

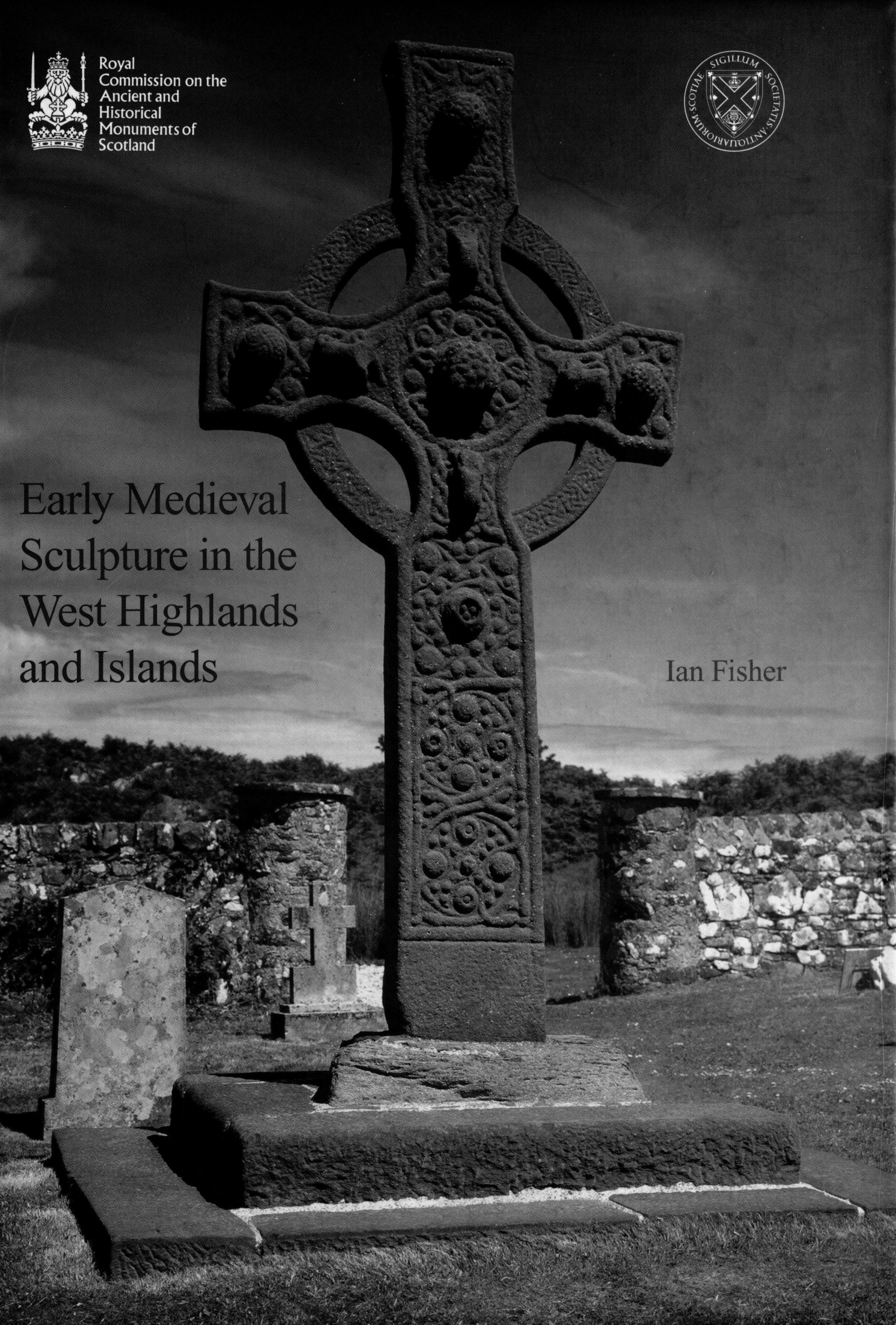


Royal  
Commission on the  
Ancient and  
Historical  
Monuments of  
Scotland



# Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands

Ian Fisher







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Early Medieval Sculpture  
in the West Highlands  
and Islands











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Ian Fisher



ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE ANCIENT AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS  
OF SCOTLAND  
AND  
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND

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The Commissioners acknowledge the assistance given to the author by staff of the Royal Commission during the preparation of this volume: J Borland, L Davidson, T M Duncan, I Fraser, K H J MacLeod, G B Quick, J N G Ritchie, I G Scott, D M Smart, G P Stell, J B Stevenson, J N Stevenson, S A Thomson, S Wallace and G Wells.

## PREFACE

This volume has been written and edited by Ian Fisher, and the layout was designed by John Stevenson. The measured drawings are by Ian G Scott, the Commission's chief illustrator from 1959 to 1991, and by John Stevenson and John Borland, who also prepared them for publication. The photographs are by Geoffrey Quick, the Commission's chief photographer from 1957 to 1992, and by Ian Fisher, Ian Scott and Stephen Wallace. They were scanned by Tahra Duncan, Derek Smart and Stephen Thomson. Kevin Macleod prepared the maps. Other assistance in preparing the illustrations was given by Iain Fraser, Lynn Davidson and Gareth Wells. Advice on the presentation of the material was provided by Graham Ritchie and Jack Stevenson, successive heads of archaeology, and Geoffrey Stell, head of architecture. The project was supervised by the Commission's Buildings Programme Committee, under the successive chairmanship of Professors Sir James Dunbar-Nasmith and Roland Paxton. Constant encouragement and invaluable advice were received from other Commissioners, notably Professor Rosemary Cramp, general editor of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* and until 1999 chairman of the Commission's Archaeological Programme Committee, and Dr Barbara Crawford.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland has played an unequalled rôle in the publication of early medieval sculpture over the past 150 years, through its *Proceedings* and its sponsorship of Allen and Anderson's *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*. The Royal Commission is pleased that this further contribution to the recording and appreciation of Scotland's sculpture is being published in partnership with the Society. We are particularly grateful to the current President, Graham Ritchie, the Director, Fionna Ashmore, and the Publications Committee and its Convener, Alan Saville, for making this possible. Special thanks are due to Anna Ritchie for invaluable editorial guidance.

This volume presents in compact form the results of two extensive surveys, covering over 150 sites from the southernmost islands of Argyll to the most northerly of the Hebrides. The *Inventory* of monuments in the former county of Argyll, including about 300 carved stones of the early medieval period, was published between 1971 and 1992 in seven large volumes, all now out of print. This material is presented here in abbreviated but updated form, with the addition of eight newly-discovered stones, and all of the drawings are included in the sheets of comparative drawings that form the core of this publication. The survey was also extended to record new discoveries on Canna and Inchmarnock, and subsequently to the remainder of the West Highlands, the Hebrides and the Clyde islands, comprising in all about 160 carvings. These are treated in greater detail, with concise descriptions of the historic landscapes that form dramatic settings for many of the carved stones.

Most of the carved stones catalogued here belong to the period between the introduction of Christianity to western Scotland by Irish monastic founders such as Columba of Iona in the sixth century, and the arrival of new monastic orders and an organised parochial system in the late twelfth century. These monuments, and the evidence of place-names, show the wide diffusion of the new religion in the Gaelic-speaking area and its adoption by later settlers of Scandinavian descent. In the century after Columba's death his successors were active in eastern Scotland and sent missions to Northumbria and other

Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, while retaining a dominant position in the Irish church. This network of religious, political and cultural contacts contributed to the development of the elaborate 'insular' art-style common to Britain and Ireland between the seventh and ninth centuries. The free-standing crosses of Iona include some of the most elaborate surviving sculpture erected in that style to the glory of God, and they played an important rôle in the development of the Irish high crosses. Simpler slabs and pillars bearing incised crosses are more widely distributed, occurring even at the greatest monasteries, and illustrate the austere spirituality of the Irish church with its veneration for the solitary life of the hermit.

This volume is presented, not only as an aid to the understanding and appreciation of our early medieval heritage, but as a practical tool for its preservation. Most of the stones recorded here have undergone the vicissitudes of at least one millennium. Their survival through another will depend on informed management and public awareness of their value. The year 2000 was marked by the transfer of the historic monuments on Iona to the guardianship of Historic Scotland, on behalf of The Scottish Ministers, and the acquisition of the islands south of Barra by The National Trust for Scotland. Many stones lack this security, and the illustrated descriptive catalogue provided here is a contribution to their identification and protection.

RCAHMS is indebted to those who gave assistance and information during field-survey. In Argyll, continuing assistance was received from the late Marion Campbell of Kilberry, Ann Kahane and Margot Perrons; on Iona from Crichton Lang, Attie MacKechnie, Jerry O'Sullivan and John Renshaw. The survey of monuments on Inchmarnock was undertaken at the suggestion of the late Dorothy Marshall and Jessica Herriot, and that on Canna at the invitation of the late John Lorne Campbell and Mrs Campbell. Information and practical assistance were also received from Fiona Baker, Margaret Campbell (Assynt), the late Geoffrey Collins, Camille Dressler, Patrick Foster, Fiona Guinness, Mary Harman, Rachel Harry, John Love, Chris Lowe, Winnie MacKinnon, Mary MacLeod, Roger Miket, Adam Nicolson, David and Mary Quine, Pauline Scott, Ann Spiers, Iain Thornber, Robin Turner and Roy Wentworth. We are indebted for access to numerous landowners, tenants, church representatives and local authorities, and to staff at Bute Museum, the Museum of the Cumbraes, Gairloch Heritage Museum, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museums and the Museum of Islay Life. The terrain of the region required the assistance of numerous ferrymen and boat-owners, and we are especially grateful to Alastair and Hilary Garvie, formerly of the 'Islaborg', and to John Reed, Dennis Edwards and the ship's company of the 'Jean de la Lune'. We are indebted to Lama Yeshe and the Samye Ling community for access to Holy Island, and for hospitality when members of the Commission's staff and their consultants on runic matters were marooned by bad weather.

From its beginning the Commission's survey in the West Highlands has enjoyed the support and valued advice of the three pre-eminent scholars of early sculpture in Scotland: Isabel Henderson, the late Robert Stevenson and Charles Thomas. Valued comment and information have also been received from Colleen Batey, Thomas Clancy, Derek Craig, Morag Cross, David Henry, Douglas MacLean, Anna Ritchie, Niall Robertson, Susan Seright, Richard Sharpe, Cathy Swift, Ian Tait and Tommy Watt of the Shetland

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In the past two decades there has been increasing interest in sculpture and other insular art, and we acknowledge the discussion on comparative material provided by many scholars at conferences. For direct information we are grateful, in England and Wales, to Richard Bailey, Nancy Edwards, Jane Hawkes, the late James Lang, Ann Preston-Jones, Mark Redknap, Niamh Whitfield and Susan Youngs, and in the Isle of Man to Marshall Cubbon. In Ireland we are grateful to Cormac Bourke, Joyce and Martin Enright, the late Tom Fanning, Ann Hamlin, Peter Harbison, Michael Herity, Jim Higgins, Dorothy Kelly, Eamonn Kelly, Helen Lanigan-Wood, Conleth Manning, Siobhán de hÓir, Eamonn Ó Carragáin, Ragnall Ó Floinn, Ann O'Sullivan, Hilary Richardson, the late Helen Roe, Michael Ryan, Étienne Rynne, John Sheehan, Lesley Simpson, Roger Stalley and Martin Timoney.

## EDITORIAL NOTES

### Gazetteer entries

There are two gazetteers, with independent systems of numbering. Headings for entries give 8-figure National Grid References and the NMRS database number (based on 1:10,000 map sheet numbers) which facilitates access to the CANMORE system (*supra*, p.iv). The present Council Area and earlier administrative areas are shown on the lists on pp.xi and xiii. The gazetteer for the West Highlands and Islands excluding Argyll (pp.61-116) is arranged topographically as shown on the map on p.x. Cross-references to carved stones take the form W7(5), indicating site No.7, item (5). The gazetteer for Argyll (pp.117-52) is numbered according to the articles in the *Inventory of Argyll*, which should be consulted for more detailed descriptions, notes and references to earlier literature. Changes of location and significant new literature have been included in the entries. Detailed articles describing new or re-discovered stones are indicated by asterisks before their article- or item-numbers. These entries are attached to existing sites, except for the newly-created *Argyll* 3, No.403. Notes for these added articles are placed at the ends of the entries. Cross-references to carved stones take the form A7, 33(4), indicating *Argyll* volume 7, site No.33, item (4). References in the form No.52 are to other sites in the same volume of the *Inventory*.

### Inscriptions

Square brackets in the text of an inscription in the Roman alphabet indicate that illegible or broken letters have been restored. Letters in round brackets indicate that contractions have been expanded for the sake of clarity. The system of transliteration of ogham inscriptions, using round brackets and oblique strokes to indicate alternative readings of doubtful letters, is explained in Dr K Forsyth's thesis (Forsyth, 'Ogham'). The transliteration of runic inscriptions will be explained in the forthcoming *Corpus* by Professors M F Barnes and R I Page.

### Illustrations

All illustrations are cited as figures, identified by their page-number and, where appropriate, a key-letter. Bracketed numbers following key-letters refer to item-numbers within the sites identified in the captions. Small italic letters identify the individual faces of carvings, as referred to in the text. Final pagination of the volume has allowed the inclusion of a series of additional comparative illustrations (pp.168-72). Drawings in the gazetteers are normally reproduced at a scale of 1:15, with enlarged details as indicated in the captions. The comparative drawings (pp.26-59, 169) are at 1:20, except for the cross-bases (pp.54-5) at 1:30 and cross-outlines (pp.170-1) at 1:40. Dashed outlines in the drawings indicate the reconstruction of lost, incomplete or concealed parts of the stone. Marginal references to figure-numbers are provided in the introduction and gazetteers, except where the illustration is on the same page-opening as the related text. These figure-references supplement the index and are not normally included in it.

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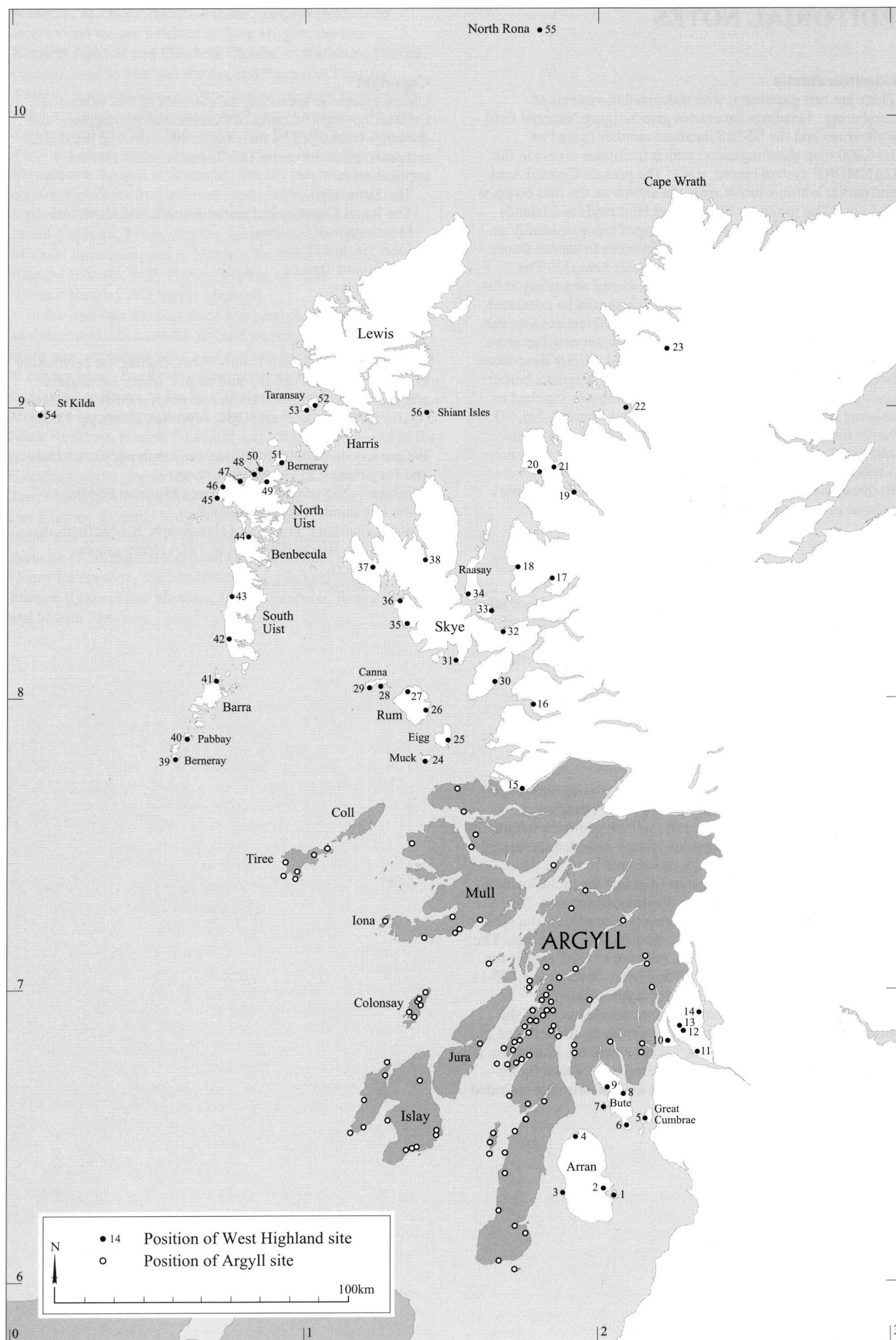
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### Acknowledgements

We are indebted to Four Courts Press, Dublin, for permission to quote the verses opp.p.1 and on p.1, which are slightly adapted from the translation in Murphy, G, *Early Irish Lyrics* (Oxford University Press, 1956; reprinted 1998), pp.32-5.

We are indebted to the following for supplying photographs and for permission to reproduce them:

*Dualchas* – Skye and Lochalsh Area Museum Service,  
the Highland Council: Fig.102E.  
Historic Scotland: Fig.115A (photograph, R J McIlwraith).  
Sporkasse in Bischofshofen: Fig.172A (photograph,  
O Anrather).  
Dr N Whitfield: Fig.19A.



Location of Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands (for detailed map of the former county of Argyll, see p.xii)

**SITES WITH EARLY MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE IN THE WEST HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS**  
(EXCLUDING THE FORMER COUNTY OF ARGYLL)

The italicised headings indicate the pre-1975 County; the 1975-96 Region / District; and the post-1996 Council Area.

*Bute; Strathclyde / Cunninghame; North Ayrshire*

- 1 Holy Island, Arran
- 2 Kilbride, Lamash, Arran
- 3 King's Cave, Blackwaterfoot, Arran
- 4 Lochranza, Arran

*Ayrshire; Strathclyde / Cunninghame; North Ayrshire*

- 5 Isle of Great Cumbrae

*Bute; Strathclyde / Argyll and Bute; Argyll and Bute*

- 6 St Blane's Church, Kingarth
- 7 Inchmarnock
- 8 Rothesay
- 9 St Colmac

*Dunbartonshire; Strathclyde / Dunbarton; Argyll and Bute*

- 10 Rosneath
- 11 Kilmahew, Cardross
- 12 St Bride's Chapel, Glen Fruin
- 13 Ballevoulin, Glen Fruin
- 14 Luss

*Inverness-shire; Highland / Lochaber; Highland*

- 15 Eilean Fhianain, Loch Shiel
- 16 Kilchoan, Inverie, Knoydart

*Ross and Cromarty; Highland / Ross and Cromarty; Highland*

- 17 Kishorn
- 18 Applecross
- 19 Isle Maree
- 20 Gairloch
- 21 Poolewe
- 22 Isle Martin

*Sutherland; Highland / Sutherland; Highland*

- 23 Inchnadamph, Assynt

*Inverness-shire; Highland / Lochaber; Highland*

- 24 Isle of Muck
- 25 Kildonnan, Eigg
- 26 Bàgh na h-Uamha, Rum
- 27 Kilmory, Rum
- 28 A' Chill, Canna
- 29 Sgor nam Bàn-Naomha, Canna

*Inverness-shire; Highland / Skye and Lochalsh; Highland*

- 30 Kilmore, Sleat, Skye
- 31 Elgol, Skye
- 32 Cill Ashaig, Breakish, Skye
- 33 Isle of Scalpay
- 34 Isle of Raasay
- 35 Tusdale, Skye
- 36 Fiscavaig, Skye
- 37 Tobar na Maor, Dùn Osdale, Skye
- 38 Clach Ard, Tote, Skye

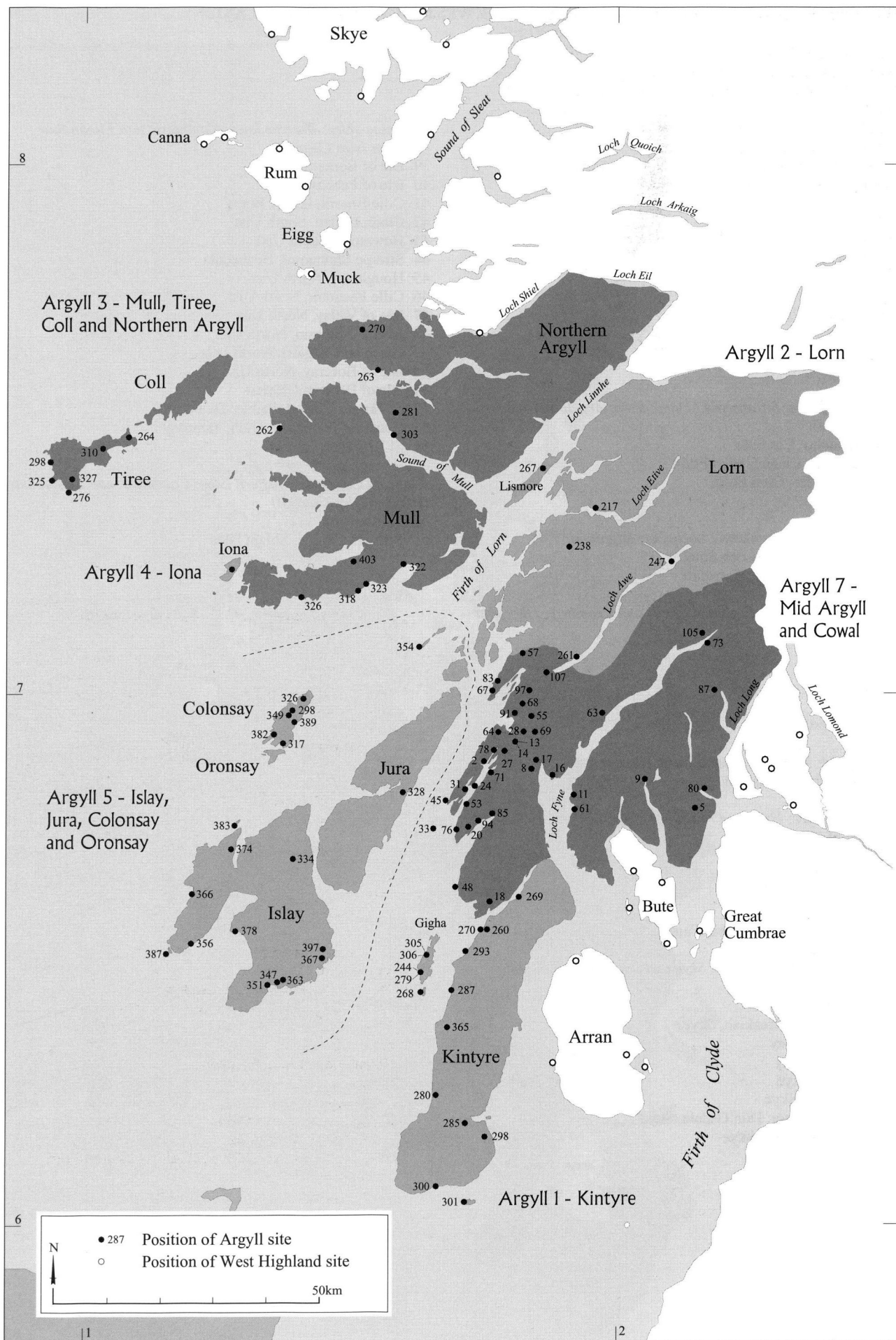
*Inverness-shire; Western Isles; Comhairle nan Eilean Siar*  
(*Western Isles Council*)

- 39 Isle of Berneray, Barra
- 40 Isle of Pabbay, Barra
- 41 Cille Bharra, Isle of Barra
- 42 Cladh Hallan, South Uist
- 43 Howmore, South Uist
- 44 Strome Shunamul, Benbecula
- 45 Hougharry, North Uist
- 46 Cille Pheadair, North Uist
- 47 Isle of Vallay, North Uist
- 48 Aird a' Mhòrain, North Uist
- 49 Clach an t-Sagairt, North Uist
- 50 Isle of Boreray, North Uist
- 51 Isle of Berneray, Harris
- 52 St Taran's Chapel, Paible, Taransay
- 53 Clach an Teampuill, Uidh, Taransay
- 54 St Kilda

*Ross and Cromarty; Western Isles; Comhairle nan Eilean Siar*  
(*Western Isles Council*)

- 55 North Rona
- 56 Eilean an Tighe, Shiant Isles





Location of Early Medieval Sculpture in the former county of Argyll

## SITES WITH EARLY MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE IN THE FORMER COUNTY OF ARGYLL

These sites are identified by their article-numbers in the *Inventory of Argyll*, as in the gazetteer (*infra*, pp.117-52).

All sites, except those specified below, were from 1975-96 in Strathclyde Region, Argyll and Bute District; since 1996 they have been in Argyll and Bute Council Area. Sites in Morvern and Ardnamurchan (*Argyll* 3, Nos.263, 270, 281 and 303) were from 1975-96 in Highland Region, Lochaber District; since 1996 they have been in Highland Council Area.

### ARGYLL 1: KINTYRE

- 244 Cnoc na Carraigh, Gigha
- 260 Balinakill
- 268 Cara
- 269 Cille Bhrìde, Whitehouse
- 270 Clachan
- 276 Kilchattan, Gigha
- 280 Kilchenzie
- 285 Kilkerran
- 287 Killeen
- 293 Kilmichael, Ballochroy
- 298 St Ciaran's Cave
- 300 Southend
- 301 St Ninian's Chapel, Sanda
- 305 Tarbert, Gigha, cross
- 306 Tarbert, Gigha, Holy Stone
- 365 Killmaluag

### ARGYLL 2: LORN

- 217 Ardchattan Priory
- 238 Clenamacrie
- 247 Inishail
- 261 Kilmaha
- 267 Lismore

### ARGYLL 3: MULL, TIREE, COLL & NORTHERN ARGYLL

- 262 Calgary, Mull
- 263 Camas nan Geall, Ardnamurchan
- 264 Caolas, Tiree
- 270 Cill Mhàiri, Ardnamurchan
- 276 Cladh Beag, Hynish, Tiree
- 281 Crois Bheinn, Morvern
- 298 Kilkenneth, Tiree
- 303 Killundine, Morvern
- 310 Kirkapoll, Tiree
- 318 Nuns' Cave, Carsaig, Mull
- 322 Lochbuie, Mull
- 323 Carsaig, Mull
- 325 St Patrick's Chapel, Ceann a' Mhara, Tiree
- 326 Scoor Cave, Mull
- 327 Soroby, Tiree
- 403 Pennyghael, Mull

### ARGYLL 4: IONA

### ARGYLL 5: ISLAY, JURA, COLONSAY & ORONSAY

- 298 Kiloran Bay, Colonsay
- 317 Balaruminmore, Colonsay
- 326 Cill Chaitriona, Balnahard, Colonsay
- 328 Cill Chaluim Chille, Tarbert, Jura
- 334 Cill Eileagain, Mulreesh, Islay
- 347 Cnoc na Cille, Brahanisary, Islay
- 349 Colonsay House, Colonsay
- 351 Dòid Mhàiri, Port Ellen, Islay
- 354 Eileach an Naoimh, Garvellachs

- 356 Gleann na Gaoith', Islay
- 363 Kilbride, Islay
- 366 Kilchoman, Islay
- 367 Kildalton, Islay
- 374 Kilnave, Islay
- 378 Laggan, Islay
- 382 Machrins, Colonsay
- 383 Nave Island, Islay
- 387 Orsay, Islay
- 389 Riasg Buidhe, Colonsay
- 397 Trudernish, Islay

### ARGYLL 7: MID ARGYLL AND COWAL

- 2 Achadh na Cille, Oib
- 5 Ardnadam
- 8 Ardrishaig
- 9 Ardtaraig
- 11 Auchnaha
- 13 Barnakill
- 14 Barnakill, rock-cut cross
- 16 Castleton
- 17 Christ Church Episcopal Church, Lochgilphead
- 18 Cill an Aonghais, Kilnaish
- 20 Cladh a' Bhile, Ellary
- 24 Daltote Cottage
- 27 Dunans
- 31 Taynish Island
- 33 Eilean Mór
- 44 Inverneill House
- 45 Keills
- 48 Kilberry
- 53 Kilbride, Loch Sween
- 55 Kilbride, Rhudil
- 57 Kilbride, Turnalt
- 61 Kilfinan
- 63 Killevin
- 64 Kilmahumaig
- 67 Kilmarie, Craignish
- 68 Kilmartin
- 69 Kilmichael Glassary
- 71 Kilmichael of Inverlussa
- 73 Kilmorich Parish Church, Cairndow
- 76 Kilmory Knap
- 78 Kilmory Oib
- 80 Kilmun, Holy Loch
- 83 Leac an Duine Chòir, Barrackan
- 85 Lochead
- 87 Lochgoilhead
- 91 Poltalloch, ogham inscription
- 94 St Columba's Cave, Cove
- 96 St Margaret's Roman Catholic Church, Lochgilphead
- 97 Creaganterve Mhór
- 105 Tom na Croise
- 107 Torran
- 281 Dunadd

*Cross of Christ over this face and thus over my ear.  
Cross of Christ over this eye.  
Cross of Christ over this nose.*

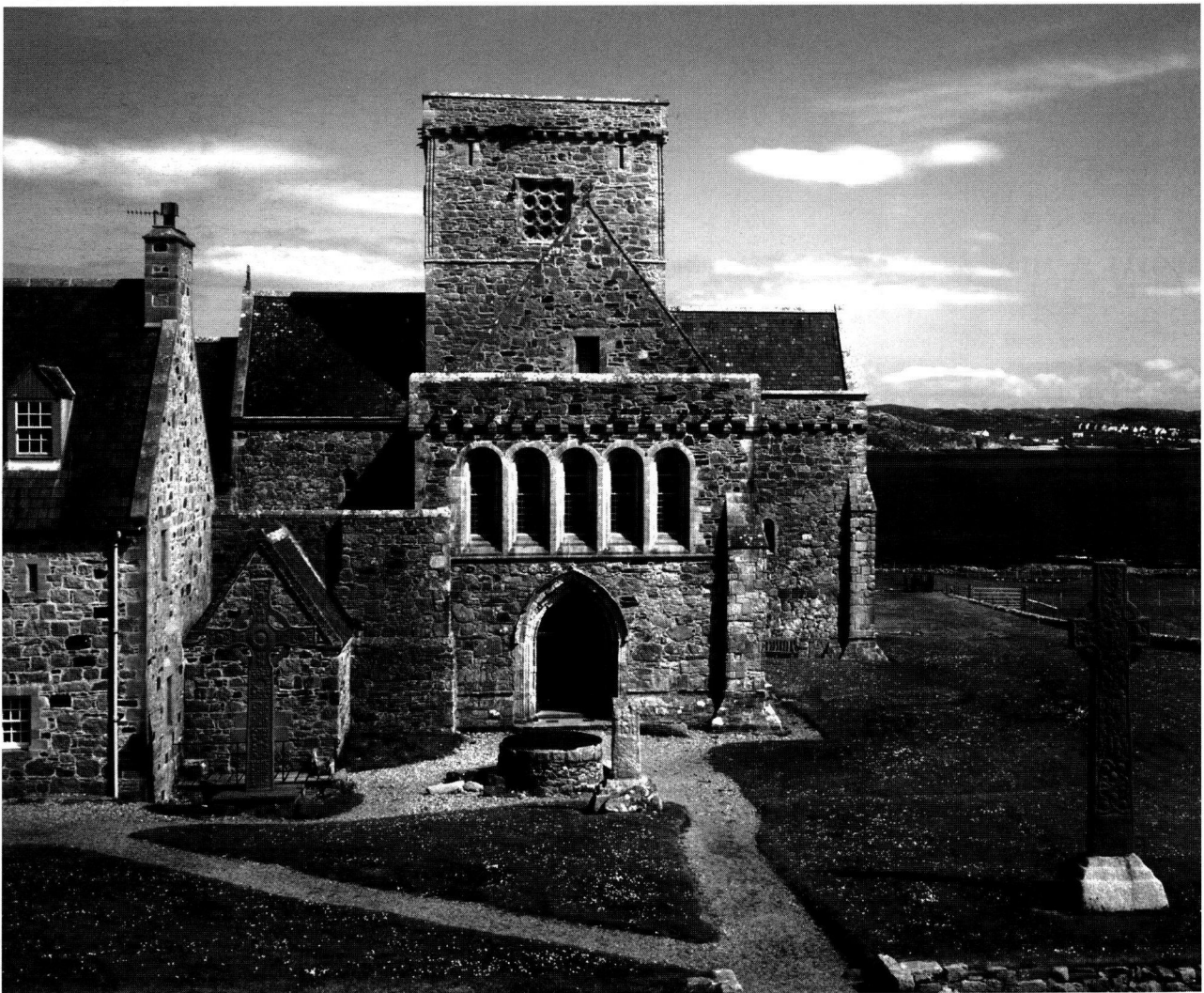
*Cross of Christ eastwards facing me.  
Cross of Christ westwards towards the sunset.  
In the north, in the south unceasingly may Christ's cross be.*

*Cross of Christ up to broad heaven.  
Cross of Christ down to the earth.  
Let no evil or hurt come to my body or my soul.*

*Cross of Christ over my community.  
Cross of Christ over my church.  
Cross of Christ in the next world.  
Cross of Christ in this world.*

*From the top of my head to the nail of my foot, O Christ,  
against every danger I trust in the protection of thy cross.*

Mugrón, abbot of Iona and Kells (d.981)



**Iona** (A4), abbey and crosses from W. The replica of St John's Cross (82) stands W of a small rebuilt chapel and the traditional site of St Columba's grave. The shaft of St Matthew's Cross (84; removed to abbey museum 1994) stands near the well, and St Martin's Cross (83) to the SW



# INTRODUCTION

## THE SYMBOL OF THE CROSS

*Cross of Christ over this face and thus over my ear.  
Cross of Christ over this eye.  
Cross of Christ over this nose.*

*Cross of Christ up to broad heaven.  
Cross of Christ down to the earth.  
Let no evil or hurt come to my body or my soul.*

These verses from a Middle Irish *lorica* ('breastplate', prayer for protection) vividly express the protective power of the pre-eminent symbol of Christianity, whether as a manual sign or a physical monument.<sup>1</sup> The author was Muirón (d.981), 'comharba (successor) of Columba' and abbot of Iona and Kells, and it is appropriate that this remarkable poem should emerge from a monastic community which had contributed so much to the development of Early Christian sculpture in its sea-divided homeland. St Martin's Cross on Iona and that of 'Patrick and Columba' at Kells still stand intact beside the rebuilt churches of these historic sites, and other great crosses have now been rescued from damage and neglect.

132 A,B The use of the cross as a channel of Christ's power is nowhere better expressed than in Bede's account of how the Northumbrian prince Oswald, after an exile spent partly on Iona, set up a timber cross before the decisive battle to secure his kingdom. The king himself helped to fix this 'banner of the holy cross' in the soil, and his whole army knelt in prayer.<sup>2</sup> This first 'sign of the Christian faith', derived from Iona in the early 7th century, was developed a century later into the great Northumbrian stone crosses with their classical figure-carving. These may have been the inspiration for the creation at Iona of even larger crosses with a Celtic ornamental repertoire, and the rich sculptural tradition of Pictland also played a part in this achievement. The developing cult of the holy founder probably stimulated the creation at 8th-century Iona of these crosses of unprecedented grandeur, along with the Book of Kells, the 'Great Gospel-book of Columba', with which they share so many artistic links.

Yet this saint, a great political figure whose remains were to be enshrined in 'precious metals', was also an ascetic who had 'for bed the bare rock; and for pillow, a stone which even today stands beside his burial-place as a kind of grave-pillar'.<sup>3</sup> This tradition, recorded a century after Columba's death by his successor and biographer Adomnán, corresponds to the extreme simplicity of many of the cross-inscribed gravemarkers that remain on Iona. They are characteristic of those found at small monastic sites and hermitages on the Atlantic fringe of Ireland and Scotland from west Kerry to North Rona, and beyond to Shetland and the Faroes. The Irish church was often dismissed by its opponents for occupying 'the remotest corner of the world', but its clerics carried the symbol of the cross to the furthest islands, perhaps consciously protecting Christendom against the dark forces of the ocean.<sup>4</sup> Columba himself was described by Adomnán as an 'island warrior', and the Hebrides were ideally suited for this maritime equivalent of the flight by the first monks and hermits to the Egyptian desert. Iona and the other major houses of the region were not merely 'island' but 'archipelago monasteries', with networks of dependent houses, and there were many opportunities for those seeking a more solitary 'desert place in the ocean'. The simple crosses associated with this ascetic monasticism extend throughout the area of early Irish settlement and beyond into British and Pictish territory, from Loch Lomond to St Kilda. They provide the most widespread, indeed at most sites the only physical evidence of early Christianity in western Scotland.

The savage Norse attacks at the end of the 8th century disrupted monastic life on Iona, but later sculpture attests its



Kells, Co. Meath, round tower and crosses from NW. The Broken Cross stands in centre foreground, and the Cross of Patrick and Columba (Tower Cross) in front of the tower

continuing vitality, and that of the other monasteries of the region. The last of the great crosses of the island, St Matthew's, was carved in the Kells style of the late 9th or early 10th century. The Norse themselves became Christian and, as in areas of settlement such as northern England and the Isle of Man, they provided patronage for crosses and slabs which often blended Irish and Scandinavian styles. During Muirón's abbacy a Norse king of Dublin retired to end his days on Iona, and at about that time a graveslab was carved with a cross of Irish type but a runic inscription naming members of a Norse family. The production of free-standing crosses continued through the 10th century, but tall cross-slabs also became fashionable.

The introduction into western Scotland from the late 12th century of an organised diocesan and parochial system and reformed monastic orders brought new expressions of the symbol of the cross. From the 14th to the 16th centuries flourishing schools of carving produced slender free-standing crosses and numerous graveslabs bearing elaborate foliated crosses, which blended ancient interlace and Romanesque foliage in a unique West Highland style.<sup>5</sup> The Reformation of 1560 brought this revival of the tradition to an abrupt end, but from the 1690s onwards there was antiquarian interest in the crosses of both periods. Artists of the 19th century made St Martin's Cross and the Kildalton Cross widely known, and ensured that they were represented in the revival of the 'Celtic' ringed cross which took this distinctive form of the universal Christian symbol to burial-grounds around the world.

51 A

20 C, 130 B

25 B

## THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

### Monks and hermits

The Irish expansion from the small kingdom of Dál Riata in Co. Antrim to a much larger area of the same name in Argyll coincided with the 5th-century conversion of Ireland to Christianity. By the middle of the following century, when monastic founders such as Colum Cille (Columba) and Moluag came to Scotland, they represented the dominant force in the Irish church, a monasticism which consciously imitated the ascetic and meditative ideals of the desert fathers. Both the ecclesiastical and the social structure of Scottish Dál Riata were intimately linked with those of mainland Ireland, and Iona came to rule a 'family' of monasteries on both sides of the North Channel, while Applecross in the 8th century provided an abbot for its mother house of Bangor. However, the region's geographical location brought about contacts, both friendly and hostile, with the other peoples of present-day Scotland – Picts, Britons and Angles – and this is reflected in the sculpture.

#### Iona

The monastery of Iona was founded in 563 by Columba (d.597), an Irish monk of royal lineage, who was also the founder of celebrated Irish houses such as Durrow.<sup>6</sup> By the 7th century Columban monasteries had been established in Pictland, and in the 630s a mission led by Aidan undertook the conversion of Northumbria at the invitation of King Oswald. Abbot Adomnán (679–704) was an eminent scholar and ecclesiastical statesman, and he and his successors made frequent visits to their monasteries in Ireland, and sometimes to Northumbria. The continuing prestige of Iona brought great men such as Niall Frossach (d.778), king of the Cenel nEogain, and Artgal son of Cathal, king of Connaught (d.791), in 'pilgrimage and penitence' to spend their last years there. The monastery suffered repeated Norse raids in the 9th century, and in 825 the monk Blathmac was martyred for refusing to reveal the hiding-place of Columba's richly-decorated shrine. Important relics of the saint remained on Iona until they were divided between Dunkeld and Kells in 849, and authority over the Columban *paruchia* or family of monasteries was subsequently transferred to the Irish monastery.<sup>7</sup> Iona remained the ecclesiastical centre of western Scotland, revered by Norse Christians as well as Gaels, and in 980 Olaf Cuarán, the Norse king of Dublin, came to spend his last days there. The Columban monastic community was still active in 1164, when several officials are named, but soon after 1200 it was replaced by Benedictines who built their abbey 'in the centre of the enclosure of Iona'.

Adomnán's *Life of Columba* describes a wide range of domestic buildings and workshops, churches and oratories, burial-places, crosses and open spaces, all surrounded by the *vallum monasterii*, the 'rampart of the monastery'.<sup>8</sup> Parts of the vallum remain as massive earthworks with partly-infilled ditches, and the lines of other buried ditches are known from aerial and geophysical survey. It enclosed an area of 8ha or more and was of great complexity. Part may be of pre-Columban date,<sup>9</sup> while a section of ditch excavated north of the burial-ground began to fill with peat in the early 7th century. The various alignments reflect divisions for different uses, but also the growth described in the 9th-century *Martyrology of Oengus*,<sup>10</sup> whereby:

'The cells that have been taken by pairs and by trios,  
They are Romes with multitudes, with hundreds,  
thousands'.

The 7th-century ditch contained quantities of worked wood, waste cores from lathe-turned alder-wood bowls, and leatherwork, including shoes with decorative vents and tongues identical to those shown in the Books of Durrow and Mulling.<sup>11</sup> Evidence of metal- and glass-working, including



**Iona (A4)** (Museum of Scotland)  
A. glass rod and bead, excavated 1979  
B. mould for glass stud with pattern of interlocking circles, also found in the Book of Kells



B

moulds for glass studs, has also been found. The worked wood included a pole with a withy twisted round it, and a grooved oak post. These finds, and the excavated remains of circular and rectangular buildings, support the evidence of Bede and Adomnán that timber was the normal material of Irish monastic buildings.

Adomnán seems to indicate a single church in Columba's monastery, large enough to contain the monks. The area west of the medieval church was evidently a major liturgical focus in the 8th century and later, marked by St John's and St Matthew's Crosses, and it is probable that an early church underlies the medieval one. Close to St John's Cross there is a tiny rebuilt chapel with projecting buttresses or antae, which may be compared with the very smallest Irish oratories. Martin Martin in the last decade of the 17th century reported that 'in a little cell lies Columbus's tomb'.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that the chapel and cross mark the site of the original burial-place from which the saint's remains were translated to an ornate shrine in the second half of the 8th century. The burial-ground of Reilig Odhráin, from which many of the carved stones have come, may have originated as a lay cemetery, distinct from the monastic one, but none of the royal burials for which Iona was renowned in later tradition can be identified.

#### Lismore and other monastic sites

Lismore 'in Alba' (Scotland) was founded by Moluag, a contemporary of Columba who died in 592, and the names of later abbots are recorded.<sup>13</sup> Continuing veneration for the monastic site at Kilmoluag led to the erection there of the medieval cathedral of Argyll, whose choir remains as the parish church. The site is for the most part open, but field-survey has so far been unrewarding except for the identification of a possible enclosure preserved in vanished or extant field-boundaries.<sup>14</sup> The most precious relic of the monastery is the *Bachall Mór*, the crozier of the saint, which remains on the island in the care of the head of the Livingstone family, the 'baron of Bachuil'.

The founders of two of the other monasteries of Dál Riata are well documented. Donnan of Eigg was martyred with his community by unknown attackers in 617, and Maelrubha, a monk of Bangor (Co.Down), left Ireland in 671 and founded Applecross (*Aporcrosan*) two years later. Although Kildonnan on Eigg is, like Lismore, largely free from later development, no traces of the monastic enclosure have been identified. The main evidence of continuing monastic life is provided, as at Applecross, by the carved stones. The area adjoining the churchyard at the head of Applecross Bay was afforested in the late 1960s, and even aerial photography can do little to reconstruct the extent of this house, on the borders of the Pictish area, with its unique late foundation-date. The final documented monastery, at Kingarth on Bute, is associated with the shadowy figure of St Blane. Excavations in the 1890s identified a straggling enclosure-wall, and remains of structures to the south-west of the terraced burial-ground. These buildings are not dateable, but the area produced a wider range of motif-pieces than any other Scottish site, some of them on re-used roofing-slates.



A. North Rona (W55), distant view from SE

Adomnán and the Irish annals refer frequently to Tiree with its monastery of *Campus Lunge* or *Magh Luinge* ('the plain of Luinge'), an important daughter-house of Iona, and foundations by other monks. Both of the medieval parish churches of the island, at Kirkapoll and Soroby, were dedicated to Columba, and both preserve early sculpture, while the enclosed site at Ceannt a' Mhara may be an associated hermitage.

The most substantial undocumented site of monastic character in Argyll is on Eileach an Naoimh in the Garvellach Isles, an area having strong traditional associations with St Brendan 'the Navigator', of Clonfert. Like some western Irish sites the approach is by a series of terraces, the highest one being an enclosure which is partly cut into the hill-side. The monastic area has been much affected by medieval ecclesiastical use and later agrarian buildings but two notable early features are preserved on the periphery of the site. On a prominent knoll to the south there is 'Eithne's Grave', a small stone-revetted circular enclosure containing an early cross-marked stone. Close to the shore there is a double-beehive cell of Irish type, whose corbelled roof-construction is well preserved. Archaeological evidence also suggests a Columban site of some consequence on Canna, with its group of simple crosses and two free-standing crosses from the site of a medieval church dedicated to Columba at A' Chill, the main settlement-area of the island. Another varied group of sculpture suggests a monastic origin for the offshore island of Inchmarnock (Bute), perhaps as a dependency of Kingarth.

#### *Small monasteries and eremitic sites*

Throughout the area there are several enclosed sites, often containing remains of chapels or hut-circles or stances, and in some cases carved stones, which closely resemble sites in such areas as the Dingle and Iveragh peninsulas in Co. Kerry.<sup>15</sup> Some of these may be classified as small monasteries, but others are in situations so remote, inaccessible, or lacking in any hinterland that they may reasonably be described as individual or communal hermitages or 'eremitic monasteries'.<sup>16</sup> The solitary life of meditation was highly valued in the Irish church, and its exponents included the hermit Beccán of Rum, a poet and leading scholar of the Iona community in the 7th century, and the



B. Eileach an Naoimh (A5, 354), double-beehive cell from E

anchorite Cilléne Droichtech who was abbot of Iona from 727 to 752.

A classic model for the relationship of different grades of monastic site is provided in Adomnán's account of Virgno or Fergnae, an Irish monk who passed his latter years in the dependent monastery of *Hinba*, some of them 'in isolation in the place of the anchorites in *Muirbolc Már*'.<sup>17</sup> The 'head of the hermitage' is documented in 1164 on Iona itself, where the fragmentary site of Cladh an Disirt,<sup>18</sup> the 'burial-ground of the hermitage', is situated 400m north-east of the abbey. Archaeological evidence suggests a similar relationship on Canna, where the enclosed site of Sgor nam Bàn-Naomha is situated on a coastal rock-platform at the foot of steep cliffs some 4km to the west of A' Chill. Its difficulty of access suggests that it was occupied by anchorites, perhaps accompanied by lay-penitents living under strict discipline as described by Adomnán. The ultimate 'desert place in the ocean' was the tiny island of North Rona, 70km from the nearest habitable land, with its small oval enclosure and a slab-lintelled oratory and simple crosses which resemble those of such Irish sites as Skellig Michael. The penitential nature of this site, and of the one that probably existed on St Kilda, was enhanced by their location far beyond the limits of Irish settlement.

101 D,E  
108 A

115 A  
116 A  
168 D



## INTRODUCTION

The position of small enclosed sites in Argyll within this hierarchy is more difficult to define, since they do not share the inaccessibility of those just described. Several of them are, like Iona, insulated but close to areas of secular settlement for which they probably supplied pastoral care. An outstanding example is Cladh a' Bhearnaig (Kerrera), facing the major Early Historic fortification of Dunollie across the mouth of Oban harbour. Its curvilinear enclosure, 60m in diameter, is the largest among sites of this type in western Scotland, and it is divided into two unequal parts by a curving wall as in many Irish examples, but it has produced no carved stones. Nave Island, with its small enclosure containing a 13th-century chapel, is one km offshore from the Ardnave peninsula of Islay, an area of intensive early settlement. A cross-fragment

- 46 A,D  
139 B,C  
32 D-F  
47 B, 145 B  
146 A-C  
52 A  
144 B,C  
27 A, V  
144 A  
30 B,C  
39 G  
27 G, 118 B  
124, 125 A  
60-5
- is closely related to the 8th-century cross at Kilnave which may mark a focus for lay worship served from the island. St Patrick's Temple, Ceann a' Mhara (Tiree), is an irregular enclosed site just above the shore in one of the most rugged parts of that low-lying island. The enclosure contains hut-platforms and cross-marked stones of early type, and it is tempting to suppose that this was an eremitic offshoot of one of the larger monasteries on Tiree itself, or directly of Iona, which is visible from the site. Eilean Mór, lying in the 'MacCormac Isles' at the mouth of Loch Sween, may be associated with the Leinster saint Abbán Moccu Corbmaic, as was the mainland church of Keills or 'Kilvickocharmick' with its 9th-century cross. The enclosed site on Eilean Mór, close to a natural harbour, contains a medieval chapel and a slab-like cross of probable 10th-century date, but it has also produced gravemarkers of much earlier character. A small cave among cliffs in the south part of the island, now entered by an opening in the roof but originally almost completely dark, bears on the east wall a rock-cut Chi-rho cross and a marigold, both of early type, and it may be identified as a place for ascetic meditation. The hermit tradition was revived here in the late medieval period, for a cross of about 1400 was set up as a sea-mark by 'John, priest and hermit of this island' and his patroness, the wife of the Lord of the Isles. Post-Reformation evidence shows that the chaplain here was also responsible for a nearby site of eremitic character, St Columba's Cave on the shore of Loch Caolisport, which again bears early rock-cut crosses above a medieval altar. St Ciaran's Cave, on the foreshore of the east coast of Kintyre, contains a boulder carved with an elaborate marigold. Similar coastal caves, with numerous crosses which may testify to later pilgrimage to places of ascetic retreat, are found at Carsaig and Scoor in the Ross of Mull, and on Holy Island (Arran).<sup>19</sup>

### The laity

The difficulties of identifying the provision made for the lay population in early Scotland are well known.<sup>20</sup> For the Columban period one can extrapolate from Adomnán's accounts of Columba's travels, as far north as Skye, and from Bede's account of the enthusiastic evangelising of Irish missionaries in Northumbria, but no archaeological picture emerges. The most prominent lay group in Adomnán are those penitents who spent years under strict monastic discipline, in some cases no doubt in the small eremitic sites which have been described above.

The sculpture of the area shows little evidence of the aristocratic patronage that is so obvious in Pictish sculpture, with its constant depictions of riders and hunting scenes. The Kilnave Cross, however, stands close to an area of early settlement and may mark a centre of lay worship, perhaps served from the enclosed site on the nearby Nave Island (*supra*). Many of the medieval churches and chapels throughout the area occupy ancient sites, usually with names in *Cill*- ('church' or 'burial-ground') and often compounded with a saint's name, but it is not known whether they originated as monasteries or as secular burial-grounds.<sup>21</sup>

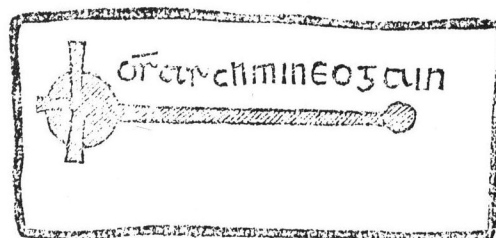
- 137 A
- There are remains of a number of early drystone or clay-mortared rural chapels, standing in very small burial-grounds,

which are particularly common on Islay.<sup>22</sup> Their chronology is uncertain, although most are likely to belong to the Christian Norse period, from the 10th century onwards, rather than to the Columban one. The walls of the small chapel identified below St Ronan's Church (Iona) in 1992 and that excavated at St Ninian's Point (Bute) both overlay Christian burials, but neither produced evidence for close dating, nor for timber predecessors.<sup>23</sup> Further excavation and comparison with the Manx keills, which relate to a better-documented settlement-pattern,<sup>24</sup> may establish the rôle of these small chapels, but it must always be remembered that these were the sites that did *not* thrive. Only investigation of the medieval church-sites can hope to build up a comprehensive picture of secular worship before the late 12th century.

Adomnán offers some glimpses of popular religion, of the type common among Celtic peoples, and the Reformation has not entirely eliminated such traces, notably in the veneration paid to holy wells. Many of these were natural springs, but some have built chambers and are associated with carved stones, as at Cill Ashaig (Skye) and Kilmory Oib (Knapdale). The evidence for pilgrimage to places on Iona and to certain caves has been mentioned. At Sgor nam Bàn-Naomha, the ruined huts were used until the 19th century as 'beds' in which the sick were laid, and offerings of rounded stones were placed on an 'altar' where fragments of an 8th-century graveslab have been found. The rotation of stones to produce good fortune or a favourable wind is attested at Iona, where a cross-base was used as a basin, and has parallels at Inishmurray and other Irish sites.<sup>25</sup>



A (14)



B (45)

Iona (A4), graveslabs engraved from Lhuyd's drawings for 'Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society' (1700)

## THE MONUMENTS

## State of research

The earliest surviving antiquarian accounts of the Western Isles date from the last decade of the 17th century, although a collection of inscriptions at Iona had been compiled by Sir Robert Moray, probably in the 1650s.<sup>26</sup> The Englishman William Sacheverell briefly described three crosses at Iona, one of which (St Martin's), 'high and proportionably big, is yet entire'.<sup>27</sup> The Gaelic-speaking native of Skye, Martin Martin, makes occasional mention of crosses and their associated folklore, as at Gigha, Hougharry and Vallay. At Iona he noted only St Matthew's Cross, which he named 'St Martin's', but his description of its figure-sculpture, including a lost Crucifixion, was not to be matched for another century. The main contribution of a local minister, John Fraser, who corresponded with the antiquary Sir Robert Sibbald, was to develop the myth that many crosses were thrown into the sea after the Reformation.

The most remarkable record at this period, however, was provided by the great Welsh Celtic scholar, Edward Lhuyd, who made an extended tour through the Highlands in 1699. Although most of the surviving written records of the tour relate to linguistic material, his collection of drawings from Argyll included views of prehistoric monuments and several burial-grounds, showing cross-marked stones *in situ* at Kilmichael (Kintyre) and on Eilean Mór.<sup>28</sup> The bulk of the collection comprises drawings of over thirty carved stones, schematic in character but with remarkably accurate renderings of the inscriptions.<sup>29</sup> Most of these carvings were of late medieval date, but at Iona Lhuyd also drew both faces of St Martin's Cross, whose name he recorded, and the broken shaft of St John's Cross, as well as two early medieval inscribed graveslabs. The interest of the latter was recognised by their inclusion, with engravings of other early inscriptions from Britain and Ireland, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society for 1700.<sup>30</sup>

The first half of the 18th century shows a remarkable lack of antiquarian records of Iona and the West Highlands, but this

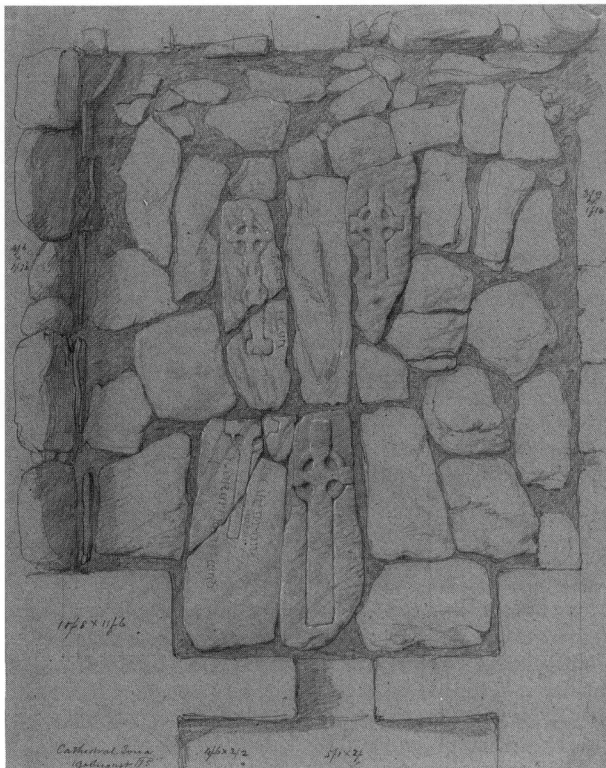
was transformed from about 1760, with increasing numbers of visitors inspired by the accounts of Pennant (1772) and Johnson and Boswell (1773). These three travellers were exceptional in following routes which took them through Skye and other islands, and most of their successors took the most direct routes to Iona and Staffa. Even those who were most widely travelled, however, gave little attention to crosses other than late medieval ones, and such important monuments as the crosses of Canna and Kildalton were almost unnoticed until the 1860s. Even at Iona there was no attempt at detailed description, although individual items were noted, such as Bishop Pococke's observation that unbaptised infants were buried round St Martin's Cross.<sup>31</sup> Certain inscriptions were the subject of animated discussion, as garbled readings were variously interpreted as referring to early Irish kings or late medieval clan chiefs.<sup>32</sup> Important information about the original form of St Matthew's Cross was preserved in a dimensioned sketch by John Walker, but early monuments were not included alongside the detailed drawings of late medieval carvings on Iona, Islay and Oronsay that were made in the early 1770s for Thomas Pennant and Sir Joseph Banks.

As late as the middle of the 19th century, material for the study of these monuments was not available and the existence of most of them was not recorded. This situation was transformed in the following half-century, although still with a strong emphasis on Iona. In 1850 Henry Graham, an English amateur artist who had been sent to the island some years earlier to live under the watchful eye of the Free Church minister, published his *Antiquities of Iona*, a series of plates including five early cross-marked stones and St Matthew's and St Martin's Crosses as well as many late medieval monuments. Graham's manuscript albums, which came to light in the

1980s, illustrate other early stones including the Kilmartin Cross and a lost slab from Ardrishaig, but are most notable for his detailed illustrations of the fragments of St Oran's Cross and the head of St John's Cross.<sup>33</sup> At the same time T S Muir, a wine-merchant in Leith, began a series of cruises remarkable for their wide extent, as far as Shetland and North Rona, rather than for the accuracy of the resulting drawings. Far more influential, however, was the wide selection of early medieval sculpture made available in the second volume of John Stuart's

*Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (1867).<sup>34</sup> The numerous examples from Cumbrae, Bute and Argyll included the Kildalton Cross and established it along with St Martin's Cross (whose landscape background was supplied by the future Sir George Reid, PRSA)<sup>35</sup> as quintessential models for the Celtic revival of monumental sculpture. The only carvings north of Argyll to be illustrated were the Canna Cross and the small stone from Taransay (Harris) which had recently been donated to the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The same geographical bias is shown in the accomplished drawings made by James Drummond, who avoided duplication of Stuart's record of the major crosses but illustrated about thirty early stones, some of linear incised type, at Iona, and others at Kilmory Knap and Killevin (Mid Argyll).

The concentration of research on major carvings at major sites was counterbalanced by the activities throughout the area in the 1870s of the Ordnance Survey, whose officers located many carved stones and provided brief descriptions in their name-books. An important product of this survey was the publication by the local director, Captain T P White, of two volumes of *Archaeological Sketches*, from Kintyre (1873) and Knapdale and Gigha (1875). Although less artistic than Drummond's drawings, White's engravings of early and late medieval sculpture were more accurate in detail and for the first time were based on a uniform scale, providing comprehensive inventories of the areas covered. Accurate recording was also assisted by photography, and the Rev J B Mackenzie, minister of Colonsay in the late 1860s, was a



Iona (A4), drawing by Drummond, 1875, showing graveslabs (46-7, 49-50) excavated in enclosure between St John's Cross and the small ruined chapel now known as 'St Columba's Shrine'

106 A  
111 E  
121 D  
132 A, B

notable exponent of this art who photographed many early and late medieval stones in Iona, Knapdale and Colonsay.<sup>36</sup> In the last quarter of the century this tradition was continued by Erskine Beveridge, a Dunfermline linen manufacturer whose skills as photographer, antiquary and excavator enabled him to produce outstanding local studies of *Coll and Tiree* (1903) and *North Uist* (1911).<sup>37</sup> As well as illustrating even the simplest stones, these volumes described their geographical context and folklore associations, and these aspects had received particular attention in the earlier publication of carvings from the Outer Isles by Captain F W L Thomas and Alexander Carmichael. The latter's article on the slab from Strome Shunnamul (Benbecula) was notable as the first publication of a symbol-stone from western Scotland, and material on the symbol-stone on Pabbay (Barra) was supplied by another great folklore-collector, Fr Allan McDonald, and supplemented by Beveridge himself. The *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland provided a vehicle for studies of individual sites at this period and later, including the runic inscriptions at Cille Bharra, Inchmarnock and St Molaise's Cave, and the carved stones identified in 1895-6 during excavation and consolidation at Kingarth (Bute). A notable monograph was R C Graham's *The Carved Stones of Islay* (1895), illustrated from casts which were photographed under studio conditions.

By the end of the 19th century ten early medieval stones from the area covered by this volume were in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, including the Norse-period slab from Cille Bharra (Barra), as well as casts of the Kildalton Cross, which dominated the sculpture display for many years, and the cruciform slab from Riasg Buidhe (Colonsay). The museum's curator, Joseph Anderson, set these carvings in the wider context of insular and European art in his Rhind lectures for 1880 and 1892. In these he praised the 'intense Celticism' of the Kildalton Cross and the unique beauty of the fragmentary shaft of St John's Cross.<sup>38</sup> From 1881 Anderson collaborated with J Romilly Allen in the great survey of Scottish sculpture that was published in 1903 as *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*.<sup>39</sup> The material from western Scotland, however, did not fit happily into the classification that had been devised for the study of Pictish monuments, and most of the western carvings were grouped in class III (stones with ornament but no symbols). Simple cross-marked slabs were not systematically recorded in east or west, and the sections on 'stones with crosses but no ornament' omitted many of the examples recorded by Drummond on Iona, as well as the Taransay slab that was in the museum itself. Furthermore, Allen appears to have carried out little fieldwork compared with his travels in eastern Scotland, although he took great care in the illustration of the Ardchattan cross-slab<sup>40</sup> and provided a schematic reconstruction of the head of St John's Cross. Much reliance was placed on previously published descriptions and illustrations, notably those of Stuart, White and R C Graham, although photographs by Mackenzie and Beveridge were included and the accounts of monuments on Iona made some use of Sir Henry Dryden's manuscript notes and drawings of 1874-6.<sup>41</sup> The area north of Argyll is represented only by two crosses on Canna and four stones from the Outer Isles, three of which were in the National Museum. Thirty-seven stones were included from Argyll, fourteen of them on Iona, and twenty from the Clyde estuary, eight of these being from Anderson's recent paper on the excavations at Kingarth. Despite this restricted coverage of western Scottish sculpture, the publication was a landmark in making direct comparisons between this material and Pictish sculpture, and for Allen's elaborate analysis of ornament-types in a European context.

New discoveries continued to be published after 1903, including further symbol-stones from Skye and Raasay, and A D Lacaille described simple crosses in Argyll and Dunbartonshire in a series of wide-ranging papers.<sup>42</sup> A few more stones were added to the collection of the National

Museum, notably from Islay, and casts were acquired of runic inscriptions on Holy Island and of slabs on Raasay and Eigg. From 1914 onwards the Royal Commission surveyed monuments in the Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles for an *Inventory* volume which was published in 1928. This contained brief descriptions of thirty-five carvings, thirteen of which were illustrated, mainly by photographs, including five of the six symbol-stones in the area. The *Inventory* allowed the sculpture to be seen in the context of other early ecclesiastical remains and secular settlements, but there was no general discussion of its significance except for the rune-inscribed cross-slab from Cille Bharra. A more concise 'inventory of the ancient sepulchral monuments on the island of Iona' had been published in 1914 by the archaeologist R A S Macalister.<sup>43</sup> It listed almost fifty early stones, but the descriptions of many other 'miscellanea' are too cursory for early or late medieval work to be distinguished. Macalister's continuing interest in Iona led to his identification of the great cross-head fragments as belonging to St John's Cross, which he reconstructed in 1927. In a brief paper<sup>44</sup> he traced its artistic origins to Irish manuscripts, and the art-historian Françoise Henry illustrated the spiral-work of the cross in her 1933 monograph on Irish sculpture.<sup>45</sup> She also included the Iona crosses in later studies,<sup>46</sup> and in 1940 her collaborator Cecil Curle published a reconsideration of 'the Chronology of the Early Christian Monuments of Scotland' which discussed the Irish connections of sculpture at Iona and other 'Columban' sites.<sup>47</sup> An important paper of 1956 by R B K Stevenson questioned some elements of this chronology and explored connections with Pictish sculpture, as well as analysing the structure of St Oran's and St John's Crosses in the light of features exposed when the latter collapsed in 1951.<sup>48</sup>

The Royal Commission returned to the West in the early 1960s, and the *Inventory* of monuments in Argyll was published in seven volumes between 1971 and 1992. The survey was based on intensive fieldwork, often following information generously provided by members of local societies and other fieldworkers.<sup>49</sup> At an early stage it was decided that the normal medium of illustration for early medieval sculpture should be uniform scale drawings, with selective photography. A stippled technique of drawing was adopted as more suited to worn carvings than the misleadingly sharp line-drawings of some earlier illustrators.<sup>50</sup> Innovative techniques of photographic lighting were introduced for the interpretation and effective illustration of badly weathered early and late medieval stones.<sup>51</sup> The extension of this survey to areas north and east of Argyll began with the recording of groups of recently discovered carvings on Canna and Inchmarnock, and was continued to provide valuable contextual material for the Argyll *Inventory*.

In the same period, and especially since the publication of the *Iona* volume in 1982, there has been renewed interest in early medieval archaeology and sculpture, both in the West Highlands and more widely in Britain and Ireland. This has seen the publication of volumes recording the Anglo-Saxon sculpture of much of northern England (1984- ) and a photographic survey of Irish high crosses (1992), as well as the Royal Commission's illustrated gazetteer of Pictish symbol-stones.<sup>52</sup> Specialist publishers such as the Pinkfoot Press have also made available reprints of classic volumes by authors including Allen and Anderson, Kermode and Langdon. Numerous scholarly papers on sculpture and other arts have been published, many of them in the *Proceedings* of the 1992 conference on the Book of Kells and the regular International Conferences on Insular Art.<sup>53</sup> Archaeological survey volumes published in Ireland, especially those for Donegal (1983) and the Dingle and Iveragh peninsulas (1986, 1996), include scale drawings of simple crosses which allow for the first time detailed comparison with the similar carvings in Scotland.<sup>54</sup> Isabel Henderson has provided an overall survey of this

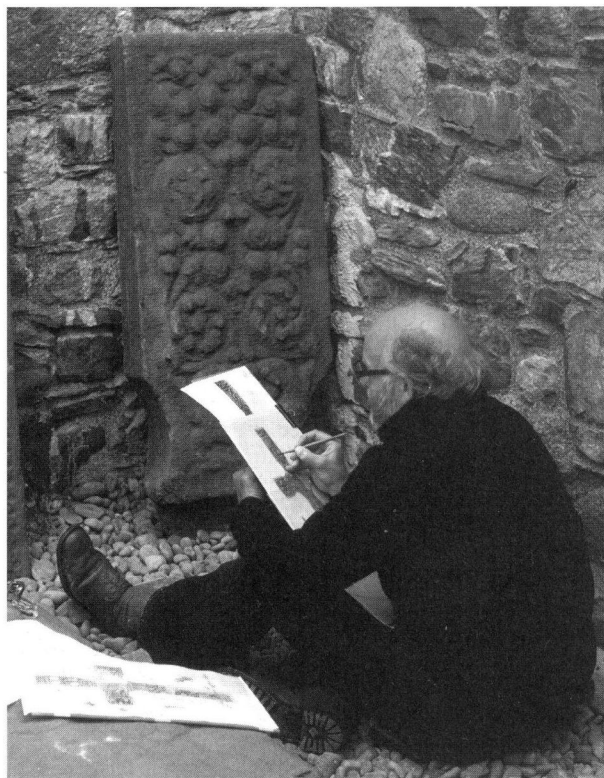




A



B



C

- A. Iona (A4), photograph of early and late medieval carvings in Reilig Odhráin for National Art Survey, c.1900  
 B. Clach Ard, Tote, Skye (W38), oblique-lighting equipment in position for photography (cf. fig.105B)  
 C. Iona (A4), drawing St Oran's Cross (80) (cf. fig.46C)

material in Scotland, and she and others have contributed to the flow of conferences and publications on Pictish art, many of them organised by the Pictish Arts Society.<sup>55</sup> Research on the West Highlands has included academic theses by Calvert (1978), examining the major Iona crosses as part of the relationship between Pictish and Irish sculpture; Cross (1984), who undertook a detailed gazetteer of Bute and Arran; and MacLean (1985), covering sculpture in Argyll and the Hebrides and with a strong interest in historical context and iconography.<sup>56</sup> Articles have again given most attention to the Iona crosses and their wider comparisons, with Henderson and MacLean studying snake-and-boss ornament, Hawkes comparing Virgin-and-Child representations, and Buckley and Trench-Jellicoe examining musical scenes at Iona and Ardchattan. Articles by MacLean, on the Keills Cross, and by Kelly on the form of the Iona crosses, dispute some of the conclusions of the Iona *Inventory*.<sup>57</sup> It is hoped that the present volume will play a similar rôle in furthering research and stimulating debate.

Sites

The area of western Scotland included in this survey extends for about 400km from north to south, from North Rona to the isle of Sanda, and for 220km from the west bank of Loch Lomond to the western outlier of St Kilda. Within this area there are 151 known sites which have produced 462 pieces of early medieval sculpture, as well as four other caves with considerable numbers of small crosses and early graffiti.<sup>58</sup>

The great monastic centre of Iona naturally takes pride of place, with 111 items, while the obscure burial-ground at Cladh a' Bhile, Ellary (Knapdale), comes second, with 29 carvings. The total of 24 at the monastic site of Kingarth (Bute) contains a high proportion of disc-headed slabs of late date, and other groups of sculpture with a probable monastic or eremitic background are at Inchmarnock and A' Chill (Canna), with 13 stones each, and Cumbrae and North Rona with 12 each. Over half of the sites, however, have only a single carving, and another 29 sites have only two items. As shown in the accompanying table, 208 of the carved stones are at sites with four or less items and these constitute 90% of the total number of sites.

stones per site:	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	12	13	24	29	111
number of sites:	89	29	11	7	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	1
total stones:	89	58	33	28	18	14	8	24	26	24	29	111

The distribution of the sites is overwhelmingly coastal, with Kilmartin being exceptional in its distance of as much as 5km from Loch Crinan. In this respect it closely follows that of Iron-Age monuments in the area,<sup>59</sup> but the same is also true of medieval castles and churches. Over two-thirds of the sites are of an ecclesiastical character, including about 33 medieval parish churches, one-third of the total number of parish churches in the area. Early or medieval chapels survive or are well attested on at least 23 of the sites, and there were probably others associated with some of the 38 present or former burial-grounds at which sculpture has been found. Each of the five documented independent monasteries has produced carvings, ranging from one at Lismore to 111 at Iona. Ten other sites may be classified as small monasteries or hermitages, and is likely that some of the other sites described above also originated in this way. About a dozen of the find-spots are situated in open terrain, with no obvious associated sites. Another six were found re-used in buildings, or in other locations which make their original contexts uncertain.

Most of the seven caves have long ecclesiastical traditions, four of them being associated with individual saints. Considering the wide distribution of holy wells in the area, it is surprising how few of them are marked by carved stones, but the elaborate slab at Kilmory Oib (Knapdale), whose location may be compared with that beside Tobarmalloga (Co.Kerry),<sup>60</sup> is oriented and may be in its original position.

The picturesque setting of the cruciform stone beside Tobar Odhráin in the grounds of Colonsay House, however, dates only from the late 19th century when it was removed from a small burial-ground at Riasg Buidhe.<sup>61</sup> Rock-cut crosses are situated close to church or burial sites,<sup>62</sup> and a boar-carving occurs in the Early Historic fortress of Dunadd. Crosses were carved on three standing-stones which appear to be of prehistoric origin, a sanctification of pagan monuments which is familiar in Ireland<sup>63</sup> and which was also applied to an orthostat of the chambered cairn at Auchnaha (Cowal).

It follows from what has been said above that many of the sites lie close to the shore, but two rock-cut carvings, a Chi-rho at Raasay and a simple cross at Aird a' Mhòrain, appear specifically to mark landing-places.<sup>64</sup> They may thus be compared to the tau-cross dramatically situated above the slipway at Tory Island (Co. Donegal) or the large cross-marked boulder that formerly lay beside the harbour at Lybster (Caithness). Their function is analogous with the Gaelic prayers for blessing a ship and its seafarers, recorded from the 16th century onwards.<sup>65</sup> Two Pictish symbol-stones (Fiscavaig; Strome Shunamul) were found below high-water mark, as was the cross-marked pillar at Bàgh na h-Uamha (Rum), but the significance of this is uncertain. The importance of certain land-routes is indicated by three carvings marking hill-passes, one of which gave its name, Crois Bheinn, to the nearby summit.<sup>66</sup> These may be compared to the cross-slab from St Rìgan's Cairn, at an altitude of over 300m on the Cairn o' Mount pass (Kincardineshire),<sup>67</sup> and to the stone cross set up in 1529 on a *lairig* (pass) near Kenmore (Perthshire).<sup>68</sup>

Functions

The cross, with variants such as the Chi-rho, was widely used throughout the Christian world in a variety of media from the 4th century onwards, as a symbol of Christ's resurrection and continuing presence. Notable examples survive in the murals of Egyptian church apses and in the mosaics of their Italian counterparts, often bedecked with wreaths or jewels or accompanied by birds. Stone sculpture was particularly favoured for funerary monuments, and the cross appeared on inscribed gravestones from Egypt to Gaul, and on Italian and Gaulish sarcophagi. Free-standing crosses marked places of particular sanctity, and the pilgrim Arculf described to Adomnán the silver-plated wooden cross which stood at Golgotha, on the site of one erected by Constantine in the early 4th century.<sup>69</sup> This cross and others were represented on small flasks in which pilgrims carried oil from the Holy Places, and on Byzantine coins and medallions. Wood covered with metal plates was favoured for altar or processional crosses and ivory plaques for book-bindings, while small metal or jewelled crosses were used for personal devotion or as votive offerings.<sup>70</sup> In manuscript painting, an interlaced cross appeared in a Coptic psalter attributed to the early 5th century,<sup>71</sup> and smaller initial crosses in Italian works of the late 6th century, while cruciform designs dominate the 'carpet pages' of the great insular manuscripts.

A wide range of models was thus available for even the earliest Christian sculpture in Britain and Ireland, whether direct from the Mediterranean or from Gaul. Few examples of such imported models survive, but several cross-types were stamped on pottery from North Africa or the Eastern Mediterranean which has been found at 6th-century sites in western Britain.<sup>72</sup> Bede records the embellishment of Northumbrian churches in the 7th century with painted panels and manuscripts from Rome and Gaul, and Irish travellers were also familiar with these areas. The Gaulish pilgrim Arculf, who came to Iona about 690, described not only the large crosses erected at pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land but also the elaborate Holy Week ceremonial for the Veneration of the Cross at the Byzantine court.<sup>73</sup>

The sign of the cross was widely used on Iona in Columba's time for sanctifying objects and activities of daily life, and

30 G, 31 N,P  
26 J  
32 U, 34 R, 45 G  
31 F  
103 C, 111 D,E  
168 E  
104 F, 108 D  
95 A,B  
27 R, 56 U,V

13 B  
172 A

150 A

prayers for use during these activities were preserved in Gaelic tradition until the 19th century. An example of this domestic use is the cross-marked quernstone from Dunadd, which may be compared with similar stones carved in western Ireland as late as the 18th century.<sup>74</sup> Some crosses offered protection and invited prayer at boat-landings or beside tracks, or marked holy wells (*supra*). The great majority were at ecclesiastical sites, where they served a variety of functions.<sup>75</sup> While most have been found marking burials, this was not always their original purpose.

Crosses of varying elaboration, depending on the status of the site, might mark entrances to burial-grounds or monastic enclosures, or areas of special significance within them. This use of crosses was prescribed by a 7th-century Irish synod and is illustrated by the crosses marked on a schematic drawing in the 8th-century *Book of Mulling*.<sup>76</sup> A massive cross-base in Reilig Odhráin (Iona) may have marked an entrance through the vallum. An extension of this was the marking by crosses of the wider area of sanctuary surrounding a church. Fordun in the late 14th century described Sanda, Eilean Mór, Eileach an Naoimh and Iona as sanctuaries, while Monro in 1549 mentioned other 'holy girths'.<sup>77</sup> The tradition of this status at Applecross was so strong that its Gaelic name, *A' Chomraich*, means simply 'the Sanctuary'. The crosses that defined an extensive area there were destroyed in the 19th century, but a disc-headed cross-slab still stands in a field about 300m from the churchyard at Kilchoman (Islay). Rock-cut crosses at Barnakill (Mid Argyll) and at Kirkapoll (Tiree), may have served the same function.

A cross or pillar would form the natural focus for worship at sites where no church building existed or where, as must have been the case at many sites used by the laity, it was too small to contain most of the congregation.<sup>78</sup> In a monastic context, free-standing crosses or cross-slabs might be involved in elaborate liturgical rites and processions. St John's Cross stood at the west end of a small enclosure which was long remembered in Iona tradition as the burial-place of St Columba, and two other crosses also stood in what by the 8th century may have been an open area west of the monastic church. The Virgin-and-Child carving on St Martin's Cross recalls the hymn to the Virgin by the 8th-century Iona monk Cú-Chuimne, with its reference to choral singing.<sup>79</sup> These crosses, with their scriptural scenes and intricate ornament, would also lend themselves to the intense spiritual meditation that was favoured by the monks and ascetics of the Irish church.<sup>80</sup> This might include prostration before the cross, as practised in the Byzantine Holy Week ceremonies.<sup>81</sup> A poem attributed to Cormac mac Cuilennáin, king-bishop of Cashel (d.908), describes 'visitation of crosses' as a preliminary ritual before life-long pilgrimage across the seas.<sup>82</sup>

Many of these carvings have been used to mark post-medieval burials, and in the case of some stones, for example at Kingarth, they may be *in situ*. However, there is little excavation evidence to clarify this. Large recumbent graveslabs, some with Old Irish memorial inscriptions, of a type familiar in major Irish monasteries,<sup>83</sup> are found at Iona and Kingarth but hardly elsewhere, although there are two examples at Isle Maree and a fragment which may be of this type on Canna. The larger cross-slabs and pillars probably fulfilled the same range of liturgical functions as the free-standing crosses, but many of the smaller upright stones may reasonably be interpreted as gravemarkers. An early example is the Chi-rho stone on Iona, inscribed on the top edge *Lapis Echodi* ('the stone of Echoid'). Even small upright slabs carved on two or more faces, like many of those at Ellary, may have served this purpose. There are many smaller slabs, carved on one face only, whose position is not apparent. One of the most widely distributed types is the small cruciform stone, occurring from the Clyde to Iona and North Rona. Comparable stones, which are interpreted as gravemarkers of 8th-century date, have been excavated at Whitby Abbey (Yorkshire).<sup>84</sup> The fragment of this type from Inchmarnock,

however, bears a memorial inscription in Old Norse runes, like another cross at Thurso (Caithness), and the popularity of these small crosses as gravemarkers in the Christian Norse period is shown by their occurrence in several burial-grounds in Unst and Yell (Shetland) (*infra*, p.17).

Local pilgrimages or *turais*, often associated with a particular saint and involving a circuit of wells, cairns and altars bearing cross-marked stones, were an important aspect of Irish popular religion and some, for example at Gleann Cholm Cille (Co. Donegal) and Inishmurray (Co. Sligo), are still observed. The Reformation eliminated most evidence of such practices in the West Highlands, although pilgrimages for therapeutic reasons were still being made to Sgor nam Bán-Naomha in the late 19th century. Iona is well documented as the object of pilgrimages by the highest ranks of society in the early medieval period, and the group of cairns at 'Columba's Bay' may bear witness to ancient popular devotion.<sup>85</sup> Many of the stations of pilgrimages such as that on Inishmurray were marked by open-air altars or *leachtaí*,<sup>86</sup> and there is a tantalising reference to a 'leacht' north of the monastic area on Iona in the 19th century.<sup>87</sup> The Inishmurray *leachtaí* bear upright slabs with multiple crosses, and a slab of this type from Killeen (Kintyre) may have come from a similar context. Local pilgrimages may also explain the small graffito crosses carved on the walls of some caves in the area which had an earlier history of hermit use.<sup>88</sup> At St Molaise's Cave (Holy Island, Arran) some of these graffito or 'votive' crosses may even be associated with Norse runic inscriptions of 1263.

A small but important number of carvings appears to belong to furnishings, including fragments of corner-post shrines. The extensive use of timber may account for the lack of identifiable architectural sculpture to compare with the cross-marked lintels of some Irish churches, or the elaborate arch from Forteviot (Perthshire).<sup>89</sup> However, an incomplete slab from Cumbrae, which has Scandinavian stylistic features, may have been a door-lintel.

### Local groupings

The distribution of carved monuments in Western Scotland shows remarkable variations, such as their abundance in the Knapdale district of Argyll and their scarcity in a very similar geographical setting immediately to the north, in Lorn. Some monument-types are widely distributed, and others show strong local groupings. This section should be read in conjunction with that on the individual types.<sup>90</sup>

*The Clyde estuary.* This area is notable for the large collection of stones at the monastic site of Kingarth (Bute), most of which are of 11th-century or later date. The more varied groups of carvings on Inchmarnock (Bute) and Cumbrae, which may also have been of monastic origin, include simple incised stones of early character, as well as the worn fragment of a richly ornamented free-standing cross from Inchmarnock. Cumbrae has a sophisticated example of the marigold or hexafoil motif that is more common in southern Argyll. All three sites have carvings related to the Norse-period sculpture of Strathclyde and northern England, and at Rothesay there are a cross-slab and a cross showing similar influences. The considerable groups of disc-headed gravemarkers at Cumbrae and Kingarth, probably of 11th- or 12th-century date, are not paralleled elsewhere in western Scotland.

In contrast to Bute, the large island of Arran preserves very little sculpture, the only two known free-standing carvings being lost and inadequately recorded, but there are two caves of outstanding interest. The walls of the King's Cave bear a large incised cross and two 'orans' figures as well as graffiti of secular character which include knotted serpents, animals and three ogham inscriptions. St Molaise's Cave on Holy Island bears early crosses, probably associated with hermit occupation, and later votive crosses and Norse runic inscriptions.



- Mainland Argyll and Dunbartonshire.* The most southerly point of the region, the island of Sanda, is marked by a tall cross-slab of probable 9th- or 10th-century date. Its medieval status as a sanctuary supports the possibility that the chapel of that period succeeded a small monastic or hermit settlement. Another likely hermitage at the foot of sea-washed cliffs is St Ciaran's Cave, which contains a fine marigold incised on a boulder. Most of the few other carvings in Kintyre are on the west or Atlantic coast and are simple in character, except for the slab with multiple crosses, possibly from a *leacht*, from Killean (*supra*). The fertile island of Gigha is notable for a rough pillar bearing an ogham inscription, and for the crosses incised on the 'Holy Stone' at Tarbert.
- In contrast, the district of Knapdale has the richest concentration of early medieval sculpture in the region (except for Iona), with over 60 stones. Almost half of these are at the remarkable site of Cladh a' Bhile, Ellary, whose outstanding pillar-stone bears the most elaborate of a number of marigolds and crosses of arcs in the area. The remaining stones are mainly dispersed along the shores of Loch Sween, with groups at Achadh na Cille, Keills, Kilberry and Kilmory Knap. The Keills Cross is the simplest of the free-standing crosses of the Iona group, and the only one on the mainland. A cross of probable 10th-century date standing within the presumed monastic enclosure on Eilean Mór is the latest of an important group of carvings which includes a Chi-rho and a marigold in an outlying cave, and well-executed gravemarkers bearing linear crosses. Much-worn but carefully-designed cross-slabs with figure-ornament are found at Kilmichael Inverlussa and Kilmory Knap, and birds flank the cross on a slab at the holy well of Kilmory Oib. The northern boundary of Knapdale is marked by the great Dalriadic hill-fort of Dunadd, with its rock-cut boar and ogham inscription. Kilmartin and Kilmarie, Craignish, to the north, have slabs with simple outline crosses, and at the former there is a cross with stubby arms and multiple crosslets. Upper Loch Fyne, despite its extent, has sculpture at only two sites, including the thin cross-shaft, slotted for a transom, at Killevin.
- The district of Lorn shows a dense coastal distribution of Iron Age sites, extending into some of the inland valleys,<sup>91</sup> and it included Moluag's monastery of Lismore and a Columban house at *Cella Diuni* on Loch Awe, as well as the enclosed site at Cladh a' Bhearnaig, Kerrera. However, early medieval sculpture survives at only five locations, and only the small rock-cut cross flanked by figures at Kilmaha is of early character. Two late cross-slabs were also found at this promontory site on the west shore of Loch Awe, and there is a massive but plain ringed cross-slab on the island of Inishail in the north part of the loch. The principal monument in this area is the truncated cross-slab at Ardochattan, which shares ornamental features with the Eilean Mór cross and is probably of the 10th century. Decorated fragments at Lismore belonged to a large cross-shaft or slab with spiral- and key-ornament, perhaps of the 8th century.
- Unlike Lorn, the hilly district of Cowal had few sites of the Iron Age and most of these were spread along the east shore of Loch Fyne, with a concentration in the Kilfinan area. The sculpture at Kilfinan itself, which may be regarded as an eastern extension of the Knapdale group, includes a remarkable cross-slab with dragon-and-boss and other animal ornament. Three sites on the sea-lochs extending north from the Firth of Clyde preserve simple outline or linear crosses, and a small group of these, along with many plain gravemarkers, was found during the excavation of the chapel and burial-ground at Ardnadam near the Holy Loch. A remarkable inscribed stone, bearing a partial alphabet in minuscule characters and an ogham inscription, was identified during the present survey at Lochgoilhead.
- The area extending east from Loch Long, the historic boundary of Argyll, to Loch Lomond and the River Leven, supposedly belonged to the British kingdom of Strathclyde with its royal stronghold at Dumbarton Rock. Several of the carvings at the five sites in the area, however, are of the simple linear or outline type characteristic of the Atlantic seaboard, including two firmly-cut linear crosses at Luss on the west shore of Loch Lomond. At Rosneath there is a much-worn cross-slab, perhaps of the 10th century, and the unique hogback at Luss probably belonged to the following century but was partially recut in Romanesque style. A fragment at Kilmahew appears to have been the end-panel of a composite stone shrine, and may have influenced the recumbent monuments with vestigial corner-posts that are known from Inchinnan, Govan and Kingarth.
- The Argyll islands.* The southern island of Islay, in its strategic position between Dál Riata and Ulster, has the largest and most varied group of carvings, with 20 pieces at 11 sites. The Kildalton Cross is one of the finest monuments of its class in Scotland, and the ring-less Kilnave Cross has rich spiral ornament, while the arm of a related cross was found in the nearby offshore enclosure on Nave Island. Most of the other carvings come from the small chapels or burial-grounds which are numerous on Islay. Although generally of rough workmanship, they include ambitious features such as interlaced terminals, multiple rings, or crosslets in the cross-head. The island is rich in Scandinavian settlement-names, and one of the principal monuments of this period in western Scotland is the cross-slab with florid Ringerike-style ornament from Dòid Mhàiri at the head of Port Ellen Bay.
- The mountainous island of Jura has never maintained a large population, but Loch Tarbert and the narrow isthmus at its head appear to have been an important route between Iona and Knapdale. The much-altered 'Cave of the community of Iona' (*Uamh Muinntir Í*) lies on the north shore of the loch, and a standing stone carved with two large sunken crosses stands on the isthmus beside a chapel dedicated to St Columba. The stones from the probable monastic site on Eileach an Naoimh, in the firth between Jura and Mull, include three gravemarkers with linear crosses, one of which still stands in the circular burial-enclosure known as 'Eithne's Grave'. There is no archaeological evidence of earlier occupation on the site of the medieval priory on Oronsay, but there are several sites on the adjacent island of Colonsay. The cruciform stone from the small burial ground at Riasg Buidhe is the most accomplished carving of the 'face-cross' type in the British Isles. There are crudely-scratched linear crosses on two slabs from the kerb surrounding a richly-appointed Norse burial of the late 9th century at Kiloran Bay.
- Despite its proximity to Iona, Mull, the largest of the Argyll islands, has only five free-standing carvings at four sites, all on the south or west coasts, including the recently recovered cross-slab at Pennyghael. However there are also two caves, both in the Ross of Mull, with a wide range of small crosses and other graffito carvings.
- The rocky island of Coll has no known ecclesiastical sites of the period, but Adomnán testifies that its neighbour, Tiree, had other monasteries as well as Columba's own foundation of *Campus Lunge* (Irish, *Magh Luinge*). This is presumably to be identified with one of the two medieval church-sites on the island, both dedicated to Columba. Kirkapoll has two rock-cut linear crosses, perhaps boundary-markers, while at Soroby there is a small tau-shaped gravemarker and a ponderous cruciform stone of late character. Simple linear or sunken crosses from the enclosed site at Ceann a' Mhara and a vanished burial-ground at Hynish, and another from the fabric of the medieval chapel at Kilkeneth, confirm the evidence of intense early monastic activity on this fertile island. The distribution has recently been extended to the east end of the island with the identification of a simple relief cross at Caolas.
- Iona.* The group of over 100 pieces of early medieval sculpture on Iona is commensurate with its status as one of the greatest monastic centres of the Irish church. It is surpassed in quantity only by the enormous collection at Clonmacnoise and

approached in Scotland only by that at St Andrews, both of which are predominantly the work of professional schools of carving in the 9th century and later<sup>92</sup>. Like these sites, Iona owed much to its position as a centre of pilgrimage and high-status burial, but it combined in a remarkable way two contrasting traditions of Irish monasticism. Almost one-third of the collection comprises simple linear or sunken crosses

embellishments, and a slab bearing an encircled cross-potent. The principal monument is a small but elaborate cross-slab bearing on one face a hunting scene and on the other a ringed cross filled with interlace. Even more than the Applecross slab, this shows strong Pictish character and is probably also of the 9th century.

The sculpture from Eigg is surpassed in quantity and elaboration, however, by that from A' Chill on the smaller island of Canna. This provides strong evidence for a Columban monastery in this fertile settlement-area, associated with the small enclosed site at Sgor nam Bàn-Naomha on the rugged south-west coast where three stones were discovered during this survey. Most of these carvings are simple but neatly formed linear or sunken crosses, including one small cross-of-arcs. The two incomplete free-standing crosses from A' Chill, of which one remains *in situ* while the other is in fragments, are among the most remarkable monuments in the region.

*Skye*. Adomnán records a visit by Columba to Skye, where he baptised a Pictish leader,<sup>94</sup> and there are three symbol-stones from the north half of the island. Three island-sites of varying character are dedicated to the saint, but none of these has produced any sculpture.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, of the four sites in the south part of the island which have simple linear or outline crosses, two have no known ecclesiastical associations. The island of Raasay has a recently-found small cross-of-arcs and two larger ones with Chi-rho loops, one rock-cut at the boat-landing and the other on a pillar bearing Pictish symbols. Traditions of sanctuary-markers in this part of the island were recorded in the 18th century.

*The Outer Isles*. There are no certain references by Adomnán to these islands,<sup>96</sup> and symbol-stones from Pabbay (Barra) and Benbecula attest their cultural links with Pictland. However, simple linear or sunken crosses are distributed from Berneray (Barra), at the southernmost point of the group, to Taransay (Harris), and outline crosses occur at Howmore (South Uist) and on Taransay. These carvings are probably of pre-Norse date, and possible Irish hermit activity in the area is suggested by the small groups of carvings on Pabbay and St Kilda. The remote outlier of North Rona, with its oval enclosure and corbelled oratory of Irish type, has a group of simple cruciform stones, some bearing crosslets, which can be paralleled as far away as Skellig Michael. A more remarkable cross is pierced by three holes and bears a naked figure.

The process of Norse settlement by which the Hebrides acquired the name *Innse Gall* ('Isles of the Foreigners') is illustrated by the rune-inscribed cross-slab from Cille Bharra (Barra), commemorating Thorgerth. The only other ornamented stone is a fragment with fret- and interlace-patterns from Berneray (Harris), which appears to have been the upper part of a cross or cross-slab. Probably of the same period, however, is a group of ring-less crosses at three sites in the north-west corner of North Uist, two of which have bossed heads. One of these is at Hougharry, where there are also minimal cruciform and disc-headed stones resembling some on North Rona.

The concentration of both early and later carvings in this area of North Uist and the adjacent islands in the Sound of Harris contrasts with their total absence from the mainland of the large island of Lewis and Harris. This is the more surprising in view of the survival of several chapel-sites on the north-west coast of Lewis, and two churches dedicated to Columba on the east coast, but many of these sites have suffered from coastal erosion or sand-blowing.<sup>97</sup>

### Classification and chronology

The system of classification adopted in the pages of comparative illustrations is a composite one like that introduced in the *Inventory of Iona*. While some types, such as free-standing crosses and ornamented cross-slabs, are for

168 D and small cruciform stones, of types familiar in small monastic sites from Kerry to North Rona and Shetland. These illustrate the strong ascetic commitment inspired by Columba's own example. Even the considerable number of pillars and large graveslabs bearing ringed crosses provides no evidence for professional carvers, and the memorial inscriptions are remarkably few in number and roughly-inscribed for a great literary centre. Personal commemoration was evidently of limited importance at Iona over several centuries.<sup>93</sup> In contrast, the early tradition of free-standing timber crosses was transformed in the 8th century by the creation of some of the earliest and most ambitious stone crosses of the Irish church, notably St John's Cross. This creative period was no doubt inspired by the developing cult of St Columba and is closely associated with the creation of the Book of Kells and of some of the finest metalwork of the period. Several shrine-posts also testify to the importance of the cult of relics.

The continuing use of the monastery and burial-ground after the disruptive Viking attacks of the 9th century is marked by St Matthew's Cross, which is closely related to the Kells group, and by other fragmentary crosses. Evidence for the conversion of the Norse to Christianity, and their veneration for Iona, is provided by a graveslab bearing an interlaced cross of Irish type with a runic inscription, and by a cross-shaft with a smith and a boat, and a separate cross-head in Manx style.

*The west mainland*. Surviving sculpture on the west coast north of Loch Linnhe is thinly distributed, with simple linear crosses at Killundine (Morvern), on Eilean Fhianain in Loch Shiel where an early bronze bell is also preserved, and at Kishorn. At Camus nan Geall (Ardnamurchan) there is a standing-stone bearing a large outline cross and an animal, and there are two outline crosses at the church-site of Kilchoan, in one of the few fertile areas of the rugged Knoydart Peninsula. The principal monastery of this area was Maelrubha's foundation of 673 at Applecross, and fragments of a unique cross-slab with pierced ring provide a tantalising glimpse of artistic connections with Pictland in the 9th century. To the north there are Pictish symbol-stones at Gairloch and Poolewe, and two graveslabs with crosses of unusual type, renowned in local folklore, on Isle Maree. Another unusual slab, bearing a relief grid of interlinked crosses, is found on Isle Martin in Loch Broom, along with a small sunken cross. The area north of this was thinly populated, and the only known monument of the early medieval period is the large plain cross-head, apparently of stone from Argyll, discovered during the present survey in Inchnadamph churchyard at the east end of Loch Assynt.

*The Small Isles*. The four islands of this group present a remarkable variety of carvings in contrasting historical contexts. The smallest of them, Muck, has two slabs bearing a damaged cross-of-arcs and an outline cross, from an ancient burial-ground attached to a deserted settlement. The large island of Rum presents a similar pattern at Kilmory, where there is a pillar bearing a pedestalled cross-of-arcs which has close Irish connections. On the west coast the name Papadil ('Priests' valley') suggests ecclesiastical ownership, while a cross-marked pillar found in 1977 at Bàgh na h-Uamha on the south-east coast may be associated with the 7th-century hermit Beccán.

The monastery of Eigg is first recorded in 617, when its founder Donnan was murdered with his community, but it was revived and from the churchyard at Kildonnán there are several fragmentary outline crosses with simple ornamental



the most part readily distinguished, there are many other monuments whose original positions and functions are uncertain. This is particularly true of slabs carved on one face only, which may have been upright or recumbent. The sequence of illustrations for the simpler stones is therefore based on a combination of carving-techniques (incised, sunken or relief) and cross-forms (linear or outline), distinguishing in each group between unringed and ringed crosses.

The chronology of early sculpture in Britain and Ireland is still controversial, despite much recent research, and there are few fixed points. This is true even of Anglo-Saxon England, Wales and Ireland, where there are much larger groups of ornamented sculpture to facilitate art-historical comparisons, and some inscriptions naming identifiable persons.<sup>98</sup> In the Isle of Man, recent study has led to the reclassification of many carvings as Norse rather than Celtic in period.<sup>99</sup> In Scotland, uncertainty on the dating of major monuments such as the St Andrews Sarcophagus, the Nigg cross-slab and St John's Cross has paralleled the debate over the dating and provenance of the Book of Kells and associated insular metalwork.<sup>100</sup>

In western Scotland, the few surviving inscriptions lack the genealogical content required to identify individuals, and epigraphic dating can only be approximate. Historical context may help to date some of the more distinctive monuments, and although the Viking raids of about 800 are no longer thought to have brought an end to monastic life at Iona, the major crosses there are so exceptional that an earlier origin seems probable. The main tool for dating remains comparative study of other areas where similar monuments occur in a comparable historical setting, and some of these comparisons are referred to in the sections below.

- 26 *Pictish symbol-stones.* The eight symbol-stones in the northern part of the area provide important evidence for the extent of Pictish culture, and presumably the language and social system associated with it. The Gairloch stone is the only one to bear animal carvings, an incomplete eagle and a fine salmon. The stone found in a tidal channel on the coast of Benbecula has an elegant version of the unusual 'triple circle and disc' motif, and a simple but neatly-executed rectangle. The remaining six stones all include the commonest of Pictish symbols, the crescent and V-rod. So far as can be judged from the stones in their present weathered condition, none of them shows especially early features in the decoration of the crescent, and their date-range probably lies between the late 7th and 9th centuries.<sup>101</sup> The crescent is found in combination with the double-disc and Z-rod on two of the stones from Skye, but in different positions on the stone and in different styles. The recently discovered slab at Poolewe has the unique feature of a series of small depressions of finger-tip size, inside the upper arc of the crescent. The stone from Tobar na Maor shows an unusual variant of the triple-disc symbol. Two of the stones combine the symbols with a cross, which at Pabbay appears to be an addition. The roughly-dressed slab on Raasay, however, presents a Chi-rho cross-of-arcs above two symbols, all having a similar incised outline.

The rock-cut boar in the Dalriadic fort of Dunadd is also Pictish in style. It is incised on a horizontal outcrop near the summit of the fort along with an ogham inscription, a rock-basin and two sunken footprints which appear to have served a ritual function, perhaps in royal inaugurations.<sup>102</sup> The theory that it marked the Pictish capture of the fort in 736 must be discounted since excavation demonstrates that the fort remained in occupation long after this date, and it is more likely that it marks an alliance between Picts and Scots.<sup>103</sup>

- 27 *Hexafoils and crosses-of-arcs.* The compass-drawn hexafoil or six-petalled marigold was a popular ornament in late antique art,<sup>104</sup> which in the Christian world was interpreted as equivalent to a cross. The technique was also readily adapted to form an equal-armed cross with wide arms within a circle,

and both types were popular in Gaul. Simple crosses-of-arcs are widely spread in western Britain and Ireland, but the distribution of the hexafoil is more limited, occurring particularly at monastic sites such as Maughold (Isle of Man) and Gallen (Co. Offaly).<sup>105</sup> Five of the seven examples in western Scotland come from three sites in Knapdale, and three of them from the burial-ground at Ellary that preserves the most elaborate version, in an accomplished chip-carved technique. The simplest example of the motif is carved in a dark cave on Eilean Mór (Knapdale), and a richer one in St Ciaran's Cave (Kintyre), and it appears twice on a small but accomplished disc-headed pillar on Cumbræe.

This pillar, and the Ellary slab, also present elaborate versions of the cross-of-arcs, which was popular in the same geographical area but extended north to the Small Isles and Raasay. The simplest example is a recently found fragment from the latter island, whose incised technique is closely matched on a slab from Orkney.<sup>106</sup> The motif often displays an ambiguity between the cross and its interspaces, depending on which is recessed. This tension is suppressed on the pillar at Kilmory (Rum) by mouldings emphasising the dividing 'petals' of a cross which otherwise, with its long pedestal, resembles the incised slab from Church Island (Co. Kerry).<sup>107</sup> The pedestal is also found on a large rock-cut example at Daltote (Knapdale), and on three of the four crosses-of-arcs which have hooks on the top arm to denote the Chi-rho.

This abbreviation of the Greek name of Christ was widely used as a Christian symbol in a variety of media from the 4th century onwards, and is found in its most elaborate form in the great insular manuscripts of the 7th and 8th centuries. A distinctive feature of the carved examples from western Britain and Ireland is the replacement of the X-shaped *Chi* by a Latin cross or cross-of-arcs.<sup>108</sup> The West Highland examples diverge from the encircled form seen, for example, at Maughold and Whithorn, while preserving the curving arms of the cross-of-arcs. At Iona the small gravemarker inscribed *Lapis Echodi* ('the stone of Echoid'), which is probably of 7th-century date, bears an elegant adaptation of the cross-of-arcs to a wedge-shaped slab, and the R (representing an original P-shaped *Rho*) is fully formed. The rock-cut carving in the cave on Eilean Mór has a horseshoe-shaped frame, while the two crosses on Raasay are adapted to square frames and have pedestals or handles.<sup>109</sup>

*Linear incised crosses.* These simple crosses are widely distributed, occurring on about a quarter of the carved stones in the area, sometimes in combination with other cross-types, and on the walls of caves. They are also numerous in western Ireland and the Isle of Man, and in Wales where Nash-Williams suggested a 7th- to 9th-century date-bracket. Epigraphic evidence is one of the main supports for the proposed dating, and they were often used in Ireland and Wales as initial crosses on inscriptions, but the Mail-Phatraic stone from Iona is one of only two Scottish examples of this practice.<sup>110</sup>

Many of these stones have close parallels from burial-grounds and monastic sites in Donegal and Kerry, which support an early date, but simple incised crosses have been carved on gravemarkers at many periods, and in Ireland some examples are associated with post-medieval inscriptions.<sup>111</sup> Linear crosses are carved on two slabs from a late 9th-century Norse burial on Colonsay, although the scratched treatment distinguishes them from most other examples, which are more firmly pecked or incised.

The cross-types are divided between equal-armed or Greek crosses and a smaller number of Latin crosses with extended shafts, but there is also a considerable group, for which no convenient designation exists, having the transom set at the mid-point of a longer shaft. All three types are found both with plain terminals, usually rounded, and with expanded or otherwise elaborated ones. These include triangular or circular expansions, forked or triple-forked ends, and barred or, less



A. Rosneath (W10), sunken cross (1)

29 G,H commonly, crossed terminals. Some crosses (Luss; Ellary; 30 P, 31 V Iona; Taransay) were also ornamented with depressions or bosses in the quadrants between the arms, reflecting the 'jewelled' crosses of Mediterranean art. In the Eilean Mór area there are two gravemarkers whose upper quadrants contain groups of three dots, a motif found in manuscripts and metalwork which probably symbolises the Trinity but may also represent the stars of heaven.<sup>112</sup>

28 B,D, 29 D,E Two stones on Iona, and others in the caves at Carsaig and Scoor, have crosses wholly or partly contained in circles, a motif derived from encircled Chi-rhos or crosses-of-arcs rather than from later ringed crosses. A similar cross on a tau-shaped stone at Soroby (Tiree) closely resembles a fragment at 28 C Monymusk (Aberdeenshire). An outline frame enclosing the 30 Y whole cross is found on Pabbay (Barra), and two stones in the 30 AA,BB Eilean Mór area have rectilinear frames round the upper terminal, and in one case the lower one also.

Bases are rare, although in crosses with elaborated terminals the foot of the shaft is often left plain or tapered. The small cross-bar above the foot of the shaft on the Soroby slab, which may represent the foot-rest of Christ's cross, is also found on 29 H, 31 JJ two stones in Knapdale (Achadh na Cille; Ellary). The slab on 30 A Eithne's Grave on Eileach an Naoimh has a narrow spike below the lower terminal, while a Latin cross with voluted terminals on Iona has a more developed leaf-shaped foot to the shaft. Bases of different forms are also found on Eilean 31 QQ, 127 C Fhianain and on the Holy Stone (Gigha),<sup>113</sup> and a stepped Calvary base supports the small Latin cross at the top of the 30 L, 31 C pillar at Kilmory (Rum). Also on Rum, the pillar at Bagh na 31 U h-Uamha bears an equal-armed cross with expanded terminals, carried on a pedestal with its own triangular base. This type of 30 E cross can be closely paralleled on a 6th-century Palestinian pilgrim's flask depicting the cross of Golgotha, and in the 13 B Cathach of St Columba, and a 7th-century date seems historically probable.<sup>114</sup> However, the continuation of the type into the 9th century is suggested by its use overlying the 94 C hunting-scene of Pictish character on a slab at Eigg.

32 *Sunken crosses.* About twenty carved stones in the area bear crosses defined by straight-sided grooves of rectangular section, characteristic examples being on Iona and Tiree. Both equal-armed and Latin crosses are found, and the terminals are not normally elaborated, although the arms are sometimes expanded. Most of these carvings are of modest scale, comparable with many linear crosses, but large sunken crosses are carved on pillars on Jura and at Kilfinan. On one slab on 32 U,V Canna, and on small crosses at St Molaise's Cave, the bodies of the crosses are widened to produce outline crosses enclosing recessed surfaces.<sup>115</sup>

This type of technique does not appear to be usual in Ireland, although an example with barred terminals is found in 22 E Donegal and has parallels in eastern Scotland. A small slab 22 B, 32 L closely paralleling the Iona stones comes from the 7th-century monastic site on Coquet Island (Northumberland).<sup>116</sup>

33-8 *Outline crosses.* Over one hundred carved stones bear crosses defined by incised outlines, mainly of the Latin type and almost equally divided between ringed and unringed examples. Most of the unringed crosses are fairly roughly set out, but

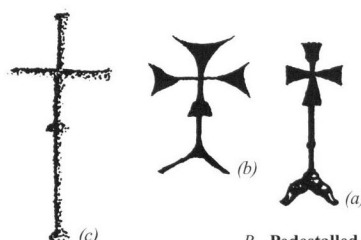
they are often ornamented with depressions or bosses on or between the arms. Linear crosses are often incised in the cross-head, and in some cases it is not clear whether a carving should be defined as an outline cross with a voided centre (St Kilda; Ellary no.(23)) or a linear cross within a frame (Pabbay). The arms sometimes extend to the edges of the slab, and even where they are closed the base is often left open, representing a cross set in the ground. At Ellary one cross has a pointed foot, and two others have outward-curling volutes. 33 B,F 30 Y 33 U,Y,Z

Many of the stones bearing plain outline crosses appear to have been upright pillars, and the type is widely distributed within the region and beyond. Thus, a number of such simple slabs mark pilgrimage-stations in Gleann Cholm Cille, and although they are not common in Kerry, numerous small examples survive at the monastic site of St Berriherth's Kyle (Co. Tipperary). They are also found in north-east Scotland, notably at Tullich (Aberdeenshire), where they probably mark Columban activity. The most distant and controversial occurrence of such crosses, however, is in the Faroes, where several slabs bearing encircled linear crosses and outline crosses have been viewed as supporting the 9th-century writer Dicuil's description of Irish monks reaching those islands.<sup>117</sup> Both types can be readily matched in the West Highlands, and there is a remarkable similarity, both in design and in pecked technique, between one Iona slab and an unprovenanced Faroese one bearing a Latin cross within a circle.<sup>118</sup> 33 K 22 K

A small number of unringed outline crosses have curved armpits, which are much more common in the ringed type, and in three slabs there are small deep hollows in the armpits. A large slab on Iona shows four outline crosses with triangular bases, one with plain and two with curved armpits, and one ringed. Other unusual features include the interlaced foot of one small Iona cross, and the lower transoms or foot-rests on two graveslabs on Isle Maree. 35 C 35 P

In contrast to the unringed crosses, only about a dozen of those with rings have square armpits, most of the remainder having curves of varying span. Three crosses have small circular hollows at the junctions of square armpits, and the so-called 'St Columba's Pillow' on Iona is of cross-potent form. Slabs from Kilmory Knap, Eileach an Naoimh and Lochbuie (Mull) show versions of the 'thistle' type of armpits, commonly found on graveslabs in midland Ireland.<sup>119</sup> The general development of these ringed crosses appears to be influenced by free-standing crosses, suggesting an origin in the second half of the 8th century, and the supposed date of about 720 for a Clonmacnoise slab bearing a ringed cross is very uncertain.<sup>120</sup> Three slabs on Iona show discs attached to the ring-quadrants, reflecting the rolls seen on many Irish high crosses of the 9th and 10th centuries and on one cross-head on Iona itself. A number of the slabs are of large size and evidently intended as graveslabs, and four of those on Iona bear memorial inscriptions in Old Irish. Most of these graveslabs are on Iona, but others are preserved at Kilmory Knap, and fragments of a large slab which may have been recumbent have been found at Sgor nam Bàn-Naomha (Canna). 35 L,S 38 A 37 Q 38 B,D 169 P 36 T,W,X 53 K 36 K, 37 A-C 37 Q 37 G

In general, the ringed crosses are plain in character, although there is a fret-pattern on the shaft of one cross at Kilmory Knap. The main ornament comprises moulding applied to the ring-quadrants (and on three Iona stones to the



B. Pedestalled Crosses

(a) detail of pilgrim's flask from Jerusalem  
(b) detail from the Cathach of St Columba  
(c) Bagh na h-Uamha, Rum (W26)

## INTRODUCTION

whole outline), which in rare cases enclose discs, free or attached to the armpits.<sup>121</sup> A fragmentary slab from Orsay (Islay) is unique in enclosing crosslets within the ring. The shafts are often open at the foot, and crosses on Iona show considerable variety of bases, with rectangular, curved and spiked examples, as well as one with an open voluted foot. Some of these forms may represent free-standing crosses set in stone sockets, and the Iona graveslab that shows a circular base perhaps depicts a cross set in a millstone, known from Adomnán's description as well as from surviving examples (*infra*, p.16). Three stones have a subsidiary transom or cross-head in the lower part of the shaft, and a slab at Gleann na Gaoith' (Islay) also has two crosslets above the head.

39-40 *Relief carvings.* Many of the stones dealt with in this section are of unsophisticated character, and the more elaborate cross-slabs are treated separately. They are often very similar to outline crosses, but with the background cut away to leave the body of the cross in relief or, in some cases where a higher margin is left, in false relief. Sometimes outline and relief techniques are combined, as on a rough slab with conjoined crosses at Clachan (Kintyre), or the elegant slab at St Colmac (Bute) which has an outline pedestal. Most of the crosses are of Latin form and unringed, but four equal-armed crosses are carved within circles, and seven ringed crosses are included in this category. Seven of the crosses, including the encircled equal-armed ones on Eigg and at St Colmac, are of cross-potent type, with or without central expansions.

40 A One ringed cross at Kilmichael Glassary is filled with fret-pattern, but appears to be a graveslab and is included here.  
39 X Other unusual stones are the Latin cross at Kilchoman (Islay), where a linear cross is superimposed on the relief one, and the cross of Scandinavian 'hammer-head' type at Kilmory Knap. Several crosses on Iona, both ringed and unringed, are defined by neat bead-mouldings, and one fragment bears a memorial inscription while another was of cruciform outline.

41-5 *Cross-slabs.* Almost forty stones are included in this category, and except for the free-standing crosses it includes most of the elaborate carvings in the region. Many of these stones are carved on two or more faces, and others were also clearly intended to stand upright, some still remaining *in situ* like the slab on Sanda (Kintyre). However, at least two graveslabs from Iona are also included, and large slabs at Kingarth and Rothesay may also have been recumbent.

Cross-slabs in Scotland are commonly associated with the masterly Pictish carvings of the 8th and 9th centuries, but few of the West Highland examples show close links with Pictland and it is likely that many of them are of later date. The vogue for cross-slabs in the 10th century and later is most evident on the Isle of Man, but other carvings such as the much-debated slab at Fahan Mura (Co. Donegal) may belong to the same late period.<sup>122</sup>

The carving that shows the greatest indebtedness to Pictish style is the small slab on Eigg whose cross, of cross-potent design, is filled with interlace and rises from a large base filled with diagonal key-pattern. The ornament of the ring merges without interruption into the arms, as seen in some non-symbol-bearing slabs of the 9th and 10th centuries in eastern Scotland.<sup>123</sup> The sacred name IHU XPI ('O Jesu Christ'), inscribed on the upper margin, belongs to the Irish tradition, but the hunting-scene on the back is strongly Pictish in character. Despite its anomalous position, set at right angles to the cross, the carving technique suggests that this face was contemporary with the front, but a linear cross has subsequently been superimposed on it. The fragments of a large cross-slab with pierced ring at Applecross also show Pictish connections, as befits the geographical position of this important monastic site. There is a general resemblance between the neat but unvaried style of the carving and some of the stones at Rosemarkie, but the zoomorphic spiral-work can be paralleled at St Vigeans, where it is executed with less

precision and greater vigour. The rather repetitive treatment of certain motifs suggests a 9th-century date for this major monument.

