Lecture summaries

Holm of Papa Westray: an insight into the Neolithic use of chambered tombs
Anna Ritchie*

In Orkney, stalled cairns and the settlement at Knap of Howar on Papa Westray are linked by architectural techniques and by the use of Unstan ware (*Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 113 (1983), 40–121). The stalled cairn at the north end of the Holm of Papa Westray (ORK 21) was considered a likely candidate for the role of family mausoleum for the Knap of Howar settlement, and excavations in 1982 and 1983 were funded by Orkney Islands Council, the Russell Trust, the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The cairn in its final form is rectangular, 11·8 m by 6·3 m, with its axis lying NW–SE and its entrance aligned unusually to the north-west. At barely 70 cu m, this cairn is by far the smallest of known stalled cairns, and it represents a very minor enterprise in terms of labour (well below 1000 man-hours). This is in keeping with the surviving human bones, which indicate the presence of eight or nine adults, both male and female with a wide age range up to about 40 years, and at least two children; the bone evidence is, however, subject to a number of limiting factors and may not present a realistic impression of the group using the tomb.

Several stages in the construction and design of the chamber and cairn were recognized: the original cairn had a concave façade and measured 10 m by 4·7 m. The chamber is divided into four burial compartments, and there is an end-cell, originally corbelled, which had been filled and sealed early in the use of the main chamber. Evidence of burial rite is equivocal, and it is possible to argue both for and against the practice of excarnation. The contexts in which human bones were found allow the identification of at least three categories of status: regular deposition in the chamber, the ‘special’ status accorded to those bones selected for deposition in the filling of the end-cell, and the apparently informal inclusion of bones in the final blocking of the chamber and entrance passage.

The only class of artefact associated with the use of the tomb was pottery, comprising sherds from plain round-based bowls, none of which appears to have been complete. Unlike the human and animal bones, the pottery was confined to one side of the chamber. The floor deposits included a large quantity of sheep bones, vole and fish bones, while the material used in the filling of the tomb included sheep and pig bones, deer tines, vole, otter and fish bones, and shellfish, predominantly limpets. An interest in skulls is evident, particularly in the filling of the end-cell, which could relate to the anthropomorphic design of chamber and cell. A large deposit of fishbones in a stone setting in the fourth compartment may have a totemic significance, perhaps related to the tomb-users’ economy.

Radiocarbon analyses of bone from primary contexts in the tomb gave dates of 2480±60 bc

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(GU-2068) and 2445±60 bc (GU-2067), and bone from the filling of the entrance passage yielded a date of 2120±60 bc (GU-2069). The integration of the tomb with secondary external structures, including field-walls, apparently associated with Grooved-ware and beaker pottery, hints at an increasingly intensive use of the landscape subsequent to the closure of the tomb.

Cord rig and early cultivation in the Borders
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Since 1980, aerial photography and fieldwork have revealed a distinctive type of ridged field-system occurring in the vicinity of a number of prehistoric settlements in the border counties. Typically the rigs are about 1-3 m broad and occur in plots of between 0.02 ha and 4 ha.

Using aerial photographs it has been possible to identify stratigraphical relationships between cord rig and other forms of cultivation. Where there is a relationship with broader ridging, the cord rig is consistently the earlier. This is also reflected in the distribution of intact cord rig systems, which are always found beyond the 'high-water mark' of medieval and later cultivation.

A small sample area was selected in the Cheviots for detailed survey. The area includes a wide range of prehistoric settlements, many of them occurring with patches of cord rig. The forts in the area include Sundhope Kipp, with its interior densely packed with ring-ditch houses, and also the massively fortified site on Blackbrough. Other forts occur on Hut Knowe East and Huntfold, in both instances with the remains of circular stone-walled houses within their interiors. Besides the forts there are five palisaded sites all containing ring-ditch houses. The cord rig occurs around all five palisades, and also around the forts on Hut Knowe East and Huntfold. At both the latter, the rigs override the banks of field-systems which appear to postdate the defences of the forts.

