

The Mail stone: an incised Pictish figure from Mail, Cunningsburgh, Shetland

Val Turner*

ABSTRACT

An intriguing, lightly incised, animal-headed, Pictish figure, discovered in Mail, Cunningsburgh, Shetland, is described and analysed in the light of existing knowledge of Pictish art. The figure is considered both in the context of other figurative art, and also in the context of its find-spot in Mail. A date in the early seventh century is proposed.

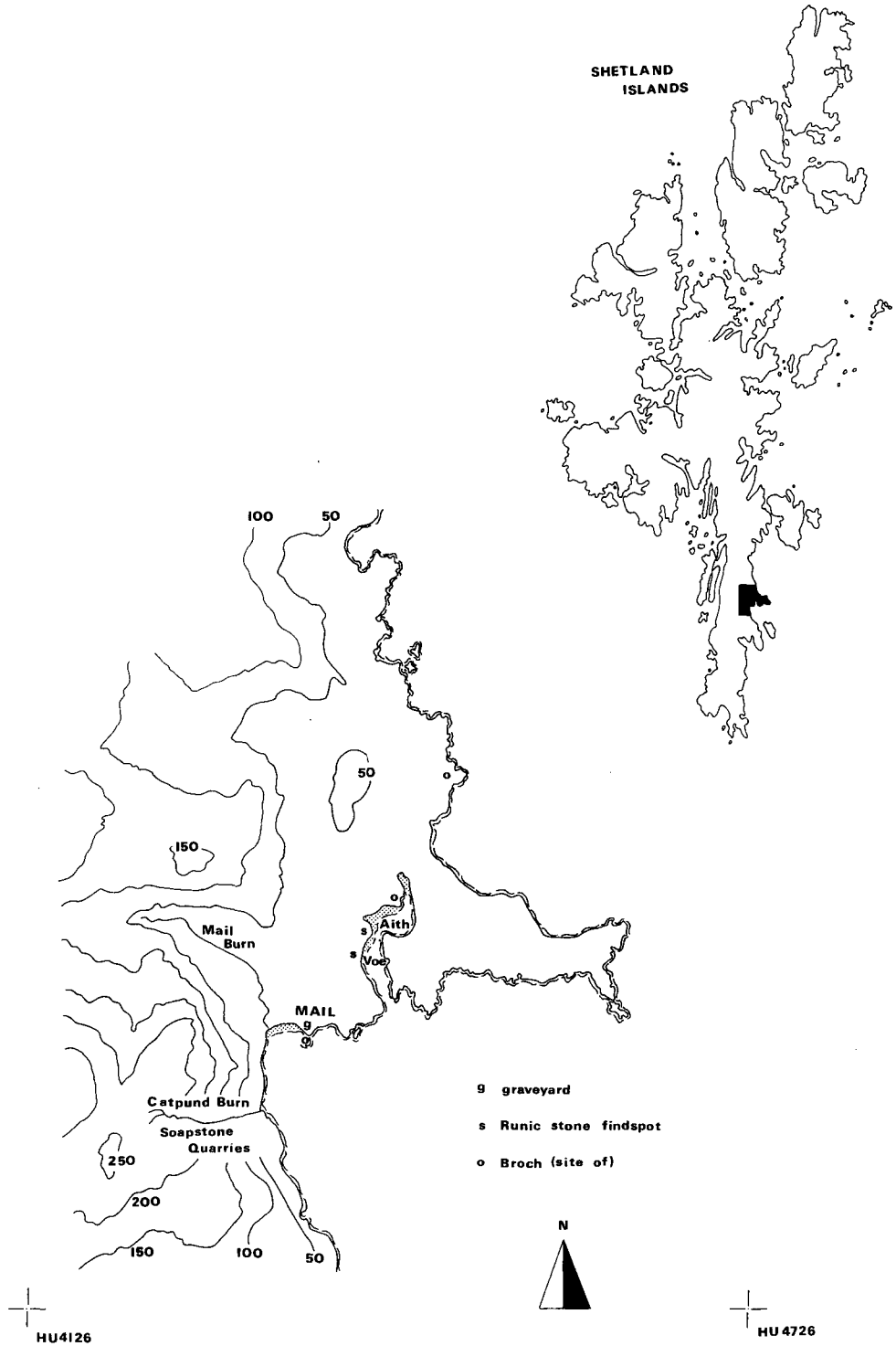
INTRODUCTION

The Mail stone came to public attention in August 1992 when Malcolm Smith, the grave-digger at Mail was waiting for a funeral cortège to arrive. Mail, Cunningsburgh, lies in an area of prime agricultural land on the south-east side of Shetland Mainland, at the head of a south-facing bay (illus 1). While in the graveyard (HU 43242792), Mr Smith noticed that the stone that he was standing on, one of the group of flagstones which he used on occasion to level up coffins, had 'strange markings' on it. Realizing that the stone might be of archaeological interest he drew it to my attention.

During the 1960s, the gravedigger had been William Smith. In response to questioning by Dr Michael Spearman (National Museums of Scotland) in 1993, Mr Smith reported that he had found the stone at that time. Mr Smith had used it to block the gap beneath the disused southern gate in the graveyard wall in order to prevent rabbits getting in. Mr Smith remembers digging the stone out of a grave at the south-west end of an earlier extension to the graveyard, although he neither confirmed nor denied knowledge of the carving. He laid the stone face down in the gateway. A number of other stones have been dug out of the graveyard over the years, most of which have been thrown onto the adjacent storm beach. Mr Smith said that many of these were 'scratchet stanes'. A brief search for these was made but the regular pounding of the sea has probably erased any carving that may have been present.

