The Early Church in Strathclyde and Galloway*

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

Fellow of the British Academy

THE paradox of the Celtic church in Britain is its emergence in the 5th and 6th centuries as a strong and effective force in the regions that had been peripheral to the Roman Empire, while it withered and died in the more civilized provinces of lowland England. The Saxon conquest of these provinces does not fully explain the paradox. Christianity was well established in the north and west in 500, at a time when the invaders held little more than a deep belt along the S. and E. coasts with some penetration along the great valleys leading inland. To understand the paradox one must examine the origins of Christianity in Roman Britain.

URBAN CHRISTIANITY IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

The evidence for early Christianity in the province is slight,[1] but such as it is it points to a connexion with the towns and with the aristocracy. The martyrdom of St. Alban took place at Verulamium, perhaps in the middle of the 3rd century.[2] The little church at Silchester stood alongside the forum.[3] The Christian paintings at Lullingstone were set in a wealthy villa.[4] The same is true of the Christian symbols on a number of rich mosaics, where they form one element in the eclectic art of the 4th century. Even the small finds have a similar background.

This conforms to the pattern of Christianity in 4th-century Gaul, where the evidence is fuller and more detailed. The urban distribution of early churches in the Rhineland was demonstrated over forty years ago,[5] and later evidence has served only to drive home the point then made. The great double cathedral of Constantian date in the capital, Augusta Treverorum,[6] and the more modest

* This paper was read before the Society at its 9th annual Conference in Glasgow on 26 March 1966.

[1] Lists of objects with Christian symbols are to be found in *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, 3 ser. XVI (1953), 1–24, and *id.*, XVIII (1955), 1–18; the deductions in those articles are not all accepted in the present paper.

[2] *Antiquity*, XV (1941), 337–59; the ascription of the martyrdom to the Diocletianic persecution, which did not cause loss of life in Britain, is due to Bede, who based his conclusion on a conjecture of Gildas.

[3] *Archaeologia*, LIII (1893), 563–8; *J. Rom. Stud.*, LII (1962), 185–6.

[4] G. W. Meates, *Lullingstone Roman Villa* (1955), pp. 143–66; the survival of the 'church' after the disuse of the dwelling seems speculative; it would not imply a local Christian community, but the Christian staff (e.g. bailiff) of a Christian landowner.

[5] *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXXXI (1926), 10–113.

[6] *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* (ed. W. Krämer, 1958), pp. 371–4.

churches, such as that at Abodiacum,[7] stand out against a background of rural *pagani*. The conversion of these began in the last quarter of the 4th century with the vigorous campaigns initiated by St. Martin of Tours against the still frequented heathen shrines of his great metropolitan diocese in central Gaul.[8]

This is, on a smaller scale, the picture in Britain. The signs of Christianity in the great villas cannot be interpreted as evidence of flourishing centres of rural Christianity. They are rather the Sabine farms of aristocrats, whose outlook was essentially urban; if one desires a more contemporary metaphor, they are the *herediola* of scholars and officials like Ausonius—some 500 acres of corn and vineyard, meadow and forest near Bordeaux, to which the ex-prefect and ex-consul retired in his old age.[9] The only difference that we may legitimately infer is that the church in Britain was poor and less well rooted than in Gaul. At Corinium the provincial *rector* of Britannia Prima could still re-erect a decayed heathen column in the 4th century.[10] At Lydney the healing shrine of Nodens erected after 364 was still wealthy and frequented at the end of the century.[11] On the other side it was three of the British bishops whom poverty constrained to rely on the imperial bounty for their attendance at the Council of Rimini in 359, while their continental colleagues were able to discharge their own expenses.[12]

Nor has the picture changed in the account of the visit of St. Germanus of Auxerre in the 5th century.[13] Christianity is still, if a modernism be permitted, the affair of the urban establishment. There is no indication that the evangelization of the *pagani*, begun in Gaul by St. Martin and carried on by others including St. Germanus himself, was considered a pressing matter in contemporary Britain. It is little wonder that the British church of the 5th century in lowland England faded and died with the official and commercial élite which formed its main support.

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF THE EMPIRE

To estimate the extent to which Christianity penetrated the army on the frontier and spread from the soldiers to their native contacts is an exercise that can reach no finality; there are only scattered hints and allusions. It must at once be conceded that no organized churches and communities on the urban Mediterranean model can have existed and that such Christian groups as were formed are unlikely to have left any trace in the archaeological record. Even in a city within the frontier the Christian church at Dura would never have been

---

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 409–24, fig. 11.

[8] Sulpicii Severi vita S. Martini, capp. 13–14; C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (1926), VII, 264–73.

[9] D. Magni Ausonii de herediolo (Monumenta Germaniae historica (hereafter cited as MGH.): Auctores antiquissimi, V, ii, 34–5).

[10] *Archaeologia*, LXIX (1920), 188–93.

[11] R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler, *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park* (Res. Rept. Soc. Antiq. Lond., IX, 1932), pp. 22-62.

[12] Sulpicii Severi chronica, ii, 41 (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (hereafter cited as CSEL.), I (1896), 94).

[13] Constantii presbyteri vita S. Germani episcopi Autissiodori, cap vi (Acta SS., Julii, VII, 224).

recognized but for the happy accident of its burial within the military defensive ramp a few years after its inauguration.[14] Similarly at Rome the early urban *tituli*, such as the little building alongside the church of S. Martino ai Monti,[15] can only be identified in the light of an unbroken tradition. Apart from inhumation, which is also a practice of the pagans in the later empire, Christian burials are only to be distinguished by the absence of all grave-goods, a feature also marking the poorest burials of any kind. 'Naked we came into the world, naked we depart' is not a helpful practice to the archaeologist, and the Christians, as the great continental cemeteries such as St. Severin at Koln[16] shew so well, buried in the same places as their pagan neighbours. It was only gradually, after the triumph of the Church, that these cemeteries were taken over by the Christian communities. A few points must suffice.

The so-called 'miracle of the rain' on the Danube frontier may serve as a starting point.[17] In 174, in the course of a campaign against the Quadi, a Roman army was surrounded by the barbarians and severely tried by lack of water. A providential thunderstorm saved the situation and the barbarians were routed. The event was generally accounted a miracle and ascribed to the gods. The official version on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which gives its name to the Piazza Colonna at Rome, ascribes the credit to Jupiter. Dio, a pagan writer, mentions the incantations of an Egyptian magician and the intervention of many deities, in particular of Mercury, the god of the air.[18] Tertullian in an open letter to Scapula, Proconsul Africae, wrote:

'Marcus Aurelius also in his German campaign obtained rain in a thirsty land through the prayers to God of the Christian soldiers . . . On that occasion the people, invoking the God of gods, who alone is powerful, rendered homage to our God under the name of Jupiter.'

These words,[19] written little more than a generation after the event, could hardly have carried conviction and would have been self-defeating, unless there had been Christians in the army and the fact had been widely known. Later elaborations may be disregarded.

