TWO SCOTTISH SHRINES: JEDBURGH AND ST. ANDREWS

By C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

Early Christian archaeology uses the term shrine for two distinct, though kindred, structures. Portable shrines, designed to contain small relics, not necessarily corporeal, are well known and a number of complete examples are preserved. The large fixed structure, originally designed to hold the complete body of a saint, has, not unnaturally, suffered a harsher fate. No complete example from Saxon England survives, and I believe that Scotland, Wales and Ireland are equally barren. This article discusses the surviving fragments of two of these shrines, presenting a reconstruction of each, in the hope that it may lead to the identification and examination of others. An allied form of the structural shrine cut in the solid and designed to cover smaller relics has fared better; two examples are discussed in the appendices.

One of the shrines considered is Saxon of *circa* A.D. 700. The pieces are now preserved by the Ministry of Works in the Museum at Jedburgh, though it will be argued that the shrine did not originally belong to that church. The other, which has always been associated with St. Andrews, probably dates from the early 10th century. My study of the fragments at St. Andrews was undertaken at the request of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Ministry of Works, the present custodians of both monuments. I am greatly indebted to the Ministry, in particular to the Chief Inspector of Ancient Mounments and to Mr. S. H. Cruden, for facilities at both sites and for other assistance. Mr. Cruden has also kindly contributed the second appendix on the St. Leonard's School shrine at St. Andrews. At Jedburgh, which lies in Roxburghshire, now under survey by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for Scotland, I have received much help from the Secretary of the Commission, Mr. Angus Graham, and his staff. The examination of the fragments by Mr. A. T. Calder for the Commission's Inventory has led to a modification of my first conclusions and to the correction of a number of minor errors. For these results I offer my best thanks to Mr. Graham and Mr. Calder. I am also most grateful to Dr. James S. Richardson, formerly Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland, for criticisms of my argument, which are duly acknowledged at the appropriate places. At Peterborough I acknowledge with gratitude the permission given by Canon A. W. Rich to study the Hedda Stone, which forms the subject of the first appendix to this paper.

JEDBURGH

Description

Three slabs of fine grained, creamy white, crystalline sandstone: two are recorded as discovered in the Priory Church, the third was found in 1903 in a garden near Ancrum. The stone is local but differs

from the normal, duller grey sandstone used for the Romanesque and later detail of the Augustinian Priory, and also from the darker, creamy yellow stone of the other early Christian crosses and sculptures at Jedburgh.

1. Slab (Pl. VI) now 32¼ ins. high by 26 ins., by 6½ ins. thick; top and dexter side broken. The well-preserved sinister side has an undamaged offset, with a flat top 3¾ ins. long, 31¾ ins. above the base. Beyond this offset the central part extended upward, the side having a slope of about 65°. The sinister edge and back are plain. At the back, about 2 ins. from the margin, is a vertical groove with a rectangular section 4 ins. wide and 1¼ ins. deep (fig. 1). In the centre of the slab a sunk panel 16¼ ins. wide, extended into the missing head. This panel is filled with a well-modelled, symmetrical vine scroll in relief; birds and animals feed on the bunches of grapes. On the sinister side a long panel of interlace, 26 ins. high by 2¾ ins., is set under the offset. The panels are framed and separated by broad plain margins.[1]

The design demands a symmetrical restoration giving an original width of 30¼ ins. The head was gabled and about 56 ins. high[2] (fig. 1).

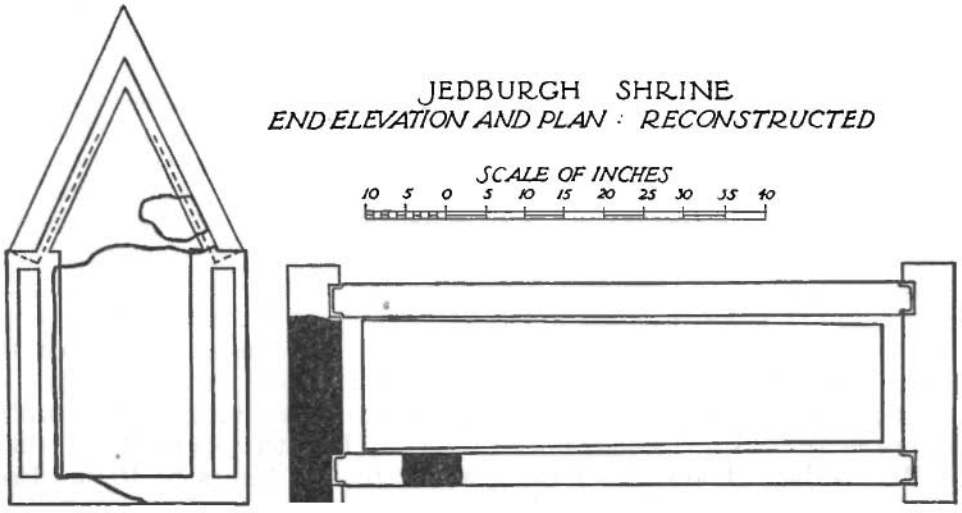


Fig. 1

2. Small fragment of a similar slab. Part of the sinister margin remains; the other edges are broken. The maximum measurements are 8 ins. wide by 6 ins. high. The sunk panel has an imperfect bird perched on one of the scrolled branches of the vine. The design shews

[1] Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 433. A fuller publication will appear in the *Roxburghshire Inventory* of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (in the press). Alternative outlines for the central panel are shewn on fig. 2.

[2] The height depends on the angle of the gable, which is not exactly determinable; the figure suggested is liable to an error not exceeding 5° in either direction.

that the surviving edge formed part of the gable. I originally thought that this fragment belonged to the same slab as that first described, and have shewn its relative position in the drawing. Mr. Calder's careful reconstruction of the design shews that it is very difficult to ' marry ' the two pieces : he suggests that the second belongs to the other end of the shrine.

3. Broken slab 7 ins. wide by 12 ins. high by 4¼ ins. thick. Above a plain margin is a sunk panel filled with a well-designed interlace of broad flat bands.[1] The edge and back are plain.

Reconstruction

The reconstruction of the four walls of the shrine is simple. The side panels would have rebates fitting into the grooves at the back of the ends : this is the method used at St. Andrews. The third fragment, which is slightly thicker than the breadth of the groove and has no rebate, belongs to the base of one of these slabs. The fitting of the roof slabs is necessarily conjectural. In all probability the base of each was rectangular in section in order to fit into a groove on the top of the sides, as is suggested in the reconstruction of the roof at St. Andrews. The flat offset at the base of the gable suggests that the edges of the roof slabs were rebated to fit over this, a simple method shewn in the drawing (fig. 1). The treatment of the ridge cannot now be determined. A separate member is possible as suggested in the restoration of the shrine at St. Andrews, but the simpler lighter form of the structure at Jedburgh may imply that the two slabs were halved together at the apex.

The reconstructed plan shews an arbitrary length of 84 ins. by 30¼ ins. wide. This gives an internal space 70½ ins. by 17 ins., more than sufficient, as the drawing (fig. 1) shews, to contain the contemporary wooden coffin of St. Cuthbert,[2] which must have been housed in a similar shrine (p. 56 infra).

