

THE ANIMAL ART OF THE SCOTTISH IRON AGE AND ITS ORIGINS

By CHARLES THOMAS

This paper is designed to introduce a fresh concept of Pictish symbolic art and, inevitably, of the cultural origins of the historical *Picti* themselves. The current view of Pictish art, that it dates only from the 7th century A.D. and is largely derived from Northumbria and Ireland, contains numerous implications which in the writer's opinion are wholly unsupported by the evidence. In the belief that the crux of the problem resides in the meaning of the individual symbols, of which there are nearly fifty, and in the interpretation of the 'messages' which groups of such symbols were intended to convey to the beholders, the writer has re-examined the whole of Pictish art; this is considered not as a manifestation of post-Roman art in north-eastern Scotland, but as a developed pictorial 'language' *sui generis*, and one which very clearly betrays its cultural sources. The interpretation, which appears to be straightforward and consistent, will be given at length in a later paper. In the meantime, consideration of those Pictish symbols — nearly one-third of the total — which consist of naturalistic depictions of animals, birds, and other living creatures, suggests that a detailed account of these, together with certain similar and antecedent animal depictions in the same general area, would best serve to introduce the theme which will be found to underlie the whole study. This is, briefly, that Pictish art represents a deliberately prolonged version of the insular La Tène art of the British Isles, and that the Pictish animal symbols in particular are rooted in an unsophisticated La Tène 'animal style' which has not always been recognized and has seldom been discussed at any length.

Sherds with incised animal ornament

The well-known fragments of hand-made native pottery from Dun Borbaidh, Isle of Coll, Inner Hebrides (fig. 1, no. 3), which display parts of two stags incised in outline, have frequently been described as unique.¹ They must now, however, be related to a more recent find from a wheel-house at Kilpheder, South Uist, where similar animals encircle part of the rim of a small bowl,² and to two further examples of this simple art form, both from sites in the island of Lewis, which the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, in Edinburgh, has in fact contained for a good many years. A description of all four instances follows (the numbers 1-4 refer to the illustration, fig. 1):³

NOTE: A list of the abbreviations used will be found at the end of this paper, p. 64.

¹ Beveridge, *Coll and Tiree* (1903), 14-15. See also Childe, *P.S.*, 243, and Lethbridge (in 2 below), where, however, the three sherds are wrongly conjoined to make a single animal.

² Lethbridge, *P.P.S.*, XVIII (1952), 188-190 and fig. 9.

³ The numbers HR. 646, &c., here and in all future references to Scottish material, refer to the visible accession numbers in Nat. Mus. Edin.

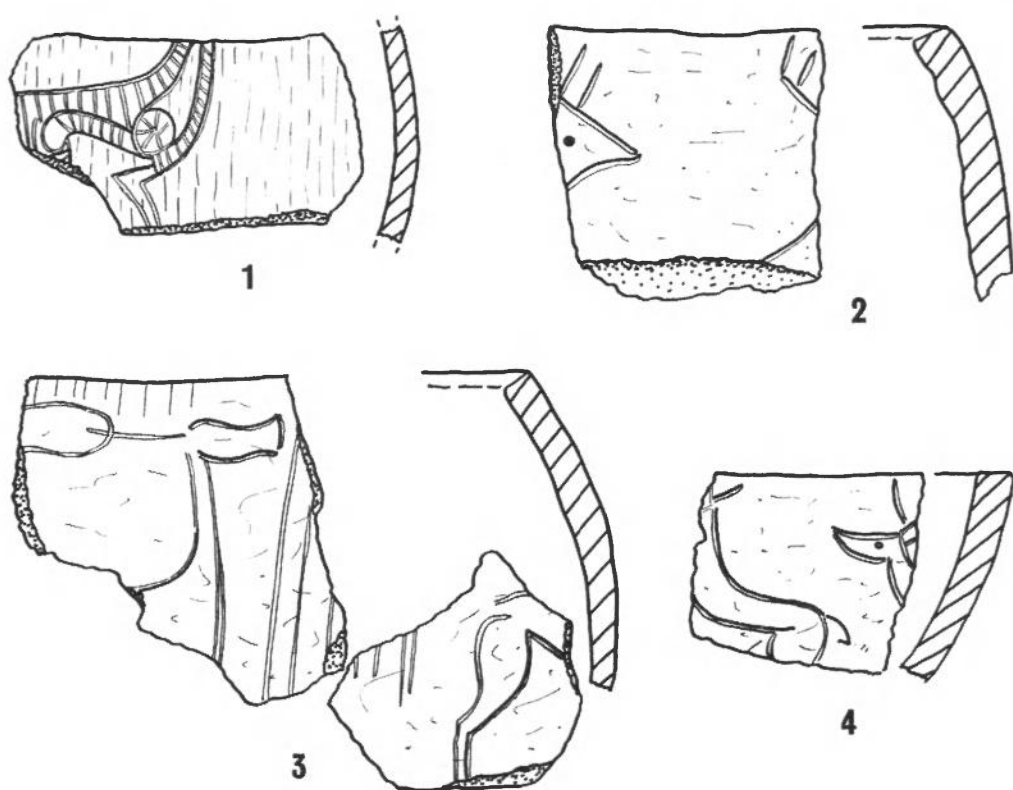


Fig. 1. Sherds with incised animal ornament from Scotland ($\frac{1}{2}$)

1, Bragar, Lewis; 2, Galson, Lewis; 3, Dun Borbaidh, Coll; 4, Kilpheder, South Uist

1. HR. 646. From a kitchen-midden at Bragar, Lewis, apparently a surface find. Hard coarse paste, body greyish, surfaces dull reddish-brown. The exterior bears marks of vertical rippling, intentionally produced by brushing the pot when wet with a handful of grass. The ornament is lightly incised with a narrow rounded point before firing.
2. HR. 852. From talus below another kitchen-midden, at Galson, Lewis, excavated by D. F. W. Baden-Powell.¹ Hard medium-gritted paste, body dull blue-grey, surfaces dull grey-brown. The sherd shows a flat bevelled rim, and is from a ring-built jar. The ornament is deeply incised, perhaps with a bone pin, and the animal's eye is a jab from the same instrument.
3. HD. 325-6-7. Three sherds, two of them joining, from a small *dun* called Dun Borbaidh, Coll. Hard medium-gritted paste, body dull grey, surfaces reddish-brown (exterior partly burnt later). The ornament, incised with a rounded point, shows a frieze (?) of stags separated by groups of vertical strokes.
4. GS. 67. Sherd from wheel-house at Kilpheder, South Uist, excavated by T. C. Lethbridge. Hard gritty fabric, body and eroded surfaces dull brownish-red. This appears to be the rim of a bowl but the rim surface is heavily worn and may have been ground down. The ornament is lightly incised with a bone point or a pin.

¹ P.S.A.S., LVIII (1923-4); unfortunately this particular sherd cannot be related to any of the structures or layers at the site, though its fabric resembles that of the rest of the excavated material.

The similarity in fabric, no less than their individual contexts, suggests that all these sherds derive from the same cultural background. The ornament on each differs only in minor detail. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 display, at or near the rim of the parent vessel, portions of what must have been continuous friezes of trotting red deer or reindeer stags. No. 1, which differs from the others in its internal enrichment, is nonetheless incised in the same fashion, and structurally this beast is related to the haunch visible on the right-hand sherd of fig. 1, no. 3, and to the curve of neck and shoulder of no. 4.

It is clear, both from the sites from which these sherds came and from the associated material, that all belong to the 'late' or 'Roman' Iron Age of western and northern Scotland, a period which must be taken as commencing only slightly before the 1st century A.D. and which, on the evidence from Jarlshof, was culturally exhausted rather before the arrival of the Norse settlers in the late 8th century.¹ The geographical extent of this culture — the Inner and Outer Hebrides, the fringes of Argyll and Inverness, Orkney and Shetland, and the tip of Caithness — is shown by, *inter alia*, the known distribution of wheel-houses, aisled round-houses, early *duns* and brochs, all of them basically thick-walled circular stone dwellings or steadings with probably a common ancestry.² It is now generally held that this Atlantic Late Iron Age province owes little, save perhaps the profusion of plastic ornament on the characteristic 'broch and wheel-house' pottery,³ to any preceding cultures in the same area, and that its core consists of elements which are demonstrably to be related to the Iron Age B cultures of England.

Piggott has recently emphasised this⁴ by describing the broch and wheel-house period as 'Atlantic Second B'. The genesis of this fairly rapid re-occupation of the Hebrides, the extreme north of the Scottish mainland and the northern Isles, is a refugee or migrant movement. It both emanates from, and passes through, a closely-related culture in lowland Scotland and what is now Northumberland — the Tyne-Forth and Clyde-Solway provinces, also in a 'Second B' stage which commenced a generation or so before the start of the 1st century B.C. Previous writings on this topic have of course offered alternative sources. The late Sir Lindsay Scott favoured the idea of immigrants from south-western England at the time of Glastonbury and Meare,⁵ and in so doing elaborated an idea propounded by Childe, who had written in 1935,⁶ 'Thus a whole complex of significant types, elaborated in pre-Roman times in South-Western England, was transferred bodily to Galloway and the far north.' He added, however, 'Perhaps as ultimate by-products of this essentially coastwise transmission, the same forms reached the dales of Western Yorkshire. Unfortunately, neither ceramic nor artistic evidence can be adduced to reinforce the testimony of the bone-work.'⁷

¹ Hamilton, *Jarlshof* (H.M.S.O., 1956), pottery sequence in chap. V.

² No complete map is yet published; see Childe, *P.S.*, 274-5, map IV, and *Problem*, 69, map 2.

³ Mrs. Alison Young, C.B.A. Northern Iron Age Conference, Edinburgh, 1961.

⁴ Stuart Piggott, same Conference; see *Ant.*,

XXXVI (1962).

⁵ Scott, 'Gallo-British Colonies', *P.P.S.*, XIV (1948), 46.

⁶ *P.S.*, 242.

⁷ Long-handled weaving-combs, bobbins, toggles, etc., *P.S.*, 238-41.

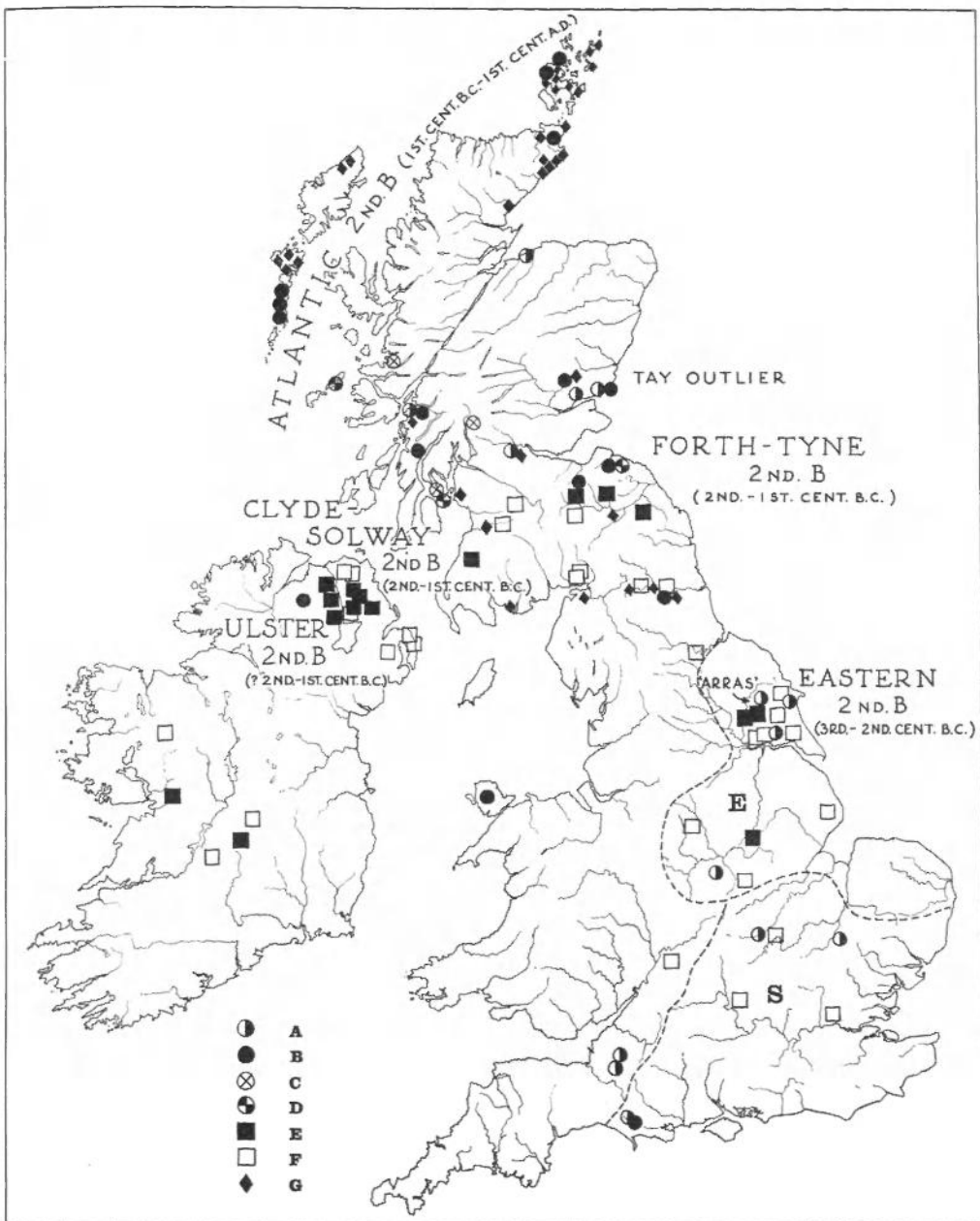


Fig. 2. The 'Second B' Period of the Scottish Iron Age

A: penannulars of *Aa* type. B, C, D: projecting-head, bent, and cast ring-headed pins. E: Group III and IIIa swords and scabbards. F: 'Arras' three-link bits and derivatives. G: long-handled bone weaving-combs, shown here for Tweed valley and Scotland only. Areas 'E' and 'S' defined by dotted lines are Hawkes' 'Eastern' and 'Southern' provinces.

(See *Appendix* for detailed sources)

Whilst all honour is due to Childe and Scott for their recognition of the Iron Age B nature of what had once been a realm of the most mysterious, sometimes even Mediterranean, origin, their thesis of a derivation from Cornwall, Devon and Somerset is no longer tenable. Work of the last few decades, on this particular period in the south-west, shows that the pottery series there resembles that of the decorated brooch and wheel-house wares only in the most generalised way—remote Dumnonian cousins rapidly evolving their own ceramic idiom from parent La Tène stocks—and there have always been very considerable geographical and distributional objections to the idea of a mass migration. A far more acceptable candidate, on grounds of probability no less than on those of archaeology, is the 'Eastern Second B' culture of east Yorkshire, the Trent basin, most of Lincolnshire and most of Norfolk, as defined by Hawkes.¹ A gradually cumulative movement northwards from this broad region, partly by coast to the Tyne-Forth province, and partly to the north-west through various river-gaps to the Solway-Clyde area, has for some little time now been suggested by certain metalwork distributions. The re-dating of the main Belgic invasions to the period 110–100 B.C.² allows us to suppose that such a northwards drift resulted from pressure in south-eastern England and East Anglia, and really took shape at or about this date.

The map (fig. 2) marshals the more important evidence for this idea. Piggott's Group III (Bugthorpe) swords and scabbards, with the related Group IIIa (Lisnacrogghera), were dated by him on, as he emphasises, 'almost entirely stylistic' grounds to c. 125 B.C. onwards,³ and if they herald the arrival of their adventurous wearers or wielders in fresh lands, such a date is perfectly acceptable. The distribution raises the matter of Ulster-Yorkshire connections, suggestively *via* the Solway or Galloway coast, and this is again stressed by the pattern of the East Yorkshire Second B 'Arras three-link bits' and their derivatives,⁴ which, like the swords, surely provide from the early first century B.C. the archaeological background for the colourful world of the Ulster cycle in early Irish heroic literature. Elizabeth Fowler's *Aa* penannulars reinforce the Yorkshire-Lowlands link, whilst her various forms of ring-headed pins, even if surviving well into the first few centuries A.D., indicate the Iron Age B nature of the brooch and wheel-house province. The long-handled bone weaving-combs, here shown from Audrey Henshall's map only for Scotland, are virtually as common in Eastern and Southern Second B as in the south-west.

Scott was able to show, with evidence derived from the excavation of the aisled round-house,⁵ at Clettraval (North Uist), that incised ornament on the pottery was a primary feature that fairly soon became degenerate. In the absence of any major illustrated corpus of this material in Scottish Atlantic Second B, it is difficult to expand this concept, or even to be sure that it necessarily applies outside North Uist itself; but scrutiny of the published and

¹ *Ant.*, XXXIII (1959), 170 ff.

² *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, Inst. of Arch. (London, 1960), papers by Frere, 84 ff., and Allen, 97 ff.

³ *P.P.S.*, XVI (1950), 14.

⁴ See Appendix to the present paper for detailed sources for the map (fig. 2), and for all other maps and drawings which are not fully documented in captions.

⁵ Scott, *P.P.S.*, XIV (1948), 120.

displayed sherds with ornament of this class — cross-hatching of rough 'basketry' form, barred swags and pairs of barred ribbons, pointed 'arcades', limited curvilinear work, and rare motifs such as the triquetra¹ — by no means rules out an origin in Eastern Second B, any more than it supports the former hypothesis of a south-western genesis. Grimes, in two important papers, has

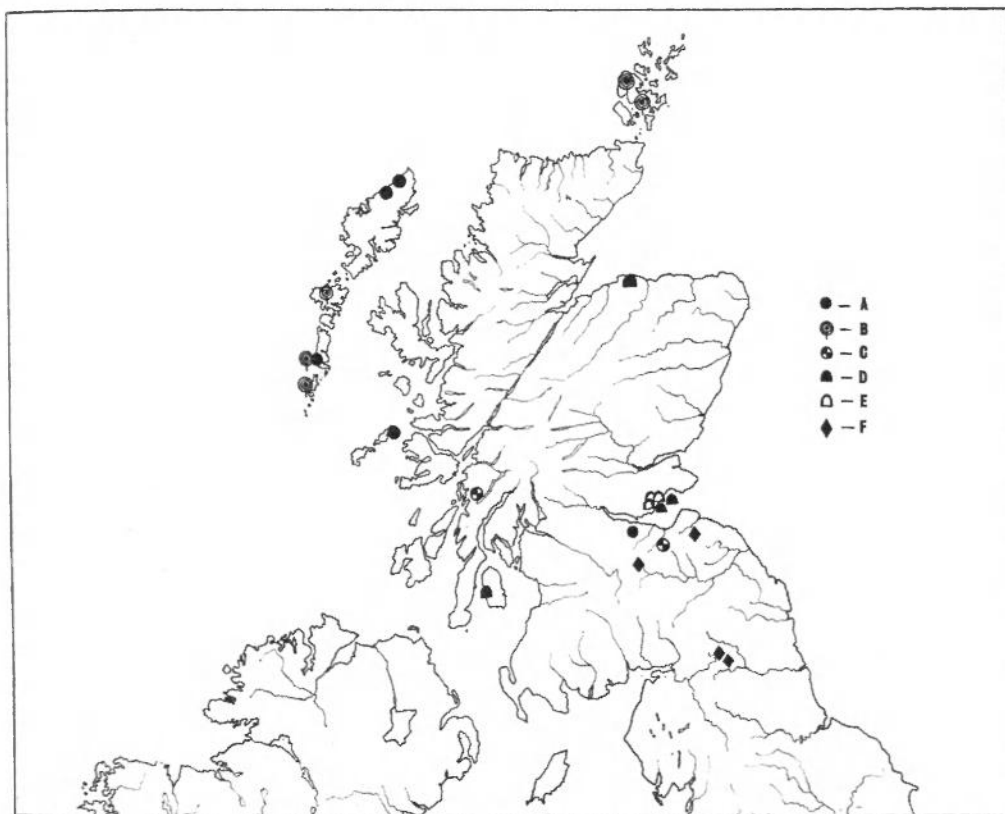


Fig. 3. Scottish Early Iron Age Art

A: stag-decorated sherds and Binney Craig stone cup. B: sherds with projecting ring-headed pin stamping. C: open-air rock carving. D: caves with animals on walls. E: caves with other, non-animal, ornament. F: small bronze animals.

(See *Appendix* for detailed sources)

argued that 'the Desborough-Hunsbury group of Iron Age B pottery [*scil.* with curvilinear ornament] should be regarded, not as an outlier or imitation of Glastonbury, not even as part of the south-eastern B series, but as the La Tène element in the pottery of the north-eastern [now "Eastern"] B cultures';²

¹ Plates in Scott, *op. cit.*; P.S., Pl. XVI; Lethbridge, P.P.S., XVIII (1952), fig. 7.

² 'The Jurassic Way', *Aspects of Archaeology* (ed. Grimes), (1951), 168.

and again, 'The only possible explanation for the Hunsbury group as a whole would therefore seem to be that it represents a distinct element, being probably the La Tène contribution to the pottery of the north-eastern Marnian culture . . .'¹ In this light it may be noted that the curvilinear *grooved* (as opposed to incised) decoration at Cletraval was also a primary feature, dying out before the end of Stage I², and that an ultimate origin in, say, the technique of the famous Desborough bowl³ is perfectly feasible; that the simple bowl with an incurved rim is widely represented in Scottish Atlantic Second B sites⁴; and that the persistent barred or dotted ribbon motif, formed by a pair of incised lines with appropriate filling, could reflect a stilted northern development of a very similar design seen, for instance, at Hunsbury itself⁵.

Scottish Iron Age animals of the 'simple outline' type

The pottery stags from the Isles do not stand, trot, or gaze wholly on their own. A variety of what appear to be related animal representations in other media are known, albeit not very widely, and it will be suggested that they belong to much the same horizon.

The stone lamps or cups (small stone bowls, usually of steatite or sedimentary rocks, with stubby perforated handles) which occur in most Scottish collections were briefly discussed by Childe⁶ and more recently by K. A. Steer.⁷ The latter has shown that, on present evidence, such cups first appear in the Second B phase of the southern Scottish Iron Age (*e.g.*, at Dunagoil, Bute) and continue in use, especially in northern Scotland, until a fairly late date.⁸ Their distributional concentration in the Aberdeen-Banff-Moray Firth area reflects the concentration in the same region of many other types from the first century A.D. onwards, and does not necessarily imply an origin there. Indeed the handled stone cup is probably a steatite translation of the handled wooden cups found in south-western Scottish crannogs⁹, and such rare finds as the wooden vessels from Glastonbury indicate¹⁰ that the whole tradition could have been brought from the south.

