

## The date and context of the Glamis, Angus, carved Pictish stones

Lloyd Laing\*

### ABSTRACT

*The widely accepted eighth-century dating for the Pictish relief-decorated cross-slabs known as Glamis 2 and Glamis 1 is reviewed, and an alternative ninth-century date advanced for both monuments. It is suggested that the carving on front and back of Glamis 2 was contemporaneous, and that both monuments belong to the Aberlemno School.*

### GLAMIS 2

#### DESCRIPTION

The Glamis 2 stone (Allen & Anderson's scheme, 1903, pt III, 3–4) stands in front of the manse at Glamis, Angus, and its measurements — 2.76 m by 1.5 m by 0.24 m — make it one of the larger Class II slabs. It is probably a re-used Bronze Age standing stone as there appear to be some cup-marks incised on the base of the cross face. Holes have been drilled in the relatively recent past at the base of the sides, presumably for support struts. Viewed from the front (cross) face the slab is pedimented, the ornament being partly incised, partly in relief (illus 1).

The cross is in shallow relief, has double hollow armpits and a ring delimited by incised double lines except in the bottom right hand corner, where the ring is absent. It is decorated with interlace, with a central interlaced roundel on the crossing. The interlace on the cross-arms and immediately above the roundel is zoomorphic. At the top of the pediment is a pair of beast heads, now very weathered, with what may be a human head between them, in low relief. On the left at the top is a lion-like animal advancing right, and at the top right is a centaur carrying an axe in each hand. To the left of the cross-shaft is a cauldron from which two sets of human legs protrude, suspended on a frame. Beneath that is a pair of bearded figures in tunics confronting one another with axes. To the right of the cross-shaft is an incised pair of contiguous symbols, comprising a deer-head facing right with a triple-disc beneath. At the bottom is a plain, narrow, undressed area. The back of the stone is undressed, but bears three incised Pictish symbols, a serpent, a fish and an incomplete 'mirror' (illus 2).

The stone has affinities with Glamis 1, which is discussed below, and the settlement may have possessed more sculptures in the past, since a Class I symbol stone fragment was found in the manse garden rockery. It bears the only southern example of the uncommon 'triple-oval' symbol (RCAHMS 1994, 21; Mack 1997, 66: Glamis 4).

\* Dept of Archaeology, Nottingham University, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD



ILLUS 1 Glamis Manse (Glamis 2)  
front. (*Jenny Laing*)

#### PREVIOUS STUDIES

Glamis 2 has attracted attention since the 18th century, when Thomas Pennant (1776, II, 173) commented on it when it stood in its former position in Glamis kirkyard, and suggested, presumably following Fordun (IV, 41), that it was the gravestone of King Malcolm. It seems probable that he meant Malcolm II (AD 1005–1034), since he believed the stone to commemorate an assassination. This theory has recently been revived by Althea Tyndale (1995), who has offered an interpretation of the iconography of the stone in terms of the murder of Malcolm.

Many commentators have considered that Glamis 2 is one of the earliest, if not the first surviving relief-decorated cross-slab, grouping it with Aberlemno 2 (Aberlemno churchyard) in the same county and assigning it an eighth-century date (eg Henderson 1993, 212; MacLean 1998, 186). Glamis 2 has been seen as ‘transitional’ between Allen and Anderson’s Class I and Class II, employing features of both Class I (incision) and Class II stones (normally decorated entirely in relief).



ILLUS 2 Glamis Manse (Glamis 2) back. (*Jenny Laing*)

This argument relies heavily on the concept of evolutionary development which has been followed in both Pictish and Irish Cross studies. One drawback is the temptation to spread the crosses out at roughly even intervals from c 750 to c 950, with no justification (Stalley 1997, 119).

Others have suggested that the symbols on the back indicate that it was originally a Class I stone, later re-used for a Class II cross-slab (eg Mack 1997, 65). Using this argument, the cross face could have been carved years or even centuries after the original carving. It would therefore be constructive if it could be established whether the two faces of the stone were carved contemporaneously.

#### CARVING ON FRONT AND BACK OF GLAMIS 2

Study of both faces and measurement of the profiles of the incisions on the stone in August 2000, suggested that the carving technique on the back was identical to that of the symbols on the front right-hand side. There is no difference in the weathering discernible between the two sides. The conclusion must be that it is just as likely that the cross and figures on the front of the slab and

the symbols on the back were carved within a short period of time, rather than at different periods. If this is accepted, using the evolutionary model, the date must be established according to the latest rather than the earliest feature displayed. Accordingly, in this paper I shall consider each element individually in terms of its possible dating to establish whether the evidence of the carving can be upheld.

#### THE CARVING TECHNIQUE

The symbols on both front and back were cut by pocking followed by smoothing, to produce a groove 10mm wide and the same depth, with a U-shaped profile. The same technique was employed in the relief carving, as is apparent from the remaining pecking marks on the ring (where they have not been totally smoothed out) and on the interlace on the top of the cross. This profile is found on many of the stones at Meikle, and is in keeping with that noted on other Pictish stones of Class I (Gordon 1956, 41). The same width, depth and profile of cut is apparent on the figural work on the front of the slab (ie the two axe-men), and on the incised ring round the head of the cross (see below). Incisions on front and back display the same degree of weathering, and it seems likely that both were carved in the same general period.