Date

The well-designed symmetrical vine plant with its lively fauna feeding on the grapes closely resembles in design and modelling the vine scrolls on the crosses at Ruthwell[3] and Bewcastle.[4] The plant itself, though it retains the bunches of grapes, has lost the natural five-pointed vine leaf, which is replaced with heart-shaped leaves and flowers resembling a poppy head. This is a development which has already begun at Bewcastle. The general appearance and the plastic modelling of all three monuments bear a very close resemblance and indicate a common date, *circa* A.D. 700. This date has the support of the most recent investigators, the late Sir Alfred Clapham[5] and Sir Thomas Kendrick.[6]

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, xxxix, 30 ; fig. 10.

[2] The best reconstruction gives the maximum measurements as 65 ins. by 16 ins. (McIntyre and Kitzinger, *The Coffin of St. Cuthbert*).

[3] Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, v, pl. xiv.

[4] *Ibid.*, pl. xiii and xxvii.

[5] A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, 64.

[6] T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, 131, n. 1.

The broad ribbon scroll on the third fragment may be compared with work in the Book of Durrow, but this is a feature not confined to this particular period.

History

The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, an estate roll of the monks of Saint Cuthbert, originally drawn up about the middle of the 10th century, records among the ancient possessions given to the See of Lindisfarne by Bishop Ecgred (830–45) the vills of ' Jedworth and the second Jedworth and their pertinences '.[1] The summary of possessions of the See entered by Symeon of Durham in the Historia Regum under the year 854 includes ' the two Jedworth on the south bank of the Teviot, which Bishop Ecgred founded '.[2] W. G. Collingwood used this entry to date the Jedburgh slab to the 9th century,[3] but his chronology of the crosses is not generally accepted, and this dating of the Jedburgh slab fits with difficulty into his own scheme.

There is at Hartrigge House near Jedburgh a cross base typical of the first half of the 9th century, with paired animals standing out against a background of thin, irregular interlace.[4] This is followed by a series of later fragments, now in the Museum, giving a continuous sequence down to the foundation of the Augustinian Priory in the second quarter of the 12th century. All these are executed in the same material, a creamy yellow sandstone found close to the town. The three fragments listed in this paper stand alone, both in material and in technique. Moreover, there is no record that the early church of Jedburgh ever possessed the body of a person of sufficient eminence to have been enshrined. These facts, coupled with the discovery of one fragment at Ancrum, suggest that all three were brought from elsewhere.

Eight miles north of Jedburgh, in a loop on the south bank of the Tweed, lies Old Melrose, one of the earliest Christian sites on the Border. It was here that the young Cuthbert entered the religious life and became a pupil of the Prior Boisil, ' a priest of great virtues, endowed with the spirit of prophecy '.[5]

Boisil died about 660 and his body lay in the church of Old Melrose. In the time of Bishop Eadmund of Durham (1020–42), that indefatigable collector of relics, Elfred, son of Westou, removed the bones of Saint Boisil from Old Melrose to the Cathedral.[6] This in itself suggests that they lay in a shrine that was easily recognizable. The site was probably by that date already a ' solitude ' as it was a generation later when Turgot used ' the place of the former monastery ' as a retreat.[7] Once

[1] Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, cap. 9 apud Symeon of Durham in *Rolls Series*, lxxv, i, 201.

[2] Symeonis monachi Historia Regum, a. 854 (*R.S.*, lxxv, ii, 101) : quas Ecgredus episcopus condidit.

[3] W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of pre-Norman Age*, 43.

[4] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, xxxix, 25 ; fig. 5.

[5] Bedae Historia ecclesiastica, iv, 27 (ed. Plummer, i, 269).

[6] Symeonis monachi Historia ecclesiae Dunelmensis, iii, 7 (*R.S.*, lxxv, i, 88).

[7] *Ibid.*, iii, 22 (*R.S.*, lxxv, i, 111) : quondam monasterium, tunc autem solitudinem.

the precious contents had gone, the shrine would have had little value and the fine sandstone slabs were doubtless annexed as building material and carried away to Jedburgh and Ancrum. Proof is lacking, but the evidence clearly suggests that the three sculptured fragments, now in the Museum at Jedburgh, belonged to a shrine standing in some other church and that the shrine was, in all probability, that of St. Boisil at Old Melrose.

St. Andrews

Description

Six pieces of hard, cream, local sandstone found in 1833, when digging a deep grave near the 12th-century church of St. Rule.[1] Three pieces are stone corner posts, two complete and one damaged at the top. There are also two perfect slabs and a small fragment of a third. The stones are little damaged by their burial in the soil. Since their discovery they have been housed in various places, one travelling as far as the Blackgate Museum at Newcastle, but there is no doubt that the six pieces were found together.

1. Corner post, 32½ ins. high by 14½ ins. by 5 ins. There are slots, rectangular in section, 2 ins. by 1¼ ins. deep, on the back and dexter side ; the former extends 24½ ins. from the top, the latter 23½ ins. On three edges the top has a carefully finished rebate ¼ in. wide, beyond which the central part of the surface rises as a slight, roughly trimmed, flat boss ; there is no rebate on the dexter edge, which is dressed to a rough chamfer (fig. 2*e*). The front is filled with a sculptured design (Pl. VIIA), in low relief, of writhing interlaced animals. They have flat serpentine heads and rudimentary legs, the latter barely distinguishable. The background is emphasized with slight pocking. On the sinister edge is a panel of regular interlace in slight relief. The other sides are plain. The ornamental panels extend 26½ ins. below the top. The plain lower part has been rebated to fit into the floor ; this appears to have been done recently, possibly when the fragments were first assembled in the Museum.

2. Similar post with grooves on the back and sinister side. The top is broken and missing ; the maximum length is now 21 ins. The interlaced animals on the front (Pl. VIIA) are more finely designed, with recognizable legs.

3. Post as first. The top is damaged, but sufficient remains to shew that the edges were treated in the same manner. The main ornamental panel on the front is filled with thin wiry interlace enclosing reserved crosses.

4. Complete slab, 26 ins. long by 23½ ins. high by 1¾ ins. thick. The four edges have rebates of rounded section about 1 in. deep ; these fit comfortably into the grooves in the corner posts (fig. 2*c*). The front

[1] D. H. Fleming, *St. Andrews Cathedral Museum*, 3 sqq. gives the best account of the discovery and subsequent vicissitudes of the stones. Cf. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments : Fife, p. 238.