An important instance is the small handled cup of claystone from Binney Craig, Linlithgow (fig. 4). It was a Victorian accession to what is now the National Museum of Antiquities and its exact provenance is not known,¹¹ but it is a typical member of the group. The bowl carries a simple design of an incised running zigzag between two horizontal lines, actually an important motif of great age that we shall encounter again, and which probably came from the English Second B complex.¹² On the handle, executed in very low relief

¹ 'Art on British Iron Age Pottery', *P.P.S.*, XVIII (1952), 173.

² Scott, *P.P.S.*, XIV (1948), 120.

³ Grimes, *Aspects of Archaeology*, Pl. VIa.

⁴ *e.g.* Scott, *op. cit.*, 59, fig. 5, type 4; *cf.* this paper, fig. 1, nos. 2 & 3.

⁵ Grimes, *op. cit.*, fig. 11, top right: horizontal lines.

⁶ *P.S.*, 246 ff.

⁷ *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIX (1955-6), 227, 243: distribution, fig. 7.

⁸ *e.g.* Nat. Mus. Edin., AR.3, Faroes — this bears the same zigzag motif, seems to be pre-Viking in

type, yet can hardly have got there before the adventurous (Orcadian?) anchorites of 7th-8th cent. A.D. who may have left crosses at Skuo and Kirkjubo (*P.S.A.S.*, LXV (1930-1), 373).

⁹ Munro, *Ancient Scottish Lake-Dwellings*, fig. 102.

¹⁰ Childe, after Bulleid & Gray, *P.C.B.I.* (3rd edn. 1949), fig. 91.

¹¹ Nat. Mus. Edin., AQ.8 — no record beyond mere presentation.

¹² On vessel of 4th cent. B.C., La Chappe (Marne), Jacobsthal no. 410, Pl. 208. Kenyon, *Inst. of Arch.*, 8th Annual Report (1952), 29 ff., various instances.

with great skill and economy of line, a grazing pony appears, with one ear cocked up in a semi-alert attitude (*see also* fig. 5, 2). The splayed treatment of the muzzle, the spike of the coarse, prominent mane, and the treatment of the haunches, link this little masterpiece to the humbler Hebridean stags shown in fig. 1; as it may perhaps be regarded as appearing on a slightly developed form of handled stone cup, reflecting a pre-Agricolan rather than post-Agricolan leisure in West Lothian, a date in the 1st century A.D. seems not unlikely.

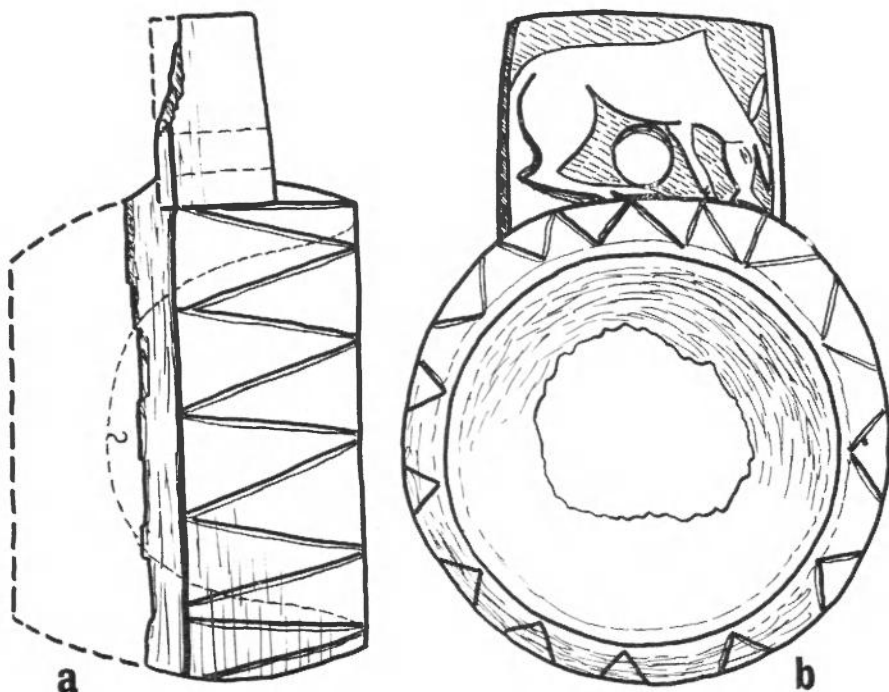


Fig. 4. Handled cup or lamp of claystone from Binney Craig, West Lothian (½)

a: profile (reconstructed); b: top view

Closer to the simple lines of the pottery stags are two naturalistic depictions of an animal and a fish, incised on rock faces in western and southern Scotland and published by Childe in 1941.¹ The 'hind', surely a roebuck, on a rock surface in Gleann Domhain, Argyll (fig. 5, 7) is far too confidently sketched — the bold curves which form its body hint at a wary poise, almost in three-quarter view — to be associated with the later (Bohuslan) rock engravings of the Scandinavian Bronze Age, as has been suggested, even if the latter school were otherwise represented in Scotland.² The little fish (fig. 5, 8), from the South Esk gorge, Midlothian, is perhaps in the same style. Neither buck nor

¹ *Ant.* XV (1941), 290 and pl. fcg. 288; Lacaille, *Stone Age in Scotland* (1954), 244, fig. 109.

² Shetelig & Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology* (1937), chap. X.

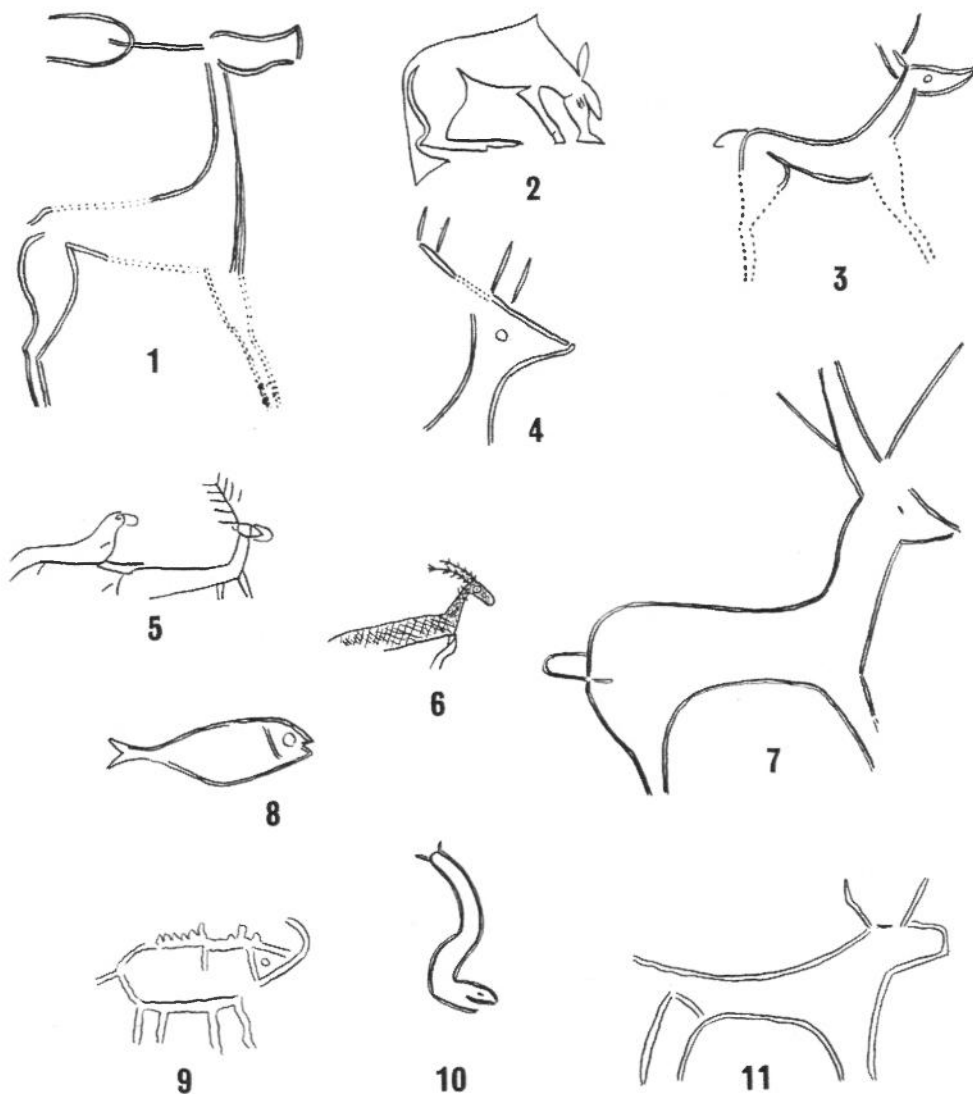


Fig. 5. Animal art in the Scottish Iron Age

1, 3, 4, stags from various sherds (see fig. 1); 2, horse from Binney Craig stone cup (see fig. 4); 5, detail from slate trial piece, St. Blane's, Bute; 6, stag from bone slip, Lough Crew; 7, 8, rock engravings of buck and fish, Argyll and Midlothian; 9, graffito on slate, Chesters (boar); 10, snake, incised on altar, Carvoran; 11, animal chiselled on building-block, Housesteads.

Nos. 7, 9, 11 drawn reversed. Scales: 7, 8, 10, 11, about $\frac{1}{3}$ — the rest, $\frac{1}{2}$.

fish is even faintly related to the dull pocked or pecked 'cup-and-ring' art of the northern British Bronze Age.

With these two open-air creatures must be considered a variety of crudely-drawn but generally naturalistic animals, birds and fishes incised (often on a large scale) on the walls of caves in sandstone or other friable rock on the Scottish coast (fig. 6). Accompanied by other designs, amongst which the

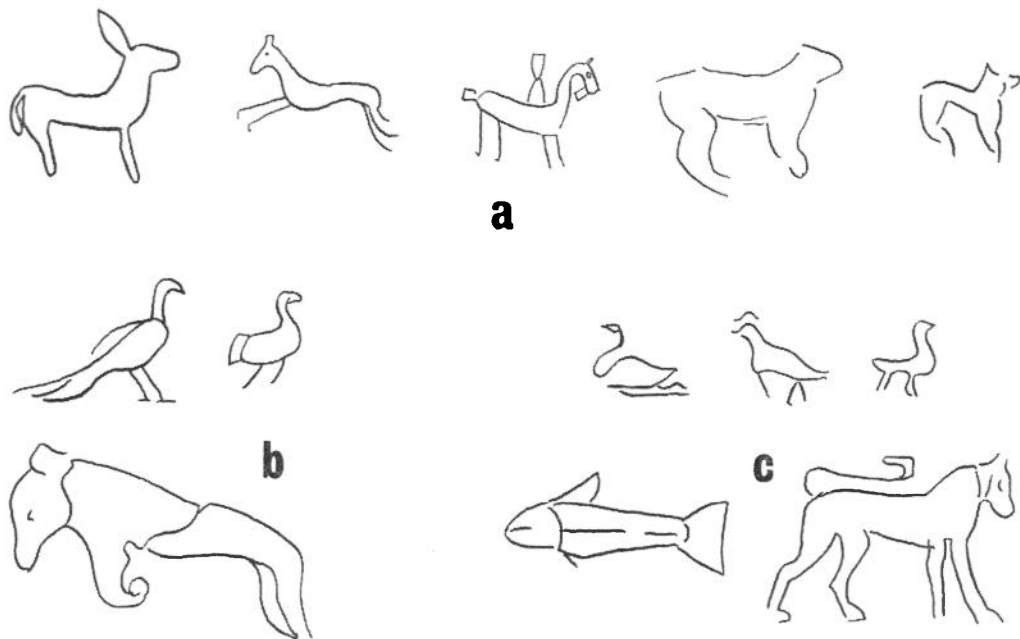


Fig. 6. Scottish cave art, Iron Age or Roman period
a, King's Cave, Arran; b, Doo Cave, Fife; c, Jonathan's Cave, Fife.
After E.C.M.S. (various scales)

non-animal 'Pictish' symbols are predominant, in what may be a very basic and early stage of their development, these cave creatures are found in the King's Cave, Arran,¹ and in Doo ('Dove') Cave and Jonathan's Cave on the Fife coast²; and we might add a very dubious elk's head³ from an unnamed and now destroyed cave also at East Wemyss, Fife. There is a distinct resemblance (*cf.* the King's Cave hind and the Gleann Domhain buck) to the two open-air representations, and the birds from Doo Cave, with the fish and the (slightly too realistic, and possibly intrusive) dog from Jonathan's Cave, present the same *naïf* but not wholly unsuccessful naturalism.

¹ Balfour, *Book of Arran—archaeology* (Glasgow, 1910), 217, Pl. xxxiv.

² *E.C.M.S.*, figs. 389, 390.

³ *P.S.A.S.*, LXVII (1933-4), Edwards, fig. 7 (pocked, not incised like the rest).

Only in the case of the famous Sculptor's Cave at Covesea, Elgin, do we approach a date¹. The only recorded creature here is a fish, like the one in Jonathan's Cave, but the depiction of simple forms of the non-animal Pictish symbols serves to link this cave with those from the Fife coast². It must be noted that the Covesea 'pentacle' with its central dot³ is presumably a similar symbol, even if absent from the Class I stone monuments. It appears, scratched on a pebble, from the Broch of Burrian⁴: the secondary occupation floor in this broch also produced an ox phalange bearing two scratched symbols, the crescent and V-rod, and the mirror-case,⁵ both of which are seen on the wall at Covesea. Miss Benton's excavation in 1929 revealed two stages of occupation in the cave, one in the local late Bronze Age, the other from the early 2nd to mid 4th century A.D. In view of what has been discussed so far, the second stage is the more probable setting for the cave art. The same date, then, may presumably be applied to the Fifeshire and Arran caves — and this supposition gains strength when we note that Curle's *Inventory* (of Roman objects found on Scottish native sites) lists four other coastal caves, besides Covesea itself, known to have produced relics proper to the Roman era.⁶ The incised creatures on the cave walls may well represent a continuation, no doubt by less affluent members of the various Scottish Iron Age societies, of the tradition seen on the Binney Craig cup handle and the sherds from Coll.

Slightly further south, it is possible to detect what may be broadly contemporary instances of native work in the area of Hadrian's Wall (shown in fig. 5). No. 9, a graffito deeply scratched on a stone slab from CILVRNVM (Chesters), is a little boar, with strong upcurved tusks, and is accompanied by a human figure (not shown) bearing a (?) *tridens*; it is drawn here reversed for comparison⁷. No. 10 is an example of the simple incised work often appearing on the side-panels of small stone native altars from *vici* and settlements along the Wall. It comes from MAGNIS (Carvoran)⁸, and has a boar on the opposite face; the altar, to DIBUS VITIRIBUS, is dedicated by a man with a purely Celtic name, DECCIVS, and we need not in this specific case imagine a Germanic deity 'Hvitir'. No. 11, the most impressive, is chiselled on a building-block (it occupies the whole of the dressed front face) from Housesteads⁹, and is also shown here reversed for comparison with the buck above it.

The map (fig. 2) might lead us to expect that, if this art is rooted in the transferred Second B Iron Age cultures, examples of it would be known in Ireland. The only likely instance is actually another small stag, scratched on one of the many bone plaques¹⁰ said to have been in a context primary to Cairn H at Lough Crew, Co. Meath. Discussion of the rather contentious idea which these

¹ Sylvia Benton, 'Excavation of the Sculptor's Cave, Covesea, Morayshire', *P.S.A.S.*, LXV (1930-1), 177 ff. Dating, 204-5.

² *E.C.M.S.*, figs. 135b and 135c.

³ *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 135a.

⁴ *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 23, 23a; *Nat. Mus. Edin.*, G.B.9.

⁵ *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 22, 22a, and often shown elsewhere.

⁶ *P.S.A.S.*, LXVI (1931-2), 277-400; the other caves are in Fifeshire (two), East Lothian (one) and

Kirkcudbrightshire (one). One Fife cave, Constantine's Cave, has two rather shapeless animals incised on its walls: *P.S.A.S.*, XLIX (1915-16), 243, fig. 7.

⁷ Chesters Museum, 72.

⁸ *Lap. Sept.*, fig. 313.

⁹ Chesters Museum, 200; Budge, *Cat. of Chesters Mus.* (1903), 340.

¹⁰ Conwell, *Discovery of the Tomb of Ollamb Fodhla* (Dublin 1873), 53-6.

plaques arouse is best postponed until a full report appears, but the nature of the curvilinear ornament on many of these bone trial pieces, if that is what they are, points again to a date of about the 1st century A.D.¹ The best match for the Lough Crew stag (fig. 5, 6) is seen on a scratched slate from the post-Roman Celtic monastery of St. Blane's, Bute (fig. 5, 5); this can scarcely be earlier than the 7th–8th centuries A.D. but it reflects nonetheless a strong native tradition, stressed by the archaic motif of the lion leaping on the back of the stag.² This persistent 'stag' tradition — six, possibly seven, of the creatures in fig. 5 belong to it — is paralleled to a certain extent by a 'fish' tradition. Many of the long-handled bone weaving combs of southern British Iron Age B type, the northern distribution of which is shown in fig. 2, adopt a different shape in Hebridean and northern broch contexts: the grip, proceeding from a version with slightly incurving sides, becomes deliberately fashioned in the form of a fish's tail,³ and this should be seen with the Midlothian fish (fig. 5, 8) and the fishes in the Covesea Cave and Jonathan's Cave (fig. 6, c).

The question of to what extent the very numerous small bronze birds and animals, either separate objects or attached features, which occur in the Roman period are purely Roman, 'Romano-Celtic', or purely native is far too extensive for prolonged discussion here. It is clear that a vigorous native tradition did persist in many cases, and this is especially so in the representations of bulls or oxen.⁴ Attention may be drawn to a Scottish piece (fig. 7, a), a solid cast bull of bronze said to have been found⁵ with a Roman brooch of the late 1st or 2nd century A.D. at Dolphinton, Lanark. Far less subtle than the bobble-nosed almond-eyed heads which could be current as late as the 3rd century A.D.,⁶ its chunky muzzle and simple, not very sophisticated lines mark it out as a metallic cousin of the creatures in fig. 5. The pronounced elongation of the body is well-matched by a little solid bronze dog of indeterminate pedigree from the shrine of Nodens at Lydney, Gloucs.,⁷ an obvious native piece. With it should go the small flat bronze horse from Coventina's Well at Carrawburgh (fig. 7, b),⁸ a mass-produced native trinket doubtless for affixing to the wall of the well-goddess's shrine,⁹ and the stubby, perky little raven, possibly within the 3rd–4th century A.D., from Traprain Law, East Lothian,¹⁰ a solid bronze casting which fitted on to some container or pole (fig. 7, c). The other objects in fig. 7 (d to g) refer to a tradition of slightly later origin and will be discussed below, in the context of the Pictish 'elephant'.

The distribution of all these instances of northern animal art is given in a map (fig. 3). It must cover quite a period of time, but nothing seems to be really before the 1st century B.C., and very approximate dates of 50 and 25 B.C. for the establishment of the 'broch and wheel-house' type of culture (Atlantic

¹ F. Henry, *Irish Art* (1940), 11; she would make them 2nd cent. A.D.

² e.g. Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, 297, fig. 151.

³ Very large number on display, *Nat. Mus. Edin.*: not here shown.

⁴ Hawkes, 'Bronze-workers, cauldrons and bucket-animals in Iron Age and Roman Britain', *Aspects of Archaeology* (1951), 172–200, with refs.

⁵ Curle, *P.S.A.S.*, LXVI (1931–2), 380, his no. 48.

⁶ Megaw, *P.S.A.S.*, XCI (1957–8), 179, illus.

⁷ Wheeler, *Lydney Report* (1932), Pl. XXVI, no. 118.

⁸ Chesters Museum, 2042; Budge, *Catalogue* no. 102.

⁹ Cf. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI and 89.

¹⁰ Burley (Traprain Law), *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIX (1955–6), no. 265, fig. 5.

Second B) in the southern Hebrides and the northern part of Lewis respectively would not conflict with present thought. The practice of drawing outline animals on native pottery of this culture must be associated stylistically, as it is archaeologically, with the use of projecting ring-headed pins (the distribution of these is included in fig. 2) as pottery stamps.¹ Allowing a range for this

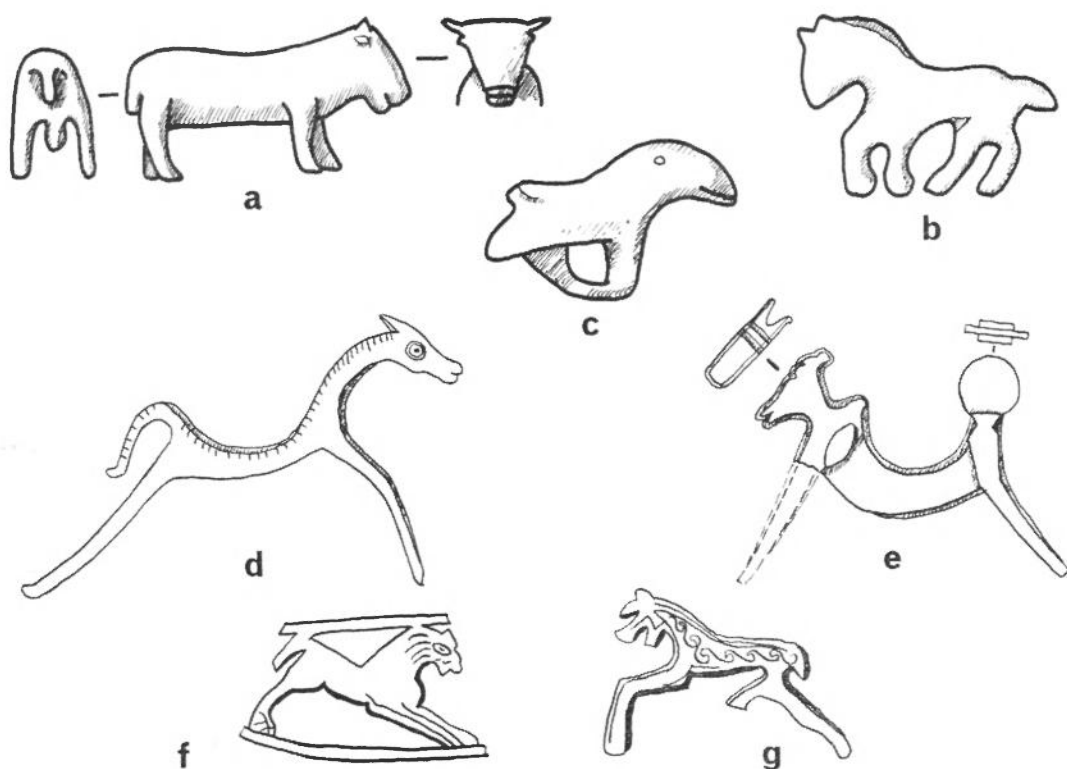


Fig. 7. Bronze animal figurines, various sources (2)

a, Bull, Dolphinton, Lanark; b, horse, Coventina's Well, Carrawburgh; c, raven, Traprain Law; d, horse, Silchester; e, stag, Chesters; f, lion (?), Roman Gaul; g, horse (?), Ossetic, from Caucasus (?).