When the author first saw the stone, being relatively unfamiliar with Pictish art, she was uncertain as to its authenticity. Photographs of the stone were sent to a number of scholars. The strangeness of the figure and its stylistic peculiarities made some of them reluctant to affirm its authenticity on the basis of photographs alone. In March 1993, Dr Spearman was able to come to Shetland on behalf of the Treasure Trove Panel to examine the stone in detail. He concluded that the carving was certainly not recent, and gave an overall impression of antiquity.

* Shetland Amenity Trust, 22–24 North Road, Lerwick, Shetland ZE1 0NQ



ILLUS 1 Location plan. Based upon the Ordnance Survey map © Crown copyright

THE STONE

The stone (illus 2) is a piece of fine-grained Old Red Sandstone, 34 mm thick, the face measuring 605 mm × 42 mm. One face of the stone is smooth, the other contains planes running from top to bottom of the stone, along which the stone has fractured. There is a major fracture down the middle of this face. It is this fractured face which has been carved. The upper edge has been crudely shaped, large flakes having been removed from it. The lower edge takes the form of a ragged stepped fracture; this suggests that the stone may be the top of a much taller slab, perhaps of similar proportions to that of the Papil cross-slab from Burra Isle, Shetland (Allen & Anderson 1903, 15). The sides of the slab follow clean natural fissure lines, splaying slightly towards the base of the stone.

The stone provides some indication of its history. The peck-marks near the base would seem to relate to the breaking of the stone from a taller slab. Some of the peck marks underlie the incisions of the figure, but in his report Spearman suggested that any 'damage' caused to the figure by its removal from the top of a longer stone was repaired in antiquity (Spearman 1993).

The incised figure is placed towards the bottom of the stone, leaving 155 mm of better-quality stone uncarved above the head. The carving shows apparent disregard for the fractures on this face of the stone, and does not utilize the faults in any way. The major irregularity runs diagonally across the figure, from the back of the head to the front foot. This is curious, for it interferes with the visual impact of the figure.