Comparison with sites in Northumberland, notably Greenlee Lough just north-west of Housteads, suggests that field-systems such as those at Hut Knowe East and Huntfold are normally associated with settlements containing stone-walled houses of late Iron-Age or Romano-British date. At Greenlee Lough the cord rig is overlain by a Roman temporary camp, and similar ridged surfaces have been found beneath Roman installations on the line of Hadrian's Wall. There is thus no reason to believe that the cord rig at Hut Knowe East and Huntfold is not broadly contemporary with the field-systems.

The distribution of the cord rig within the sample area suggests that not all of it is of this date. At many of the palisaded sites, however, the cord rig apparently overlies the line of the palisade. A theoretical examination of this relationship suggests that it need not be significant, since the visible area of ridging merely reflects the final seasons of cultivation and may thus overlie elements of settlements that have already become redundant. It is probable that much of the cord rig is contemporary with these palisaded sites in the period between 700 bc and 400 bc.

At Scowther Knowe in the Cheviots there was evidence that rigs had been levelled and the resulting smooth surface re-ridged. The identification of pits and mounds caused by windblown trees pre-dating patches of cord rig now allows us to identify areas of artificial smoothing on many of the border hills.

The tree holes around many of the settlements of ring-ditch houses suggest that they were occupying areas of naturally cleared grassland high on the border hills. These settlements appear to

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have been practising a mixed farming economy where the emphasis of the mix was on the rough pasture offered by the hills. In the Cheviots these sites were replaced by forts like Blackbrough where there are even traces of an earlier palisade. There is little evidence of cultivation around any of these forts, and arable farming does not seem to return to the crests of the Cheviot ridges until late in the first millennium with the field-systems at Hut Knowe East and Huntfold. Many of the cultivation terraces with broadly-spaced risers are probably the remains of similar field-systems on the valley sides, indicating considerable arable expansion in this period.

Early church architecture in the south of Scotland

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The lecture considered the ecclesiastical architecture of southern Scotland (or rather south-eastern Scotland with one outlier in the Orkneys) up to the first half of the 12th century. The material was discussed under two headings: (1) round towers, both Celtic as at Abernethy and Brechin, and Germanic as at Egilsay; and (2) box-churches of a variety of dates related to the southern categories of Anglo-Saxon, Saxo-Norman and Anglo-Norman, with the following results.

The towers at Abernethy and Brechin are Irish and traditional in form but all their other features suggest a date in the late 11th or early 12th centuries, features such as the Norman roll moulding in the bell-openings at Abernethy, the doorway surround at Brechin compared with a similar border at Killeshin in Ireland and the character of the masonry in both examples.

The church at Egilsay belongs to a far-flung group of buildings with round western towers, datable to the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries and set around the North Sea, with concentrations in North Germany and Norfolk.

The ground floor storey of the tower at Restenneth can be dated to the 10th or 11th century by its stripwork which is a characteristic feature of the late Saxon period, and more specifically to the second half of the 11th century by its impost, the quirked hollow chamfer of which relates to dated examples at Bernay and Caen in Normandy and at Deerhurst and Jarrow in England.

The first church at Dunfermline belongs either to the early 11th century or to the 1070s, though a straightforward reading of the documents and a parallel with the late 11th-century plan of Broughton in Lincolnshire suggests the later date. The position of Margaret’s burial establishes that the extension was added before her death in 1093.

St Margaret’s chapel probably formed part of a larger suite of rooms. It is an example of the fully-fledged Anglo-Norman style in Scotland which suggests it should be dated after 1120. Despite its rather erratic laying out, its dimensions reveal a careful and satisfying set of repetitions.

St Rule’s chapel is currently dated to the late 11th century, with its moulded arches as additions of the time of Bishop Robert after 1127. A contrary argument is proposed in favour of the traditional dating which attributes the original building as well as the additions to Robert. This view rests chiefly on a close examination of the easternmost arch and the arch in the eastern wall of the tower. The original church is reconstructed, not with two cells but with three, on the lines of a building like Kirk Hammerton in Yorkshire. St Rule’s is the most outstanding of all the buildings dealt with, as befits its likely function as a reliquary.

