticed within this. An extensive series of worked or incised stones—grave-markers, upright slabs, and some with graffiti and one with an inscription—is associated with phases II and III, as are a few small finds. The discussion centres on the chronology and nature of the features from all three phases, and concludes with a short essay on the background of southern Scotland in the Early Christian era; this postulates an early and influential Irish settlement in Galloway, a settlement whose nature and extent has not hitherto been realized.*

INTRODUCTION

The historical sources for what might be called 'pre-Margaretan' Christianity[2] in Scotland could scarcely be called extensive, and though in recent years a little more juice has been squeezed from this lemon by applying stricter canons of historical criticism,[3] it has long been clear that any real addition to our corpus of factual knowledge must come from field-work.

[1] *Transactions of the Dumfries & Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* (hereinafter cited as *TDGNHAS*), forthcoming.

[2] The era of church reform linked with Margaret Canmore (*obiit* 1093) and her sons forms a convenient division in the Christian archaeology of Scotland.

[3] Cf. John MacQueen, *St. Nynia* (Edinburgh, 1961); A. O. and M. O. Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (Nelson, 1961); and various recent papers in *Scottish Historical Review* and *Innes Review*.

Dumfries and Galloway[4] exhibit a strongly regional archaeology at all periods. That of post-Roman times has been dominated by the prolonged investigations at Whithorn and in the Whithorn area.[5] The results, while intrinsically of great interest, have raised almost as many fresh queries as they have answered old ones; an outstanding problem is the apparent conflict of evidence between the Whithorn of Nynia (Ninian) and his successors, best explained as a territorial episcopate of sub-Roman times, and the near-contemporary distribution of a variety of sites which point rather to a dominant monastic church resembling the pattern best known from Ireland at this period. Though these two aspects of Christian organization are not necessarily mutually exclusive,[6] they possess differing chronologies, and their reconciliation in the sphere of Galloway is further complicated by the traditional idea of Ninian; a late (or sub-) Roman missionary, who founded a monastery in imitation of Martin of Tours and Marmoutier, and from this base of operations converted both local pagans and some if not all of the Picts.

Some years of field-work in Dumfries and Galloway confirmed my initial impression that the numerous *cills* or 'developed cemeteries' of Irish Sea type[7] in the region implied the external influence of Ireland, well before the Anglian domination, ecclesiastically centred at Whithorn from *c.* 700.[8] The dichotomy of evidence is explicable if Ninian's episcopate is seen as a largely indigenous aspect of the 5th century and later, and the monastic features as a secondary introduction, a series of events which included the conversion of Whithorn itself into some form of monastery. To infer this on broad historical grounds is one thing; to demonstrate it in the field is quite another, and the excavations at Whithorn (restricted both by the surrounding town and by the later architecture on the site) offered little help.

The difficulty in pin-pointing an appropriate excavation site is the same here as over most of Atlantic (Celtic) Britain. Apart from remote islands, which present logistic problems and are often so poor in remains as to make investigation quite unrewarding, the great majority of potential Early Christian cemeteries or chapels have continued in use, in various guises and with successive rebuilds, until at least the Reformation, if not until today. A peculiarly Scottish obstacle is the custom of employing the roofless shells of pre- or post-Reformation rural churches as private burial-grounds for local landed families. In the spring of 1960, however, while examining a small hill-fort near Gatehouse of Fleet, I was shown a cross-slab of 11th-century type, now in a garden at Ardwall House (FIG. 30, A), which had been brought some years before from the uninhabited tidal islet known as Ardwall Isle. A visit to the island at once showed faint but unmistakable

4 'Galloway' comprises the two south-western Scottish counties of Wigtownshire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

5 Almost all in *TDGNHAS*, xxvii (special Whithorn issue), xxviii, xxx, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxviii, and xxxix, *passim*.

6 Cf. now K. Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (Methuen, 1966), esp. index, *s.v.* 'Diocesan episcopacy'.

7 The concept of an Irish Sea culture-province is elaborated by Alcock, *Dinas Powys*, pp. 34–61. (For bibliographical references given thus in italics and other abbreviations, see p. 187 f.)

8 The chronology is discussed by MacQueen, *op. cit.* in note 3, pp. 23–26.

traces of an oval embanked enclosure, within which this cross-slab had been unearthed, and of foundations detectable just below the turf. As there is no known record of any medieval chapel or cemetery here, and as enclosures of this nature were no longer being initiated by the 11th century, the site obviously presented considerable opportunity for research. A preliminary plan was made, and published with a short account,[9] and this was eventually followed by two seasons of excavation.

The results not only go some way towards clarifying the course of early Christianity in this part of Scotland; they tend to confirm the 'primary cemetery/timber chapel/stone chapel' sequence which Dr. Radford, myself, and several other students of this period have been postulating for some little time, a sequence only once before recovered in its entirety, and then in south-western Ireland.[10]

Apart from the preliminary note in 1961,[9] and two duplicated interim reports issued in 1964 and 1965, a full Interim Report was published at the end of 1966.[11] The final report on the later phases (V and IV), which produced comparatively few finds, will be in the same *Transactions*, the present paper being confined to the three Early Christian phases. All the finds, through the generosity of the proprietor, are deposited in the Burgh Museum at Dumfries, the main regional collection.

THE SITE

The Isles of Fleet (the Murray Isles, Ardwall Isle, and Barlocco Isle, with outlying rocks) form a little-known group on the E. side of the bay into which the River Fleet empties at Gatehouse of Fleet (FIG. 22). In recent centuries the mouth of the Fleet has silted up fairly rapidly, and though in the period in question all the Isles of Fleet were probably true islands, the subsequent deposition of extensive coastal mud-flats means that Ardwall Isle can now be reached on foot for a few hours at normal low water.

The island is roughly a half-mile north and south; there is a low central plateau culminating in a small cairn in the southern half. At present it is occasionally grazed by sheep from a mainland farm, and a once-continuous sheep dyke or dry-stone wall encircles the whole island above high watermark. A pathway leads from Sandy Bay, a small beach just below the site, where one crosses to and from the mainland, to the S. end, which contains a recent one-storied house (which was most kindly made available for the excavation). The grass cover is now fairly dense, though areas of run-rig (ridge-and-furrow), perhaps not older than the 18th century, can be made out here and there. There are large patches of bracken and thorny scrub, and many exotic trees and plants introduced over many years by the late Lady McCulloch. During both seasons of work the entire island was carefully investigated, but apart from the main site and some recent remains, all that could be found was a small group of regularly-built altar-like structures,

[9] *TDGNHAS*, xxxviii (1959–60), 71–82.

[10] *Church Island.*

[11] *TDGNHAS*, xliii (1965–66), 84–116 ('Ardwall Isle; the excavation of an Early Christian site of Irish type').

ARDWALL ISLE

E/a

TAVERN
(V)

CELLS?

N

E/b

CHAPEL
(III)

HALL
(IV)

E/c

0   5   10   20
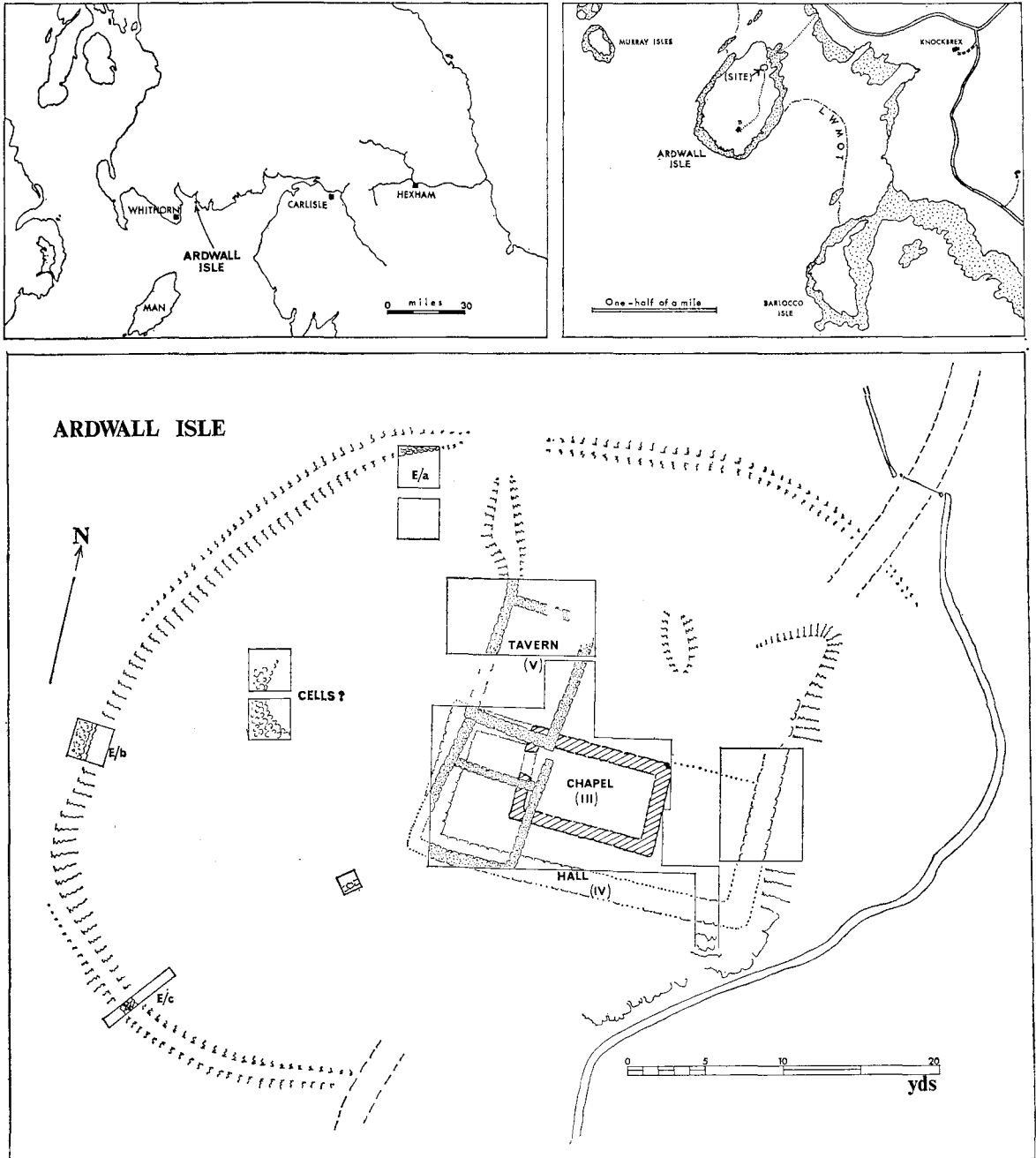   yds

FIG. 22
ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT (pp. 129, 131)
Above, location-maps and, below, site-plan showing limit of excavation at end of 1965, and the relationship of superimposed
phase-IV hall and phase-V tavern (stippled walls) to phase-III chapel.

possibly *leachta*, or open-air altar stations like the well-known series on Inismurray, co. Sligo.[12] These have yet to be cleared and examined.

The main site (FIG. 22) lies on the north-eastern edge of the island, where gently sloping ground with a turf cover meets a miniature cliff of boulder rubble just above Sandy Bay. The oval enclosure is now incomplete, much of its eastern part having been incorporated into the base of the modern sheep dyke. The area so enclosed is about 180 ft. on an axis ENE.–WSW., and about 110 ft. on the axis at right angles, amounting to under one-third of an acre. No external ditch could be seen, and none was found. While the northern, and (in part) the south-western, portions of the enclosure are defined by a true up-standing bank, built up from both sides on a stone core, the long north-western stretch is more in the nature of a stone-faced revetment cut back into the slight slope. The present 'entrance', where the path from the beach at Sandy Bay enters the enclosure and runs across it, is not original, and the Early Christian entrance seems to have been some little distance south of this, in the stretch of bank now below the sheep dyke.

The plan in FIG. 22 shows the extent of excavation and the relationships of the phase-V tavern and the phase-IV hall-house to the stone-walled chapel of phase III. In no case was it necessary to do much more than hack out the matted turf cover, and to remove the heavy deposits of later rubble representing the collapse of the phase-V footings and the deliberate filling within the medieval phase-IV foundations. No part of the site was more than a few feet below present ground level; and because of this blanket of rubble, and the destruction of underlying deposits, burials, and minor features which accompanied the building of the medieval hall, meaningful stratigraphy could only be observed in the lowest few inches or in features actually cut below bedrock surface. With considerable difficulty a baulk was maintained across the shorter axis of the phase-III chapel until the last stage of work, and the section so presented is discussed below (p. 135 and FIG. 24). Spoil was dumped clear of the enclosure, and apart from re-covering all the skeletons, which (as the Christian dead of the locality) were left *in situ* at the express wish of Lady McCulloch, the site was not filled in.

THE EXCAVATION

The features which constitute the three phases of Early Christian activity will be discussed in order of their discovery.

PHASE III—THE STONE-WALLED CHAPEL AND ASSOCIATED BURIALS (PL. XXIII)

The visible foundations first exposed in 1964 subsequently proved to be those of the phase-V tavern, but as soon as it was seen that the southernmost room of this tavern was built over rubble-filled areas between walling of a much more substantial character, work was concentrated on defining this larger building (the phase-IV hall-house) which ran off at right angles to the tavern. Before the season ended, it transpired that the central portion of the N. wall of the hall-house was really a separate piece of walling, of different construction and

[12] W. F. Wakeman, *A Survey of the Antiquarian Remains . . . of Inismurray* (Williams & Norgate, 1893), pp. 126 ff. with illus.
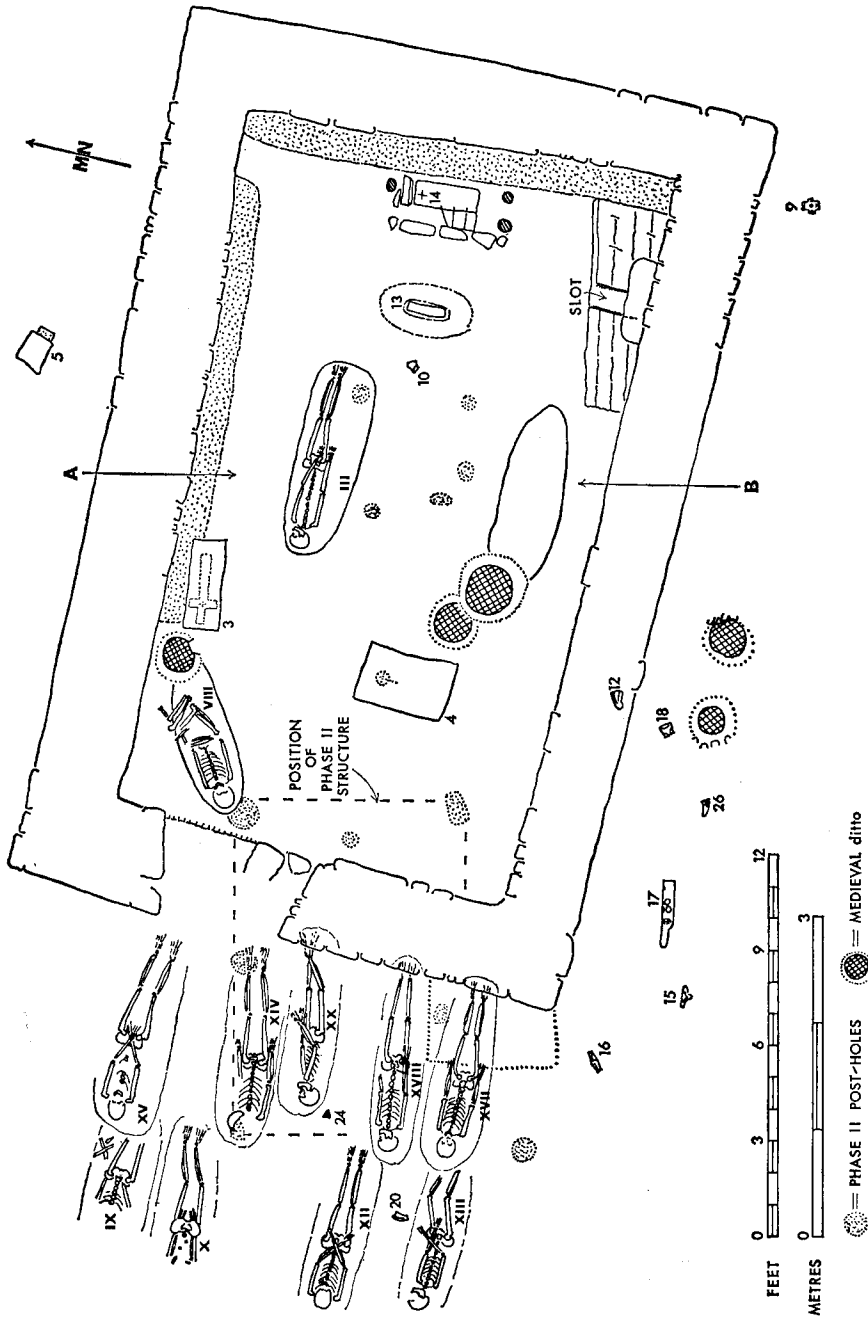
FIG. 23

ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT

Phase-III chapel and associated burials (pp. 134 ff.). A–B, line of section (FIG. 24); Roman numerals, graves or skeletons within them; Arabic numerals, cross-slabs or other worked stones (pp. 150 ff.).
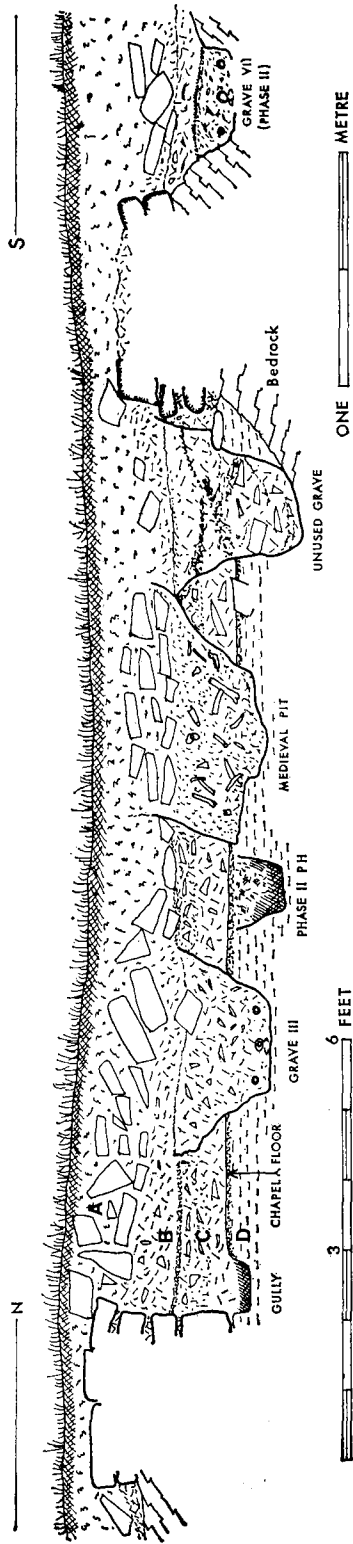
FIG. 24

ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT

N.–S. section (p. 135) across phase-III chapel (along line A–B on FIG. 23). *A*, wall collapse, medieval or later; *B*, loose soil and small stones; *C*, clay mortar from walls, rubble etc., with turf-line (?); *D*, pocket of clay silt forming floor of chapel.

putatively older. Further clearance showed that it was also the N. wall of a smaller rectangular structure which had been tangentially incorporated within the hall-house. The W. doorway, the orientation, the internal proportions, and finally the discovery at the E. end of what was tentatively identified as the remains of an altar, left little doubt that this was a chapel.

This chapel was fully excavated in 1965. Though it had been decided not to remove any of its standing walling, it proved possible to reveal almost all of the essential features belonging to the two earlier phases by working both inside and outside these walls.

The chapel lies almost exactly E.–W.[13] and, taking the mean in both dimensions, is internally 23 ft. long and 13 ft. wide. It has a single W. doorway, which is not only off-centre, being closer to the N. wall than to the S. wall, but is splayed inwards; this is a deliberately planned feature, which appears to be primary, and the doorway is defined by large and well-set blocks (FIG. 23). Initial construction must have presented certain difficulties. A broad ridge or sill of bedrock, visible on the shore outside, and due east of, the enclosure, runs inland, E.–W. across the site. It outcrops through the turf here and there, for example outside (and below) the SE. corner of the chapel, and also dips down northwards under the chapel. A result of this dip is that the area directly below the chapel, instead of being as elsewhere on the site an irregular and highly weathered bedrock surface, is a pocket of silt or fine clay of marine origin, other instances of which can be found widely above high watermark around the island. This deposit, when freshly exposed, is a dull khaki-yellow, and in parts of the chapel floor is over 1 ft. deep. The material dries hard (but can be crushed to a fine silt) and under wet conditions becomes a tenacious clay.

Allowing for collapses and displacement of stones, the chapel wall was built to a uniform thickness of about 2¾ ft., irregularities in the ground surface below being made good with a suitably-placed foundation course. As excavated, the best-preserved parts were the N. wall, and the SW. and SE. corners. It is probable that these corners were left standing to a height of several feet by the medieval builders (who must otherwise have robbed the chapel walls severely) as piers on which large transverse beams could have been laid to provide a platform for a (presumably timber) superstructure, the actual medieval hall. The SE. corner of the chapel, in particular, provided good evidence for the mode of construction (PL. XVI, A). The wall rested partly on a bedrock sill, and partly on a thin spread of compacted turf and bedrock fragments. It was faced, inside and outside, by flattish, sharply-angled slabs of small or medium size (similar slabs can even now be prised out almost with the bare hand, from the parent sill on the shore), with the occasional use of flat, water-worn beach pebbles. Small spalls had here and there been hammered in to secure courses, but the stones were well laid in a mortar of yellowish clay of precisely the same kind as that which fills the natural pocket on which the chapel sits. On external corners, and for the outline of the doorway, much larger stone blocks, some of them nearly cubes, and weighing a hundredweight or more, were used as quoins.

[13] Prismatic compass, June 1965; shown in FIGS. 23 and 26.

A problem encountered during the clearance of the chapel was that, following the robbing and partial collapse of the walls, the clay mortar and packing had been redeposited, presumably mainly through rain, on the clay floor of the chapel. Only careful sectioning could show the compacted dirty 'skin', itself no doubt eroded and deposited many times, which was taken to mark the actual floor surface of the chapel when roofed and in use.

Internal features (FIG. 23).   These may be described in reverse order, commencing with the latest.

A number of rubbish-pits, which yielded nothing save bones and teeth of animals and some sawn red-deer antler fragments, were dug into the area of the chapel at a later stage. One was in the region of the altar, which must account for the presence of animal bones along with human ones in the spill-forward of the altar's contents (p. 137 f.; and see Appendix, A). Another was in the region of the chapel entrance, roughly above the feet of skeleton xv; this contained part of a pig's jaw, and various animal long bones. The largest pit, fortunately, occurred in the cross-baulk, and is shown in section (FIG. 24), where it was clear that it had been dug from a high level.

Whether these pits belong to the phase-V tavern, or (as seems on balance more likely) represent rubbish buried below, or in the undercroft of, the phase-IV hall, a group of five very large post-holes (FIG. 23) seems to be explicable only in a medieval context. Two of these within the chapel were represented by curious upstanding 'collars' of clay, the former packing around a stout upright, which commenced some way above the chapel floor. The post-hole by the N. wall disturbs the legs of a skeleton which itself is probably a late insertion; the over-lapping pair near the centre of the S. wall cut through an oval (but unused) grave which, if dug at much the same time as the grave with skeleton III lying parallel to it, may be late 10th or 11th century; and the two outside the S. wall are rock-cut, and much deeper and more substantial than any of the phase-II post-holes. It seems likely that these sockets held short thick timbers which, like the standing corners of the chapel used as piers, were designed to support transverse beams.

The three graves within the chapel would prima facie appear from the plan alone to be later insertions. The section, which traverses two of them, shows that they were dug down from a level which may represent partial collapse of the chapel walls and perhaps a thin turf covering such a collapse. It will be suggested below (p. 152) that the two cross-slabs which can perhaps be linked with these graves, nos. 3 and 4, belong to a period around 1000. The unused grave (from its shape and orientation it can hardly be anything else) was dug out, right down to the bedrock underlying the clay silt, and then filled in again, clear tip-lines being visible in the filling. A very tentative suggestion, not inappropriate in view of the geographical surrounding, might be that this was the representative burial of someone drowned at sea.[14]

[14] For a possible parallel in a prehistoric context, cf. P. M. Christie in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, XXVI (1960), 89.