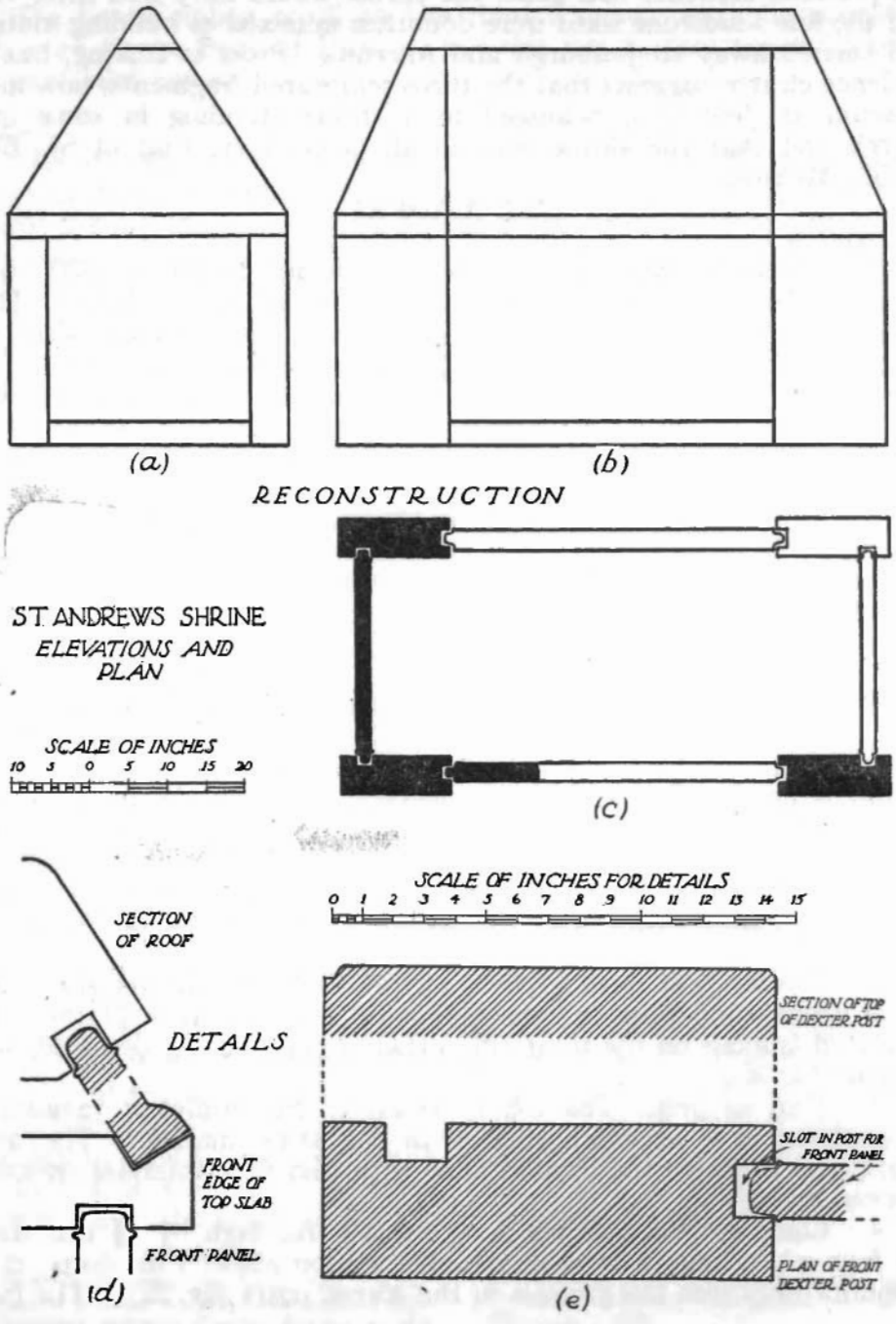

(a)
(b)
RECONSTRUCTION
ST ANDREWS SHRINE
ELEVATIONS AND
PLAN
SCALE OF INCHES
10 5 0 5 10 15 20
(c)
SECTION
OF ROOF
DETAILS
FRONT
EDGE OF
TOP SLAB
FRONT PANEL
(d)
SCALE OF INCHES FOR DETAILS
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
SECTION OF TOP
OF DEXTER POST
SLOT IN POST FOR
FRONT PANEL
PLAN OF FRONT
DEXTER POST
(e)

Fig. 2

is framed with a raised border, marking the edge of the rebates. The panel within this border has a cross with a square centre and thin, straight arms with large square ends, the whole set in a broad frame. Cross and frame are filled with a flat thin interlace with a boss marking the centre. Two of the sunk panels separating the arms of the cross have round bosses from each of which springs a pair of serpents ; the other two have monkey-like figures in relief. The back is plain.

5. Fragment of a similar slab $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. thick. The part preserved, of which the maximum measurements are 12 ins. wide by $14\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, belongs to the dexter edge ; it has a rebate like that on the slab already described. Parts of two sunk panels remain with animal figures in relief. The size of the panels shew that the pattern cannot be part of a cruciform design like that on the complete slab. Assuming a length equal to that of the slab next to be described (42 ins.), there would be space for six symmetrically arranged panels in two rows.

6. Complete slab (Pl. VIIA) 42 ins. long by $25\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high with a minimum thickness of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The top and sides are rebated in the same manner as on the other slabs ; the base is rectangular in section, the edge of the ornamented front being thickened to some 3 ins. to form a heavy frame at the bottom of the panel. Three quarters of the panel, on the dexter side, are occupied with a hunting scene. A figure on horseback and another on foot advance driving before them a group of animals. The horseman, in the upper register, wears a short cloak, holds a short sword in the right hand and has a hawk on the left wrist. He is being attacked by a lion, which rears up on its hind legs to claw at the horse's neck. Beyond the lion a number of animals stand out against an irregular interlaced background representing the forest. In the lower register the footman, similarly dressed, holds a spear and a small shield. He is preceded by a dog, in front of which are three animals. Behind the footman a lion has sprung on a deer and is devouring it. The animals are naturalistically represented and belong to recognizable species. The sinister side of the panel is occupied by a single figure, more than twice the size of the hunters. The man is shewn full face, dressed in a long tunic with flat parallel folds. A hunting knife in an ornate sheath is slung on his right hip.[1] He is being attacked by a lion and has his hands on its jaws tearing them apart. Above his right shoulder is a ram, above the left a monkey-like figure, of which the head has gone with the missing corner of the stone.

The hunting scene is conventional and differs from other Scottish[2] versions of this date only by its greater realism and more plastic modelling. Stylistically it is related to the similar scenes on ivories and it was prob-

[1] The form of the weapon with a curved blade on the dexter side of the carving and the back in two planes meeting at a very obtuse angle shews that a knife not a sword is intended. This is well brought out by the detail photograph in *Antiquity*, x, pl. ii d. This type of knife with a richly ornamented sheath is illustrated by a number of English and Continental examples. Cf. Haseloff in *Bayerische Vorgeschichts Blatter*, 18/19, 83.

[2] E.g. Hilton of Cadboll, Rossshire (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, lxxiv, pl. xliii.)

ably inspired from some small portable object. The large figure, which is dissociated from the hunting scene, both by its greater size and by the averted attitude, has no close parallel in Scottish art of this period. It is probably intended to represent David as a prefiguration of Christ ; indications of a small body under the right hand suggest that the carver had in mind the verse : Salva me ex ore leonis (Psalm xxii, 21).