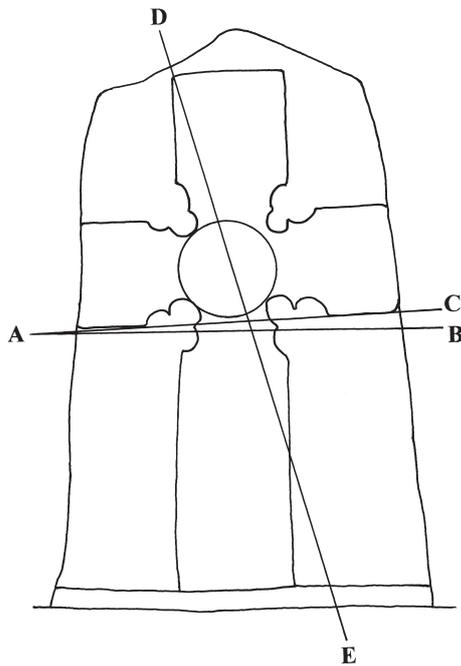
#### THE MIRROR AND 'TRIPLE-DISC' SYMBOLS

Another feature links back and front of Glamis 2. The treatment of the mirror symbol on the back, which appears to have been originally set out with compasses (though the pointil mark is not apparent) is the same as that of the triple-disc on the front. Both symbols have a double outline. If it is a mirror, however, it was unfinished: the lower portion of the handle is missing, and although the surface of the stone is very irregular, and the area below the mirror face is flaked, weathering cannot account for the omission. Therefore it seems likely that *either* the 'symbol' is complete, and is not intended to represent a mirror, *or* it was considered sufficiently complete to stand for one. If it was not a mirror, it is not a motif that occurs elsewhere in the repertoire of Pictish symbols, although there is a disc design on the reverse of Aberlemno 3. The lack of similar symbols would suggest that it is not a 'symbol' at all, given the reasonable argument that a symbol, to be one, has to be represented in more than one context (Forsyth 1997). The other, more likely, possibility is that the carving of the back was left incomplete.

#### THE FRONT OF GLAMIS 2

The front face of Glamis 2 suggests that the sculptor made a mistake in laying out the design (illus 3). The right-hand arm of the cross is set higher than the left, and the area containing interlace on the left-hand arm is smaller than that containing interlace on the right, as is shown on the accompanying diagram. Additionally, there is a difference in the width of the upper lobe of the armpit on the left and right side of the underside of the cross, that on the right being wider (0.15 m) than that on the left (0.13 m). The interlace on the left-hand cross-arm differs in detail from that on the right, with crossing points at different positions indicating that a measured grid was not employed and the design was laid out freehand (illus 4). Thirdly, the axis of the cross that is central to the roundel of interlace on the crossing is skewed: the top arm of the cross is at 11 o'clock.

One explanation for the difference in height in the left- and right-hand arms is that the sculptor worked from a blocked-out design, and mistook the upper edge of the border on the



ILLUS 3 Diagram illustrating the error in layout, Glamis 2. A–B: true horizontal. A–C: angle of cross arms. D–E: axis of ornament

right-hand side for its lower edge. This would not, however, explain the skewing of the roundel on the crossing. Another explanation is that the design was copied from a metal prototype, such as a pectoral cross, that was already damaged, and the sculptor was copying the model faithfully.

A feature of the design of the cross-head is the incised ring, demarcated by two concentric arcs of circles. Allen and Anderson (1903, pt III, 222, fn1) noticed only the arcs on the left-hand side, alluding to them in a footnote, and their photograph shows them very clearly (1903, fig 234A). They did not appear to note the presence of the ring on the top right. That this ring cannot predate the carving of the cross itself is apparent from the fact that the face of the cross is in much higher relief than the plane in which the symbols were carved (illus 5). The incisions of the ring where they are clearest are, like the other engraved lines on the monument, 10 mm wide, and share with them a similar profile. A likely explanation for the wheel is that it was marked out but abandoned and the space filled in with the symbols on the right-hand side.

#### THE EIGHTH-CENTURY DATING FOR GLAMIS 2

It has long been accepted that features recognized on some supposedly 'early' Class II monuments derive from elements encountered in Northumbria in the period from the end of the seventh century to the end of the eighth. The Glamis Manse stone has been seen along with other related monuments, notably Aberlemno 2, to be the result of spreading influence from Northumbria to Pictland in the time of Nechtan mac Derile (706–24). Manuscript models, in particular the Lindisfarne Gospels, have been seen as inspiring ornamental details on these stones. From this, stones and manuscripts have been seen as fairly close in date (MacLean 1998, 187).