(d, after Piggott; f, g, after Salin.)

specifically Northern type of from the end of the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. — instances of this stamping are mapped in fig. 3 — we can allot this date to the pottery stags, and it is a date which one would have given them on stylistic grounds. The Kilpheder example was apparently early in an occupation which Lethbridge² placed between c. 50 and 150 A.D., and the others cannot be far from this chronological horizon.

¹ Alison Young, *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXVII (1952-3), 92-3, fig. 7, with list.

² Lethbridge, *P.P.S.*, XVIII (1952).

A provisional summary

The evidence so far presented, especially that of the two distribution maps (figs. 2 and 3), suggests that the Iron Age B culture of southern (and, by further derivation, western) Scotland was derived, from the late 2nd century B.C. onwards, mainly from the later form of Iron Age B in eastern England, Hawkes' Second B. Piggott is thus justified in calling the Scottish material 'Second B', and labelling it Tyne-Forth, Solway-Clyde, or Atlantic, according to regions. In Scottish contexts, from Hadrian's Wall northwards, a vigorous naturalistic or semi-naturalistic animal art, in which a horned animal seems to be predominant, can be shown to have existed from the 1st century B.C. onwards, and to have survived with comparatively little change in various native contexts, displayed in various media, throughout the first two or three centuries A.D. The distribution of this animal style, no less than the actual sites in which it has occurred, strongly indicates that it was introduced along with Second B, and it would be hard indeed to find an older indigenous source for it. An hypothesis which naturally arises at this juncture is that such an art, to be seen as the property of 'peasant' rather than of well-to-do groups, formed part and parcel of Iron Age Second B, and as Grimes has suggested in discussing Eastern Second B pottery ornament, is really part of the continental La Tène (*sensu* I and II) strand in the cultural make-up. Can this be traced at all prior to its arrival in the Lowlands?

There is in fact very little relevant evidence in the Yorkshire-Lincolnshire-Northampton region. An early piece of aristocratic metalwork, the Witham shield¹, bears a curious spindly boar which is already highly stylised, its elongated legs designedly stressing the vertical length of the piece, and it is important only in so far as it is an animal at all. A much later group of 'Romano-Celtic' bears, some carved in jet and possibly exported to the Rhineland,² one in a superb (imported?) cameo from South Shields,³ appears to reflect a better naturalistic tradition at the same time as, and in something of the *genre* of, the solid bronze creatures from the Lowlands in fig. 7; but this may centre on a known bear-deity's shrine at Risingham⁴ and is not demonstrably reflected further north⁵. Nonetheless it must be borne in mind that these are pieces of metal, in the case of the shield, and consciously-produced souvenirs of quite high standard, in the case of the bears; we are looking for *ad hoc* depictions on hand-made pots, on rocks and stones, on the walls of caves, and no doubt on such perishable materials as wood, felt and leather, and practically none of this⁶ is archaeologically known from southern and eastern England.

The Continental evidence

If it is as yet impossible to trace the progress of this animal art in England,

¹ Fox, P.P., pl. 15a.

² *Ant. J.*, XXVIII (1948), 173.

³ Richmond, *Roman Britain* (Pelican, 1955), pl. 6; Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (1962), fig. 156, and pp. 183 ff.; R.C.H.M., *Eboracum, Roman York* (1962), Pl. 70, and pp. 72b, 142b.

⁴ *Mathnus*, 3rd. cent. A.D.: Dr. Anne Ross kindly tells me she regards this name as formed from

math 'bear', not *maith* 'good'.

⁵ But cf. F. C. Diack's views on the Pictish 'elephant', *The Inscriptions of Pictland* (Aberdeen, Third Spalding Club, 1944).

⁶ Jacobsthal, pl. 217 c. ('whirligig' rock carving, Yorks.), seems, *pace* his date for this (not before 4th cent. B.C.) to belong to an older and rather different tradition altogether.

it is by no means so difficult to find it in the appropriate contexts on the European mainland; and this journey will, at its close, bring us to an artistic standpoint surprisingly closely linked to that which we have left behind in Scotland.

Whilst a great deal of attention has been paid in the last few years to the nature and structure of Early Iron Age Britain, resulting in the erection of a framework which is on the whole unlikely to undergo much real change,¹ no comparable emphasis has been given to the relationships to the parent cultures in northern and western Europe, nor indeed (save for isolated studies) to the parent cultures themselves. The 'orthodox' view, that our First A settlers, at any rate in their full southern aspect, represent 'Jogassians' expelled from the chalklands of northern France by the arrival of La Tène groups in the 5th–early 4th centuries B.C. probably still holds the field, though the Yorkshire evidence points rather to the Low Countries for the eastern facies of British Iron Age A.² The contention that in the early 3rd century B.C. people from the same La Tène groups, now in Déchelette's period II, crossed to Britain to appear as our First B settlers in the same regions is perhaps less widely held. The use of the word Marnian, often written 'Marnian', as if the quotation-marks absolved the user from definite commitment to this label, is by no means universal, since it carries the broad implication that British B is essentially a form of La Tène II (with perhaps La Tène I or even Hallstatt undertones) as it was developed in northern France. That certain types of bronze and iron work, an artistic *mélange* of Jacobsthal's second phase (our 'Torrs–Witham–Wandsworth' horizon)³, and pottery shapes and ornament, are shared as between the British and French provinces, is not in doubt. Yet many of these may present us with characteristics acquired *en route* by incoming societies; and I. M. Stead has now suggested, in examining British Eastern B in particular,⁴ that the true parallels to the insular chariot-grave groups of east Yorkshire may have to be sought in the region of the Burgundy–Bavaria–Alpine zone. The much-stressed La Tène Ic bent silver ring of Swiss type in a Southern First B context points the same way.⁵ Thus, if we should chance to find simple representations of animals at any point on a wide route from the transalpine region to the Middle Rhine and the Channel shores, even as late as the early 3rd century B.C., we cannot dismiss them as irrelevant to the British Isles. There seems to be a strong likelihood that Bavaria is more important in this particular context than northern France.

The depiction of naturalistic and fantastic beasts was certainly occurring in the Marne area in the 4th century, or conceivably the early 3rd century B.C. Painted pottery anticipates, with its curvilinear ornament, the insular art of British B pottery discussed by Grimes.⁶ A painted frieze of horses from a pot at Bétheny (Marne) will be examined in some detail later in this paper. From the La Chappe (Marne) chariot-grave, which also contained painted pottery, we must notice⁷ a fine backward-looking horse (fig. 8, 7), incised rather broadly

¹ Hawkes, *Ant.*, XXXIII (1959).

² Hawkes, *op. cit.*, 178.

³ Fox, P.P., chap. iii; Piggott & Atkinson, *Arch.*, XCVI (1955), 227 ff. (Torrs).

⁴ *Ant. J.*, XLI (1961), 55–7.

⁵ Hawkes, *op. cit.*, 179 and n. 35 (Park Brow).

⁶ Déchelette IV, 994 ff. Grimes, *Aspects of Archaeology* (1951), 168; P.P.S., XVIII (1952), 173.

⁷ Jacobsthal, no. 410, Pl. 208.

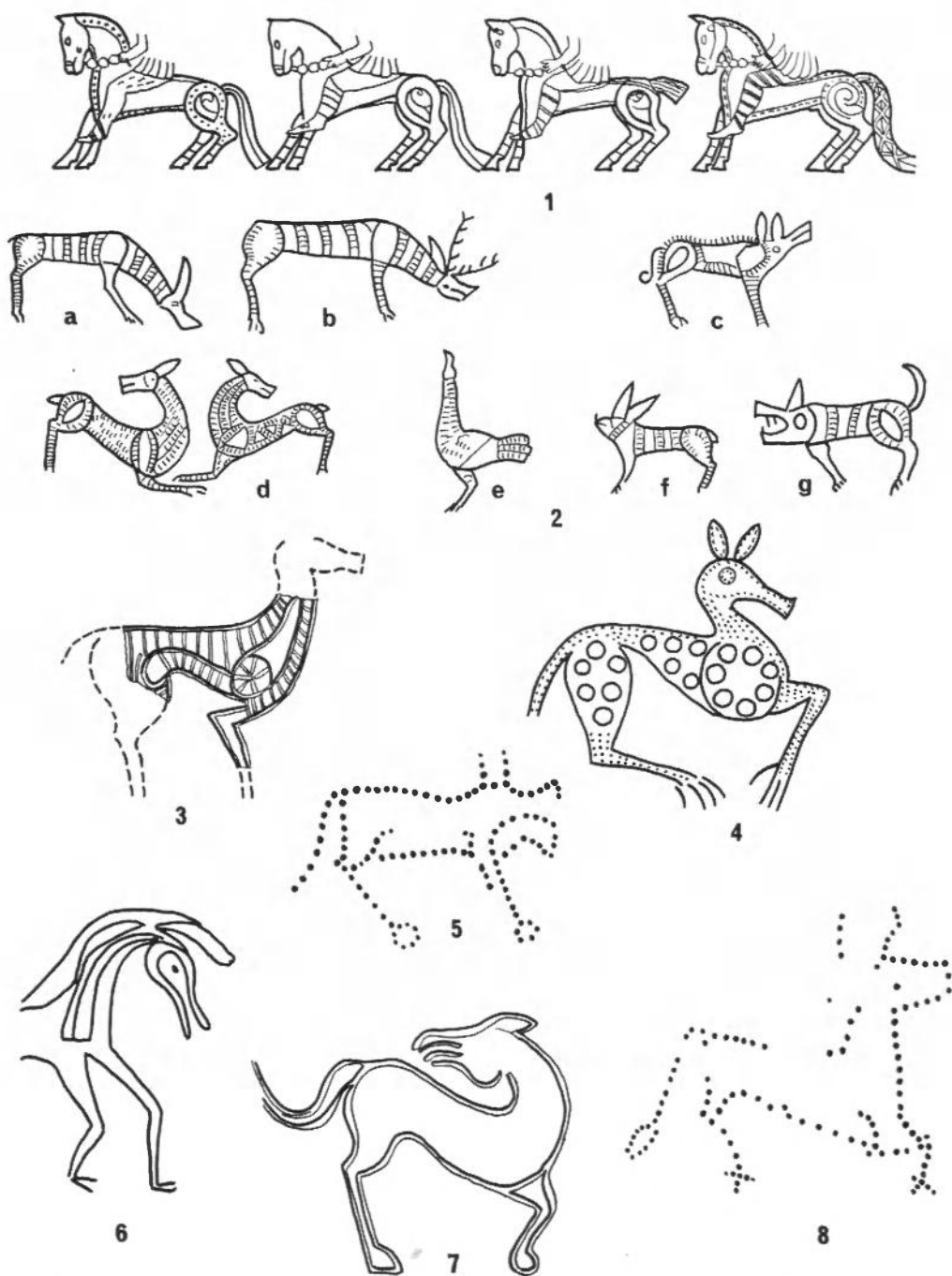


Fig. 8. Animal art on pottery and metal

1, horse frieze from scabbard, Hallstatt; 2, animals from frieze (a-g), clay flagon, Matzhausen, Bavaria; 3, stag (?) from pot, Bragar, Lewis (*cf.* fig. 1, 1); 4, hind (?), from pot, Tendrup, Denmark; 5, 8, animals from frieze on pot, Kraghede, Denmark; 6, part of graffito horse, from pot, Falerii; 7, horse, from pot, La Cheppe, Marne.

4, 5, 8 after Becker: the rest from photographs. (Various scales)

before firing and contained between two horizontal bands of incised zigzag like that on the Binney Craig stone cup in fig. 4. The treatment of the beaked head and 'discoidal' feet will be discussed again; here, we are concerned with the presence of a recognisable animal incised in outline on a pot. A tall pedestal vase from the same grave shows two tiers of opposed S-dragons (fig. 13, 13), also incised, to which we shall return.

Jacobsthal has published¹ a small omphaloid bowl which bears internally, again in this broad incised grooving, a double-S scroll design. Unprovenanced, but regarded by Jacobsthal as 'certainly from the Marne', its relationship to the better-known Desborough bowl similarly decorated on the outside, where the running scrolls are assuming much more of a *yin-yang* form², is obvious. Whilst one cannot lean too heavily on so simple a motif, we can point to various instances of it in Scottish B contexts — a suitably late one is on a little silver bar at Traprain Law, possibly of the 2nd century A.D.³

Whilst the incised Scottish stags in fig. 1 may well descend, through a series of hypothetical but undiscovered Eastern English dams and sires, from the Marnian creatures and their contemporaries, the animal on the sherd from Bragar, Lewis (fig. 1, 1, reconstructed in fig. 8, 3) has a slightly different background. Its decorative elements resolve themselves into: a pear-shaped lobe enclosing a radiate circle on the shoulder-joint; a worm-like lobe filled with transverse bars which creeps from the femoral joint along the belly to join the shoulder lobe; and a filling of the rest of the visible body with similar transverse bars. This all suggests a prototype class where naturalistic animals incised on pots are themselves enriched with lobate limb-joints (which can contain their own further ornament) and with barred ornament of one kind or another.

The most important occurrence of this kind is found on the La Tène I thin-necked clay flagon from a grave at Matzhausen (Bavaria), of the late 5th or 4th century B.C.⁴ (fig. 8, 2, a-g). Around the ledge of the upper part of the body, a regular bestiary processes between two concentric borders. We see a grazing stag and its hind, two boars, two geese, a pair of opposed hinds, a hare, and a fierce-looking dog chasing it. We may analyse the ornament involved. Barred ribbon is seen on the bodies (stag and hind, hare and dog), and pear-shaped or pointed ovate lobes can either grow out of the limb itself (haunches of stag, hind or hare) or form a separate internal feature (haunches of boar, dog, and opposed hinds); in the latter case, radiate lines surround the ovate inclusion.

There are plentiful grounds for believing, with Jacobsthal, that the two main constituents — barred ribbons and lobate joints — have separate ancestries, and were combined by La Tène I Celts in the alpine zone not much before the later 5th century B.C. To take first, however, the concept of an animal frieze, it is possible that the maker or decorator of the Matzhausen pot was inspired by something like the bronze pilgrim-flask from Rodenbach, Speier⁵, where

¹ Jacobsthal, no. 412, Pl. 211.

² Grimes, *Aspects of Archaeology*, Pl. VIa.

³ Burley, *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIX (1955-6), 185, no. 269, fig. 5. She notes this as a 'weak La Tène

tendril' and would cf. Jacobsthal, pl. 265 nos. 107-110.

⁴ Dechelette IV, 983-5 and fig. 672; Jacobsthal, no. 402, Pl. 206-7.

⁵ Jacobsthal, Pl. 254c, 255a, b: discussion, 140 ff.

spindly stags on one face, spindly horses on the other, parade around annular bands which surround each of the central bosses. Found in a mid 5th-century B.C. context, the piece itself is older, from a north-east Italian workshop of c. 500 B.C., and a conical bronze helmet of Etruscan type from the same workshop¹ at much the same time shows a slightly better horse with three 'double-hyphenated' transverse bars across its haunches. That this 'barring' must be connected with the barred ribbon motif appears from another helmet in an Etruscan idiom,² of the early 5th century B.C., which shows a splendid boar. He bears true barred ribbons across him, and a kind of lobate shoulder joint seems to be echoed in the treatment of the hind-quarters of the Matzhausen hound; Jacobsthal would also connect a zigzag within the boar's mane with a developed, *barré*, form of this in the bodies of the Matzhausen opposed hinds.

The barred ribbon, which finds an ultimate expression on the chest of the Bragar (Lewis) animal (fig. 8, 3), is thus likely to have been one of the many imports from the Italian peninsula to the La Tène I area north of the Alps. The lobate joint is another matter. We see an early combination of the two on the famous engraved scabbard from inhumation grave no. 994 at Hallstatt, now in the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna.³ Jacobsthal has discussed at considerable length his reasons for regarding this important 5th-century B.C. piece as the work of an Este or Venetic engraver, undertaken in a Celtic *atelier* and depicting a primarily Celtic scene — the horsemen's checked trousers, the ritual play with the wheel-symbol, etc. Our interest in it resides in the decorative elements of the horses themselves, abstracted and here shown in fig. 8, 1. Important are the outlined pointed lobes on the haunches of the first three, the barred treatment of the legs, and the dotted ribbon which outlines the elongated trunk of each animal. Horse no. 3 has his tail docked, but the full tails of the rest, that of the fourth (chieftain's?) horse neatly cross-gartered, recall the equal emphasis paid to this appendage on the Binney Craig pony in fig. 4. We may perhaps see the dotted ribbon bordure on the belly of the Matzhausen boar, and on the opposed hinds; the pointed lobate limb-joints and the barred legs can also be found on the majority of the Matzhausen creatures.

The animals just discussed, whether Bavarian, Austrian, or northern Italian in context or origin, well display the 'Oriental' animal style which characterises the first period of Jacobsthal's Celtic Art⁴. The lobate limb-joint of double outline on the Hallstatt horses, however elaborated, is essentially the same double outline lobe that we see on the small gold reindeer from Siberia in the Hermitage collection, figured by Minns,⁵ and likely to be slightly earlier than the Hallstatt scabbard. That the Italian animals, with their barred ribbon ornament and barred legs, may contain a stronger element from the steppes and from Siberia than is generally recognized (even if the precise mode of transmission is uncertainly documented), is shown by an important new piece from Valle Trebba; found some time ago, it has now been published⁶ by

¹ Jacobsthal, 141 (illus., Pl. 256a).

² Jacobsthal, 31 (illus., Pl. 222a).

³ Jacobsthal, no. 96, pl. 59-60; Moreau, *Die Welt der Kelten* (1958), taf. 8.

⁴ Jacobsthal, summarized at 157-60.

⁵ Minns, *J.G.*, 272, fig. 190.

⁶ 'Gancio di cinturone paleoveneto', etc., *Civiltà del Ferro* ('Documenti e Studi', VI), Bologna (1960).

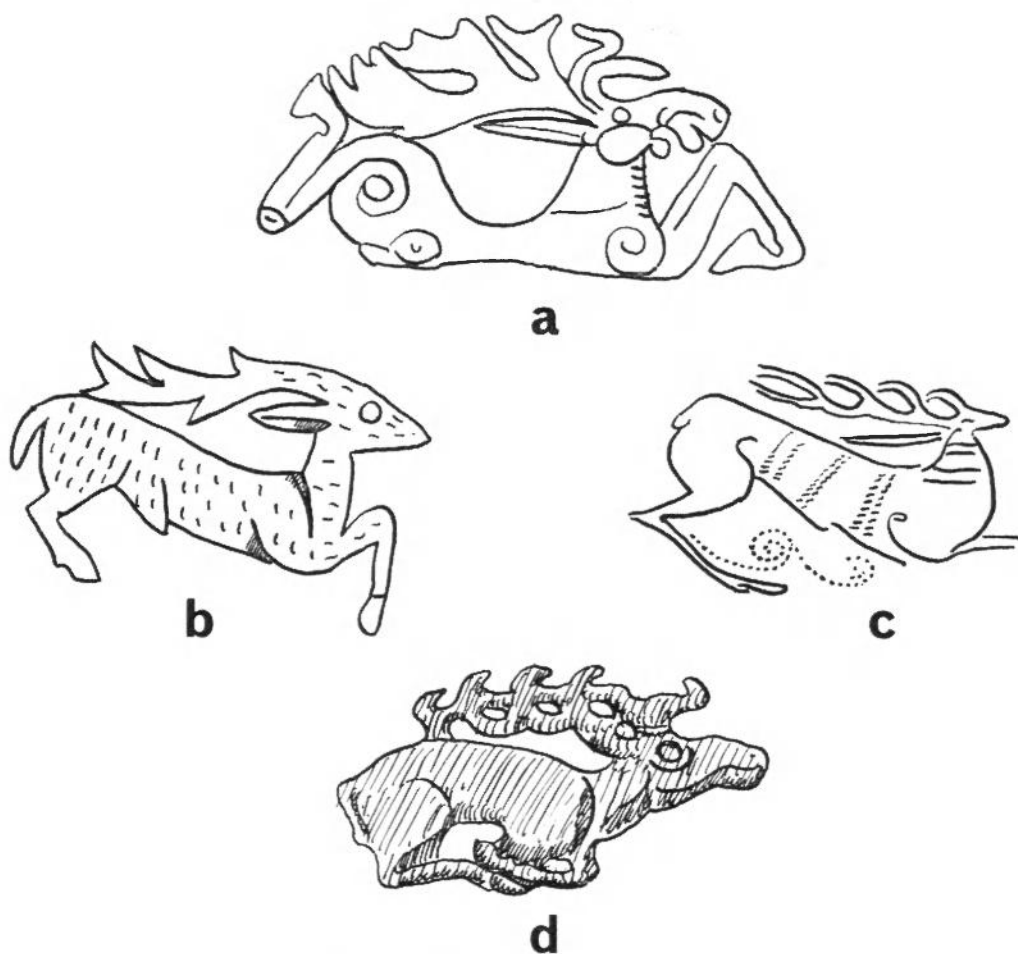


Fig. 9. Italian and Oriental stags

a, elk, from bronze plaque, Pazirik; b, gold repoussé stag from dagger sheath, Vettesfelde; c, engraved stag, bronze girdle-hook, Valle Trebba; d, bronze plaque, Minussinsk

b, after Minns and Dalton (reversed), the rest from photographs. Scales: a, c, d, 1/1; b, 3/2

Giovanna Montanari, who places it as late Venetic work of the later 6th–5th century B.C. It is a bronze girdle-hook, in itself of no special interest, but it bears finely engraved ornament which centres on a tense, crouching stag (fig. 9, c). It bears a version of the barred-ribbon enrichment across its body, and the treatment — spindly, with an undersized head — is Italian. The depiction of the antlers is seen to be exotic by Miss Montanari, who offers a very much earlier Alaça Hüyük animal as a possible prototype. In fact the model for this piece must have been Scythian. The unusually long ear, horizontally disposed between neck and antlers, is seen in an elk from a small plaque from kurgan 5

at Pazirik (fig. 9 a),¹ and in numerous related pieces; the general posture is that of the little deer from the frieze on the gold Vetersfelde sheath,² here (fig. 9 b) drawn reversed for comparison, and the antlers, both in length and disposition straight from Siberian art, are best matched amongst the many small reposed stags from Minussinsk (fig. 9 d);³ an aristocratic version of this idea is seen in the superb gold stag from Komstromskaya.⁴ The precise treatment of the antlers of Miss Montanari's stag, developed from the opening of the S-curves seen in the Minussinsk series, is very hard to parallel, but it does occur in an Altaic version of the same developed S-curl from kurgan 2 at Pazirik. Here the curls (six, as opposed to four on the Italian animal) end, in the local idiom, in cock's or gryphon's heads, but are otherwise identical.⁵

Further and apparently direct borrowing from the Eurasiatic animal art world, probably closer to the 4th century B.C. and possibly to the north of the Alps *via* Hungary and the Danube, lies behind the opposed S-dragons on the pot from La Chapelle, Marne, which we shall examine shortly. Jacobsthal has suggested the descent of this theme, through instances of his 'Hungarian sword style' from an 'opposed animals' or 'confronted beasts' series seen in a variety of objects and materials from the Dnieper to the Yenisei, a series linked with a much older Hither Asian school, and widely known in another form through a common type of Luristan bronze. A hint of this in Italian contexts must underlie the opposed hinds (fig. 8, 2 d) on the Matzhausen flagon, though again the influence may have come directly into the La Tène world without the intermediate agency of the Etruscan and Venetic schools. The important gold bracelet of the mid 5th century B.C. from Rodenbach, for example, is regarded by Jacobsthal as a fairly immediate inspiration from Scythian animals on bone terminals of several kinds.⁶

Paradoxically, as Jacobsthal repeatedly stressed, the vigorous and long-lived Oriental animal component in early La Tène art is almost never demonstrable by actual imports, recovered in archaeological sites. The possibility that the mode of transmission took place, physically, in media other than the fine metalwork which necessarily forms the basis of all major studies does not seem to have been sufficiently explored. Working on the further fringes of the Scythian world, the Rudenkos and their colleagues have shown conclusively from the Altai kurgans that the more naturalistic representations of Eurasiatic beasts are by no means necessarily to be found in precious or ornamental metalwork. The latter field, as elsewhere, is at once a temptation and prey to every kind of stylisation and contortion, induced by curves, exciting three-dimensional but restricted surfaces, and the inlay of enamel and gems. It is in other media which offer relatively flat or two-dimensional surfaces — wooden

¹ Rudenko, *Gornogo Altaya*, pl. cvi, no. 1.