The third grave, with skeleton VIII, lies just inside the entrance and is set askew. The extreme W. end of the shallow but definite grave-pit cuts an earlier phase-II post-hole, and the skull directly overlapped the dark filling. The skeleton below the pelvis was found displaced, a condition to be associated with the large medieval post-hole which removes the foot (E. end) of this grave.

On the central line of the chapel, three feet west of the front edge of the altar, an irregular slab of stone was found protruding a few inches above the floor. This proved to be firmly set in a slot at the bottom of a neatly-dug oval pit and, when removed, it could be seen to be the greater part of a broken cross-slab, no. **13**, inverted (i.e., with the diagonal fracture-line uppermost) and facing west. Again, this cross-slab is probably not much earlier than those (nos. **3** and **4**) associated with grave III and the unused grave, and its insertion, carefully executed and doubtless with religious intent, may be of the same period as these graves.

The features actually linked with the construction, or the primary use, of the chapel are few. It will be noticed in FIG. 23 that the altar stands clear of the inner face of the E. wall, an unusual placing. The interval between altar and wall—just under 1 ft.—is due to the presence of a shallow gully or trench which runs right along the inner wall-face, and which, in the SE. corner, is accommodated by a gap of the same width, cut out of a bedrock protrusion which outcrops under the corner of the chapel here.

A similar gully or slot was discovered against the inner face of the N. wall, beginning some 2 ft. from the NE. corner and ending sharply some 6 ft. from the W. wall. Both gullies had the same dark compact filling with flecks of carbonized wood.

These gullies cannot, from their position, be drains, and the most likely explanation—admittedly not reinforced by any parallel known to me—is that they accommodated sleeper-beams, or horizontal wooden members, set flush with the inner wall-faces, into which some upright wooden element (wooden wall-linings? screens or panels?) could be tenoned.

The internal SE. bedrock protrusion also displays a neatly cut slot of rectangular section (FIG. 23) aligned on the transverse axis of the chapel. This may be a socket for a wooden strut, supporting a plank seat at this point. There is no real reason for interpreting it as part of the main structure.

The altar is a feature of some complexity. When first noticed in 1964, it was defined by a rectangular patch of shell sand (PL. XV, A), which could be exactly matched from the higher reaches of a small inlet about a furlong away on the shore. Clearance, in 1965, to the floor level of the chapel showed that only part of the altar was still *in situ*, namely the central portion of the back, or E., side (PL. XV, B). Here, resting on a shallow rubble filling, was a rectangular slab on the upper surface of which, by the NW. corner. a simple cross had been incised with a sharp instrument (FIG. 32, no. **14**). On various grounds it is likely that this stone was originally a phase-II grave-marker, and it is discussed as such below (p. 158).

Below, and west of, this stone, some thin flat stones formed a narrow ledge, which would have lain along the middle of the altar, and piled on this ledge,

spilling out westward among further collapsed stones along the front of the altar, was a tangle of fragmentary bones and teeth, many of them recognizably human. A well-made flint scraper (FIG. 29, no. 115) was found just by the N. end of this deposit.

It further transpired that three shallow post-sockets, with the ghost of a fourth, marked four corners of a rectangular area which may represent the original extent of the altar. The discovery of a square-sectioned pillar of local stone in the frontal spill, a stone which would fit one of these sockets quite well, allows the
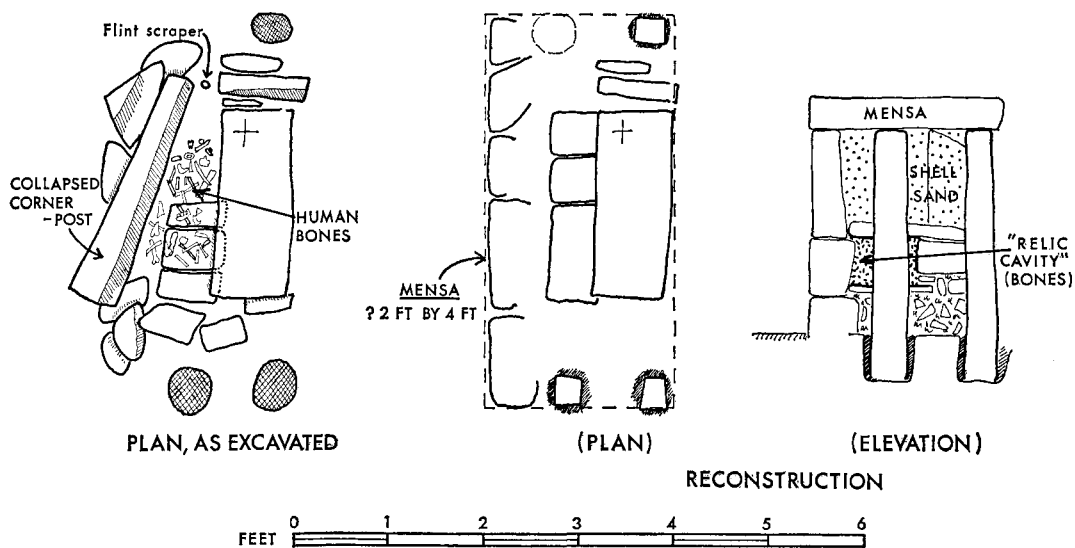

FIG. 25
ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Composite altar of phase-III chapel, showing, on l., plan as found and, on r., the most likely reconstruction in plan and side elevation.

idea that the *mensa* (the horizontal upper surface of the altar) may have been supported on four such pillars. A very tentative reconstruction is therefore offered (FIG. 25). It suggests overall dimensions (in plan) of 2 ft. by 4 ft., a size and shape elsewhere recorded for this period in British protohistory (p. 175 f.); and an altar which was certainly a composite construction, even if the precise constructional details must remain unclear.

In the interim report[15] it was pointed out that the human remains from the altar—further complicated by the presence of a rubbish-deposit of medieval animal bones close by, and at least one rabbit-hole—were '... by no means a complete skeleton, but parts of nearly all the major skeletal components, including a number of teeth, seem to have been included'. It was inferred, legitimately, that 'the very imperfect condition of the remains suggests that this is not a direct exhumation and enshrinement, but the last of several such removals'. This

[15] Thomas, *op. cit.* in note 11, p. 95.

statement assumed, from historical parallels, that the remains were those of one individual, an assumption which cannot now be held. The analysis by Dr. Morton and Mr. Owens (Appendix, A) suggests that no less than five individuals may, fragmentarily, be represented. The remains are thus more likely to be, not the clearing-out of disarticulated bones from some earlier (enshrined) exhumation, but an act of piety following the disturbance, intentional or accidental, of five or so earlier graves. As the altar must be contemporary with the building of the chapel itself, such a disturbance could be the result of the building, and a possible context will be examined below (p. 143).

Burials (PL. XXIV; FIG. 23). The graves most obviously linked with the phase-III chapel are those lying in two rows immediately west of it, shown in FIG. 23. While it seems probable that the graves, which are elongated oval pits hacked into the decayed bedrock, were never very far below contemporary ground level— a couple of feet at the most—they were discovered in a lamentable condition, crushed firstly by the trampling and stone-shifting of the builders of the medieval hall-house, and secondly by the sheer weight of rubble following the collapse of this hall-house and the filling-up of its foundations to provide a base for the phase-V tavern. The outlines of the graves could only be partly detected, and these are shown in FIG. 23.

The earlier burials are represented by the western row (graves IX to XIII), the heads of two of which were inaccessible below the massive (western) medieval wall-footings. The eastern row in several cases disturbs the earlier row. The apparent overlapping of the feet of several skeletons in this second row by the outer part of the W. wall of the chapel results from the fact that the graves, notably XX and XVIII, were slightly tunnelled into the decayed bedrock underlying the wall-footings at this point. The actual skeletons are discussed at length in Appendix, B, and it is only necessary to state here that they appear to represent nine adults; six males and three females.

Finds. A few small finds (pp. 144 ff.) occurred on the floor of the chapel and are probably contemporary with its early use.

PHASE II—THE TIMBER STRUCTURE AND ASSOCIATED BURIALS

In the last few days of the 1964 season, a time hampered by heavy rain, it was noticed that the clay floor of the chapel, when stripped of its compact dirty skin, contained signs of post-holes other than the inserted, and much larger, medieval ones. These were briefly plotted, and the floor resealed with turf for the winter. In 1965, they were relocated and, others having been found as the area of burial south and west of the chapel was slowly cleared, a coherent plan began to emerge (FIG. 26).

While not entirely satisfactory, these post-holes—all with a compact dark filling, rock-cut outside the chapel, sunk into the clay silt inside it—imply a rectangular structure rather smaller than the chapel itself. The regularity of the setting which is comprised by post-holes A, B, C and E in FIG. 26 strongly suggests
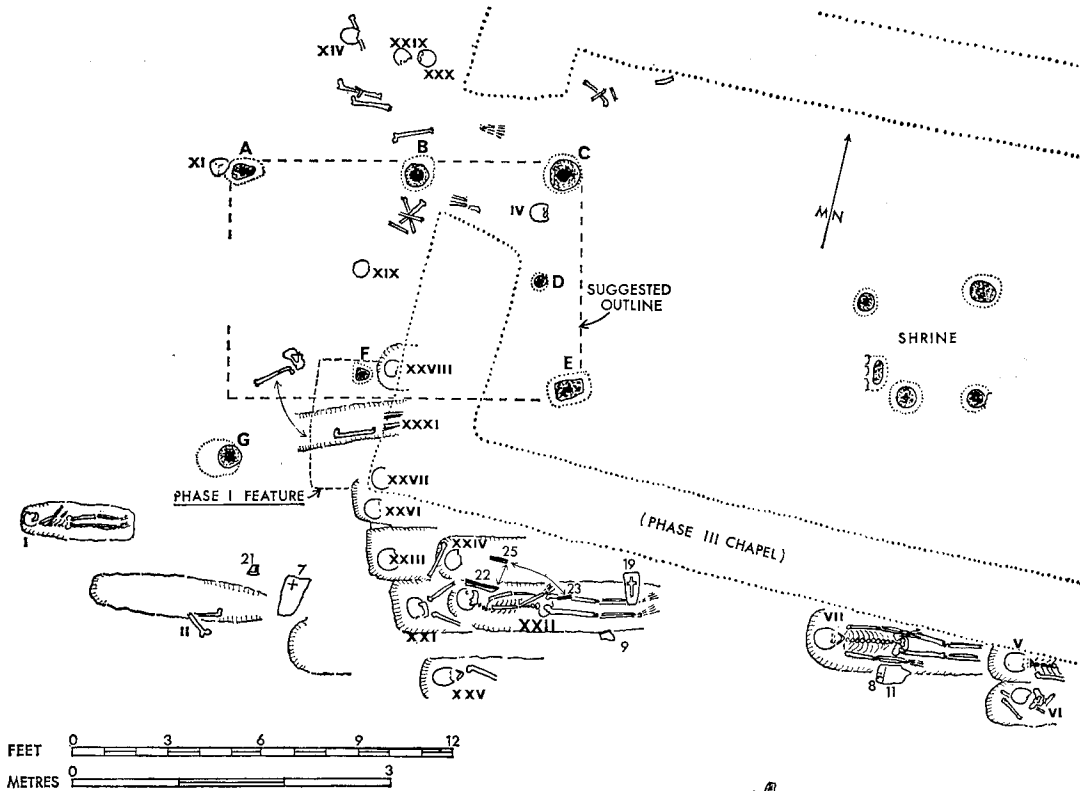
FIG. 26

ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT

Timber oratory of phase II and rock-cut shrine of phase I, with burials of both phases (pp. 138 ff.). A to G, phase-II post-holes; Roman numerals, graves or skeletons within them; Arabic numerals, grave-markers or other worked stones (pp. 158 ff.). The walls of the phase-III chapel are indicated by the smaller dotted line.

that F and G, though probably contemporary, do not belong to the same context. A post-hole opposite B would of course lie directly under the chapel wall, which has not yet been removed, and a post-hole corresponding to A would be within the (quite deep) grave-pit of skeleton XVII (FIG. 23; the phase-III plan). Given this ground-plan, which has been indicated by a dotted outline (FIGS. 23 and 26), the structure would be of the order of 11 ft. by 7½ ft. Its orientation, 9 degrees NE.–SW. of the long axis of the stone-walled chapel; its relationship to the graves lying south of it; its overall proportions; and its context, all make it tolerably certain that this is also a place of worship. To avoid confusion, it will be referred to as the timber oratory, though the small post-hole (D) in the middle of the E. side could conceivably be taken as indicating (say) a strut for a fixed altar.[16]

[16] Technically, a chapel possesses an altar, an oratory does not. A (wooden) altar supported on a single post, the *mensa* being somehow fixed to the wall as well, is quite possible; what seems to be a description of one in 7th-century(?) Ireland, an example of Joseph Braun's *mit einzigen Stütze* class of 'table altar' (*Tischaltar*: see his *Der Christliche Altar*, 2 vols., Munich, 1924), occurs in the *Vita Brigidae* (Vita II) ascribed to Cogitosus, *cap.* i (*AA.SS.Boll.*, Feb. I (1658), 136 col. A).

Post-hole G might be for some external supporting beam—the actual post-hole was too decayed to give any firm indication of a sloping angle—and any corresponding element at the SE. corner, south of E, would also be below the chapel wall.[17]

The evidence that these post-holes define a phase earlier than that of the stone-walled chapel comes from a number of directions. The comparative plans (FIGS. 23 and 26) imply that the chapel overlies the oratory and not *vice versa*. Two of the three post-holes within the chapel (D and E) had a dark filling, and were sealed rather thinly by the compact dirty chapel floor. Post-hole C is disturbed by the grave with skeleton VIII, which may admittedly be a late insertion within the chapel, but post-holes A and B are disturbed by a grave with a greatly-squashed skeleton (XIV) whose (broken) skull and feet appeared to overlie the remaining lower portions of these holes. Finally, within the area of the phase-I 'rock-cut hollow' (p. 141), features associated with phase III are higher and later than features, for instance post-hole F, associated with phase II.

The small cluster of shallow post-holes, or post-sockets, found near the centre of the chapel and shown in the plan (FIGS. 23 and 26), are probably of phase-II date. They were sealed by the phase-III floor: one of them is shown in the section (FIG. 24). One was represented by a depth of only a few inches, and was found in clearing out grave III, which had cut most of it away. A suggestion advanced below (pp. 172, 174), is that these are probably the sockets for the (stone) pillars of a 'corner-post' shrine.

Burials. The graves (FIG. 26) which appear most likely to be associated with the timber oratory are those which lie to its south, and are generally on the same axis—in contrast to the axis (of the stone-walled chapel) followed by the two rows of phase-III graves. The complex stretching south from XXVII to XXV, some graves in which are cut into earlier ones, is a good instance, as is also the more easterly complex (VII, VI, V), partly overlain by the chapel's S. wall. The isolated graves I and II, and the ruined (and emptied) grave between II and XXI, are slightly less certainly associated with this building.

Grave XXXI (which is lower than, and earlier than, the phase-III grave XVII, which cuts across and through it) is hard by the line of the oratory's S. wall, a position which if anything tends to strengthen its association with this structure. Grave XXVIII, a child now lying under the chapel's W. wall, with only the skull visible, would be *inside* the oratory, albeit below the floor, but again this does not preclude a direct phase-II association. On the other hand, the skull XI appears to have been displaced in the digging of phase-II post-hole A, and with the skulls XIX and IV, and the scattered remains on the N. side of the oratory, is perhaps best regarded as of the (pre-oratory) phase I.

The provisional figures for this phase (Appendix, B) include remains of twelve adults—two fairly certainly and one possibly male—and two children.

[17] Bede, *H.E.* III, 17, describes 'a post that strengthened the outer wall' (*destina quae extrinsecus ecclesiae pro munimine erat adposita*, and again as *destina in munimentum . . . parietis . . . forinsecus deposita*), with reference to a wooden church (at Yeavering?) at the time of Aidan's death (*c.* 651). As the church is further stated to have been built for Aidan's use, and as this is within twenty years of the foundation of Lindisfarne, it was presumably a small timber chapel of Irish type.

Finds. It is uncertain whether many finds can safely be referred to this phase, but the broken granite rotary-quern (FIG. 29, Q), which was used as packing around the top of post-hole E, cannot long antedate the oratory.

PHASE I—THE ROCK-CUT HOLLOW AND EARLIEST BURIALS (PL. XXII; FIG. 27)

Immediately outside the SW. angle of the chapel an area of soft ground was encountered in 1965 and was found to mark a small rectangular hollow cut down into the bedrock. Its full extent is not known, since the eastern side lies under the chapel wall (FIG. 23), but there is no trace of it inside the chapel, and its E.–W. dimension cannot therefore exceed five feet.

The history of this feature is demonstrated in a series of simple plans (FIG. 27). A and AA represent the presumed original plan and profile (north-south). The hollow is about four feet long, and while the S. and W. sides are vertical, the N. side slopes, following the natural plane of the bedrock. At the bottom, flat stones are neatly bedded on compact rubble, and set in a 'crazy-paving' fashion; when located, these were covered with an inch or so of very black, damp soil.

The sequence of disturbance could be made out from the sections along the E. and W. faces. B and C are the same general period though possibly not in that order: B shows the insertion, presumably when the hollow was in some way filled up, of the grave with (phase-II) skeleton XXXI, a grave which slightly dishes the western rock-cut face, and C the intrusion of post-hole F, which (though apparently connected in some fashion with the timber oratory) need not be one of its original structural features. This post-hole displaces, and tips up, one of the paving-stones.

In D, other phase-II burials are seen: the child, XXVIII, whose grave quite clearly cuts into the filling of the hollow, but is also unfortunately just not close enough to post-hole F to declare the relationship to it; and the rock-cut graves XXVII and XXVI. These graves (or this reused grave) intersect the S. edge of the hollow, and the skull of XXVII lies so that it actually touches the surface of the paving-stone which it overlaps.

In E, the beginning of phase III, the position of the outer SW. corner of the chapel wall is shown; and slightly later, in F, is the second-row grave of XVII, its foot tunnelled just under the wall, and the whole grave displaced the skeleton XXXI, whose displaced femora and pelvis are shown as found (the lower leg bones are actually still *in situ* under the wall and below the level of the grave of XVII; PL. XXII).

The rock-cut hollow is thus very clearly earlier than burials of both phases III and II, and the evidence suggests that it had already become filled up by the time that the oratory was constructed, and grave XXXI dug alongside the oratory. On this basis, the hollow can be called 'phase I'. Parallels of a sort do exist, from a very early stage in insular Christianity, and they suggest that the purpose of this hollow was to provide the underground element—the actual receptacle—of a so-called 'slab shrine'.

Burials. In default of clearer evidence, it could be suggested that the skeletons which appear to have been disturbed by the construction of the phase-II oratory—

represented by the skulls IV, XI, and XIX—and the greatly-displaced fragments (XIV, XXIX and XXX) lying north of the oratory, belong to phase I. It must be stressed that this is bound to be conjectural; on the other hand, the appearance of the timber oratory is likely to reflect a secondary stage in the history of the cemetery and not, like the rock-cut hollow, its very beginnings.
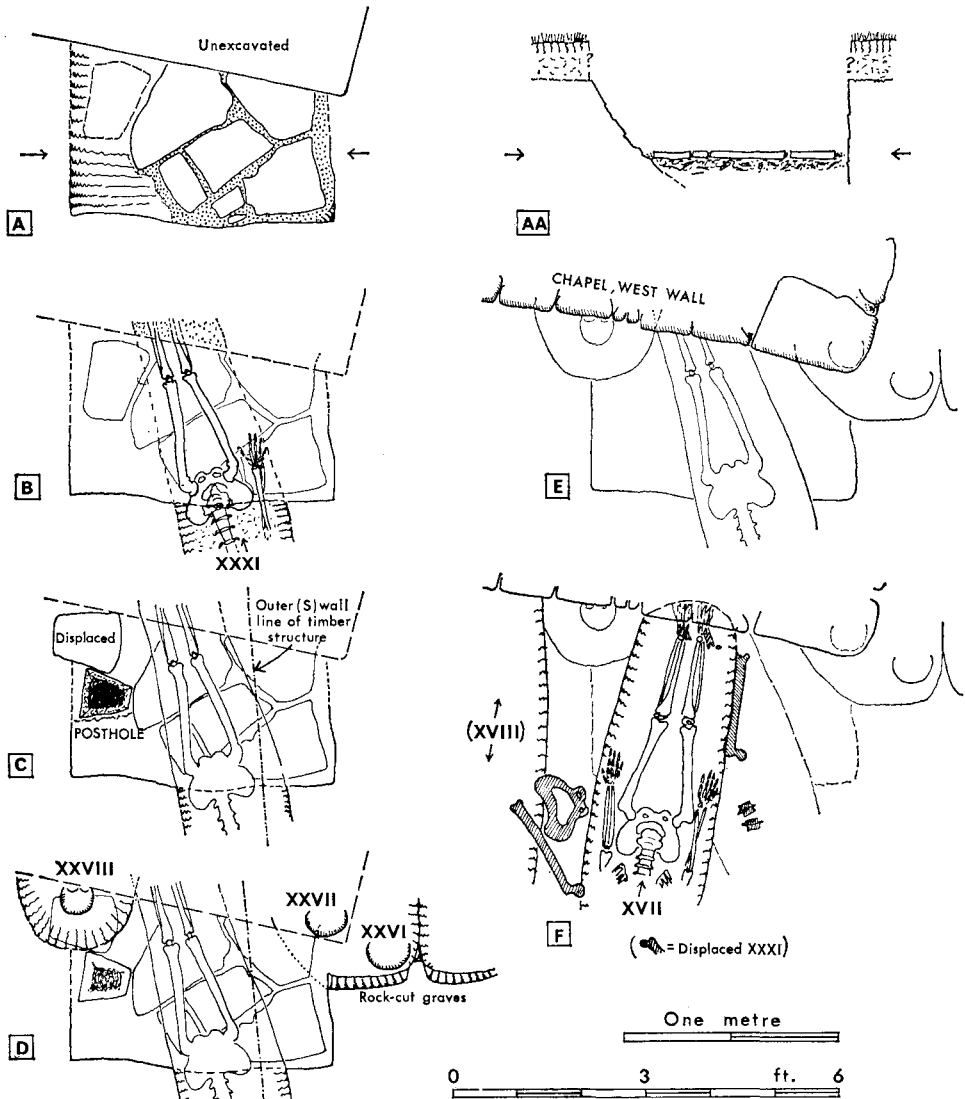

FIG. 27

ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT

Rock-cut slab-shrine (pp. 141 ff.). A, plan, and AA, profile, as originally dug (phase I); B, C and D, disturbance by grave XXXI, post-hole F (FIG. 26), and graves XXVIII and XXVII (phase II); E, construction of stone chapel, and F, insertion of grave XVII (phase III).

In Appendix, A, Dr. Morton and Mr. Owens comment that the teeth and skeletal fragments which they identify from the material in the altar of the chapel 'may indicate two different burial periods' (on the grounds of different degrees of coloration). Inspection of the plan in FIG. 26 shows how likely it is that the construction of the chapel wall disturbed other graves—for instance, anything lying north of VII, VI and V, or under the area of the W. wall. Were the fragments in the altar gathered up in the course of this building episode? The different burial periods may be no more than those implied by early and late phase-II burials, but it is not impossible that they represent burials of phase II and phase I.

THE ENCLOSURE BANK AND THE CELL FOUNDATION

In excavating developed cemeteries of this kind, with internal features of more than one period, it very seldom happens that the wall or bank which defines the enclosure can be connected, archaeologically, with any one distinct phase or level inside it. This was certainly so at Ardwall Isle. In none of the three cuttings (E/a, b, c) shown in the plan, FIG. 22, was anything found indicative of any of the three phases represented by the chapel and its underlying remains. In cutting E/a, a certain amount of animal bone in fairly good condition was recovered, but the shallowness of the soil here and the proximity to the main (N.) door of the tavern suggests that these—predominantly bovine—cannot safely be regarded as of Early Christian date.

The two small square cuttings which lie west of the chapel area (FIG. 22) were opened purely as a speculative measure, late in the 1965 season. They disclosed, again in an area where bedrock is less than 1 ft. below the present grass, a tumble of small to medium stones, but clearance of all those not in any way set afforded a kind of curved setting, the sort of thing one might expect to find as the foundation of a greatly-robbed stone-walled enclosure of circular or oval form. In the innumerable Irish parallels to a developed cemetery of this character,[18] small living-huts or cells consistently occur, and can be explained as the quarters of clerics, or brethren detached from a parent monastery, whose duties include the staffing of a chapel like that of phase III.