However, ornamental devices have a very long currency in Insular art. For example, key fret, found in Insular manuscripts of the eighth century, recurs in the sculpture of 10th-century



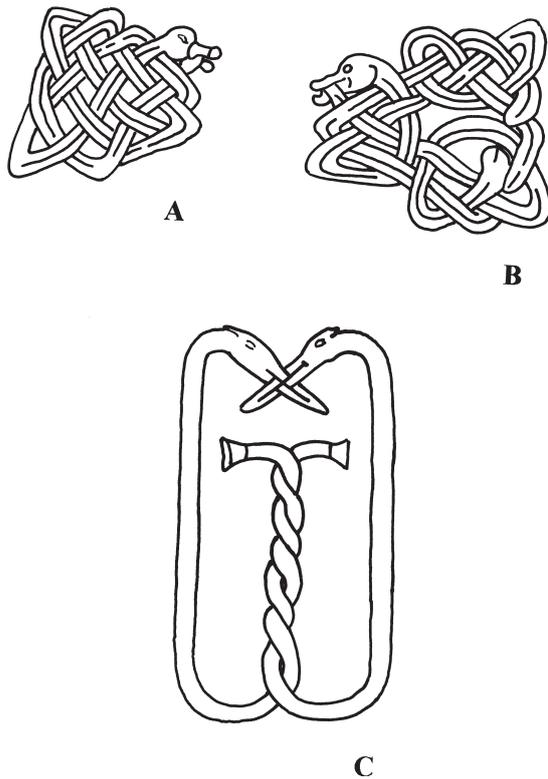
ILLUS 4 Glamis Manse (Glamis 2) detail of front, showing error in layout. (*Jenny Laing*)



ILLUS 5 Glamis Manse (Glamis 2), detail of incised ring. (*Jenny Laing*)

Yorkshire and is also found in Irish sculpture of the same period (Lang 1993, 261). Furthermore, archaic ornamental features are displayed on the 12th-century cross at Kilfenora, Co Clare and details displayed on bone and woodwork from Dublin would be dated some centuries previously were it not for the fact they have been found in archaeologically-dated contexts (Lang 1991).

The occurrence of particular motifs in key manuscripts or other works of art at particular dates confirms only their currency at the time the dated work was created, not that they were not employed previously, nor indeed subsequently. Decorative devices first documented in the Lindisfarne Gospels, for example, are arguably not earlier than the late seventh century, but they can (and do) recur in Insular art throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, if not later. This creates difficulties in accepting an eighth-century date for Glamis 2.



ILLUS 6 A, B: animal ornament on the arms of cross on Glamis 2; C: confronted serpents, porch of St Peter's Church, Monkwearmouth, Tyne & Wear

MacLean (1993, 187), for example, has argued that parallels can be made between the interlaced snakes on the Glamis 2 arms and the pairs of beasts that confront one another on the jambs of the tower/porch of St Peter's church at Monkwearmouth, Tyne & Wear (illus 6). However, the Monkwearmouth dragons do not interlace (except insofar as their tails and jaws link), and their heads are more closely related to creatures on the Sutton Hoo metalwork or the pommel from Crundale Down, Kent. MacLean (1993, 187) has promoted the proposition that the interlace roundel on the centre of the Glamis Manse stone (and on the other related monuments) is directly inspired by similar roundels in the Book of Durrow (which few would now regard as Northumbrian: de Vegvar 1987, 104–5; Henderson 1987, 55; Werner 1990; Laing 1997) or the Lindisfarne Gospels. Similar interlaced roundels appear in many later contexts, for example at the end of the eighth century in the Book of Kells (f 29r), or in leather and of much

later date, on the *cumdach* of the Book of Armagh (15th century: Ryan 1983, no 86). MacLean (1998, 187) proposes that the rectangular terminals of the cross-arms on Glamis 2 were inspired by the crosses in Insular carpet pages, citing again the Iona manuscript *Durrow* and the ubiquitous Lindisfarne Gospels. The counter-argument would be that this element is so ubiquitous in Insular art that a specifically Northumbrian origin is impossible to prove.

Equally significantly, the view has frequently been expressed that the Herebericht stone and some other late seventh-/early eighth-century Northumbrian graveslabs served as a model for the group as a whole (Henderson 1982, 83–4; MacLean 1998, 187, citing the slab from Coquet Island, Northumberland). There are difficulties in accepting this argument since the crosses adorning them are undecorated, and they are essentially developed name-stones, in the tradition of Classical grave markers. Furthermore, they do not display ringed crosses, and there is no evidence for the use of the ringed cross in Northumbria (or indeed, anywhere else) in the late seventh or early eighth century. The Herebericht stone is also small compared with the massive slabs Aberlemno 2 or Glamis 2 — it measures 1.04 m by 0.53 m (Webster & Backhouse 1991, 104, no 72), and the predecessors of this stone were very small indeed, with incised inscriptions and crosses, exemplified by the Osgyth stone at Lindisfarne, which is 0.216 m by 0.152 m (Webster & Backhouse 1991, 103, no 71).

#### AN ORIGIN IN IONA

There is some evidence to suggest that a group of cross-slabs from Iona might reasonably be seen as fore-runners of the Pictish stones, or at least ‘cousins’. Very close parallels for the interlace-decorated low-relief Pictish cross-slabs are to be found in Co Donegal, Ireland, in the group of ninth-century monuments discussed above (Harbison 1986; see also Stevenson 1956, 93–6 for a 10th-century date).