Among the earlier of the other cross-slabs are likely to be the one at the holy well at Kilmory Oib (Knapdale), which shows a double-transom cross flanked by birds and animals; the very geometrical slabs at Kilmichael Inverlussa and Kilmory Knap in the same district, the former having broad margins which define a gabled top, and slight side-arms, and the latter having an 'angel in the top arm and other figures flanking the shaft; and the small group of 'disc-headed cross-slabs'. This comprises the possible sanctuary-marker at Kilchoman (Islay), with a ringed cross on each face, and three small examples at Iona, one of which bears a cross-of-arcs like a fragment at Kingarth. This type, which was more common in Cornwall and Wales than in Ireland,<sup>124</sup> remained in use in the Clyde estuary for gravemarkers, which are classified separately (*infra*, p.17).

Among the most elaborate carvings in the region there is the incomplete slab at Ardchattan whose ringed cross is filled with broad triple-beaded interlace with zoomorphic elements merging into passages of spiral-work and fret-pattern, and an angel or man between beasts in the top arm. The surviving area right of the shaft bears figures, apparently related to the David cycle, and beasts. Although an early date has been claimed for the interlace, the form of the ringed cross is not compatible with this, and the slab is probably of the 9th or 10th century.<sup>125</sup> Of the same period is the elaborate slab at Kilfinan (Cowal), which has a ringed cross on each face, one being equal-armed. The interlace and fret-patterns are not diagnostic, but the bold dragon-and-boss ornament appears to derive from Irish crosses such as Dromiskin (Co. Louth). Similar large dragon-heads appear on the cruciform slab at Soroby (Tiree), where linked S-scrolls flanking the shaft of the cross resemble those on the 10th-century slab at Cille Bharra (*infra*). An Iona slab bearing an impressive ringed cross filled with interlace appears to belong to the same period, for despite its repetition of the double-curved arms of St John's Cross, the rows of Stafford knots and open loops were favoured in Anglo-Scandinavian carving of the 10th century and later. Also from Iona there is a tantalising corner-fragment of a slab bearing a cross with a pelleted ring and a boss in the one surviving arm. While lacking such ornamental detail, the cross on the slab on Sanda (Kintyre) shares the extreme elongation of that on Sueno's Stone and of some Irish crosses of the late 9th and 10th centuries, and its rows of small bosses are reminiscent of such late Pictish cross-slabs as that at Shandwick.

A small but important group of cross-slabs shows clear Norse influence, by runic inscriptions or ornamental style. Probably the earliest of these is the slab from Cille Bharra (Barra), whose back is filled with a memorial inscription naming Thorgerth. This layout differentiates the slab from most Manx examples but is paralleled in Sweden.<sup>126</sup> The ringless cross on the front, with its beaded outline filled with interlace and circular hollows in the armpits, is also closer to some of the Govan graveslabs than to Manx cross-slabs. The S-shaped scrolls flanking the cross-head support a similar dating for the Soroby cross-slab and for the incomplete slab at Kilbride (Mid Argyll). The fat square fret-patterns share something of the character of the frets on the slab at Rothesay, which has distinctive hammer-headed side-arms.

The other substantial runic inscription from the region is on a graveslab at Iona: 'Kali son of Ölvir laid this stone over Fugl his brother'.<sup>127</sup> It is fitted into the long margin of an incomplete rectangular slab bearing a ribbon cross with knotted terminals and a square 'ring' interlaced through the centre of the cross-head. An almost identical cross is carved on a more elongated slab, with traces of Irish lettering, on Iona itself, and a very similar cross, but with a circular ring, is preserved at Glendalough (Co. Wicklow). While the ribbon crosses are fully in the Irish tradition, the central rings may be regarded as a mark of Scandinavian taste, and all three stones

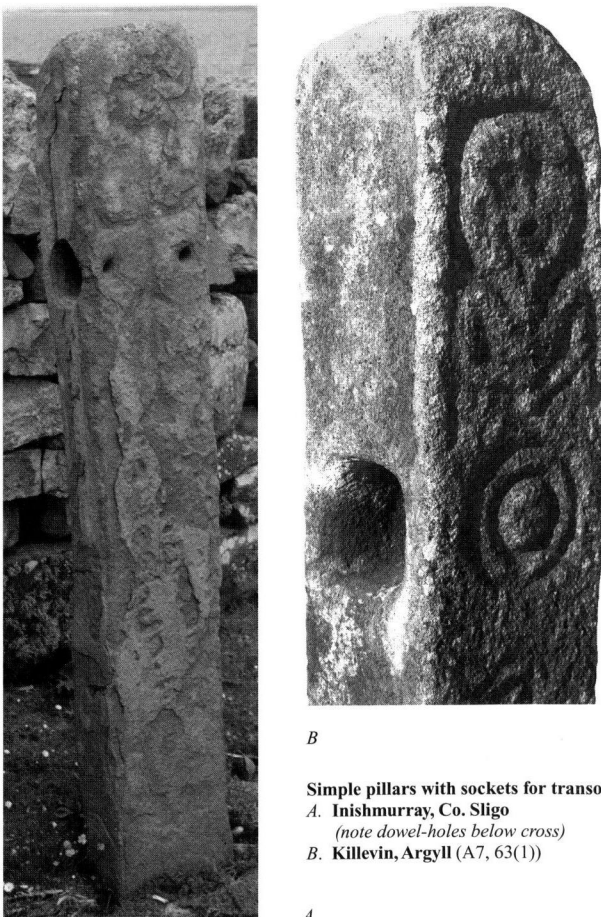


may be assigned to the later part of the 10th century.

41 N, 136 A clear example of Scandinavian influence is seen on the slab from Dòid Mhàiri (Islay), which displays the bunches of fleshy tendrils characteristic of the 11th-century Ringerike style. This style was influential in metalwork and other crafts in Ireland, but this is its only manifestation in Scotland. The beaded outline of the cross resembles those of some of the relief crosses on Iona, but the tight ring and wedge-shaped side-arms resemble crosses on Scandinavian rune-stones.<sup>128</sup>

46-53 *Free-standing crosses.* The 'high cross' with its distinctive ring was one of the most significant artistic products of the early Irish church, and the major crosses of 8th-century Iona played an important rôle in the creation of the type. The distribution of these monuments in Ireland is predominantly monastic, and most of those in the West Highlands can be seen in the same context, although the character of the site at Kildalton (Islay) is uncertain. Thirty-six items, many of them mere fragments, are included in this category, and fourteen of these are on Iona, with two on Canna as the most northerly examples.

170 D Adomnán mentions crosses on Iona in or soon after Columba's lifetime, one of which stood in a millstone, and these were presumably of timber, like the one erected by the Iona-educated Oswald before the battle of Heavenfield c.635 (*supra* p.1).<sup>129</sup> Excavation in the monastery has revealed worked timbers and lathe-turned bowls of accomplished quality from 7th-century levels,<sup>130</sup> and the carpentry tradition of buildings 'in the Irish manner' influenced the structure of the earliest stone crosses of Iona. The use of mortice-and-tenon joints, also known from the Ruthwell Cross,<sup>131</sup> along 52 B with sockets for a composite ring, continued on the shaft at Rothesay, perhaps as late as the 10th century. A more 46 F primitive type of composite cross at Killevin (Mid Argyll), where a socket which penetrates the shaft may have held a timber transom, is closely paralleled on Inishmurray (Co. Sligo).



B

Simple pillars with sockets for transoms  
A. Inishmurray, Co. Sligo  
(note dowel-holes below cross)  
B. Killevin, Argyll (A7, 63(1))

A

Despite this long tradition at Iona, which by the 8th century is likely to have produced timber crosses of considerable scale and ornamental elaboration,<sup>132</sup> the decision to produce monumental crosses in stone, equalling the largest Northumbrian ones in height and far exceeding them in span, 170 C,D was a bold one in an area with no tradition of stone architecture and where memorial stones were of the simplest character. The close relationships between the individual crosses are established by shared motifs, notably snake-and-boss and specific patterns of spiral-ornament, but their great differences in design and ornamental treatment show the constraints imposed by the shortage of suitable stone for carving, and the difficulties faced by the craftsmen in identifying and exploiting this material. These stonecarvers were presumably imported from an area with a longer tradition and better sources of stone, and certain stylistic features, such as the lack of framing in the figure-carving on St Martin's Cross, may indicate a link with Pictland. For the most part, 133 however, the carvers would be mere executants, working under the direction of monks with their own traditions of manuscript- and metalwork-design which are very obvious in the ornamental repertoire of the crosses.

Geologically and structurally the earliest of the Iona group is the ring-less St Oran's Cross, three massive pieces of coarse mica-schist from Mull fitted together by mortice-and-tenon 46 C, 47 A joints. It has large rounded armpits and its ornament combines snake-and-boss and interlinked bossed spirals with small figure-scenes or paired beasts. The carving of the Virgin and Child between two angels has many analogies with the famous illustration in the Book of Kells.<sup>133</sup> 131 B

St John's Cross measured at least 5.3m in height and 2.17m in span, the widest cross in these islands except for that at Ray (Co. Donegal), another Columban site.<sup>134</sup> In its final form it comprised four main pieces and four ring-segments, all linked by mortice-and-tenon joints. The shaft and cross-head, which was jointed behind its bossed centre, are of green chlorite-schist from Knapdale, and the top of the upper arm and the ring-fragment are of local mica-schist. On the basis of visible damage to the base of the cross and the way in which these joints cut across panels of complex ornament, it appears that the pieces of local schist were additions to an original ringless cross with a single joint at the centre of the cross-head. In this form, and with its double-curved arms, it would have resembled (but with a much greater span) such Northumbrian crosses as that at Ruthwell. A close parallel for the layout of bosses and ornament is seen in the metal-plated Rupertus cross, probably executed by an Anglo-Saxon craftsman for the former Iona monk Vergil of Salzburg (d.784).<sup>135</sup> Whether or not the designer was consciously emulating Northumbrian models, his ornamental language was purely Irish. In the new technology of stone-carving, however, Iona lacked the experience or the materials to realise the ambitions of the abbot who commissioned St John's Cross, and it is likely that it was damaged in an early fall. The repairs described above may thus have created for the first time in stone the 'Celtic' ringed cross. 172 D 172 A

The ornamental repertoire of St John's Cross shows many varieties of snake-and-boss and spiral ornament including parallels for that on the Chi-rho page of the Book of Kells. 132 The main influence on this three-dimensional style is that of metalwork, seen in the multitude of small interlinked spirals and the granule-like pellets in the 'bird's-nest' bosses, while the cruciform groups of large bosses, repeated on all of the Iona crosses, resemble those on Irish shrines. Indeed, metalwork bosses may have been fitted into the two prominent recesses in the west face of the cross, to give additional relief. The snake-and-boss ornament of St John's Cross is closely paralleled in the gilt-bronze plaques now at St Germain-en-Laye, which have been identified as the finials of a great house-shaped shrine, other fragments of which came from a Norse grave at Gausel in western Norway.<sup>136</sup> The further links of these finials with the Book of Kells and with the panel of 20 E

20 C snake-and-boss ornament on the Pictish cross-slab at Nigg make an Iona provenance likely. While the shrines of other Columban saints, notably Adomnán, may also have remained on Iona for part of the 9th century, these artistic links suggest that the snake-and-boss motif was associated with Columba himself, who intervened to save his companions from the attacks of monsters, and whose final blessing of his island secured its people and cattle from the venom of snakes 'so long as its inhabitants keep Christ's commands'.<sup>137</sup> The inspiration for the creation of the crosses and of the Book of Kells may have been the enshrinement of Columba's relics, in advance of their circuits around Ireland in 753 and 767.<sup>138</sup>

48 A, 49 B 138, 139 A The Kildalton and St Martin's crosses, which were both designed with monolithic rings and still stand in their original positions, have many points of ornamental and iconographic interest. At Kildalton, where the abstract ornament shows astonishing virtuosity in intractable local epidiorite, there is a complex theological scheme (*infra*, p.19). The high-relief lions surrounding the stilted boss in the cross-head of the west face are reminiscent of the vigorous carving-style of the St Andrew's Sarcophagus.<sup>139</sup> The central feature of the other face, with four animals facing into its hollow centre, is notable 19 for its close resemblance to the Steeple Bumpstead boss, another of the masterworks of 8th-century metalwork. These links to the sources of the Iona ornamental style are much more direct than in St Martin's Cross, and if the theory outlined above for the development of the ring in St John's Cross is correct, it is likely that the Kildalton Cross was the first ringed cross to be designed as such. St Martin's Cross, 50, 133 4.3m high but only 1.19m in span, has a series of biblical scenes on one face, and repetitive snake-and-boss ornament on the other.

46 A 139 B, C The ringless cross at Kilnave on Islay, carved out of a thin slab, is linked to St Oran's Cross by its wide curved armpits and to St John's by its spiral ornament.<sup>140</sup> This and the similar 46 D cross of which a fragment was found on nearby Nave Island are probably of the 8th century, but their exact relation to the Iona group is uncertain. The cross near the important ferry crossing of Keills (Knapdale) is again ringless, but has a panel 47 B, 145 D 146 of the characteristic Iona spiral-work, along with new motifs such as square frets which suggest that it is the latest of the Iona group. The scene showing Daniel surrounded by lions, although placed below the cross-head like that on St Martin's Cross, is very different in type, and the figure of St Michael in the top arm is unique in Scotland. The spiral-ornament of the 42 J, 122 fragments of a slab-like cross-shaft at Lismore has some similarities to that at Kilnave, although the fret-ornamented edges are unusual, and it may belong to the 8th century. A different type of elaborate spiral-work is seen on the sadly 47 E 78 D, E weathered shaft-fragment, perhaps of the 9th century, from Inchmarnock (Bute). Its interlinked spirals are executed in a chip-carved technique which is closer to that used at Tarbat (Easter Ross) and Ahenny (Co. Tipperary) than to the rounded 172 D Iona style.

51 B, 98-9 The two crosses on Canna are the most remarkable ones in the region except for the Iona group. The incomplete sandstone cross that stands in a socketed slab at A' Chill is unique both in its form and its ornament. It appears to have combined concave brackets, in the shape of elongated atlas figures supporting the side-arms, with more conventional moulded upper ring-quadrants. The flanges at the centre of each edge of the shaft give it the appearance of a narrow cross-slab, although a derivation from timber prototypes has been suggested.<sup>141</sup> The rider above the figures of the Virgin and Child, and the animals shown on the same face, are Pictish in style, and this resemblance is strengthened by the composition of the carving, which fills the east face of the shaft without any division. The man threatened by beasts, on the other face, is again a familiar motif in Pictish art, while the small figures on the edge of the surviving flange resemble the position of 89 E the small naked figure on the edge of the Applecross cross-slab. Although the dedication of the medieval church to

Columba makes it likely that Canna was a Columban monastery, the distinctive features of the cross suggest that it was executed by a Pictish craftsman after the dispersal of the Iona group of carvers.

The other cross on Canna, ringless and considerably smaller, 52 E, 100 is represented by the broken fragments of its shaft and the corner of an arm. It is dominated by a large figure above a serpent and the lowest panel on the back shows four symmetrically intertwined serpents, related to the Book of Kells,<sup>142</sup> while the panel of key-pattern at the top of the shaft resembles that in the same position on the other cross. Both crosses may be dated to the 9th century.<sup>143</sup>

The continuation of monastic life at Iona after the Norse attacks, and its links with Kells, are most vividly commemorated by St Matthew's Cross, which until recently 51 A stood outside the west door of the medieval church. Its disintegration to its present mutilated state can be reconstructed from a sequence of early drawings which establish its proportions as similar to those of the Tower Cross 170 H, 171 F at Kells, while the depiction of Adam and Eve resembles that on the Broken Cross there, of the late 9th or early 10th 18 C century. Its ring appears not to have been pierced, but one of several smaller cross-head fragments on Iona shows the rolls 53 K on the quadrants that are typical in the Irish crosses of this period. Two other shaft-fragments bear figure-sculpture. 52 L, M

The most imposing of the later crosses was that on Eilean Mór, now represented by a thin slab-like shaft and the springing of the pierced ring. It bears vigorous intertwined animals and a hooded rider on a plodding horse, and its fret-ornament resembles that of the Ardchattan cross-slab. Another 43 E rider, probably also of the 10th century, strides heavily across the composite cross-shaft at Rothesay, whose other face shows 52 B, 81 mythical beasts and two birds flanking the top arm of a relief cross. The interlace on this shaft may provide a chronological context for an unprovenanced cross-arm on Colonsay. Another 52 F ill-proportioned rider drinks from a horn on a recently 52 H, 74 F rediscovered shaft at Kingarth. A larger ringless cross at the same site had a bossed head and angular step- and fret-ornament above a panel of playful long-snouted beasts. Its 52 G, 75 F armpits were not fully pierced, recalling the earlier cross at Kilbroney (Co. Down) and the undecorated one at Tarbert (Gigha).<sup>144</sup> The Kilmartin Cross is flanged on one face, recalling the Canna Cross, but its tight unpierced circular armpits again suggest a date no earlier than the 10th century, and its fret-pattern links it with the Rothesay cross-slab. The 43 D pillar from Berneray (Harris) may have been the upper part of a cross or narrow cross-slab, showing a square fret above an 53 E interlaced cross.

Several of these carvings, especially those on Bute, share stylistic features with the sculpture of 10th-century Strathclyde, but more explicit Scandinavian influence is seen in two fragments on Iona. The cross-shaft bearing irregular interlace on one face, and figure-sculpture including a smith 52 D, 134 B, C and a ship on the other, shows similarities to the work of that period in east Yorkshire as well as the Isle of Man. A more regularly executed cross-head, however, appears to be carved 52 C, 134 A from Manx slate, and its interlace and plaitwork can be matched on the island. Apparent links with Anglo-Scandinavian carved ornament in Cumbria were displayed in a pillar or shaft-fragment, now lost, on Cumbrae. 53 D

Cross-bases. Adomnán's reference to a cross set in a millstone 54-5 on 7th-century Iona is matched by at least two medieval millstones there which were re-used in this way, and by the socketed sandstone example at Kingarth. Other crosses such 55 H as those at Kildalton and on Canna were set in rectangular slabs, the former on a stepped plinth and the latter surrounded 99 B, 138 B, C by a low kerb. Fragments of other smaller rectangular sockets survive from Iona and other sites.

Two types of cross-base are associated with the major crosses of Iona. St John's Cross rose from a composite stone 54 A, 132 B box, with corner-posts like those of a shrine, which sat on a

huge socketed slab incised with a circle as though in preparation for making a millstone.<sup>145</sup> The two halves of the cover-slab were held together with metal cramps, and another even larger slab of the same kind formerly lay in Reilig

- 54 C Odhráin, where one half was hollowed out by the rotation of stones to bring good fortune and the other was re-used as a graveslab. The socket was comparable in scale with that cut into a massive granite boulder in the same burial-ground, and it is possible that this was designed to house St Oran's Cross. 55 C Grooved top- and base-slabs for a composite cross-base also survive at Kilnave (Islay), but they lacked corner-posts and it is not clear how the structure was made stable. In contrast to this type, St Martin's and St Matthew's crosses had stepped pyramidal bases of granite, resembling those of many Irish crosses but without their characteristic figure-sculpture. 55 A While this is to be expected for St Martin's Cross, which predates most of the Irish ones, it is more surprising in the case of St Matthew's Cross with its close links to the sculpture of Kells, and it is possible that its base is earlier than the cross itself. 55 B

- 56-7 *Cruciform stones and simple crosses.* This group of about forty stones includes a number of very small roughly-shaped crosses and disc-headed gravemarkers, mainly from Iona, North Rona and Hougharry (North Uist). These closely resemble examples on Skellig Michael (Co. Kerry) and other ascetic sites of the Atlantic coast of Ireland, although others occur in a Norse context (*infra*). Some are 'minimal crosses', where the cruciform outline is formed by notches in the edges so that the arms project only slightly or not at all. An example of this type still stands beside the chapel at Balnahard 56 G (Colonsay) and a larger one, now lost, was recorded on Gigha. 56 Q Several of these stones bear central linear crosslets, including the irregularly-shaped stone from the hill-summit of Tom na Croise (Cawal). Another wayside marker, on Crois Bheinn 56 U (Morvern), has an encircled Latin cross in relief on one face and a sunken cross on the other. 56 V

- The most notable cruciform stone is that from Riasg Buidhe 57 B, 140 A, B (Colonsay), which bears at the top a human face whose body is abstracted into spirals in the side-arms and a fish-tail in the shaft. This combines the 'face-cross' type, widely distributed from the Mediterranean to Ireland,<sup>146</sup> with the well-known Christian symbol of the fish. The only other figure-sculpture on this type of monument, which may again represent Christ, 57 D, 115 E is the naked figure, with its head in the top arm, on a cross from North Rona. The head of this stone is pierced by three holes, and a second stone from Balnahard shows four holes, with surrounds which develop into interlace. 57 C

- A large but irregular stone from Inchmarnock bears degenerate interlace, which has affinities with the 'stopped plait' of the Solway area and is no earlier than the 10th or 11th century. The same period applies to the group of crosses in the north part of North Uist, all of which have tight circular armpits, including the double-bossed Kilphedir Cross and one with pierced armpits from Vallay.<sup>147</sup> Similar armpits are found

on two fragments on Iona, and both are carved in dark hornblende-schist, probably imported from the Outer Isles. A neatly-executed small cross from Inchmarnock, which bears a runic memorial inscription,<sup>148</sup> and two with central incised crosslets at Kilbar (Barra), all have expanded arms. Similar cruciform stones are found in Norse-period burial-grounds on Unst and Yell (Shetland), probably influenced by 11th-century examples in Norway itself.<sup>149</sup> 57 G, H 56 P, 79 56 BB, CC

*Disc-headed gravemarkers.* Of the fifteen stones in this class, eleven are from Kingarth (Bute), with three others on Cumbrae and a lost example on Arran. Some are fragmentary, retaining only the disc, but in most of the more complete examples the disc surmounts the gabled top of a rectangular slab. It is possible that in at least some of the more carefully shaped examples (such as Kingarth 15) this was intended to stand at the head or foot of a coped graveslab. Gravemarkers or finials of this type are found in several churchyards in Northumberland, where they are dated to the 11th century,<sup>150</sup> but they do not appear to be common elsewhere in northern England. Influence from that area may have merged with the older tradition of disc-headed cross-slabs (*supra*, p.14), and the largest example, now incomplete, shows a cross-of-arcs. This motif was also found on the lost slab from Lamlash (Arran), and most of the discs at Kingarth also have crosses with curved arms formed by circular or oval recesses. One of them, however, bears on each face a false-relief cross with square armpits, one cross having a central expansion and boss, and an outline version of this is found on Cumbrae. The other stone there has a cross with beaded outline and frame, enclosing triquetra knots in the lower armpits and possible birds above. 58 58 B 27 E, 58 A 27 J, 58 B 58 H 58 J 58 K, 72 A

*Hogback grave-cover.* The only monument of this type in the area lies in the churchyard at Luss. Despite its proximity to the group of 10th-century hogbacks at Govan, it is closer in style to some of the 'plain tegulated' monuments found in eastern Scotland and has been assigned to the 11th century.<sup>151</sup> The curving ridge and tegulated roof are preserved, but the original form of the sides is not known since they were recut in the 12th century with intersecting arcades in Romanesque style.<sup>152</sup> 59 G

*Shrine-posts and furniture.* The enshrinement of the bodily remains of monastic founders was a regular feature of insular Christianity from the 7th century onwards. Bede describes how the remains of St Chad (Ceadda) were translated into a wooden tomb like a little house, with an aperture through which the holy dust could be removed.<sup>153</sup> Miniature slab-built tents with such apertures survive at several western Irish sites, but in eastern Scotland composite 'corner-post shrines' were favoured, and examples are known from several sites including the large groups from Papil and St Ninian's Isle (Shetland). The construction was based on Mediterranean furnishings such as chancel-enclosures and pulpits, with panels of stone 59



Luss, Dunbartonshire (W14), hogback grave-cover (3), N face



(or possibly timber) fitted into upright angle- or mid-posts, but with the addition of a roof to hold the structure in place. Two

59 A simple sandstone posts on Iona, which lack the ornament found on most of the Shetland examples, suggest that the monastery may have contributed to the early development of the type.<sup>154</sup> An interesting variant, in which the corner-posts were merged with the end-panel but remained identifiable, is

59 C, 83 E seen at Kilmahew. In this case the ornament suggests a possible 10th-century date, and this shrine or its predecessors may have provided a model for the recumbent slabs with vestigial corner-posts at Govan, Inchinnan and Kingarth.<sup>155</sup>

Slotted or rebated corner-posts were used in other contexts beside shrines, and the base of St John's Cross provides an interesting example (*supra*, pp.16-17). An intriguing group of 59 B fragments on Iona, including a post with a massive butt and simple key-ornament, may have belonged to a stone shrine or supported a metalwork one, or formed a kerb round some place of special sanctity.

Three of the remaining items in this section are also on 59 K Iona, including a shallow trough or foot-bath marked with an equal-armed cross and two possible architectural pieces. The ornate slab from Cumbræ, which has stylistic links with 59 D Cumbrian sculptures of the 10th century or later, may have been a door-lintel.



A

### Iconography

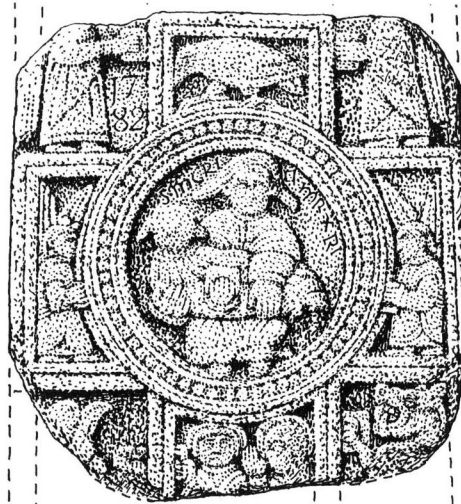
#### Figural scenes

The most elaborate figure-carvings are found on the crosses of the Iona group, although St John's Cross is notable for its almost complete lack of figural representations and even on the Kildalton and St Martin's Crosses these are limited to one face. The scenes appear to be entirely of biblical origin, and even the ascetic image of Paul and Antony, favoured in Irish, Anglian and Pictish sculpture,<sup>156</sup> has not been identified.

169 U At Kildalton the Virgin and Child with two angels occupy 172 G the top of the shaft, as on the fragmentary St Oran's Cross, and the representation is a simplified version of that carving.

49 B Other small figure-scenes, confined to the same face, depict 46 C Cain slaying Abel, Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, and David 131 B and the Lion, a complex series of theological symbols of eucharist and salvation which culminates in the Incarnation. St Martin's Cross places the Virgin and Child in the centre of the cross-head, above another Old Testament series — Daniel, Abraham and Isaac, David as harper with another musician, and two unidentified pairs of figures.

50, 133 The placing of Virgin and Child panels in dominant positions on these three crosses, and the repetition on the top arm of St John's Cross of what appear to be miniature 'Mother and Child' groups, are consistent with the special role accorded to Mary in the Columban paruchia from the 7th century onwards.<sup>157</sup> The hymn *Cantemus in Omni Die* by the Iona monk and canon-law scholar, Cú-Chuimne (d.747),<sup>158</sup> with its references to the liturgical praise of *Maria de tribu Iude* ('Mary from the tribe of Judah'), seems particularly apposite to St Martin's Cross, with its image of Christ and His Mother set above the most significant figures in their genealogy and facing an ancient processional way. The association with angels, also seen on St Cuthbert's coffin and in the celebrated miniature in the Book of Kells, had a long pedigree in the Mediterranean but is rare in sculpture in



B



A. Great Cumbræ (W5), possible lintel (8)

B. Brechin, Angus, cross-slab fragment with Virgin and Child, apostles and angels

C. Kells, Co. Meath, detail of Broken Cross showing Adam and Eve

C

Britain or Ireland. Its appearance on a cross-slab at Brechin, probably of the 9th century, may reflect the Columban or Irish links of the community there.<sup>159</sup> Another image of Mary, prominently displayed on Irish crosses of the late 9th and 10th centuries, is found on the shaft of the Canna Cross. The imposing Virgin, who wears a penannular brooch, extends the Child to receive a gift from one of the Magi, and another may be represented by the rider above them.

98, 99A

The image of the Crucifixion survives in explicit form only on the cross-head fragment from Southend (Kintyre), probably of the 12th century, where the figure of Christ wore a loin-cloth and may have been crowned. A representation of Irish type, with subsidiary figures, may have survived until the late 17th century on Iona, where Martin saw 'a large crucifix' on the west face of what was probably St Matthew's Cross.<sup>160</sup> Christ may also be shown by figures on three other carvings, and the naked man on a cruciform stone from North Rona may represent the Crucifixion although the arms are not extended.<sup>161</sup> A cross-shaft on Canna is dominated by a large human figure, now headless, with his arms crossed on his breast and legs entwined with a serpent. The crossed arms, although often used as a symbol of death, recall the 'Osiris position' of the Book of Kells and were used in eastern Europe as an attitude of prayer, and the image may represent Christ triumphing over the forces of evil.<sup>162</sup> The 'face-cross' on the cruciform slab from Riasg Buidhe (Colonsay) is an outstanding example of a motif which may be derived from Palestinian representations of the head of Christ above the cross of Golgotha. Here the head in the top arm is joined to a fish-like body which recalls the use of the fish as one of the earliest symbols of Christ.<sup>163</sup>

53 H, 118C

115 E,F

100

57 B, 140 A,B

The series of Old Testament scenes begins with the depiction of the Fall on the shaft of St Matthew's Cross, a natural counterpart to the Redemption symbolised by the lost Crucifixion on the other face. The scene of Adam and Eve shares with the Broken Cross at Kells a distinctive iconographical feature, the looping of the serpent's tail round the roots of the tree, which was to influence a 15th-century carving in the adjacent abbey church. The small naked male figure on the edge of the Applecross cross-slab may also

51 A

18 C

89 B,E

represent Adam.<sup>164</sup> The murder of Abel by Cain, a

49 B prefiguration of the Crucifixion, is shown on the Kildalton Cross, where the kneeling posture of Abel may also denote his acceptable sacrifice to the Lord. The theme of sacrifice continues on the other arm of the cross with Abraham and Isaac, a symbol of redemption common in Early Christian art and on later Irish crosses,<sup>165</sup> which reappears, with the addition of an angel, on St Martin's Cross.

50, 133 David, as good shepherd, psalmist and musician, warrior and king, was one of the dominant figures in the genealogy of Christ, and in Early Christian imagery. The Kildalton Cross shows David saving a lamb from the lion, which is more elaborately portrayed on Pictish carvings at St Andrews, 120 A, B Kinneddar and Nigg.<sup>166</sup> Armed figures at Ardchattan and 74 D Kingarth may represent David as warrior king,<sup>167</sup> and the former slab also shows small figures of musicians playing a harp or lyre and a triple pipe. The same combination of 50, 133 musicians appears on St Martin's Cross, and a harper on St 47 A Oran's Cross. The stringed instruments appear to be rounded lyres, as on other Irish carvings, rather than the triangular harp that is first shown on the Nigg cross-slab. The triple pipe, an instrument with two chanters and a drone which survives as the *launeddas* of Sardinia, also appears to be of Irish type but the most detailed representation is on a 10th-century slab at 172 E Tower of Lethendy (Perthshire).<sup>168</sup>

The remaining identifiable Old Testament figure is Daniel, the prophet whose salvation in the lions' den was another notable instance of divine redemption, and whose iconography absorbed the ancient image of the man between beasts, itself a symbol of Christ.<sup>169</sup> At the top of the shaft of St Martin's 50 Cross he sits between two standing lions, while other pairs occupy the arms of the cross. In the same position on the 47, 145 B Keills Cross he raises a hand in benediction while two pairs of agile lions are placed in the cross-head, and others in the shaft.

In the top arm of the Keills Cross is a winged figure above a serpent, which probably represents St Michael vanquishing the dragon, although the resemblance to the eagle symbol of St John may reflect multiple layers of meaning as often found in Early Christian exegesis.<sup>170</sup> A winged figure holding a book, 120 A, B presumably an angel, appears in the top arm of the Ardchattan cross-slab, and there is a less certain example in the same 41 D position on a slab at Kilmory Knap. A shaft-fragment at Iona 52 M bears an angel sheltering two figures in a style comparable with 10th-century carvings in eastern Scotland, where the motif is found at Tower of Lethendy and Brechin.

98-9 The rider on the Canna Cross has been mentioned above as possibly one of the magi, but other carvings of single 81 A, C horsemen, at Eilean Mór, Rothesay and Kingarth, probably 144 B, C represent secular patrons as on Pictish and Strathclyde 74 E, F sculpture, and the Kingarth rider drinks from a horn. The 94 B, C mounted huntsman on the Eigg cross-slab may have the same significance, but the variety of animals shown suggests a wider interpretation as man, the master of God's creation.<sup>171</sup>

41 G The meaning of the two pairs of riders flanking a cross-shaft at Kilmahumag is uncertain, as are those of the standing figures

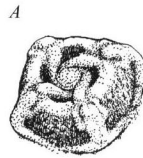
41 D on a cross-slab at Kilmory Knap and on the edges of the 98, 99 B Canna Cross. Two small figures flank a rock-cut cross at

121 A, B Kilmaha (Lorn), and the two incised men in an 'orans' or 68 B, E, 69 A praying attitude in the King's Cave (Arran) repeat a familiar Early Christian motif which is uncommon in Britain.<sup>172</sup> The

52 D, 134 C figures of a smith and a ship's crew on a slab at Iona are of Scandinavian type, although it is uncertain whether they had any legendary associations.

#### Animal ornament

Numerous carvings in the area show natural or mythical creatures which may carry a rich range of symbolic meanings, such as have been explored in Pictish art and in the Book of Kells.<sup>173</sup> A motif which is closely linked to Mediterranean art 49 B is the use of birds. At Kildalton these appear to be peacocks, symbols of immortality and feeding on the grapes of the true vine, as shown in the Book of Kells, while those flanking a



A. Steeple Bumpstead, Essex (British Museum), gilt-bronze boss with leonine creatures facing centre  
B. Kildalton Cross, Islay (A5, 367(1)) detail of E face, central boss

cross at Kilmory Oib appear to be doves, representing peace or 41 A, 150 B the pure Christian soul, but those at Rothesay are less specific. 81 A, B The Canna Cross may show the evil basilisk and its mortal enemy the weasel, and the style of carving links them with 98, 99 A Pictish art, where creatures derived from the bestiaries are common.<sup>174</sup> Another beast with Pictish antecedents is the gross monster swallowing a serpent on the Eilean Mór 144 B, C cross.<sup>175</sup>

The most impressive animal-carvings in the region are the four high-relief lions in the arms of the Kildalton Cross, which 48 A, 138 B may symbolise Christ as the Lion of Judah. The legend that the lion breathed life into its cubs, a symbol of the Resurrection, may also be represented, and with the numerous lions on St Martin's Cross the iconography of the Incarnation 50 may merge with that of the adjacent figure of Daniel.<sup>176</sup>

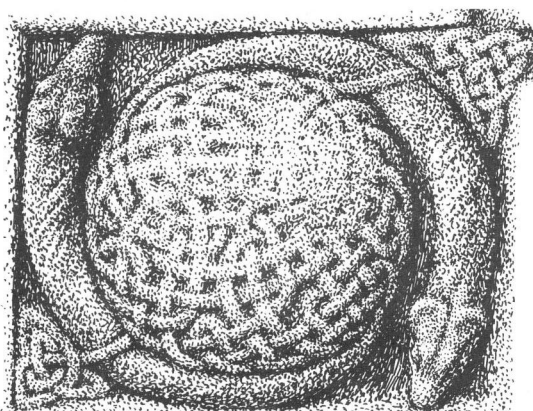
'The theme of violence', which has been identified as a leading feature of Pictish animal art,<sup>177</sup> is most strikingly portrayed in the snake-and-boss ornament of the Iona crosses, and on the later Kilfinan cross-slab. The serpent, author of the 44 A, 147 Fall of Man, was a symbol of evil, attacked by noble creatures such as the lion, stag and eagle, and trampled on by Christ on the Canna cross-shaft, but could also signify resurrection and redemption.<sup>178</sup> The cruciform groups of bosses typical of the Iona crosses produce serpentine bodies with small heads, 46-50 some with lizard-like forequarters,<sup>179</sup> but these are attacked by others with large biting dragons' heads. This motif may refer not only to the dangers faced by the Christian, from which the cross offers salvation, but also to the protective powers of St Columba. It is found in a small group of objects of exceptional artistic merit including the Book of Kells and the bronze plaques at St Germain-en-Laye (France) and from 20 E 20 A Norse graves at Gausel and Romføjellen (Norway), all of which probably originated at Iona.<sup>180</sup> An allied motif at the centre of the Kildalton Cross links it with the Steeple 19 A, B Bumpstead boss which, like the St Germain - Gausel plaques, may have belonged to a large shrine.<sup>181</sup> The snake-and-boss motif also links the Iona crosses to two of the outstanding monuments of Pictish sculpture. On the St Andrews Sarcophagus an interlaced boss produces two snakes, while at 20 B Nigg there are two panels with snakes, all with small heads and many with bent necks, rather than the fierce heads seen on St John's Cross, the Book of Kells and the St Germain 20 D, E 20 C plaques. The design of the right panel at Nigg resembles the top arm of St Oran's Cross, but the use of linking interlace also 47 A suggests the influence of the plaques, perhaps incorporated in one of the major shrines of Iona.

A geometrical panel of four serpents on the Canna cross-shaft is another remarkable parallel to their use in the Book of Kells. Snake-and-boss ornament was used on later Irish 100

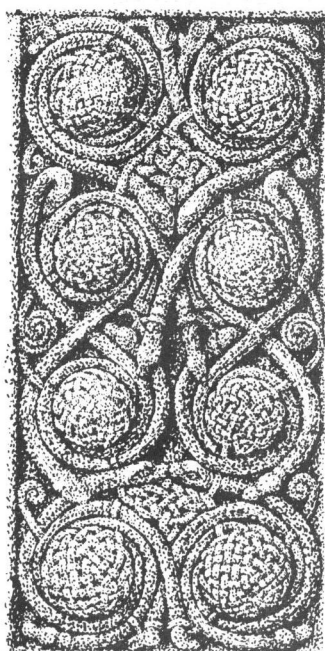




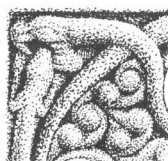
A



B



C



D



E

**Snake-and-boss ornament**

- A. Romfohjellen, Møre og Romsdal, Norway (Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo; electrotype copy in Museum of Scotland), gilt-bronze mount, probably from Viking burial
- B. St Andrews, Fife detail from end-panel of sarcophagus
- C. Nigg, Ross and Cromarty detail of cross-slab
- D. Iona (A4), detail of St John's Cross (82), E face
- E. St Germain-en-Laye, France (electrotype copy in National Museum of Ireland), detail of D-shaped gilt-bronze plaque

crosses such as those at Dromiskin (Co. Louth) and Kells,<sup>182</sup> and these may have influenced the cross-slab at Kilfinan and the cruciform stone at Soroby.

### Contacts with the wider world

The wide outlook of these island monks, situated at the western edge of the Christian world, is indicated by Adomnán's valuable account of the holy places, compiled during a visit to Iona by the Gaulish pilgrim Arculf, which describes crosses and the rituals associated with them in Jerusalem and Constantinople. The Northumbrian Ecgbert, who was to convert Iona to the Roman Easter and die on the island, founded the mission to the Low Countries in the late 7th century. Fifty years later the Iona monk Vergil, a notable scholar and missionary, became abbot and bishop of Salzburg.<sup>183</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that several ornamental links with the art of the Mediterranean and Gaul have been noted above, although it is not possible to say how long the chain of transmission was. The angels who raise their wings to form canopies above the Virgin and Child on the Iona crosses have close parallels in Armenian sculpture and Coptic manuscripts.<sup>184</sup> The form of cross seen on the Bagh na h-Uamha pillar had its origins in Jerusalem, and there was a strong Gaulish tradition of marigolds and crosses-of-arcs. A notable example of the latter at Ellary has ornamental features which link it closely to a Merovingian manuscript of about 700.<sup>185</sup> In this section, some of the more local links between western Scotland and other parts of Britain and Ireland will be discussed.

### Ireland

The monastic establishments of Dál Riata were important foundations of the early Irish church, and the sculpture associated with them is predominantly Irish in character. This is especially true of the simple linear and outline crosses, which can be matched in western Ireland as well as in the Isle of Man and Wales. Many of the linear crosses recorded here

are indistinguishable from those in similar geographical settings in Kerry and Donegal, an example being the equal-armed crosses with barred terminals that are found in the Loughros peninsula in the latter county.<sup>186</sup> Simple cruciform stones, some with incised crosslets, also occur in both areas, including several on Skellig Michael. Crosses-of-arcs are especially common in Kerry, some of them being associated with early ogham inscriptions,<sup>187</sup> while marigolds are most numerous at Gallen (Co. Offaly). Donegal also has a number of simple outline crosses, including some at the pilgrimage site of Gleann Cholm Cille. An example with a voided centre, resembling those on St Kilda and at Lybster (Caithness), is preserved on Inishbofin (Co. Galway), where a monastery was founded in the 660s by the Columban monks who left Lindisfarne after the Synod of Whitby. Only a few simple linear and outline crosses have been published from Clonmacnoise, where most of the large collection is of more elaborate character and includes a far higher proportion of inscriptions than on Iona.<sup>188</sup> Plain outline crosses occur on numerous simple slabs at St Berrihert's Kyle (Co. Tipperary), and on graveslabs at the island monastery of Inisceiltra (Co. Clare).<sup>189</sup> The prevalence of large graveslabs in many Irish monasteries is not matched in Scotland, except on Iona.<sup>190</sup>

Iona was typical of the Irish church in the almost exclusive use of timber for its buildings, and the structural influence of timber construction on the earliest stone crosses is seen in both areas, although none equals the complexity of St John's Cross. A notable instance is the large composite cross at Toureen Peakaun (Co. Tipperary), whose construction resembled that of St Oran's Cross,<sup>191</sup> while on Inishmurray a simple pillar with a slot for a dowelled wooden transom resembles the shaft from Killeevin. The most significant survival of timber construction is an interlaced boss from 10th-century levels in Viking Dublin.<sup>192</sup> Later Irish crosses include structural features such as mortice-joints in shafts and finials,<sup>193</sup> and sockets for attachments, perhaps of metal.

It is suggested above that the ring was first applied to the free-standing stone cross at Iona in the 8th century. Most Irish crosses are thought to belong to the 9th and early 10th



A



B



C

- A. Inishbofin, Co. Galway  
outline cross with voided centre  
B. Drumcliff, Co. Sligo  
high-relief lion on E face of cross  
C. Mayo Abbey, Co. Mayo  
detail of cross-head with crouching animal-finial

## INTRODUCTION

centuries, while the Iona crosses are an earlier group distinguished by lack of ornament on edges or divisions between figure-subjects, extensive use of snake-and-boss ornament and the minute interlace in the borders of St John's Cross, and undecorated stepped bases. The influence of metalwork is common to the Iona crosses and those of Ahenny (Co. Tipperary), but these are very different in proportions and in their chip-carved style. The bossed head of the South Cross at Clonmacnoise may be derived from that of St Martin's Cross,<sup>194</sup> but its ornament is also very different. The crosses of Kells, particularly that of 'Patrick and Columba', were important in the development of Irish sculpture, and St Matthew's Cross on Iona marks the close relationship of the two monasteries at about the end of the 9th century, but the sculpture of other Columban houses shares no common style.

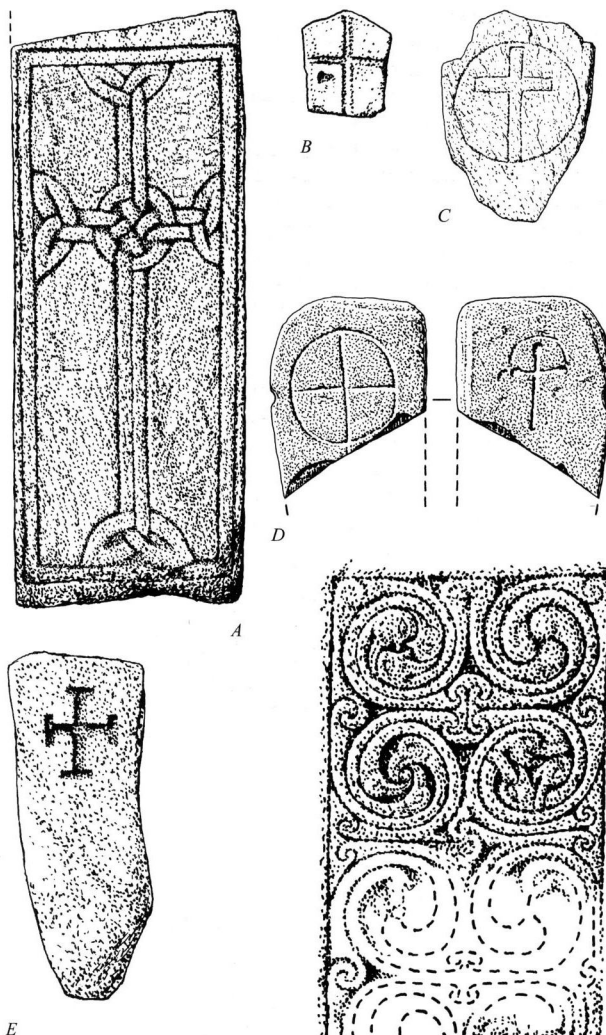
The cross at Durrow (Co. Offaly) belongs to the Monasterboice group of the same period, and that at Moone (Co. Kildare) carries a complex theological cycle in charmingly naïve style. At Drumcliff (Co. Sligo) the cross, perhaps of the 10th century, bears a high-relief lion which may be influenced by those of Kildalton, while a lion finial on an unringed cross-head at Mayo Abbey (Co. Mayo), a monastery founded from Inishbofin, is a unique parallel for the finial of St John's Cross.<sup>195</sup> Also with Columban associations is the plain slab-like ringed cross with a span of 2.2m at Ray, on the Donegal coast opposite the monastic site on Tory Island.<sup>196</sup>

Plain crosses with little or no ornament are common to Ireland and western Scotland, and examples at Tarbert (Gigha) and Kingarth share with that at Kilbroney (Co. Down) slightly-sunk curved armpits superimposed on square ones.<sup>197</sup> Some of the small ringed cross-heads at Iona are also of Irish type, and one bears the typical rolls attached to the ring-quadrants. During the 10th century both areas were influenced by Scandinavian artistic taste, and a graveslab at Glendalough with an interlaced ring in the head of a ribbon-cross resembles two of those on Iona. The vogue for cross-slabs in western Scotland and the Isle of Man is not apparent in Ireland, although the slab at Fahan (Co. Donegal) has some parallels with that at Ardchattan and may be of this period.

### Northumbria

Monks from Iona dominated the conversion of Northumbria for the thirty years after the foundation of Lindisfarne about 635, but the earliest sculpture of the monastery shows no connection with that of the mother-house. One of the few close parallels is the small slab with a sunken cross from Coquet Island, an offshore island 'famous for its companies of monks', which about 684 was visited by St Cuthbert.<sup>198</sup> The crosses with bar terminals on a stone at Peebles, commemorating a priest or bishop with the Brittonic name Neiton, are also of Irish type and the tapered form of the slab resembles several on Iona.<sup>199</sup> The cross erected by Cuthbert himself, to the south of his oratory on the Great Farne in a position comparable with the later cross on Eilean Mór, was probably of timber. The cross incised inside Cuthbert's coffin of 698 has been identified as possibly representing a timber cross of Iona type, for its broad curved armpits and square arms resemble those of St Oran's and the Kilnave Crosses.<sup>200</sup>

The introduction of stonemasons from Gaul led to the development in Northumbria of architectural sculpture and, in the first half of the 8th century, of tall stone crosses decorated with foliage-ornament, interlace and figure-sculpture of classical type.<sup>201</sup> The creation of the earliest major crosses on Iona may be seen as a confident response to these Anglian carvings, greatly exceeding them in scale and maintaining the Irish ornamental repertoire which was familiar in manuscript art and metalwork and probably also in timber.<sup>202</sup> St John's Cross has the double-curved arms of many Northumbrian crosses, but its model may have been of metalwork rather than stone. Its wide span and the groups of five bosses in the arm-ends are best matched in the Rupertus Cross from Bischofshofen (Austria), a masterpiece in Anglo-Saxon style



A. Glendalough, Co. Wicklow  
graveslab (scale 1:20)  
B. Coquet Island, Northumberland  
cross-marked stone (scale 1:15)  
C. Faroe Islands  
slab resembling one on Iona (A4 (24)) (scale 1:20)  
D. Monymusk, Aberdeenshire  
cross-marked stone (scale 1:15)  
E. Isle of Noss, Shetland  
cross-marked stone (scale 1:15)  
F. St Vigean, Angus  
detail of cross-slab

which may have been created in the third quarter of the 8th century for Vergil of Salzburg.<sup>203</sup> Similar works may well have been brought to Iona through contacts such as the visit to Ripon by abbot Sléibíne (752-67).<sup>204</sup>

In the 10th century large numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian crosses were created in northern England, whereas the cross-slab was preferred in western Scotland. However, there is some evidence of contact, notably in the apparent influence of the Kildalton Cross on a cross-head at York which had high-relief lions in the arms and prominent bosses.<sup>205</sup> The interlace of a cross-shaft at Iona also has links with 10th-century sculpture in east Yorkshire, and a similar pattern of contacts is revealed by a ringed-cross fragment at the Scottish royal centre of Forteviot (Perthshire).<sup>206</sup> Cumbrian influence is seen in the Clyde estuary, notably in the lintel from Cumbrae and in what appears to be a coarse imitation of 'stopped-plait' ornament from Inchmarnock, while a 'hammer-head' cross is carved on a slab at Kilmory Knap. The hogback monument at Luss is ultimately derived from northern England, and the disc-headed gravemarkers at Kingarth and Cumbrae have close parallels in 11th-century Northumbria.



*Eastern Scotland*

26 The distribution of symbol-stones shows that the northern part  
 152 B of the area dealt with in this survey still belonged to the  
 Pictish cultural province in the 8th century. The boar of  
 Pictish style incised at the Dalriadic stronghold of Dunadd  
 may mark peaceful political contacts. Columba himself, as  
 well as visiting the Inverness area, was described in his elegy  
 as teaching and converting the 'tribes of the Tay', and it is  
 likely that dedications to Adomnán and other Iona saints in  
 Glen Lyon and Strath Tay predate the rise of Dunkeld as a  
 Columban centre in the 9th century.<sup>207</sup> Applecross probably  
 lay within Pictish territory and dedications to Maelrubha  
 indicate a strong link with Easter Ross, confirmed by the style  
 88-9 of its cross-slab.

The symbol-stones of eastern Scotland are matched by a  
 series of simple cross-marked pillars and slabs, clustered along  
 routes joining the eastern and western Highlands, which may  
 have been the inspiration for the carving of symbols on  
 stone.<sup>208</sup> Some of the outline crosses are of similar form to  
 those on Pictish cross-slabs, but many of the simpler carvings  
 169 G-J, M are in the Irish style of the West Highlands and probably  
 reflect Columban activity of the 7th and 8th centuries. Typical  
 examples in Aberdeenshire include encircled equal-armed  
 22 D crosses at Monymusk and Milton of Crathes, and a series of  
 outline crosses at Tullich, which may have been a monastic  
 centre. The recent identification of linear crosses at Fortingall  
 (Perthshire) and Tarbat (Easter Ross), along with the evidence  
 of later sculpture and possible enclosures, strengthens the  
 claims of both sites to have been among the unnamed  
 Columban monasteries mentioned by Adomnán as existing  
 among the Picts in the late 7th century. Other carvings which  
 are of Irish type, although not paralleled in western Scotland,  
 include slabs bearing a cross with circular terminals at Strathy  
 (Sutherland); a cross with expanded arms and a fish at  
 Ballachly (Caithness); and a sunken cross with bar-terminals  
 22 E from Noss (Shetland).<sup>209</sup>

The first generation of Pictish cross-slabs, probably begun  
 by local craftsmen under the tuition of Northumbrian masons  
 in the first quarter of the 8th century, owed more to manuscript  
 design than to free-standing crosses, although they contributed  
 to the development of the ringed cross.<sup>210</sup> Despite the  
 supposed rift with the Columban church in 715, the early Iona  
 crosses share close stylistic links, notably the use of snake-  
 20 B-D and-boss ornament, with the St Andrews Sarcophagus and the  
 Nigg cross-slab. While it is difficult to evaluate the relative  
 contributions of stone-carving and metalwork as models, it is  
 likely that the motif travelled from Iona to Pictland, but studies  
 of the Book of Kells show the complexity of the relationships  
 between Irish and Pictish art.<sup>211</sup> Pictish stone-carvers may  
 have contributed to the development of the craft at Iona, but  
 under the supervision of Irish designers skilled in metalwork  
 and manuscripts. Other connections with Pictish design have  
 been noted in the Canna Cross and the Applecross cross-slab.

93 F, 94 A The cross shown on a slab on Eigg, which also bears an  
 elaborate hunting-scene, finds its closest parallels on the  
 symbol-less slabs produced after the fusion of the Picts and  
 Scots in the middle of the 9th century.<sup>212</sup> Some free-standing  
 crosses were also erected in the east, and it has recently been  
 172 B suggested that the Dupplin Cross of the first half of the 9th  
 century came from a 'Columban' milieu, while fragments of  
 bossed crosses at Edzell and St Vigean may reflect continuing  
 Irish influence.<sup>213</sup> However, cross-slabs continued to  
 predominate and reached their greatest scale in Sueno's Stone  
 119 B whose attenuated form is reflected in the slab on Sanda  
 (Kintyre). These late cross-slabs were probably responsible  
 for the vogue for these monuments in western Scotland, which  
 169 U also reached the Isle of Man.<sup>214</sup>

**The continuing tradition**

The 12th century brought to the West Highlands the  
 beginnings of an organised parochial system, giving new lives  
 as churches and chapels to many ancient centres of worship.  
 Benedictines replaced the Columban monks of Iona, which  
 remained an important place of burial, and other monastic  
 orders occupied new houses at Saddell, Ardochattan and  
 Oronsay. The consequent architectural activity, however, was  
 not matched by the widespread creation of monumental  
 sculpture until the 14th century. A few coped gravecovers of  
 characteristic lowland type remain in the Clyde area, at  
 Inchmarnock, Kilmun and Luss,<sup>215</sup> and others are found on  
 Iona, where there are also several plain sandstone graveslabs  
 with chamfered edges. Another Iona monument which may  
 occupy this hiatus is an upright gravemarker bearing a ringed  
 altar-cross and a medieval chalice. A small number of  
 graveslabs showing 'four-ring' crosses of 14th-century  
 lowland type occur in mainland Argyll, and these may have  
 been among the models for the flowering of 'West Highland'  
 sculpture later in that century at workshops on Iona and on the  
 mainland.<sup>216</sup>

The graveslabs and effigies produced by these schools are  
 distinctive local variations on common medieval types, often  
 combining palmette-foliage of Romanesque character with  
 traditional interlace-patterns. The vogue for tall decorated  
 crosses, however, is exceptional in late medieval Britain and  
 Ireland, and most were the work of carvers of the Iona school,  
 active from about the middle of the 14th to the end of the 15th  
 century. They may have been inspired by surviving early  
 medieval crosses, but owe little to them in form. The classic  
 type, as seen at Campbeltown (Kintyre), Kilchoman (Islay),  
 Oronsay and in MacLean's Cross on Iona itself, has short  
 rectangular arms projecting beyond a large disc-head which  
 bears on one face a Crucifixion. At Inveraray and Saddell the  
 heads are foliated, while a cross of the Loch Awe school at  
 Kilfinan (Cowal) has bracketed arms. Ringed crosses are  
 shown on some graveslabs of the Iona school as altar-crosses  
 or as the principal motif, but the only free-standing cross to  
 have a pierced ring is a 16th-century carving at Kilmartin.<sup>217</sup>

Outside the main area of West Highland carving, graveslabs  
 with large interlace-patterns of late medieval date are found at  
 Kilbride (Arran) and Kingarth (Bute). In Argyll itself there  
 are some crudely-carved monuments, notably at Kilberry,  
 bearing saltires and other geometrical devices which bear  
 some resemblance to monuments of Hiberno-Norse date in the  
 Dublin area, but they are probably to be attributed to the  
 period after the decline of West Highland carving in the 16th  
 century. Apart from such isolated local efforts there was little  
 attempt at monumental sculpture in the West Highlands for a  
 century after the Reformation. The Reformed church did not  
 favour the use of the cross or associated iconography, although  
 ancient cross-marked pillars and slabs continued to mark  
 graves in numerous burial-grounds. In a few cases, however,  
 there are simple Latin crosses, in relief on a slab at Kildalton  
 and free-standing, with the date 1582 and the initials of  
 Malcolm and Donald Beaton, at Pennycross (Mull). This  
 practice remained strongest in areas of continuing or revived  
 Roman Catholic observance,<sup>218</sup> and the group of plain crosses  
 on Eilean Fhianain, of probable 18th-century date, is an  
 impressive final expression of a tradition which began twelve  
 centuries earlier.

73 A, 138 A

146 A,B

148 B

opp. p. 1

39 DD

25 A

86 A

## THREATS AND PRESERVATION

Over the centuries the carvings described in this volume have been threatened by vandalism, iconoclasm, neglect, agricultural activities and natural decay. Deliberate iconoclasm was perhaps less common than later tradition would suggest, although there was an example as late as about 1870 at Applecross.<sup>219</sup> The legend of three hundred and sixty crosses being thrown into the Sound of Iona after the Reformation appears to have no historical basis,<sup>220</sup> and St Martin's Cross with its Virgin and Child remains intact. A greater threat was represented by the re-use as building-material of carvings which had lost their religious and family associations, and stones at Cladh a' Bhile and Iona were broken and re-used even in the early medieval period.<sup>221</sup> In some cases, such as Berneray, this could be a means of preservation. In this cautionary tale of a cross-shaft divided between two crofters, the fragment retained as a window-lintel was acquired by Carmichael for the National Museum while that returned to the burial-ground by its conscience-stricken owner was lost.<sup>222</sup> Stones continue to disappear, such as those first recorded in the 1970s at Kilkenneth and Soroby (Tiree) and Calgary (Mull), perhaps through the natural processes of sand-blowing or the growth of turf, or removal in the course of graveyard maintenance. Recumbent slabs are particularly vulnerable to damage. A prohibition against treading on them was attributed to Kenneth MacAlpin, and Scott at Iona in 1814 recorded the effects of 'the rustic step of the peasants and of Sassenach visitants'.<sup>223</sup> In contrast to Ireland, known examples of deliberate theft are not common, but the removal of a 17th-century armorial stone from Howmore in 1991 shows the potential risk to earlier carvings, many of them more portable and more remote than this substantial monument. The illustrated descriptive catalogue in this volume is an important tool for their identification and protection.

The weathering caused to exposed stones by the severe climate of western Scotland was particularly serious in those with geological flaws, and the disintegration of St Matthew's Cross, Iona, over the past three centuries is uniquely documented in graphic sources.<sup>224</sup> The effects of wind and rain even on more durable material are illustrated by the Kildalton Cross, where weathering of the original surface has left numerous projecting gritty inclusions. The climate also favours the growth of lichens and other algae, which can penetrate and damage the stone as well as providing natural camouflage to impede its understanding and appreciation. St Martin's Cross was described as early as 1749 as 'overgrown with fog [lichen]', and this is re-establishing itself despite cleaning about 1860 and in 1973.<sup>225</sup> The important groups of early carvings in caves are particularly at risk, both from water-erosion and algal growth and from the extensive carving of modern graffiti. To these threats has been added the use of paint, to fill crosses as at the Caipile Caves (Fife) or to outline them, as at St Columba's Cave in 1999, in both cases obscuring their early origin and significant features.

Active measures for the preservation of medieval sculpture in western Scotland began only in the middle of the 19th century, when the fallen shaft of St Matthew's Cross was re-erected in its base. The damaged graveslab commemorating Mail-Phatraic was removed from Iona to Inveraray Castle about 1854, and some years later stones of early as well as late medieval date, including fragments of St John's and St Oran's Crosses, were protected by railed enclosures in Reilig Odhráin. The re-roofing of St Ronan's Church in 1923 provided a home for some early medieval stones, including the fragments of St Oran's Cross, and additional space became available with the rebuilding of the former monastic infirmary in 1964 as the Abbey Museum. From the first, its architect, Ian G Lindsay, had proposed that the conserved fragments of St John's Cross should be displayed in the museum and this

was achieved in 1990, to be followed by St Oran's and St Matthew's Crosses. A concrete replica of St John's Cross, moulded by George Mancini from the original fragments, had been placed in the original base in 1970, replacing Macalister's reconstruction of 1927 which collapsed twice in the 1950s. The principal historic sites were transferred by Iona Cathedral Trust into the guardianship of The Scottish Ministers in 2000.

The association of Alexander Carmichael and Captain F W L Thomas with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland led to the presentation of several carvings from the Outer Isles to the society's museum in the 1860s, and acquisitions have continued at intervals, notably the donation by the Kildalton estate of casts from Islay in 1883, followed by several of the original stones in 1923. Many of these stones were placed on display for the first time when the new Museum of Scotland opened in 1998. Other carvings from the area are held by Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum (Achadh na Cille and Cumbrae) and the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow (Ardnadam). Campbeltown and Millport (Isle of Cumbrae) have the only local-authority museums with early stones, but museum services and council archaeologists have been active in giving advice on preservation and display. The Bute Museum has housed a growing collection of monuments from Bute and Inchmarnock since 1913, the present building dating from 1926. The Museum of Islay Life, established in 1976, displays a local collection in a purpose-built shelter, and single stones are housed in other independent museums and heritage centres such as those at Gairloch, Kilmartin House and Ness. Other local initiatives include the construction of stone-shelters in churchyards at Clachan (Kintyre) and Kilmorie, Craignish, and the lapidarium at Keil session-house, Lochaline.

State protection of carved stones in the West Highland area began with the re-roofing of Kilmory Knap chapel as a lapidarium in 1934 by the Office of Works (now Historic Scotland). Similar restoration was carried out in 1978 at Keills old parish church, where a simple shaped slab of local stone replaced the Keills Cross in its outdoor location, and a purpose-built shelter had been erected at Kilberry in 1951. The most dramatic preservation exercise in the area was the placing by helicopter of a replica above the carved rock-surface at Dunadd in 1978. Historic Scotland has also provided interpretative displays in parish churches for the Kilmartin Cross and for two stones from Kilmahew, now at Dalavich, and the cross-slab fragment from Kilmichael of Inverlussa was conserved in 1999 for display in the church there.

Other churches that house early stones include the Cathedral of the Isles at Millport, Rosneath, Kilmahew, Cumlodden, Christ Church Lochgilphead, Lochgoilhead, Tayvallich, Lochbuie and Kilmore (Skye), while others are preserved in protected areas of churchyards such as St Margaret's Lochgilphead and Poltalloch. Many other carvings remain in churchyards and burial-grounds which are maintained by local authorities, and their preservation is an important aspect of the responsible management of these sites.

A number of the stones recorded in this survey are scheduled by Historic Scotland under the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act of 1979, or included in the listing of individual churchyards under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) (Scotland) Act of 1997, and some sites in Argyll and Bute, including the lapidaria described above, are in state guardianship.<sup>226</sup> Stones on Canna, Berneray and Pabbay (Barra) are in the care of the National Trust for Scotland. Many other carvings, however, do not enjoy such protection, and their continued preservation depends on the goodwill of local authorities, landowners and residents. In recent years there has been increasing interest in the conservation problems of carved stones as well as in their artistic and historical value. This has led to a nation-wide condition assessment by the National Museums of Scotland; programmes of scientific research sponsored by Historic

opp. p.1

145 B, 146

152 C

4 A, 31 PP  
127 D

132 A

7 C





A. Pennycross, Mull, W face of Beaton Cross, 1582 (A3, 319)



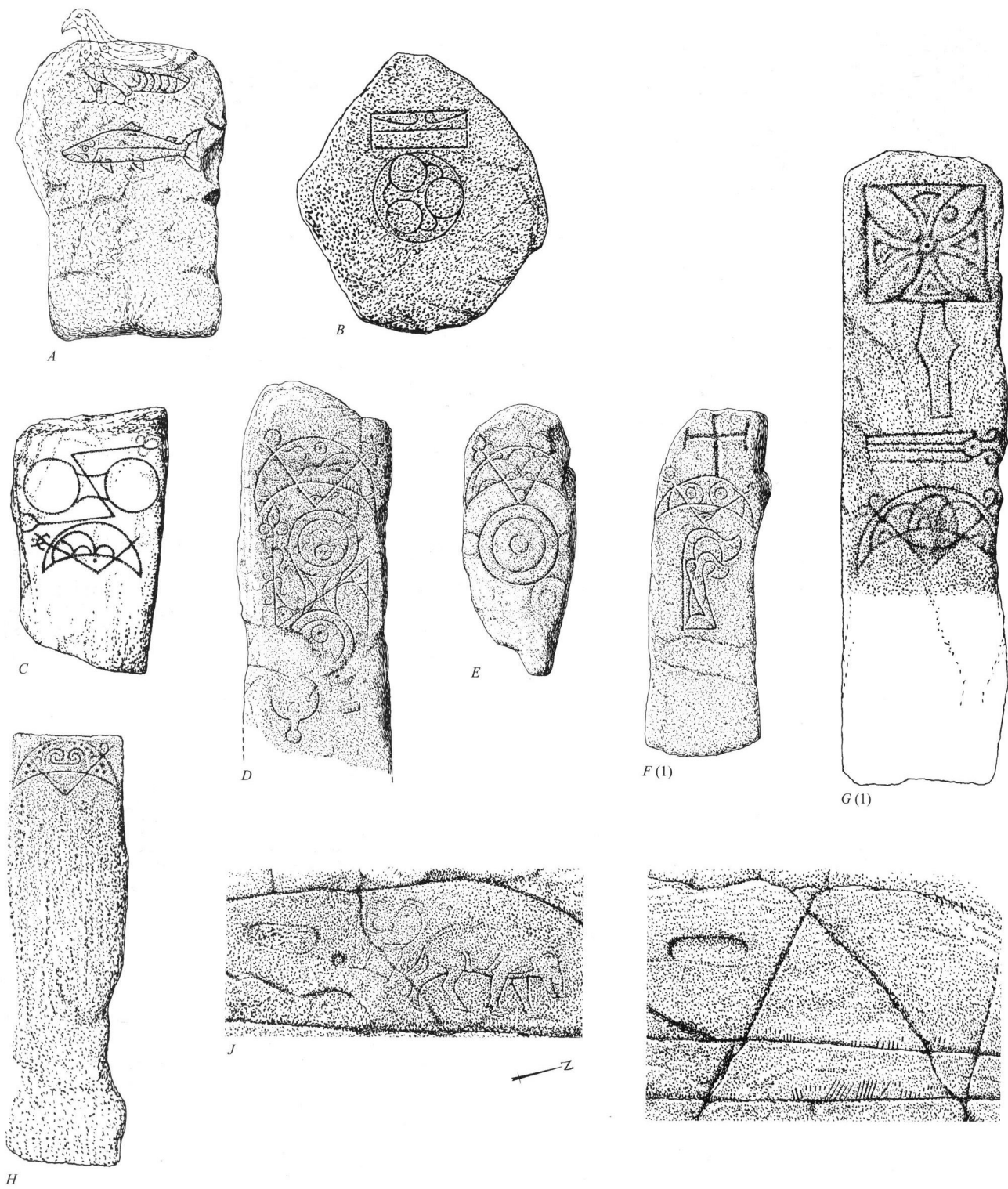
B. Grange Cemetery, Edinburgh, replica of Kildalton Cross (A5, 367(1)) erected as memorial to G Ritchie, 1896



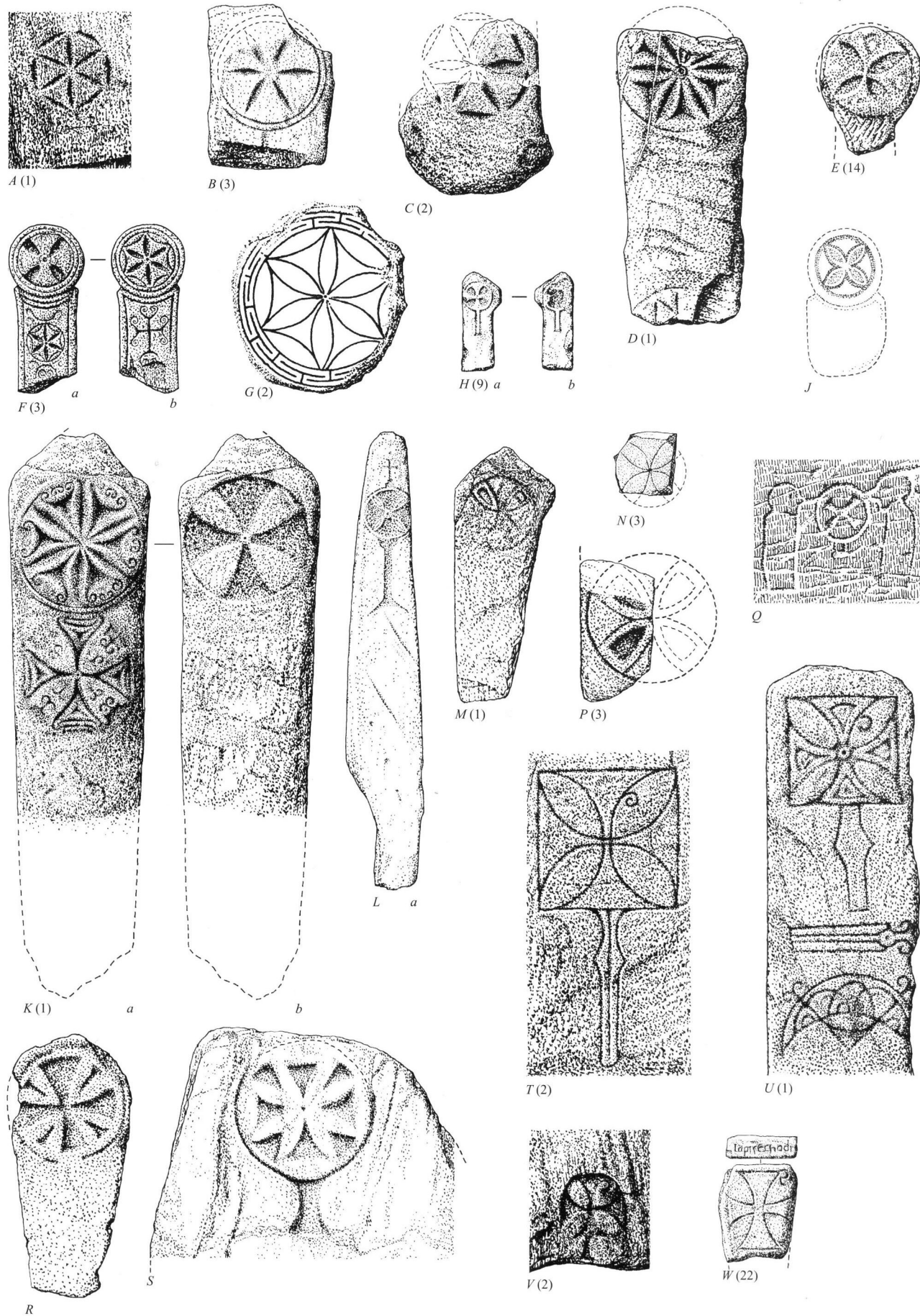
C. Gairloch (W20)  
symbol-stone, on display in Gairloch Heritage Museum

Scotland on problems such as weathering and stone-cleaning;<sup>227</sup> and active debate in Scotland and Ireland on the merits of leaving carvings *in situ*, with or without protection, or moving them to shelter. The National Committee on Carved Stones in Scotland, established in 1993 to co-ordinate preservation and publication of sculpture of all periods, brings together representatives from RCAHMS and other national bodies under an independent chairman.<sup>228</sup> It seeks to identify and promote good practice in the preservation of carved stones, to raise awareness of threats including well-intentioned but intrusive rubbing, chalking and cleaning, and to identify stones that are at greatest risk.<sup>229</sup>

The experience of recent years suggests that early medieval carvings will continue to be identified. Stones that can be classified as portable antiquities may be subject to Treasure Trove legislation and should be reported to the Treasure Trove secretariat at the National Museums of Scotland. Proposed recording or preservation work at sites that are listed or scheduled may require consent respectively from the local authority or Historic Scotland, who can also provide technical advice on display and conservation. To maintain the comprehensive record contained in the national database, information about new discoveries should be sent to RCAHMS and to the appropriate local authority archaeologist or museum. This will allow the continuation of the drawn and descriptive record contained in this volume, as a resource for conservation management and further research.



1 SYMBOL-STONES (scale 1:20)  
A. Gairloch (W20); B. Strome Shunamul, Benbecula (W44); C. Fiscavaig, Skye (W36); D. Tote, Skye (W38); E. Tobar na Maor, Dùn Osdale, Skye (W37);  
F. Pabbay, Barra (W40); G. Raasay (W34); H. Poolewe (W21); J. Dunadd (A7, 281)

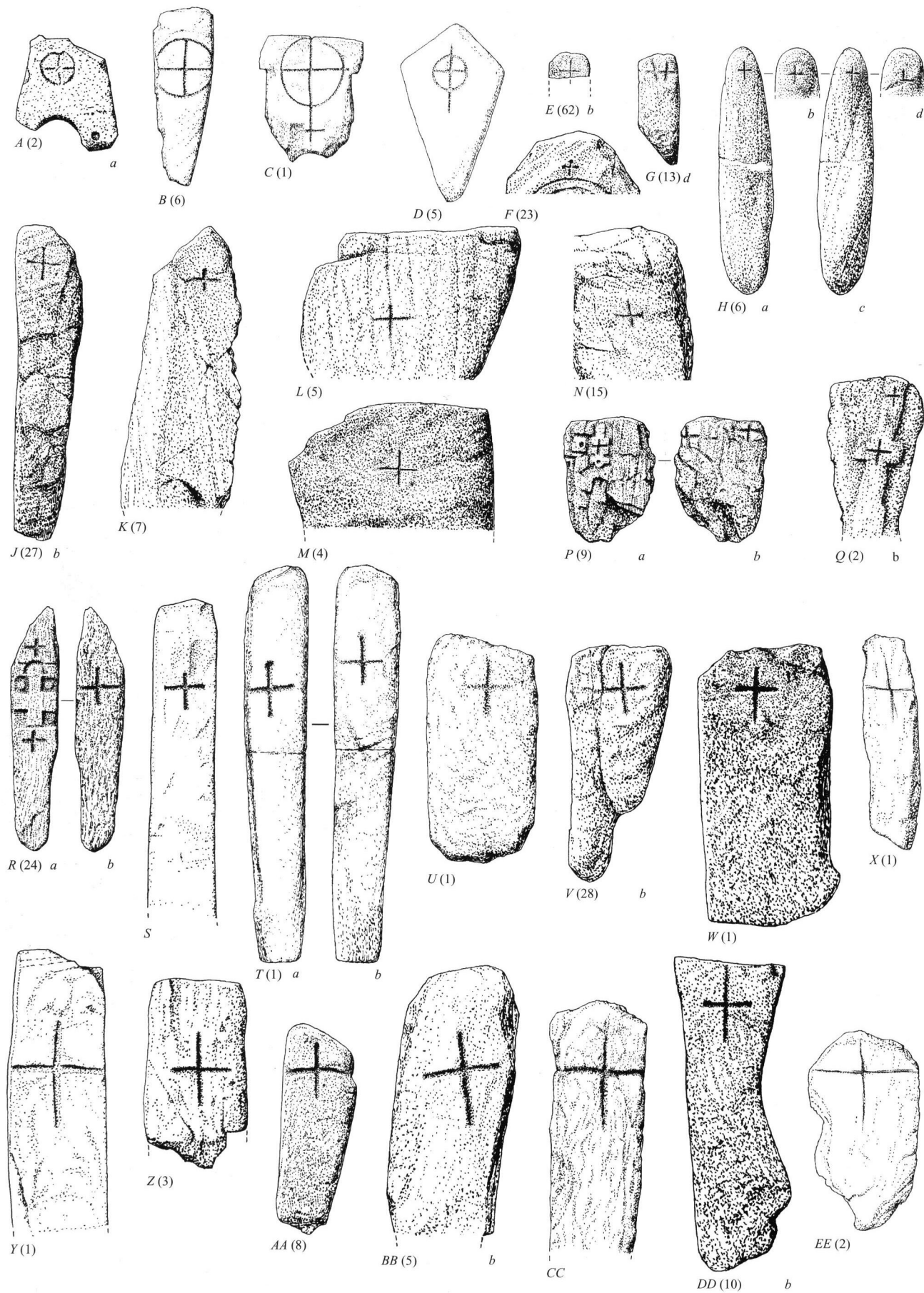


2 HEXAFOILS AND CROSSES-OF-ARCS (scale 1:20); see also fig.42 G

A, V. Eilean Mór (A7, 33); B, C, K. Cladh a' Bhile (A7, 20); D. Kilberry (A7, 48); E. St Blane's, Kingarth (W6); F. Great Cumbræ (W5); G. St Ciaran's Cave (A1, 298); H. A' Chill, Canna (W28); J. Kilbride, Lamfash (W2); L. Kilmory, Rum (W27); M. A' Chill, Muck (W24); N, T, U. Raasay (W34); P. Inchmarnock (W7); Q. Kilmaha (A2, 261); R. Dunans (A7, 27); S. Daltote Cottage (A7, 24); W. Iona (A4)

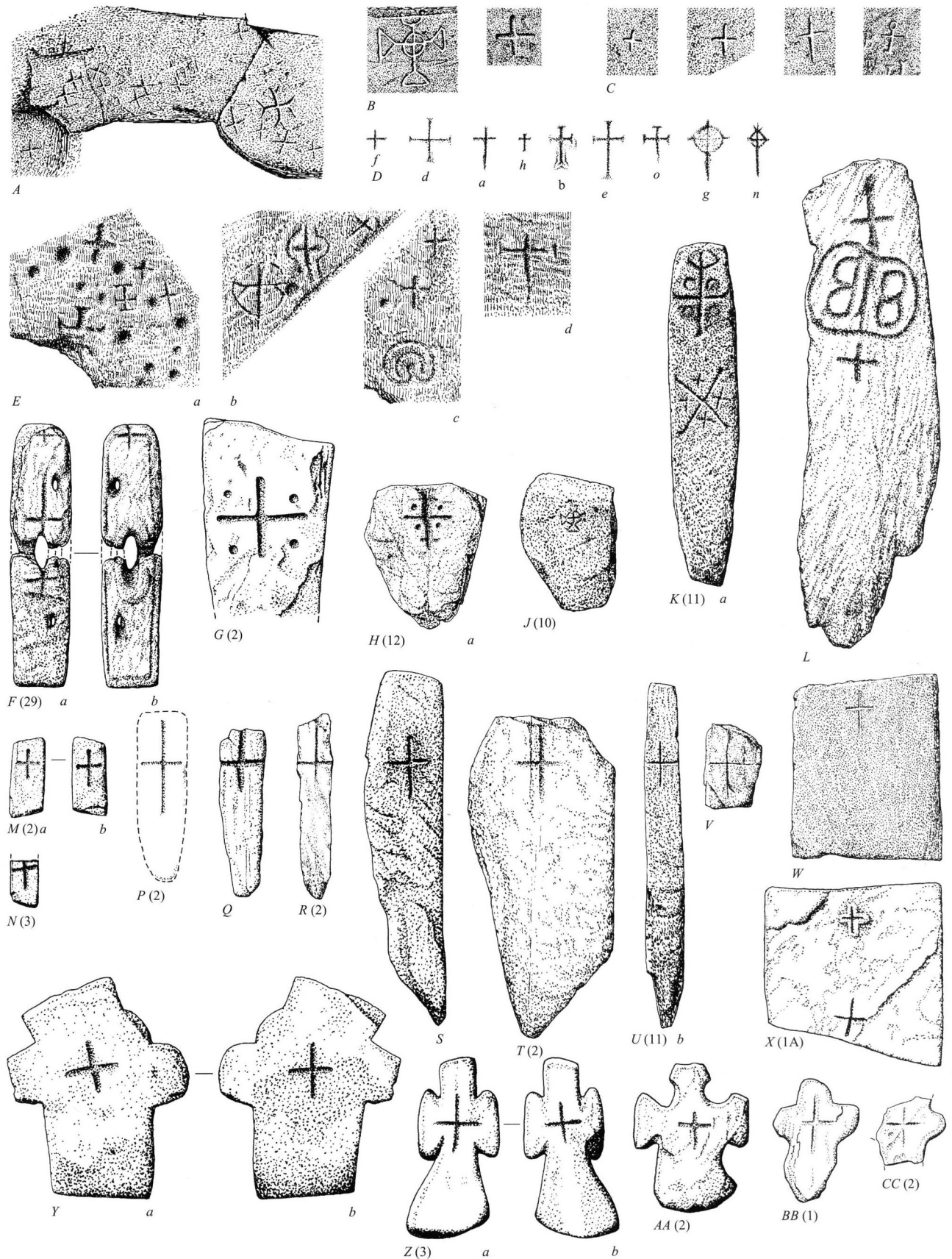


# COMPARATIVE DRAWINGS



3 LINEAR CROSSES (1) (scale 1:20); see also fig. 116K

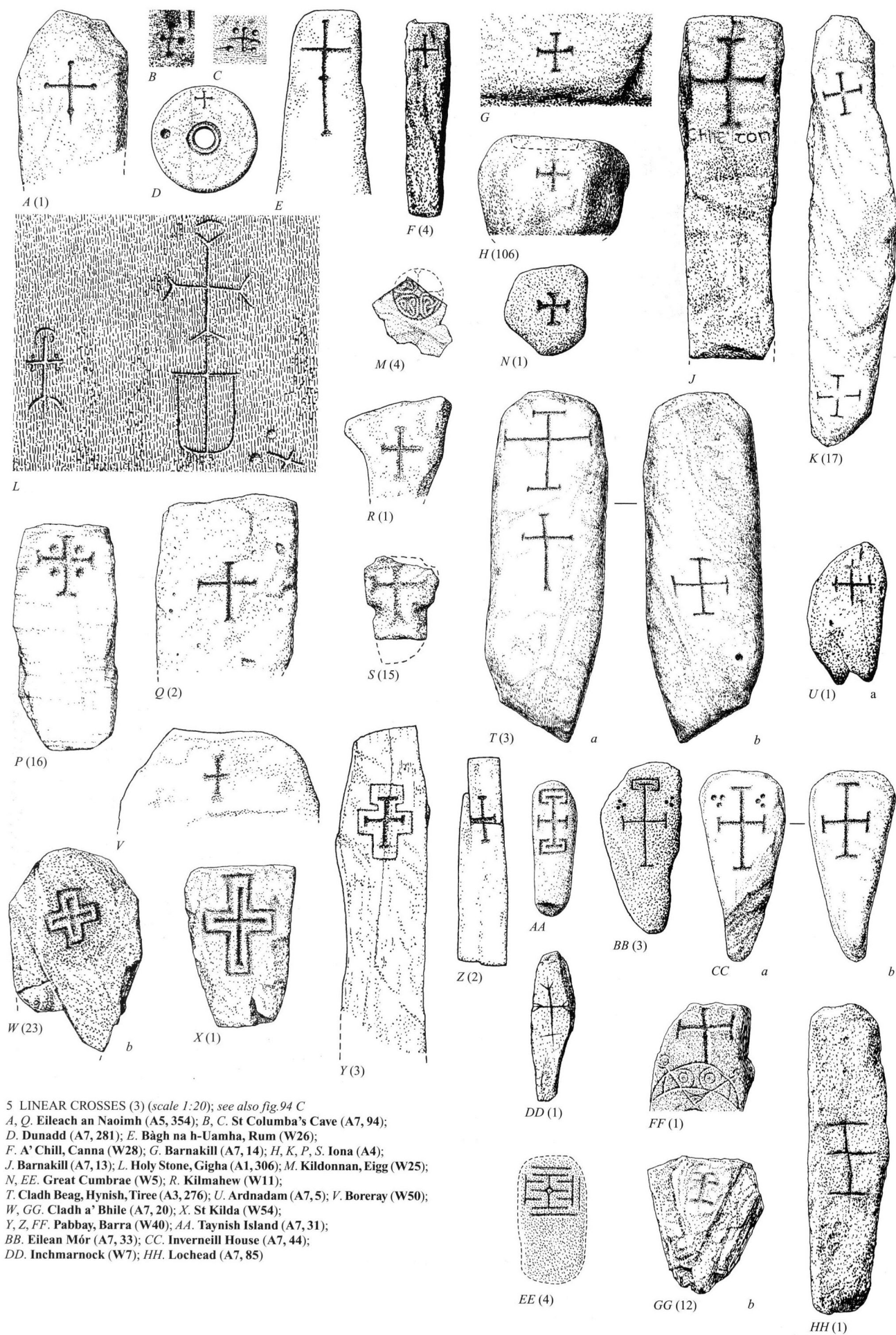
A. Lochgoilhead (A7, 87); B, D, E. Iona (A4); C. Soroby, Tiree (A3, 327); F-P, R, V, AA. Cladh a' Bhile (A7, 20); Q. Kilberry (A7, 48); S. Kishorn (W17); T. Killundine (A3, 303); U, Z, BB. Achadh na Cille (A7, 2); W, DD. A' Chill, Canna (W28); X, EE. Kiloran Bay, Colonsay (A5, 298); Y. Luss (W14); CC. Kilbride, Loch Sween (A7, 53)

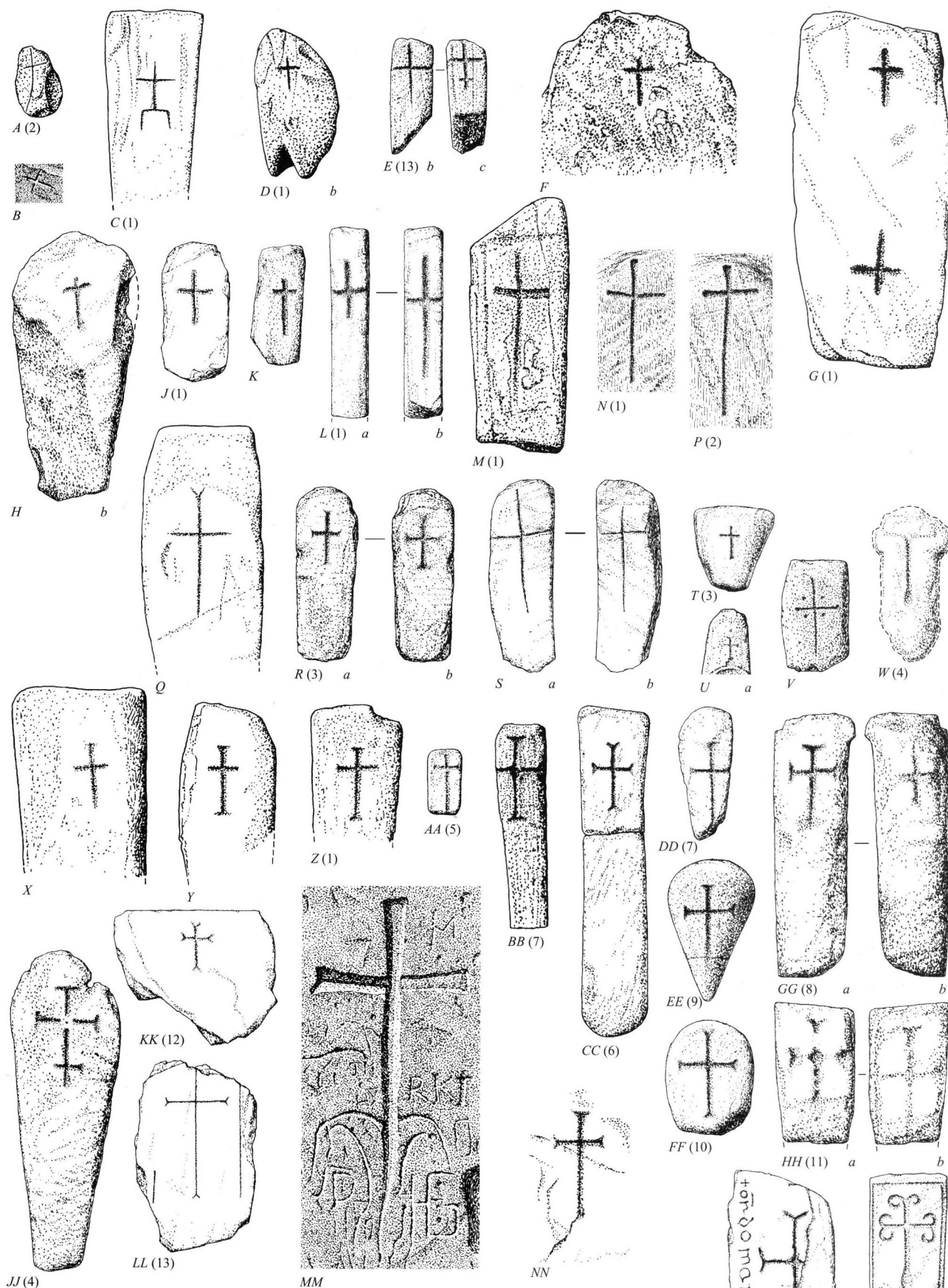


## 4 LINEAR CROSSES (2) (scale 1:20)

A-C. Holy Island (W1) (A, Smugglers' Cave; B, St Molaise's Cave; C, St Molaise's Table); D. Nuns' Cave, Carsaig, Mull (A3, 318); E. Scoor Cave, Mull (A3, 326); F, H-K, U. Cladh a' Bhile (A7, 20); G. Luss (W14); L. Leac an Duine Chòir, Barrackan (A7, 83); M, N. A' Chill, Canna (W28); P, X. Iona (A4); Q. Kilmore, Skye (W30); R. Killundine (A3, 303); S. Cill an Aonghais (A7, 18); T. Achadh na Cille (A7, 2); V. Cill Ashaig, Skye (W32); W. Killmaluag (A1, 365); Y. Tom na Croise (A7, 105); Z, AA. Cille Bharra (W41); BB. North Rona (W55); CC. Sgor nam Bàn-Naomha, Canna (W29)

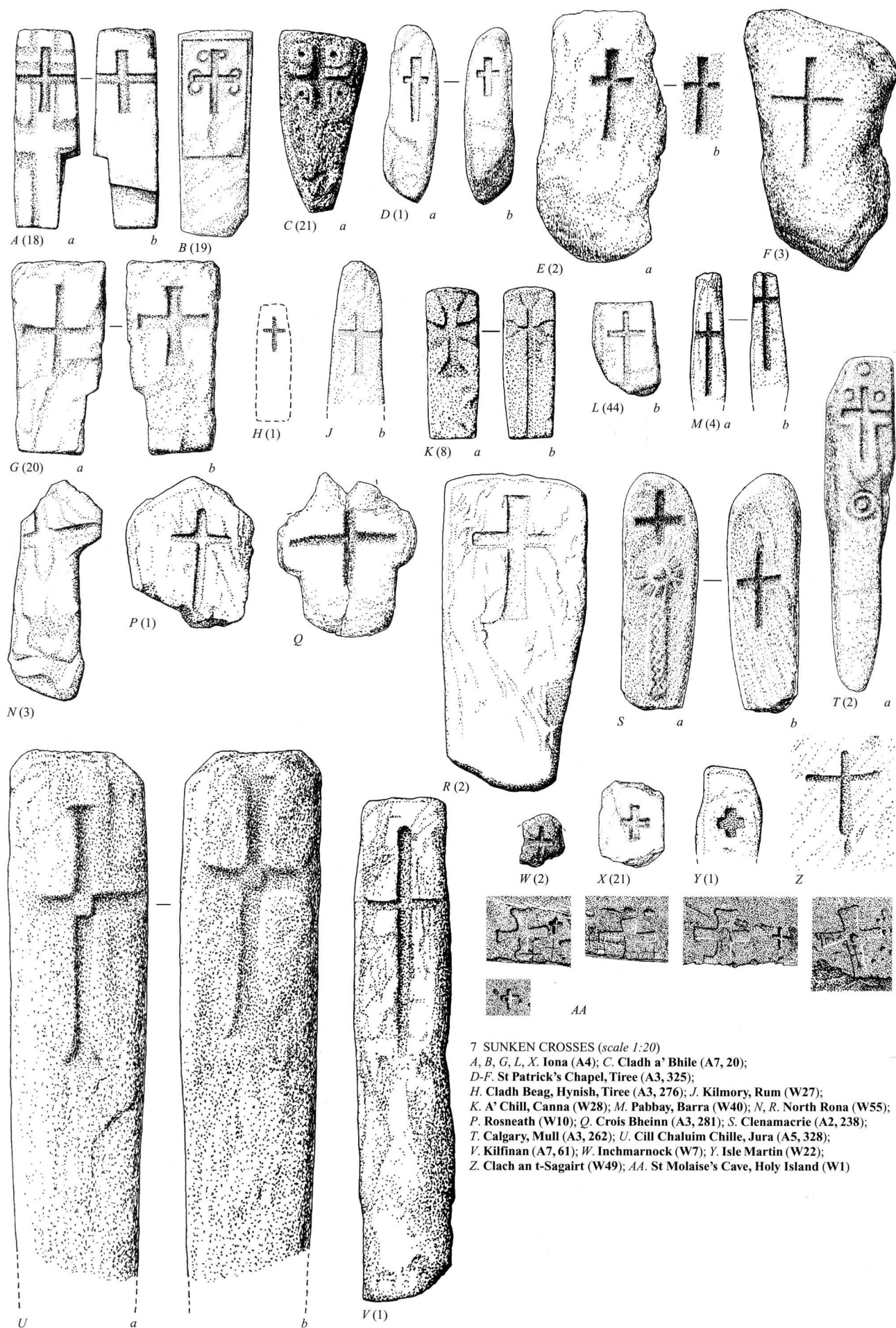






## 6 LINEAR CROSSES (4) (scale 1:20)

A, D. Ardnadam (A7, 5); B. St Molaise's Cave, Holy Island (W1); C. Eilean Fhianain (W15); E. Cladh a' Bhile (A7, 20); F. Auchnaha (A7, 11); G. Vallay, North Uist (W47); H. Dunans (A7, 27); K. Kilkenneth, Tiree (A3, 298); L. Calgarry, Mull (A3, 262); M. Kilmun (A7, 80); N, P. Kirkapoll, Tiree (A3, 310); Q. Elgol, Skye (W31); R. Eileach an Naoimh (A5, 354); S. Carsaig, Mull (A3, 323); J, T, W, DD-HH, KK, LL, PP, QQ. Iona (A4); U. Kilmory, Rum (W27); V. Paible, Taransay (W52); X. Cladh Hallan, South Uist (W42); Y. Berneray, Barra (W39); Z. Cille Bharra (W41); AA-CC. A' Chill, Canna (W28); JJ. Achadh na Cille (A7, 2); MM. King's Cave, Arran (W3); NN. Aird a' Mhòrain, North Uist (W48)



## 7 SUNKEN CROSSES (scale 1:20)

A, B, G, L, X. Iona (A4); C. Cladh a' Bhile (A7, 20);

D-F. St Patrick's Chapel, Tiree (A3, 325);

H. Cladh Beag, Hynish, Tiree (A3, 276); J. Kilmory, Rum (W27);

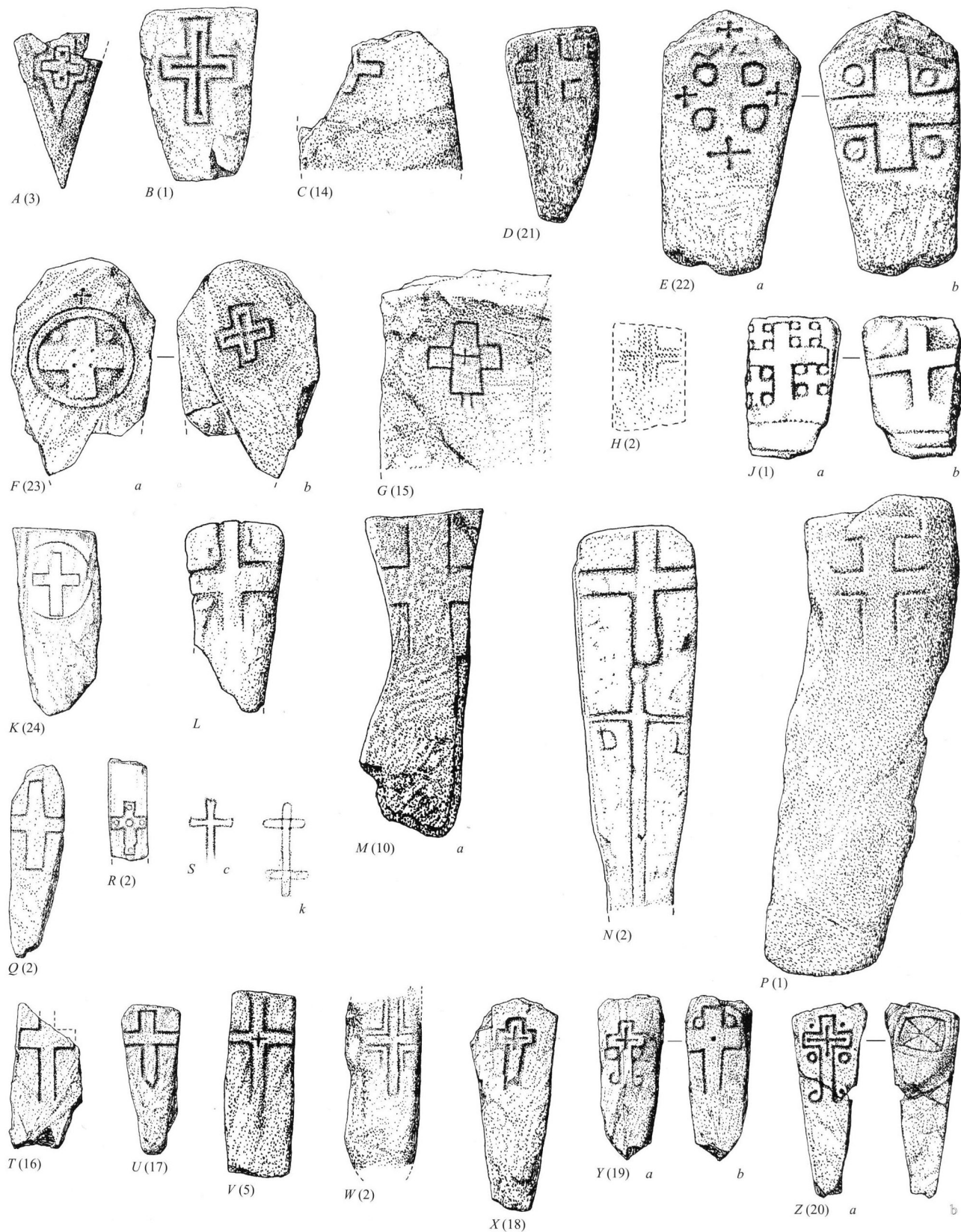
K. A' Chill, Canna (W28); M. Pabbay, Barra (W40); N, R. North Rona (W55);

P. Rosneath (W10); Q. Crois Bheinn (A3, 281); S. Clenamacrie (A2, 238);

T. Calgarry, Mull (A3, 262); U. Cill Chaluim Chille, Jura (A5, 328);

V. Kilfinan (A7, 61); W. Inchmarnock (W7); Y. Isle Martin (W22);

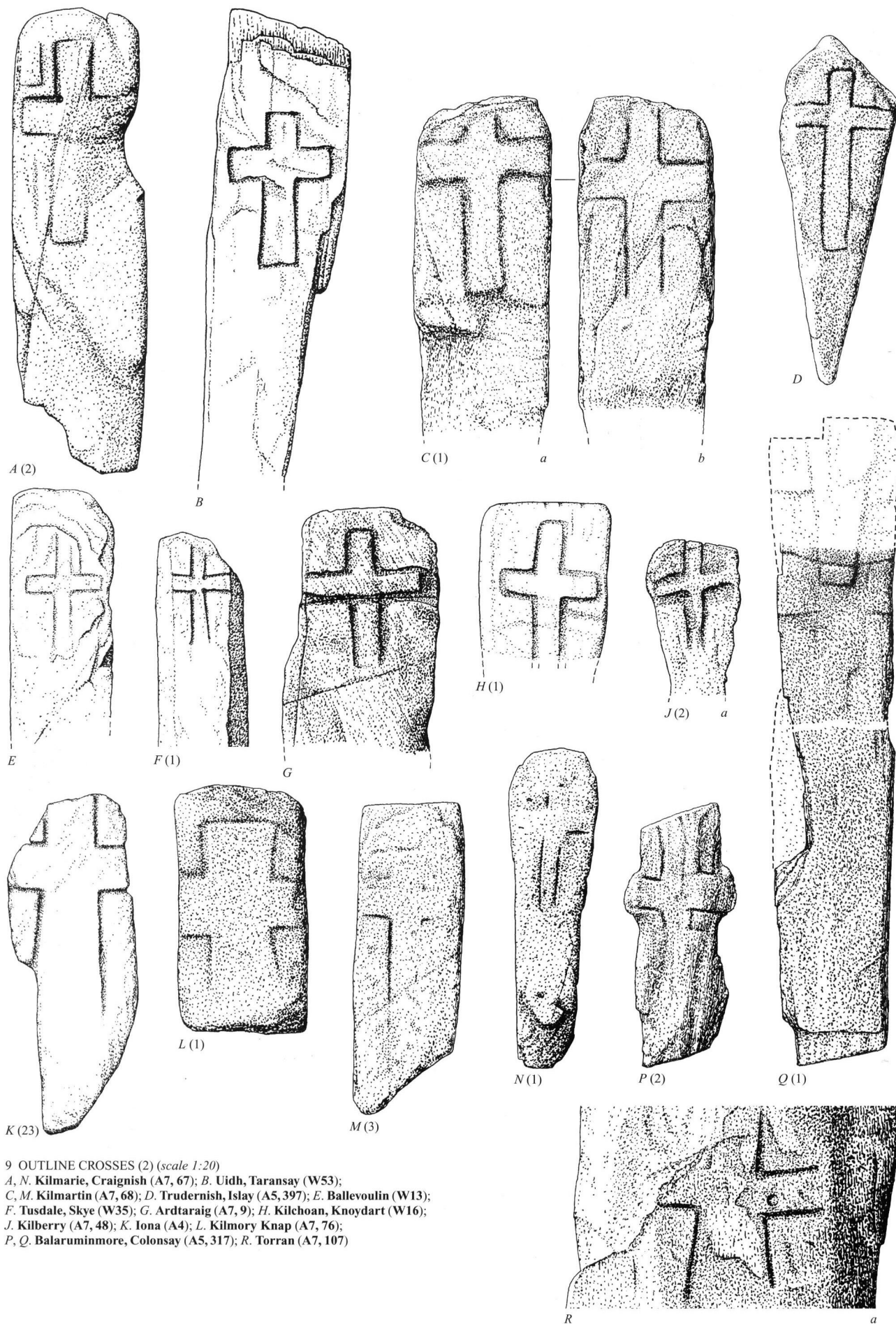
Z. Clach an t-Sagairt (W49); AA. St Molaise's Cave, Holy Island (W1)



## 8 OUTLINE CROSSES (1) (scale 1:20)

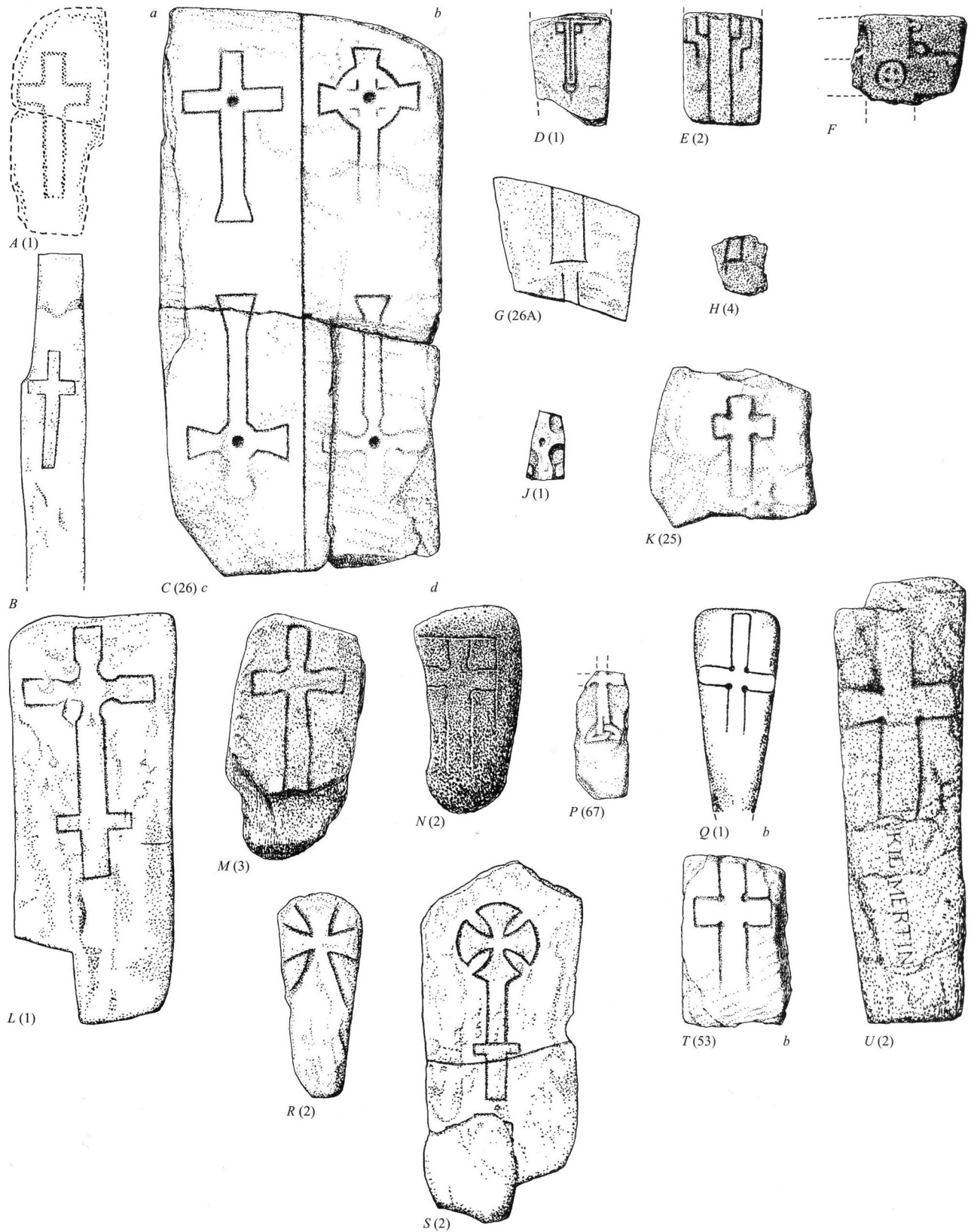
A. Kildonnán, Eigg (W25); B. St Kilda (W54); C-G, T, U, X-Z. Cladh a' Bhile (A7, 20); H. St Blane's, Kingarth (W6); J. Killeen (A1, 287); K. Iona (A4); L. Howmore, South Uist (W43); M. A' Chill, Canna (W28); N. Rosneath (W10); P. Clachan, Kintyre (A1, 270); Q. Kildalton, Islay (A5, 367); R. Riasg Buidhe, Colonsay (A5, 389); S. Nuns' Cave, Carsaig, Mull (A3, 318); V. Inchmarnock (W7); W. St Kilda (W54)





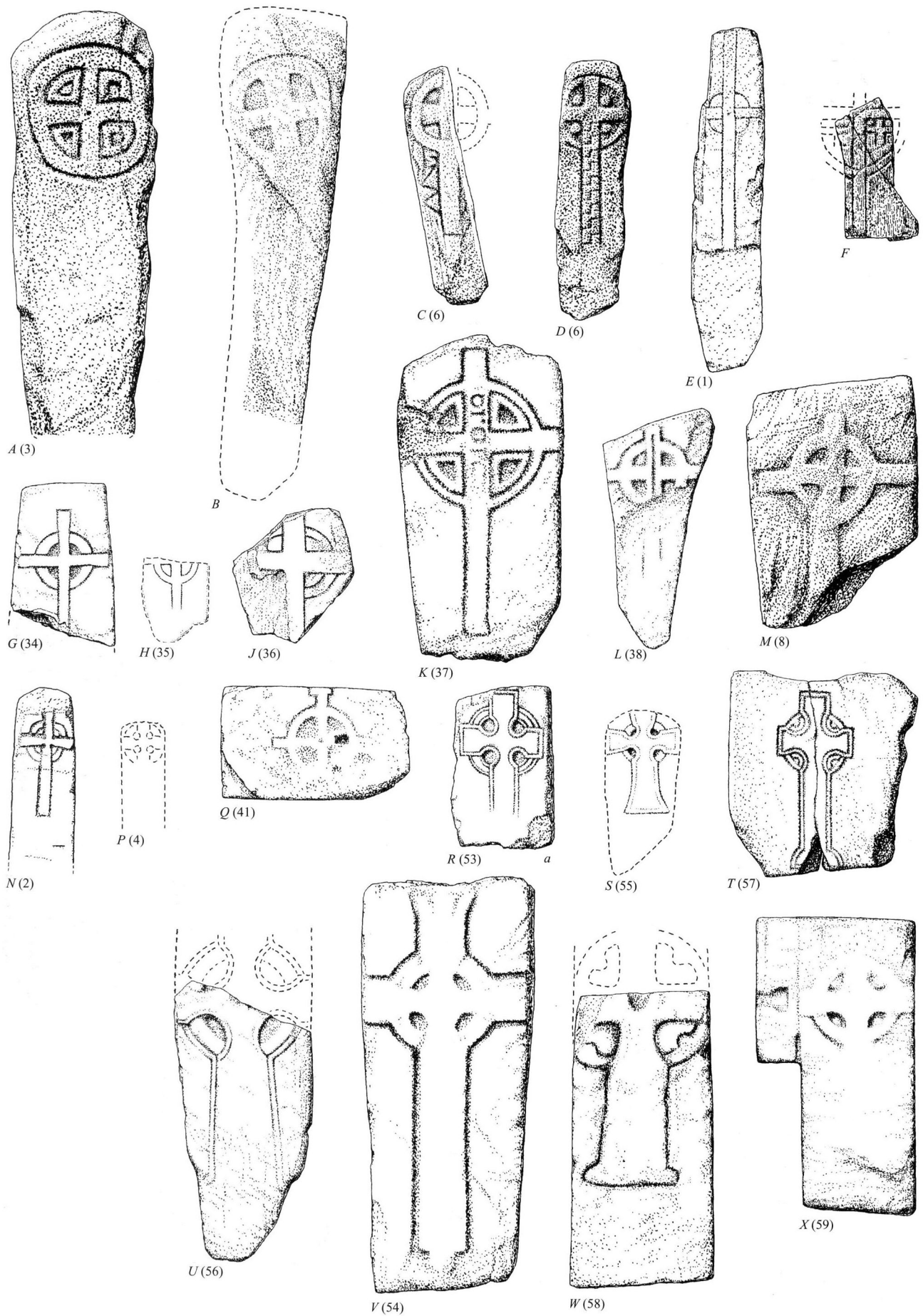
9 OUTLINE CROSSES (2) (scale 1:20)

A, N. Kilmarie, Craignish (A7, 67); B. Uidh, Taransay (W53);  
 C, M. Kilmartin (A7, 68); D. Trudernish, Islay (A5, 397); E. Ballevoulin (W13);  
 F. Tusdale, Skye (W35); G. Ardtaraig (A7, 9); H. Kilchoan, Knoydart (W16);  
 J. Kilberry (A7, 48); K. Iona (A4); L. Kilmory Knap (A7, 76);  
 P, Q. Balaruminmore, Colonsay (A5, 317); R. Torran (A7, 107)