² Minns, *J.G.*, 239, fig. 147 (after Dalton, *Oxus Treasure*, fig. 22).

³ Minns, 'Art of the Northern Nomads' (Brit. Acad. 1942), pl. ix, N.

⁴ T. Talbot-Rice, *The Scythians* (1957), pl. 23, best recent photograph.

⁵ *Drevnee Iskusstvo Altaya* ('L'Art ancien de

l'Altai'), Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (1958), pl. 38.

⁶ Jacobsthal, pl. 47, 156; pl. 230 a; cf. Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, 277, fig. 142, brilliant employment of terminal for horses' heads. A humbler (Permian) bronze relative is figured by Borovka, 'Der skythische Tierstil'. *Archaeol. Anzeiger* (1926), 383, abb. 13.

carvings, their sharp but low angles and arrises linking them to sheet metal, appliqué felt and leather used for the enrichment of clothing, canopies and shabraques, and even (as at Pazirik) human skin — that we must look for the simple and realistic animals; and these are all things which survive only in exceptional conditions of permanent waterlogging or, as in the Altai kurgans, permanent ice. The dichotomy of presentation of the same basic animal themes, as between metalwork on the one hand and flat-surface work on the other, becomes pronounced in the Celtic world from La Tène I onwards. It is perhaps most clearly shown in the much-discussed matter of the stylised hip and shoulder-joints. We have seen the lobate form, the flat-surface variety, on the Hallstatt sheath and the Matzhausen flask; what is not always realized is that the spiral form, preserved for something like a millennium after the end of La Tène III in the Germanic *Tierornament*, is basically a fine-metalwork statement of this theme. Only time separates, in feeling, the wolf on the Basse-Yutz flagon from Lorraine (British Museum) of the early 4th century B.C., and the little silver lion from Islandbridge, Dublin, a Viking beast of c. 1100 A.D.¹ Overlaps occur, naturally: the *interior* of the lobate joints in the Hallstatt scabbard (fig. 8, 1) show one such, and they can be demonstrated from Jacobsthal's corpus for later centuries. But we are dealing with a 'flat' animal art, a peasant art, a largely realistic art, where the lobate joint is most at home; and pottery, offering both a flat surface and a reasonable degree of archaeological documentation, is thus of vital significance in this study.

Eastern instances of animal decoration on pottery are again provided from the Altai region. A handsome red imported vase from kurgan 2 at Pazirik was decorated with six little appliqué cockerels of gilded leather:² three marched one way, three the other, forming an opposed pair, a reversed pair, and two individualists in the middle (fig. 10, a). Metal appliqué-work which may somehow be related to this can be seen from Wildon, Styria (Austria); here, not far from the Hungarian plain, one of several pots of Hallstatt type bore little cut-out bronze squares with silhouetted stags.³ It must be seen as part of a very large class of pottery with applied metal ornament, almost always geometric; the stag here (fig. 10, b) is of markedly Eurasiatic character. Even on the further fringe of the Scythic area we can find the incision of animals straight onto pottery: fig. 10, c, shows a (presumably native) sherd from kurgan 2 at Bash-Adar in central Altai,⁴ with a simple graffito of a skeletal stag, little removed from fig. 5, nos. 5 and 6. If this habit was at all widespread in the La Tène I world it could, however, have come from another angle as well. Fig. 8, 6, drawn from a photograph, is a curiously-beaked horse scratched, after firing, on a red-surfaced pot from tomb 57 in the *sepolcreto di Montanallo*, at Civitacastellana, the Etruscan *Falerii*, and presumably dating from the 6th century

¹ Basse-Yutz flagon: Fox, P.P., Pl. 1; Jacobsthal, Pl. 178–183 (no. 381). Irish Viking lion: Mahr, *Ancient Irish Handicraft*, Limerick (1939), Pl. 24, no. 10.

² Rudenko, *Gornoga Altaya*, Pl. xxii, no. 3; German description, *Der Zweite Kurgan von Pasyryk* (Berlin,

1951), 34–36, illus.

³ B. Stjernqvist, 'Ornamentation metallique sur vases d'argile', *Meddel. fr. Lunds Univ. Historiska Museum* (Lund, 1958), 144.

⁴ Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, 66, fig. 42 a.

B.C. or later.¹ It may, as we shall see, have some relevance to the beaked Marnian horse from La Cheppe (fig. 8, 7).

If the absence of animal-ornamented pottery in British Eastern B can to some extent be regarded as an archaeological, and not a true, lacuna, one can find reason to suppose that such may have existed by looking to north-western Europe. A vessel of the 1st century B.C. from Kraghede, Denmark,² bears a frieze of a dog attacking a backwards-looking stag, a large bovid with horns,

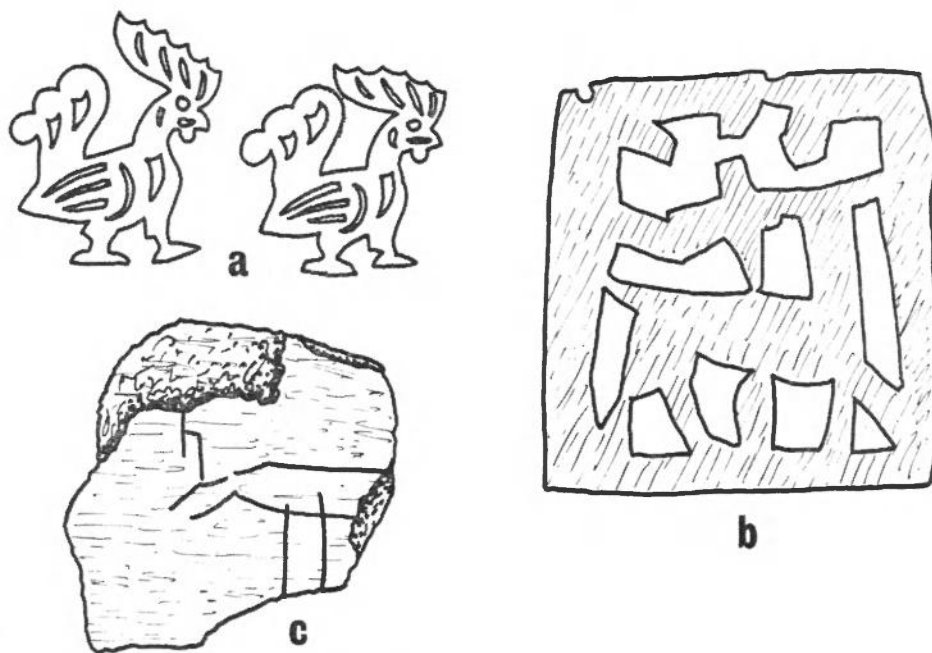


Fig. 10. Eastern pottery ornament

a, appliqué leather cocks, Pazirik kurgan 2; b, appliqué bronze stag silhouette, Wildon, Styria (Austria); c, graffito stag, native pot, Bash-Adar kurgan 2 (Altai)

a, c, after Rudenko; b, after Stjernqvist.

Scales: a, 2/9; b, 1/1; c, 2/3 (?)

a rider on horseback, and another dog attacking another stag (one of the dogs, and the bovid creature — an aurochs? — are shown in fig. 8, 5 and 8). Becker's contention that this frieze was copied from a metalwork original, in view of the pointillé technique in which it is executed, is not necessarily convincing; the scene itself has a strong flavour of the later Norse 'heroic rider' cult, and a fragment of Eastern Second B pottery from Warham, Norfolk,³ repeats in an enlarged style the line-and-ring of the Kraghede dog's leg and foot. Furthermore, the square muzzles of the two Kraghede animals shown here are repeated,

¹ Given by O. G. S. Crawford to Stuart Piggott, to whom I am grateful both for showing it to me and for permission to reproduce it here.

² Becker, *Acta Arch.*, XII, 1-3 (1942), 318, fig. 4; *Danmarks Oldtid*, III, 45.

³ *Ant. J.*, XIII (1933), 411, fig. 5.

on the one hand by the Matzhausen creatures, on the other by the Coll stag; so we may be seeing an instance of 'peasant' flat-surface animal art which owes little to superior metalwork. The same idea occurs again in a frieze found on a very large jar of the 1st century A.D. from Tendrup, near Aarhus in Jutland;¹ sadly fragmentary, it is nonetheless possible to recover a complete animal from Becker's careful drawings. This (fig. 8, 4), a horse or hind with inappropriate claws, a stylised eye, and 'cloth' ears, forms an instructive parallel to the Bragar (Lewis) animal in fig. 8, 3. It is possible to see the hindquarter lobe outlined by roundels, the shoulder lobe turning (as at Bragar) into a disc, and the development of some kind of barred filling into a morass of dotted lines.

Still later instances are found on the small Frankish urn from Villevenard, Marne, illustrated by Coutil;² here the animals are practically pot-hooks, but are spaced out by upright zigzag lines, a design seen in a rather earlier form on the Coll sherd in fig. 1. Salin has drawn attention to a group of three little stags of very simple design, incised on the interior of a thin grey plate from Avallon, Yonne.³ The transference of so many cultural elements to southern and eastern England in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. carried this idea as well. From the Lackford pagan Saxon cemetery, Lethbridge has published⁴ various urns with animal ornament. Two pots show curvaceous hinds or horses, in one case spaced out by upright strokes like the Coll sherd, in another with ritual 'sun-chariot' swastikas which, if really meaningful at this date, certainly suggest a La Tène ancestry.⁵ Another pot bears an S-shaped creature set horizontally, and yet another has stamped birds and fishes; a fifth shows a perky little creature which Lethbridge describes as a 'whippet', but which is actually a Germanic form of the backwards-glancing La Tène animals. Similar animal-stamps come, also from the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., from Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk. Commenting on these, Sonia Hawkes draws attention to 'an undercurrent of semi-naturalistic tradition underlying the more sophisticated animal styles of this region.'⁶ Her own paper clearly exemplifies the dichotomy, to which reference has already been made, between the 'sophisticated' (in this case, Jutish A) animals of the metalwork, and the 'semi-naturalistic' (in this case, pottery) animals, and the passage just quoted will serve aptly to introduce the next part of this discussion.

Scottish Third B, Third C, and animal style in the Roman period

The instances of survival which have just been explored show that there is nothing inherently improbable in the continuation, well into the earlier centuries A.D., of the Scottish Iron Age animals discussed at the start of this paper and illustrated in figures 1, 4, 5 and 6. But before proceeding to analyse any such continuation, it is necessary to see whether the animal style, the introduction of which has been attributed to Second B in the north, was reinforced at any point between the 1st and 4th centuries A.D.

¹ Becker, *op. cit.*, figs. 2 and 3.

² Coutil, 'Cimetière mérovingien et carolingien de Villevenard, Marne', *L'Homme Préhistorique* (1913), no. 5: 6, and figs. 2 and 3.

³ Salin, *La Civilisation Mérovingienne*, IV (1959), 147, fig. 36.

⁴ 'A cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk', *C.A.S. Quarto publications*, VI (1951), figs. 8, 28, and 31.

⁵ Sprockhoff, *P.P.S.*, XXI (1955), 257 ff.

⁶ S. C. Hawkes, 'The Jutish Style A', *Arch.*, XCVIII (1961), pl. xxi, i: 71.

There are two such possibilities, which can conveniently be labelled 'Belgic' and 'Roman', and they can be examined separately.

Piggott would distinguish, further to his geographically-divided Second B in southern and western Scotland, a 'Third B' and a 'Third C'. Third B in the two lowland provinces is, however, largely indicated by the later stages of the existing Second B in the same region: its most prominent type, the Group IV (or Brigantian) swords and their various hilts, is an index of continuing northern English-southern Scottish contact in the period mid 1st to early 2nd century A.D.¹ Third C, on the other hand, must be viewed as a broadly contemporary but culturally separate wave, bringing (as its name suggests) a wide spectrum of objects, mainly of south-eastern and south/central English type, to Lowland Scotland. The historical background to this movement, which must be carefully distinguished from the earlier Second B wave of eastern and south-eastern English origin, is uncertain. Early in the 1st century A.D., the Belgic king Tasciovanus 'was initiating a period of continuous warfare and expansion, in the course of which various non-Belgic tribes were subjected to the rule of the Catuvellauni'.² This allows a starting-point in the first quarter of the 1st century for a slow stream of emigration, largely amongst those upper-class families who were in a position to move so far, to Lowland Scotland, beyond the vast area controlled up to 71 A.D. by the Brigantes. The death of Cunobelinus soon after 40 A.D., and the Roman invasion in 43 A.D., no doubt accelerated this process, but it is scarcely likely to have continued as late as 83 A.D. Many of the metalwork objects which define the Scottish Third C, largely concentrated in the Tyne-Forth province, are best seen as the appurtenances of substantial householders.³

Some little time prior to Agricola's defeat of the Caledonii at Mons Graupius, a site which is well north of the Forth though agreement on its precise location is lacking, the fertile area of the Moray Firth and the Banffshire-Aberdeen coastal plains entered a new cultural phase. Unaffected by the Second B settlements of the 1st century B.C., and still, we may suppose, peopled fairly thickly by a variety of Bronze Age *indigènes* on whom some kind of fortress-building Iron Age A element (the 'Abernethy' culture of Childe) was imposed in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C., this rich pastoral belt suddenly became the focus of Scotland beyond the Roman imperium. It is tempting to imagine, since no other explanation seems likely, that this took place through deliberate conquest, either from B groups in Caithness or Orkney, or up the Great Glen from the western 'dun and wheel-house' province, or northwards from the Second B enclave which, as the map in fig. 2 suggests, existed on Tay-side — or from all three. Piggott defines the new phase as East Scottish Second B; we might almost call it 'Second B/C'. It may have been initiated

¹ P.P.S., XVI (1950), 17, and map, fig. 12.

² Allen, *Arch.*, XC (1945), 19, on coin evidence.

³ Group V swords, Piggott, P.P.S., XVI (1950); 'spoons', jointed collars, mirrors, Fox, P.P., *passim*; Fowler's type C penannulars, P.P.S., XXVI (1960), fig. 9; tankards, Corcoran, P.P.S., XVIII (1952), 85; La Tene III 'Nauheim-derivative' brooches, Joep,

U.J.A., 20, 78, fig. 2.; the later spiral-rings, Joep, *ibid.*, 80, fig. 3 (earlier, C. M. Piggott, P.S.A.S., LXXXIV); Belgic plough-socks, Payne, *Arch. J.* CIV (1948), 82 ff.; cauldrons and cauldron-chains, Piggott, P.S.A.S., LXXXVII (1952-3), 18, fig. 3; and various other items of, e.g. harness and chariotry and personal adornment.

as early as the second quarter of the 1st century A.D. Its most important artistic reflection is in the school of late, but wholly native, bronze metalwork which emanates from this north-eastern corner of Scotland from the latter part of the 1st century A.D., possibly as late as the third century.

The mixture of population — a ruling minority of P-Celtic speakers of Iron Age B origins, and a much larger and older society of predominantly Bronze Age type — is an idea to which both field archaeology and linguistic research lend a certain measure of support.¹ From this amalgam came, of course, the historical Picts to whom we shall turn shortly. The metalwork is however very much B/C in type, and, allowing for the necessary elaboration always present in metalwork, preserves here and there distinct signs of the animal style. The sheet-bronze object from Deskford, Banff, now identified² as the mouth of a carnyx or war-trumpet, is not only appropriate to La Tène militant leadership, but suggests that such objects could be produced in a Scottish *milieu* not long after the mid-1st century A.D. The degree of stylisation is far less than that of the boar on the Witham shield: the 'squared-off' snout is in keeping with the Matzhausen-Coll-Kraghede muzzles (figs. 5 and 8). A remarkable series of six massy bronze spiral armlets in the form of double-headed snakes — each terminal is a snake's head — constitute a fully native 'Caledonian' type. The best known, from Culbin Sands, Moray (Pl. I), is related by the lenticular patterns on the central coils to the other armlet series, the strange Castle Newe group which looks like a hybrid between a flat penannular armlet and a torc of the Snettisham class;³ but the Culbin Sands snake bracelet⁴ is also derived from the kind of bronze spiral snake found in the Belgic chieftain's grave at Snailwell, Cambridge.⁵ The flattened ram's horns which stretch behind each snaky head, on the Snailwell as well as the Caledonian examples, indicate the religious nature of this ornament. Locally, its relatives are on the one hand the (unfortunately) lost spiral bronze finger-ring 'in the form of a serpent, eyes and scales carved minutely' from Dunsinane fort, Perthshire,⁶ and on the other, a remarkable but effective stone cup from Inverkeithny, Banffshire (Pl. I) which seems to be a skeuomorph of the bronze form. The coils are clumsily depicted, the tail tucked up as an afterthought between the first and second rings, but the head emerges powerfully to form the handle. A date in the 2nd/3rd century A.D. seems likely for this odd peasant handicraft.⁷

If the first source for the possible reinforcement of the Scottish Iron Age B animal art is to be seen in such metalwork as the snake bracelets and the boar-headed carnyx, the Third C and Third B contributions to the remote societies of the north-east, the second source is considerably more alien. It consists of the iconography of the Roman military and civil power, particularly on the

¹ Survival of short-cist cremation burial to a stage when Pictish class I symbol-stones could be used, sometimes secondarily, as cover-slabs (E.C.M.S., *passim*); language, Jackson, *Problem*, chap. VI.

² Piggott, 'The Carnyx in Early Iron Age Britain', *Ant. J.*, XXXIX (1959), 19.

³ Piggott, *op. cit.*, 29.

⁴ Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times — The Iron Age* (1883), figs. 136–7.

⁵ Fox, P.P., 81, pl. 53 b.

⁶ P.S.A.S., XXXIV (1899–1900), 91.

⁷ Nat. Mus. Edin, AQ. 34; the interior seems burnt by use as lamp.

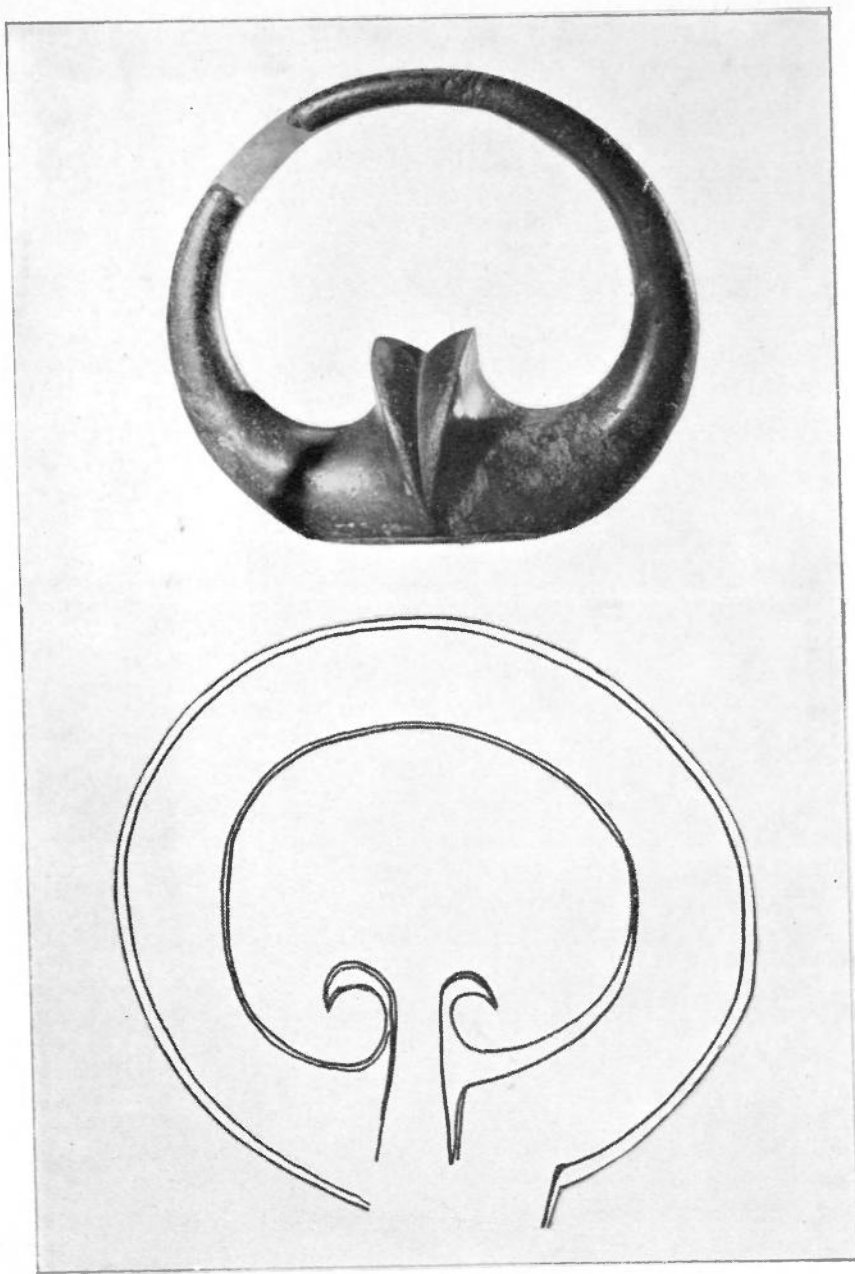


Upper: Bronze snake bracelet in form of double-headed ram-horned serpent,
inlay eyes and 'mouth' disc; Culbin Sands, Morayshire

Lower: stone handled cup in form of snake; Inverkeithny, Banff

(Both in National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh)

(Scale: about $\frac{3}{4}$)



Upper: Bronze 'Don' terret, Caledonian work of late 1st-early 3rd (?) century A.D., Aberdeenshire (*Nat. Mus. Edin.*)

Lower: Design from Class I Pictish stone; Walton, Fife (*E.C.M.S.*, fig. 358)
(Not to same scale)

two Walls, as expressed in official entablature, memorials to the dead, legionary and centurial monuments, altars and antefixes, and the various legionary badges. To this must be added a quite unascertainable amount of painted wooden material — signs and notices — which are unlikely ever to be found by archaeological methods.