Seven of these eight buildings should, according to this analysis, be dated between 1070 and 1130, with Restenneth, Dunfermline I and II and Abernethy before 1100 and Brechin, St Margaret’s

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chapels and St Rule's chapel well into the first half of the 12th century. If these dates are correct then the chief characteristic of the period, of the early Romanesque architecture of Scotland, is its extraordinary diversity, with Brechin, St Rule's and David's Dunfermline all of similar date. This diversity should be seen not as a problem but as a reflection of the variety in the views of the people who built these buildings, whom they were trying to impress or influence, and how best they thought they could achieve their aims.

Torphichen and the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem
A Macquarrie*

The Knights Hospitallers had a long and distinguished history in the struggle between Christianity and Islam, in the Holy Land before its loss in 1291 and thereafter in Cyprus (1291–1310), in Rhodes (1310–1522) and in Malta (from 1530). They had houses in western Europe, including Scotland, as centres of revenue-raising and recruitment, served by brothers of the order, both knights and chaplains. They first came to Scotland during the reign of David I (1124–53), when they were given Torphichen in West Lothian as their main ‘preceptory’ or headquarters, and also the lands of Galtway in Galloway by Fergus of Galloway. They were never as wealthy in this period as the rival order of the Knights Templars, but after the dissolution of the Templars in 1310 the Hospitallers acquired their goods, which included preceptories at Temple, Kirkliston and Maryculter and the kirk of Inchinnan, as well as a network of tiny tenements called ‘templelands’ scattered throughout the kingdom.

In the 12th and 13th centuries the Scottish houses of the military orders were subject to superiors in England and during the Wars of Independence members of both orders serving in Scotland (especially the Templars) were Englishmen with English sympathies. The destruction of the Templars in Scotland was carried out by Edward II’s administration in 1309. After Bannockburn (1314), the Hospitallers in Scotland were quick to come to terms with Robert I and thereafter the order takes on a more Scottish character, with brothers with Scottish names administering the preceptory of Torphichen and with it the former Templar properties. English and Scottish Hospitallers found themselves on opposed sides during the Great Schism (from 1378), and in the 15th and 16th centuries Scottish Hospitallers tried occasionally, without success, to break free from English superiority based on the English priory at Clerkenwell (Middlesex). Researches recently carried out in the archives of the Knights Hospitallers in Valletta, Malta, have cast much light on relations between English and Scottish Hospitallers and have effectively disproved the view put forward some years ago that these relations were normally harmonious. Even in the mid-16th century Scots continued to be attracted into the Knights, now based in Malta, and this remained the case after the Reformation, when they no longer had landed endowments in Scotland. These lands were erected into a temporal barony of Torphichen in 1564 by Queen Mary in favour of Sir James Sandilands, the last preceptor of the order in Scotland.

The buildings at Torphichen show work of a variety of dates. There is a 12th-century chancel arch (now at the west side of the crossing), 13th-century work in the wall of the south transept, and the bulk of the transepts and crossing belong to a major rebuilding of the first half of the 15th century. The

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nave, which had a south aisle, was replaced with the present parish church in the 18th century. There are rooms above the transepts and in the tower which give the building a curiously castellated appearance; these could belong to a period after the secularization of the order, when the nave was used as the parish church and the rest of the buildings were converted for the use of the lay lord of Torphichen.

The *Dartmouth*: a 17th-century warship in the Sound of Mull

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On 9 October 1690 the fifth-rate warship *Dartmouth* was wrecked on Eilean Rubha an Ridire, close to the south-eastern end of the Sound of Mull. Her remains were located by amateur divers from Bristol in 1973. Over the next two seasons the site was excavated under the guidance of the Scottish Institute of Maritime Studies, in close collaboration with the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. It was discovered that a substantial portion of the lower hull had survived, trapped in a gully close inshore. An analysis of associated artefacts showed this to have been the after part of the ship, and its sequence of break-up and deposition was demonstrated by stratigraphical evidence. The hull had evidently broken amidships, to allow its forward part to roll into slightly deeper water before disintegrating and depositing its contents in a pattern which closely reflected their original locations within the ship.

*Dartmouth* had been built in 1655, and had undergone much repair. A major refit was undertaken in 1678, during which her keel and the three lower strakes on each side had been replaced. Itemized shipyard accounts, taken in conjunction with the archaeological evidence, have permitted a study of the ship's construction which has thrown unexpected light on aspects of 17th-century shipwrighty. The identification of a fixed point on the fragmentary keel has allowed a projection of the ship's after lines to be constructed from the curvature of surviving frames.

