Music in Scotland before the Mid-Ninth Century: An Interdisciplinary Approach

Joanna Clements

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MMus, Musicology

Department of Music
Faculty of Arts
University of Glasgow

February 2009

Abstract

There are few sources for early medieval Scottish music and their interpretation is contentious. Many writers have consequently turned to Irish sources to supplement them. An examination of patterns of cultural influence in sculpture and metalwork suggests that, in addition to an Irish influence, a Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon influence and sources should be considered. Differences in the musical evidence from these groups, however, suggest a complex process of diffusion, innovation and local choice in the interaction of their musical cultures. The difficulty of predicting the course of such a process means that the observation of cultural influence in other disciplines is not on its own a useful tool in the study of music in Scotland before the mid-ninth century.

Contents

TABLE OF FIGURES **1**

INTRODUCTION **2**

SOURCES **5**

PICTLAND **12**

Aberlemno (Number Three) Cross Slab *12*
Aldbar Cross Slab *14*
Dupplin Cross *15*
Gask Cross Slab *16*
Hilton of Cadboll Sculpture *17*
Monifieth Cross Shaft *18*
Nigg Cross Slab *19*
St Andrews Fragments *20*
Burghead Horn Mount *21*
Midhowe Broch Whistle *23*
Other Possible Sources *23*
DÁL RIATA 25
Lyre Wrest-Plank from Dùn an Fheurin *25*
St. Martin's Cross, Iona *27*
St. Oran's Cross, Iona *29*
Other Possible Sources *30*
ALBA 32
Abernethy Cross Shaft Fragment *32*
Ardchattan Cross Slab *33*
Lethendy Carving *35*
Sueno's Stone or The Forres Pillar *36*
Other Possible Sources *37*
DISCUSSION 38

MODELS OF CULTURAL INTERACTION **49**

CULTURAL INTERACTION IN SCOTLAND **54**

MUSIC AND CULTURAL INTERACTION IN SCOTLAND **70**

CONCLUSION **83**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **86**

Table of Figures

Figure 1. Distribution of cultural groups in Scotland. 6
Figure 2. Distribution of the cult of St. Chattan 7
Figure 3. The Distribution of Class I and Class II symbol stones. 8
Figure 4. Source locations 11
Figure 5. Aberlemno (number three) cross slab 12
Figure 6. Aldbar cross slab 14
Figure 7. The Dupplin Cross, detail of harper 15
Figure 8. Gask cross slab 16
Figure 9. Hilton of Cadboll sculpture 17
Figure 10. Monifieth cross shaft 18
Figure 11. Nigg cross slab, reverse 19
Figure 12. St Andrews fragments 20
Figure 13. Burghead horn mount 21
Figure 14. Midhowe Broch whistle 23
Figure 15. Dunkeld slab, detail 24
Figure 16. The wrest-plank from Dùn an Fheurin, with Abingdon and Dinorben examples 25
Figure 17. St. Martin's Cross, Iona, west face 27
Figure 18. St. Oran's Cross, Iona, reverse 29
Figure 19. Abernethy cross shaft fragment 32
Figure 20. Ardchattan cross slab 33
Figure 21. Lethendy carving 35
Figure 22. Sueno's Stone or the Forres Pillar, detail of reverse 36
Figure 23. David miniature from the *Vespasian Psalter* 42
Figure 24. The Marsham Column 43
Figure 25. Vine-scroll on the Ruthwell Cross (left) and the Jedburgh slab (right) 54
Figure 26. Nigg cross slab, front compared with an extract from the Lindisfarne Gospels 55
Figure 27. Distribution of the cult of St. Moluag 59
Figure 28. St. Martin's Cross, Iona, east face and the Tara brooch, reverse 63
Figure 29. Dupplin Cross, east and north faces. 65
Figure 30. Hunterston Brooch 66
Figure 31. Buckle from Sutton Hoo 66
Figure 32. Buckle from Faversham 67
Figure 33. Fragments of the Sutton Hoo lyre 71
Figure 34. The reconstructed Sutton Hoo lyre 71
Figure 35. Triple-piper on the South Cross, Clonmacnoise 80

Introduction

The study of music in Scotland before the formation of the kingdom of Alba in the mid-ninth century has reached something of an impasse. The sources which relate directly to music in the geographical area of modern Scotland in the period between *c*. 500 and 850 are few and far between and in consequence much of the writing about music in this period has focussed on reinterpreting the same few sources.

The problem is that the largely iconographical nature of the sources opens them up to a number of potentially conflicting interpretations. It seems unlikely that a substantial body of evidence still remains to be discovered and so other ways around this stalemate need to be found. A number of methods have been suggested by writers such as Farmer and Purser but their applications of these ideas have been unsatisfactory.

In *A History of Music in Scotland* Farmer attempts to overcome the limitations of the source material from Scotland by using Irish sources. Farmer argues that the culture in Scotland during this period was predominantly Celtic,[1] implying a culturally homogenous group which allows him to use Irish sources for the whole of Scotland, not just the inhabitants of the west coast who were thought to have migrated from Ireland. This view of culture is too simplistic since the Picts in the east of the country appear to have had some cultural differences to the Dál Riata who inhabited the region covered by modern Argyll.