The value, in artistic terms, of this second potential contributor is uneven; but eagles, bulls, boars, even the Pegasi and 'sea-goats', to be seen in various forms from Fife to Northumberland between the late 1st and 4th centuries A.D., cannot be dismissed as wholly irrelevant.¹ Nor is the fact that we are now concerned with the preservation of animal, and other, native stylistic traditions in a region far to the north of either Wall. Curle's *Inventory*,² to which much can be subsequently added,³ records a surprising degree of cultural penetration at a fairly scrappy level. Moreover, on a variety of occasions, the inhabitants of north-eastern Scotland, whether as Caledonii, Maeatae, or Picti, would have had opportunities — single or *en masse*, peacefully or in hostile conditions — to inspect fixed Roman manifestations of this 'official' art, and to carry off the more portable ones. The degree to which the monumental styles and iconographies of the Roman official cults, and the Celtic or continental counterparts, can be seen to have interpenetrated each other is in itself instructive.

Reasons for retention of animal art in Scotland in the centuries A.D.

If the native animal art of the far north (reinforced to a greater or lesser degree from the two sources just described) was retained at all until the end of the Roman period, we are not obliged to suppose that this was for purely aesthetic reasons. This 'animal style', which from its various Oriental sources was adopted into the world of La Tène I and II, must always have possessed a dual nature. Admittedly, the various animals, birds and fishes could be adopted, and adapted, to adorn every kind of surface, brightening and enriching what would otherwise be dull and prosaic; colour, the interplay of shapes, and the relief of flat planes seem to have formed an essential and unquestioned basis of Celtic art. Yet they seldom served merely as ornaments. Each creature possessed obvious virtues, its own peculiar and widely-known *mana*: the wild boar with its lack of fear, dangerous tusks and thick coarse-haired skin was an obvious choice to adorn a warrior's shield or war-horn; the remote and celestial quality of the soaring eagle would emphasise and enhance the status of him who bore it, and the silent chthonic wisdom of the snake afforded clear magical protection as an amulet. When we consider that, from an early stage in almost all historically-documented societies, these virtues and special properties were generally expressed in terms of pantheistic religion, we have the real clue to the retention of animal-style art.

¹ Random instances (over and above such series as *Lap. Sept.*) are: boar and raven, Cappuck, Jedburgh, *P.S.A.S.*, XXXIX (1904-5), 25; bronze eagle, Currie, Midlothian, Curle, *P.S.A.S.*, LXVI (1931-2) 352; bull, eagle, River Tyne, B.M., *Antiquities of Roman Britain* (1951), 67; painted glass

cup of Scandinavian Roman Iron Age type with bears, etc., Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain* (1923) — also on silver from hoard.

² *P.S.A.S.*, LXVI (1931-2), 277-400.

³ e.g., for 2nd cent. A.D., *Roman and Native in North Britain* (1958), map 5.

This religious aspect of the various beasts portrayed in La Tène workmanship, an aspect which must in large part have been inherited from older north European groups and from the Eurasiatic zone along with the art itself, is too vast a topic to be expanded in the present paper. The bald statement that this state of affairs may primarily explain why a corpus of animal representations was maintained in north Britain throughout the later Iron Age of the Roman era is not, however, wholly unfounded. Dr. Anne Ross's preliminary studies¹ on these lines, which link the archaeological evidence to the surviving secular literature of the Celtic world (particularly from first-millennium A.D. Ireland) have already provided a brilliant demonstration of the importance of several animal cults in what must be seen as, essentially, a complex chain of beliefs springing from the Iron Age cultures of Britain and the nearer Continental regions.

The inheritance is surely reflected onomastically. The names of the component groups ('tribes') in the north, recorded by Ptolemy in the 2nd century A.D., and to a lesser extent in other early sources, offer suggestive evidence.² The *Novantae* ('newcomers') and *Damnonii* in Galloway and the Strathclyde-Stirlingshire areas must reflect incoming Second B groups. What significance should we allot to the *Epidii* in Kintyre, *Caereni* and *Lugi* in Sutherland, and *Cornavii* in Caithness, names which embody words meaning 'horse', 'sheep', 'raven', and 'horn'?³ It must further be remembered that, if we accept the testimony of Pytheas (as recorded by Diodorus Siculus in the late 1st century B.C.), the Orkneys were known as *Orcas*, or some similar name derived from *orci*, 'pigs, boars' as early as the end of the 4th century B.C., and that this may represent the appellation of the 'Atlantic First A' settlers ultimately responsible for such things as timber-laced forts and the Abernethy culture.

None of this need imply totemism, as it has sometimes been made to,⁴ in the sense in which, for example, Sir James Frazer used this term. Nonetheless, it is perhaps justified to assume that such tribal names, with others that have not been recorded⁵, indicate the presence of animal-cults: deities like the Gallo-Belgic mare-goddess *Epona* who will be discussed later, who could be represented symbolically either sitting on a horse, or by the horse alone, and some of whose probable devotees bore names commencing in *ep*, *epo*. It is far too facile to believe, with Watson,⁶ that the *Epidii* of Kintyre were so called because 'they were probably horse-breeders and horse-breakers'. No one, after all, breeds wild boars or ravens.

¹ 'Chain symbolism in Pagan Celtic Religion', *Speculum*, XXXIV (1959), 39; 'The Human Head in Insular Pagan Celtic Religion', *P.S.A.S.*, XCI (1957-8), 10; 'The Horned God of the Brigantes', *A.A.*, 4 ser. XXXIX (1961); 'Esus et les trois grues', *Études Celtiques*, IX (1962), 405.

² Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (1926), ch. I-II; Crawford & Richmond, 'British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography', *Arch.*, XCIII (1949), 1; Richmond, *Roman & Native in North Britain* (1958), ch. VI, and map 4; Jackson, *Problem*, ch. VI, *passim*.

³ Taking *corn*— as 'horn (of a beast)' and not, as usually done, as 'promontory'; the latter meaning seems to credit the Cornavii with too great a degree of topographical awareness, since Caithness is far less of a promontory than, say, Kintyre or West Cornwall.

⁴ e.g., Lethbridge, *The Painted Men* (1954), 70.

⁵ A tribal name *Catti* (wild cats? Lynxes?) seems to lurk behind early forms of the names for Shetland and Caithness: Watson, *op. cit.*, 30.

⁶ Watson, *op. cit.*, 24.

Taken together, the foregoing provides quite good evidence, over and above a mere love of natural ornament, for assuming that conditions in northern Scotland from the 1st to the 4th centuries A.D. favoured the retention of an animal style, the earlier forms of which have been shown in figures 5 and 6. The following section will examine what appears to have been the result of this conservatism.

The animal symbols in Pictish art.

So-called 'Pictish' art is found, largely on field-monuments of native rock or stone, in north-eastern and northern Scotland, with outliers in Orkney, Shetland, Skye and (sparsely) other areas. Its distribution coincides so closely with those areas known to have been under Pictish rule between the 5th and 9th centuries A.D.,¹ and with the range of certain place-name elements like *pit*-² which are generally agreed to represent the P-Celtic Pictish language, that its manifestations constitute, as Wainwright stressed recently, the one group of archaeological monuments to which the label 'Pictish' may with confidence and certainty be applied.

The accepted classification of the Scottish stone monuments, first broadcast through the medium of *E.C.M.S.* in 1903, runs thus:

- Class I Symbols incised on more or less undressed stone slabs or boulders, to which may be added the same symbols depicted on a limited *art mobilier* in stone, bone and metal.
- Class II The same symbols (minus one or two, plus several new ones) depicted in low relief, or occasionally in a mixture of relief and incised technique, on carefully-shaped stone monuments, and associated with a conventional range of Christian symbols, crosses, hunting and other scenes.
- Class III All stone monuments including free-standing stone crosses (High Crosses, etc.), which lack the special symbols found in classes I and II, and bear decoration generally of Hiberno-Saxon or interlace character.

Up to this point, we have traversed common ground: but here the road branches in many directions. The dating of these three classes is a surprisingly contentious matter. The scheme most generally accepted in Ireland and Scotland is that propounded in various papers³ by R. B. K. Stevenson, and may be summarized as follows. Class I runs from not before 650 A.D. until the 10th century. Class II commences not before the late 8th century and continues until the 10th century. The various components of class III do not coalesce until the 9th century, and run on into the full medieval period in the 11th to 12th centuries.

This chronology, which is broadly that used by Isabel Henderson,⁴ has not gone unchallenged. In respect of class I in particular, Cecil Curle favoured a starting-point in the 6th century A.D., whilst Radford would see it beginning

¹ Maps in *Problem*, 100, 147, 150.

² Jackson, *Problem*, ch. VI. *Pit*, earlier *pett*, Gaul. *petia* (through French, our *piece*), 'steadings', must in terms of settlement-history mean much the same as Ir. *baile*, Welsh/Cornish *tre(f)*. The excavation of some deserted and firmly-identified *Pit*-site in Aberdeenshire or Angus is a major

desideratum: the type is perhaps shown by Ogston in *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Howe of Cromar* (Aberdeen, 1931), a fine, but neglected, field-survey.

³ Particularly 'Pictish Art' (*Problem*, ch. V), and *P.S.A.S.*, XCII (1958-9), 55.

⁴ *P.S.A.S.*, XCI (1957-8), 44-61.

even earlier.¹ The dating of class III is not relevant to the present paper, depending as it does partly on external considerations, partly on the history of the major locations (*e.g.* Iona), but even here Irish and Scottish views are often at variance. The position of class II lies between I and III, overlapping both to an uncertain extent.

Stevenson's reasons for seeing class I as commencing in the latter part of the 7th century form the cornerstone of the present accepted chronology, a chronology widely reflected in numerous other papers, museum labels and popular guides. It is therefore essential to examine them closely. Firstly, he relates the analysed development of the internal ornament in the 'crescent and V-rod' (the commonest class I non-animal symbol)² to the patterns on the bodies and escutcheons of hanging-bowls found largely in English Saxon contexts, bowls generally seen as exports from non-Saxon areas, and in manuscript art. Secondly, he tends to derive the Pictish class I animal symbols from such related sources as the Book of Durrow and early Irish and Scottish metalwork of a superior type (Monymusk Reliquary, Tara and Hunterston brooches). Thirdly, the Norrie's Law, Fife, hoard of silver objects, some of which bear class I symbols both animal and non-animal, is dated to *c.* 700 A.D. and used to afford a chronological horizon for class I.

The argument, which is here necessarily presented in a most restricted form and should be read in full,³ concludes with, *inter alia*, the statement 'No artistic development definitely earlier than the mid-7th century can so far be ascribed to Pictland'.

There are grave objections to all the three lines of reasoning just set out, and to several subsidiary points which are given with them. Stevenson's analysis of the crescent and V-rod ornament is based on two prior assumptions: that the *form* (*i.e.* the incised outline) is of less significance than the internal enrichment, and that this internal enrichment itself commences fully-fashioned and then proceeds to degenerate. The first assumption omits any consideration of the plain forms of crescent and V-rod as seen in the Scottish caves, forms which (as was shown earlier) may on the whole be regarded as older than the 7th century A.D., and neglects to take into account a quite separate typology of the 'V-rod' part of this symbol, a feature which plainly depicts a broken arrow. The second assumption apparently relies on this description of a crescent and V-rod from Golspie, Sutherland, which is selected quite arbitrarily as a starting-point: 'It contains a majority of the details found in the others, details which it would be hard to combine but which could have separated during simplification.' Wider application of this stylistic doctrine would make the Animal Style in La Tène art the parent, not the offspring, of its component influences; and it would upset much of what is known of the ornament on the various epigraphically-dated British memorial-stone series. We cannot assume

¹ Curle, *P.S.A.S.*, LXXIX (1939-40), 112; Radford, *Ant.*, XVI (1942), 1 ff. Their views are neatly summarized, Stevenson, *P.S.A.S.*, XCII (1958-9), 55.

² The class I symbols are all set out in *E.C.M.S.*, part I, ch. vii (57), a list which requires certain

revisions and additions. There are about fifty class I symbols altogether: 14 of these are 'animals' (animals, birds, fish and snake), and the rest can conveniently be called 'non-animal', as the present paper will do.

³ *Problem*, 104-112.

that any special law, contrary to wider empirical observations, governed the development of Pictish art. The selection of the Golspie, and other, crescent and V-rod symbols as starting-places, *because* they are thought to be stylistically related to hanging-bowl ornament and some very limited manuscript art of c. 600–650¹ is also being used to prove precisely this chronological horizon for Pictish class I symbols as a whole — practically a circular argument.

The animal symbols lend no real support to the late dating either. As Isabel Henderson once pointed out,² the Pictish class I animals occupy a unique position in post-Roman art in that the exact development of their lobate or lobate-scroll joints is employed in a generally correct anatomical way and is used to emphasise, with strong and facile curves, the muscular masses of haunch and shoulder. The naturalistic depiction of animals is an Eurasiatic legacy to La Tène; whatever the merits of Hiberno-Saxon art, the ability to do just this is not amongst them. From the earliest fine Saxon metalwork, in common with the great bulk of Germanic art as far back practically as the Tendrup animal, a wholly different approach is seen. Fantastic beasts with incorrect proportions and attributes inexorably lead into the various intertwined and gripping creatures the impact of which, often confusing, is essentially intellectual rather than visual. Where the joints are stressed, this is done through development of the spiral joint, adopted through later La Tène metalwork, rather than the lobate joint of 'flat' art. In no sense, therefore, is Stevenson's diagram³ a real 'pedigree of the Pictish elephant'. Only in the minuscule filigree creatures abstracted from the depths of the Hunterston brooch is there any suggestion of resemblance, and the derivation here (if any) is from, not to, the Pictish class I series.

The evangelist's 'Lion' from the Book of Durrow⁴ is perhaps the closest in feeling to the Pictish animals — *cf.* the boar in fig. 11 — but this removes us at once from any chronology depending upon the Hiberno-Saxon art style. The derivation of the interlaced beasts in the same work 'from a Germanic type of zoomorphic ornament' in the 7th century A.D. need not be questioned,⁵ nor, basically, does it matter in this specific context by whom, or where (Ireland or Lindisfarne), Durrow was illustrated: neither the Lion nor the Calf⁶ can be explained in the terms of the interlaced animals. Whilst some of the first post-Roman animal ornament in Ireland is possibly due to the presence of imported Mediterranean material,⁷ these two Durrow animals are surely (like the stags on the Lullingstone hanging-bowl) survivals of La Tène creatures,

¹ Even these are given their (alternative) later dates: the *Cathach* may well be Columba's own work and thus written before 597 (so Haseloff) and the Kendrick date of 6th century for the Lullingstone bowl, which has the most pronouncedly Celtic appearance of the whole group (with applique stags, birds and fishes, etc.), may itself be refined to early or mid 6th century.

² Lecture, Internat. Congress of Celtic Studies, Dublin, 1959.

³ *Problem*, fig. 16.

⁴ Henry, *Irish Art* (1940), pl. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 62 ff.

⁶ Calf: Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (1938), pl. xxxvii (and 94–104); Minns, *Art of the Northern Nomads* (1942), pl. xxvi E.

⁷ *e.g.*, *Cathach*, where the initial animals — dolphin, 52 V, 48 V, dog-headed fish (*cf.* fig. 13, no. 15, present paper), various other fishes — derive, like the simple fishes in the early 7th-century *Codex Ambrosianus* at Milan, from Christian iconography as expressed, for instance, in stamped Late Roman C pottery. For British imports of this (late 5th–7th centuries A.D.), *e.g.* Tintagel, platter with dolphin stamp, Dinas Powis (Glam.), lambs or leopards on similar platter, see Thomas, *Med. Arch.*, III (1959), 89 ff. (Class A ware).

expressed rather stiffly by a monastic illuminator from more vigorous models in other media.¹ It is not too much to suppose — indeed, if what is said hereafter is accepted, it probably *has* to be supposed — that the Durrow lion and calf owe a good deal to early and co-existing Pictish beasts, and not *vice versa*.

Finally, the use of the Norrie's Law, Fife, hoard of silver objects to date class I symbols to the late 7th century A.D. is valid only if it is assumed (a) that the symbols appearing on the silver objects are necessarily the early forms of the class I symbols, and (b) that the hoard itself can be dated to 700 A.D. This is perhaps the least cogent of the three lines of argument. The coins (Marcus Antonius to a Byzantine late 6th-century) are dismissed, on the admitted grounds of imprecise association, as 'worthless for dating'². Yet the hoard contains scrap silver of the Traprain Law and Coleraine character, and some fine things presumably made from it; it must surely be from a looted Roman site of the latter part of the 4th century, and there is no real reason to think that scrap of this nature would still be current in scrap form, unused for three centuries. The date of 700 A.D. is given on extremely slender grounds — the supposed resemblance of the 'dog's head' on one of the oval lappets or plaques³ to a beast in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The hoard contains, as Stevenson has recently shown, a broken spoon of 4th-century date.⁴ The two oval plaques have studs at the back for fastening to clothing, perhaps in imitation of tunic ornaments or *phalerae* as worn by some Roman military grandee. Their Scottish prototype is the thin bronze plaque with pointillé line-and-circle ornament from Traprain Law;⁵ this fastened like a brooch with a pin, but Elizabeth Burley (Mrs. Fowler) calls attention to a parallel from Fifield Neville, Dorset, which fastened with two studs at either end.⁶ The silver hand-pin is dated to the 6th, perhaps early 7th, century by Haseloff.⁷ Part of a curious mounting of sheet-silver⁸ bears what seems to be repoussé ornament of elongated lozenges, set transversely, a late echo of the lenticular ornament on the Castle Newe bronze armlets of the Caledonian metalwork school of the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. The overwhelming impression that one gets is thus that the hoard was acquired by a Pict in the late 4th or early 5th century, and deposited, unfortunately in circumstances now unrecoverable, before 600 A.D.; also that the symbols inscribed or engraved on the hand-pin and the oval plaques are not only, at the latest, 6th century A.D., but also late in the class I series. It should be further noted that the ten superb 'Pictish chains' — princely neck-ornaments of massive silverwork⁹ — are dated to c. 700 only on general grounds of association with the Norrie's Law material; that two of them (Parkhill, Aberdeen:¹⁰ Whitecleuch, Lanark¹¹) bear simple forms of class I symbols on the ring-terminals; and that a date in the 6th or even 5th century is perfectly possible for this group.

¹ Perhaps appliqué or plain leatherwork; for Lullingstone stags, see Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, (1938), pl. xxviii, 1.

² *Problem*, III.

³ *Problem*, 110; *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 387.

⁴ *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXVIII (1934-6), 228, fig. 1.

⁵ Burley, *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIX (1935-6), 187, fig. 5, 270. The Traprain and Norrie's Law objects are practically the same shape and size.

⁶ Burley, *ibid.* (Dorchester Mus.).

⁷ Rhind Lectures, Edinburgh, 1961. (Lecture I, Survival of La Tène art.)

⁸ *P.S.A.S.*, VI (1864-6), woodcut, p. 9.

⁹ *Problem*, 111; *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIII (1938-9), 326; *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXVIII, 228.

¹⁰ *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 216.

¹¹ *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 503.

It can thus be suggested that the dating of class I symbols to c. 650 A.D. and later rests only on a series of *prima facie* assumptions: the assumption of a late date for the Norrie's Law hoard; and the assumption that there are connections with, or derivations from, Hiberno-Saxon developed metalwork and manuscript art. The evidence, when examined closely, does not permit us to make these assumptions. The question of the necessary geographical and social contacts which would permit such artistic connections has not been explored since it is generally ignored by Stevenson, but it offers no support. Why should the rich furnishings of Saxon royal graves and thegns' halls, or the minutiae of monastic scriptoria, impinge upon an essentially popular graphic art in the north-east of Scotland? Until such major riddles as the location of the hanging-bowl workshops can be solved, we cannot begin to answer such questions without historical evidence. One may suspect the presence of an all too frequent art-historical argument, that resemblance implies direct connection rather than common origin; but in archaeological terms, unless the resemblance is so striking as to suggest immediate copying, and unless the context of a direct cultural connection is adequately documented, we must surely prefer the explanation of a common source.

Radford has ably summarized the alternative view.¹ 'The Pictish symbols clearly antedate the crosses, as the symbols themselves occur in a more elaborate form on many of the cross-slabs. An earlier origin [*scil.* than the 6th century] is indicated by the La Tène character of some of the objects represented, and by the classical inspiration which must account for other features.' Accepting Isabel Henderson's demonstration that the origin-centre of the class I symbols is in the Moray Firth area², though by no means agreeing with all her reasons for this choice, we are aware that the introduction of Christianity cannot have taken place here much before the late 6th century.³ But, on the Irish evidence,⁴ the depiction of crosses on recumbent or upright stone monuments could have reached this area, *via* Iona and the Great Glen, by the mid-7th century, and the start of class II may thus be as early as 700 at the latest. The choice of 650 as the commencement of class I affords no time at all for the necessary stylistic development as between the plainer class I symbols and the more elaborate forms which were carried over into class II. We may then suppose that class I was already in existence in the early 6th century, an idea supported by the Norrie's Law evidence, and there is no wholly cogent argument against the inception and employment of class I symbols in the 5th century A.D.