Undecorated, ringed crosses appear on some of the grave-slabs from Iona, notably nos 37 and 45–7 (RCAHMS 1982). In some instances, these plain ringed crosses bear fragmentary inscriptions, some of which, such as that on no 45, K H Jackson believed belonged to the eighth century (RCAHMS 1982, 187). No 46 at Iona has an inscription exhorting a prayer for Flainn, which some have read as a reference to Flann, the abbot of Iona who died in 891. Jackson, however, was of the opinion that the script was earlier than this, also assigning it to the eighth century (RCAHMS 1982, 187). The inscription on Iona 47 Jackson believed to date from the eighth or early ninth century, but the slab was otherwise in similar style to the others. Given the caveats about the precise dating of inscriptions on graveslabs elsewhere (Swift 1995; Ó Flionn 1995), there is no real reason to date any of these slabs before the later eighth to early ninth centuries. It is notable that the ringed cross figures at Clonmacnoise, on what Ó Flionn (1995, 255) has termed the Class C slabs, which are difficult to date but which he assigns to a date range similar to his type A, from c 750–900.

Only one example of a cross-slab with a ringed cross and interlace is known at Iona. This is no 70, which has a double-curved cross (reminiscent of St John’s Cross on Iona or Glamis 2), and an interlace pattern which uses lateral loops, which, as was noted above is a feature of Glamis. In the analysis of the decoration on this cross-slab, RCAHMS (1982, 187) decided in favour of a date in the 9th to 10th century for Iona no 70.

#### THE CASE FOR A NINTH-CENTURY DATING OF GLAMIS 2

A notable feature of Glamis 2 is its pedimented top. Pedimented cross-slabs are confined to southern Pictland, represented by the monuments at Glamis 2, Aberlemno 2, Eassie (slight

pediment only), St Vigeans 10, St Madoes (damaged), Meigle 1 (slight), Farnell, and possibly Meigle 4. These pedimented cross-slabs from Pictland all display features which suggest they should be assigned to the ninth century, or, in the case of Farnell, the 10th (see Appendix). The pedimented cross-slab is also a type of monument found in Co Donegal. The slab at Fahan Mura displays features that are closely related to those on Glamis 2. Apart from the pediment, it has a low-relief interlace-decorated cross flanked by figural work. Henry (1965, 125–6) was inclined to date the Fahan Mura slab to the seventh century, mainly on the evidence of a Greek inscription, but the group as a whole has been re-appraised by Harbison (1986), who has advanced strong arguments for a ninth-century date. The confronted animals above the cross (now very weathered) on Glamis 2 can be seen to be the counterparts of the confronted animal heads in the same position on the back of Aberlemno 2, which has been dated to the middle of the ninth century (Laing 2001; Trench-Jellicoe 1999, 620).

In contrast to Aberlemno 2, at Glamis 2 there is no evidence for animals being used to frame the composition as a whole. Pairs of framing animals are found, however, on St Orlands Stone at Cossins, on Farnell, on Dunfallandy, on Monifieth 2 and on Meigle 4, all monuments located in a restricted area of southern Pictland.

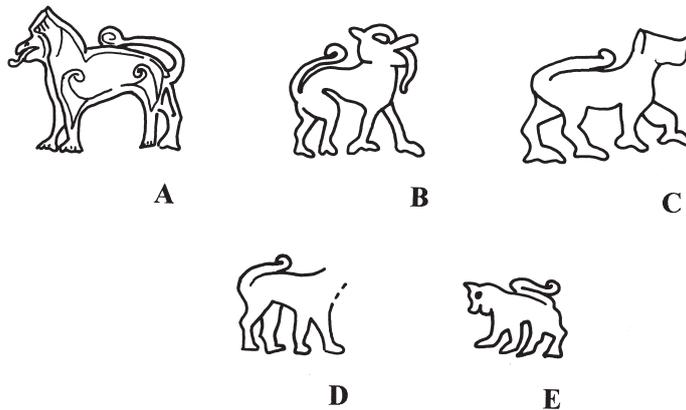
One feature of the interlace on the face of Glamis 2 is its use of lateral loops in the panel immediately below the central roundel. This is an unusual device, but is generally characteristic of sculpture in the north of England in the Viking period (Bailey 1980, 72 and fig 7b). It is a rare device in Pictish sculpture, but also occurs on Meigle 22 and Papil 1, both late monuments (for this device on Pictish monuments, Laing 2000a, 102; for Papil, Laing 1993).

#### FIGURAL DETAILS

Any firm dating evidence that can be forwarded for the figural details on Glamis 2 is clearly crucial to the general arguments — the deer-head, centaur, axe-men, cauldron and lion are here discussed.

The *deer-head* springing from the ‘triple-disc’ symbol is unusual since it is virtually unknown for Pictish symbols to impinge on one another. The beast head is also different in style from those normally encountered on Class I stones, which have a bowed head. The closest parallel for the design appears at Dunnachton, Inverness, where again unusually there is only one symbol. The Dunnachton stone was damaged, and it is therefore possible, though in this case not very probable, that there was originally at least one other. The beast head is extremely rare on Class II stones, that on Meigle 1 being conventionally bowed. An indicator of the late date is provided by the volutes at the base of the neck. The use of volutes is a feature of a group of Aberdeenshire cross-slabs, all late, on which they are added to the base of the shaft or the arms. Instances of this are on the slabs from Formaston, Aboyne, Dyce 2 and Migvie. In southern Pictland the device is found on the Kilrenny stone (Proudfoot 1995; Burt 1995) and on St Andrews 30 (Hay Fleming 1931).