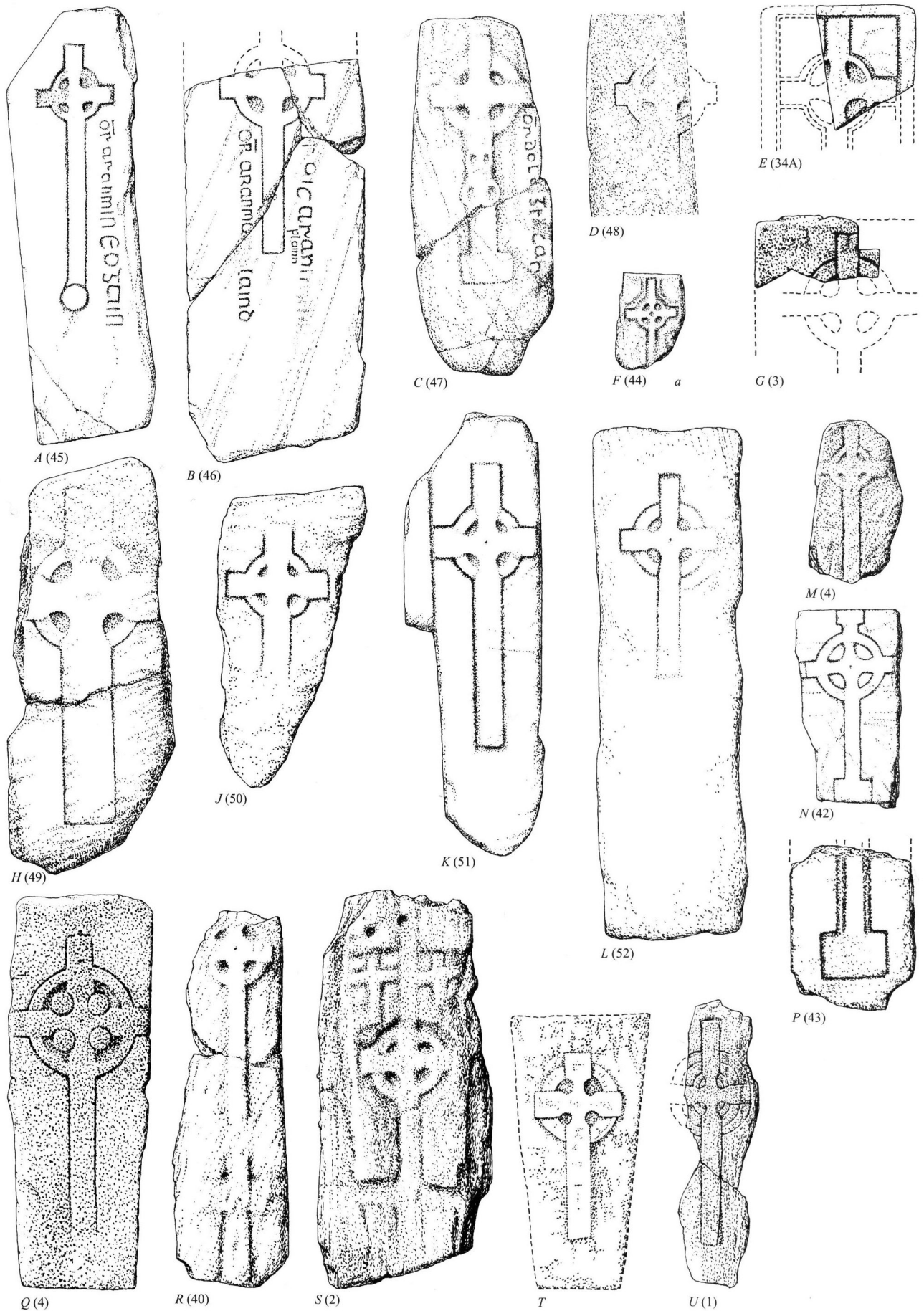
## 10 OUTLINE CROSSES (3) (scale 1:20)

A. St Blane's, Kingarth (W6); B. Scalpay (W33); C, G, K, P, T. Iona (A4); D, E. Kildonnán, Eigg (W25); F. Christ Church, Lochgilphead (A7, 17); H. Inchmarnock (W7); J. Sgor nam Bàin-Naomha, Canna (W29); L, S. Isle Maree (W19); M. Kildalton, Islay (A5, 367); N. A' Chill, Muck (W24); Q. Kilkeran (A1, 285); R. Kilchoan, Knoydart (W16); U. Kilmartin (A7, 68)



11 OUTLINE RINGED CROSSES (1) (scale 1:20)

*A, D.* Kilmory Knap (A7, 76); *B.* Creaganterve Mhór (A7, 97); *C.* Achadh na Cille (A7, 2); *E.* Gleann na Gaoith', Islay (A5, 356); *F.* Orsay, Islay (A5, 387); *G-L, Q-X.* Iona (A4); *M.* Inchmarnock (W7); *N.* Tusdale, Skye (W35); *P.* Raasay (W34)



## 12. OUTLINE RINGED CROSSES (2) (scale 1:20)

A-F, H, J-L, N, P, R. Iona (A4); G. Sgor nam Bàna-Naomha, Canna (W29); M. Kildalton, Islay (A5, 367); Q. Kilmory Knap (A7, 76); S. Gleann na Gaoith', Islay (A5, 356); T. Ardrishaig (A7, 8); U. Laggan, Islay (A5, 378)





13 OUTLINE RINGED CROSSES (3) (scale 1:20)

A, G. Iona (A4); B. Lochbuie, Mull (A3, 322); C. Keills (A7, 45); D. Eileach an Naoimh (A5, 354); E. Kilchoan, Knoydart (W16); F. Achadh na Cille (A7, 2); H. Kilkerran (A1, 285); J. Kilmory Knap (A7, 76)



## 14 RELIEF CROSSES (1) (scale 1:20)

A. Crois Bheinn (A3, 281); B. Kilbride, Islay (A5, 363); C. Cnoc na Cille, Brahanisary (A5, 347); D, E, Y, Z, BB. Cladh a' Bhile (A7, 20); F. Cara (A1, 268); G. St Columba's Cave (A7, 94); H, N, P, Q, U-W, AA. Iona (A4); J. Machrins, Colonsay (A5, 382); K. Calgarry, Mull (A3, 262); L. Kilchenzie (A1, 280); M. Caolas, Tiree (A3, 264); R, T. Kilberry (A7, 48); S. Inchmarnock (W7); X. Kilchoman, Islay (A5, 366); CC. Clachan, Kintyre (A1, 270); DD. Kildalton, Islay (A5, 367); EE. Keills (A7, 45); FF. Kilmichael, Ballochroy (A1, 293)



15 RELIEF CROSSES (2) (scale 1:20)

A. Kildonnán, Eigg (W25); B. St Colmac, Bute (W9); C. Inchmarnock (W7); D. Hougharry, North Uist (W45); E. Pennyghael, Mull (A3, 403); F. St Bride's Chapel, Glen Fruin (W12); G, J-N. Iona (A4); H. Kilmory Knap (A7, 76); P. Kilmichael Glassary (A7, 69)



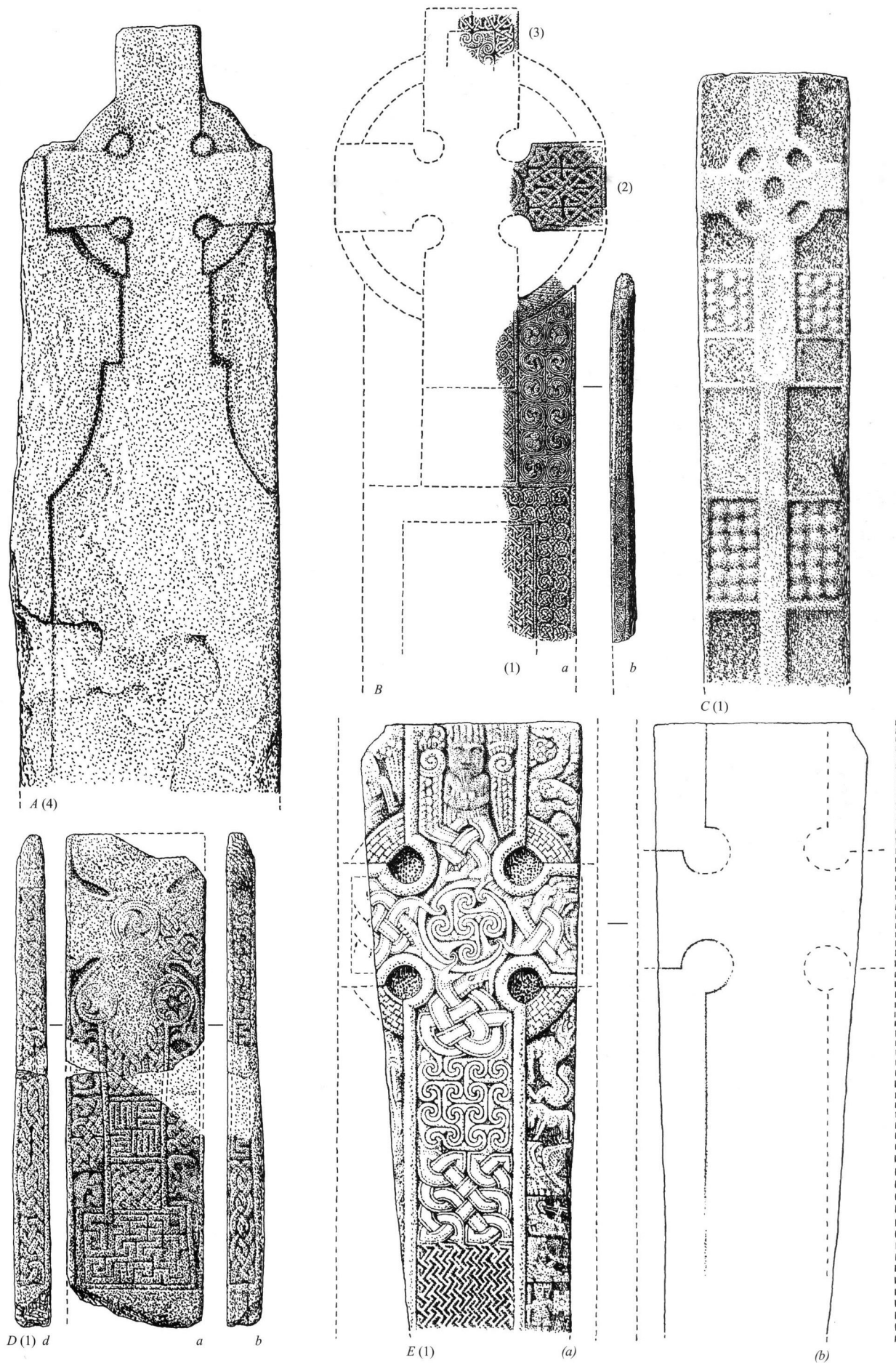
## 16 CROSS-SLABS (1) (scale 1:20)

A. Kilmory Oib (A7, 78); B. Kildonnan, Eigg (W25); C. Kilmichael of Inverlussa (A7, 71); D. Kilmory Knap (A7, 76); E. Castleton (A7, 16); F, J, Q. Iona (A4); G. Kilmahumraig (A7, 64); H, P. Keills (A7, 45); K. Kilbride, Rhudil (A7, 55); L. St Blane's, Kingarth (W6); M. Cille Bharra (W41); N. Dòid Mhàiri, Islay (A5, 351); R. Inchmarnock (W7)

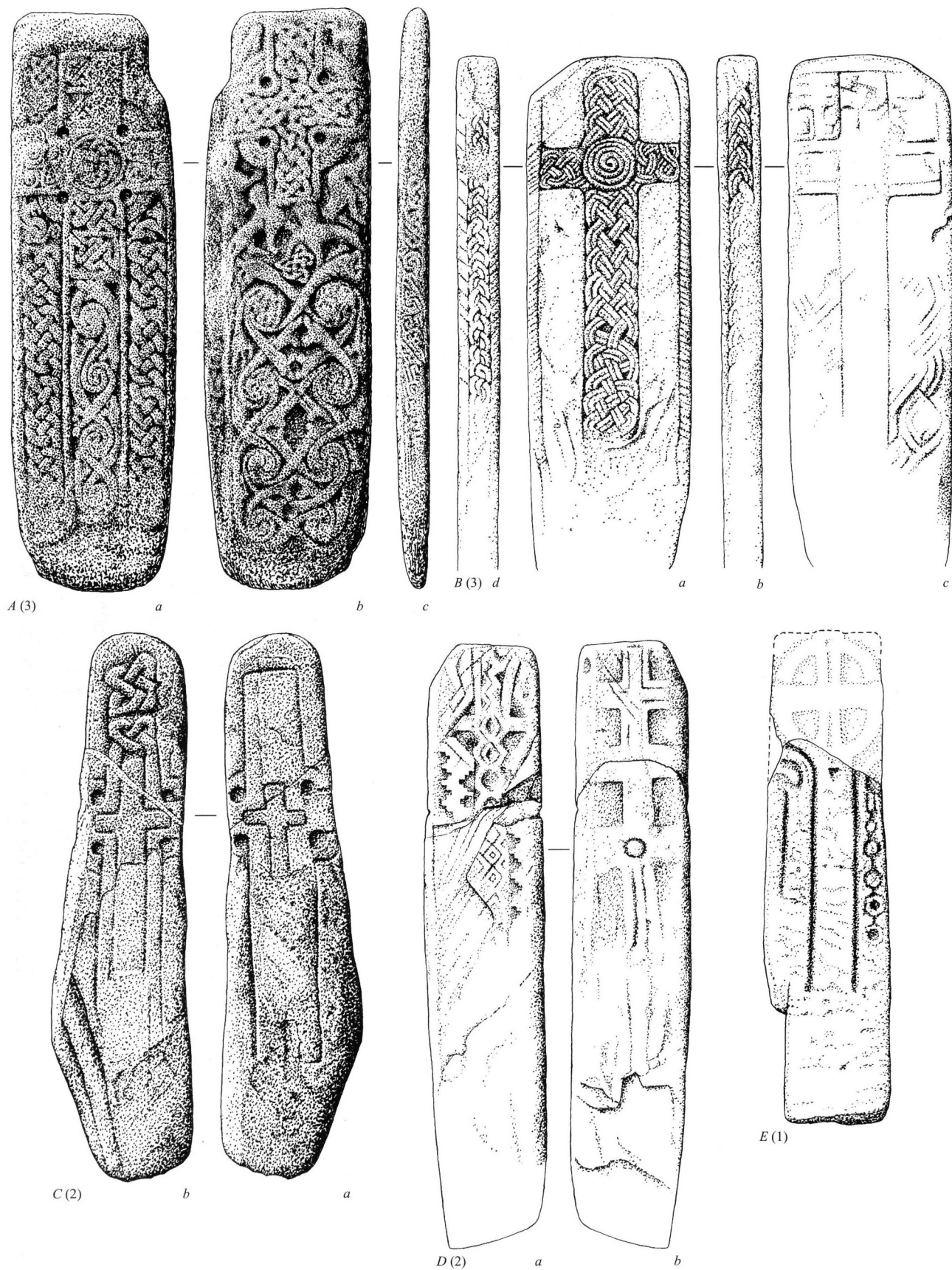




17 CROSS-SLABS (2) (scale 1:20)  
A. Achadh na Cille (A7, 2); B. Keills (A7, 45); C. Soroby, Tiree (A3, 327); D. Isle Martin (W22); E. Kilchoman, Islay (A5, 366); F-H. Iona (A4); J. Lismore (A2, 267)



18 CROSS-SLABS (3) (scale 1:20)  
A, B. Applecross (W18); C. St Ninian's Chapel, Sanda (A1, 301); D. Rothesay (W8); E. Ardochattan (A2, 217)



19 CROSS-SLABS (4) (scale 1:20)

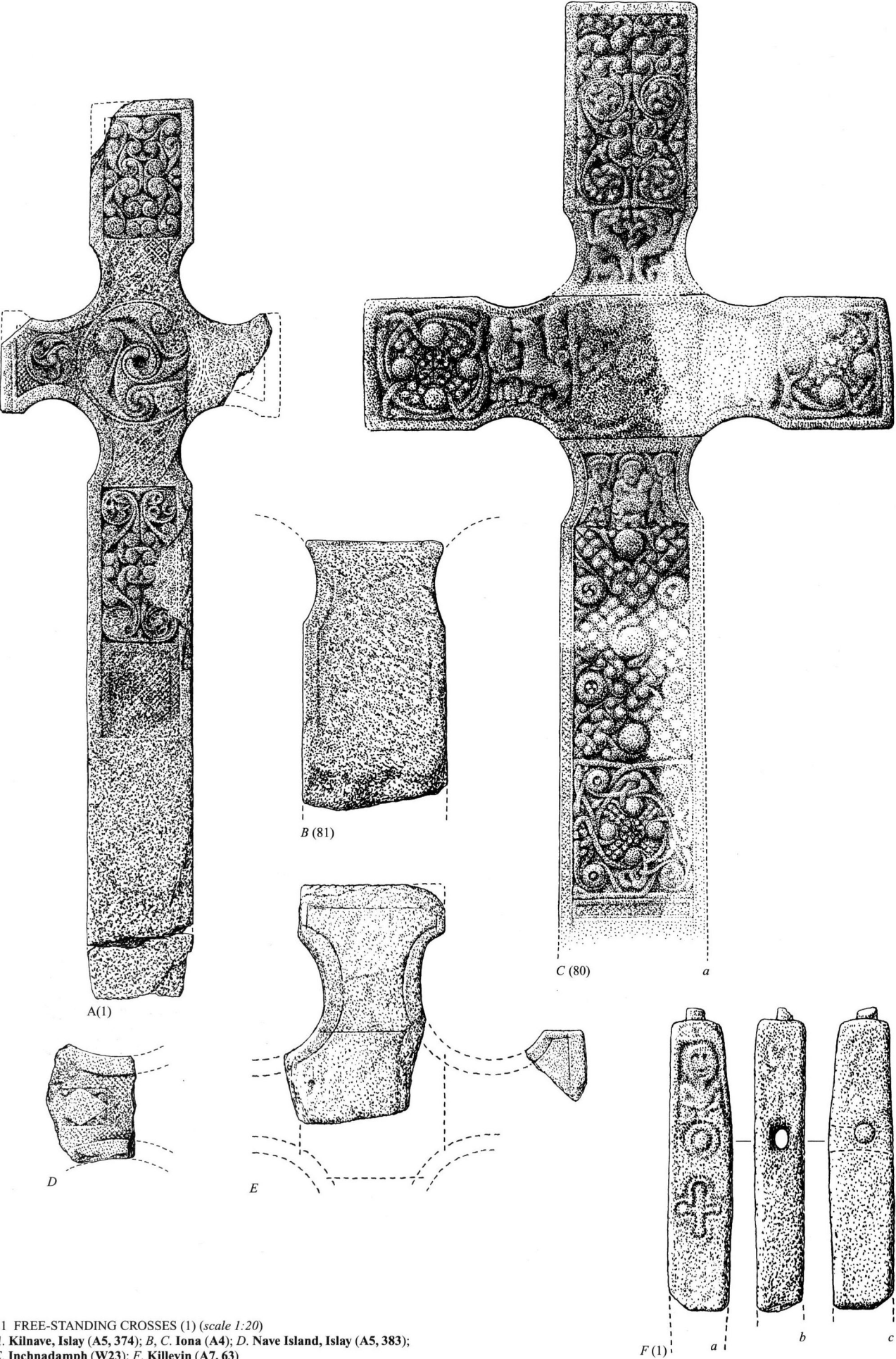
A, C. Kilfinan (A7, 61); B. Rosneath (W10); D, E. Kilmaha (A2, 261)



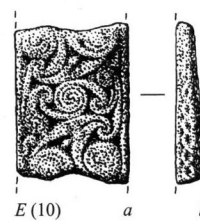
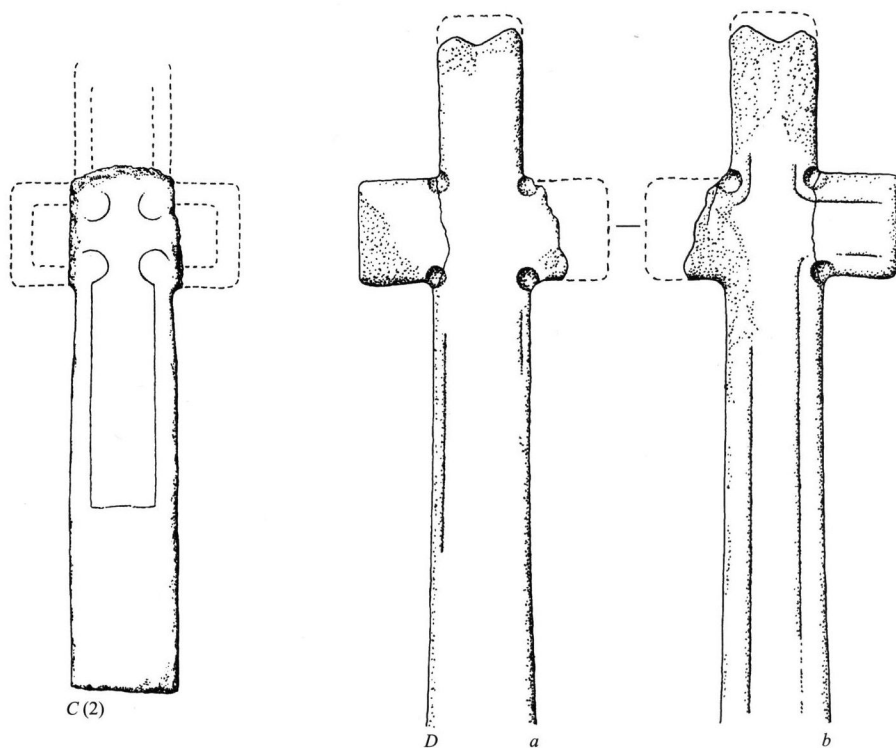
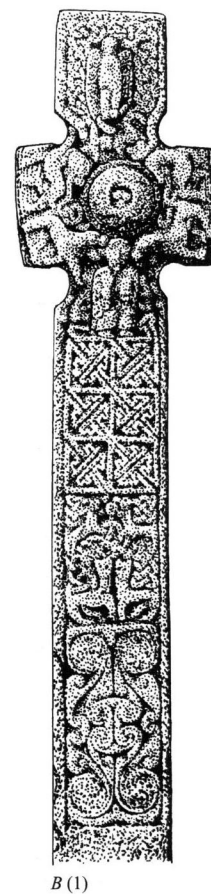
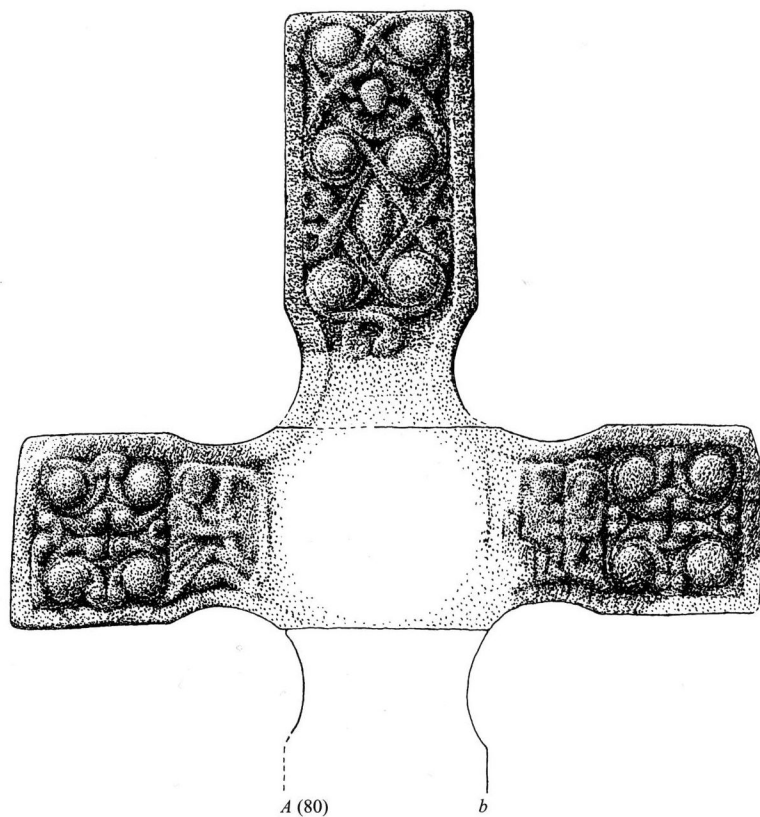


20 CROSS-SLABS (5) AND ORNAMENTED GRAVESLABS (scale 1:20)  
A, E. St Blane's, Kingarth (W6); B, C. Iona (A4); D. Cill Eileagain, Mulreesh, Islay (A5, 334); F. Inishail (A2, 247); G. Camas nan Geall (A3, 263)



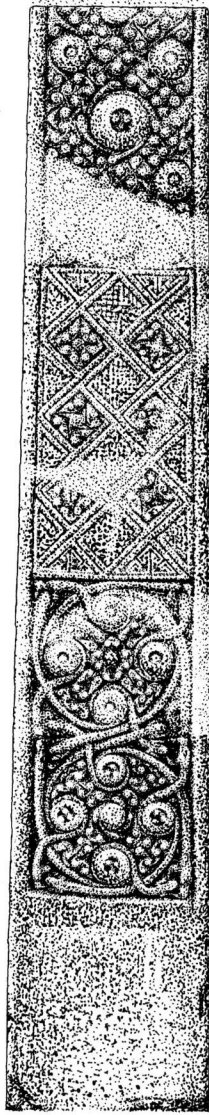


21 FREE-STANDING CROSSES (1) (scale 1:20)  
A. Kilnave, Islay (A5, 374); B, C. Iona (A4); D. Nave Island, Islay (A5, 383);  
E. Inchnadamph (W23); F. Killevin (A7, 63)



22 FREE-STANDING CROSSES (2) (scale 1:20)

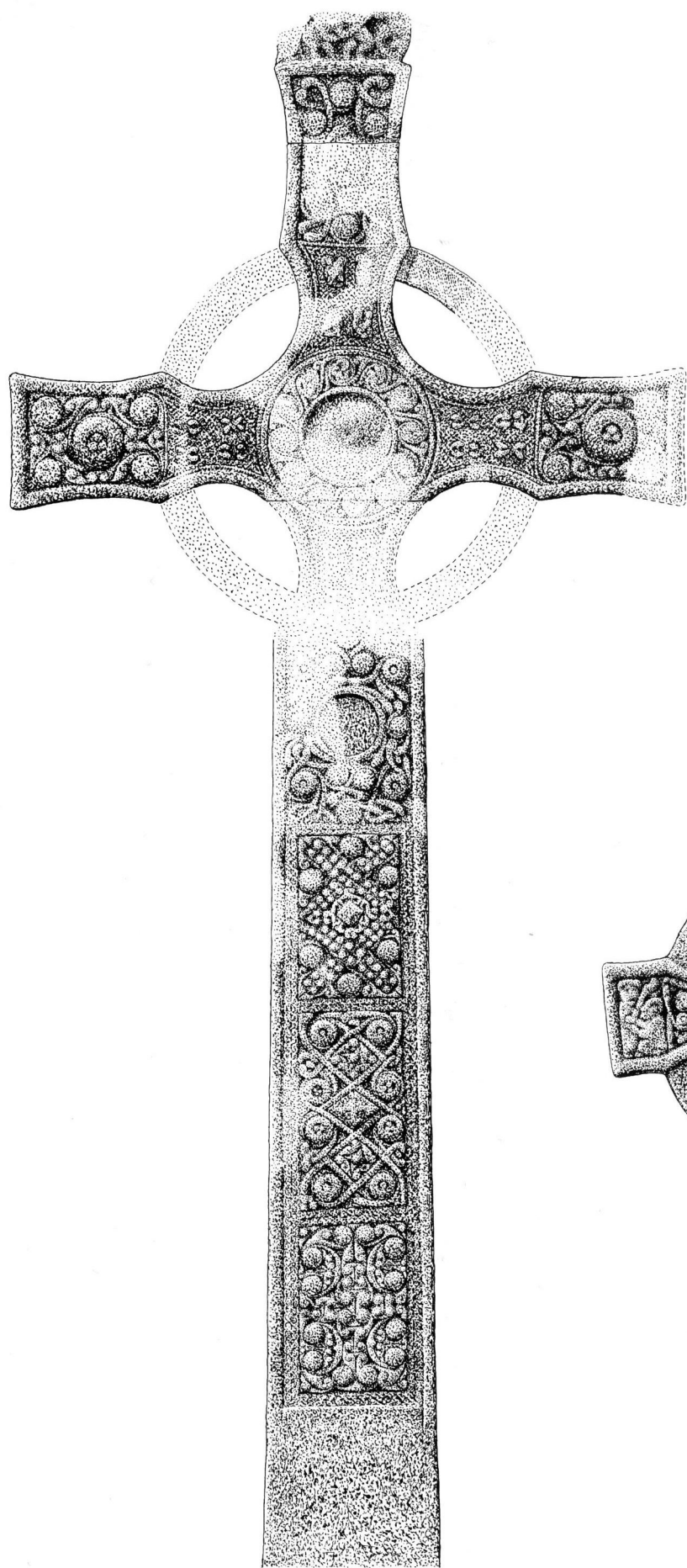
A. Iona (A4), St Oran's Cross; B. Keills (A7, 45); C. Killeen (A1, 287); D. Tarbert, Gigha (A1, 305); E. Inchmarnock (W7)



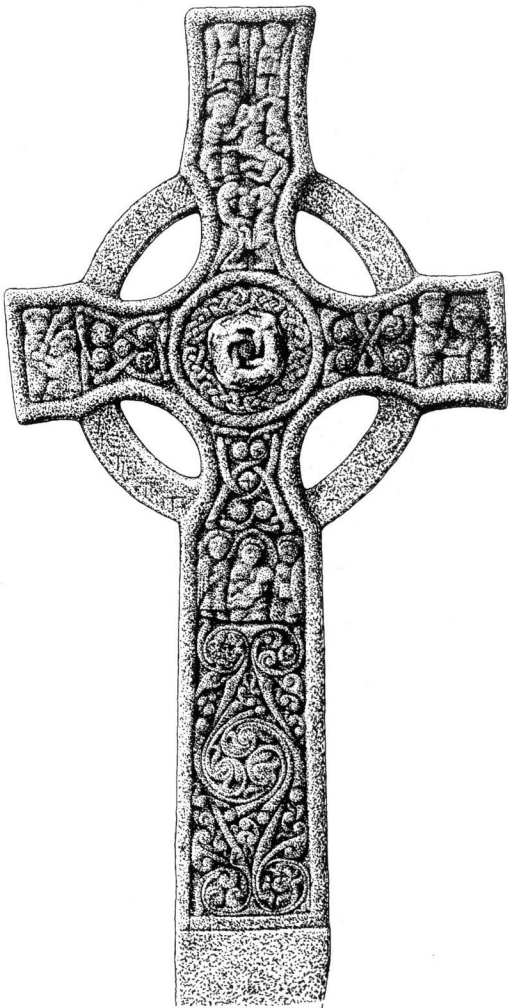
A (1) W face

B (82) E face

23 FREE-STANDING CROSSES (3) (scale 1:20)  
A. Kildalton, Islay (A5, 367); B. Iona (A4), St John's Cross



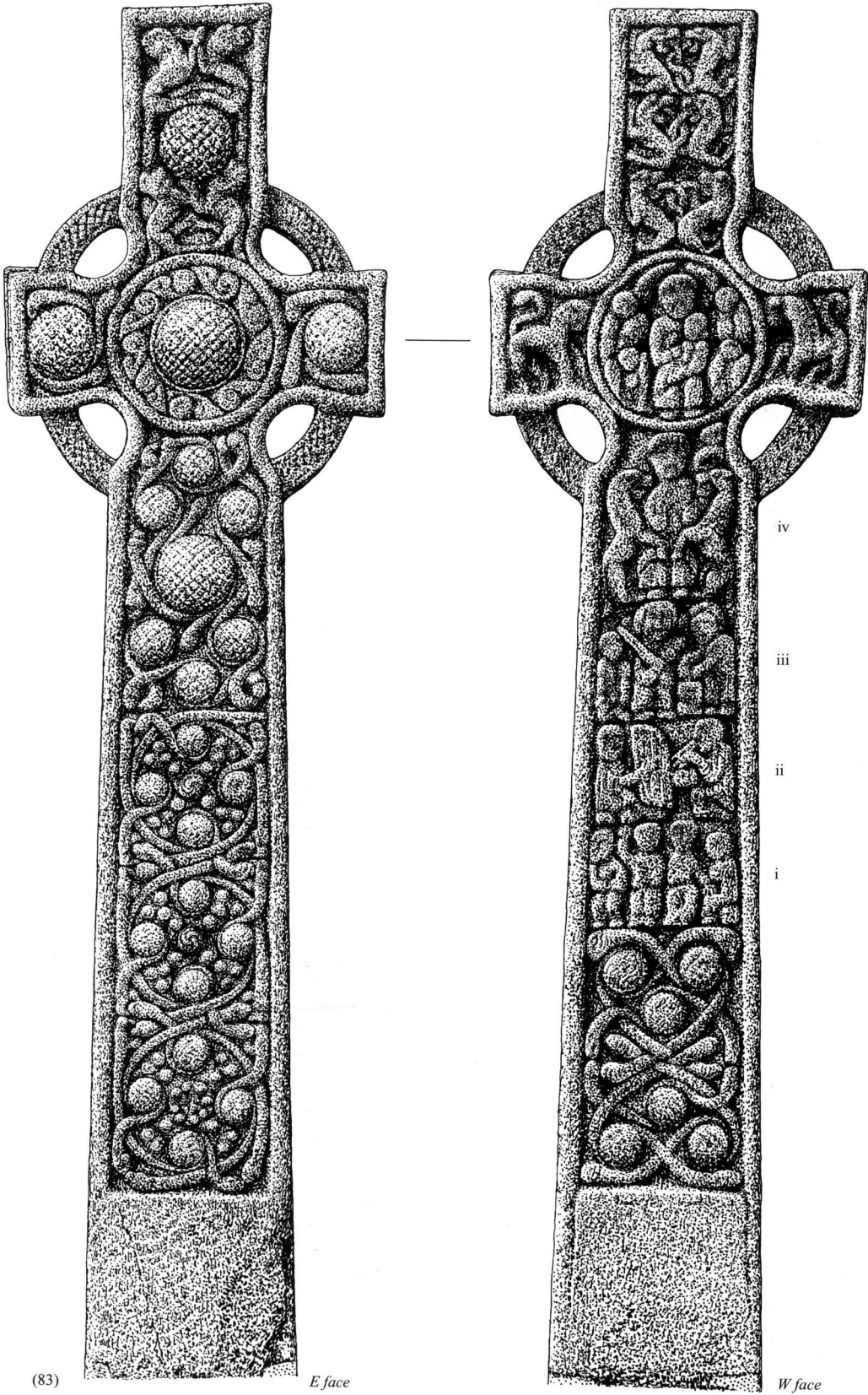
A (82) W face



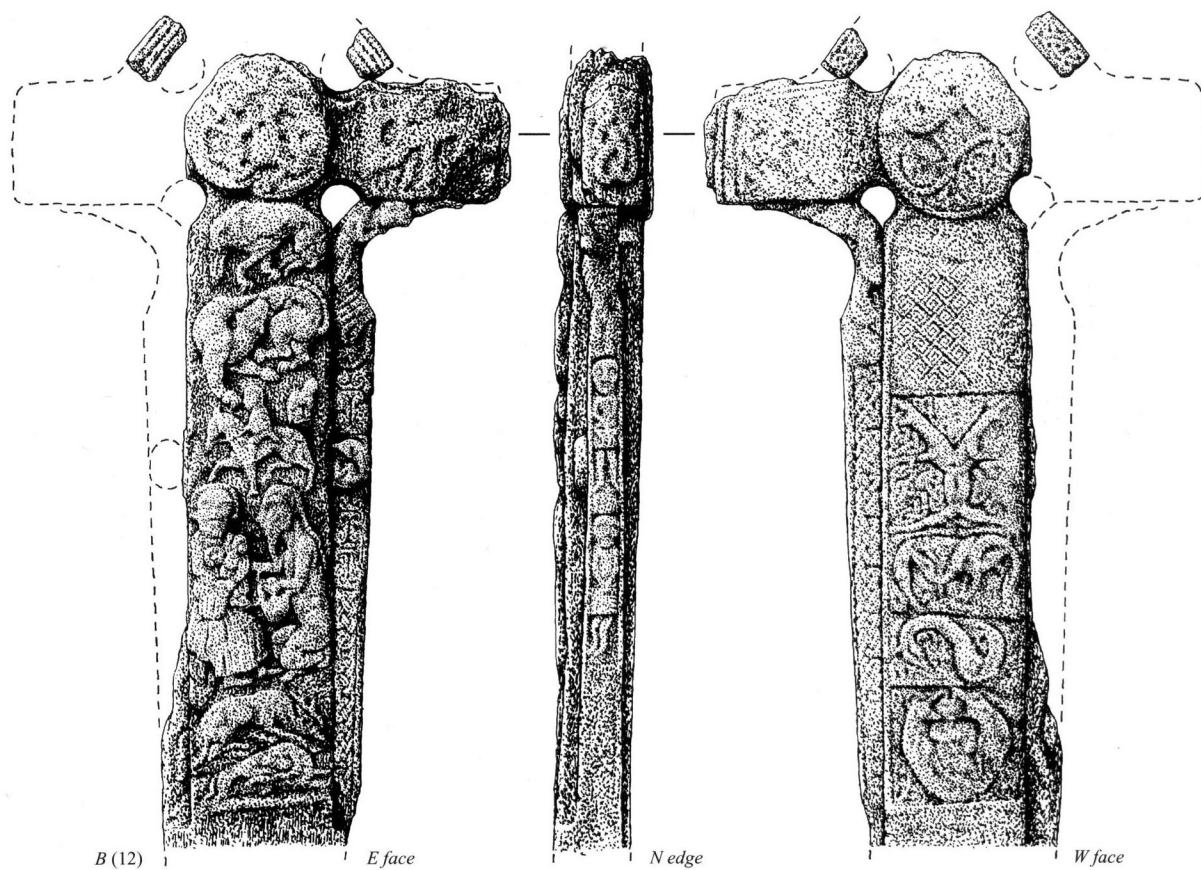
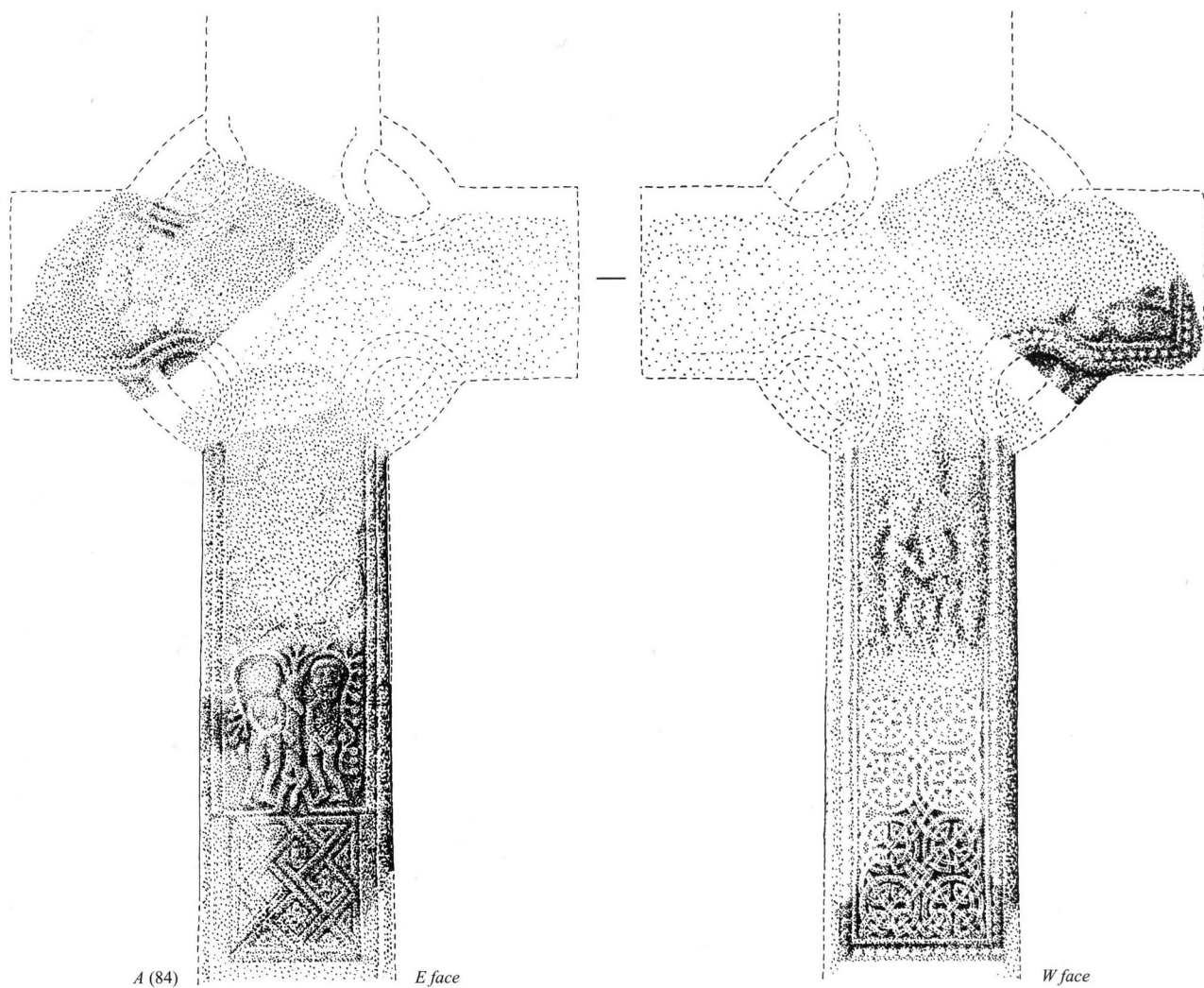
B (1) E face

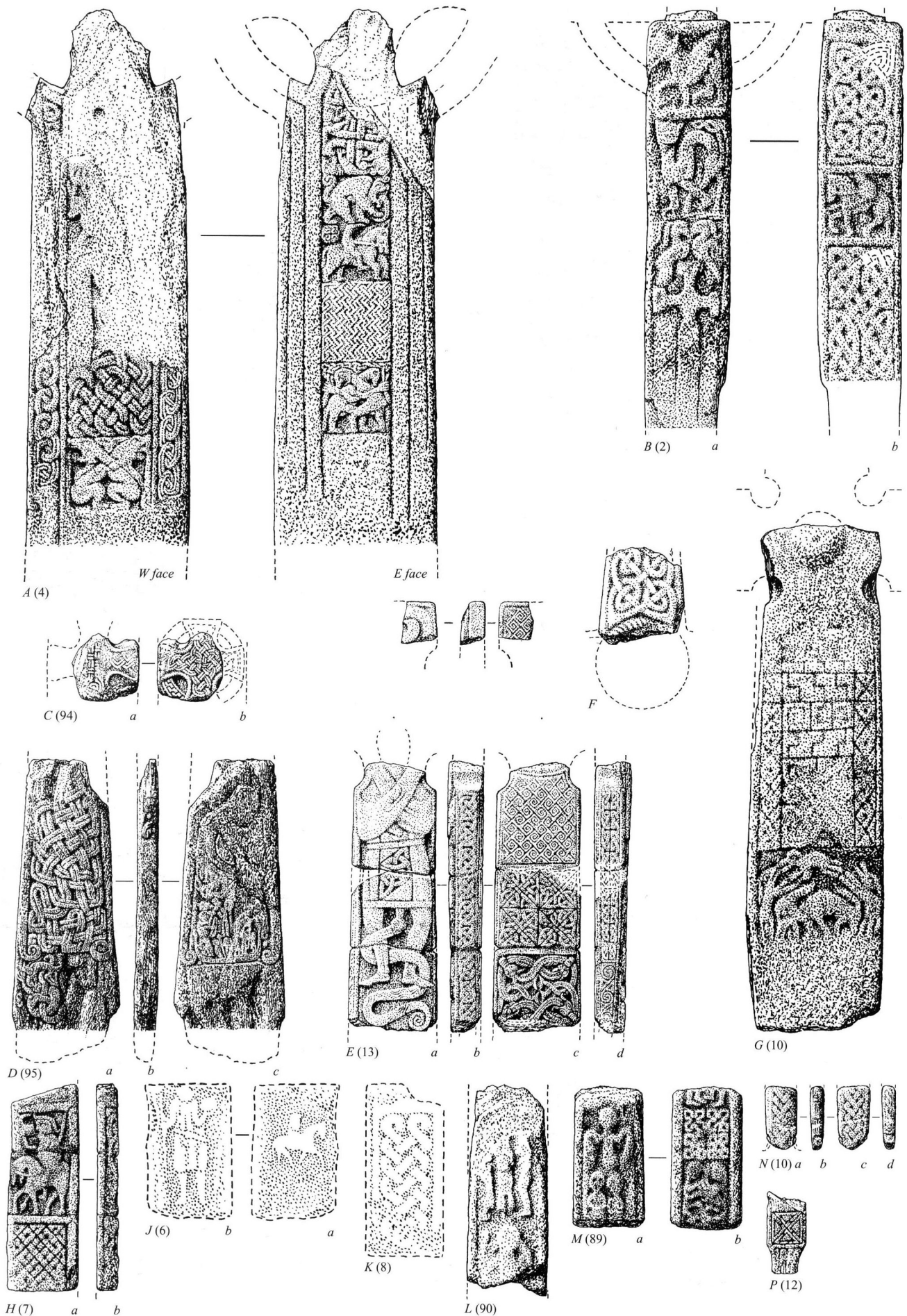
24 FREE-STANDING CROSSES (4) (scale 1:20)  
A. Iona (A4), St John's Cross; B. Kildalton, Islay (A5, 367)





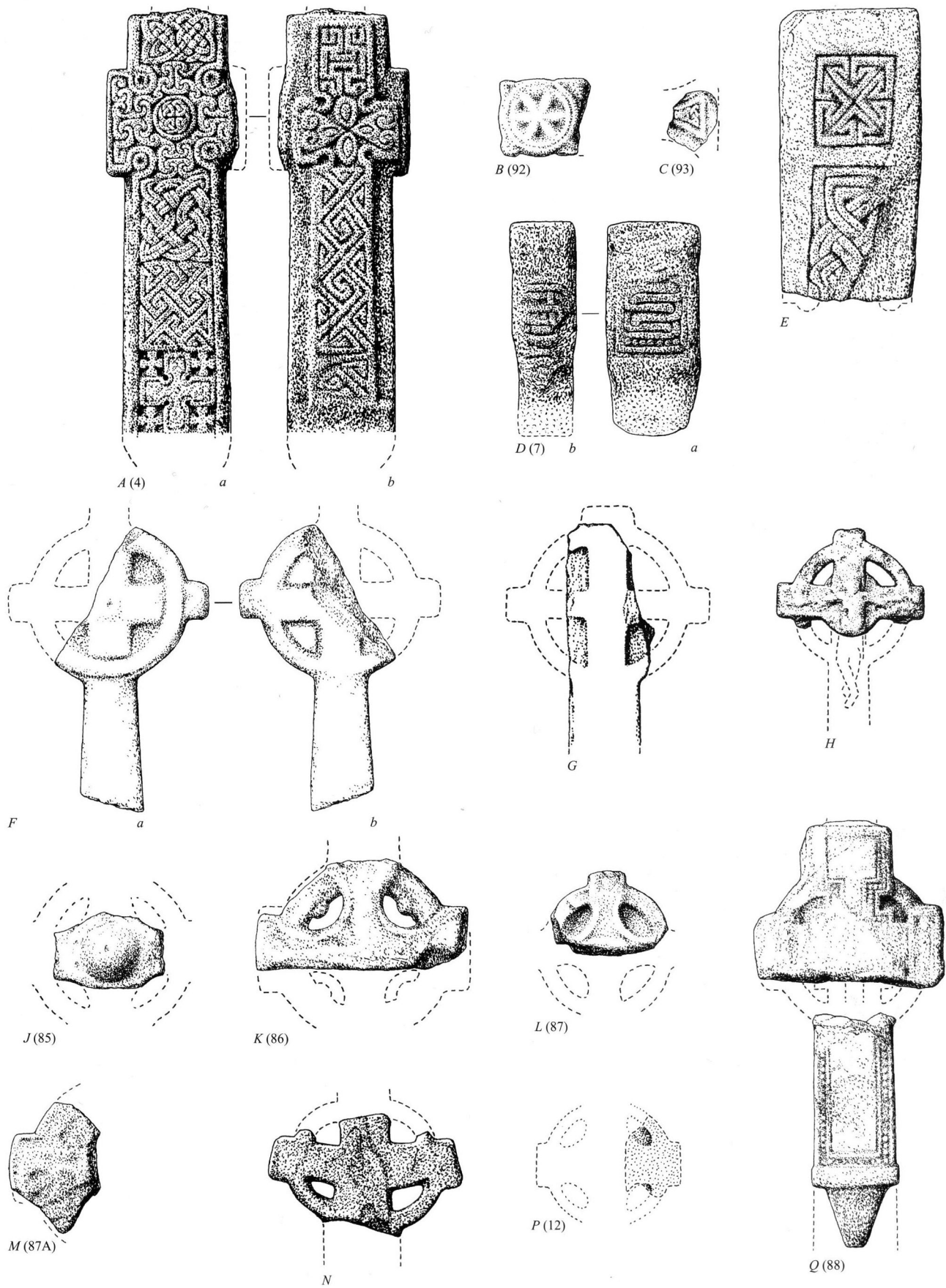
25 FREE-STANDING CROSSES (5) (scale 1:20)  
Iona (A4), St Martin's Cross





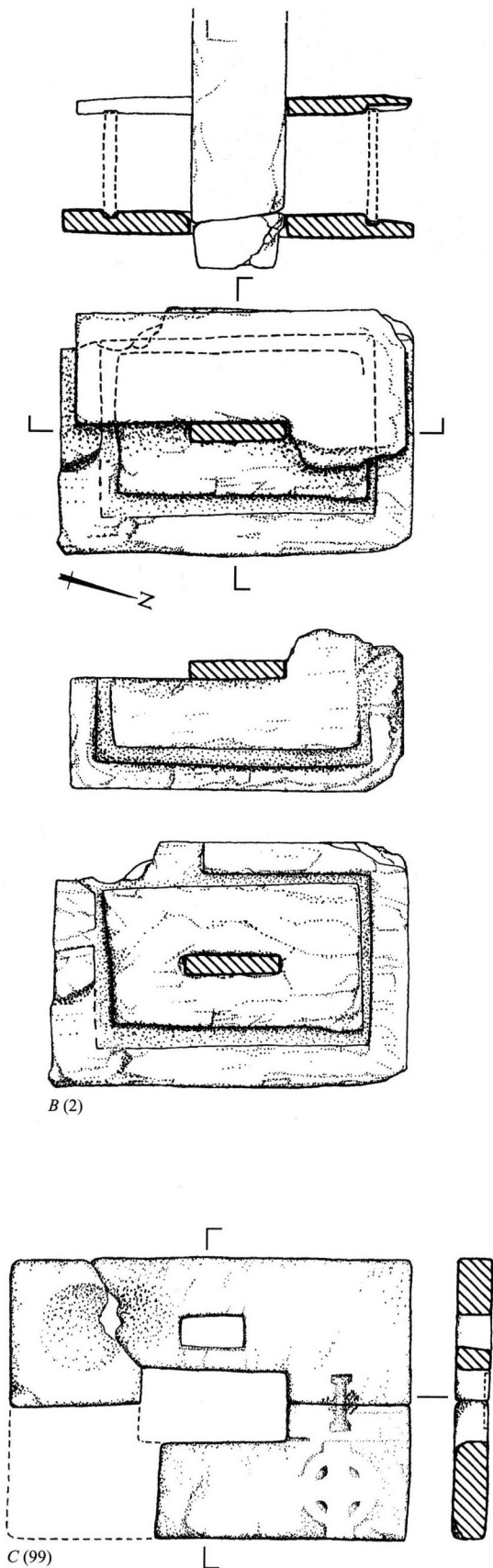
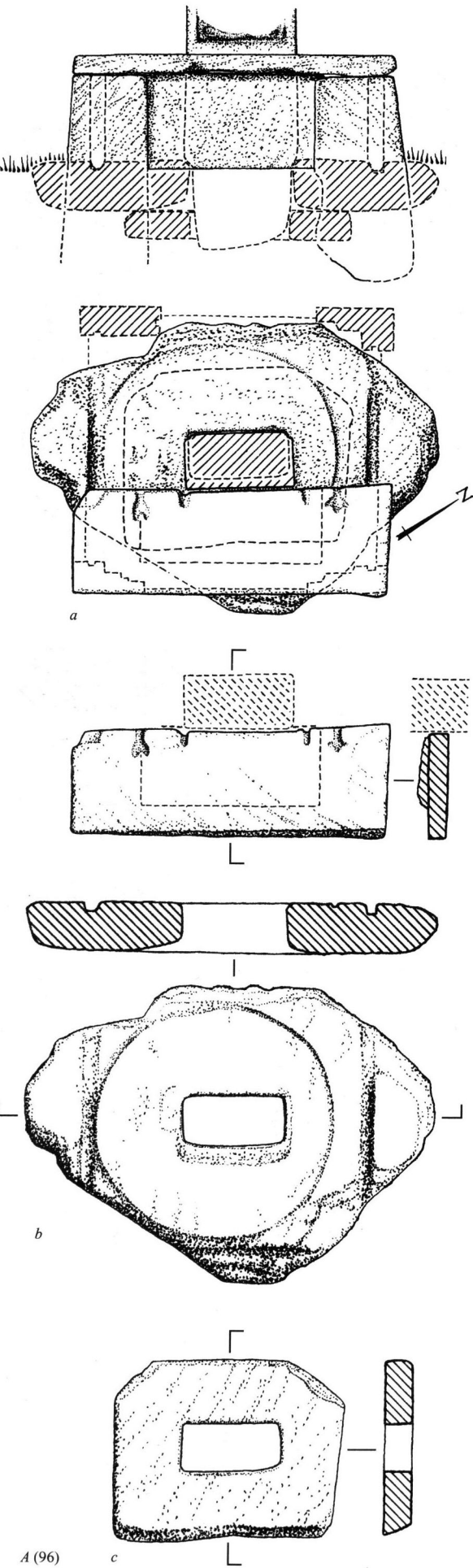
27 FREE-STANDING CROSSES (7) (scale 1:20)

A. Eilean Mór (A7, 33); B. Rothesay (W8); C, D, L, M. Iona (A4); E. A' Chill, Canna (W28); F. Colonsay House (A5, 349); G, H, J, K, N. St Blane's, Kingarth (W6); P. Inchmarnock (W7)

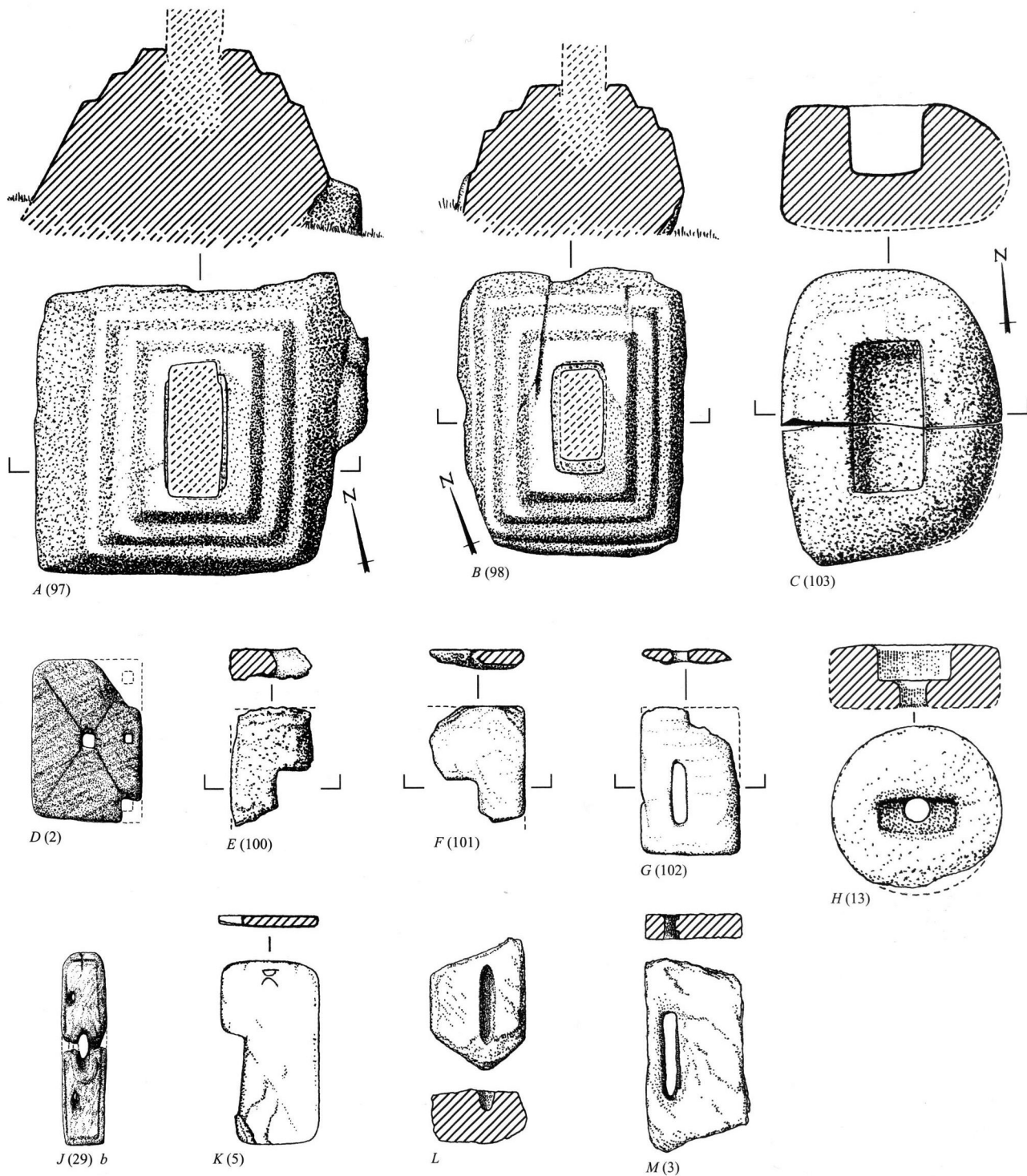


28 FREE-STANDING CROSSES (8) (scale 1:20)  
A. Kilmartin (A7, 68); B, C, J-M, Q. Iona (A4); D. Great Cumbræ (W5); E. Berneray, Harris (W51); F. Cill Mhàiri, Ardnamurchan (A3, 270); G. Balinakill (A1, 260); H. Southend (A1, 300); N. Kilmorich, Cairndow (A7, 73); P. St Blane's, Kingarth (W6)



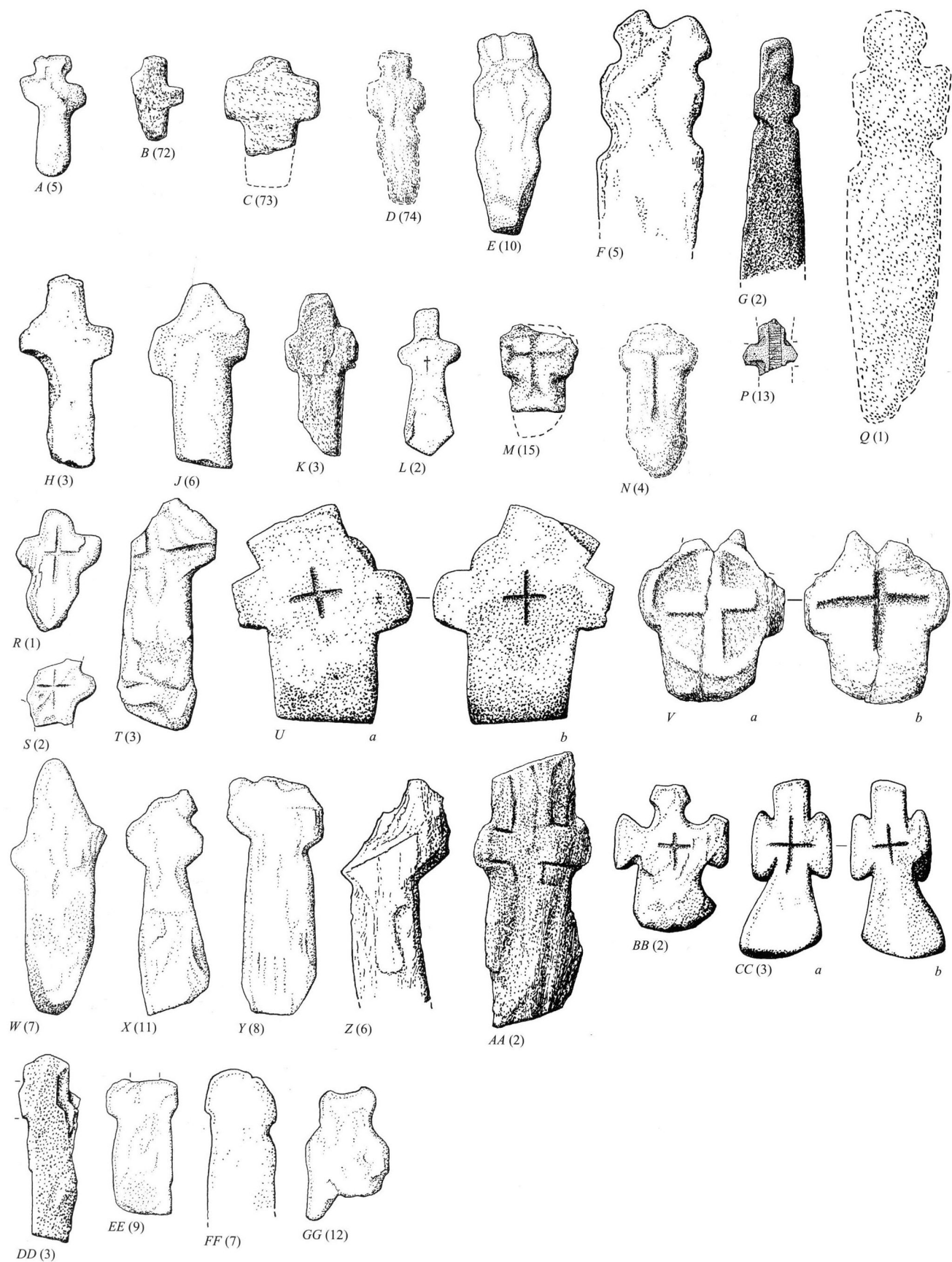


29 CROSS-BASES AND SOCKET-STONES (1) (scale 1:30)  
A, C. Iona (A4) (A, St John's Cross); B. Kilnave (A5, 374)



## 30 CROSS-BASES AND SOCKET-STONES (2) (scale 1:30)

A-C, E-G, Iona (A4) (A, St Martin's Cross; B, St Matthew's Cross); D, Lochead (A7, 85); H, St Blane's, Kingarth (W6); J, Cladh a' Bhile (A7, 20); K, Kildalton, Islay (A5, 367); L, Cille Bhrìde, Whitehouse (A1, 269); M, St Ciaran's Cave (A1, 298)



31 CRUCIFORM STONES (1) (scale 1:20)  
A, E, J, R, T, W-Y, EE, GG. North Rona (W55); B-D, M, N. Iona (A4); F, H, Z, FF. Hougharry, North Uist (W45); G. Cill Chaitriona, Balnahard, Colonsay (A5, 326); K. Gleann na Gaoith', Islay (A5, 356); L. Eilean Fhianain (W15); P. Inchmarnock (W7); Q. Kilchattan, Gigha (A1, 276); S. Sgor nam Bàna-Naomha, Canna (W29); U. Tom na Croise (A7, 105); V. Crois Bheinn (A3, 281); AA. Balaruminmore, Colonsay (A5, 317); BB, CC. Cille Bharra (W41); DD. Ardnadam (A7, 5)



32 CRUCIFORM STONES (2) (scale 1:20)  
A. Killeevin (A7, 63); B. Riasg Buidhe, Colonsay (A5, 389); C. Cill Chaitriona, Balnahard, Colonsay (A5, 326); D. North Rona (W55); E. Inchmarnock (W7); F. Great Cumbrae (W5); G, H. Iona (A4); J, L. Hougharry, North Uist (W45); K, N. Vallay, North Uist (W47); M. Cille Pheadair, North Uist (W46)



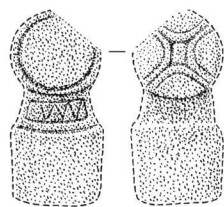
# COMPARATIVE DRAWINGS



A (14)



B



C (11)

a

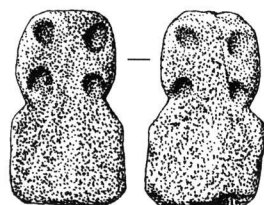
b



D (17)

a

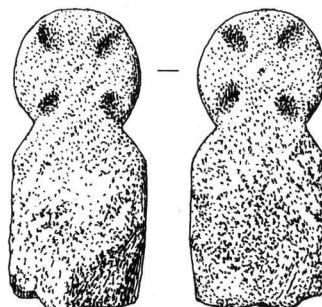
b



E (16)

a

b



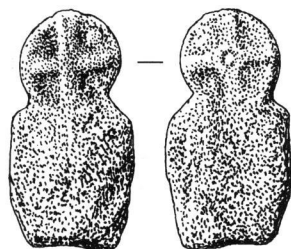
F (15)

a

b



G (20)



H (21)

a

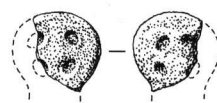
b



J (10)



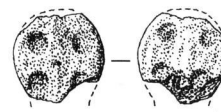
K (9)



L (19)

a

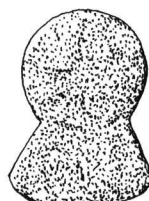
b



M (18)

a

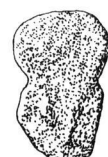
b



N (22)



P (23)

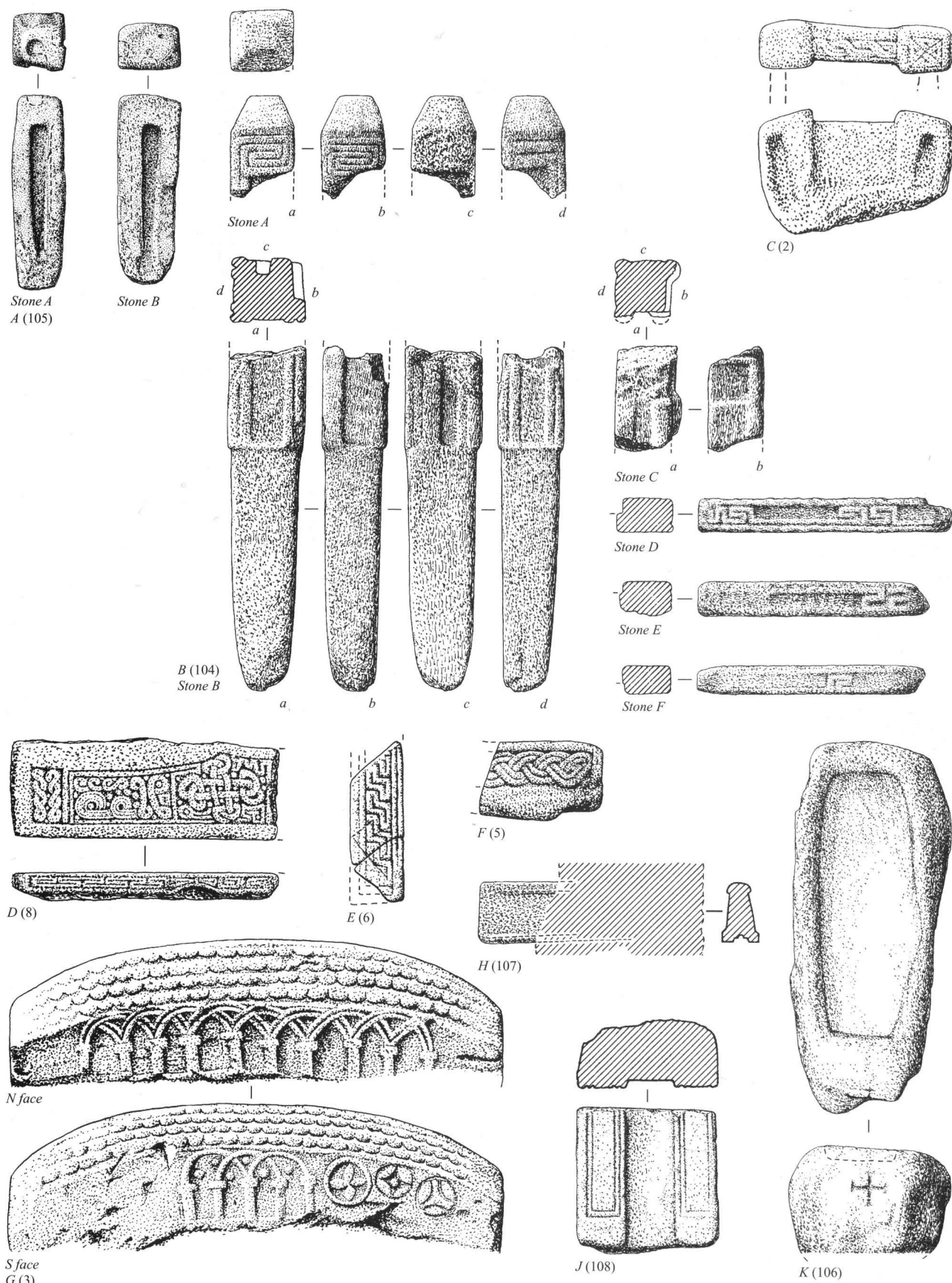


Q (24)

33 DISC-HEADED GRAVEMARKERS (scale 1:20)

A, D-H, L-N, P, Q. St Blane's, Kingarth (W6); B. Kilbride, Lamlash (W2);

C, J, K. Great Cumbrae (W5)



34 SHRINE-POSTS, ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS AND HOGBACK GRAVE-COVER (scale 1:20)  
 A, B, H, J, K. Iona (A4); C. Kilmaheh (W11); D-F. Great Cumbræ (W5); G. Luss (W14)



A



B



C



D

**Holy Island, Arran (No. 1)**  
*A. W coast (arrows mark St Molaise's Cave)*  
*B. exterior of St Molaise's Cave*  
*C. interior of St Molaise's Cave*  
*D. incised cross (A)*

# GAZETTEER OF EARLY MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE IN THE WEST HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS (EXCLUDING THE FORMER COUNTY OF ARGYLL)

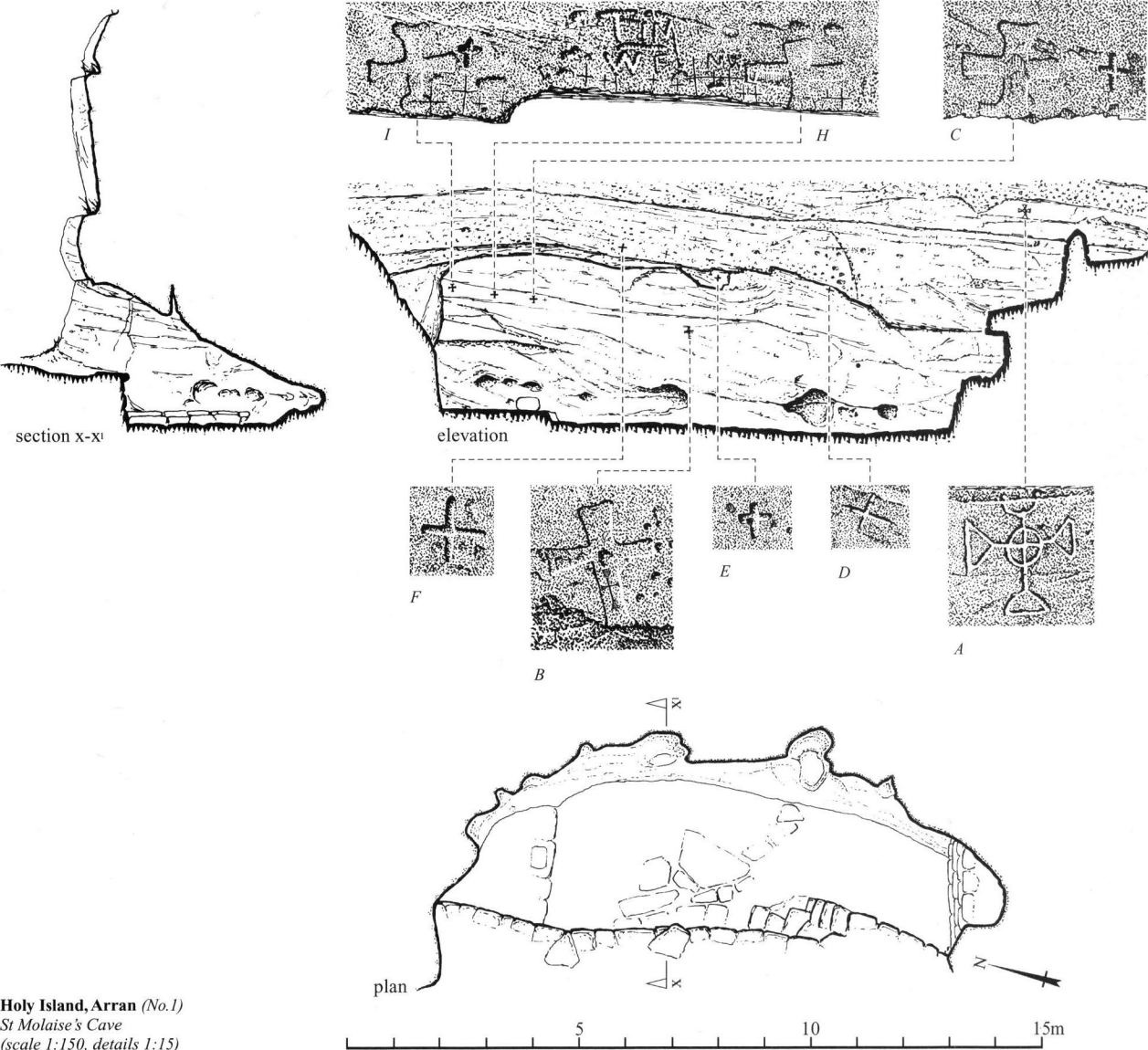
## 1 Holy Island, Arran

This island, which encloses Lamrash Bay from the E, measures 3km from NNW to SSE by 1.1km in maximum width. Its rocky spine rises to the 314m summit of Mullach Mór, whose slopes fall steeply to the E and SW shores. High-level outcrops of basalt on the ridge form sheer cliffs with associated scree-slopes, and areas of yellow and red sandstone rise as cliffs up to 20m high on the lower slopes above the SW shore. Several caves have been formed by sea-action in these deposits. Areas of agricultural settlement were limited to the NW corner, where there is a 19th-century farmhouse, and the S end where a lighthouse was erected in 1877.

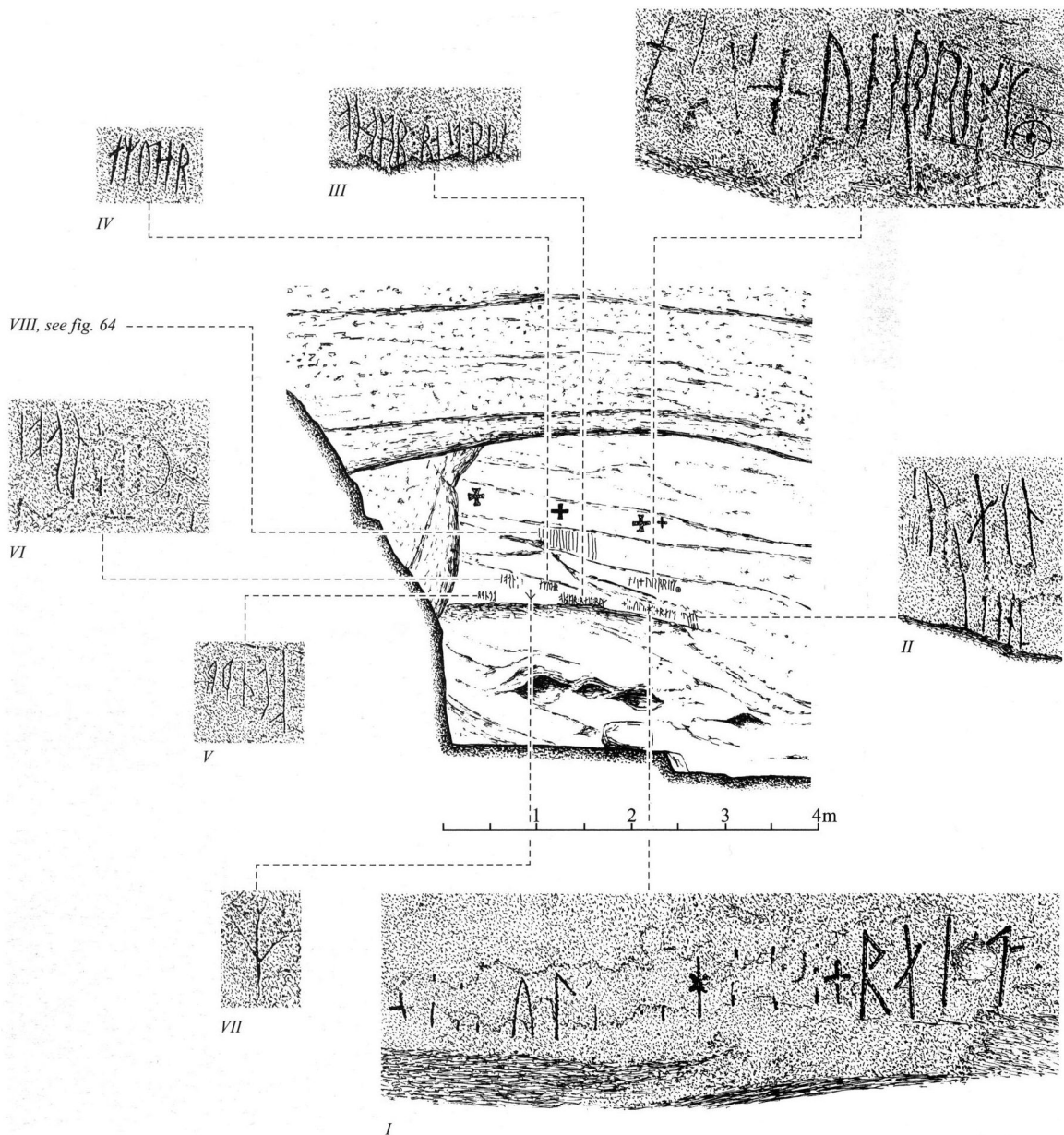
The island is associated with a saint bearing the Irish name Molaise or, in local usage, Molio. Its older name, *Eilean Molaise* ('Molaise's island'), first appears in Norse form in the saga which recounts that after the Battle of Largs in 1263 King Hákon of Norway sailed to *Melasey*.<sup>1</sup> Pont's map of the late

16th century shows 'Lamlach or Holy Yle', and the shortened form of the Gaelic name came to be applied to the village on the W shore of Lamrash Bay.<sup>2</sup> A 17th-century Gaelic historian stated that Reginald, son of Somerled, founded the monastic order of Molaise, and Monro that John, Lord of the Isles, founded 'ane monastery of friars', but both foundations are doubtful.<sup>3</sup> In 1992 the island was acquired by the Samye Ling Tibetan Buddhist community as a centre for spiritual retreat and inter-faith dialogue.

St Molaise's Cave, on the SW coast, may have originated as a hermitage and later became the focus of pilgrimage. It preserves a series of rock-cut crosses and Norse runic inscriptions, and other crosses are carved on 'St Molaise's Table' and another boulder near the cave, and in the 'Smugglers' Cave' about 0.8km to the N.







Holy Island, Arran (No.1), St Molaise's Cave  
runic inscriptions (elevation, scale 1:75, details 1:4)

ST MOLAISE'S CAVE

NS 0586 2972

NS02NE 4

60-1 The 'cave' is a rock-shelter about 10m above high-water mark, formed by wave-action in bands of red and yellow sandstone, and the lower part of its inner wall is rounded and smoothed. In front of it there is an accumulation of soil, some of it spoil from Balfour's excavation in 1909, contained by a rebuilt revetment-wall 1m high, and at its S end a rough flight of steps leads down to the interior. The cave is roughly D-shaped, measuring 12m from NNW to SSE by 4m in maximum width, and the roof rises steadily from near floor-level at the E to a height of 3m at the front. Balfour cleared the N part down to a paved floor, which was renewed in 1992, and at the S end he found midden-material and a hearth, of uncertain date.<sup>4</sup> The level at which many of the crosses and inscriptions are cut suggests that the ground-level outside the cave had risen considerably since the period of original occupation.

The carvings described here fall into two groups: (a) a large number of simple crosses, some perhaps associated with

hermit use and others with pilgrim devotion, and (b), a series of Norse runic inscriptions, principally personal names, of which at least one was associated with the Norwegian expedition of 1263. However the two groups are not exclusive since some of the crosses appear to be contemporary with this inscription, and it may be that the Norse visitors themselves came as pilgrims. With the exception of an isolated cross (A) on the cliff-face S of the cave, and a few on the vertical face overhanging its mouth, most of the carvings now identifiable are on the sloping roof. They occur mainly towards the N end, or on ledges related to the varying consistency of the bands of sandstone. Some parts are heavily eroded, and in the area of densest carving damage may have been caused by a large inscription containing the date 1877.

The isolated cross (A) is carved on the cliff-face above a steep slope rising from the S end of the cave and immediately N of a modern retaining-wall. It is a pecked Latin cross, 0.26m high and 0.24m in span, with large triangular terminals which in the top arm and shaft are D-shaped. The centre of

29 B, 60 D, 61

the head is enclosed by a ring 85mm in diameter. Most of the carvings, including all of those on the overhang outside the cave (D, E, F), are small incised or sunken crosses, of both equal-armed and Latin type. On the roof at the centre of the cave, and 2m above the paving-level, there is a shallow sunken Latin cross (B) with expanded arms, 0.28m high and 0.22m in span, itself having a linear cross cut on the shaft. Three other crosses (C, H, I), of similar character but with shorter shafts, are carved on a vertical face at the N end, 2.5m above the paving. The lower edge of this face bears several small thinly-incised crosses, mostly equal-armed or with the arms at mid-height, and many more have been cut on the roof-slope below this overhang, which at the N end appears to have been cut back to give a smooth surface.

64 The same surface bears the highest and most prominent of the group of runic inscriptions (VIII), at a height of about 2.2m above present floor-level. Some at least of the small crosses appear to be incised with a tool similar to that used for this inscription and may be contemporary with it. The other inscriptions are on a fairly vertical rock-face, at heights ranging from 1.5m to 1.75m. Several other 'rune-like symbols' in the same area are affected by weathering and later graffiti. The following readings have been provided by Professors M F Barnes and R I Page. The reference-numbers to be used in their forthcoming *Corpus* are given after Olsen's standard numbering of 1912, which begins at the lowest level.

(I; SC 3) The most boldly-cut of the inscriptions, 0.34m long and with letters up to 54mm high. It was severely damaged, apparently deliberately, in or before 1882, and subsequent readings depend heavily on Wilson's illustration.

(+n)[ik]ul[os]\*[ahæni]+ræist

*Nikolás á Hæni reist*

'Nikolás from Hæn carved'

There are several farms in Norway with the name *Hæn*. Some of the rune-forms suggest a date no earlier than the 12th century.

(II; SC 4) A shallow inscription, 63mm long and with letters from 19mm to 90mm high.

suæin

This represents the personal name *Sveinn*. The rune-form used for 'æ' suggests a date no earlier than the 12th century.

(III; SC 5) A thinly-cut inscription, 80mm long and with letters from 20mm to 30mm high.

ono(n)tr:r(a)\*st:ru

'Onundr carved runes'

(IV; SC 6) A firmly-cut inscription, 35mm long with letters from 24mm to 40mm high.

(a)mutar

This probably represents the name *Amundr*, and the form used for 't' suggests a date no earlier than the end of the 12th century.

(V; SC 12) A reversed inscription 40mm long, whose characters diminish in height and firmness from 49mm at the right to 21mm at the left. It probably represents the name *Ólafr*, although the fourth character is ambiguous.

ola(b)r

(VI; SC 9) An inscription 35mm long with characters from 31mm to 48mm high.

ioan

This probably represents the name *Jóan* ('John'), and the significance of the additional markings recorded in the damaged area to the right by Roger in 1859<sup>5</sup> is uncertain.

(VII; SC 13) A single character 57mm high, possibly the runic letter *m*.

64 (VIII; SC 7) The highest inscription, carved on the sloping roof of the cave with the lower parts of several letters extending round a change in its angle. It is 0.61m long and the characters vary from 96mm to 245mm in height, but are thinly incised. Some show signs of double cutting, perhaps because of the difficulty of access to the surface.

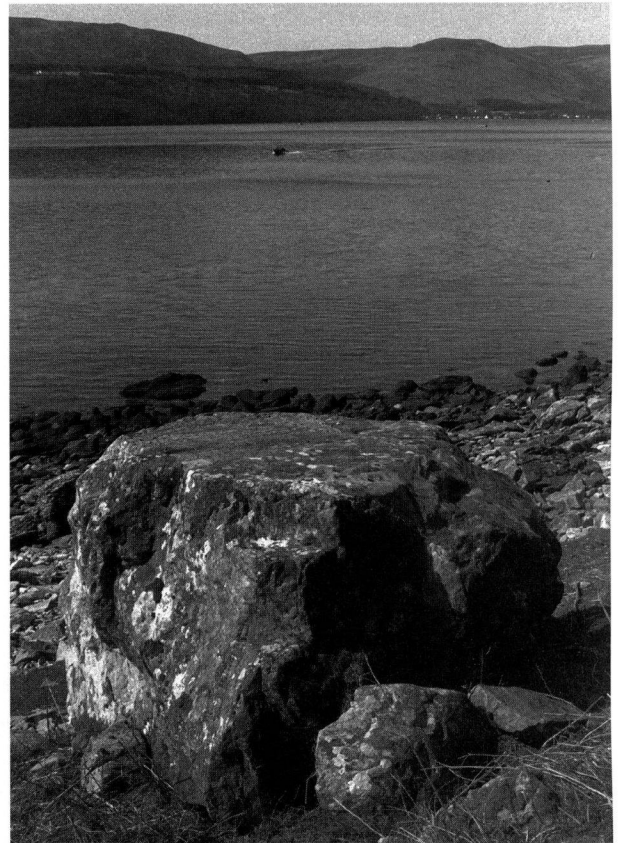
uiklæikr s\*allariræiss(t)

*Vigleikr stallari reist*

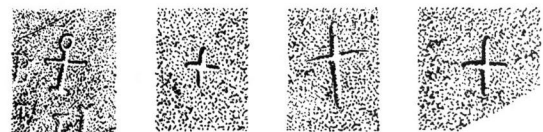
'Vigleikr the marshal carved'

The carver was presumably the *Vigleikr prestsson* who was one of the leaders of Hákon Hákonarson's expedition of 1263,<sup>6</sup> and may possibly be identified with the *Vigleikr stallari* who was a prominent Norwegian royal official in the following decade. The runes are closely associated with a large group of simple crosses which may have been carved at the same time, and it is possible that some of the other inscriptions may also date from the visit of the Norwegian fleet to the adjacent anchorage.

(Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals*, 2, 279-81; Roger, J C, in *PSAS*, 19 (1884-5), 378-80; Olsen, M, in *Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter*, 2 (1912); *Arran Bk*, 1, 261-7 and 2, 23-4; Olsen, M, in *VA*, 6, 169; Liestøl, 'Runes', 237).



A



B

C

D

E

Holy Island, Arran (No.1)

A. St Molaise's Table from E

B. cross on St Molaise's Table (scale 1:15)

C-E. crosses on rock (scale 1:15)

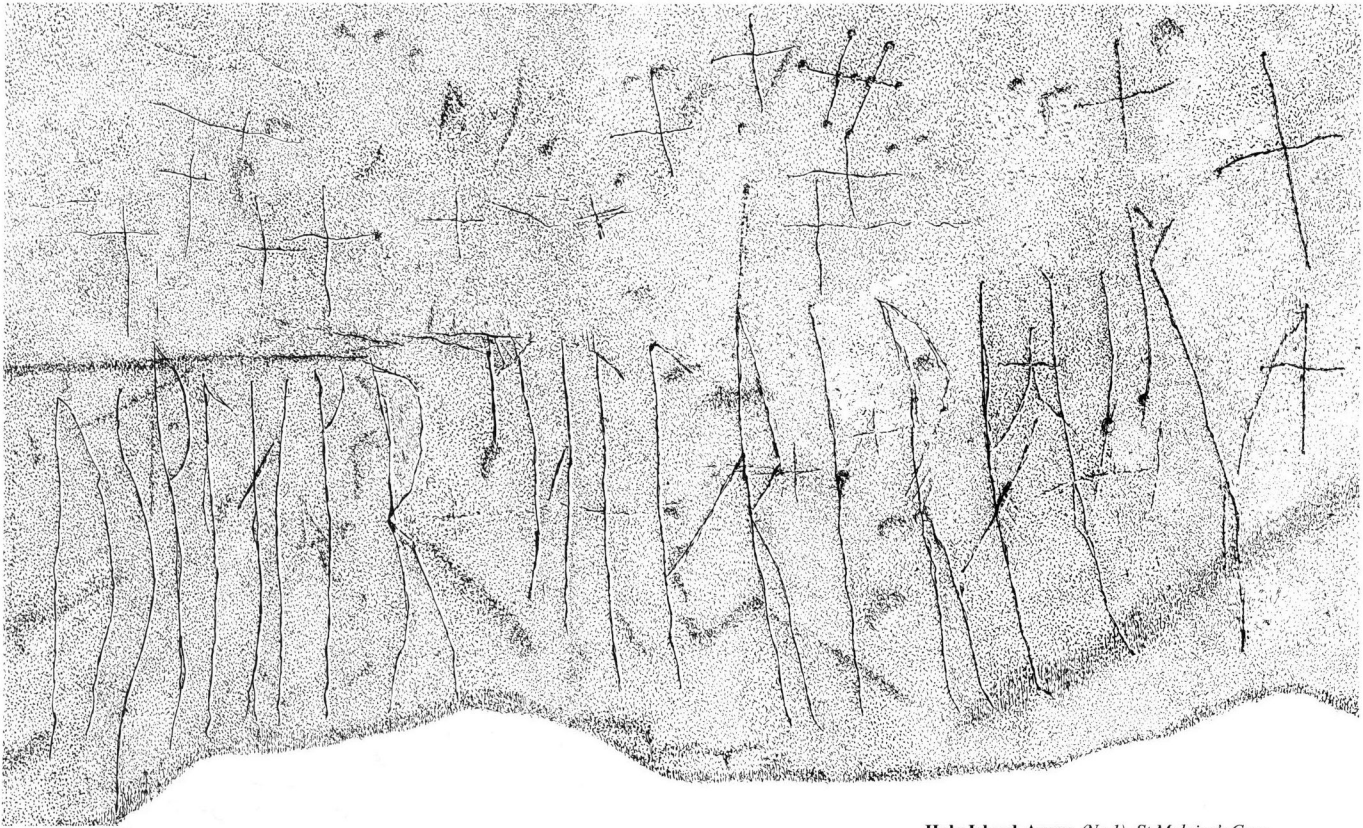
#### ST MOLAISE'S TABLE

NS 0586 2970

NS02NE 6

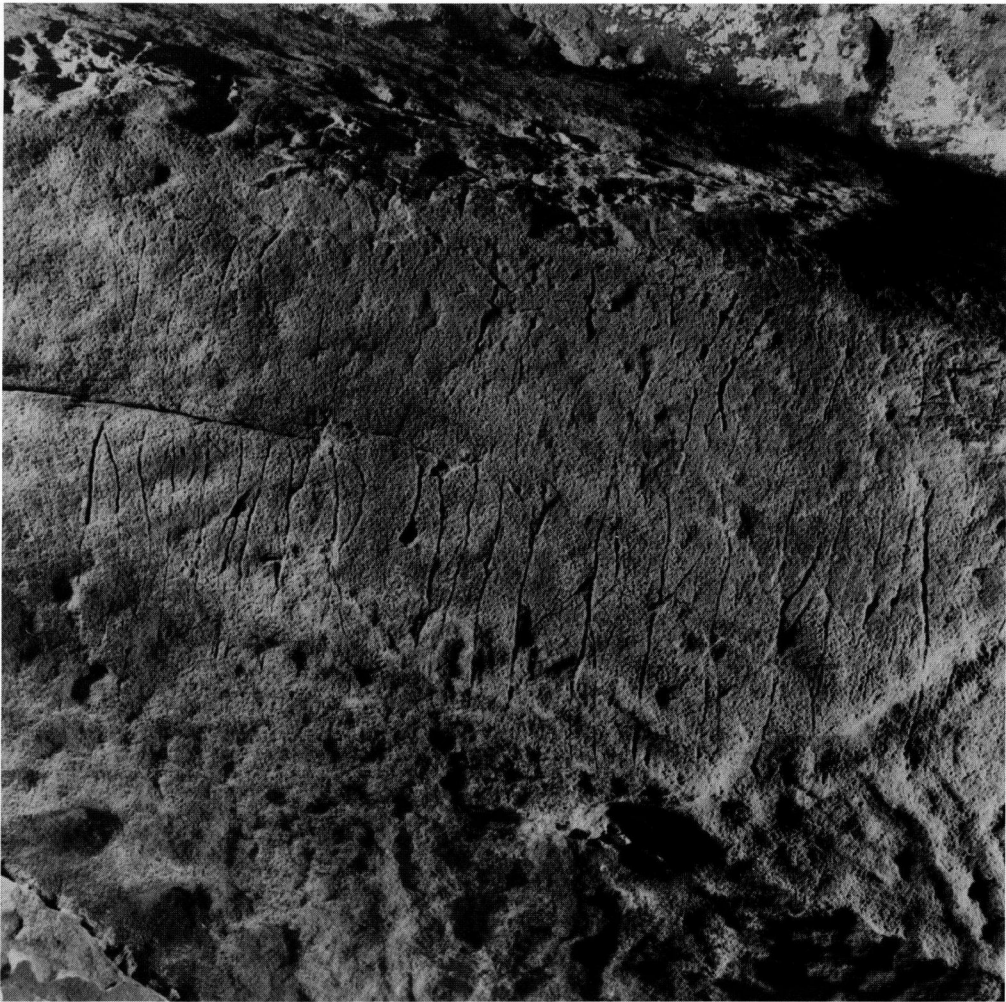
This large flat-topped boulder of sandstone, also known as the 'Judgement Stone', is situated close to the shore and 8m N of St Molaise's Well, a natural spring which was formerly regarded as a holy well.<sup>7</sup> It measures 2.2m high and about 2.6m square, and at the SE angle there are rock-cut steps, while two hollows at the SW angle and two more at the NE are identified as seats. On an oblique face at the NE angle there is an incised cross 110mm high and 80mm in span. Its top arm terminates in an oval 20mm to 25mm across, and the side arms in small hollows, while the shaft rises from a firmly-cut horizontal bar. The shaft is formed by a

29 C



**Holy Island, Arran (No.1), St Molaise's Cave**  
*runic inscription VIII (A, scale 1:4)*

A

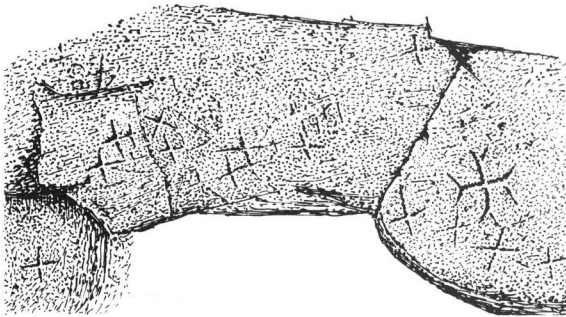


B



pronounced V-section groove, while the cross-arms are less deeply cut. The carving is surrounded by later initials, and it is possible that it was itself a mason's mark, but an early date seems more probable. A block of basalt containing a shallow basin 0.28m in diameter lies at the foot of the stone. (*Arran Bk*, 1, 258-9).

29 C, 63 C-E About 120m SSE of this boulder and 6m E of the footpath there is a large block of sandstone which bears three incised crosses, all much weathered. Two of them are almost equal-armed, measuring 70mm and 90mm in span, and a Latin cross is 160mm high and 90mm in span.



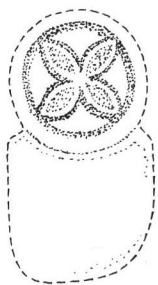
A. Holy Island, Arran (No.1), Smugglers' Cave (scale 1:15)

#### THE SMUGGLERS' CAVE

NS 0530 3031

NS03SE 2

This cave, whose name was recorded by Balfour,<sup>8</sup> is situated at the foot of a low cliff some 60m from the shore and adjoining an area of former arable-cultivation. The entrance is partly sunk and the cave measures about 4.8m from E to W by 1.4m, with a low side-chamber to the N of the entrance. The average height is 1.7m to a flat roof, which appears to have been worked. The red sandstone walls are damp in places, but several crosses have been incised at a height of about 1.2m in the E part of the N wall. Most of them are simple equal-armed crosses up to 80mm in span, but one, which is 100mm in span, is incised with a firm V-section groove and has long forked terminals. This wall also bears modern initials and the date 1951, and several of the crosses have been damaged by recutting and added lines.



B. Kilbride, Lamlash, Arran (No.2) carved stone (scale c.1:15)

#### 2 Kilbride, Lamlash, Arran

NS 0322 3227

NS03SW 5

The ruin of one of the two medieval parish churches of Arran stands in a burial-ground on the S-facing hillside 400m from the NW shore of Lamlash Bay. A late medieval graveslab is fixed to the E wall of the church, and others have been recorded in the burial-ground but cannot now be identified. A cross of unusual character, bearing a Crucifixion and probably of 16th-century date, was found E of the church in 1892 and has been re-erected in front of the present parish church in Lamlash.<sup>1</sup>

27 J A disc-headed slab bearing a cross-of-arcs was recorded in

the churchyard before 1867 and again exposed about 1910, but its present location is unknown. It was presumably one of the two 'cruciform head-stones' that were noted by 19th-century writers.<sup>2</sup> It comprised a circular head about 0.27m in diameter rising from a plain slab about 0.3m wide, the overall height being about 0.55m.<sup>3</sup> The head had a flat margin within which a cross-of-arcs was executed in low relief, the four diagonal 'petals' having sunken oval centres. Balfour states that there was a similar 'quatrefoil' on the other face of the stone. (*SSS*, 2, pl.122, 4; *ECMS*, 3, 417; *Arran Bk*, 1, 222 and pl.36, 2; Cross, 'Bute', A5).

#### 3 King's Cave, Blackwaterfoot, Arran

NR 8844 3092

NR83SE 10

The 'King's Cave' is the largest of a group of caves in the W-facing sandstone cliff immediately above the rocky shore of Kilbrannan Sound. It is situated at the foot of the W slope of Torr Rìgh Mór ('big hillock of the king') and 1.6km N of the hill-fort of Drumadoon. The E slope of Torr Rìgh Mór contains a number of hut-circles and cairns,<sup>1</sup> and there are cultivation-ridges close to the shore 0.5km S of the cave, but from the revetted platform at the cave-mouth the only visible part of Arran is a headland some 9km to the N. However the distant view extends to the island of Sanda, with the coast of Antrim visible beyond, and along the E coast of Kintyre from the cliffs containing St Ciaran's Cave<sup>2</sup> to the Skipness area.

In recent tradition the cave is associated with Robert Bruce's visit to Arran in 1307,<sup>3</sup> but from the 17th century it was also associated with the mythical Irish hero Fionn ('Fingal') and his warriors.<sup>4</sup> The walls bear a number of carvings of the early medieval period, as well as others of uncertain date. A smaller cave some 80m to the S, reached from the mouth of the main cave by a natural tunnel known as the 'King's Stable', also contains an interlace carving.

THE KING'S CAVE. The cliff in which the cave-mouth is set forms a concave recess about 30m across, and a drystone revetment linking the extremities of this curve forms a platform about 10m deep, built by the Hamilton estate in the 19th century to protect the entrance.<sup>5</sup> The cave was used in the 18th and 19th centuries for religious gatherings<sup>6</sup> and as a school, and small-scale excavations in 1909 showed that it had been artificially levelled up at this period. The most notable find, at a depth of 1.8m, was a bronze fragment bearing interlace of early medieval type.<sup>7</sup>

The entrance, which was at one time spanned by a stone wall and later by iron railings,<sup>8</sup> is 4.5m wide at ground level and 4m high. Some 12m from the entrance the cave widens to a maximum width of 13.5m. The lower parts of the NW and SE walls are wave-worn and undercut, but from overhanging faces at an average height of about 2m they rise steeply to a narrow flat roof at a height of about 15m. Some 23m from the entrance there is a round-ended central 'buttress' which divides the inner part of the cave into two passages, each about 4m high. The SE one narrows after a distance of 10m to an inaccessible crevice.

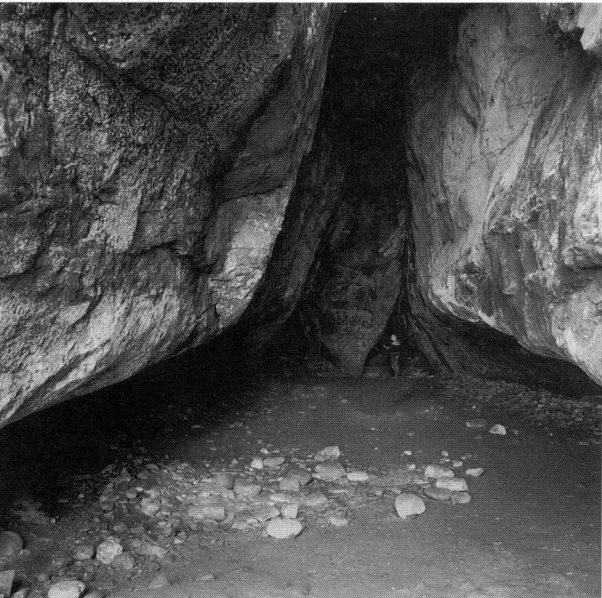
Balfour<sup>9</sup> referred to the rock-cut seat, already in 1910 damaged by souvenir-hunters and now almost unrecognisable, in a low projecting mass of sandstone forming the NW side of the entrance. Other possible structural features include five shallow sockets at the SE side of the entrance; a low-level socket, and a slot 1.5m above it, on the central buttress; four pairs of small slots or sockets in the side-walls of the E passage, and similar slots in the W passage, perhaps intended to support timber ceilings;<sup>10</sup> several small but deep sockets in the NE part of the NW wall; and a high-level slot in the SE wall, and a socket opposite, to hold a transverse beam some 14m inside the entrance.

The earlier carvings comprise crosses, human figures, interlaced snakes and ogham inscriptions, all of probable early medieval date; animals and geometrical designs or symbols, of uncertain date; and masons' marks of post-medieval type. As





A. King's Cave, Blackwaterfoot, Arran (No.3), entrance (at extreme left) from W



B. King's Cave, Blackwaterfoot, Arran (No.3), interior from W

well as resharpening of the more obvious carvings and continuing damage by modern names, initials and dates, extensive areas of the rock-surface are pitted or stained with algae or soil, and even carved names of fairly recent date show considerable damage in places.<sup>11</sup> Most of the carvings are on the wave-worn lower parts of the cave-walls, or immediately above the overhang. They fall into geographical groups, in those areas which were suitable to receive and retain carving, and are here described clockwise from the entrance.

*NW wall.* About 4m from the entrance and 2.3m above

67 present ground-level there is a group of five separate serpents incised in outline. Their bodies, up to 0.29m in length, form figure-of-eight knots with the necks and heads extending

beyond the upper loops. The bodies are of fairly uniform thickness, although the tails are tapered, while some of the heads appear to be shown from above, as in many insular representations. The carving to the left is much worn, and there are possible traces of another, with the head pointing downwards, above the central group of three.

There are several near-vertical cracks of natural origin in this area, and two have been used as the stem-lines of ogham inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> One of these was identified some time before 1971, when it was discussed by the late Professor K H Jackson,<sup>13</sup> and two other inscriptions were recorded during the present survey.

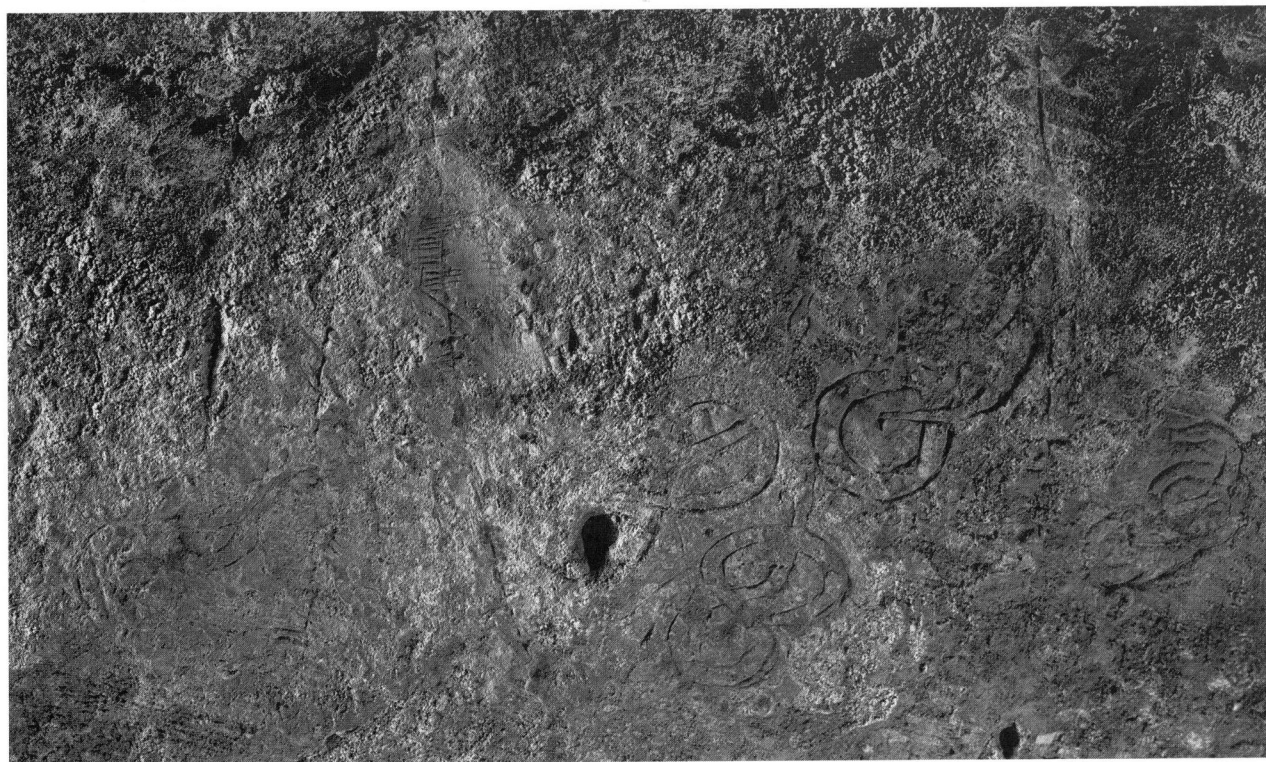
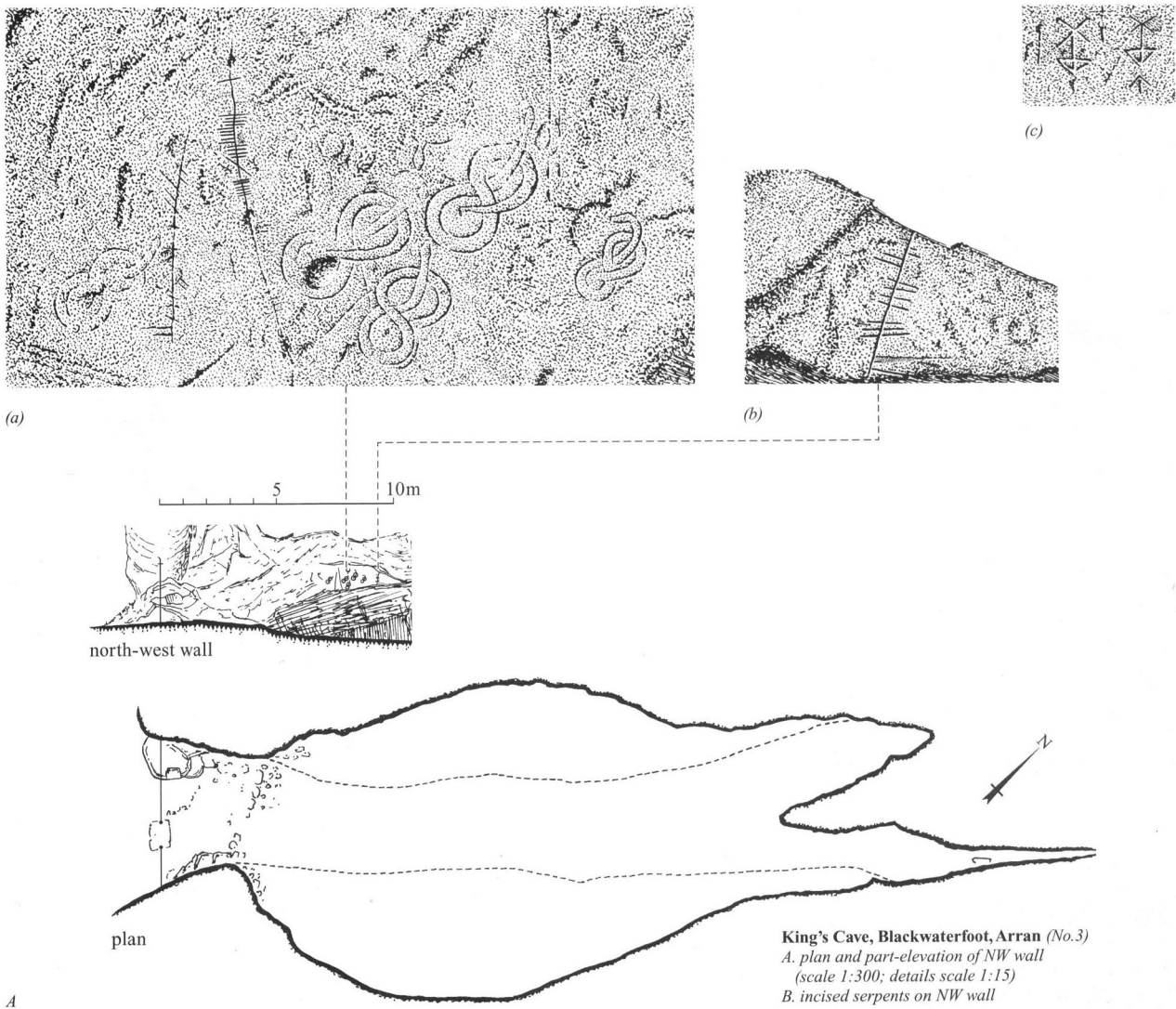
(i) The first inscription is carved immediately left of the main group of serpents, with a curving natural stem-line about 0.5m in visible length. Examination in the light of Dr Forsyth's comments<sup>14</sup> confirms one of Jackson's suggested readings, EOMEQE, containing the Irish *Meq* ('son') but apparently incomplete at both ends. 67

(ii) To the left there is a shorter natural stem-line spanned by a few oblique and transverse strokes which appear to be artificial but for which no transcription can be suggested. 67

(iii) The third inscription is 1.6m right of the first and its stem-line, which extends to the underside of an oblique overhang, is about 300mm long. It appears to be artificial, but several of the horizontal lines which abut or span it are probably natural cracks. No interpretation can be suggested for the possible reading LUEDBH.<sup>15</sup> 67 A, 68 A

The only other identifiable early carvings on this wall, some 10m further from the entrance, are two masons' marks of inverted arrow type, one having a saltire at the end of the shaft. 67 A

*Central buttress.* On the SW face, facing the entrance, there is a large incised Latin cross which was interpreted by early visitors as a two-handed sword, and variously associated with Fionn or Bruce.<sup>16</sup> The cross has expanded arms and measures about 1.05m in height and 0.57m in span. It is cut with a deep V-section groove and has been subjected to later recutting, especially in the slightly swollen shaft, which makes the original length of the tapered foot uncertain. Curving 31 MM, 68 D,F

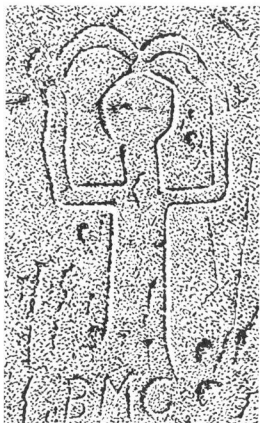


B

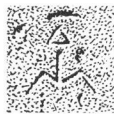




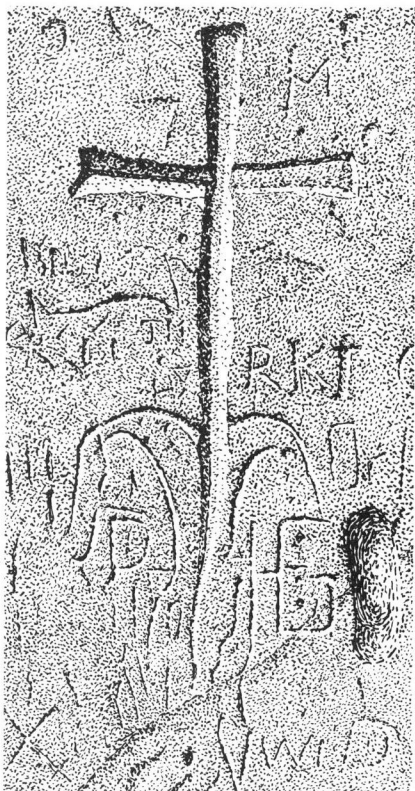
A



B



C



D

King's Cave, Blackwaterfoot, Arran (No.3)  
A. ogham inscription (iii) on NW wall  
B-F. carvings on central buttress (drawings scale 1:15)



E



F

outwards from the foot there are two crescentic outlines which may represent the foliated base of the 'tree of life', a common motif in Early Christian art. There are no traces of a small incised Latin cross, shown in Stuart's engraving of 1867<sup>17</sup> as below and to the right of the large cross, in an area damaged by large modern initials. To the left of the cross-shaft there are remains of the curving back of an animal shown by Skene and Stuart.<sup>18</sup>

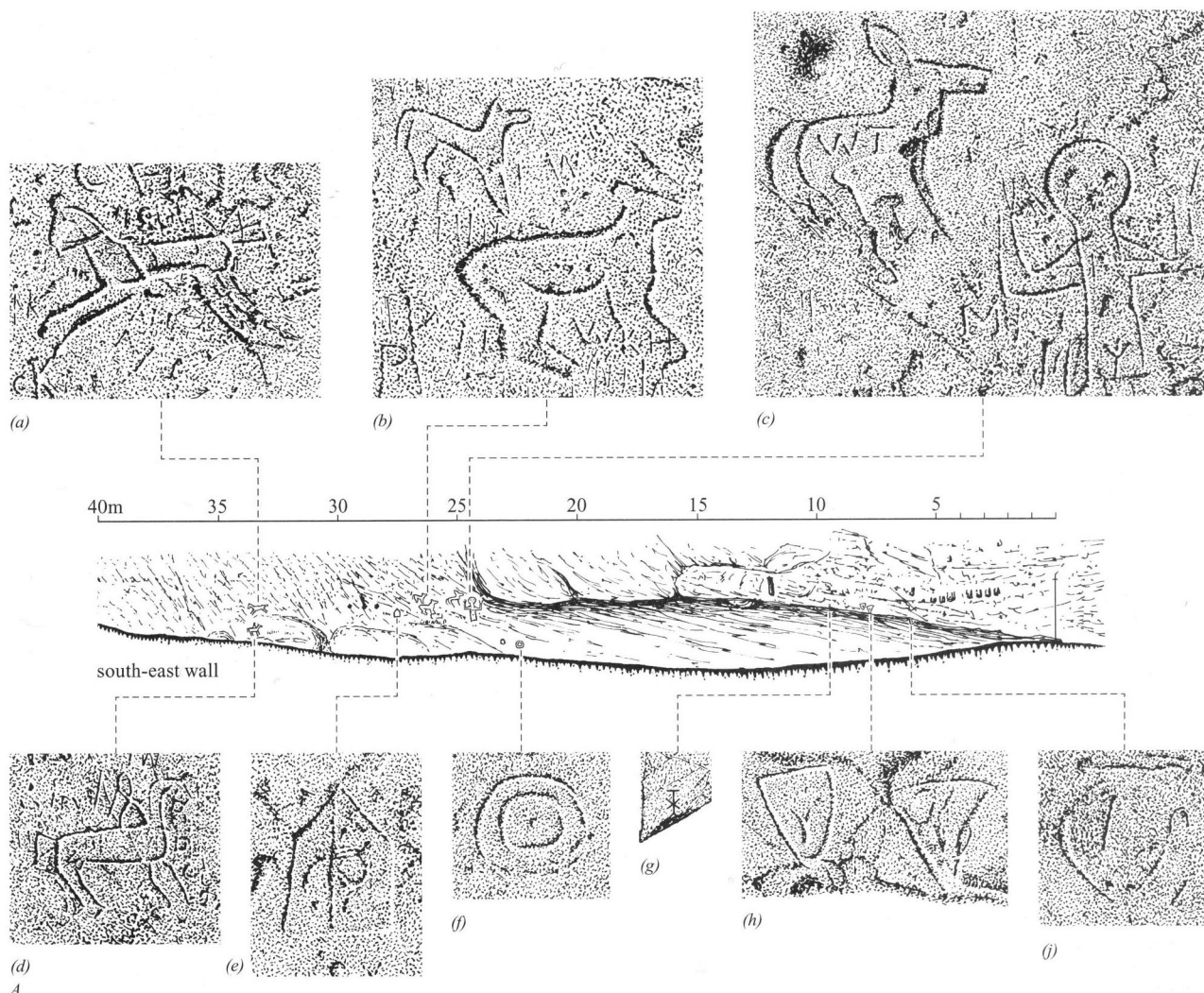
About 0.5m to the right of the cross there is the schematic outline of a human figure, with the forearms raised vertically in the 'orans' or prayer position. Stuart interpreted this as having 'his hands joined above his head', but the outline that emerges from the top of the head and splits into two curves

may represent locks of hair.<sup>19</sup> There is little detail on the figure, which is about 0.6m high and open at the base of the trunk, but the right eye is visible. Some distance below it there is a boldly-cut mason's mark in the form of an arrow rising from an M-shaped base. Another mason's mark is carved on the NW wall of the SE passage, 7m from the buttress.