A cogent point was made by the late Sir Alfred Clapham⁵, who suggested that the numerous 'Mirror' symbols in class I showed, by their shape and the form of their handles, that they are insular La Tène mirrors of the 1st century A.D., and that the handles conform to the varieties discussed by Fox. This

¹ *Ant.*, XVI (1942), 13.

² *P.S.A.S.*, XCI (1957-8), 44-61.

³ Columba's evangelical visit to the oppidum of the Pictish king Brude, in the Inverness area; the limits are 563-597 A.D., and though it might be possible to date this more precisely from internal evidence in Adamnan's *Vita*, the general argument

stands. The suggestion that this area was converted by Ninian and his disciples in the 5th century A.D. may be discounted from lack of evidence.

⁴ Padraig Lionard, 'Early Irish Grave Slabs' *P.R.I.A.*, 61 C 5 (1961): chronology from well-documented account, 156.

⁵ *Ant.*, VIII (1934), 43 ff.

important observation has never been refuted.¹ Mirror-handles of these types, and, by implication, mirrors, did in fact find their way into Scotland.² The point here is not that similar mirrors were being made as late as the 6th or 7th century A.D. in north Britain; it is that, in the period in which the class I symbols arose, frozen into comparatively stable outline by some rigid convention or habit which was also responsible for their birth, such mirrors were still current or had not long ceased to be so. Plate II depicts a parallel instance: a 'Don' terret, one of the characteristic Caledonian metal products of 1st/2nd century A.D., compared with a careful representation of the same on a class I stone from Fifeshire.

Whilst not wishing to anticipate in any great detail a further, and lengthier, paper on the meaning, employment, significance and duration of the Pictish symbolic art, and the related topic of the historical *Picti* themselves, it may be said now that the majority of the non-animal symbols in class I are susceptible to precisely this explanation, and to no other. They represent, in guises which are often difficult to penetrate except from the angle of archaeological material, a mixture of weapons, tools, and other objects proper to a warrior-pastoralist society and its attendant craftsmen, exactly the kind of society of 'East Scottish Third B/C' type that we must suppose to have dwelt on the shores of the Moray Firth and in the north-eastern plain from the 1st century A.D. onwards. Where such objects can be firmly identified — and it is pointless to examine Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts for clues to their identification — they hail from the same cultural background as Clapham's mirrors and the 'Don' terret shown in Plate II. Although it is not suggested that the class I monuments also derive from this early era — the 5th century A.D. is the most likely point — it is indicated that the symbols were, between the late 2nd and late 4th centuries, transmitted to posterity in other forms, and preserved moreover in accordance with traditions which were generally opposed to any radical departure from recognised prototypes. As this is likely to have been somehow connected with religious and social structure, one naturally thinks of tattooing, though this does not of course rule out harness, leather, bone, and wood, examples of which seldom survive. The custom of tattooing cannot be summarily dismissed.³ It was propounded in this broad rôle by the late F. C. Diack, whose remarkable study⁴ represents the only real advance in the problem of Pictish symbolism since Joseph Anderson's pioneer account.⁵ *Pace* Mrs. Chadwick's powerful arguments against the existence to any extent of Pictish tattooing,⁶ the idea that the Picts tattooed themselves with (as Herodian says)⁷ 'all kinds of animals and variegated drawings' — *i.e.*, class I symbols — does not rest on the translation of *Picti* and nothing more. The recorded background to this custom, which commences

¹ The example cited in *Problem*, 112 n.2, from Inishkea, Mayo (Henry, *J.R.S.A.I.*, LXXXII (1952), 169) is a flat pierced handle of, but much smaller than, the Balmaclellan mirror-handle form. It may well be a patera-handle; it comes from western Ireland and it is far too late (7th-8th century) to be relevant.

² Carlingwark hoard, *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXVII (1952-3), fig. 8, C.3; Merlsford, Fife, Nat. Mus. Edin., FG.8.

³ As Stevenson does, *Problem*, 111.

⁴ *The Inscriptions of Pictland* (Aberdeen, Third Spalding Club, 1944), 1.

⁵ *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2nd ser. (Edinburgh, 1881), 175 ff.

⁶ *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, VIII (1955-8), 146 ff.

⁷ Herodian, *History*, III.14.7: this refers to the early 3rd century A.D.

with Herodotus and the people of eastern Europe and Hither Asia, lends weight to the statements that the Caledonians practised it, even if some of these statements are derivative. The archaeological evidence, in the nature of things extremely sparse, extends from the Pazirik bodies in the Altai to Gaulish La Tène II coins depicting heads with cheeks tattooed with 'Celtic' motifs.¹ Tattooing is by far the most likely way in which Pictish symbols were kept alive from the 2nd to the 5th century A.D.

It will be suggested, also in the second paper on this topic, that the majority of the class I symbol stones were employed in funerary contexts. The evidence for this is generally strong. They form an instructive parallel, on the one hand to the *bildstenar* or pictographic barbarian memorials familiar to students of early Scandinavian art — these commence about 400 A.D., and are regarded as being due to imitation of Roman models by late Iron Age groups in Norway and Sweden² — and on the other to the curious *stelae* of southern France, which seem to be slightly earlier but must represent the same native usage.³ As the inception of the custom of erecting class I monuments by the Picts apparently antedates their conversion to Christianity from the Irish centres in Dalriadic Argyll, it may be supposed that the idea was taken over from the Romans; perhaps in the reorganization on Hadrian's Wall after the disaster of 367–9 A.D., when, as Richmond has shown, the destroyed *vici* were not rebuilt, and 'civil settlements and forts are in fact merged'.⁴ This may even account for certain features in the class I symbols themselves.⁵

The Pictish Class I animal symbols

Figure 11 shows the Pictish bestiary, in this case all from incised representations on class I (undressed) stones or boulders, and drawn from the careful depictions and photographs in *E.C.M.S.* Before commenting on the nature of the art which they in part constitute, it is as well to say something of them purely as real creatures.

The horse (1), appears once only. The creature next to it, no. 2, is the so-called 'elephant', and differs from its companions in being obviously artificial; in view of its importance, it will be treated separately. The boar (3) is a wild boar, the dot on its cheek being not the eye but the point of the tusk. The stag (5) occurs once only in class I, like the horse, and it may in fact be not a red deer but a reindeer.⁶ The wolf (6) and the bull (4) are amongst the most successful representations. No. 7, the fish, is always shown with carefully-drawn fins,

¹ An illustrated discussion of this complex topic must be postponed to the subsequent paper on Pictish symbolism.

² Shetelig & Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, 246; *corpus*, in which surviving La Tène ornament is seen, Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine*, 2 vols., 1941–2. Similar Asiatic-Siberian series, some of which raise interesting problems, are discussed by Tallgren, *Eur. Sept. Antiq.*, VIII (1933), 175 (illus., in English, with good bibliography).

³ Brogan, *Roman Gaul* (1953), fig. 48, and refs.

⁴ Richmond, *Roman and Native in North Britain* (1958), 124.

⁵ Use of 'mirror' associated with females (*cf.* Class II, *P.S.A.S.* XCII (1958–59), pl. V, 1—Hilton of Cadboll): adoption of sacrificial *patera* from Roman altars as symbol, etc.

⁶ The tail, the stance, and the horns suggested this some time ago (*P.S.A.S.*, VIII, 219). It occurs with a rectangular object below it, possibly a slot-trap, and this is repeated on a Banagher (Offaly) pillar or cross-shaft of the late 8th century (Henry, *Irish Art*, pl. 41b.). The deer-and-trap may then be a single, if rare, iconographic unit. It is not otherwise known in Pictland.

as here. The next two, nos. 8 and 9, are grouped together by *E.C.M.S.* as 'Bird', but the 'bird' series is split between these two — an eagle, possibly the erne or sea-eagle, formerly as common as, if not commoner than, the golden eagle, and only recently (1911) extinct in Scotland, and some kind of goose. Nos. 10–12 are similarly amalgamated as 'Beast's Head' in *E.C.M.S.*, as they occur but once each on class I stones, though no. 12 is present on the Norrie's Law, Fife, silverwork. All three are coupé at neck or waist-level, but on the

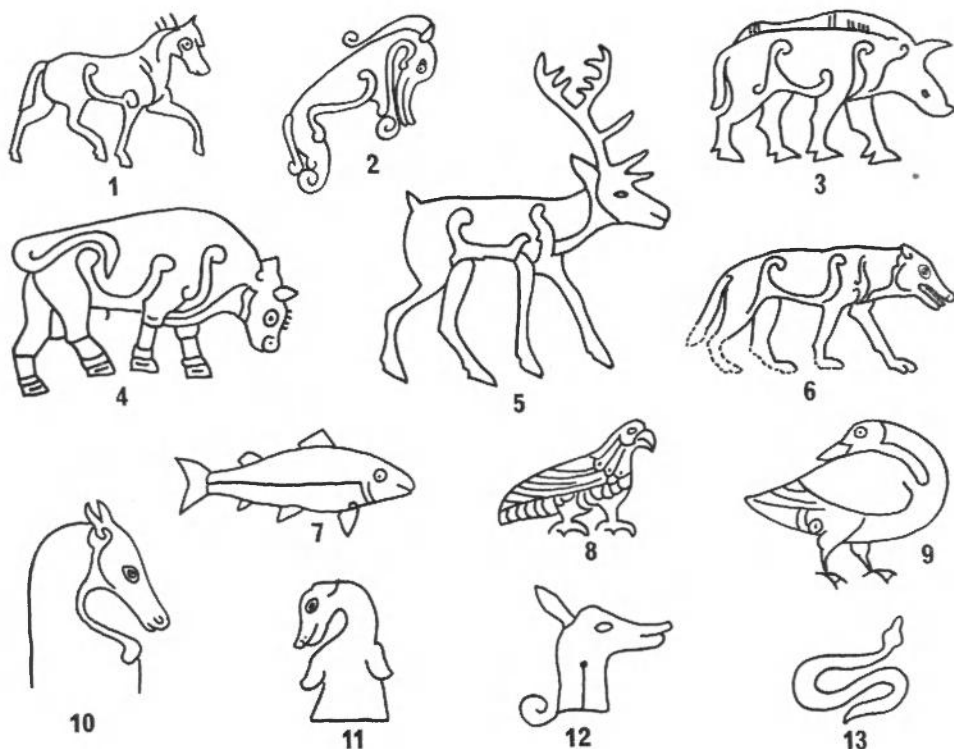


Fig. 11. Pictish Class I monuments: animal symbols

See Appendix for sources; all from *E.C.M.S.* (Various scales)

analogy of the other beasts, which are zoologically very definite, it may be thought that 10 is a horse's head, 11 is meant for a seal or otter, and 12, with its pricked ears, is a hunting-dog of the wolf-hound breed.¹ No. 13, the snake, is plain as a separate symbol; when combined with the 'Z-rod' to form a 'non-animal' symbol, it is usually conventionally decorated in a way which shows that it is a viper or adder. The protuberances on the side of the head — not eyes, since an adder's eyes do not protrude — are either the bulges of the maxillae,

¹ Cf. the numerous similar dogs (with stags, horses and birds) in later stereotyped hunting-scenes on class II stones; also the illustrations, Phyllis Gardner's *Irish Wolfhound* (Dundalk, 1931).

or a reminder of the magical ram's horns seen behind the heads of the Culbin Sands snake bracelets (Pl. I). A potential fourteenth 'animal', called a 'Hippocamp' by *E.C.M.S.* and, in the present paper, the Pictish S-dragon, will be examined in the company of the 'elephant'.

Save only for this 'elephant', the creatures in figure 11 are known to have occurred in north Britain, in wild or domestic state, at the widest range of the period of the class I stones. The most notable absentees — and, even allowing for the possibility of further class I stones being discovered, these seem to be truly absent — are the brown bear, the ram or billy-goat, and to a lesser extent the lynx(?), wild cat and hare.¹ If the single deer, no. 5, is a reindeer, the absence of the red deer stag is even more surprising, when one considers the dominant part it plays in the art of figs. 5 and 6. The explanation of this may be that the 'elephant' is really a stylisation of one of these missing beasts, as we shall see.

As components of an art style, the Pictish creatures have an unmistakable character of their own. Where differentiation can be shown, they are the males of the species. There is a confident, if rather 'frozen' realism: the fish swims; the horse trots; the wolf prowls and slavers. The absolutely simple lines of the snake convey brilliantly the thickening of the body, and the power and mass of the bull is summed up by a single curve from tail-root to ear. No two eagles in class I are the same, but all manage to indicate the lie of the broad feathering with minimal ornament, and the presentation of the goose, usually shown in the backwards-looking posture, is proper to the bird. One cannot seriously regard this group of beings as being in any way derived from any non-representational animal style. Their ancestry is stamped on them in the lobate scrolls of their joints.

These joints can be seen to emphasise muscular line, but the method here employed — one scroll based on the hip which creeps along the belly, and another on the shoulder which can practically reach the spine — takes us a stage further than that which we saw in the Bragar animal in fig. 8, no. 3. In the bull (fig. 11, no. 4), for example, the rear component of the femoral lobe or scroll now marks the front edge of the limb and not the limb-area itself, whilst the front component of the same lobe joins the shoulder scroll in outlining the upper fore-limb. The boar (3) and wolf (6) are even more developed: the triple lobe-scroll of the boar is found elsewhere on class I animals — indeed, in a clumsier form, on the Book of Durrow lion, which may point to the 'triple' version as being late within class I; and the front lobe on the wolf is broken along its rear edge by a 'Cupid's bow' motif seen also in the same position on the stag, no. 5, and subtly echoed in a good many class I representations, animal or non-animal.

The Pictish 'elephant'

The elephant shares the lobate scrolls of its realistic companions, one defining the line of its belly and indicating, by its terminals, where the joints should be, the other bordering

¹ There may be another animal, if so a wild cat or lynx, in the following class II (transitional-type) stones: *E.C.M.S.*, figs. 30a, 48b and also 234a, top left. Fig. 233b may be the solitary class I representation, on a slab re-used on the reverse in class II.

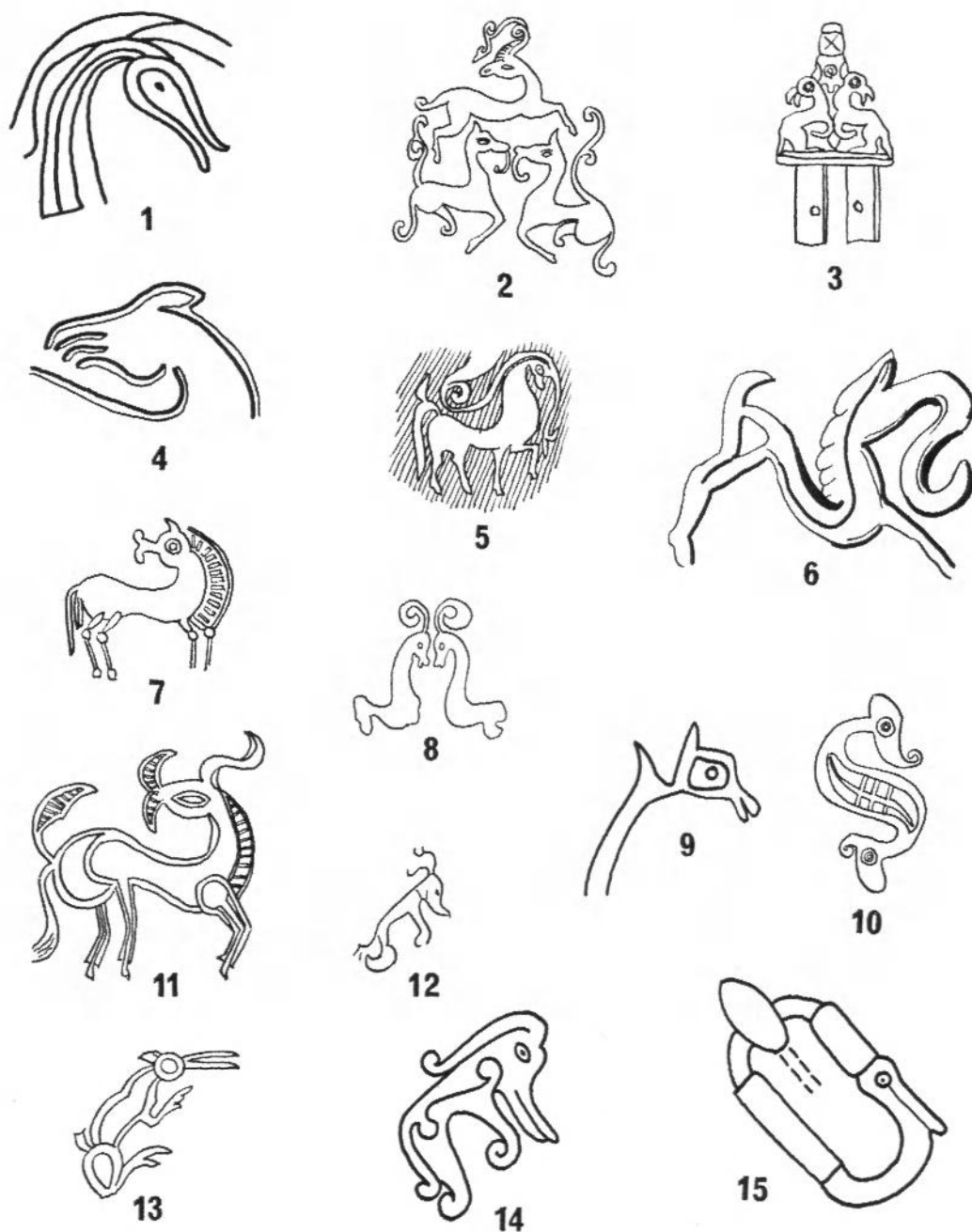


Fig. 12. The Pictish 'elephant' and its ancestors
See Appendix for sources. (Various scales)

the front of the fore-leg, chest and neck. Its other features are an elongated beaked muzzle rooted in a slightly more natural head, a 'streamer' coming from the top of the skull which usually ends in a curl and can be shown by a single or by double lines, a medium-length tail with a scroll end, and backwards-curling feet.

In attempting to trace the origin of this odd, but clearly important creature — it is by far the commonest 'animal' symbol on both class I and class II monuments — these individual components, rather than the mode in which they are presented together as an 'elephant', are seen to offer the most information. Figure 12 displays the material.

The starting point of the *beaked muzzle* may be the Etruscan horse from the Falerii sherd (fig. 12, no. 1), rather than anything from the East. The La Cheppe (Marne) horse's head, no. 4, though turned backwards, conceivably carries this idea into northern France in the 4th century. A wide range of coinage representations,¹ of which no. 7, from a coin of the Remi, is a good instance, continue the tradition, and the 'triple tail' indicates that the horse in this case is a magical beast. The same beaked muzzle, splayed open, characterises one of the confronted horse-creatures on the mid-1st century B.C. Gallo-Belgic bucket from Aylesford, Kent;² its familiar barred ribbon ornament, like the lobate shoulder joint, point to a pre-Belgic ancestry. Survival in a northern context of the beak, now closed and elongated, is shown by no. 13, an animal with a lobate haunch and a great staring eye from a 4th century A.D. Holstein bracteate.³ In southern Scotland, a curious and probably unique bronze brooch from Traprain Law, no. 15, employs this head and muzzle in a clenched fold which exaggerates a trick seen on the more familiar penannular brooch series.⁴

The *elongation* and curling of the muzzle, which runs parallel to nos. 4 and 7, and transforms the short beak as seen in 7 to the long beak of 14 and 15, is equally early. The opposed hinds from a scabbard at La Tène itself, no. 2, and the little crouched creatures on the girdle-hook from Hauviné, Ardennes (no. 3),⁵ show downwards-curling tongues and beaks: the small hollow-backed horse from the pair on the Marlborough bucket,⁶ no. 6, a general contemporary of its Aylesford cousin no. 11 and, like it, one of a confronted pair, exhibits this in a proboscis-like extension.

The 'streamer' or *bead tendril* with its terminal curl is an Italianate trick, transformed from a juxtaposition of animal and floral ornament by La Tène hands to the buck at the top of no. 2, and seen in a more pronounced way in the painted horse on a Marnian vessel from Betheny (Marne), no. 5.⁷ Two little opposed 'polywogs' from a Gaulish coin from Amiens,⁸ have restrained versions of this. No. 12 shows what may be an early form of the 'elephant' from a Fife cave.⁹

The 'elephant's feet' with their *tucked-under curls* similarly commence with those of the opposed hinds, no. 2, and the little creatures in no. 3. In a general North British early A.D. context, there may be some influence from the series of native ('Romano-Celtic') dragonesque brooches of 1st/2nd century A.D., really double-headed S-dragons of the series seen here in figs. 13 and 14: no. 10 is from Corbridge.¹⁰ The *disc-like feet* themselves hail from the tradition of the La Cheppe horse's feet (fig. 8, 7), and the stylisation of this in the feet of the Kraghede dog (fig. 8, 5). The Remic three-tailed horse (fig. 12, no. 7), in common with other Gaulish and British coin-horses, has circular knee-joints and hooves.

The tail with a *terminal curl* seems to start again in the tendril-like appendages on the La Tène hinds, no. 2, but rapidly enters a state where it is multiple. The Betheny horse and the Aylesford beast, nos. 5 and 11, must be related to the triple-tailed pony in no. 7. In no. 11, the double tail, springing from the supernumary pelta-shaped hindquarters, is a delicately-stated antithesis to the muzzle, and can be regarded as the natural over-ornamentation of the sheet-metal worker rather than adherence to a fixed form. The British response is rather the straight

¹ Here, from Evans, *Arch.*, LII (1890), pl. xiii, no. 2 (Aylesford report).

² Evans, *loc. cit.*, pl. xiii, no. 1.

³ Oxenstierna, *Die Nordgermanen* (Stuttgart, 1957), taf. 52, lower.

⁴ Burley, *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIX (1955-6), fig. 2, no. 90.

⁵ Déchelette IV, fig. 524, no. 2; scabbard, Jacobsthal, pl. 66, no. 111.

⁶ Repousse bronze-work: after Fox, *P.P.*, pl. 34 E.

⁷ Déchelette IV, fig. 661, no. 3.

⁸ Evans, *op. cit.*, no. 4.

⁹ Jonathan's Cave, Fife, *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 390.