There is no similar testimony concerning the army in Britain. But it is again Tertullian who speaks of Christians in Britain, beyond the frontier. Writing in *c.* 210, at the moment of the deepest Severan penetration into the north, he was adumbrating an apologetic argument that was to become stereotyped: Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus. After a reference to the strangers who witnessed the Apostolic gift of tongues at Pentecost, he lists other examples from

[14] C. Hopkins in M. Rostovtzeff (ed.), *Excavations at Dura Europos: Preliminary Report of the Fifth Season* (1934), pp. 238–88.
[15] R. Vieillard, *Les Origines du titre de St. Martin aux Monts à Rome* (Studi di Antichità cristiana, IV, 1928).
[16] *Op. cit.* in note 6, pp. 329–39.
[17] R. Noll, *Frühes Christentum in Oesterreich* (1954), pp. 19–22.
[18] Cassius Dio, Epitome of book LXXII.
[19] Tertulliani ad Scapulum, cap. iv, 6 (Corpus Christianorum, II, 1131); for Scapula see Prosopographia Imperii romani saec. i–iii, S. 193.

the remotest parts and ends: 'There are places of the Britons inaccessible to Roman arms yet subject to Christ.'[20]

This passage does not stand alone; it can best be illustrated by a consideration of the better known development among the Goths. The summary in the *Cambridge Medieval History*[21] may be quoted:

> 'As early as the third century Christian teaching had obtained an entrance among them through Cappadocian prisoners ... Of a conversion of the nation there can be no question, at least as far down as the middle of the fourth century. Their conversion only begins with the appearance of Ulfila. Born of Christian parents about the year 310–1 ... he grew up as a Goth. First employed as a Reader, he was at the age of about 30, that is to say about the year 341, consecrated as bishop of the Christian community in the land of the Goths by Eusebius (of Nicomedia) ... Equally efficient as missionary and as organizer, Ulfila gathered and united the scattered confessors of the Christian faith and by his enthusiastic preaching of the Gospel he won for it many new adherents.'

He worked to such effect that he was able to rally and settle under Imperial protection a substantial nucleus of Gothic Christians when persecution broke out in 347–8.

THE MISSIONS OF ST. NINIAN AND ST. KENTIGERN

The traditions of the Celtic churches placed the conversion of their peoples in the 5th and 6th centuries. Nearly all these traditions are later, often very much later, and overwritten in the interests of later ecclesiastical policies. In the case of Ireland there is clear contemporary confirmation. Prosper, a contemporary writer of Aquitaine, records in 431:[22] 'Palladius, consecrated as first Bishop by Pope Celestine, is sent to the Irish believing in Christ ("ad Scottos in Christo credentes").' The writer was probably in Rome in the year indicated; the phrase might have been used to describe the mission of Ulfila. Elsewhere Prosper says of Pope Celestine that[23] 'having consecrated a Bishop for the Irish, he made the barbarous island Christian, while he strove to keep the Roman island Catholic'. Palladius died within the year and was succeeded by Patrick. This is not the place to discuss the long controversies that have risen about the Patrician writings;[24] it must suffice to say that these are accepted as genuine records of the 5th century of the traditional date of the saint, whose death is placed by the Irish annals in 461.[25]

---

[20] Tertulliani adversus Judaeos, vii, 4 (Corpus Christianorum, II, 1354).

[21] *Cambridge Medieval History*, I (1911), 212; cf. E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (1966), espec. pp. xiii–xxiii, 78–93 and 110–19.

[22] Epitome *s.a.* (MGH.: Auct. ant. IX, 473); cf. *Annals of Ulster* (ed. W. M. Hennessy (1887), p. 2), *s.a.* 431.

[23] Contra Collatorem (*sc.* Johannem Cassianum), xxi (J. P. Migne, Pat. Lat., LI, 271).

[24] *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, 3 ser. IX (1905), 201–326.

[25] *Annals of Ulster* (ed. W. M. Hennessy, p. 19), *s.a.* 461.

The Patrician writings include the well-known letter to the Christian subjects of Coroticus. Muirchu,[26] writing in the 7th century, identifies this ruler as the king of Alclyde (Dumbarton); he can only be Ceretic Gwledig—a title implying some degree of pre-eminence over the neighbouring rulers. Ceretic Gwledig figures in the Strathclyde king-list preserved in the old Welsh genealogies.[27] He is the great-great-great-grandfather of Rhydderch ap Tudwal, a contemporary of St. Columba,[28] whose death must be placed about 600.[29] Ceretic's *floruit* should therefore lie in the 2nd quarter of the 5th century. St. Patrick's letter concerns Irish converts, who had been carried into captivity while still in their white baptismal robes. The fault lay with Ceretic and his soldiers, the forces of a federate state set up by the 4th-century empire to guard the northern frontier.[30] It is to them that the saint's reproaches are addressed: 'I do not say: to my fellow citizens and to the fellow-citizens of the holy Romans, but to those who are fellow-citizens of demons, because of their evil works.' He appeals to all Christians to avoid contact with the sinners until they shall have repented. It was a letter designed to be read 'in the presence of all the people, yea in the presence of Coroticus himself', so that God might inspire them to amend their ways.

This constitutes the first authentic light on Christianity in SW. Scotland. Ceretic himself may have been a Christian; at least St. Patrick must have been aware that there were sufficient Christian supporters and sympathizers in Strathclyde to make it necessary for the ruler to take account of their views. But the sending of his own emissary suggests that they were not yet a church under their own bishop.

The later traditional accounts all stress the missionaries' conflicts with and conversion of the native rulers. In a society organized on a basis of kinship, the good will of the ruler was an essential precondition of the organization of scattered groups into a Christian community that could serve as the base for further conversions, leading to the evangelization of the whole people. The traditions have all been rewritten, generally with the aim of exalting the saint as thaumaturge, often with the object of providing title to the possessions of a particular community. The details are generally worthless as history, but the names are sometimes genuine. Archaic features long out of date at the time of the rewriting may again have a historical basis.

Traditionally the oldest of these missions is that associated with the name of St. Ninian and with Whithorn in Galloway. The earliest record is that of Bede,[31] writing in the 2nd quarter of the 8th century, when Galloway was in Northumbrian hands and Whithorn the seat of an Anglian bishop. Bede states that Ninian, a bishop and holy man of the race of the Britons, had converted the southern Picts (i.e. those settled between the Forth and the central highlands) and adds that he

[26] In *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (Rolls Series, LXXXIX, ii, 271).

[27] In Harley 3859, nos. v and vi (*Y Cymmrodor*, IX (1888), 172–3); cf. *The Prehistoric Peoples of Scotland* (ed. S. Piggott, 1962), pp. 138–9.

[28] Adamnani vita S. Columbae, i, 15.

[29] Perhaps in 616; see Annales Cambriae *s.a.* (*Y Cymmrodor*, IX (1888), 157).

[30] Cf. I. A. Richmond in *Roman and Native in North Britain* (ed. I. A. Richmond, 1958), pp. 112–38.

[31] Bedae historia ecclesiastica, iii, 4.

had been trained as a monk ('regulariter') at Rome and that his body lay at Candida Casa (Whithorn), which was famous for its church and through the name of Martin the bishop ('sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesia insignem'); the reference is to St. Martin of Tours (*ob.* 397). St Aelred,[32] writing in the 12th century, elaborates to the effect that St. Ninian, returning from Rome, had visited St. Martin at Tours and there obtained masons to build in the Roman manner. This story is unknown to both Bede and to the later 8th-century Northumbrian correspondent who sent a Latin poem about St. Ninian to Alcuin. This poem is still extant.[33] As Levison[34] pointed out over 25 years ago, it is inconceivable that the common source on which both Aelred and this poet drew could have included the story about Tours, for it is not an episode over which the poet would have passed in silence. The whole of this is a pious elaboration and any attempt to date the Ninianic mission by a personal link between the saint and St. Martin of Tours must be abandoned. The 8th-century poem does include a reference to the saint's controversy with the reigning king Tudwal, who can be equated with Tudwal ap Ednyfed of the old Welsh genealogies, a ruler who can be tentatively placed in the 2nd quarter of the 5th century.[35] Bede's reference to a connexion with St. Martin does indeed point to Tours, but at a date appreciably later than St. Martin's death, when the first churches would have been named after him. It could refer to the training of St. Ninian or of some of his disciples in the schools of Tours.[36]

The case for a foundation of Whithorn as early as the middle of the 5th century does not rest solely on the doubtful historical record. The 12th-century cathedral was built on the summit of a rounded hill which had been levelled off for this purpose.[37] The slope was covered with an extensive Christian cemetery of oriented long cists. Among these were the walls of a tiny oratory of stones set in clay and plastered within and without with white mortar. Loose among the graves lay an inscribed stele.[38] The inscription (PL. XI, A), which may be dated epigraphically about 450, opens with the acclamation TE DOMINUM LAUDAMUS and records one Latinus and his unnamed daughter. It was erected by the grandson Barrovadus. The oratory was probably that in which St. Ninian lay, hallowed by a relic from the shrine of St. Martin at Tours. Two centuries later a similar relic of St. Peter is indicated by another stone found at Whithorn, half a mile away from the monastic site (PL. XI, B).[39]

[32] Vita Niniani auctore Ailredo, capp. 2–3 (Historians of Scotland, v).