Reconstruction (fig. 2*a*, *b*, *c*)

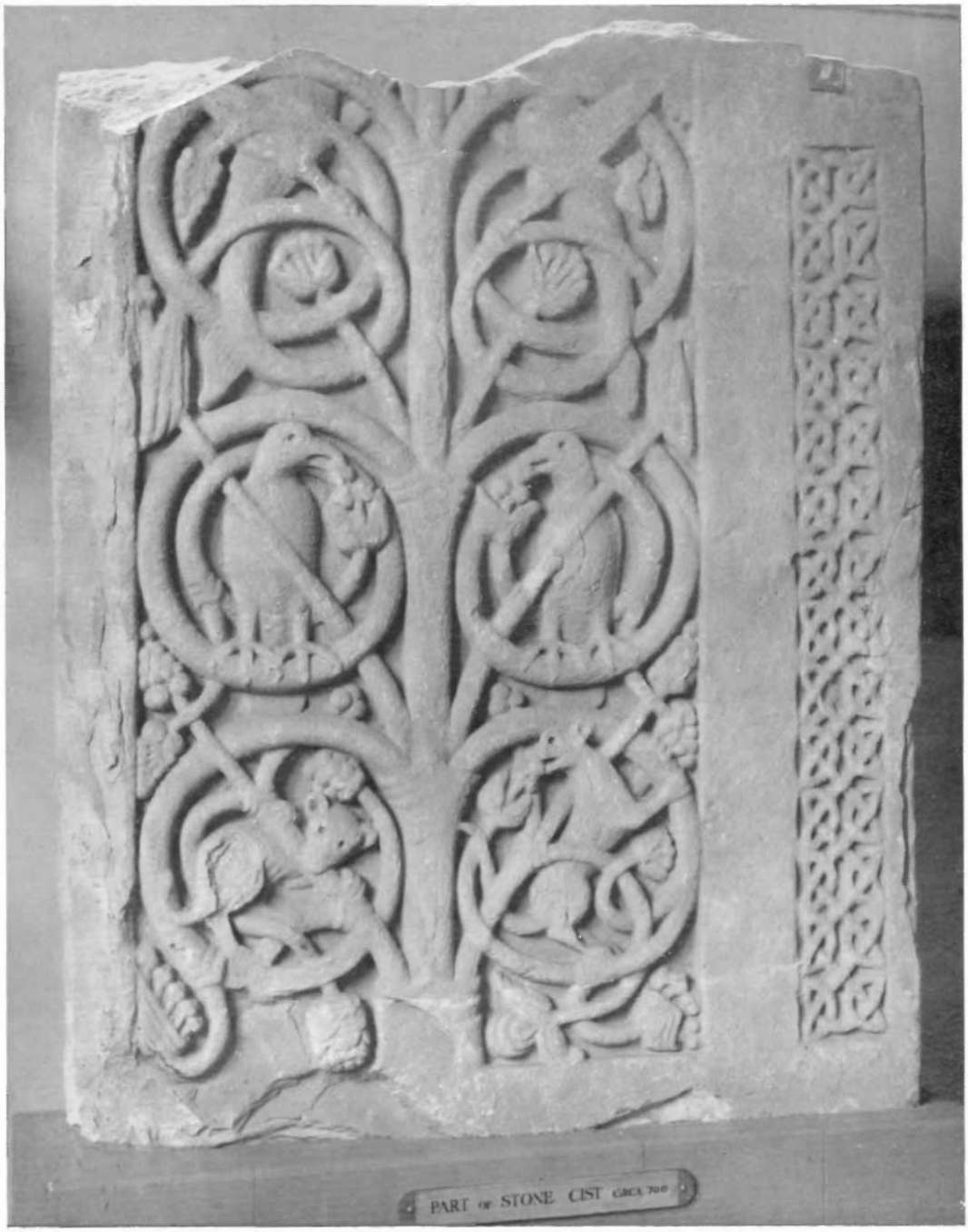
The position of the three corner posts is determined by the grooves. The unornamented part, at least 6 ins. long, at the foot of each post suggests that they were set into sockets in the floor to give stability and rigidity to the structure. This is borne out by the rougher finish of these bases.

The difference in height between the small end slab (23½ ins.) and the decorated panels on the corner posts (26½ ins.) shews that this slab was set into a transverse bar of stone, possibly a stone forming part of the floor of the shrine, lying between the corner posts. This is borne out by the rebate on the bottom of the slab. No slotting would be needed to hold the bar or stone in position ; the weight of the slab would be sufficient. The height of this bar must have been at least 3 ins. ; it was probably a little more, allowing a slight plain margin at the base of the decorated panels on the corner posts. Similar bars must be allowed at the base of the longer side slabs. These bars, which were probably decorated, would lie flush with the faces of the corner posts, forming a frame at the base of the end and side panels.

The small end slab is perfect, and its height, corresponding exactly to the length of the groove in the corner post, shews that the tops of the posts and of the end slabs were all on the same level. The two corner posts would be linked at each end by a gable piece or haffit. This would have hollows on the under surface, to take the bosses on the tops of the corner posts, and a groove, for the rebate on the slab. The sloping sides would not start at the base of the gable piece, both because the sharp angle immediately over the hollow would weaken the stone and because aesthetic considerations demand a rectangular member of the same depth at the basal bar, in order to complete the frame of the end slab. Above this the gable would rise with a slope of rather less than 60°. The ends of the gables were probably hipped. Structurally this solution simplifies the problem of the ridge (see below). It is also preferable aesthetically for a triangular field above the rectangular frame and in the same plane looks awkward ; an upright gable demands a single panel extending into the gable as in the end slab at Jedburgh. Parallels to a hipped roof are to be found not only in the small portable reliquaries of Irish type, such as the Emly shrine[1] and several others dating, in some cases, as early as the 8th century, but also in solid sarcophagi such as the 11th-century example at Bexhill.[2]

[1] A. Mahr, *Christian Art in Ireland*, i, pl. 17.1.

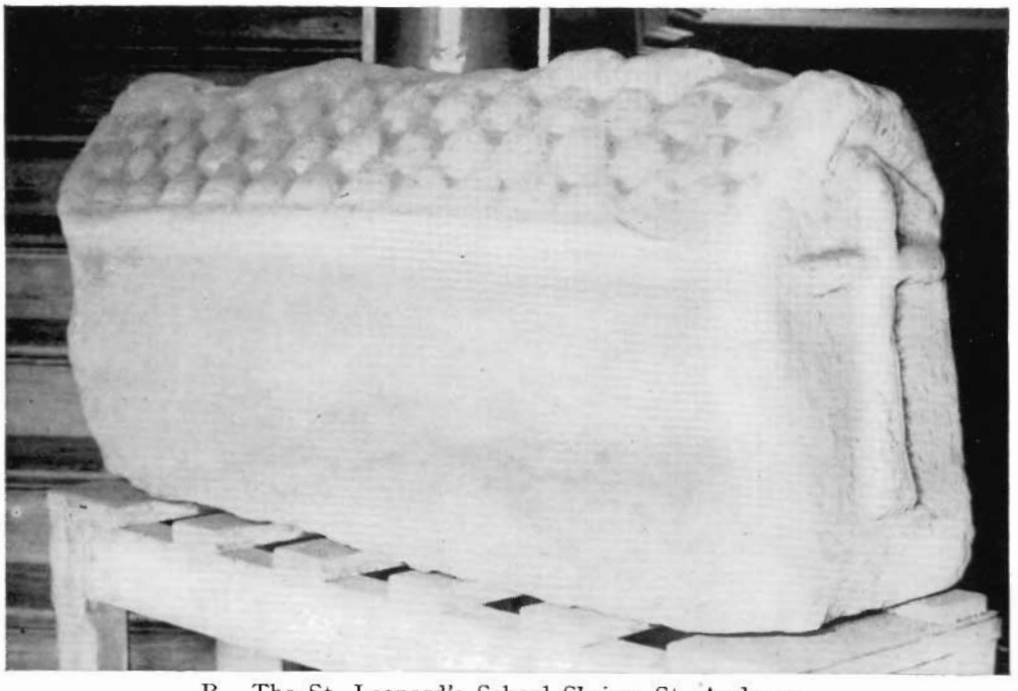
[2] T. D. Kendrick, *Later Saxon and Viking Art*, 86 ; pl. lvi.