The smooth side of the stone is stained green, presumably as a result of having lain uppermost for some considerable time. It is less stable, and would certainly split off more easily than the reverse, whether by intention or due to weathering. It is probable that several laminations have already split off from this side and, with them, traces of any carving which may have once existed. The incised face of the stone shows spots of a sandy yellow mortar or plaster, which appear to ring the figure. There are traces of this substance within some of the incised lines, demonstrating that it clearly post-dates the carving. A shell-sand mortar was found adhering to the outer edge of the stone (Spearman 1993). It appears that at one time the stone must have been incorporated into a wall.

When Dr Spearman examined the stone under a microscope, he identified empty microscopic egg or snail-shell cases within the incised grooves of the figure. This supports the impression that it is not a recent forgery.

THE CONTEXT

The Mail figure is not an isolated find, as has already been suggested by Mr William Smith's reference to other 'scratchet stanes' from the graveyard. In addition, the *Inventory* of the Royal Commission (RCAHMS 1946) records three ogam stones, three runic stones and one Pictish stone which had been found in the area. Of these, the find spots of two 'rune stones' found in 1873 beside Aith Voe (see illus 1) are marked on the Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map, and the graveyard at Mail is also marked as being the find spot of 'ogham and runic stones'. Of these, three have more detailed recorded provenances.

An ogam stone, 510 mm long, bearing parts of three lines of writing, none of which has been translated (RCAHMS 1946, no 1136, 4), was 'found by the gravedigger when digging a grave in the middle of the Old Kirk...' (Goudie 1903, 350). The presence of a typically Pictish ogam from the graveyard at Mail strengthens the case for the authenticity of the Mail stone.

In 1872, a runic stone was found by Mr Robert Cogle '3 feet below the bed of a stream'



ILLUS 2 The Mail stone

(Goudie 1879, 147; 1904, 62). The precise circumstances of this discovery are unclear. The inscription was translated as being either 'he carved me' or 'he wed me' (RCAHMS 1946, no 1136, 5).

In 1875 'a still smaller fragment, brought to light ... in the same parish at a very short distance' from the stone found in 1872 was found 'close to the old burying-ground' (Goudie 1904, 62). Goudie, and other sources after him, give the interpretation of the two pairs of runes on the stone as being 'KT' and 'TK' (1904, 62).

In 1877, inspired by earlier finds, the Revd Mr Clark found another runestone as the result of a deliberate search. He located the stone on the outside of the western wall of the churchyard. The stone was covered in moss, but the inscription was on the exposed face. It measured 1.35 m × 0.15 m × 0.15 m (Goudie 1904; cf also Shetland Archives, Petition for Aliment, Smith v. Cogle, c March 1878).

While there are chances that the other stones that have been found also came from the vicinity of the churchyard, there are also rumours in Cunningsburgh of buildings and hearths having been located while digging graves in the past. The sheltered bay at Mail, its rich hinterland, the number of brochs in the vicinity, and the proximity of Mail to the soapstone quarries at Catpund, all testify to the likely importance of this area during Pictish times.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CARVING

The design was scratched lightly, and apparently free-hand onto the stone, prior to being incised more deeply. Michael Spearman observed that the principal incisions vary from c 2.5 mm to less than 0.5 mm, giving the figure a range of textures and finishes for outline and details. Spearman examined the incised lines at a magnification of × 20, using a good quality microscope and multiple light source. This showed that the surface within the grooves and that of the uncarved flat surfaces appeared to be equally weathered, and thus the grooves are not recent. The deeper grooves comprised well-formed V-shaped channels, which may suggest that they were cut with a chisel from two sides. Gordon's researches on stones from north-east Scotland (1956, 42–3) discovered only one Class 1 symbol stone bearing V-shaped grooves, and this was cut into a piece of Old Red Sandstone, found at Inchyra, in Perthshire. He attributed this to the fact that Old Red Sandstone, the type of stone on which the Mail figure was also incised, is one of the easier types of stones to work. Spearman found that the finer lines on the stone appear to have been formed with a fine pointed implement such as an awl. A recent scratch, reported to have been made with a steel awl, compares fairly closely with these finer lines, except that the recent scratch retains a fine white powder of crushed stone. The other discernible difference between them was that at × 35 magnification the mica crystals in the recent scratch were clearly damaged, whereas the crystals on the surface and in the older grooves were undamaged.