[33] MGH.: Poetae latini aevi Carolini, IV, 943–62; *Antiquity*, XIV (1940), 280–91.

[34] *Antiquity*, XIV (1940), 287.

[35] *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Soc.* (hereafter cited as *DGNHAS.*), 3 ser. XXVII (1950), 89–91.

[36] For British devotion to St. Martin in the late 6th century see Venanti Fortunati Carmen x, vii, 7–8 (MGH.: Auct. ant., IV, 239):
'qui (*sc.* Martinus) velut alta pharus lumen pertendit ad Indos
    quem Hispanus Maurus Persa Britannus amat.'

[37] *Op. cit.* in note 35, pp. 106–19.

[38] *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. XXXIV (1957), 171–5.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 175–8.

The Latinus inscription belongs to a series which provides the earliest surviving evidence of an organized Christian church in the north and west of Celtic Britain. The inscriptions are in Latin and commemorate priests and chieftains of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries; a parallel series in Ireland, with extensions into west Britain, has ogham inscriptions.[40] The British inscriptions in Latin, numbering in all about one hundred, are found in Devon and Cornwall, in Wales, in the Isle of Man and in southern Scotland; very few examples are recorded from lowland England, the old civil province of the empire, and those few are in the west. The dates ascribed to the inscriptions are based on the epigraphy and confirmed by the philological forms which the Celtic names assume; a very few of the persons commemorated are named in other sources. Normally only a single name or a name with a patronymic is found; there is sometimes a simple formula such as HIC IACET. An elaborate formula, such as that at Whithorn, with its acclamation and the record of erection by a relative is unusual, though in accord with contemporary continental practice. The Welsh series, which is the most numerous and that most fully studied, shews that by the 2nd half of the 6th century churchyard burial had ousted the older custom of small cemeteries, probably in origin family graveyards.[41] This presumably marks the end of the main period of the conversion, when the whole country was nominally Christian, though the survival of pockets of paganism cannot be ruled out.

The Scottish series is small, numbering less than a dozen in all. The chronological range is the same as in Wales. The earliest, the Latinus inscription (PL. XI, A), has classical lettering in horizontal lines and carries on the traditions of classical epigraphy as exemplified for example on the imperial milestones. For this inscription a date about 450 is indicated. The two latest, the stone with INITIUM ET FINIS at Kirkmadrine[42] and the St. Peter stone at Whithorn (PL. XI, B), shew letter forms characteristic of c. 600 and the 7th century respectively. Whithorn and Kirkmadrine are church sites in western Galloway, but two examples farther east—Kirkliston, 10 miles west of Edinburgh,[43] and Jarrokirk in Selkirkshire[44]—were found standing in native cemeteries, which have no ecclesiastical traditions. Five examples are known from two sites in Wigtownshire. There is no certain example in Strathclyde, but a large, much weathered stone standing in the churchyard at Luss in Dumbartonshire, on the west shore of Loch Lomond, appears to have had letters of the same character.

Whithorn became the medieval cathedral of Galloway; the cathedral of Strathclyde was at Glasgow. Historically and archaeologically far less is known about Glasgow. The earliest extant lives of the founder, St. Kentigern, date from the 12th century and there is no evidence that they are based on records much, if at all, earlier than 1000; no inscriptions or sculptures of earlier date are known.

[40] K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953), pp. 149–93, citing earlier literature.

[41] *Archaeol. Cambrensis*, 1962, pp. 2–4.

[42] G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, v (1921), pl. ii.

[43] Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland (hereafter cited as RCAHMS.): *Mid and West Lothian*, no. 130.

[44] RCAHMS.: *County of Selkirk*, no. 174.

Professor Jackson's careful analysis of the sources[45] has revealed how little was preserved in the local tradition. St. Kentigern himself may be accepted, as may his traditional date towards the end of the 6th century. One further point may be made. The foundation of the church at Glasgow in an ancient cemetery formerly consecrated by St. Ninian[46] has an archaic flavour and inspires confidence; an innovator would have mentioned an earlier church. The implication that Strathclyde was already Christian finds some slight confirmation in the late 11th-century life of St. Gildas de Rhuis, who must have been born about 500. The saint was a native of Strathclyde ('Arecluta'; the form implies an earlier written source) and was brought up there; there is no suggestion that it was not a Christian land.[47]

THE CELTIC MONASTERY IN BRITAIN

It would be tedious to analyse in detail the scanty and often dubious historical record. Before summarizing the archaeological material it is necessary to consider the organization of the British church as set up by St. Ninian and his followers. I have dealt with the problem in Wales and I do not hesitate to repeat what I wrote concerning the far richer evidence from that country. In general terms the Welsh background holds good for the other British lands, where the evidence is less full.[48]

The chronology needs to be emphasized. The conversion of the British Celts was not only begun, but, in my view, completed, before the establishment of the Rule of St. Benedict and before the time of Pope Gregory the Great (590–603). Gregory himself, inspired by the spirit of Benedictine monasticism, favoured the separation of the monks and the pastoral clergy. 'No one', he wrote[49] to John, archbishop of Ravenna, 'can both serve zealously in the ecclesiastical ministry and remain firm in the monastic rule, for that man is distracted from the monastery, who is compelled daily to carry out the ministry of the Church.' No such distinction was felt in the older Gaulish church and in the monastic organizations which it inspired in the Celtic and even in the Saxon lands. The prototype of these monasteries is the arrangement set up by St. Martin (*ob.* 397), when he was forced to forsake the monastery at Ligugé and become bishop of Tours. Some two miles from the city he founded another monastery on the Loire, to which he would retire with his clergy as often as their duties permitted. Though modelled on the eremitical monasteries of the east, the monastery served as a training school for disciples, who were set over the churches which the saint founded in his diocese.[50]

[45] K. H. Jackson, in *Studies in the Early British Church* (ed. N. K. Chadwick, 1958), pp. 273–357.

[46] Vita S. Kentigerni auctore Jocelino, cap. ix (Historians of Scotland, v, 179).

[47] J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, 1 (1912), 135–6, note 54.

[48] *Op. cit.* in note 41, pp. 4–6.

[49] St. Gregory, epistola, v, 1 (MGH.: Epistolarium, 1, 281): 'Nemo etiam potest et ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire et in monachica regula ordinate persistere, ut ipse districtionem monasterii teneat qui cotidie in obsequio ecclesiastico cogitur permanere'; cf. ep. iv, 11 (*ibid.*, 244). See also M. Deanesly in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4 ser. XXIII (1941), 35–40.