The *centaur* on the top right is derived from Late Antique art, and the dissemination of such creatures by way of manuscript models has been discussed by several writers (eg Hicks 1993, 106–11). While there is evidence that manuscripts describing such creatures existed in Anglo-Saxon England in the eighth century, the earliest surviving illustrations date from the ninth, and it seems likely that the models arrived in the late eighth or early ninth century as part of the Classical revival of the Carolingian Age (Lang 1991). One possible model for the centaur can be found in the *Marvels of the East*, of which there are three extant copies in England, two Anglo-Saxon (British Library Cotton Tiberius Bv, British Library Cotton Vitellius Axv), one of the 12th



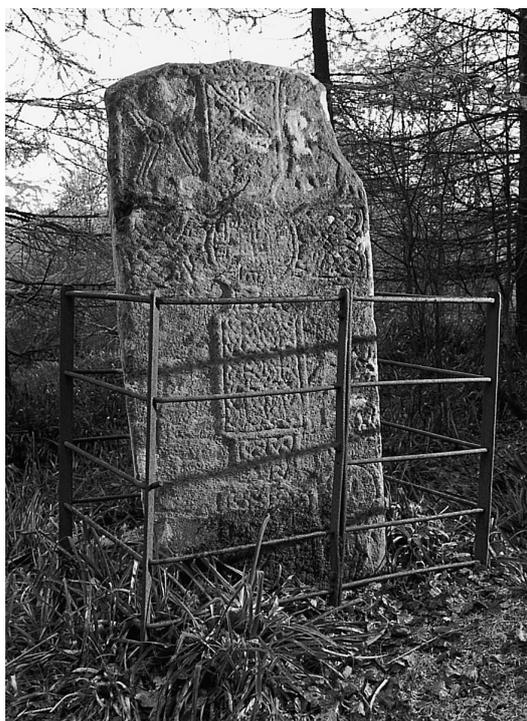
ILLUS 7 Animals with tails curled over their bodies in Pictish sculpture. A: Papil; B: Dunfallandy; C: Glamis 2; D: Kettins; E: Ulbster

century (Bodleian, Oxford, Ms 614) (James 1929). In all three the centaur appears carrying a club made from a tree trunk echoed by the centaur on Aberlemno 3, which has here been replaced by axes. Harbison (1992, 179–80, 325) has seen the centaur on this stone as closely similar to one depicted on a shaft at Tybbroughney, Co Kilkenny (which also carries similar axes). He has dated the Tybbroughney carving to the ninth century. The significance of the centaur in Pictish art has been discussed by Isabel Henderson (1997a, 22–3) and Stevenson (1993, 24), who argued for an illuminated medical manuscript as a model. The centaur on Glamis 2 can be compared with that on Meigle 2, which has both an axe in each hand and a branch.

The axe-men are unusual motifs. In an earlier study (Laing 2000a, 95) I suggested that the axes carried by the lower figures and by the centaur were of T-shaped form. Examination of the stone in 2000 suggested this is less likely than it seemed to me then, and that the axes cannot be seen as diagnostic of date. The axe-wielding figures, however, are notable, since the use of an axe in battle is a feature of Viking-age warfare (Laing 2000a, 95–6). An axe-man appears on the Barochan Cross, Renfrewshire (where the axe is of T-shaped form), a monument usually assigned to the 10th century. An axe-man also appears on the Gospie stone, which I have argued elsewhere belongs to the Viking Age (Laing 2000a, 110).

The *cauldron* (on the top left of the shaft), from which two pairs of legs protrude, has intrigued commentators, most of whom have suggested that it may be a scene from Pictish tradition. It is, however, possible that it is a local interpretation of the story of the Descent of Simon Magus, which shows Simon inverted. This may also be the subject of the composition of the scene on the left of St Vigeans 7. The Simon Magus iconography in Ireland is represented on the Tall Cross at Monasterboice and on the Market Cross at Kells.

The *lion* on the top left angle of the cross is a standard image from later Pictish sculpture. The form of the tail, looped back over the body, and snub snout are features which can be traced back to the lion in the Book of Durrow. It can be seen on the Papil stone, which I have argued elsewhere is of the ninth century (Laing 1993) and on the Viking-influenced stones of the 10th century at Ulbster, Caithness (for dating, Laing 2000b), and Bressay, Shetland. In southern Pictland a similar animal can be seen on Meigle 1 and 9, and on stones from Dunfallandy and Kettins. The ultimate inspiration for the animal probably lies with the evangelist symbol in *Durrow*, which seems to have enjoyed a new lease of life in the 9th and 10th centuries, perhaps due to the influence of Columban monasticism (illus 7).