*SE wall.* On the SE wall of the same passage, 7m from its mouth but on a surface which receives some cross-light from the entrance, there is the outline of a ?horse, 0.28m in length. It is shown with two ears, an eye, and a curving tail whose present triangular appearance may be the result of natural flaking. It appears to have a bit, although no bridle is

68 C

68 B, E



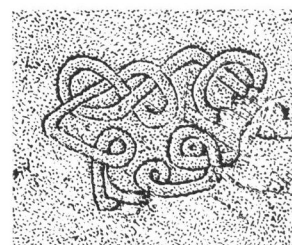
A

distinguishable, and its rider is indicated by a triangular body and oval head, but his legs are not visible. At a higher level there is shown a galloping horse, with a distinct bridle but no identifiable rider, much affected by recutting and by initials and consequent flaking.

On the overhanging face at the mouth of the passage there is the schematic carving of a house or tent, shown as a square with a gabled roof. Its outline is firmly incised and the interior is slightly sunk but much affected by flaking, while the vertical line to the left of centre may be the stem of an added letter. To the right there are two animals, the smaller one above and slightly behind the other, which have been recut but appear to be hounds.<sup>20</sup> Some 0.6m to the right, and at the same level, there is a third animal, with a square muzzle, which perhaps represents a deer. Its head and large oval ear (but not the body, as shown by Stuart<sup>21</sup>) are slightly sunk. To the right there is an orans figure, similar to that on the central buttress but with less clearly defined hair. It has been damaged by algae and by recutting or alterations, which probably include the slanting shoulders and the apparent female genitals. At a low level to the right there are two irregular concentric circles defined by V-section grooves, 0.22m in overall diameter and forming a band 35mm wide with a small central pitting.

The final group of carvings, on the overhang inside the cave-mouth, includes a damaged mason's mark which appears to have been an inverted version of that in the SE passage, and two 'shields'. These take the form of triangles outlined by broad recut grooves, respectively 180mm and 200mm in height, the former having a Y-shaped incision in the lower part and the other a central incision affected by flaking. A further 1.7m to the right there is a worn shield or disc with traces of a similar central groove.

**CAVE TO SOUTH.** Beyond the natural tunnel extending S from the mouth of the King's Cave there are two caves, both of which contain curvilinear stone settings of uncertain date.<sup>22</sup> Against the SW wall of the smaller S cave, which measures 13.5m at the mouth and 9m in depth, there is a roughly circular setting about 6.5m in diameter. An interlace-carving was identified on the NE wall near the mouth of the cave in 1993, when the soil of the floor was disturbed by an unusually high tide. It is carved on the almost horizontal surface where the wall meets the floor of the cave, and measures about 0.45m in width by 0.33m in height. A band defined by two grooves 25mm to 30mm apart forms an elongated lozenge whose upper left section is a figure-of-eight knot. In the lower part, however, and at the right end which is heavily worn, the interlacing is replaced by a series of simple loops and angular returns. The open character of the knotwork, as well as its irregularity, may be compared with carvings of 10th- to 12th-century date in Galloway and Cumbria.<sup>23</sup>



B

King's Cave, Blackwaterfoot, Arran (No.3)

A. SE wall (scale 1:300, details 1:15)

B. cave to S of King's Cave, interlace-carving (scale 1:15)





Lochranza, Arran (No.4), slab

(Arran Bk.)

**4 Lochranza, Arran**

NR 9370 5019

NR95SW 4

The present church, situated 250m from the head of Loch Ranza, replaces a building of 1795.<sup>1</sup> However, stones of 17th-century date have been recorded in the burial-ground and the field to the S bears the name 'Achadh an Teampuill' ('field of the temple'), indicating the existence of an earlier church.<sup>2</sup> A carved slab was found outside the E gable of the church about 1910, but its present location is not certain.

The only record of the slab is an oblique photographic view from the side, which shows that it was long and narrow, with an elongated central panel enclosed by a plain moulding. The panel contained irregular interlace divided into three sections, the middle one being very short. The age of this carving is uncertain, and the moulding is characteristic of late medieval slabs, but the interlace may contain foliage elements and it appears to bifurcate in a way that is found in Scandinavian-influenced sculpture.

(Arran Bk, 1, 231 and pl.39, 3; Cross, 'Bute', A8).

**5 Isle of Great Cumbrae**

This island is separated from the Ayrshire coast by a channel which at the N end is only 1.7km wide, and unlike Bute, some 7km to the W, it belonged to the medieval diocese of Glasgow rather than the Isles. It measures 5.3km from N to S by 3.5km, rising to a maximum height of 127m, and contains fertile areas and sandstone of good quality. The medieval church dedicated to St Columba<sup>1</sup> stood in the burial-ground at Kirkton, on a low spur that divides Millport Bay from the W coast.

With one exception (no.12), which was found on the shore of Millport Bay, the stones described below are believed to have come from this site.<sup>2</sup> Five (nos.1, 3, 5, 6, 12) are in the episcopal Cathedral of the Isles (NS 1658 5524), to which they were presented by the Earl of Glasgow in the middle of the 19th century; two (nos.9, 10) are in the Museum of the Cumbrae at Millport (NS 1641 5503); one (no.8) is in Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum; and four (nos.2, 4, 7, 11) are lost.

**KIRKTON**

NS 1574 5516

NS15NE 12

30 N (1) Irregular igneous boulder with rounded edges, 0.35m by 0.31m and 115mm thick. On the smooth flat face there is a boldly incised cross, 130mm high by 120mm in span. It is of Latin form, the shaft being about 20mm longer than the top arm, and has triangular terminals, the top and left ones being slightly forked. The cross is cut with V-section grooves showing pock-marks, and the terminals are sunk to a depth of about 10mm and have bevelled sides.

(SSS, 2, pl.74, 8; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 283 (no.3); *ECMS*, 3, 417 (no.4); Curle, C L, in *PSAS*, 95 (1961-2), 224 (no.2) and pl.14, 4; Cross, 'Bute', C3).

(2) Hewison describes a 'pear-shaped whinstone', 0.43m by 0.28m at the top and bearing an incised Greek cross, which was at Millburn House in 1893.

(Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 284 (no.7); Cross, 'Bute', C14).

27 F (3) Upper part of a pillar of fine-grained white sandstone, 0.63m high and tapering in thickness from 105mm at the foot to 95mm. It comprises a disc-head 0.28m in diameter set into a shouldered shaft with slightly concave sides, 0.21m in width at the narrowest point and 0.24m below the head. The edges of both the disc and the shaft are rounded. The lower part of

face (b) is deeply flaked, but otherwise it is less worn than face (a).

The disc on face (a) has a double roll-moulded margin enclosing an equal-armed cross 0.21m in span. This has curved arms with beaded edges and bevelled sides, separated by flat-bottomed sunken 'petals' and having a central hollow 10mm across and 12mm deep within traces of a moulded surround. Both edges of the shaft have 30mm edge-mouldings which at the top enclose a double moulding following the lower curve of the disc-head. The shaft contains a central hexafoil with incised curvilinear ornament above and below and small roundels in the spandrels. The hexafoil, enclosed by a 140mm incised circle, has oval pocked petals whose tips are linked by pocked curves and there is a central hollow. Above the hexafoil there is a crescent whose terminals may have spiralled out, as on face (b), but are much worn, and in the left spandrel there are traces of a small roundel or spiral, possibly linked to the base of the crescent. This is repeated in the lower left spandrel, and the incomplete lower crescent contains two roundels or spirals forming an upward-pointing pelta.

The head of face (b) has a similar double moulding enclosing a hexafoil 0.2m in diameter. It resembles that on face (a) but is more deeply sunk, and the axis of the vertical petals is inclined very slightly to the left. The edge-moulding of the shaft, which returns below the disc-head, encloses a Latin cross, 120mm high by 85mm in span, firmly incised with a V-section groove. The arms have long crescentic terminals whose ends spiral inwards at the top and foot, to form peltae, and outwards in the side-arms.

(SSS, 2, pl.74, 2; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 283 (no.2); *PSAS*, 95 (1961-2), 223-4 (no.1) and pl.14, 1-3; Cross, 'Bute', C4).

(4) Roughly rectangular slab, about 0.49m by 0.27m. The only evidence for its ornament is Stuart's engraving, which shows an incised cross with a central lozenge, having at the top and foot barred terminals of the same span as the transom. It is framed by vertical and horizontal grooves to form a fret-like pattern.

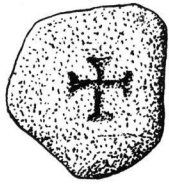
(SSS, 2, pl.74, 4; *ECMS*, 3, 413-14 (no.2); Cross, 'Bute', C10).

(5) Fragment of white sandstone from the angle of a slab, 0.43m by 0.28m and tapering in thickness from 105mm at the broken centre to 80mm at the edges. A 35mm moulding runs along the two preserved edges, and within it at the longer edge there is a strip of broad double-beaded three-cord plait. This appears to terminate rather than returning, although there is a possible pellet in the damaged area within the shorter edge. The remainder of the slab is plain, with a roughly-scalloped edge defined by the curves of the interlace.

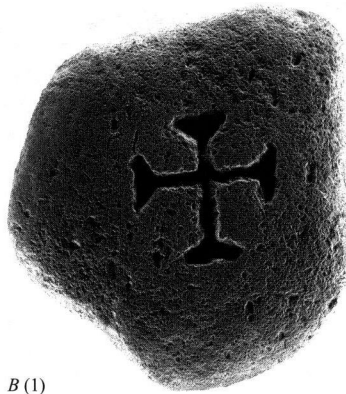
(*PSAS*, 95 (1961-2), 224 (no.4) and pl.15, 1; Cross, 'Bute', C5).

(6) Part of a narrow rectangular slab of sandstone, 0.56m by 0.18m and 75mm thick.<sup>3</sup> It is shown in Stuart's engraving as broken across obliquely, and the smaller end-fragment is now itself broken and laminated in thickness, although one return angle is preserved. It is carved on one face with double mouldings, shown by Stuart as returning at the end although the angle is now too damaged for this to be verified. Within the mouldings it is filled with a fret composed of Z-shaped units with median grooves (RA 888). Occasional pock-marks are preserved, but the surface is much worn with some upstanding veins.

(SSS, 2, pl.74, 1; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 283 (no.4); *PSAS*, 95 (1961-2), 223-4 (no.1) and pl.14, 6; Cross, 'Bute', C1).



A (1)



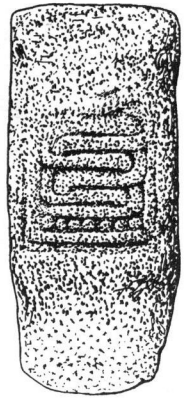
B (1)



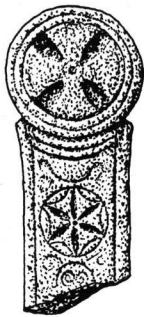
G (6)



H (7) (b)



(a)



C (3)



(a)

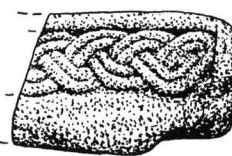
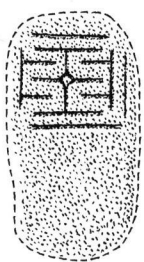
(b)



D (3)



E (4)



F (5)

Great Cumbrae (No.5), carved stones (drawings, scale 1:15)

(7) Pillar or cross-shaft fragment of sandstone, recorded in the garden of Millburn House (NS 1590 5479) in 1983 but not now identifiable. It measured 0.76m in height by 0.34m in width and 0.24m in thickness, and one face and the left edge were carved. The face (a) had a double margin whose inner moulding returned 0.3m above the foot to enclose a row of seven pellets, above which was a simple key-pattern formed by a series of parallel bars with hooked ends (variant of RA 887). The upper part was much worn but showed traces of a possible circular motif. The left edge (b) was also much worn and lichen-stained but showed traces of interlace which appears to have included a cruciform knot enclosing a pellet. (Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 284 (no.8); Cross, 'Bute', C6 and pls.49-50).

(8) Slab of sandstone, found buried in the old churchyard some years before 1907 and subsequently preserved in the garden of the manse, now Kirkton House, which lies NW of the churchyard.<sup>4</sup> It was acquired by J J Waddell in 1931 and lent to Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, although this location was not published until 1994.<sup>5</sup>

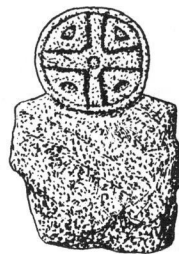
The carving is a rectangular slab of sandstone, broken at one end and having one irregular side, which measures 0.96m by 0.32m to 0.36m, and 100mm in thickness. It is carved on one face and one edge, and the design of the ornament as well as the roughness of the back and one side supports the suggestion that it may have been a lintel.<sup>6</sup> The face has a plain 50mm to 60mm margin, which returns at the left end with a width of 70mm but at the upper side varies from 100mm to 30mm to match the curving edge of the main panel. At the left there is a vertical panel containing two twists, with slight traces of double-beading, and with single pellets in three of the spaces between them. It is separated by a narrow bar from the moulding that encloses the main carved area, itself divided into two surviving panels. One of these is almost rectangular, but the moulding along the top curves to accommodate a higher panel with a cruciform knot which presumably



A (9)



B (9)



C (10)



D (11)



(a)

(b)

Great Cumbrae (No.5), carved stones (drawings, scale 1:15)

71 J occupied the centre of the slab.<sup>7</sup> The left panel has along the bottom a double-looped band with the triple-beaded or contoured outline typical of Anglo-Scandinavian animal-ornament, and what may be the head of the same creature, with a large eye and slightly upturned and elongated snout, appears at the base of the right panel. If this is so, it is overlain not only by the dividing moulding but also by two vertical bars with looped ends in the right part of the left panel. Along the top of the panel there is a narrower multi-looped band, and the interspaces of the panel, and some of the loops themselves, are filled with pellets. The top moulding of this panel is prolonged above the left limb of the adjoining cruciform knot as a double moulding whose lower member returns vertically to divide the panels. The top terminal of the knot rises above its frame, which to the right is treated as a meander pattern above the right limb and a T-shaped fret below it, although the damaged vertical moulding that separated it from the lost panel to the right is a straight bar.<sup>8</sup> The knot is composed of two loops plaited at right angles and with their terminals forming Stafford knots, and it is surrounded by pellets resembling those found in Anglo-Scandinavian carvings in Cumbria.<sup>9</sup>

The lower edge of the slab bears a continuous T-fret whose left edge is aligned with the edge of the small panel on the main face. This fret is interrupted 0.57m from the left end, where the lower margin curves up, presumably to avoid a flaw or break in the slab, and the spandrels are filled by two hollow triangles. The incomplete area to the right contains two straight-line spirals.

(Rubbing by Rev A Grierson, 1907 (NMRS, MS 28 (SAS 156)); Waddell, J J, in *PSAS*, 66 (1931-2), 411-12; tracing by J J Waddell in NMRS, DC 17694; Batey, C, in Ritchie, *Govan*, 67-9; Cross, 'Bute', C9).

58 K (9) Head of a disc-headed cross-slab or gravemarker of sandstone, 0.29m in diameter and broken in the lower part.<sup>10</sup> It was formerly built into the top of a garden wall at Millburn House, and was donated to the Museum of the Cumbraes after being sold in 1974.<sup>11</sup> It is 30mm thick, with a slightly convex edge, and on one face it bears a cross within a ring 50mm wide and defined by bead-mouldings. The cross, which is 0.19m in span, has beaded edges and semicircular armpits. The centre of its head is set considerably below that of the circle so that the bottom arm, which is broken at its junction with the ring, is shorter than the top one. It may originally have continued, to overlie the ring or extend onto the base. In the lower angles there are triquetra knots, while the upper ones contain what may be birds, with little detail preserved. (SSS, 2, pl.74, 3; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 284, no.6; *ECMS*, 3, 417, no.1; *PSAS*, 95 (1961-2), 225, no.6, fig.1 on p.225 and pl.15, 4; Cross, 'Bute', C7).

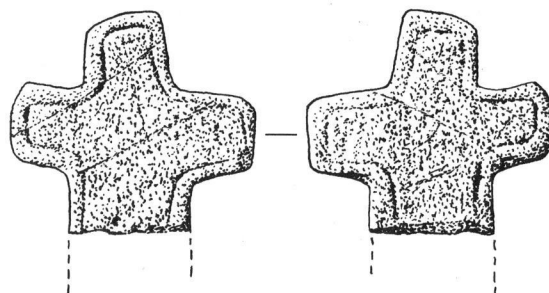
58 J (10) Disc-headed gravemarker of sandstone, formerly at Millburn House and donated to the museum by a former owner of that property after 1975. The head is 0.23m in diameter and the overall height is 0.48m, while the gabled base is 0.34m wide and tapers in thickness from 105mm at the foot

to 90mm at the head. The base is damaged at the right edge and bottom left corner, but appears always to have been roughly dressed and was presumably earthfast. The head has an edge-moulding which encloses an equal-armed outline cross with a circular central expansion containing a sunken 20mm boss. The arms are irregular in width and the top and right ones are splayed. The two upper quadrants have oval hollows enclosing oval bosses, while the lower quadrants have deeper oval hollows.

(SSS, 2, pl.74, 5; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 284, no.5; *ECMS*, 3, 417, no.2; *PSAS*, 95 (1961-2), 224-5, no.5, and pl.15, 2; Cross, 'Bute', C8).

(11) Disc-headed gravemarker, broken obliquely in the upper part of the disc. Stuart's engraving shows a disc 0.24m in diameter which was supported on a tapered 'collar' above a rectangular base 0.25m wide, the overall height being 0.75m. On one face (a) the disc was plain except for a margin, but the 'collar' was decorated with a slightly curved panel containing zig-zag ornament and was distinguished from the base by a groove or rebate. On face (b) the disc had no margin and the arms of an outline saltire cross with round armpits extended to the perimeter. Within the outline cross there was an incised one of similar shape whose arms diverged to frame a central rectangle or lozenge. The lower edge of the disc was distinguished from the 'collar', which may have been set back slightly from the base below.

(SSS, 2, pl.74, 6; Cross, 'Bute', C11).



E (12)

(a)

(b)

'TRAHOUN CROSS', MILLPORT

NS 1625 5492

NS15SE 9

(12) Upper part of a cruciform stone, found in 1823 at the head of a sarcophagus in a sand-dune close to the shore, on the SE side of Guildford Street. The area where it was found was known as Trahoun,<sup>12</sup> and the name is preserved in an adjacent house. The stone, which was about 1.5m high, was broken into two pieces after its discovery, and the shaft was lost before 1840.<sup>13</sup> The head, which is of much-worn white sandstone, is 0.46m high<sup>14</sup> by 0.49m across the arms and 100mm thick, and the surviving fragment of the shaft is 0.24m wide. The arms vary in thickness but all taper slightly and the top arm is inclined to one side. Both faces have edge-mouldings of



20mm to 35mm but no other ornament is visible. (NSA, 5 (Bute), 74; SSS, 2, pl.74, 7; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 283, no.1; ECMS, 3, 417, no.3; PSAS, 95 (1961-2), 224-5, no.3, and pl.14, 5; Cross, 'Bute', C2).



A

#### 6 St Blane's Church, Kingarth, Bute

NS 0949 5343

NS05SE 5

The monastery of Kingarth was supposedly founded by St Blane in the 6th century, and he was commemorated as 'fair Bláán of Cenn Garad' in the 9th-century *Martyrology of Oengus*.<sup>1</sup> The death of Daniel, bishop of Kingarth, was recorded about 659 and subsequent bishops, abbots and a 'religious priest' were named in the annals at intervals up to 790.<sup>2</sup> The later history of the monastery is not known, but the carved stones described below show its importance as a burial-place until the 12th century, when a parish church serving the S half of Bute was erected.<sup>3</sup>

The monastery was situated in a small valley 1.8km from the extreme S point of Bute, and 1km E of Dunagoil Bay and the adjacent hill-fort. The site is bounded to the SW by wooded cliffs, and to E and S by curving drystone walls, much restored in 1895-6. The more massive of these walls, up to 1.5m in width, encloses a roughly oval area measuring about 200m from NW to SE by 120m, and an annexe extends for 190m to the NW. In the NW angle of the main area there is a massive circular enclosure, 10m in diameter within a wall 2.5m thick, known locally as 'the Cauldron', which may have been a secular residence pre-dating the monastery.<sup>4</sup> St Blane's Well is situated near the foot of the cliff W of the church.

The highest ground at the centre of the main enclosure is occupied by the 12th-century church, a nave-and-chancel building with Romanesque ornament.<sup>5</sup> It stands in an oval burial-ground which is linked by steps to a lower S churchyard, traditionally reserved for the burial of women. Extensive conservation-work on the church and enclosures was carried out in 1895-6 for the 3rd Marquis of Bute by the London architect R W Schultz,<sup>6</sup> who also excavated two groups of structures. One of these, situated to the SW and locally identified as the manse, was of L-plan and was probably of post-medieval date. The amorphous structures to the S of the churchyard included hearths and curving wall-footings, and most of the early medieval artefacts preserved in the Museum of Scotland were found in this area. They include pottery, whetstones and polishing stones, partly-worked rings of shale, an ingot-mould and crucibles and a series of motif-pieces. Some of these are incised on broken roofing-slates,

and the motifs comprise groups of letters, interlaced and spiral ornament, and animals.<sup>7</sup> A hoard of 12th-century coins and gold ornaments was found about 350m SE of the church in 1863.<sup>8</sup>

Both churchyards contain numerous graveslabs and markers, most of them much worn, including several early and later medieval stones.<sup>9</sup> Other early stones were found in 1895-6, re-used in the walls of the 12th-century church, but their present location is unknown. The socket cut into a flat-topped boulder outside the NE enclosure-wall is of uncertain date.<sup>10</sup>



B (1)



C (2)

#### St Blane's Church, Kingarth, Bute (No.6)

A. aerial view from E

B, C. carved stones (scale 1:15)

#### Cross-marked slabs

(1) Rectangular slab found in the N wall of the church; now lost. It measured 0.79m by 0.33m and was damaged at the left edge and broken across. It bore an outline Latin cross with slightly rounded armpits, 0.51m high by 0.26m across the arms. The cross was described by Anderson as having 'double incised outlines', but the drawings appear to show a single groove with bevelled sides. (PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and fig.25 on p.319; Schultz album, pl.5; Cross, 'Bute', B21).

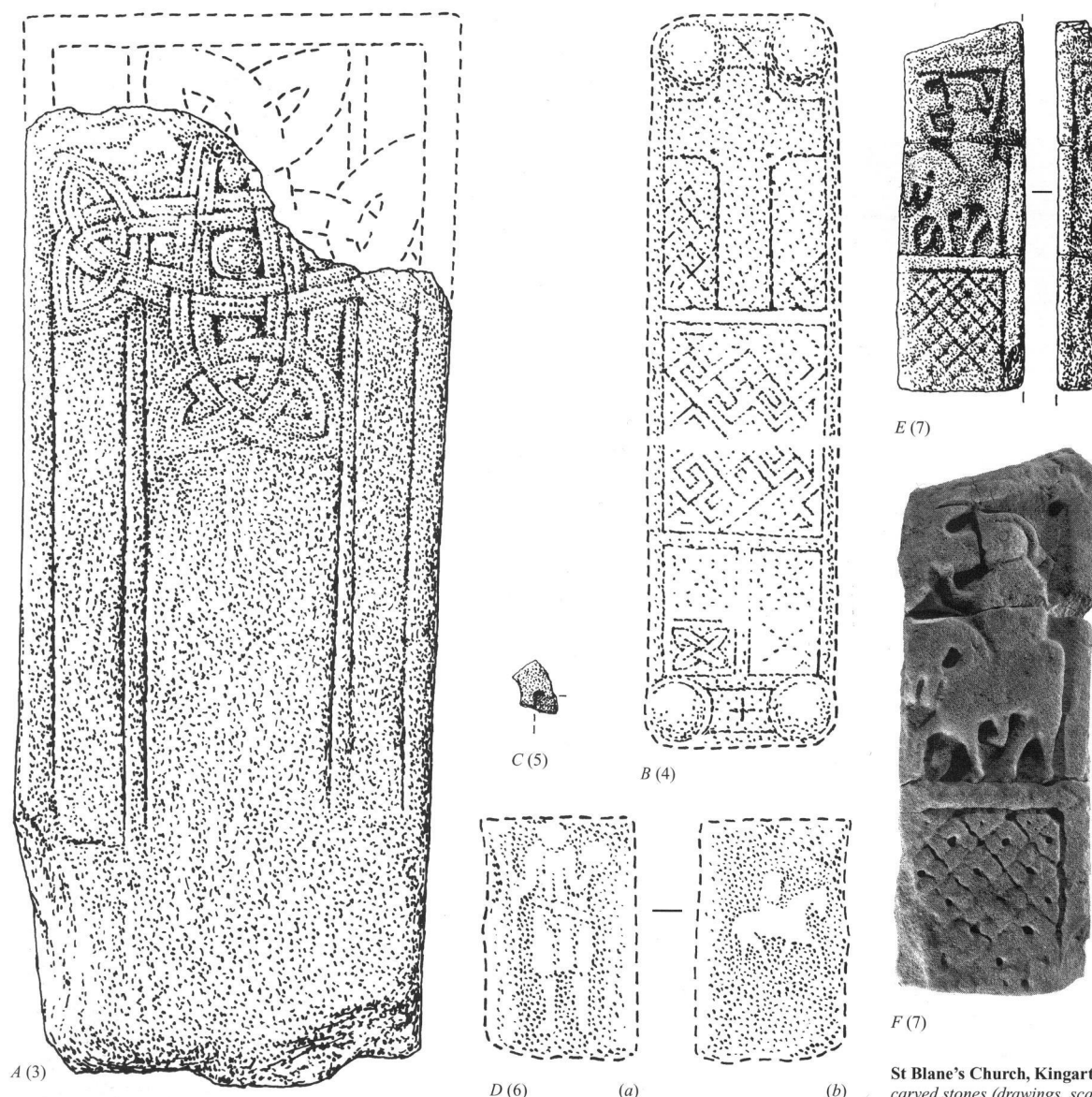
(2) Slab found in the S wall of the church; now lost. It measured 0.38m by 0.26m and appears to have been incomplete at the head and foot and heavily worn. It bore an irregular outline cross with grooves running along the arms, but these did not meet to form a superimposed cross. (Schultz album, pl.6; Cross, 'Bute', B29).

(3) Slab lying in a walled enclosure in the lower churchyard. It lacks the top and is damaged at the foot, measuring 2.05m by 0.91m and 60mm in thickness. The lowest 0.6m is plain, suggesting that the slab was intended to stand upright, but above this at each edge there is an incised 70mm margin separated by a plain strip from a double groove which forms an inner moulding. Set in the upper part of the central panel thus defined there is an interlaced equal-armed cross. This is composed of paired bands, each double-beaded, which form Stafford knots at the terminals and enclose small bosses at the centre and in the arms.

(Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 220; PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and fig.19 on p.318; ECMS, 3, 407, no.3 and fig.427 on p.409; Schultz album, pl.11; Cross, 'Bute', B15).

(4) Recumbent graveslab, found in the N wall of the nave; now lost. It was broken across but complete, measuring 1.55m by 0.41m. At each angle there was a flat-topped boss about 0.13m in diameter, linked in pairs by panels which enclosed at the top an incised saltire and at the foot an equal-armed cross. Within a 35mm margin the upper part bore an outline Latin cross with sunken armpits defining the quadrants of a ring, set on a background of plaitwork. Below this a panel defined by mouldings continuous with the margin was filled with diagonal key-pattern, and the panel at the foot was divided vertically into two compartments, the only surviving ornament being a knot formed by two interlaced oval rings. (PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 322 and fig.29 on p.321; ECMS, 3,





St Blane's Church, Kingarth, Bute (No.6)  
carved stones (drawings, scale 1:15)

408-9, no.4; Schultz album, pl.5; Cross, 'Bute', B16).

- 41 L (5) Irregular fragment of schist, presumably flaked from a slab, found at St Blane's and now in Bute Museum. It measures 110mm by 100mm and bears a sunken circle about 25mm in diameter which appears to have been the armpit of a cross. (Bute Museum 356).

#### Free-standing crosses

- 52 J (6) Cross-shaft fragment found in the N wall of the church; now lost. It measured 0.51m by 0.33m in incomplete width and appears to have been carved in relief. On one face (a) there was a standing figure in a knee-length garment, wearing a short sword obliquely at waist-level. He held in the right hand a spear and in the left hand a small circular shield. The other face (b) showed the figure of a horse and rider, moving to the right but with little visible detail except for the reins. (PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and figs.26-7 on p.320; ECMS, 3, 410, no.6; Schultz album, pl.6; Cross, 'Bute', B18).
- 52 H (7) Cross-shaft fragment of sandstone, rediscovered in the upper churchyard during the present survey and moved to Bute Museum in 1996. It is broken across in two places and is incomplete in both thickness and width, lacking the left edge. It measures 0.78m in height by 0.25m and 75mm in thickness and has a 30mm edge-moulding which returns to frame a series of panels. Only a fragment of that at the top is preserved, and there are no remains of ornament, but in the next one there is the figure of a disproportionately large rider moving to the left. He is armed with a spear whose head is

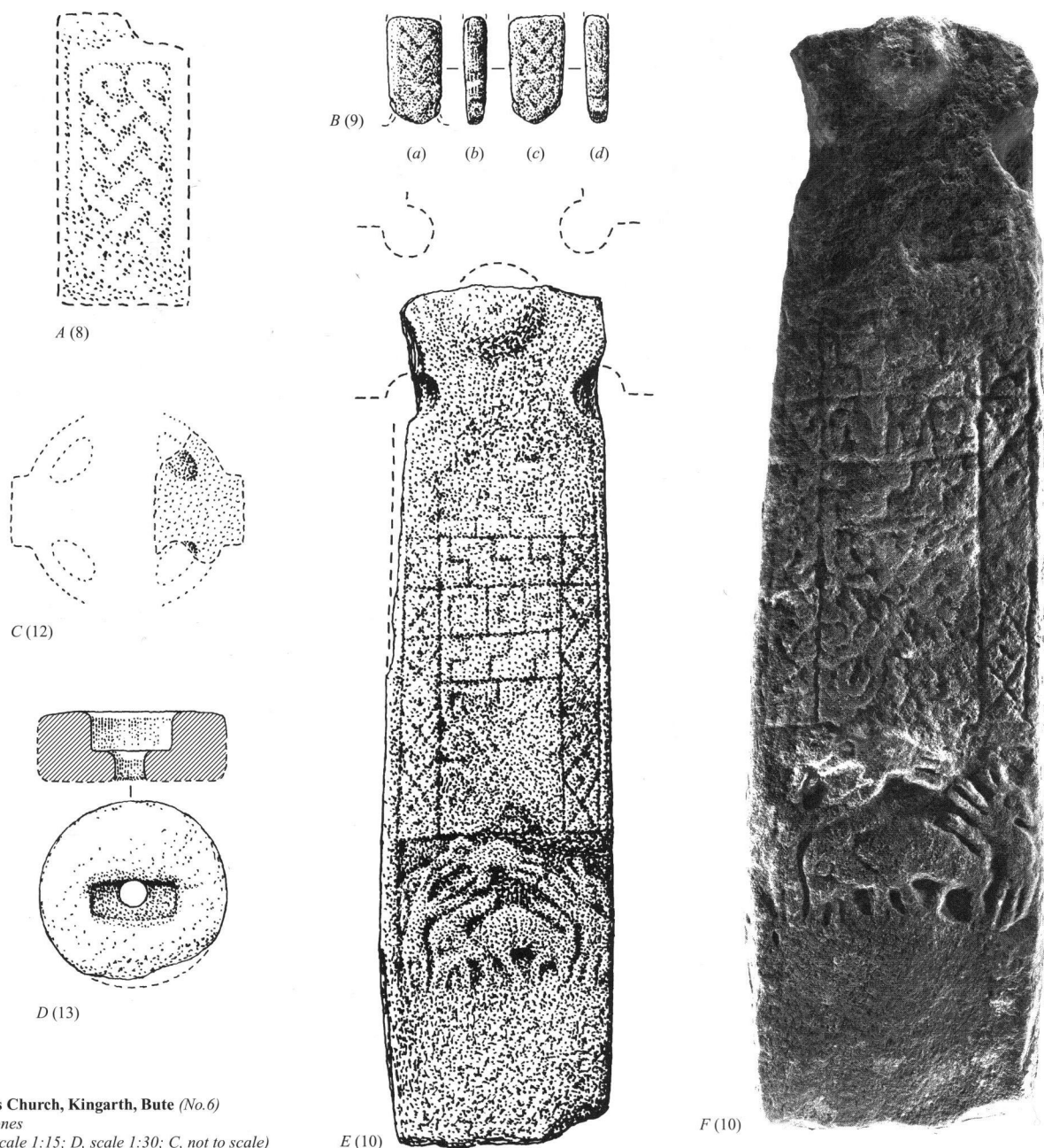
visible between the horse's forelegs, and in one hand he raises to his face a curved object which appears to be a drinking-horn. A curving line behind the rider's head probably represents stylised hair rather than a helmet, and the horse's reins are indicated, but the surface is worn and no other details are preserved. The lowest panel, which is broken at the foot, is filled with tight diagonal plaitwork with triangles at the angles and sides. A panel on the right edge, which ends at the same height as the rider panel, contains the remains of double-beaded plaitwork.

(Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 221-2; PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 322 and fig.30 on p.321; ECMS, 3, 407, no.2 and fig.426 on p.408; Schultz album, pl.7; Cross, 'Bute', B14; TBNHS, 24 (1996), 61 and fig. on p.60).

(8) Cross-shaft fragment found in the N wall of the church; now lost. It was of sandstone, measuring 0.65m by 0.29m, and within a plain margin it bore a four-cord plait ending in circular loops.

(PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and fig.18 on p.318; ECMS, 3, 411, no.8 and fig.431 on p.412; Schultz album, pl.6; Cross, 'Bute', B20).

(9) Fragment of sandstone, probably the shaft or arm of a small free-standing cross, found in the N wall of the church about 1895 and presented to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (NMS X.GQ 43). It is broken across and much worn and measures 0.24m by 0.13m and 55mm thick. Within an irregular margin each broad face (a, c) bears a three-cord plait, with indications of armpits at one end. One



St Blane's Church, Kingarth, Bute (No.6)

carved stones

(A, B, E, scale 1:15; D, scale 1:30; C, not to scale)

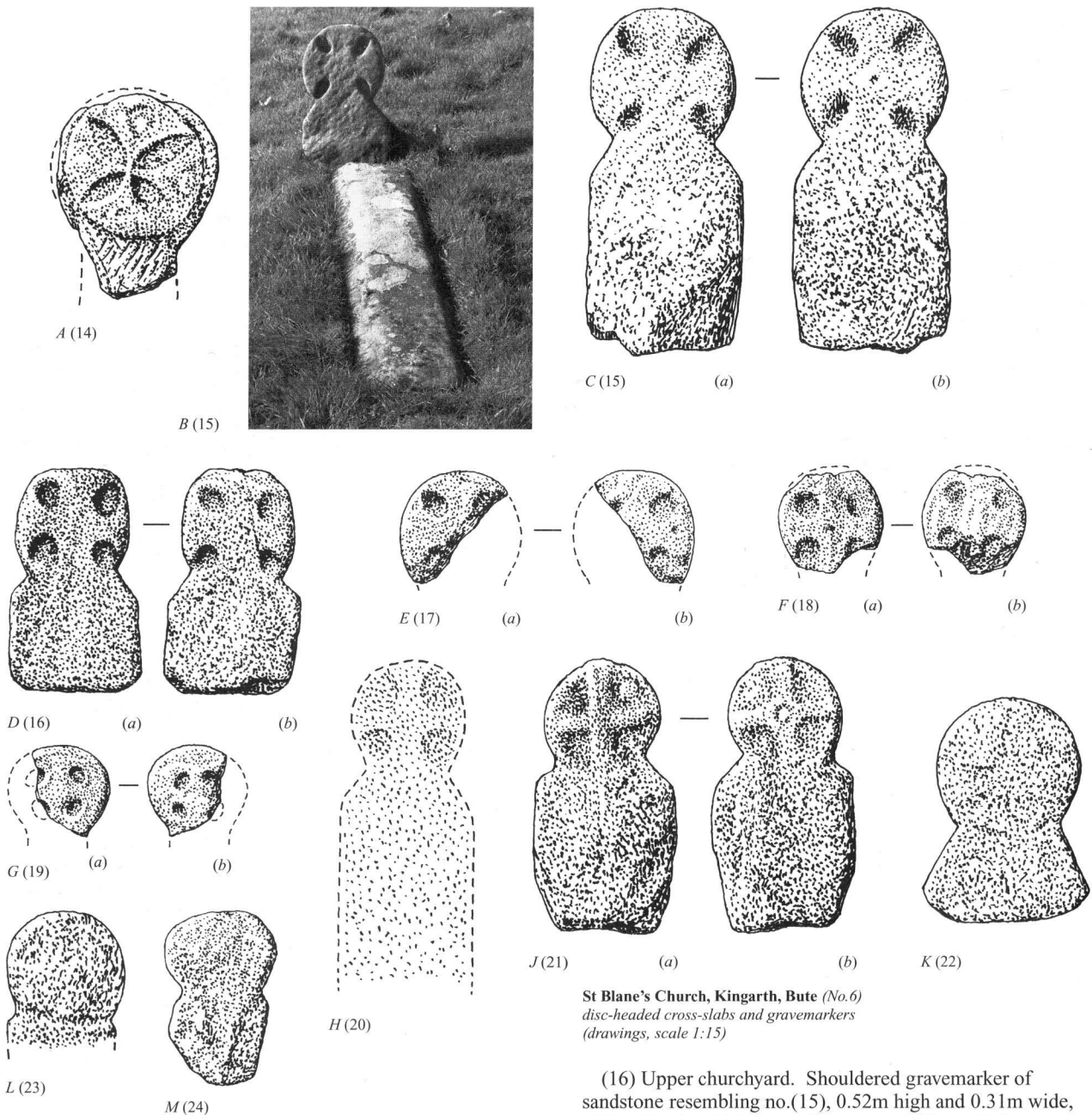
- edge (b) preserves traces of a fret-pattern and the other (d) bears a twist. (PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and fig.17 on p.316; ECMS, 3, 410, no.7, and fig.430 on p.411; Schultz notebook in NMRS; Cross, 'Bute', B19).
- 52 G (10) Free-standing cross of white sandstone, re-used as a graveslab S of the nave of the church. It is carved on one face and appears to be complete at the foot, but the side-arms and upper part of the head are lacking and it is much worn and lichen-stained. It measures 1.93m in surviving height by 0.52m in maximum width, and tapers in thickness from 175mm at the butt to 120mm at the head. Two semicircular recesses about 100mm in diameter form the lower armpits but both edges are damaged so that their exact shape is uncertain, although it is probable that the margin of the shaft continued round them. A boss about 180mm in diameter and at least 35mm high projects at the centre of the head but no other detail is preserved in this area. The shaft preserves traces of 30mm edge-mouldings, and within them vertical panels of plaitwork, 80mm wide, which frame central panels of geometric ornament. The upper of these includes step-patterns and the other is a plaited saltire. In the lower part of the shaft, above a plain butt 0.35m high, there is a panel of animal-

ornament which extends to the edges and is carved in higher relief than the panels above. It shows a large central quadruped, with a horn or lappet and a curving tail, in a grazing posture with its tongue projecting between long open jaws.<sup>11</sup> Forming an arch round it there are three smaller animals of similar character, two of them leaping up at the sides and the third above them with legs and jaws outstretched. (Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 220-1; PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 322 and fig.31 on p.321; ECMS, 3, 407, no.1 and fig.425 on p.408; Schultz album, pl.7; Cross, 'Bute', B13).

(11) Cross-head fragment of red sandstone, found at St Blane's and preserved at Plan farm (NS 0964 5302) in the 19th century, but now lost. Hewison described it as being 'of the simple Iona type' and estimated the original diameter as 0.44m and the thickness as 165mm. (Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 219; Cross, 'Bute', B9).

(12) Cross-head fragment, found at St Blane's in the 19th century but now lost. Only one short arm and a fragment of the disc survived. The surface was plain and there were sunken oval armpits within an unpierced ring. (Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 219; Cross, 'Bute', B8).

(13) Circular socket-stone of sandstone in lower churchyard. It measures 0.84m in diameter and 0.31m in maximum



St Blane's Church, Kingarth, Bute (No.6)  
disc-headed cross-slabs and gravemarkers  
(drawings, scale 1:15)

thickness, the upper surface being slightly domical. The socket is 0.36m long and 0.17m in both width and depth. The stone may have been used at some period as a millstone, the floor of the socket being pierced by a circular hole 120mm in diameter.  
(Cross, 'Bute', B31).

*Disc-headed cross-slabs and gravemarkers*

58 A (14) Upper churchyard. Disc of sandstone, 0.38m in diameter and 90mm thick, with fragment of shaft 0.12m long and 0.22m wide which retains rough picked tooling-marks. On one face, within a grooved margin, four sunken ovals radiate to form a cross of arcs with oval or circular bosses inset in the arms.  
(Cross, 'Bute', B41).

58 F (15) Lower churchyard. Shouldered gravemarker of sandstone with 0.34m disc-head and a roughly-dressed basal slab, 0.8m in overall height and 0.36m in width. On each face the disc bears four oval hollows which form a cross with wide curved arms, having a slight central depression on one face.  
(SSS, 1, pl.73, 1; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 218; PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and fig.23 on p.319; Schultz album, pl.12c; Cross, 'Bute', B3).

(16) Upper churchyard. Shouldered gravemarker of sandstone resembling no.(15), 0.52m high and 0.31m wide, with a disc-head 0.27m in diameter and 85mm thick.  
(PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and fig.21 on p.319; Schultz album, pl.12a; Cross, 'Bute', B6).

(17) Fragment of sandstone disc-head from St Blane's, now in Bute Museum. It is broken obliquely but the disc was originally about 0.27m in diameter and resembled those of nos.(15) and (16). (Bute Museum, B 219).  
(Cross, 'Bute', B4).

(18) Damaged sandstone disc-head from St Blane's, now in Bute Museum. The disc has been 0.24m in diameter and has resembled that of no.(15) but the hollows appear to have been more circular, giving the effect of an enclosing ring. (Bute Museum, BU 306).  
(possibly SSS, 1, pl.73, 2; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 218; PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and fig.20 on p.318; Schultz album, pl.12b; Cross, 'Bute', B5).

(19) Damaged sandstone disc-head from St Blane's, now in Bute Museum. It lacks one edge and the lower part, but measured about 0.25m in original diameter. The four oval hollows on each face are arranged in a circle, forming a cross with curved arms which merge into a wide ring, and the hollows and outer edge have been moulded. (Bute Museum, BT MB 220).  
(Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 217-18; PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and

58 E

58 D

58 M

58 L



fig.22 on p.319; Schultz album, pl.12e; Cross, 'Bute', B1).

- 58 G (20) Shouldered disc-headed slab, illustrated by Hewison but not now identifiable. It was about 0.75m in visible height and 0.31m wide, with a disc 0.26m in diameter and 100mm thick. On each face the disc bore a cross formed by oval hollows truncated at the perimeter and with more slender arms than nos.(14-19).

(Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 218-19; Cross, 'Bute', B7).

- 58 H (21) Upper churchyard. Disc-headed gravemarker of sandstone, 0.62m high and 0.34m wide, with a shouldered disc 0.28m in diameter and 100mm thick. On one face (a) the disc bears an equal-armed cross with slightly rounded armpits, in relief within a much-damaged edge-moulding. The upper right quadrant appears to contain a boss or some other motif, but this area is much damaged. Face (b) bears a cross with more pronounced armpits, having at the centre a circular expansion which encloses a small boss. Early illustrations of what is probably this stone show the central hollow and boss as lozenge-shaped.

(SSS, 1, pl.73, 3; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 219; PSAS, 34 (1899-1900), 317 and fig.24 on p.319; Schultz album, pl.12d; Cross, 'Bute', B11/12).

- 58 N (22) Lower churchyard. Disc-headed gravemarker of sandstone, broken across the foot of the gabled section. It is 0.52m in surviving height and the disc is 0.33m in diameter. Both faces of the disc are much weathered, but there are possible traces of a cross on one face.

- 58 P (23) Upper churchyard. Disc-headed slab of sandstone, 0.31m in visible height and with a disc 0.27m in diameter. Both faces are roughly tooled, but there is no evidence of any ornament except for the groove defining the lower part of the circle.

- 58 Q (24) Upper churchyard. Disc-headed slab of sandstone, damaged and lichen-stained. It is 0.41m high and the disc survives as a rough oval 0.26m across, with notches defining its base.

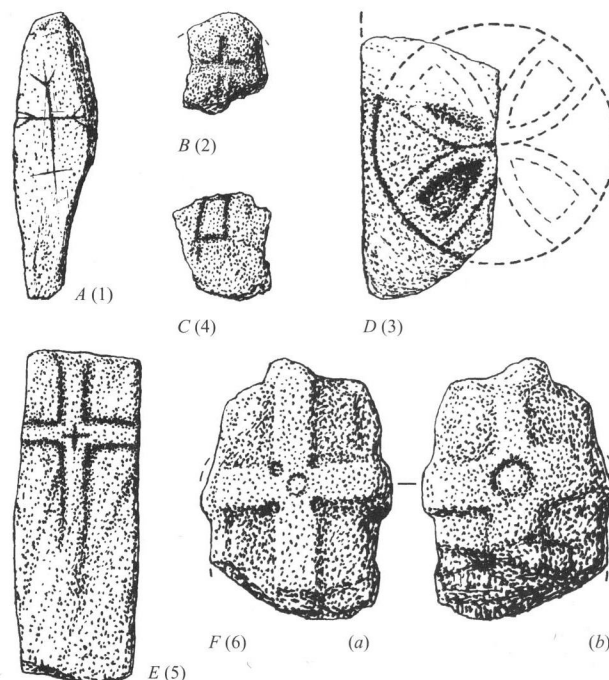
## 7 Isle of Inchmarnock, Bute

NS 0236 5963 NS05NW 2

This island is situated 1.2km from the W coast of Bute and measures 3.2km from N to S by 1.2km in maximum width.<sup>1</sup> It was divided into three farms, but the steadings of Southpark and Midpark lie adjacent on the raised terrace above the principal landing-place on the E shore. The island takes its name from Marnock, an affectionate form of the Irish name Ernán.<sup>2</sup> It was said by Fordun in the late 14th century to have a monastic cell (*cella monachorum*), and Blaeu's atlas shows a church at 'Kildauanach' ('church of the monks'). These references are probably to the parish church of 'Inchemernolz', whose revenues were transferred about 1360 to the Cistercian abbey of Saddell from the Cluniac house at Crossraguel in exchange for a church in Ayrshire.<sup>3</sup> The range of sculpture from the site suggests, however, that a monastic settlement of some kind existed in the early Christian period.

The masons building a nearby farmhouse in 1718 'carried away sundry stones out of the chappell', but its position is shown on an estate-map of 1769, and the 'ruin' was referred to by Pennant in the same year.<sup>4</sup> It was 'entirely removed' by the tenant farmer in the first half of the 19th century, and its site was recorded in 1863, some 35m N of Midpark farmhouse.<sup>5</sup> Excavations by the family of the then tenant in 1973-4 revealed the footings of a small nave-and-chancel church measuring about 11.7m by 6.2m over all.<sup>6</sup> The masonry was of slabby local schist set in lime mortar, with dressings of red sandstone. The S walls preserved a chamfered plinth, and the S respond of the chancel-arch had twin attached shafts of 12th-century character. A slab-lined burial cist occupied the inside of the S wall of the chancel and a sword-decorated coped stone of 13th-century type lay inside the N wall.

'Many human bones and relics of sepulture' indicated that the stackyard surrounding the church had been used for interments.<sup>7</sup> Hewison also refers to a 'Women's Burial-place'



Inchmarnock, Bute (No.7), carved stones (scale 1:15)

a short distance to the N, and to adjacent short-cist burials which are no longer visible.<sup>8</sup> Several carved stones were found in this area in the late 19th century, while others were found in boundary-walls or in the chapel itself in 1972-4. Except for no.(8), which remains in the church, and no.(13) which is in the Museum of Scotland, the stones described below are now in Bute Museum, Rothesay.

(1) Slab of blue schistose grit found in the 'Women's Burial-place' in 1891 and donated to Bute Museum in 1913. It measures 0.57m by 0.17m and 50mm thick and is irregularly tapered in the lower part. It bears a Latin cross, about 0.28m high, incised with a V-section groove up to 50mm in width. There is a transverse bar across the lower part of the shaft, and the top and side-arms have triple-forked terminals which at the left extend on to the edge of the slab.

(Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 222-3; Cross, 'Bute', M4).

(2) Fragment of a rounded igneous stone, 0.21m by 0.17m and 32mm thick, found in the W wall of the stackyard in 1974. It bears a sunken cross with a rounded upper terminal, incomplete at the ends of the side-arms and lacking the lower part of the shaft.

(Cross, 'Bute', M15).

(3) Slab of carefully smoothed schist, found in the nave of the church in 1974. Measuring 0.52m by 0.27m and 90mm thick, it has been cut down for re-use and preserves about half of a cross-of-arcs about 0.48m in original diameter. Within a 13mm groove the design is indicated by incisions which form 30mm margins enclosing the deeply-sunken and spade-ended interspaces. (DES (1974), 28; Cross, 'Bute', M5).

(4) Fragment of slate, 0.21m by 0.19m and only 16mm thick, found in the church in 1974. It bears the outline of a slightly-curving cross-arm or shaft, about 50mm wide within a groove 9mm wide and 6mm deep.

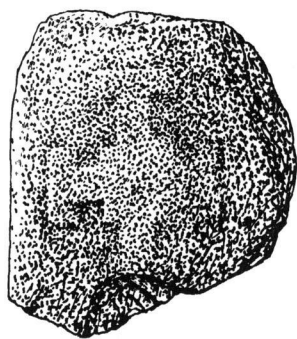
(Cross, 'Bute', M10).

(5) Slab of greenish schist, 0.65m by 0.25m and 85mm thick, found in the W wall of the stackyard about 1970. It bears a Latin cross with a pecked and grooved outline, having a small equal-armed cross incised at the centre of the cross-head. The ends of the arms extend to the edges of the slab, and the shaft, which is also open, is prolonged by a vertical spike although this may be natural in origin.

(DES (1972), 16; Cross, 'Bute', M6).

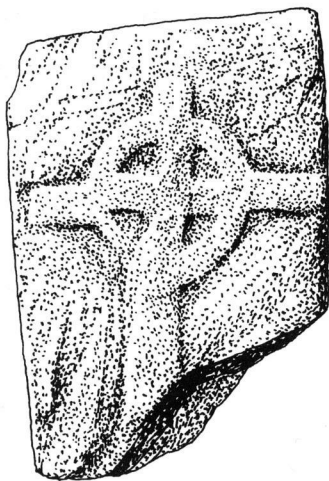
(6) Slab of schist, broken at the foot, measuring 0.52m by 0.39m. It was found in the same wall as no.(5) in 1972. It





A (7)

Inchmarnock, Bute (No.7)  
carved stones  
(drawings, scale 1:15;  
D includes analytical detail)



B (8)



D (10)



(a)



(b)



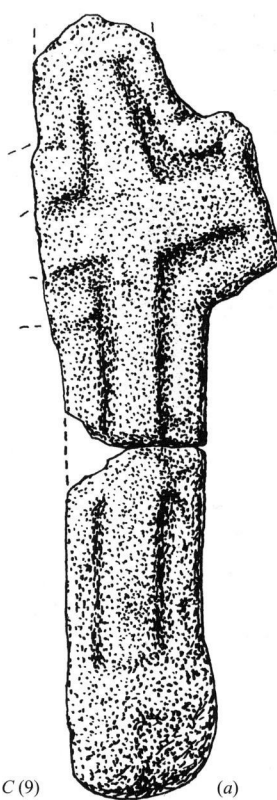
E (10)



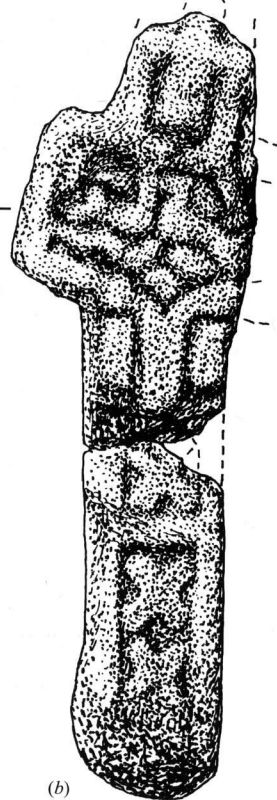
F (11)



G (12)



C (9)



(a)

(b)



H (9)



bears an incomplete cross on each face and the edges of the slab have rounded projections corresponding to their top and side-arms. That on face (a) has arms varying from 70mm to 90mm in width, defined by a groove about 20mm wide, and the small circular armpits are more deeply sunk. At the centre of the cross-head there is a small recessed boss. The cross on the other face (b) is executed in low relief and its arms are less regular in alignment and width. The armpits are plain, and there is a central recessed boss about 70mm in diameter. (DES (1972), 16; TBNHS, 21 (1980), pl. opp. p.16; Cross, 'Bute', M7).

40 C (7) Slab of greenish schist, 0.64m by 0.55m and 65mm thick, found in the nave of the church in 1974. It is incomplete at the foot and much worn, especially at the right, although the full width appears to be preserved. One face bears a cross-potent with a square central expansion, executed in low relief. Despite the wear it can be seen that the outline of the cross has been defined using a fine punch, and the background has been

reduced with a coarser tool. (Cross, 'Bute', M11).

(8) Rectangular slab of schist, lacking the foot, 0.94m by 0.64m and 90mm thick, found in the chancel of the church in 1973. It bears an outline ringed Latin cross with square sunken armpits, 0.58m across the arms and 0.33m in diameter.

36 M

The arms and shaft are of varying width, and the sections within the ring are conspicuously out of alignment with those beyond it.

(DES (1973), 21; Cross, 'Bute', M12)

- 57 E (9) Two fragments of a massive cruciform stone of greenish schist. The lower and smaller piece was found in the stackyard wall NW of the church about 1890 and was donated to Bute Museum in 1913. In 1987 it was re-united with the upper part, which was found in the same wall in 1974. A section about half the width of the shaft is broken away at the oblique break between the two fragments, but the surviving surfaces of the break match closely, and the correspondence of the foliations on the edge confirms beyond all doubt that the stone is complete except for some damage at the top and the loss of one side-arm.<sup>9</sup> It measures 1.54m in length, the shaft is 0.32m in maximum width, and the maximum thickness is about 80mm. The surviving side-arm projects obliquely upwards and is about 0.15m long and 0.35m high. The stone is carved on both faces, except for a slightly expanded butt about 0.22m high. One face (a) is filled by an irregular Latin cross, defined by a groove up to 50mm wide except at the ends of the arms which continue into the broad margin. Just below the top of the lower fragment the shaft swells out to interrupt the groove, possibly indicating a lower transom or else defining a pedestal, but the detail is obscured by the break and associated flaking. On face (b) the lower fragment bears two saltires in false relief within a rectangular panel, separated by a transverse bar from a single saltire. Above the break two deep grooves define a central vertical bar which splits at the cross-head to run into the margins of the side-arms. The crude interlace filling the cross-head, executed with deep grooves of V-section which retain coarse punch-marks, has affinities with the 'stopped plait' found in carvings of Anglo-Scandinavian character in west Cumbria and Galloway, and at Govan.<sup>10</sup> It may incorporate two birds shown beak-to-beak, but the crudity of the carving and extensive surface-flaking make interpretation difficult. The top arm, whose upper part is lost, retains a vertical central bar which may have been the shaft of a small Latin cross.

(Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 223 (lower part only); *TBNHS*, 23 (1990), 5-7; 24 (1996), 60; Cross, 'Bute', M2 (lower part) and M14).

- 47 E (10) Cross-shaft fragment of yellow sandstone, 0.43m by 0.30m and about 65mm in incomplete thickness. It was found in 'a mound' in 1889<sup>11</sup> and donated to Bute Museum in 1913. Despite heavy wear the face preserves, within a 20mm edge-roll, a series of interlinked trumpet-spirals springing from flat roundels and having small lentoid projections in some of the interspaces. The technique provides the closest parallel from western Scotland for the 'chip-carved' style of spiral-work seen on the crosses at Ahenny (Co. Offaly) and on a fragment from Tarbat (Easter Ross), although it lacks the zoomorphic features of the former. One edge preserves a simple two-strand plait in false relief.

(*PSAS*, 24 (1889-90), 438; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 224; Cross, 'Bute', M3).

- (11) Surface-flake of schist, 0.22m by 0.21m, found in the chancel in 1974. Although the surface is much shattered it retains a fret-pattern formed by flat-bottomed L-shaped depressions and surface incisions executed with a fine-pointed tool. This fragment presumably came from a cross or cross-slab, and similar horizontal frets are found on carvings at St Blane's and Rothesay.

(Cross, 'Bute', M9).

- (12) Fragment of greenish schist, 0.31m by 0.15m and 60mm thick, found in the chancel in 1974. One end is broken obliquely and the other has a concave-sided taper, suggesting that it was the base-tenon of a small gravemarker, or the arm of a cross. Above the taper there is a transverse flat band linked to much-weathered edge-mouldings which enclose a saltire-in-square motif of four inward-pointing triangles.

(Cross, 'Bute', M8).

- (13) (NMS X.IB 93). Fragment of the head of a cruciform stone of schist, 204mm by 198mm and 25mm thick. It was found in 1889 on the W side of the farm-track, '50 yards [45m] north of the graveyard',<sup>12</sup> and was presented to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in the following year. The shaft, which is broken off obliquely, originally measured about 0.12m and the span of the cross arms was at least 0.24m, but the right arm is broken off and the ends of the left and top arms are incomplete. The shaft and left arm form a right angle, slightly rounded in the armpit, whereas the top arm was splayed. A broad margin has been cut away to form in low relief a cross with rounded armpits and having a ring whose quadrants are defined by single incised arcs.

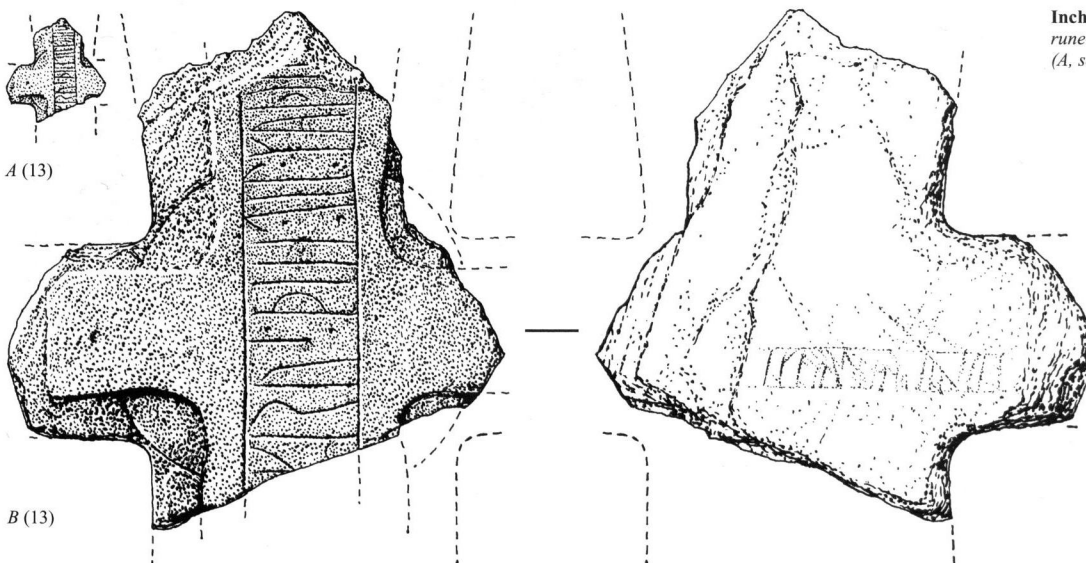
Running up the centre of the cross there is a band 45mm wide formed by two incised lines which enclose an Old Norse runic inscription, incomplete at beginning and end. Most of the letters are firmly incised, although flaked in places, and the words are divided by pairs of dots.<sup>13</sup>

[*krus* : *þine* : *til* : *kuþ*\*e\*\*]

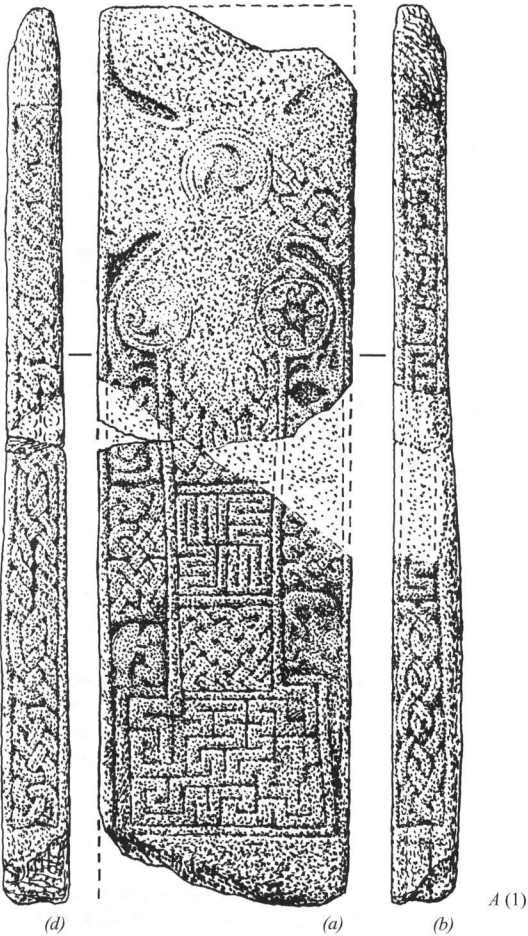
This begins with the words 'this cross', and ends with a personal name such as Guthleifr or Guthleikr, but the preposition *til* ('to') is not commonly used in memorial inscriptions, and the reconstruction of the inscription is uncertain.

Further letters are faintly incised on a horizontal band, only 16mm high, across the head of the back, which is otherwise plain. This fragmentary inscription was interpreted by Liestøl as the continuation of that on the front, but this is unlikely. The only identifiable letters are *krus* ('cross').

(Black, G F, 'Notice of a fragment of a rune-inscribed cross-slab, found on Inchmarnock, Buteshire', in *PSAS*, 24 (1889-90), 438-43; *NMAS Cat.*, 264; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 134-5, 223-4; *ECMS*, 3, 412-13; *VA*, 6, 172-3; Liestøl, 'Runes', 229-30; Cross, 'Bute', M1).



Inchmarnock, Bute (No.7)  
rune-inscribed cross-fragment  
(A, scale 1:15; B, scale 1:3)



8 Rothesay, Bute

The medieval parish church of Rothesay stood on a hillside about 1.2km S of Rothesay Bay, and its roofless late medieval chancel is situated S of the present church. Sources from the 14th century onwards record that its dedication was to the Virgin Mary, but local tradition also recorded an association with St Brioc or Briec. A medieval chapel dedicated to St Bride stood on a hillock 200m from the SW angle of the bay, and it has been suggested that the chapel of St Columba, recorded in 1516, may have been situated at Columshill, SW of Rothesay Castle. The chapel that is preserved in the castle itself was dedicated to St Michael.<sup>1</sup>

A broken cross-slab (1) was discovered in the castle in 1816 and remained there until 1913 when it was moved to Bute Museum. Since 1996 the museum has also housed a cross-shaft (2) from the churchyard, which is believed to have been brought from another site.

ROTHESAY CASTLE

NS 0878 6457

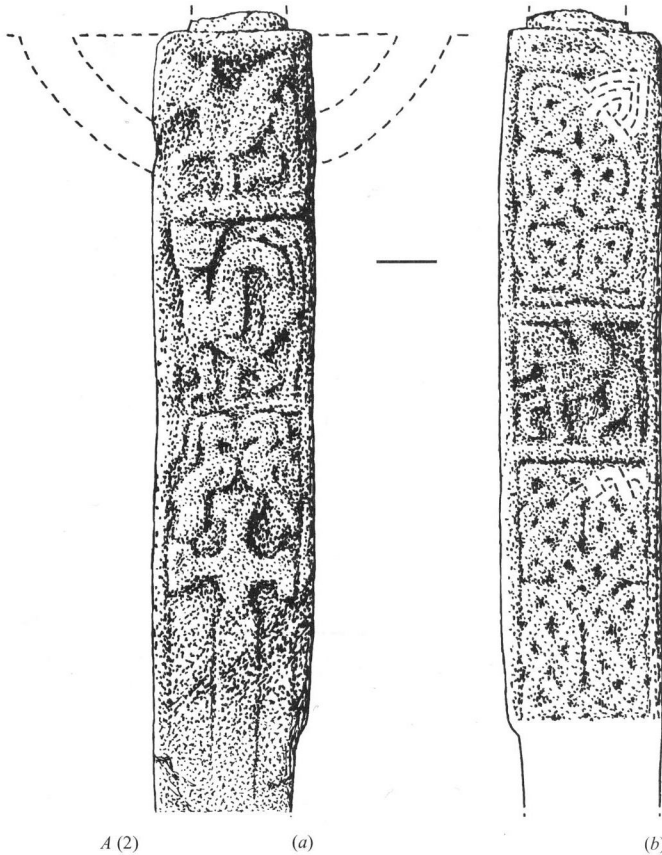
NS06SE 3

43 D (1) This rectangular slab of sandstone was found in Rothesay Castle in 1816, re-used in two fragments at the foot of the stair in the NW tower.<sup>2</sup> It is damaged at the top and foot and broken obliquely at mid-height, lacking a triangular section to the right and a smaller one to the left, but the short faces preserved at the break appear to match closely. It measures 1.78m by 0.51m and tapers in thickness from 135mm to 110mm, but this reduction appears to be due mainly to greater wear in the upper fragment.

The slab is carved on the edges and one face in false relief between edge-mouldings which vary from 20mm to 30mm. The face (a) is filled with a Latin cross outlined by mouldings which merge into a horizontal key-pattern (RA 923) in the rectangular base, itself enclosed by an outer moulding. The cross has narrow oval armpits which form splayed arms, and at the centre of the head and at each side of the top of the shaft there is a roundel containing interlocked triple spirals. The

Rothesay, Bute (No.8)  
cross-slab from Rothesay Castle (A, scale 1:15)

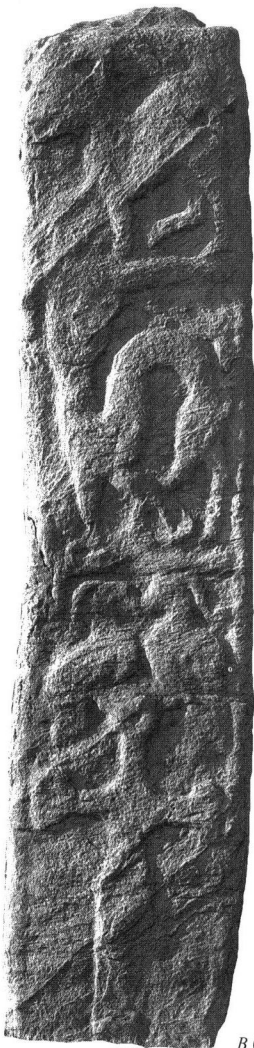




A (2)

(a)

(b)



B (2)



C (2)

Rothsay, Bute (No.8)  
cross-shaft from churchyard  
A. (scale 1:15)  
B. face a  
C. detail of face b

remainder of the cross-head is filled with interlace which is continuous with an eight-cord plait (RA 513a) in the upper part of the shaft. The remainder of the shaft is divided into two square panels, the upper one containing a key-pattern (RA 919) and the other an eight-cord plait (RA 506). Flanking the top of the shaft there are beasts' heads, much damaged by flaking, which are attached to the mouldings of the lower arm of the cross. Below the one to the left there is an incomplete motif which may represent an interlaced animal, followed by a section of plaitwork and at the foot a squatting creature holding a fish. To the right there is an incomplete strip of plaitwork with loops at the sides (variation of RA 551) above what appears to be a man attacked by a beast. The left edge of the slab (d) is filled with double-beaded interlace (RA 574 combined with 568; RA 522), and the right edge (b) has two panels of interlace, also double-beaded (RA 581; RA 519) divided by an incomplete key-pattern (RA 886). (McKinlay, J, *An Account of Rothsay Castle* (2nd ed., 1818), 22; Wilson, J, *Guide to Rothsay* (1848), 31; Reid, *Bute*, 32 and pl. opp. p.288; SSS, 2, 36 and pl.72; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 233 and pl. opp. p.232; ECMS, 3, 414-16; Cross, 'Bute', B39; TBNHS, 24 (1996), 60-1).

#### ROTHSAY CHURCHYARD

NS 0860 6368

NS06SE 4

(2) This cross-shaft, known as 'MacAlister's Stone', was erected in 1886 after lying recumbent for many years on a burial-plot belonging to a family of that name. Tradition associated it with the Ascog area, about 2km SE of Rothsay, but there were conflicting accounts of its earlier provenance, although Hewison tentatively identified it with a stone which formerly stood at Kilwhinleck (NS c.0580 6230).<sup>3</sup> The stone was removed to Bute Museum in 1996.

The stone has been the shaft of a composite free-standing cross, preserving the tenon for a transom and two sockets for the lower ring-quadrants. It is of mica-schist and is broken across and much weathered, especially in the upper part where there are several oblique veins of harder stone. It measures 1.52m in height above a 19th-century socket-stone by 0.27m and is 95mm thick. At the top there is a damaged tenon, 0.2m long by 30mm thick and 40mm in incomplete height, and in each edge, 0.17m below the top, there is a socket 100mm high, 40mm wide and 80mm deep.

The lowest part of the shaft forms a plain and slightly tapered butt, above which it is carved in false relief within a plain margin, 30mm to 40mm in width, which returns to form three panels on each face. At the foot of one face (a) there is a Latin cross with rounded armpits and rectangular terminals, above which there are two symmetrical birds with serpentine crests. The next panel shows a quadruped with prominent ears, a narrow arched body and a foliated or interlaced tail. In the top panel there is a winged quadruped, moving to the left in a manner similar to that of the horse in the central panel on face (b). The latter carries a rider who appears to be armed with a spear, and the reins are clearly shown, but other details have flaked off. Above and below this panel there are rectangular panels of interlace (RA 658 and 611). (Hewison, J K, in *PSAS*, 25 (1890-1), 410-16, reprinted in Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 225-32; ECMS, 3, 416-17; Cross, 'Bute', B40; Kelly, D, in *JRSAI*, 121 (1991), 117-20; TBNHS, 24 (1996), 61).

#### 9 St Colmac, Bute

NS 0452 6725

NS06NW 1

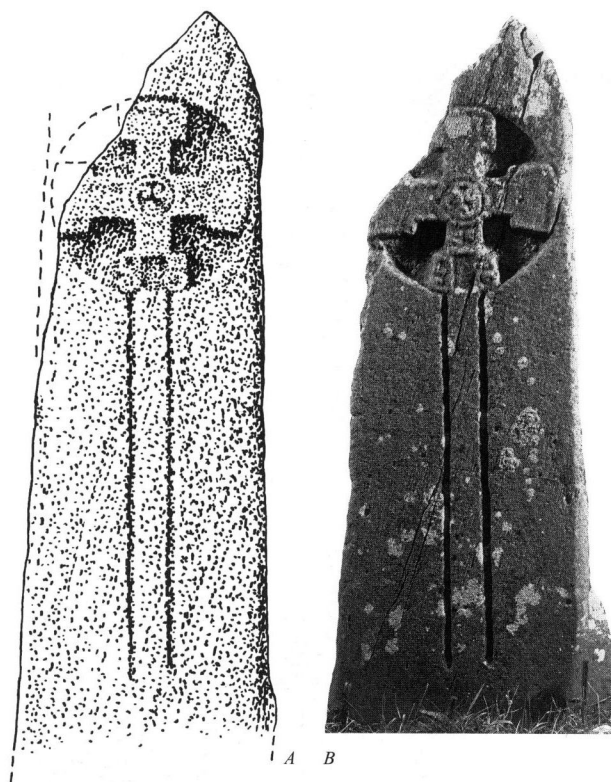
The supposed site of the chapel of Kilmachalmaig<sup>1</sup> is situated in a field a few metres W of East St Colmac farm, on the N side of the low-lying valley that links the E and W coasts of Bute between Kames Bay and Ettrick Bay. The name incorporates an affectionate form of the common Irish name Colmán, and a cross-slab of Early Christian type stands a few metres to the SW.

The stone has a vertical W face but is D-shaped in section, tapering in thickness from 0.4m at the foot to a mere point.

52 B

82 A,B





40 B The W face, which is round-headed but broken at the top left, measures 1.44m in visible height and tapers from a width of 0.48m at the foot. At the top there is a circle 0.4m in diameter enclosing an equal-armed cross potent with wedge-shaped terminals. The outline of the cross is defined by a bead-moulding, and at the centre there is a roundel formed by a double moulding with three spirals emerging from the inner member. The constriction of the lower arm bears traces of ornament, identified by Allen as a square key-pattern,<sup>2</sup> and the vertical sides of the expansion have spirals flanking a central sunk panel. This arm is continued as a simple shaft, 0.77m high and 75mm wide, which is formed by two deeply-cut grooves and is open at the foot.

(Muir, *Characteristics*, 124; *SSS*, 2, 30 and pl.56; Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 7; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 116-17; *ECMS*, 3, 411-12; *TBNHS*, 14 (1955), 58 and pl. on p.2; Cross, 'Bute', B43).

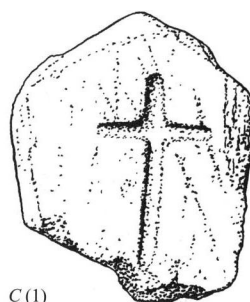
### 10 Rosneath, Dunbartonshire

NS 2535 8313 NS28SE 3

The medieval parish church of Rosneath and its successors stood in a churchyard 400m from the shore of Rosneath Bay and 40m W of the present church which was built in 1854. A cross-slab (no.3) was found at a depth of about 1.2m in the W part of the churchyard in 1880, and was displayed in a window-embrasure of the ruined church until it was moved to the present building in the 1930s. A slab bearing an outline cross and sword (no.2) remains in the adjacent embrasure, along with a cable-moulded graveslab of medieval type,<sup>1</sup> and a small cross-marked stone (no.1) lies outside the S wall of the present church.

13 A, 32 P (1) Slab, naturally pointed at the top and broken obliquely at the foot, measuring 0.57m by 0.49m. It bears a sunken Latin cross, 0.38m high and 0.23m across the arms, cut with a U-section groove up to 30mm wide. The armpits are slightly rounded and bevelled, and the ends of the arms are rounded.

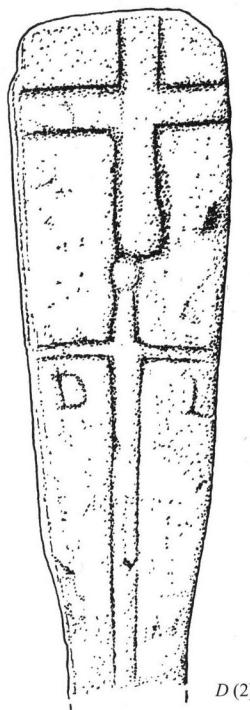
33 N (2) Tapered slab of sandstone, 1.37m in visible height by 0.46m in maximum width and 0.15m thick. At the top, and with its shaft set right of centre, there is an outline Latin cross whose top arm and unequal side-arms extend to the edges of the slab and whose shaft is slightly expanded. The outline has been marked out by pocking and finished with a firm V-section groove. The lower part of the slab bears a large sword with straight quillons and a round pommel which encroaches



C (1)

A, B. St Colmac, Bute (No.9)  
cross-slab (A, scale 1:15)

C-E. Rosneath (No.10)  
carved stones (C, D, scale 1:15)



D (2)



E (2)

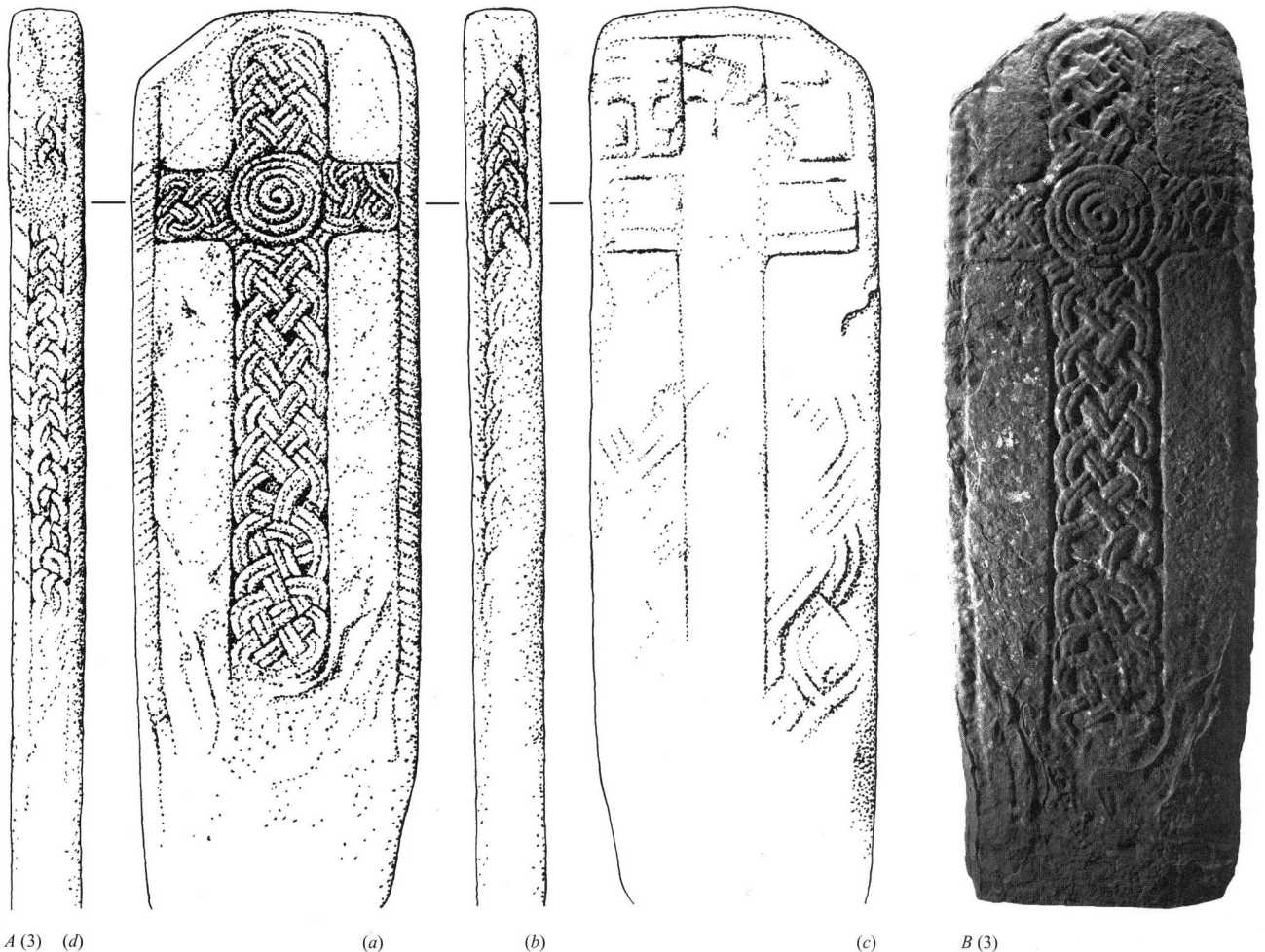
on the groove at the foot of the cross. The outline is executed in a similar fashion to that of the cross, but less deeply, and the sword extends onto what appears to be the original butt of the slab. The sword is probably a 16th-century addition converting an upright cross-slab into a recumbent graveslab, to which the initials DL were later added.

(*PSAS*, 59 (1924-5), 146-7).

(3) Cross-slab, known locally as 'St Modan's Stone', measuring 1.82m in visible height by 0.59m in maximum width and 0.14m in thickness. It is secured to an interior wall of the parish church so that one face (c) is concealed and the edges are partly obscured by fittings. The slab is of fine-grained grey sandstone, worn in places and especially in the tapered butt, and the top left corner is broken. It has 40mm-wide double-beaded cable-mouldings on the angles of both faces, originally continuous at the rounded top. The visible face (a) bears a Latin cross in false relief against a plain background. It is about 1.33m high and the side-arms extend to the margin, but the short top arm is round-ended and the foot of the shaft, now damaged, was probably similar. The cross is entirely composed of double-beaded interlace except for the central roundel, 0.19m in diameter, which is formed of a single continuous spiral. The hidden face of the slab (c), as shown in a late 19th-century photograph, bears a plain Latin cross with a flat margin and very slightly rounded armpits. The shaft is flanked by interlace, that to the right apparently triple-banded, but the nature of the ornament flanking the top arm is uncertain. Both edges of the slab bear double-beaded interlace.

(Photographs in NMRS, B 19985-8; *PSAS*, 16 (1881-2), 72-3; *ECMS*, 3, 453).

44 B



A (3) (d)

(a)

(b)

(c)

B (3)

### 11 Kilmahew, Cardross, Dunbartonshire

NS 3420 7863

NS37NW 2

The medieval chapel of St Mahew is situated at Kirkton of Kilmahew, about 1km NW of Cardross and 1.3km from the N shore of the Firth of Clyde. The chapel, which was mentioned in two charters of the 14th century, was largely rebuilt in 1467 and was restored for Roman Catholic worship in 1953-5.<sup>1</sup> It stands in a small burial-ground and comprises a narrow nave which was extended to the W in 1953-5, and a wider and almost square 15th-century chancel. A cross-marked stone and a slotted slab which may have been associated with a shrine were found buried outside the N wall of the nave in 1955 and are now in the chapel.<sup>2</sup>

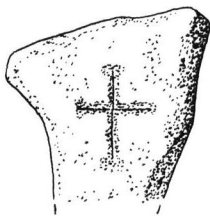
- 30 R (1) Irregular slab of fine-grained buff sandstone whose broken foot is concealed in a modern timber socket. It is 0.37m in visible height by 110mm in thickness and is 0.42m wide at the sloping top, from which it tapers, curving at the left, to the foot. One face bears an equal-armed cross, 0.19m

in height and span, with expanded terminals which are best defined in the top and left arms. The cross has been pecked to form shallow and irregular V-section grooves, and a later incision runs down the shaft.

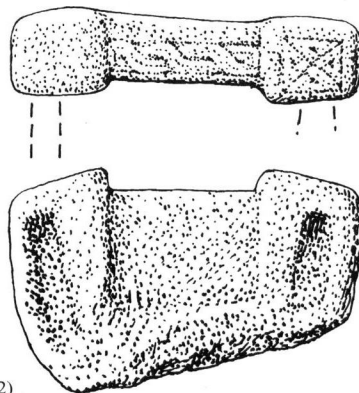
(MacRoberts, D, *The Chapel of Saint Mahew, Cardross* (1955), 6-7; *Innes Review*, 17 (1966), 4-6).

- (2) Worn and irregular slotted slab of sandstone which was reconstructed by Radford as the broken end of a cover-slab from a composite stone shrine. However the rough tooling and slight thickening at the break suggest that this area was concealed and that the slab was a vertical end-slab into which two side-slabs were fitted. It measures 0.7m in width by 0.45m in maximum height and 0.18m in maximum thickness. Its centre is tapered and recessed on both faces between two rectangular angle-posts whose tops rise about 40mm above the centre and slope down to the sides. These posts incorporate the slots, which are 0.5m apart at the top but are inclined so that they are only 0.43m apart at the foot. They are about

59 C



C (1)



D (2)



E (2)

A, B. Rosneath (No.10), cross-slab (A, scale 1:15)

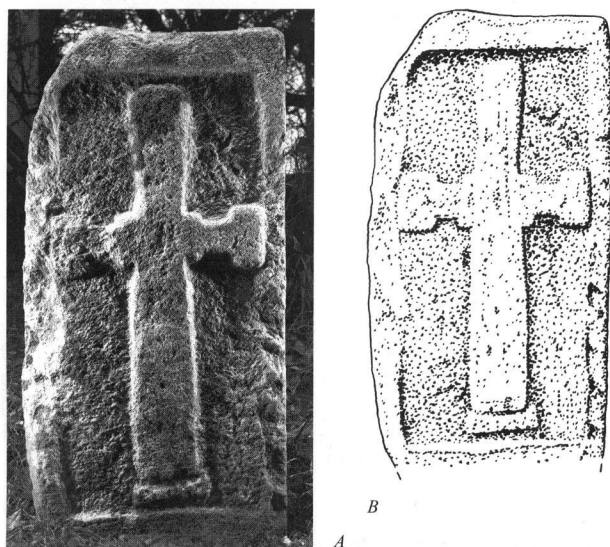
C-E. Kilmahew, Cardross (No.11), carved stones (C, D, scale 1:15)

60mm wide and 40mm deep, and that to the left is 0.24m high but the other only 0.19m. They have been pecked out with a pointed tool or pick and similar marks survive on the recessed central panel, which is 0.25m high above a thicker base, now broken. The top edge of this panel bears a double-beaded twist with square ends (RA 501), and one of the angle-posts preserves a square fret with a continuous band forming four triangles (RA 724).

Radford reported the discovery in 1955 of another small fragment, about 100mm thick and bearing traces of interlace, and of two slabs which had been set at the sides of a grave with the slotted slab at the head. The two slabs were recorded in 1978 but their present location is not known. They were of local grey sandstone and measured respectively 0.92m by 0.46m and 70mm thick, and 0.61m by 0.36m and 65mm thick. There was no evidence that they had been provided with tenons to fit into the slots, or that their association with the end-slab was anything but secondary.

It is possible that the slotted slab was indeed designed as part of a kerb round a grave rather than an enclosed shrine, since there is no obvious provision for a cover-slab and the inclination of the slots is puzzling. Against this may be set the apparent derivation of a type of slab found at Govan, Inchinnan and Kingarth (No.6,(4)) from a corner-post shrine with decorated cover.<sup>3</sup>

(Radford, C A R, in *Innes Review*, 17 (1966), 3-4, 6-9; *Medieval Archaeology*, 11 (1967), 121).



St Bride's Chapel, Glen Fruin (No.12), cross-slab (B, scale 1:15)

## 12 St Bride's Chapel, Glen Fruin, Dunbartonshire

NS 3070 8658 NS38NW 1

The former schoolhouse on the NE bank of the Fruin Water, 2.2km SE of Ballevoulin (No.13), is believed to stand on or close to the site of St Bride's Chapel.<sup>1</sup> The property was known in the 17th century as Chapel of Glen Fruin, and lies between the farms of East and West Kilbride. Stones from the chapel are said to have been built into the schoolhouse,<sup>2</sup> and a cross-marked slab found buried in the grounds early in the 20th century stands at the NE edge of the garden close to the road.

<sup>40 F</sup> The slab is of sandstone and measures 0.9m in visible height by 0.48m and 0.23m thick. It is carved in false relief within a flat margin varying in width from 50mm to 80mm, and bears a Latin cross with a square central expansion and transverse bars at the ends of the transom. The top arm and shaft taper slightly towards the centre, and there is an additional bar, perhaps representing a cross-base, at the foot. (PSAS, 58 (1923-4), 128-30; ASMS, 3 (Dumbarton), no.70).

## 13 Ballevoulin, Glen Fruin, Dunbartonshire

NS 2951 8836 NS28NE 5

Slight traces of a burial-ground are preserved in a pasture field 160m SE of Ballevoulin farmhouse and 40m N of the local road on the N side of Glen Fruin. The name 'Chapel Dermid' was recorded in 1839,<sup>1</sup> but there is no evidence for a building and the only remains are a low mound about 13m by 11m. A cross-marked stone stands at the S edge of the mound, near a round-backed boulder which appears to be of natural origin.

The stone is a rectangular slab of schist, 1.01m in visible height by 0.39m and 0.24m thick, much worn and badly flaked at the top and right edge. On the S face there is a plain outline Latin cross, about 0.45m high and 0.27m in span. The foot is damaged by flaking and its form is uncertain, but the return of the top of the upper arm is identifiable.

(PSAS, 58 (1923-4), 130; ASMS, 3 (Dumbarton), no.71).

## 14 Luss, Dunbartonshire

NS 3612 9286 NS39SE 1

The medieval parish church of Luss, like its successor of 1771 and the present building of 1875, stood on the N bank of the Luss Water and 130m from the W shore of Loch Lomond. The church was dedicated to St Kessog, who is associated with the neighbouring island of Inchtavannach, and his bell was supposedly preserved on the island until the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> The medieval effigy of an abbot or bishop, now much re-tooled, was found in the late 18th century in a cairn at Bandry (NS 3584 9003), the reputed site of Kessog's martyrdom, and is displayed in the church.<sup>2</sup> Two cross-marked stones and a hogback grave-cover are in the churchyard, as well as a late medieval cross and at least five coped grave-covers.<sup>3</sup>

(1) Rectangular slab of slate, broken at the top and foot and measuring 1.63m in height by 0.36m and 0.18m in thickness. One face has been roughly dressed with a pick and bears a cross incised with a U-section groove, 0.39m high and 0.34m across the side-arms. These are set a little above mid-height and extend to the edges of the slab, while the shaft, which is slightly curved, has rounded terminals.

(PSAS, 59 (1924-5), 144 and fig.1 on p.145).

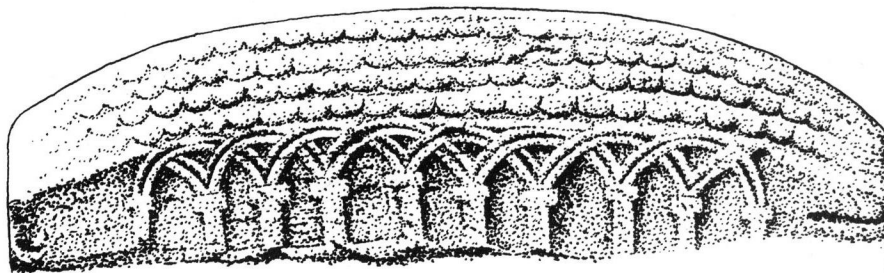
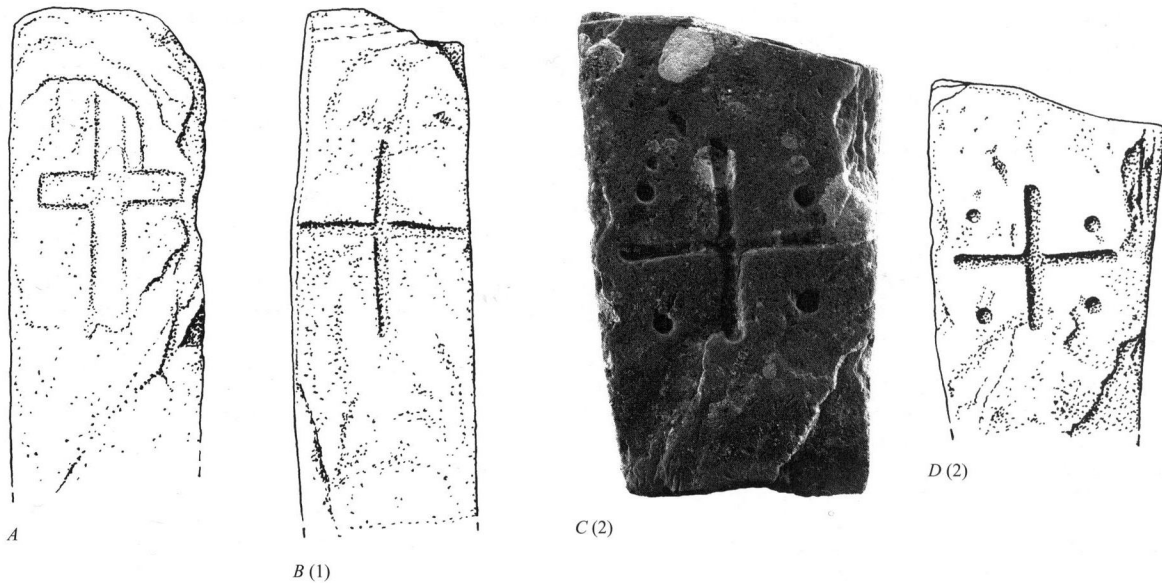
(2) Slab of red sandstone, 0.75m in height by 0.47m and 85mm in thickness. It is broken at the top right and much worn and flaked, but a cross is firmly incised on one face with a broad U-section groove. It measures 0.29m in height by 0.33m across the side-arms, which are set at mid-height. The terminals are slightly expanded and rounded, and in the four cantons there are hollows about 30mm in diameter.

(PSAS, 59 (1924-5), 144 and fig.2 on p.145).

(3) Hogback grave-cover of grey sandstone with curved sides and ridge, lichen-stained and cracked and flaked in places. It is 1.78m long and at the centre is 0.43m high by 0.4m wide, tapering at the W end to 0.18m by 0.33m and at the E to 0.25m by 0.38m. The ridge appears to have been a plain raised band about 60mm wide but is now almost obliterated. On each slope of the roof, and following the curve of the ridge, there are four rows of round-ended tegulations. The sides of the stone are vertical and have been re-cut in Romanesque style, the N side bearing in false relief an arcade of nine bays. This has intersecting double-beaded round arches springing from plain pillars with block capitals but no bases. The S side bears at the centre a four-bay arcade with simple arch-heads enclosing pellets, and to the right there are three roundels, enclosing respectively a quatrefoil in false relief, a cross with curved arms and central pellet, and a triskele with concave sides. The ends taper slightly downwards from eaves-level.<sup>4</sup>

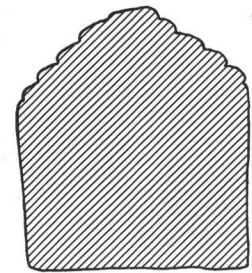
Lang assigned this monument, on the basis of the curvature of the ridge and cross-section, to the earliest group of Scottish plain tegulated hogbacks, and proposed an 11th-century date. The arcades and roundels on the sides are clearly alterations of the following century, and the entire surfaces of both sides were re-dressed at that period. The continuing popularity of tegulated ornament at Luss in the 12th and 13th centuries is



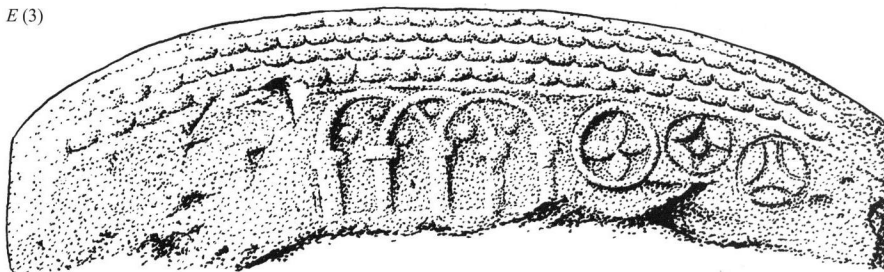


N face

E (3)



section



S face

**Ballevoulin, Glen Fruin (No.13)**

A. carved stone (scale 1:15)

**Luss (No.14)**

B-E. carved stones (B, D, E, scale 1:15)

**Eilean Fhianain, Loch Shiel (No.15)**

F. bell

seen in several of the coped monuments recorded in the churchyard.  
(Muir, *Characteristics*, 26; Walker, J R, in *PSAS*, **19** (1884-5), 418 and fig.9 on p.419 (reproduced in *TGAS*, **4** (1903), fig. opp. p.402; *PSAS*, **62** (1927-8), fig.2 on p.91); Brydall, R, in *TGAS*, **5**, part 1 (1908), 25 and fig.2; Lang, J T, in *PSAS*, **105** (1972-4), 217-18, 220 and pl.16a, b).

**15 Eilean Fhianain, Loch Shiel**

NM 7520 6827

NM76NE 1

This island, which takes its name from one of the saints bearing the Irish name Finán,<sup>1</sup> is situated about 200m from both the N and S banks of Loch Shiel. It measures about 200m from N to S by 180m and has steep sides rising to an undulating summit-area which has been extensively used for burials by the adjacent Protestant and Roman Catholic communities of Sunart and Moidart respectively.<sup>1</sup> The ruined medieval church near the W edge of the summit contains a cast bronze bell of Early Christian type,<sup>2</sup> as well as a graveslab and cross-head, both of late medieval date. A female effigy of the same period lies near the N end of the summit, close to a group of large simple cruciform stones which are probably of 18th-century date.<sup>3</sup> A cross-marked gravemarker (no.1) stands in the same area, and a small cruciform stone of

86 A



F

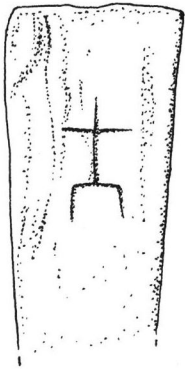




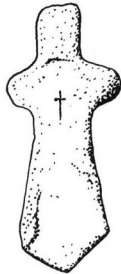
A



B (1)



C (1)



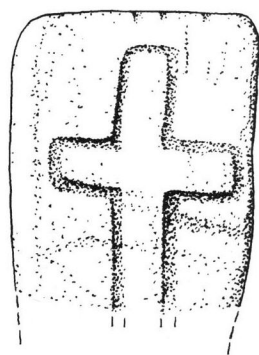
D (2)

uncertain period (no.2) was recorded in 1974 but has since disappeared.<sup>4</sup>

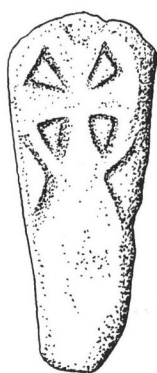
(1) Tapered slab of local flagstone, 0.7m in visible height by 0.35m at the head and 55mm thick. On the E face there is incised a Latin cross, 0.17m high and 0.14m across the arms, set on a pedestal formed by a slightly curved horizontal bar 100mm long and two vertical bars 70mm high.

(2) Cruciform stone with tapered shaft and side-arms, about 0.52m high by 0.22m across the arms. At the centre of one face there is an incised Latin cross, 48mm high and 20mm in span.

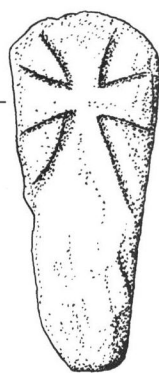
**Eilean Fhianain, Loch Shiel (No.15)**  
A. carved stone (1) and post-medieval cruciform stones  
B-D. carved stones (C, D, scale 1:15)



A (1)



B (2)



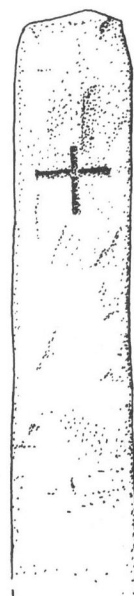
(a)



(b)



C



D

A, B. Kilchoan, Inverie, Knoydart (No.16), carved stones (scale 1:15)  
C, D. Kishorn (No.17), carved stone (D, scale 1:15)  
E. Applecross (No.18), general view from SE

### 16 Kilchoan, Inverie, Knoydart

NM 7791 9918 NM79NE 2

The Knoydart peninsula is predominantly mountainous, the main areas of settlement being along the E shore of the Sound of Sleat and on the alluvial ground where the Inverie River flows into Inverie Bay on the N side of Loch Nevis.<sup>1</sup> The site of a medieval church dedicated to St Comgan is situated on the S bank of the river, 550m from the head of Inverie Bay and 180m N of Kilchoan farmhouse. The rectangular Roman Catholic burial-ground, which is enclosed by a 19th-century wall, contains two early cross-marked stones, three late medieval graveslabs and a font.<sup>2</sup> A late medieval cross of unusual type has been re-erected in the circular Protestant burial-ground on a low knoll 80m to the SW.<sup>3</sup>

34 H (1) Upper part of a rectangular slab, 0.59m in surviving height by 0.49m and 0.15m thick. On one face it bears an outline Latin cross, 0.36m across the arms. The arms are of uniform 80mm width within a broad U-section groove, and the armpits are slightly bevelled and rounded.

(2) Round-headed tapered slab, 0.71m by 0.3m in maximum width and 50mm thick. On one face (a) there is an outline ringed cross with wedge-shaped arms which merge into the ring without division. The upper quadrants of the ring extend to the edges of the slab, and the lower quadrants return to define a short wedge-shaped shaft, open at the foot. On face

35 R (b) there is an outline cross with broad wedge-shaped and slightly curved limbs, all of which extend to the edges of the slab.

### 17 Kishorn

NG 8304 4058 NG84SW 1

The site of a chapel dedicated to St Donnan is situated about 30m from the E shore of the tidal inner reach of Loch Kishorn and 150m SW of Courthill House.<sup>1</sup> The pentagonal burial-ground<sup>2</sup> stands at the edge of a field about 15m above the shore, and there are slight traces of a possible building. A cross-marked pillar stands in the burial-ground, and a small knocking-stone lies close to it.

28 S The cross-marked stone is an irregular pillar of Torridonian sandstone, 1.21m in visible height and tapering upwards from 0.25m to 0.22m on the carved face and from 0.28m to 0.12m in thickness. It bears a Latin cross with slightly expanded terminals, 135mm in height and span and incised with a 20mm U-section groove.

### 18 Applecross

NG 7135 4583 NG74NW 1

The monastery of Applecross was founded in 673 by Maelrubha, a monk of Bangor (Co. Down), who had left Ireland two years earlier. His death in 722, and those of later abbots up to the early 9th century, are recorded in the Irish annals, and it is clear that the connection with Bangor was maintained.<sup>1</sup> At the time of its foundation, however, the monastery was probably in Pictish territory, and dedications to Maelrubha are found in Easter Ross, Sutherland and the north-east as well as being widespread on the W coast.<sup>2</sup> Its name is a medieval corruption of a Brittonic one, recorded in 673 as *Aporcrosan*, meaning 'the mouth of the Crossan' (the former name of the Applecross River). The district is known in Gaelic as *a' Chomraich*, 'the sanctuary', and it was marked by crosses, one of which survived at Camusterrach, 4km to the S, until about 1870.<sup>3</sup>

The monastery was situated about 250m from the head of Applecross Bay, on the NW bank of the Applecross River and opposite what are now the policies of Applecross House. The site is occupied by an L-shaped burial-ground containing the former parish church of 1817, with a small post-medieval 'chapel' or burial-aisle close to the E boundary. It has been suggested that aerial photographs indicate a larger curvilinear enclosure measuring at least 180m from NE to SW by 140m, but the area S and E of the burial-ground was planted with conifers in the 1960s and no surface-remains survive.<sup>4</sup> A low curving mound in the W part of the burial-ground may represent a small enclosure described by Reeves,<sup>5</sup> who also recorded that a 'little hillock' named *Claodh Maree*, the supposed burial-place of the saint, lay S of the 'chapel'.



E

A large cross-slab (no.4) stands inside the W entrance of the churchyard to the N, and three carved fragments are displayed in the porch of the former church. The largest of these (no.1) was formerly built into a wall of the 'chapel', and the other two, with three other lost pieces, were found in the area to the S of it by the grave-digger in the 1930s.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that some of these fragments belonged to the monument of 'red granite', supposedly sent by the daughter of the King of Norway to mark the grave of Maelrubha himself, that was broken during the construction of the manse in 1796.<sup>7</sup> They are presumably to be distinguished from the 'several carved stones' that were buried under a path near the S wall of the church when it was being built in 1817.<sup>8</sup> In the churchyard there are also a sandstone graveslab with a moulded margin of late medieval type, and a large slab of late 17th-century character bearing emblems of mortality.<sup>9</sup>

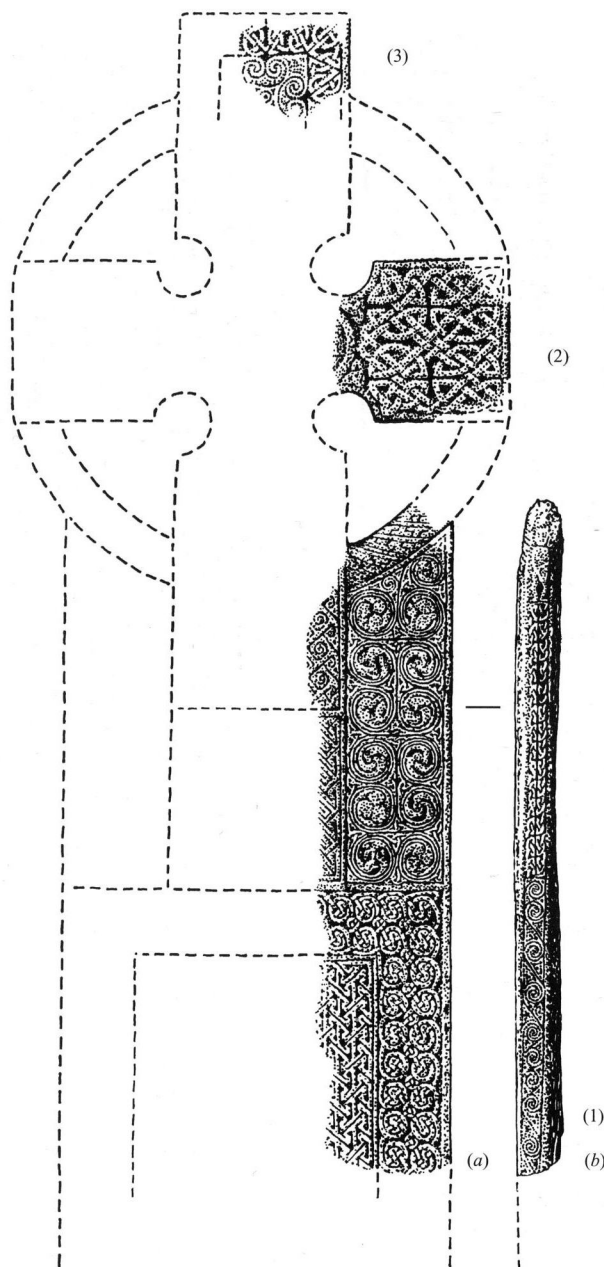
<sup>43 B</sup> (1) Fragment of red-brown Torridonian sandstone, comprising part of the right half of a large cross-slab and the decorated right edge. It measures 1.33m in height and 0.31m in surviving width and varies in thickness from about 95mm to 55mm at the edge. The back may have suffered some damage, but the form of the right edge makes it unlikely that any carving has been lost. The slab was divided into rectangular panels by bead-mouldings 12mm to 15mm wide which merge into the edge-moulding, and the cross-head had a pierced ring whose lower quadrant survives. The other fragments from the churchyard (nos.2, 3), which are of similar material and have comparable edge-mouldings, may have belonged to this slab as shown in the accompanying drawing. Its original height was at least 2.2m and may have been considerably more.

The lower part of the fragment, forming the base of the shaft, comprised a panel of key-pattern (RA 974) enclosed by a broad double band of interlaced knots with S-shaped internal loops and additional knots at the junctions of the cords (related to RA 545 with RA 307 at intersections). The shaft of the cross has been filled with two panels of diagonal key-pattern (related to RA 963; RA 969, with spiral centres), both very fragmentary, but flanking these to the right is the only panel to survive complete. It contains six pairs of interlinked triple-spiral roundels, with an additional roundel at the top right in the spandrel formed by the oblique curve of the ring. The spirals terminate in bird, dragon and animal (possibly human) heads, and the connections are made with triquetra knots which also fill the interspaces at the edges of the panel. The ring-quadrant is 80mm wide and is decorated with a repeated diagonal T-fret pattern which continues onto the front curve of the pierced armpit. The remainder of this curve is smoothly shaped to meet the back of the slab.

The right edge of the slab forms a panel 40mm wide between two 15mm angle-mouldings. In the lower part there is a series of linked double spirals with curved hollow triangles in the spandrels. The upper part bears interlace containing pairs of Stafford knots which form cruciform breaks (RA 598). Below the ring there is a small naked human figure with bent knees and hands crossed in front of the genitals.<sup>10</sup>

The panelled treatment of this slab closely resembles that of Pictish cross-slabs, especially those at Nigg, Rosemarkie and Tarbat (Easter Ross) and Farr (Sutherland), and several of its fret- and interlace-patterns recur on those carvings. The closest parallel for the spiral roundels is on a slab at St Vigean (Angus).<sup>11</sup> The piercing of the ring, however, produces a distinctive blend of Irish and Pictish sculptural traditions, and the use of triquetras to link spirals is found in the Book of Kells and in Irish crosses.<sup>12</sup> In these cases it is used for variety, and its repetitive use at Applecross, along with the very precise but mechanical execution of the slab, suggest a date for the latter in the early 9th century. (Close-Brooks, J, *The Highlands* (1st ed., 1986), 123; ibid. (2nd ed., 1995), 125; MacLean, 'Applecross', 177-8).

<sup>43 B</sup> (2) Fragment of red Torridonian sandstone, 0.36m by 0.32m and tapering in thickness from 100mm to 35mm. It forms the



Applecross (No.18), cross-slab fragments (scale 1:15)

almost square terminal of a cross-arm with curved armpits, and the outer angles of the arm are broken obliquely. This damage is consistent with the suggestion that this was part of the large cross-slab no.1, as is the neat execution of the ornament. This comprises interlace incorporating Stafford knots arranged in four pairs to form circles, within a bead-moulded margin which continues on to the armpits. In the constriction of the arms there are traces of a curving moulding, which presumably encircled the centre of the cross-head, but its diameter is uncertain. On the back of the fragment there is a transverse rebate behind the constriction, but this is unlikely to be an original feature. (MacLean, 'Applecross', 178).

(3) Fragment of red Torridonian sandstone, 0.24m by 0.21m and 75mm thick. It has formed the angle of a slab or cross-arm, but one edge is damaged although the other preserves its 12mm bead-moulded margin. Within a border of interlace there has been a panel of interlinked double-spirals with zoomorphic terminals. The panel was probably square and had a small central roundel with a central pit which is repeated twice on the enclosing motif. (MacLean, 'Applecross', 178).