The presence of the broken rotary-quern—a large flat type which is consistent with a post-Roman date—around a phase-II post-hole might, very tentatively, be taken as evidence towards the view that cells stood here in that phase; for phase III, with its substantial chapel, this is more than likely. The enclosure bank is not in itself datable, but again on the strength of Irish, and for that matter southern Scottish,[19] parallels it could have accompanied the burial-ground right from its initial consecration.

[18] Cf. [a recent report of intensive local field-work] F. Henry, 'Early monasteries, beehive huts, and dry-stone houses in . . . co. Kerry', PRIA, 58 C 3 (1957).

[19] E.g., the 'Catstane' cemetery at Kirkliston, near Edinburgh, which must go back at least to the 6th century and very probably the 5th; traces of a stone enclosure-bank were found around the burial area, PSAS, VI (1864-66), 184 ff.

IRON (FIG. 28)

92. Long iron pin in fairly good condition; the point is complete, though the head, which seems to have been both flatter and expanded, has broken off. The shaft is circular in section. Floor of chapel, inner SE. corner. Phase III.
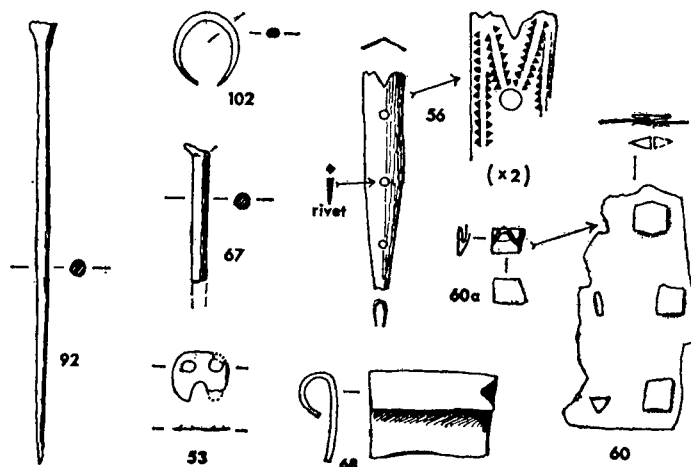

FIG. 28
ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Small finds of iron (nos. 92, 67), lead (no. 68), and bronze (nos. 102, 53, 56, 60) (pp. 144 ff.). Sc. ½.

67. Fragment of a similar, slightly thicker, pin, also with an expanded head of some kind. Floor of chapel, inner SW. corner. Phase III.

These long iron dress-pins with expanded or elaborate heads occur on many larger Irish sites of the Early Christian period (e.g., *Carraig Aille*, figs. 10 and 21, *Garryduff*, fig. 8, and *Lagore*, fig. 35), and—allowing for their vulnerability to corrosion—could no doubt be shown to possess their own crude typology. But the presence of iron ring-headed pins at Carraig Aille II (*Carraig Aille*, fig. 10, no. 123), and of parallel series of pins with (fixed) inward-turning double-spiral heads in both bronze (e.g., Ervey, co. Meath; Lakefield Lake, co. Cavan; Strandhill, co. Sligo—all in N.M.I) and iron (Feitrim Hill, co. Dublin, in N.M.I; *Garryduff*, fig. 8, nos. 591, 583; and Caerwent) is bound to raise the suspicion that all these iron pins are 'economy versions' of contemporary and rather finer forms in bronze. The simplest kind of terminal is a flattened disc head of oval or circular shape, which may owe something to a variant of the single-spiral head with one, or one-and-a-half, coils, beaten flat (cf. *Carraig Aille*, fig. 10, no. 53). Both types, disc and single-spiral, occur at Gwithian, Cornwall, locally produced, but best explained in the context of Irish settlement. The two Ardwall pins are likely to belong to some such simple form.

LEAD (FIG. 28)

68.   Piece of sheet lead in a very hard condition, the visible surfaces having
            been coverted to lead sulphide(?). This seems to be a piece about 30
            mm. square which has been partly rolled. Floor of chapel, inner SW.
            corner (with iron pin no. 67, *supra*). Phase III.

            It is curious that, despite the enormous quantities of lead which
            must have been current in Roman Britain, this base metal is far from
            common on post-Roman western sites—probably less common than
            silver, most of which must also have an ultimate Roman origin. A lead
            ring occurred at *Garranes* (fig. 6, no. 281), and at *Dinas Powys* (fig. 23)
            there are several small lead objects which Alcock suggests may have
            come from continued working of Roman period lead-mines in the
            area (*op. cit*, p. 122). In post-Roman Cornwall, a small lead object,
            either a pommel or a chape, was found with a small iron dagger at
            Gwithian (layer B, 7th-9th centuries). Much larger Irish sites of the
            period, however, yielded none at all. The Ardwall fragment seems to
            be nothing more than scrap.

BRONZE (FIG. 28)

102.   Small penannular bronze loop of oval section, with terminals tapering
            to blunt points. Floor of chapel, against inner face of N. wall, near
            entrance. Phase III.

53.   Tiny scrap of sheet bronze, very worn, originally perhaps a disc with
            three perforations reamed through from the same face. Floor of
            chapel, inner NW. corner by entrance. Phase III.

56.   Short length of bronze angle-strip, one end of which has been squeezed
            together. Three neat circular perforations occur along the angle, in
            one of which a tiny bronze rivet pin, or tack, was still adhering. The
            piece bears a very delicate and now scarcely visible linear ornament,
            effected with a punch giving a minute triangular impression (shown at
            ×2 in the illustration). The disposition of the ornament confirms (a)
            that the top of the strip, as shown, is an original end of the strip, the
            bottom being a break, and (b) the top of the strip was 'chamfered' to
            meet something at an angle, the two short lines of ornament following
            the chamfered angle if the strip is folded to 45 degrees. Floor of chapel,
            centre of W. half of floor. Phase III.

60.   Piece of sheet bronze, perforated with irregular slots for six fasteners,
            three still *in situ*, a fourth (no. 60a) being found close by. The fasteners
            are thin strips of bronze pointed at both ends, folded, passed through
            the slots, and opened out again, like a modern brass paper-fastener.
            Floor of chapel, about the centre of W. half. Phase III.

            Of the two smaller pieces, no. 53 is presumably a stud or disc to
            be fastened to some background, and *Lagore*, fig. 22, no. 1421, is a

10

very similar piece with three holes, the disc being more of a trefoil shape. No. 102 is possibly a ring detached from a bronze ring-headed pin of a simple kind (cf. *Carraig Aille*, fig. 9 (from Carraig Aille II); *Garryduff*, fig. 2 and text; *Lagore*, fig. 14, no. 1243, and fig. 16, no. 1238). Ring-heads can either be the 'key-ring' type (partial spiral), as O'Kelly happily calls this, or a plain ring, and one like the Ardwall example would have had its pointed ends forced together in a lateral perforation through the head of a shaft, an action which would bring the ring back to a circular, instead of the present oval, shape.

No. 60, the piece of sheet bronze with fasteners, is an instance of a widespread post-Roman find, not always illustrated. The use of small pieces of sheet bronze to fasten leather to leather, leather to wood, or metal to wood (i.e., bucket fittings) must go back to Roman times, and is well shown at *Dinas Powys*, figs. 19 and 20, with text, where, however, small tubular rivets of sheet bronze were employed. There is a fairly close parallel from *Church Island* (fig. 11, no. 9), where a piece of sheet bronze also has a perforation of slot type and a 'paper-fastener' still *in situ*. It is doubtful whether this essentially weak method of fastening would be suited to anything but clipping sheet bronze to thin leather.

The angle-strip, no. 56, is of great interest. Linear punched or impressed ornament had a wide vogue in time and space—one thinks of the history of the dot-and-circle motif—but triangular stamps are rare; one might cite a late Romano-British(?) strap-end from Richborough (S. C. Hawkes and G. C. Dunning, *Med. Archaeol.*, v (1961), fig. 23, *b* = type v A, no. 6) and more appositely a bit of a silver bracelet from Carraig Aille II (*Carraig Aille*, fig. 7, no. 178c) where a larger triangular punch is used to produce transverse lines of impressions. The shape of the strip is bound to suggest that it framed the angle of something into which the little pins could be driven—wood or bone—and lay along an angle which met some other angle or plane obliquely. A house-shaped shrine or reliquary seems to be indicated. On the so-called Lough Erne shrine, and most of the larger Irish bell shrines, the angles are framed with bronze strip of semicircular section, pinned at the edges; but it will be noticed that on the Monymusk reliquary the strips are pinned through the centre, and that the Copenhagen shrine has its 'gable' angles framed with angle-strips, not semicircular ones.[20] A tentative reconstruction might suggest that the Ardwall strip ran *up* a gable angle, as shown; was pinned through on to a lapped wood plate which formed the 'hip' and overlay the longer side-plates of the roof; and was chamfered to allow the heavier ridge-piece to overrun its upper termination.

[20] Cf. the reasonably accurate illustrations in Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (1st ser., Edinburgh, 1881), frontispiece, and pp. 246 ff.

BONE (FIG. 29)

A. Fragment of highly-polished bone, with longitudinal striae on outer face; probably from the long bone of a deer or bovid. Found in grave III, over pelvis of skeleton; if *in situ*, late in phase III.
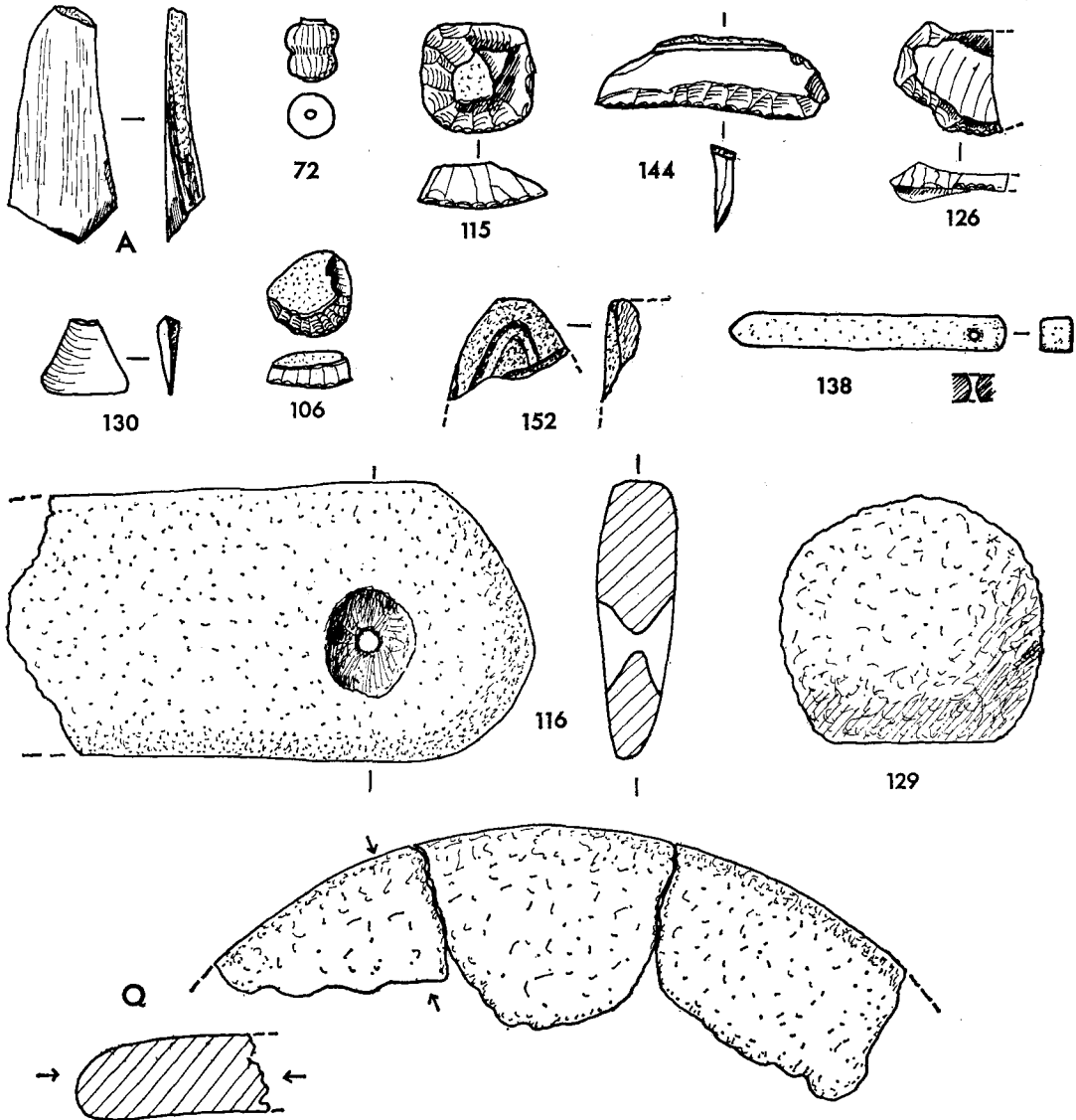
FIG. 29

ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT

Small finds of bone (A), glass (no. 72), flint (nos. 115, 144, 126, 130, 106), and stone (nos. 152=24, 138, 116, 129, Q) (pp. 147 ff.). Scs. no 72, $\frac{3}{2}$; Q, $\frac{1}{16}$; rest, $\frac{1}{2}$.

GLASS (FIG. 29)

72.   Small bead (reproduced × 1½) of dark blue glass, rather worn condition. Floor of chapel, near altar. Phase III?

    In general, isolated beads from Early Christian sites—because of their high survival value, multiplicity of variant types, uncertain stratigraphical contexts, and also because of the absence of any reliable corpus—have very little value for dating. This is particularly true of plain blue beads (cf. *Lagore*, p. 134).

FLINT (FIG. 29)

115.   Well-made scraper of good quality flint; found close to the deposit of bones in the chapel altar, cf. p. 137; FIG. 25. Phase III.

144.   Small flint knife, made on a long flake, with cortex forming the back of the blade. In the centre of the chapel, on the floor. Phase III.

126.   Broken scraper, not very well made. Floor of chapel, inner SW. corner. Phase III.

130.   Small struck flake of pale-coloured flint. Floor of chapel, in the centre. Phase III.

106.   Small round neatly-made scraper of dark flint, cortex forming the upper surface. In doorway of chapel, on decayed bedrock. Phase III.

    Every post-Roman site in western Britain of any size produces a surprising quantity of flint or chert—struck flakes, scrapers of numerous shapes and sizes, pebble and other cores, and waste scraps. Without going into details, it may be said that the cumulative weight of this evidence supports the idea that flint, especially (as here) beach-pebble flint, continued to be gathered and worked well into the first, if not indeed the second, millennium A.D., and though objects of prehistoric manufacture may have been picked up, or picked out of cliff sections, and reused, simple scrapers were probably manufactured in large numbers over a wide area of western Britain, up to the much later stage when they could combine with iron or steel as strike-a-lights.

STONE (FIG. 29)

152.   See p. 157, no. **24**, for this item.

138.   Neatly-made whetstone of brownish grit; square in section, perforated biconically for suspension. Found 1½ ft. south of the SW. corner of the chapel, and thus above (though not necessarily associated with) the N. edge of grave XXIII. Phase II or III?

116.   Large whetstone (broken), made on a beach pebble of grit, and used on the illustrated face only; large biconical perforation. Found, lying flat, on the floor of the chapel, SE. corner, near the bedrock protrusion. Phase III.

129.   Spherical beach pebble of granite (similar ones still occur on the shore) with one face worn flat and smooth; possibly for leather-working? In shallow deposit just inside the enclosure bank, cutting E/c (FIG. 22).

Q.   Broken fragments of the upper stone of a rotary-quern in granite; shown, plan and section, ⅙th actual size. An overall diameter of 30 in. is indicated. Inside the SW. corner of the chapel, surrounding post-hole E (FIG. 26). Presumably phase II?

The only object here of interest is the little whetstone, no. 138, which is a fairly common personal object, and must have accompanied the small one-edged iron knife (cf. *Dinas Powys*, fig. 21; *Lagore*, fig. 44; *Garryduff*, fig. 4) of iron-age ancestry which occurs profusely over the whole Irish Sea culture-province at this period. Whetstones of this superior kind (cf. *Lagore*, fig. 92, no. 87; *Carraig Aille*, fig. 16, nos. 52H, 83, and 244; *Cahercommaun*, fig. 35, no. 259) appear to be mainly confined to Ireland, the unperforated 'pebble' variety alone being universally distributed.

The quern is a large one, and it is a pity that not enough survives to indicate whether the centre possessed a rynd slot (indicating a table-mounting) or was merely a plain hole. The largest quern diameter at Lagore (*op. cit.*, p. 174) was 58 cm. (not quite 23 in.), and on most Irish Sea sites of the period they are considerably smaller.

THE GRAVE-MARKERS, CROSS-SLABS, ETC.

Definitions.   From the 4th century A.D. to our own time a variety of shaped, worked, sculptured, or inscribed stones have been used to commemorate the dead. By no means all writers employ the same term to describe similar things, and the following brief definitions will avoid confusion in the catalogue which follows.

The earliest stone memorials are pillars, slabs, and even boulders, which follow Roman practices in commemorating the dead in forms of Roman capital letters; a parallel, and initially not necessarily Christian, series in Ireland employs the ogam script, and stones using both forms of lettering occur in areas of Irish settlement on the mainland. The term *inscribed memorial stone* is often given to this group.[21] Small initial crosses appear, probably from the late 6th century, on some inscribed memorial stones, and an uninscribed series of much smaller stones may be contemporary with these. Some of the latter, either too small, or inadequately shaped, to stand upright, may have been buried with the dead, or (if designed to be seen) placed on the surface of the filled grave. It is proposed to name these *grave-markers*. In a wider sense the group includes the 'pillow-stones', or 'name-stones'[22] of the late 7th century and onwards of the Northumbrian church

[21] The classic discussion of methods of dating these is by C. A. R. Radford (*RCAHM Wales & Mon. Inventory, Anglesey*, pp. xciv ff.); the best introduction is probably that of V. E. Nash-Williams (*Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, Cardiff, 1950), and in general the Welsh treatment of this topic is much ahead of those from other areas of Britain.

[22] 'Name-stone' is now preferred to 'pillow-stone': cf. R. Cramp, 'A name-stone from Monkwearmouth', *Archaeol. Aeliana*4, XLII, 294–8.

(Lindisfarne, Hartlepool, and now Monkwearmouth). Probably as early as the grave-markers in Atlantic Britain are small (18 to 30 in. high) slabs or pillars of equal simplicity, displaying at first no more than an incised linear cross, which appear to have stood upright, at the head (it is generally assumed) of a grave. The term *cross-slab* may be used for these.

Cross-slabs, in later stages very decorative and with inscriptions in a number of styles—uncial script, part uncials and part capitals, etc.—continue (with some possible gaps in the sequence) right up to the modern vertical rectangular-shaped tombstone, and the same name can be employed for all of these. However, another series of these slabs, a series centred on Ireland, was designed to lie flat upon the surface of the grave, and these may be distinguished by the phrase *recumbent cross-slab*.[23] These, too, still exist; nor of course is it always possible to tell whether a cross-slab was intended to be upright or recumbent, except that the evolution of the latter tends always towards a full-length (5 to 6 ft. long) form.

In the second half of the first millennium, possibly not much before the 8th century, imitation of wooden models appears to result in stone crosses, large and small, which are *shaped* or '*free-standing*' (i.e., freed from the rectangular backgrounds on which these shapes are otherwise represented by incising, grooving, pocking, etc.). Shaped crosses evolved in both Ireland and Northumbria, and the larger versions can and do have functions other than funerary ones: for example dedicatory, commemorative of events, didactic, and ornamental; and larger shaped crosses frequently have features which are skeuomorphic of wood or metal artefacts.

Numeration. The Ardwall Isle stones were originally listed in their order of discovery, and the arabic numbers allotted to them have been shown in the plans (FIGS. 23 and 26), in the 1966 interim report, in the record photographs, and in ink or paint on the actual stones. These numbers are, therefore, used here in all illustrations, and in the catalogue below in bold type. As far as possible, stones are illustrated by careful and accurate line-drawings, but where this is impracticable, photographs have been given instead. H = greatest vertical dimension; W = greatest dimension at right angles to H; T = thickness where reasonably consistent.

I. PHASE III (LATER PART)

1   Cross-slab of local stone (FIG. 30, A). H. 2 ft. 10 in., W. 10 in., T. 3 in. Incised design; long-stemmed cross, head with slightly expanded upper arm and semicircular armpits. Found just inside the enclosure, near the gate to the beach; it is said to have lain face downwards over what sounds like a lintel-grave, and was found by two dyke-builders in 1929.[23a] Now in small circular garden at Ardwall House, by Gatehouse. Cf. W. G. Collingwood in *TDGNHAS*, XIII (1925–26), 128.

[23] The Irish field is largely covered by P. Lionard's survey, 'Early Irish grave slabs', *PRIA*, 61 C5 (1961).

[23a] *In litt.*, from the late Mr. R. Lillie, Gatehouse, to the late Lady McCulloch (who kindly passed the letters on to me). These letters (Sept. 1929—Jan. 1930) give detailed accounts of interviews with the two men.
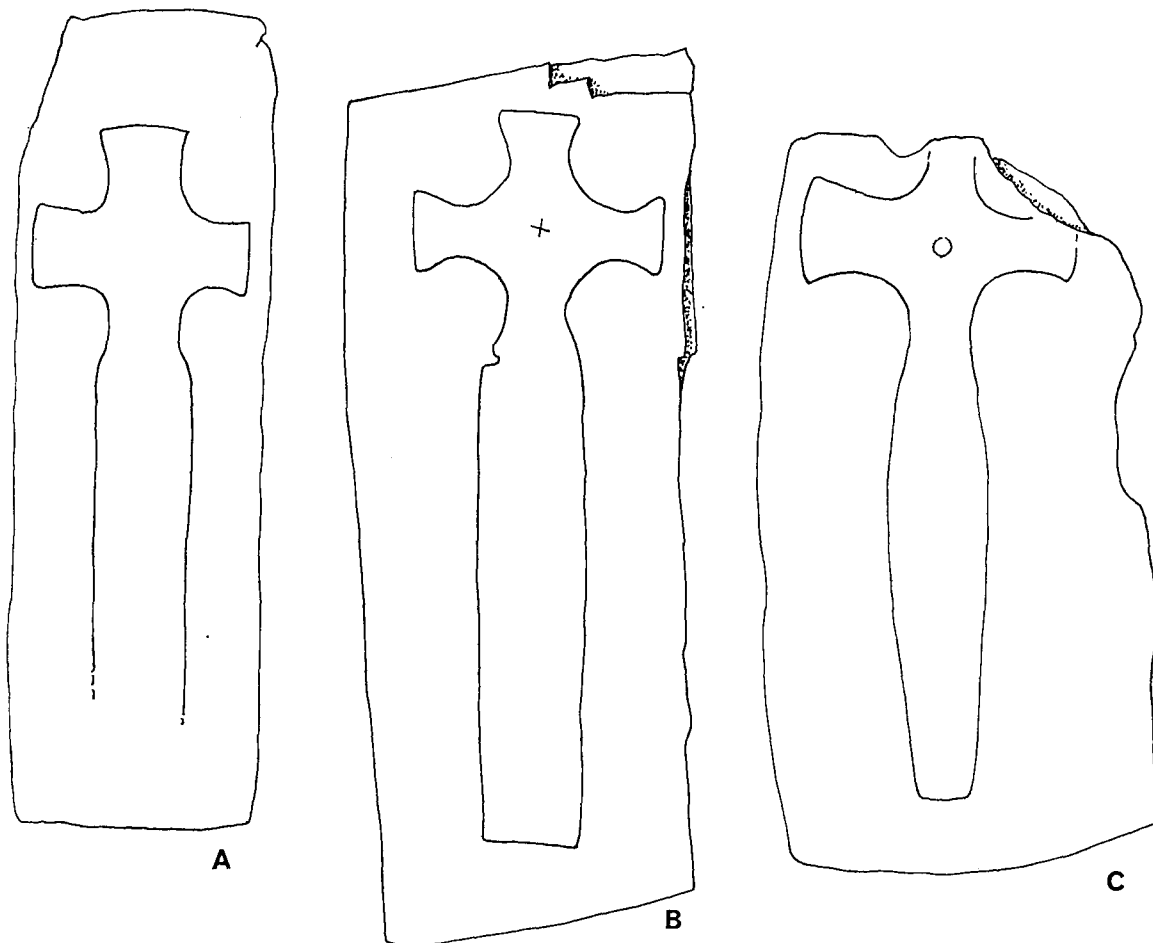
FIG. 30

ELEVENTH-CENTURY CROSS-SLABS FROM KIRKCUDBRIGHT (pp. 150 ff.)