The purpose of this dissertation is to outline the state of the deadlock which has been reached, and then to explore Farmer's solution to it in depth, and in light of recent scholarship in history and archaeology, to see if it can offer a way forward.

This enquiry covers the period between c.500 A.D. and the mid-ninth century which falls within the period covered by the first part of Farmer's *History*, in

[1] Farmer 1947. *History*, 17.

which he develops the idea that Irish sources can be used to illuminate Scottish music.

Farmer attempts to account for the whole of the geographical area of modern Scotland in his *History*, a difficult task given the number of cultural groups involved and the shifting pattern of political and cultural groups during the period in question. The scope of this dissertation will be somewhat smaller, focussing on the Picts and Dál Riata. Strathclyde, the Lothians and Moray will not be considered.

This enquiry concentrates on music outside any specifically liturgical context. It would be difficult, however, to claim that this dissertation dealt solely with secular music and secular culture: it is firstly not always possible to be sure whether the source materials available should be interpreted as part of a sacred or secular context. The sculptures which provide most of the evidence related to harps, for example, clearly have some links to the church since the harps tend to be depicted on the back of cross slabs. There are some scenes, however, which have been argued to depict secular occasions, such as the battle scene on Sueno's stone.[2] The difficulty in distinguishing between the sacred and the secular may be exacerbated by an intermingling of elements of the two. Some of the poetry composed on Iona, for example, mixes elements of a Latin sacred tradition and an Irish secular praise poetry tradition.[3] It is also difficult to assess the extent to which the distinction between sacred and secular would have applied at this time. Clancy suggests that the *Amra Coluimb Chille* is a result of the interweaving of native and ecclesiastical learning,[4] while Ó Cróinín argues that attempting to distinguish between the sacred and secular in metalwork of the period is of little practical use.[5]

This dissertation will begin with an examination of the primary source material directly related to Scotland. Previous interpretations and ways of overcoming the

---

[2] Sellar 1993. *Sueno's Stone*; Jackson 1993. *Sueno's Stone*.
[3] Clancy and Markus 1995. *Iona: The Earliest Poetry*, 34.
[4] Clancy 1999. *The Cult of Saints in Scotland*, 23.
[5] Ó Cróinín 1989. *Ireland and the Celtic Kingdoms*, 16.

limitations of the evidence will be examined. Models of cultural interaction and how these might aid a consideration of musical influence will then be explored, and cultural evidence from Scotland will be examined in order to see whether any of these models might be seen to be working in a Scottish context. Musical evidence will then be considered in light of this, in order to assess how useful Farmer's ideas are within a more nuanced cultural situation.

Sources

In this section the primary source materials relating directly to Scotland will be outlined, followed by an examination of the debates surrounding their interpretation and methods of overcoming the impasse which such debates have reached. The sources used by Farmer in his discussion are supplemented by archaeological sources summarised by De Geer[1] and a wider range of sculptural sources discussed by Henderson, Porter, Trench-Jellicoe and others.

Farmer's view of the culture of Scotland as one homogenous "Celtic" culture leads him to treat all the sources he uses as equally relevant to the whole of Scotland. This oversimplifies the cultural situation and may mask musical differences between the cultural groups. It does appear that the Bronze Age inhabitants of Scotland were part of a large Europe-wide "web of exchange" which was facilitated by the development of a shared language, and possibly resulted in some degree of shared culture,[2] but after 700 B.C. these networks began to break down and communities became more inward looking.[3] By the sixth century A.D. there is evidence that separate communities around Scotland had developed different cultures from these common roots.

By the sixth century the area of modern Scotland is thought to have been inhabited by peoples now known as the Picts in the east and north-east of the country, the Dál Riata in the region of modern Argyll, Britons in Strathclyde and Anglo-Saxons in the Lothians (Figure 1).[4] From the mid-ninth century the Picts and Dál Riata appear to have been united in some way under Cinaed mac Ailpín to form the new kingdom of Alba.[5]

---

[1] De Geer 1985. *Earl, Saint, Bishop, Skald.*
[2] Armit 1997. *Celtic Scotland*, 24-26.
[3] Armit 1997. *Celtic Scotland*, 26.
[4] Alcock 2003. *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests*, 3.
[5] Foster 2004. *Picts, Gaels and Scots*, 11.