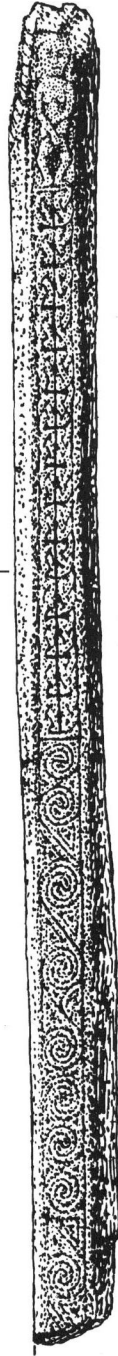




A (1)



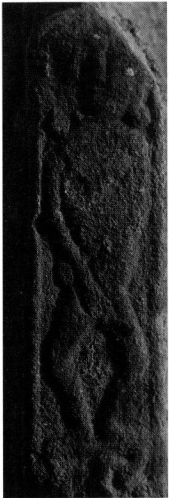
B (1)



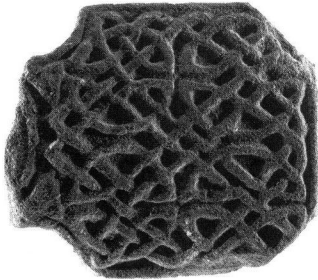
C (1)



D (1)



E (1)



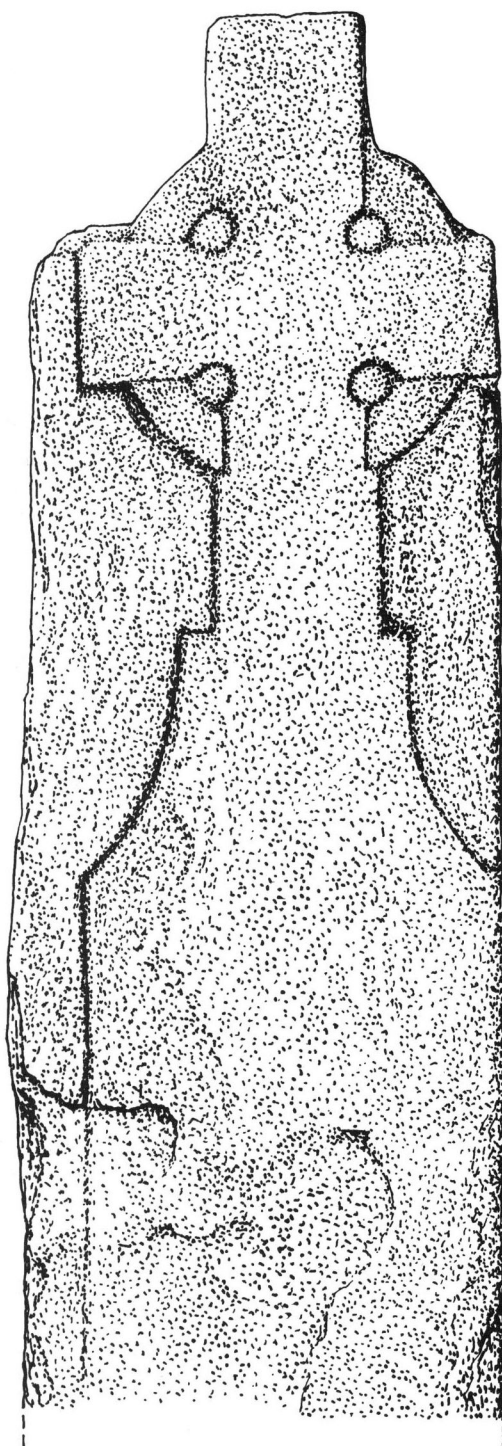
F (2)



G (3)

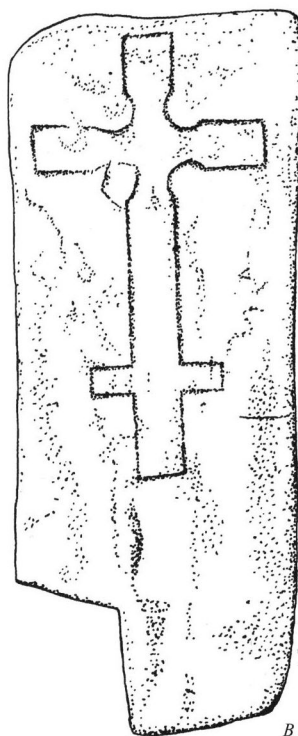
Applecross (No.18), cross-slab fragments (A, B, scale 1:7.5)



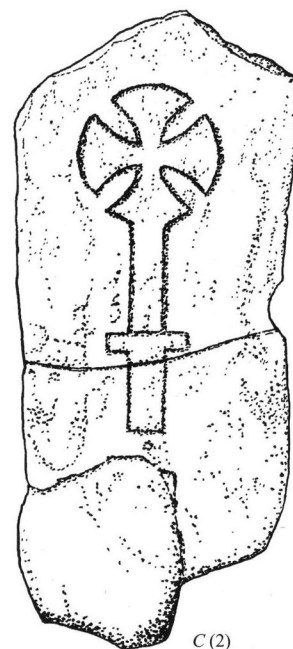


A (4)

- 43 A (4) NG74NW 2. Cross-slab of Torridonian sandstone, 2.63m in visible height by 0.99m in maximum width and tapering upwards from 100mm to 75mm in thickness. The surface is heavily flaked in the lower part and much worn and lichen-stained throughout. The SE face bears the outline of a ringed cross with a short shaft supported on a concave-sided pedestal which itself rises from a tall rectangular base. The cross has short side-arms and circular armpits containing 60mm bosses, and the ring-quadrants are slightly sunk below the surface-level of the cross itself. The outline was defined by a flat-bottomed bevelled groove except for the concave sides of the pedestal where the groove is of V-section. The right edge of the base and the right arm extend to the edge of the slab, whereas at the left there is a margin about 0.15m wide. The top of the slab has been shaped to the outline of the upper part of the cross-head, and there is no obvious reason for this not being completed.



B (1)



C (2)

A. Applecross (No.18)  
cross-slab (scale 1:15)  
B, C. Isle Maree, Loch Maree (No.19)  
carved stones (scale 1:15)

In local tradition this slab was associated with Ruairidh Mór MacCoigen, a local hero. Reeves suggested a connection with 'Macc-oigi of Applecross', abbot of the mother-house at Bangor, whose death is recorded in 801.<sup>13</sup> (MacLean, 'Applecross', 176).

#### 19 Isle Maree, Loch Maree

NG 9310 7236

NG97SW 1

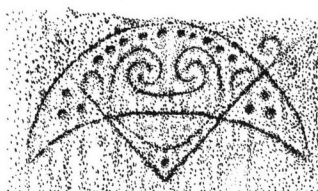
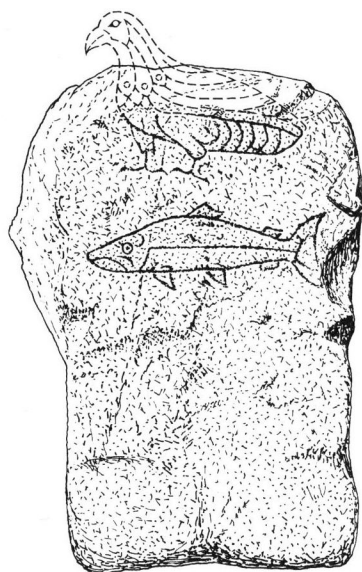
This is one of the smallest of the group of wooded islands midway along the 20km length of Loch Maree, and lies 250m from the N shore. It is almost triangular, measuring about 200m by 170m, and rises to a central summit of about 30m which is crowned by a burial-ground. The island and loch take their names from St Maelrubha, and the island was resorted to until the 19th century for the cure of insanity, effected by immersion in the loch and visiting the holy well, now dried up, at the S shore.<sup>1</sup> An oak tree beside the well, now dead, continues to have coins and metal objects driven into it.<sup>2</sup> The burial-ground is oval, measuring about 36m by 27m within a low turf-covered stone wall. It contains a number of simple gravemarkers and recumbent slabs. Two of these are cross-marked and are identified in local tradition as the graves of a Norwegian prince and princess.<sup>3</sup>

(1) Rectangular slab of Torridonian sandstone, lacking the lower left corner and measuring 1.44m by 0.59m. It bears an outline Latin cross with semicircular armpits, 0.88m high and 0.46m in span. A second transom, 0.17m above the foot of the shaft, has a span of 0.26m and arms 55mm high. This is an unusual feature, and the outline may have been altered by recutting, but the upper part of the cross is of early character. (PSAS, 4 (1860-2), 252-3; Dixon, *Gairloch*, 10; Baldwin, *North-west Ross*, 124).

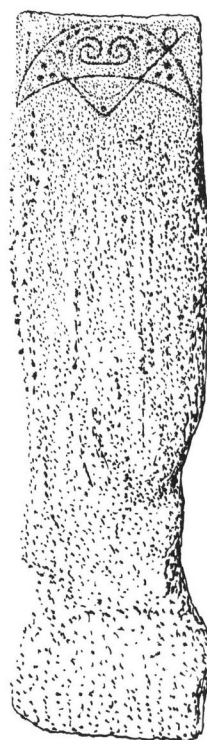
35 L

(2) Roughly tapered slab of Torridonian sandstone with pointed head, broken across and irregularly broken at the foot. It measures 1.26m by 0.57m in maximum width. It bears an outline cross-of-arcs, 0.28m in diameter and with open interspaces between the arms, which rises from a straight shaft. This is supported on a T-shaped pedestal which resembles the lower transom on stone (1) but is clearly divided from the shaft. The edges of the shaft and base show large pock-marks, but the V-section grooves have been finished with a sharp blade. (PSAS, 4 (1860-2), 252-3; Dixon, *Gairloch*, 10; Baldwin, *North-west Ross*, 124).

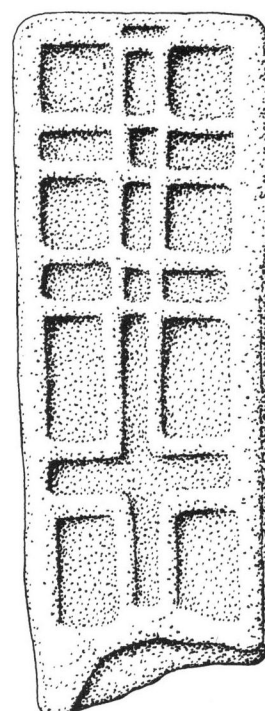
35 S



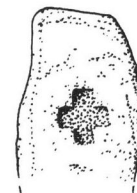
x 2



B



C (2)



D (1)

## 20 Gairloch

NG c.7997 7721

NG77NE 1 and NG87NW 9

A long-cist burial was excavated in 1949 at the head of Strath Bay, an inlet of Loch Gairloch, and about 25m W of Abhainn Achadh Chairn. Human remains and a symbol-stone had been found in the same area about 1880, and other burials have been found about 190m to the SE.<sup>1</sup> The symbol-stone was used as a stair-tread in an outhouse at Flowerdale House until about 1950, when it was removed to the parish church. In 1964 it was incorporated in the entrance to the new cemetery that lies E of the old burial-ground,<sup>2</sup> and in 1977 it was presented to Gairloch Heritage Museum.

25 C, 26 A The stone is a slab of Torridonian sandstone, 0.97m high by 0.71m in maximum width and 0.58m at the foot, measuring 0.12m in thickness. It is much worn and parts have been lost through flaking, especially at the top and left edge, but some of the irregularity of the surface seems to predate the carvings. At the top, and facing left, there is incised an eagle which has lost its head and back through flaking.<sup>3</sup> Its feathered legs and wing are indicated, but there is little other surviving detail. Below this, and facing in the same direction, there is a well-drawn salmon, 0.46m long, with a crescentic tail and a dorsal and two lower fins.

(Stevenson, R B K, in *PSAS*, 86 (1951-2), 110-11, pl.21; *ibid.*, 128 (1998), 527; Mack, *Symbol Stones*, 116).

## 21 Poolewe

NG 8603 8096

NG88SE 10

This burial-ground, alternatively known as the Inverewe or Lòndubh burial-ground, is situated 80m from the head of Loch Ewe. The enclosure is roughly circular, measuring about 70m from N to S within a substantial stone wall of 19th-century character. It contains the ruins of a church, said to have been rebuilt in the 17th century but much altered to form private burial-enclosures.<sup>1</sup> A slab bearing the crescent-and-V-rod symbol was identified lying W of the church in 1992.<sup>2</sup>

26 H The symbol-stone is a roughly rectangular slab of Torridonian sandstone, probably incomplete at the top, which measures 1.45m by 0.45m and at least 110mm thick. It displays prominent vertical striations, and the symbol at the top is much worn and lichen-stained. The crescent preserves two spirals which interlock at the centre to form a pelta. In each of its outer segments there is a triangular group of three small hollows, and a series of similar hollows is set inside the outer arc of its main section. Another hollow is placed in the angle of the V-rod and there are traces of the lower spirals of its right terminal, but the left one is obliterated.

(Mack, *Symbol Stones*, 118; Peterson, E, *The Message of Scotland's Symbol Stones* (1996), 131-2).

A. Gairloch (No.20), symbol-stone (scale 1:15)

B. Poolewe (No.21), symbol-stone (scale 1:15)

C, D. Isle Martin, Loch Broom (No.22)

carved stones (scale 1:15)

## 22 Isle Martin, Loch Broom

NH 0964 9892

NH09NE 1

This island lies about 0.8km from the coast of Coigach and is roughly triangular, measuring 1.8km along the N coast by 1.5km from N to S. Much of the island is rocky, rising to a summit of 120m, and the small population has always been concentrated near the landing-place at the S end of the E coast. The wall of the burial-ground situated immediately W of this bay is partly superimposed on a roughly circular enclosure about 60m across. This is bounded on the SE by a slope and on the W by a low turf mound up to 2m thick whose curve is continued at the head of the shore by a few kerb-stones. It encloses a square burial-aisle and a number of mounded burials with head- and foot-markers. Two early carved stones stand S of the burial-aisle.

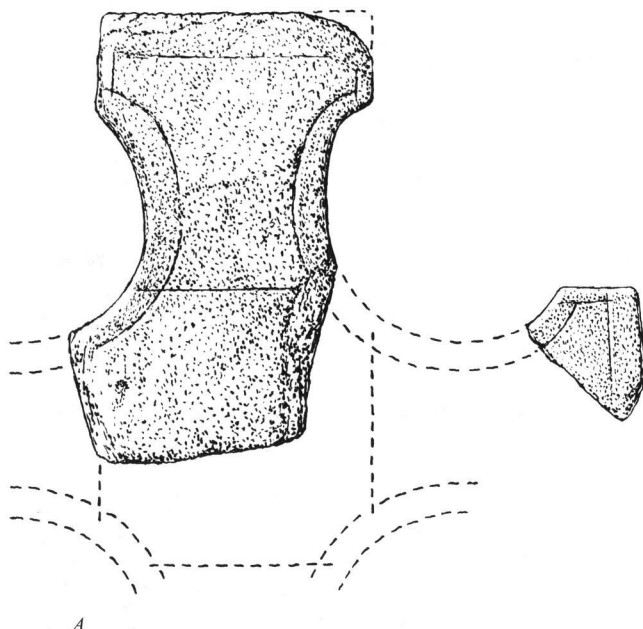
(1) Small pillar of Torridonian sandstone, 0.35m in visible height by 0.24m in width and thickness. On the SW face there is a sunken equal-armed cross, 110mm in height and 100mm across the arms, which are about 40mm wide.

32 Y

(2) Slab of Torridonian sandstone, re-erected apparently upside-down and broken at the original foot.<sup>1</sup> It measures 1.39m in height by 0.34m in maximum thickness, and tapered downwards in width from 0.51m to 0.47m. On the NE face it is carved to a depth of 15mm, within a broad margin, with a grid of bars forming two overlapping crosses. The shaft of the lower one also forms the top arm of a cross 0.58m high, with the transom at mid-height, which fills the lower half of the slab. This appears to have risen from a curved base, but the detail at the foot is uncertain because of weathering.

42 D

(*PSAS*, 47 (1912-13), 418-19; Mitford, A C M, *Guide to Wester Ross* (1936), 31; Brown, M, in Baldwin, *North-west Ross*, 214-16).



A

**23 Inchnadamph, Assynt**

NC 2493 2199

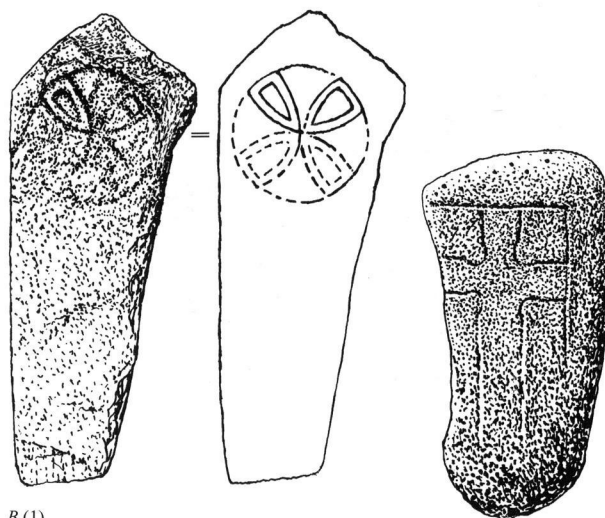
NC22SW 5

The medieval parish church of Assynt, which was founded before 1274,<sup>1</sup> stood in the burial-ground situated 170m E of the head of Loch Assynt. The present church, in the NW angle of the rectangular walled enclosure, is largely of 19th-century date, but the much-altered MacLeod of Assynt burial-aisle was probably attached to the N side of an earlier building in the 17th century. A rectangular earthwork which lies 30m SW of the burial-ground has been identified as a medieval homestead-moat,<sup>2</sup> and the MacLeod castle of Ardvreck occupies a promontory 1.8km to the NNW.

46 E Part of the head of a large free-standing cross, re-used as a marker at the head of a graveslab, was identified in 1993 during the present survey, along with a small fragment of another arm. They were subsequently removed for display in the Assynt Heritage Centre, Lochinver. Both fragments are of a grey-green metabasic rock, probably from the SW Highlands.<sup>3</sup> The larger one is damaged in places by flaking, and measures 0.89m in length by 0.54m across the end of the arm and 0.36m across the constriction. It tapers in thickness from 90mm at the centre of the cross-head to 75mm at the end of the arm. The outer part of the arm returns straight for 0.18m before curving into long shallow U-shaped armpits. The surface is plain but the edges of one face have neatly-formed bevells of 15mm to 20mm, and within these a margin varying from 40mm to 80mm in width is defined by incised grooves.<sup>4</sup> These follow the curve of the armpits, and are intersected towards the centre by a shallower groove parallel to the end of the arm.<sup>5</sup> The smaller fragment, 0.31m by 0.28m and 40mm thick, preserves one corner of the end of a cross-arm, broken obliquely, with a similar, but narrower, bevelled and incised margin. The surface is well-preserved, showing the use of an adze or axe and a claw-chisel.

The large fragment was presumably the top arm of the cross, since its margin is twice as wide as that of the other fragment, and the span is likely to have been at least 1.6m. The variation in width of the margin, 40mm in one armpit and 60mm in the other, is however an unexpected feature in such a carefully laid-out design. The scale of the armpits gives the cross some resemblance to that at Kilnave, but the lack of ornament makes dating difficult. There are no medieval parallels for a cross of this type in the West Highland area, and the slightly stilted form of the armpits may indicate the influence of the Anglo-Scandinavian 'hammer-head' type.<sup>6</sup>

46 A



B (1)

C (2)

A. Inchnadamph, Assynt (No.23), cross-head fragments (scale 1:15)

B, C. Isle of Muck (No.24), carved stones (scale 1:15)

**24 Isle of Muck**

NM 4207 7953

NM47NW 1

This island measures about 4km from E to W by 2.4km. The burial-ground, A' Chill, is situated at the S end of the former township of Sean Bhaile, and about 100m NW of the tidal N end of Port Mór, the principal landing-place of the island.<sup>1</sup> It was enclosed by a drystone wall whose remains are preserved only to the W, and contains the drystone footings of a possible chapel. A knoll some 300m to the W is known as Cnoc na Croise ('mound of the cross') but the reason for the name is not known.

The following stones were formerly used as gravemarkers in the burial-ground, but in 1993 they were moved for shelter to the craft shop on the E side of Port Mór:

(1) Slab of grey flagstone, very heavily laminated. The lower part is rectangular, but the top is pointed and bulges out to the right, apparently through natural breakage. It measures 0.94m in length by 0.18m in the lower part and 0.37m in maximum width, and it tapers upwards in thickness from 105mm to 80mm. On one face there has been a cross-of-arcs within an incised circle 0.26m in diameter. The interspaces have flat margins, whose outer incisions merge with the peripheral circle, and spade-shaped ends, as on the example at Inchmarnock (No.7 (3)). Although much of the surface of the cross has flaked off, there are clear indications of a small central sinking or compass-hole. Below the cross there are traces of a vertical groove, about 0.12m in length and 40mm from the left edge, but it is uncertain whether this is artificial in origin.

27 M

(Inventory of the Outer Hebrides, No.690).

(2) Round-ended igneous boulder, lacking the left edge. It measures 0.73m by 0.37m in maximum width and 0.18m in thickness. On the flat face there is an outline Latin cross with curved armpits, 0.48m high and about 0.28m in original span, set within a partial rectangular frame. The cross-shaft has an open foot and the ends of the arms extend to the frame. The right edge of the frame terminates above the level of the foot of the shaft, presumably because the stone was intended to be set upright. The carving is executed with a firmly pecked and cut groove of V-section.

35 N

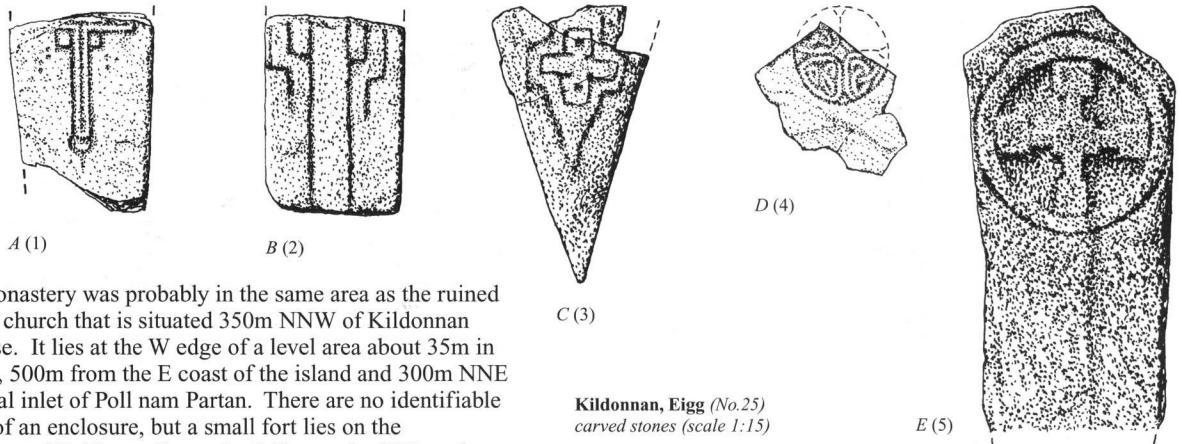
**25 Kildonnán, Eigg**

NM c. 48 85

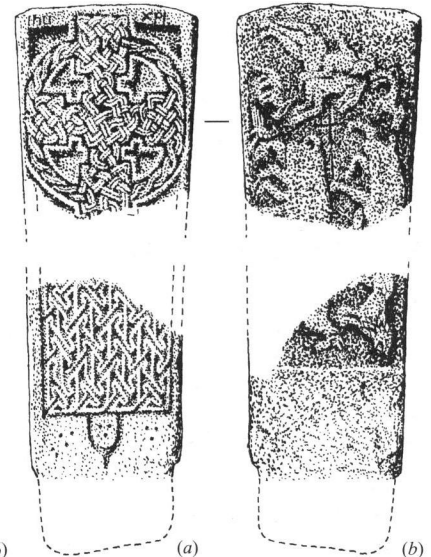
NM48NE 24

The monastery of Eigg was founded by Donnan who, with his companions, was martyred by unknown attackers in 617. The death of a later abbot is recorded in 725 and that of a *religiosus* or anchorite in 752, and the names of other members of the community are also recorded.<sup>1</sup>





Kildonnan, Eigg (No.25)  
carved stones (scale 1:15)



The monastery was probably in the same area as the ruined medieval church that is situated 350m NNW of Kildonnan farmhouse. It lies at the W edge of a level area about 35m in elevation, 500m from the E coast of the island and 300m NNE of the tidal inlet of Poll nam Partan. There are no identifiable remains of an enclosure, but a small fort lies on the promontory of Rubha na Crannaig, 0.7km to the SSE, and 250m N of it there are two Viking burial-mounds which were excavated in 1875.<sup>2</sup>

The probable location of the monastery is supported by the number of early carved stones which have been found in or near the church. One of these (no.5) remains inside the building and the others are displayed in the porch of The Lodge at Galmisdale (NM 4790 8420). A fine cross-shaft of late medieval date has been re-erected in the burial-ground S of the church, and the areas known as Crois Mhór, to the E, and Crois Bheag, to the SW, took their names from the tradition that crosses stood there.<sup>3</sup>

35 D (1) Tapered slab of dark grey mica-granulite, broken at the head and foot and measuring 0.39m by 0.29m and 50mm in thickness. It bears the shaft and part of the transom of what was presumably an outline Latin cross, having a grooved cross superimposed on it. The outline and the inner cross are defined by U-section grooves. The transom is incomplete, but it may have been thicker than the shaft since the groove of the upper arm is not visible. The outline cross has square pellets in the lower angles, and below the foot of the shaft there is a chape-like expansion with an incised spike. There are triangular groups of small hollows flanking the shaft, but other similar hollows appear to be of natural origin. (NMS cast, X.IB 221; *PSAS*, 67 (1932-3), 66, fig.5; Wade Martins, *Eigg*, 21)

35 E (2) Rectangular slab of mica-granulite, broken at the head and foot and measuring 0.39m by 0.28m and 50mm in thickness. It bears the firmly grooved outline of a cross-shaft 80mm wide, flanked at the top by rectangles which may represent pellets in the angles of the cross-head. These in turn are enclosed by stepped bands which return to flank the shaft for 80mm and are open at the lower ends. The shaft is set left of the central axis and the left edge of the slab may have been trimmed for re-use. (NMS cast, X.IB 222; *PSAS*, 67 (1932-3), 66, fig.6; Dressler, *Eigg*, pl.2).

33 A (3) Triangular slab of buff flagstone, found in Kildonnan churchyard about 1987.<sup>3</sup> It is broken into five pieces and lacks parts of the top, measuring 0.55m by about 0.33m in original width at the top and 25mm to 35mm in thickness. It bears an equal-armed outline cross, 0.15m across the arms, with small circular armpits and central hollows in the top and bottom arms. This is set in a cruciform outline, 0.19m across the arms, with a pointed foot reflecting that of the slab. The outlines have been defined by pecking and roughly polished.

30 M (4) Fragment of a slab of pink Torridonian sandstone which was found near the W end of the church in 1931.<sup>5</sup> It is broken across and preserves no original edges, measuring 0.31m by 0.29m. It has been carved by shallow pecking to expose a darker layer, and bears an equal-armed cross with rounded armpits within a circle which was 0.2m in original diameter. The arms have expanded terminals and axial grooves which bifurcate at the terminals and link at the centre of the cross-head to enclose a lozenge.<sup>6</sup> The angles of the cross contain triquetra knots but one of these, which is enclosed by a

moulding continuous with the adjacent cross-arms, is not correctly interlaced.

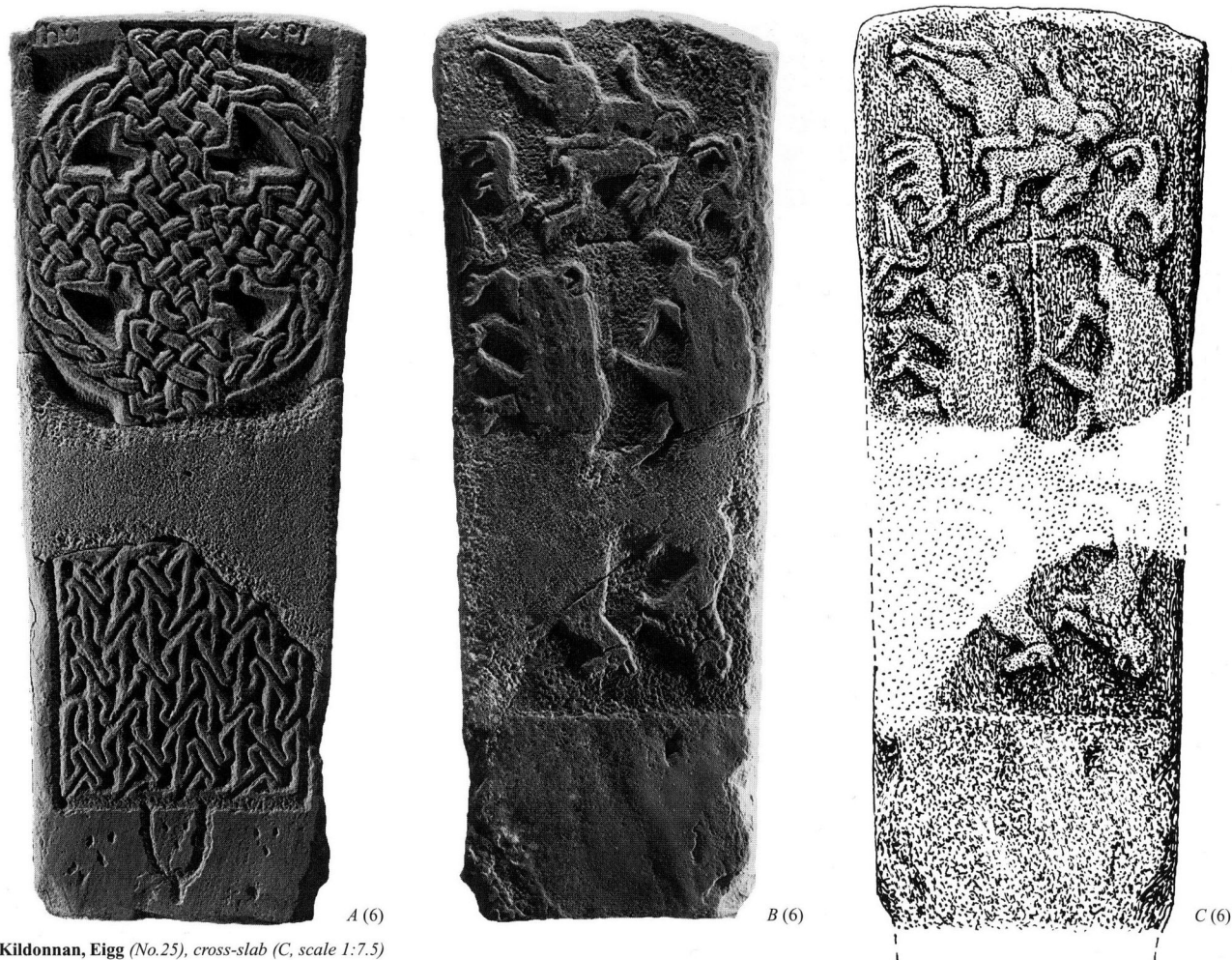
(NMS cast, X.IB 220; *PSAS*, 67 (1932-3), 66, fig.4).

(5) Cross-slab of grey Torridonian flagstone, set in a modern concrete base in the church. It tapers slightly from an irregular top, measuring 0.86m in visible height by 0.42m in maximum width and 60mm in thickness. The E face bears in false relief an equal-armed cross-potent 0.31m across the arms, within a broad circular margin 0.39m in overall diameter. The cross has square and slightly raised terminals and a square central expansion, and its edges are neatly bevelled down to a flat field.

(Muir, *Characteristics*, 160; Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 32 and pl.2; Dressler, *Eigg*, pl.2).

(6) Two fragments of a cross-slab of reddish Torridonian flagstone, lacking the central portion, which has been made good with concrete, and slightly damaged at the edges. The sides are tapered and the original height can be estimated as about 0.95m above a narrower butt which is set into a modern sandstone base. The slab tapers in width from 0.36m at the slightly rounded top to 0.31m and is 75mm in thickness. On one face (a) there is carved in false relief a ringed cross-potent whose short narrow shaft, now entirely lost, rose from a wide base-panel. At the top and sides there is a plain margin, 25mm to 30mm in width, into which the top arm of the cross and the sides of the ring are inset. The top margin is 40mm deep and flanking the cross-arm in incised half-uncial letters with pronounced serifs there are the Latin abbreviations: IHU XPI ('O Jesu. Of Christ'). The spandrels of the cross-head are plain, showing pocked tooling, and this technique of carving can be identified in other areas. The cross is defined by bead-mouldings with bevelled edges, which at the top and sides of the head merge with the margin. It has a ring 50mm wide and





Kildonnan, Eigg (No.25), cross-slab (C, scale 1:7.5)

0.35m in height but only 0.32m across the side-arms, which do not project. The top and bottom arms project 30mm beyond the ring, the return of the latter being visible at the left just above the break in the slab. The cross is of cross-potent type with a square central expansion, and is filled with double-beaded interlace which merges with the twist-pattern of the ring. The interspaces are sunk to the same 50mm depth as the spandrels, and are outlined with bead-mouldings. The interlace of the bottom arm ran into the lost shaft, which was about 75mm wide. The panel of diagonal key-pattern forming the base (variant of RA 974) measures 0.25m in width by 0.27m in incomplete height and appears to have lost only a few millimetres at the top left edge of the fragment. It is separated from the margin by a 10mm pocked groove which merges at the foot with the outline of a 'tenon' 70mm high and 50mm wide, terminating in a spike (cf. no.1). On the tenon itself and in the spaces flanking it there are three triangular groups of small pock-marks.

The back of the slab (b) is carved in low relief with a hunting-scene running down its vertical axis. The carving fills the width of the slab without any margin and has been about 0.72m long, a straight edge defining a plain area of 0.22m above the butt. The figures are formed by the smooth surface of the flagstone, with lightly pecked detail, and the background has been pecked with bevelled edges to a depth of no more than 3mm. At the left of the panel there is a bearded rider on a rearing horse. His right arm is outstretched behind him but there is no evidence of any weapon, and no horse-harness is shown. Above and below the horse's head there are dogs, the upper one pursuing a large ?bull whose head is lost at the break in the slab. The lower dog stands looking at a bird, probably an eagle, which turns its head to the left, and an animal with a curled tail, probably a boar but lacking its head, occupies the space below the ?bull. On the lower fragment

there are parts of two animals, the upper one, a lion with mane and open jaws, being almost complete. Below it there is the head of a ?deer with two short antlers. On the vertical axis, filling the space between the horse and the two large animals, there is an incised cross with expanded terminals and an open central lozenge. It is 70mm high with the side-arms, 60mm in span, at mid-height, and the forked lower terminal is set on a shaft or pedestal 75mm high which rises from the angle of the ?bull's hoof. The cross is of an early form and resembles that at Bagh na h-Uamha, Rum (No.26), but it has presumably been added to the hunting-scene, which has strong Pictish connections.

The form of the cross-head on face (a) also has unusual features which are paralleled on symbol-less cross-slabs in eastern Scotland. The side-arms contained within the ring are found on a late cross-slab at Invergowrie, and interlace running into the ring without break on a cross-slab at Meigle.<sup>7</sup> A late 9th-century date is likely for the cross, and probably for the hunting-scene which appears to be carved in a similar technique and conforms to the taper of the slab.<sup>8</sup> (NMS cast, X.IB 219; *PSAS*, 67 (1932-3), 65 and fig.3 on p.66; Richardson, J S, *The Medieval Stone Carver in Scotland* (1964), pl.9 (face b); Wade Martins, *Eigg*, 16 (face a); MacLean, 'Applecross', 181; Dressler, *Eigg*, 1 (face b) and pl.2 (face a)).

#### 26-7 Isle of Rum

This mountainous island, the largest of the Small Isles, measures 14km from N to S by 13.5km. Since the middle of the 19th century its population has been concentrated on the E coast, on the shores of Loch Scresort. Until the clearances of 1826-8 the main settlements were at Kilmory on the N coast, where there is a small burial-ground associated with an early cross-marked pillar, and at Harris on the SW coast.<sup>1</sup> Early



A



C

ecclesiastical occupation or ownership is indicated by the name 'Papadil' ('priests' valley'), a coastal valley 4.5km SE of Harris, where a promontory fort has been identified.<sup>2</sup> A second pillar-stone, discovered in 1977 at Bàgh na h-Uamha on the SE coast, may indicate early hermit occupation. This may tentatively be associated with the Beccán of Rum who died in 677 and who has been identified with the anchorite of the same name, a prominent scholar in the Columban community in the 630s, and also with the author of two Irish poems in praise of Columba.<sup>3</sup>

## 26 Bàgh na h-Uamha, Rum

NM 4213 9727

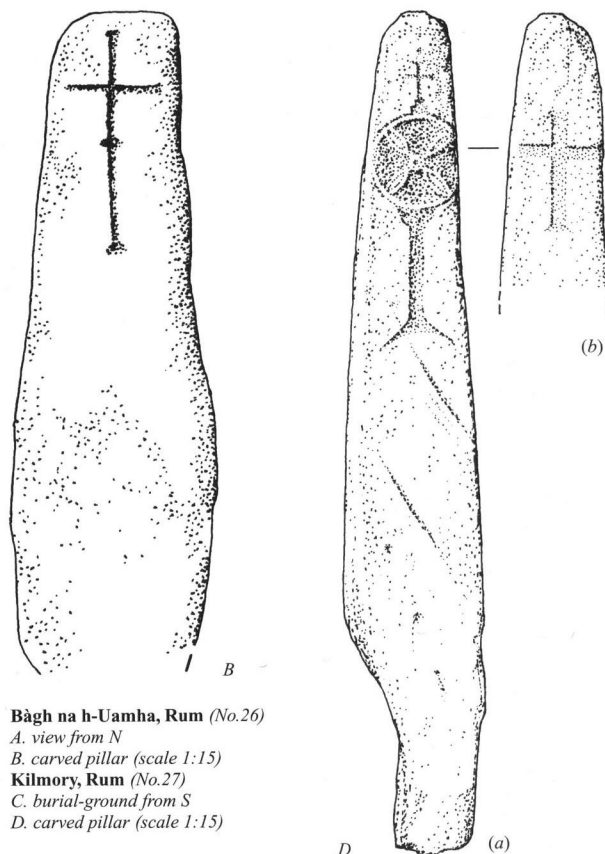
NM49NW 2

A water-worn pillar of Torridonian sandstone was found partly buried in the shingle beach in 1977 and was re-erected above high-water mark in 1982.<sup>1</sup> It has been set upright about 6m N of a small stream and 220m SW of the cave (Gaelic, *Uamh*) which gives the bay its name and which has produced occupation-material of various periods including a medieval bone playing-piece.<sup>2</sup> The bay was occupied by a small pre-clearance settlement represented by the remains of six structures and associated cultivation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>30 E</sup> The pillar measures about 1.4m in length, of which the lower 0.3m is concealed, and tapers upwards in width from 0.41m to 0.24m at the head. It is of triangular section, having a maximum thickness of 0.32m at the base. On the broadest face there is an almost equal-armed cross, 0.25m high and 0.21m across the arms, with triangular terminals (that to the left now obliterated). It is set on a pedestal of the same width, 0.21m in height and rising from a rounded triangular base. The carving has been pecked out to form a rounded groove about 20mm wide and only 3mm deep, although the terminals of the lower arm and the base have been sunk to about 7mm. However, the motif stands out clearly against the light grey of the surface, since it has been pecked through to an orange-buff layer.

<sup>13 B</sup> Although this carving is of simple form and execution, the motif of an equal-armed cross on a pedestal is found in the psalter known as the Cathach of St Columba, of the late 6th or early 7th century, and in Palestinian flasks depicting the site of Golgotha.

(ASMS, 20 (*Rhum*), no.16; Love, *Rum*, fig. on p.5; Clutton-Brock, *Rhum*, 28-9; Magnusson, *Rum*, 12).



Bàgh na h-Uamha, Rum (No.26)

A. view from N

B. carved pillar (scale 1:15)

Kilmory, Rum (No.27)

C. burial-ground from S

D. carved pillar (scale 1:15)

## 27 Kilmory, Rum

NG 3613 0366

NG30SE 1

A cross-marked pillar lies in the burial-ground that is situated on the W bank of the Kilmory River, 180m from its mouth. The buildings of the township of Kilmory lie on the same side of the river and are associated with extensive rig-cultivation.<sup>1</sup> The name indicates a burial-ground or chapel dedicated to St Maelrubha and an ecclesiastical site was recorded by Pont in the late 16th century, while Martin Martin about 1700 mentioned a chapel on Rum.<sup>2</sup> However, a round-angled structure immediately N of the burial-ground, which has previously been identified as a chapel, appears to be one of the township buildings.<sup>3</sup> The burial-ground is a raised D-shaped enclosure measuring 14.5m by 12m within a drystone revetment. It contains a number of plain gravemarkers and slabs, the earliest inscriptions being of early 19th-century date.<sup>4</sup>

The pillar now lies in the N part of the burial-ground, but its probable former site is marked by a slight stony mound about 2m to the NW. It is of medium-grained buff Torridonian sandstone and is carved on the two wider faces, which are the end-grain of the stone. It measures 1.68m in height including a tapered butt 0.3m long, above which it tapers in width from 0.26m to 0.13m and in thickness from 0.15m to 0.12m. On one face (a) there is carved in low relief a cross-of-arcs, 0.19m <sup>27 L</sup> in diameter within a peripheral bead-moulding. The 'petals' dividing the cross-arms have beaded margins and axial ribs, and at the centre there is a small raised boss having a central hollow. The cross is supported on the cupped upper end of a slightly sunken pedestal whose shaft, 0.22m high and 30mm wide, rises from a broad triangular base with a concave bottom edge. Standing on the upper perimeter of the cross there is the rectangular sunken base of an incised Latin cross about 90mm high. Its upper and lower terminals are triangular but those of the transom appear to be plain, although later pitting make interpretation difficult. On face (b) there is a Latin cross <sup>32 J</sup> about 0.24m high, carved in the same shallow sunken technique as the pedestal on face (a) and rising from a similar triangular terminal with a curved lower edge. The transverse arms extend to the edges of the pillar, and like the top arm



A

they are weathered so that the form of their terminals is uncertain.

(*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.687; *ASMS*, 20 (*Rhum*), no.17; Love, *Rum*, fig. on p.5; Clutton-Brock, *Rhum*, 28-9; Magnusson, *Rum*, 13).

### 28-9 Isle of Canna

This island measures about 7.8km from E to W by almost 2km in maximum width and is divided into two unequal portions by the low isthmus at Tarbert. The larger E division rises in a series of basalt terraces to a summit of 210m, and much of its N coast, and the S and W coasts of the W portion, are bound by sheer cliffs. There are areas of fertile ground to the SE and on the smaller island of Sanday, which is separated from Canna only by a narrow tidal channel and encloses a sheltered harbour.

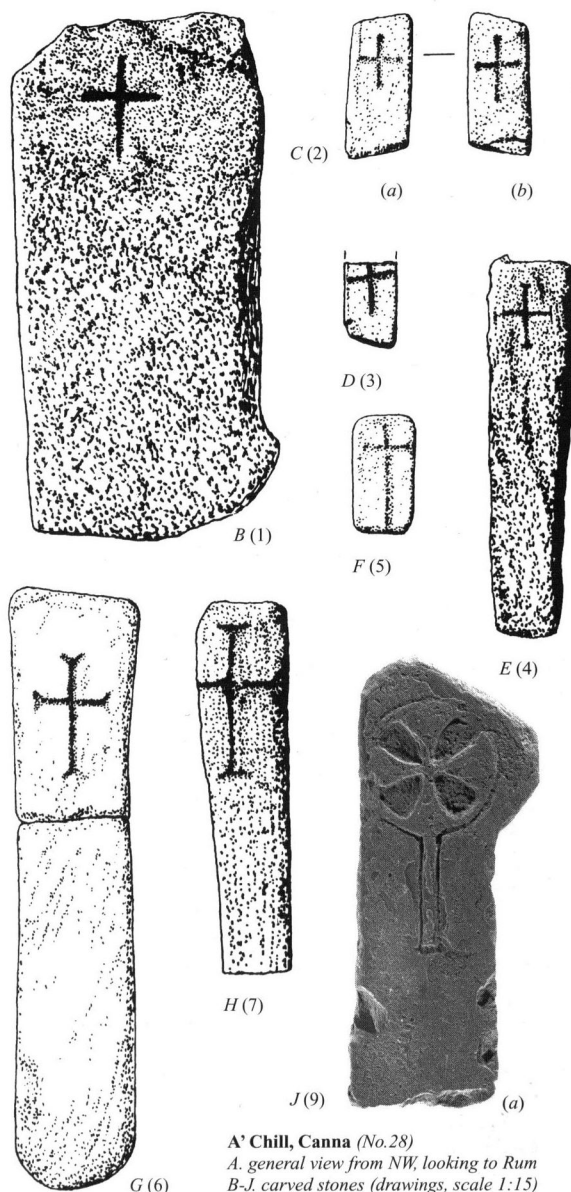
There are extensive remains of early occupation, including promontory forts and a small late medieval rock-top fortification at Coroghon.<sup>1</sup> A ring-pin of Scandinavian type was found in the E part of the island,<sup>2</sup> but the identification of several stone settings and mounds as Norse burials is doubtful.<sup>3</sup> The island was confirmed to the Benedictine abbey of Iona by Pope Innocent III in 1203, and the parish church was dedicated to St Columba.<sup>4</sup> Bald's estate-map of 1805<sup>5</sup> shows that the principal settlement was at Keill (A' Chill), to the N of the harbour, where the medieval church was situated. The area W of Tarbert was then in use as common grazings, but a small enclosed site lies below the cliffs at Sgor nam Bàna-Naomha on the S coast. This may have been a hermitage or penitential station associated with a larger monastery at A' Chill.

### 28 A' Chill, Canna

NG 2692 0553

NG20NE 1

The medieval parish church occupied the centre of a natural amphitheatre some 350m NW of the harbour, bounded on the S by a rocky ridge and on the N by steep hill-slopes. Until about 1850 this was also the principal area of farming settlement on the island,<sup>1</sup> and there are no visible early remains except for the free-standing cross (no.12), which may mark the position of an Early Christian monastery. The footings of the church were identified by excavation in 1994, about 10m W of the cross.<sup>2</sup> Some 100m to the SSW, on the W slope of the rocky ridge, there is a small rectangular burial-



A' Chill, Canna (No.28)

A. general view from NW, looking to Rum  
B-J. carved stones (drawings, scale 1:15)



ground bounded by a stone wall of late 19th-century date.<sup>3</sup> A knoll situated 60m W of the cross is surmounted by a wedge-shaped standing stone of uncertain age.

The burial-ground contains five early stones (nos.1, 4, 6, 7, 10) and a crudely-carved graveslab of late 16th or early 17th-century type.<sup>4</sup> Other carved stones which were found in this burial-ground or in nearby field-walls have been removed for safe-keeping to Canna House.<sup>5</sup>

28 W (1) Burial-ground. Slab of Torridonian sandstone measuring 1.08m in length by 0.51m in maximum width and 50mm in thickness. It is now used as an upright gravemarker but its back is uneven and it may originally have been recumbent. The left edge is straight but the right edge is irregular as is the top, which appears to have been damaged. On one face there is a simple incised Latin cross, 0.21m high by 0.16m across the arms, which is heavily worn on the upper surface but preserves pock-marks in the deeply-cut grooves.

29 M (2) Canna House. Upper part of a small pillar of orange/buff silicious flagstone, 0.29m high by 0.13m wide and 0.10m thick, worn and flaked in some places. The foot is broken obliquely, and the top also slopes in the same direction. The two broader faces, which are on the end-grain of the stone, bear linear incised crosses. That on face (a) is 110mm high and 95mm in span and its grooves, up to 15mm in width, terminate in slightly-sunk circular hollows. That on face (b) has deeper grooves with slightly expanded circular terminals and a hollow at the centre. Its transom, 100mm in span, is set at the midpoint of a shaft 140mm high.

(3) Canna House, found on the shore near Tarbert (NG c.240 053).<sup>6</sup> Fragment of a small pillar of Torridonian sandstone, 0.16m high by 1.05m wide and 45mm thick. On one face it bears a cross which retains some peck-marks in the broad shallow grooves. The slightly curving transom spans the width of the cross, but the shaft is incomplete and it is not certain whether the surviving fragment is the top or foot of the stone.

(4) Burial-ground. Upright gravemarker, 0.75m by 0.17m by 0.11m thick. On one face it bears a cross incised with a V-section groove, 125mm high and 100mm in span. The surface is irregular and the cross worn, but it has well-defined barred terminals.

(5) Canna House. Small pillar of buff Torridonian sandstone, 0.24m by 0.13m by 75mm thick. The surfaces are very smooth and probably water-worn, including the foot which may nevertheless be incomplete. On one face there is a Latin cross which extends from the present foot of the slab to within 20mm of the top and has a span of 95mm. It is defined by broad shallow grooves with some evidence of pocking. The right terminal appears to be expanded, but this is the result of flaking at the edge. Along the left edge of the same face there are some thin incisions which do not form any discernible pattern.

(6) Burial-ground. Waterworn pillar of Torridonian sandstone, 1.2m by 0.26m by 100mm thick and broken into two unequal parts. It bears a Latin cross with forked terminals, 0.25m high and 0.15m in span, formed with a shallow U-section groove. (Collingwood, W G, in *The Antiquary*, 42 (1906), 372).

(7) Burial-ground. Pillar of Torridonian flagstone, 0.74m by 0.19m and 100mm thick. The left edge has been sheared off so that it now tapers to the foot, which has been broken across. On one face there is a sunken Latin cross with expanded terminals and a lozenge-shaped centre, 0.31m in height by about 0.19m in original span but now lacking the left terminal.

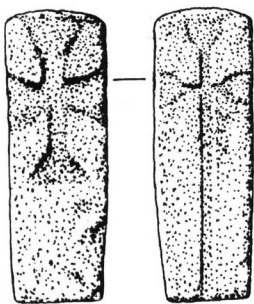
(8) Found during ploughing at A' Chill in 1947; now at Canna House. Slab of buff Torridonian flagstone, 0.59m by 0.21m and 70mm thick, broken at the foot. On one face (a) there is a broad sunken cross, 0.34m high and with its side-arms extending to the edges of the slab. The shaft, 30mm in width, rises from a triangular base, but the top and side arms curve out from the junction of the cross-head. The surface is worn, but in the right arm it can be seen that the outline has been defined by polished grooves enclosing a less deeply pocked area. Face (b) is filled by a Latin cross formed in a similar technique, with a long shaft 25mm in width. The foot is missing but the other arms end in broad D-shaped terminals, open at the edges of the slab.

(9) Canna House. Slab of grey Torridonian flagstone, much laminated. It appears originally to have been roughly disc-headed, but the foot and one edge are broken off. It measures 0.35m by 0.14m in maximum width and 0.12m at the shaft, and it is 60mm thick. On face (a) there is a cross-of-arcs with pocked-out armpits, within a pecked circle 115mm in diameter which rises from a slender shaft 90mm in height. The circle extends slightly into the triangular expansion at the right. On face (b) there has been a similar cross whose head has been much damaged by flaking. The shaft is only 80mm high but is slightly wider than that on face (a).

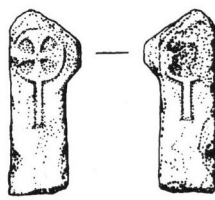
(10) Burial-ground. Slab of Torridonian sandstone, much worn on both faces. It is slightly curved at the top and both sides, measuring 1.15m by 0.42m and 65mm thick. On face (a) there is an outline cross whose arms are open and extend at the top and sides to the edges of the slab. It is 0.51m high, and the shaft is 160mm wide, the other arms being 140mm wide. On face (b) there is a much worn incised or thin sunken cross about 0.27m high, with a transom 0.18m in span at mid-height.

(11) Canna House. Rough boulder of basalt, 0.32m by 0.23m by 0.13m, found in a field-wall at A' Chill in 1965. It bears two thinly-cut and irregular circles, about 10mm apart and respectively 40mm and 50mm in diameter, each having a shaft which runs through the centre and extends about 55mm beyond the perimeter. This carving is of uncertain period and significance, but it may represent the setting-out of an intended cross, perhaps as a trial exercise. The back bears a groove or rebate which appears to be artificial.

A' Chill, Canna (No.28)  
carved stones (scale 1:15)



A (8) (a) (b)



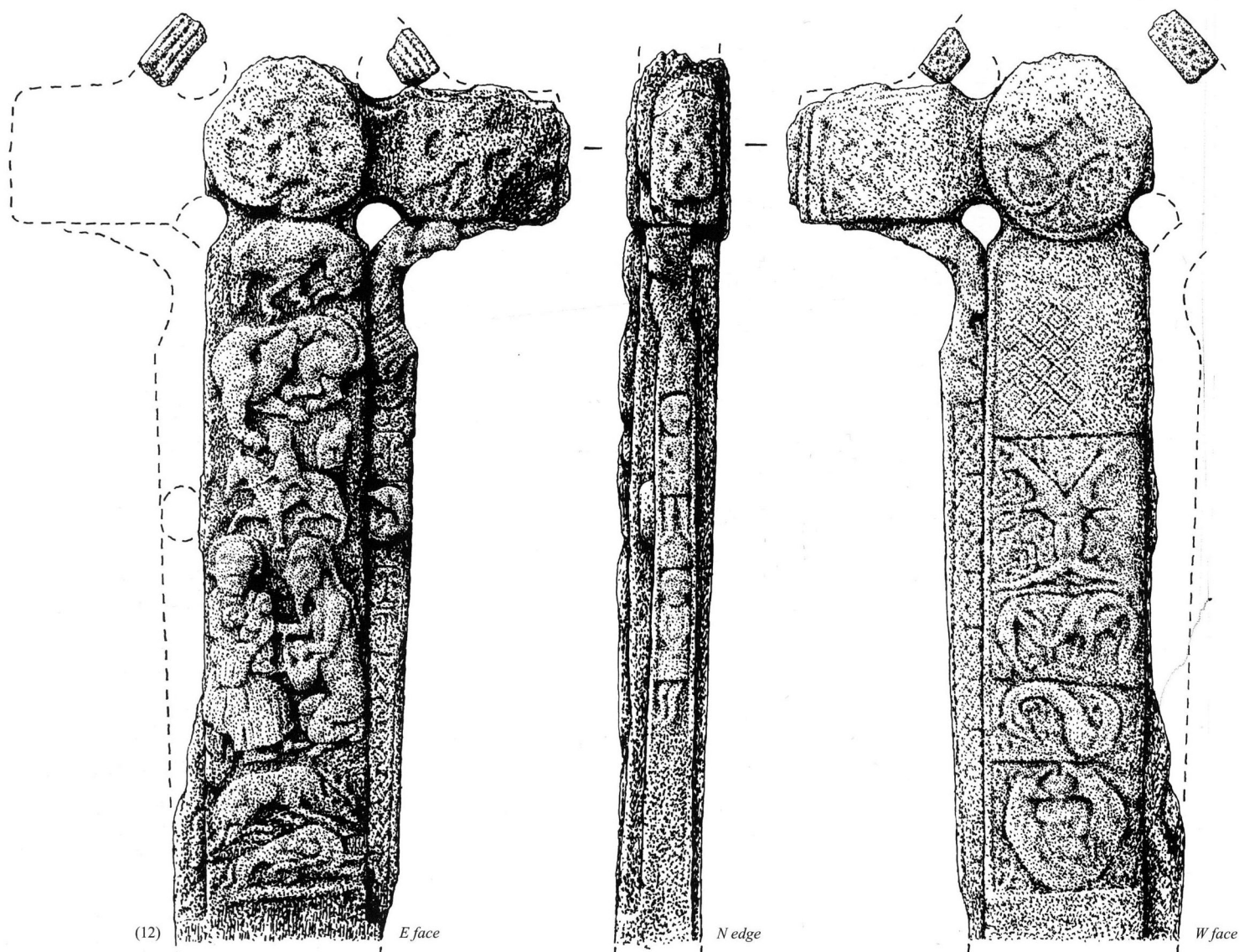
B (9) (a) (b)



C (10) (a) (b)

D (11)





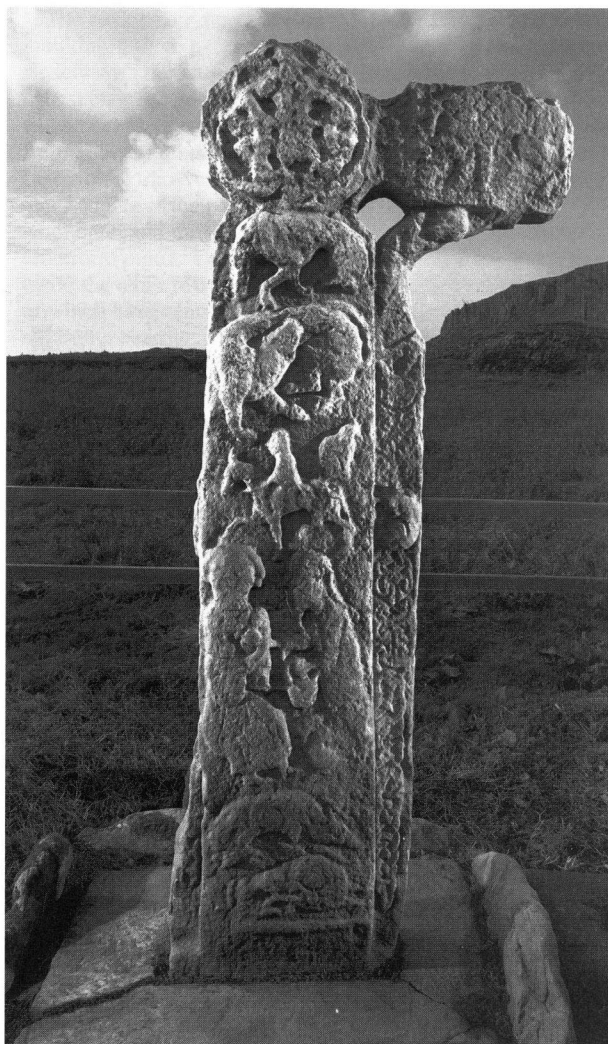
A\* Chill, Canna (No.28), *The Canna Cross* (scale 1:15)

51 B  
171 D

(12) THE CANNA CROSS (NG20NE 2). Free-standing cross of yellow sandstone, lacking the S and top arms and damaged at the S edge. It stands in what is probably its original sandstone base-slab and measures 2.11 m in visible surviving height by 0.54 m in width at the base and 0.26 m in maximum thickness. It is of unusual form, having a central flange about 100 mm thick on each edge, although that to the S is broken off except at the base. The N flange increases in projection from 80 mm at the base to 120 mm below the cross-head, which had pierced semicircular armpits about 110 mm in diameter. The upper part of the flange curves to form a concave bracket supporting the N side-arm, whereas two fragments found in the neighbouring field appear to have been the upper quadrants of a ring of more conventional type. The arm, which is 0.34 m high, projects 0.4 m beyond the armpit, and the original span of the cross-head was about 1.35 m.

The cross has been richly decorated, but as well as being incomplete it is much weathered. The E face is carved in relief, up to 50 mm in depth, with a series of figure and animal scenes without any division or enclosing moulding. At the foot of the shaft, above a base moulding, there is a recumbent dog-like creature with a long neck curving down to bite its tail, and above it a stag with branching antlers, also recumbent. This is followed at the left by a tall figure, apparently female, wearing an ankle-length garment with what appears to be a penannular brooch with horizontal pin at the breast. She is shown in a seated posture, although no chair is visible, with the lower body in profile but the head facing the viewer. She

holds a small infant towards a kneeling figure at the right who carries a vessel with a handle and perhaps a spout. This appears to be the Virgin and Child with one of the Magi, and the same theme may continue in the next register which shows a rider moving towards the left. Although much worn, the horse is well proportioned, with two legs raised high and reins and a possible cruciform harness-mount shown in detail, and the scene is closely related to similar figures on Pictish slabs. The rider holds a staff or crozier, whose shaft appears in front of his visible leg. Above the horse's rump there is another motif, perhaps a seated animal but too worn for certain identification. At the top of the shaft there are two animals which appear to be associated. The lower one, with long curving tail and body, has its forequarters twisted round to look at the two-legged creature above. This again has its neck bent to look at the other, and appears to have a double beak, and it has been suggested that it represents the basilisk, which in medieval bestiaries was described as being defeated by its enemy the weasel with a sprig of rue.<sup>7</sup> The E face of the N flange of the shaft shows interlace (RA 634) in the lower part, followed by interlocked spirals above and below an oval boss in the form of a crouching animal. An elongated atlas figure with bent knees, ribbed skirt, curving body and one arm outstretched above the head is carved in full relief to form the bracket supporting the surviving arm of the cross. The arm itself bears traces of an animal, and the centre of the cross-head has a damaged motif, perhaps a man between beasts or serpents, within a 0.38 m circular moulding. The two ring-



A

**A' Chill, Canna (No.28), The Canna Cross**

*A. E face*

*B. view from NW*

fragments, which probably belonged to the upper quadrants of this cross, are fluted on one face<sup>8</sup> and bear interlace on the other.

The W face is carved in low relief within an edge-moulding, but there is no moulding to separate the carved area from a low plain panel at the foot, which may have carried an inscription, or between the four panels of animal-ornament in the shaft. The lowest of these shows two upright sea-creatures whose gaping jaws threaten the head of a much-weathered human figure standing in the space formed by their plump curving bodies. The outer spandrels are filled by interlace, as are the spaces surrounding the serpentine creature in the next panel.<sup>9</sup> The third panel appears to show two intertwined beasts, each with head curving down to bite the other's body. Above this there are two creatures whose curving bodies are looped together on the vertical axis and face outwards, surrounded by interlace.<sup>10</sup> The upper part of the shaft is filled with a diagonal fret,<sup>11</sup> and the circular centrepiece comprises four roundels of interlace surrounding a central lozenge and having further interlace in the spandrels. The N arm appears to have shown an over-all interlace pattern, weathered beyond recognition. The W face of the N flange of the shaft is covered with interlace up to the atlas figure, which preserves no detail on this face. The N face of the flange shows below the atlas figure two other human figures, set frontally but the lower one having flexed knees and legs turned to the left whereas the

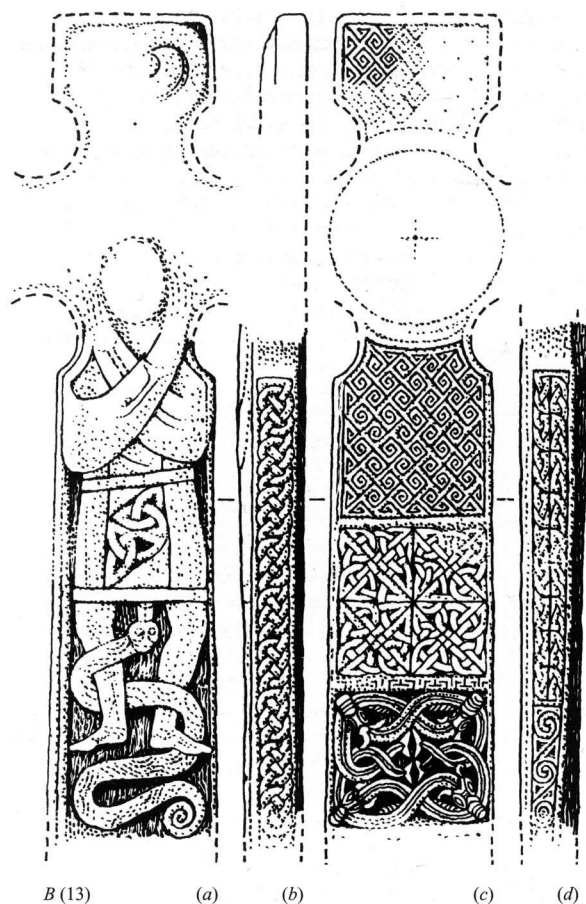
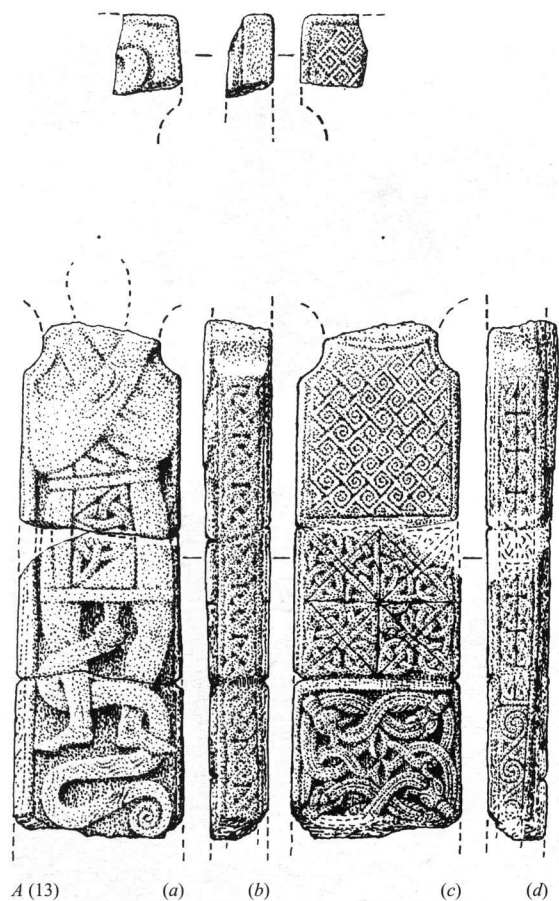


B

other is delicately raised on its toes. Both have large heads and their hands are crossed at waist-level, apparently carrying oblong objects which may be book-satchels although they might represent loincloths or aprons. The N end of the N side-arm bears an interlaced knot.

The two curved ring-fragments, which are now at Canna House, are of sandstone closely resembling that of the cross. The larger is 175mm long by 85mm high and the other 135mm by 75mm, and both are 85mm thick. Both project at one end of the inner curve, evidently where they were attached to the arms of the cross. On one face there are three concentric grooves forming a quadruple moulding, and the other bears much-weathered interlace within angular bead-mouldings.

The cross-base is a rectangular slab of sandstone, 0.98m by 0.81m and containing a socket 0.55m by 0.23m, within a raised kerb of sandstone slabs set on edge. (SSS, 2, pls.50-1; Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, pl.2 opp. p.32; Beveridge, *Wanderings*, 2, pls.298-300; ECMS, 3, 107-9; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.678 and figs.299, 300, 304; Campbell, *Canna*, pls.16-17 and colour pl.6; Kelly, D, in *JRSAI*, 121 (1991), 113-16; Kelly, D, in Bourke, *From the Isles*, 199-200; MacLean, 'Applecross', 180; Trench-Jellicoe, R, 'A missing figure on slab fragment no 2 from Monifieth, Angus, the a'Chill Cross, Canna, and ...', in *PSAS*, 129 (1999), 597-647.



C  
A' Chill, Canna (No.28), cross-fragments  
A. scale 1:15 B. analytical drawing  
C. face a D. face c

(13) Two fragments of a cross-shaft were discovered in the wall of the burial-ground not long before 1895 and published in 1903. In the same year Lord Archibald Campbell was sent a rubbing of a third fragment, also described as being in the burial-ground, but the stone was subsequently lost and was rediscovered there in 1939.<sup>12</sup> The two lower fragments were kept for some time at the Roman Catholic church on Sanday, but all three are now at Canna House along with a fragment, found in a ruined house near the harbour, which appears to be from the top arm of the same cross.

The cross is carved from a medium-grained reddish-brown sandstone with some pebbly quartzitic inclusions. The surviving fragments of the shaft, which is incomplete at the foot but includes the lower constriction of the cross-head, have a combined length of 1.03m and taper in width from 0.34m to 0.31m. The front is of convex section and the shaft is thickest towards the cross-head, varying from 85mm to 100mm at the edges and from 95mm to 130mm at the centre. There was no provision for a ring, and the broken upper end preserves the lower arcs of two broad semicircular armpits.

The front of the shaft (a) is carved in relief with a single scene, a large standing figure, lacking the head, whose legs are entwined with a serpent. The arms, broken at the wrists, are crossed on the breast and the baggy sleeves are decorated with central ribs and possibly an oblique cuff.<sup>13</sup> Below the arms and above the slightly oblique waist-belt there is a slanting line, perhaps a fold of the tunic, and between the belt and the plain hem of the skirt there is a vertical panel containing two triquetras set diagonally to form a single ring-knot. The legs, whose knees are bent outwards, appear to be bare, although there is a possible central rib on the lower right leg, but the feet are shod. The legs are intertwined with the upper part of a double-S-curved serpent whose snout or beak touches the hem of the tunic, and whose tail terminates at the bottom right in a tightly-coiled spiral. The upper part of its body is much worn, but the lower part preserves traces of overall curvilinear ornament.

52 E



The back of the shaft (c) bears, between circular angle-mouldings, three panels of ornament whose divisions coincide closely with the breaks between the three fragments. The lowest panel shows four symmetrically interlaced snakes whose heads, like those on f.130 of the Book of Kells, are seen from above and have large eyes and prominent snouts, in this case ribbed transversely. The heads, however, are set at the outer angles of the panel, each biting the body of its neighbour, and the four fish-like tails meet at the centre in a cruciform motif. Two of the heads have long ears curving out, while the other two have ears tightly clasped to the bodies, all of which have central ribs. This panel is separated by a moulding bearing a T-fret from the next, a square containing four identical squares of knotwork (RA 758) combined to produce cruciform, saltire and diagonal-square divisions.<sup>14</sup> The panel in the upper part of the shaft and lower part of the cross-head is bounded at the top by an arc of a circular moulding. It bears a diagonal fret similar to that in the corresponding position on the W face of the Canna Cross (no.12), but with curved rather than straight-line spirals.

The right edge (b) bears a continuous knot-pattern.<sup>15</sup> The lower part of the left edge (d) bore at least two and possibly three double spirals with hollow-triangle terminals. Above this there is a pattern of paired Stafford knots with repeated cruciform breaks (RA 598).

The material of the arm-fragment is more purple in colour than the shaft, but identical in texture. It measures 0.16m by 0.14m and like the shaft it is convex on one face, varying from 60mm at the edge to 100mm. This suggests that it was the upper right angle of the top arm. The front bears, within an edge-moulding, parts of two broad curving bands, perhaps the body of a serpent, and the back bears a fragment of a diagonal fret similar to that on the shaft.

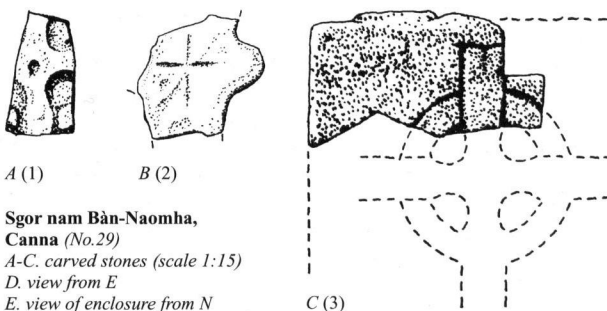
(Beveridge, *Wanderings*, 2, pl.301; *PSAS*, 31 (1896-7), 300-2; *ECMS*, 3, 109-10; Inveraray Castle, Lord Archibald Campbell rubbings (copies in NMRS), vol.1, nos.8,9; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.678 and figs.305-6; Campbell, *Canna*, pl.15; MacLean, 'Applecross', 178-80).

## 29 Sgor nam Bàn-Naomha, Canna

NG 2299 0433 NG20SW 2

This small enclosed site<sup>1</sup> is dramatically situated on a rock-bound coastal terrace below steep scree-slopes overhung by sheer basalt cliffs which rise to a height of about 90m. There is no convenient boat-landing, and the normal approach is from the NE by an eroded footpath which descends the screes. Although the place-name means 'cliff (or 'scree') of the holy women', the enclosure was probably of monastic origin.

The oval enclosure measures about 37m from N to S by 31m within a massive drystone wall, up to 2m in thickness and 1.5m in height, which rises onto the slope to the N. At the centre there is a circular structure, 5m in diameter, and on the slope in the NW sector there are remains of small huts or platforms, perhaps the *leaba crabhach* or stone beds used by pilgrims seeking cures up to the 19th century.<sup>2</sup> In the SE sector a D-shaped enclosure contains within a rectangular kerb a collection of rounded pebbles and loose slabs which appear to be the collapsed remains of a small hut known as 'the altar'.<sup>3</sup> Outside the main enclosure to the W there were turf walls which channelled water through a lintelled opening in



D



E

the W wall to serve a possible mill and a latrine, merging with the overflow from a well-house. The footings of a probable chapel, 6m by 4.5m and having a N doorway, are situated 11m S of the S entrance of the enclosure.

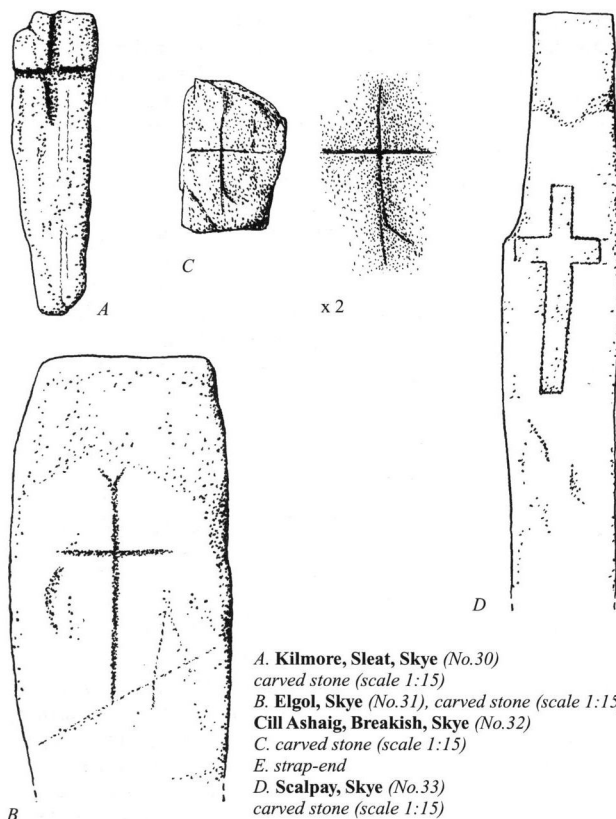
The three carved stones described below were identified during the present survey in 1993-4, among the loose stones composing 'the altar'. They are now at Canna House.

(1) Fragment of Torridonian sandstone, broken on all sides and measuring 0.25m by 0.13m and 35mm thick. The background is cut away to form a relief cross with curved armpits and a slight central depression, the shaft being flanked by rectangular panels. (RCAHMS, *Monuments on Record*, 1994-5, 14); RCAHMS, *Canna*.

(2) Irregular fragment of a cruciform stone of Torridonian sandstone, 0.24m by 0.26m and 25mm thick. The arms are broken except for one short and round-ended side-arm, but there are slight traces of the rounded armpit of the opposite arm. At the centre of one face there is a much-worn pecked equal-armed cross, 0.13m in span.

(3) Two fragments of a rectangular slab of Torridonian sandstone. The larger fragment, which includes two worked edges, measures 0.38m by 0.27m and varies from 30mm to 40mm in thickness, the back being irregularly flaked and laminated. It bears the shallow grooves defining one side and the end of a cross-arm and part of one quadrant of its ring. The other fragment, broken on all sides and measuring only 105mm by 80mm, fits closely to the first and preserves traces of the opposite side of the cross-arm at the break-line, as well as the curve of the next quadrant of the ring. The cross-arm, which was about 85mm high, appears to have had a slight expansion at the outer angle of the defining groove.<sup>4</sup> The ring was about 45mm wide and encloses a slight depression, but the form of the armpits is uncertain. It is possible that this was part of a recumbent graveslab, of the type found on Iona.



**30 Kilmore, Sleat, Skye**

NG 6577 0695 NG60NE 2

The medieval parish church of Sleat probably occupied the position of its 17th-century successor in the burial-ground NE of the present parish church at Kilmore.<sup>1</sup> It lies 150m from the W shore of the Sound of Sleat, where small shingly beaches afforded boat-landings, and the slight remains of Dùn Faich occupy a promontory 250m to the E.<sup>2</sup> A small cross-marked stone was recorded in the ruined church in 1978,<sup>3</sup> and is now in the parish church.

<sup>29 Q</sup> The stone is a roughly tapered slab of mica-schist, 0.62m by 0.17m in maximum width and 70mm in thickness. On one face there is a cross, 0.22m high by 0.16m across the arms. It is weatherworn but has been incised with U-section grooves about 25mm wide, and its top and side arms cut into the edges of the slab. The vertical limb, which follows the line of a natural crack, is slightly deeper than the cross-arm.

**31 Elgol, Skye**

NG 5271 1449 NG51SW 3

A cross-marked stone is situated at the S side of the road from Broadford to Elgol and 110m E of Elgol Free Presbyterian Church, partly obscured by a metal safety-barrier. It occupies crofting ground at the foot of Cnoc Breac, at an elevation of about 100m and about 1.1km from the E shore of Loch Scauaig.

<sup>31 Q</sup> The slab is of local sandstone, much weathered and heavily stained with lichen. It measures 0.83m in visible height by 0.43m, and 0.15m in thickness. The incised Latin cross is about 0.45m high by 0.22m across the arms, but it is so damaged that the form of the terminals is uncertain. (*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.668).

**32 Cill Ashaig, Breakish, Skye**

NG 6872 2430 NG62SE 1

This burial-ground is situated about 30m from the S shore of Ob Breakish, an inlet of the Inner Sound, at the E end of the crofting township of Lower Breakish. The name is derived from the Gaelic *aiseig*, 'a ferry', and it was traditionally identified as a landing-place used by St Maelrubha of



E

Applecross.<sup>1</sup> A low stony mound in the burial-ground may represent the site of a chapel, and an ornamented bronze strap-end of early medieval type was found here in 1994.<sup>2</sup> The well known as Tobar Ashaig lies about 30m to the NE, and conservation work in 1994 revealed that the stone-built well-house was fed by a channel from an earlier stone-lined spring. One of the lintels of the linking channel bore a lozenge 75mm long, and a cross-marked stone was found near the well.<sup>3</sup>

The stone is a block of limestone, 0.29m by 0.21m by 0.15m <sup>29 V</sup> over all, with a smooth face measuring 0.25m by 0.18m. All of the surfaces are pitted and marked by thin fissures, and on the main face one of these has been utilised and deepened as the shaft of a cross, 0.19m high by 0.11m in span. The cross-arm, which extends to the left edge of the slab, appears to be entirely artificial and there are marks of a sharp tool in the V-section groove. A line which curves to the right at the foot of the shaft is probably of natural origin.

**33 Isle of Scalpay, Skye**

NG 6285 2815 NG62NW 1

This island is separated from the NE coast of Skye by a channel which at its SE end is about 450m wide. It measures 7km from NW to SE by 5km and rises to a summit of 390m, with steep slopes falling to the sea for much of its perimeter. The only significant area of level ground, and the former centre of population, is in the vicinity of Scalpay House on the SE coast. The ruin of Teampull Fraing,<sup>1</sup> a small lime-mortared chapel, stands in a quadrangular burial-ground 300m SW of Scalpay House, on the N bank of the Allt na Sean Chille ('stream of the old burial-ground / chapel') and 150m from the shore. There are also remains of a chapel on the smaller and low-lying island of Pabay, 5km to the ESE.<sup>2</sup>

To the W of the chapel there is an L-shaped upright slab, heavily weathered and lichen-stained. It measures 1.12m in visible height, 0.21m in width in the lower part and 0.17m above, and about 100mm in thickness. On the E face there is an outline Latin cross, 0.41m high by 0.17m across the arms. It is possible that the grooves of the shaft and transom are continued with shallower incisions at their intersection, but the arms have plain terminals rather than rounded ones as has been suggested.

(*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.646).

**34 Isle of Raasay, Skye**

This island measures 20km from N to S by 5km in maximum width and is separated from the E coast of Skye by the Sound of Raasay. Much of the surface is rocky, rising to a summit of 440m at Dùn Caan, and settlement was predominantly coastal. The ruin of the castle of Brochel occupies a rock-pinnacle on the E shore,<sup>1</sup> and the most extensive of the ruined townships is at Hallaig on the same coast. However, the most favoured area was at Clachan on the SW coast overlooking the Narrows of Raasay. The broch of Dùn Borodale occupies a hill to the E,<sup>1</sup> and the tower-house of the MacLeods of Raasay survived until 1746, to be replaced by the oldest part of Raasay House.<sup>2</sup> The ruin of Kilmoluag, a medieval chapel dedicated to St Moluag of Lismore, stands in its burial-ground at the foot of the S spur of Cnoc an Ratha, 80m NE of Raasay House and 300m N of Churchton Bay.<sup>3</sup>

A cross-of-arcs (no.3) was found in the burial-ground in 1998, and a small cross-marked stone (no.4) was recorded there in 1926 but cannot now be located. A cross of Chi-rho type (no.2) is incised on a rock-face at the shore, and a slab bearing symbols and a similar cross (no.1) was found close to

35 B

it before 1824. An incomplete late medieval graveslab from the burial-ground is now in Raasay Heritage Centre and a slab bearing a possible Passion scene, found near Raasay House in 1846 but lost before 1904,<sup>4</sup> was probably of the same period. Two stages of a mortared plinth or cross-base survive on 'the Battery', immediately W of the rock-cut cross, and a fragmentary one is on the hill-slope 130m NNW of Kilmoluag.<sup>5</sup> These again appear to be of late medieval origin and were presumably among the eight crosses or 'pyramids', believed by Martin to commemorate ladies of the MacLeod family and by Johnson and Boswell to mark the limits of the sanctuary of Kilmoluag.<sup>6</sup>

#### (1) SYMBOL-STONE

NG 5467 3677

NG53NW 3

This slab is said to have been found when James MacLeod of Raasay (d.1824) was building the road from the landing-place to Raasay House, about 90m from the rock-cut cross no.2 (NG c.5462 3637).<sup>7</sup> It now stands at the entrance to a conifer plantation, 7m E of the road from Clachan to Osaig and 190m NNW of Raasay House. It is fixed in a turf-covered modern base on a stony mound about 0.5m high and 4m in diameter.

The slab is a rectangle of granite, 1.56m in visible height<sup>8</sup> by 0.56m and 0.18m in thickness. The surface is slightly irregular and has flaked, especially at the left, both before and after carving, while the edges show signs of rough dressing.

27 U At the top of one face there is an incised cross-of-arcs adapted to a 0.39m square frame, and with a scroll attached to the right side of the top arm to represent the rho of the Chi-rho symbol. Each arm has a flat margin formed by a triangle whose outer

end is convex, perhaps showing the derivation of the cross from the more common circular form. At the centre there is a raised ring round a hollow, 40mm in overall diameter. The cross is supported by a shaft of the same height as the square and 70mm wide at foot and top, whose sides curve out into cusps just above mid-height.

Below the foot of the shaft there is a 'tuning-fork' symbol, 26 G set horizontally with a damaged double-spiral handle at the right and a small boss with a central hollow at its junction with the prongs. The ends of the four prongs extend onto a flaked area to the left, and their terminals, which should define two bars with a central notch (RA 135), are lost by further flaking. Below this there is a crescent-and-V-rod symbol, with ornament of the 'dome-and-wing' type. Both terminals are damaged, but remains of double spirals suggest that they were of identical type.

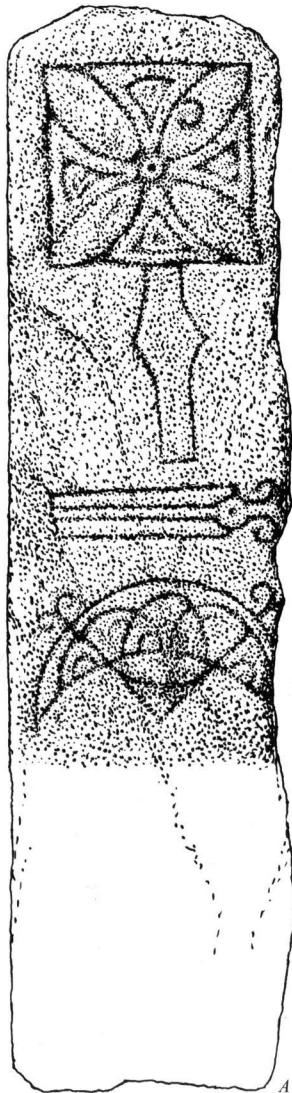
(NMS cast, X.IB 223; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.582 and fig.265; *PSAS*, 41 (1906-7), 435-6; *PSAS*, 67 (1932-3), 63, 318-20; Stevenson, 'Crescent', C2; *PSAS*, 94 (1960-1), pl.27; Sharpe, *Raasay*, 21-5; Mack, *Symbol Stones*, 113).

#### (2) ROCK-CUT CROSS

NG 5455 3631

NG53NW 2

A Chi-rho cross is incised on the E face of the sandstone outcrop that divides the two halves of Churchton Bay and which soon after 1800 was converted into a battery.<sup>9</sup> The pier of the same period lies to the W of the outcrop, and the rock-carving may have been the 'cross, or rather the ruins of one, upon a rock' which Boswell observed close to the rocks on which he and Johnson landed in 1773.<sup>10</sup> The lower part of the



A (1)

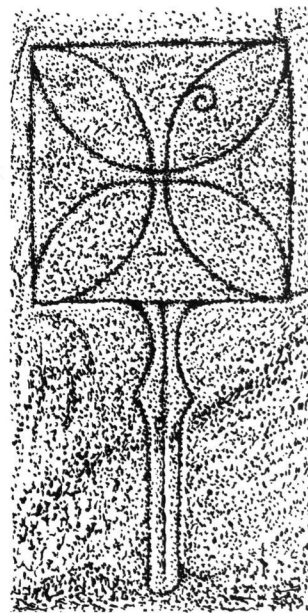


B (1)

Raasay, Skye (No.34)

A, B. symbol-stone (A, scale 1:15)

C. rock-cut cross (scale 1:15)

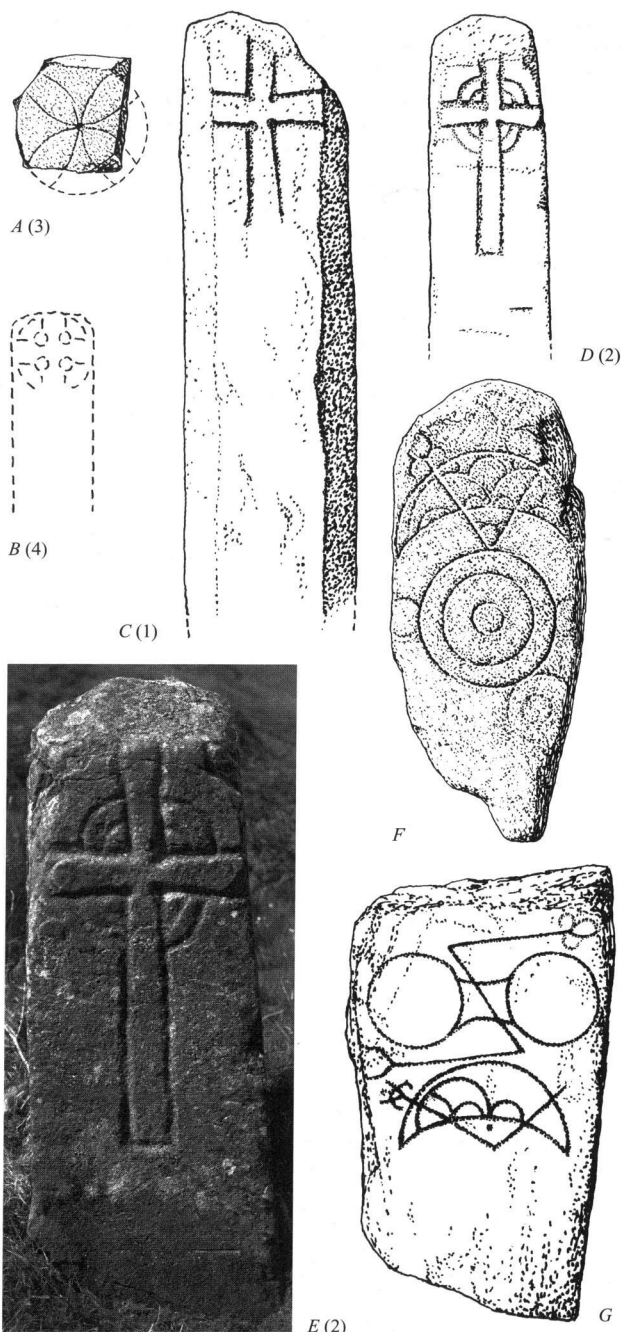


C (2)

outcrop includes a steeply-sloping but fairly regular surface, about 5m long and 3m high, on which the cross is carved.

The cross is similar to but larger than that on the symbol-stone, 27 T having a frame 0.52m square for the cross-of-arcs and a shaft 0.57m high, and the foot of the shaft is about 1.4m above present ground level. There are several vertical cracks in the upper part of the rock-face, and one of these was incorporated in the right side of the frame. The arms of the cross lack the inner triangles of that on the symbol-stone, and they intersect without any circular boss. The top of the cusped shaft curves out to form a broader base for the cross, and it has an axial groove which terminates just above the rounded foot to give the effect of a double band.

(NMS cast, X.IB 224; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.581; *PSAS*, 41 (1906-7), 435-6; *PSAS*, 67 (1932-3), 64, 318-20; Sharpe, *Raasay*, 21-5).



A, B. Raasay, Skye (No.34), carved stones (scale 1:15)  
 C, D, E. Tusdale, Skye (No.35), carved stones (scale 1:15)  
 F. Tobar na Maor, Dùn Osdale, Skye (No.37), symbol-stone (scale 1:15)  
 G. Fiscavaig, Skye (No.36), symbol-stone (scale 1:15)

## KILMOLUAG

NG 5483 3663

NG53NW 1

27 N (3) Fragment of a slab of red Torridonian sandstone, 0.24m by 0.22m and 90mm thick. The smoother face bears an incomplete cross-of-arcs, finely incised within a deeper groove, 0.26m in original diameter, of which only three short sections remain. The centre is damaged by a later hole, 15mm in both diameter and depth, but it is clear that, as in the rock-cut cross (no.2), the opposed arcs did not touch at the centre.

36 P (4) A small slab of red sandstone was found lying at the foot of a grave in 1926, but cannot now be identified. It measured 0.39m by 0.16m and 33mm thick, and bore in low relief, 'on the rounded and somewhat mutilated upper portion', an equal-armed cross with semicircular armpits and a ring linking the outer ends of the arms.

(Inventory of the Outer Hebrides, No.573).

## 35 Tusdale, Skye

NG 3541 2484

NG32SE 12

This small valley lies parallel to and about 1.5km W of Loch Eynort on the W coast of the district of Minginish. It runs N from the coast for about 1km to the junction of two streams, and there are remains of extensive pre-improvement settlement in that area and on the gentle slope to the SE.<sup>1</sup> Two carved stones were discovered near the mouth of the valley by a local farmer and set upright some years before 1988.<sup>2</sup> They occupy a basalt terrace about 200m from the mouth of the Tusdale Burn and 120m W of a waterfall, at an elevation of about 60m. One of the stones (no.2) has been set up in a level platform which shows traces of rig-cultivation, bounded on the N by a turf dyke and on the E and S by falling ground. The other stone stands 25m to the N, at the edge of a damp area overgrown with wild iris. There are no identifiable remains of early structures or enclosures and the nearest ecclesiastical site is that of the medieval parish church dedicated to St Maelrubha at Borline, 2.3km to the NE on the W shore of Loch Eynort.<sup>3</sup>

(1) Hexagonal pillar of local basalt, 1.2m in visible height by 0.33m on the long axis and 0.26m in thickness. On the N face, which is 0.22m wide, there is an outline Latin cross, flaked at the top and 0.38m in surviving height. The shaft, which tapers from 60mm to 40mm in width, is open at the foot, and the side-arms, which are wedge-shaped, extend to the edges of the face. The cross has small sunken circular armpits, but it is defined by U-section grooves whose outer edges meet almost at right angles. 34 F

(2) Pillar of basalt, 0.65m in visible height by 0.39m in width and 0.24m in thickness. On the smooth S end-face there is an outline ringed Latin cross with small sunken circular armpits, 0.41m high. The shaft, which is slightly tapered, is closed at the foot, whereas the wedge-shaped arms extend to the edges of the face and to the naturally bevelled top of the pillar. 36 N

## 36 Fiscavaig, Skye

NG c.33 44

NG33SW 3

A symbol-stone was noted at high-water mark on the shore of Fiscavaig Bay, an inlet of Loch Bracadale, about 1921. After being concealed for some time by shingle it was rediscovered in 1927 and presented to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (NMS X.IB 213).<sup>1</sup>

The stone is a slab of schist, 0.89m high and 0.27m thick and tapering in width from 0.52m at the top to 0.43m above the foot, which is broken obliquely. In the upper part there is a double-disc-and-Z-rod symbol. The discs are unornamented and the Z-rod has a foliated head at the upper right terminal, but a plain fork at the other one. Below this there is a crescent-and-V-rod symbol. The crescent encloses in the left half two unequal arches contained by a larger one, but the right half is worn and only one small arch can be traced. The right terminal of the V-rod has also been obliterated, but the other retains most of its foliation. 26 C

(PSAS, 61 (1926-7), 241-3; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.498; Stevenson, 'Crescent', C6; Mack, *Symbol Stones*, 33).

## 37 Tobar na Maor, Dùn Osdale, Skye

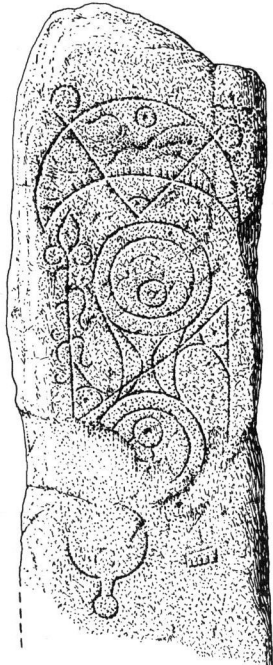
NG 2408 4648

NG24NW 3

This symbol-stone was removed to Dunvegan Castle about 1910 and is now displayed in the vaulted basement room of the old tower.<sup>1</sup> It formerly lay on or close to the well known as Tobar na Maor ('well of the steward'),<sup>2</sup> on the N side of the road from Dunvegan to Glendale and 80m NW of the broch of Dùn Osdale.<sup>3</sup>

The slab is of fine-grained stone, measuring 0.94m by 0.39m and 0.29m thick. The upper edge is rounded and the lower part tapers obliquely. The surface is much worn and is flaked at the top and left edge. It is also defaced by modern initials, and a modern incision runs up the left groove of the V-rod. At the top, filling the width of the slab, there is a 26 E





**Clach Ard, Tote, Skye (No.38)**  
A, B. symbol-stone (scale 1:15)

crescent-and-V-rod symbol lacking the right terminal of the rod. The crescent is of 'dome-and-wing' type, with four subsidiary arches along the lower edge. There is no surviving ornament in the angle of the V-rod, but two spirals are preserved at its left terminal. The angle of the V-rod touches the apex of the outermost of three concentric circles. The outer two, 0.27m and 0.16m in diameter, form a band 50mm wide which encloses the central 55mm circle. Touching the outer circle at the left there is a lightly pecked and slightly sunk 75mm circle, and on the same axis to the right there are traces of another, forming the triple-disc symbol. The three concentric circles of the central disc are an unusual feature. Lower to the right there are two faint concentric circles, 100mm over all, which may have been part of a mirror symbol.

(*PSAS*, 46 (1911-12), 210-11; *Inventory of the Outer Isles*, No.528; Stevenson, 'Crescent', C12; *PSAS*, 92 (1958-9), 40-1; *Scottish Studies*, 5 (1961), 206-9; Mack, *Symbol Stones*, 112).

### 38 Clach Ard, Tote, Skye

NG 4210 4908

NG44NW 1

This symbol-stone is said to have been built into the door-jamb of a house in the township of Tote until about 1880.<sup>1</sup> It was then set up on a slight ridge about 9m N of the minor road that runs through the township, bounded on the N by a large gravel-quarry. This location, at an elevation of 60m, commands an extensive view including the head of one of the inlets of Loch Snizort, 0.7km to the W, and the remains of the parish church on an island in the River Snizort below Skeabost Bridge, which was dedicated to St Columba and used in the late medieval period as the cathedral of the Isles.<sup>2</sup>

7 B, 26 D The stone is a pentagonal pillar of basalt, 1.41m in visible height, 0.53m in overall width and 0.44m on the widest (SSW) face, and 0.4m thick. The main face is weatherworn and has been damaged by cracking and flaking, especially in the lower part which appears to have been used as a tethering-post.<sup>3</sup> The surface is irregular, with an abrupt change of level running across the crescent, but the symbols are confidently laid out and some pecking is visible. At the top there is the crescent-and-V-rod symbol, with traces of two 'wings' or arches in the crescent,<sup>4</sup> and a series of short vertical strokes rising from its lower edge. In the apex of the crescent there is a small circle with a central depression, and this motif was repeated in the angle of the V-rod, whose terminals are obliterated except for a spiral at the right.

Below this symbol there is a vertically-set double-disc-and-Z-rod. Each disc has a broad flat margin and bears a circle with central depression in the sector nearest the linking bar, which is embellished with two concave grooves forming an hour-glass motif. The circles are repeated in the angles of the Z-rod, whose foliated upper left terminal is preserved. The lower terminal, and part of the lower disc, have been obliterated by flaking, as has the upper part of the mirror and comb at the foot of the slab. The short mirror-handle with its circular knob, however, is visible, as are the lower teeth of the comb to its right.

(*PSAS*, 44 (1909-10), 384-5; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.640 and fig.263; sketch by J S Richardson, 1927 (copy in NMRS, IND/281/1); Stevenson, 'Crescent', C14; Ritchie, G and Harman, M, *Exploring Scotland's Heritage: Argyll and the Western Isles* (1985), 120; *ibid.* (2nd ed., 1996), 122; Mack, *Symbol Stones*, 114).

### 39 Isle of Berneray, Barra

NL 5674 8029

NL58SE 3

This island, the most southerly point of the Outer Hebrides, measures 2.9km from E to W by 1.25km. Its surface rises steadily from the shore of the Sound of Berneray to the sheer cliffs of the S coast, almost 200m in height, which at the W end are crowned by an Iron Age promontory dun<sup>1</sup> and by the



**Berneray, Barra (No.39)**  
C. carved stone (scale 1:15)

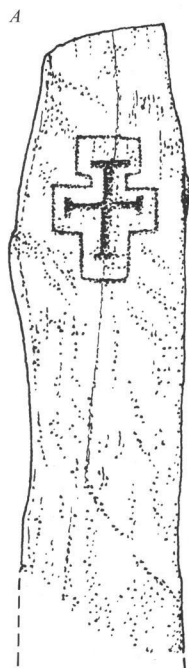
Barra Head lighthouse of 1830-3. The scanty remains of another promontory fortification, Dùn Briste, are situated on the NW coast, and numerous other monuments of early type have been identified in a recent survey.<sup>2</sup> The remains of pre-improvement occupation include a small mill, and there was a farming population of about twenty persons throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The island was abandoned, except for the lighthouse station, about 1910.<sup>3</sup>

It was believed in 1877 that there had been a chapel in the NE part of the island, and a small burial-ground was still in occasional use.<sup>4</sup> This is the most level area of the island and contains the remains of several structures and enclosures. The burial-ground is situated about 100m S of the low promontory of Maclean's Point and 280m ESE of the landing-place. There are remains of an ovoid drystone enclosure, about 35m from E to W and divided by a transverse wall, which contains in the E part a low mound overlain by graves and later structures.<sup>5</sup> The area is densely overgrown with wild iris, but several small gravemarkers are identifiable, including one cross-marked pillar.

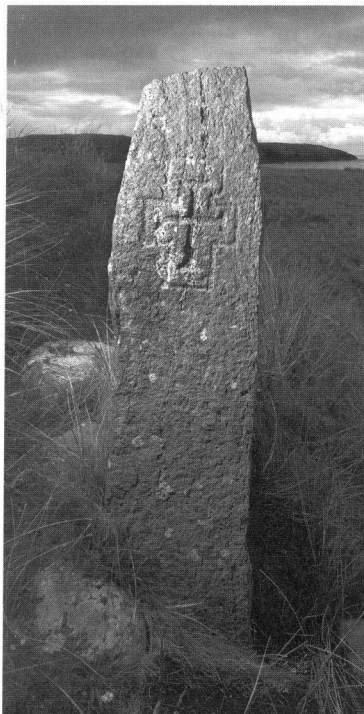
The cross-marked stone is a tilted but earthfast slab of gneiss, 0.59m in visible height by 0.35m and 0.17m thick. On the W face there is a Latin cross, 0.25m high and 0.11m in span, incised with a sunken groove of U-section about 15mm wide. The shaft and top arm have triangular terminals whereas the side-arms have rounded ends.

(*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.467 and fig.176).

31 Y



B (3)



C (3)

#### 40 Isle of Pabbay, Barra

NL 6072 8745

NL68NW 2

This island measures 3km from E to W by 1.6km and rises at the SW to a summit of 171m. Most of its surface is composed of exposed gneiss and the shores are rocky, but at the NE there is a beach backed by sand-dunes, and areas of blown sand which afforded some cultivable soil and supported a small population.<sup>1</sup> The only settlement was located about 180m from the head of the beach, and immediately to the NE there is a grass-covered sandy mound on whose summit a chapel was situated. The area between the settlement and the shore, and the E slope of the mound itself, have yielded extensive shell-midden material, and artefacts including an enamelled 'hand-pin' of early medieval type.<sup>2</sup> The mound, which is up to 7m in height, appears to owe its form mainly to wind-erosion, although there are some remains of drystone revetments on its sides. The summit is not now large enough to preserve the chapel measuring about 9.5m by 4.3m whose 'indistinct foundations' were visible in 1915,<sup>3</sup> although some scattered stones remain on the summit and the S and E slopes. Some of these stones appear to have been gravemarkers, and they include a symbol-stone (no.1) and another cross-marked stone (no.2), both near the foot of the S slope, while two other cross-marked stones stand near the S edge of the summit.

(1) Slab of local gneiss, uncovered by drifting sand some time before 1889. It is roughly rectangular, measuring 1.23m by 0.39m and 0.14m thick, but the top edges are damaged. The surface is worn and lichen-stained and the lower part, which evidently formed a butt for the stone to stand upright, is flaked. In the centre of the slab there is incised the 'flower' symbol, a tapering stem whose upper part splits into two

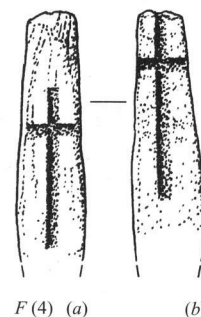


E (2)

Pabbay, Barra (No.40)

A. chapel site from S, 1895 (after Beveridge)

B-F. carved stones (B, D-F, scale 1:15)



F (4) (a)

(b)

D (1)

branches, both curving to the right and ending in broad terminals. Above this there is a crescent-and-V-rod symbol of the 'dome-and-wing' type, ornamented with two small circles. The right terminal is effaced and the other is much worn but appears to incorporate a circle. At the top of the slab, rising from the upper curve of the crescent just right of its apex, there is an incised Latin cross, 0.21m in height and span. Its side-arms have barred terminals, but the top arm, which appears to be complete despite damage to the edge of the slab, is plain. The cross is more deeply incised than the symbols, and its position appears to be chosen to make the best use of available space, suggesting that it was an addition to the slab. (Beveridge, *Wanderings*, 2, pl.303; *PSAS*, 31 (1896-7), 299-300; *ECMS*, 3, 111-13; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.438; Stevenson, 'Crescent', C11; Edwards, 'Pabbay', 16, 27-8; Mack, *Symbol Stones*, 135).

(2) Slightly tapered pillar of gneiss, much worn and lichen-stained, broken across about 0.15m below the top and lacking the upper left edge. It measures 0.79m by 0.15m to 0.19m, and is 90mm thick. It bears a sunken cross with expanded terminals, 0.19m high and having a 100mm transom at about mid-height.

(*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.438; Edwards, 'Pabbay', 16, 29-31).

(3) Irregular earthfast pillar of gneiss, 1.32m in visible height by 0.33m by 0.3m. On the W face there is a cross with barred terminals, 0.19m high and 0.15m across the transom, which is at mid-height. It is executed with a shallow sunken groove of U-section and is set in an incised cruciform frame, 0.29m high and 0.21m across the arms. The top arm of this outer cross has a constriction which gives it the form of a cross-potent.

(*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.438 and fig.175; Edwards, 'Pabbay', 16, 29-31).

(4) Earthfast pillar of gneiss, 0.49m in visible height by 1.35m square at base and tapering to 0.1m on the E and W faces and 0.12m on the sides. On the E face (a) there is a sunken Latin cross, 0.31m high and 95mm across the arms, executed with a U-section groove about 25mm wide. On the W face (b) there is a similar cross, 0.36m high, whose top and side-arms extend to the edges of the pillar.

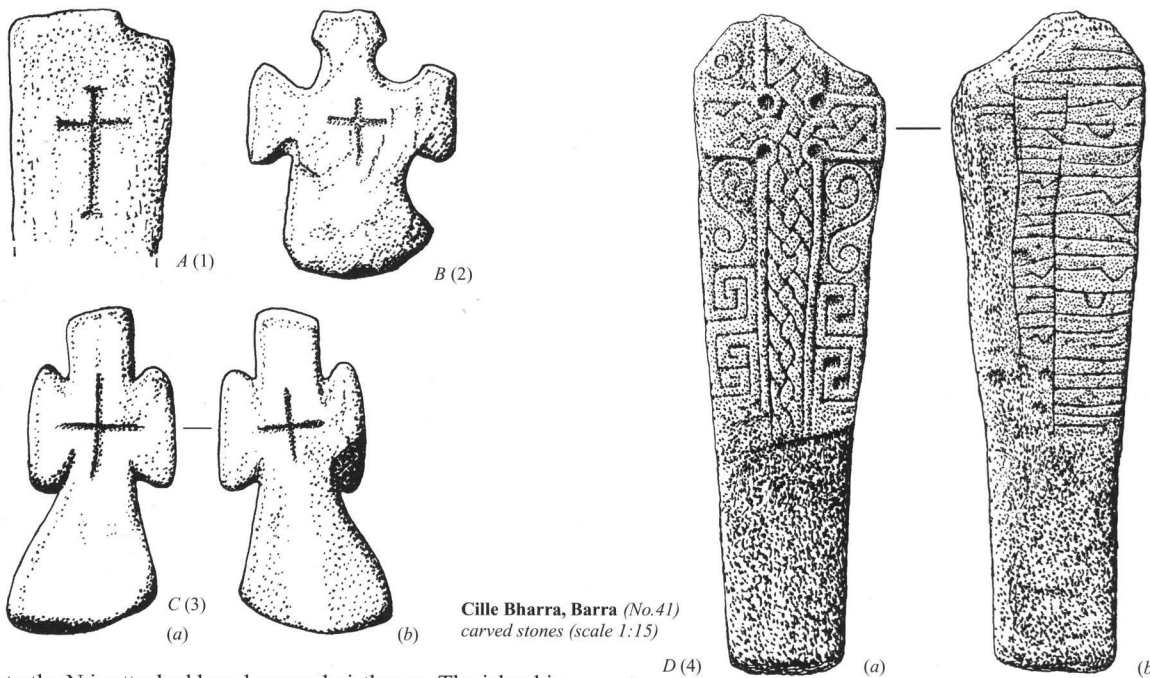
(*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.438; Edwards, 'Pabbay', 16, 29-31).

#### 41 Cille Bharra (Kilbar), Barra

NF 7051 0738

NF70NW 3

This island comprises a main block, 8.5km from N to S by 11.5km, to which a narrow peninsula extending a further 4km



Cille Bharra, Barra (No.41)  
carved stones (scale 1:15)

to the N is attached by a low sandy isthmus. The island is rocky, rising at the S end to a summit of 383m above the sheltered harbour of Castlebay with its medieval island castle of Kiessimul, but there are areas of fertile machair on the W and N coasts. There are extensive remains of prehistoric occupation, and at least one Viking grave was found in the 19th century as well as isolated artefacts of that period.<sup>1</sup>

There are slight remains of St Brendan's Chapel near Borge on the W coast,<sup>2</sup> but the medieval parish church was at Cille Bharra in the N peninsula, on the NE slope of Ben Eoligarry and 600m from the E coast. The dedication was to St Barr, traditionally identified with St Finbarr of Cork but described in the *Aberdeen Breviary* as born in Caithness.<sup>3</sup> The burial-ground, which in 1878 was represented as an unenclosed oval area,<sup>4</sup> contains a ruined church of late medieval date, and two smaller chapels which were probably burial-aisles of post-medieval origin.<sup>5</sup> The larger of these, to the NE of the church, was re-roofed about 1980 to house three late medieval graveslabs of the Iona school and an inscribed slab of about 1600.<sup>6</sup> The burial-ground contains three cross-marked stones, and a cross-slab inscribed in Norse runes, found there in 1865, was acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1880.<sup>7</sup>

31 Z (1) Earthfast gravemarker of gneiss, 0.43m in visible height by 0.31m and 0.16m thick. The surface is now whitewashed, with dark paint in the grooves. On one face there is a sunken Latin cross, 0.26m high by 0.15m in span, executed with a deep U-section groove. The base is triangular and the other terminals appear to be barred.

29 AA, 56 BB (2) Cruciform stone of diorite, broken at the foot. It measures 0.55m in height by 0.43m in span and 75mm thick. The shaft tapers from 0.27m to 0.22m below the tightly rounded lower armpits. The upper armpits are more semicircular in outline, and the top arm and right side-arm are tapered whereas the left arm is wedge-shaped. At the centre there is incised a Latin cross, 0.15m high and 0.12m across the arms which curve slightly upwards.

29 Z, 56 CC (3) Cruciform stone of diorite, 0.66m by 0.29m across the arms and 85mm in maximum thickness. It is a cruder version of no.(2), with a shaft which tapers from 0.3m to 0.15m, a straight-sided top arm 0.13m wide, and short wedge-shaped side-arms. The lines of the tightly rounded armpits are continued as shallow grooves on the surface, in one case for 70mm. On one face (a) there is an incised central cross, 0.17m high and 0.19m across the arms, which are set at mid-height. The corresponding cross on face (b) measures 0.16m by 0.15m.

D (4) (a) (b)

(4) (NMS X.IB 102). Cross-slab of dark grey local garnet metapelite, broken obliquely at the head and flaked at the foot of face (a). It measures 1.36m in height and increases in width from 0.25m at the foot to a maximum of 0.39m below the head; the thickness varies from 45mm to 80mm. Face (a) is filled by a cross in low relief, incomplete at head and foot but over 0.85m in height and 0.38m across the arms. It is defined by a bead-moulding which encloses sunken circular armpits about 30mm in diameter, and the shaft tapers slightly downwards whereas the arms are straight-sided. The cross is filled with flat interlace, comprising a four-strand plait in the shaft and less regular interlace in the cross-head and arms. The sides of the shaft are flanked by continuous square key-pattern, linked to the uncarved area at the foot of the shaft, and then by simple S-scrolls below the cross-head. There are fragmentary remains of similar scrolls flanking the top arm.

Face (b) is filled with an inscription in Old Norse runes, incised in three lines which read down from the top of the slab. The letters in the first line are about 0.16m high, while those in the second line, which is enclosed by two irregular incised lines, vary from 65mm to 100mm. Only a few characters remain at the beginning of the third line, which is heavily worn. Although the surface on which the runes are cut appears to have been lightly dressed, many of them are damaged and the readings by Stephens and Olsen involve many doubtful assumptions. A reading has been made by Professor R I Page.<sup>8</sup>

]\*ir pur(:)kirpu:s(t)i\*ar  
]\*r(.):is(:)kurs(:)s\*\*ristr  
]\*(.)\*\*

This probably contains the female name Thorgerth and, less certainly, the male name Steinar, with a commemorative formula referring to the erection of the cross.

Although comparisons have been made with Manx cross-slabs,<sup>9</sup> the form of the ring-less cross is closer to those on slabs at Govan, and the S-scrolls flanking it may be matched in Argyll, at Soroby and Kilbride. The inscription filling one face of the slab can be compared with Scandinavian examples rather than Manx ones.<sup>10</sup> A date in the second half of the tenth century is probable.

(Drawing by A Edge, 1863 (copy in NMRS); Stephens, G, in *PSAS*, 15 (1880-1), 33-6; Anderson, J, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 2 (1881), 227-9; *NMAS Cat.*, 266; *ECMS*, 3, 114-15; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.436 and figs.174,

41 M

108 A

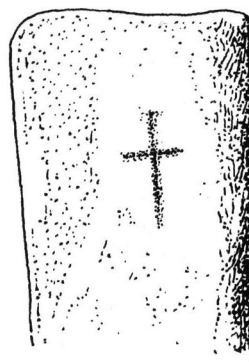
42 C, 41 K



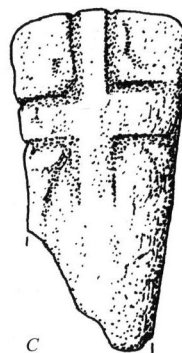


A

A. Cille Bharra, Barra (No.41)  
cross-slab, face (a)  
B. Cladh Hallan, South Uist (No.42)  
carved stone (scale 1:15)  
C. Howmore, South Uist (No.43)  
carved stone (scale 1:15)  
D. Strome Shunamul, Benbecula (No.44)  
symbol-stone (scale 1:15)



B



C

Teampull Mór, whose E gable preserves two windows of 13th-century type, was the medieval parish church of South Uist, and Caibeal Dhiarmaid, whose footings lie in the burial-ground to the E of the church, was probably also of medieval date.<sup>1</sup> A detached chapel to the S may be of post-medieval date, and another to the NE was probably the burial-aisle erected by John MacDonald of Clanranald (d.1574).<sup>2</sup> A graveslab of late medieval type was recorded in the burial-ground in 1866,<sup>3</sup> and a cross-marked slab lies in the ruin of Caibeal Dhiarmaid.