The figure is 442 mm high, the torso and arms being out of proportion, both with each other and with the head and legs. There is 155 mm between the top of the head and the top of the stone, and only 2.5 mm between the back of the left heel and the bottom of the stone.

The head of the figure faces to the viewer's right, and the drawing of it is more fluid than the rest of the figure. The most distinctive feature is the dog-like muzzle which contains 15 triangular teeth. The oval eye contains both iris and pupil, and the eyebrow is portrayed with a single line. Strangely, there is no ear visible, perhaps because it is covered by some form of head-dress, which passes from the brow, around the back of the head to the shoulders. This could be intended as hair. A beard appears to grow from the rear of the jaw, flowing forward and following the contours of the upper chest. An alternative explanation could be that this portrays hair, emerging from

underneath a mask and pushed forwards. The depiction of the neck is one of the weakest parts of the carving. One line of it is clearly visible, probably representing the front of the neck, the back being hidden by the head-dress or hair.

The figure is wearing a long-sleeved tunic, with a cuff line visible at the right wrist, belted at the waist. Above the waist the body is shaped like an arch, as though the artist was using a template. It has a double outline which starts at the waist at the back and continues over the shoulder to form a sash, half-way down the front of the skirt. The skirt itself is decorated with a tripod-like arrangement of double lines which stop at a hem bordered with a panel of step-pattern.

The right shoulder of the figure is represented by two interlocking scrolls, set very low down on the body. The arms are disproportionately small. The shape of the figure's legs is more naturalistic than that of the arms. The artist has corrected mistakes in two places: the front of the ankle of the left leg, and the knee of the right leg. The feet are drawn in outline, although the pointed end of the right foot may be intended to represent close-fitting boots. The right hand holds a deeply incised axe, blade foremost, resting on the shoulder. The axe lies neatly between the thumb and the fingers, although the lines of the axe shaft can be seen cutting across the backs of the fingers. This suggests that the axe was incised before the hand, and perhaps before the whole arm; this would account, at least partially, for the strangely low set of the shoulder. The left hand holds a club or possibly a sword, but in this case the lines of the club/sword stop above and below the hand, but the implement is positioned behind the clenched hand; the thumb does not grip it. The bottom of the implement may be finished with a faint line which gives it a blunt end, however it is hard to be certain about this.

COMPARISONS

The Mail figure contains many elements which are found in incised tool-carrying figures generally considered to be Pictish in origin. There are five other such incised single figures currently known in Scotland (illus 3: 1–5): Strathmartine, Angus (Shepherd & Shepherd 1978, 216); Balblair, Inverness (Allen & Anderson 1903, 95 & 517); Collessie, Fife (Robertson 1990, 3); Rhynie 3, Gordon (Allen & Anderson 1903, 182); and Rhynie 7, Gordon (Shepherd & Shepherd 1978, 213). The closest parallel to the Mail stone appears to be Rhynie 7. The figure on this stone, which is approximately twice the size of the Mail figure, also faces right, carries an axe with the blade uppermost over the right shoulder, has triangular teeth, wears a belted tunic, and has similar arm positions and hands. There are, however, significant differences between the two, notably the Rhynie man's naturalistically drawn shoulder, and human, if exaggerated, nose.