¹⁰ Feachem, *Ant. J.*, XXXI (1951), fig. 4, D.5.

triple-tail of the type seen in no. 7; and it is possible that the White Horse hill-figure from Uffington, Berks,¹ whose beaked head is seen as no. 9, was at one time triple-tailed.²

To a very large extent, the animals or beasts in fig. 12 must be seen as reflections of native cults. In the later Belgic (Gaulish and British) contexts, objects like nos. 7, 9, and 11, are most feasibly seen as symbols of Epona, probably in an Iron Age late B or C background. Epona, the 'Great Mare' or horse-goddess *par excellence*, is one of the few really widely-documented deities of Celtic Gaul; in the 374 names attested from inscriptions, according to Anwyl,³ of which 305 occur but once, Epona is mentioned twenty-six times. She can be represented either as a woman sitting on a horse or mare, or as the animal itself. Surprisingly, there is no documented trace of a horse cult, either amongst the pastoralist Iron Age A confederation of the Brigantes, or the chariot-users of the east Yorkshire Iron Age B Parisi or Parisii.

There is, however, some evidence that this *cultus* was taken to North Britain, and the most appropriate context would seem to be the migration of Belgic Third C character described above on p. 37. At MAGNIS (Carvoran), there is an altar to *Deae Eponae*.⁴ A small uninscribed altar with a horse in relief on one face comes from Lanchester.⁵ From CILVRNVN, Chesters, there is a block described as 'Centurial Emblem?' on which can be seen an attenuated horse in low relief.⁶ In the material from Coventina's well at BROCOLITIA, Carrawburgh, the small flat bronze horse shown above in fig. 7 has already been noticed. There is an altar to, amongst others, Epona, at Auchendavie on the Antonine Wall.⁷

Stuart Piggott first drew attention to the significance of the small flat bronze horse from Silchester, now in Reading Museum,⁸ here shown in fig. 7, d. Its general resemblance both to the Uffington White Horse and the Marlborough bucket animal (fig. 12, 6) may be noticed. The type is an antique one: Salin has drawn⁹ two such, both *traités à plat*, one from a Gaulish late Roman (?) find now in Laon Museum, the other an Ossetic bronze from the Caucasus (fig. 7, f and g). In the North, a most interesting little flat bronze from Chesters Museum,¹⁰ whose flat disc tail suggests some practical function, is so close in treatment to the Silchester horse that we may suppose a general derivation. The tiny raised oval lobe on the shoulder (fig. 7, e) is of interest too. But it is important to notice that this is not a horse — as the side view of the head demonstrates, it portrays a stag or deer.

The same give-and-take between *equus* and *cervus* can be seen all the way through the analysis (above) of the material in fig. 12. We may suppose it to be of some antiquity. The animals in figure 12 display, generally, a good many characteristics of the La Tène version of the Eurasian animal style. With the lobate joints of nos. 11 and 13 should be considered Fox's comments on the Marlborough horse, no. 6,¹¹ and the resemblance between the three flat animals, fig. 7, d, e, and g. The inter-connection between the two species is more easily understood when one reflects on the deeper cultural background. The domestication of the horse, as a riding-animal or a chariot-animal, already accomplished over a very wide sphere by the dawn of La Tène I, must not blind us to the fact that the domestication of certain kinds of deer for both transport and draught was of equal antiquity in a more northerly sphere. The reindeer's rôle in various human economies need not be stressed, and the castrated stag is both strong and tractable. If the horse could appear in portrayals which suggest use as a religious symbol, so too could horned animals,¹² and from a very early stage. Indeed, it may be thought that the religious status of the latter was on the whole more important in northern Europe.¹³ Direct religious connection between the species on the north-eastern

¹ After Piggott, *Ant.*, V (1931), 39, fig. 1.

² Communication from the late B. H. St. J. O'Neil, 1951: post-war 're-opening' of this figure apparently suggested this.

³ *Trans. Gaelic. Soc. Inverness*, XXVI, 411: cf. Ogam, IX (1957), 387 ff., for more recent estimates.

⁴ *Lap. Sept.*, fig. 311.

⁵ *Lap. Sept.*, fig. 697.

⁶ Chesters Museum, 57/216/106.

⁷ Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; *C.I.L.*, 747.

⁸ Piggott, *Ant.*, V (1931), pl. II, 42.

⁹ *Civilisation Mérovingienne*, IV (1959), fig. 42.

¹⁰ Chesters Museum, no. 2433: Budge, *Catalogue*, no. 248.

¹¹ *P.P.*, 69: 'How like Scythian art is the tense stretched pose! There must surely be a link with the Near East... to account for this'.

¹² Various in Almgren, *Hallristningar och Kultbruk*, Stockholm (1926-7), kap. 2; see also Bosi, *The Lapps* (Thames & Hudson, 1960), fig. 53, on a shaman's drum.

¹³ Cf., e.g. the Gundestrup cauldron scenes.

fringe of the Scythian world is shown by the very remarkable composite mask-headaddresses found in Pazirik, kurgan I.¹ These, which were adorned with antlers, had the effect of converting the very aristocratic horses of this Asiatic chieftain's equipage into horned creatures. Whilst the original thesis of the excavators that this indicated a transition from a 'stag-transport' era to one based on horses was subsequently abandoned on the discovery of further headaddresses more in the chamfrein tradition, the religious significance of what may at Pazirik have been merely a survival should not be overlooked. A stag cult is considered to have formed part of Scythic belief.² An area of overlap between horse and stag-beliefs would not be out of place anywhere in a broad belt from southern Siberia to south Scandinavia and the north German plain.³

Bearing in mind that, apart from the name *Epidii* in Kintyre, and the solitary representation of a class I horse shown in fig. 11, there is no other evidence which might suggest attachment to a horse cult, *Epona* or otherwise, in the north-east of Scotland, we should consider whether the Pictish 'elephant' can be regarded as merely some more familiar beast presented in another guise. Whilst this is scarcely the place to expand the fascinating, but complex, topic of animal-cults in the northern Iron Age, it should be remembered that figure 5 suggests that the most prominent animal in the art of the Scottish Iron Age B societies was not the horse, but the stag. A horned god, a male pastoralist-hunter deity who could be depicted with the horns of bull or stag, or of ram (like his attribute, the ram-horned snake, which certainly formed part of the Caledonian heritage), and who is known by a variety of names which may indicate tribal or regional *facies* of his cult,⁴ is more likely to have been adopted in north-east Scotland from his North British sphere of influence than the Gallo-Belgic *Epona*, even if, as we have seen, her cult was carried northwards about the 1st century A.D. We may therefore be seeing in the Pictish 'elephant' the latest exchange, in pagan religious terms, between the two species. It could certainly have been effected in lowland Scotland in the first few centuries A.D. A curious little object from Traprain Law⁵ seems to be a lead cast of a three-tined stag's antler, which must have fitted into some other object, and the various northern Horned God representations are strong on the line of Hadrian's Wall, and indeed can be traced in Ireland, where their presence may again be explicable in terms of the map (fig. 2), if not of some earlier movement.⁶ Can it be that a symbolic animal, ultimately of Gallo-Belgic parentage but with older roots in both horse and deer representations, was taken over into East Scottish Third B/C at some point, not as a horse, but as a red-deer stag? This would explain the otherwise mysterious gap caused by the absence of so large and economically valuable a beast in the range shown in fig. 11. That the Pictish 'elephant' may indeed have replaced a more naturalistic depiction is surely hinted at by the antler-like disposition of its head-tendrils, and the general resemblance between its posture and that of the 'flying' Scythian animal which would be the far Oriental relative of such a depiction (fig. 16, p. p').

The Pictish 'S-dragon'

Much the same story must be told, and a measure of support thereby gained, when we turn to the creature labelled 'Hippocamp' in *E.C.M.S.* (fig. 13, nos. 14-19). The elements at work here derive from several related motifs, all ultimately Oriental to some degree: the S-shaped beast, the 'double-ended' (or 'double-headed') beast which is normally also S-shaped, and the 'Confronted Beasts' motif which, at various points, played a part in the ancestry of the 'elephant'. The confronted animals, here (fig. 13, no. 1) aptly represented by a Luristan stag-bronze,⁷ are amongst the earliest, as Jacobsthal has shown.⁸ In a general way the same

¹ Talbot-Rice, *The Scythians* (1957), 117 ff., pl. 11; Rudenko, *Gornogo Altaya*, fig. 137, pl. 71-2; Dagny Carter, *Symbol of the Beast* (1957), pl. 11, a.

² So Przyluski, quoted by Talbot-Rice *op. cit.*, 116.

³ General discussion, Deonna, 'Cervides et chevaux' *Ogam.*, IX (1957), 5.

⁴ Anne Ross, 'The Horned God of the Brigantes,' *A.A.*, 4 ser., XXXIX (1961).

⁵ Burley, *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIX (1955-6), 186, no. 267.

⁶ Anne Ross, *op. cit.*

⁷ A detailed list of the sources for figure 13 is given in the Appendix to this paper.

⁸ Jacobsthal, see index to refs. for his nos. 121, 122: for his discussion of the 'Confronted Beasts', 42-43. A possible reflection of fig. 13, nos. 9-12, is the 3rd cent. B.C. (imported?) Wisbech scabbard-plate: Fox, *P.P.*, fig. 2, when seen upside-down. See also fuller analysis, de Navarro, *B.R.G.K.*, 40 (1959), 79.

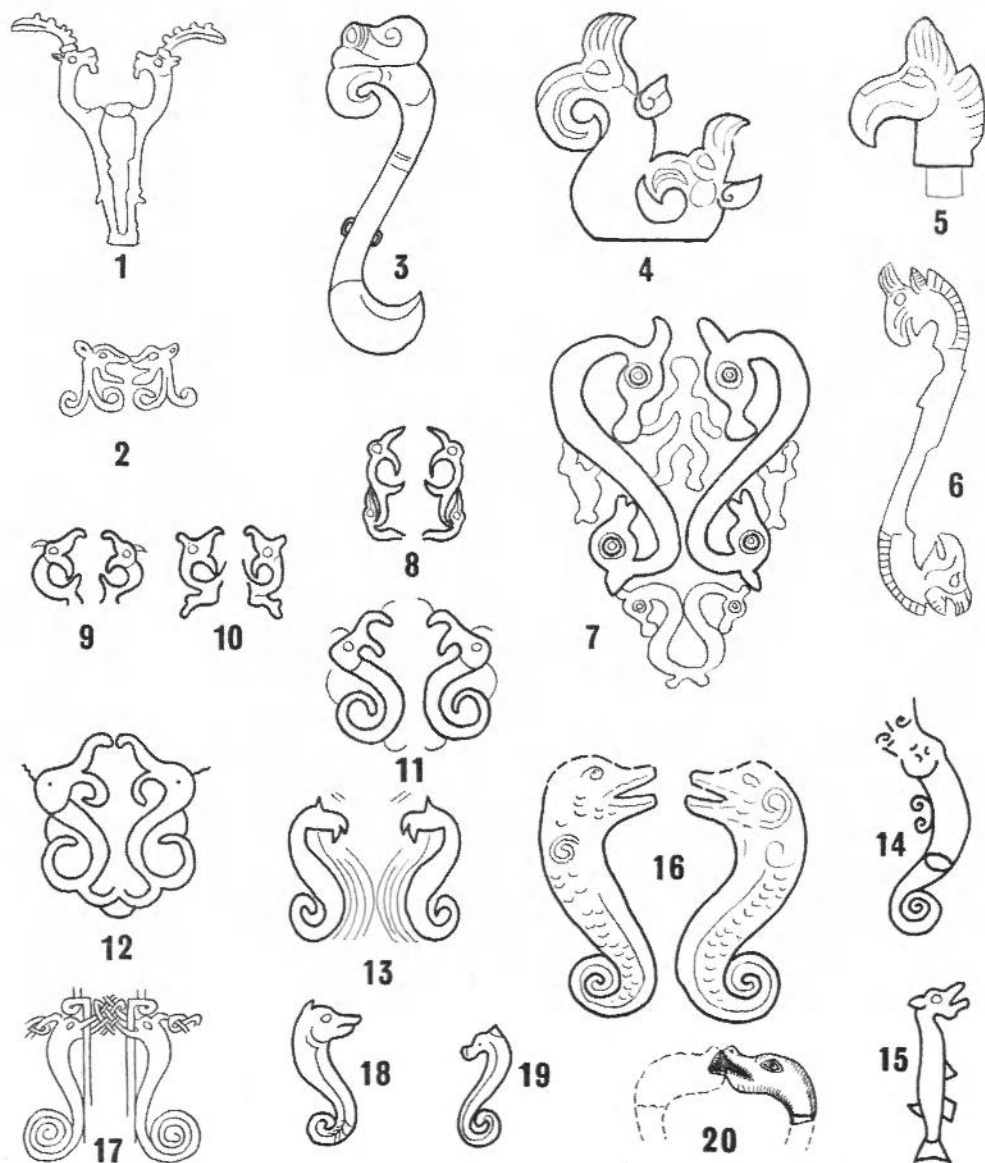


Fig. 13. The Pictish 'S-dragon' and its ancestors
See Appendix for sources. (Various scales)

is seen in no. 2, little creatures in applique (on a vanished tapestry or carpet?) from a burial at Volkovtsy, in the region of Kiev, which is late and contains traces of southerly influence. Some earlier form of no. 2 lies behind nos. 9-12, creatures of La Tene II from Jacobsthal's 'sword style', all from Hungarian swords; here the bodies are assuming spiral or S form, and recall early forms of the 'elephant' development in fig. 12. Close in feeling are the two creatures, no. 8, from a scabbard at La Tene itself, but their extremities are second heads, not curls. Nos. 3-6, Scythian wooden pieces, show the interdependence of the S-body and the double-heads in the Eurasiatic style, and the important group, no. 7, drawn from a magnificent bronze girdle-hook from the Tirol, gives the Celtic version of this idea; here, in fact, yet another motif, known in somewhat later representations as 'Daniel and the lions' (but in fact related on the one hand to Asiatic 'Great Goddesses' flanked by cult-animals, on the other to the Cernunnos-figure on the Gundestrup cauldron in his 'Lord of the Beasts' posture) is momentarily intruded.

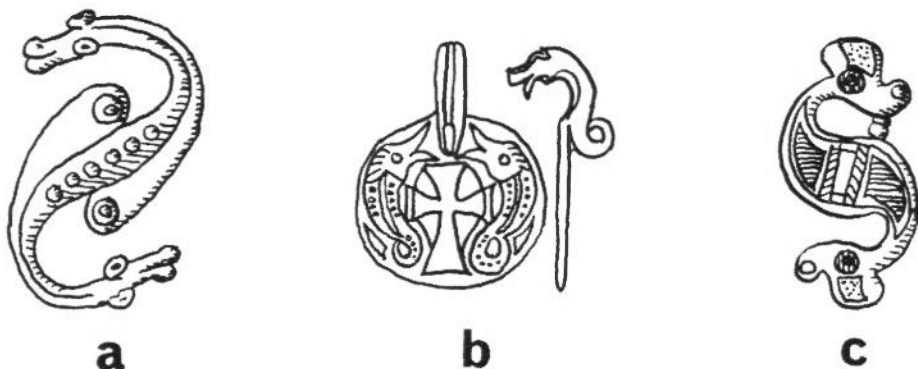


Fig. 14. Roman and post-Roman survivals of the 'S-dragon'

a, S-brooch, South Shields; b, escutcheon, Faversham (Kent) hanging-bowl;
c, dragonesque brooch, Newstead

a and c, after Feachem; b, after Kendrick

Scales: a, c, $\frac{3}{4}$; b, $\frac{1}{2}$

Jointly from the world of nos. 7 and 12 is the wholly 'Orientalised' double-frieze of swimming S-dragons, in opposed pairs (no. 13), seen on the pot from La Cheppe (Marne), which is an associate of the vessel with the beaked horse in figs. 8 and 12. Did these beasts, as Fox has suggested,¹ swim across the European plain well north of the Alps, later than La Tene I? At any rate, their close resemblance to the Pictish series (nos. 14 to 19) needs no stressing. From class I we see the S-dragon from a rock-surface at Anwoth, Kirkcudbrightshire, probably late in the class I series,² and a quaint local deviation (no. 15) from Manbean, Elgin. Class II stones show, strangely, versions closer to the ancestral forms; no. 18, although on the back of a shaped class II cross-slab, is incised like the class I symbols, and may be the earliest, whilst the pair in no. 17 have fallen prey to the interlace-disease. No attempt will be made to explain no. 20, a fragmentary bronze buckle or loop from Camerton, Somerset, presumably native work within the Roman period; but the heads are close to the idiom of the other opposed pairs. Fig. 14 reminds us that all the component elements are echoed in Roman and post-Roman British metalwork. The little S-dragons on the Faversham hanging-bowl escutcheon, with their beaky mouths, 'dotted-ribbon' bodies and curled tails, have for

¹ Fox, P.P., 69, apropos the Marlborough bucket creatures. See now Sulimirski, 'Die Skythen in Mittel- und Westeuropa', *Bericht. V. Internat. Kongress, Hamburg* (1961), 794, and map, Abb. 1.

² Carved (hurriedly?) after a Pictish assault: Radford, *Ant.*, XXVII (1953), 239, and excavation, generally uninformative, Thomas, *Trans. D.G.N.H.A.S.*, XXXVII (1961), 68. The date may be 6th/early 7th century.

far too long masqueraded as harmless dolphins. A still more impressive object, the Tara Brooch,¹ contains a panel on which the opposed dragons, with prominent spiral joints, hark back to the double-headed beaked creatures in fig. 13, 8, in no uncertain manner.

It is as yet fruitless to enquire too deeply into the symbolic meaning of the S-Dragon, single or paired, in north British native art: we should require to be certain of its meaning in Scythic or La Tène contexts. It does not necessarily represent any real creature.² Conceivably, as in fig. 13, no. 7, it is merely an attribute of some major deity in his or her 'Lord of the Animals' cult-portrayal. Occurrences in the remarkable series of stones from Meikle and Murthly, Perthshire, which seem to indicate a major, but unknown, pagan cult-centre in upper Strathmore at a disturbingly late date,³ certainly link the S-dragons with portrayals of this nature.⁴

General summary

The thesis which this paper has sought to present may now be concisely summed up. An art, partly ornamental, partly symbolic, and generally known as the Eurasiatic animal-style, was transmitted as part and parcel of Jacobsthal's 'orientalising' phase to the receptive and rapidly-growing world of the Celtic La Tène societies north of the Alps, at various times between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C. Mostly drawn from the world of the horsemen-pastoralists and their sprawling sphere of influence between the Dnieper and the Yenisei, along with so many items of their dress, equipment and expertise, it contained Mediterranean and Hither Asian elements which were transmitted from the Greeks to the Scythians, and *via* Etruria and northern Italy to the Celts from another angle. A conservative and ever-present undercurrent in this art-style consisted mainly of the naturalistic presentation of familiar creatures; though by no means as well documented in the archaeological record as the typical highly-developed forms seen on ornamental metalwork, and broadly speaking confined to flatter surfaces and humbler media, it too passed from the La Tène I 'cradle' to northern and north-eastern France and thence into the British Iron Age B culture, particularly in the south-east and east of England, from the 3rd century B.C. A century or so later, circumstances led to the transmission of much of this cultural background (now in a later or 'Second B' phase), to southern and western Scotland. Here, manifestations of this direct animal art were seen in various two-dimensional guises — pots, rock-surfaces, etc. By the latter part of the 1st century A.D., the focus seems to have become the north-eastern Scottish plain and the Moray Firth area, a pattern stabilised in the 2nd century by Roman intervention in the districts to the immediate south. The inhabitants of the north-east, a P-Celtic speaking people of Iron Age B roots, reinforced by some kind of 1st century A.D. Belgic element from southern England which may have added to their artistic range, were imposed on a

¹ Henry, *Irish Art*, pl. 45 — central panel on widened area: text, 118–119. This instance, chosen simply because it is a good one, can be multiplied; it represents a striking example of the (generally) neglected Ultimate La Tène contribution to later developed MSS. and metalwork styles, essentially from British sources.

² Seal, walrus and Loch Ness monster have all been suggested. I cannot accept Aberg's contention (*The Occident and the Orient*, etc., Stockholm (1943),

70, fig. 46) that the hippocamp is a late post-Roman introduction into Pictish art; he himself (*ibid.*, 74–5) is at pains to stress its obvious Oriental roots.

³ All in *E.C.M.S.*, some as class II, some as class III. Many of these extraordinary stones are not tombstones, but *architectural* fragments; the whole group cries out for closer investigation.

⁴ Cf. *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 350: basically this is the Gundestrup *Cernunnos* scene, even if the creature is called 'a triton, or mermaid (?)'.

native Bronze Age population with a supposed Iron Age A component. They appear in history, firstly as the Caledonii, Maeatae, Dicalydones, etc.,¹ and later as the Picti, though the evidence of Ptolemy indicates that these names are 'national' rather than tribal. In continuing contact of one sort or another with the Roman power, as traders, as impressed mercenaries, and on several occasions as invading armies, the Picts may not have only acquired a knowledge of some aspects of Roman and northern British Romano-Celtic art, but have also developed, in the 4th or 5th century A.D., a kind of memorial stone parallel to the Scandinavian *bildsteine* or *bildstenar*. On these slabs and boulders they incised a variety of animal and non-animal symbols, following certain rules and in expression of certain basic messages, discussion of which must be reserved for another time. Where these objects, or non-animal symbols, can be recognised as depictions of any real things, they are seen to depict the material equipment of an Iron Age B, or B/C, culture in a late stage, and they seem to have become stylised scarcely later than the 2nd century A.D.

The animal symbols, intrinsically of great interest because they point to connection with the world of Gallo-British Celtic religion and tribal names, stylistically arise from the same general period, and display remarkable conservatism. But the preservation of this zoomorphic art, from its assumed origin in the 6th/5th centuries B.C. in Europe or further eastwards, through Switzerland, southern Germany, and France, to eastern England, and thence to lowland Scotland and Pictland, was clearly not through the medium of metalwork. In metalwork of the La Tène cultures, animal art is seen to fall prey to swift fantastic development and to over-ornamentation. Other flatter-surface media seem more likely: wood, felt, leather and pottery, all known to have borne extensive surface decoration in the world of the Scythians and allied peoples, were considered as possible candidates for such preservation of motifs, though, archaeologically speaking, the recovery of examples is only possible in exceptional circumstances. At an essentially peasant level, the incision of animals on pottery appears to have played some part in this. The custom of tattooing animal designs on the human body, as found on embalmed and frozen cadavers from the the Altai burial-mounds,² is an even more likely channel of diffusion. The accounts by classical writers and commentators of the existence of such a custom amongst the *barbari* to their north also suggest that tattooing may alone have provided the degree of social convention or religious pressure, necessarily adduced to explain the essential *conservatism* of naturalistic animal art. Barbarian tattooing bore, or was thought to bear, a direct relationship to personal status and presumably to group affiliation. Again almost impossibly difficult to show by archaeological means, tattoo-marks have nevertheless been noticed on the cheeks of heads on Gaulish coins — Caesar's remarks on the habits of

¹ See Wainwright's admirable summary, *Problem*, ch. 1: the only criticism of this that can be made is that it seems to be over-cautious in drawing apparently justifiable conclusions, but this in itself is hardly a criticism.