[50] Sulpicii Severi vita S. Martini, capp. 7–10 (CSEL., 1, 117–20). See also C. Jullian, *op. cit.* in note 8, pp. 255–9.

An insular parallel is provided by Old Melrose. St. Cuthbert, during his life in that monastery, constantly travelled, preaching and teaching among the scattered communities of the Borders.[51] Old Melrose was an Irish foundation, and the whole picture is Celtic rather than Saxon. But the idea behind this dual function is perhaps best summarized in the late 7th-century foundation charter of the Saxon monastery of Breedon on the Hill in Leicestershire.[52] The grant is made in view of 'the growing and multiplying of the number of Christians in the island of Britain . . . so that a monastery and oratory of monks serving God should be founded . . . and also a priest of honest life and good reputation instituted, who should bring the grace of baptism and the teaching of the Gospel doctrine to the people committed to his care'. The priest was clearly to be a member of the monastic community, and the dualism of the wording can hardly have done more than pay lip service to the incompatibility which St. Gregory had noted over a century earlier.

It is in the light of this earlier practice that we must view Celtic monasticism in Britain, and with this in mind we may turn to the Laws of Hywel Dda.[53] They represent Welsh custom as codified in the early 10th century; the surviving texts date from the 12th century and later. Much of the matter is clearly very primitive, but the texts also include both innovations introduced at the moment of codification and interpolations accepted in the succeeding 250 years. While ecclesiastical organization is a field in which modernization might be expected, the character of the provisions does not reflect the reforms classed as Hildebrandine. This should be a sufficient guarantee that they represent, in the main, a genuine survival of custom already venerable when the codification was carried out.

Churches, according to the Laws of Hywel Dda, are of two classes. There are the mother churches and those of less consideration. The first term is used in the vernacular ('y mam ecglus') and reflects a widespread usage, found also in the Irish area where Adamnan speaks of Iona as 'matrix ecclesia'. The mother church is one having pastoral responsibilities over a wide, but normally defined, area. In Wales, to quote the late Sir John Lloyd's summary of the laws, the mother churches were 'those having ancient traditions and a position of honour and prestige. . . . They are treated as having always an abbot (abad), who should be a cleric and lettered (dwyfol y lythyrwr), with a community or "clas" of canons (canonwyr), including at least one priest (offereiriad). In the smaller churches there are no abbots or canons, but merely parsons and priests.' Though the 'claswyr' are not styled monks, but canons, Rhygyfarch, writing in the late 11th century, uses the term 'monastic corporation (monastica classis)' to describe the community which founded the monastery (monasterium) of St. Davids. Moreover the same term—monasterium—was in common use to describe these communities of canons or 'claswyr'. To quote Lloyd once more, 'the title of their chief officer,

[51] Vita S. Cuthberti auctore Beda, cap. x, in B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert* (1940), pp. 188–91.

[52] W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 841: 'crescente et multiplicante per spatium insulae Britannicae numero christianorum . . . quatinus monasterium et deo deservientium monachorum oratorium . . . fundare deberent necnon etiam et propter reddenda baptismatis gratia et rationi evangelicae doctrinae populi sibi credito aliquem probitatis vitae et boni testimonii presbiterum constituerent.'

[53] Summarized with references in Lloyd, *op. cit.* in note 47, pp. 205–19; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 338–43.

the abbot, and the manner in which they consumed in common the revenues of the church afford strong evidence that the clas was at first a monastery, smaller no doubt than the great monastic establishments of the sixth and seventh centuries but of the same general type and in many cases, for instance at Llantwit and St. Davids, carrying on the traditions of the age of the saints'.

THE CELTIC MONASTERIES OF STRATHCLYDE AND GALLOWAY

The discoveries at Whithorn comprise, as has already been indicated, a cemetery of long cists on the E. slope of the hill. Within this cemetery was a small oratory measuring internally more than 14 ft. by 15 ft. wide. At least one of the graves was marked by a stele with a 5th-century inscription (PL. XI, A). Many more of these graves were apparently found during the excavations carried out by the direction of the Marquess of Bute during the early years of this century. But no record of these excavations survives and it is uncertain to what extent the early cemetery had been disturbed by modern burials; the area examined at that date lay within a 19th-century graveyard and the bones reburied on the site appear to be modern. More recently Mr. Roy Ritchie, working for the Ministry of Public Building and Works, has brought to light undisturbed cist-burials within the E. end of the medieval cathedral.[54] This type of cemetery is better illustrated by the graveyard at Kingarth in Bute, where the graves have not been opened, or that at Birsay in Orkney. The 7th-century stele at Whithorn recording the *locus* of St. Peter the Apostle (PL. XI, B) originally marked a subsidiary enclosure, probably with a small oratory containing a representative relic hallowed in Rome. The stone was first recorded standing beside the road about half a mile south of Whithorn. This is near the summit of a hill overlooking the lower ground running towards the Ninianic sites at the Isle of Whithorn and Physgyll. It is possible that it then stood near its original position and we may, perhaps, conjecture that here was the chapel on the hill at which King James IV was wont to make offerings on the occasion of his pilgrimages to Whithorn.[55]

The chapel on the hill, whether or not it is correctly located by the above conjecture, was certainly separate from the main monastery. At the Isle of Whithorn a small chapel stood within an enclosure.[56] The existing remains, including those uncovered during the excavation, were not older than the 12th century. This chapel probably grew up when pilgrimage developed after the refounding of the see and the rebuilding of the cathedral under Bishop Gillealdan, whose episcopate covers the 2nd quarter of the century. The cave at Physgyll[57] on the S. coast of the Machars, overlooking Luce Bay, must be connected with the earliest days of the monastery. It was doubtless inspired, directly or indirectly, by the example of St. Martin of Tours, of whom it is recorded that he formed for

[54] Unpublished; cf. *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. XL (1963), 97.
[55] E.g. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, III, 62 (1505); cf. *op. cit.* in note 38, pp. 179–80.
[56] *Op. cit.* in note 38, pp. 162–70.
[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 152–61.

FIG. 18

KINGARTH, BUTE (p. 116)

General plan of the Celtic monastery and St. Blane's Church

Reproduced by courtesy of the Ministry of Public Building and Works

himself and his *familia* a retreat on the banks of the Loire; here they were wont to retire to wooden cells or shelters hewn out of the rock.[58] This ascetic example had a wide influence on the Celtic church. The cave at Physgyll is only three

[58] Sulpicii Severi vita S. Martini, cap. 10 (see note 50).

miles from Whithorn and must be closely connected with the monastery, for which it served as a retreat. Its date is attested by crosses cut on the living rock of the cave walls and on pebbles found there; the earliest must be at least as old as the 7th century.

The form of the monastery did not change greatly when Whithorn became first Anglian and then Norse. Relics of the Anglian period, covering part of the 7th and the whole of the 8th and 9th centuries, are few and unimportant. In the 10th and 11th centuries Whithorn lay within the sphere of the Irish-Norse dynasts, whose power at one period extended as far as York, where a short-lived kingdom was erected.[59]

There is another Celtic monastery at Kingarth, Bute (FIG. 18), founded by St. Blane, who became the patron of Dunblane. The medieval diocese of Dunblane, consisting of scattered fragments of territory, forming enclaves within other dioceses, is typically Celtic in formation, but there is no trustworthy early history. St. Blane is conventionally placed in the 6th century.