A, no. 1 from Ardwall Isle, now at Ardwall House; B, no. 3 from Ardwall Isle (cf. PL. XVI, B; for position
see FIG. 23); C, in old kirk, Anwoth. The ornament is incised in each case. Sc. ⅛.

2   (Lost). A very similar stone, found a few years later near the find-spot of
1, and built into the dyke on the E. side of the enclosure.[24] Only a
partial search has so far been made for this.

3   Cross-slab of local stone (PL. XVI, B; FIG. 30, B), the incised face naturally
rippled. H. 2 ft. 9 in., W. 1 ft. 2 in., T. 3 in. Incised design; long-
stemmed cross, head with expanded arms and semicircular arm-
pits, and a small equal-armed cross, a little askew, in the centre of the
head. Found lying face down in rubble and clay over the floor of the
chapel (FIG. 23), and provisionally associated with the inserted grave III.

[24] Local information from three independent sources; this is also mentioned in Mr. Lillie's letters.

W. G. Collingwood, in his original note on **1** (*loc. cit.*) suggested a date of 'about 1100', referring back to his article on Galloway crosses (*TDGNHAS*, x (1922–23), 229) and his similar date for the slab at Kirkclaugh, Anwoth, which may have been associated with a Norman motte 'of not earlier than the end of the eleventh century'. The Kirkclaugh cross (one face of it) resembles the small incised slab now in Anwoth old kirk, dug up there shortly before 1900 (*TDGNHAS*, XXIV (1947), 21); a church where a 12th-century charter reference is known.

The Anwoth slab (FIG. 30, C) is clearly related, and a local school might be postulated, but whereas the Anwoth and Kirkclaugh slabs have 'swollen stems' (Collingwood), the two Ardwall Isle slabs have straight stems. The arms of **2**, in particular, seem closer to the Anglian ancestor. A central date of about 1000 might then be preferred.

4	Very large heavy cross-slab of local stone (PL. XVII, A–B), probably split straight off the dyke or sill on the shore. H. 2 ft. 11 in., W. 1 ft. 9 in., T. 4 to 6 in. (irregular). Near one end, off-centre, a crude, deeply-pocked design of a linear cross with extended stem, its head enclosed in an uneven circle of almost quatrefoil shape. The design is 6⅔ in. high and 3¼ in. wide. Found lying face down in rubble and clay over the floor of the chapel (FIG. 23), and provisionally associated with the 'unused grave' south of and parallel to grave III.
5	Broken shaped butt of a large free-standing cross, of local stone (PL. XVII, C). The pillar or shaft is 12 in. by 5 in. and only 11 in. of its height remain; the lower tenon is 7 in. long and 9 in. by 3 in. in section. This tenon has been dressed off with heavy pocking. Found outside the N. wall of the chapel (FIG. 23), just above the decayed bedrock and just below the turf; the break is old and weathered.
13	Upper part of a cross-slab of local stone (PL. XIX, A), with slanting transverse break; remaining portion is H. 2 ft. (longest side), W. 12 in., T. 2 in. The design, which commences from the top edge, is a cross of 'Anwoth' type (cf. FIG. 30, C), with a centrally-placed hollow, executed in a broad pocked line. Found upside-down, facing west, in an oval pit in front of the altar in the chapel (FIG. 23; see p. 136).

These three stones have in common the technique of 'pocking', that is the attrition of a not very hard surface by using a hammer or mallet, and a tool which, from careful inspection, was more like a punch than any modern form of mason's chisel.[25] The technique can be contrasted with that used on cross-slabs **1** and **3**, which are decorated with a shallow grooved line.

Contextually, **13** may have been inserted in the chapel at the same time as graves III and VIII and the unused graves, the time when cross-slabs **1** and **3** were

[25] This technique was also used in Pictland (C. A. Gordon, *PSAS*, LXXXVIII (1954–55), 41 ff.), where it appears to descend from prehistoric times.

executed. But it can be supposed that **13** had previously been employed to mark some grave, probably outside the chapel, had stood upright, had been broken and was lying flat, and was re-erected within the chapel because it happened to be handy. On this supposition it would be somewhat earlier. Does this argument apply to cross-slab **4** (with the pocked ring-headed cross)? Probably not, since there is nothing to suggest that it ever marked another grave.

It is likely that the pocked technique and late grooved or broad-incision technique overlap. For example, a tall cross-slab with a long-stemmed Latin cross, stepped base, and small incised cross (trifid terminals) incised in the centre of the head, in Whithorn Museum, is executed in a partly pocked technique, but another somewhat similar one is executed in grooved technique; both are probably post–1200. The broad pocking of Ardwall Isle **13** can be seen on various stones in the fine Whithorn Museum collection. It appears on a rather clumsy stone, whose ornament centres round a cross precisely of Ardwall Isle **13** type, from Physgyll Cave, Whithorn C. 11 (PL. XXI, B); on a 3-ft.-long pillar with three crosses in circular borders, one of them an expanded-arm cross with a small central cross in the head (cf. **3** above), Whithorn C. 5; and oneor two other late-looking pieces in the Whithorn series. The dates which Radford assigns to these range from the 9th to 11th centuries. A central 10th-century date might therefore fit cross-slabs **4** and **13** at Ardwall Isle, and on the grounds of pocking, perhaps the tenoned cross-butt **5** as well. This particular treatment of the butt is common, for example, at Hexham (Collingwood 1927, fig. 37) and in the Whithorn—Wigtown area (*idem, TDGNHAS*, x (1922–23), pls. viii, ix).

6   Large heavy cross-slab (pillar) of local stone (PLS. XVII, D, XVIII, A, B), probably, like **4**, split off an outcrop. H. 4 ft. 1 in., W. 1 ft. 5 in., T. 9 in. On the upper part of one face is a circle, 11 in. diameter, containing a cross with expanded arms and deep semicircular armpits, set saltire-wise (like an X), the design executed in pocking, partly reamed smooth; above this cross, an inscription of six letters, centrally placed and executed by pocking; and level with the top of the circle around the cross, running to the (viewer's) right edge of the stone, a much smaller inscription of 6 (7?) letters cut with a knife-point. Found in a secondary, perhaps even tertiary, context, face down, built across the lower SE. wall of the phase-V tavern, resting on the filling of the phase-IV hall. Prolonged search of all the debris below this point produced two large flakes which had split off the central cross, and these were replaced with Araldite, thus nearly completing the design.

     The main inscription (top) is in lettering so poor as to raise the presumption that it was done by an illiterate, unfamiliar with the script involved and working off a trial-piece. The area of pocking, visible in PL. XVIII, A, above the first two letters may even represent the erasure of a false start. The word, a personal name, is none the less legible and appears to be CUDGAR, with the provision that the irregular third

letter, the top of which might be said to be crossed,[26] is intended as a
thorn (TH). The smaller inscription (PL. XVIII, B) is positionally
secondary, but perhaps so only in the sense that it is not part of the
design; it may have been added the same day. In letters which,
despite the irregular surface, surely betray a 'book-hand', it reads
HUTHGA(R?), the T being on a ridge of rock and thus very crooked. As
flaking has removed the edge of the stone at the crucial spot, one can-
not say whether a final R existed, but it seems a permissible insertion.
Several factors help in hazarding a date for this stone. The name
CUDGAR is Germanic and not Celtic (cf. Cuthbert, Edgar, etc.),
literally 'Pleasant Spear', and its presence in Galloway must be
linked with the Anglian (Northumbrian) penetration of the area. It
is improbable that Angles, clerics or laymen, were being accorded
right of burial as far west as this before the 1st quarter of the 8th
century; the establishment of Pecthelm as Anglian bishop of Whithorn,
the final mark of such ecclesiastical incorporation, cannot have been
long before 731. With this *terminus* in mind, it can be noted that the
form of the cross-head could equally well suggest the 8th century;
that the pocking is much neater than the broad pocking of cross-slabs
4 and 13; and that for any post-731 period, the stone exhibits certain
other early features. The single name associated with some form of
cross is a western, Celtic-speaking area, phenomenon, found with
developed types of inscribed memorial stones; but here, unlike
Celtic practice, which prefers the name to be in the genitive ('stone of',
'tomb of', being understood), the name is nominative, as in the
Northumbrian name-stones or 'pillow-stones' of the later 7th and 8th
centuries.[27] The main inscription (allowing for the illiteracy) is in
barbarous half-uncials of Nash-Williams's class II (7th to 9th cen-
turies),[28] but with one or two forms—the confused final R in the
main inscription, the small capital H twice in the lower one—that must
be regarded as archaisms. A date in the 8th century, and perhaps
as early as the middle of that century, could be indicated.

Whether the smaller HUTHGA(R) represents a form of the name,
CUTHGAR, written by someone whose native tongue was not Old
English[29] is an open question. Professor K. H. Jackson points out
that a spelling CUTHGAR might well have supported this explanation,
but that the initial H by itself raises a number of difficulties. No trace
of any preceding C can be detected, however. The comparative

[26] Cf. the crossed D (= TH) of the name-stone with OSGYTH, from Lindisfarne (*Archaeologia*, LXXIV
(1925), 261, fig. 2).

[27] There are, of course, instances of Irish memorial stones, especially recumbent slabs, with the name
in the nominative (cf. Lionard, *op. cit.* in note 23) but this represents a later stage than the use of the name
in the genitive.

[28] Nash-Williams, *op. cit.* in note 21, pp. 223 ff.

[29] In which case it might be either Primitive Irish or the local British dialect (Jackson's 'Primitive
Cumbric').

confidence in forming individual letters shown by the hand at work in the lower inscription seems to preclude the idea that initial H is a mere blunder, and the problem must remain unsolved.

2. PHASE III (EARLIER PART)

9   Part of the head of a small shaped cross (FIG. 31), local gritstone, worked on one side only. W. 6 in., T. 1 in. at centre, tapering towards edge. Cross-head with central reserved roundel boss defined by shallow ring, short arms with wide flat expansions, defined by a sunk border; executed by careful pocking. Found in loose rubble outside the SE. part of the chapel (see FIG. 23).

16   Shaft (FIG. 31) which fits on to **9** above, found in 1965, 14 ft. away in loose rubble above the heads of graves XXVII and XXVI (see FIG. 23). Together, **9** and **16** make up a small shaped cross, H. 17 in. (plus an inch or so broken off the bottom).

10   Part of the head of a small shaped cross (FIG. 31), local gritstone, like **9/16** but a little larger. W. 6 in., T. 1 in. The fragment comes from the curved constriction between the centre of the head and the end of an expanding arm. This is decorated on one side only, the neatly pocked grooves following the external profile. Found in the low clay and rubble filling of the chapel, 1 ft. west of cross-slab **13** (see FIG. 23).

15   Part of the head of a small shaped cross (FIG. 31), local gritstone; possibly unfinished. This piece (L. 8½ in., T. ½ in.) shows the end of a cross-arm expanded to a blunt T-shape—what Collingwood called 'pectoral'[30]—the arm being outlined with a narrow pocked groove. It may have broken off the parent rough-out before the waste stone below the narrower terminal could be removed. Found in loose rubble outside the SW. corner of the chapel (see FIG. 23).

18   Presumably part of the head of a small shaped cross (FIG. 31), local gritstone. W. 5¾ in., T. 1 in. Decorated on one face only with narrow pocked grooves, like **15**, etc. This also has a slightly unfinished appearance and may be the central part of an expanded arm with a narrow neck and broad T-shaped terminal. In rubble and collapsed walling outside S. wall of chapel, above the level represented by grave XXII (see FIG. 23).

These little pieces represent a uniform type, of which the joined **9/16** serves as the exemplar: a small free-standing cross shaped out of the easily-worked gritstone which occurs in the locality, with a head whose short arms expand to a blunt T-shape, with shallow semicircular armpits, and unifacially decorated with neatly pocked grooves. It is all the more a pity that none of them was found *in situ*, and the presumption that such crosses stood upright (at the head? of each grave) remains a presumption, if a fair one.
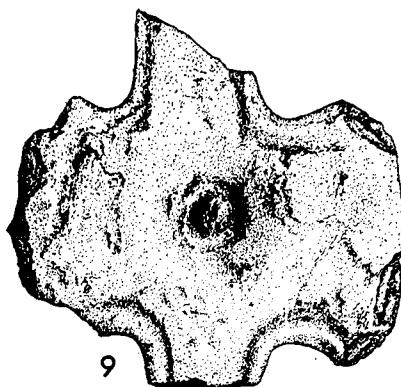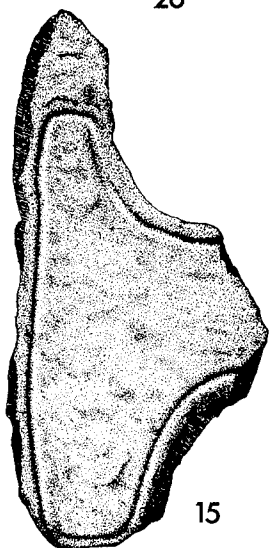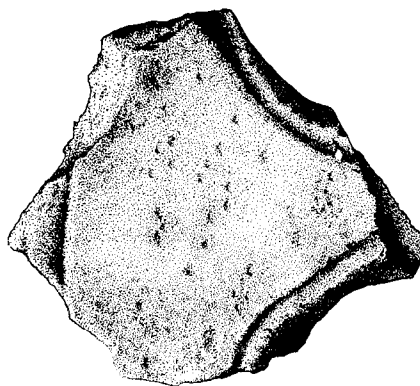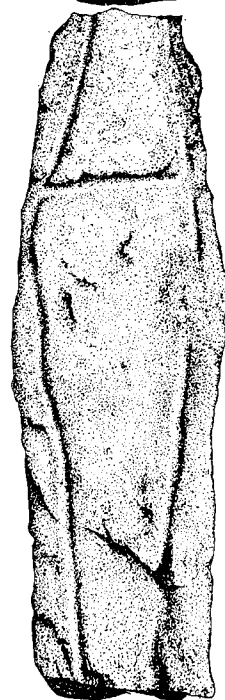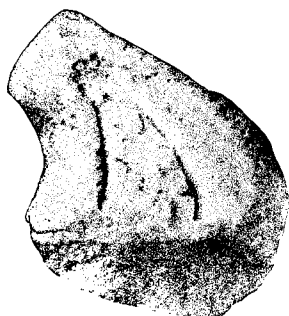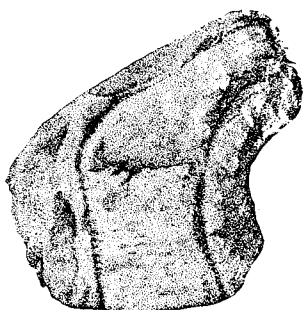
[30] Collingwood 1927, pp. 82-3.
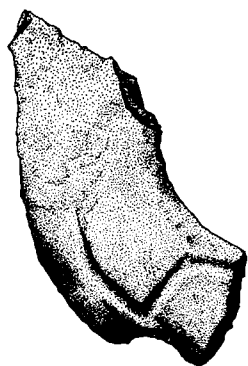
26
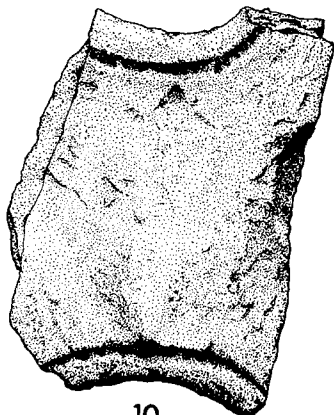
10

9

15

18

16

12

20

FIG. 31
ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Free-standing crosses and architectural fragments of phase III (pp. 155, 157 f.). Sc. ⅓.

Both the shape, and the postulated use, are Anglian innovations. If the parallel is not too absurd, the large free-standing cross (Collingwood 1927, fig. 38) which is generally regarded as having been placed at the head of Bishop Acca's grave at Hexham, *c.* 740, is matched in a smaller rustic way by **9/16**; the transverse line across the shaft (**16**) presents the same appearance as the border between upper shaft and lower limb on Acca's cross. This emphasis on the T-shaped, almost square-headed, termination of the short arms is well matched at Whitby (*Whitby*, p. 37 and fig. 6; p. 45 and fig. 7; pl. xxi—Whitby nos. 10, 11 and 12). It could be argued that we see here the simple forerunners of the much larger Whitby and Hexham[31] shaped crosses, small prototypes not far removed from the shaped wooden crosses they might seem to imitate; and that, like the CUDGAR stone, there is no reason why they should not be attributed to the 8th century, continuing into the 9th. The absence of 'T-shaped terminal' development in the long series of Whithorn stones is perhaps to be explained by the overwhelming influence there of the circular cross-head, a shape which channelled the universal tendency to arm expansion into the curved terminals which an enclosing ring dictates.

The four small pieces to be described next are not necessarily funerary; at least two of them seem to be architectural.

12   Small stubby piece of roughly-shaped gritstone (FIG. 31); broken. L. 5½ in., W. 2 in. (tip), 3½ in. (at break), T. 2½ in. The stone was probably shaped roughly, and dressed by pocking. The ornament is a narrow pocked groove, following the outline on both faces. Found on top of the remains of the largely-destroyed S. wall of the chapel (see FIG. 23).

20   Small piece of worked gritstone (FIG. 31), perhaps incomplete (the back may have been split off). L. 4½ in., T. 1½ in. One face has a central reserved area, emphasized by cutting down the border around it with a deep groove. Found west of the chapel, between graves xii and xiii and on the same level as the graves (FIG. 23).

24   Tiny fragment of local gritstone (FIG. 29, no. 152—its find-register number). W. across break 1½ in. The ornament is a neat shallow pocked groove, reamed out. Found 4 ft. west of the chapel, by the W. end of grave xx, on the same level as the grave (see FIG. 23).

26   Thin piece of local gritstone (FIG. 31). L. 6¼ in., T. ½ in., broken off. The ornament is carried out in a neat pocked groove. South of the chapel, in rubble and wall collapse above skeleton xxii.

[31] This is not intended to ignore Collingwood's well-known suggestion (*op. cit.* in note 30, pp. 30–31) that the Anglian 'tall cross' (free-standing cross) was spontaneously invented by 'an artist of genius' at Hexham, combining the ideas of the staff-rood and the larger pillar-shaped cross-slabs. It suggests that what could happen at Hexham could happen elsewhere, and that the free-standing cross, like most forms of crosses, presumably began with the simplest forms. A relevant essay on the translation from wood to stone is S. P. Ó Ríordáin's 'The genesis of the Celtic cross', in *Feilsgribhinn Torna*, ed. S. Pender (Cork, 1947), pp. 108 ff.

It is not immediately apparent from what form of cross (if any) **26** comes. The fragment **12**, however, is of great interest, since it would seem to be the tip or end of a stone gable finial, an otherwise exclusively Irish class, discussed by the late Dr. H. G. Leask (*Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, 1 (1955), 46 ff.) and well represented by a recent find from co. Kerry (*Church Island*, fig. 7 and p. 94). I understand that a fresh study of Irish gable finials is in preparation. These finials, which crown the apex of a pointed (stone) gable, are skeuomorphs of 'the crossing of the gable rafters or barge boards of timber roofs' (Leask); and apart from their association with early Irish chapels, they are seen on the little stone 'chapels' or chapel-shaped shrines, which crown certain Irish high crosses, on the large shrine-shaped sarcophagus at Clones, co. Monaghan, and in manuscript art.

It is possible that **24**, which is little more than a flake, comes from the tip of something like **12**—perhaps the opposite terminal of the same finial. No. **20** has a general resemblance to **12**, but is apparently not finished, and it is uncertain what it was intended to be.

3. PHASE II

Worked stones attributable to this phase include those which are associated with graves which, it is argued, antedate phase III; those which were found at a lower level than pieces here described under phase III; and those which are executed in a technique which differs from the narrow or broad pocking of phase III, and which is the same as that found on stones considered otherwise to belong to phase II.

7   Irregular slab of local gritstone (PL. XIX, B; detail, FIG. 32). L. 16 in., W. 9 in., T. 2½ in. (end with cross) to 1 in. (other end). Near one corner a simple cross has been incised, the shorter arm first, grooved out with knife-cuts, and the longer arm at right angles across this. Found just outside E. end of the disturbed grave II, on bedrock, and apparently associated with the scatter of bones from this grave (see FIG. 26).

14   Rather more regular and approximately rectangular slab of local slaty stone. L. 1 ft. 11 in., W. 9 in., T. 5 in. Near one corner a simple cross (FIG. 32) has been lightly incised, the upper terminal being a small broad fork. It proved virtually impossible to obtain a satisfactory photograph of the complete stone. Found forming the central part of the back of the phase-III altar at the level of the bone deposit (cf. FIG. 25).

These are the simplest, and no doubt the earliest, forms of grave-marker, possibly inhumed with the skeleton. No. **14** is included because a pre-phase-III context as a grave-marker, and reuse in the altar, seems the best explanation for it, and it was suggested earlier (p. 138) that the bone material in the altar derived from disturbed phase-II (and perhaps phase-I) graves, any of which might have been marked with stone **14**. Local parallels include two small flattish beach slabs
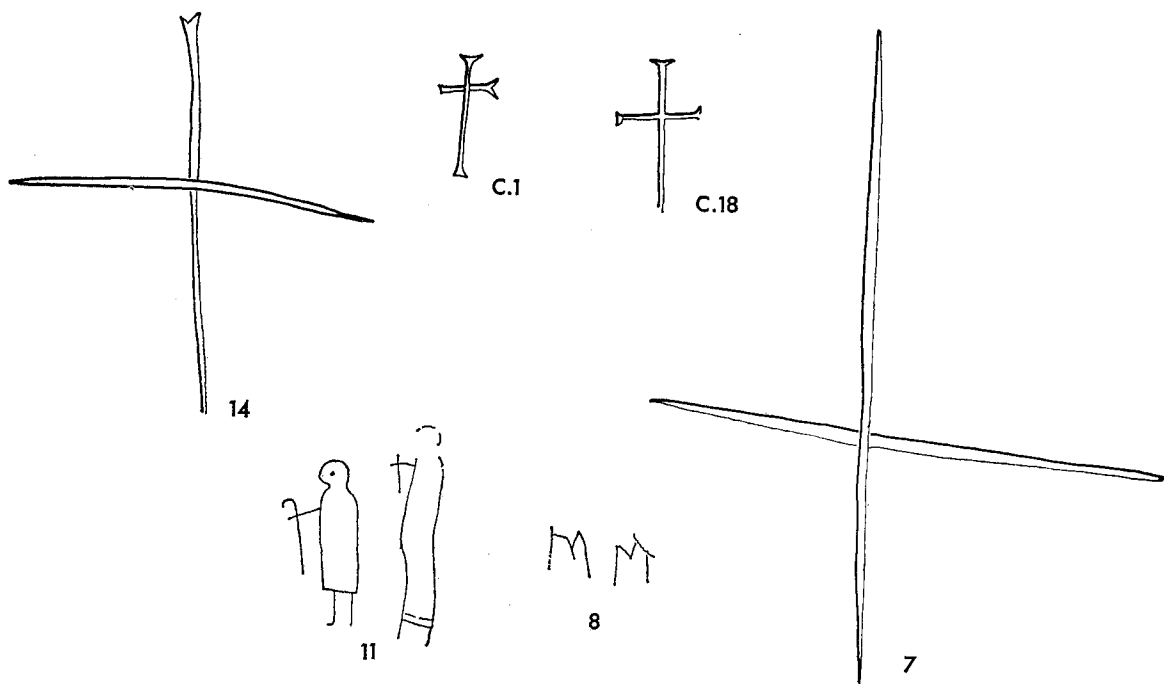
FIG. 32

INCISED 'PRIMARY' CROSSES AND GRAFFITI FROM GALLOWAY (pp. 158 ff., 163 f.)
Nos. c. 1 and c. 18 (now in Whithorn Museum) from small beach slabs, Physgyll Cave, nr. Whithorn,
Wigtownshire (cf. PL. XXI, A); rest from Ardwall Isle. Sc. ½.