² Rudenko, *Gornogo Altaya*, 136–42 illus. Rudenko

includes the majority of the relevant classical references, but does not discount connections with the wider (and more northerly) Asiatic and Pacific occurrences of tattooing; see his 'Tatuirovka aziatskikh Eskimosov', *Sovetsk. Etnogr.*, I (Moscow, 1949) for this.

the tribes of the interior¹ may just possibly be relevant here — and the custom may at some stage have passed to the later communities of Scotland. The preservation in some such manner of a fixed group of symbols, animal and non-animal, would explain how such symbols could have emerged after a gap of several centuries to appear on stone. Various clues gained from close study of the metalwork support this idea, and further allow the supposition that the notorious gap between Ultimate La Tène art, as it has been called, of the 2nd century A.D., and the Late Celtic art of the 5th century onwards, is in reality no more than an archaeologists' gap. The vigorous and effectual people whom history has recorded as the *Picti* may after all, unwittingly, have played a major part in keeping such a style alive.²

A pictorial postscript

Figures 15 and 16, which are continuous, represent an idea admittedly plagiarised from a far better original, presented with all his characteristic *brio* and terrifying omniscience by the late Sir Ellis Minns.³ The captions are brief, full sources being listed in the Appendix. Representations of simple creatures, mostly in flat-surfaced media, have been taken from Pictish class I and II stones, 'Romano-Celtic' stone and metalwork, and a single pagan Saxon object. With these have been paired various other representations from the Eurasiatic region. In the view of the contention set forth at some length above — that we are dealing with an underlying 'peasant' art rather than with sophisticated metalwork equivalents — the Eastern instances are confined, on the one hand to fairly simple objects of wood, appliqué-work in felt and leather, and minor bronzes, and on the other to the outliers of the true Scythic art-style at its best. Such outliers — the semi-settled peoples within and on the fringes of the Scythian sphere, and distant groups affected stylistically by them — offer better instances of what Minns labelled 'the underdog Scythian style'; that is, the preservation of animal and other motifs in relatively unsophisticated, often clumsy guises. At its best the woodwork from the Altai region, and at its worst the least successful of the small Ordos bronzes, this underlying tradition may nonetheless have also been a unifying tradition. In looking at the strange pair (k, k'), it should be stressed that (k') a curious 'double lotus', is no more than a decorative disc on a bridle, and that actual harness is as likely to have passed from Scythian to Celtic hands as the knowledge of harness-making or horsemanship. The stance and presentation of the creatures (a, a'); (b, b'); (q, q'), is remarkably close as between the components of each pair. With (e, e'), and (f, f') we face the remote possibility that the Pictish class I 'beast's head' symbols do actually portray animal-head terminals: if not metal, then possibly real couped heads stuck, for some pagan purpose, on an upright pole or pillar, or even (and one hesitates to use the word 'totem-pole') carved wholly in wood. It may as yet be

¹ *De Bello Gall.*, V, 2; a short passage here may be derived from aristocratic refugee sources and not from direct observation.

² The present paper offers, independently, support to G. Haseloff's much more able study of Late Celtic

metalwork (O.U.P., forthcoming) which postulates essential, if poorly documented, continuity.

³ *Art of the Northern Nomads* (1942), 36, and pl. xxvii.

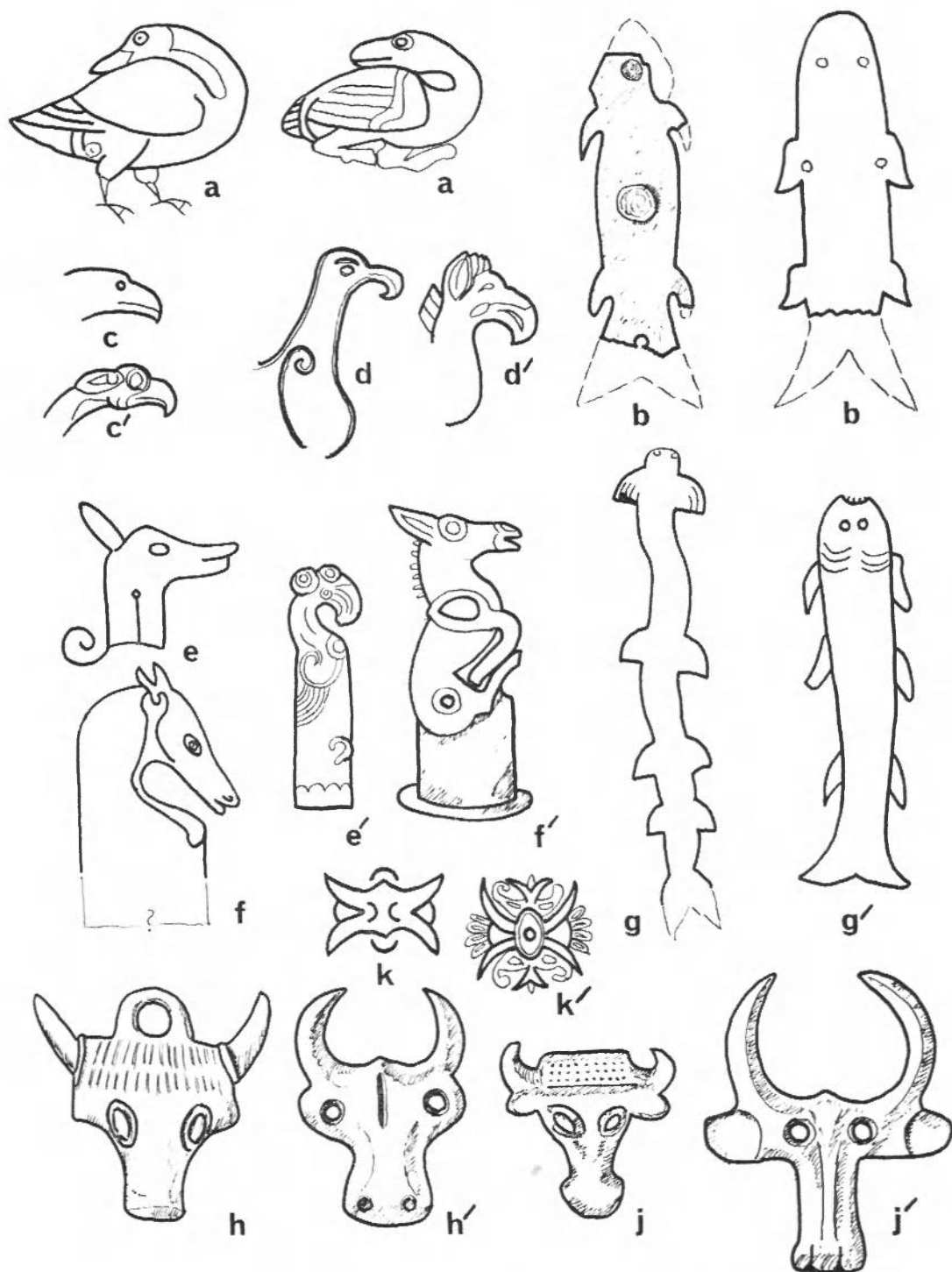


Fig. 15. Naturalistic animal art, East and West (I)
(See Appendix for detailed sources)

impossible to explain the seeming similarities between east and west in figs. 15 and 16; but, as Minns wrote (apropos his own demonstration of the survival of Scythian and Permian motifs in Germanic art), '... Of the pairs I have set out... any one may be a coincidence; but the effect of them altogether is cumulative'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to R. B. K. Stevenson, Keeper, and to the Trustees of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, for ready and helpful permission to publish material in their collections: also to Dr. Grace Simpson, and the Trustees of Chesters Museum, for the same in respect of various objects from Chesters and for help in their identification. The objects in Plates I and II are from a series of photographs kindly taken for me by my colleague Malcolm Murray.

The bulk of the material presented in this paper has been discussed on numberless occasions with my colleagues Dr. Anne Ross, of the School of Scottish Studies, and Stuart Piggott, Abercromby Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh. Whilst in no way committing them to the views put forth, it is only fair to say that fully half of the references, and many of the more ingenious notions, are due to their continued interest in this and in related topics, and that the stimulus and assistance afforded by such pleasant interchanges both in the library and in the field have emboldened me to set out this preliminary study.

*The Institute wishes to express its gratitude to the Council for British Archaeology
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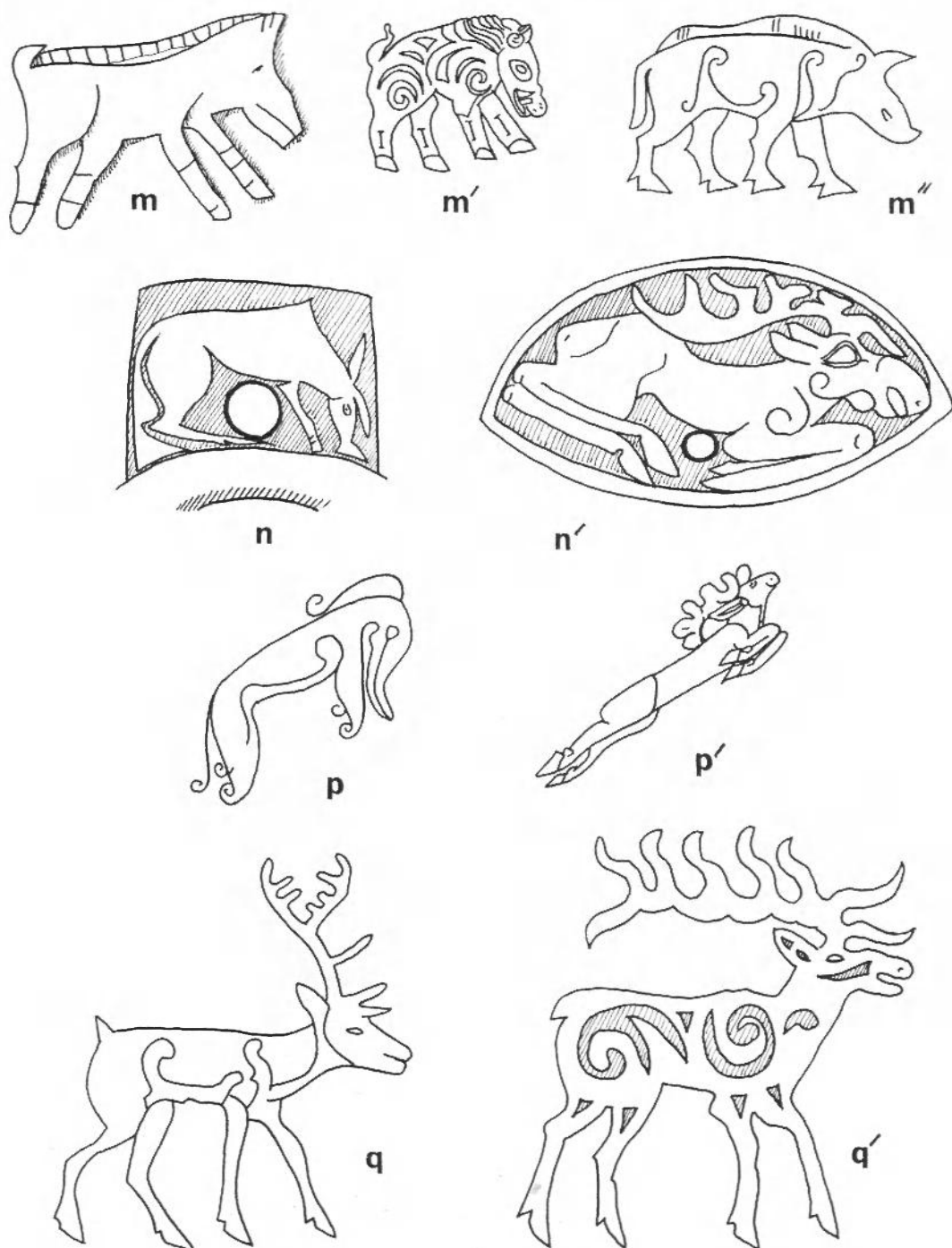


Fig. 16. Naturalistic animal art, East and West (II)
 (See Appendix for detailed sources)

APPENDIX

DETAILS OF SOURCES FOR VARIOUS ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 2 (Map) *Swords* (groups III and IIIa): Piggott, P.P.S., XVI (1950). *Three-link bits*, Arras and derivative types: Ward-Perkins, P.P.S., V (1939), 173; additions from Fox, *Llyn Cerrig Bach*, and Jope (Irish 'Rafferty type I'), *U.J.A.*, 13 (1950), 60, and from personal information (East Kilbride, Chesterholm, Corbridge, Leicester) kindly given by Stuart Piggott.
Penannular brooches (types A and Aa): Fowler, P.P.S., XXVI (1960), figs. 2 and 6.
Projecting-head, cast, and bent ring-headed pins: Fowler, *op. cit.*, fig. 6.
Long-handled weaving-combs of Iron Age B type: Henshall, P.P.S., XVI (1950), fig. 6, shown only north of Tweed.
- Fig. 3 (Map) Sherds with projecting-ring-headed pin stamping: Alison Young, P.S.A.S., LXXXVII (1952-3), 92 ff. The other groups, present paper.
- Fig. 11 Site, county, and no. of illustration in *E.C.M.S.* only.
- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. Inverurie 4, Aberdeen, 182. | 8. Strathpeffer, Ross, 57. |
| 2. Strathmartine 1, Forfar, 226. | 9. As 7. |
| 3. Knocknagael, Inverness, 108. | 10. Ardross 2, Ross, 54. |
| 4. Burghead, Elgin, 127. | 11. Rhynie 5, Aberdeen, 198. |
| 5. Grantown, Elgin, 131. | 12. Dunachton, Inverness, 103. |
| 6. Ardross 1, Ross, 53. | 13. Knockando 2, Elgin, 133. |
| 7. Easterton of Roseisle, Elgin, 130a. | |
- Fig. 12
- Graffito horse, sherd from Falerii: see note 1, p. 35.
 - Repousse bronzework, scabbard, La Tène: Jacobsthal, no. 111, pl. 66.
 - Bronze girdle-hook, Hauvine, Ardennes: Dechelette IV, fig. 524, no. 2.
 - Head of horse (given complete in fig. 8, no. 7) from pot, La Cheppe, Marne: Jacobsthal, no. 401, pl. 208.
 - Part of frieze (? horse) painted on pot, Bethény, Marne: Dechelette IV, fig. 661, no. 3.
 - Repousse bronze animal, frieze on Marlborough bucket: after photographs, Fox, P.P., pl. 34 E.
 - Horse from Remic coin: see note 1, p. 51.
 - Creatures from coin found near Amiens, see note 8, p. 51.
 - Head of the Uffington White Horse hill-figure, Berks: after Piggott, *Ant.*, V, 39, fig. 1.
 - Enamel and bronze dragonesque brooch, Corbridge: after Feachem, *Ant.J.*, XXXI (1951), fig. 4, D.5.
 - Left-hand animal of opposed pair, repoussé bronze, upper register of Aysleford bucket: after Evans, *Arch.*, LII, pl. xiii, no. 1.
 - Incised on wall, Jonathan's Cave, Fife: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 390.
 - Abstracted from scene on (?4th century A.D.) gold bracteate, Holstein: Graf Oxenstierna, *Die Nordgermanen* (1957), lower part of taf. 52.
 - Incised on symbol-stone, Fyvie, Aberdeen: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 174 — here drawn reversed for comparison.
 - Bronze brooch, Traprain Law: Burley, P.S.A.S., LXXXIX (1955-6), fig. 2.
- Fig. 13
- Luristan bronze: Dagny Carter, *The Symbol of the Beast* (Ronald Press, N.Y., 1957), pl. 27 d.
 - Part of small metalwork appliqué from carpet (?), Volkovsky grave: Minns, *J. G.*, fig. 77, no. 407.
 - Wooden cheek-piece, Pazirik kurgan 5: Rudenko, *Gornogo Altaya*, Pl. lxviii, no. 1.
 - Double-ended gryphon in wood, one of a pair, Tuektin, kurgan 1: Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, Pl. cl, no. 2.
 - Wooden gryphon-head terminal, an independent version of the creature seen in nos. 4 and 6, Tuektin, kurgan 1: Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, Pl. xcix, no. 6.
 - Wooden cheek-piece, Pazirik kurgan 1: Rudenko, *Gornogo Altaya*, Pl. xxxix, no. 3.
 - Motif from chased bronze girdle-hook, Holzelsau-Kufstein, Tirol: Moreau, *Die Welt der Kelten* (Stuttgart, 1958), taf. 9, and Jacobsthal, no. 360, Pl. 170.
 - Engraved on scabbard, La Tène: Jacobsthal, no. 107, Pl. 65.
 - 9-12. All engraved on sword scabbards, Hungary: Jacobsthal, nos. 121-124, Pl. 70.
 - Upper register of two-tier frieze of opposed dragons, incised on pot, La Cheppe, Marne: Jacobsthal, no. 411, Pl. 210.
 - Pictish class I symbol, Anwoth, Kirkc. : *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 508.
 - Pictish class I symbol, Manbean, Elgin: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 134.
 - Pictish class II symbol, low relief, with surface ornament (worn), from cross-slab, Brodie, Elgin: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 136.
 - Pictish class II symbol (dragons are part of complex interlace surrounding cross), Skinnet, Caithness: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 29.
 - Pictish class II symbol, incised on back of cross-slab, Ulbster, Caithness: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 31a.

APPENDIX

DETAILS OF SOURCES FOR VARIOUS ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 13 19. Pictish class II symbol, low relief dragon, one of uneven confronted pair, Meigle, Perth: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 310a.
 20. Bronzework, part of buckle or loop formed by heads of opposed beasts: Wedlake, *Camerton* (Som.) report (1958), fig. 62, no. 31. Roman period.
- Fig. 15 a. Pictish class I goose: see fig. 11, no. 6.
 a'. Wooden bird, Pazirik: Rudenko, *Gornogo Altaya*, pl. lxxxii, 6.
 b. Tinplate applique fish (shield ornament?), Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 5th cent. A.D., Kempston, Beds: B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide, fig. 85.
 b'. Applique fish (felt? bark?), Bashadar, kurgan 2: Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, fig. 134, b.
 c. Eagle-head, class I stone, Walton, Fife: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 358.
 c'. Gryphon-head, wood, Pazirik: Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, 148, b.
 d. Front of class I eagle, Inveravon, Banff: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 158.
 d'. Wooden gryphon, Tuektin: Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, fig. 146, k.
 e. Class I stone: see fig. 11, no. 10.
 e'. Bronze Permian knife-handle, Ananino: Minns, *Art of the Northern Nomads*, pl. xxiv, I.
 f. Class I stone: see fig. 11, no. 12.
 f'. Bronze terminal, Ordos: Minns, *op. cit.* (e') *supra*, pl. xxi, D.
 g. Class II Pictish stone, Meigle, Perth: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 346 b.
 g'. Tattoo on leg of chieftain's corpse, Pazirik: Rudenko, *Gornogo Altaya*, fig. 172.
 h. Bronze bull's head: Scottish? 3rd century A.D.? Megaw, *P.S.A.S.*, XCI (1957-8), 179 and pl. xxvii a.
 j. Bronze bull's head, Dinorben, Denb.: Fox, *P.P.*, pl. 48 c.
 h', j'. Bronze bulls' heads, Ordos, Carter collection: Dagny Carter, *Symbol of the Beast* (1957), pl. 20 a.
 k. Class I symbol: Rayne, Abdn., *P.S.A.S.*, L (1915-16), 283, fig. 4.
 k'. Wooden disc, harness, Pazirik: Rudenko, *Gornogo Altaya*, pl. C, 2.
- Fig. 16 m. Bas-relief in large river-stone: Corbridge Museum, no. 235 (?285). Native work, copying legionary boar.
 m'. Flat chip-carving on wooden sarcophagus, Altai: Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, fig. 21.
 m''. See fig. 11 no. 3.
 n. See fig. 4.
 n'. Elk, curled around hole: carved tag. *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1925-6, 373, abb. 3 (Altai: Hermitage colln.).
 p. (Drawn from photograph.) Class I stone, Crichtie, Aberdeen: *E.C.M.S.*, fig. 169.
 p'. 'Flying' stag, wood, Pazirik: Rudenko, *Gornogo Altaya*, pl. xl.
 q. See fig. 11, no. 5.
 q'. Appliqué reindeer, Tuektin, Altai: Rudenko, *Tsentralnogo Altaya*, fig. 154.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS PAPER

Nat. Mus. Edin. The National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Periodicals

A.A.	Archaeologia Aeliana.
Ant.	Antiquity.
Ant.J.	Antiquaries' Journal.
Arch.	Archaeologia.
Arch.J.	Archaeological Journal.
B.R.G.K.	Bericht der Romisch-Germanischen Kommission.
C.A.S.	Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
J.R.S.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
P.P.S.	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
P.R.I.A.	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
P.S.A.S.	Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Trans.	
D.G.N.H.A.S.	Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.
U.J.A.	Ulster Journal of Archaeology.

Books

C.I.L.	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , VII.
Dechelette IV	Joseph Dechelette, <i>Manuel d'archéologie</i> . . . IV, <i>second age du fer ou époque de La Tène</i> . 2nd edn., Paris, 1927.
E.C.M.S.	Joseph Anderson and J. Romilly Allen, <i>The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland</i> , in 3 parts, Edinburgh, for the Soc. of Ant. of Scotland, 1903.
Jacobsthal	Paul Jacobsthal, <i>Early Celtic Art</i> , vol. I, text, vol. II, plates. Oxford: O.U.P., 1944.
Lap.Sept.	J. Collingwood Bruce, <i>Lapidarium Septentrionale, or, a description of the monuments of Roman Rule in the north of England</i> . Quaritch, London: 1875, for the Soc. of Ant. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
P.P.	Sir Cyril Fox, <i>Pattern and Purpose: a survey of Early Celtic Art in Britain</i> . National Museum of Wales, Cardiff: 1958.
Problem	F. Wainwright (ed.) <i>The Problem of the Picts</i> . Nelson, Edinburgh: 1955.
P.S.	V. G. Childe, <i>The Prehistory of Scotland</i> . London, 1935.
Rudenko: Gornogo and Tsentralnogo Altaya	S. I. Rudenko, <i>Kultura naseleniya gornogo Altaya (or tsentralnogo Altaya) v skifskoe vremya</i> ('Culture of the population of the High' (or Central) 'Altai in Scythian times'). Companion volumes: Akademii NAUK U.S.S.R., Moscow-Leningrad, 1953 and 1960.
S.G.	Sir Ellis Minns, <i>Scythians and Greeks</i> . Cambridge, C.U.P., 1913.