Kingarth, in the south of Bute, lies on a hill cut up by rocky outcrops (FIG. 18). The medieval and post-Reformation parish church lies on the S. slope of a saddle separating two of these outcrops. The church, much of which stands to eaves level, dates from the 12th and 13th centuries. It stands within a graveyard, with a second enclosure, also a graveyard, on a terrace below. Extensive excavations carried out by the Marquess of Bute some 70 years ago brought to light a masonry wall, apparently dry-built, and some 3 or 4 ft. wide, now standing 2 or 3 ft. high; this enclosed an area of 2 or 3 acres. Traces of further walls running out to the north may not be early. The church and graveyards stood near the centre of the enclosed area. Below the churchyard and still within the enclosure much-ruined irregular lines of stones suggest groups of cells like those found at Tintagel.[60] There are further traces of buildings above the churchyard at the foot of the western outcrop. Both graveyards are filled with orderly lines of graves marked by cover-stones. A few of these are ornamented and most of those now distinguishable in position date from the 12th or 13th centuries. Others may be early, as are some of the stones discovered in course of the excavations; among these are shattered fragments which go back to the 8th or even the 7th century.[61] There can be no doubt that Kingarth is the site of an early Celtic monastery. Much of what is now visible dates from the re-Christianization of Bute during the period of Norse rule, probably in the 11th century. But some of the sculptures and possibly the enclosure wall and parts of the ruined buildings should probably be ascribed to the period before the Norse conquest in the 9th century.

Hoddom in Dumfriesshire was also an important monastery, later connected with the church of Glasgow.[62] It is probably to be identified with the Northumbrian Tigbrehtingham mentioned in a 10th-century list of sites once connected with Lindisfarne. The site on the bank of the Annan has a modern graveyard

[59] *Op. cit.* in note 35, pp. 95–101.

[60] *J. Roy. Institution Cornwall*, xxv, App. (1942), 25–33.

[61] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxxiv (1900), 307–25; most of the gravestones are illustrated in this article, but the plans have never been published.

[62] *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. xxxi (1954), 174–97; *Antiquity*, xxvii (1953), 153–60.

with the ruins of a late medieval parish church. Excavation at the NE. angle of the nave shewed that the base of the masonry was regular ashlar, with massive squared quoins, probably all of reused Roman stones. The work is typical of pre-conquest English church building and probably belongs to the Northumbrian monastery of the 8th century. A magnificent series of Northumbrian crosses, now mostly lost, date from the 8th and 9th centuries; the series extends into the 10th and 11th centuries when it has affinities with Anglo-Norse work. There are also a number of tomb-slabs of the 12th century and later. The evidence shews that there was an important monastery here during the Northumbrian hegemony from the 7th century onwards, though there is no evidence of a foundation as early as the age of the British church in the 5th and 6th centuries.

Kilwinning, where a Benedictine house was founded in the 12th century, was traditionally the site of an early monastery, whose founder was reputed to be St. Wynnin. All the documentary sources are late and the only surviving life of the founder is in the early 16th-century breviary of Aberdeen. This life includes a passage[63] in which it is stated that before the door of the church stood a stone cross of marvellous workmanship which St. Wynnin had erected with his own hands in honour of the blessed virgin Brigid. Parts of what is probably the same cross have been found recently in the course of clearance of the site by the Ministry of Public Building and Works. It had been reused in a wall, probably of the 12th century, on the W. side of the cloister. The fragment dates from the 10th or 11th century and belongs to the school of sculpture found on a number of sites on the lower Clyde. This discovery shews that the 16th-century life draws on earlier material, perhaps on a written source dating before the Benedictine foundation of the 12th century. The ascription of the cross to Wynnin, whose traditional date lies in the 6th century, is a pious elaboration, but the discovery of the cross goes far to prove the existence of an early monastery on the site.

At Govan a large collection of sculptured stones—sarcophagi, hog-backs, crosses and tomb-covers—all dating from the 10th, 11th or early 12th century, indicates the former existence of another early monastery.[64] Including those recorded but now lost the total must have reached 50; it is significant that no sculpture earlier than c. 900 has been noted. 12th-century documents make it clear that Govan was a wealthy church, in which the patron, St. Constantine, lay enshrined. The veneration of his relics continued until the Reformation. The legend of this saint is not without difficulties, but there is no reason to doubt that he was a real person, who probably lived in the 6th century. The absence of sculptures earlier than c. 900 makes it possible that the foundation at Govan was late, perhaps the result of a translation of the relics from Kintyre, where, according to one version, the saint suffered martyrdom. Such a translation would be the result of the exposure of the original church to the attacks of the Vikings; the translation of the relics of St. Columba from Iona to Ireland, as recorded in the annals, was the result of just such a threat.[65]

[63] Breviarium Aberdonense: pars hyemalis, fol. xxxviii/xxxix, Jan. 21, lectio vi.
[64] *Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc.*, n.s. xv (1968), 173–88.
[65] *Annals of Ulster* (ed. W. M. Hennessy), *s.a.* 877.

The *scolloftes* ('scholastici') at Kirkcudbright, whose attendance at bull-baiting on St. Cuthbert's day so scandalized St. Aelred,[66] point to the survival well into the 12th century of a monastery of Celtic type in the vicinity of this town. It is possible that this stood not at St. Michael's Church, where 12th-century remains have been found, but on St. Mary's Isle, where a small Augustinian house was founded in the mid 12th century by Fergus, lord of Galloway.[67] Augustinian houses of this type in Wales and Ireland are often the successors of Celtic monasteries, while in England they often arise out of pre-conquest minsters. Both the Celtic monastery and the minster of pre-conquest England were responsible for the pastoral care of the neighbourhood and papal privileges of the 12th century permit Augustinian canons to continue with these duties,[68] which were not permissible for monks of the orders based on the Rule of St. Benedict.

In addition to the sites already discussed historical notices or collections of early sculptured stones suggest that there may have been early monasteries at Inchinnan, the mother church of Strathgryfe (Renfrewshire),[69] at Luss on the W. side of Loch Lomond, and at a site in the eastern part of the Stewartry, possibly at Urr.[70] The eastern part of the Stewartry, forming the deanery of Desnes, was later in the diocese of Glasgow, not of Whithorn like the rest of Galloway. The important church in this deanery was connected with St. Constantine, possibly a different man from the saint commemorated at Govan, though the two are inextricably conflated in the hagiographical literature.

Even if all these churches were Celtic monasteries, it is clear that the tale in Strathclyde and Galloway is far from complete. Late pre-conquest English practice suggests an ideal correlation between the minster and the hundred. Though the pattern is never likely to have been consistent, the correlation may well serve as an indication of the distribution of these mother churches. To take a local example, Kilwinning may have served as the monastic centre and mother church for Cunninghame; it can hardly have served the whole of modern Ayrshire and it has not been found possible to suggest sites in Kyle and Carrick.

Hermitages, either dependent, as has been suggested of St. Ninian's cave (pp. 114 ff.), or separate communities, must also have been numerous. They represented the *summum bonum* to which the Celtic ecclesiastic aspired, adopting Cassian's ideal of the aspirant proceeding from 'the praiseworthy exercises of the community to the lofty burdens of the anchoretic life'.[71] Such a one was Virgnous, who 'after many years spent among the brethren withdrew as a soldier of Christ to Muirbulcmar, the place of the hermits'.[72] In early Welsh law these communities were known as 'meuddwyaid' or slaves of God. A few, such as Beddgelert and

[66] Reginaldi monachi Dunelmensis libellus ... Cuthberti virtutibus, cap. lxxxv (Surtees Society, I, 179).

[67] *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. xxxvi (1959), 9–26.

[68] E.g. Bull of Alexander III to Cirencester (*The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey* (ed. C. D. Ross, 1964), no. 150).

[69] *Op. cit.* in note 64, pp. 183–8.

[70] *Op. cit.* in note 39, pp. 110–14.