Slab from Shrine in the Museum at Jedburgh

Facing page 51

A. The St. Andrews Shrine



B. The St. Leonard's School Shrine, St. Andrews

The gable pieces would have slid over the bosses on the corner posts, the hollows being left without margins on the inner sides to correspond to the chamfered edges without rebates (fig. 2*e*). The main central part of the interior between the gable ends would have been closed with a flat slab or slabs, with grooves on the underside to hold the tops of the side panels and others on the surface to take the bases of the roof slabs (fig. 2*d*). Such a covering is necessary to make the structure sufficiently rigid to withstand the outward thrust of the gabled roof ; incidentally, the projecting flat slabs provide that frame for the tops of the side panels, which was held desirable when considering the form of the gables (p. 50).[1]

The base of the largest slab has a square section, unlike the rebates on the top and sides (fig. 2*d*). This alone, apart from the dimensions, would serve to shew that it is not one of the sides of the shrine, as has been thought in the past. It is designed to rest in a groove, and the best explanation of the different type of joint is to be found in the fact that it met the member below at an angle. The sides of the roof slabs would slot into the gable pieces without difficulty and their height shews that the slope must have been about 60°. The top with its rebate fitted into another groove. This shews that the two sides of the roof were united by a ridge piece (fig. 2*d*), for the angle of apex is too acute to permit a groove to be cut on the underside of the second slab. Moreover, a a ridge, fitting over bosses on the flat tops of the gable pieces, is needed to tie the structure longitudinally, as it is tied transversely by the gable pieces. An overlap of 5 ins. at each end would provide space for these bosses, giving the ridge a length of 52 ins., with a section of about 8 ins. by 7 ins. The grooves for the rebates of the roof slabs would be cut in the chamfered angles at the base of the ridge. A rounded top seems likely on aesthetic grounds and the ends were probably finished ornamentally. It is possible that a heavier ridge was in fact used ; in the suggested restoration I have been guided by a desire not to overweight the shrine and have kept the dimensions of the missing members as small as possible.

The main lines of the reconstruction outlined are sufficiently established.[2] The space within measured 63 ins. by 25½ ins. by

[1] I am much indebted to Dr. Richardson, whose criticism of the proposed reconstruction first brought to my attention the necessity for lateral rigidity at this level.

[2] When this paper was read in abstract to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Dr. J. S. Richardson made a number of detailed criticisms of the proposed reconstruction. His most important argument, concerning the original use of the main sculptured panel, involves a drastic change in the solution here proposed. The remains do not impose either solution, and it seems desirable to summarize Dr. Richardson's views to indicate the extent of possible error in my reconstruction.

Dr. Richardson argued that the square base of the large panel shewed that it was intended to stand upright, resting on the podium of the shrine. A panel designed as a roof slab, as suggested in my reconstruction, would have had a square top fitting against the ridge and a base bevelled to fit into a horizontal groove on the slab below. The loose jointing of the stones would render so elaborate a construction as that described insecure. In a later letter he wrote : ' I favour a three-piece roof, as I think that the metal cross-rods were to support the haffits (i.e. rods fitting into the square holes in the back of the posts ; see p. 47). The centre or saddle stone would have been hollowed out and its edges tongued into the haffits '. In his view the hunting scene formed one of the longer sides—the traditional arrangement which is preserved in the new mounting of the shrine (pl. VIIA) ; the roof would have been shewn with tiles or a formal design.

23 ins. high, not counting the gable ; it may be noted that this is slightly wider, and only 3 ins. shorter, than the overall measurements of the contemporary wooden coffin of St. Cuthbert (p. 45*n.*). Small square holes in the backs of the corner posts probably held wooden bars, supporting planks on which relics rested as in the coffin of St. Cuthbert.[1].

Date

Before setting out my own views on the date of these sculptures it is desirable to examine those expressed in the latest comprehensive survey of the Scottish monuments of the Early Christian period.[2] Mrs. Curle, in 1940, classed the St. Andrews sarcophagus with the related slabs from Nigg and Hilton of Cadboll, both in Rossshire. These form the nucleus of an ' elaborate Eastern group ', which is ascribed to the 8th century.[3] The figure scenes on the principal slab at St. Andrews are brought into relation with East Mediterranean models of the 5th–7th century, but the dating proposed is based on the ' Celtic ' decorative motives, which are admitted to be by the same hand. Three elements in particular are stressed. The square-ended cross on the small slab is compared with drawings in the Book of Lindisfarne. The central boss on the same slab and the other two with their emergent serpents are said to be parallel to those on the crosses at Iona which are similar in conception to the bosses with serpents on the 8th-century bronze reliquaries in St. Germain Museum. The animal interlace on the corner posts is related to that in the Book of Lindisfarne and on Northumbrian crosses such as Rothbury and Aberlady.

I have elsewhere discussed Mrs. Curle's attempt to date the crosses at Iona and in the neighbourhood to a period before the transfer of the coarb and the relics of St. Columba to Ireland in 806.[4] A formal comparison of the monuments of the Iona school with the Irish crosses lends no support to a date in the 8th century and points rather to the 10th. The survival of the monastery at least as late as the last quarter of that century is sufficiently proved by the record of the massacre by the Vikings in 985 of the abbot and fifteen seniors of the church.[5]

The main decorative element on the shrine is the regular thin interlace, a motive not closely datable. The flat mechanical design suggests a position late in the series, but the repetitive character of the panel of interlace on the Jedburgh slab is a warning against too close a reliance on the formal character of these patterns.

[1] *Arch. Journ.*, cxi, 198.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, lxxiv, 60 ; cf. *Antiquity*, x, 428. The latest survey, by Mr. R. B. K. Stevenson (*The Problem of the Picts*, 97–128), appeared too late for me to discuss the arguments he sets out in favour of a ' date not later than about 825 for the St. Andrews shrine '.

[3] This is the sense of the section dealing with these monuments (*ibid.*, 97–104). The St. Andrews sarcophagus in particular is attributed to the time of King Angus mac Fergus (*c.* 731-61). It should, however, be noted that the stemma of monuments on p. 112 attributes the sarcophagus to the early 9th century and the group as a whole to that century.

[4] *Antiquity*, xvi, 4.

[5] *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. (Ed. Hennessy).