(PL. XXI, A; FIG. 32—the drawings are from rubbings) from Physgyll Cave near Whithorn (now in the Whithorn Museum: nos. c. 1 and c. 18) which bear small knife-cut crosses near one end. There are numerous instances of these in the whole north Irish Sea region, all ultimately associable with the spread of Irish settlement and Christianity; it must suffice to draw attention to the most accessible series, those from the Isle of Man.[32]

8   Small rectilinear plaque of local slaty stone (FIG. 33; detail of inscription, FIG. 32). L. 7 in., W. 4 to 2½ in., T. ⅜ in. The front, incised with a sharp point, has a design which in places has been deepened into a groove; it shows a Latin cross, formed with intersecting lines. On the reverse, near an edge, the capital letters M M have been rather shakily incised; this seems to be contemporary. Found in loose rubble, some feet south of the chapel, by the wall of the medieval hall (FIG. 26).

[32] *PSAS*, LXIII (1928–29), 355, fig. 2 (in a lintel-grave at Port y Vullen, Maughold); Kermode 1907, pp. 106–7 (from Treen Chapel, West Nappin, Jurby); *PSAS*, LV (1920–21), 256 (from a keeill in Jurby); *PSAS*, XLVI (1911–12), 56 (another from the same keeill); *Archaeol. Cambr.*, LXXXV (1930), 298 (nos. 1, 2, 7 and 9; group from the cemetery at Cronk-yn-How, Lezayre).

It is possible that the cross with intersecting arms copies a wooden model with one arm nailed across, or checked into, the other. A local parallel is a boulder (22 by 21 in.), built into the kirkyard wall at Staplegorton, Dumfries, which Radford (*TDGNHAS*, xxxiii (1954-55), 179, fig. 1) regards as possibly 7th century;
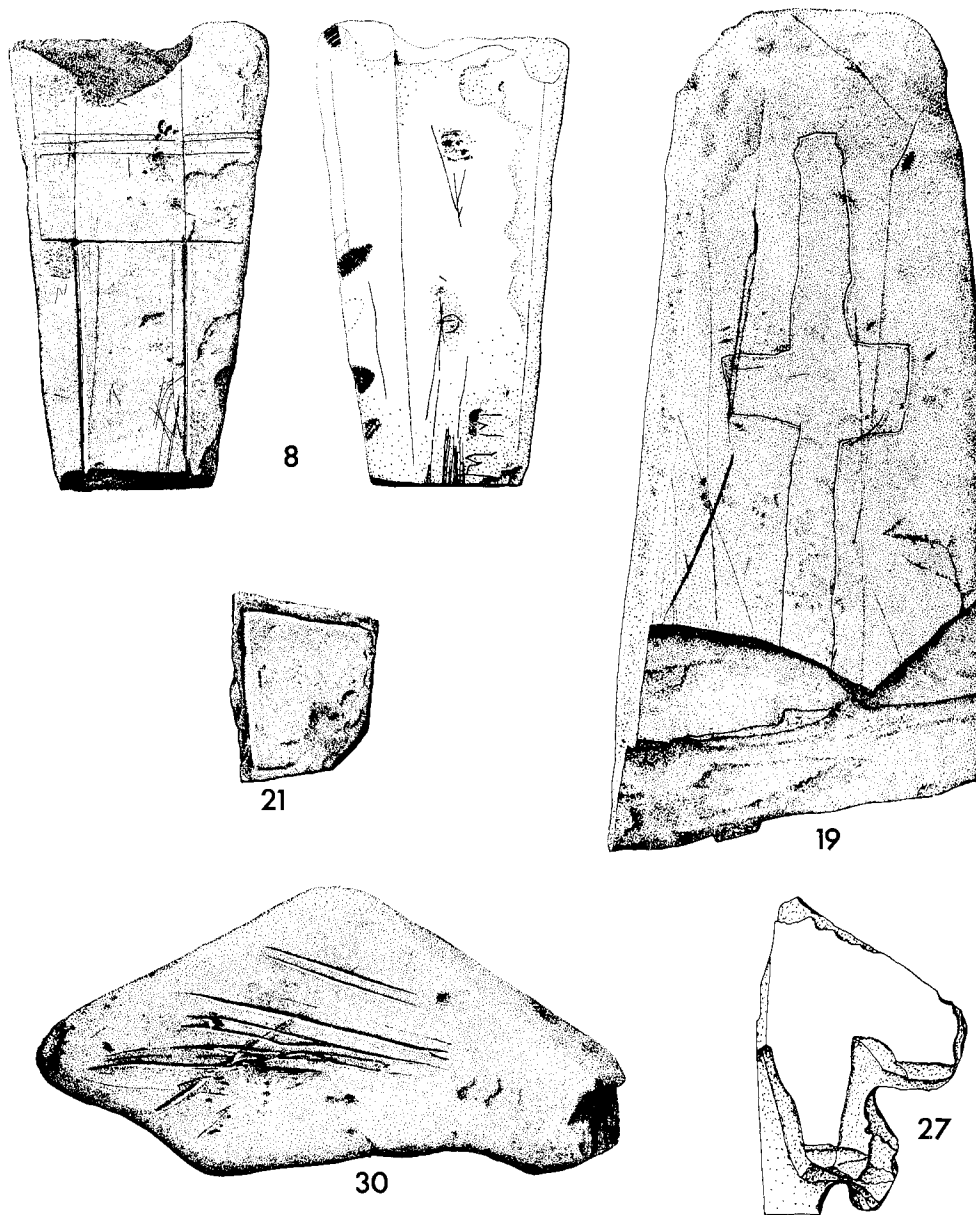

FIG. 33
ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Grave-markers and other worked stones of phase II (pp. 159 ff., 163). Sc. ⅓.

this has two rectangles with median lines—pocked technique—one of them superimposed at right angles over the other to form a cross. A rather later instance, on an upright cross-slab 3 ft. 9 in. high, occurs at Teampull Fraing on Skye (*RCAHM Scotland: Inventory, Skye and the Small Isles*, no. 646).

19   Irregular but smooth-surfaced slab of local gritstone (FIG. 33). L. 12
            in., W. 4 in. to 5¾ in., T. 1½ in. The broader end is split and flaked. On
            one face is a design, incised with a thin knife-point line, of a tall out-
            line cross of 'low-arm' form—i.e., the cross-bar occurs about half-way
            down, not, as with the strict 'Latin' cross, so that the three upper arms
            are all the same length. Found outside the S. wall of the chapel,
            incised face downward, resting in the grave with skeleton xxII, its
            narrow end being on his left shin bone (FIG. 26).

    This is another grave-marker, and a good association; taken with no. 7 and its less firm association with grave II, it might suggest that here at any rate grave-markers were placed at the E. (feet) end of the grave, and not at the head.

21   Small roughly-square fragment of local gritstone (FIG. 33). L. 2½ in.,
            W. 2¼ in., T. ½ in. A well-defined groove follows the outline up one
            side, around a sharp angle, and peters out along the next side;
            perhaps unfinished. Found south-west of the chapel, just above de-
            cayed bedrock, near grave II. It could be argued that this might
            equally be of phase III (position; FIG. 26), as it must come from the
            arm of a free-standing cross of small dimensions. The type of cross
            implied—with slight rectilinear arm expansion—is a western British
            form,[33] differing from (and probably starting earlier than) the Anglian
            shape seen in stones 9/16, etc. (pp. 155, 157).

22, 23, 25, Four pieces of a local grey-green slaty stone with a smooth, clear
    29   surface; two of them join, another can be reconstructed as touching
            these two, and the fourth is a plain corner (FIG. 34). (As reconstructed)
            L. 12 in., W. 12 in., T. ½ in. Found in grave xxII, outside south wall of
            chapel (FIG. 26); 22 lay on edge just in front of the face, 23 (the
            largest piece) partly on the left femur, 25 was near 22 on the north edge
            of the grave, and 29 by the south edge.

    The object represented by these pieces is a square slate plaque, with a series of designs carefully incised with a knife-point. These include: a central linear cross, superimposed on which is a large and flowing S;[34] four outline crosses of 'low-arm'

[33] This may well have been copied on to early grave-markers and small cross-slabs from expanded-arm crosses in MSS. (e.g. *Codex Usserianus Primus*—see, most recently, F. Henry, *L'Art irlandais*, I (Zodiaque), pl. 58, lower). A source which would take such a potential loan back to the early 6th century is the existence of expanded-arm crosses as stamps on imported pottery of class A i (*Med. Archaeol.*, III (1959), 89 ff.—now known to be Late Roman C), and a possibly 6th-century example of such borrowing is an incised cross-slab from Tintagel (C. A. R. Radford, *Antiq. J.*, xv (1935), 414, pl. lix).

[34] The significance of the S is not apparent; Mr. S. E. Rigold makes the interesting suggestion that this may be connected with the medieval symbol of the Brazen Serpent (usually on a Tau cross) to rep-resent the Cruxifixion. It should also be noted that in the Tripartite Life, St. Patrick is said to carve *IESUS. SOTER. SALVATOR* on three stones, in consecrating a locality. The combined cross and S-motif ('Salvation') is still in use; it forms the badge of the Salvation Army.

11

shape towards each corner; and a fifth, smaller outline cross in the bottom right corner, the replaced predecessor of the larger and slightly more regular cross which overlaps and cuts through it. These outline crosses so closely resemble that found on **19,** the grave-marker at the foot of this grave—note the curious uncertainty in finishing off the top arm—as to suggest that the two pieces are contemporary, and from the same hand.
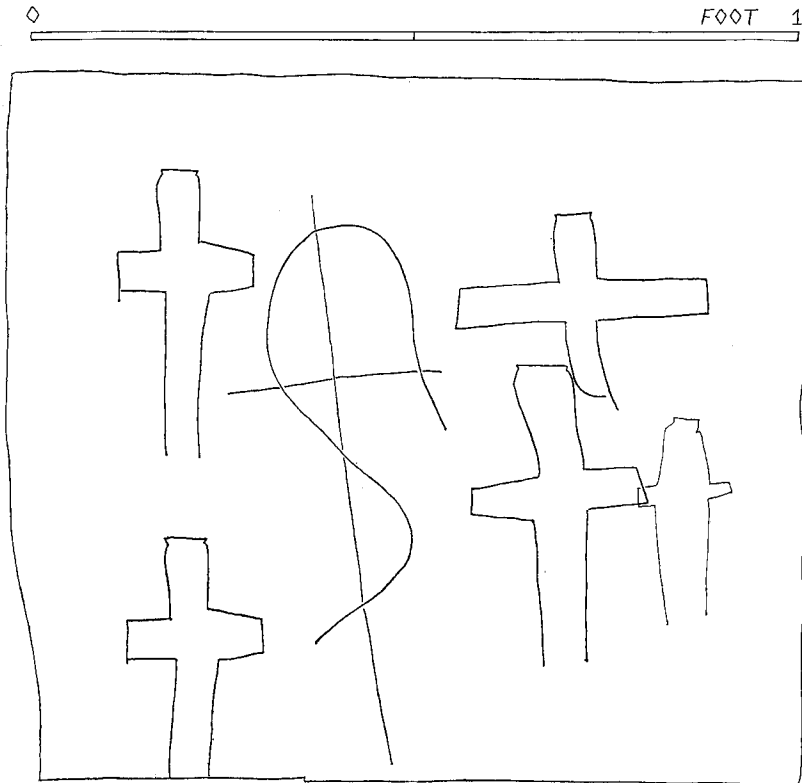
FIG. 34
ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Portable altar (slaty stone fragments nos. **22, 23, 25** and **29**) with knife-point
incised design (pp. 161 ff.)

This unique piece, which originally must have been placed over or with the elderly male (p. 186) numbered as xxii, is a portable altar, made on the spot for burial purposes and thus analogous to the various lead chalices and patens buried with medieval bishops (e.g., at Whithorn). There are many portable altars known in Britain, despite constant references to their rarity, but hardly any of pre-Norman date; the tiny wooden one, later encased in silver, found with St. Cuthbert is the best-known.[35] The only really convincing stone portable altar

35 C. A. R. Radford, 'The portable altar of St. Cuthbert', in *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* (ed. C. F. Battiscombe, 1956), pp. 326 ff.

of Early Christian date which I have encountered is an unpublished one in the National Museum of Antiquities (Edinburgh), which was found, water-worn, off-shore at Wick. But it is worth stressing that this burial-custom may have been widely represented; Bishop Acca at Hexham seems to have had a wooden portable altar buried with him in the middle of the 8th century,[36] and an odd passage in the medieval *Life of St. Illtud* appears to describe an instance of this practice.[37]

28   A small piece of the same grey-green slaty stone as the preceding (not illustrated). L. 5 in., W. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., T. $\frac{3}{8}$ in., broken. This was a surface find and it is not clear where it came from, beyond the general area south of the chapel. It bears the end of an incised groove of flat V-section, which might just possibly be one end of a cross-arm.

27   Another fragment of the same stone (FIG. 33). L. 5 in., W. 3 in., T. $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Its find-position is also uncertain. The piece is longitudinally broken, but what remains has been shaped to a curious profile by carefully notching and flaking the edge. This is obviously intentional, but the shape conveys no immediately apparent significance.

30   Irregular beach pebble of local gritstone (FIG. 33). L. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., W. (at centre) 4 in., T. 1 in. One surface bears numerous sharpening grooves. Found in rubble, just above bedrock, south of the chapel. This piece is included because it suggests that whatever instrument (here called 'knife' for convenience) was used to incise the various phase-II stones would have to be constantly brought to a sharp point; this stone clearly was used for such a purpose.

4. PICTORIAL STONES

11   Slab of the same local gritstone as many of the other worked pieces (PL. XX, A, B; FIG. 32). L. $13\frac{1}{2}$ in., W. (up to) 8 in., T. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. Found outside S. wall of chapel, lying in rubble immediately above the right forearm and hand of skeleton VII (FIG. 26). At one end of this stone a fracture-line transversely provides a rhomboidal 'panel' 3 in. high, and within this panel are some hardly-detectable graffiti done with a sharp point. They appear to show two human figures, one smaller one with a robe and cowl (?) and outstretched arm holding what looks like a crozier, the other rather taller and possibly intended to be holding the same.

This should probably be regarded as of phase II, though its association with skeleton VII need not be intentional. Knife-point graffiti—sometimes intended as guides to further work or for the practice of a student artist ('trial-pieces'), sometimes no more than idle doodling, often incomprehensible today—are

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[36] Symeon of Durham's *Historia Regum, s.a.* 740 (*Rolls Series,* LXXV, ii, 33).

[37] *Vita Sancti Iltuti,* cap. xxii (from Vespasian A. xiv, on whose date see K. Hughes in *Studies in the Early British Church* (ed. N. K. Chadwick, 1958), pp. 183 ff.); A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944), p. 227.

known from many western Early Christian sites (cf., e.g., *Garryduff*, figs. 15 and 16, pp. 78 ff.). Depictions of clerics, here perhaps intended as bishops, are, however, rare. One could cite the not dissimilar figure, also with a single centralized 'eye', scratched on a slab at Burness Point, Orkney, and only 2¼ in. high (*RCAHM Scotland: Inventory, Orkney and Shetland*, no. 347), and also the rudimentary anthropoid figures scratched on the slate slab from Balwarraugh Keeill, Maughold, in Man (which, though Macalister failed to see this,[38] is an altar frontal panel, probably of the 8th century, marked with graffiti and personal names incised by kneeling pilgrims).

17   Long stone slab, split longitudinally with about one-third of it missing; local stone (FIG. 35). L. 26 in., W. 3½ in. (at foot, 2¼ in.), T. 1¼ in. Found in rubble and general wall collapse outside the S. wall of the chapel, above the area of grave XXII. If the constricted foot, which is stained a darker shade than the rest of the stone, is intentional, this must have stood upright.

The ornament of this remarkable stone is firmly and deeply cut with a series of grooves, earlier over-runs and guide-lines being visible. Some linear incisions near the foot may not be meaningful. The pattern is re-constructible as reading down; *1*, part of a small motif, probably a human figure facing to the viewer's left, the head being sharply separated from the body; *2*, three circular cross-heads arranged in a pile, one over two, the crosses within the rings being set saltire-fashion like that on the CUDGAR stone (p. 153); *3*, a quadruped, also facing left, complete save for the head and forepart of body.

[38] R. A. S. Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*, II (Dublin, 1949), 191, no. 1068. The inscriptions ('These look like the work of ancient schoolboys') consist of personal names in the genitive or dative, implying perhaps 'Pray for X', or 'A prayer for the soul of X'. A close parallel to this custom, the incision of the pilgrim's name on the altar *mensa* or frontal (and in an oblique case), occurs on two French altars, both before 600 (R. de Fleury, *La Messe*, I (Paris, 1883), pls. xliii, xliv).

FIG. 35
ARDWALL ISLE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT
Broken cross-slab, no. 17, of phase II or early phase III
(p. 164 f.). Sc. ⅓.
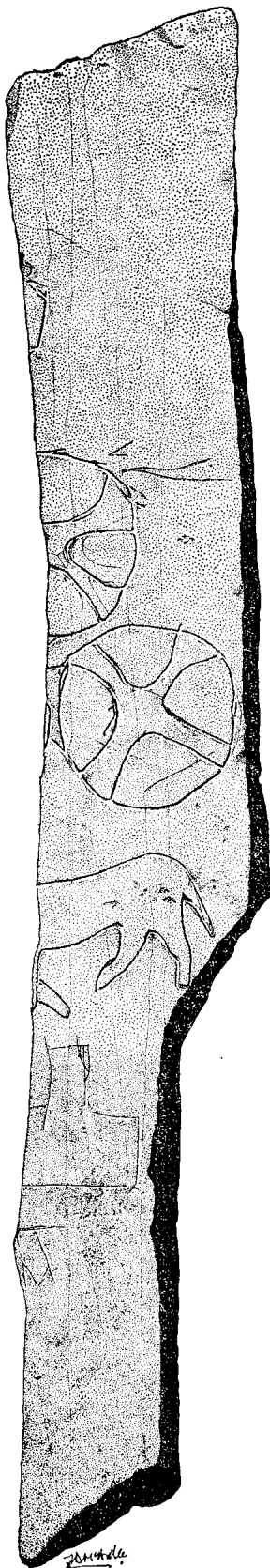
Despite the grooving, not pocking, this is probably of phase III and must be regarded as continuing the decorated, small, cross-slab tradition, now standing upright alongside the Anglian shaped crosses such as **9/16**. The saltire crosses either copy, or else inspired, the cross on the CUDGAR stone; this form of cross is extremely unusual. The use of triple ring-crosses is seen again on a pillar-stone, which is probably 9th-century, in the Whithorn collection (there, C. 5, from the Physgyll Cave). Though it looks more like a donkey, the quadruped seems most likely to represent the purely Christian *Agnus Dei*, and the nearest example of this motif must be the Lamb on the central roundel of cross no. 2 at Hoddom, Dumfries, a large free-standing Anglian cross of *c.* 800 or later (C. A. R. Radford, *TDGNHAS*, xxxi (1952–53), 187, pl. iv, fig. 2 on p. 185). The treatment of the animal, which is clearly walking, recalls that of little animals on pre-Scandinavian (or, for that matter, Scandinavian) cross-slabs and crosses in the Isle of Man (Kermode 1907, figs. 24, 38, 39). But the combination of crosses, a human(?), and an animal on one visible slab, surely hints at garbled memories of Pictish Class II art, where alone such combinations could (on a much grander scale) be found at this period. Was stone **17** intended for the grave of some exiled Pict?

PARALLELS AND CHRONOLOGY

PHASE I—CEMETERY AND SHRINE

The disposal of the Christian dead in the countryside of sub- and post-Roman Britain forms a topic which requires some clarification. It has been noticed in Wales, for example, that some inscribed memorial stones, probably Christian even if this cannot be proved, must indicate isolated graves on exposed moorland or by native trackways.[39] The siting of similar stones in Cornwall includes examples in similar contexts.[40] It is conceivable that this habit of isolated burial possesses prehistoric roots—for example, depositions (usually cremations) with menhirs or 'long-stones'[41]—and late pagan continuation is suggested by the siting of various ogam-inscribed pillars or boulders in Ireland, the earliest of which are almost certainly pre-Christian,[42] and of so-called 'Class I' Pictish symbol-stones in parts of northern Scotland, monuments which appear to antedate in some measure the conversion of the Picts.[43]

On the other hand, the communal burial-ground has just as long an ancestry, and it can be argued that the crowded cemeteries of short cists[44] which, during

[39] Cf. A. Fox, 'The siting of some inscribed stones of the dark ages in Glamorgan and Breconshire', *Archaeol. Cambr.*, xciv (1939), 30; *eadem*, 'Early Christian period', *Archaeol. Cambr.* (*'Hundred Years' vol.*, 1946), 105–122.

[40] A. Fox, *South West England* (Thames & Hudson, 1964), ch. ix.

[41] V. Russell & P. A. S. Pool, 'A menhir burial at Try, Gulval', *Cornish Archaeol.*, III (1964), 15–25, with discussion.

[42] Eoin MacWhite in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, xxviii (1960–61).

[43] F. T. Wainwright, 'Houses and graves' (ch. iv of *The Problem of the Picts*, ed. Wainwright, 1955); chronology, C. Thomas, 'The interpretation of the Pictish symbols,' *Archaeol. J.*, cxx (1964), 31–97, *passim*.

[44] R. Ashington Bullen, *Harlyn Bay* (3 ed., 1913): *O.S. Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age* (compiled A. L. F. Rivet, 1962), intro., pp. 16–17, and map itself.

Britain's early iron age, locally replaced the older 'cremation-cemeteries' of indigenous bronze-age type, may have continued well into the Roman period. Because cremation-burial was itself widely practised within the Roman empire until the fashion for inhumation replaced it during the 3rd century, and because the whole question of burial is still among the least-known aspects of the iron age in Britain, it will always be difficult to demonstrate continuity of this nature. But it has long been suspected that a number of Early Christian burial-grounds really began in pre-Christian times—in some cases, within the Roman centuries, in others perhaps long before—and that this is the explanation of the discovery of short cists, traces of cremations, extended burials which do not lie east-west, and scattered grave-goods, which sometimes occur in the examination of cemeteries which are otherwise clearly of Early Christian date and character.[45]

The physical demarcation of the burial-area—by a ditch, by a bank with or without an encircling quarry-ditch, or by a wall—is again a constant feature of Early Christian times; but this too, may have pre-Christian origins. In 'lowland Britain'—south and east England—where the early date and increasing density of the Germanic-speaking settlements makes it almost impossible to locate Christian cemeteries older than the period following the conversion of the English, there may have been a tradition of a square or rectilinear cemetery-enclosure, a mingling of both iron-age and Roman fashions.[46] In the rest of Britain the enclosure is curvilinear (circular or oval), and one suspects that this is related, in the funerary line of descent, to the entire class of curvilinear ritual monuments—henges, ditched barrows, ring-cairns and embanked circles—found through the first two millennia B.C., and further encouraged by the existence of a circular tradition present in the lay-out of Romano-British shrines.[47] In the constructional line of descent, there may well be a link with the 'Highland Zone' distribution of the curvilinear enclosed (embanked) homestead or farm and thus with the wider tradition of hill-fort construction;[48] and it must be remembered that in Ireland-and probably the Atlantic fringe of Scotland, defensive earthworks of curvi, linear form continued well into the first millennium A.D., and may have dictated the outline of the average monastic enclosure bank (*vallum monasterii*).[49] A significant, if late, passage in the Life of St. Cadoc[50] describes the saint as first of all

[45] Cf. Kirkliston (note 19) with anomalous short cist; Cille Aroo, Colonsay (S. Grieve, *The Book of Colonsay & Oronsay* (Edinburgh, 1923), p. 229; *PSAS*, XLI (1907), 449) with three cists—crouched burials?—in cemetery with small chapel; St. Ninian's Point, Bute (*Trans. Bute N.H.S.*, XIV (1955), 62) with graves C, I, and L, apparently pre-Christian; some possible examples listed by A. Henshall, *PSAS*, LXXXIX (1955-56), 252–283; and Whithorn itself (*op. cit.* in note 9).

[46] Cf. Bokerly Dyke (*Archaeol. J.*, CIV (1947), 67, folding fig.); R. F. Jessup, 'Barrows and walled cemeteries in Roman Britain', *JBAA*, 3 ser., XXII (1959), 1–32; I. M. Stead, *The La Tène Cultures of East Yorkshire* (York, 1965), *passim*.

[47] M. J. T. Lewis, *Temples in Roman Britain* (C.U.P., 1966), pp. 78–85 and (plans) 187–9; see also review by S. S. Frere, *Antiq. J.*, XLVI (1966), 352.

[48] E.g., Northumbria, Wales, and Cornwall: see appropriate chapters in *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, ed. C. Thomas (C.B.A., 1966).

[49] This is briefly discussed in *The Dark Ages* (ed. D. Talbot-Rice, Thames & Hudson, 1965), pp. 264–5; the few large early monastic *valla* of rectangular or sub-rectangular layout must be explained as insular copies of Mediterranean models.