[71] Johannis Cassiani Conlatio, xviii, 18 (CSEL., xiii, 517); cf. *op. cit.* in note 41, p. 17.
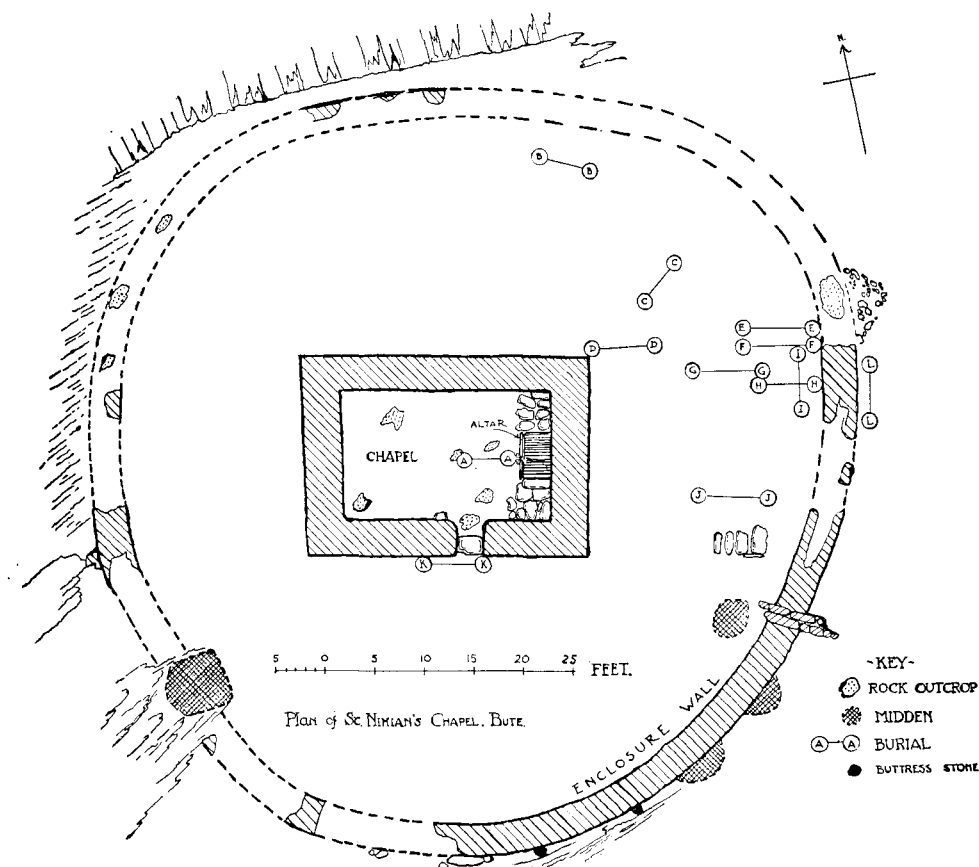
[72] Adamnani vita S. Columbae, iii, 23.

FIG. 19
ST. NINIAN'S ISLE, BUTE (p. 120)
General plan showing position of the pagan graves, the circular enclosure, and the Christian oratory
After Proc. Buteshire Nat. Hist. Soc., xiv, *by courtesy of the Society*

Bardsey, survived into the full middle ages, still venerated for their traditions of holiness. The site on Ardwall Isle, Kirkcudbright, which was recently explored by Charles Thomas,[73] is certainly a hermitage. The same is probably true of the original settlement on the island in Castle Loch, Mochrum,[74] though the visible remains belong to a secular site of the late middle ages.

THE LESSER CHURCHES OF STRATHCLYDE AND GALLOWAY

Complementary to the 'clas' in the old Welsh laws is the lesser church, lacking the ancient traditions and the dignity of the monastic communities.[75]

[73] *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. XLIII (1966), 84–116. For a definitive account by Mr. Charles Thomas see below, pp. 127 ff.).
[74] *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. XXVIII (1951), 41–63.
[75] Lloyd, *op. cit.* in note 47, p. 205.

These were served by priests or parsons, the latter doubtless a 12th-century interpolation into the Latin texts of that date. The lesser church was known as a 'llan' and usually named after some saint. In many cases this patron was the founder, but often the name associated with the 'llan' is that of the founder or patron of the monastery at which the founder of the lesser church had been trained. 'Llan' originally meant enclosure; the modern significance of church is secondary. The parallel term in Irish is 'kil'.

St. Ninian's Isle, Bute (FIG. 19),[76] sited on a spit projecting from the W. side of the island is the best explored example in the south-west. A burial-ground of long cists first occupied the site; they were diversely placed with a tendency to lie north and south. A circular enclosure with a wall of stones and turf was then formed leaving some of the graves outside. Most of the graves now lying within the enclosure are oriented, but a few—and, where the relationship was established, the older—graves were set in other directions. At a time when some at least of the oriented graves had collapsed and the bodies become disarticulated, a small rectangular oratory was erected near the centre of the enclosure. The altar of rough masonry, faced with slabs, had a *fossa* or cavity for relics at the S. end. No datable object was found, but the absolute simplicity of the oratory and altar suggests that the site was abandoned when the pagan Norse seized Bute in the 9th century. Here is an example of a pagan burial-ground taken over by Christians, probably the same family group after their conversion. At first worship would have taken place at the foot of a cross, contemporary with the enclosure and erected to mark the Christian character of the site. This follows the early Saxon custom recorded by the 8th-century biographer of St. Willibald,[77] who writes: 'It is the custom of the Saxon people to erect on the estates of nobles not a church, but the standard of the holy cross raised on high.' As wealth grew the oratory was erected; in many cases the *loca sancta* became the sites of medieval parish churches.

The continued use of many of these sites as parish churches and burial-grounds makes their excavation impossible; the early disuse of St. Ninian's Isle is exceptional. In Ireland there are more elaborate examples of the same type, with an oratory, graveyard and shrine; Kildreenach in co. Kerry may serve as an example.[78] A neighbouring site at Kilfountain still has a standing stele, carved with a cross of the 7th or 8th century and the name of the patron, SCI FINTENI.[79]

Occasionally incised crosses and sculptured fragments have been found in parish churchyards or on the sites of medieval chapels. These, from the nature of the evidence, can only provide a *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of the original church site. Among the earliest is the cross at Staplegorton in Dumfriesshire[80] incised on a rough boulder; the form of the cross, imitating a wooden original in which the two members were halved together,

[76] *Proc. Buteshire Nat. Hist. Soc.*, XIV (1954), 62–76.

[77] Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstedensis, cap. i (MGH.: Scriptorum, XV, 88).

[78] *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, sect. C, LVIII (1957), 142–4.

[79] *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, LXVII (1937), 221–4.

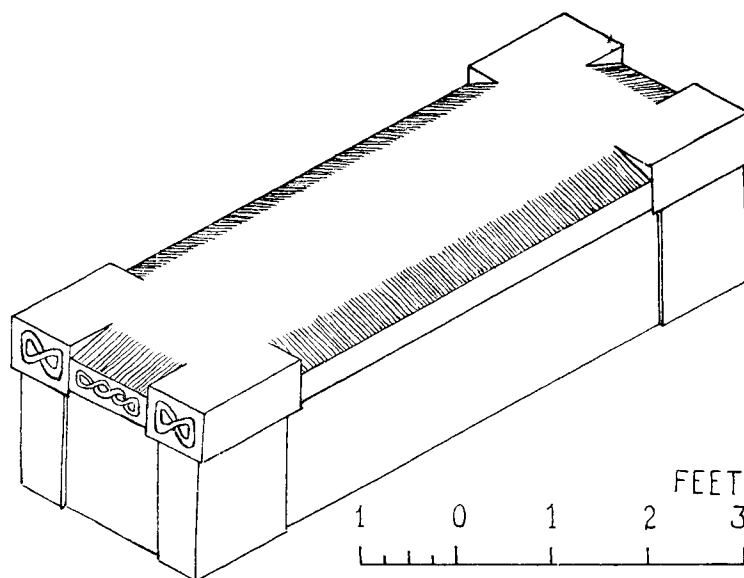[80] *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. XXXIII (1956), 179–80.