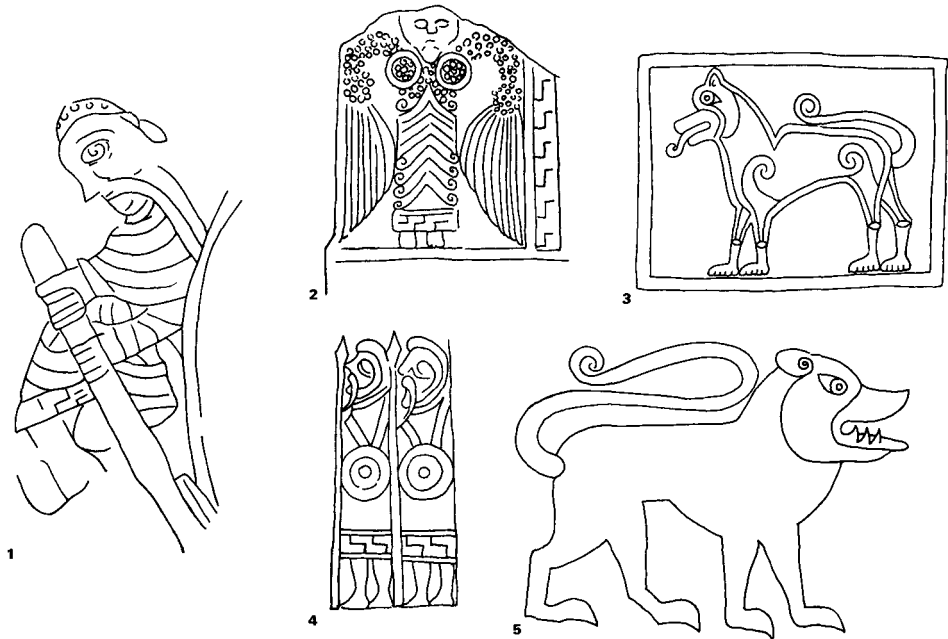
The Balblair figure is incised on a boulder. He has a peculiarly shaped head, wears a kilt and leans on a club. Both the solitary Strathmartine figure and a figure on the cross slab from Rossie in Perthshire (Allen & Anderson 1903, 307) (illus 3: 6) have heads which have been damaged; they appear to have had animal snouts and carry long-handled objects. Shepherd & Shepherd (1978, 216) suggest that the object carried by the Strathmartine figure could be a double-headed cross and further suggest that the 'beast head' (Allen & Anderson 1903, 266) could be the result of later defacing. The figure on the Rossie stone is more convincing as a bird-headed, axe-carrying, figure, although the position in which the axe is held is more like the way a cross would be carried. It is the Strathmartine figure who shoulders his object in a similar manner to that of the Rhynie 7 and Mail figures.

The bird-headed figures on the Papil stone from Burra in Shetland also carry axes on their shoulders (illus 3: 7). Curle (1982, 98–9) identifies the birds as having been carved in a different tradition and by a different hand to that of the rest of the stone. Ritchie also suggests that these



ILLUS 3 Pictish Figures: 1 Strathmartine; 2 Balblair; 3 Collesie; 4 Rhynie 3; 5 Rhynie 7; 6 Rossie; 7 Papil; 8 Murthly; 9 Birsay; 10 Glamis; 11 Golspie; 12 Inchbrayock (1, 2, 4–6, 10, 11 after Shepherd & Shepherd; 3 after Lines in Robertson; 7–9, 12 after Allen & Anderson and Curle)

figures may be later additions to the original carvings, which depict clerics and a heraldic-looking lion, the symbol of St Mark (illus 4: 3; Ritchie 1989, 8). The Papil stone contains three different styles of working: the monks in relief; the elaborately outlined incised lion (which is similar in style to the boss at the top of the cross, and therefore can be assumed to be an integral part of the original design); and the less sophisticated birds which are incised with a single line. The outline of the birds is as confident as the rest of the carving, and the fact that they are skewed on the stone,