The central boss and those with emergent serpents on the end slab provide a better basis for chronology. The bosses themselves are covered with a fine strap work : they are a form which has been compared with the tortoise brooches of the Viking Age. The style is peculiarly Irish and characteristic of the 10th century, when it becomes a common motive on the high crosses.[1] The combination of these bosses and the emergent serpents occurs on a number of panels, including one on the cross of Muiredach at Monasterboice, which is generally accepted as a work of the first quarter of the 10th century. In her discussion of the motive, Mdlle. Fr. Henry points out that it is derived from an earlier form with embossed spirals, the outer ends of which expand to form serpents. Her example of the earlier stage is the reliquary in St. Germain Museum already quoted, Another instance in bronze, a fragment looted from Ireland, was found in a Viking grave of the first half of the 9th century at Gausel, Norway.[2]

The animal interlacing of the corner posts belongs to that school of decoration which finds its highest expression in the Book of Lindisfarne, but only an analysis of the individual design can provide a close dating. It is a long-lived fashion found in a late form in an Irish MS. of the second half of the 10th century, the Psalter at St. John's College, Cambridge.[3] This example is very pertinent. The animals in the margin of fol. 4b shew the same flat serpentine heads, the same writhing contortions and the same atrophied limbs, that occur in the carvings of St. Andrews. Another late parallel, in some ways even closer, is afforded by the small panel of interlace in the initial A on fol. 22a of the book of Cerne, an Irish MS. of the 9th century.[4] It is these late and degenerate examples of the school, rather than the finely drawn masterpieces of the early 8th century, such as the Book of Lindisfarne, that afford the true parallels to the interlaced animals of St. Andrews and of other Scottish stones.

Even more telling, since it is executed in the same material, is the parallel with the Rothbury cross, first pointed out by Mrs. Curle and Dr. Kitzinger.[5] The date of this monument is disputed. After seeing the stones I find Sir Thomas Kendrick's careful analysis of the Carolingian influences entirely convincing and accept his date of *c.* 800,[6] in spite of the late Sir Alfred Clapham's ascription of the base to the 7th century.[7] I can see no reason to question the reconstruction put forward by Mr. Hodgson,[8] and if the fragmentary head with the crucified Christ is to be associated with the other pieces, it follows that the monument

[1] Cf. Françoise Henry, *La Sculpture irlandaise*, 54.

[2] *Préhistorie*, vi, 65.

[3] Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, pl. 212. Cf. Haseloff, *Der Tassilokelch*, 18 sqq.

[4] Zimmermann, op. cit., pl. 294. Cf. Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores*, ii, ix.

[5] *Antiquity*, x, 433. Dr. Kitzinger's dating to *c.* 800 is there accepted.

[6] Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, 154 sqq.

[7] Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, pl. 18.

[8] *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., i, 159.

is not earlier than *c.* 800, for the crucifix was adopted into the Saxon repertory at a comparatively late date.[1]

The figure sculpture is also of value for dating purposes. The large figure on the roof slab has the flexed legs and the flat schematic drapery characteristic of the Mercian school of the end of the 8th and early 9th century. This is well illustrated by figures like those at Peterborough, Fletton and Caistor.[2] Figures of this type with their lively movement are in striking contrast to the hieratic immobile statues, such as the Christ figures on the crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle,[3] so characteristic of the earlier Northumbrian school. The animals in the dexter top corner of the same slab, standing out against the background of the interlaced forest trees are also related to work of the same Mercian school, which had a predilection for friezes of naturalistic animals set against a background of wiry foliage, as at Breedon and elsewhere.[4] The stylistic parallel in this case is not very close and St. Andrews is some way removed from the Saxon work.

History

The foregoing analysis leads to the conclusion that the shrine at St. Andrews cannot be earlier than the 9th century. The degenerate character of some of the ornament suggests that it cannot belong to the beginning of that century. The bosses indicate a connection with Irish work. The Irish monks were expelled from Pictland in 717,[5] and from that date until the union of the kingdoms under Kenneth mac Alpin in 841 it is inherently unlikely that Irish influence would be found in Fife on the east coast. The series of slabs in St. Andrews, which covers the 8th and 9th centuries,[6] is singularly free from Irish influence. A date after the middle of the century is therefore to be preferred on historical grounds.

These chronological considerations make it unnecessary to discuss Mrs. Curle's suggestion that the shrine dates from ' the period of the dedication of the church ' in the time of Angus mac Fergus, King of the Picts (*c.* 731–61). Even the second king of this name, who reigned *c.* 822–4 is barely possible, and this identification is unlikely on other grounds. There is, however, ample evidence of an extensive reorganization of St. Andrews under King Constantine mac Aedh (*c.* 900–40) and Bishop Cellach. In their day an assembly at Scone chose St. Andrews as the seat of the Bishop of Alba. It was to St. Andrews that King Constantine retired to spend his last days in the religious life and there,

[1] Even the acceptance of the fragments of the Rood at Hexham as an addition of the time of Bishop Acca (*ob.* 740) would not invalidate this conclusion for the origin of this sculpture is in doubt (Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman Age*, 29).

[2] *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, 233 sqq.

[3] Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, v, pl. xvii.

[4] Cf. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, 172 : ' It is not a scroll pattern containing birds ; it is a *picture* of birds seen against foliage '.

[5] *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 716 (ed. Hennessy) ; cf. Annals of Tighernach (*Revue celtique*, xvii, 225).

[6] The best account of the sculptures is in Fleming, *St. Andrews Cathedral Museum*, 3.

alone in his dynasty, he was buried.[1] At this period we might well expect an extensive rebuilding and an accompanying translation of the relics into a new and finer shrine. The union of the kingdoms, two generations earlier, would explain the Irish elements in this eclectic monument, while the overrunning of the Saxon north-west in the second decade of the century[2] must have forced into exile craftsmen who would influence the style of Pictland.

The discovery of the fragments near the church of St. Rule is a sufficient indication of the person for whose relics the shrine was prepared. This obscure saint, probably Riaghail of Mucinis, a companion of St. Columba, plays a prominent part in the later legend of St. Andrews. The alternative explanation, that it housed the relics of St. Andrew himself, is sufficiently refuted by the fact that even in the 13th century the canons did not claim the whole body.[3]

The Altar Shrine

It remains to indicate the position and purpose of the shrines in the Saxon and Celtic churches. They are clearly intended to house the body of the saint and are equally clearly intended to stand above ground and be seen by the faithful. They belong to the type of structure classed by Father Braun as a relic altar (reliquienaltar),[4] though I prefer in English to use the term altar shrine. A later typical example is afforded by the 13th-century altar shrine of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey.[5] There are a number of other later medieval shrines, of which substantial remains still exist in English churches, but pre-Conquest examples are no longer preserved and we must rely on literary sources.

Burial beneath the altar has a long history. St. Ambrose (*ob.* 397) built the church of Sant' Ambrogio outside the walls of Milan and desired to be buried beneath the altar, at which he had been accustomed to offer the holy sacrifice, but he ceded the place of honour on the right side to the local martyrs.[6] At Salona the bodies of a local martyr and of two successive bishops were buried in a triple tomb beneath the altar in the cemetery church of Manastirine.[7] Later two of the bodies were translated to raised relic chambers set above the pavement of the church alongside the altar.[8]

In the later arrangement at Manastirine we see the germ of the altar shrine, with the sarcophagus separate from, but in close proximity

[1] Pictish Chronicle (Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts*, 9) and Prophecy of St. Berchan (*ibid.*, 91).

[2] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 327 sqq.

[3] I have given a rather more detailed analysis of the early history of St. Andrews in *Antiquity*, xvi, 5, but a fuller collation of the history and archaeology of the site is badly needed.

[4] J. Braun, *Das Christliche Altar*, ii, 545 sqq.

[5] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments : *London, Westminster Abbey*, pl. 44.