[50] *Vita Cadoci*, ed. Wade-Evans (*op. cit.* in note 37), cap. ix.

raising a huge heap of earth around his cemetery, wherein the bodies of the faithful might be buried around the temple; and in the same chapter, he causes another great mound like a fort (*urbs*) to be thrown up around a place he had chosen for himself, within which was erected what, in the speech of the Britons, is called *Kastil Cadoci*. Whatever rustic aetiology this may represent, no distinction is made between the religious and the secular earthworks. Nor was Cadoc alone in his digging activities: St. Endeus or Enda, digging the ground with his own hands, made deep ditches (*fossas profundas*) around his monastery,[51] and similar phrases occur in a good many Welsh and Irish lives. For the wealthier cleric, gangs of professional earthwork builders (members of a craft of long standing, one suspects) were still available in the Early Christian era.[52]

It is thus not impossible that the cemetery on Ardwall Isle was enclosed—perhaps by a now-undetectable earth or turf bank, forerunner of the present low stone one—from the beginning. The extent of the burials within it could no doubt be revealed by stripping the entire cemetery, a vast and quite unjustifiable undertaking, but the *age* of the cemetery is more a matter of inference. In view of the proximity of the site to Whithorn, which lies across the bay (nine miles as the crow flies; about thirty going round by land), and where all the evidence suggests that practising Christians were being inhumed in similar rock-cut grave-pits as early as the 5th century (p. 176), a date as early as 500, if not before, could be argued. It is reasonably safe to suppose that burials could have taken place on Ardwall Isle during the 6th century, since at least one other enclosed cemetery in southern Scotland—at Kirkliston, near Edinburgh[19]—appears to have been in use at this time. Nor need this represent anything but a mainland British development, paralleled by but not demonstrably influenced by contemporary burial-practices or cemeteries in Ireland.

The rock-cut hollow of phase I, it was hinted earlier, is best explained as the remains of a shrine. The history of the cult of relics, the practice of corporeal enshrinement, and the development of the various larger shrines themselves, is too large and too complex a subject for inclusion in a report of this kind, and the British aspects of it are only now beginning to emerge with any clarity. There is good evidence that, in the west, the open-air 'shrine' (usually associated with some prominent burial, and often used as a temporary open-air altar) was from a very early stage a visible and focal feature in a cemetery.[53] It is likely that, from Gaul, this was introduced directly into Ireland (where it became the structure known as the *leacht*) and, if any reliance can be placed on later *Lives*, into south Wales, perhaps in the late 5th as well as the 6th centuries. It is also possible that a similar concept had arisen independently in Christian practice, during the 4th and 5th centuries, in mainland Roman Britain—that is, in England—and that the continuity postulated in the development of the cemetery itself is reflected in the similarity between small circular pagan shrines of late Romano-British character

[51] C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (2 vols., Oxford 1910), II, 62.

[52] Plummer, *op. cit.* in note 51, I, introduction, xcviii and note 4.

[53] Cf. Sulpicius Severus's life of Martin of Tours, cap. xi (transl. F. R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers* (1954), p. 25) which describes one such in a cemetery outside Tours.

and some curious circular or near-circular focal structures in a few Early Christian cemeteries of mainland Britain.[54]

The cult of relics and the history of enshrinement none the less remains Mediterranean in ultimate origin,[55] and now that it is possible to refine both the chronology and the identification of the various pottery imports found in post-Roman western Britain, one must not overlook the possibility that certain types of early British shrines, and their immediate settings, are derived directly from the Mediterranean area without the intermediacy of the Church in Gaul. I now suspect that a small group of south-west Irish shrines, set *sub Divo* (in the open air, and intentionally visible and accessible) in enclosed cemeteries, are best explained in this light.[56] Their immediate surrounds are little rectangular areas, defined by erect slabs, of the order of 8 by 8 ft., 8 by 15 ft., 10 by 12 ft., 14 by 20 ft., etc., which are not only larger than the Irish *leachta* (those on Inismurray,[12] for instance, average 5 ft. square) but differ from them in being enclosures, not solid blocks of masonry, and in containing separate independent shrine-like tombs.

The little rectangular settings are bound to recall the *cellae memoriae* of the Mediterranean, including Iberia and north Africa; given the current distribution and dating of such imports as north African Late Roman B, and east Mediterranean amphoras and cross-stamped Late Roman C bowls, which occur in southern Ireland, south Wales, and Devon and Cornwall from the end of the 5th century onward,[57] this line of argument is slightly less incredible than it would have been twenty years ago. The features within the settings can be described as 'slab-shrines'. They consist of two long stone slabs, set together along one edge to form a ridged tent-like construction, the triangular end-spaces being enclosed by triangular slabs, in at least two instances pierced with a hole to admit the hand of any pilgrim wishing to touch the sacred dust within. The ground inside the area of the stones appears to have been hollowed out, and the sacred bones lay within; indeed, in one or two instances,[58] they are still there visible today. As the longest extent of the ground-plan is less than that of an extended adult inhumation—it averages 4 ft., and one is only 3 ft. 8 in. long—it is clear that the bones will be those of a disarticulated skeleton, exhumed some time after the original burial.

The distribution[59] of slab-shrines of this kind is an Irish one, and while the

[54] E.g., at Cannington, Somerset (P. A. Rahtz, *Med. Archaeol.*, VIII (1964), 237); perhaps also Monk-wearmouth (R. Cramp, *Med. Archaeol.*, IX (1965), 171), if connected with the pre-monastic cemetery. Cf. also the small circular enclosure ('Eithne's Grave') on Eileach an Naoimh (*Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc.*, n.s. VIII, ii (1930), 88–9 and fig. 22); and a passage from the Tripartite Life of S. Patrick, discussed in *PSAS*, XI (1866–67), 367. See also the Brigstock shrines (E. Greenfield, *Antiq. J.*, XLIII (1963), 228 ff.) in this connexion.

[55] The best short discussion is perhaps E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Inst. for Samm. Kulturforskning, Oslo, 1951), with copious references and illustrations.

[56] Discussed by F. Henry, *op. cit.* in note 18, pp. 82, 89, 96–8, 101–3, and figs. 11, 13, 16–18.

[57] C. Thomas, *Med. Archaeol.*, III (1959), 89 ff.; forthcoming paper by J. W. Hayes and C. Thomas will include all new evidence.

[58] Teampull Chronain, co. Clare (personal inspection, 1966); F. Henry, *op. cit.* in note 18, p. 98.

[59] Miss Ann Hamlin (Exeter) kindly drew the writer's attention to slab-shrines at Donaghpatrick (co. Meath) and on Inishmore, Aran Is.
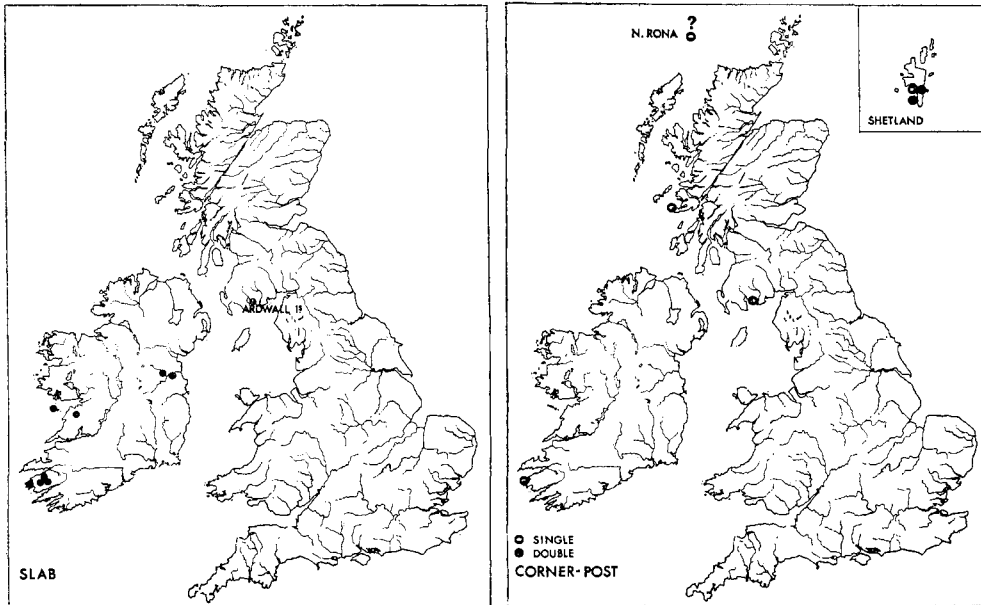
FIG. 36

Maps showing, on l., distribution of slab-shrines, and, on r., distribution of corner-post shrines, within post-Roman western Britain (pp. 169, 174).

surrounding circumstances of the Kerry sites—extremely small stone chapels, some apparently secondary, with simple, primary, cross-slabs—argue a general 6th/7th century date for south-west Ireland, examples in other parts may of course be later, if still pre-Viking (FIG. 36). What *is* suggested is that the rock-cut hollow of phase I at Ardwall Isle is the underground element—not much over a foot deep, with one dimension of only 4 ft. and the other, incomplete, dimension not likely to be more—of a slab-shrine of this kind, and that it represents a direct innovation from Ireland, perhaps as early as the late 6th century.

PHASE II—THE TIMBER STRUCTURE WITH MINOR FEATURES

The postulated phase-I burial-ground, with or without the undatable enclosure bank, falls into line with other mainland British examples. The rock-cut hollow, if really the basal part of a slab-shrine, would indicate Irish influence, but there is no evidence that it is primary in phase I and it may well be an addition during the later part of this phase.

In phase II, however, both the timber structure and other lesser aspects of the site are best matched in the Irish Sea culture-province, and the cumulative effect of any discussion points to Ireland as the most probable source.

Small timber churches (or chapels, or oratories) are frequently mentioned in early insular literature. We can dismiss the references in saints' *Lives* known to us only from medieval redactions or compilations,[60] since these (though undoubt-

[60] Examples are: *Vita Cadoci*, ed. Wade-Evans (*op. cit.* in note 37), caps. viii, xii, and xxi; *Vita Gundleii* ('Gwynllyw'), *ibid.*, cap. v (*tabulis et virgis fundavit templum*), etc., etc.

edly containing a proportion of much earlier material) cannot be used as direct
material evidence for the post-Roman period, and are otherwise demonstrably
prey to plagiarized anachronisms. For both the 7th and 8th centuries the testi-
mony of Bede is adequate. Bede may be drawing on some local record, as much
as on the corpus of tales which apparently grew up around King Edwin,[61] when he
relates how the king had built a wooden church at York in the 620s, *ecclesia . . .
de ligno . . . construxit*, shortly afterwards encapsulated in a stone basilica.[62] When
Aidan came from Iona to Lindisfarne, he presumably built a small wooden
church there, replaced or rebuilt by his successor Finan (651 +) who constructed
it of hewn oak, thatched with reed, after the manner of the *Scotti* (i.e., Irish).[63] In
Aidan's lifetime, a timber chapel existed at the royal country-seat of *Ad Gefrin*
(Yeavering)[64] and indeed he died leaning against t. In Edwin's own lifetime
(before 633), a church, presumably wooden, existed at another royal seat, *Campo-
donum*, and only its stone altar (*mensa?*) was saved when the Mercians fired the
place.[65] Later in the 7th century Cuthbert's retreat on the Great Farne had a
wooden oratory, which had to be rebuilt when the planks came apart.[66] Wilfrid's
little monastery at Oundle, founded perhaps in 681,[67] was burnt to the ground
some little while after 709, only the hut in which Wilfrid died being saved.[68]
In central Ireland, a church at Kildare, probably in the late 7th or early 8th
century, was timber-built to what must have been a considerable size,[69] perhaps
even as large as 40 by 80 ft., like the 6th-century timber hall at Castle Dore,
Cornwall.[70]

Though Bede, writing from the solidarity of an all-stone monastery of
continental type already a half-century old, could refer to the custom of building
in wood as something done *more Scottorum*,[71] and considered it worth reporting the
tradition of Ninian's 5th-century stone church at Whithorn because this method
of construction was, after all, *insolitus Brettonibus*,[72] his slightly patronizing view of
architecture in the Celtic-speaking regions should not obscure the fact that,
before Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, wooden churches would have been as much

    [61] On this see P. Hunter Blair, 'The Bernicians and their northern frontier', in *Studies in Early
British History* (ed. N. K. Chadwick, C.U.P., 1954), esp. p. 144.
    [62] Bede, *H.E.* II, 14.
    [63] Bede, *H.E.* III, 25.
    [64] Bede, *H.E.* III, 17.
    [65] Bede, *H.E.* II, 14.
    [66] Bede's *Prose Life of Cuthbert* (ed. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert*, Cambridge, 1940), cap. xlvi.
    [67] Eddius Stephanus's *Life of Wilfred* (ed. B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, etc., Cambridge,
1927), cap. xl.
    [68] *Ibid.*, cap. lxvii.
    [69] *Vita Brigidae*, ascribed to Cogitosus (see note 16 *supra*), cap. viii; for a recent translation, L. Bieler,
Ireland—Harbinger of the Middle Ages (O.U.P., 1963), p. 28; and for the (perhaps over-sceptical) dismissal of
the whole passage as '. . . a pure figment of the imagination' lifted from Adamnan's *De Locis Sanctis*, I, 2–3,
D. Bullough in *Scot. Hist. Review*, XLIV (1965), 31–33. The highly circumstantial account of the carpenters'
difficulties in altering a doorway of the church (*Vita (Secunda) Brigidae, ut supra*, cap. viii—sectio 38 in the
Bollandists' edition) counter-balances the not very close descriptive passage from *De Locis* offered by
Bullough.
    [70] C. A. R. Radford, *J. Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, n.s. I, appendix (1951).
    [71] Bede, *H.E.* III, 25.
    [72] Bede, *H.E.* III, 4.

the rule in Northumbria as in Ireland or the Dalriadic colony. The difficulty is to find good excavated examples. Wooden churches of Edwin's day, of which there is perhaps a partial example at Yeavering,[73] should, like contemporary secular work in wood, go back to the whole early Germanic tradition of timber construction. Anything later than the foundation of Lindisfarne (633–5), especially in Bernicia, cannot safely be divorced from current wooden architecture in Iona and Ireland.

What may be the N. and (apsidal) E. sides of a small wooden church, defined by sleeper-beam trenches and internally (less apse) of the order of 20 by 27 ft., have been found close to the present church at Abercorn, West Lothian, within the detectable site of a Northumbrian monastery founded, perhaps, at some date between c. 640 and 681.[74] Complete ground-plans of early date are, however, rare. The church, defined by post-holes and (at the E. end) by a thin sleeper-beam, recovered by A. Oswald below the medieval remains at St. Bertelin's, Stafford,[75] can be reconstructed as of the order of 10 by 25 ft., and is presumptively a pre-Danish Mercian building, if not a feature of the Saxon reconquest of the burgh after 913. The elongated proportions rather favour the later dating.[76]

The closest parallel to the Ardwall Isle timber structure is Church Island, co. Kerry. Underlying the small rectangular stone chapel, so that its E. end was below the chapel's E. wall, was a structure whose six post-holes defined an area of about 2 by 3 (+) metres—$6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 10 ft. or a little more.[77] This may be compared with $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 11 ft. at Ardwall Isle (plan, FIG. 26), as may the fact that on both sites the subsequent stone chapel has an orientation differing about ten degrees from that of the wooden predecessor. In both cases, too, burials of what are presumably different phases are aligned on the axis of the building of that phase, and this is more noticeable at Church Island than it is at Ardwall Isle.[77]

O'Kelly argues with caution for a date of c. 750 for his stone chapel—by analogy with H. G. Leask's implied estimate of the age of the Gallarus oratory—and of 700 or before for the timber one.[78] This is, if anything, on the late side. The quite acceptable Northumbrian evidence puts the possible date of this back nearly a century, and there is no reason to doubt that a wooden church of some kind—indeed, an elaboration, since it possessed an *exedra*, possibly a lean-to sacristy on a long side?—stood on Iona in the period 563–597.[79] Both the Church Island and Ardwall Isle timber buildings could be 7th century, the former (from its small size, and the probability that it is an oratory rather than a strict 'chapel') even in the early part of the century.

[73] Cf. note in *Med. Archaeol.*, I (1957), 148–9.

[74] Preliminary excavations by the writer; report forthcoming, *PSAS*. On the perfectly justifiable assumption that the site may well antedate Trumwine's appointment as bishop in 681, the earlier date-bracket rests on the Anglian capture of Edinburgh in the late 630s (so K. H. Jackson).

[75] Adrian Oswald, *The Church of St. Bertelin at Stafford* (Birmingham n.d. (1956)), plan, fig. 5, and note by Radford, pp. 26–7.

[76] For the small size at this date, cf. chapel no. 1 (post–930) at Cheddar, 14 by 22 (?) ft.; P. Rahtz, *Med. Archaeol.*, VI–VII (1962–3), 57.

[77] *Church Island*, p. 62, fig. 2.

[78] *Ibid.*, pp. 128–9.

[79] A. O. and M. O. Anderson, *op. cit.* in note 3, p. 112.

The Irish, rather than 'Irish-Northumbrian' or 'Anglian-Northumbrian', nature of the Ardwall Isle building is stressed by its proportions. As on Church Island, these are very nearly of the ratio (breadth:length) of 2:3. Leask has pointed out that this shape, which is specifically mentioned in a later law tract, seems to be an indication of early date in Ireland.[80] It is not universal; I have pointed out that the earliest chapels in Cornwall and Scilly (probably 8th century) have a double-square (1:2) plan and a S. door, in contrast to the normal W. door of Irish churches,[81] and the oldest stone churches of Northumbria, like Escomb, co. Durham, display a much more elongated form that is perhaps due to continentally-inspired models like Jarrow and Monkwearmouth.[82]

Two other features of phase II also suggest Ireland. The small group of post-holes lying some feet east of the timber building (FIG. 26) are sealed by the phase-III floor (section, FIG. 24). They are not very deep, even allowing for erosion of the upper part, and can hardly refer to a building. A possible explanation is that the rock-cut slab-shrine, in which no trace of any primary human remains were found, was abandoned when the timber oratory was built—perhaps before—and that the person or persons previously enshrined were now re-enshrined, their remains being elevated to another kind of composite stone shrine which stood above ground. The relevant type, which would have four stone feet inserted into shallow sockets, is the 'corner-post' shrine.

Corner-post shrines, like the slab-shrines whose upper elements probably copy (ultimately) the ridged or hipped lids of late antique sarcophagi in Gaul and the Mediterranean, seem to have exotic origins. Basically, they are stone chests, by no means the length of an extended skeleton, whose two end and (long) side slabs are fitted, with protruding tongues or tenons engaging in hacked-out grooves, into four corner-posts, each of which will possess grooves on two adjacent faces. There is no direct evidence on this point but the lid was probably flat, and could be removed to allow inspection of, or access to, the holy relics. Only a few such shrines, including two 'double' (compartmented) examples from the Shetlands, have been published, and then not always with proper comprehension of what has been found.[83]

A later form of 'corner' shrine, in which the corner-posts cease to be roughly-dressed pillars and become neat pillars of rectangular form, often with relief or incised ornament, has a Northumbrian and south Pictish distribution, and the presumptive date of post-710[84] is reinforced by the contexts and art styles of the individual monuments. The latest and most ornate member of the

[80] G. Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (Dublin, 1845), p. 364; H. G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, I (1955), 49 ff.

[81] 'Post-Roman rectangular house-plans in the south west; some suggested origins', *Proc. West Cornwall F. C.*, II (1960), 156 ff.

[82] H. M. & Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, (2 vols., C.U.P., 1965), *sub nomina*.

[83] Forthcoming study of the whole field of composite stone shrines, by the present writer. The tongue-and-groove corner-jointing is probably copied from the classical method of engaging panels in hermulae (pillars) used in ambos, baptistery tanks, and chancel screens, and may have been introduced to Ireland, *via* Spain, during the 7th century; cf. K. Meyer on the word *caincell* in Cormac's Glossary, *Anecdota from Irish MSS.*, III (Halle & Dublin, 1910).
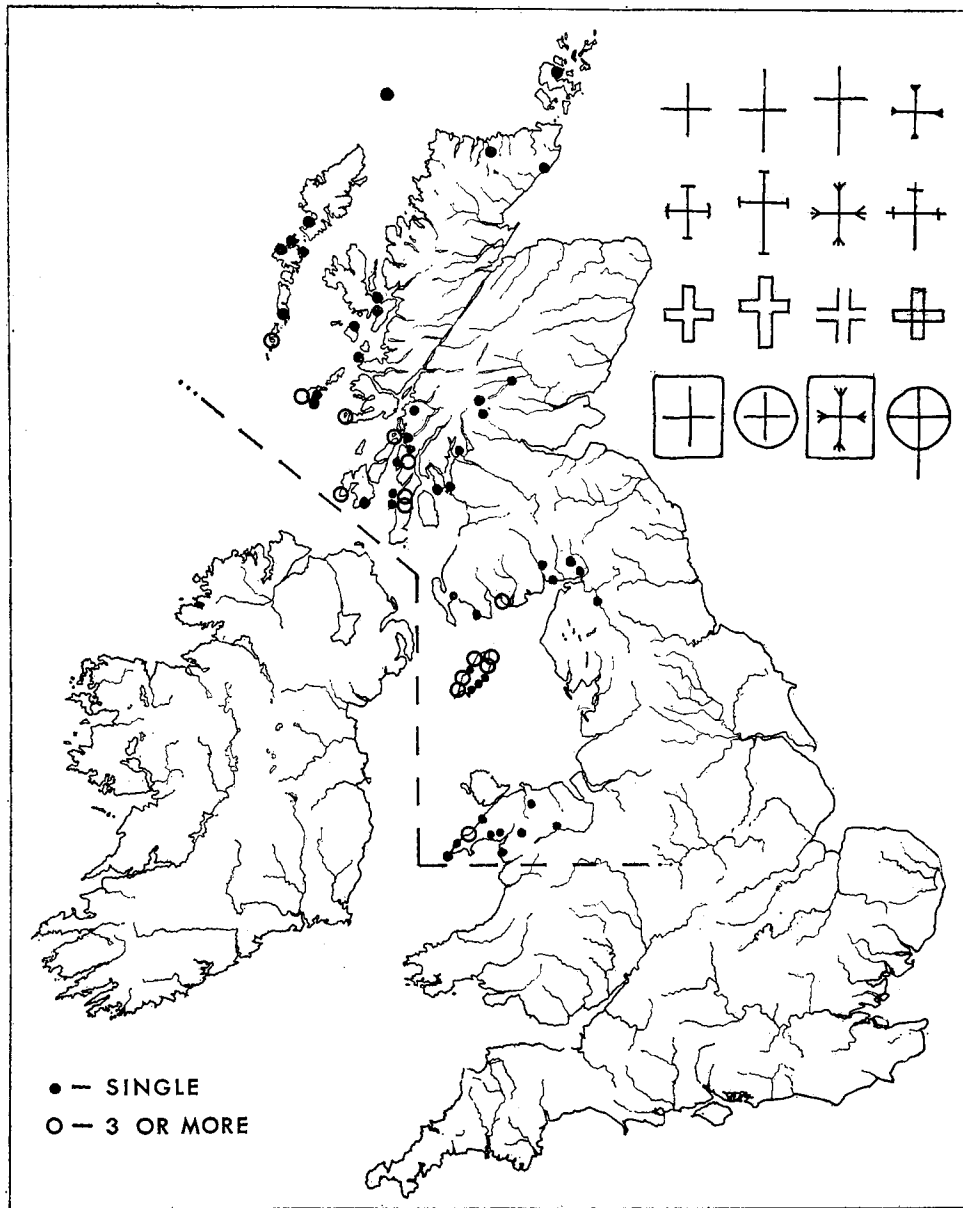
[84] Bede, *H.E.* v, 21.

FIG. 37

DISTRIBUTION-MAP IN NORTH IRISH SEA AREA

of 'primary' grave-markers and small cross-slabs (p. 174). Most of the designs (top right) are incised; some are pocked and/or reamed, but there is no relief-work.

'corner-block' class is the so-called St. Andrew's shrine, possibly designed for the remains of St. Regulus or Rule.[85] The distribution of the corner-post shrine, however, inclusive of a rather dubious instance in co. Kerry,[86] is shown in FIG. 36, and one conceivable explanation is that this refers to the spread of Irish Christian influence from centres in Dalriada like Iona and Lismore northward to Apple-cross, Birsay, Deerness, and other sites in the Northern Isles—a spread of the 7th and 8th centuries. The occurrence of one such at Ardwall Isle need occasion no surprise. As for the timber oratory, a late 7th-century date is probable.[87] The placing of the post-sockets might suggest an east-west length of about 4 ft., which accords with that of other corner-post shrines (e.g., 3 ft. 8 in., etc.).