The cross-marked stone is a tapered slab of diorite, broken obliquely at the foot. It measures 0.68m by 0.36m at the head and is 75mm thick. On one face there is an equal-armed outline cross, 0.38m high, whose arms extend to the edges of the slab and whose foot is open. The surface is flaked but the cross has been defined by firm U-section grooves, and the arm-pits are slightly round and bevelled.

33 L

177; Olsen, M, in *VA*, 6, 123-5, 174-7; Close-Brooks, J and Stevenson, R B K, *Dark Age Sculpture* (1982), 43; Liestøl, 'Runes', 228-9; Macquarrie, A, *Cille Bharra* (1984), 11-12, 17; McGregor, H and Cooper, J, *Barra* (1984), unpaginated; Crawford, B E, *Scandinavian Scotland* (1987), 175, 177).

#### 42 Cladh Hallan, South Uist

NF 7314 2194 NF72SW 14

The machair and sand-dunes lying between Loch Hallan and the Atlantic shore of South Uist have produced extensive remains of middens and other evidence of early occupation, including wheelhouses and a dun.<sup>1</sup> There are no remains of the medieval parish church at Cladh Pheadair (NF 7353 2048)<sup>2</sup> but there are stones of early and late medieval date at Cladh Hallan, 1.5km to the N. The burial-ground is situated about 550m from the shore and occupies a large L-shaped enclosure which rises at the W to the summit of a sand-dune some 20m in height. Until the early years of the 20th century it was unenclosed, and the main area of burial was a roughly triangular piece of ground, now represented by a low mound in the NE angle where most of the older monuments are grouped. A smaller burial-ground, described in 1878 as 'not ancient', lay about 70m to the SW and appears to be included in the present enclosure.<sup>3</sup> A cross-marked gravemarker stands near the E wall, close to a graveslab of late medieval type.<sup>4</sup>

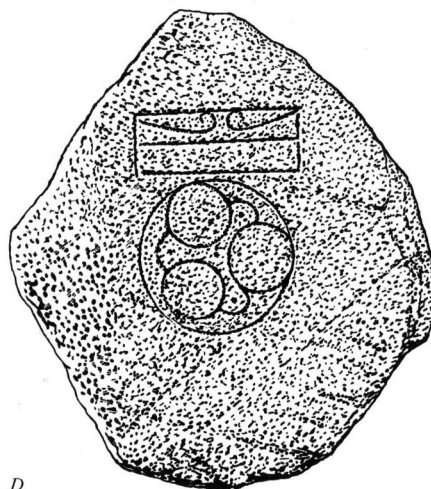
31 X The cross-marked stone is an earthfast slab of gneiss, 0.67m in visible height by 0.49m and 0.15m thick. On the E face and to the right of centre there is incised a Latin cross, 0.23m in height and 0.12m in span. The surface is irregular and lichen-stained, but the terminals appear to be rounded and not expanded.

(*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.368).

#### 43 Howmore, South Uist

NF 7583 3647 NF73NE 1

The remains of a group of churches and chapels stand at the N edge of the township of Howmore and about 750m from the W shore of South Uist. The name of the settlement incorporates the Old Norse *haugr*, 'a mound', but the location and age of this feature are not certain. The largest of the buildings, the

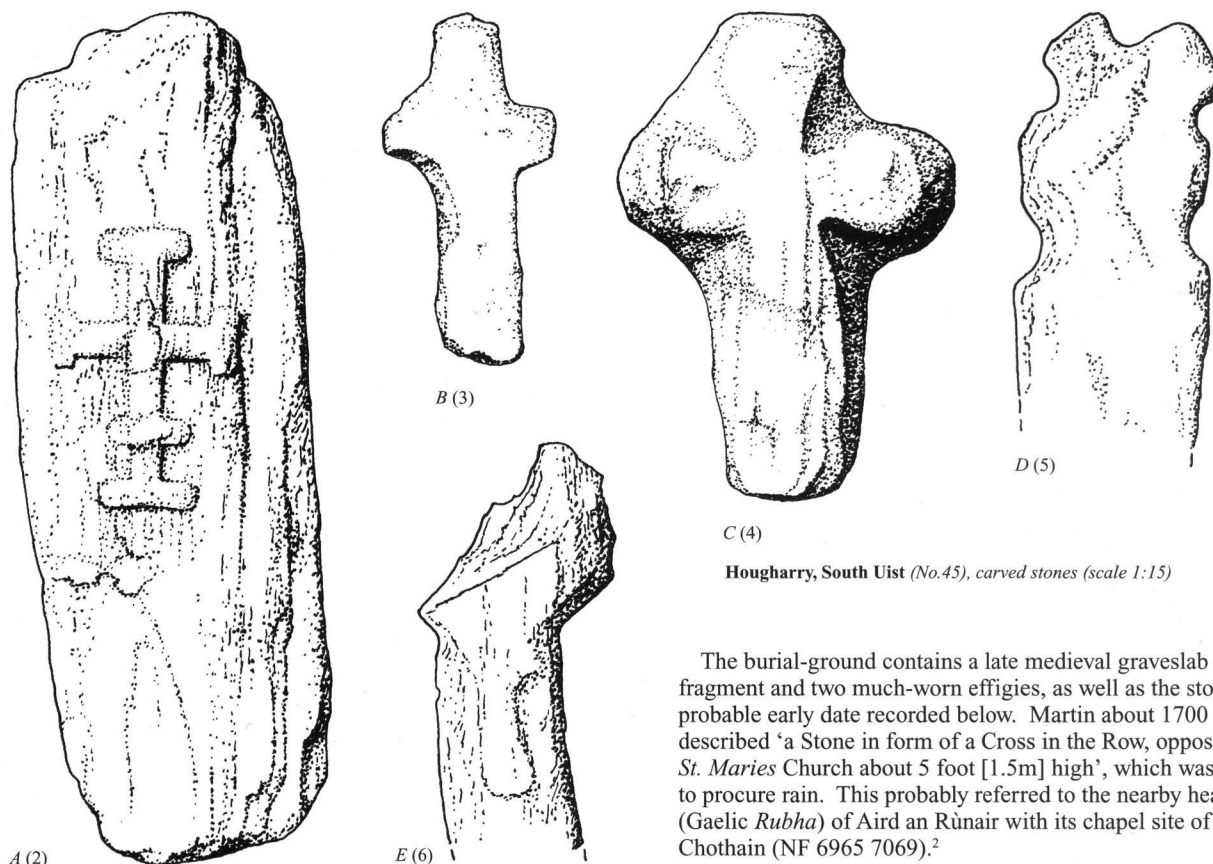


D

#### 44 Strome Shunamul, Benbecula

NF c. 8056 NF85NW 5

This symbol-stone (NMS X.IB 37) was presented to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland by Alexander Carmichael in 1870. It was found by him some years earlier below high-water level in the tidal channel that separates the islet of Sunamul from the N coast of Benbecula. He described the find-spot as lying 'about a mile or a mile and a half' (1.6km or 2.4km) E of structures then exposed in a large sand-dune in the area now occupied by Benbecula Airport. This suggests that it was in the channel to the S of Sunamul rather than to the W, but it cannot be more closely located. Carmichael noted an adjacent scatter of stones which appeared to be the remains of some artificial structure.<sup>1</sup> A rock about 250m N of Sunamul is known as Crois an t-sleuchd ('cross of the prostration, or bowing'), and the traditional site of a cross occupies a knoll overlooking the strand at Gramsdale (NF 8265 5615), about 2.2km to the E.<sup>2</sup> A medieval church



Hougharry, South Uist (No.45), carved stones (scale 1:15)

dedicated to St Columba is situated at Balivanich, about 2.5 km to the SW.<sup>3</sup>

- 26 B The stone is a polygonal slab of gneiss, 0.96m high by 0.84m and 0.23m thick.<sup>4</sup> The carved face is level but weathering has exposed several prominent parallel veins of hard stone. At the centre there is an incised circle, 0.31m in diameter, enclosing three 0.13m circles which touch the perimeter<sup>5</sup> and are linked by curved lines to define a central three-armed figure. This motif has a small sinking at the centre and in each of its three terminals. Some 12mm above the circle there is a rectangle measuring 0.32m by 0.12m and divided by an axial line, with simple curvilinear ornament in the upper half.

A small number of disc symbols are known from NE Scotland, and three of them have three internal circles, but they are not linked to define a central motif as on this stone. In contrast, the ornamented rectangle is a neat but very simple form of the symbol.<sup>6</sup> The two symbols are not found in combination elsewhere.

(PSAS, 8 (1868-70), 284-5; NMA Cat., 262; ECMS, 3, 110-11; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.356; Mack, *Symbol Stones*, 30).

#### 45 Hougharry, North Uist

NF 7082 7058

NF77SW 12

The medieval parish church of Kilmuir (*Cille Mhoire*, 'St Mary's Church') stood on a knoll about 400m E of the sandy beach of Tràigh nam Faoghailean and 550m SE of the township of Hougharry. The site lies between the coastal machair, much of which is still under cultivation, and the wetlands forming the Balranald National Nature Reserve. Until about 1900 the burial-ground had a circular boundary about 55m in diameter enclosing the summit of the knoll, but the present rectangular enclosure was then formed, and subsequently extended to S and W. There are no remains of the church, although the burial-ground contains several burial-aisles of 18th-century and later date. The ruined building at the W foot of the knoll was the parish church used from 1764 to 1894.<sup>1</sup>

The burial-ground contains a late medieval graveslab fragment and two much-worn effigies, as well as the stones of probable early date recorded below. Martin about 1700 described 'a Stone in form of a Cross in the Row, opposite to *St. Maries Church* about 5 foot [1.5m] high', which was used to procure rain. This probably referred to the nearby headland (Gaelic *Rubha*) of Aird an Rùnaire with its chapel site of Cladh Chothain (NF 6965 7069).<sup>2</sup>

- (1) Beveridge, writing some time before 1911, described 'a thin oblong stone...faintly incised with a Latin cross', but this could not be found in 1914 or subsequently. (Beveridge, *North Uist*, 294; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.162).

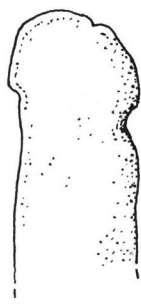
- (2) Roughly rectangular slab of gneiss, 1.7m by 0.61m and 100mm thick. It is carved in relief up to 30mm high with an equal-armed cross-potent, 0.41m high and 0.39m in span, upon a barred pedestal 0.15m high. Although much of the surface of the cross has flaked off, it can be seen that the outline was pecked before the background was cut away. (Beveridge, *North Uist*, 294; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.162).

- (3) Cruciform stone of dark gneiss, measuring 0.71m high by 0.18m across the shaft and 0.36m in span, and 45mm thick. The right arm is slightly tapered but the slab is damaged at the left edge and the form of the left arm is uncertain although the curve of its upper armpit is preserved.

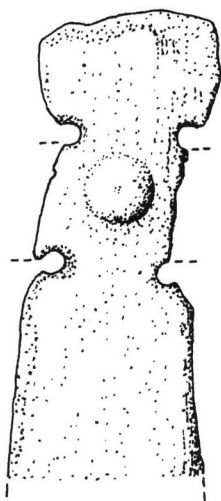
- (4) Massive cruciform stone of dark gneiss, 0.97m high by 0.68m in span and 0.12m thick. The armpits of the right arm are curved and the right and top arms are round-ended, giving a trefoil form to the stone. The left arm is damaged and its upper armpit has not been hollowed out. A superimposed cross with round-ended wedged arms is defined in relief by shallow U-section hollows in the armpits.

- (5) Minimal cruciform stone of micaceous gneiss, earthfast but leaning obliquely at the NE wall of the burial-ground. It measures 0.85m by 0.38m and is 0.14m thick. At each edge there are two well-rounded hollows which suggest side-arms, but there is no evidence that these ever projected beyond the line of the shaft. At the top there is a fifth hollow, also well formed, which splits the top arm. (Beveridge, *North Uist*, 293-4; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.162).

- (6) Incomplete disc-headed slab of gneiss, earthfast in 1988 but subsequently removed during the formation of a path in the burial-ground. It measured 0.82m in visible height by 0.26m across the shaft. The head was broken obliquely and damaged at the surviving edges, but appears to have measured about 0.45m in diameter. The surface, which was heavily flaked, appears to have been unornamented.



A (7)



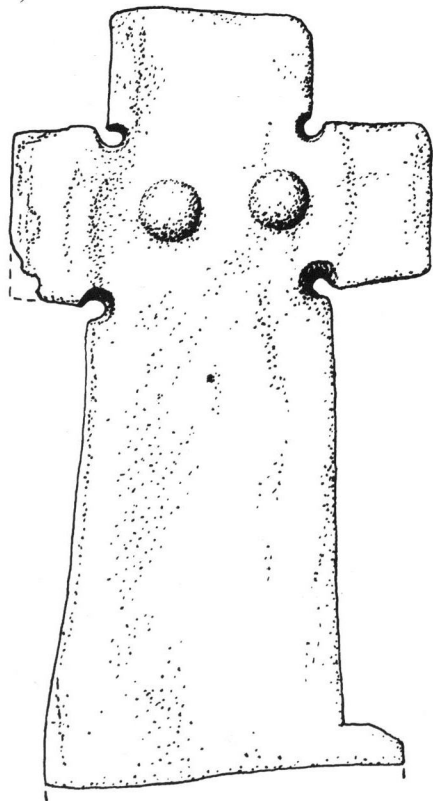
B (8)

Hougharry, South Uist (No.45)  
A, B, carved stones (scale 1:15)

56 FF (7) Minimal disc-headed slab, earthfast in 1988 but not located in 1993. It measured 0.54m in visible height by 0.25m across the shaft and 0.27m across the roughly rounded head, which was emphasised by two notches of unequal size at the edges.

57 L (8) Damaged cross of micaceous gneiss, 0.89m in visible height by 0.39m at the base of the shaft and 0.34m below the cross-head. It has a maximum thickness of 90mm. The small circular armpits remain but both side-arms have been broken off, although the left arm was intact in 1855. At the centre of the cross-head there is a boss 0.14m in diameter and 25mm in height.

(Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 47-8, 276, and fig. on p.46; Beveridge, *North Uist*, 293; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.162 and fig.101).



C. Cille Pheadair, North Uist (No.46), cross (scale 1:15)

#### 46 Cille Pheadair, North Uist

NF 7260 7438 NF77SW 2

The traditional site of a chapel dedicated to St Peter lies on the SE slope of a low hill, 550m from the W coast of North Uist and 180m NE of Kilphedder farmhouse. The site was under

cultivation in the late 19th century, but it was recorded in 1878 that 'there are plenty of human bones to be found on the surface of the ground'.<sup>1</sup> A cross 'found in the old Graveyard' now stands at a slightly higher level about 60m WNW of the site. A plaque records that its rubble-built pedestal, which is about 2m high, was erected by Dr Alexander MacLeod of Balelone, 'Dotair Ban' ('the fair-haired doctor'), about 1830-40, and repaired in 1913-14 and 1960.<sup>2</sup>

The cross is of gneiss and measures 1.53m in visible height by 0.83m across the side-arms, which are slightly tapered and irregular in size. Above a butt 0.7m wide the shaft tapers from 0.58m to 0.49m, and the straight-sided top arm is 0.4m wide. The cross-head has circular armpits about 30mm to 35mm in diameter whose surrounds are bevelled to form hollows of about 60mm to 80mm. At the centre of the S face of the head there are two plain bosses, about 120mm in diameter and 13mm in projection, which are set 90mm apart and with the right one at a slightly higher level. (Beveridge, *North Uist*, 295-6 and pl. opp. p.296; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.164).

#### 47 Isle of Vallay, North Uist

NF 7858 7638

NF77NE 18

This island is separated from the N coast of North Uist by a tidal strand up to 2km in width, although at the W end the channel of Vallay Sound is only 350m wide. It measures 4km from E to W by 1.3km in maximum width and rises at the E end to a height of 38m. Described by Martin as 'very fruitful in Corn and Grass' and by Muir as 'a low pastoral island',<sup>1</sup> the main centre of population was close to the present disused Vallay House. Extensive evidence of prehistoric occupation including a wheelhouse and a souterrain has been found in the area to the NW of this. Other monuments include a group of standing stones and two duns. Artefacts from the island include an ogham-inscribed bone knife-handle and a spearhead and a bronze ring of Norse type, in addition to a wide range of pottery and bone objects.<sup>2</sup>

Writing about 1700, Martin described three chapels on Vallay, two of them dedicated to St Mary and St Ultan.<sup>3</sup> There are fragmentary remains of a chapel, supposedly dedicated to St Oran, on the promontory of Oransay on the N coast.<sup>4</sup> The two other chapels are believed to have stood in or close to the burial-ground that is located 120m from the S shore and 1.3km ENE of Vallay House. A burial-aisle of 19th-century date stands in a large burial-ground, heavily overgrown with vegetation. The present rectangular boundary dates from about the beginning of the 20th century, but there are traces of a curving bank about 15m S of the aisle, and remains of a small structure about 12m to the W. These may be remains of Teampull Mhuire, which has been doubtfully identified as being of nave-and-chancel form.<sup>5</sup>

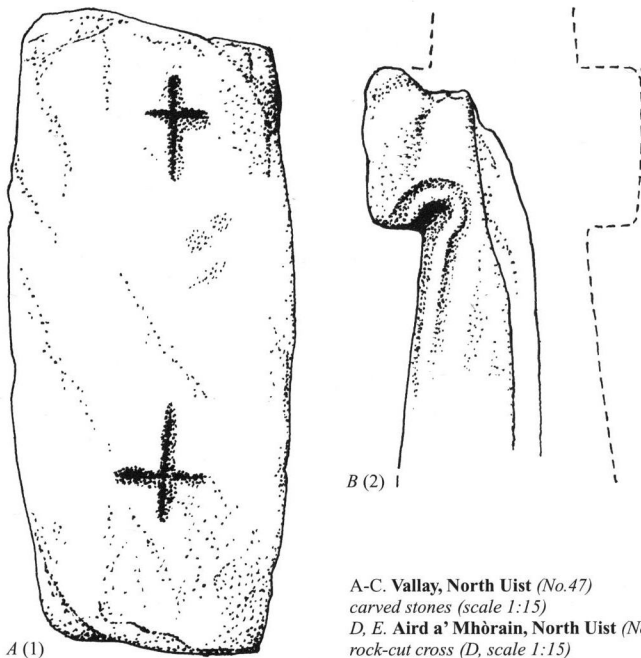
Martin described 'Two Crosses of Stone, each of them about 7 Foot [2.1m] high, and a Foot and a half [0.46m] broad'.<sup>6</sup> One of these may be identified with the cross (no.3) that was removed by the landowner to his estate in Argyll in the late 19th century, and the other, less certainly, with a broken cross (no.2) which stands in a row of gravemarkers S of the burial-aisle. A third stone (no.1) was formerly used as a lintel in the N door of the burial-aisle,<sup>7</sup> and now lies outside the N wall of that structure.

(1) Roughly rectangular slab of gneiss, 1.27m by 0.58m and 90mm thick. At each end of the slab there is incised a Latin cross with the shaft pointing to the centre. The crosses measure respectively 0.24m by 0.19m and 0.21m by 0.13m. They are much worn but appear to have been executed with shallow U-section grooves.

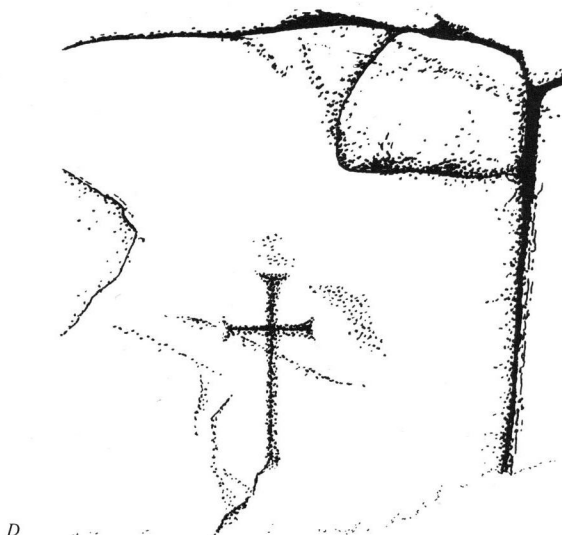
(Beveridge, *North Uist*, 298 and pl. opp. p.298; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.166).

(2) Fragmentary cruciform stone of dark hornblende-schist, 0.65m in visible surviving height by 0.26m and 100mm thick. A sketch by Muir in 1855 shows what appears to be this stone with both side-arms almost intact, but it now preserves only

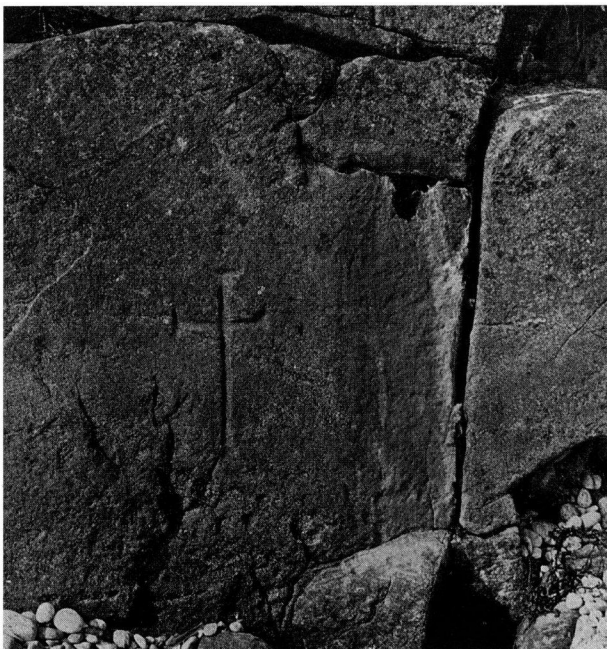




A-C. Vallay, North Uist (No.47)  
carved stones (scale 1:15)  
D. E. Aird a' Mhòrain, North Uist (No.48)  
rock-cut cross (D, scale 1:15)

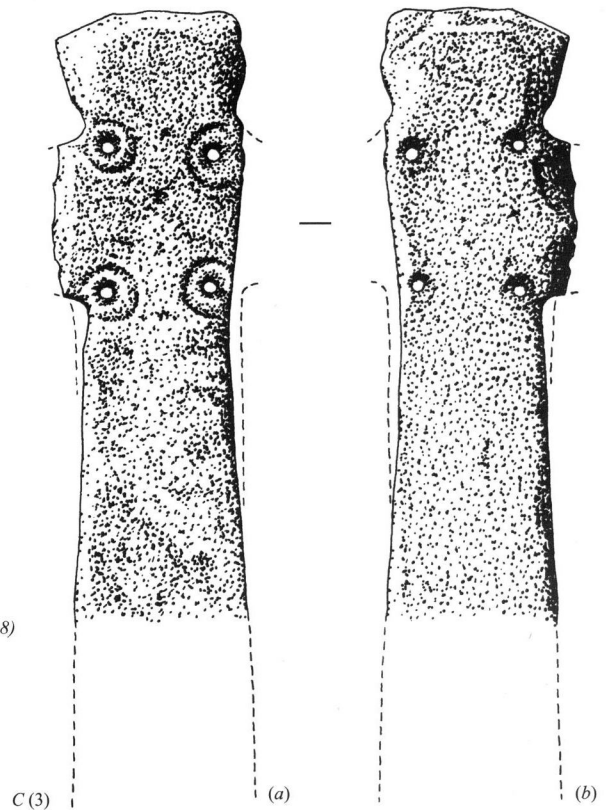


D



E

(after Beveridge)



C (3)

(a)

(b)

one half of the shaft and the corresponding side-arm. The surviving lower armpit is square, but the left edge of the E face has a bead-moulding which curves to enclose an oval inner armpit 30mm deep.

(Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 47; Beveridge, *North Uist*, 297-8; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.166).

(3) NR88NE 18. Cross of dark hornblende-schist which was removed from Vallay to Kilmory Castle, Argyll, between 1855 and 1901<sup>8</sup> and now stands in the grounds of St Margaret's Roman Catholic Church, Lochgilphead. It measures 1.27m in visible height by 0.38m and is 90mm thick, but the right arm was truncated, probably when it was re-used as 'a doorway-lintel in an outhouse'.<sup>9</sup> The armpits are rounded, but within them there are circular bead-mouldings which enclose 40mm piercings.<sup>10</sup>

(Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 47; *Inventory of Argyll*, 7, No.96).

#### 48 Aird a' Mhòrain, North Uist

NF 8350 7869

NF87NW 3

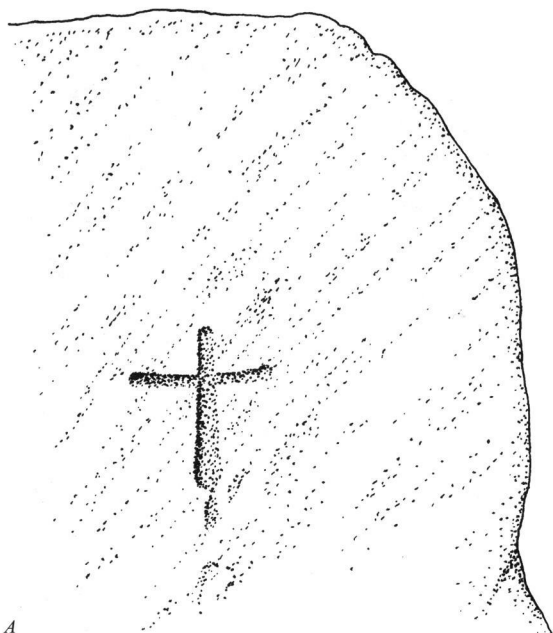
The headland of Aird a' Mhòrain ('headland of the bent-grass'), some 40m in height, projects into the Sound of Harris at the NE end of a promontory about 4km long. The well-known site of the Udal, with its excavated sequence of occupation from the Iron Age to the post-medieval period, lies in the sand-dunes on the W side of the promontory.<sup>1</sup> Above the rocky shore at the SE angle of the headland there is a burial-ground containing the 18th-century family enclosure of the MacLeans of Boreray.<sup>2</sup> Some 200m to the W, and associated with a well which is now obscured by shingle,<sup>3</sup> there is a rock-cut cross. It lies at the junction of the rocky foreshore with a shingle beach to the W, near a convenient area for landing small boats.

The cross is incised at the base of an irregular outcrop of gneiss, on a vertical rock-face which is washed by the highest spring tides. Although waterworn, its V-section grooves remain fairly clear except at the foot of the shaft. It is of Latin form, measuring 0.37m by 0.18m across the arms, and the terminals are triangular except for the less distinct expansion at the foot of the shaft.

(Beveridge, *North Uist*, 300 and pl. opp. p.300; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.165 and fig.102).

57 N

31 N



B

A, B. Clach an t-Sagairt, North Uist (No.49), rock-cut cross (A, scale 1:15)

#### 49 Clach an t-Sagairt, North Uist

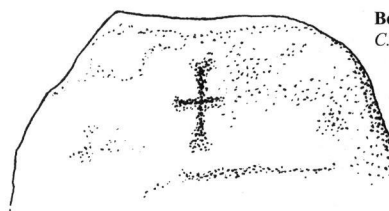
NF 8785 7605 NF 87NE14

A large cross-marked boulder stands on a NW-facing hillside in the township of Clachan Sands, 1km SE of Hornish Strand and about 100m N of the slight remains of Dùn Rosail.<sup>1</sup> The extensive view includes a burial-ground on the site of a medieval parish church dedicated to St Columba, 0.7km to the NW, and a well dedicated to the same saint lies 1km to the S.<sup>2</sup>

The cross-marked stone is a massive slab of gneiss, similar to others which are partly detached from a rock-outcrop about 40m to the NNE. It has been set on edge and measures 3.8m from E to W by 3m in height, tapering in thickness from 0.9m at the base to 0.4m. The S face is almost flat, and high up towards the E end there is a Latin cross, now worn and lichen-stained. It measures 0.32m by 0.28m across the arms, and the lower part of the shaft is wider and more deeply sunk than the other arms, but all have slightly expanded rounded terminals. The shaft is extended for about 70mm by a narrower spike or pedestal to the right of its central axis.

Among the various names that have been recorded for the boulder are 'Crois Aona'ain' and 'An'adhan', suggesting a traditional association with St Adomnán which would be appropriate in an area with dedications to Columba.<sup>3</sup> The name 'Clach an t-Sagairt' ('the priest's stone') is often associated with meeting-places for recusant worship,<sup>4</sup> but this seems unlikely on North Uist. Martin about 1700 described a stone 'which the natives call a cross', and in 1878 it was believed to be 'the site of a general meeting place of the Picts for worship'.<sup>5</sup>

(Beveridge, *North Uist*, 277-8; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.170 and fig.103).



Boreray, North Uist (No.50)  
C. carved stone (scale 1:15)

#### 50 Isle of Boreray, North Uist

NF 8558 8050

NF88SE 3

This island is situated in the Sound of Harris, about 4km W of Berneray (No.51) and 1.5km NE of Aird a' Mhòrain (No.48). It measures about 2.2km from N to S by 1.6km, and is divided into two unequal parts by the Loch Mór, which on the W is separated from the Atlantic only by a narrow strip of storm-beach. Although now deserted, the island formerly maintained a considerable population and there are a number of house ruins with associated steadings and corn-drying kilns, mainly on the E coast and to the NE of the loch. A chambered cairn, Na Cailleacha Dubha ('the black hags'), is situated on the slope above the N end of the sandy beach that runs along much of the E coast and forms the main landing-area. Part of the beach is backed by high sand-dunes, and at the S end these have produced remains of structures as well as midden-material, pottery and bronze pins, some of them of early medieval types.<sup>1</sup>

On the E slope of a low (23m) grassy summit at the SE corner of the island there is the traditional site of a burial-ground known as Cladh Manach ('the monks' burial-place'). According to Martin, 'all the Monks that dyed in the Islands that lye Northward from Egg, were buried in this little Plot, each grave hath a Stone at both ends'.<sup>2</sup> Until the early 20th century the site was marked by an uncultivated area in arable ground,<sup>3</sup> but there are no remains except for the cross-marked stone described below. A few clearance-cairns are visible to the W of the site, and a slab bearing five or six cup-marks lies about 80m to the WNW.<sup>4</sup>

The cross-marked stone is an irregular earthfast slab measuring 0.44m in visible height by 0.72m in width and 0.12m in thickness. On the W face there is a much-worn sunken cross, 200mm high and having at mid-height a transom 100mm in span. The terminals are expanded and may originally have been barred.

(*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.168).

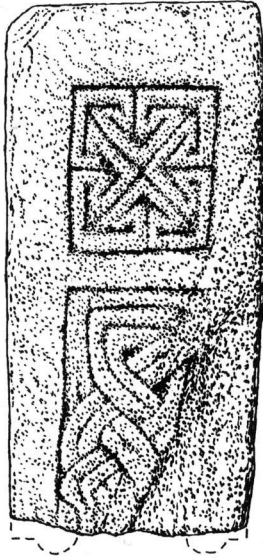
#### 51 Isle of Berneray, Harris

NF 9282 8263

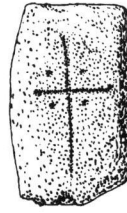
NF98SW 4

The island of Berneray lies on the SW of the Sound of Harris, only 0.6km from the N shore of North Uist, but is linked administratively to Harris. It measures 5km from E to W by 4km, and a series of low hills in the E part rise to a summit of 93m at the N. The W half of the island is low-lying and covered in sand-dunes and blown sand, although it has produced evidence of prehistoric occupation at Maol Bhàn (NF 9090 8278).<sup>1</sup> Population is now confined to the E coast and the valley lying SW of Borve Hill. There is a possible early ecclesiastical enclosure at Cladh Maolrithie (NF 9121 8068), whose name suggests a dedication to St Maelrubha,<sup>2</sup> and Martin described two chapels dedicated to St Asaph and St Columba.<sup>3</sup> The former is identified with Cill Aiseam, which is represented by a grassy area on the SW side of a small valley, 0.6km from the E shore and 350m NW of Besdarra croft-house. It forms a platform about 25m across which rises about 2m above surrounding marshy ground to W and N. There are no visible gravemarkers or structures except for a damaged turf mound in the NW part, and the area was cultivated during the 19th century, when human remains were found.<sup>4</sup>

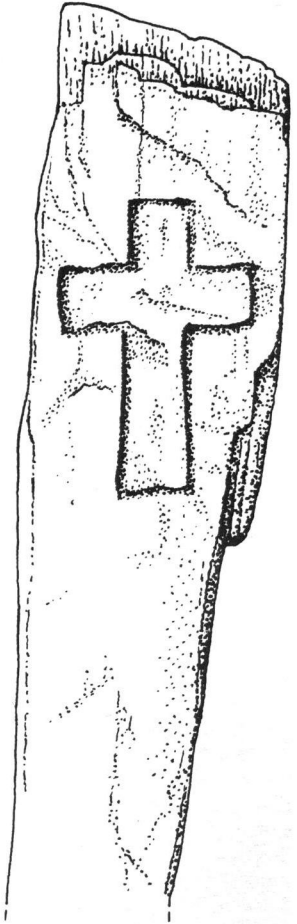
Martin recorded that a stone erected near St Asaph's Chapel was 2.4m high and 0.6m thick.<sup>5</sup> This probably refers to the 'obelisk' that was broken about 1820 and subsequently used for window-lintels in two croft-houses. The lower half was



A. Berneray, Harris (No.51)  
carved stone (scale 1:15)



B. St Taran's Chapel, Paible, Taransay  
(No.52), carved stone (scale 1:15)



C. Clach an Teampuill, Uidh, Taransay  
(No.53), carved stone (scale 1:15)

returned to the burial-ground, and subsequently lost, but the upper part was obtained by Alexander Carmichael and donated to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1870 (NMS X.IB 37).<sup>6</sup> It is of gneiss and measures 1.05m by 0.52m and 80mm thick. Within a flat margin, 0.16m wide at the top and 0.09m to 0.13m at the sides, there is in low relief a square of key-pattern incorporating a central saltire (RA no.995). This is separated by a plain 70mm band from a rectangular panel of double-beaded interlace, broken at the foot and flaked at the right. At the top of the panel there are three parallel strands, but the outer one returns at the left and splits to enter the interlace. At the lower left there is a curve which appears to be the upper armpit of a cross, but it is not apparent whether its arms projected from the slab. (PSAS, 8 (1868-70), 280-2; NMS Cat., 260; ECMS, 3, 113; Inventory of the Outer Hebrides, No.115).

### 52-3 Isle of Taransay, Harris

This island, which lies 1.8km from the W coast of Harris, is divided into two parts linked by a narrow isthmus at the head of Loch na h-Uidhe. The E part measures about 4.5km from N to S by 3.5km, and the other measures 2km by 2km. Both parts are mountainous, rising to a summit of 267m, but Martin described the island as 'very fruitful in corn and grass' and there are remains of at least three horizontal mills on Allt a' Mhùilinn near Paible.<sup>1</sup> The population was scattered along the E coast, with the main settlements at Paible and Raah and a smaller one at Uidh. Early monuments included an island dun in Loch an Dùin and a coastal one SW of Raah, and a souterrain at Paible as well as pottery and bone pins from middens in the same area.<sup>2</sup> Martin described chapels dedicated to St Che or Keith and St Taran, which until the end of the 17th century were reserved for the burial respectively of men and women.<sup>3</sup> Slight traces of the footings of these chapels, Teampull Ché and Teampull Tharain, remain in the burial-ground at Paible ('Priests' settlement') which has been much damaged by coastal erosion.<sup>4</sup> A cross-marked stone was found at this site, and a cross-marked standing-stone, Clach an Teampuill, stands 2.5km to the NW at the head of Loch na h-Uidhe.

### 52 St Taran's Chapel, Paible, Taransay

NG 0307 9916 NG09NW 1

A small cross-marked stone was found in re-use in the tacksman's house situated a few metres from the chapel. It was presented to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1861 by Captain F W L Thomas (NMS X.IB 49). It is a slab of syenite, broken at the foot and flaked in places, which measures 0.41m by 0.25m and 75mm thick. On one

31 V face there is incised a Latin cross, 0.27m by 0.15m across the

arms. The side-arms have sunken terminals about 15mm in diameter, and there appear to have been similar terminals at the top and foot of the shaft, which have been damaged by flaking. There is a similar sinking in each of the four angles of the cross-head.

(Thomas, F W L, in PSAS, 4 (1860-2), 115-16; SSS, 2, pl.103; NMS Cat., 262; Inventory of the Outer Hebrides, No.109).

### 53 Clach an Teampuill, Uidh, Taransay

NB 0128 0077 NB00SW 4

This standing-stone is situated on a grassy slope above the beach at the head of Loch na h-Uidhe and 120m W of the ruined settlement of Uidh. The name ('stone of the church') implies a former chapel, but there is no evidence of structures or an enclosure. The stone is a slab of gneiss, 1.77m in visible height by 0.49m in maximum width and 0.27m thick, and the lower half of the S edge has split off, probably after it was erected. On the W face there is an outline Latin cross, 0.58m high by 0.39m across the arms. The shaft tapers from 0.15m to 0.12m, and the other arms are about 0.12m wide. The outline, which is affected by flaking in places, appears always to have been somewhat irregular.

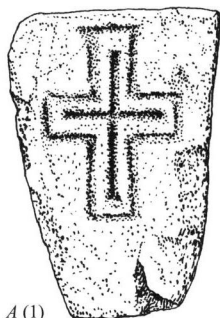
(PSAS, 4 (1860-2), 118; Inventory of the Outer Hebrides, No.116).

### 54 St Kilda, Harris

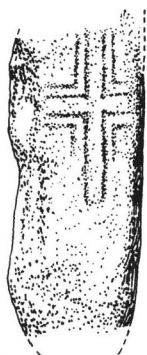
NF c.1004 9937 NF19NW 1

Hirta, the principal island of the St Kilda group, is situated 64km WNW of North Uist and measures 3.6km from N to S by 3.3m. Despite its isolation and the precipitous terrain, it maintained a considerable population on the shore of Village Bay until its evacuation in 1930.<sup>1</sup> A souterrain was discovered in that area about 1844, and there are remains of medieval or earlier settlement in Gleann Mór overlooking the N coast. Until the 18th century there were remains of chapels dedicated to St Brendan and St Columba to the W of the bay, and Christ

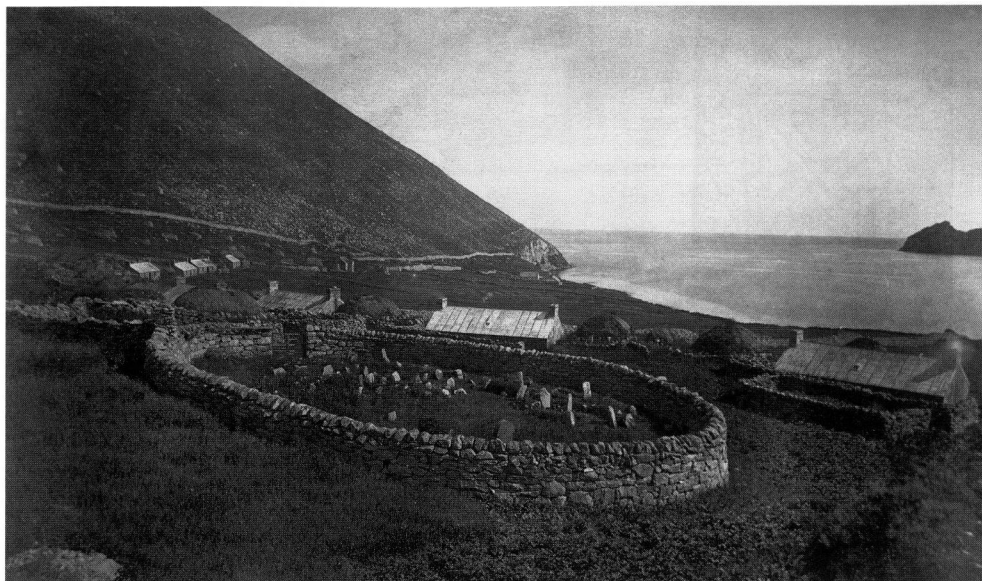




A (1)



B (2)



C

**St Kilda (No.54)**

A, B. carved stones (scale 1:15)

C. burial-ground from W, c.1890

Chapel, near the village, survived as a thatched drystone building measuring about 7.3m by 4.3m.<sup>2</sup> This probably stood in the present burial-ground, an oval revetted enclosure situated 220m N of the innermost point of Village Bay and a few metres N of the village street.<sup>3</sup> The souterrain, Tigh an t-Sithiche, lies 45m to the NNW and the well Tobar Childa is situated at a higher level 140m to the N.<sup>4</sup> Two cross-marked stones re-used in nearby buildings probably came from the chapel-site.

(1) Slab re-used in the surround of the E window of house 16, which was built in 1860-1 (NF 0990 9930). It stands 160m WSW of the burial-ground and Sands, who saw the stone in re-use in 1875, recorded that it came from there.<sup>5</sup> It measures 0.61m in length and tapers from 0.42m near the top to 0.24m above the foot. It bears an incised Latin cross, 0.29m by 0.19m, with an expanded foot to the shaft. An incised frame, 0.38m by 0.27m, gives the effect of an outline cross with hollow centre.

(Williamson, K and Boyd, J M, *A Mosaic of Islands* (1963), 144 and fig.; Harman, M, in *PSAS*, **108** (1976-7), 254-8; Stell and Harman, *St Kilda*, fig.19A(b); Buchanan, *St Kilda*, fig.12a on p.2; Harman, *Hirte*, fig.30 on p.68).

(2) Slab identified in 1977 in re-use as a ceiling-lintel in the drystone cleit or storehouse no.74, about 65m W of the burial-ground (NF 0997 9936). It measures 0.64m in visible length, both ends being concealed, by 0.27m in width, and is much worn at the left edge. The visible face bears an outline cross at least 0.35m high by 0.18m across the arms, which were probably set at mid-height. The foot of the shaft is rounded, but the ends of the other arms are damaged or hidden and their form is uncertain. In the angles of the arms there are L-shaped grooves forming an outer cross with arms 70mm wide. (Harman, M, in *PSAS*, **108** (1976-7), 254-8; Stell and Harman, *St Kilda*, fig.19A(a); Buchanan, *St Kilda*, fig.12a on p.2; Harman, *Hirte*, fig.30 on p.68).

**55 North Rona**

HW 8091 3235

HW83SW 1

3A 'Rona of the ocean', as it was designated in the 16th century,<sup>1</sup> lies 72km NNE of the Butt of Lewis and about the same distance NW of Cape Wrath, and 17km E of the rock of Sula Sgeir. The main part measures 1.6km from E to W by 0.8km, with a low promontory extending almost 1km to the N. The N and E coasts of the main part are cliff-bound and rise to

summits of 108m at the SE end and 98m on the N, from which the grassy surface slopes gently to the rocky S and W shores. Despite its isolated and exposed situation the island maintained a population of five families until the 1680s, and was intermittently occupied until the 19th century. The 'village' of partly-sunk buildings was situated about 200m from the S shore and at an elevation of 50m, with several agricultural enclosures to the W. Monro in 1549 remarked that the island was fertile for cattle and sheep and that 'abundant of corn growis in it be (by) delving', and much of the surface is covered with high lazy-beds, while the cliffs provided seabirds and eggs.<sup>2</sup>

Monro noted the existence of 'St Ronans chapel', which in 1549 was being used for burials, and later writers recounted the legend, current in Lewis tradition, of Ronan's departure from that island to live as a hermit on Rona.<sup>3</sup> Although the island probably takes its name from the Norse *Hraun-ey* ('rough island') rather than from the saint,<sup>4</sup> there are important remains of Early Christian occupation.<sup>5</sup> On the terrace immediately N of the village there is an oval enclosure measuring 32m from E to W by 19m within a turf-and-stone bank up to 3m thick. In the E part of the enclosure there is a drystone oratory, 3.4m by 2.2m internally, whose walls converge at the top to within 0.52m and are spanned by lintels. A slightly larger chapel, also of drystone construction but of later period and much repaired, abuts the oratory to the W and encloses its W doorway.

A number of carved stones of local hornblende gneiss are preserved in the chapel and others remain in the enclosure to the SW. Most of these are simple cruciform stones, and a number of crude or mutilated examples additional to those described below have been recorded.<sup>6</sup> The most elaborate stone (no.4) was removed to Lewis in the 1930s.

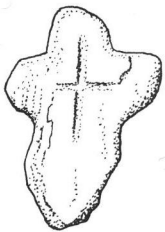
(1) Cruciform stone in burial-ground. It has a pointed foot and roughly rounded arms, measuring 0.44m high and 0.31m across the arms. At the centre of the head there is incised a cross, 0.21m high and 0.12m across the arms which are at mid-height. 29 BB, 56 R

(probably Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', fig.4, 1 on p.110).

(2) Tapered slab of gneiss with slightly rounded top, 1.17m by 0.51m in maximum width and flaked in places. It was found in 1958 built into the N wall of the chapel, and after recording it was replaced there, face downwards. It bears a sunken Latin cross with arms 50mm to 60mm wide and having 32 R



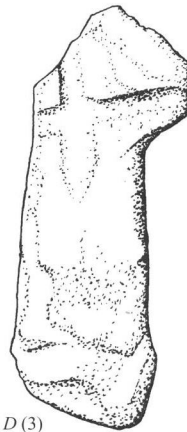
A



B (1)



C (2)



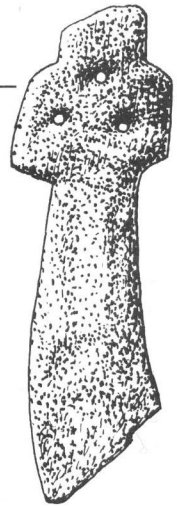
D (3)



E (4)



F (4) (a)



(b)

**North Rona (No.55)**

A. aerial view of oratory and enclosure, settlement and surrounding cultivation, from SE (photo: Historic Scotland)

B-F. carved stones (B-D, F, scale 1:15)

slightly expanded terminals. This measures 0.47m high and about 0.3m in probable span but has flaked at the ends of both side-arms.

(Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', 109-10 and pl.17B opp.p.109; rubbing in NMRS, MS 433).

32 N, 56 T (3) Roughly cruciform stone, with one side-arm preserved and broken obliquely at the top. It measures 0.84m by 80mm to 100mm in thickness, and the shaft tapers upwards from 0.28m to 0.22m. In the cross-head there is a sunken cross, incomplete at the top and left.

(Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', fig.4, 8 on p.110).

57 D (4) Cruciform stone which formerly stood W of the chapel. It was removed to the church at Teampull Mholuidh, Eorpie, Lewis, before 1936 and was transferred to the care of Comunn Eachdraidh Nis (Ness Historical Society) in 1992.<sup>7</sup> It is broken across below the head, damaged at the top and broken

obliquely at the foot, and the surface is much worn. It measures 0.99m by 0.32m across the arms and 90mm in thickness. The slightly curved shaft tapers from 0.26m to 0.17m below the head, which is pierced by three holes, each about 20mm in diameter within oval bevelled surrounds. One face (a) has a margin 35mm to 50mm in width, which also defines the outline of a naked male figure. The head, which preserves traces of the eyes and nose, fills the top arm, and the arms curve round the two lower holes in the cross-head, while the third one pierces the throat. The lower parts of the legs are damaged by flaking, but the genitals are clearly shown. The other face (b) shows traces of a margin, and the piercings are set in oval hollows as on face (a).

(Muir, *Characteristics*, 191; Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', 109 and pl.17A opp. p.109; Robson, *Rona*, 14, 20, and figs. on cover and p.1).



A

56 A (5) Cruciform stone, 0.44m high and 0.25m across the arms. The shaft tapers slightly to 0.11m below the cross-head, and the side-arms are irregularly rounded. The lower armpits are curved and the upper ones more deeply notched so that the top arm is wedge-shaped.

56 J (6) Irregular cruciform stone in the burial-ground. It measures 0.66m by 0.36m across the arms, which are of unequal height, and the shaft is 0.25m wide. The lower armpits are rounded and the top arm is tapered. (probably Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', fig.4, 3 on p.110).

56 W (7) Cruciform stone, 0.91m by 0.35m across the arms and 50mm thick. The short side-arms and the top arm are all tapered, as is the shaft. There are traces of a possible incised cross in the head of one face. (Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', fig.4, 6 on p.110).

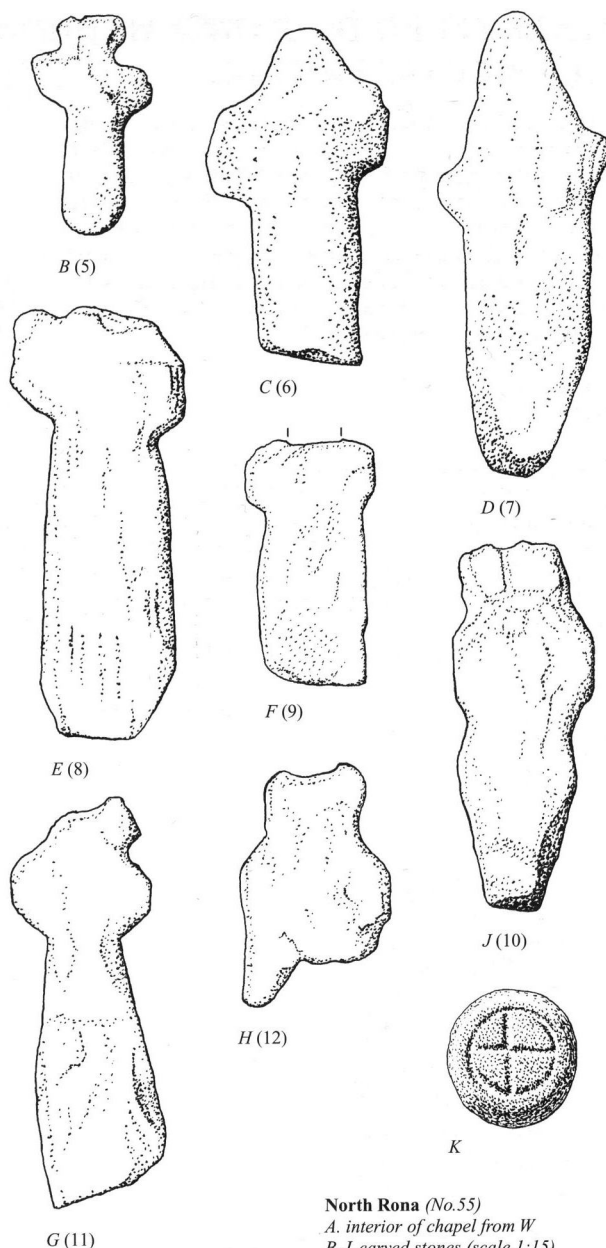
56 Y (8) Incomplete cruciform stone, damaged at the top. It measures 0.87m by 0.35m across the head, and the shaft tapers from 0.28m to 0.2m below the head. This is defined by rounded lower armpits, one of which is more deeply notched, and there is one probable notch at the top. This stone has been described as bearing traces of a Latin cross in relief, but this appearance may be due to flaking. (Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', 109 and fig.4, 9 on p.110).

56 EE (9) Incomplete cruciform stone, lacking the top arm. It measures 0.49m by 0.25m across the arms, one of which has a projection of only 25mm. One edge of the shaft is straight while the other curves in to a width of 0.19m between the rounded armpits.

56 E (10) Cruciform stone, 0.73m by 0.28m across the arms, which project only slightly. The shaft tapers to the foot from a width of 0.24m below the shallow armpits, which are rounded and roughly bevelled. (probably Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', fig.4, 5 on p.110).

56 X (11) Irregular cruciform stone in burial-ground. It measures 0.81m by 0.28m across the rounded arms, and the shaft tapers, with a curve at one side, from 0.26m to 0.15m below the head. The armpits are rounded and bevelled, and one of the upper ones is well preserved, but the top is damaged and its original form is uncertain. (probably Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', fig.4, 4 on p.110).

56 GG (12) Upper part of a cruciform or disc-headed stone, 0.47m high by 0.3m in width. It preserves one well-rounded upper armpit, and a similar concave indentation at the end of the top arm, but the other armpit is angular and both side-arms are broken off.



North Rona (No.55)

A. interior of chapel from W  
B-J. carved stones (scale 1:15)Eilean an Tighe, Shiant Isles ((No.56)  
K. carved stone (scale 1:15)

## 56 Eilean an Tighe, Shiant Isles

NG 4198 9726

NG49NW 13

This group of precipitous basalt islands in the Minch includes Garbh Eilean and Eilean an Tighe which are linked by a narrow isthmus. Muir reported a chapel site on the latter, which was previously known as Eilean na Cille, and human remains have been found SW of the modern cottage near the isthmus, in one of the few significant areas of settlement.<sup>1</sup> A carved stone set face downwards was found in a house-ruin of post-medieval date, 500m SSE of the cottage, during archaeological excavation in 2000.<sup>2</sup>

The stone is a rounded beach-pebble of Torridonian sandstone, 0.27m by 0.24m and 0.12m thick. On the upper surface an equal-armed cross incised with firm V-section grooves is contained in a 0.18m circle formed by a more rounded groove up to 22mm in width.

This stone bears a remarkable resemblance to the pebbles or *clocha breaca* on Inishmurray (Co.Sligo), which were used for ritual cursing. While most are undecorated and some bear spiral ornament, one bears a very similar plain encircled cross.<sup>3</sup>



# GAZETTEER OF EARLY MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE IN THE FORMER COUNTY OF ARGYLL

The following descriptions are abbreviated but updated from those in the *Inventory of Argyll*. Cross-references (No. ) are to items within the individual volumes (including articles not summarised here). Entries for new or rediscovered stones are indicated by an asterisk before the article- or item-number. Notes for new entries are placed at the ends of individual articles. An asterisk before the marginal figure-number is used to identify new or redrawn drawings in the pages of comparative drawings (pp.26-59).

## ARGYLL 1 (1971) KINTYRE

### 244 Cnoc na Carraigh, Gigha

NR 6426 4817 NR64NW 2

Near its original site, 90m NW of Kilchattan church (No.276), stands a pillar, 1.7m in incomplete height by 0.25m by 0.31m at base. The NW arris forms the stem-line of a much-weathered ogham inscription which has been discussed by Jackson and Forsyth.

Jackson: H(?)M[a]Q(c/t)AG(e/i/oa/ua)(bb/l)

Forsyth: vi(q/c)ulaMAQ(u/ /i)(c/t)O( /m)GI(n/l/bb)i

This appears to contain the Irish MAQ ('son'), probably in the common commemorative formula 'X son of Y', and the lettering is also of Irish type. (Forsyth, 'Ogham', 288-98).



Cnoc na Carraigh, Gigha (No.244)  
ogham stone from NW

Another stone with 'ogham-like notches' has been reported near Kinerarach, at the N end of the island (NR 6590 5380), but the identification is uncertain. (Ibid., 514-15).

### 260 Balinakill

NR 7669 5612 NR75NE 4

On a natural mound stands a mutilated cross, about 0.83m in visible height by 0.25m at base. The solid disc, about 0.6m in diameter, had square sunken armpits, but the arms are lost. 53 G

### 268 Cara

NR 6410 4432 NR64SW 1

Inside the medieval chapel lies a slab, 0.89m by 0.2m, roughly pointed at the foot. It bears a Latin cross in low relief above an uncarved butt. 39 F

### 269 Cille Bhride, Whitehouse

NR 8296 6231 NR86SW 2

Cut into a boulder beside the possible chapel is an oval socket of uncertain age, 0.36m by 90mm and 110mm deep. In 1873 it held 'a fragment of a pillar' about 0.6m high. 55 L

### 270 Clachan

NR 7642 5604 NR75NE 9

Churchyard of the former medieval parish church of Kilcalmonell, dedicated to the Leinster saint Colmán Elo.

(1) Slab, 1.7m by 0.49m, bearing a deeply-cut outline cross with a barred top arm and open side-arms and stem. \*33 P

(2) Slab, 1.32 m by 0.43m, bearing a Latin cross and a ringed one on a common stem. The former, in false relief, has rounded armpits, incised circles at the centre and on each side-arm, and two indentations in the upper arm. The other cross, crudely incised on an oval disc, has circles on one side-arm and in three spandrels. The lower armpits and the junction of the disc and stem are marked by small hollows. One edge shows traces of an incised chevron-pattern. 39 CC

### 276 Kilchattan, Gigha

NR 6431 4809 NR64NW1

(1) A broken cruciform stone about 1.5m high, now lost, was in the churchyard attached to the medieval parish church in the 19th century. This may have been the cross about 1.2 m high which stood 'at a little distance' from the church in the 17th century. (White, *Knapdale*, pl.4, 3). \*56 Q

### 280 Kilchenzie

NR 6737 2487 NR62SE 12

Medieval church of St Cainnech.

(1) In the churchyard, White recorded a boulder 1.2 m long, now lost. A Latin cross was outlined by a raised moulding, with ring-quadrants above the side-arms. (White, *Kintyre*, pl.5, 1). \*39 L

### 285 Kilkerran

NR 7283 1946 NR71NW 2

Kilkerran Cemetery is on the site of the medieval church of St Ciarán.

(1) Slab 0.74m high and tapering downwards from 0.31m. Face (a) bears an outline ringed cross with small round sunken armpits. The shaft, in false relief within a margin, has a lower transom and opens into a plain butt. On face (b) is an outline cross with small round armpits. The foot is open and the ends of the side-arms are linked to those of face (a). 38 H 35 Q



A. Killean (No.287), carved stone (1)

**287 Killean**

NR 6951 4456

NR64SE 1

Late 12th-century parish church of St John.

- 33 J (1) Slab, now in Campbeltown Museum; 0.51m by 0.33m, trimmed at top and one side. Face (a) bears in false relief a Latin cross between four crosslets with pellets in the angles. On face (b) is a similar cross. The lower margin has been rebated to fit a socket-stone, perhaps on a free-standing 'altar' or *leacht*.

- 47 C (2) In the MacDonald of Largie vault, a plain cross with broken arms, 1.85 m high by 0.36 m wide. On the front is incised an outline cross with round armpits.

**293 Kilmichael, Ballochroy**

NR 7284 5200

NR75SW 9

- \*39 FF Slab, 1.19m by 0.36m, bearing in low relief a Latin cross with tapered shaft. The stone is shown in Lhuyd's sketch of this small hill-top burial-ground in 1699.

**298 St Ciaran's Cave**

NR 7655 1707

NR71NE 1

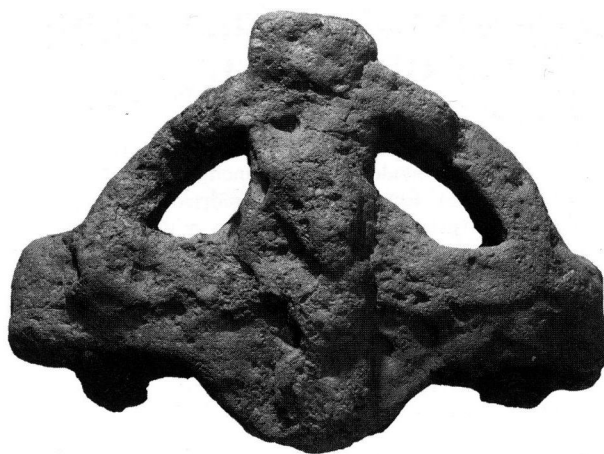
Cave, about 40m by 8m, in cliffs above a tidal shore.

- 27 G (2) Boulder, 0.76m by 0.46m, bearing an incised hexafoil, with arcs linking the tips of the petals, within a T-fret border 0.65m in diameter.

- 55 M (3) Slab, 0.94m by 0.48m by 0.15m, pierced by a socket 0.41m by 60mm with one rebated edge.



B. St Ciaran's Cave (No.298), carved boulder (2)



C. Southend (No.300), cross-head

**300 Southend**

NR 6734 0771

NR60NE 1

The upper part of a much-worn sandstone cross-head, found on a tidal reef near the medieval parish church of St Columba, is now in Campbeltown Museum. It has a span of 0.53m, with a 0.46m pierced ring and a central 0.24m disc which forms a halo round the head of the crucified Saviour on the front. This disc is a feature of some enamelled Limoges crucifixes of the 12th century (e.g., Christie, S and H, *Norges Kirker: Buskerud* (1981), 1, 417) and a similar date is likely for the carving.

At the N edge of the rocky knoll W of the churchyard is a rock-cut socket, 0.33m by 0.16m by 0.13m deep. A small Latin cross incised at the NE angle is probably not ancient. One of the two rock-cut 'St Columba's footprints' on the knoll, and the adjacent date '564', are of 19th-century date. The S footprint, 0.29m by 0.11m, points E to the early historic fortress of Dunaverty and may have been associated with inauguration-rituals of that period.

53 H

**301 St Ninian's Chapel, Sanda**

NR 7275 0457

NR70SW 1

Late medieval chapel, associated by Fordun in the 14th century with St Adomnán and described as a sanctuary.

(1) Cross-slab, 1.91m in visible height by 0.56m, much worn. The W face bears in relief a 0.41m ringed Latin cross whose rounded armpits merge with a hollow inner disc. The shaft, 0.54m high, is carried on a tall narrow pedestal. The background is divided into panels bearing ?interlace and rows of small bosses, which continue below turf-level. The E face appears to have borne a similar design.

\*43 C

\*119 B

(2) Massive cruciform slab, 1.85m by 1.14m across the arms, having a much-worn central 0.38m boss on the E face.

119 A

**305 Cross, Tarbert, Gigha**

NR 6539 5161

NR65SE 13

Mutilated cross on site of a burial-ground. It is 1.83m by 0.66m in original span and both side-arms are broken, but one survives as a detached fragment. Both faces show circular hollows within the armpits, which are slightly rounded, and the SE face (b) bears an outline cross with similar armpits. The NW face (a), where the hollows are deeper, has an incised margin.

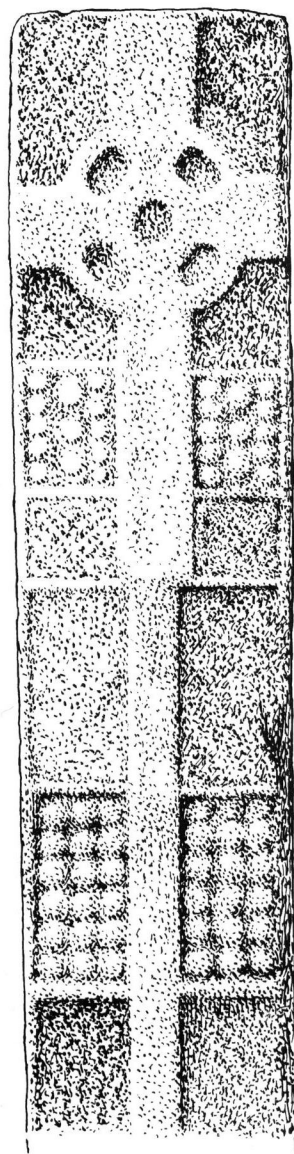
47 D



D. St Ninian's Chapel, Sanda (No.301), from N



A



B

**St Ninian's Chapel, Sanda (No.301)**  
 A. cruciform stone (2), E face  
 B. cross-slab (1) (scale 1:15)  
 C. **The Holy Stone, Tarbert, Gigha**  
 (No.306) (scale 1:15)  
 D. **Killmaluag Farm (No.365)**,  
 carved stone (2), after White  
 (scale c.1:15)

**306 The Holy Stone, Tarbert, Gigha**

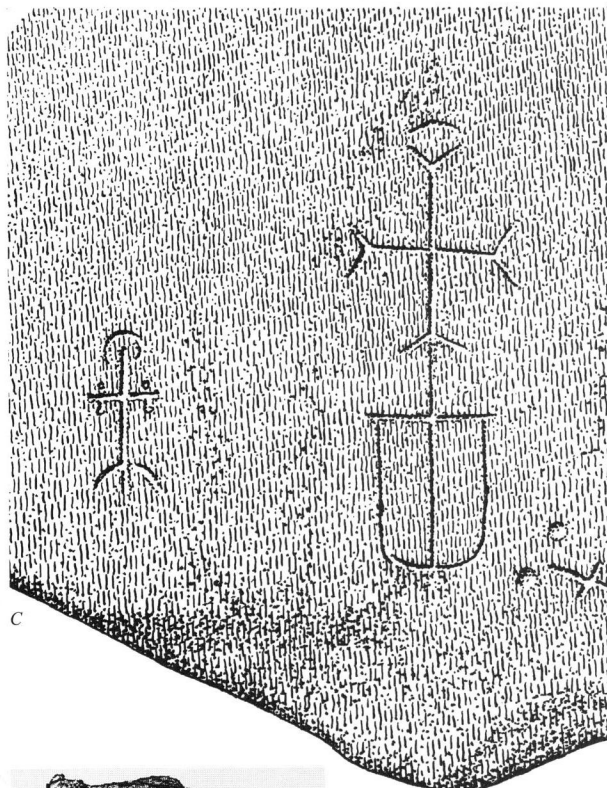
NR 6541 5151

NR65SE 2

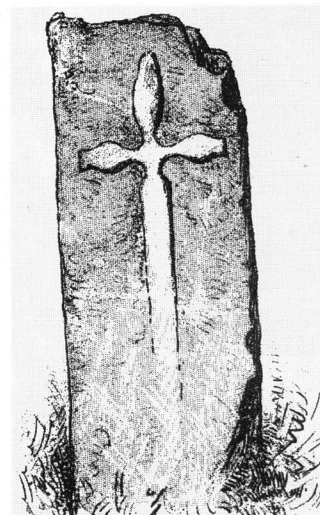
Flat-topped slab, 2.4m long by 0.6m high, bearing pecked symbols. A Latin cross has a ring enclosing the top arm, a curved mount at the foot, and dots in the angles, the lower ones pendant from the transom. A larger cross, with forked terminals and a curved bar above the head, is prolonged to bisect a shield-like base. Near this is a simple Latin cross.

\*30 L

\*119 C



C



D

**365 Killmaluag Farm**

NR 6937 3765

NR63NE 10

(1) Slab, 0.68m by 0.55m, bearing an incised Latin cross, 0.17m by 0.11m. It probably came from the nearby burial-ground (No.290), but was formerly re-used as a drain-cover in the byre and is now at the farmhouse.

\*29 W

(2) Slab, 1.07m by 0.38m, bearing in relief a Latin cross with rounded armpits and tapered arms. It was recorded in the garden before 1873 but is lost. (White, *Kintyre*, 129 and pl.49).





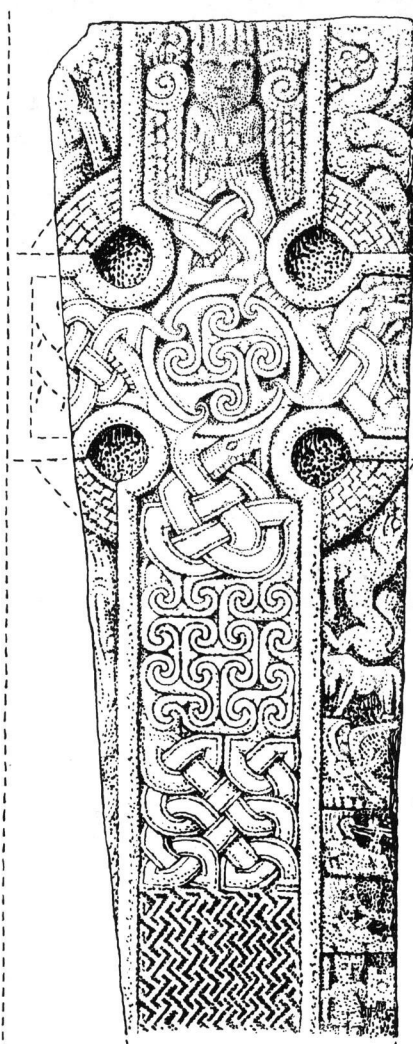
A (1)

### 217 Ardcattan Priory

NM 9713 3494 NM93SE 1

Valliscaulian priory founded about 1230 on a site with no recorded Early Christian associations.

- \*43 E (1) Cross-slab, trimmed on both sides, 2.0m by 0.68m. On face (a) is a ringed cross with round sunken armpits, whose ring bears a fret-pattern. In the top arm is a winged figure holding a book, between two beasts' heads. His legs merge into triple-beaded interlace which fills the cross-arms and is linked to a central triple-spiral roundel. The interlace bifurcates in places and incorporates rows of pellets, perhaps representing animals' teeth. The shaft contains linked spirals, an interlace knot, and a diagonal key-pattern. The left side is damaged, but to the right are beasts and three seated hooded figures playing harp, triple-pipe, and trumpet, and at the foot a warrior with spear and rectangular notched shield. These may represent David with musicians and David the warrior. On the back (b) are traces of an outline cross of similar size and shape.



B (1)



C (1)

Ardchattan Priory (No.217)

A, B. cross-slab (1) (B, scale 1:15)

Inishail (No.247)

C. cruciform stone (1) (scale 1:15)

### 238 Clenamacrie

NM 9233 2868

NM92NW 9

A pillar from Tom na Croise ('the knoll of the cross') is now in the Museum of Scotland. It is 0.94m by 0.30m by 0.14m and bears on face (a) a sunken equal-armed cross above a 0.19m boss ornamented with radial grooves. A shaft in relief, bearing traces of an incised plait, descends from the boss to the foot of the stone. On face (b) is a sunken Latin cross. (NMS X.IB 208).

### 247 Inishail

NN 0980 2447

NN02SE 2

Medieval parish church of St Fyndoca.

- (1) Cruciform slab, 1.64m by 0.51m. Each face bears a ringed cross within an irregular moulding. The side-arms project a short distance beyond the edges, and the circular armpits contain bosses which are more prominent on the E face.

\*45 F

\*120 C

### 261 Kilmaha

NM 9380 0781

NM90NW 1

Supposed chapel and burial-ground on promontory beside Loch Awe.

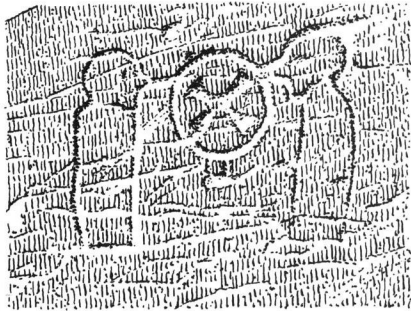
ROCK-CARVING. On a rock-outcrop is incised a cross-of-arcs in a 0.19m circle, having a short pedestal and flanked by

\*27 Q

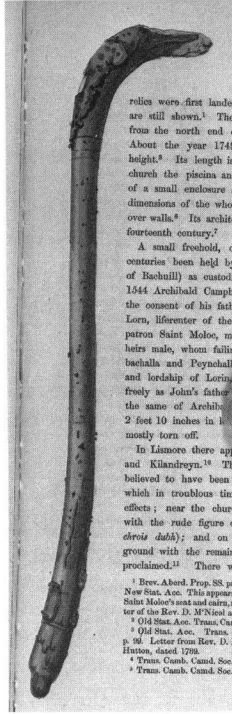
\*121 B



A



B



C (Origines Parochiales)

two robed figures whose heads resemble those of birds.  
CARVED STONES. These stones were removed to Dalavich Parish Church in 1994.

- \*44 E (1) Cross-slab, 1.76m by 0.45m; the head was broken in 1968 and is lost. It bore a ringed cross with square sunken armpits, and a central groove in the vertical arms. The deeply-incised shaft is open at the foot above a plain butt, and to the right are linked circles and bosses, two with central hollows.
- \*44 D (2) Cross-slab, flaked and broken across, 2.15m by 0.44m. Face (a) bears a cross with lozenge-shaped 'ring'. The vertical arms bear key-pattern and the spaces on either side step-patterns. On face (b) is a triple-barred cross in false relief, the shaft and arms bearing incised grooves and a deeply-sunk boss.

**\*267 Lismore**

NM 8609 4350 NM84SE 5

The probable site of the monastery founded by St Moluag (d.592) is marked by the medieval cathedral of Argyll, whose choir remains in use as the parish church. The possible outline of a curvilinear enclosure is indicated by surviving or recorded field-boundaries, but the principal early relic is the *Bachall Mór* or crozier of St Moluag, preserved by its hereditary keeper at Bachuil House.<sup>1</sup> The churchyard contains several late medieval graveslabs. Two fragments were identified in 1975 as belonging to that period or a later one, but re-

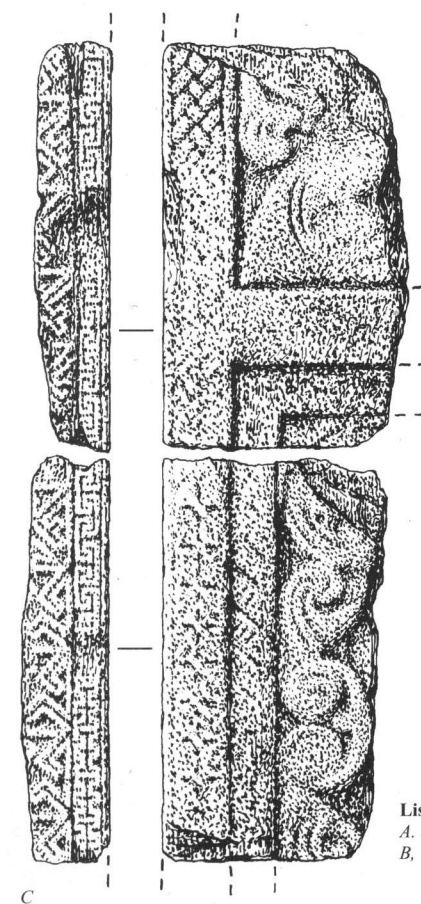
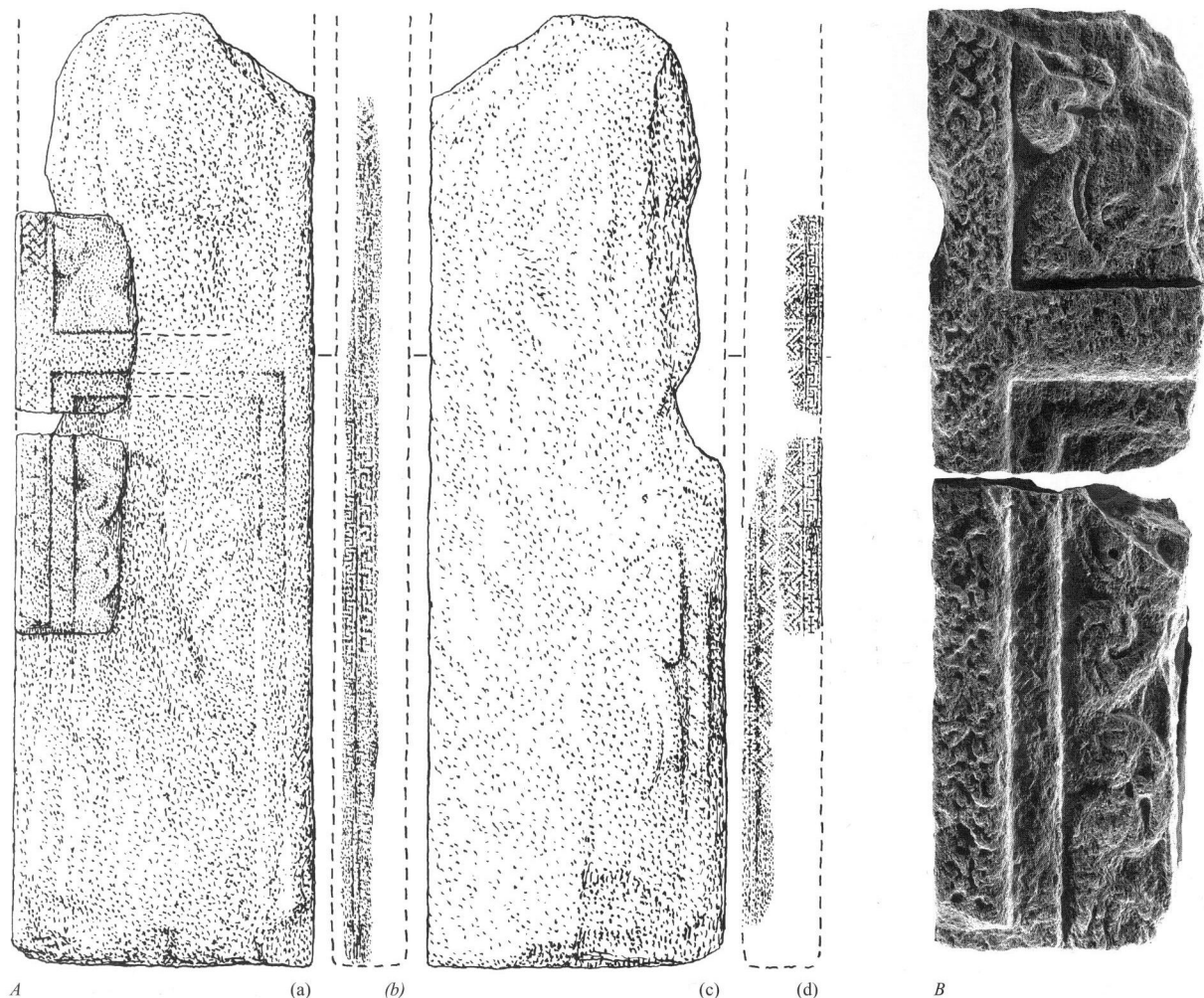
**Kilmaha (No.261)**  
A, B. rock-carving (B, scale 1:15)  
**Lismore (No.267)**  
C. crozier of St Moluag  
D. church from SW by Beveridge, 1882

examination in 1997 of these and a third unrecorded fragment indicated that they belonged to an early medieval cross-slab or cross-shaft.<sup>2</sup>

All three fragments are of dark green chlorite-schist. The largest one (A), measures 1.89m by 0.60m and about 0.15m thick. One end is broken irregularly and the other appears to have been trimmed straight for its present use as a graveslab in the churchyard. The two smaller fragments (B, C), which had been trimmed for re-use in an 18th-century burial-aisle<sup>3</sup> and are now in the church, measure respectively 0.40m by 0.24m and 0.40m by 0.22m. They are evidently adjacent surface-flakes from the large slab, and the key-ornament of their edges can be aligned with that of the latter.



D



**Lismore (No.267)**  
*A, carved stone (scale 1:15)*  
*B, C, surface-flakes*  
*(C, scale, 1:7.5)*

Both faces of the slab are much damaged, but more ornament is visible on the surface-flakes of face (a), which had a 75mm interlaced margin (RA 504 and 601) with beaded edges. A transverse strip of the same width, with slight traces of interlace, defines two panels, one of which had a slightly-sunk inner frame bearing diagonal fluting. This encloses the remains of low-relief spiral-ornament with voluted trumpets and a large pelta. The other panel, which is even more fragmentary, may have included foliage-ornament. Most of the surface of face (c) is lost, but towards one end there is a length of diagonally-fluted moulding<sup>4</sup> rising within a plain margin, and an adjacent tapering curved stem of uncertain character.

Both edges of the slab bear key-ornament, with a sunken central field. On one edge (d) this contains diagonal squares having vertical central bars. The raised margins bear an unusual crenellated motif with cruciform incisions, which changes to a pattern of alternate Ts (variant of RA 899). The centre of the other edge bears a simple fret of interlocking Ls springing from continuous bands (variant of RA 892), which at one end changes to a diagonal key-pattern (RA 927). The surviving margin bears a continuous small fret.

This incomplete monument has several unusual features, including the recessed edges, and it is uncertain whether it was a narrow cross-slab or a slab-like cross, although the latter is more likely. The division into panels, one of which has an inner margin, resembles the shaft of the Kilnave Cross, and the spiral-ornament is also consistent with an 8th-century date.

1 *Inventory of Argyll*, 2, No.267; *SAF*, 5 (1973), 47-57; *Origines Parochiales*, 2, part 1, 163.

2 *Inventory of Argyll*, 2, No.267 (13 and 14). The Commissioners are indebted to Mr N Robertson for indicating the probable date of the published fragments, and to Mr D Black for drawing attention to the third fragment (C).

3 Fragment (C) was built into the entrance jamb of 'the Ministers' Aisle', SW of the church. Fragment (B), first recorded in the church, bears similar mortar and had been broken to the same length.

4 Cf. the cable-moulding on the W face of the Kildalton Cross, and the edge-ornament of the Nigg cross-slab.



**ARGYLL 3 (1980)**  
**MULL, TIREE, COLL & NORTHERN ARGYLL**

**262 Calgary, Mull**

NM 3750 5116 NM35SE 24

Burial-ground dedicated to St Mary.

- 31 L (1) Pillar, broken at the foot, 0.68m by 0.14m. Face (a) bears a deeply-cut cross 0.21m high, with the arms at mid-height. On face (b) is a Latin cross 0.44m high.
- 32 T (2) Pillar, 1.27m by 0.27m, with pointed butt. Face (a) bears a sunken Latin cross with pellets above and in the upper angles, and a pellet within a ring below the foot. On face (b) is an inverted Latin cross in relief in a pointed oval frame.

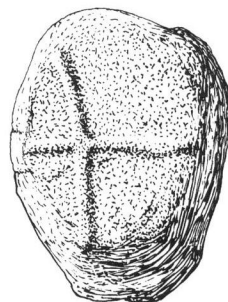
**263 Camas nan Geall, Ardnamurchan**

NM 5605 6184 NM56SE 2

- 45 G Standing-stone beside 18th-century burial-enclosure and 90m S of a chambered cairn. It is 2.3m by 0.9m by 0.23m, and the W face bears in relief a Latin cross 1.2m high, with wedge-shaped side-arms, a central crosslet and large pellets in the angles. At the top is an equal-armed cross above an animal with up-curved tail.



A. Camas nan Geall, Ardnamurchan (No.263), standing-stone



B. Caolas, Tiree (No.264), carved stone (scale 1:15)

**\*264 Caolas, Tiree**

NM 0838 4888 NM04NE 5

The burial-ground which is remembered in tradition as being situated immediately W of Crois House (NM 0809 4870) took its name, Crois a' Chaolais ('the cross of Caolas') from an adjacent cross on the summit of the ridge between Caolas and Ruaig. Beveridge recorded in 1903 that this had been removed for use in a nearby building but that two large stones which had supported it were visible on the N side of the road, where they are now concealed by road-widening.<sup>1</sup> Other names of ecclesiastical character in the area to the E include 'An Annaid' (NM 0855 4865), 'Pairc a' Claidh' ('field of the burial-ground'; NM 0852 4835), and 'Creag a' Mhanach' ('rock of the monk'; NM 0826 4863). A cross-marked stone which may have come from one of these sites was identified in 1998 on the N field-dyke of the B 8069 road, 25m W of its junction with the road to Milton and 320m ENE of Crois House.<sup>2</sup> The stone had apparently been found during ploughing, and may have been re-used in the pre-crofting township of Caolas which extended along and to the S of the line of the road.<sup>3</sup>

The carved stone is a roughly tapered slab of local gneiss with naturally bevelled sides, measuring 0.59m by 0.44m by 0.24m thick. The top surface, 0.42m by 0.38m, has been cut away to form an irregular cross in relief up to 20mm high and with arms up to 35mm wide. The longer arm is slightly curved, and one of the short arms appears to have been truncated by a break in the stone.

\*39 M  
 \*123 B

1 Beveridge, *Coll and Tiree*, 155-6; information from Mr Angus MacLean, Scarinish.

2 The Commissioners are indebted to Mr I Patterson, Edinburgh, for drawing attention to this stone; to Mr Hugh MacArthur for assistance in recording it; and to Mr Angus MacLean and Professor Donald Meek for information about local traditions and place-names.

3 Plan of Tiree by James Turnbull, 1768-9 (original in Argyll MSS, Inveraray Castle; copy in NMRS).

**270 Cill Mhàiri, Ardnamurchan**

NM 5312 6998 NM56NW 1

Oval burial-ground and site of St Mary's Chapel, containing a broken plain wheel-cross. The ring was 0.58m in diameter and the span about 0.72m. The square armpits are sunken only on face (a), where the ring overlies the arms.

53 F

**276 Cladh Beag, Hynish, Tiree**

NL 9782 3905 NL93NE 4

Site of burial-ground, from which three stones were recorded in the Hynish area in 1921.

- (1) Lost. Small pillar, about 0.4m by 0.15m, bearing a sunken Latin cross. (PSAS, 56 (1921-2), 125, fig.10). \*32 H
- (2) Lost. Slab with incised cross. (PSAS, 56 (1921-2), 126; not illustrated).

(3) Now at Kirkapoll. Slab, 1.33m by 0.47m. Face (a) bears two incised Latin crosses, one with bar-terminals and the other with slightly expanded terminals. On face (b) is an equal-armed cross with bar-terminals. 30 T

**281 Crois Bheinn, Morvern**

NM 5945 5428 NM55SE 7

56 V At the summit (340m) of a hill-track is a damaged cruciform stone, 0.61m by 0.51m. Face (a) bears a Latin cross in false relief within a ring, and face (b) a sunken equal-armed cross.

**298 Kilkenneth, Tiree**

NL 9432 4477 NL94SW 1

31 K Found in re-use in the medieval chapel of St Cainnech was a slab, 0.42m by 0.17m, bearing an incised Latin cross.

**303 Killundine (Cill Fhiontain), Morvern**

NM 5795 4987 NM54NE 1

Chapel and small burial-ground, dedicated to St Fintan. The following stones are now displayed in the Session House Museum in Keil churchyard, Lochaline (NM 6782 4510).

28 T (1) Pillar, 1.43m by 0.24m, broken across. On each face is an incised equal-armed cross, one (a) having round terminals.

29 R (2) Pillar, 0.64m by 0.12m, broken at the top. It bears an inverted Latin cross, and has a slightly cruciform outline with projections in line with the cross-arm.

**310 Kirkapoll, Tiree**

NM 0420 4741 (1) NM04NW 29

NM 0418 4740 (2)

Medieval church of St Columba and chapel, with two incised crosses on rock-outcrops to N.

31 N (1) Latin cross with expanded upper terminal, 0.44m by 0.21m.

31 P (2) Latin cross with triangular upper terminal, 0.54m by 0.2m.

**318 Nuns' Cave, Carsaig, Mull**

NM 5235 2041 NM52SW 1

29 D, 33 S The walls of this sandstone cave bear small linear and outline crosses, some with expanded or barred terminals, as well as a 'trident' symbol, masons' marks and recent graffiti.

**322 Lochbuie, Mull**

NM 6096 2487 NM62SW 3

Found during the construction of St Kilda's Episcopal Church in 1876 and built into the porch is a slab, 0.78m by 0.36m, damaged at the top. It bears an outline cross-potent with beaded 0.21m ring and open foot. 38 B

**323 Carsaig, Mull**

NM 5384 2171 NM52SW 2

In the burial-ground associated with the site of St Mary's Chapel there is an upright slab, 0.68m by 0.23m, with an incised Latin cross on each face. 31 S

**325 St Patrick's Chapel, Ceann a' Mhara, Tiree**

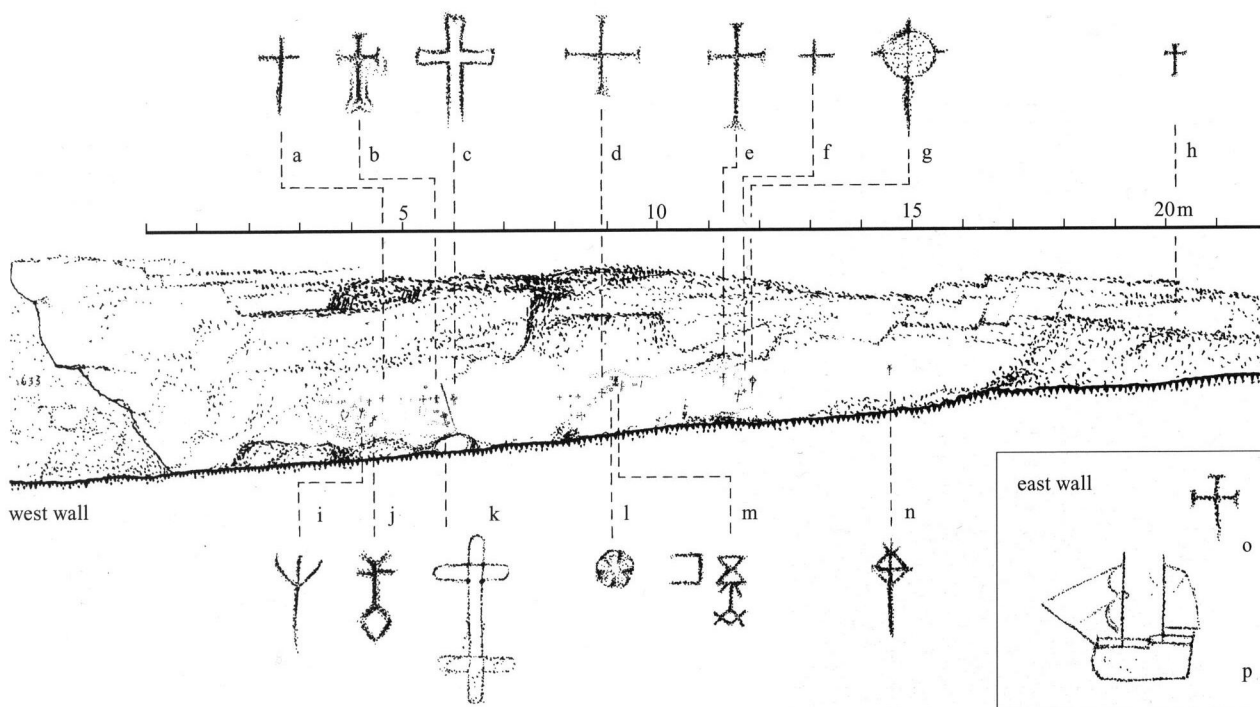
NL 9377 4013 NL94SW 2

Medieval chapel within early enclosure above shore.

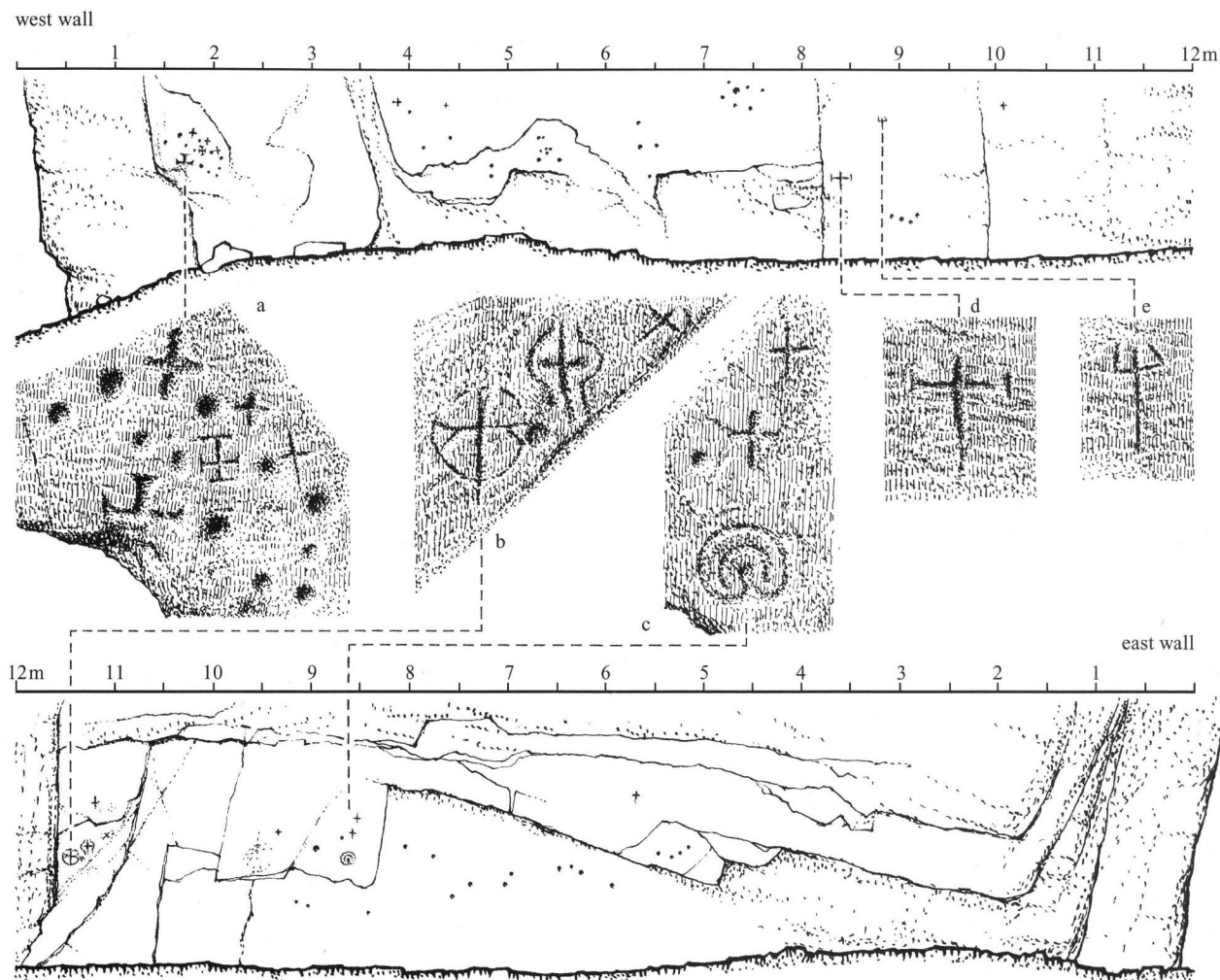
(1) Rounded boulder, 0.68m by 0.19m, bearing on two faces 32 D  
sunken Latin crosses.

(2) Irregular boulder, 0.94m by 0.45m, bearing on two faces 32 E  
sunken Latin crosses with slightly expanded vertical arms.

(3) Irregular boulder, 1.02m by 0.54m, bearing a sunken 32 F  
Latin cross with slightly expanded vertical arms.



Nuns' Cave, Carsaig, Mull (No.318) (elevation, scale 1:150; details, scale 1:15)



A. Cave, Scoor, Mull (No.326) (elevations, scale 1:75; details, scale 1:15)



B. Soroby, Tiree (No.327), cruciform stone (2), face b

**326 Scoor, Mull**

NM 4179 1865 NM41NW 5

Cave in vertically-bedded schistose rocks above shore. The walls bear about eighteen linear crosses, some with expanded, barred or forked terminals, as well as single horseshoe and trident symbols and numerous cup-marks. 29 E

**327 Soroby, Tiree**

NL 9838 4165 NL94SE 6

Burial-ground and site of medieval church of St Columba.

(1) Thin T-shaped slab, 0.47m by 0.38m, incised with a Latin cross whose head is enclosed in a 0.24m circle. There is a short lower transom and the upper arm continues onto the top edge, showing that the present tau shape is original. 28 C

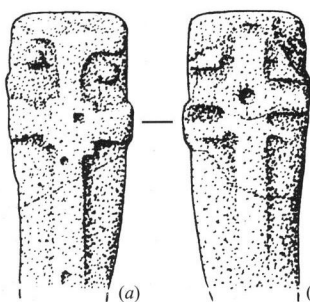
(2) Cruciform slab, 1.27m by 0.8m by 0.25m, with cable-moulded angles and a slight finial. Similar mouldings outline two crosses, that on the E face (a) being a Latin cross with a fluted central boss in a 0.35m moulding. The upper arm contains three coiled serpents and the shaft encloses light scrolls and is flanked by linked S-scrolls. Face (b) bears a disc-headed Latin cross with slightly expanded arms, filled with worn key-ornament 42 C



**\*403 Pennyghael, Mull**

NM 5165 2595 NM52NW 15

In 1878 the Ordnance Survey noted the position of a 'stone cross' about 80m N of Pennyghael House, but no further information was recorded.<sup>1</sup> The site indicated is a low rock-outcrop near the edge of a natural terrace, 450m from the S shore of Loch Scridain. The upper part of a small cross-slab was found in long vegetation near this outcrop in 1980, and its lower part was identified a short distance S of the house two years later. The pieces were fixed together in 1983, and the slab is now in safe storage on the Pennyghael estate.<sup>2</sup>



A. Pennyghael, Mull (No.403)  
carved stone (scale 1:15)

40 E The slab is of Carsaig sandstone, broken across obliquely and much worn. It measures 0.74m in height by 0.15m in thickness, and tapers from a maximum width of 0.25m to 0.19m above a slightly wider and thicker butt 0.2m in height. On one face (a), executed in relief up to 20mm high, there is a Latin cross with a square central expansion. The arms are expanded and in each of the spaces flanking the top arm there is a boss about 60mm in diameter, not aligned horizontally with the other. The foot of the shaft merges into the butt, and the end of the top arm into the margin at the top of the slab. Face (b) bears a Latin cross in low relief, having a second and thinner transom 25mm below the principal one. At the centre of the cross-head there is a hollow 25mm in diameter and 20mm deep. The arms of the cross, and especially the lower transom, are irregularly set out. The upper part of this face is heavily worn and cracked, and the top right corner broken off, but it appears that the spaces above the side-arms have not been ornamented.

1 The words are not in Antiquity type on the 6-inch map (Argyll sheet 107, 1st ed., 1878/81 and 2nd ed., 1900). There is no entry in the Name Book of 1878 (Argyll, No.38).

2 The Commissioners are indebted to Mrs J Glaisher and Mr I Moodie for information about this stone.

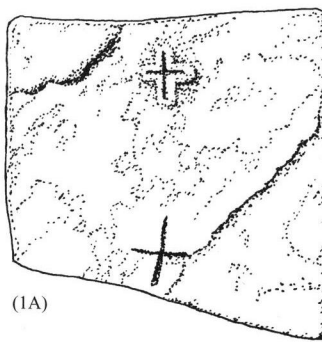
**6 Funerary Monuments, Crosses and other Carved Stones.**

Many of these carvings formerly lay in Reilig Odhráin, the principal burial-ground of the island. There have been numerous alterations in their location following the reorganisation of the Abbey Museum, in the rebuilt monastic infirmary, in 1990. St Ronan's Church (the Nunnery Museum), was fitted with purpose-built storage in 1995. The locations given below were revised in 1998 but are subject to further alteration.

The sites of a number of crosses of uncertain date, recorded in place-names or other traditional sources, are listed in *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, p.179. These included crosses dedicated to St Brendan and St Adomnán.

*Linear incised crosses* (See also nos.19, 62 and 106)

(1) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Roughly rectangular slab, 0.49m by 0.24m, bearing a Latin cross cut with a flat-bottomed groove. 31 J



(1A)

B. Iona, carved stone (scale 1:15)

\*(1A) Abbey Church, S Transept, W wall. Fragment of Torridonian flagstone, found in disturbed topsoil during excavations in St Ronan's Church in 1992 (O'Sullivan, J, in *PSAS*, 124 (1994), 327-65). It has been part of a slightly tapered slab and appears to be intact in width, measuring 0.65m at the top, but is broken obliquely at the foot and may also be incomplete at the top. It measures 0.65m in surviving height and 45mm to 60mm in thickness. The surface has flaked in places, both before and after the slab was carved, and at the top this flaking has been encouraged by punching to leave upstanding in relief a small cross with round-ended arms. It measures 120mm in height by 100mm across the arms, and bears an incised Latin cross, 95mm by 70mm. At the foot of the fragment on the same axis there is an irregular incised cross, 140mm high and about 100mm across the arms. The shaft is expanded and ends obliquely, but the right terminal is lost through flaking and the others are plain. (*PSAS*, 124 (1994), 340, 342 no.209).

\*29 X

(2) Lost; recorded in Reilig Odhráin in 1877. Thin slab, 0.61m by 0.18m, bearing a cross with the transom at mid-height. (Dryden MS 8, no.8b). 29 P

(3) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Irregularly-shaped boulder, 0.29m by 0.28m, bearing a Latin cross with triangular foot. 31 T

(4) Lost, formerly at the Nunnery. Part of the head and shaft of a cruciform stone 0.56m high, bearing a Latin cross with splayed foot. (Drummond, *Monuments*, pl.5, 2). 31 W, 56 N

(5) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Kite-shaped slab, 0.64m by 0.39m, bearing a ringed Latin cross. 28 D

(6) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Roughly tapered slab, 0.64m by 0.22m, bearing a Greek cross within a circle. 28 B

(7) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Part of a roughly-trimmed slab, 0.47m by 0.19m, bearing a Latin cross with triangular terminals. 31 DD

(8) Abbey Museum, S wall. Pillar-stone, 0.93m by 0.28m, bearing on face (a) a Latin cross with triangular terminals and on face (b) a simple cross. 31 GG



A (5)



B (10)



C (19)



D (14)

Iona, carved stones

(9) Abbey Museum, N wall; found re-used near the manse, and thought to be from the former burial-ground of Cill Chainnech (Drummond, *Monuments*, pl.2, 2). Kite-shaped boulder, 0.50m by 0.32m, bearing a Latin cross with triangular upper and side terminals.

(10) On loan to Museum of Scotland. Water-worn boulder, 0.39m by 0.31m, bearing a Latin cross cut with a V-shaped groove. The shaft has a forked foot, while the other terminals are triangular.

(11) Abbey Museum, W gallery; found in Reilig Odhráin in 1976. Slab, broken at the foot, 0.50m by 0.28m wide. On each face is a Latin cross, the triangular upper and side terminals being sunken, and the arms intersecting in a lozenge. On face (b) there are traces of a raised margin.

(12) Abbey Museum, E wall. Part of a slab, 0.58m by 0.48m, bearing a lightly-pecked Latin cross with forked terminals.

(13) Abbey Church, S choir-aisle. Part of a worn slab, 0.67m by 0.43m, bearing a thinly-incised Latin cross with forked terminals. On each side of the cross is a single vertical line, that on the left being largely obliterated.

(14) Inveraray Castle; removed from Reilig Odhráin about 1854. Fragment of a slab, 0.84m long. It bears an incomplete Latin cross with forked terminals, and a half-uncial Old Irish inscription reading: + OR(OIT) DO MAILFAT[AR/IC] ('A prayer for Mail-Phatraic'). The last four letters of the inscription were lost about 1852. Professor K H Jackson dated it epigraphically to the 9th century.

(15) St Ronan's Church, S wall. Fragment of the head and shaft of a cruciform stone with slightly rounded armpits. In

1874 it measured 0.41m by 0.28m across the arms, but the lowest 0.10m of the shaft has since been lost. On one face is a crudely incised Latin cross with forked terminals, while on the other face are faint traces of another possible incised cross.

(16) Abbey Museum, S wall. Roughly rectangular slab, 0.86m by 0.40m, which bears a Latin cross of 'jewelled' type, with forked terminals and a circular hollow in each armpit.

(17) About 7m S of St Martin's Cross, with other medieval graveslabs. Irregular slab, 1.65m by 0.36m, which bears at each end a Greek cross with barred terminals.

*Sunken crosses* (See also no.44)

(18) Abbey Museum, W end. Broken slab, 0.75m by 0.25m. Initially it was carved on face (a) in false relief with two conjoined Latin crosses, the upper one apparently having two transoms. Subsequently it was converted into an upright slab, a sunken Greek cross being cut on each face.

(19) Abbey Museum, W gallery; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. Tapered slab, 0.77m by 0.29m, which originally bore, within a rectangular frame, a linear Latin cross having double volutes at the ends of the upper arm and side-arms and a leaf-shaped depression at the foot. Subsequently a simple sunken cross was carved on the same face, largely obliterating the earlier cross.

(20) Abbey Museum, E wall; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. Roughly rectangular slab lacking part of one edge, 0.73m by 0.35m. It bears on each face a shallow sunken cross with slightly splayed arms.

(21) Abbey Museum, store. Irregular fragment, 0.32m by 0.26m, bearing a sunken equal-armed cross.



A (22)



B (22)

*Outline incised crosses, not ringed* (See also no.53)

(22) St Columba Centre, Fionnphort. Wedge-shaped grave-marker, 0.36m by 0.27m, broken at the bottom. It bears a compass-drawn cross with expanded arms, made into a Chi-rho by a hook attached to the upper arm. Along the top edge is a half-uncial inscription reading: LAPIS ECHODI ('The stone of Echoid'). The Old Irish personal name Echoid, Latinised as Echodius, was a common one. Professor K H Jackson suggested a 7th-century date.

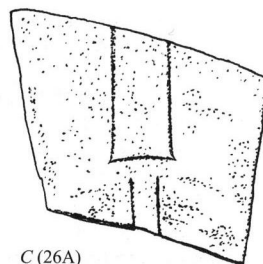
(23) Nunnery, in a row of stones E of the church. Portion of slab, 1.28m by 0.48m, which bears a simple Latin cross.

(24) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Roughly rectangular slab, 0.64m by 0.30m, bearing a lightly-pecked Latin cross within a circle drawn from a centre at the intersection of the cross-arms.

(25) Abbey Museum, W gallery; discovered in Reilig Odhráin in 1978. Incomplete slab, 0.58m by 0.57m, bearing the worn outline of a Latin cross with rounded armpits.

(26) Abbey Museum, S wall and detached fragment on E window-sill. Rectangular slab, 2.05m by 0.98m, damaged round the edges and broken into three pieces, all much worn. A vertical incised line forms two compartments, each containing two Latin crosses placed foot to foot. Each cross has a central cup-shaped depression and a splayed foot, but they differ in detail as shown, one being ringed.

(26A) Reilig Odhráin. Irregular fragment of a slab of Torridonian flagstone, found in re-use as a gravemarker in 1991. It measures about 0.5m in height and width and bears the outline of what was presumably the shaft of a cross, 0.26m in surviving height and 0.11m wide. The foot is slightly expanded and has a concave end, and the angles of the surface



C (26A)

Iona, carved stones (C, E, scale 1:15)

project as slight spurs across the flat-bottomed groove that defines the outline. Below the shaft and on its central axis there are two grooves 50mm apart which extend to the broken edge of the slab. These probably represented a pedestal, although they are separated from the foot of the shaft by a gap of 40mm

*Relief crosses, not ringed* (See also nos.18, 61)

(27) Abbey Museum, E end. Rough tapered slab, 0.80m by 0.27m, bearing a Latin cross.

(28) Abbey Church, S transept. Fragment of a slab, 0.32m by 0.16m, bearing a raised Latin cross.

(29) Lost; formerly at the Nunnery. Slab, 0.41m by 0.16m, bearing in relief a cross with rounded armpits and stubby side-arms branching from the centre of the shaft. (Drummond, *Monuments*, pl.5, 1; Dryden MS 8, no.9g).

(30) Abbey Museum, N wall. Upper part of a rectangular slab of sandstone, 0.71m by 0.30m, lacking the top left corner. It bears a Latin cross in low relief, with beaded edges and rounded armpits.

(31) Abbey Museum, N wall, and detached fragment in store; found during excavations in front of 'St Columba's Shrine' in 1976. Fragment of a dressed slab of sandstone, 0.55m by 0.52m. It has borne a long-shafted cross within an incised margin. The shaft has beaded edges and its centre is slightly sunk. To the right an incised inscription reads: [OROIT] DO ERGUS ('A prayer for Fergus'). Professor K H Jackson suggested an 8th-century date.

(32) Abbey Museum, E window-sill. Part of a water-worn boulder, 0.28m by 0.23m, bearing a Latin cross in relief within an oval frame. The arms are slightly splayed, and their ends and the centre of the cross-head are marked by small drilled holes.

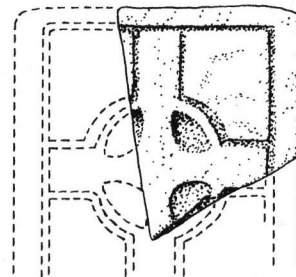
(33) Abbey Museum, E wall; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. Upper part of a slab, 0.83m by 0.57m, bearing in low relief a cross-potent with a square central expansion. The arms are slightly curved and splayed.

*Outline incised crosses, ringed* (See also no.26)

(34) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Upper part of a slab, 0.61m by 0.39m, bearing a ringed Latin cross with square armpits and slightly splayed arms; the spaces between the cross and the ring are slightly sunk.



D (34)



E (34A)

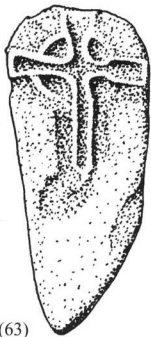


- (34A) Abbey Museum, W end. Fragment of the upper right part of a rectangular graveslab of mica-schist, identified in Reilig Odhráin in 1993. It was found near a newly dug grave W of St Oran's Chapel, but there was no evidence that it had been deeply buried. The fragment measures 0.46m by 0.37m and 50mm in thickness, and its original width at the top was about 0.58m. A continuous groove formed a 60mm margin which enclosed an outline ringed cross with broad curved and slightly sunken armpits. Its original span was about 0.46m, and the top arm, which extended to the margin, was 80mm wide. The surface is much flaked and cracked, and the lower edge of the right arm is not preserved. The top right quadrant of the ring is the only one to be fully preserved, although the stump of the lower right one is also identifiable. The ring is unusually narrow, measuring only about 20mm across.
- 36 H (35) Lost. Part of a slab, 0.30m by 0.24m, bearing the lower half of a ringed cross with square armpits and open foot. (Dryden MS 8, no.9d).
- 36 J (36) St Ronan's Church, S wall. Fragment of a thin slab, 0.49m by 0.44m, bearing a ringed cross with square armpits.
- (37) At Sithean farm (NM 2700 2360), formerly re-used as a step in a ruined dwelling 120m NE of the farmhouse. Slab, 1.21m by 0.59m, slightly damaged at the edges. It bears a cross having a double-beaded ring containing square sunken armpits; the foot of the shaft is slightly expanded. The shaft bore an inscription of which only the first word, OROI[T] ('a prayer') is now legible.
- 36 L (38) Abbey Church, S choir-aisle. Part of a slab, 0.90m by 0.40m, bearing a ringed cross with square slightly-sunk armpits. The shaft is much flaked but appears to have had an open foot. A groove has been scored down the centre of the stem of the cross-head.
- (39) Outside the N wall of St Ronan's Church; formerly incorporated in the threshold. Irregular slab, 1.70m by 0.74m. It bears a crudely-incised ringed cross with small circular depressions at the intersection of the cross-arms, which do not project beyond the outer circle of the ring.
- 38 G (40) At Carraig Beag, the former Free Church at Port nam Mairtir; found in re-use in the courtyard W of the St Columba Hotel, in 1977. Worn and broken slab measuring 1.40m by 0.42m. It bears a long shaft having at one end a ringed cross with round sunken armpits and at the other a plain cross with small depressions at the armpits.
- 37 R (41) St Ronan's Church, N wall. Incomplete slab of sandstone, 0.70m by 0.42m, trimmed for re-use and exhibiting a later socket. It bears faint traces of a ringed cross having one arm-end barred.
- 36 Q (42) Abbey Museum, N wall. Roughly rectangular slab, 0.75m by 0.38m, bearing a lightly-pecked ringed cross with rounded armpits. The shaft rises from a square base and the upper arm terminates in a rectangular bar.
- 37 N (43) St Ronan's Church, S wall. Fragment of a slab, 0.61m by 0.46m, bearing an incised T-shaped outline, probably representing the base and part of the shaft of a cross (cf. nos.42, 47). The shaft has a beaded outline.
- 37 P (44) Abbey Museum, store. Part of a thin slab, 0.36m by 0.26m. On face (a) is a ringed cross with rounded armpits and a central depression, having an outer channel flanking the upper and side-arms. On face (b) there is a sunken Latin cross.
- 37 F (45) Abbey Museum, N wall; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. Roughly rectangular slab, 1.53m by 0.45m. It bears a ringed cross with rounded and sunken armpits whose shaft rises from a circle. On the right is the inscription: OR(OIT) AR ANMAIN EOGAIN ('A prayer for the soul of Eogan'). Professor K H Jackson suggested an 8th-century date.
- 32 L (46) Abbey Museum, N wall; formerly incorporated in the paving in front of 'St Columba's Shrine'. Roughly rectangular slab, 1.38m by 0.64m, lacking the top and broken into three fragments. A ringed cross, having rounded and sunken armpits and a plain foot, is flanked by two inscriptions. That to the right reads: [O]ROIT AR ANM[AIN] / FLAINN ('A prayer for the soul of Flann'). The second inscription is a variant and reads: OR(OIT) AR ANMA[IN F]LAIND. Professor K H Jackson suggested an 8th-century date.
- 5 (47) St Ronan's Church, S wall; formerly incorporated in the paving in front of 'St Columba's Shrine'. Broken slab, 1.3m by 0.52m, bearing a ringed cross with rounded and sunken armpits. The shaft has a rectangular base and is ornamented with two pairs of oval depressions, the lower pair enclosed within a bulbous expansion. On the right is the inscription: OR(OIT) DO L[OI(N)]GS[E]CAN ('A prayer for Loingsechán'). Professor K H Jackson suggested a late 8th or 9th-century date.
- 37 C (48) Abbey, re-used in 1875 as a door-lintel at the foot of the refectory stair. Part of a slab, now whitewashed, bearing faint traces of a ringed cross with rounded and sunken armpits.
- 5 (49) Abbey, incorporated in the paving in front of 'St Columba's Shrine'. Irregularly-shaped slab, 1.52m by 0.50m, bearing a ringed cross with rounded sunken armpits.
- 37 H (50) Abbey Museum, E wall; formerly incorporated in the paving in front of 'St Columba's Shrine'. Irregular slab, 1.05m by 0.52m, bearing a ringed cross with rounded sunken armpits, the ends of the upper arm and shaft being open.
- 5 (51) Abbey Museum, N wall; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. Slab, 1.64m by 0.53m, bearing a ringed cross with rounded sunken armpits, the circle being slightly recessed. Except for a narrow strip at the left, where the guide-line for the intended edge is still visible, the slab has been trimmed to a roughly rectangular shape.
- 37 K (52) Reilig Odhráin. Roughly rectangular slab, 1.92m by 0.57m, bearing in the upper half a ringed cross with rounded sunken armpits.
- 37 L (53) Abbey Museum, N wall. Roughly rectangular slab, 0.60m by 0.36m, bearing on face (a) a ringed cross with beaded edges and rounded sunken armpits, the shaft being open at the foot. On face (b) is an outline Latin cross, also open at the foot, having small circular depressions at the armpits.
- 36 R (54) Reilig Odhráin; traditionally believed to be the tomb of a French king. Dressed slab of granite, 1.54m by 0.62m, bearing a ringed cross with rounded sunken armpits; the shaft terminates at the foot in a narrower tenon. The upper arm has a splayed terminal and its end, like those of the side-arms, is open.
- 35 T (55) Lost. Slab, 0.61m by 0.28m, which bore an outline incised ringed cross with splayed arms and foot and rounded sunken armpits, defined by a 19mm margin. (Dryden MS 8, no.2d).
- 36 S (56) Abbey Museum, E wall; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. Incomplete slab, 1.02 m by 0.51m, bearing the remains of a ringed cross with rounded, slightly sunken armpits and a beaded border. The lines defining the tapering shaft rise from volutes, and it is open at the foot.
- 36 U (57) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Roughly rectangular slab, 0.76m by 0.69m, split vertically into two pieces. It bears a ringed cross with rounded armpits having semicircular bosses on the inner side of the ring (cf. no.86). The cross has a beaded margin and the shaft terminates at the foot in a semicircular expansion.
- 36 T (58) St Ronan's Church, S wall. Rectangular slab of sandstone, 1.08m by 0.52m, cut from a larger slab bearing a crudely-incised ringed cross with rounded armpits and expanded foot. There are bosses on the inner side of the ring.
- 36 W (59) Abbey Museum, S wall; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. One of the slabs of the composite cross-base no.99, trimmed for re-use as a graveslab and bearing a ringed cross with rounded sunken armpits and bosses attached to the inside of the ring.
- 36 X (60) Abbey Museum, E wall; found about 1870 some 140m NW of Cladh an Disirt. Water-worn boulder, 0.48m by 0.40m, popularly known as 'St Columba's Pillow'. It bears a ringed cross-potent with a square expansion at the centre, the spaces between the cross and the ring being slightly sunk.
- 38 A

*Relief crosses, ringed*

(61) Abbey Museum, S wall. Top corner of a dressed sandstone cross-slab, 0.32m by 0.22m. On the front (a), within a raised border, there was a ringed cross; the upper arm is bordered by a bold roll-moulding and has a plain boss at the centre, while the ring is decorated with a row of pellets. The armpits and the spandrels between the cross and its border were deeply sunk. On the back (b) there has been a cross in low relief, with a beaded border but no ring.