ILLUS 4 Pictish Figures and Animals: 1 Forteviot; 2 Kirriemuir; 3 Papil; 4 Duplin; 5 Durrow (after Allen & Anderson and Curle)

and less elaborate, may be due to the birds having been carved by the same hand but without the use of a pattern. This same argument could also be applied to explain the *inexpert* shape of the Mail figure's body in comparison with the more fluid style of the head and legs. The fact that the stone from Bressay, in Shetland, shows strong similarities with the Papil stone, depicting both monks and a lion in relief, and that these are not the only stones depicting similar monks, suggests that they may well have been carved with the use of a pattern. Curle, following parallels on Irish sculpture, interpreted the Papil bird people as being a representation of the temptation of St Antony by two women disguised as birds who whisper in his ear. She dated the complete slab to the seventh century on the strength of the circular cross head (Curle 1940, 78). Stevenson felt that the sophisticated lion belies this date and, in conjunction with the Papil cross-slab (suggestive of an early Iona type), he proposed a date only just, if at all, prior to the Norse occupation of Shetland, perhaps as late as AD 900 (Stevenson 1955, 115). It is this later date which is more generally accepted (Isabel Henderson, pers comm).

The Papil lion has both the dog-headed snout and the scroll shoulder. The scroll motif was used to represent muscle and volume on incised Pictish animals (Henderson 1991, 4). The scrolls on the Papil lion, however, are very decorative, the Mail figure's scroll shoulder being far more basic, although the principle may be the same. Like the torso of the Mail figure, the Papil lion and the Burness slab from Orkney have partial double outlining.

The Murthly slab from Meigle in Perthshire (Allen & Anderson 1903, 305, Pl lxvi) depicts two animal-headed figures fighting together, one bird-headed and one with a dog-headed profile similar to that of the Mail figure. Like the Mail figure, Slab 1 from Glamis, Angus (Allen &

Anderson 1903, 221, Pl xxxix), and Slab No 1 from Inchbrayock, Perthshire (Allen & Anderson 1903, 223, Pl xliii) depict beast-headed figures wearing tunics. The Inchbrayock figure's head is interpreted by Roe as being that of a horse (Roe 1945, 13). Certainly, the whole face is elongated rather than having a pronounced forehead with a projecting snout as the Mail figure does. A cross slab from Hamilton (Allen & Anderson 1903, 471, Pl c) depicts a human figure between two animal-headed figures, but the carving is too abraded to enable any conclusions to be drawn.

The three figures on a slab from Birsay in Orkney (illus 3: 9; Curle 1940, Pl 21,) also walk to the right. These figures have full-length 'pleated' skirts with decorated hems. Two of the three figures have hair styles which resemble the treatment of the Mail figure's head. Two have short beards over their upper chests but the beards are contained within a single line, unlike the beard of the Mail figure. All three hold their right arms at right angles to support square shields. Although the dating of this slab is problematic, it is generally thought to be early Class II (Curle 1982, 97).

The figures on Slab 2 from Glamis, Angus (Allen & Anderson 1903, 223 Pl xli), roughly contemporary with Birsay, carry similar axes to the Mail figure, as well as having similar head coverings. The Golspie 'hunter' from Sutherland (Allen & Anderson 1903, 48, Pl iii), thought to be later in date than the Birsay slab, has a similar head covering to that of the Mail figure. He is bearded, faces right, has similarly shaped legs and feet, a short tunic, and similarly positioned hands. He brandishes his axe and knife as if for immediate use against the fish and lion on the slab.

The step-pattern on the hem of the Mail figure is duplicated in the hems of figures from Forteviot, Perthshire (Allen & Anderson 1903, 325, Pl lxviii), Dupplin, Perthshire (Allen & Anderson 1903, 319–21, illus 334), Kirriemuir, Angus (Allen & Anderson 1903, 260 illus 270), the Rosemarkie fragment, Ross and Cromarty (Henderson 1990, 19) and St Vigean, Angus (Allen & Anderson 1903, 268, Pl liv). The Kirriemuir figure is on a symbol-bearing cross-slab and so may be earlier than the Dupplin cross and the Forteviot arch, both of which are dated to the middle or second half of the ninth century, when the step-pattern had become quite fashionable (Stevenson 1955, 126; Alcock & Alcock 1992, 227).