FIG. 20
KILMAHEW, DUMBARTONSHIRE
Reconstructed drawing of the 8th-century shrine

After the Innes Review, 1966, *by courtesy*

hints at the probability that many of these early crosses were in the more perishable material. A date c. 600 may be suggested in this case. The stone is less probably a headstone, but in any case is evidence of Christian worship on this site at or before the date indicated. At Kilmahew in Dumbartonshire (FIG. 20) a cross unlikely to be later than the 7th century and a fragment of a shrine of the 8th century were found when the medieval chapel was restored and brought back into use by the college of St. Peter at Cardross.[81] Allusion will be made (pp. 122, 124 f.) to the crosses and fragments of the Whithorn school of the 10th and 11th centuries. These have been found on a number of church sites in the neighbourhood and illustrate the multiplication of churches or perhaps the growth in the wealth of the lesser churches at this period. The best preserved of these crosses is at Kirkinner, where it still stands in the churchyard.

THE NORTHUMBRIAN ADVANCE AND THE NORSE INVASION FROM IRELAND

The Northumbrian advance into southern Scotland began early in the 7th century. When Bede wrote in 731 Whithorn was firmly in Anglian possession and the seat of a bishopric.[82] The advance proceeded into Ayrshire, where the occupation of Kyle is recorded in the year 750,[83] but seems never to have penetrated

[81] *Innes Review*, 1966, pp. 8–10.
[82] Bedae historia ecclesiastica, iii, 4.
[83] Bedae continuatio, *s.a.*

into Strathclyde in the stricter sense. The Irish-Norse invasion of the early 10th
century put an end to Anglian rule in the south-west; in 926 the Northumbrian
frontier probably ran along the Eamont, which separates Cumberland from
Westmorland. The recovery of Carlisle only took place in the late 11th century
under William Rufus.[84]

Reference has already been made to an example of Northumbrian church
building at Hoddom in Dumfriesshire (p. 116 f.). The crosses of that county, parti-
cularly those of Ruthwell and Hoddom, rank among the finest Anglian work.[85]
Farther north and west Anglian influences penetrate, but pure Anglian work is
scarce.[86] In the great collection at Whithorn only two broken shafts can properly
be classed as Anglian. In part this may reflect poverty, though later destruction
may have emphasized the paucity. A wide distribution of dedications in honour
of Northumbrian saints shews that the connexion was firmly established. These
include not only St. Cuthbert at Kirkcudbright, but the same patron at Staighton,
Girvan and Innertig (Ballantrae) as well as St. Oswald at Turnberry, all in
Carrick.[87]

The foregoing summary indicates the complexity of the evidence about the
Northumbrian church in the south-west, but a full consideration of the problem
lies beyond the scope of this paper. The last centuries before the Norman conquest
and the introduction of Romanesque forms must however be discussed. Historical
and linguistic evidence shew that Galloway in this period was dominated by the
Irish-Norse invaders, who also reached into Dumfriesshire.[88] Fergus, lord of
Galloway (*ob.* 1161), sprang from this stock and it has been suggested that Gallo-
way was one of the nine Scottish earldoms held by Earl Thorfinn the Mighty, of
Orkney (*ob.* 1065).[89] Strathclyde retained the British dynasty till the early 11th
century, when the region was incorporated into the Scottish kingdom ruled by
the dynasty of Kenneth MacAlpin.[90]

The organization of the church in the area dominated by Irish-Norse
influences was still based on the great monasteries. At Whithorn itself the number
of crosses and fragments belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries far exceeds
those of earlier date. At Hoddom this period is less well represented, but a few
stones form a link between the earlier Anglian crosses and the grave-slabs of the
12th century, and in Dumfriesshire, as in Cumberland across the Solway, this
period is well represented.[91] Few buildings of this period are known and Scotland
has little or nothing to compare with the great Irish series of early churches.

The evidence for the development of the lesser churches or *loca sancta* is
rather fuller. At Chapel Finnian on Luce Bay (FIG. 21)[92] excavation has brought to

[84] F. M. Stenton in Roy. Commission on Hist. Monuments in England: *Westmorland*, pp. xlviii-lv.

[85] *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. XII (1926), 54–60; *id.*, XXVII (1950), 9–20.

[86] *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. x (1924), 215–18, nos. 11 and 12.

[87] See Robert III's charter to Crossraguel (1404): *Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeol. Assoc.: Charters of
Crossraguel*, no. 22.

[88] *DGNHAS.*, 3 ser. VII (1921), 97–118.

[89] *Op. cit.* in note 35, pp. 97–101.

[90] *Op. cit.* in note 84, p. lii.

[91] *Op. cit.* in note 62, pp. 181–2 and 190, nos. 6–7.

[92] *Op. cit.* in note 74, pp. 28–40.

light the walls of a small chapel of this date set within an earlier enclosure. More important in this connexion is the large series of crosses or cross-fragments that have been found on the sites of medieval parish churches or chapels in the neighbourhood of Whithorn (cf. p. 124 f.). Penninghame, Kirkinner, Glasserton and Wigtown, together with the former parish church of Longcastle,[93] have all produced sculptured work of this period and no earlier, suggesting a more
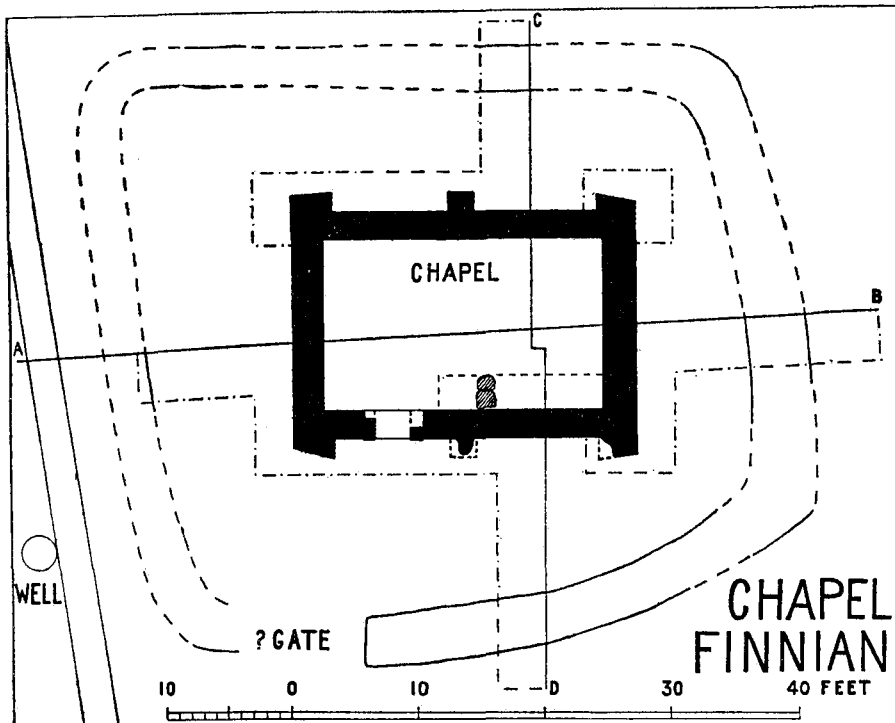

FIG. 21
CHAPEL FINNIAN, WIGTOWNSHIRE (p. 122 f.)
After Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Soc., 3 ser. XXVIII, *by courtesy*

systematic organization of the lesser churches leading the way to the parochial organization of the full middle ages. It is possible that the extensive spread of Kil-names along the Clyde in Renfrewshire and elsewhere forms another facet of the same development.