In addition to parts of the hull, which were dismantled for conservation and reassembly, many finds were recovered. These included the ship's bell, dated 1678 and clearly associated with the major refit of that year (a wash sketch of the ship at this time, by Van de Velde the Younger, shows the belfrey empty). Navigation is represented by finds of dividers, a protractor, a log slate, part of a backstaff, and a binnacle lamp. Drug pots, an apothecary's mortar, and two pewter syringes probably come from the surgeon's chest, while the purser's role is reflected by a set of brass weights and a boxwood gauger's rule. Domestic utensils of pottery, glass, pewter, and treen were spread widely over the site, though their quality showed a distinctive 'up-market' bias towards the officers' quarters in the stern. Personal items included an ivory snuff bottle and a Highland ring brooch. Most of the ship's cast-iron ordnance, which was concreted and badly degraded, was left in situ, although one example was raised for experimental conservation. Samples of iron roundshot, lead musket bullets and hand grenades were recovered. Items of rigging equipment and cordage were also found, some showing evidence of wear or repair. Environmental material, including butchered animal bones, was sampled. A small quantity of leather, including pump washers, footwear, and a drawstring purse, was found. Two gold guineas, one of James II (1687) and the other of William and Mary (1689), are fitting mementoes of the great events which brought the *Dartmouth* to Mull.

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The procurement and use of stone for flaked tools in prehistoric Scotland

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In western Europe the abundance of fine quality flint has led to its dominance as a lithic resource in prehistory with the result that modern archaeological attention has concentrated upon the use of flint in prehistory, often to the exclusion of any other lithic material. Scotland, however, lacks any sources of flint nodules in situ. Derived deposits of flint pebbles do exist around the country, for example in glacial or river gravels and in beaches, both raised and modern, but a wide variety of alternative materials were also available: chert, quartz, quartzite, Rhum bloodstone, Arran pitchstone and silicified sandstones and mudstones to name but a few.

All of these materials are quite suitable for flaking. Until recently, however, they have been paid little attention and lithic assemblages in Scotland have commonly been regarded as rather impoverished. Today, increasing awareness of the potential variety of raw materials available has led to the recovery by excavation and subsequent detailed analysis of a diversity of tool types found to have been in use in earlier prehistory.

Analysis of these assemblages poses its own problems. In the first place, both the ease of extraction and the quality of the different materials vary greatly. A number of extraction techniques from quarrying to the use of nodules gathered from nearby gravels have been recorded. Secondly, the size of the unaltered nodules clearly places limitations upon the finished tools. In addition, different materials may require alteration of the knapping techniques used. Finally, the edge characteristics of a tool and consequently its functional life and final damage may all vary from one material to another.

The development of regional analyses of the utilization of several different raw materials is not as straightforward as in those areas where only one, homogeneous, source of flint was used. As detailed study of a variety of sites across the country proceeds, however, a sophisticated pattern of lithic exploitation throughout prehistoric Scotland is emerging.

In some cases locally abundant, but poor quality, stone might be used: both quartz and chert are examples of this. Neither was apparently transported any great distance though widespread local occurrences meant that both were utilized on many sites across Scotland. In other cases raw materials were transported. On the west coast the localized resource of a single island, the Isle of Rhum with Rhum bloodstone, was used for at least 4000 years. Artefacts of this material occur in lithic assemblages on sites throughout a small but clearly defined area around Rhum. Current research is attempting to source all the occurrences of Rhum bloodstone and to examine the changing patterns of exploitation throughout this period. In striking contrast the high quality resource of another small island, the Isle of Arran with Arran pitchstone, was transported over long distances although seemingly only in very small quantities. Artefacts of Arran pitchstone occur on sites as far east as Fife and as far north as Caithness.
This variety is reflected in the lithic assemblages as the different materials complement each other in the make-up of any one assemblage. In many domestic instances generalized local manufacture is seen but there is also increasing evidence for the use of specialist craftworkers, particularly where the incorporation of stone artefacts into 'ritual' contexts is recorded. We have long been aware of the importance of stone as a resource in prehistory. We are only just starting to appreciate the very many different roles in which it might have been used.