ILLUS 8 Glamis 1, front (*Tom and Sybil Gray Collection: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Crown Copyright*)



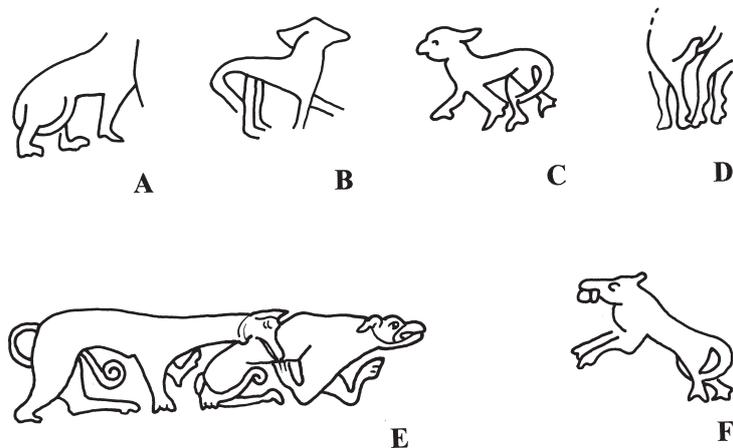
ILLUS 9 Glamis 1, back (*Tom and Sybil Gray Collection: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Crown Copyright*)

## GLAMIS 1

Glamis 2 has been seen as closely related to Glamis 1 (eg Cessford 2001), (illus 8–9). For reasons I outline below, I see no reason to date Glamis 1 earlier than the later ninth century, and a date in the 10th century is plausible.

Glamis 1, which now stands by a track to the south-east of Glamis, is smaller than Glamis 2 (measuring 1.50 m by 0.72 m by 0.14 m). It bears on the front an interlace-decorated cross with single hollow arm-pits, with a seraph in the top left and a damaged scene depicting an animal-headed man with an axe confronting a second figure, both wearing tunics. To the left of the shaft are two deer and to the right of it are two leonine animals one above the other and beneath these a triple-disc symbol and a ‘flower’ symbol. The upper edge of the stone is bordered by a key pattern. The back is undressed, but displays a ‘lion’ advancing right, a serpent and an unfinished mirror symbol, all incised, one above the other.

Both Glamis 1 and Glamis 2 have incised symbols on the backs, the symbols chosen being in each case a serpent combined with an animal motif and a mirror (in both cases incomplete). Both stones have a triple-disc symbol on the front, in the same position. Both stones have depictions of combats (in the case of Glamis 1, at the top right). Despite the incised symbols on the reverse and low relief symbols on the front, there are features of the cross-face which preclude a date before the later ninth century. The most diagnostic feature is the key pattern along the top edge of the stone (Allen’s pattern 887), which was current probably from the 9th to 11th century, and is a feature of Viking-age work (Bailey 1980, 71–4; Laing 2000a, 102). It occurs widely in

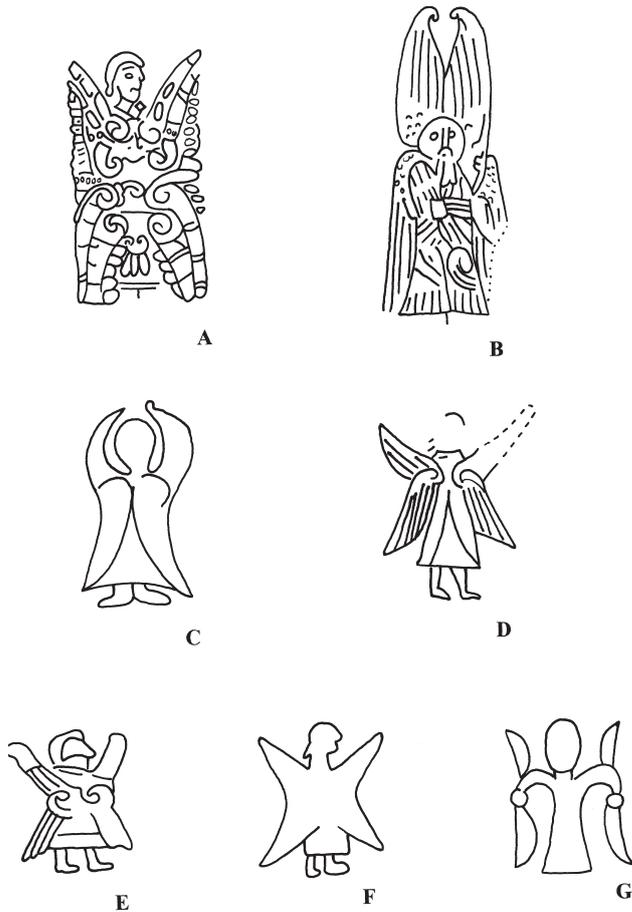


ILLUS 10 Animals with tails curled between hind legs in Pictish sculpture.  
A: Monifieth 3; B, C: Glamis 1; D: Strathmartine 5; E: St Madoes;  
F: St Vigeans 8

Wales, for example on the fretted ring cross-slabs centred on St Davids, dated to the 9th–10th century (Nash-Williams 1950, nos 374 and 375), and Nash-Williams (1950, 45) was of the view that such key patterns did not occur in Wales before the ninth century (see also Redknapp 1991, 69). The same design is encountered on Manx cross-slabs of the 10th century, for example at Braddan (Kermode 1907, fig 34/1). It is a motif which occurs on the Dupplin Cross, Perth & Kinross, now known not to pre-date c 820 (Forsyth 1995), and which may in fact be much later. The key pattern on the central roundel of the cross (Allen 1013) is found (although in a square rather than a circular setting) at Farr, Rosemarkie, Kettins, Strathmartine 2, St Andrews 4 and Inchbrayock, all Viking-period stones.