DISCUSSION

The portrayal of animal- and bird-headed human figures appears on many Pictish monuments from the seventh century, and continues well beyond the end of the Pictish kingdom in 843. There is thus no difficulty in finding a context for the Mail figure. Such figures appear in many cultures, where they may represent supernatural beings or anthropological customs (Roe 1945, 15).

We do not know enough about Pictish beliefs to know whether the animal-headed figures carved on Pictish sculpture were intended to be masked humans, gods, or tribal symbols of power. Their occurrence in association with Christian symbols provides no conclusive evidence. In this respect it compares with the Northumbrian Franks Casket dated to around c AD 700 (Webster 1982, 30) upon which Scandinavian mythological scenes (including an animal-headed figure) are juxtaposed with scenes such as the Adoration of the Magi.

Henderson has pointed out that the Picts had a naturalistic figure style, the origins of which are obscure. Faced with the rising number of seemingly early profile figures, she suggests that perhaps there was a prototypical 'standing profile man' at an early stage, and that this figure, and aspects of his dress, whether he was animal-headed or not, passed into later Pictish figurative art and other iconography – a kind of extreme case of a 'deteriorating symbol' being found on the later cross-slabs (Isabel Henderson, pers comm; see also Henderson 1967, 112–15). If the Mail figure is taken to be an isolated figure then it could be presumed to be a symbol rather than a

portrait, and thus early in the sequence of Pictish art. Thomas placed the beginning of Class I Pictish art in the fifth century (Thomas 1961, 49–53) and Robertson has argued for an even earlier date for Collesie man (Robertson 1990, 3). Shepherd & Shepherd (1978, 221) originally suggested a date in the fifth or sixth century for Rhynie 7, but have subsequently revised this to the early seventh century (Ian Shepherd, pers comm).

If the Mail figure was a portrait rather than a symbol, or if it is seen as part of a cross slab, then the stone is, strictly speaking, Class III, which would imply a later date. The stone could be interpreted as being part of a cross-slab on the grounds that the peck marks at the bottom of the stone suggest that the stone was broken from a taller slab. This may have occurred before the stone was carved; if it occurred afterwards, then the damage which it would have caused was repaired in antiquity. If the stone was carved before it was broken from the parent slab, this would account for the strange positioning of the carving on the bottom of the stone. Stevenson (1981, 284) dates the Pabil cross-slab to the end of the eighth century and the Mail stone might be assumed to predate Pabil on the grounds that it is a far less accomplished piece of work. Stevenson places Class III stones as starting c AD 800.

Whatever the relative dates of Rhynie 7 and Mail, there is a marked difference in technique and expertise between the Mail carving and the Rhynie one. The Rhynie figure is confidently carved, the Mail figure is far more hesitant, almost graffito-like. Intriguingly, the axe head at Mail is carved with the Rhynie strength, but both figures share the same template-like torso.

CONCLUSION

The Mail figure has been shown, both as an entity and in points of detail, to be related to many traits of Pictish figurative art, themselves ascribable to various periods between the seventh and tenth centuries. The Mail figure is incised and the face of the slab is undressed, and so in these respects can be classified as being within the Class I tradition. On the other hand, like all the incised figures, it is not associated with a symbol and so can only strictly be associated with this Class if it is seen to be a symbol in its own right, comparable with the animal symbols. The top of the stone is crudely dressed and this too would be exceptional for a Class I category stone. If a Class III classification were to be accepted, it would seem that, in design and technique, the figure is relatively early in date.

The resemblances which the Mail stone bears to those from Golspie, Brough of Birsay, and Rosemarkie has led Raymond Lamb to suggest (pers comm) a date in the last quarter of the seventh century, or the early eighth century. Comparison with Rhynie, which is the closest parallel to the Mail stone, would suggest a date closer to the beginning of the seventh century. Alternatively, if the stone is regarded as part of a cross-slab, then comparison with the Pabil and Bressay cross-slabs would suggest a mid-eighth century date for the Mail figure. Whilst not entirely discounting this latter possibility, of the two, the more likely interpretation of the stone is that of a symbol, and therefore a date in the early seventh century seems the most probable.