Power and authority in Early Historic Scotland: Pictish stones and other documents

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The inhabitants of north-east Scotland responded to the coming of Christianity and literacy by erecting hundreds of carved stone monuments. On art-historical grounds it is agreed that this Pictish sculptural tradition spans the sixth to 11th centuries AD. Pictish stones have attracted scholarly attention because they are finely sculpted. But even more remarkable than the creativity of this 'primitive' art form are its sudden appearance and its broad distribution. Certain of the decorative motifs reappear across the vast expanses of northern Scotland that once formed Pictland. It is the careful repetition of design coupled with their broad range that have led scholars to postulate that the repeated motifs, consisting of animals, beasts, objects and geometric abstractions, constitute a symbolic system. The meaning of the symbol stones remains obscure. Cautious scholars have been content to assess the artistic merits of Pictish sculpture: a few have made sustained attempts at explaining the meaning of the art and none has proposed interpretations which allowed the monuments an active role in mediating human social relations.

This analysis seeks to establish the meaning of the symbol stones by treating them as a discursive medium through which statements about social relations were articulated. Recent archaeological investigations now suggest that the early stones were funerary monuments, while the later, decorated, cross-slabs were almost certainly the foci of community worship. Thus there survives some information about the specific social contexts of these monuments. More generally, the study of such contemporary documentation as exists makes it clear that the floruit of the stones coincided with the emergence of a powerful, unified Pictish monarchy. It may in fact be the case that literacy, or more specifically documents, provided the inspiration for these innovative monuments. A parallel may be drawn between the political role of early documents and the proposed function of the stones: both may be regarded as ideological technology, access to which was restricted. Moreover, it may be that just as the written charters of Anglo-Saxon England were essential tools for authorizing the accumulation of property by the church and nobility, so too the Pictish stones played an essential role in legitimizing the social transformations leading to the development of the Pictish kingdom.

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Literacy and power: the introduction and use of writing in Early Historic Scotland
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Synopsis of paper presented within the 'Literacy and Communication' section of the session on Comparative Studies in the Development of Complex Societies, World Archaeology Congress, Southampton, September 1986.

The major impetus for the introduction and use of written modes of communication in Scotland in the period between AD 500 and 900 can be related to the establishment there of Christianity, in particular the establishment of the Iona monastery, on the periphery of the kingdom of Dalriada, by Columba in the mid sixth century. While maintaining a monopoly over their unique literate skills, the early ecclesiastics were able to impress an idea of the value of documents on the secular authorities and hence we see the early kings beginning to use these written artefacts to further their own political ends and aspirations.

All of this was occurring at a time when the kings were also developing new means of administering their kingdom, and were increasing their control over the production, distribution and use of a range of high quality locally produced artefacts, as well as imported goods. In so doing the kings were deliberately drawing upon, and manipulating, a wide variety of resources to legitimize their own power and position within society. A measure of the success of these actions can be seen in the events of the mid ninth century when the Scots of Dalriada, under their king Cinaed Mac Ailpin (Kenneth Mac Alpin) were able to take over neighbouring Pictland thus creating a territorial unit which was to form the core of the medieval kingdom of Scotland.

This paper considers the manner in which writing was introduced into Dalriada, the relationship between the religious authorities who controlled the technology of writing and the secular authorities who were beginning to exploit it, and the manner in which royal power and control were exercised through documents. Inherent in the approach taken is the view that documents should not be seen as distinct from, or indeed having primacy over, the other artefact forms more traditionally studied by archaeologists. Instead it must be accepted that both are expressive media active in the formulation and negotiation of a wide spectrum of human social relations. This perspective on the introduction of writing must receive some emphasis since it is one that many historians and historical archaeologists have failed to recognize.

The surviving documents which appear to have had importance for secular society fall into three main groups:

(a) historical annals,
(b) genealogies and regnal lists,
(c) civil and military survey.