The simple grave-markers (nos. **7, 8, 14, 19**, with the related 'burial' portable altar, FIG. 34) are not only earlier than the phase-III free-standing crosses of Anglian affinities; they patently refer to another tradition. Because of the very simplicity of this sort of thing, and also because the tradition represented—simple incised linear or outline crosses—could have lingered on marginally until a very late date, any overall distribution-map is bound to be a provisional one. One such, painstakingly compiled from a wide range of sources, is none the less given here (FIG. 37) and again the context can hardly be anything other than the spread of Christian influence from Ireland between *c.* 550–600 and the coming of the Norsemen.

Phase II, then, not necessarily very long-lived as regards the timber oratory—which shows no sign of replacement—is most at home in the 7th century, and is a manifestation of Irish, pre-Anglian, ecclesiastical fashions at work in Galloway. The other evidence for this Irish influence in the area is examined below (pp. 177 ff.).

PHASE III—THE STONE CHAPEL (PL. XXIII)

What were the functions of the *cill* on Ardwall Isle? By phase III, and possibly during phase II, it may have developed from a simple local cemetery into a centre of religious activity for the district. The presence of living-cells, if the foundations located in 1965 (FIG. 22) belong to such, the provision of a chapel large enough to accommodate worshippers, the clear evidence of a lay cemetery with women and children (Appendix, B, p. 185 f.), and such further clues as the Broken quern-stone, suggest that the site was what Dr. Henry has called 'an eremitic monastery';[88] an enclosure which acted also as the local burial-ground, a chapel, and anything from one to half-a-dozen cells, the whole staffed by brethren whom, it can be supposed, were earlier trained in one of the large monastic centres like Moville or Iona.

[85] C. A. R. Radford, *Archaeol. J.*, cxii (1955), 43 ff.; note that this could equally well be reconstructed with a flat top or lid. See now, too, Isabel Henderson, *The Picts* (London, 1967), for the most recent discussion of its date.

[86] F. Henry, *op. cit.* in note 18, p. 89, fig. 13 (Kildrenagh).

[87] Bishop Reeves long ago showed (*Adamnan's Life of Columba*, Dublin, 1857, pp. 313–5) that the custom of enshrinement reached an 8th-century peak, according to annalistic entries. This is probably the date of the Shetland shrines. But on a variety of grounds, it can be supposed that the habit was also common-place in the 7th century—e.g., the numerous references in Bede's writings.

[88] F. Henry, *op. cit.* in note 18, pp. 154 ff.

The classic eremitic monastery is that on the rocky isle of Skellig Michael,[89] off the Kerry coast, but smaller sites which Dr. Henry describes from the Irish mainland form better parallels to Ardwall Isle, since they would at all times have been accessible to lay Christians. Nor was this concept unknown in 7th-century Northumbria; judging from detectable remains, foundations like *In Getlingum* (Gilling, Yorks. N.R.), which dates from the murder of Oswin *c.* 650,[90] may have been no larger physically, and Bede describes 'a very little monastery' (*monasteriolum permodicum*) founded, or headed, by an Irish monk called Dicul, with five or six brethren, among the then-pagan South Saxons at *Bosanhamm* (Bosham, Sussex).[91]

The central feature of phase III, the stone chapel, combines characteristics of both Irish and Northumbrian practice. The internal dimensions are (evened out) 13 ft. by 23 ft., a ratio of 2:3.5, and this, with a W. door, is a size and shape that would be at home in Ireland of the 8th or 9th century. The gable finial fragments seem, at present, of wholly Irish type, and are of interest here too in implying a complete stone gable wall, however the roofing was carried out. On the other hand, small by Northumbrian standards as the chapel may seem, the little apsidal-ended church of the 7th century at Hexham, whose existence the Taylors have recently demonstrated,[92] is about 11 ft. by 23 ft.; the unicameral, west-door, Mercian oratory at Barrow 'of the early 8th century' which Jackson and Fletcher have published[93] is internally exactly 2:3 (12 ft. 8 in. by 19 ft.); and the (early 9th-century ?) St. Patrick's Chapel at Heysham, Lancs.,[94] is only about 9 ft. by 26 ft. inside.

Why the phase-III chapel doorway should be so markedly off-centre is hard to see, since it cannot be supposed that the position of the phase-I shrine was either visible or known. The single-splay window opening is a very early feature in Irish stone churches, but the inward splay of the doorway, as here, is un-Irish and is best seen as a local curiosity.

There is no direct evidence as to when the stone chapel generally replaced the timber chapel in Irish Christianity, and any such replacement would be spread over some centuries; but it is generally agreed that stone chapels were present in the 8th century, and that some surviving examples, like Gallarus, Church Island, and the main Skellig Michael oratory, probably date from this time. One is inclined to suppose that the Ardwall Isle chapel belongs to the overlap between Celtic-speaking and English-speaking Christians in Galloway (at its widest, *c.* 680 to 730?) and may have been built as early as around 700. Some of the internal features tip the balance in favour of an Irish Sea, and thus pre-Anglian (pre-731), foundation. The altar is of the order of 2 ft. by 4 ft., a size and shape

[89] L. de Paor, *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, LXXXV (1955), 174–187.

[90] Bede, *H.E.* III, 14 (and III, 24).

[91] Bede, *H.E.* IV, 13.

[92] *Archaeol. Aeliana*⁴, XXXIX (1961), 103 ff.; *op. cit.* in note 82, 1, fig. 132 (plan).

[93] E. Dudley C. Jackson and E. G. M. Fletcher, 'Barrow; a surviving Saxon oratory', *JBAA*, XXIX (1966), 52–60.

[94] *Op. cit.* in note 82, 1, 312–5, and plan.

which is particularly characteristic of the early keeill chapels in the Isle of Man[95] and thus presumably of contemporary Irish chapels, though almost nothing is known of their altars. The inclusion of human remains as relics within the altar is an action which has two known parallels (neither yielded bones, but the relic cavities were discovered) at St. Ninian's Isle, Bute,[96] and St. Helen's, Isles of Scilly.[97] In both cases, the chapel stands within a *cill*, is associated with an area of Irish settlement, is accompanied by burials, and most probably dates from the 1st half of the 8th century.

The small finds offer very little help. As the context of none of them could really be claimed to afford conclusive dating evidence of the constructional phases, prolonged chronological discussion (e.g., of the metalwork, FIG. 28) is unjustified. As a group, they are representative of a limited aspect of the Irish Sea culture-province between the 7th and 9th centuries A.D., perhaps of northern Northumbria as well, for all we know, and certainly of the Dalriadic area. The only really interesting object is the little angle-strip (FIG. 28, no. 56), which may have fallen off a small reliquary or portable shrine; if so, again not much before the 8th century.

The strongest evidence for Northumbrian Angles in the area is afforded by the worked stones. The name of *Cudgar* or *Cuthgar* stands first, but the little free-standing crosses like **9/16** in FIG. 31, which surely start in the 1st half of the 8th century, are nearly as important. Equally interesting is the apparent fact that the technical transition from incising and grooving to the narrow- or broad-pocked line is linked with the iconographic change to the Anglian form of cross-head, and that at both Ardwall Isle and Whithorn the evidence appears to indicate that the pocking technique is an 8th-century introduction, effected by Anglian clerics and the stone-working brethren they may have brought with them. Two parti-cular pieces at Whithorn highlight this transition (which may otherwise be studied on the fine series of stones from Whithorn and Physgyll in the M.P.B.W. site-museum at Whithorn). The upright pillar inscribed with a ring-headed *flabellum* cross and the words (L)OCI PETRI APUSTOLI—the so-called 'St. Peter's stone'—is a 7th-century monument,[98] and both the cross-motif and the lettering are incised, grooved out with much cutting. In the current excavations below the E. end of the priory church, a level has been encountered which, while well below that of the medieval bishops' graves, is not far above the level of the flattened extended-inhumation, shallow-grave, area which can be taken to represent sub-Roman times. In this level, the ends of slab-lined graves are visible, and contextually it seems probable that they represent the first Anglian burials of the 8th century. The (single-slab?) lid or cover of one of these is protruding in section, and the edges of the longer sides have been roughly chamfered by a pocking technique which exactly recalls the broad-pocked line of some of the

[95] Cf. the various plans given in *The Manx Archaeological Survey—First to Fifth Reports* (Douglas, up to 1918).

[96] *Trans. Bute N.H.S.*, XIV (1955), 62 ff.; this is the least certain of the three examples.

[97] *Archaeol. J.*, CXXI (1964), 40 ff.; see esp. fig. 2 ('Oratory'), pl. xiii *b*, and p. 48.

[98] Radford, *TDGNHAS*, XXXIV (1955–56), 178 ('the beginning of the 7th century'), and *H.M.S.O. Whithorn Guide* (1953), p. 39 ('a date in the 7th century is indicated').

simpler Whithorn cross-slabs, and (for instance) the Ardwall Isle shaped tenon-butt, no. 5 (PL. XVII, C).[99]

CONCLUSIONS

The Ardwall Isle sequence is thus interpreted as starting with a local lay cemetery of sub- or post-Roman origin (in a part of Galloway which was Christian from *c.* 400, if not before), to which a slab-shrine of Irish character was added. A timber oratory was inserted into the cemetery, ignoring the slab-shrine, but possibly accompanied by a corner-post shrine; these added features again have Irish parallels, and further burials were aligned on the timber structure. The latter was in turn replaced by a larger stone chapel with a west single-splay door, within whose altar was a relic-cavity containing the fragmentary bones of burials disturbed by the building of this chapel. Further burials took place, aligned on the new axis of the stone chapel; and even when it had ceased to be used for worship, and had partly collapsed, burials were inserted both inside and outside the ruins until the 11th century. The chapel appears to be Irish rather than Northumbrian in type, but burials which cannot long post-date it are linked with the appearance of crosses or cross-slabs of Anglian type, and one large cross-pillar has an Anglian name inscribed on it. From perhaps as far back as the timber-structure phase the site was enclosed by a bank, may have contained small cells, and was probably an eremitic monastery serving the Gatehouse and Borgue district.

Absolute dating of this sequence in any detail is impossible, but the balance of probabilities favours the following series of informed guesses. The cemetery may begin in the 6th or 5th century; the slab-shrine might have been added around 600. The timber structure could be mid 7th century, and the earlier incised stones are also of this date; the corner-post shrine, if there was one, should be later in the same century. The stone chapel is perhaps *c.* 700, and during the 8th century the small free-standing crosses, the 'pocked' technique, and the CUDGAR stone all indicate the arrival of fresh Christian influences from Northumbria. The late phase-III stones and inserted graves (cross-slabs 1 and 3, and grave III, in particular) probably belong to Christian Gall-Gaidhil immigrants from Ireland or the west in the early 11th century.

The one point which remains to be examined is the additional evidence for Irish settlement or influence in early Christian Galloway, and this can be concisely summarized below.

IRISH SETTLERS IN EARLY GALLOWAY

Although very few Early Christian sites in Scotland have been excavated at all, and thus local comparanda for the Ardwall Isle site are not yet available, the characters of the various phases examined above suffice to raise a strong presumption of Irish influence. Independent evidence from other fields of study suggests that any such presumption would be quite justified.

[99] Best thanks are due to Mr. P. R. Ritchie (Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Scottish Branch) for demonstrating this, and for kind permission to refer to the find in advance of the full publication.

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No full examination of the whole subject of Irish secular colonization, and religious activity based on such colonies, has so far appeared, though sufficient material is now available to make a preliminary synthesis a worth-while (and much needed) project. The general lines are clear.[100] For reasons which are likely to have been very complex, probably a mixture of social and economic pressures, Irish emigrants—sometimes in small bands, sometimes as whole tribes— appeared in most parts of the Atlantic littoral of the British mainland, mainly in the course of the 5th and 6th centuries. This movement was preceded by an era of much sparser contact in the 3rd and 4th centuries, usually regarded as the activities of Irish pirates and slave-raiders,[101] though it must be borne in mind that Irish-Welsh contacts at this period were probably responsible for the invention of the ogam script, and for the appearance of the first Christians in southern Ireland.[102]

Secular colonization seems to have been followed by missionary activity, in all areas. This sequence, it might be argued, is more apparent than real, since specifically Irish missions in, e.g., North Britain, are not detectable except in the spread of monastic Christianity; and monasticism of this kind did not become a dominant factor in Ireland until the mid 6th century, at least. Secular colonies in both Scotland and Wales are by contrast considered to go back to the previous century. Nevertheless, the initial settlement-period in certain areas—notably Dalriadic Argyll—is best seen as a bridge-head phase of coastal strongholds with dependent homesteads, rather as one envisages the first Angles in Northumbria with their major citadel at *Bebbanburh*. The founding of permanent monastic centres would hardly be feasible until any such colony was several generations old.

As one might expect, the indications are that settlements in Britain were peopled from their opposite points in Ireland. Thus it was from Ulster that the Irish settled in Argyll,[103] and probably also in the Isle of Man, where there is reason to think that a British vernacular was ousted by Irish;[104] north-west Wales was colonized from Leinster;[105] and south-west Wales from the general region of Waterford and Cork.[106] In east Cornwall, parts of Devon and perhaps the Somerset levels, we may see an extension of the south Welsh colonies, which also spread east into Glamorgan and Brecon.[107] A lesser-known colony in the extreme west of

[100] Cf. C. Thomas in *The Dark Ages* (ed. D. Talbot Rice, 1965), pp. 261–2; sources listed by John Morris in *Britain and Rome: Essays presented to Eric Birley* (1966, p. 177, note 20); and N. K. Chadwick, *Celtic Britain* (Thames & Hudson, 1963), chs. iii & iv, *passim*.

[101] S. P. Ó Ríordáin, 'Roman material in Ireland', *PRIA*, 51 C 3 (1947); *cavete* the coin evidence, which will be examined in R. H. M. Dolley's forthcoming (and supercessory) study of this topic.

[102] Cecile O'Rahilly's *Ireland and Wales* (1924) is still useful; for ogam, K. H. Jackson, *Language & History in Early Britain* (1953), esp. pp. 156 ff.; for pre-Patrician Christians, still J. F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I (New York, 1929), 309 ff., and N. K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church* (Oxford University Press, 1961), ch. i.

[103] H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (1949), ch. ix.

[104] Jackson, *op. cit.* in note 102, pp. 172–3; *id.*, in *Early Cultures of North-West Europe* (ed. Sir C. Fox and Bruce Dickins, Cambridge, 1950), p. 210.

[105] The name of the Lleyn (Caern.) peninsula is generally connected with that of Leinster: *Trans. Caern. Hist. Soc.*, II (1940), 27.

[106] Most recent, and sensible, discussion, *Dinas Powys*, pp. 58 ff.

[107] *Proc. West Cornwall F. C.*, II (1958), 63–68, with map.

Cornwall, and the Isles of Scilly, should however be derived on archaeological grounds[108] from Ulster rather than from the south of Ireland.

This pattern has one obvious gap; the long double-peninsula of the Rhinns of Galloway (FIG. 22), a bare 25 miles from Ulster. Far from being a barrier, the North Channel crossing here was from prehistoric times[109] the cultural link between Ireland and Scotland; in the last few years, this link has been suggested for the Early Christian period as well.

Developing a point first made by John MacQueen,[110] W. F. H. Nicolaisen has listed and mapped instances of the place-name element 'Slew-' (*sliabh*), which was used in western Scotland in the sense of 'hill' and not, as in Ireland, to mean 'mountain'.[111] The first results are of great interest. *Slew* proves to be both localized and uncommon; and apart from the Rhinns of Galloway, where it occurs widely, it is only found 'in a very limited area more or less identical with that of the Dalriadic settlement and the first few centuries of expansion which followed it on the mainland'. MacQueen also considers that the element 'Carrick' (*carraig*, 'rock; rock serving as a quay or fishing-station') may, if similarly examined, turn out to have similar distributional limits.

This particular approach, part of the 'new look' in place-name studies, has not attracted the attention which it merits. It has already been of some value elsewhere. Melville Richards has analysed, for Wales, the distribution of the elements *cnwc*, 'hill, hillock' (cf. Irish *cnoc*, 'hill'), and a Pembrokeshire dialect *moydir, meid(i)r*, 'lane, road' (cf. Irish *bóthar?*, <O. Ir.*bou-tir*, 'lane, cattle-track'), both of which give significant groupings.[112] Preliminary listings suggest that in Cornwall the place-name element *bounder*, 'lane, track',[113] and a prefix *Cil-*, should both be worth full investigation.

The assumption underlying all these words is that they represent common geographical nouns, introduced at a popular level by Irish speakers, and assimilated into local speech (Cumbric, Welsh, or Cornish) to be perpetuated in place-names.[114] In Galloway, the hypothesis surrounding *Slew* and *Carrick* (or rather, their Primitive Irish forms) is that these elements point to '. . . a settlement from Ireland contemporary with that which established the Scottish Dalriada in Argyll',[115] that is, at the end of the 5th century.

MacQueen has also discussed[116] the distribution in Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbright of the elements *Kirk-* and *Kil-*, both meaning 'church, religious

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[108] C. Thomas, 'Grass-marked pottery', in *Studies in Ancient Europe* (ed. J. M. Coles and D. D. A. Simpson), Leicester Univ. Press, 1968.

[109] Cf. E. M. Jope, *Ulster J. Archaeol.*, xv (1953), 31–55, with map (distribution of neolithic axes of Tievebulliagh, co. Antrim, porcellanite).

[110] *TDGNHAS*, xxxii (1953–54), 90–91.

[111] 'Scottish place-names; 24, *Slew-* and *sliabh*', *Scottish Studies*, IX (1965), 91–106, with two maps.

[112] *Lochlann*, II (1962), 129 ff.; *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, xv (1960), 133–162.

[113] The (intrusive?) *n* is hard to explain, but the distribution, strictly confined to west Cornwall, makes it even harder to accept E. V. Graves's explanation (*The Old Cornish Vocabulary* (Ann Arbor, 1964), pp. 313–4).

[114] Cf. the history of words like *veld, kloof, dorp* in S. Africa.

[115] MacQueen, *op. cit.* in note 110, p. 90.

[116] 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway place-names', *Archivum Linguisticum*, VIII (1956), 135–149.

foundation', and found in Galloway place-names as prefixes. *Kirk* is a Germanic word and its existence in Galloway must *ipso facto* be connected with speakers of a Germanic (Old English, Old Norse, Middle Scots) language; but the word *Kil* has a built-in significance of its own. Throughout western Britain the primary field-monument of rural Christianity—the enclosed cemetery, usually developed with the addition of a structure like that of either phase II or phase III at Ardwall Isle—is widely and lastingly distinguished by certain place-name elements. *Llan* and *lan*, both from **lanon*, meaning something like 'flat space, clearing, enclosure', are normal in Wales and Cornwall respectively; but the Irish term is *cill*, a word which (through Old Irish *cell*) can be derived from Latin *cella*, 'cell, small building', referring to the actual oratory or chapel and not, as *llan* and *lan*, to the cemetery, or cemetery-enclosure. One obvious explanation of this divergent terminology would be that in mainland Britain there was a period when the majority of cemeteries were undeveloped, but that in Ireland the element *cell > cill* did not pass into common use before a time when cemeteries normally possessed internal structures.[117]

Used in this sense, *cill* (often now as *Kil-*) is found, one might almost say overwhelmingly, in a great part of Scotland; in the Isle of Man, where it is both a place-name element and a noun (*Keeill*); and even occasionally in Wales[118] and probably east Cornwall.[119] In all areas it refers to the same basic field-monument, and pure economy of hypotheses must prefer the explanation of independently-evidenced Irish influence to that of parallel linguistic borrowing from *cella*.

MacQueen's conclusions as far as south-west Scotland is concerned run briefly thus. Galloway place-names in *Kirk* (like Kirkcormack and Kirkinner) are inversion compounds,[120] of a class where Old Norse *kirkju*, 'church', was substituted for an older *Kil-* or *cill* by a population whose language was Norse; that is, the Norse speakers among the mixed Gall-Gaidhil who settled in Galloway from Ireland or the Southern Isles about the 11th century. The form of such names as Kirkmaiden, Kirkmabreck and Kirkmadrine, which really contain as their latter elements the names of local saints (Etain, Draighne, etc.) with the (Irish) honorific prefix *mo-*, 'my'—*Mo Étain*, 'My Etain'—implies preferably that the translated versions (*cill mo Étain*, 'Kilmaiden', etc.) are pre-Norse forms of some age, the use of such prefixes being on the whole an early feature. These translated names in *Kil-* should therefore have arisen not only before the settlement of the Gall-Gaidhil, even though this settlement might well have involved Irish as well as Norse speakers, but probably also before that of any Northumbrian Angles *c.* 700.

Again, no name of any parish in Galloway now commences with *Kil-*, but a good many start with *Kirk-*. The implication here is that parish names were taken (as in Wales and Cornwall) from those of the principal churches within

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[117] The subject of British Latin loan-words in early Irish is complicated by chronological and cultural considerations (cf. Jackson, *op. cit.* in note 102, ch. iv); the loss of final unstressed *a* (*cell-a*) apparently indicates a time not before about 500 (*ibid.*, p. 143).

[118] E. G. Bowen, *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* (1954), p. 158, shows site-maps of a *llan* called Kilrhedyn 'on the borders of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire'.

[119] Forthcoming preliminary study in *Cornish Archaeol.*

[120] The normal Germanic word-order is as in *Oswaldkirk*, Yorks.

them; that by the 12th century, when the parochial system took shape here, principal churches were called *Kirk-* and not *Kil-*; that as these principal churches normally were village churches, the villages, and thus presumably any rudimentary system of local government, were in the control of Norse speakers. The corollary must be that church or chapel sites whose names remained as compounds with *Kil-* were of insufficient importance to serve as parish churches; were on the whole rural and isolated; were of the same status as that of the hundreds of developed cemeteries named with *Cill* or *Kil-* still to be found over most of Ireland and much of Scotland; and thus, in physical terms, looked very much like the Ardwall Isle site. On this basis, it can be proposed that the term *cill*, *Kil-*, together with the type of field-monument it generally describes, was introduced to Galloway by Irish-speaking Christians in the pre-Anglian period before *c.* 700, but after
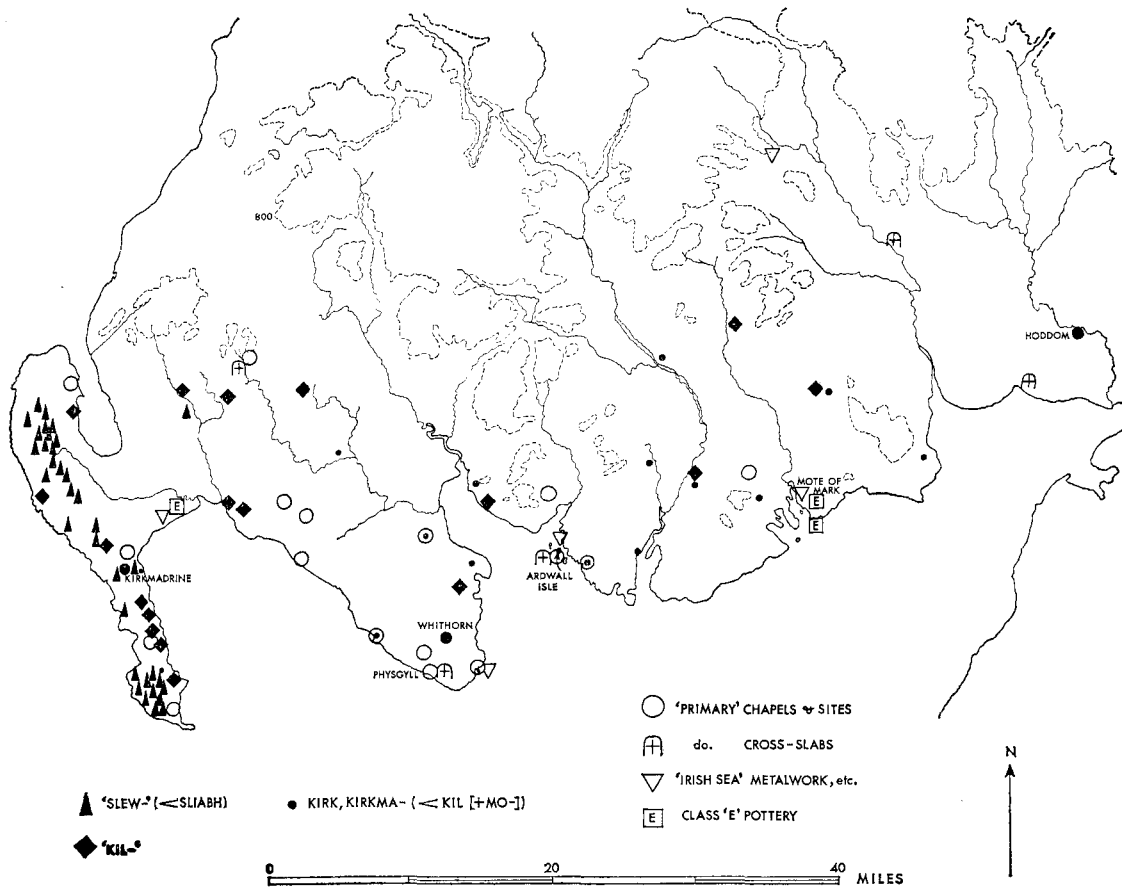

FIG. 38

MAP OF GALLOWAY AND DUMFRIES

showing Irish settlement and religious activity in post-Roman times (p. 182) (the place-name elements after MacQueen, *op. cit.* in note 110, and Nicolaisen, *op. cit.* in note 111).

the (early 6th-century?) appearance of both developed cemetery and its appro-
priate descriptive noun in Ireland.