I have discussed the animal ornament on this stone elsewhere (Laing 2000a, 112), where parallels were drawn with Irish motif pieces and a detail from the cross at Moone, which does not predate the ninth century (Edwards 1990, 166; Harbison 1992, 1, 377). The device of curling the tail between the hind legs is one which occurs on a number of monuments, notably on Monifieth 3, Glamis 2, Strathmartine 5, St Madoes and St Vigeans 8 (illus 10).

The animal-headed human figure at the top right appears possibly borrowed from a model in the *Marvels of the East* (eg James 1929, Cotton Vitellius Axv, f105v). The deer on the bottom left probably relate to the Carolingian tradition of hunt scenes although the usual equestrian figures are missing. Equestrian figures in Pictish art have been discussed by Carrington (1995), who has seen them as being derived from Late Antique art, disseminated by way of the Carolingian Revival. She has pointed in particular to the similarities in the treatment of equestrian figures in Pictish art and in the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter, usually dated to around 830. Alcock (1998, 520) has discussed the Pictish hunt scenes and their symbolism, while alluding to the occurrence of the subject in Viking-period Insular sculpture. Carrington (1996, 463), in a discussion of falconers in Pictish sculpture, has drawn attention to the possibility that now-lost frescoes painted at Ingelheim under Louis the Pious may have included hunt scenes, reminding us that the hunts of the Carolingian royal court were described by the court poet Ermoldus, who alluded to the large retinues of horsemen, hounds, musicians and footmen, such as appear in Pictish sculpture.



ILLUS 11 Seraphim in early medieval art. A: Book of MacDurnan; B: Shelford, Notts; C: Meigle 2; D: Eassie; E: Glamis 1; F: Shandwick; G: Benvie

The cross-shaft on Glamis 1 is noteworthy, with semi-circular bites at the top of the cross-shaft proper. This feature is found at Eassie and, at the base of the cross-shaft rather than at the top, on Meigle 1. The overall design of Eassie is very similar to that at Glamis 1, with fret pattern on the roundel on the crossing, and seraphim at the top.

The seraphim on Glamis 1 belong to a small group of angels with four wings that appear in Celtic art in the later 9th and 10th centuries (illus 11). In manuscript form the Being is apparent in the Book of MacDurnan, as an evangelist symbol; the manuscript has been dated to the period 888–927 (Henry 1967, 59). The motif is repeated on Dunfallandy, Eassie, Meigle 2 and Benvie, the last one of the very late (10th century) Pictish stones. It also appears at Shandwick, another late 9th-/10th-century monument (for dating, Laing 2000b). In England the motif features on the cross-shaft from Shelford, Notts, datable to the 10th century (Kendrick 1949, pl LI).

The axe-carrying animal-headed man with his adversary at the top right of the stone has its closest parallel in a similar position on the Rossie Priory stone, although animal-headed men are not infrequent in Pictish sculpture, for example at Kettins or on Meigle 11.

The poor quality of the interlace, the careless carving of the figures, the irregular shape of the stone and the animal ornament all point to a fairly late date in the development of Pictish sculpture.

#### RELATIONSHIP OF THE GLAMIS STONES TO THE ABERLEMNO SCHOOL

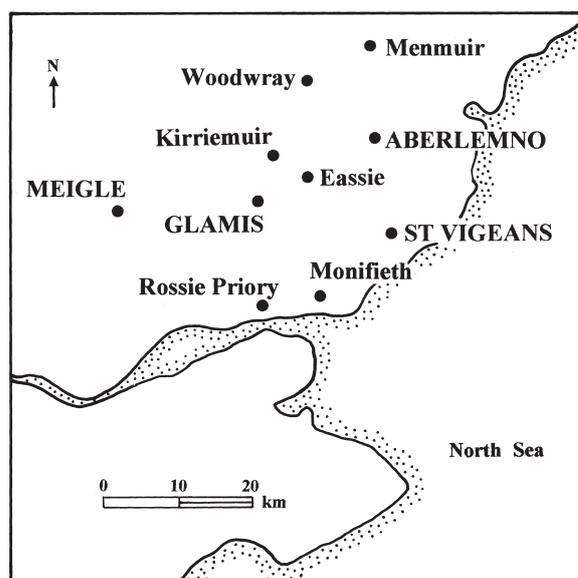
Both the stones at Glamis show features that suggest they are related, the most notable characteristic being the irregular Pictish symbol combinations on the reverse. Both display ornamental and iconographic details which suggests a date in the later ninth century or possibly even later. They do not, however, stand alone. Isabel Henderson has drawn attention to the similarity of the interlace designs on Glamis 2 and those on other monuments. Allen's patterns 505 and 613 are matched on Meigle 4, while Allen's pattern 671 is matched on Meigle 1 and Rossie. Allen's 676 appears again on Meigle 1, and his pattern 786 figures on St Vigean's 7 and Rossie. (Henderson 1993, 213). From this Henderson (1993, 212) has argued that Glamis 2 should be seen as being related to the monuments at Meigle, and therefore to be later than the 'very early' date usually assigned to it. Glamis 1 has designs that are similarly matched in the same group of monuments. It shares patterns 692, 744 and 1013 with Eassie. 1013 is also represented at Rossie, while 611 appears on Glamis 1. Eassie displays the same notch between the shaft and the head of the cross that is displayed by Glamis 1, as well as the seraph on the top left of the cross-head (treated in an identical manner with spirals where the upper wings join the body), and elements of a hunt scene to the side of the shaft.