In addition, it seems likely that charters recording grants of land and rights to lands were also in use, along with legal codes. The rationale for the production and use of all these documentary forms is discussed, placing particular emphasis on the manner in which the use of writing allowed various claims to position and resources to be established much more firmly than had ever been possible before. Here we see how writing was used to create new forms of 'proof' which became increasingly

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incontrovertible. Following from this introduction those groups and individuals who did not have access to the technology of writing were effectively written out of subsequent ‘history’.

These developments within Dalriada owe much to the relatively tolerant relationship which developed between the secular and religious authorities. This situation is contrasted with that in neighbouring Pictland where it took both Christianity and writing much longer to establish themselves. This may reflect the more established position of the Pictish rulers, and their ability to maintain their position for much longer despite the new Christian innovations.

Early Historic Ireland also provides an interesting contrast, for there the power of the secular authorities was frequently totally subsumed by the growth of ecclesiastical resources and powers. There we frequently see early ecclesiastics having rights to extensive areas of land, fostering craft-working activities within their monasteries and even fielding armies to support their own position and that of their allies. This serves to remind us that here, as elsewhere in the Early Historic period, the interests of kings and ecclesiastics were essentially the same.

(A full text of this paper is to be produced in a volume entitled State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization, edited by John Gledhill, Barbara Bender and Mogens Larsen, published by Allen and Unwin, London.)

The Romanesque sculpture of Dunfermline Abbey
Neil Manson Cameron*


The Romanesque sculpture of Dunfermline Abbey is largely confined to the south-east and west nave doorways. These doorways differ markedly and demonstrate the existence of both northern English influence and of relatively independent local developments.

The south-east doorway of Dunfermline Abbey nave is in good condition due in part to its concealment by the burial vault of the Wardlaw family which was erected in 1616 and shortened after the discovery of the doorway in 1903. Its position one bay west of the usual position of an east processional doorway can be explained in part by the apparent absence of an original south-west doorway to the nave and by the ease of access it would have given to the tomb of Queen Margaret which was situated to the west of the rood screen. The capitals are elaborately carved with stylized foliage motifs; the inner capitals are also carved with bands suggesting vestigial cushion (west) and scallop (east) capital forms. This sculpture can be compared closely with that of Durham Cathedral, long recognized as a source for the architecture of Dunfermline. The repeated palmettes on the abaci and details of the capitals (eg the use of ‘S’-shaped tendrils on the inner west capital) compare closely with sculpture at Durham, particularly that of the south-west nave doorway. A further point of close similarity is the particular kind of florette used around the arch at Dunfermline; the same motif is used to decorate the inner shafts of the Durham south-west doorway. The comparisons which can be made with Durham are so close that there can be no doubt that the same sculptors worked on both buildings. On the basis of comparisons with Durham the south-east doorway can be dated to c 1140.

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between the main forms and the background, is one which would have been particularly suitable for painted embellishment. It is also related to illuminations in contemporary manuscripts such as Durham Cathedral Library MS B II 26.

The west doorway has suffered from the effects of erosion; the lower voussoirs of the outer order of the arch are badly deteriorated. The outer order is the most elaborate feature of the doorway and consists of voussoirs carved with grotesque heads in alternation with voussoirs carved with a variety of motifs including knot patterns, triquetras and stylized foliage designs. In contrast to the south-east doorway there is no evidence of the involvement of Durham masons. However, some features, such as the use of repeated florettes on the middle order of the arch, show the influence of the Dunfermline south-east doorway. The voussoirs of the outer order are not obviously related to sculpture in England, where voussoirs carved with grotesque heads are almost invariably of the ‘beak-head’ type. Heads carved on voussoirs, with and without beaks, are particularly common in Ireland and western France, but there are no surviving examples which are similar to those at Dunfermline. The form of the outer order of the west doorway probably represents a relatively independent development for which there are no direct sources. It may be noted, however, that the grotesque heads carved on the Dunfermline voussoirs are broadly similar to those carved on the corbels supporting the main vault ribs at Durham.

The Dunfermline west doorway is closely related to the sculpture of a number of local buildings of the mid 12th century such as Dalmeny Church, St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh (destroyed north doorway) and Tyninghame Church. The sculpture of these and other Romanesque churches in east-central Scotland was probably the work of an indigenous group of masons.