The map (FIG. 38) shows all these factors together. The *Kirk-* and *Kil-* names,
plotted from MacQueen's lists, exclude as an obvious safeguard those commencing
with *Kirk-* which are followed by the names of saints otherwise known to be
Northumbrian (Oswald, Cuthbert), or to belong to the second stage of Irish
dedications (Brigid, Patrick, Columcille) where the persons involved, raised
almost to the status of universal saints, were widely favoured by the Christian
Norse and thus possess limited distributional value[121] in any discussion of a much
earlier period.

The open circles represent visible chapel sites, or sites of traditional cemet-
eries, which from surface features appear to be typical *cills*. In the course of
field-work over some years, I have investigated about a hundred such in Galloway
and Dumfries, as listed in various editions of the Ordnance Survey sheets and in
the Royal Commission *Inventories* for the region. A great many have been wholly
eroded by agriculture in recent times; some are certainly mis-identifications by
previous workers; and others, though 'ancient', are possibly no older than the
11th or 12th centuries.[122] The 'primary' cross-slabs are simple linear ones, mostly
incised, of Ardwall Isle, phase-II type. The few small finds shown include the
odd piece of metalwork of post-Roman Irish character,[123] fragments of moulds
from the same cultural background, and a few sherds of my imported class E
pottery,[124] which, wherever made (northern or western France), is widely found
in 5th- to 7th-century contexts in both Ulster and Dalriadic Argyll as well as in
Galloway, implying perhaps a common trading nexus.

The cumulative effect of the map is to raise a very strong presumption of
Irish influence; an initial secular colony, contemporary with (perhaps even an
offshoot of) the Dalriadic settlement in Argyll from the late 5th century, centred
on the Rhinns, and a later reinforcement of local Christianity along specifically
Irish lines, a 6th- to 7th-century movement which penetrated much further to the
east.

There is no evidence in Galloway, as in Dalriada and in south-west Wales,
of any Irish dynasty becoming established as local rulers; nor has the scanty
archaeology of the region produced any signs of conflict associable with such a
settlement. Was the colonization a gradual one on peaceful lines, at peasant-farmer
level, by groups of Ulster Dalriadans who were not attracted by the sterner
prospect of Argyll and the potent menace of the Picts there? It cannot be sup-
posed that Irish Christians were necessarily welcomed in already-Christian parts

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[121] See maps by R. H. Kinvig, *Trans. & Papers, Inst. of Brit. Geographers* (1958), publn. no. 25 ('The
Isle of Man and Atlantic Britain, etc.'), fig. 6, p. 14.

[122] Christian Norse cemeteries seem to be rectilinear in outline, not oval or circular; cf. C. A. R.
Radford in *The Northern Isles* (ed. F. T. Wainwright, Nelson, 1962), p. 180, fig. 33.

[123] E. Rynne, 'A bronze ring-brooch from Luce Sands, Wigtns.', *TDGNHAS*, XLII (1965), 99–113; and
others from here in Glasgow (Kelvingrove) Art Gallery and Museum, and the Ardwall Isle objects shown
in FIG. 28 (*supra*).

[124] *Med. Archaeol.*, III (1959), 96–99, 109. I am now in the process of abandoning my suggested Rhine-
land source; D. P. S. Peacock and C. Thomas, 'Class E imported post-Roman pottery; a suggested origin',
Cornish Archaeol., VI (1967), 47–56.

of western Britain, just because they belonged to the same faith; in Cornwall, for example, where there is also good evidence for local sub-Roman Christianity, later traditions suggest quite the opposite.[125] But in Galloway, where there may have been enough land for all, we have the consistently central feature of Whithorn; and the thesis of an Irish interest in the area will suffice to explain the seeming paradox in Whithorn's history to which allusion was made at the beginning of this paper (p. 128).

The explanation has been set out at some length in the interim report on Ardwall Isle[126] and need only be summed up here. There is no convincing evidence that Ninian was either a missionary or a monastic founder, or, indeed, anything but a diocesan bishop of sub-Roman Galloway or a wider area. Any connexion with Martin of Tours is unproven, and even if such could be proved, Martin's pioneer monastery at Tours cannot be shown to have any place in the mainstream of western monasticism. On the other hand, the 8th-century poem, *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*,[127] contains certain elements and references which suggest that, when it was compiled, Whithorn had a monastic character, Ninian had been enshrined in a church there, and legends attached to his name were drawn from the background of Celtic rather than Anglian or Roman hagiography.

In all areas of Irish colonization, the Christian activity which follows secular settlement revolves around one or more major monastic centres, important houses which frequently play political and educational roles in addition to their purely religious ones. Iona, in Dalriadic Argyll, is an excellent instance of this. It is suggested that Whithorn fulfilled this function in Galloway, perhaps from the middle of the 6th century. This in no way excludes the probability that a diocesan bishop continued to function from Whithorn, even if he was not necessarily the head of the actual monastery; nor does it present any difficulty in supposing that the Northumbrians were able to assume spiritual control, since the combination of influential monastery and diocesan seat had been a feature of their own church (particularly in Bernicia) for just about a century. Pecthelm, the first Anglian bishop,[128] appointed to Whithorn in 730 or thereabouts, had been trained by Aldhelm at Sherborne; there, if not also at Cerne, Malmesbury and Glastonbury, we can assume that he would have been wholly familiar with this aspect of western British monasticism. MacQueen's interpretation of Bede's remarks[129] is that the establishment of a bishopric within the Northumbrian frame-work marked the culmination of half-a-century of Anglian religious penetration into Galloway; and it is the most acceptable view.

[125] Henry Jenner, 'King Teudar', in *Tre Pol and Pen; The Cornish Annual* (London, 1928), pp. 29–34.
[126] Thomas, *op. cit.* in note 11, pp. 104–116, with full references.
[127] The most recent edition is Mrs. (Winifred) MacQueen's, *TDGNHAS*, xxxviii (1959–60), 21–57; the text from Strecker's edition (*M. G. H.*, iv, ii & iii) with some corrections, English translation, and notes.
[128] Bede, *H.E.* v, 23.
[129] *Op. cit.* in note 3, pp. 25–26.

APPENDIX

A. REPORT ON SKELETAL MATERIAL FROM FILLING OF PHASE-III ALTAR

By the late W. R. M. Morton, M.A., B.Sc., M.D.

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The skeletal material consists of uncremated animal and human bones, which had previously been washed, in numbered boxes. The animal bones (see p. 135) represent small, medium and large mammals and birds. No attempt has been made to identify them precisely, but they seem to be from rabbit, sheep, and bovine animals.

The human material, both from the altar and from an area immediately surrounding it, is very incomplete, and the bones are very fragmentary. The dental evidence from teeth and jaws, and the evidence from femoral fragments, is the most complete, but even here there is no absolute proof of the number and sex of the individuals represented.

Teeth. The human dental evidence, which consists of some upper and lower jaw fragments with teeth *in situ*, and a number of loose teeth, all from adults, was examined by Mr. A. Owens, B.Sc., B.D.S., of this department. Five individuals, as shown below (lettered A to E), seem to be represented, but it is possible that there are six.

A (filling of altar)
Right maxilla with teeth:*
$$\frac{. \, 7 \; 6 \; 5 \; 4 \; . \; . \; 1}{/}$$

B (filling of altar)
Left maxilla with teeth:
$$\frac{/ \quad . \, 2 \; 3 \; 4 \; 5 \; 6 \; 7 \; 8}{/}$$

Left mandible with teeth:
$$\frac{/}{/ \qquad . \; 6 \; . \; 8}$$

The teeth in these two bones fragments make a perfect match, giving the dental formula
$$\frac{/ \quad . \, 2 \; 3 \; 4 \; 5 \; 6 \; 7 \; 8}{/ \qquad \quad . \; 6 \; . \; 8}$$
Right and left mandibular condyles. Probably from the same skeleton, B.

C (filling of altar)
Loose adult tooth:
$$\frac{/ \quad 5}{/}$$

Loose adult teeth:
$$\frac{/}{/ \quad 45}$$

Loose adult teeth:
$$\frac{/}{/ \qquad 678}$$

These teeth, which show considerable wear, make a good match when taken together, giving the dental formula
$$\frac{/ \quad 5}{/ \quad 45678}$$

D (filling of altar and immediate spill to west)
Loose adult tooth:
$$\frac{7 \, /}{/}$$

Loose adult teeth:
$$\frac{/}{/ \quad 4}$$

Loose adult teeth:
$$\frac{/ \quad 5 \; /}{/ \quad (?5) \; /}$$

All these teeth have brown roots and are relatively free of periodontal disease. They could readily be combined to represent a single individual with the dental formula $\dfrac{7 \quad 5 \quad /}{4(?5) \; /}$

E (spill immediately west of altar)
Loose adult teeth:
$$\frac{87 \quad /}{/}$$

* N.B. A period (.) indicates a socket from which an erupted tooth is missing. The absence of a period or a figure from the dental formula indicates that the bone and tooth in the corresponding region are missing.

Bones. The femoral fragments were examined separately, and again it would seem reasonable to conclude that there are five individuals. These bones have been allocated as follows to the same individuals (A to E) as those represented by the dental evidence.

A   A small-diametered femoral shaft, dark brown in colour, which matches the colour of the skull A material. Possibly a female.

B   Four fitting fragments forming a pair of femoral upper shaft masses from opposite sides of the body. Dark brown in colour and from a much larger individual than A; matching left maxilla and mandible from skull B. Probably from the same individual. Probably a male.

C   Four fragments of a left femur (part of head and neck, two shafts, and part of the lower articular mass), light brown in colour. The lower left premolar and molar teeth, and the upper second left premolar tooth, listed as C in the dental evidence, may well be from the same individual.

D   Left femoral shaft fragment, brownish in colour and finer than the fragments from E, represented a fourth individual. The loose teeth listed under D in the dental evidence may well be from the same individual.

E   Two mid-shaft femoral fragments have very thick cortical bone surrounding the medullary cavity. Identification is not complete, but they would seem to be from opposite sides of the body. They do not match in thickness any of the other femoral fragments in which the full diameter of the shaft is present. It is probable that they represent a single male individual. The two molar teeth, listed under E in the dental evidence, would make a reasonable match judged by the size, the colour, and the presence of signs of periodontal inflammation on the roots.

Other bones were apportioned to the five skeletons based on the femoral evidence. Not all the fragments were so apportioned, but there is no evidence from the other bone fragments of the presence of another individual or individuals. The calvarial fragments were too small and too incomplete to give any evidence as to the sex. They were all from adults, and varied somewhat in colours. Individuals A and B (darker brown) and C, D, and E (lighter brown) were represented in these calvarial fragments.

Summary and conclusions. The human skeletal remains almost certainly represent five adult individuals. Probably one female and three, possibly four, males are represented. There is evidence that some of the individuals suffered from periodontal inflammation. Two different burial periods may be indicated by the fact that some of the bones were lightish brown in colour, and others of a darker greyish brown colour.

B.   RESULTS OF AN ATTEMPTED FIELD-IDENTIFICATION OF SKELETONS

The difficulties and inherent deficiencies of this approach have already been discussed, together with the tentative conclusions (p. 137 f.). In the following list, any estimate of stature is based on the femur, using the formulae *(males)* 2.32 *Fem* + 65.53 and *(females)* 2.47 *Fem* + 54.10. This follows the assumption quite possibly erroneous, that the population of Galloway during this period conformed, in stature, to these equations.

The skeletons (and where dug graves exist, the graves in which each skeleton was uncovered) are numbered in roman numerals, as shown on the plans, FIGS. 23 and 26. The terms 'left' and 'right' refer to the skeleton and not the observer.

PHASE III

(Within the chapel)

III   Lies on back, head faces north (left cheek downwards). Left arm slightly bent, hand over centre of pelvis; right arm straight by side. Knees together. All teeth still present, very worn. Femur 47.6 cm. (stature 5 ft. 9–10 in.). *Male*, perhaps past middle-age.

VIII   Lies on back, head looks upwards. Arms straight by sides, left humerus in 3 pieces, right in 4 pieces. All bones below (shattered) pelvis displaced and bundled together in original region of femora. *Adult*.

A series of nine skeletons in two rows, due west of the chapel, are from their axes and context almost certain to be of this phase. The western row is the earlier—from N. to S., IX, X, XII, and XIII—and the heads of IX and X are inaccessible under the W. wall of the medieval hall-house, which may have crushed them. The feet of two skeletons in this row are displaced by the heads of graves in the eastern row—from N. to S., XV, XIV, XX, XVIII and XVII—and the feet of several of these graves, which in plan (FIG. 23) appear confusingly to lie beneath the line of the phase-III chapel's outer W. wall face, are actually just burrowed into the rubble and decayed bedrock on which this fairly solid wall sits.

(The western row)

IX   Head and shoulders inaccessible; lies on back, left arm straight, right arm bent with forearm across body. Legs complete as far as knees, lower bones disturbed by grave of XV and scattered in fragments just N. of knee area. Femur 42.3 cm.; rather heavy bones, deep narrow sciatic notch. *Male*.

x   Head, humeri, and most of rib-cage inaccessible. Lies prone, arms below body, wrists close
           below pelvic region, fingers together between femora. Femur 45 cm., estimated stature 5 ft. 5 in.
           Long bones generally more slender than those of IX; wide shallow sciatic notch, pre-auri-
           cular sulcus present. *Female.*

XII   Lies on back, post-mortem disturbance of skull which is tilted forwards some inches, otherwise
           complete to toe bones. Upper arms by sides, forearms bend inwards, hands meet over pelvis.
           Femoral length only 41 cm. Moderately prominent supra-orbital ridges, narrow sciatic notch,
           no pre-auricular sulcus. Teeth in good condition, with full adult dentition. (Young?) *male.*

XIII   Lies on back, head faces north (left cheek downwards). Post-mortem displacement of mandible.
           Left arm straight; right bends at elbow, right forearm across body, right wrist directly over
           left forearm. Legs bend slightly to left, bones incomplete below shins (feet and lower parts of
           tibiae and fibulae displaced by grave with XVII). Femur 42.5 cm. Skull (cracked) is rather
           thin, pelvis cracked, wide shallow sciatic notch; teeth very worn, molar surfaces smooth. *Female?*

(The second, and later, eastern row)

XV   Lies on back, cranium displaced and tipped forward. Upper arms by sides, forearms bent
           inwards, wrists together over pelvic region. Complete to toe bones. Femur 46.7 cm. Slight
           supra-orbital ridges, fairly stout cranium, teeth incomplete but remaining ones in fairly
           good condition.Narrow sciatic notch. *Male.*

XIV   In very poor condition, skull fractured, only part of cranium present. Lies on back, arms
           apparently straight by sides, but much of left arm missing. Pelvis crushed; legs out straight. A
           fairly large skeleton with robust bones. Probably *male.*

XX   Lies on left side, head faces north. Left arm straight in front of body; right forearm bends
           across body, with right hand directly over left hand. Feet together, right foot crossed directly
           over left foot. Femur 43.3 cm. Smallish skull, mandible and most teeth missing (some grave
           disturbance on NW.), narrow sciatic notch. (Young?) *male.*

XVIII   Lies on back, head faces north (left cheek downwards). Arms down by sides, with right hand
           just on pelvis; most of lower left arm missing. Toe bones just below vertical outer wall of chapel.
           Femur 47.9 cm. Thin-walled skull, bones generally rather slight, wide shallow sciatic notch.
           Mandible partly disintegrated, most teeth missing. *Female?*

XVII   Lies on back, head looks upwards. Arms and hands straight down by sides. Cranium slightly
           displaced. Toe bones just under vertical outer wall of chapel. Femur only 41.3 cm. (cf. XII,
           supra). Teeth in fairly good condition, pelvis cracked but high narrow sciatic notch, slight
           supra-orbital ridges. *Male.*

PHASE II

     The evidence on which a number of (mostly incomplete) burials are allotted to this phase is dis-
cussed above (p. 140).

I   A child's grave (discovered in 1964). Body lies on left side, skull crushed, remains of right hand
           over hip. Estimated stature *c.* 3 ft.; perhaps age 6, or so.

II   Well-marked grave-pit, but disturbed, and contained only some calvarial fragments and two
           crushed portions of an adult left femur.

XXVII   Top of cranium only visible. Apparently adult.

XXVI   Ditto.

XXIII   Skull *in situ*, with a few vertebrae *in situ* as well. Apparently lying on back. A short distance
           from skull is a fairly heavy femur, 42 cm. Adult.

XXI   Skull *in situ*, lies on right cheek, facing south. Supra-orbital ridges and large nuchal crest.
           Below skull, displaced but robust-looking humeri are splayed outwards. Adult *male.*

XXV   Skull, if *in situ*, then of skeleton lying on back; pronounced supra-orbital ridges. Mandible
           slightly displaced, teeth worn. A humerus lies diagonally below. Adult (*male?*).

XXIV   Skull only, remainder below S. wall of chapel. The grave is apparently superimposed on that of
           XXIII.

XXII   Lies on left side, head faces north (left cheek downwards). Feet and legs turned slightly to left.
           Left arm straight, left hand just below pelvis. Right humerus straight, right forearm bends
           across body, right hand directly over left forearm. Teeth very worn and many missing; narrow
           sciatic notch. The neck was bowed very much forward (cervical vertebrae forming a shallow
           arc) and may exhibit some deformity. Elderly *male.*

VII   Lies on back, head looks upwards. Arms and hands straight down by sides. In very fragmentary
           condition; feet missing, displaced by grave with V. Adult.

VI   Skull, and parts of humeri; all crushed and in very poor condition. Adult.

V   Skull and parts of upper skeleton only visible; lies on back, head looks upward, upper arms
           straight by sides. Adult.

XXVIII   Skull visible, rest of skeleton under W. wall of phase-III chapel. Just north of rock-cut hollow, and probably inserted in floor of phase-II structure; lower than level of phase-III grave with XVIII. A child.

XXXI   Disturbed skeleton, inserted by line of S. wall of phase-II structure; feet below W. wall of phase-III chapel, femur and pelvis displaced by XVII. Adult.

PHASE I

The material of this phase is largely fragmentary and to some extent the allocation is uncertain, since it has to be assumed that fragments found within the area of the phase-II timber structure antedate it (except for XXVIII and XXXI (?), which are *in situ*), and that the disturbed burial-area north of the timber structure is also of phase I.

XI   Isolated broken skull, disturbed by post-hole A of timber structure. Adult.

IV   Isolated and crushed skull compacted into the clay and decayed bedrock.

XIX   Isolated and broken skull, displaced, just south of but distinctly below the level of phase-III grave with XX. Adult.

XVI   Isolated crushed skull with part of humerus below it.

XXIX   Isolated skull, found looking south, probably displaced. Very pronounced nuchal crest. Adult *male*?

XXX   Fragmentary skull, apparently inverted. Adult.

Additional material:

i.   Some 18 in. south of skull XVI were two fairly heavy femora, 42.3 cm. Perhaps *male* (?)

ii.   Within three or four ft. SE. of this point, various other long bones. All adult.

iii.   Another group of long bones, loose vertebrae, skull fragments, etc., 2 ft. north of the post-hole c of the phase-II timber structure.

SUMMARY

In Dr. Morton's report (Appendix, A) it is pointed out that two of the five skeletons probably represented—his A and B—were of a darker colour than the other three, and it was suggested tentatively that this might indicate a different burial period.

In the following totals, then, Dr. Morton's C, D, and E are for convenience assigned to phase II, and A and B to phase I. It must be stressed, of course, that these totals are provisional and must represent minimal figures; but it can also be accepted that three phases of burials (no doubt overlapping) *are* represented, and that this is a lay cemetery, woman and children being present in phases III and II and probably in I as well.

The subject of 'burial-posture' in the Early Christian west has not yet been properly studied, and a great many earlier reports fail to indicate any details of the positions in which the actual skeletons were found, or the way in which, e.g., hands were placed. The Ardwall Isle material does at least provide some secure data for any forthcoming work on these lines. Where sufficient of the skeleton remained to show this, within all three phases one skeleton lay on its front, three on their sides, and fourteen on their backs. Of these fourteen, the position of the hands could be seen in eleven; in five, the arms were straight down by the sides, in four, one arm was straight and the other across the pelvis, and in two, both hands lay together on the pelvis.

TOTALS

Phase III

(Late insertions):   Two adults, one an elderly (?) male.

Main burial-area: Nine adults, one fairly certainly and two possibly female; six males, two probably quite young.

Phase II

————————:   Two children; twelve adults, two fairly certainly and one possibly male.

(Altar material):   Three adults, probably male.

Phase I

————————:   Eight (or more) adults, one probably male.

(Altar material):   Two adults, probably a male and a female.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Excavation reports cited under site-names:

Cahercommaun   H. O' N. Hencken, *Cahercommaun: a Stone Fort in County Clare* (extra vol., Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland, 1938).

Carraig Aille   S. P. Ó Ríordáin, 'Lough Gur excavations: Carraig Aille and the "Spectacles" ', *PRIA*, 52 C 3 (1949), 39–111.

Church Island   M. J. O'Kelly, 'Church Island near Valencia, co. Kerry', *PRIA*,
                      59 C 2 (1958), 57–136.

Dinas Powys   L. Alcock, *Dinas Powys; an Iron Age, Dark Age, and Early Medieval
                      Settlement in Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 1963).

Garranes   S. P. Ó Ríordáin, 'The excavations of a large earthen ring-fort at
                      Garranes, co. Cork', *PRIA*, 47 C 2 (1942), 77–150.

Garryduff   M. J. O'Kelly, 'Two ring-forts at Garryduff, co. Cork', *PRIA*, 63 C 2
                      (1962), 17–125.

Lagore   H. O'N. Hencken, 'Lagore crannog; an Irish royal residence of the
                      7th to 10th centuries A.D.', *PRIA*, 53 C (1950), 1–247.

Whitby   Sir Charles Peers and C. A. Ralegh Radford, 'The Saxon monastery
                      of Whitby', *Archaeologia*, LXXXIX (1943), 27–88.

2. Other abbreviations:

Antiq. J.   *The Antiquaries Journal* (London)
Archaeol. Aeliana⁴   *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser. (Newcastle upon Tyne)
Archaeol. Cambr.   *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (Cardiff)
Archaeol. J.   *The Archaeological Journal* (London)
Bede, *H.E.*   Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. C. Plummer, *Vener-
                                   abilis Baedae opera historica* (Oxford, 1896)
Collingwood 1927   W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman Age*
                                   (London, 1927)
Cornish Archaeol.   *Cornish Archaeology* (St. Austell)
Kermode 1907   P. M. C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses* (London, 1907)
JBAA   *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (London)
J. Roy. Inst. Cornwall   *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (Truro)
J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland   *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (Dublin)
Med. Archaeol.   *Medieval Archaeology* (London)
M.P.B.W.   Ministry of Public Building and Works
N.M.I.   National Museum of Ireland (Dublin)
PRIA   *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin)
Proc. West Cornwall F.C.   *Proceedings of the West Cornwall Field Club* (Camborne, 1933–61)
PSAS   *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh)
TDGNHAS   *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Anti-
                                   quarian Society*
Trans. Bute N.H.S.   *Transactions of the Bute-shire Natural History Society*
Trans. Caern. Hist. Soc.   *Transactions of the Caernarvon Historical Society*
Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc.   *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*

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NOTE