In any event the stone is at the same time both distinctively Pictish and exceptional, and thus it is a notable addition to a group of enigmatic figures which demonstrate the unique character of Pictish culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all the people who helped and encouraged me in researching the Mail figure: Brian Smith, Shetland Archivist; Dr Isabel Henderson, Newnham College, Cambridge; Dr Raymond Lamb, Orkney; Ian Shepherd, Grampian Archaeologist; Dr Anna Ritchie, Edinburgh.

Special thanks are due to Malcolm Smith for finding the stone and reporting it so promptly; to Dr Michael Spearman, National Museums of Scotland, for allowing me full access to, and use of, his report to the Treasure Trove Panel; and to Dr Isabel Henderson and Dr Anna Ritchie for taking the time and trouble to scrutinize and supply detailed comment on an earlier draft of my text (although any remaining errors are my own responsibility). Thanks are also due to Lynnne Ritchie, who spent many painstaking days producing the drawing of the Mail stone. The stone is now on display in the Shetland Museum, Lerwick, where the staff have been most co-operative in granting unrestricted access to Lynnne and me during the writing of this paper.

REFERENCES

- Alcock, L & Alcock, E A 1992 'Reconnaissance Excavations in Early Historic Fortifications and Other Royal Sites in Scotland 1974–84', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 122 (1992), 227
- Allen, J R & Anderson, J 1903 *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- Curle, C L 1940 'The Chronology of the Early Christian Monuments of Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 74 (1939–40), 60–116.
- Curle, C L 1982 *Pictish and Norse Finds from the Brough of Birsay 1934–74* (Soc Antiq Scot Mon Ser 1). Edinburgh.
- Gordon, C A 1956 'Carving Technique on the Symbol Stones of North-East Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 88, (1954–6), 40–6.
- Goudie, G 1879 'On Rune-Inscribed Relics of the Norsemen in Shetland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 13 (1878–9), 136–64.
- Goudie, G 1903 'Purchases for the Museum and Library', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 37 (1902–3), 350–1.
- Goudie, G 1904 *The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland*. Edinburgh & London.
- Henderson, I 1990 *The Art and Function of Rosemarkie's Pictish Monuments* (Groam House Museum Trust, Ross & Cromarty).
- Henderson, I 1967 *The Picts*. London.
- RCAHMS (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland), 1946 *Orkney and Shetland*, vol 3: Shetland. Edinburgh.
- Ritchie, A 1989 *The Picts*, Edinburgh.
- Robertson, N M 1990 'Pictish Arts Society Field Trip to North Fife', *Pictish Art Soc Newsl*, 5 (1990), 3–5.
- Roe, H M 1945 'An Interpretation of Certain Symbolic Sculptures of Early Christian Ireland', *J Royal Soc Antiq Ireland*, 75 (1945), 1–23.
- Shepherd, I A G & Shepherd, A N 1978 'An incised Pictish Figure and a New Symbol Stone from Barflat, Rhynie, Gordon District', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 109 (1977–8), 211–22.
- Shetelig, H 1949 'Runic Inscriptions: Shetland', *Viking Antiquities*. Aberdeen.
- Spearman, M 1993 *Mail, Cunningsburgh. Pictish Figure*. Unpublished report to the Treasure Trove Panel.
- Stevenson, R B K 1955 'Pictish Art', in Wainwright, F W (ed), *The Problem of the Picts*, Edinburgh, 97–129.
- Stevenson, R B K 1981 'Christian Sculpture in Norse Shetland', *Frodskaparriet: Annal. societ. scient. Faeroensis*, 283–92.
- Thomas, C 1961 'The Animal Art of the Scottish Iron Age and its Origins', *Archaeol J*, 118 (1961) 14–64.
- Webster, L 1982 'Stylistic Aspects of the Franks Casket' in Farrell, R T (ed), *The Vikings*, Rochester, 20–31.

This paper is published with the aid of a grant from Shetland Amenity Trust