'Kil' is an Irish prefix and it is not the only evidence of Irish influence in Strathclyde at this date. These influences may have spread from the area of Irish-Norse rule in Galloway or, more probably, from the general Irish infiltration into Scotland after the union under Kenneth MacAlpin. Professor Jackson's careful analysis of the lives of St. Kentigern has shewn how much the developed version of the later middle ages owed to a Gaelic source interested in Fife and

[93] *Op. cit.* in note 86, pp. 218–27.

Lothian.[94] The legend of St. Constantine, the patron of Govan, clearly draws on Irish sources, identifying the saint with a British prince said to have become abbot of Rahen in co. Offaly in *c.* 640.[95] St. Wynnin of Kilwinning also has a legend making him a missionary from Ireland.[96]

These need represent no more than influences derived directly or indirectly from Ireland. There is also slight evidence suggesting that there was actual settlement, not only in Galloway and on Bute, where the connexion with Irish-Norse dynasties is historically attested, but on the lower Clyde, in medieval Strathgryfe (modern Renfrewshire) and beyond. The extension of the cult of St. Patrick outside Ireland presents a sharp contrast with that of St. Brigid.[97] The latter extends over Wales, the south-west of England and the high-lands of Scotland; in the last-named area it coincides with the extension of the cult of St. Columba, by whose followers it was probably carried. The cult of St. Patrick hardly touches these areas. It is found in Normandy and Brittany, in the Isle of Man and on the Solway, all areas of settlement connected with the Irish-Norse dynasties. In the lower Clyde the churches of Kilpatrick and Dalziel are named in honour of St. Patrick, a phenomenon which should be explained by settlement rather than influence. This conclusion is borne out by the occurrence in the collection at Govan of five hog-backs (PL. XIII, B), a form of tomb that is typically Norse (p. 125).

THE SCULPTURED STONES OF THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

The sculptured stones of the 10th and 11th centuries fall into a number of local groups. There is a highly individual school centred at Whithorn; crosses in Dumfriesshire are related to those across the Solway in Cumberland, a reminder of the old extent of Cumbria. At Govan a great collection marks an eclectic school that extends into Renfrewshire, with less important extensions into Dumbartonshire north of the Clyde and into Bute, which should possibly be classed separately.

The Whithorn school consists mainly of disk-headed monolithic crosses (PL. XII, A).[98] The expanded arms of the cross follow the circular form of the disk head, which in the less elaborate examples may be modified to conform to the shape of the stone. The centre of the head is marked by a boss, and bosses often mark the spaces between the arms. These spaces are, however, pierced at Kirkinner and were probably treated in the same way on the incomplete example from Longcastle. The head is usually plain, but in the more elaborate examples, such as Glasserton, the interlace decorating the shaft extends into the head. The interlace is generally irregular and the strands are normally marked with a median groove. Ring-chain is common and pellets sometimes appear among the

[94] *Op. cit.* in note 45, pp. 273–357.
[95] *Op. cit.* in note 64, pp. 183–8.
[96] Breviarium Aberdonense, Jan. 21 (see note 63).
[97] R. H. Kinvig in *Trans. and Papers Institute British Geographers*, no. 25 (1956), 14.
[98] *Op. cit.* in note 86, pp. 218–27.

plaits. The ornament has much in common with that on the crosses in the Isle of Man, where an early example in this series is inscribed CRUX GURIAT.[99] This probably refers to Gwriad, the father of Merfyn Ffrych and grandfather of Rhodri Mawr, kings of Gwynedd in north Wales. As Rhodri died in 878 the identification would involve an early 9th-century date for the Manx cross, a dating fully in accord with that postulated for the Whithorn series, which can hardly begin before 900.

Two of these crosses, one from Whithorn and the other from St. Ninian's Cave, have Runic inscriptions, shewing that they were individual headstones.[100] Both are small and others probably served the same purpose. But the larger and more elaborate examples represented by the cross now at Monreith and those in the churchyard at Kirkinner and from Longcastle are more likely to have been monumental or commemorative. The two last named probably served to mark the Christian character of the enclosure, in which the medieval parish churches later developed.

Dumfriesshire in the late period has nothing to compare with the great Anglian series at Hoddom. The art of this area continued to be dominated by the late Anglian tradition. But Norse taste begins to shew in the looser, less regular patterns and occasionally in alien motives like the dragon in the incomplete shaft from Glencairn or above all in the magnificent interlaced beast from Wamphray.[101]

Govan on the lower Clyde forms the centre of a second school of which an outstanding example still stands at Barochan (PL. XII, B). Over forty sculptured stones were found at Govan built into the medieval church which was demolished in the late 18th century.[102] Most are now preserved in the modern building, where the collection has recently been rearranged. The finest single piece is the mono-lithic sarcophagus, now lacking a cover. It is one of three found and is known as the Tomb of St. Constantine (PL. XIII, A). It may well have served for the trans-lation of the relics when the church was reorganized in the 10th century, after the disturbances due to Viking raids. There are five hog-backs, a form of tomb nor-mally connected with Scandinavian laymen (PL. XIII, B). The hog-back is a long ridged tomb-cover. The slopes of the 'roof' are ornamented with tiles or shingles cut in low relief, or in later examples with panels of interlace or similar conventional designs. The ends are often clasped by emergent beasts; where recognizable the animal is a bear, clearly marked as such by the muzzled snout. There are fragments of large cross-shafts, but the individual memorial is not, as at Whithorn, a cruciform headstone, but a flat cover-slab with a cross enhanced with interlaced ornament (PL. XIV, B). At Inchinnan, in Renfrewshire,[103] an important 12th-century church, there are parts of a cross-shaft and a cover-slab, together with a richly decorated shrine-cover, a later example of the form already

99 P. M. C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses* (1907), no. 48.
100 *Op. cit.* in note 86, pp. 217–18.
101 *Op. cit.* in note 85, pp. 58–60.
102 *Op. cit.* in note 64, pp. 173–81.
103 *Ibid.*, pp. 181–3.

described at Kilmahew (p. 121). The cross-fragment from Kilwinning (p. 117) belongs to the same school. The sculptures at Luss in Dumbartonshire are mostly of later date, but the earlier pieces suffice to shew that the same conditions were in force at this important church site.[104]

The art of the Govan school is eclectic. The interlace belongs to the late Anglian tradition. The forms include nothing likely to be earlier than *c.* 900; they include instances of the ring-chain and of irregular layout (cf. p. 124). Panels with riders are modelled on originals in Pictland but are stiff and lifeless compared with the finest examples of the northern schools, such as the Hilton of Cadboll stone. There are also Irish motives such as the curious design of snakes' heads emerging swastika-wise from a whorl (PL. XIV, A), which recalls a much earlier design on the metal shrine-terminals in St. Germain Museum.

Kingarth in Bute preserves a large number of carved stones, many dating from after *c.* 1100.[105] The older monumental fragments include a good regular interlace of Anglian type, probably of the 8th century, and a small horseman in the Pictish tradition already noted at Govan. A small series of shaped headstones with plain crosses form an unusual group difficult to parallel.

[104] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, LXII (1928), 85–106.
[105] *Id.*, XXXIV (1900), 307–25.