(62) Abbey Church, S transept, E wall. Fragment of a slab of fine-grained sandstone, 0.15 m by 0.09m. On face (a) is part of a ringed cross with rounded armpits and beaded edges, carved in relief, and on face (b) a linear incised cross.



A (63)

Iona, carved stones (A, scale 1:15)

\*(63) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Slab bearing a ringed Latin cross in false relief, recorded in St Oran's Chapel by Drummond and Macalister. It was subsequently built into one of the concrete plinths used to display carved stones in Reilig Odhráin, and was rediscovered when this was dismantled in 1990 (information from Mr A MacKechnie, Fionnphort). The slab is of mica-schist, much worn, and measures 0.65m by 0.29m, the length being 0.14m less than was recorded by Macalister. The beaded outline of the cross is rather irregular and the left and top arms are expanded whereas the right arm is rectangular. The ring is narrow and very heavily worn. (Drummond, *Monuments*, pl.2, 4; Macalister, R A S, in *PSAS*, 48 (1913-14), 423, no.22).

(64) Abbey Museum, N wall; formerly at the Nunnery. Dressed slab of sandstone in two pieces, 1.22m long by 0.36m wide. In false relief within a plain raised margin is a ringed cross with rounded armpits, having a small central boss. The shaft and arms have been channelled to emphasise the outline.

(65) St Ronan's Church, E wall; formerly in the Nunnery Church. Two fragments of a sandstone slab, apparently cruciform and about 0.61 m by 0.32m. Early drawings show that within a raised margin there was a ringed or disc-headed cross. The surface is so weathered that it is impossible to verify Dryden's identification of hollows at the angles and centre of the cross-head. (Drummond, *Monuments*, pl.10, 1; Dryden MS 8, no.9b).

(66) Lost; formerly at the Abbey. Slab measuring 0.47m by 0.37m, recorded by Dryden in 1877. It bore in false relief a ringed cross with square armpits, framed between two narrow vertical sunk panels. The shaft was slightly wider below the cross-head than within it, and the extremity of the upper arm appears to have been splayed. (Dryden MS 3, no.12).

*Expansional crosses*

(67) St Ronan's Church, S wall; formerly at the Abbey. Fragment of a slab, 0.46m by 0.19m, bearing an incomplete outline cross with rounded armpits. The foot of the shaft, the only terminal to survive, divides into a triquetra knot.

(68) Abbey Museum, N wall; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. Rectangular slab, 1.34m by 0.75m. Within a plain border there is a double-ribbon cross interlaced with a square ring at the centre and having triquetra terminals, three of them double-beaded, interlaced with figure-of-eight knots. The spaces between the ribbons are slightly sunk. The surface is

much worn, but in one of the quarters there are traces of three groups of letters.

(69) Abbey Museum, S wall; it was found in 1962 close to Reilig Odhráin, and a smaller fragment was recorded in 1877. One half of a rectangular slab which, when complete, measured 1.11m by about 0.77m. The decoration is a crude copy of that on no.68, consisting of a double-ribbon cross interlaced with a square ring at the centre and having knotted terminals, but with no beading. In the border of the longer side is incised an inscription in Norse runes:

**k[?]alli auluis sunr lapi stan þinsi ubir fukl brupur [sin]**

'Kali, son of Ölvir, laid this stone over Fugl his brother'

It has an initial saltire cross, and smaller crosses separate the individual words. The border has broken off at the end, but there was space for the final word **sin** ('his'). Most of the outline of the cross has been defined by pocking, but some areas have been finished with a knife-like tool similar to that used for cutting the runes, and the decoration and inscription appear to be contemporaneous. The spelling conventions used suggest that the slab dates to the late 10th or 11th century.



B (69)



(70)

A. Iona, cross-slab

*Other cross-slabs*

41 F (70) Abbey Museum, N wall; formerly at the Nunnery. Slab with damaged corners, 1.16m by 0.58m. It bears a ringed cross with rounded and sunken armpits and expanded foot, whose arms display the double curves seen on St John's Cross (no.82). The cross is outlined by a bead-moulding and ornamented with interlace, knotted in the arms and plaited or looped at the centre, but the ring, which is slightly sunk, is undecorated. Similar loops and Stafford knots (RA 551, 601) are common in Scandinavian-influenced sculpture elsewhere in Britain, and a 10th-century date is probable.

41 Q (71) Lost; recorded at the Nunnery about 1875. Fragment of a slab, 0.31m by 0.23m. Running vertically up the centre, and perhaps originally forming the shaft of a cross, was a narrow four-cord plait (RA 503) flanked by broader panels, one of them containing a diagonal key-pattern and the other a loosely-composed four-cord plait. (Dryden MS 7).

*Cruciform stones* (See also nos.4, 15 and 65)

56 B (72) Abbey Church, S transept. Fragment of a cruciform stone, 0.31m by 0.19m. One side-arm is intact and measures 0.05m in length.

56 C (73) St Ronan's Church, S wall. Undecorated cruciform stone, 0.34m across the arms and 0.35m high. About 0.12m has been broken off the shaft since 1874.

56 D (74) Lost. Much-worn cruciform stone, about 0.56m high and 0.21m across the arms. (Drummond, *Monuments*, pl.5, 4; Dryden MS 8, no.9f).

56 G (75) Abbey Museum, S wall. Part of the head and shaft of a cruciform stone with narrow rounded armpits, 0.60m high and about 0.42m in original span. It is carved from dark hornblende-schist, probably derived from the Outer Hebrides.

57 H (76) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Arm and part of the head of a cruciform stone with rounded armpits, carved from hornblende-schist similar to no.75.

*Disc-headed cross-slabs*

42 G (77) Abbey Museum, store. Part of the disc-head and tapered shaft of a slab, 0.19m in width below the head and 0.30m in original diameter. On face (a) the head bears a cross-of-arcs with sunk interspaces whose beaded border

forms a triquetra in the top of the shaft. The other face (b) appears to have borne a similar cross within a double border whose outer member continues down the shaft as double-beaded interlace.

(78) Abbey Church, S transept. Cross-slab, broken at the junction of shaft and head which is itself broken vertically; 1.09m in length including a tenoned butt, with a shaft 0.24m wide and a disc 0.37m in diameter. One face bears a ringed cross with rounded sunken armpits; its lower limb, and a 25mm margin, are incised on the shaft of the slab, whereas the head is carved on the disc in false relief within a raised margin. The arms extend to the edge of the disc, and a broken area at the top may indicate the former position of a projecting finial.

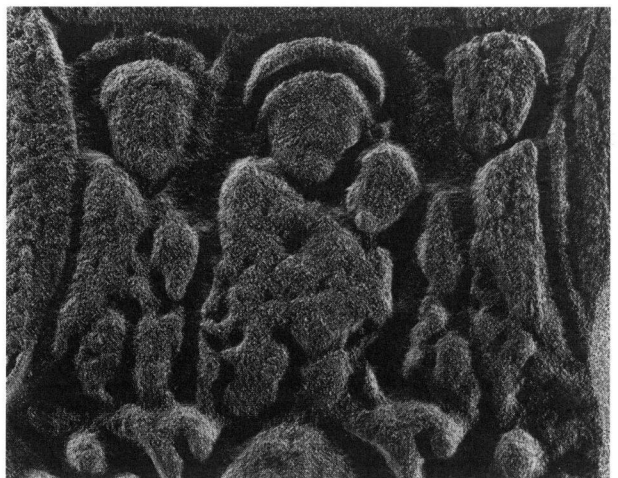
(79) Abbey Church, S transept. Head of a small disc-headed cross-slab of sandstone, much weathered, 0.24m in diameter and 65mm thick. On one face is a ringed cross with wide rounded armpits; the ends of the arms project slightly beyond the perimeter. The three surviving arms are of unequal width, and the carving may have represented a crucifix. The centres of the cantons form ovoid bosses.

*Free-standing crosses*

(80) ST ORAN'S CROSS. Recumbent in Abbey Museum; formerly in St Oran's Chapel. Fragments of a massive cross, 3.45m in surviving height and 1.99m in span, with 0.44m semicircular armpits. The top arm and shaft (whose surviving part is broken across and split in thickness) were tenoned into a transom which is broken at the centre. The shaft is of mica-granulite and the arms of a coarser mica-schist, both from the Ross of Mull. On the front (a), within a 40mm interlaced border, the shaft bears two cruciform groups of bosses, some of bird's-nest type, divided by rows of small bosses in saltire.

In a panel below this and in the side-arms the same motif is combined with snakes. At the top of the shaft are the Virgin and Child between two angels whose inner wings form a canopy. The centre of the cross-head showed five bosses and to the left is a figure standing beside a leonine beast but not in conflict with it, perhaps Daniel rather than David. The right constriction is lost but in the upper one is a symmetrical pair of beasts, each with a smaller companion. The top arm bears a

rich composition of spiral bosses of varying size, including four roundels which generate serpents with gaping jaws. On the back (b) each of the side-arms bears a cruciform pattern of spiral bosses diverging from four larger bosses. In the left constriction is a cloaked and seated harper, and to the right an enthroned figure facing a standing one, perhaps with a halo (? Christ and Pilate). The top arm bears six large bosses producing serpents with gaping jaws, four of which threaten a ?human head.



B. St Oran's Cross (80), detail of shaft with Virgin and Child between angels

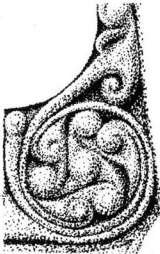




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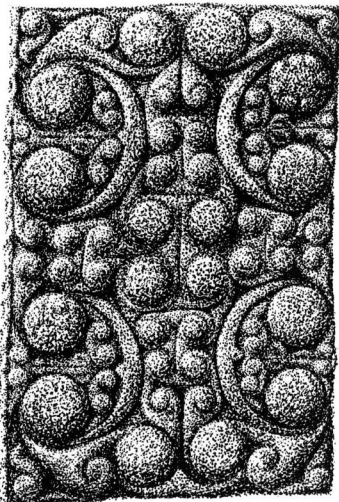
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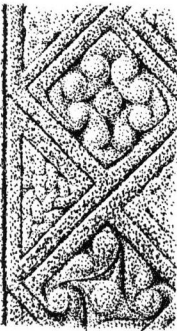
C



D



F



E

**Iona, St John's Cross (82)**  
A. fragments in Reilig Odhráin, 1895  
B. E face of shaft, 1895  
C-F details

(81) St Ronan's Church, S wall; identified in Reilig Odhráin in 1978. Upper part of the shaft of a large ringless cross with rounded armpits, 1.05m by 0.54m, and 0.44m between the armpits; the thickness of 0.16m appears to be incomplete. The surviving face has a 50mm margin but no identifiable ornament. The top edge retains traces of a shallow hollow, but there is no evidence of a former tenon. The fragment is identical in size and shape with the corresponding part of St Oran's Cross (no.80), while its material resembles that used for the upper parts of the latter.

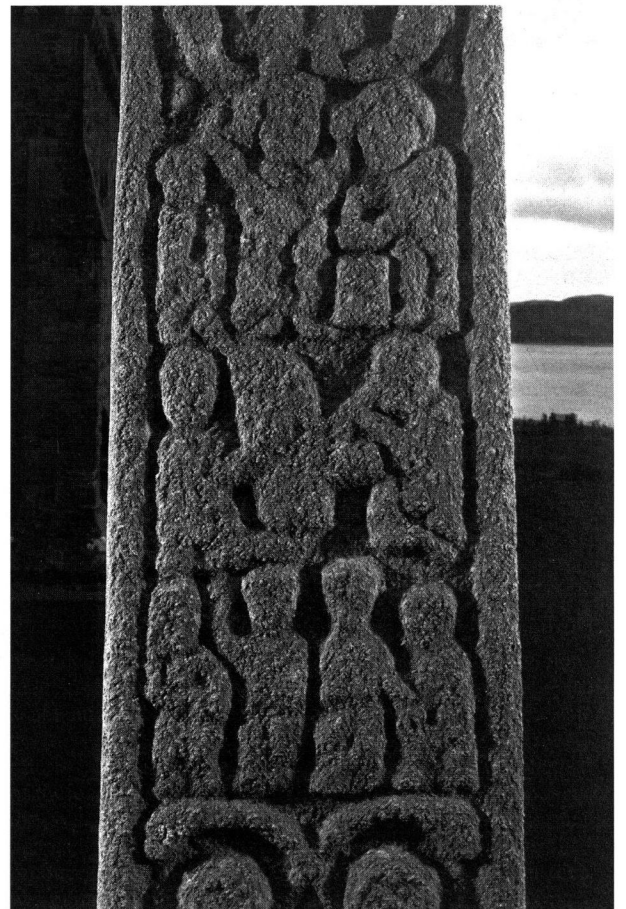
(82) ST JOHN'S CROSS. Abbey Museum, W end, and ring-fragment in store. This ringed cross stood in a composite base (no.96) W of 'St Columba's Shrine', where the broken shaft was drawn by Lhuyd in 1699. The name was first recorded by Johnson in 1773 but may be ancient. Fragments of the head were identified by H D Graham but neither he nor J Romilly Allen associated it with the shaft. The cross was reconstructed *in situ* by R A S Macalister in 1927, but fell in 1951 and again in 1957. A concrete replica was installed in the original base in 1970, and following conservation the cross was returned to Iona in 1990.

The cross, which was composed of four main sections and four ring-quadrants all linked by mortice-and-tenon joints, measured about 5.3m by 2.17m in span. The arms are double-curved, with slightly concave ends and 0.52m semicircular armpits, and the ring is 1.25m in diameter. The shaft and the upper arms are of greenish chlorite-schist, probably from the Loch Sween area, but the finial of the top arm and the only surviving ring-fragment are of silver-grey mica-schist from the Ross of Mull. This discrepancy, with damage on the butt and the awkward relation of stone-joints to ornament, suggest that the cross was originally ringless with a single joint at the centre of the head. Following an early fall, the ring-quadrants were introduced to stabilise the head, and local stone was used to replace damaged areas in the top arm and the now-lost lower arm.

Both faces are framed by half-round mouldings, and on the W face of the shaft inner borders of fine-line interlace enclose the three lower panels of ornament. A fourth panel, and the three larger ones on the E face, resemble the cross-head in having no inner margin. The dominant ornament is spiral-work linking bird's-nest and other bosses of varying size, including the cruciform groupings with saltire infilling seen on St Oran's Cross. In the lowest panel of the E face this motif is combined with two roundels formed by snakes, some with fierce biting jaws attacking others with lizard-like forequarters. Other forms of snake-and-boss ornament are seen on both faces of the shaft and arms. The lowest panel on the W face is a rich cruciform design, and the central shaft-panel of the E face is a low-relief diaper with interlace and key-patterns. At the centre of the E face of the cross-head is a 0.31m boss covered in interlace, within a circle of spiral-linked bosses, and in the W face is a shallow 0.28m recess, perhaps designed for a metal boss, in a circle of spiral roundels. The arms and the top E shaft-panel also contain prominent bosses, some of bird's-nest type, placed centrally in their panels rather than on the line of the ring, but in the W shaft-panel there is a 0.19m recess like that above. The constrictions of the arms are filled with interlace in which are grouped small zoomorphic figures. Above the end-moulding of the top arm is a damaged finial which on the E face shows two confronted beasts and on the W face appears to include two wrestling figures.

(83) ST MARTIN'S CROSS. This cross, whose name was recorded by Lhuyd in 1699, stands in a granite base (no.97) 21m W of the abbey church. It is carved from a single block of grey epidiorite, probably from the Argyll mainland, and is 4.3m in visible height by 1.19m in span. The diameter of the pierced ring is 1.09m and that of the armpits 0.24m. In the ends of the arms are vertical slots, open at the top, which may have housed ornamental panels rather than extensions for the arms. The angles bear roll-mouldings which on the W face

extended below the lowest panel to flank an inscription, now indecipherable. The shaft of the E face bears three roundels of snake-and-boss ornament, a coarser variant of that in the same position on St John's Cross. In the top of the shaft are seven interlaced bosses, each producing two snakes, and the largest of these is also one of the group of five high-relief bosses in the cross-head. That at the centre is set in a ring of nine small bosses linked by spirals, and in the side-arms each boss produces three snakes, while that in the top arm lies between two pairs of rampant leonine beasts. The E face of the ring bears knitted interlace. On the W face the lowest panel bears six bosses with intertwined serpents, followed by four rows of figure-scenes on an undivided field. (i) Two pairs of figures, too simplified for identification. (ii) A harper, seated with outstretched legs as on St Oran's Cross and facing a kneeling man with a (?triple) pipe; a rectangle between them may represent a drum or a book symbolising David's authorship of the psalms. (iii) Abraham's sacrifice, with a central figure holding a sword across one shoulder and grasping the hair of Isaac, whose arms are extended above a rectangular altar; the small winged figure of the angel stands at the left. (iv) The seated figure of Daniel between two rearing lions, with a lump which may be the head of another lion to the right. This theme may continue in the side-arms, where two passant leonine beasts flank a central roundel with the seated Virgin and Child between four small angels, the upper ones forming a canopy. The top arm bears three pairs of back-to-back leonine beasts with intertwined tails.



Iona, St Martin's Cross (83), W face of shaft



(84) ST MATTHEW'S CROSS. Until it was removed to the Abbey Museum in 1994 the much-damaged shaft stood in a granite base (no.98) 12m W of the abbey church. A fragment of the head and S arm, broken off before 1764, is preserved beside the base. Drawings by Walker (1764) and Graham (1850) show successive stages of disintegration. The shaft measures 1.56m by 0.54m by 0.23m, but in 1764 it stood to about 2.14m and the span was about 1.58m. The moulded ring was about 1.08m in diameter and the armpits were unpierced but sunken. Both faces have double-moulded margins, which on the W incorporates continuous pellets. The lower shaft of the E face preserves a square panel of diagonal key-ornament and a damaged representation of the temptation of Adam and Eve, who stand below the fruit-laden branches of the tree. The serpent is coiled round its trunk and, as on the Broken Cross at Kells, its tail is knotted round the root which splits to merge into the enclosing bead-moulding. The W face bears paired circles of double-beaded knotwork below traces of figure-sculpture which, if Martin's account referred to this cross, included the Crucifixion.

(85) St Ronan's Church, S wall. An eroded fragment of sandstone, 0.42m by 0.29m and at least 0.14m thick. It bears the central boss, 0.22m in diameter, of a cross with pierced round armpits; no ornament can be identified. The material and thickness suggest that this fragment was associated with the cross-shaft no.90.

(86) Abbey Museum, N wall. Upper part of a ringed cross-head of sandstone, 0.75m across the arms and 0.17m in thickness, much weathered. The rounded armpits are pierced, and on both faces the edges of the ring and cross are beaded. There are half-rolls on the inside of the ring, a feature of many Irish crosses of 10th-century and later date, but no other visible ornament.

(87) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Part of the head of a ringed sandstone cross, much weathered; about 0.48m in original diameter and 0.15m thick. The armpits are sunk but not completely pierced. On both faces the cross, but not the ring, has had an edge-moulding; the only other visible ornament is a central boss on one face.

(87A) Abbey Museum, S wall. Worn sandstone fragment, 0.47m by 0.33m, which preserves one arm, 0.09m in length, and part of the disc of a cross-head, trimmed flat on the back. It appears to have been comparable in size to no.86, but the ring was not pierced.

(88) Abbey Museum, N wall. Head and shaft of a much-worn ringed cross of sandstone; it is broken at the top of the shaft and part of the head is missing. The span is 0.70m and the overall height about 1.53m. On one face there is a cross-pot with a square central expansion, having a margin of close-set pellets between two bead-mouldings which continues onto the shaft. The spaces between the cross and the ring are only slightly sunk, and it is possible that the other face was never completed since its surface is roughly tooled and undecorated apart from a low central 0.24m boss. The top surface of the upper arm bears traces of a finial of rectangular plan. Both faces of the shaft bear blank panels framed by the pelleted margin described above, which at the bottom returns above a projecting 'collar' and pointed butt. The shaft seems proportionately too short for the cross-head, and it is possible that the butt was designed to be tenoned into a lower section, leaving the collar projecting as on certain Irish crosses.

(89) Abbey Church, S transept; found in Reilig Odhráin in 1972. Sandstone shaft-fragment, 0.54m by 0.27m. Each face is framed between 45mm angle-mouldings, whereas the edges are plain. On face (a) there are two human figures below a legless creature whose outstretched arms return downwards as protecting wings. The figures are flanked by vertical posts, perhaps the side-posts of a chair or throne, and the scene probably depicts ecclesiastics sheltered by a guardian angel. Face (b) bears the feet and lower part of the legs of two confronted human figures, above two panels of interlace, the upper one being an eight-strand plait and the lower one perhaps incorporating human figures or animal-heads.

(90) St Ronan's Church, S wall; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. Much-damaged sandstone cross-shaft fragment, 0.75m by 0.29m, with 40mm angle-mouldings. One face appears to show two confronted figures separated by a vertical feature, possibly the tree of the Garden of Eden although it may represent a third person. Below this group there is a single human figure with one arm raised to the head. The ornament of the other face has been obliterated.

(91) St Ronan's Church, S wall. Sandstone fragment, 0.24m square and 0.11m thick, now almost totally eroded. In 1982 it retained traces of interlace on one face and one curved edge bore a raised 25mm margin. The fragment may have been part of the head or arm of a free-standing cross.

(92) Abbey Museum, store. Sandstone cross-arm, 0.32m by 0.28m and 65mm thick. Its outline is circular, with projecting lugs at the outer corners, and one face bears a hexafoil in false relief within a beaded border. The opposite face is undecorated, and it is possible that the surface has split off. This cross was probably of 11th or 12th-century date.

(93) Abbey Museum, store. Fragment of a sandstone cross-arm, 0.23m by 0.15m and 0.13m thick. On one face it bears a plain roll-moulding containing interlace, while the other face is plain except for an incised margin.



A (94) (b)



B (95) (a)



C (95) (c)

Iona, carved stones



(94) Abbey Museum, store. Fragment of the head of a narrow cross or cross-slab, 0.25m in length and breadth and 40mm in thickness. On one face (*b*) is part of the head of a ringed cross, with beaded edges and rounded sunken armpits; the ring is decorated with a Z-fret and the cross with double-beaded plaitwork. The other face (*a*) displays a similar cross, including vertical interlace of Scandinavian character, but the ring has been almost obliterated. The material used was probably from the Isle of Man, and the carving resembles certain 10th-century Norse slabs on that island.

(95) Abbey Museum, S wall. Lower part of the shaft of a free-standing cross or narrow cross-slab, 0.98m (excluding the butt) by 0.08m in thickness, and tapering from 0.42m at base to 0.33m at the top. Face (*a*) is covered with irregular double-beaded plaitwork, and below to the left is a dragonsque creature whose tail is knotted round its body. The other face (*c*) has been heavily damaged, but at the foot there is a ship containing several men, some of whom appear to be holding spears and swords, and possibly hauling on oars, and above them on the left there is a larger figure of a smith with a hammer and other tools. At the centre is an almost-vertical pole with an expansion at the top, probably not intended as the mast of the ship and perhaps related to the smith's tools. To the right of the ship is an animal with a long bushy tail, and further up the shaft is a curving contoured band, perhaps belonging to a ribbon-beast. Faint traces of key-pattern and diagonal plaitwork can be seen along each edge of the stone, and at the top of one edge is a small serpentine creature resembling a dolphin. The cross is undoubtedly Scandinavian in character, but the inturned spiral terminals to the arris rolls are rare on the Isle of Man but fairly common in Anglo-Scandinavian cross-shafts in E Yorkshire.

#### Cross-bases

Bases of probable medieval date are included in the appropriate section of the *Inventory* (nos.222-7).

(96) Until 1957 the shaft of St John's Cross (no.82) stood in a complex box-like base with four corner-posts linked by side-slabs and supporting a composite cover-slab, and two concealed socket-stones. A new W cover-slab was added in 1970 to support the replica cross, and new side-slabs were fitted between the corner-posts. The two socket-stones were removed to the Nunnery. The upper of them (*b*) is an irregular slab, 1.97m by 1.44m and 0.25m thick, with a 1.15m incised circle on the upper face, perhaps for intended use as a millstone. A notch housed the SW corner-post and grooves were cut for the lower edges of the side-slabs. The central socket measures 0.49m by 0.24m. The rectangular lower socket-stone (*c*) measures 1.07m by 0.84m by 0.15m, and the socket measures 0.48m by 0.23m. The corner-posts, which are about 1m in height, were grooved and rebated to receive the lost side-slabs. The original E cover-slab (*a*), 1.55m by 0.54m, butted against the cross-shaft, which occupied a rebate cut into the lost W slab. The two were held together by metal cramps whose shallow recesses are visible.

(97) St Martin's Cross (no.83) stands in a massive granite base, 1.35m from N to S by 1.42m and 0.75m in height above ground-level. The sides are gently battered and rise, with two intermediate steps in the upper part, to a level top containing a socket 0.65m by 0.24m. At the centre of the E face there is a ledge about 0.13m in projection, of uncertain purpose.

(98) St Matthew's Cross (no.84) stood in a similar granite base, 1.37m from N to S by 1.15m and rising, with two intermediate steps, to a height of 0.79m. The socket measures 0.52m by 0.25m.

(99) Abbey Museum, S wall and detached fragment at E wall; formerly in Reilig Odhráin. Composite lid of a box-like base like that of St John's Cross (no.96), 1.72m by 1.21m and 0.13m thick. The two slabs were equally rebated to form a socket 0.62m by 0.3m, and one end bears cramp-holes with barred terminals. One slab was trimmed for re-use as a graveslab (no.59) and the other pierced with a socket 0.27m by

0.13m, presumably to support a smaller cross. A basin-shaped hollow used for the rotation of stones has broken a corner of the latter slab.

(100) Abbey Church, S transept; discovered in 1976 in excavations S of 'St Columba's Shrine'. Corner of a roughly-shaped socket-stone, 0.58m by 0.40m by 0.14m thick.

(101) Reilig Odhráin, S wall. Corner of a socket-stone, well squared but much damaged, 0.59m by 0.48m by 0.08m.

(102) Abbey Museum, W gallery. Damaged rectangular slab, 0.74m by 0.47m by 0.08m thick, pierced by a socket measuring 0.29m by 0.06m which is placed to one side of the long axis.

(103) Reilig Odhráin, set in the ground 15m S of St Oran's Chapel, at the site of a possible entrance through the monastic vallum. Massive rounded block of granite, 1.18m from N to S by 0.87m and now split across the middle, which incorporates a socket 0.72m by 0.34m and 0.32m deep. The socket seems disproportionately shallow and, like that of St John's Cross (no.96), this base may have been used in conjunction with an upper 'lid'.

#### Shrine-posts

(104) Post (*B*) outside E wall of Abbey Museum, and other fragments in Abbey Church, S transept. Six fragments of contorted garnet-schist, including: (*A*) the upper part of a 0.22m square post with bevelled apex, bearing key-ornament and, on two faces, double mouldings; (*B*) the lower part of a square post with massive butt, having two adjacent faces slotted and rebated and the others panelled between double mouldings; and (*C*) a fragment of a similar post with single mouldings. These may have belonged to a corner-post shrine, a platform supporting a heavy wooden shrine, or an open kerb round a grave. Three slabs of rectangular section (*D*, *E*, *F*) are each wrought with similar key-ornament and mouldings on one narrow edge and traces of a rebate on the other.

(105) St Ronan's Church, N wall. Two sandstone posts, both worn but complete. One (*A*) is 0.69m by 0.19m square and has a circular hollow on the slightly rounded top. In one face is a slot 0.47m by 70mm and 50mm deep, and in an adjacent face a slot 55mm wide, which begins at the same top level but is only 0.35m long. The second post (*B*) presents a mirror-image, 0.67m by 0.22m by 0.16m; the slot on the wider face was about 0.51m long and the other is 0.36m long. The top of the post is pitted but shows no traces of any artificial hollow.

#### Miscellaneous

(106) Outside the W door of the abbey church is a block of granite, 1.32m by 0.55m and at least 0.4m high, bearing on one end a linear incised equal-armed cross with barred terminals. A shallow depression carved in the top has been described as a trough in which pilgrims washed their feet. In local tradition it was known as 'the cradle of the north wind' and was credited with the property of attracting a favourable wind.

(107) Built into the SW anta of 'St Columba's Shrine' is a symmetrical moulded fragment, 0.31m in visible length by 0.2m high. It tapers in thickness from 110mm above a basal flange to 70mm below a rounded top. A slot in the underside contains a rounded central channel. It may have formed part of an elongated feature such as the ridge of a mortuary house, of a type that formerly existed in Reilig Odhráin.

(108) Outside E wall of Abbey Museum. Block of sandstone, 0.49m by 0.50m and 0.23m thick. The vertical central portion of one face is recessed to a depth of 30mm between two panels, each framed by arris-rolls and an inner bead-moulding. This item may have derived from an Early Christian building, possibly from an anta. The width is the same as that of the antae of 'St Columba's Shrine'.

**ARGYLL 5 (1984)**  
**ISLAY, JURA, COLONSAY & ORONSAY**

**298 Kiloran Bay, Colonsay**

NR 4008 9764 NR49NW 14

Excavation in the sand-dunes in 1882 revealed two slabs incised with linear crosses in the rectangular kerb surrounding a richly-appointed Viking burial, probably of the late 9th century. (NMS X.L 1924.33-4).

**317 Balaruminmore, Colonsay**

NR 3842 9144 NR39SE 14

Former burial-ground in Pairc na h-Eaglais ('field of the church').

34 Q (1) Standing-stone, associated with the murder of Malcolm MacDuffie in 1623; repaired in 1977 and re-erected upside-down near original site. It is 2.45m by 0.45m by 100mm and bears remains of a large outline cross with a rectangular central boss in relief.

34 P, 56 A (2) Rough cruciform slab found in 1979 and reburied. It is 1.01m by 0.42m across the stubby arms, and bears a pecked outline cross.

**326 Cill Chaitriona, Balnahard, Colonsay**

NR 4216 9989 NR49NW 1

Drystone chapel of St Catherine in trapezoidal enclosure.

57 C (1) Cruciform slab lacking the top and right arm, 0.98m by about 0.31m in original span. The armpits are square and the head and upper shaft contain interlace of broad bands which in the head encloses four piercings with raised margins. (NMS X. IB 42)

56 G (2) Cruciform stone at NW angle of enclosure, 0.88m by 0.23m at base. The head is defined by rounded notches and the arms project only slightly

**328 Cill Chaluim Chille, Tarbert, Jura**

NR 6090 8220 NR68SW 4

Chapel of St Columba in rectangular enclosure. A standing-stone, 1.9m by 0.43m by 0.13m, bears on each face a sunken Latin cross 1.0m high with an expanded base and square central boss.

**334 Cill Eileagain, Mulreesh, Islay**

NR 4031 6948 NR46NW 4

Early chapel in small quadrangular enclosure. A damaged slab, 0.41m by 0.34m, bears an incised ribbon-cross with plaited centre and a loose knot at the only surviving terminal. A minute Latin cross is incised in one canton. (Museum of Islay Life).

**\*347 Cnoc na Cille, Brahunisary, Islay**

NR 3781 4625 NR34NE 4

A carved stone was found in 1988 lying face down at the E base of the mound that forms the disused burial-ground, Cnoc na Cille, and 680m WSW of the church at Kilbride (No.363).<sup>1</sup> It was presented in the same year to the Museum of Islay Life, Port Charlotte.

The stone is a roughly rectangular slab of local quartzitic sandstone, 0.49m by 0.25m in maximum width and 80mm in thickness. The surface is flaked and the slab is damaged at the edges and broken obliquely at the foot. On one face there is carved at the top in false relief a plain equal-armed cross with slightly rounded and bevelled armpits and curved arms. It was encircled by a band about 25mm wide and 0.26m in diameter, but this has broken off almost completely except in the lower part. The slab is very similar to the more complete one from Kilbride, where however the cross is of Latin form and has more pronounced armpits. (Museum of Islay Life, IMT 88-151; *DES* (1988), 20).

1 The Commissioners are indebted to Mrs M Perrons for information about this discovery.

**349 Colonsay House, Colonsay**

NR 3948 9678 NR39NE 3

Built on the supposed site of the parish church of Kiloran, and a cist-burial was found in 1846 (Martin, *Western Islands*, 280; Name Book (Argyll), No.31, p.10). In the loggia is a tapered cross-arm of unknown provenance, 0.37m by 0.33m. It bears interlaced knots (RA 658) with pointed terminals, and part of a cable-moulding which encircled the centre of the cross-head.



Dòid Mhàiri, Port Ellen, Islay  
 (No.351), cross-slab

**351 Dòid Mhàiri, Port Ellen, Islay**

NR c.357 458 NR34NE 18

Cross-slab found about 1838, about 150m from the shore. It is 1.02m by 0.37m, bearing in low relief a ringed Latin cross with round armpits and splayed arms. The angles of cross and ring are bead-moulded, and at the centre is a small boss. Above are two discs with sunken centres, probably sun and moon. The foot passes through an irregular double-beaded plait which flanks the shaft and splits into lobed terminals, characteristic of the Scandinavian 'Ringerike' style. The slab may be attributed to the second half of the 11th century. (NMS X.IB 196).

**354 Eileach an Naoimh, Garvellachs**

NM 6400 0970 NM60NW 1

Early monastery, possibly associated with St Brendan, with inner enclosure, walls spanning entrance-gully, separate burial-ground and double-beehive cell.

(1) On Eithne's Grave, a circular 'special grave' overlooking the site (NM60NW 4), is a gravemarker, 0.71m by 0.4m, bearing an incised equal-armed cross with pitted terminals and a short spike below the base.

(2) Slab in burial-ground, 0.71m by 0.53m, bearing an incised Latin cross with expanded terminals.

(3) Slab, 0.62m by 0.22m, bearing on each face an incised Latin cross with expanded terminals. (NMS X.IB 167).

(4) Slab-fragment, 0.37m by 0.38m, bearing the head of a ringed cross with sunken 'thistle-shaped' armpits and a central boss, and a superimposed outline cross with square armpits. (NMS X.IB 133).

**356 Gleann na Gaoith', Islay**

NR 2116 5361 NR25SW 1

Clay-mortared chapel in small burial-ground above stream. Stones (1) and (3) are now at the Museum of Islay Life, Port Charlotte.

- 36 E (1) Pillar, 1.25m by 0.26m, bearing an outline Latin cross whose shaft overlies the transom, with a circle, perhaps a wreath, round the junction.
- 37 S (2) Slab, 1.44m by 0.63m, bearing an outline ringed cross with semicircular sunken armpits, whose sunken shaft is flanked by a lower transom. Two crosslets with pellets in the angles flank the extended top arm.
- 56 K (3) Cruciform stone, 0.59m by 0.27m, with slightly tapered arms.



A. Gleann na Gaoith', Islay (No.356), chapel from N

**363 Kilbride, Islay**

NR 3844 4648 NR34NE 6

Church, probably 17th-century, in rectilinear enclosure. A slab which stood E of the church, 0.73m by 0.24m, bears in false relief a Latin cross with slightly rounded armpits within a circular frame. (NMS X.IB 194).

- 39 B

**366 Kilchoman, Islay**

Church of 1827 on medieval site, in large burial-ground.

(1) NR 2197 6314 NR26SW 1

- 39 X Roughly cruciform slab which formerly lay beside track 380m ESE of church. It is 0.99m by 0.43m, bearing in low relief a Latin cross with square armpits. A superimposed linear cross with forked terminals is interrupted at the centre by a small boss. (Museum of Islay Life).

(2) NR 2135 6301 NR26SW 9

- 42 E Disc-headed slab, traditionally believed to be a sanctuary cross, in a field 330m SW of the church. It measures 0.95m by 0.39m below a head 0.51m in diameter. On each face there is a ringed Latin cross with square sunken armpits and shafts of differing length.



B. Kilchoman, Islay (No.366), disc-headed slab (2)



C. Eileach an Naoimh, Garvellachs (No.354), Eithne's Grave and monastery from S

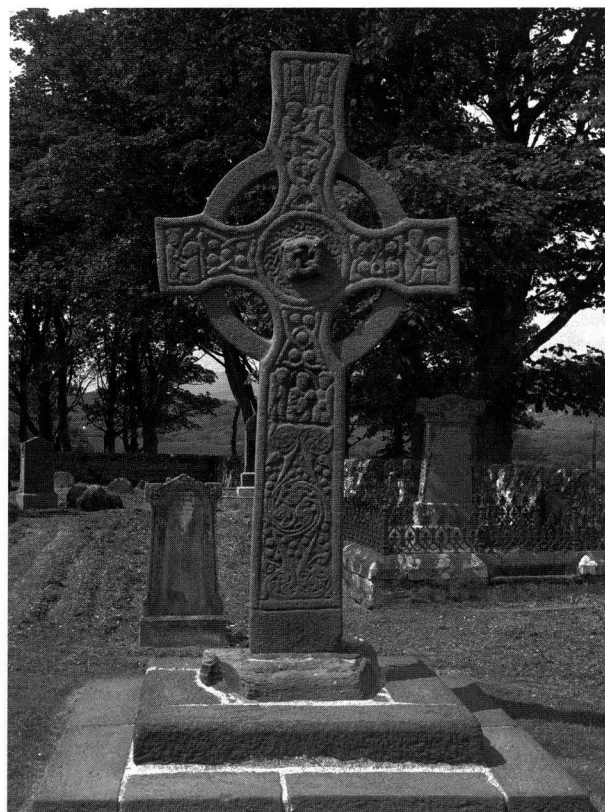




A. Kildalton, Islay (No.367), church and cross (1) from SE



B. Kildalton Cross, Islay (No.367,1), W face



C. Kildalton Cross, Islay (No.367,1), E face

### 367 Kildalton, Islay

NR 4580 5081

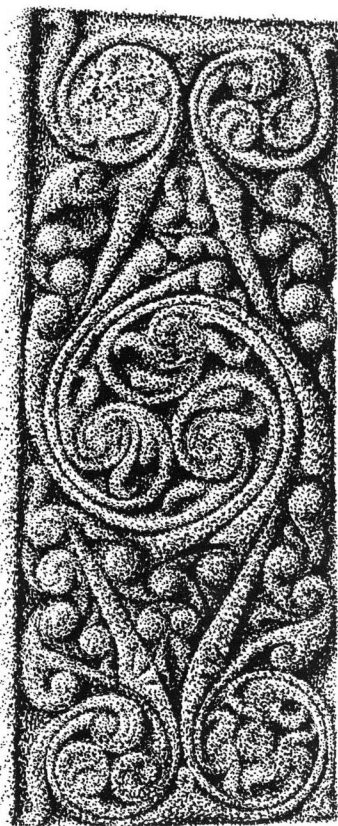
NR45SE 3

Early 13th-century church in rectangular churchyard.

(1) THE KILDALTON CROSS. This ringed cross of local epidiorite stands N of the church in a damaged socket-stone set into a 19th-century stepped plinth. It measures 2.65m by 1.32m in span, and the 0.99m ring is set within semicircular arm-pits which are 0.39m in diameter. The top arm extends

0.46m beyond the ring and the side-arms 0.22m, but all are double-curved. The E and W faces are framed by continuous half-rolls, returned above the butt and treated on the W as a cable-moulding.

The W face of the shaft contains two roundels of snake-and-boss ornament with a saltire infilling of small spiral bosses. Two bosses in each cruciform group contain single pellets, while the central one in the panel of spiral-work at the top of



Kilnave Cross, Islay (No.374)  
B. chapel and cross from W



C. top arm

A. Kildalton Cross, Islay (No.367,1), detail of E face

the shaft is of bird's-nest type and is one of the five large bosses in the cross-head. The prominent central boss is itself composed of small bosses in a cruciform arrangement and set in a ring of small bosses and paired snakes. In the constrictions are four high-relief lions, facing the centre except for the top one and now lacking their heads. The side-arms contain snake-and-boss ornament round large bosses, both covered with interlace. The top arm is filled with interlace linked to the tail of the lion below, and its boss has interlace on the sides and spiral bosses on the dome, with pairs of confronted beasts above and below. Alternate ring-quadrants bear interlace and key-ornament.

49 B The shaft of the E face is filled with rich spiral-work round five open-work roundels, while in the head of the shaft are the Virgin and Child with angels in a simplified version of the scene on St Oran's Cross. The hollow central 180mm boss

19 B itself contains a low boss from which four serpents spiral to confront lizard-like beasts on the outer face. Their splayed hind legs merge into interlace covering the boss and its enclosing ring. The constrictions of the lower and side-arms bear further snake-and-boss ornament, which in the right arm may include birds' heads. The left arm shows a standing figure holding an irregular object above the head of a kneeling one, probably combining Cain's murder of Abel, using the jawbone of an ass or camel, with Abel's acceptable sacrifice. The eucharistic symbolism is repeated in the right arm, the Sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, as on St Martin's Cross but without the angel figure. In the upper constriction are two birds, probably peacocks pecking a bunch of grapes. In the top arm are two angels above a figure whose hand is raised to the jaws of a rearing beast. A horned beast above its back, evidently a sheep, identifies this as David killing the lion. The E face of the ring is much weathered but appears to have borne interlace and key-ornament.

33 Q (2) Thin slab, 0.70m by 0.19m, found below base of (1). It bears an outline cross with arms at mid-height. (NMS X.IB 193)

35 M (3) Slab, 0.85m by 0.45m, bearing an outline Latin cross with rounded armpits. (Museum of Islay Life).

37 M (4) Slab, 0.61m by 0.34m, bearing an outline ringed Latin

cross with rounded sunken armpits. (Museum of Islay Life).

(5) L-shaped slab-fragment, 0.90m by 0.50m, with remains of a socket 0.41m long. 55 K

(24) Slab, 1.70m by 0.50m, bearing a crude Latin cross in relief. This may be of post-Reformation date. 39 DD

### 374 Kilnave, Islay

NR 2852 7151

NR27SE 1

Late medieval chapel in trapezoidal burial-ground.

(1) THE KILNAVE CROSS. This much-weathered cross, which stands in a reconstructed base 7m W of the chapel, is of greenish local Torridonian flagstone. It is 3.35m high, including a 0.72m butt, by 1.04m in original span, and only 65mm thick. The semicircular armpits are 0.36m across, and the side-arms projected only 90mm beyond them. The E face is framed by a plain 50mm margin, which in the shaft encloses a panel of spiral-work incorporating open-work roundels, above a worn panel of key-ornament. The latter motif is repeated in the vertical constrictions. The centre of the cross-head is filled with a 0.45m roundel of spiral-ornament emerging from a small central hollow. A smaller spiral roundel fills the constriction of the S arm, against a background of interlace, but the surface of the N arm is lost. The top arm contains low-relief spiral-ornament with bosses of varying sizes linked by peltae. 46 A 170 A

(2) Excavation in 1981 showed that the broken butt of the cross was fixed in a socket-slab, 1.53m by 1.05m by 0.2m, whose upper surface was grooved to hold slabs forming a box about 1.15m by 0.65m. An L-shaped grooved slab 1.42m long, found in the churchyard, was evidently half of a composite lid and has been incorporated in the reconstructed base, but in the absence of corner-posts it is not evident how it was stabilised. 54 B

### 378 Laggan, Islay

NR 2942 5588

NR25NE 1

Site of chapel, and burial-ground damaged by river-erosion.

(1) Slab, 1.06m by 0.35m, broken across and incomplete in width. It bears an outline double-ringed Latin cross with rounded armpits. (Museum of Islay Life). 37 U

**382 Machrins, Colonsay**

NR 3676 9320 NR39SE 6

- 39 J Broken cross-marked pillar in field, said to be from nearby burial-ground at Kilbride (No.362). It is 0.81m by 0.36m, bearing the lower part of a relief cross rising from a horizontal band.

**383 Nave Island, Islay**

NR 2919 7586 NR27NE 1

- 46 D Medieval chapel in early ovoid enclosure above shore. A cross-arm fragment, 0.46m by 0.33m, was found in the paving of the chapel. Like the Kilnave Cross (No.374) it had a broad margin enclosing knitted interlace. The rectangular axial panel bears a lozenge between ?foliage and pellets. (Museum of Islay Life).

**387 Orsay, Islay**

NR 1640 5167 NR15SE 1

- 36 F Late medieval chapel in early 19th-century enclosure. Three fragments, 0.53m by 0.27m, of a slab bearing an outline ringed cross with square armpits. The surviving (lower) quadrants enclose crosslets with pellets above the arms. (Museum of Islay Life).

**389 Riasg Buidhe, Colonsay**

NR 4057 9544 NR49NW 8

Slight traces of a former burial-ground.

- 57 B (1) Cruciform slab, removed to Tobar Odhráin at Colonsay House about 1870. It is 1.37m by 0.36m across the arms. Face (a) bears in relief a Latin cross terminating at the top in a bearded human head and at the foot in a fish-like forked tail. It is filled with mouldings which form spirals in the side-arms and curve in the shaft to suggest the legs of a figure. The lower part has a pecked margin, and a narrow curving pedestal below the cross.
- 33 R (2) Broken slab, 0.37m by 0.14m, bearing a lightly-pecked outline Latin cross with circles at the centre and in each arm. This may be of recent date. (NMS H.KG 135).

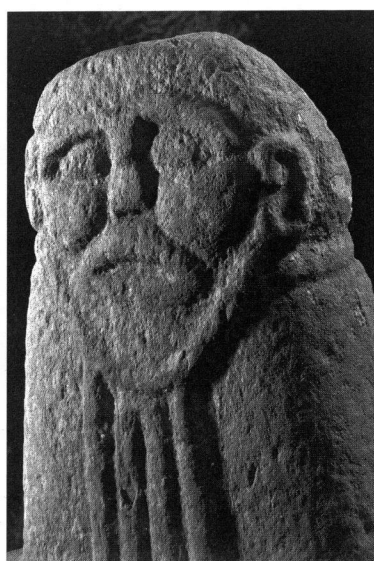
**397 Trudernish, Islay**

NR 4609 5252 NR45SE 19

- 34 D Found during pipe-laying in 1975, this kite-shaped slab, 1.27m by 0.44m, bears an outline Latin cross. (Museum of Islay Life).



A



B

**ARGYLL 7 (1992)****MID ARGYLL AND COWAL****2 Achadh na Cille, Oib**

NR 7618 8807 NR78NE 1

Former burial-ground with irregular enclosure.

Numbers (3), (6) and (7) were removed in 1924 to GAGM, but number (7) was lent in 1997 for display at Kilmartin House Museum. In 1998 number (6) was placed on display in St Mungo's Museum of Religious Life and Art, Glasgow. Number (5) was taken in 1927 to St Columba's Episcopal Church, Poltalloch (No.95).

(1) Much-worn slab, 0.84m by 0.41m. At the top is an incised cross, 0.17m by 0.12m. 28 U

(2) Slab, tapered at the foot, 1.17m by 0.54m. At the top is an incised cross, at least 0.23m high by 0.15m. 29 T

(3) Upper part of a slab, 0.69m by 0.37m. It bears a deeply-pecked cross, 0.28m by 0.24m. 28 Z

(4) Tapered slab, 1.13m by 0.39m. It bears a Latin cross with transverse terminals, 0.35m by 0.23m. The shaft extends 60mm below the transverse bar. The cross-arms do not meet at the centre, giving the effect of a square boss. 31 JJ

(5) Slab, 1.01m in visible height by 0.43m, trimmed at both edges. Face (a) bears an outline ringed cross, 0.55m in diameter, having small hollows in the square armpits. Face (b) bears an incised cross, 0.32m by 0.29m. The trimming suggests domestic re-use, perhaps in one of the ruined houses of Oib Mhór (NR 7670 8880). 38 F 28 BB

(6) Fragmentary slab, 0.88m by 0.19m, lacking the right half of the cross-head. It bears a ringed cross with square armpits, about 0.31m in diameter and having a shaft 0.30m high. The left arm appears to continue below and beyond the ring. An incised zigzag line forms two chevrons to the left of the shaft. 36 C

(7) Tapered slab which stood beside the track W of the burial-ground; 1.09m by 0.56m and much weathered. Face (a) bears an outline cross within a 0.36m ring, with a shaft 0.31m high. The cross-head has square armpits, the lower ones containing small circular hollows, and in the lower quadrants are pellets whereas the upper ones contain small pits. At the base of the ring are two small pellets. Face (b) bears an outline cross with open foot and broad arms, 0.67m high. Three of the armpits are square and contain circular hollows, but one is circular and encloses a pellet. There are three bosses on the vertical axis, and others grouped horizontally above the side-arms. Crosslets are incised in the top arm and below the right arm of the cross. Below the left arm is a curved groove and external moulding, perhaps for an intended ringed head. 42 A



C

Riasg Buidhe, Colonsay (No.389)  
A, B. cruciform stone (1)  
Achadh na Cille, Oib (No.2)  
C. cross-slab (7), face a



**5 Ardnadam**

NS 1633 7917

NS17NE 7

Early chapel in large ovoid enclosure. Excavation revealed many grave-pits, most of small size, with plain markers. The following stones are in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.

- (1) Slab with one straight and one curved edge, 0.56m by 0.30m. Face (a) bears a much-worn pecked cross with crosslet terminals in the upper arms. On face (b) is a lightly-pecked Latin cross 0.14m high and 75mm wide.
- (2) Irregular slab, 0.26m by 0.16m by 30mm. On one face a long curving groove, possibly natural, is intersected by a thin incision to form a simple cross.
- (3) Roughly rectangular slab, 0.55m by 0.18m by 65mm. One edge is damaged, but the other bears two notches forming a minimal cross-arm about 85mm high.

**8 Ardrishaig**

NR c.853 865

NR88NE 7

- A drawing by H D Graham (album in NMRS), dating from the 1850s, shows a 'Child's Tombstone at Ardrishaig', possibly from the lost Kilduskland burial-ground. It was tapered and probably about 1m in length. It bore an outline ringed cross with square foot, circular sunken armpits and short arms.

**9 Ardtaraig**

NS 0566 8267

NS08SE 2

- Outline of chapel in subrectangular enclosure whose W entrance incorporates an upright slab, 0.95m by 0.58m. It bears on the N face the pecked and grooved outline of a Latin cross, apparently open at the foot.

**11 Auchnaha**

NR 9329 8170

NR98SW 4

- A Latin cross incised on the SE orthostat of a chambered cairn (*Inventory of Argyll*, 6, No.7) measures 0.18m by 0.11m across the transom, which has sunken terminals.



**Cross-marked Stone, Barnakill (No.13)**

A. detail

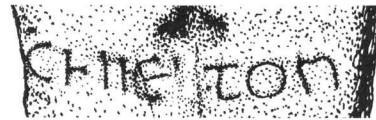
B. inscription (scale 1:7.5)

**13 Cross-marked Stone, Barnakill**

NR 8248 9192

NR89SW 13

- Slab brought to St Columba's Episcopal Church, Poltalloch (No.95), in 1928. It stood E of the track to High Barnakill, about 500m NE of the rock-cut cross No.14. It is 1.31m in visible height by 0.41m. At the top is a grooved cross, 0.34m by 0.29m, with expanded terminals which in the top and right arms appear to be forked, whereas the bottom one is flat-ended. An inscription below the cross ends in the letters TON, but the earlier ones are affected by damage at the left edge and vertical cracks at the centre.



B

K H Jackson read CRNA[ ]TON, for CR(VX) NA[I]TON ('the cross of Naiton'). However, the supposed 'C' is unusually angular, and it is interpreted by Dr E Okasha as a damaged 'X' representing the Greek letter *Chi* (cf. Eigg, W25 (6)). She reads [X]RI [ ]ETON, a commemorative formula meaning '(?)in the name) of Christ. [ ]eton'. (*Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 9 (1985), 63-4). Further examination suggests the reading: [X]RI RE[ ]TON ('(In the name) of Christ. Re[ ]ton'). This may be a form of the early Irish name 'Rethe' or 'Rithe' (cf. Ó Riain, P (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1985), nos.670.87 and 711.94).

**14 Rock-cut Cross, Barnakill**

NR 8210 9158

NR89SW 16

This cross is incised on a sloping rock-outcrop 20m SW of the Barnakill Burn. It is almost equal-armed with barred terminals, 0.15m by 0.13m.

**16 Castleton**

NR 8780 8470

NR88SE 4

Much-worn slab, found loose in a gravel-pit near site of long-cist burials. It is 0.49m by 0.39m and bears in false relief a broad-armed cross with square armpits and splayed terminals. In the lower angles are 85mm pellets, and at the upper right is a long-necked animal below a 60mm pellet, perhaps representing the sun or moon. At the left are traces of another creature.

**17 Christ Church Episcopal Church, Lochgilphead**

NR 8599 8837

NR88NE 55

Part of a cross-slab of uncertain provenance, 0.38m by 0.32m; probably about 0.42m in original width. It bears an outline cross with square armpits, one containing a raised pellet in a sunken quadrant. At the centre is an equal-armed cross within a sunken circle (cf. No.64).

**18 Cill an Aonghais, Kilnaish**

NR 7730 6143

NR76SE 4

Burial-ground with 19th-century rectangular enclosure containing a pillar, 1.28m by 0.27m and pointed at the foot. It bears an incised Latin cross, 0.23m by about 0.14m, with rounded terminals.

**20 Cladh a' Bhile, Ellary**

NR 7333 7560

NR77NW 4

Burial-ground with irregular quadrangular enclosure-wall, rebuilt in late 19th century. There are at least twelve complete or fragmentary quernstones.

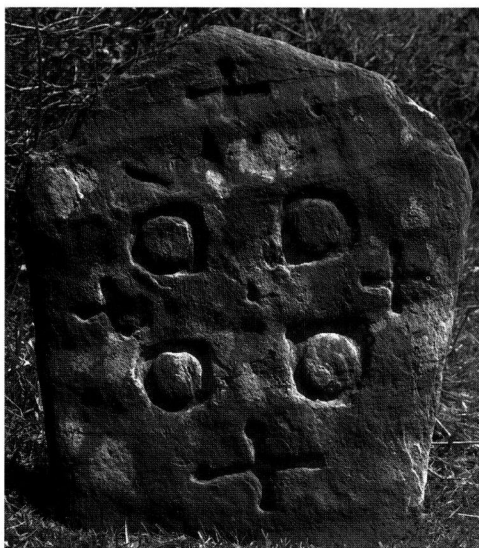
(1) Roughly-dressed pillar of local schist with pointed top. The visible height is 1.37m, but about 0.7m is buried; it tapers downwards in width from 0.52m to 0.46m. The E face (a) bears a 'chip-carved' hexafoil within a 0.50m bead-moulded circle. Its petals have sunken centres and their tips split into peltae bearing incised spirals. Below there is a cross-of-arcs within a slightly sunken 0.46m circle. The terminals are filled by curved hollow triangles with double bars at the outer ends. The intermediate 'petals' bear incised double-spirals resembling pendent omegas, while mirror-images of these spirals open into recesses at the ends of the petals. The W face (b) bears a sunken cross of arcs within an incised 0.45m circle. As on face (a) the raised 'petals' are joined by a circle with central depression, but they are unornamented.

The incised curvilinear ornament resembles that of the slab at Reask (Co. Kerry), of probable 7th-century date, but the treatment of the equal-armed cross is paralleled in a manuscript of about 700 from Luxeuil (France) (*supra*, p.21).



Cladh a' Bhile, Ellary (No.20), carved stone (1), E face

- 27 C (2) Irregular slab, 0.65m by 0.6m, lacking one corner. An encircled hexafoil 0.37m in diameter is defined by unconnected oval grooves about 20mm in depth.
- 27 B (3) Much-worn and incomplete slab, 0.6m by 0.46m, found in 1959 near the Garden Cottage (NR 7400 7610) and now at Ellary House. It bears a hexafoil formed by V-cut ovals which do not meet at the centre and are contained within a 20mm margin, 0.38m in diameter.
- 28 M (4) Upright slab, 0.55m in visible height by 0.75m. On the E face is incised a 0.14m Greek cross.
- 28 L (5) Upright slab, 0.66m in visible height by 0.71m. On the E face is incised a 0.13m Greek cross whose stem incorporates a natural vertical groove.
- 28 H (6) Pillar of oval section, 0.92m by 0.19m by 0.11m. The upper part is tapered and bears on all four faces small incised Greek crosses with rounded terminals.
- 28 K (7) Slab of trapezoidal section, 1.05m in visible height by 0.28m, bearing at the top a 100mm incised Greek cross.
- 28 AA (8) Slab, 0.78m by 0.29m, bearing a boldly-incised Greek cross 0.19m in width. The horizontal arm has a slight downward curve.
- 28 P (9) Slab, 0.48m by 0.36m; the surfaces are much scaled. Face (a) appears to show an outline cross with a 60mm crosslet incised at the centre and pits in the lower and left arms. On face (b) two crosslets, respectively 90mm and 80mm across the arms, are incised at the top.
- (10) Slab, 0.51m by 0.34m. One face bears a Greek cross, 90mm across the arms, whose terminals are framed by triangles linked by oblique strokes to form a square ring. 29 J
- (11) Pillar, tapered at both ends, 1.24m by 0.26m by 0.14m. Face (a) bears at the top a deeply-incised cross, 0.33m high. It has triangular terminals, open at the sides and top, and roughly circular pellets in the armpits. Framing the end of the upper arm are oblique grooves which return to the terminal to form a lozenge. Below there is a saltire with slightly expanded terminals, having a crosslet in each angle. On the left edge (b) is an incised cross, 0.15m by 0.12m. 29 K 29 U
- (12) Slab, 0.53m by 0.43m, much worn. Face (a) bears an incised cross, 0.23m by 0.17m; the vertical arm, which is more deeply sunk, is crossed by a short transom 25mm above the foot. In the armpits are shallow 15mm sinkings. On the back (b) there appears to be a lightly-pecked Latin cross, 0.15m high, possibly with barred terminals at top and bottom. 29 H 30 GG
- (13) Pillar, 0.41m by 0.16m by 0.15m. Face (a) bears a lightly-pecked outline cross with open terminals; face (b) an incised Latin cross, 0.19m high; face (c) a pecked Latin cross, 0.17m high, with a short transom 30mm above the foot; and face (d) appears to have shown a double cross formed by a transom crossed by two vertical bars about 85mm high and 40mm apart. The top of the pillar shows traces of a possible raised ring. 31 E 28 G
- (14) Slab, 0.55m in visible height by 0.59m, broken at the top and left side. It bears an irregular outline Greek cross, defined by a broad pecked groove, whose left half is now missing. 33 C
- (15) Massive block of local schist, 1.5m by 1m by 0.7m high. Towards the SW end of the SE face is an outline cross, with a double prong at the base. Both arms are 0.25m in length but the vertical one, which overlies the transom, tapers in width from 110mm at the base to 80mm. At the centre of the cross-head is a 70mm Greek cross. At the NE end of the same face is an incised 100mm cross, possibly with barred terminals at the side-arms. 33 G 28 N
- (16) Slab, broken obliquely at the top, 0.52m by 0.26m. It bears an outline Latin cross with open foot, whose top arm and part of the right arm are missing. The shaft is 0.19m high and the span is 0.20m. 33 T
- (17) Irregular boulder with one flat face, 0.55m by 0.22m by 0.22m. It bears an outline Latin cross with pointed foot, 0.26m by 0.19m, whose side-arms extend to the edges of the slab. 33 U
- (18) Slab, 0.76m by 0.32m; much worn. On face (a) a Latin cross 0.21m high is outlined by a pecked groove, and an 80mm Greek crosslet is sunk into the cross-head. On face (b) is a broad-armed Greek cross, 0.22m across the arms, in low relief but much damaged by flaking. 33 X
- (19) Slab, 0.58m by 0.24m. On face (a) is a pecked outline Latin cross, 0.23m by 0.13m. In the lower armpits are 40mm pellets, and the grooves defining the shaft curve out to form volutes flanking the open foot. An 80mm Greek crosslet is incised in the cross-head. Face (b) bears an outline Latin cross with open foot, 0.31m by 0.19m. There is a shallow 20mm pit at the centre of the cross-head, and 35mm pellets in the upper armpits. 33 Y
- (20) Slab, 0.68m by 0.28m, bearing on face (a) an outline Latin cross, 0.30m by 0.16m. It resembles that on face (a) of number (19), but has additional 20mm pits in the upper armpits and the 30mm pellets below the side-arms are distinct from the cross-outline. The superimposed crosslet is 110mm high by 130mm, with rounded terminals. The back (b) bears a saltire 0.1m high by 0.15m within a rectangular frame formed by two curving pecked grooves. 33 Z
- (21) Slab, 0.72m by 0.40m. On face (a) is a sunken Greek cross 0.25m across the arms; its stem has rounded terminals but the side-arms appear to have opened into broad triangular terminals. In the armpits there are pellets about 100mm in diameter, each having a central 25mm pit. Face (b) bears a much-worn outline Greek cross, open at the foot and possibly at the right arm. 32 C 33 D



A. Cladh a' Bhile, Ellary (No.20), carved stone (22)



B. Daltote Cottage (No.24), rock-cut cross

- 33 E (22) Slab with gabled top, 0.95m by 0.52m. On face (a) a 0.24m Greek cross with broad arms is defined by four 60mm pellets in the armpits. In the ends of the arms are crosslets with circular terminals. Above the cross are traces of curving lines which may have represented simplified birds. On face (b) a pecked groove outlines a broad-armed cross, 0.42m by 0.48m across the arms, which extend to the edges. In the angles are pellets from 60mm to 75mm in diameter.
- 33 F (23) Slab with roughly pointed top, 0.80m by 0.50m by 80mm. Face (a) bears a broad-armed Greek cross within a 0.35m margin, executed in shallow false relief by pecking through the micaceous surface-layer. The cross is 0.29m across and has small sinkings within the square armpits and 50mm pellets in each quadrant. A 55mm Greek cross with round terminals is incised above the circle. On face (b) is a 0.19m Greek cross, outlined by a shallow pecked groove and having the centres of the arms voided with similar grooves to form a crosslet.
- 28 R (24) Slab with pointed top and narrow butt, 0.90m by 0.17m. Face (a) bears in false relief a cross with broad short arms, having 30mm pellets in the upper armpits. The upper terminal is outlined by a semicircular groove which may reflect the niche on no.(27). Above and below the cross are incised 75mm Greek crosses. On face (b) is a boldly-incised 0.16m Greek cross.
- 39 Y (25) Slab, 0.78m by 0.24m, bearing a Latin cross 0.33m high, partly incised and partly in false relief. The cross-head is contained in a round-headed niche whose groove is not continued across the upper arm. In the upper left spandrel there is an incised crosslet, and the right spandrel contains a small pellet.
- 39 Z (26) Slab, 0.72m by 0.23m, much flaked. On face (a) there is an outline Latin cross with open foot, 0.42m by 0.19m, whose head bears a complex arrangement of pits: one at the centre, four just within the armpits, and four in the arms. Face (b) showed in low relief a 0.2m equal-armed cross, open at the foot, with a 15mm pit at the centre and small sunken hollows in the armpits.
- 39 BB (27) Slab, 1.18m by 0.25m, much worn. On face (a) two crosses are carved in false relief, the lower being a 0.17m Greek cross with open foot. Above this is a Latin cross, 0.33m high and with small sunken armpits, in a round-headed niche springing from the ends of the side-arms. The shaft rises from a sloping base and is slightly tapered. Face (b) bears at the top an incised 0.13m Greek cross with slightly expanded terminals.
- (28) Slab, 0.89m by 0.38m, heavily worn. On face (a), in false relief within an oval frame, is a broad-armed 0.24m Greek cross, with small circular hollows in the armpits forming 'thistle-shaped' sinkings. The ends of the arms are bifurcated. Below there is an incised 100mm Greek cross, with traces of expanded terminals. Face (b) bears an incised 0.19m Greek cross.
- (29) Three fragments which form a socketed stone with tapered ends, 0.94m by 0.22m by 100mm; broken across, and one half has been split in thickness. The upper surface has a 20mm border, and the oval central socket, 0.2m by 60mm, is enclosed by a raised 30mm margin. In each half of the slab a small rough socket is carved near one edge, and there are traces of a third in the broken area. The slab was perhaps designed to support a timber pillar or cross with provision at some time for small votive crosses. At one end a shallow groove intersects the border to form a crosslet, and there are traces of another in the corresponding area of the underside. On each half of this surface there is an incised Latin cross which may have been carved when the broken halves were re-used as gravemarkers.
- 24 Daltote Cottage**  
NR 7462 8333 NR78SW 14  
On the W face of a vertical rock-outcrop at a possible burial-ground, an equal-armed cross is carved in false relief within a 0.51m circle. The armpits and centres of the curved arms are sunk to form flat bands about 60mm wide, and a narrower circular frame. The base of the circle merges into a sunken handle or pedestal with curved sides, 0.17m high.
- 27 Dunans**  
NR 8012 9001 NR89SW 12  
Tapered slab found in 1969 in a ruined building 0.9km SW of Dunans; now at Kilmory Knap chapel (No.76). The slab is 0.95m by 0.45m, and incomplete at the foot. Face (a) bears a sunken equal-armed cross with wedge-shaped arms within an incised 0.41m circle which is interrupted below the base. In each arm there is a T-shaped sinking which gives a banded effect as in the cross at Daltote (No.24). On face (b) there is an incised Latin cross, 0.18m by 0.10m.





A (1)



B (4)



C (4)

**Eilean Mór (No.33)**  
 A. hexafoil (1)  
 B, C. cross (4), E face

### 31 Taynish Island

NR c.7275 8277

NR78SW 5

This stone, probably from Eilean Mór (No.33), was found on Taynish Island in the 1940s and was removed in 1993 from Duntaynish House to North Knapdale Parish Church,

30 AA Tayvallich. It is a water-worn pillar, 0.51m by 0.18m, bearing a deeply-incised cross with barred terminals, 0.19m by 0.11m and having the transom at mid-height. At top and bottom the terminal bars are contained within incised frames to form rectangular mouldings (cf. No.33(3)).

### 33 Eilean Mór

Possible early monastic site, with medieval chapel in irregular enclosure, and small cave in rocks to S.

#### CAVE

NR 6658 7504

NR67NE 6

27 A (1) Hexafoil within a circle 0.28m in diameter, incised on a

smooth vertical cave-wall. The ring, like the 'petals', is composed of separate pocked grooves with some attempt to form sloping sides. There are small marker-holes spanning some of the gaps at the perimeter.

(2) Cross with pedestal, 0.32m high, carved on same wall as 27 V number (1). A cross-of-arcs with sunken wide-curved arms 0.21m across is adapted to a horseshoe-shaped frame. The top right arm bears at the outer end a curved groove which forms the Chi-rho symbol. The pedestal is also sunken and has curved sides and a wide flat base.

#### CROSS-MARKED STONE

NR 66 75

NR67NE 8

(3) Roughly triangular slab, 0.65m by 0.31m. It bears a deeply-incised cross 0.31m by 0.16m across the arms, which are set just above mid-height. The terminals are barred and the top one is enclosed by an incised frame to form a rectangular moulding. In the upper quadrants there are

30 BB

obliquely-set triangular groups of three holes (cf. Nos.31, 44). (NMS X.IB 17).

#### CROSS

NR 6667 7528

NR67NE 5

(4) SE of the chapel, at the head of a former 'Saint's Grave', stands the shaft and lower part of the head of a slab-like ringed cross. It is 1.75m in visible height by 0.62m, but was at least 2.8m in original height. The cross-head, which had oval armpits, retains no ornament. The E face has triple margins, continued onto the ring, which frame a blank panel at the foot of the shaft. Above this are two wrestling beak-headed monsters with tails and prominent genitals, each holding a cord attached to a horizontal plait above which is a panel of key-pattern similar to that at Ardchattan (A2, 217(1)). This is followed by a hooded rider, and a plaited knot at the left. Above, and without division, there is a large monster gripping a ?snake in its fierce jaws and linked by its tail and crest to a cruciform group of four animals at the top of the shaft.

The W face has a broad margin with double-beaded knotwork which continues onto the surviving N stump of the ring. At the foot this frames two squatting beasts with interpenetrating necks and large heads. Above an area of double-beaded interlace the shaft is badly flaked, although the forequarters of a stag are visible at the left.



A. Inverneill House (No.44), carved stone

#### 44 Inverneill House

NR 8464 8146

NR88SW 5

This stone, probably from Eilean Mór (No.33), was at Taynish House in 1869 and was taken to Inverneill in 1929. It is a triangular slab, 0.72m by 0.33m. Face (a) bears a boldly-incised cross with barred terminals, 0.31m by 0.18m across side-arms set a little above mid-height. In the upper quadrants there are triangular groups of three drilled holes. On face (b) is a similar cross, 0.28m high and having the transom at mid-height.

#### 45 Keills

NR 6913 8054

NR68SE 2

Medieval church of 'Kilvicocharmick', probably dedicated, like Eilean Mór (No.33), to the Leinster saint Abbán moccu Corbmaic. Re-roofed in 1978 to house large collection of early and late medieval stones.

(1) THE KEILLS CROSS (NR68SE 1). This cross of local epidiorite formerly stood on a higher terrace 50m NW of the church. It measures 2.25m in visible height and the shaft is 0.17m thick and tapers from a base width of 0.32m. The short side-arms give an overall span of 0.54m, while the rounded armpits vary from 80mm to 100mm in span.



B. Keills (No.45), cross (1)





A. Keills Church and Cross (No.45, 1), view from NW by Beveridge, 1898



B. church and cross replica from NW, 1987



C. view of cross by Mackenzie, c.1870

The former E face has a cable-margin, and the lower part bears low-relief spiral-work with open-work angle-roundels linked by voluted trumpet-spirals and peltae, the centre composed of C-curves and peltae. Above are two long-necked beasts whose interlaced tails merge above into the limbs of two leaping animals with lappeted heads and open jaws threatening a central ?head. The upper part of the shaft is filled by square panels of key-pattern (RA 994). The edge-mouldings terminate in fierce animal-heads which flank a high-relief seated figure of Daniel in the lower cross-arm, holding a book and raising his right hand in blessing. His head is set between two pairs of lions in the side-arms, one of which appears to lick it. These creatures surround a domed 'bird's-nest' boss, bearing spiral ornament within a 0.18m moulding and having three central pellets. The moulding of the top arm terminates below in animals' heads, and within tightly-knit interlace is a two-legged winged figure standing on a serpentine creature, probably St Michael and the dragon although there may also be a reference to the eagle of St John.

(2) Slab, 1.2m by 0.59m. On face (a) in low relief is a Latin cross with a roll-moulded margin and narrow armpits, and a

47 B, 145 B

42 B



central spiral is linked to key-pattern in the side-arms. Face (b) bears a similar cross, preserving key-pattern in two of the arms and interlace in the lower part of the shaft.

41 H (3) Slab, 1.39m in visible height by 0.29m, swelling at the top into a thicker 'cap' 0.33m wide. Face (a) bears in low relief a much-worn ringed cross with round armpits. It is filled with interlace which forms a knotted terminal at the right, and linked to two intertwined stems forming a long shaft. This rises from an interlaced knot and opens into flanking loops at mid-height. Face (b) bears in low relief a plain ringed cross with round armpits and a long shaft.

38 C (4) Slab, known from an early photograph, at least 0.9m by 0.35m. It bore a ringed cross with a broad margin, and square armpits enclosing rough pellets in triangular frames. The arms had rectangular terminals enclosing bosses of the same shape. There were traces of animal-carvings flanking the shaft and top arm. (Photograph by Rev J B Mackenzie, prints in NMRS and in *ECMS*, 3, fig.561 on p.513).

41 P (5) Slab, 0.49m in incomplete length by 0.36m, much worn. A central panel of interlace formed by two double-beaded bands is divided by mouldings from strips of three-cord plait.

39 EE (6) Slab, 1.81m by 0.62m. At the top in low relief is a Latin cross with a short upper arm, whose arms extend to the edges of the slab.

(42) Fragmentary cross-head and -shaft, 0.79m by 0.42m, bearing interlace on both faces. On face (a) the angle-moulding curves in to define a solid 'armpit'. An early medieval date has been suggested (MacLean, 'Sculpture',

pp.450-2 and pls.99-100), but face (b) appears to include foliage of late medieval type.

#### 48 Kilberry

NR 7085 6414

NR76SW 15

Site of medieval church of St Berach or else St Berchán. Early and late medieval stones from the site are in a shelter (NR 7090 6420)

(1) Tapered slab, incomplete at both ends, 1.08m by 0.51m. 27 D  
At the top is a deeply chip-carved hexafoil within an incised 0.46m circle with a central drill-hole. At the foot are worn markings which may have belonged to another cross.

(2) Slab, 0.59m in visible height by 0.37m, bearing on face (a) a rough outline Latin cross with open foot and top arm. 34 J  
The rough relief cross on face (b) is 0.45m high above an expanded base but only 0.15m across; crosslets are incised in the top arm and the centre of the cross-head. 28 Q 39 R

(3) Damaged slab, 0.86m by 0.46m, bearing in relief an irregular cross with broad arms, having at the centre a raised 0.18m boss with a central 60mm hollow. 39 T

#### 53 Kilbride, Loch Sween

NR 7225 7987

NR77NW 22

Upright slab in field, 150m W of supposed site of burial-ground. It is 1.05m in visible height by 0.37m. On the E face is a firmly-incised equal-armed cross whose side-arms extend to the edges. 28 CC

#### 55 Kilbride, Rhudil

NR 8524 9650

NR89NE 14

This stone was identified in 1961 at Kilbride Farm, 250m SE 41 K  
of a medieval chapel (No.54), and is now in the farmhouse garden. It is a much-worn tapered slab, broken at one end, 0.59m by 0.33m. It bears in low relief a Latin cross with small rounded armpits, outlined by a bead-moulding and filled with plaited interlace which in the cross-head appears to form a lozenge of single strands. The cross is flanked by thick S-spirals with angular linking sections. This carving is probably of 10th or 11th-century date.

#### 57 Kilbride, Turnalt

NM 8352 0840

NM80NW 20

A stone 'marked with a roughly cut cross' is said to have been found near this chapel site, but had disappeared before 1915.

#### 61 Kilfinan

NR 9340 7889

NR97NW 14

Much-altered medieval church in extensive churchyard. Early and late medieval stones are in the Lamont aisle.

(1) Pillar of sandstone, 1.93m by 0.35m, bearing a deeply 32 V  
grooved Latin cross 0.87m high, with open foot and side-arms and a rounded upper terminal.

(2) Tapered slab, over 1.7m by 0.54m to 0.31m; much worn, 44 C  
broken across and damaged at the edges. On face (a) is a large outline cross whose square armpits enclose 50mm sunken circles with broad outer margins. The top arm is closed, but the foot appears to be open. At the centre of the cross-head is an outline Latin cross with open foot, 0.33m high. Face (b) bears a cross of similar outline, but the top of the upper arm forms two interlaced knots while most of the remainder is filled by an outline Latin cross 0.76m by 0.28m.

(3) Slab with curved sides, 2.05m by 0.61m, much worn and 44 A  
lacking one top corner. On face (a), within an incised margin, is a large ringed cross with beaded edges, round sunken armpits and broad double-beaded ring-quadrants. In the head is a roundel of interlace, and the side-arms contained spiral-ornament while the top and lower arms contain key-pattern, linked in the shaft to four spiral roundels or flat bosses, each producing two creatures having serpents' bodies and dragons' heads with wide biting jaws. The left upper spandrel bears traces of interlace. In the lower spandrels there are curved-bodied animals above broad plaits which flank the shaft.



Kilfinan (No.61), cross-slab (3), face b

44 A Face (b) has at the right an incised margin and at the left a 147 natural bevel bearing a much-damaged three-strand plait. At the top is an equal-armed interlaced cross within a beaded margin, with sunken armpits and a double-beaded ring resembling that on face (a). In the upper spandrels are a bird and a beast, and below the cross there are four other creatures. Below a central interlaced knot the remainder of the face is filled by four pairs of interlaced roundels, each producing three dragon-snakes having biting fangs or gaping jaws. The left edge (c) bears interlace which at the centre merges with key-pattern and occasional spirals.

### 63 Killevin

NR 9865 9722 NR99NE 4

Supposed site of medieval chapel in modern rectangular enclosure.

46 F (1) Pillar or cross-shaft, formerly built into enclosure-wall, now displayed in Cumlodden parish church (NS 0150 9964). It is 1.11m by 0.23m by 0.19m, and Drummond's drawing (*Monuments*, pl.92) shows that about half of the original length survives. It is surmounted by an oval projection 35mm high. The sides are pierced, 0.44m from the top, by a transverse slot 90mm square. Drummond described a 'long stone' which was put through this hole and presumably secured with wedges. At the top is the upper part of a human figure with a large head and pointed beard; the arms are shown, but only the upper part of the torso. Aligned with the socket is a low 70mm boss within a 0.15m ring, and below this a cross with circular terminals within a quatrefoil recess. On the back is a 75mm boss, again aligned with the socket.

A close structural parallel is provided by two perforated cross-marked pillars at Inishmurray (Co. Sligo), where additional dowel-holes indicate that the transoms were of timber. A date in the 8th or 9th century may be tentatively suggested.

57 A (2) Cruciform stone, recorded in the burial-ground in 1866 but removed before 1926 to the former manse at Minard (NR 9810 9670). Broken at the foot, it is 0.84m by 0.34m across the arms. It is much worn but the shaft and upper arm of an outline cross are indicated and the head is filled by a cross-incised 0.16m roundel in a 40mm border.

### 64 Kilmahumaig

NR 7893 9360 NR79SE 20

Site of medieval chapel in 19th-century quadrangular enclosure. Near the entrance to a private burial-enclosure is a

slab, tapered at the foot and 1.54m by 0.37m. Face (a) bears a 41 G long-shafted ringed cross, 0.26m in diameter and with round sunken armpits. At the centre a 0.12m roundel bears a crosslet in false relief (cf. No.17). Flanking the open-ended shaft are two pairs of riders, below them a pair of animals, possibly griffons, and then interlace. On face (b) is a Latin cross in low relief, 0.98m high, with an open foot.

### 67 Kilmarie, Craignish

NM 7782 0148 NM70SE 3

Medieval parish church of St Maelrubha, in rectangular burial-ground.

(1) Slab, 1.21m by 0.34m, much worn. It bears the pecked 34 N outline of a Latin cross, open at the foot.

(2) Slab, 1.76m by 0.51m, much worn. It bears an outline 34 A Latin cross, with narrow sunken armpits and an incised moulding in the upper left re-entrant.



A. Killevin (No.63), cross-shaft (1), detail of face a



B. Kilmarie, Craignish (No.67), church from SW



Kilmartin Cross (No.68, 1)

A

(a)

B

(b)

**68 Kilmartin**

NR 8345 9884

NR89NW 8

Site of medieval parish church. The cross (4) is in the present church and the other early stones are in the churchyard with many late medieval stones.

- 34 C (1) Slab, 1.2m in visible height by 0.52m, damaged at top and much worn. On each face is a large outline Latin cross, that on face (a) having slightly rounded armpits and the other (b), which is open at the foot, square ones.
- 35 U (2) Slab, 1.57m by 0.48m. In the upper half is an outline Latin cross with open foot and sunk rounded armpits.
- 34 M (3) Slab, 1.15m by 0.41m, much worn and broken obliquely. It bears the incomplete outline of a Latin cross with square armpits.
- 53 A (4) Cross with square armpits and stubby arms, 1.55m in visible height, 0.39m in width and about 0.5m in original span. The edge-moulding of face (a) returns at the armpits to surround rings with small central hollows. At the foot is an

equal-armed cross with sunken circular armpits, between four small crosses of the same form. Above are panels of diagonal key-pattern and broad double-beaded interlace. The cross-head is filled with irregular spirals round a 0.16m interlaced boss, and in the upper arm is an interlaced knot. The margins of face (b) have been cut away to outline a cross with bevelled sides. Its edge-moulding encloses sunken hollows in the armpits of the sidearms. The shaft is filled with diagonal key-pattern; the cross-head with an incised saltire between pointed peltae, at the sides, and concentric ovals above and below; and the top arm contains a horizontal key-pattern. A fragmentary finial, 0.12m long and 40mm thick, is almost flush with face (a). The cross probably dates from the 10th century.

(84) The E end-slab of a reconstructed late-medieval tomb-chest bears an outline ringed cross with square armpits. An early medieval date has been suggested (MacLean, 'Sculpture', p.433 and pl.85), but in its present form the incision is not of early character.





A



B

**Kilmory Oib (No.78), cross-slab**  
A. E face and well  
B. W face

### 69 Kilmichael Glassary

NR 8588 9351 NR89SE 15

Site of medieval chapel, and parish church from early 17th century. One early and numerous late medieval stones in churchyard.

- 40 P (1) Slab, 1.44m by 0.42m, bearing in relief a ringed Latin cross with a beaded margin and round sunken armpits. The shaft bears a fret-pattern which appears to have been continued in the cross-arms and ring.

### 71 Kilmichael of Inverlussa

NR 7752 8588 NR78NE 10

Probable site of medieval chapel, and parish church from 1734. An early chapel (No.70) is on the hillside 400m to the NNE, close to 'the priest's well'. A fragment from the churchyard was moved into the church in 1999.

- 41 C (1) Much-worn fragment of cross-slab with short side-arms, 1.21m by 0.47m. A cross with wide rounded armpits has a 0.45m ring enclosing in the armpits small figures with arms clasped round bent knees. The cross-arms contained interlocking spirals linked to a triple-spiral central roundel, and they overlie a cruciform frame formed by a 60mm band. The top arm extends to form a cross with narrow round armpits, filled with interlace, flanked by two crosslets. This cross is framed by a 60mm margin which returns obliquely to form a gable, although a flange of stone indicates that the slab itself may have had a rectangular top. An 8th- or 9th-century date is probable.

### 73 Kilmorich Parish Church, Cairndow

NN 1805 1074 NN11SE 6

- 53 N In the church of 1816 is a damaged cross-head, possibly from the medieval church-site at Clachan (No.74; NN 1890 1280). It is 0.77m in span by 0.44m high and is irregular, with arms of varying width. It has square armpits and a 0.54m ring whose upper quadrants are broken off. This cross may be of 12th- or 13th-century date.

### 76 Kilmory Knap

NR 7026 7510 NR77NW 3

Medieval chapel in rectangular burial-ground; reroofed in 1934 to house important collection of early and late medieval stones.

- 34 L (1) Slab, 0.89m by 0.50m, broken at the ends. It bears a pecked outline cross with expanded top and bottom arms, the latter open at the foot. The side-arms extend to the edges of the slab.

- (2) Slab, 0.85m by 0.35m, damaged at the edges. A coarsely-pecked 'hammer-head' cross with expanded head and foot is bordered by a 35mm margin. A 60mm roundel is incised at the centre and a possible square boss in the left arm. The sunken D-shaped areas flanking the shaft leave the cross in low relief. 40 H

- (3) Slab, more than 1.57m by 0.52m, bearing at the top a boldly-channelled Greek cross whose arms open into an irregular 0.47m circle. There is a small pit at the centre, and the triangular centre of each quadrant is sunk except in the upper left. 36 A

- (4) Slab, 1.45m by 0.52m, bearing a long-shafted ringed outline cross, 0.41m in diameter. The rounded armpits enclose 85mm pellets, and the arcs between these and the ring are slightly sunk. The terminals of the side-arms are uncertain, but the foot is open. 37 Q

- (5) Massive slab, 1.88m by 0.58m by 0.18m thick. At the top is a ringed outline cross, 0.56m in diameter, with a very short open shaft. The centre is expanded to a 0.24m disc and three of the sunken quadrants retain pellets. The end of the left arm is closed, and extends onto the ring, but the other arms are damaged. 38 J

- (6) Slab, 0.95m by 0.26m. It bears a 0.27m ringed cross, having a long shaft incised with a simple twist-pattern which extends to the centre of the cross-head. The square armpits enclose 40mm pellets, and the arms do not extend beyond the ring although the top arm overlies it. 36 D

- (7) Tapered slab, 1.06m by 0.57m, incomplete at the foot and much worn. It bears a 0.39m ringed cross covered in close-knit interlace, almost obliterated except in the shaft. The round armpits enclose D-shaped pellets. In the upper arm is a figure, perhaps an angel but not winged, and the spandrels retain traces of a gabled arrangement enclosing the arm (cf. No.71(1)). Flanking the shaft in low relief are two birds with swan-like bodies; a hooded horseman and a quadruped; and human figures with a possible animal. 41 D

### 78 Kilmory Oib

NR 7808 9024 NR79SE 7

- Cross-slab, 1.37m in visible height by 0.40m, beside a drystone-built well in a ruined township. The W face (a) bears in false relief a cross having two transoms with barred terminals, the lower one with curved armpits. Between them are discs, perhaps the sun and moon, and above and below are pairs of birds. Flanking the shaft were incised saltires, one now flaked off, and below and in the damaged top there are animals. The E face (b) bears an outline cross with a 41 A

triangular upper terminal and an open foot flanked by horizontal base-lines. A series of vertical incisions down the shaft is probably early.

**80 Kilmun, Holy Loch**

NS 1657 8216 NS18SE 1

Site of medieval church, made collegiate in 1442. Dedicated to St Mun (? Fintén Munnu), whose crosier was held by hereditary keeper in 1497.

31 M (1) Slab, lacking foot, 0.97m by 0.36m. It bears a sunken Latin cross, 0.52m by 0.2m, with a slightly curved shaft.

**83 Leac an Duine Chòir, Barrackan**

NM 7787 0386 NM70SE 18

29 L 'The slab of the just man' lies beside a track 220m NW of Barrackan farmhouse. It measures 1.74m by 0.49m and bears an irregular circle enclosing a vertical stem and two mirror-image 'B's, perhaps inspired by a ringed cross. Above and below this are linear crosses, the lower one equal-armed.

**85 Lochead**

NR 7769 7816 NR77NE 6

Oval burial-ground and possible chapel-site.

30 HH (1) Slab, 1.19m by 0.31m, bearing an irregular incised cross, 0.25m by 0.18m. It has bars 0.13m long at each end of the vertical stem.

55 D (2) Slab, 0.75m by 0.55m by 80mm, bearing an incised saltire whose centre is pierced by a socket 75mm by 60mm. A smaller socket is aligned with it near one edge and there are traces of another at one of the adjacent broken corners. This may have been the base for a wooden post or cross (cf. No.20(29)).

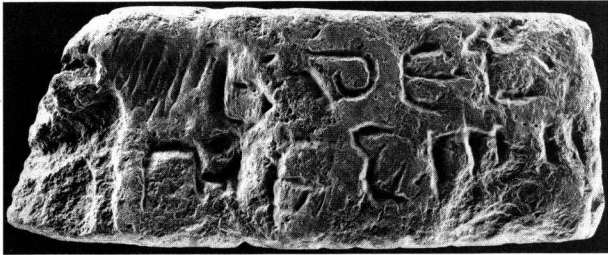
**87 Lochgoilhead**

NN 1984 0145 NN10SE 4

Church 'of the three holy brethren', incorporating considerable medieval fabric. Both stones are in the church.

(1) Fragment of pillar of sandstone, 0.42m by 0.16m and 75mm to 115mm thick; much worn and damaged by knife-cuts. One face (b) bears two lines of irregular incised letters in alphabetic order, including B, D, E, ?F and ?K, L, M, N. Edge (c) bears traces of other letters, although only DO are legible, and an ogham inscription composed of a horizontal stem-line 0.19m long with groups of short transverse scores. Dr K Forsyth suggests the reading [?h]MUD[?]ALI[?], which may represent an Irish personal name such as 'Mod-Magli' or 'Mu-Dali'. (Forsyth, 'Ogham', 374-84; Cox, *Ogam*, 85-9).

28 A (2) Fragment of millstone, 0.44m by 0.37m by 35mm to 60mm, probably re-used as a gravemarker. The upper surface bears an equal-armed cross in a 0.12m circle.



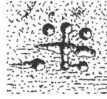
A



B



C



D

**Lochgoilhead (No.87), inscribed stone (1)**  
A. face b  
B. face c  
C. Ogham inscription, Poltalloch (No.91)  
D. St Columba's Cave, Cove (No.94)  
rock-cut cross (3) (scale 1:15)

**91 Ogham inscription, Poltalloch**

NR c.820 971 NR89NW 37

A stone bearing an ogham inscription, now in the Museum of Scotland, was found in 1931 in an area formerly known as 'Kill y Kiaran', near the site of four long-cist burials. Broken at one end, it is 0.25m by 82mm by 57mm. The scored letters use one angle as a base-line and read [ ]CRON(?A)?N, probably including the Irish personal name 'Crónán'. (NMS X.HPO 470). (Forsyth, 'Ogham', 443-455; Cox, *Ogam*, 90-2).

**94 St Columba's Cave, Cove**

NR 7512 7679 NR77NE 10

Two crosses are cut on the wall above a rubble-built altar in this cave, which has produced evidence of occupation over a long period. A 100mm equal-armed cross (1) is now represented only by its circular terminals. It is encroached on by the frame of a Latin cross in low relief (2), 0.17m by 0.14m. A series of pit-marks (3) one metre N of the altar may define a 100mm equal-armed cross with sinkings in the armpits.

30 B

39 A

30 C

**96 St Margaret's Roman Catholic Church, Lochgilphead**  
*see Vallay (W47(3)).*

**97 Creaganterve Mhór**

NM 8486 0150 NR89NW 78

Much-worn slab, found in re-use in a ruined house and moved to a cottage at Upper Slockavullin (NR 8240 9800). It measures 1.8m by 0.47m and bears in the upper part an equal-armed cross with slightly-sunken square armpits. The wide arms merge into a circular surround 0.41m in diameter.

36 B

**105 Tom na Croise**

NN 1756 1235 NN11SE 1

This irregular cruciform stone stands on Tom na Croise ('Mound of the Cross'), at an elevation of 315m above the head of Loch Fyne and 1.4km WSW of the medieval church-site of Kilmorich, Clachan (No.74). It measured over 1.2m by 0.68m, and the broken butt remains earthfast close to the main part. At the centre of each face is an incised equal-armed cross with rounded terminals.

29 Y

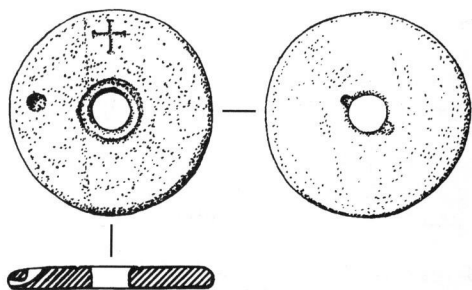
56 U

**107 Torran**

NM 8789 0487 NM80SE 37

A massive standing-stone, 50m E of Torran farmhouse, measures 3.3m by 1.2m by 0.55m. On the NW face (a) is a much-flaked outline cross with open-ended arms, probably about 0.85m in original height. On the SE face (b) are two pairs of horizontal grooves, probably from a similar cross.

34 R



A



B

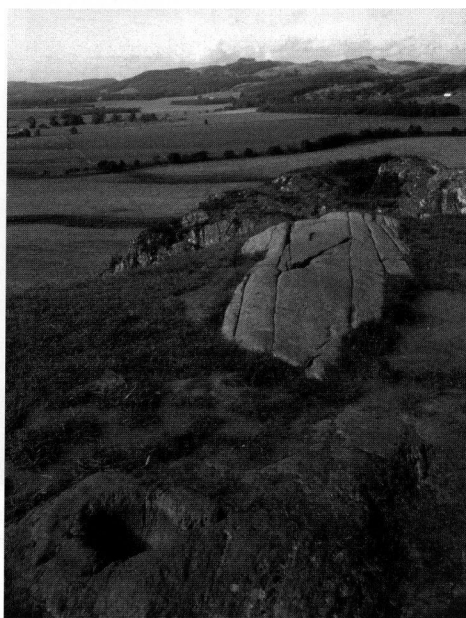
**Dunadd (No.281)**

A. cross-marked quernstone (scale 1:15)

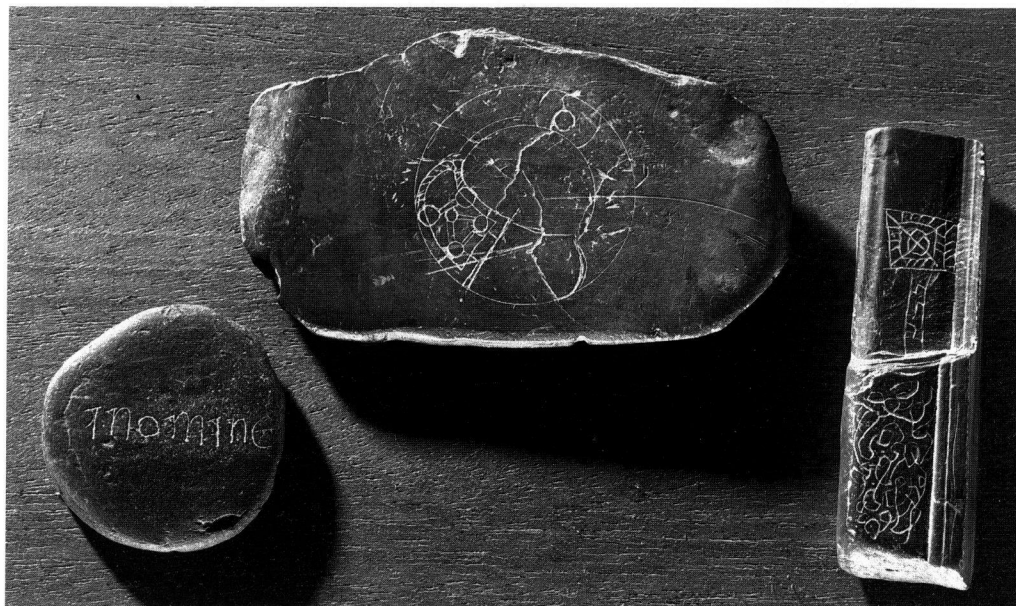
B. rock-cut boar

C. rock-cut basin and carved rock-surface (replica)

D. inscribed disc and motif-pieces



C



D

**281 Dunadd**

NR 8365 9356

NR89SW 1

The early historic fort of 'Dun At' was besieged in 683 and captured by the Picts in 736, but excavations have shown that occupation continued into the 9th century. It comprises a series of stone-walled enclosures round a pear-shaped summit-fort. Artefacts include imported pottery and evidence of metal-working; a rotary quern bearing an incised Latin cross with expanded terminals; a slate disc inscribed I(N)NOMINE ('in the name (of the Lord)'); and several motif-pieces.

26 J A rock-cut 0.25m basin on a terrace NE of the summit-fort, and adjacent carvings on a horizontal rock-surface which was protected by a concrete replica in 1978, may have been used in royal inaugurations. The outline of a shod foot, 0.27m long and 25mm deep, and the pecked outline of another, are

accompanied by an ogham inscription and a boar. This is 0.54m long and, although much worn, its underside shows the double outline typical of Pictish incised animals. An adjacent graffito figure is of recent origin.

The ogham inscription is in two lines, parallel to natural fissures in the rock but having no defined stem-lines. Jackson and Padel, while differing in their readings, agreed that it was unintelligible and probably Pictish. Forsyth found many ambiguities in the much-weathered upper line, which may begin with the Irish word *AES* ('folk'). She reads the lower line: FI(nn/rr)MaNA(ch/q), which may represent the Irish personal name 'Finn', with the descriptive *manach* ('monk' or 'tenant of church-land'). (Forsyth, 'Ogham', 227-41).

A much-damaged animal of uncertain date is incised on a vertical rock-face about 35m NNE of the main group of carvings.



## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES

- Adamnan, *De Locis*  
Adomnán, *Columba* (Anderson)
- Adomnán, *Columba* (Sharpe)  
Anderson, *Early Sources*  
*Anglo-Saxon Corpus*
- Arran Bk*  
ASMS  
AU
- Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*  
Baldwin, *North-west Ross*  
BAR  
Beattie, *Wester Ross*
- Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*
- Beveridge, *Wanderings*.  
Birkeli, *Norske Steinkors*  
Blaeu's *Atlas*
- Bonner, *St Cuthbert*
- Boswell, *Tour*
- Bourke, *Columba*  
Bourke, *From the Isles*
- Branigan and Foster, *From Barra*
- Broun and Clancy, *Spes Scotorum*  
Buchanan, *St Kilda*  
Campbell, *Canna*  
*Carm. Gadel.*  
*Chron. Fordun*  
Clancy and Márkus, *Iona*  
Clutton-Brock, *Rhum*
- Cowan, *Parishes*  
Cox, *Ogam*  
Cross, 'Bute'
- Cuppage, *Dingle Survey*
- DES (date)  
Dixon, *Gairloch*  
Dopsch and Juffinger, *Virgil*
- Dressler, *Eigg*  
Drummond, *Monuments*  
Dryden MS  
ECMS
- ECMW  
Edwards, 'Pabbay'
- Fisher, 'Argyll'  
Fisher, 'Iona'
- Foster, *St Andrews Sarcophagus*
- Forsyth, 'Ogham'
- Fraser, *Colquhoun*  
GAGM  
GAJ  
Graham, *Iona*
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## ABBREVIATIONS

- Hamlin, 'Stone carving'
- Harbison, *Crosses*
- Harman, *Hirte*
- Headrick, *Arran*
- Henry, *Henderson Studies*
- Henry, *Irish Art*, 1
- Henry, *Kells*
- Hewison, *Bute*
- Higgitt, *Sculpture*
- Highland Papers*
- Inventory of [County]*
- JRSAI*
- Kermode, *Manx Crosses*
- Laing, 'Sketches'
- Lang, 'The Hogback'
- Lhuyd*
- Liestøl, 'Runes'
- Lionard, 'Grave-slabs'
- Love, *Rum*
- Macalister, *Clonmacnois*
- McDonald, *Social Life*
- M'Arthur, *Arran*
- Mack, *Symbol Stones*
- MacLean, 'Applecross'
- MacLean, 'Keills'
- MacLean, 'Sculpture'
- Magnusson, *Rum*
- Martin, *Western Islands*
- Monro, *Western Isles*
- Muir, *Characteristics*
- Muir, *Eccles. Notes*
- Name Book
- Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona'
- NMAS Cat.*
- NMRS
- NMS
- NSA
- O'Mahony, *Kells*
- Origines Parochiales*
- Pennant, *Tour (1772)*
- Pococke, *Tours*
- PRIA*
- PSAS*
- RA
- RCAHMS, *Canna*
- Reeves, 'Maelrubha'
- Ritchie, *Argyll*
- Ritchie, *Govan*
- RMS*
- Robson, *Rona*
- Ryan, *Insular Art*
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- SAF  
Schultz album
- Sharpe, *Raasay*  
Shaw, *Autobiography*
- Small, *St Ninian's Isle*  
Spearman and Higgitt, *Migrating Ideas*
- SSS  
*Stat. Acct.*  
Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*
- Stell and Harman, *St Kilda*  
Stevenson, 'Crescent'
- Stokes, *Oengus*  
Swift, 'Islay'
- Talbot Rice, *Dark Ages*  
Taylor, *Anderson Studies*  
TBNHS  
TDGNHAS
- TGAS  
Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology*  
TISS  
UJA  
VA  
Wade Martins, *Eigg*  
Wakeman, *Inismurray*
- Watson, *Celtic Place-names*  
Watson, *Ross and Cromarty*  
Webster and Backhouse, *Making of England*
- Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*  
White, *Kintyre*  
White, *Knapdale*  
Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals*  
Youngs, *Work of Angels*
- Web-sites**  
CANMORE  
  
CISP
- Scottish Archaeological Forum.*  
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University College London, Celtic Inscribed Stones Project ([www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/cisp](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/cisp)).



## NOTES

## Introduction

- 1 Murphy, G, *Early Irish Lyrics* (1956), 32-5, 186-7. In one manuscript this *croisradhach* ('crosses poem') is attributed to Columba himself. In all but the last two of the twelve stanzas, at least three of the four lines begin with the words *Cros Christ*. The same motif appears in two folk-poems collected in the Hebrides in the 19th century (*Carm. Gadel.*, 3, 72-5, 262-3). For the multiplication of crosses in sculpture and other media see Stevenson, R B K, 'Aspects of ambiguity in crosses and interlace', *UJA*, 44-5 (1981-2), 1-27.
- 2 Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, bk.3, c.2. Bede records that even the moss that grew on the cross had healing power.
- 3 Adomnán, *Columba* (Anderson), 224-5. This tradition may explain the use at Iona of rounded cross-marked pebbles, of which the so-called 'St Columba's pillow' (A4 (60)) is the latest. A stone of this form was found in 2000 on Eilean an Tighe, Shiant Isles (W56).
- 4 Fisher, 'Iona', 35-6; O'Loughlin, T, 'Living in the ocean', in Bourke, *Columba*, 11-23.
- 5 Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture; Inventory of Argyll, passim*.
- 6 For Columba, Adomnán and Iona, see *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, No.3; Fisher, 'Iona'; Fisher, 'Argyll'; Adomnán, *Columba* (Anderson); Adomnán, *Columba* (Sharpe); Smyth, A P, *Warlords and Holy Men* (1984), 84-140; Henderson, G, *From Durrow to Kells* (1987); Herbert, M, *Iona, Kells and Derry* (1988); Clancy and Márkus, *Iona*; Bourke, *Columba*; Ritchie, A, *Iona* (1997); Broun and Clancy, *Spes Scotorum*.
- 7 Herbert, op.cit., 68-77; Bannerman, J, 'Comarba Coluim Chille and the relics of Columba', *Innes Review*, 44 (1993), 14-47; idem, 'The Scottish takeover of Pictland and the relics of Columba', in Broun and Clancy, *Spes Scotorum*, 71-94; Broun, D, 'Dunkeld and the origin of Scottish identity', *ibid.*, 95-111.
- 8 Macdonald, A, in *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 271-302; idem in Bourke, *Columba*, 24-44; O'Sullivan, J, 'Iona: archaeological investigations, 1875-1996', in Broun and Clancy, *Spes Scotorum*, 215-43.
- 9 McCormick, F, in *UJA*, 56 (1993), 78-108; idem in Bourke, *Columba*, 45-68.
- 10 Stokes, *Oengus*, 26.
- 11 Barber, J, 'Excavations on Iona, 1979', *PSAS*, 111 (1981), 282-380.
- 12 Martin, *Western Islands*, 287-8.
- 13 Macdonald, A, in *SAF*, 5 (1973), 49. Moluag is probably to be identified with Luanus, a Bangor monk who was said to have founded 100 monasteries in Ireland and Scotland (Meyer, R T (ed.), *Bernard of Clairvaux: the life and death of St Malachy the Irishman* (1978), 31, 133; MacLean, 'Applecross', 176).
- 14 Macdonald, op.cit., 52-6; *Inventory of Argyll*, 2, p.156.
- 15 Cuppage, *Dingle Survey*; Fanning, T, 'Excavation of an Early Christian cemetery and settlement at Reask, County Kerry', *PRIA*, 81 (1981), 67-172; Henry, F, 'Early monasteries, beehive huts and dry-stone houses in the neighbourhood of Caherciveen and Waterville (Co.Kerry)', *PRIA*, 58 (1957), 45-166; O'Sullivan, A and Sheehan, J (eds.), *The Iveragh Peninsula, an Archaeological Survey of South Kerry* (1996).
- 16 Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology*, 44-7.
- 17 Adomnán, *Columba* (Sharpe), 230.
- 18 *Disirt* ('desert', 'hermitage') is preserved in place-names such as Clachan Dysart (Dalmally, Argyll), Dysart (Fife) and Dysart O'Dea (Co.Clare) (Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 256-7).
- 19 The numerous small crosses in the King's Cave, Jura, may result from recusant Catholic activity in the early 17th century (Mercer, J, in *GAJ*, 5 (1978), 44-5, 49, 67-9). Caves with early carvings are also found in Fife, Moray and Wigtownshire, but they are uncommon elsewhere in Britain and Ireland.
- 20 Macquarrie, A, in Blair, J and Sharpe, R (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (1992), 110-33.
- 21 Watson, *Celtic Place-names, passim*; map by W F H Nicolaisen in McNeill, P G B and MacQueen, H L (eds.), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (1996), 59; Taylor, S, 'Place-names and the early church in eastern Scotland', in Crawford, B E (ed.), *Scotland in Dark Age Britain* (1996), 93-110; Redford, M, 'Commemorations of saints of the Celtic church in Scotland' (Edinburgh University M.Litt. thesis, 1989).
- 22 *Inventory of Argyll*, 5, fig.26; *ibid.*, 7, fig.6; Swift, 'Islay'.
- 23 O'Sullivan, J, in *PSAS*, 124 (1994), 324-65; Aitken, W G, in *TBNHS*, 14 (1955), 62-76.
- 24 Kermod, P M C and Bruce, J R, *The Manx Archaeological Survey* (1968); Lowe, C E, 'Early ecclesiastical sites in the Northern Isles and Isle of Man: an archaeological field survey' (Durham University PhD thesis, 1987; copy in NMRS).
- 25 There is no evidence in this area of the use of stones for cursing, as on Inishmurray and Tory Island, although the recently discovered stone from the Shiantes (W56) is similar in form to those at Inishmurray. The 'black stone of Iona', on which oaths were sworn, appears to have been a medieval effigy (*Inventory of Argyll*, 4, pp.138, 233).
- 26 *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, p.150.
- 27 Sacheverell, W, *An Account of the Isle of Man, with a Voyage to I-Columb-Kill* (1702), 133.
- 28 Lhuyd, pls.5b, 11a.
- 29 For Lhuyd and later artists, see 'Sources of Illustrations' in Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 7-10; Christian, J and Stillier, C, *Iona Portrayed: the island through artists' eyes, 1760-1960* (2000).
- 30 Lhuyd, pls.14b, 15, 22b; *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 22 (1700), 790 and figs.7, 8.
- 31 Pococke, *Tours*, 85.
- 32 Dunbar, J G (ed.), *Sir William Burrell's Northern Tour, 1758* (1997), 92; Pococke, *Tours*, 84; Pennant, *Tour* (1772), 1, 249; *Stat. Acct.*, 10, 533; MacLean, L, *A Historical Account of Iona* (1833), 12; Graham, *Iona*, 16.
- 33 H D Graham drawing albums in NMRS.
- 34 The cross on Eilean Mór (A7, 33(4)) is the only west coast stone included in *SSS*, 1 (1856).
- 35 Ritchie, J N G, *Recording Early Christian Monuments in Scotland* (Groam House Lecture, 1998), 12-13.
- 36 J B Mackenzie photograph albums and negatives in NMRS.
- 37 For his photography see these books and Beveridge, *Wanderings*, and negatives in NMRS.
- 38 Anderson, J, *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (second series, 1881), 79-80; *ECMS*, 1.
- 39 See introduction by Dr I Henderson in the 1993 reprint of *ECMS*.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 1, introduction, pp.44-6.
- 41 Dryden MSS in NMRS, MS 28.
- 42 For Lacaille's career as field-worker and museum curator, see Pollard, T and Morrison, A (eds.), *The Early Prehistory of Scotland* (1996), 1-19.
- 43 *PSAS*, 48 (1913-14), 421-30. R A S Macalister was brother-in-law of Sir Donald Macalister, principal of Glasgow University and an Iona Cathedral trustee from 1907 to 1929 (Macalister, E F B, *Sir Donald Macalister of Tarbert* (1935), 197-205).
- 44 *Antiquity*, 3 (1929), 215-17.
- 45 Henry, F, *La Sculpture Irlandaise* (1933), 1, 53, 55; 2, pls.51(2 and 9), 53(5), 55(2).
- 46 Henry, *Irish Art*, 1, 134, 136, 138-9, 146-7, pls.85, 96; Henry, *Kells*, 221.
- 47 *PSAS*, 84 (1939-40), 60-116. Mrs Curle described some of the stones on Cumbrae in 'Some little known Early Christian monuments in the West of Scotland' (*PSAS*, 95 (1961-2), 223-6).
- 48 Stevenson, R B K, 'The chronology and relationships of some Irish and Scottish crosses', *JRSAL*, 86 (1956), 84-96. See also idem, 'Sculpture in Scotland in the 6th-9th centuries AD', in *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur, Heidelberg, 1970*, 65-74.
- 49 Cf. the survey of Mid Argyll by Miss M Campbell of Kilberry and Miss M Sandeman (*PSAS*, 95 (1961-2), 1-125).
- 50 Scott, I G, 'Archaeological illustration: personal experience and the drawing of carved stone for publication', *Graphic Archaeology* 1996, 1-13; idem, 'Illustrating early medieval carved stones', in Henry, *Henderson Studies*, 129-32. For the problems of illustrating sculpture, see also Alcock, L, in *PSAS*, 128 (1998), 533-4.
- 51 Quick, G B, 'The photography of relief carving', *The Photographic Journal*, 1975, 272-7. For a simplified version of these methods, see Gray, T E and Ferguson, L M, *Photographing Carved Stones: a practical guide to recording Scotland's past* (1997).
- 52 *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*; Harbison, *Crosses*; RCAHMS, *Pictish Symbol Stones: an illustrated gazetteer* (1999).
- 53 O'Mahony, *Kells*; Ryan, *Insular Art*; Spearman and Higgit, *Migrating Ideas*; Bourke, *From the Isles*; Redknap, M et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Insular Art, Cardiff 1998* (forthcoming).
- 54 Lacy, B (ed.), *Archaeological Survey of County Donegal* (1983); opera cit. *supra*, n.15.
- 55 Burt, J R F, 'A Pictish Bibliography', in Nicoll, E (ed.), *A Pictish Panorama* (1995), 31-184; *Pictish Arts Society Journal* (1992-); Mack, *Symbol-stones*. For simple crosses see *infra*, n.208.
- 56 Calvert, J, 'The early development of Irish high crosses and their relationship to Scottish sculpture in the ninth and tenth centuries' (University of California, Berkeley, PhD thesis, 1978; copy in Edinburgh University Library and NMRS); Cross, 'Bute'; MacLean, 'Sculpture'.
- 57 MacLean, 'Keills'; idem in Bourke, *From the Isles*, 167-75; Kelly, D, in *JRSAL*, 121 (1991), 105-45; eadem in Spearman and Higgit, *Migrating Ideas*, 219-29.
- 58 Items which have been rejected include a cruciform marking at Isay House (Skye), which appears to be of natural origin; crosses in the King's Cave, Jura (*supra*, n.19); cruciform stones at Clachan (Kintyre), Treshnish (Mull), Kilchiaran (Islay) and Killchianiga (Jura) (*Inventory of Argyll*, 1, No.270 (3); 3, No.330; 5, Nos.365(8) and 369), which are probably of late medieval date; and others of post-Reformation date at Nunton (Benbecula) and Pabbay (Harris).
- 59 For the problems of dating Iron Age and early medieval sites see introductions to *Inventory of Argyll*, 1-6; Alcock, L and E A, in *PSAS*, 117 (1987), 127-36; Harding, D W, in Ritchie, *Argyll*, 118-40.
- 60 Cuppage, *Dingle Survey*, no.828.
- 61 For other wells, see St Molaise's Table on Holy Island (W1), Cill Ashaig (W32), and Aird a' Mhòrain (W48).