[6] Ambrosii epistola xxii (Migne *Patrologia latina*, xvi, col. 1023) : hunc ego locum praedestinaveram mihi, ut ibi requiescat sacerdos ubi offerre consuevit, sed cedo sacris victimis dexteram portionem, locus iste martyribus debeitur.

[7] R. Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, ii, 42 ; fig. 8.

[8] *Ibid.*, 44. Cf. *ibid.*, 55.

to, the altar. The development of this idea is, as Father Braun points out, the result of a desire to give greater prominence to the relics and facilitate their veneration. The custom was widespread in Merovingian Gaul, a region where it was already known in the 6th century. Gregory of Tours, writing in the last decade, relates the following story of the siege of Paris by King Sigebert in 574. Looters had entered the church of St. Denis and one of them sacrilegiously climbed on to the tomb of the saint in order to shatter the golden dove. His feet slipped in opposite directions from the tower-like structure and he fell, piercing his side with his spear, and was found dead.[1] The manner of his fall suggests a gabled tomb, and the mention of the golden dove implies the proximity of an altar, for these doves were used to contain the consecrated elements.[2] In the 7th century several of these shrines are recorded, St. Eligius being particularly zealous in their erection. The account of that at Peronne, which was made for the body of St. Fursei (*ob. c.* 650) is one of the more detailed. The saint died at Lagny and his body was brought to Peronne, where a church was to be dedicated within the month. The body was placed first within a porticus and after the dedication it was ' reverently buried, as is the custom, near the altar '. After four years a little house was built on the east side of the altar and the exhumed body was translated there by Bishop Eligius and Bishop Audoperthus.[3] The position east of the altar is also recorded in other instances and seems to have been normal in Gaul at this time.[4]

The Saxon church was in close touch with Merovingian Gaul, and the numerous literary notices of shrines shew that the custom was adopted at an early date. The most detailed account is that in the Prose Life of St. Cuthbert by Bede. The saint had died in his hermitage on Farne and his body was brought to Lindisfarne and buried in a stone coffin on the right side of the altar, in the church of St. Peter. Eleven years later it was exhumed and placed in a light chest, in the same place, but above the pavement.[5] The actual wooden coffin which contained the body is preserved at Durham. This coffin with its planks $\frac{3}{4}$ ins. thick[6] cannot be the light chest. It is too slender to have stood alone

[1] Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Liber in Gloria Martyrum, 71 (*Mon. Germ. Hist. : Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, i, 536) : Alius autem super sepulchrum sanctum calcare non metuens dum columbam auream lancea quaerit elidere, elapsisque pedibus ab utroque parte, quia turritum erat tumulum, compressis testiculis, lancea in latere defixa, exanimis est inventus.

[2] Cf. Cabrol et Leclerc, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, s.v. colombe.

[3] Vita Fursei abbatis Latiniacensis, 10 (*Mon. Germ. Hist. : Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, iv, 439) : Reverenter ergo iuxta morem (corpus) prope altare reconditur ibique fere annis quattuor demoratur. Constructa vero ad orientalem altaris partem domuncula, ibi post tot annos immaculatum corpus . . . transfertur.

[4] E.g. the burial and translation of St. Gall in Vita Galli auctore Wettino, ii, 32 (*Mon. Germ. Hist. : Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, iv, 275) and ii, 36 (*ibid.*, 277). Cf. the rather later account in Vita Galli auctore Walahfrido, ii, 2 (*ibid.*, 314).

[5] Bedae Vita Sancti Cuthberti, xl (Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, 288) : (corpus) in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli ad dexteram altaris petrino in sarcofago repositum ; and xlii (*ibid.*, 292) : transactis sepulturae eius annis undecim immisit (sc. divina dispensatio) in anima fratrum ut tollerent ossa illius . . . atque in levi arca recondita in eodem quidem loco sed supra pavimentum dignae venerationis gratia locarent.

[6] McIntyre and Kitzinger, *The Coffin of St. Cuthbert*.

and must have been enclosed in a more solid structure, probably of stone. Moreover, the word arca implies a gabled structure—it is the term normally employed for the Ark of Noah. Of another of the shrines mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History—that of St. Chad at Lichfield—Bede stated that it was formed in the shape of a small house.[1] This clearly refers to a gabled structure, probably to one not dissimilar from the shrine now at Jedburgh. The gabled roof and, in particular, the form with the hipped roof, suggested in the restoration of the St. Andrews shrine, is confirmed by the use of the word pyramid for these structures. At Glastonbury the life of St. Indracht, written before the fire of 1184, includes the story of a miracle that took place in the old church of St. Mary, where St. Patrick and St. Indracht lay in tombs on either side of the altar. The boy who had been healed, questioned about the occurrence, replied : ' I saw two men, fair of face and dressed in shining robes, coming to me, one from each of the pyramids, which are on either side of the altar '.[2] It can hardly be doubted that the tombs were shrines of the type under consideration, described by a writer, who was familiar with the originals.

These two Saxon instances—Lindisfarne and Glastonbury—shew the shrine flanking the altar, not on the east side, as in Gaul. But these two churches were small, probably with the altar set against the east wall. In larger churches the Continental arrangement would be possible. The bench running round the apse at Reculver[3] implies an altar free of the wall, and here there would be room for a shrine on the east side. At. St. Augustine, Canterbury, where we might expect confirmation of this arrangement, the early apse has been destroyed by Wulfric's rotunda.[4]

The shrines at Jedburgh and St. Andrews were, if my reconstruction is correct, designed to encase the coffin holding the body. I have quoted Continental texts illustrating this custom, but there are others in which a distinction appears to be drawn between the tomb and the superstructure. It is not always clear whether the body lay in a grave or above the pavement, but this is a minor point as both types are known. At St. Denis Bishop Eligius ' constructed the mausoleum of the holy martyr Dionysius in the city of Paris and above it a marble hut of wonderful workmanship with gold and jewels '.[5] So runs the life of St. Eligius and it does not stand alone.

This form of shrine was also known in Saxon England, and I call attention to it in this connection only because one of these monuments

[1] Bedae Historia ecclesiastica, iv, 3 (ed. Plummer, i, 212) : Est autem locus idem sepulcri tumba lignea, in modum domunculi facta, coopertus. This applies to the relics after their translation from the original tomb to the new church of St. Peter at Lichfield.

[2] G. H. Doble, *St. Indracht and St. Dominic*, 7 ; cf. 8. For a plan see Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, fig. 16.

[3] Clapham, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.

[4] *Ibid.*, fig. 6.

[5] Sancti Eligii episcopi Noviomensis Vita a sancto Audoeno . . . scripta, i, 32 (Migne *Patrologia latina*, 87, col. 504) : Praeterea Eligius fabricavit mausoleum sancti martyris Dionysii Parisiis civitate et tugurium super ipsum marmoreum miro opere de auro et gemmis.

survives. I refer to the Hedda Stone at Peterborough. This 8th-century shrine is solid, and its dimensions shew that it is too small even to have served as the cover of a sarcophagus in which a complete body lay. Its form well illustrates the type of structure that I have been discussing. Since I wrote this paper Mr. Cruden has drawn my attention to the similar shrine preserved in St. Leonard's School, St. Andrews. Thanks are due to the Ministry of Works for the excellent photographs illustrating the shrines.