In an earlier study (Laing 2000a, 113) it was suggested that the sequence of carving for the related group of low-relief cross-slabs in southern Pictland was Fowles Wester 2, Eassie, Glamis 1, Glamis 2 and Aberlemno 2, and that all these monuments should be set within the ninth century. Leaving aside the somewhat different Fowles Wester 2, the stones at Eassie, Glamis 2 and Aberlemno 2 can be taken together as a group along with Rossie Priory, which is unusual in having a cross on both faces, one of which is ringed, the other not.

Trench-Jellicoe (1999) has recently defined an Aberlemno School of Pictish sculpture, which he has suggested was the work of a community which originated in Iona and settled in Angus in the ninth century (1999). To the Aberlemno School he has assigned, apart from Aberlemno 2, the monuments known as Aberlemno 3, Menmuir 1, Kirriemuir 1, Monifieth 2, and Woodway, pointing out that they are nearly all located within a 10 km radius of Aberlemno (Trench-Jellicoe 1999, 616).

To this group should also be assigned Eassie, Rossie, Glamis 1 and Glamis 2, which are bound together by drawing upon a common pool of designs. These include shared interlace and key patterns (as discussed above), common motifs and the use of ball-and-claw feet on animals, a device employed on Aberlemno 2, Rossie Priory, Glamis 1, Woodway and Aberlemno 3 (illus 12). Of the other stones in Trench-Jellicoe's Aberlemno School, Kirriemuir 1 does not have animal ornament, Menmuir 1 has only a horse, and Monifieth 2 is too weathered to be certain of the foot forms. In the same region ball-and-claw feet are apparent on the stones at Kettins, St Vigean's 8 and Meigle 1, 5 and 10. Ball-and-claw feet first occur in the Lindisfarne Gospels and remained fashionable through the ninth (eg on the base of the North Cross at Ahenny and on the Killamery brooch) into the 12th century, for example in the British Library Ms Harley 1023, a product of Armagh (Henry 1970, pl 7).

Dunfallandy and the fragmentary Monifieth 3 stone share much in common with the group, including ball-and-claw feet and, in the case of Monifieth 3, the device of looping the animal tail through its hind legs, as on Glamis 1 and Eassie (illus 10); however, Dunfallandy remains an



ILLUS 12 Distribution of Pictish monuments of the Aberlemno School

outlier, since it employs bosses on the cross-head which are not encountered on the other monuments of the group.

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#### APPENDIX: THE DATING OF THE FARNELL STONE

Farnell can be dated to the 10th century by its use of a number of 10th-century features: (a) the use of pellets on the bodies of the framing animals (a device encountered on Manx Viking stones in the 10th century, for example on Michael, nos 100 and 101, Ballagh 77, Braddan 109 and Jurby 99 (Kermode 1907, but here using new numbering); (b) the use of a Viking-period diagonal key pattern (Allen pattern 952), also found at Dunblane and on Meigle no 20 (for the dating of this pattern, Bailey 1980, 72); (c) another Viking-period key pattern on the ring, and (d) Adam and Eve iconography that is closely comparable to that which appears on a number of Irish crosses, notably Monaghmore, Co Tyrone (Henry 1967, 201, fig 39a) on the Broken Cross at Kells (Henry 1967, pl 96), on the Village Cross at Tynan (Harbison 1992, iii, fig 664) and Donaghmore, Co Down (Harbison 1992, iii, fig 665). The subject also appears at Iona, on St Matthews Cross (Harbison 1992, iii, fig 663). The model for Adam and Eve iconography may go back to Roman sarcophagi, as Harbison has suggested (1992, i, 314), but its occurrence on Irish crosses is stylistically close to that on the Tarracina chest, which Harbison (1992, 316) has suggested is of the eighth/early ninth century. Of the remaining pedimented slabs, St Vigeans 10 displays frontal clerical figures, which are generally agreed to be of the 9th–10th century (Laing 2000a, 105; Hicks 1980, 19).

The other stones mostly display other datable features. Aberlemno 2 has been dated to the middle of the ninth century (Laing 2001; Trench-Jellicoe 1999, 620). St Vigeans 10 displays frontal clerical figures, which are generally agreed to be of the 9th–10th century (Laing 2000a, 105; Hicks 1980, 19). Eassie is

argued above to display a number of features which link it with Aberlemno 2 and Glamis 2. St Madoes displays a number of late features, notably backward-looking biting animals of the type encountered on Aberlemno 2, crudely drawn equestrian figures (which came into fashion, as discussed below, in the Carolingian Age), crude symbols and bosses on the head. Meigle 1 is linked by details to the monuments of the Aberlemno School.

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