- 62 E.g. Kirkapoll (A3, 310), Barnakill (A7, 14) and Daltote (A7, 24).
- 63 Hamlin, 'Stone carving', 292-3; Legananny (*An Archaeological Survey of Co. Down* (1966), pl.106). The stone at Edmore, Co. Down (*ibid.*, pl.14) is a penal mass-rock (Hamlin, *loc.cit.*).
- 64 Cf. local traditions of St Adomnán's Cross, near the shore in Iona village (*Inventory of Argyll*, 4, p.179).
- 65 For John Carswell's text of 1566 see Thomson, R L (ed.), *Foirn na n-Urrnuidheadh* (Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1970), 110-11; Martin, *Western Islands*, 186-9. The same ritual is described in Alexander MacDonald's poem, *The Birlinn of Clanranald*, and with other prayers for protection, in *Carm. Gadel*, 1, 324-35.
- 66 For Tom na Croise, cf. traditions of crosses or stones at the first place from which a church could be seen, associated with names such as 'Pass of the Prostration' (*Carm. Gadel*, 3, 262-3).
- 67 For this fragment (NO67NE 15), now in Marischal College Museum, Aberdeen, which bears key-pattern and an animal, see *DES* (1965), 24; Small, A, in *The Deeside Field* (3rd series), 1 (1974), 8-11.
- 68 This cross was erected by the vicar of Fortingall in a 'great stone' at 'Larkmonemerkth', *Lairig Monadh Marcaich* (*The Black Book of Taymouth* (Bannatyne Club, 1855), 120). Lochan Lairig is situated in the pass at the head of Glen Quaich (NN 8040 4200), and the 570m summit to the E is known as 'A' Chrois' (Gillies, W, *In Famed Breadalbane* (1938), 380).
- 69 Adamnan, *De Locis*, 48-9.
- 70 Cf. the cross presented to the Pope by the Emperor Justin II c.575 (Talbot Rice, *Dark Ages*, 91). For Lombardic and Spanish votive and altar crosses, *ibid.*, 164, 180-1, 188. For the 8th-century processional 'Rupertus' Cross, *infra*, pp.15, 22, nn.135 and 203.
- 71 The Glazier codex, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 494-5).
- 72 Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology*, 116-17.
- 73 Adamnan, *De Locis*, 108-11.
- 74 A quernstone dated 1767 (in private possession at Corrofin, Co.Clare) bears two equal-armed relief crosses flanking the handle-socket. Cf. the millstone-fragment at Lochgoilhead (A7, 87(2)), where the cross may be secondary.
- 75 Hamlin, A, 'Crosses in early Ireland: the evidence from written sources', in Ryan, *Insular Art*, 138-40.
- 76 Hughes, K, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (1966), 148-9; *PSAS*, 29 (1894-5), fig. on p.37; MacLean, 'Sculpture', pp.311-12.
- 77 *Chron. Fordun*, 1, 43; *Monro, Western Isles*, 128.
- 78 The 8th-century Life of St Willibald describes the practice of Anglo-Saxon nobles to erect a cross 'on some prominent spot for the convenience of those who wish to pray daily before it' (Talbot, C H (tr.), *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (1954), 154-5). The existence of elaborately carved 'preaching crosses' is questioned in Morris, R, *The Church in British Archaeology* (CBA Research Report 47 (1983)), 52-3. Adomnán's account of the liturgy on Hinba suggests that the church was too small to contain all of the congregation (Adomnán, *Columba* (Sharpe), 219, 368-9).
- 79 Clancy and Márkus, *Iona*, 177-92.
- 80 Cf. Werckmeister, O-K, *Irish-northumbrian Buchmalerei des 8. Jahrhunderts und Monastische Spiritualität* (1967).
- 81 Adamnan, *De Locis*, 110-11. Higgitt gives Irish examples and suggests that this practice may have influenced the low-level placing of inscriptions on crosses such as St Martin's (Higgitt, *Sculpture*, 142-3).
- 82 Henry, P L, *The Early English and Celtic Lyric* (1966), 60.
- 83 Lionard, 'Grave-slabs'.
- 84 Higgitt, J, in Bourke, *From the Isles*, 229-36.
- 85 *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, No.19. A massive cairn enclosing St Colmcille's Well on the Gleann Cholm Cille *turas* has been built up by countless pilgrims bringing three small stones each as an act of penance (Watson, S (eag.), *Oidhreacht Ghleann Cholm Cille* (1989), 98). A similar penitential origin for the Iona cairns was recorded by Pennant (*Tour* (1772), 1, 259).
- 86 Wakeman, *Inismurray*, *passim*.
- 87 Adamnan, *The Life of St Columba* (ed. Reeves, W, 1857), map opp. p.424; *ibid.* (revised Skene, W F, 1874), frontispiece; Bourke, *Columba*, cover.
- 88 The tradition of cutting votive crosses, even on modern features such as concrete gate-posts, continues at Irish pilgrimage-sites including Ballyvourney (Co.Cork). For the possible 17th-century date of crosses in the King's Cave, Jura, see *supra*, n.19.
- 89 E.g. Clonamery (Co.Kilkenny) and Fore (Co.Westmeath) (Henry, *Irish Art*, 1, pls.22-3); Forteviot (Richardson, J S, *The Medieval Stone Carver in Scotland* (1964), pl.12; Alcock, L and E A, in *PSAS*, 122 (1992), 223-7).
- 90 See also the introductions to the individual volumes of the *Inventory of Argyll*; Fisher, 'Argyll'.
- 91 *Inventory of Argyll*, 2, fig.5 on p.17. For the overall distribution of forts, duns and crannogs in Argyll, Bute and Arran see Ritchie, *Argyll*, fig.7.1 on p.119.
- 92 Macalister (*Clonmacnois*) recorded 272 stones, of which 65 were lost. Several hundred more stones remain in store and unpublished. For St Andrews, see *Inventory of Fife*, No.456; Fleming, D H, *St Andrews Cathedral Museum* (1931); Henderson, I, in Taylor, *Anderson Studies*.
- 93 For a comparable (although smaller) group of simple carvings at an important monastic site with Céili-Dé associations, see Manning, C, 'Cross-slabs from Clonenagh, Co.Laois', in Manning, C (ed.), *Dublin and Beyond the Pale* (1998), 185-92.
- 94 Adomnán, *Columba* (Anderson), 62-3, 130-3.
- 95 The enclosed site in the inland Loch Chaluim Chille; Eilean Chaluim-Chille in Portree Harbour; the island in the River Snizort at Skeabost (*Inventory of the Hebrides*, Nos.535, 571, 616).
- 96 Sharpe (Adomnán, *Columba*, 329) accepts that Adomnán's reference to 'the island that may be called long' is used in its modern sense, *contra* Watson (*Celtic Place-names*, 91) and Anderson (Adomnán, *Columba*, p.lxxv).
- 97 Robson, M, *A Desert Place in the Sea: the early churches of North Lewis* (1997).
- 98 For methods and problems of dating, see R Cramp in *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, General Introduction, pp.xlvii-viii.
- 99 Wilson, D M, in Kermod, *Manx Crosses* (1994 reprint), p.xviii; Trench-Jellicoe, R M, 'A re-definition and stylistic analysis...' (Lancaster University PhD thesis, 1985; copy in Manx Museum); Megaw, B R S, lecture at 3rd International Conference on Insular Art, Belfast, 1994, suggesting a 10th-century date for the Calf of Man Crucifixion-plaque.
- 100 Henry, *Kells*; Brown, T J, 'Northumbria and the Book of Kells', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 219-46; Henderson, I, 'Pictish Art and the Book of Kells', in Whitelock, D *et al.* (eds.), *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe* (1982), 79-105; Henderson, G, *From Durrow to Kells* (1987); Alexander, J J G, *Insular Manuscripts, 6th to the 9th century* (1978), 9-18, 30-2, 71-6 and *passim*.
- 101 Stevenson, R B K, 'Pictish Art', 102-6, in Wainwright, F T (ed.), *The Problem of the Picts* (1955); Murray, G, 'The declining Pictish symbol — a re-appraisal', *PSAS*, 116 (1986), 223-53. MacLean's analysis of the symbols in this area suggests that they are all typologically late ('Sculpture', pp.76-122).
- 102 A footprint at Southend, Kintyre (A1, 300) may be associated with the early historic fortress of Dunaverty.
- 103 Curle, C L, in *PSAS*, 74 (1939-40), 67; Curle, C L and Henry, F, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (6th series), 24 (1943), 261; Jackson, K H, in *Antiquity*, 39 (1965), 300-2. MacLean suggests that the boar and ogham inscription may be associated with Pictish mercenaries in Dál Riata ('Sculpture', pp.117-18). Laing ('Sketches', 140) disputes their Pictish origin.
- 104 E.g. a pierced stone drain-cover from the 2nd-century bath-house adjoining the Roman fort at Bothwellhaugh (Lanarkshire) (Maxwell, G S, in *Britannia*, 6 (1975), 35; *infra*, Fig.169D); a 4th-century silver bowl from Mildenhall (Suffolk) (Kent, J P C and Painter, K S, *Wealth of the Roman World AD 300-700* (1977), 36); Jewish ossuaries, some dated to the 1st century BC or AD (Albright, W F, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1949), pl.30; Needler, W, *Palestine Ancient and Modern* (1949), pl.20); a synagogue lintel at Yafia, Israel (Shanks, H, *Judaism in Stone* (1979), 35).
- 105 Lionard, 'Grave-slabs', 110-12. Crosses-of-arcs are found at Maughold (Isle of Man), Whithorn, Ballyvourney (Co.Cork) and at several sites in the Dingle peninsula. For simple examples at Whithorn of the overlapping compass-drawn patterns seen at Maughold, Clonmacnoise (Co.Offaly), and Nendrum (Co.Down), see Craig, D, in Hill, P, *Whithorn and St Ninian* (1997), 437-41.
- 106 Slab from St Boniface's Chapel, Papa Westray (NMS, X.IB 200; *PSAS*, 55 (1920-1), 134). The diameter is 10mm greater than in the Raasay stone, and the opposed arcs merge at the centre.
- 107 The cross-of-arcs predates an ogham inscription (O'Kelly, M, in *SAF*, 5 (1973), 9-11). For linguistic evidence for the dating of Irish examples, see Swift, C, *Ogam Stones and the Earliest Irish Christians* (1997), 70-83.
- 108 *ECMW*, 15-16; Hamlin, A, in *UJA*, 35 (1972), 22-8; Herity, M, in Picard, J-M (ed.), *Ireland and Aquitaine in the Middle Ages* (1995), 233-60. For examples in Rome and Roman Britain, see Thomas, C, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (1981), 86-91.
- 109 Some handled crosses such as those on Raasay (W34(1, 2)), Canna (W28(9)) and at Carndonagh (Co.Donegal) may be influenced by the flabellum or liturgical fan (Herity, *op.cit.*; Richardson, H, in Spearman and Higgitt, *Migrating Ideas*, 27-34). There are clear depictions of it in the Book of Kells, but most sculptural examples probably depict pedestals rather than handles.
- 110 *ECMW*, 17-27.
- 111 Cf. n.218.
- 112 Cf. Codex Amiatinus, f.796 (Bruce-Mitford, R, in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, 32 (1969), 17, pls.13, 14; Webster and Backhouse, *Making of England*, fig. on p.124); St Ninian's Isle, bowl 1 (Small, *St Ninian's Isle*, 1, 134; 2, pl.17).
- 113 Cf. the rectangular base of the incised cross above the cross-of-arcs from St Boniface's Chapel, Papa Westray (*supra*, n.106).
- 114 Lead pilgrim's flask at Dumbarton Oaks (Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, 585-6); 'Cathach of St Columba' in Royal Irish Academy, Dublin (Henry, *Irish Art*, 1, pl.12).
- 115 For a Gaulish example on an inscribed slab, see James, E, *The Merovingian Archaeology of South-west Gaul* (BAR Supplementary Series 25, 1977), 1, pl.35 on p.84. For two Breton examples of sunken crosses with broad splayed arms, see Davies, W *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany* (2000), figs.M1.4 (Mané Justice), M6.3 (Locoal).
- 116 *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 1, 170 (see *infra*, n.198). For sunken crosses with barred terminals, cf. Peebles (*PSAS*, 101 (1968-9), 126-9); St Medan's and Monymusk, Aberdeenshire (*ibid.*, 45 (1910-11), 338-40, 347-8); Noss, Shetland (*infra*, n.209). Cf. also Loughros, Co.Donegal (*infra*, n.186). For an enamelled example of this cross-type from Co. Westmeath, see Bourke, *From the Isles*, fig.2b on p.51.

- 117 Kermode, P M C, in *PSAS*, 65 (1930-1), 373-8; Radford, C A R, in *Orkney Heritage*, 2 (1983), 15-18. For recent discussions of early settlement in the Faroes, see Batey, C E et al. (eds.), *The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic* (Eleventh Viking Congress, 1993), 454-86.
- 118 Stone in National Museum, Copenhagen (Kermode, op.cit., fig.3).
- 119 This term describes a ringed or encircled cross with rounded arm-pits, where the junctions of arms and ring lie beyond the arm-pits, forming thistle-shaped hollows. Slabs of this type are numerous at Gallen, Co.Offaly (Kendrick, T D, in *JRSAL*, 69 (1939), 16-17; Lionard, 'Grave-slabs', 116).
- 120 This slab bears the name *Cuindles*. An abbot of this name died in 720, but Macalister (*Clonmacnois*, 22, 102-3) was justifiably doubtful about the identification. A slab with ringed cross at Athlone (Co. Westmeath) probably commemorates Ailill, king of Connaught (d.764) (Murtagh, H (ed.), *Irish Midland Studies* (1980), 7-9, 17).
- 121 This motif appears to have developed from 'jewelled' crosses with pellets in the arm-pits, such as St Cuthbert's pectoral cross (Bonner, *St Cuthbert*, pl.35).
- 122 For Fahan see Henry, *Irish Art*, 1, 125-8, pls.52, 54; Harbison, P, in Higgitt, *Sculpture*, 58-61, 66-7; idem, *Crosses*, 1, 88-9; 2, figs.276-7; Stevenson, R B K, in *JRSAL*, 115 (1985), 92-5.
- 123 Cf. n.212.
- 124 Langdon, A G, *Old Cornish Crosses* (1896; reprinted 1988); *ECMW*. This type has a long survival through the middle ages in many parts of Europe, including the Iberian peninsula. A tall example at Crosshall, Eccles, Berwickshire, bears swords and shields of late medieval type (*Inventory of Berwickshire*, No.143; NMRS database NT74SE 5).
- 125 For a suggested 8th-9th century date see Laing, L, in *Pictish Arts Society Journal*, 8 (Autumn 1995), 2-7.
- 126 Cf. Jansson, S B F, *Runes in Sweden* (1987), 30, 40, 87, 124, 135.
- 127 For similar names in the Hebrides at a later period see Liestøl, A, 'An Iona rune stone and the world of Man and the Isles', in Fell, C et al. (eds.), *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man* (Ninth Viking Congress, 1983), 85-93; Liestøl, 'Runes', 230-1.
- 128 Birkeli, *Norske Steinkors*, 104; Jansson, op.cit., 45, 50-1, 69, 71, 88, 92, 98, 157. For the Ringerike style, see Wilson, D M and Klindt-Jensen, O, *Viking Art* (2nd ed., 1980), 130-46.
- 129 Adomnán, *Columba* (Anderson), 82-3, 220-1. Sharpe (Adomnán, *Columba*, 196) suggests that these were cross-marked pillars.
- 130 Barber, J, in *PSAS*, 111 (1981), 328-46, pls.21-3.
- 131 Cassidy, B (ed.), *The Ruthwell Cross* (1992), 38-9; drawing by J Dods in NMS library copy of Hewison, J K, *The Runic Roods of Ruthwell and Bewcastle* (1914). Joints in Anglo-Saxon crosses were normally dowelled (*Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, *passim*).
- 132 For the possible elaboration of early woodwork, cf. the tool-box from Birsay (Orkney) in Museum of Scotland (*PSAS*, 20 (1885-6), 47-50; 86 (1951-2), 187-90 and pl.40) and the boss and other objects excavated in Dublin (*infra*, n.192).
- 133 *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, p.193.
- 134 Graham, A, in *PSAS*, 87 (1952-3), 187-91; Harbison, *Crosses*, 1, 162; 2, fig.539.
- 135 Harbison, *Crosses*, 3, fig.992; Talbot Rice, *Dark Ages*, 252; Webster and Backhouse, *Making of England*, 170-3; Dopsch and Juffinger, *Virgil*, 229-43 and pls.13-17.
- 136 Hunt, J, in *PRIA*, 57 (1956), 153-7; Bakka, E, in Small, A (ed.), *The Fourth Viking Congress* (1965), 39-40 and pl.4b; Youngs, *Work of Angels*, no.138. See *infra*, p.19.
- 137 Adomnán, *Columba* (Anderson), 44-5, 132-5.
- 138 Henry (*Kells*, 221) suggested that the manuscript marked the Columban bicentenary of 797.
- 139 For possible examples of the continuing influence of the Kildalton Cross, cf. the high-relief lions on the cross-head from St Mary Castlegate, York (*infra*, n.205) and the E face of the cross at Drumcliff, Co.Sligo (Harbison, *Crosses*, 2, figs.213, 218).
- 140 A close parallel for the central roundel is an enamelled disc excavated at Dunadd (Spearman and Higgitt, *Migrating Ideas*, 56-7).
- 141 Kelly, D, in *JRSAL*, 121 (1991), 113-16. But some of the derivations suggested in this article (*ibid.*, 105-45) seem over-elaborate.
- 142 Henry, *Kells*, pl.51 (f.130).
- 143 MacLean favours a 'Viking' date, citing northern English parallels for the knotwork square on face c ('Applecross', 178-80 and 186, n.79).
- 144 For this type cf. Kelly, D, in *JRSAL*, 121 (1991), 108-11.
- 145 Excavation at Clonmacnois in 1990 revealed a similar grooved base at the 9th-century North Cross (Manning, C, in *Archaeology Ireland*, 6, no.2 (1992), 8-9).
- 146 For the 'face-cross', see Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology*, 128-31; Roe, H M, in *JRSAL*, 90 (1960), 191-206; Bailey, R N, *ibid.*, 93 (1963), 187-8. The example at Brigham (Cumbria) (*ibid.*; *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 2, figs.144-7) which led Bailey to suggest a possible late date for the Riasg Buidhe and Clogher (Co.Antrim) stones, is stylistically different.
- 147 Cf. the damaged cross at Grindheim, Sunnhordland, Norway (Birkeli, *Norske Steinkors*, no.24, pp.169-74 and fig.).
- 148 The cruciform stone at Thurso (*ECMS*, 3, 36-7) has runes in the same position, and a central crosslet.
- 149 Birkeli (op.cit.) suggests insular inspiration for the Norwegian crosses. See also a simple cross at Lowther (*Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 2, figs.640-3).
- 150 *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 1, 237-50.
- 151 Lang, J T, in *PSAS*, 104 (1972-4), 217-18.
- 152 Lang ('The Hogback', 103) accepts this work as recutting.
- 153 For Chad's tomb see Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, bk.4, c.3. Discussions of this material by C Thomas include Small, *St Ninian's Isle*, 1, 14-28, 33-5, 39-41, 43-4; 2, figs.9-13, pls.3-7, 13-15; Foster, *St Andrews Sarcophagus*, 84-96.
- 154 The lower part of a similar post, but with a more substantial butt, was found at Tarbat (Ross and Cromarty) in 1997. A decorated post from Burghead (Moray) is displayed in the local library (*ECMS*, 3, 139-40, Burghead no.11).
- 155 Ritchie, *Govan*, 54-6, 114-15.
- 156 Ó Carragáin, E, 'The meeting of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony: visual and literary uses of a eucharistic motif', in Mac Niocaill, G and Wallace, P F (eds.), *Keimelia* (1988), 1-58.
- 157 Hawkes, J, 'Columban Virgins', in Bourke, *Columba*, 107-135; Adamnan, *De Locis*, 118-19.
- 158 Clancy and Márkus, *Iona*, 177-92.
- 159 Fisher, I, 'The Saint Mary stone and Early Christian art', *Book of the Society of Friends of Brechin Cathedral*, 44 (1997), 3-15; Hawkes, op.cit., n.10 on pp.129-30; Henderson, I, in Taylor, *Anderson Studies*, 40-2.
- 160 Martin, *Western Islands*, 288.
- 161 Harbison (*Crosses*, 1, 279) suggests that apparently naked figures at Clonmacnois and Duleek were wearing skin-tight garments, but in this case the gender is clearly shown.
- 162 Henry, *Kells*, 190-1. Boris I of Bulgaria wrote to Pope Nicholas I in 866 about the Byzantine insistence that people should stand in church with arms crossed over their breasts (Obolensky, D, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (1974), 121-2). This pose is also shown on medieval Bogomil tombstones (Talbot Rice, *Dark Ages*, 144, fig.9). The Cana figure may be inspired by the text 'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder' (Ps.91, v.13) (cf. Bailey, R N, *The Durham Cassiodorus* (Jarrow Lecture, 1978), 11).
- 163 *Supra*, n.146. *Ichthys* ('fish') spells the initials of the Greek words for 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour'.
- 164 A similar figure appears on a cross-arm from Strathmartine (Angus) (*SSS*, 2, 101 (2); *ECMS*, 3, 266-7; *infra*, Fig.172E).
- 165 Harbison, *Crosses*, 1, 198-200.
- 166 Henderson, I, 'The "David Cycle" in Pictish Art', in Higgitt, *Sculpture*, 87-123; eadem in Foster, *St Andrews Sarcophagus*, 105-34. St Oran's Cross shows a man with a beast but lacks the diagnostic sheep and the element of conflict.
- 167 Henderson, op.cit. For the armed David in the Durham Cassiodorus manuscript as a prefiguration of Christ, see Bailey, loc.cit. in n.162.
- 168 Fisher, I and Greenhill, F A, in *PSAS*, 104 (1971-2), 239-40. This carving formed the basis for a recent reconstruction of the 'Pictish pipes' by Mr Hamish Moore, Birnam. For musical scenes in early sculpture, see Buckley, A, in *Imago Musicae*, 8 (1991), 135-99; Trench-Jellicoe, R, 'Pictish and related harps', in Henry, *Henderson Studies*, 159-72.
- 169 Lucas, A T, in Rynne, E (ed.), *Figures from the past* (1987), 92-7; MacLean, 'Sculpture', pp.356-8.
- 170 MacLean, 'Keills', 175-7.
- 171 Cf. the elaborate panel on the cross-slab at Shandwick, Ross and Cromarty (*ECMS*, 3, 68-73).
- 172 Grabar, A, *Christian Iconography: a study of its origins* (1969), figs.15-16, 59-61, 188-90, 192-4; *Inventory of Selkirkshire*, No.65 and frontispiece; Laing, 'Sketches', 136-8. For Irish and Welsh examples see Harbison, *Crosses*, 2, pls.121, 441; Roe, H M, in *JRSAL*, 100 (1970), 212-21; *ECMW*, pp.39, 46, 166, pl.70 (nos.7-9).
- 173 Hicks, C, *Animals in Early Medieval Art* (1993); Henderson, I, *Pictish Monsters: Symbol, Text and Image* (H M Chadwick memorial lecture 7 (1997)); Henry, *Kells*.
- 174 Henderson, op.cit.
- 175 For examples at Gask, Rossie and Shandwick, cf. *ibid.*, 30-2, 34.
- 176 *Ibid.*, 7-9.
- 177 Henderson, I, op.cit. in n.100.
- 178 Henry, *Kells*, 205-10; Henderson, I, 'The Book of Kells and the snake-boss motif on Pictish cross-slabs and the Iona crosses', in Ryan, *Insular Art*, 56-65; MacLean, D, 'Snake-Bosses and Redemption at Iona and in Pictland', in Spearman and Higgitt, *Migrating Ideas*, 245-53.
- 179 These are also seen on the plaque from Romföjellen, More og Romsdal, Norway (*supra*, Fig.20A; Haseloff, G, in Ryan, *Insular Art*, 52-5; Youngs, *Work of Angels*, no.139).
- 180 Fisher, 'Iona', 44-6; Henderson, I, in *Medieval Archaeology*, 27 (1983), 236-7; Youngs, *Work of Angels*, nos.138-9; Bakka, loc.cit (*supra*, n.136); Henderson, G, *From Durrow to Kells* (1987), 170-1. See *supra*, pp.15-16.
- 181 Youngs, *Work of Angels*, no.140.
- 182 Harbison, *Crosses*, 2, figs.209, 343 (Kells, Market Cross), 514 and 516.
- 183 For Arculf, see Adamnan, *De Locis*; for Ecgbert, see Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, bks 3-5; for Vergil, see *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, pp.47, 270, and Dopsch and Juffinger, *Virgil*.
- 184 Pillar at T'alín (Der Nersessian, S, *The Armenians* (1969), fig.27); Werner, M, in *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 8-9, fig.10 on p.6.
- 185 *Inventory of Argyll*, 7, pp.57, 541; Vatican Library, Luxeuil Sacramentary, f.169v (Hubert, J et al., *Europe in the Dark Ages* (1969), fig.181).
- 186 Herity, M, in Nolan, W et al. (eds.), *Donegal, History and Society* (1995), 25-36.



- 187 Swift, C, *Ogam Stones and the Earliest Irish Christians* (1997), 70-83.  
 188 See n.92.  
 189 O hEalidhe, P, in Rynne, E (ed.), *North Munster Studies* (1967), 102-26; Macalister, R A S, 'The history and antiquities of Inis Cealtra', *PRIA*, 33 (1916), 93-174; Lionard, 'Grave-slabs'.  
 190 Lionard, 'Grave-slabs'.  
 191 Harbison, *Crosses*, 1, 174, 364-5 and 2, figs.598-9; *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1990), 165-86; Kelly, D, in *JRSAI*, 121 (1991), 111-16 (comparing certain elements with the Canna Cross).  
 192 Lang, J T, *Viking-Age Decorated Wood* (National Museum of Ireland, 1988), 4, 44, 49; Harbison, *Crosses*, 3, fig.995.  
 193 The south cross at Duleek (Co.Meath) (Harbison, *Crosses*, 1, 78-9 and 2, fig.246) shares the peculiarity of a downward-pointing mortice for the finial with St John's Cross, where it was probably an early alteration.  
 194 Edwards, N, in Higgitt, *Sculpture*, 24 and 23-48  
 195 Fisher, 'Iona', 44; Kelly, D, in *JRSAI*, 123 (1993), 152-4; Hawkes, J (forthcoming). The cross-head has now been removed from the concrete plinth in which it was embedded, revealing a Crucifixion on one face.  
 196 Graham, A, in *PSAS*, 87 (1952-3), 187-91; Harbison, *Crosses*, 1, 162 and 2, fig.539.  
 197 Kelly, D, in Spearman and Higgitt, *Migrating Ideas*, 223-4.  
 198 *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 1, 170; Bede, *Life of Cuthbert*, in Colgrave, B (ed.), *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (1940), 234-5, 328. In Cumbria cf. a linear cross at Addingham and an outline cross at Bewcastle (*Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 2, 47-8, figs.15-16, and 73, figs.120-3).  
 199 *PSAS*, 101 (1968-9), 127-9.  
 200 Stevenson, R B K, in Spearman and Higgitt, *Migrating Ideas*, 16; Henderson, I, *ibid.*, 209-10; Bonner, *St Cuthbert*, 247-56; Bailey, R N, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (1996), 50-2, deriving a stone cross at Whitby from the same source.  
 201 *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 1, introduction.  
 202 For formal differences between the crosses of Iona and Northumbria, see Kelly, D, 'The relationships of the crosses of Argyll: the evidence of form', in Spearman and Higgitt, *Migrating Ideas*, 219-29. This overstates the extent of Northumbrian involvement claimed in *Inventory of Argyll*, 4.  
 203 Dopsch and Juffinger, *Virgil*, 229-43; Webster and Backhouse, *Making of England*, 170-3.  
 204 *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, p.47. Although the double-curved form is not found in Irish sculpture, metalwork examples include the 7th-century book-shrine from Lough Kinala, Co.Longford (Kelly, E P, in Spearman and Higgitt, *Migrating Ideas*, 168-74) and the 12th-century Cross of Cong (Henry, F, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period* (1970), 106-10, pls.M, N, 41-3). A metal-plated timber processional cross from Tully Lough crannog (Co.Roscommon), with scarf-jointed shaft and transom and prominent bosses, has recently been acquired by the National Museum of Ireland.  
 205 *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 3, figs.302-5 (St Mary Castlegate 3).  
 206 *ECMS*, 3, 326 (Forteviot 3); Alcock, L and E A, in *PSAS*, 122 (1992), 223-4. The crested ring and the pellets set in interlace resemble crosses at Kirkbymoorside and Levisham, East Yorkshire (*Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 3, figs.526-35, 639-43).  
 207 Clancy and Márkus, *Iona*, 105, 113; Taylor, S, 'Seventh-century Iona abbots in Scottish place-names', in Broun and Clancy, *Spes Scotorum*, 35-70. For the continuing influence of the Columban church after 717, see Veitch, K, in *PSAS*, 127 (1997), 627-47.  
 208 Henderson, I, 'Early Christian Monuments of Scotland displaying crosses but no other ornament', in Small, A (ed.), *The Picts: a new look at old problems* (1987), 45-58; McNeill, P G B and MacQueen, H L (eds.), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (1996), 56. This material is the subject of continuing study by Dr Henderson, Mr N Robertson, and RCAHMS.  
 209 For the Strathly slab see *PSAS*, 34 (1899-1900), 252 (where the terminal discs are wrongly shown as hollows); *Inventory of Sutherland*, No.260. Cf. a slab from Kilcoo, Co.Fermanagh, now in Fermanagh County Museum (*JRSAI*, 15 (1879), 28), and a 7th-century Byzantine pectoral cross (Harbison, *Crosses*, 3, fig.932). For the slab discovered at Ballachly in 1997, see Blackie, T and Macaulay, C, *The Sculptured Stones of Caithness* (1998), cover and pp.9-10, and forthcoming paper by I Fisher. For the stone found on Noss in 1995, see I Fisher in Turner, V, Excavation report on chapel site at Gungstie, Isle of Noss (forthcoming).  
 210 Stevenson, R B K, in *JRSAI*, 86 (1956), 84-96.  
 211 MacLean, *op.cit.* in n.178; Henderson, I, *op.cit.* in n.100.  
 212 Cf. *ECMS*, 3, 255-7 (Invergowie 1 and 2) and 297-8 (Meikle 2).  
 213 Henderson, I, in Hawkes, J and Mills, S (eds.), *Northumbria's Golden Age* (1999), 161-77; *PSAS*, 92 (1958-9), 42-3 and pl.6; Cruden, S, *The Early Christian & Pictish Monuments of Scotland* (1964), 26 (no.9).  
 214 Cf. the cross-slab with Paul and Antony at Maughold (Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, 138-9, no.67; *infra*, Fig.169U).  
 215 For Luss see *infra*, p.161, No.14, n.3; for Inchmarnock see photographs in NMRS; for Kilmun see *Inventory of Argyll*, 7, No.80 (2). Several coped monuments from Inchinnan old churchyard (Renfrewshire) are displayed outside the modern parish church.  
 216 Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 13-15.  
 217 *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, No.6 (nos.126-7, 137). For examples at Craignish and Kilmartin see *ibid.*, 7, No.67 (24-5) and No.68 (84). For the cross at Kilmartin, see *ibid.*, No.68 (89).  
 218 Cf. simple gravemarkers with small graffito crosses at Braemar (*PSAS*, 36 (1901-2), fig.180 on p.448). In Ireland, some outline crosses on standing-stones appear to date from the penal period (*supra*, n.63), and simple crosses of early medieval character are associated with early 19th-century inscriptions, as at Abbey, Co.Galway.  
 219 McDonald, *Social Life*, 51-2; Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 125.  
 220 *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, p.149 and p.275, n.237.  
 221 For the cross-shaft and slabs built into the 12th-century E gable of St Andrews Cathedral, see *PSAS*, 43 (1908-9), 385-414. For the recovery of carved fragments from walls on Iona by Sir Donald and R A S Macalister, see Macalister, E F B, *Sir Donald Macalister of Tarbert* (1935), 201-2, 205.  
 222 *PSAS*, 8 (1868-70), 281-2.  
 223 Gough, R, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, 1 (1786), p.xxxv (quoted by Ryder, P F, *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Cover in County Durham* (1985), 15; Lockhart, J G, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott* (1900 ed.), 2, 433.  
 224 *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, pp.208-11.  
 225 *Ibid.*, pp.204-5.  
 226 Historic Scotland, *A List of Ancient Monuments in Scotland*, 1999; Lists of Historic Buildings, available for consultation at NMRS.  
 227 Historic Scotland's Technical Conservation, Research and Education division (TCRE), has published a series of Technical Advice Notes and Research Reports on subjects such as *Stonecleaning in Scotland* (1992-4), and has commissioned Yates, T et al., *Carved Stone Decay in Scotland: Assessment Methodology Handbook* (1999). See also Maxwell, I, Nanda, R and Urquhart, D, *Conservation of Historic Graveyards: a guide for practitioners* (2001).  
 228 In 2000 the committee included representatives of the Association of Regional and Island Archaeologists, the Council for Scottish Archaeology, Historic Scotland, the Institute of Historic Building Conservation (Scotland), the National Museums of Scotland, the National Trust for Scotland, RCAHMS, the Scottish Museums Council and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.  
 229 For brief guides see *Protecting and Caring for Historic Carved Stones* (NCCSS leaflet); *The Carved Stones of Scotland: a guide to helping in their protection* (Historic Scotland leaflet).

## Gazetteer

## 1 Holy Island

- 1 Anderson, *Early Sources*, 2, 634.
- 2 Blaeu's *Atlas* (Arran); Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 306; *Arran Bk*, 1, 70.
- 3 Cowan, I B and Easson, D E, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland* (2nd ed., 1976), 235; Monro, *Western Isles*, 48. The supposed site of the monastery, S of the farmhouse (NS 0529 3082), is said to have been used for burial until the late 18th century (Headrick, *Arran*, 82; *PSAS*, 43 (1908-9), 148; *Arran Bk*, 1, 253 and 2, 74-5).
- 4 *Arran Bk*, 1, 255-7 and pl.46.
- 5 *PSAS*, 19 (1884-5), 379, fig.1; drawing dated 1859 in Stephens collection, Lund University, Sweden (information from Professor R I Page).
- 6 Anderson, *Early Sources*, 2, 617, 625.
- 7 Robertson, 1768 (*PSAS*, 32 (1897-8), 18); Headrick, *Arran*, 80-1.
- 8 *Arran Bk*, 1, 259.

## 2 Kilbride, Lamlash

- 1 M'Arthur, *Arran*, 164-70; *Arran Bk*, 1, 219-24; *PSAS*, 31 (1896-7), 74-7. Balfour states that the cross was brought from Holy Island about 1860 (*ibid.*, 43 (1908-9), 148-9).
- 2 M'Arthur, *Arran*, 166; *PSAS*, 31 (1896-7), 77.
- 3 The dimensions are calculated from the scale in *SSS*, 2, pl.122, 4.

## 3 King's Cave, Blackwaterfoot, Arran

- 1 Barber, J (ed.), *The Archaeological Investigation of a Prehistoric Landscape: Excavations on Arran 1978-1981* (1997), 2, 6-32, 121-2, 134-5.
- 2 *Inventory of Argyll*, 1, No.298.
- 3 It was named the 'King's Cave', without explanation, in Robertson's Tour of 1768 (*PSAS*, 32 (1897-8), 18). Pennant (*Tour* (1772), 1, 181-2) does not mention the association with Bruce, but the tradition was recorded in 1795 (*Stat. Act.*, 9, 167) and enthusiastically maintained by Headrick in 1807 (*Arran*, 28, 165-6) and by later writers.  
 Martin, *Western Islands*, 255-6; Robertson, *loc.cit.*; Pennant, *loc.cit.*; Headrick, *op.cit.*, 160-2, 164, 394; *Arran Bk*, 2, 113, 252. In medieval Irish tradition Arran was often associated with hunting.  
*NSA*, 5 (Bute), 55-6; Balfour, J A, 'The King's Cave', 216, in *Arran Bk*, 1, 213-18.
- 4 *Arran Bk*, 1, 216; 2, 147 (meetings of Kilmory Kirk Session, 1702 and later); *Stat. Act.*, 9, 167. The 'Preaching Cave' near Kilpatrick Point (NR 9000 2663) was also used for worship from at least the 17th to the 19th century (Martin, *Western Islands*, 256; *NSA*, 5 (Bute), 55; Name Book, Bute, No.2, p.96; M'Arthur, *Arran*, 85).

- 7 Balfour, op.cit., 1, 215, pl.33, 2.  
8 Headrick (op.cit., 162) refers to 'a rampart of loose stones' in 1807, and traces of a setting of stones are visible 4m inside the railing. For archaeological observations made during the installation of a new grille in 1995, see Harry, R, 'Survey at the King's Caves, Arran' (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division, Report 179.2 (1995), p.16).  
9 Op. cit., 217.  
10 Pennant (loc.cit.) identified these as supports for skin cooking-bags used by the followers of Fionn, but Martin (loc.cit.) referred to the sockets near the entrance as intended for 'holding big trees on which the caldrons hang'.  
11 The initials M.D.R. were recorded in 1795 (*Stat. Acct.*, 9, 167), and 'the scribbling of visitants' had already caused considerable damage by 1840 (*NSA*, 5 (Bute), 55), but the earliest date now identifiable is 1847. Carvings added shortly before 1998 included a fish on the NW face of the central buttress, and a small cross on the NW face of the SE passage. For the condition of the carvings, see Harry, op.cit., p.11. For further discussion, see Laing, 'Sketches', 135-40.  
12 L M Mann informed G Baldwin Brown in 1921 of the existence of 'ogham [and] a few very feeble and badly preserved runes' (letter dated 25 June 1921 in Edinburgh University Library, Baldwin Brown collection, *ex inf.* R I Page), but no publication resulted from Brown's proposed visit. Mann's notes on the cave (NMRS MS 28 (SAS 177)) record that he cleaned parts of the walls and roof 'thoroughly', and he identified oghams adjoining the serpents on the NW wall. His sketches of the supposed 'Scandinavian runes' are unconvincing. Cf. also *infra*, n.20.  
13 Jackson, K, 'An Ogam inscription near Blackwaterfoot', *Antiquity*, 47 (1973), 53-4, pl.9. The painted ogham adjoining inscription (i) was noted by Mann.  
14 Forsyth, 'Ogham', 93-7.  
15 Dr Forsyth's tentative reading, VUEDLA (*ibid.*, 97-9), was based on photographic evidence.  
16 Martin, loc.cit.; Headrick, op.cit., 162-3, mentioning both associations but identifying the carving as a cross upon a mound.  
17 *SSS*, 2, pl.33, no.12.  
18 *Ibid.*, no.10; drawing by J Skene, 1832 (NMRS, MS 28 (SAS 464), f.53).  
19 *SSS*, 2, p.xciii. The shape of the figure's right hand is identifiable, level with the side of the head, and there is a distinct change of alignment at the same level on the other side. The division of the hair at the centre resembles that of the man in the Book of Durrow, f.21v (Henry, *Irish Art*, 1, pl.57; Nordenfalk, C, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting* (1977), pl.4).  
20 A runic letter 'F' carved below these animals appears to be of recent origin.  
21 *SSS*, 2, pl.33, no.9. There is no trace of a smaller animal shown above this by Stuart (*ibid.*, no.8).  
22 These are described in Harry, R, 'The King's Caves, Survey' (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division, Report 179 (1994)).  
23 E.g. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, fig.66b; *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 2, fig.545.
- 4 Lochranza, Arran**  
1 *NSA*, 5 (Bute), 65.  
2 Martin, writing about 1700, describes 'St. James's Church at the north end [of Arran]' (*Western Islands*, 260). A chapel dedicated to St Bride stood about 0.8km to the ESE (*Arran Bk*, 1, 225-6; NMRS database NR94NW 2).
- 5 Isle of Great Cumbrae**  
1 About 1316 this was granted to Paisley Abbey as a chapel attached to the parish church of Largs, also dedicated to St Columba (*Origines Parochiales*, 1, 89-90). Monro (*Western Isles*, 48) refers to 'St Colms Kirk', and in the 16th century it was regarded as a parish church (Cowan, *Parishes*, 42).  
2 W Lyttele (*Guide-Book to the Cumbraes* (1886), 81-2) says that stone (1) was found in the 1850s between The Garrison and St Andrew's Church (NS c.1646 5507).  
3 There is no evidence to support Curle's identification of this as the shaft of the 'Trahoun' cross (no.12).  
4 Note on rubbing by Rev A Grierson, 1907 (NMRS, MS 28 (SAS 156)). Waddell stated that it was found 'adjoining the manse garden' and that other carved fragments were built into the garden-wall (*PSAS*, 66 (1931-2), 412). Cross's statement that Millburn House was used as the manse at this time ('Bute', 157) is contradicted by the 1st (1855/57) and 2nd (1895/1906) editions of the OS 6-inch map (Argyll and Bute, sheet 216).  
5 Batey, C, in Ritchie, *Govan*, 67-9.  
6 *Ibid.*, 69. In the following description it is assumed that the slab stood with the main face vertical and the carved edge below it.  
7 The surround of the panel is not sufficiently symmetrical to allow detailed reconstruction of the slab.  
8 The apparent discrepancy in the 1907 rubbing in this area, noted by Batey (op. cit., 68), appears to be due to tentative treatment of the broken edge by an inexperienced rubber (cf. accompanying letter to 'Mr Stevenson').
- 9 *Anglo-Saxon Corpus*, 2, figs.67-8, 256, 551-4, 606-8.  
10 Mrs Curle stated that the shoulders of the base were preserved (*PSAS*, 95 (1961-2), 225), but her pl.15, 4 appears to show the break in its present position.  
11 Campbell, J R D, *Millport and the Cumbraes* (1975), 107.  
12 This was said to be derived from the small barony of 'Troughewan' (*NSA*, 5 (Bute), 74).  
13 *Ibid.*  
14 This corresponds closely to the '1 1/2 feet' that the cross rose above the sarcophagus (*ibid.*).
- 6 St Blane's Church, Kingarth, Bute**  
1 Anderson, *Early Sources*, 1, 176-7; Stokes, *Oengus*, 175, 184-5, where in the later notes he is identified as a bishop with his chief seat at Dunblane.  
2 Anderson, *Early Sources*, 1, 176, 198, 228, 236, 248, 254; Macdonald, A D S, in *PSAS*, 128 (1998), 553-5.  
3 *Origines Parochiales*, 2, part 1, 210-12; Cowan, *Parishes*, 112.  
4 Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 167-222, pls opp.p.166; Schultz album, pl.1; *Medieval Archaeology*, 11 (1967), 116 and fig.18 on p.115. For 'the Cauldron' see NMRS database NS05SE 8.  
5 MacGibbon, D and Ross, T, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (1896-7), 1, 292-8, and 3, 625-7; Galloway, W, in *Archaeologia Scotica*, 5 (1890), 317-35.  
6 Stamp, G, *Robert Weir Schultz, architect, and his work for the Marquesses of Bute* (1981), 41-2 and *passim*.  
7 Schultz album; Anderson, J, in *PSAS*, 34 (1899-1900), 307-25; Laing, 'Sketches', 131, 133-4. Re-excavation in 1997 showed that early features in this area had been obscured by modern landscaping (Laing, L and J and Longley, D, in *PSAS*, 128 (1998), 551-65).  
8 *PSAS*, 5 (1862-4), 214-15, 372-84; NMRS database NS05SE 6.  
9 For drawings of medieval stones see Anderson, loc.cit., figs.28, 32-5. Allen (*ECMS*, 3, 409, no.5) classified as Early Christian a slab whose ornament was sketched by Hewison (*Bute*, 1, 219), but it appears to be of later date. Hewison (loc.cit.) also refers to 'a fragment of a small Latin cross-head'. This may be the cross with tenoned base, probably a medieval gable-finish, which was sketched by Schultz at Mount Stuart in 1894 (sketchbook in NMRS).  
10 Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 192-3; NMRS database NS05SE 10. The socket measures 0.3m by 0.1m.  
11 An almost identical creature appears on the stone at Fairlie, Ayrshire (*ECMS*, 3, 475).
- 7 Inchmarnock**  
1 For prehistoric and medieval finds see *TBNHS*, 15 (1963), 5-16; 21 (1980), 15-18. A new survey by Headland Archaeology is in progress.  
2 Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 127-35; Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 291-2; *PSAS*, 24 (1889-90), 441-3.  
3 *Chron. Fordun*, 1, 43; Blaeu's *Atlas* (Bute); *Highland Papers*, 4, 142-4; Cowan, *Parishes*, 85-6; *PSAS*, 24 (1889-90), 440-1. The island also belonged to Saddell Abbey, and subsequently to the bishop of Argyll, who in 1540 was receiving a rental of £20 (*RMS*, 4 (1546-80), no.2115).  
4 Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 133; estate-map in Bute Estate Office (information from the late Miss D N Marshall); Pennant, *Tour* (1772), 1, 164. 'Considerable parts of the walls' still remained c.1815 (Ross, W (ed.), *Blain's History of Bute* (1880), 94).  
5 Name Book, Bute, No.5, p.65; OS 6-inch map, Argyll and Bute sheet 214 (1863/9). Hewison (op.cit., 134) refers to the removal of graveslabs about 1829.  
6 The Commissioners are indebted to Miss Jessica Middleton and the late Miss D N Marshall for information about the excavations. See *DES* (1973), 21; *TBNHS*, 21 (1980), 16-17; 23 (1990), 5-6; measured and photographic surveys of church, 1975, in NMRS.  
7 Name Book, loc. cit.  
8 Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 133, 222-3.  
9 For the suggestion that a central fragment is missing, see Marshall, D N, 'Carved stone cross from Inchmarnock', *TBNHS*, 23 (1990), 5-7.  
10 Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, 196, 204-6; Ritchie, *Govan*, 73, 117-20, 125.  
11 *PSAS*, 24 (1889-90), 438.  
12 Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 223. A slab-lined grave was found at the same place (*PSAS*, 24 (1889-90), 438).  
13 The Commissioners are indebted to Professors M Barnes and R I Page for access to material from their forthcoming *Corpus* of runic inscriptions (item no. SC10).
- 8 Rothesay**  
1 *Stat. Acct.*, 1, 301; *Origines Parochiales*, 2, part 1, 221-4; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 16, 98-101, 157-8; 2, 232-3, 235-6; NMRS database NS06SE, nos.6 (Columhill) and 8 (St Bride's Chapel).  
2 McKinlay, J, *An Account of Rothesay Castle* (2nd ed., 1818), 22; Wilson, J, *Guide to Rothesay and the Island of Bute* (1855), 31. *SSS*, 2, 36 (followed by Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 233 and *ECMS*, 3, 414) wrongly says St Briec's Chapel, apparently referring to the choir of the old parish church which was cleared of debris in 1817.

- 3 *PSAS*, 25 (1890-1), 413-16; Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 229-32; Reid, J E, *History of the County of Bute* (1864), 32, 86; Ross, W (ed.), *Blain's History of Bute* (1880), 86.

#### 9 St Colmac

- 1 Blaeu's *Atlas* (Bute) gives the form 'Kilmachalmak'. The chapel was demolished for building-material about the end of the 18th century (Hewison, *Bute*, 1, 116-17). For the discovery of stone 'coffins' and other burials in the 19th century see Wilson, op.cit., 70-1; Name Book, *Bute*, No.5, p.18.
- 2 *ECMS*, 3, 412.

#### 10 Rosneath

- 1 *PSAS*, 59 (1924-5), 146.

#### 11 Kilmahew, Cardross, Dunbartonshire

- 1 *Origines Parochiales*, 1, 26-7; MacRoberts, D, *The Chapel of Saint Mahew, Cardross* (1955); idem in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiastical Society*, 15, part 2 (1961), 42-3; Radford, C A R, in *Innes Review*, 17 (1966), 3-10.
- 2 Radford, op.cit., 4.
- 3 Ritchie, *Govan*, 114-15.

#### 12 St Bride's Chapel, Glen Fruin, Dunbartonshire

- 1 Campbell, H (ed.), *Abstracts of the Particular Registers of Sasines for Argyll, Bute and Dunbarton, otherwise known as the Argyll Sasines* (1933), 1, no.478; Name Book, Dunbartonshire, No.17, pp.53-4; *Battrum's Guide to Helensburgh and Neighbourhood* (2nd ed., 1865), 67; Fraser, *Colquhoun*, 2, 116-17; Irving, J, *The Book of Dunbartonshire* (1879), 2, 290, 302. This was proposed in the 17th century as the site for a chapel of ease, and it remained in ecclesiastical ownership in the 19th century (Irving, op.cit., 302).
- 2 Battrum, loc.cit. For a medieval stoup which may have come from this site, see *PSAS*, 69 (1934-5), 418-19.

#### 13 Ballevoulin, Glen Fruin, Dunbartonshire

- 1 *NSA*, 8 (Dumbarton), 75; Name Book, Dunbartonshire, No.17, p.46.

#### 14 Luss

- 1 *Origines Parochiales*, 1, 30-1; Fraser, *Colquhoun*, 2, 46-57, 138-42, 272-3; Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 277-8; *PSAS*, 62 (1927-8), 85-8; 68 (1933-4), 115-16. The possession of 'the bell and alms of St Cassog' was confirmed to George Buchanan of Buchanan in 1567 (*RMS*, 4 (1546-80), no.1757). Robert I in 1315/16 confirmed 'to God and St Kessog' the right of sanctuary for 4.9km in all directions (Fraser, *Colquhoun*, 2, 58-9, 276).
- 2 *Stat. Act.*, 17, 264; *NSA*, 8 (Dumbarton), 161; Fraser, *Colquhoun*, 2, 54-6; *TGAS*, 5, part 1 (1908), 23-4; *PSAS*, 68 (1933-4), 100-11.
- 3 Brydall, R, in *TGAS*, 5, part 1 (1908), 23-6; Lacaille, A D, in *PSAS*, 59 (1924-5), 145-6; 61 (1926-7), 140-1; 62 (1927-8), 88-96. For the possible removal of other medieval stones, see Ritchie, *Govan*, 45.
- 4 Walker (*PSAS*, 19 (1884-5), 418) thought that one end resembled the head of a fish. This may refer to a horizontal groove and a hollow at the W end of the N side, both of which appear to be natural.

#### 15 Eilean Fhianain, Loch Shiel

- 1 Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 285-6.
- 2 The monuments in the S part include an early 18th-century slab with skeleton, bearing the initials D MD. These cast doubt on its traditional identification as the grave of the Rev Alexander MacDonald ('Maighstir Alasdair', d.1724), father of the celebrated Gaelic poet of the same name (Macdonald, C, *Moidart: among the Clanranalds* (revised edition, 1997), 123).
- 3 Bourke, C, in *PSAS*, 113 (1983), 464-8, citing Irish parallels of c.900. See idem, *Columba*, 175-6, for the drop of a 12th-century crosier, found on the N shore of Loch Shiel near the island and now displayed in the Museum of Scotland (NMS H.1993.634).
- 4 For the tradition that the crosses were quarried by Donald Mór MacVarish, see Cameron, A, *St Finan's Isle: Eilean Fhianain, its Story* (1957). One of these is illustrated in Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 77.
- 5 The Commissioners are indebted to Muir I Thornber for depositing photographs, on which the drawing is based, in the NMRS (IN/1802-3).

#### 16 Kilchoan, Inverie, Knoydart

- 1 Munro, R W, *Taming the Rough Bounds: Knoydart 1745-1784* (1984), 13 and *passim*.
- 2 The Commissioners are indebted to Mr J S Mitchell and Mr I Thornber for bringing the early stones to their attention. Two of the graveslabs and the cross-head are illustrated by Blundell in *PSAS*, 45 (1910-11), 363-6. For the third slab, which bears a sword in a cable-moulded border, see rubbings by Lady O'Malley, 1928, in NMRS.

- 3 For the burial-grounds, see Name Book, Inverness-shire, No.29, pp.126-7.

#### 17 Kishorn

- 1 For the dedication, and a supposed moot-hill N of the burial-ground, see Watson, *Ross and Cromarty*, 193. Neither was recorded in Name Book, Ross and Cromarty, No.48, p.23.
- 2 Beattie, *Wester Ross*, 40-1.

#### 18 Applecross

- 1 *AU* s.a. 671, 673, 722, 737, 802; Anderson, *Early Sources*, 1, 181, 183, 219-20, 236, 258; Reeves, 'Maelrubha', 258-96.
- 2 Reeves, 'Maelrubha', 286-96; Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 287-9; Henderson, I, in Meldrum, E (ed.), *The Dark Ages in the Highlands* (1971), 41-9; *SAF*, 5 (1973), 68-9.
- 3 Reeves, 'Maelrubha', 272-4; McDonald, *Social Life*, 51-2; Watson, *Ross and Cromarty*, pp.lxvi, 201-3; Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 124-5; Beveridge, E, *The 'Abers' and 'Invers' of Scotland* (1923), 9-10. The cross at Camusterrach was described as a 'rude monolith' about 2.5m high and 'showing traces of a cross on the west face' (Muir, T S, *Notes on Remains of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Sculptured Memorials in the Southern Division of Scotland* (1855), 32). It may be represented by a broken slab 0.4m high and 0.6m wide in a croft standing at NG 7096 4160 (NMRS database NG74SW 4).
- 4 Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology*, fig. on p.43; NMRS air photo unit, CPE/SCOT/UK/284, nos.3036 and 4044 (August 1947). Field-survey in May 2000, following removal of the trees, identified no remains of early earthworks.
- 5 Thomas, loc.cit.; Reeves, 'Maelrubha', 280-1, describing a 'nearly circular space' about 9m across.
- 6 Watson, *Ross and Cromarty*, 202; information given to the Ordnance Survey by the finder, Mr K MacRae, 1965. Mr MacRae found a long-cist burial in this area in 1934, from which he recovered a ring-brooch (*PSAS*, 69 (1934-5), 21), and a similar burial was found in the late 19th century (Watson, loc.cit.).
- 7 Reeves, 'Maelrubha', 279.
- 8 Watson, loc.cit.
- 9 For later inscriptions see Beattie, *Wester Ross*, 37-9. The 'holy water font' found outside the NE angle of the churchyard in 1874 (Name Book, Ross and Cromarty, No.4, p.31) was presumably the basin or saddle-quern that is preserved outside the 'chapel' (NMRS database NG74NW 4).
- 10 For a later parallel on a cross-arm from Strathmartine, Dundee, now in private ownership, see *supra*, p.158, n.164.
- 11 A lost example is recorded from Birnie (Moray), with pairs of birds biting each others' necks (SSS, 1, pl.42).
- 12 Book of Kells, f.34r; Termonfechin Cross, Co.Louth (Harbison, *Crosses*, 2, fig.583).
- 13 Muir (op.cit., 32), recording the name of the slab as *Clach Mhor Mac-Cuagan*; Reeves, 'Maelrubha', 274-5, 279-80; Name Book, Ross and Cromarty, No.4, p.34; Anderson, *Early Sources*, 1, 258. McDonald (*Social Life*, 55) and MacLean ('Applecross', 176) recorded a variant tradition associating the slab with Macc Oigi himself.

#### 19 Isle Maree

- 1 Pennant, *Tour* (1772), 1, 330; *NSA*, 14 (Ross and Cromarty), 91; Reeves, 'Maelrubha', 286-9; *PSAS*, 4 (1860-2), 251-63; Dixon, *Gairloch*, 150-6, 397, 410-11. The loch appears in early sources as 'Loch Ewe' (Blaeu's *Atlas* (Hebrides); Watson, *Ross and Cromarty*, 239).
- 2 Baldwin, *North-west Ross*, fig. on p.126.
- 3 *PSAS*, 4 (1860-2), 253; Dixon, *Gairloch*, 7-10.

#### 20 Gairloch

- 1 *PSAS*, 86 (1951-2), 110; NMRS database NG77NE 1.
- 2 NGR NG 8075 7565. The burial-ground that lies between the E shore of Loch Gairloch and the A 832 was the site of the medieval parish church, which was dedicated to St Maelrubha (Dixon, *Gairloch*, 63, 69-70, 99; NMRS database NG87NW 2; Beattie, *Wester Ross*, 28-31). This bird was identified as a goose by C Thomas (*Archaeological Journal*, 120 (1963), 94), but its tail, legs and feet closely resemble those of the eagle from Knowe of Burrian, Orkney (*PSAS*, 74 (1939-40), pl.13d; cf. MacLean, 'Sculpture', 109-13; Alcock, L, in *PSAS*, 128 (1998), 527).

#### 21 Poolewee

- 1 Dixon, *Gairloch*, 65, 71, 99-100; Beattie, *Wester Ross*, 26-7.
- 2 The Commissioners are indebted to Dr R Hingley, Historic Scotland, for bringing this stone to their attention.

#### 22 Isle Martin

- 1 This is presumably the stone for which the name 'Clach fear Eilean-Mhàirtein' ('stone of the man of Isle Martin') was recorded in 1875 (Name Book, Ross and Cromarty, No.35, p.26). The supposed connection of the island with St Martin is uncertain (Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 291).



**23 Inchnadamph, Assynt**

- 1 Cowan, *Parishes*, 9; *Origines Parochiales*, 2, part 1, 693.
- 2 NMRS database NC22SW 6.
- 3 The Commissioners are indebted to Mrs M Campbell, Loch Assynt, for communicating this identification by Dr J Mendum, British Geological Survey.
- 4 At one angle of the outer arm, and also on the smaller fragment, the grooves are slightly prolonged beyond their intersections.
- 5 In the accompanying reconstruction this forms a central square of the same width as the diameter of the arm-pits.
- 6 Cf. Kilmory Knap (A7, 76(2)).

**24 Isle of Muck**

- 1 For the settlement see Draper, P and L, in *Vernacular Building*, 20 (1996), 84-6.

**25 Kildonnan, Eigg**

- 1 AU, s.a. 617, 725, 752; Anderson, *Early Sources*, 1, 142-5; MacPherson, N, in *PSAS*, 12 (1876-8), 577-8; Macdonald, A, in *SAF*, 5 (1973), 58-60, 67-9.
- 2 Macdonald, op.cit., 59-64, 69-70; *PSAS*, 12 (1876-8), 589-92; Wade Martins, *Eigg*, 13-15; NMRS database NM48SE, nos.2 (burials) and 15 (fort). The location of the burial containing a fine sword-hilt (NMS X.I.L 157; *PSAS*, 12 (1876-8), 586-9) is uncertain, but it was probably in the Kildonnan area (NM48NE 21).
- 3 Name Book, Inverness (Hebrides), No.13, pp.2, 16; NMRS database NM48NE, nos.23 and 25.
- 4 The Commissioners are indebted to Mr D Campbell, Eigg, for information about this discovery.
- 5 Information painted on wooden frame of fragment.
- 6 Cf. Inishmurray (Wakeman, *Inishmurray*, pl.5).
- 7 *ECMS*, 3, 255-6 (Invergowie 1), 297-8 (Meikle 2).
- 8 MacLean ('Applecross', 181) suggests that the hunting-scene is earlier than the cross-face.

**26-7 Isle of Rum**

- 1 Love, J.A, 'Rhum's Human History', in Clutton-Brock, *Rhum*, 27-42; Love, *Rum*, 14-16; Love, J.A, 'Shielings of the Isle of Rum', *Scottish Studies*, 26 (1981), 39-63; *ASMS*, 20 (*Rhum*); Magnusson, *Rum*, 15-22.
- 2 *ASMS*, 20 (*Rhum*), no.7.
- 3 Anderson, *Early Sources*, 1, 184; Clancy and Márkus, *Iona*, 12, 129-63. Beccán *solitarius* (the hermit) was associated with Ségéne, abbot of Iona, as recipient of Cumman's letter on the paschal controversy, c.633 (Walsh, M and Ó Cróinín, D (eds.), *Cumman's Letter De Controversia Paschali* (1988), 56-7).

**26 Bàgh na h-Uamha**

- 1 The Commissioners are indebted to Mr D Peacock, Edinburgh, for information about the discovery of this stone, and to Mr J A Love for information about its removal.
- 2 NMS H.NS 92 (*PSAS*, 78 (1943-4), 139; Love, *Rum*, cover illustration).
- 3 *ASMS*, 20 (*Rhum*), no.18.

**27 Kilmory**

- 1 Ibid., no.30.
- 2 Ibid., no.17; Blaeu's *Atlas* (Small Isles); Martin, *Western Islands*, 299.
- 3 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.687; *ASMS*, 20 (*Rhum*), no.17.
- 4 For illustrations see Love, *Rum*, opp.p.24.

**28-9 Isle of Canna**

- 1 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.679; RCAHMS, *Canna*; Hunter, J and Roberts, C, in *University of Bradford, Archaeological Sciences, Annual Report 1993/4*, 16-18; University of Bradford, Dept of Archaeological Sciences, 'Archaeological Fieldwork on the islands of Canna and Sanday, summer 1994: interim report' (copy in NMRS).
- 2 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, p.lvi; sketch in NMRS MS36/71 (RCAHMS field-notebook, 1925). This pin was given to the West Highland Museum, Fort William, in 1938 (Accession 127; NMRS database NG20NE12).
- 3 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.686; Sommerfelt, A, in Campbell, *Canna*, 232-7; Alcock, L, in O'Connor, A and Clarke, D V (eds.), *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five'* (1983), 293-309; Shaw, *Autobiography*, 146-7.
- 4 *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, pp.143, 145-7.
- 5 Original estate-map at Canna House (copy in NMRS; Campbell, *Canna*, 138-9).

**28 A' Chill, Canna**

- 1 Ibid. (detail in RCAHMS, *Canna*); Campbell, *Canna*, 152-4, 160-2, 295-306.

- 2 Hunter and Roberts, op.cit., 17-18; University of Bradford, op.cit., 3-5 and figs.2-4; *The Times*, 23 August 1994; NMRS database NG20NE 1. The floor of the church had previously been identified by Mrs Campbell (Shaw, *Autobiography*, 148-9). A roll-moulded fragment lies beside the cross.
- 3 Mrs Campbell suggests that this was a 19th-century replacement for the burial-ground beside the church and cross (Shaw, *Autobiography*, 147).
- 4 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, p.216 and fig.301.
- 5 Information from Mrs Campbell.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Scott, I G, 'Is the bestiary represented on the front of the Canna Cross?' in *Pictish Arts Society Journal*, 13 (Winter 1998), 2-3, quoting a 14th-century misericord in Worcester Cathedral. For the basilisk, see Deboudier, V-H, *Le Bestiaire Sculpté en France* (1961), 220-4.
- 8 Cf. the Aberlemno churchyard stone (*ECMS*, 3, fig.227A), and a small slab from the area of Abernethy, Perthshire (Henry, *Henderson Studies*, 56-7).
- 9 Stuart's drawing (*SSS*, 2, pl.51) and Allen's description (*ECMS*, 3, 108) conflate these two panels to form a single pair of animals.
- 10 For an ingenious but unconvincing interpretation of these as sweet-voiced panthers, and of the interlace as musical notation, see Cargill, J, *Notes on the Old Cross at Canna* (Chicago), summarised in Travis, J, *Miscellanea Musica Celtica* (1968), 66-78.
- 11 This appears to be a variant of RA nos.965-71, with single straight-line spirals, rather than RA 958 as suggested by Allen himself (loc.cit.).
- 12 Beveridge, *Wanderings*, 2, pl.301 (1895); *PSAS*, 31 (1896-7), 300-2; *ECMS*, 3, 109-10; Campbell rubbings in Inveraray Castle (copies in NMRS), vol.1, nos.8 and 9. For the rediscovery of the third fragment, see Shaw, *Autobiography*, 147-8.
- 13 Cf. *supra* p.18, and n.162 on p.158.
- 14 MacLean ('Applecross', 180) compares this with examples in Co.Durham and suggests a 'Viking' date.
- 15 Allen identified this as RA 568, but each of the figure-of-eight knots has an additional loop.

**29 Sgor Nam Bàn-Naomha, Canna**

- 1 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.679; Dunbar, J G and Fisher, I, in *SAF*, 5 (1973), 71-5; revised plan, 1994, in RCAHMS, *Monuments on Record, 1994-5*, 14, RCAHMS, *Canna*, and *infra*, Fig.168A.
- 2 Somerville, J E, in *PSAS*, 33 (1898-9), 133-40.
- 3 Ibid., fig.1 on p.134.
- 4 Cf. fragment at Iona (A4(34A)).

**30 Kilmory, Sleat, Skye**

- 1 *Inventory of the Outer Isles*, No.596.
- 2 Ibid., No.604.
- 3 Information from the late Dr W D Lamont.

**32 Cill Ashaig, Breakish, Skye**

- 1 *PSAS*, 3 (1857-60), 290-1. The name 'Askemorry' was collected by Pont in the late 16th century (Blaeu's *Atlas* (Skye)). The OS surveyor in 1876 was given the form 'Aiseig', but 'Ashik' was preferred for publication (Name Book, Inverness-shire (Skye), No.10, pp.25, 28). A dedication to St Asaph was suggested in 1836 (*NSA*, 14 (Inverness-shire), 305).
- 2 *Teachd an Tir* (Skye and Lochalsh Museums Service newsletter), no.2 (Spring 1994), 3, where it is suggested that the strap formed part of a book-binding.
- 3 Ibid., no.3 (Christmas 1994), p.2. The stone is now in the care of Highland Council Museums Service, Portree. Finds at the spring included worked flints and a neolithic axe. The Commissioners are indebted to Mr R Miket for information about this site.

**33 Isle of Scalpay, Skye**

- 1 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.646. It was supposedly dedicated to St Francis (*NSA*, 14 (Inverness-shire), 305, giving the name as Teampull Frangaig; Name Book, Inverness-shire (Skye), No.11, p.33).
- 2 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.647; NMRS database NG62NE 1.

**34 Isle of Raasay, Skye**

- 1 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.574; Boswell, *Tour*, 146-7; Sharpe, *Raasay*, 33-6.
- 2 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, Nos.575, 592; Boswell, *Tour*, 134, 142; Sharpe, *Raasay*, 17-21, 46-7.
- 3 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.573; Boswell, *Tour*, 142-3; Sharpe, *Raasay*, 28-9.
- 4 Name Book, Inverness-shire (Skye), No.15, p.17; NMRS database NG53NW 13.
- 5 NMRS database NG53NW, nos.4 and 12.
- 6 Martin, *Western Islands*, 215; Chapman, R W (ed.), *Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1924), 57; Boswell, *Tour*, 143-4; Sharpe, *Raasay*, 26-8.

- 7 *PSAS*, 41 (1906-7), 435.
- 8 Richardson records the overall height as 2.13m (*PSAS*, 41 (1906-7), 435).
- 9 Sharpe, *Raasay*, 44.
- 10 Boswell, *Tour*, 132. Elsewhere he described, 'rudely drawn a square with a crucifix in the middle', and made a sketch (ibid., 141-2).
- 11 The Commissioners are indebted to Mr R Henery, Glasgow, and Mrs R Mackay, Raasay, for bringing this stone to their attention.

### 35 Tusdale, Skye

- 1 NMRS database NG32NE 3.
- 2 The Commissioners are grateful for information to Messrs A and W Campbell, Borline, who found the stones, and to Mr K Crane, Glenbrittle and Mr J Love, who brought them to their attention.
- 3 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.474.

### 36 Fiscavaig, Skye

- 1 *PSAS*, 61 (1926-7), 241. A sketch was sent to the Commission in 1921 by Mr Murphy, the excise officer who discovered the stone (NMRS, IND/65/3).

### 37 Tobar na Maor, Dùn Osdale, Skye

- 1 *PSAS*, 46 (1911-12), 210-11. Local tradition in 1961 suggested a slightly earlier date (Ross, A, 'Tobar nam Maor, "The Well of the Stewards"', *Scottish Studies*, 5 (1961), 206-9).
- 2 MacLeod (*PSAS*, loc.cit.) says that the well was 'partly covered' by the slab. Ross (op.cit., 208) was told that it 'lay flat on the peaty bank above the well'. She gives the name in the plural form, with the tradition that the stewards of three adjacent properties met there (ibid., 207-8).
- 3 *Inventory of the Outer Isles*, No.507; NMRS database NG24NW 4.

### 38 Clach Ard, Tote, Skye

- 1 Information from Mr Gillies, Tote, to Ordnance Survey, 1961 (NMRS database NG44NW 1).
- 2 Watt, D E R, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi* (1969), 202; *Inventory of Argyll*, 4, p.148. The remains on the island include the outline of an elongated church, overlain with burial-enclosures and associated with architectural fragments of early 13th- and 15th-century type, and late medieval effigies (*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.616). The so-called 'teampull' is a post-Reformation burial-aisle incorporating other late-medieval architectural fragments.
- 3 The foot of the stone was obscured in 1991 by the cement support for an information plaque (figs.7B, 105B), but this has been removed.
- 4 The lower edge of the right wing, as shown by Stevenson ('Crescent', C14), is an irregular crack running across the stone.

### 39 Isle of Berneray, Barra

- 1 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.450 and fig.190; Buxton, B, *Mingulay: an island and its people* (1995), 139-40.
- 2 *DES* (1992), 88; Buxton, op.cit., 138-40; Foster, P and Krivánek, R, in *Archeologické Rozhledy*, 45 (1993), 418-28 (copy in NMRS); Foster, P J, in Branigan, and Foster, *From Barra to Berneray* (2000), pp.128-46; survey reports by Sheffield University, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, 1992 (copies in NMRS, MSS 595/7-8). Buxton, op.cit. 140-7.
- 3 Name Book, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), No.2, p.131; Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 255. NMRS database NL58SE 4 identifies Martin's description of an 'altar dedicated to St Christopher' and a nearby standing-stone (*Western Islands*, 97) as referring to Berneray. The context indicates that these were on Mingulay.
- 5 Foster and Krivánek, op.cit., 426 and fig.9 on p.427; Branigan and Foster, *From Barra*, 137-8.

### 40 Isle of Pabbay, Barra

- 1 For the settlement history of the island see ibid., 81-92, 234-77; Buxton, op.cit., 150-7; Edwards, 'Pabbay'.
- 2 *TISS*, 7 (1906-12), 325-7. For the hand-pin (now in the Museum of Scotland), see *PSAS*, 35 (1900-1), 278-9.
- 3 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.438; photograph, 1895, in Beveridge, *Wanderings*, 2, pl.302.

### 41 Cille Bharra, Isle of Barra

- 1 Branigan and Foster, *From Barra, passim*. For the burial found in 1862 at 'Ardvonrig', which was marked by a standing-stone and from which artefacts are preserved in the British Museum, see *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, 2 (1861-4), 229-31; *PSAS*, 10 (1872-4), 555; ibid., 48 (1913-14), 307-9; *VA*, 2, 72-3. The find-spot has been variously identified as Ardarvan (NF c.665 049), or the standing stones at Borge, where 'human remains' were found at various unspecified dates before 1878 (Name Book, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), No.1, p.31; NMRS database NF60SE, nos.10 and 14). For the suggestion by K Gordon that this was a single

female burial, rather than a mixed one, see ibid., no.14; Graham-Campbell, J and Batey, C E, *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey* (1998), 82-3. For a silver ring and a bone comb in the Museum of Scotland see *PSAS*, 105 (1972-4), 287, 290.

- 2 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.437; NMRS database NF60SW 1. It was also described as St Michael's Chapel (*Stat. Acc't.*, 13, 335; Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 53).
- 3 Macquarrie, A, *Cille Bharra* (1984), 7-8, 29-30. A wooden figure of St Barr was preserved at Cille Bharra in the 17th century (Martin, *Western Islands*, 158).
- 4 OS 6-inch map, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), sheet 63 (1878/81).
- 5 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No. 436; Macquarrie, op.cit., 23, 28, 33. Muir (loc.cit.) describes the demolition of a fourth building.
- 6 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No. 436 (a-d) and figs.146-8. These slabs are of 14th-15th century date.
- 7 *PSAS*, 15 (1880-1), 33-4. The slab was identified by Alexander Carmichael, who recorded a tradition that it was brought from Iona (Stephens, G, *The Old-northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*, 3 (1884), 315).
- 8 The Commissioners are indebted to Professors Page and M Barnes for access to material from their forthcoming *Corpus* of runic inscriptions (item no. SC8).
- 9 Liestøl, 'Runes', 228-9.
- 10 Jansson, S B F, *Runes in Sweden* (1987), pp.30, 33, 124.

### 42 Cladh Hallan, South Uist

- 1 *TISS*, 7 (1906-12), 327-30; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, Nos.405, 424; NMRS database NF72SW, nos.1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 13, 15 and 17.
- 2 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.414; NMRS database NF72SW 2. A lost charter of Robert I (*RMS*, 1 (1306-1424), appendix 1, no.9) refers to the parish of 'Kilpedre Blisen'.
- 3 *TISS*, 7 (1906-12), 327; OS 6-inch map, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), sheet 55; Name Book, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), No.12, p.39.
- 4 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.368. The slab appears to be of chlorite-schist, and was presumably imported from Argyll.

### 43 Howmore, South Uist

- 1 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.367. These were presumably the churches recorded by Martin (*Western Islands*, 88) as being dedicated respectively to St Mary and St Columba.
- 2 'The Book of Clanranald' in Cameron, A, *Reliquiae Celticae*, 2 (1894), 170-1. A MacDonald armorial stone, which was stolen from this building in 1990 and recovered in 1995, is now in the heritage museum at Kildonnán. A smaller chapel of uncertain date, to the E of the burial-aisle, was removed between 1855 and 1866 (Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 51).
- 3 Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 51.

### 44 Strome Shunamul, Benbecula

- 1 *PSAS*, 8 (1868-70), 282-4.
- 2 *Carm. Gadel.*, 3, 262-3; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.358.
- 3 Ibid., No.339.
- 4 The slab, as displayed in the Museum of Scotland and described here, has been turned by 90° from its previous alignment.
- 5 One of the three small circles, which was affected by a hard vein, does not touch the perimeter and is only 0.12m in diameter.
- 6 *ECMS*, 2, 58, 66.

### 45 Hougharry, North Uist

- 1 OS 6-inch map, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), sheet 33; Name Book, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), No.6, pp.128-9; Beveridge, *North Uist*, 292-3. A bone pin found during grave-digging in 1983 is now in the Museum of Scotland (*PSAS*, 115 (1985), 449).
- 2 Martin, *Western Islands*, 59; Beveridge, *North Uist*, 292-3; NMRS database NF67SE 2. Muir (*Eccles. Notes*, 48) assumed that the reference was to one of the stones at Kilmuir itself.

### 46 Cille Pheadair, North Uist

- 1 Name Book, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), No.6, p.31. Cf. Beveridge, *North Uist*, 295-6.
- 2 The plaque itself dates from 1913-14 and most of the information appears to be derived from Beveridge, *North Uist*, 296. The Name Book (loc.cit.) assumed that the cross as well as the pedestal was 'of modern workmanship'.

### 47 Isle of Vallay, North Uist

- 1 Martin, *Western Islands*, 67; Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 47.
- 2 Beveridge, *North Uist, passim*; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, Nos.184, 212, 258, 263, 271; NMRS database NF77NE, nos.1, 3-14, 16-20, 23-5, 27-30; *PSAS*, 66 (1931-2), 42-66 (knife-handle on p.56); ibid., 97 (1963-4), 21 (bronze ring); ibid., 124 (1994), 189-231 (bone objects); *VA*, 6, 76, 237 (spearhead). For the ogham inscription see Forsyth, 'Ogham', pp.55-68.
- 3 Martin, *Western Islands*, 67.

- 4 Beveridge, *North Uist*, 297; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.166; NMRS database NF77NE 11.
- 5 Beveridge, *North Uist*, 297-8; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.166; NMRS database NF77NE 6.
- 6 Loc.cit.
- 7 Beveridge, *North Uist*, 298.
- 8 Ibid., 36, 298, 330-1. For a detailed description of the cross see *Inventory of Argyll*, 7, No.96.
- 9 Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 47.
- 10 Local tradition recorded that a cross with three holes at Leathad na Croise, Vallay, was used as an archery target (Beveridge, *North Uist*, 98).

#### 48 Aird a' Mhòrain, North Uist

- 1 Beveridge, *North Uist*, 235-8; Crawford, I A., 'Excavations at Coileagain an Udail' (interim reports, 1964-86; copies in NMRS); idem in Mason, R (ed.), *Settlement and Society in Scotland* (1988), 1-34; NMRS database NF87NW 2.
- 2 Beveridge, *North Uist*, 299-300; NMRS database NF87NW 16.
- 3 The well was immediately below the cross (*Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.165; NMRS database NF87NW 3). It was variously known as the well 'of the priest', 'of the cross' or 'of the cups', and had been a place of pilgrimage (*PSAS*, 16 (1881-2), 400-1; Beveridge, *North Uist*, 300). The adjacent cup-marks appear to be largely natural in origin.

#### 49 Clach an t-Sagairt, North Uist

- 1 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.325; NMRS database NF87NE 7.
- 2 Beveridge, *North Uist*, 276-8; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.290; NMRS database NF87NE, nos.9 and 13; Name Book, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), No.6, p.87. A low mound N of the burial-ground is named Druim na Croise, 'Ridge of the Cross'.
- 3 *Carm. Gadel.*, 2, 222; Carmichael, A, in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 3 (1887), 242-3, also recording the name 'Clach na h-Ulaidh' ('Stone of the Treasure'); Beveridge, *North Uist*, 278.
- 4 Cf. MacDonell, A and McRoberts, D, 'The Mass Stones of Lochaber', *Innes Review*, 17 (1966), 71-81.
- 5 Martin, *Western Islands*, 59; Name Book, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), No.6, p.90.

#### 50 Isle of Boreray, North Uist

- 1 NMRS database NF88SE, nos.1 and 5; Beveridge, *North Uist*, 51-6, 239, pl. foll. p. 238; *V&A*, 2, 146-7; 6, 237; *TDGNHAS*, 50 (1973), 57, 70, 71; Laing, L, *The Archaeology of Late Celtic Britain and Ireland c.400-1200 AD* (1975), 325-6, 328, 330-1; O'Connor, A and Clarke, D V (eds.), *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five'* (1983), 341 and fig.141, 5; Crawford, B E, *Scandinavian Scotland* (1987), fig.49, 4.
- 2 Martin, *Western Islands*, 68.
- 3 Beveridge, *North Uist*, 301. It was recorded in 1877 that the greater part of the disused burial-ground was under cultivation, and that there were two gravemarkers with crosses (Name Book, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), No.6, p.6).
- 4 *PSAS*, 75 (1940-1), 128, fig.2 on p.130.

#### 51 Isle of Berneray, Harris

- 1 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.150; NMRS database NF98SW11.
- 2 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.133; NMRS database NF98SW 8; Name Book, Inverness-shire (Hebrides), No.5, p.240.
- 3 Martin, *Western Islands*, 47.
- 4 Carmichael, A, in *PSAS*, 8 (1868-70), 280-2, referring to remains of a possible dun.
- 5 Loc.cit.
- 6 Carmichael, loc.cit., recording that within living memory pilgrims' offerings had been made at the foot of the 'obelisk'.

#### 52-3 Isle of Taransay, Harris

- 1 Martin, *Western Islands*, 123; *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.157; NMRS database NB00SW 3.
- 2 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, Nos.117, 118, 153; NMRS database NB00SW 6, NG09NW, nos.1-3; *PSAS*, 4 (1860-2), 117-18.
- 3 Martin, *Western Islands*, 123-4; *PSAS*, 4 (1860-2), 116. Carmichael (*Carm. Gadel.*, 2, 80-3) and Watson (*Celtic Place-names*, 298-300) identify St Taran with the Torannán of the Martyrology of Oengus (Stokes, *Oengus*, 140, 148-9, 447).
- 4 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, Nos.109-10; NMRS database NG09NW, nos.1 and 7.

#### 54 St Kilda, Harris

- 1 Stell and Harman, *St Kilda*, and literature cited; Buchanan, *St Kilda*; Emery, N, *Excavations on Hirta*, 1986-9 (1996); Harman, *Hirte*.
- 2 Martin, *Western Islands*, 443-5; Macaulay, K, *The History of St Kilda* (1764), 70-1; *PSAS*, 108 (1976-7), 254-8; Stell and Harman, *St Kilda*, 17; Harman, *Hirte*, 66-9.

- 3 The burial-ground, whose wall dates from the second quarter of the 19th century, measures 25m from E to W by 16m (plan in Harman, *Hirte*, fig.29 on p.67), and its perimeter of about 70m is comparable with the 'hundred paces' given for the circumference of the churchyard by Macaulay (loc.cit.).
- 4 Martin's suggestion that the well gave its name to the island group is now rejected (Taylor, A B, in *Scottish Studies*, 13 (1969), 145-58; Harman, *Hirte*, 42-3).
- 5 Sands, J, *Out of the World, or Life in St. Kilda* (1878), 82.

#### 55 North Rona

- 1 *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Iona Club, 1847), 4; Robson, *Rona*, p.x.
- 2 Monro, *Western Isles*, 87-8; Martin, *Western Islands*, 100-4; MacCulloch, J, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1819), 204-11; Muir, *Characteristics*, 189-203; Stewart, M, *Ronay* (1933); Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', 88-115; Robson, *Rona*, and literature there cited.
- 3 Monro, *Western Isles*, 88; Robson, *Rona*, 2-6.
- 4 Watson, *Celtic Place-names*, 309 (referring to the Rona at the N end of Raasay); Robson, *Rona*, p.x.
- 5 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, No.9; Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', *passim*.
- 6 Nisbet and Gailey, 'North Rona', fig.4 on p.110, nos.2 and 7 (re-used as a window-lintel in 'the manse', SW of enclosure). The Commissioners are grateful to Dr M Harman for making rubbings available.
- 7 *Inventory of the Outer Hebrides*, fig.24. It is erroneously stated in *PSAS*, 110 (1978-80), 532, that this stone came from the Flannan Isles.

#### 56 Eilean an Tighe, Shiant Isles

- 1 Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, 56; NMRS database NG49NW 4; Anon., 'archaeological report' (c.1930) in NMRS. The outline of St Mary's Chapel (NG49NW 1) is visible on Eilean Mhuire ('Mary's Island'), and an *Annat*-name is preserved on the SW coast of Garbh Eilean (Airighean na h-Annaid; NG49NW 2 and 7).
- 2 The Commissioners are indebted to Mr A Nicolson for making this stone available for study, and to Dr M MacLeod for information about the site. An excavation report by P Foster (Institute of Archaeology, Prague) is forthcoming.
- 3 Wakeman, *Inismurray*, 65-8.



## GLOSSARY

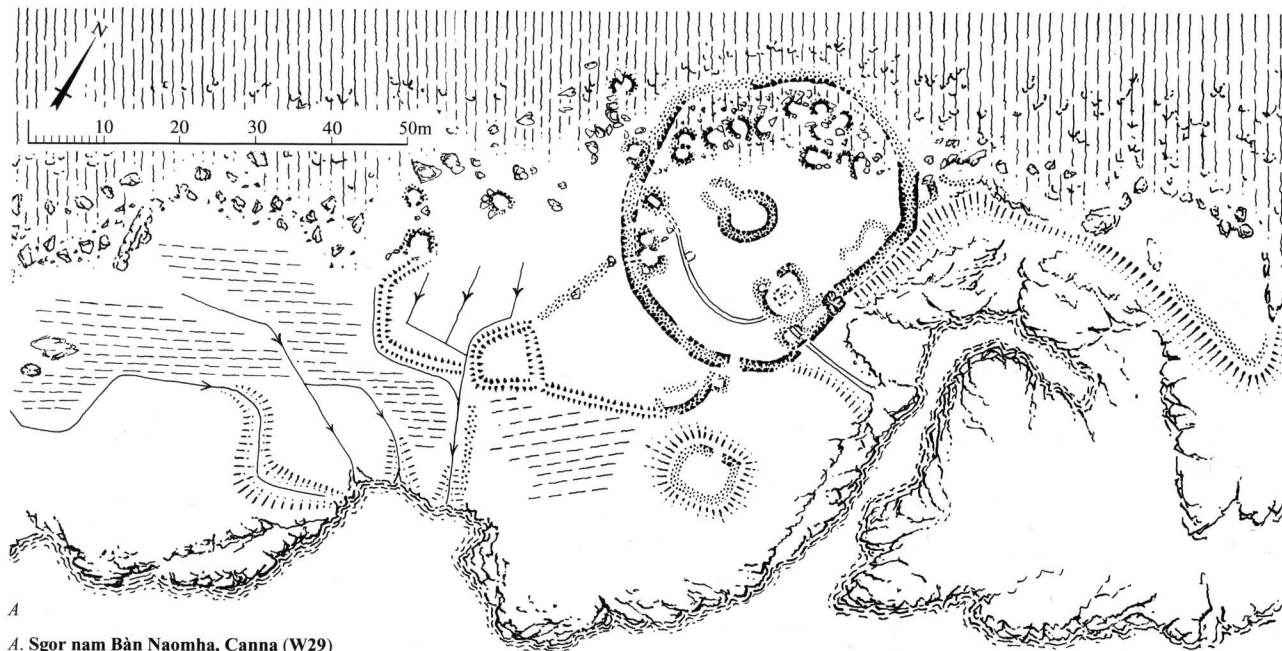
- Annat*: A place-name indicating an ancient church, probably abandoned at an early date (Gaelic, from Latin *antiquitas*, 'antiquity').
- Anta*: A buttress-like extension of the side-walls of a building, common in early Irish stone churches.
- Bogomils*: An heretical sect which originated in Bulgaria.
- Brittonic*: A branch of the Celtic languages, formerly spoken in Pictland and south Scotland and represented by modern Welsh.
- Céli-Dé*: Members of a monastic reform-movement which originated in Ireland in the late 8th century (Irish, 'Clients of God').
- Chi-rho*: A monogram of the first two Greek letters of Christ's name, often incorporated in a cross.
- Chip-carving*: A sunk-faceted style of carving, imitated in stone from models in bone or wood.
- Crosier-drop*: The vertical front portion of the crook of a crosier of Irish type.
- Cross-of-arcs*: A cross formed by intersecting arcs, usually contained in a circle.
- Dome-and-wing*: A type of ornament with a domed central feature and flanking curves, often applied to the crescent on symbol-stones.
- False relief*: A style of carving which rises from a field sunk below the margin of the slab.
- Flabellum*: A long-handled liturgical fan, still used in the churches of Ethiopia and the Middle East.
- Half-uncial*: An insular script, more formal than miniscule, used in books and inscriptions.
- Hammer-head*: A type of cross with expanded upper and lower terminals which match the transom in width, common in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture.
- Hand-pin*: A metal pin terminating in a semicircular plate below a series of circular projections, resembling the knuckles of a clenched hand.
- Hexafoil*: A six-pointed cross-of-arcs, also described as a marigold.
- Hogback*: An elongated grave-cover with curved ridge, developed in northern England in the 10th century.
- Insular*: Of the art and culture common to Britain and Ireland in the early medieval period.
- Iona School*: One of the schools of monumental sculpture active in the West Highlands in the period 1350-1500.
- Keill*: One of the small stone chapels common in the Isle of Man (Manx, related to Gaelic *Cill*, 'chapel').
- Lapidarium*: A building for the storage and display of carved stones.
- Leacht*: An open-air altar, often bearing a cross and on a pilgrimage-route (Irish).
- Motif-piece*: A piece of bone or stone incised with ornamental or animal motifs, perhaps as a trial- or demonstration-piece.
- Orans*: A figure with arms extended in prayer, a common early Christian symbol of the faithful soul (Latin, 'praying').
- Ossuary*: A small chest for holding bones, found in decorated form in Jewish cemeteries.
- Pelta*: A crescent-shaped ornamental motif, common in Roman and Celtic art (Latin, 'shield').
- Ringerike*: A Scandinavian art-style of the late 10th and 11th centuries, named from its use on carved stones in the Ringerike area of Norway.
- Stopped plait*: A form of interlace whose strands are interrupted before the junction-points, common in Cumbrian carvings of the 11th century.
- Tau-cross*: A T-shaped cross, favoured in the eastern churches (Greek *tau*, 'letter T').
- Votive cross*: A small graffito cross carved to commemorate a prayer or vow, especially at pilgrimage-sites.

# REFERENCE NUMBERS OF DIGITAL IMAGES

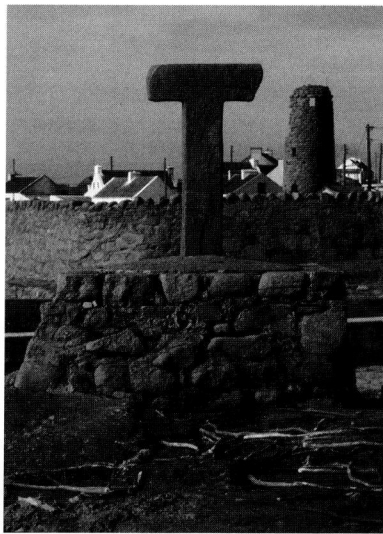
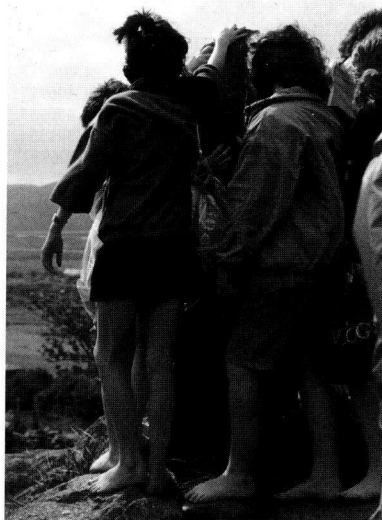
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p.28: A, SC391352; B, SC370825; C, SC374578; D, SC370824; E, SC415118; F, SC390659 (*detail*); G, SC390649; H, SC390641; J, SC390663; K, SC390642; L, SC390640; M, SC390639; N, SC390651; P, SC390644; Q, SC390683; R, SC390660; S, SC404551; T, SC374559; U, SC388320; V, SC390664; W, SC373303; X, SC384158; Y, SC406275; Z, SC388322; AA, SC390643; BB, SC388324; CC, SC391322; DD, SC373292; EE, SC384159.  
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p.33: A, SC406077; B, SC406997; C, SC390650; D, SC390657; E, SC390658; F, SC390659; G, SC390651; H, SC403022; J, SC370661; K, SC370855; L, SC406973; M, SC373292; N, SC406269; P, SC417634; Q, SC384131; R, SC384173; S, SC374574 (*detail*); T, SC390652; U, SC390653; V, SC403479; W, SC406999; X, SC390654; Y, SC390655; Z, SC390656.  
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p.35: A, SC403021; B, SC406087; C, SC370857; D, SC406074; E, SC406075; F, SC390633; G, SC417674; H, SC403477; J, SC373298; K, SC370856; L, SC404557; M, SC384130; N, SC406073; P, SC415294; Q, SC370659; R, SC404550; S, SC404558; T, SC415125; U, SC391333.  
p.36: A, SC391341; B, SC391355; C, SC388325; D, SC391344; E, SC384151; F, SC384143; G, SC415139; H, SC415140; J, SC415146; K, SC415147; L, SC415149; M, SC403482; N, SC406092; P, SC406090; Q, SC415152; R, SC415125; S, SC415128; T, SC415133; U, SC415131; V, SC415126; W, SC415130; X, SC415134.  
p.37: A, SC370882; B, SC370883; C, SC370885; D, SC370886; E, SC417676; F, SC415155; G, SC373301; H, SC370887; J, SC370888; K, SC370889; L, SC370890; M, SC384132; N, SC415153; P, SC415154; Q, SC391342; R, SC415151; S, SC384153; T, SC388336; U, SC384137.  
p.38: A, SC415136; B, SC374575; C, SC390679; D, SC384138; E, SC404550; F, SC388324; G, SC415150; H, SC370659; J, SC391343.  
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p.52: A, SC390673; B, SC403494; C, SC415113; D, SC415115; E, SC373296; F, SC384136; G, SC403036; H, SC403033; J, SC403023; K, SC403025; L, SC415114; M, SC415116; N, SC403036; P, SC403489.  
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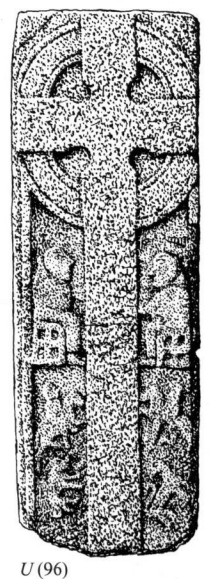
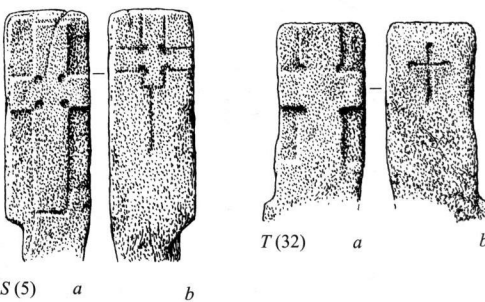
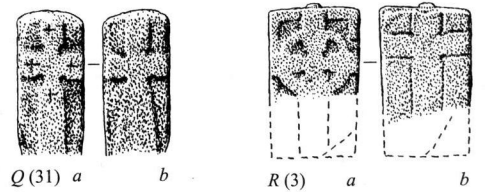
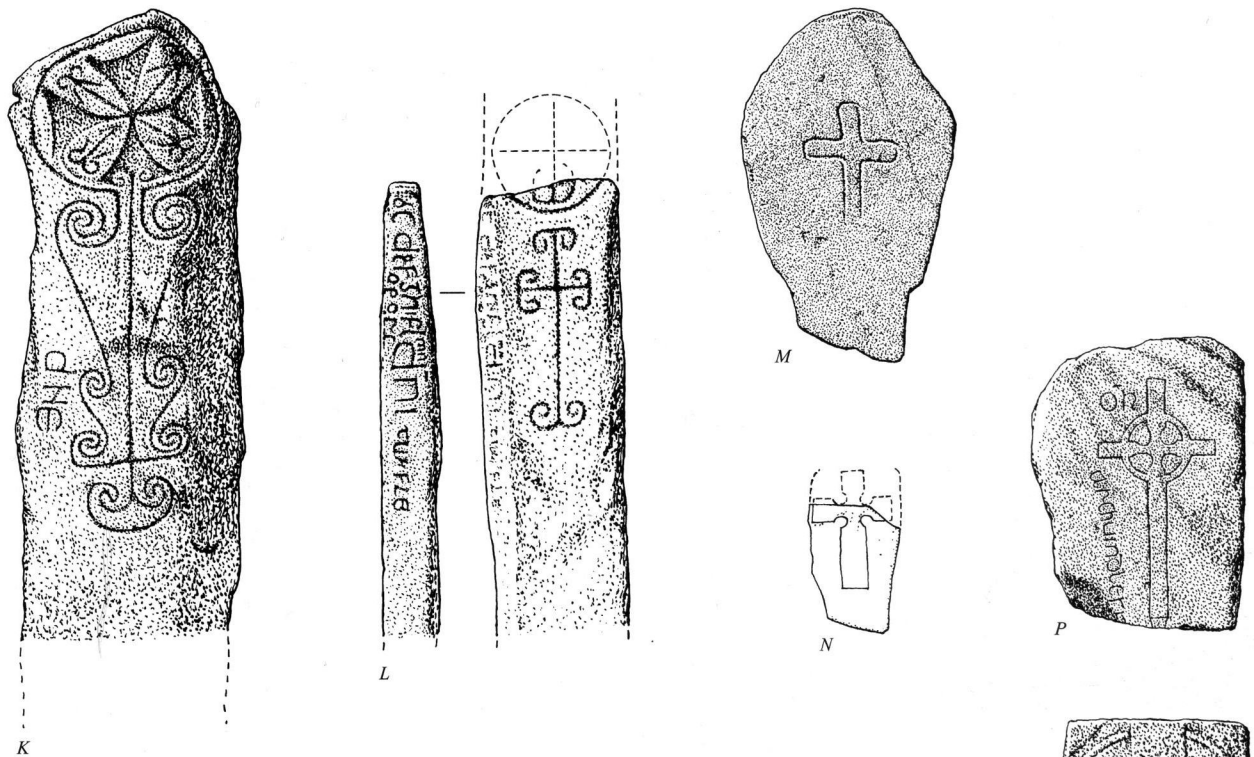
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p.172: A, SC 595037; B, SC 449887; C, SC 5595814; D, SC 595570; E, SC 595038; F, SC 449889; G, SC 595039.





A. Sgor nam Bàn Naomha, Canna (W29)  
site-plan (scale, 1:1000)  
Glenn Cholm Cille, Co.Donegal  
B. cross-decorated pillar at pilgrimage station 2 from W  
C. pilgrims walking three times round station 2, 1990  
D. Skellig Michael, Co.Kerry, beehive cell and cruciform stones  
E. Tory Island, Co.Donegal, tau-cross at head of pier and round tower





**Carved stones (scale 1:20)**

- A. Whithorn, Wigtownshire  
 B. C. U. Maughold, Isle of Man  
 D. Bothwellhaugh Roman Fort, Lanarkshire  
 carved drain-cover  
 E, F. Gallen, Co. Offaly  
 G-J, M. Dyce, Aberdeenshire  
 K. Reask, Co. Kerry  
 L. Kilmalkedar, Co. Kerry  
 N. St Ninian's Isle, Shetland  
 P. Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly  
 Q-T. St Berrihert's Kyle, Co. Tipperary

ADDITIONAL COMPARATIVE ILLUSTRATIONS

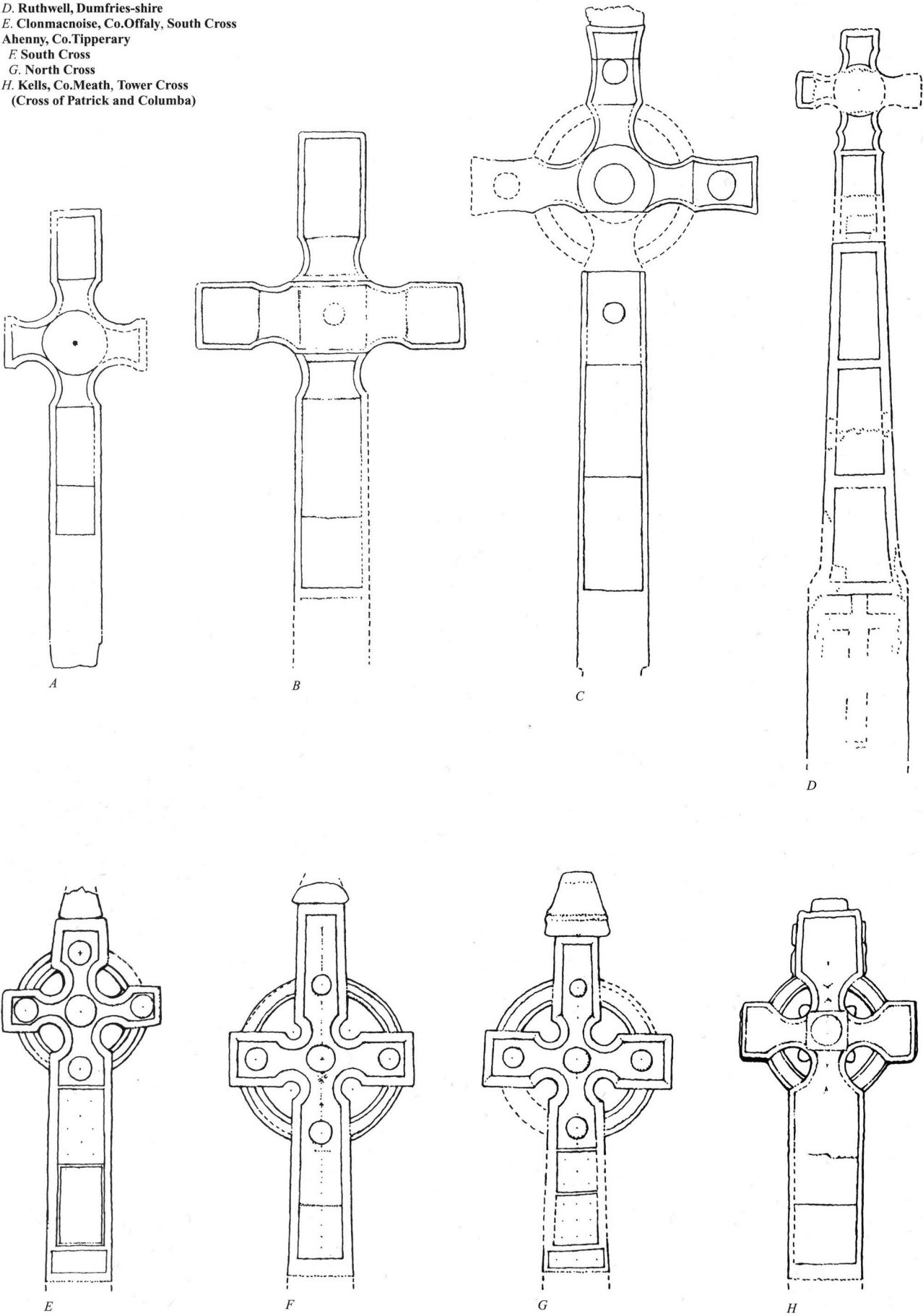
Comparative outlines of free-standing crosses (1) (scale 1:40)  
A. Kilnave, Islay (A5, 374(1))

Iona  
B. St Oran's Cross (A4(80))  
C. St John's Cross (A4(82))

D. Ruthwell, Dumfries-shire  
E. Clonmacnoise, Co.Offaly, South Cross

Ahenny, Co.Tipperary  
F. South Cross  
G. North Cross

H. Kells, Co.Meath, Tower Cross  
(Cross of Patrick and Columba)





Comparative outlines of free-standing crosses (2)

(scale 1:40)

A. Ray, Co. Donegal

B. Kildalton, Islay (A5, 367(1))

Iona

C. St Martin's Cross (A4(83))

F. St Matthew's Cross (A4(84))

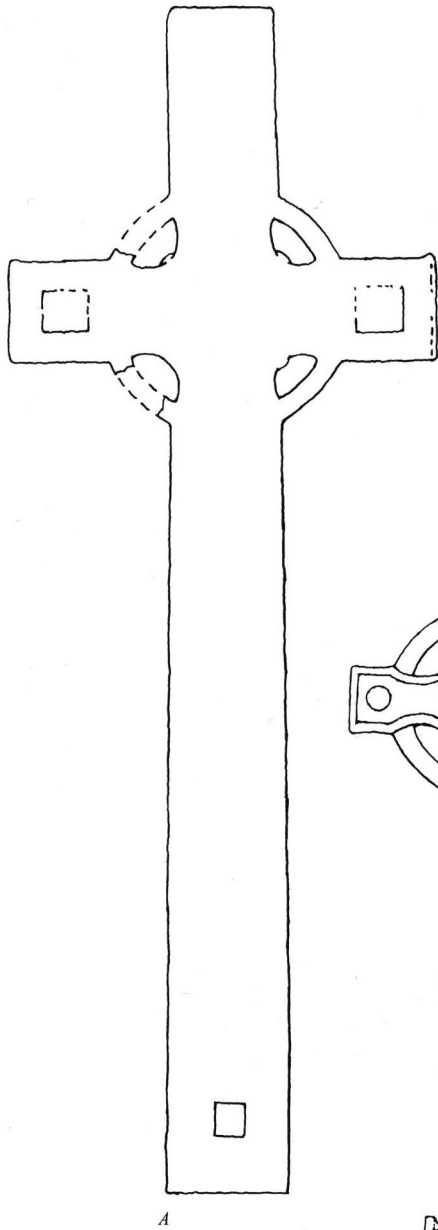
D. A' Chill, Canna (W28(12))

E. Keills, Knapdale (A7, 45(1))

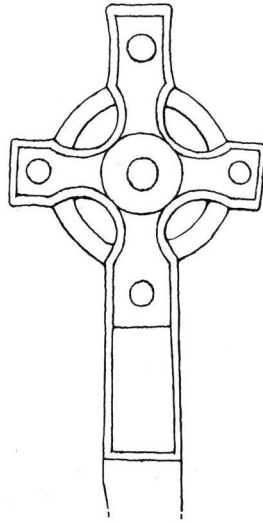
G. Durrow, Co. Offaly

H. Monasterboice, Co. Louth, Muiredach's Cross

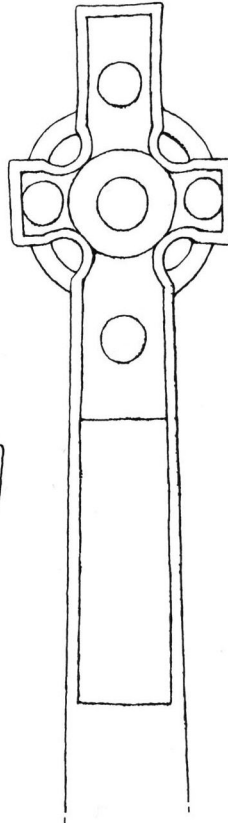
J. Drumcliff, Co. Sligo



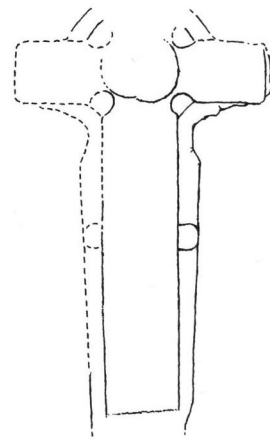
A



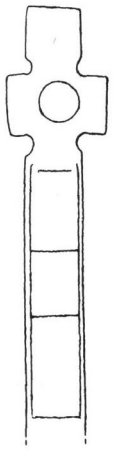
B



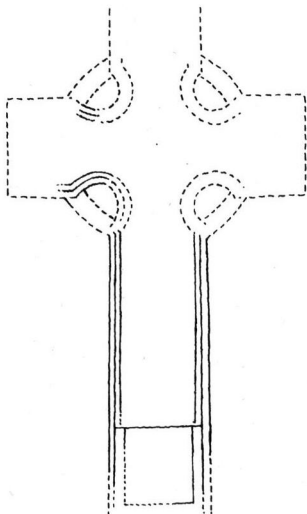
C



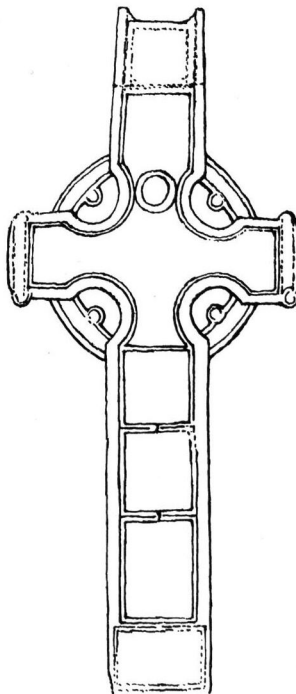
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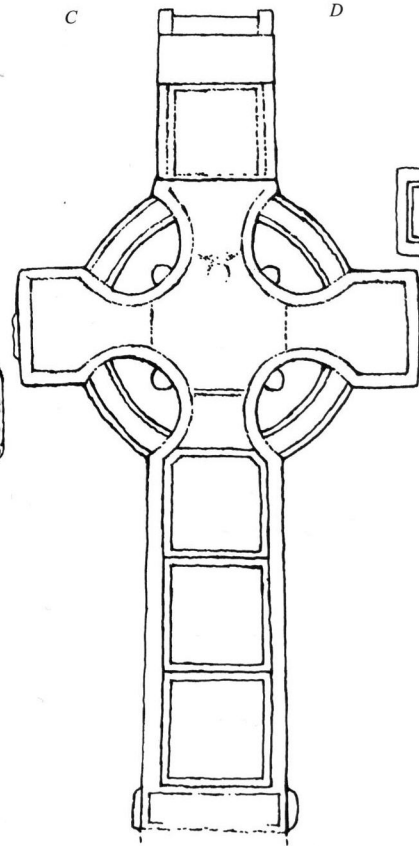
E



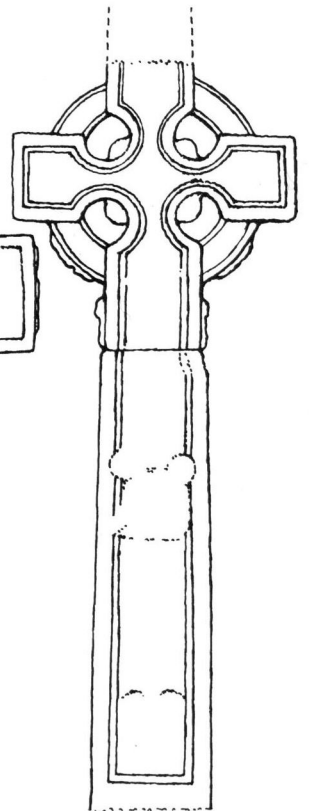
F



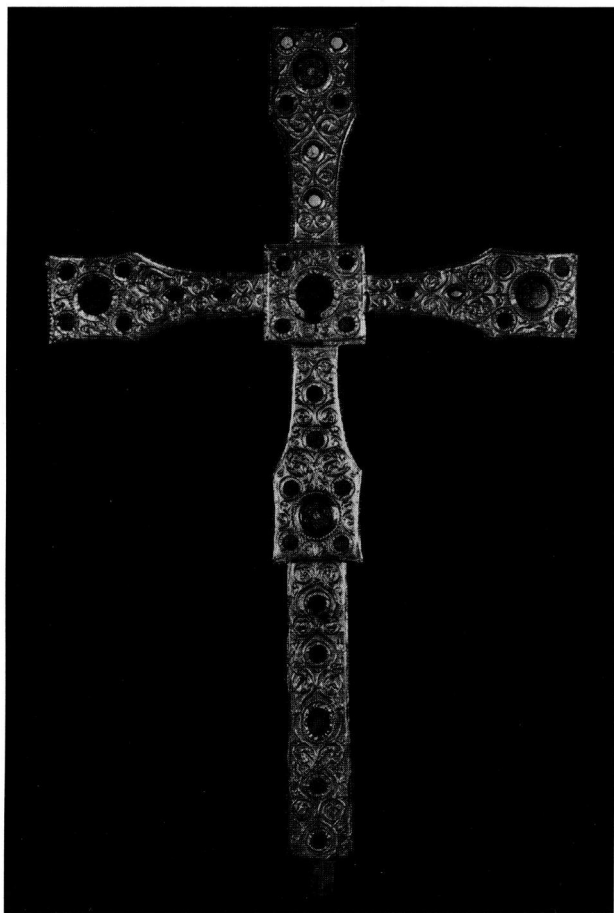
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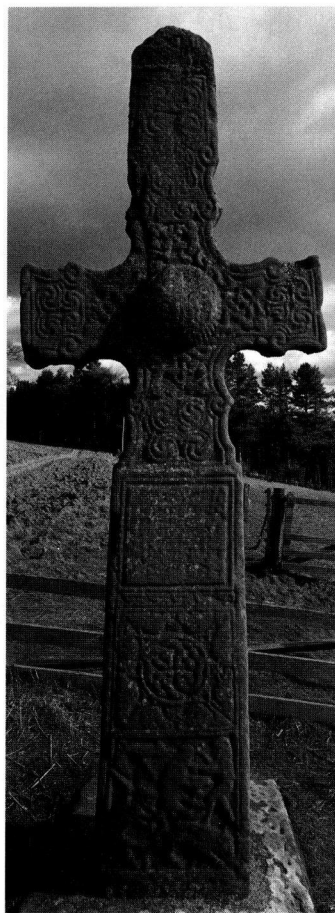
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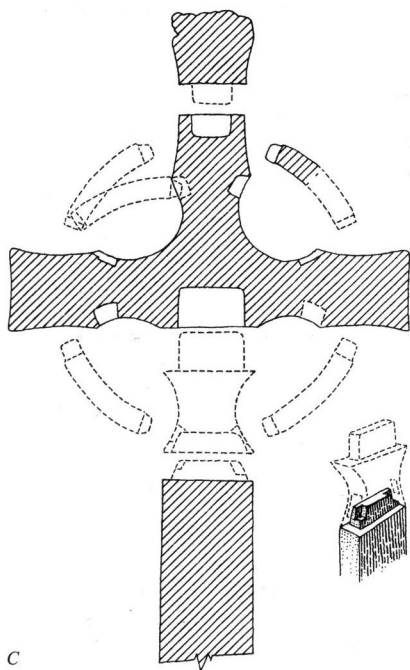
J



A



B



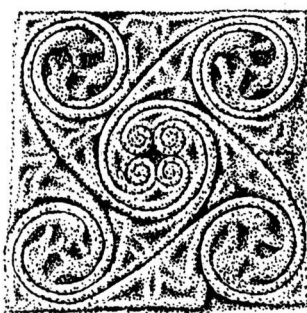
C



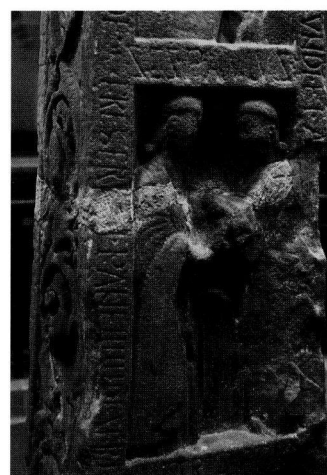
E



F



D



G

- A. Bischofshofen, Austria, Rupertus Cross  
 B. Dupplin Cross, Perthshire, *W* face  
 C. Iona, St John's Cross (A4(82)), structure of head (scale 1:40)  
 D. Ahenny, Co. Tipperary, North Cross, detail of *E* face (scale 1:7.5)  
 E. Strathmartine, Angus, detail of cross-arm  
 F. Tower of Lethendy, Perthshire, detail of cross-slab  
 G. Ruthwell Cross, Dumfriesshire, detail of *S* face showing the hermits Paul and Antony

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Royal  
Commission on the  
Ancient and  
Historical  
Monuments of  
Scotland

The carvings presented here belong to the centuries between the introduction of Christianity to western Scotland by Irish monks such as St Columba, and the arrival of new monastic orders in the 12th century. They include celebrated works of Celtic art such as the High Crosses of Iona and Kildalton, and simple crosses on remote islands such as St Kilda and North Rona, which reflect the austere spirituality of the early church. Pictish symbol-stones, Irish and ogham inscriptions and Viking runes testify to the variety of races who occupied the area. The 920 illustrations include over 500 uniform scale drawings, and photographs of the dramatic historic landscapes in which many of the crosses are located. Numerous connections with the art of other areas of Britain and Ireland are discussed and illustrated.