Appendix I

The Hedda Stone in Peterborough Cathedral

The so-called Hedda Stone, now standing at the east end of the south choir aisle of Peterborough Cathedral, is a solid block of freestone, 3½ ft. by 1½ ft. and 2½ ft. high with a gabled roof. Both sides are sculptured with arcades of six round-headed niches, each containing a standing figure. The columns separating the niches have bulbous capitals, from the centres of which spring sprays with two leaves filling the spandrels. This last feature is also found on a similar arcaded slab at Castor. The central figures on one side of the Hedda Stone represent Christ and the Virgin Mary, the former with a cruciform nimbus—the only figure thus shewn—the latter with the typical veil over her head. On the sinister side of Christ St. Peter is shewn with the keys in his hand. The other figures lack specific emblems, but there is little doubt that they represent apostles and saints. The two sides of the roof are divided into four panels, each containing a pair of animals or birds ; these normally have their tails fantastically interlaced but in one or two cases they perch on a branching tree. The ends are plain ; on one the date 870 is cut in modern arabic numerals.

The stone clearly belongs to the Mercian school of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, first identified by the late Sir Alfred Clapham.[1] It should be attributed to the late 8th or early 9th century.[2]

In the later Middle Ages the stone stood in the Abbey cemetery above the common grave of Abbot Hedda and the eighty-four monks massacred by the Danes in 870. The figures were supposed to represent the abbot surrounded by his monks. According to tradition it had been erected by Abbot Godric of Crowland, who came to Peterborough shortly after the disaster and saw to the reverent burial of the martyrs ' in the middle of the cemetery opposite to what had been the east side of the church '. He continued to visit the place each year for two days together to offer masses for their souls,[3] a practice which has left its mark in the holes cut into the stone to take the candle-holders. The stone was still in place in the cemetery when Gunton wrote in 1686.[4] There was then a custom that strangers put their fingers in the holes to say that they had been to Peterborough, probably a survival of the ancient practice of taking dust from these shrines to use as a curative.[5]

It is highly improbable that the Hedda Stone was prepared as a memorial by Abbot Godric during the period of the Danish desolation, nor does the form suggest that it was intended to stand outside. A memorial cross erected at the time of the refoundation of the abbey at the end of the 10th century might be expected in this position, but the date of the sculpture excludes this explanation. The true solution lies in the nature of the shrines which form the subject of this paper. The rearrangement at Salona, to which reference has already been made, included, alongside the altar, not only two chambers above ground for the bodies of the two bishops but a smaller chamber in which were

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, 236 ; pl. xli.
[2] T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, 169 sqq.
[3] Ingulf, *History of Crowland* (ed. Riley, 48).
[4] Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterborough*, 9.
[5] E.g. at Lichfield (Bedae Historia ecclesiastica, iv, 3) (ed. Plummer, i, 212).

placed relics of the apostle St. Peter.[1] That the evolution of the shrine containing small relics should follow that of the shrine holding the complete body is only to be expected. There is no record of an enshrined saint at Peterborough, but the abbey certainly possessed relics. It was above the chest containing these, and probably set on the east side of the altar, that the Hedda Stone would originally have been erected.[2]

Appendix II

The St. Leonard's School Shrine, St. Andrews, Fife

By STEWART CRUDEN

The St. Leonard's shrine or tombstone is a solid block of stone approximately 3 ft. 10 ins. long, 1 ft. 9 ins. high and 10½ ins. wide. It has a gabled roof with a vertical height of 7 ins. above a projecting cornice. The cornice is continuous from gable to gable but does not return round them. It is unmoulded, is 1¼ ins. deep, and overhangs the sides about ½–¾ ins. The roof is ' tiled '. The roof-ridge has had a good vertical face, about 2½ ins. high on average, now badly weathered. It seems not to have been hog-backed ; on the contrary, it is depressed at the centre, rises on either side of it, dips towards each end and rises finally over the apex of each gable. There is no evidence of pieces of the ridge having been broken away ; the rise and fall of the profile is symmetrical ; there is more than a suspicion of animal legs on the inner risings which may well have been two beasts crouched upon the ridge. The ridge overreaches each gable-end in a clasping feature (not apparent on the gable photographed) which may be a beast-head but strongly resembles one of the roof tiles.

The tiles have concave sides, as on one of the Meigle stones and on the Temple in the Book of Kells. Each is in high relief and in a staggered setting. Consequently between each is a deep roughly triangular hollow. There are 13 tiles on the top row ; the central one midway between the probable ridge-beasts has a trace of carving.

Only one side was visible at my visit, the side shown on the photograph. It is entirely without ornament or inscription as far as I could see against the light. The surface has been hammer-dressed, or pitted with a blunt tool, and is irregular. The base swells out at the foot where the tooling is even coarser. Approximately 6 ins. from the cornice downwards the side is vertical and the bottom of the cross is in line with the bottom of this vertical face. What is below this vertical face may have been buried.

The cross on one gable is approximately 12 ins. high. It is not sharply modelled ; the re-entrant angles and the edges are rounded. An incised border-line runs round the whole cross continuously, turning the corners in curves. The other gable has a similar cross, but smaller, 10½ ins. high. Each cross is well-finished and smooth, like the ' tiling ', but the field on which each stands is scarred by horizontal axing which may be a late cutting-back to throw the crosses into higher relief.

I think the stone is complete, because of the clasping terminals of the ridge and the finish of the crosses, which seem to me to be original features. But Hay Fleming in the St. Andrews Cathedral Museum Catalogue[3] surmises that the crosses are later and the stone originally longer. Romilly Allen compares it with the so-called Hedda's stone in Peterborough Cathedral.[4]

The following account is handwritten upon the back of a photograph (Pl. VIIb), now in the School :

' This stone was found in March, 1895, when the foundations for St. Rule East were being dug. It lay among a number of stone cists of rough unhewn slabs of stone in each

[1] Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, ii, 43 sqq.

[2] The bodies of Kyneburga and Kyneswitha were only translated to Peterborough in the time of Abbot Aelfsi (1006–55). The right arm of St. Oswald may have reached the abbey in pre-Danish times (Symeonis monachi Vita Sancti Oswaldi, xlviii (*R. S.*, lxxv, i, 374)), and it is not impossible that it was over this greatly venerated relic that the shrine was erected.

[3] D. H. Fleming, *St. Andrews Cathedral Museum* 1931, 234.

[4] J. Romilly Allen, *The Reliquary*, new series, 1, 188.

of which were human remains. There were about 40 of these, most lying to the east of the old gateway forming the entrance to the modern house called the Hospice.

The graves all lay due east and west, the feet towards the east.

The bodies were not lying full length, but apparently had been placed in a half-sitting posture.

A note of the discovery appeared in the *St. Andrews Citizen* of 31st March, 1895, and a further note quoted from the *Reliquary* and *Illustrated Archaeologist* was in the *Citizen* of 13th July, 1895 '.

St. Leonard's School is within the precinct wall of St. Andrews Cathedral and Priory. The stone is in a corridor in the school, beneath a window : there is no opposite light. On the occasion of my visit, when Captain G. L. Austin the school Secretary kindly permitted me to examine it at leisure, only three sides were free and visible, the fourth being hard against the wall, and the stone could not then be moved.