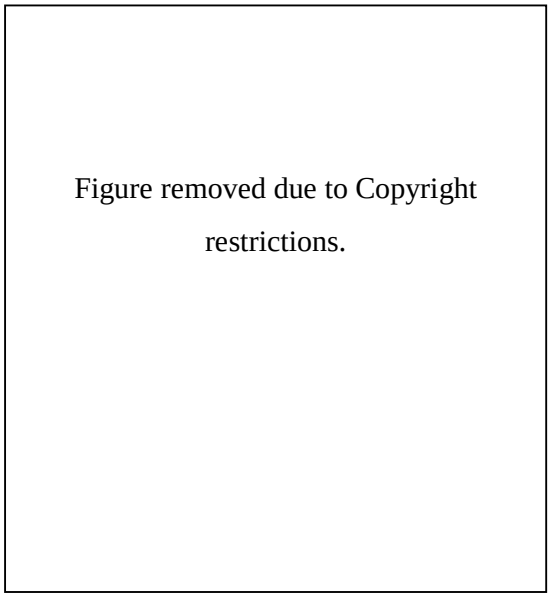

Figure 1. Distribution of cultural groups in Scotland.[6]

The distribution of these different cultural groups is indicated in a number of ways. It is widely accepted that the distribution of regional saints' cults is "often coterminous with a tribal or administrative area.",[7] Clancy suggests that the spread of the cult of Máel Ruba, for example, can be linked to the expansion of the Cenél Loairn tribe from the late seventh century.[8] Bowen supports this argument by observing the distribution of certain saints' cults in relation to other cultural markers, such as the coincidence of the distribution of the cult of Máel Ruba with the distribution of the broch cultural area, and the cult of St. Moluag with the vitrified fort cultural area.[9] A distinction between east and west Scotland is shown by the appearance of the cults of Columba and other Irish saints in western Scotland, but their absence from eastern regions such as those covered by modern Aberdeenshire and Banffshire (see for example the distribution of the cult of St. Chattan, Figure 2).[10]

---

[6] Alcock 2003. *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests*, 3.
[7] Edwards 2002. *Celtic Saints and Early Medieval Archaeology*, 225.
[8] Clancy 2002. *Scottish Saints and National Identities*, 416.
[9] Bowen 1977. *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*, 101-103.
[10] Anderson 1965. *Irish Saints in Scotland*, 29-33, 34.

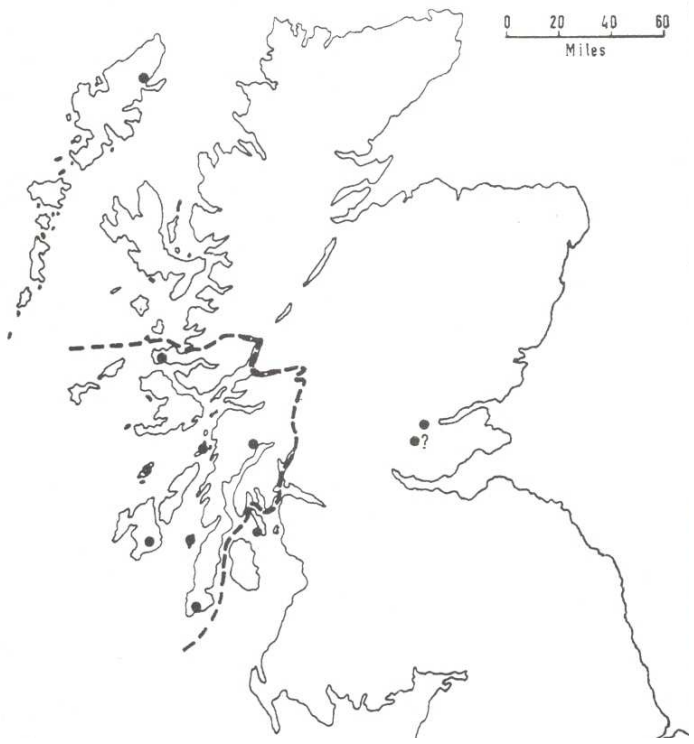

Figure 2. Distribution of the cult of St. Chattan[11] © Reproduced courtesy of University of Wales Press

The language spoken in a particular area can result from and therefore act as an indicator of its cultural affiliation.[12] The language spoken in an area is indicated by the surviving place names. The modern place names of Argyll are predominantly of Q-Celtic origin (a group of languages which retained the use of the "kw" sound from the common Celtic language stage[13]) whereas in the eastern part of Scotland a "substantial Brittonic substratum" remains under the Q-Celtic names, suggesting that a Brittonic or P-Celtic language (one in which the "kw" sound was replaced by a "p" sound[14]), was once spoken there rather than Q-Celtic.[15] That Q-Celtic was spoken in Argyll in the period in question is also indicated by the names of the people in Adomnán's *Vita S. Columbae*, and that a different language was spoken in west and east parts of Scotland can be seen by Columba's need of an interpreter when he visited the Picts in the east of

[11] Bowen 1977. *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*, 100.
[12] Forsyth 2001. *Languages of Scotland*, 377.
[13] Forsyth 2001. *Languages of Scotland*, 377.
[14] Forsyth 2001. *Languages of Scotland*, 377.
[15] Campbell 2001. *Were the Scots Irish?*, 289.

Scotland.[16] The region of Strathclyde seems to have been inhabited by British speakers and the Lothians by Anglian speakers.[17]

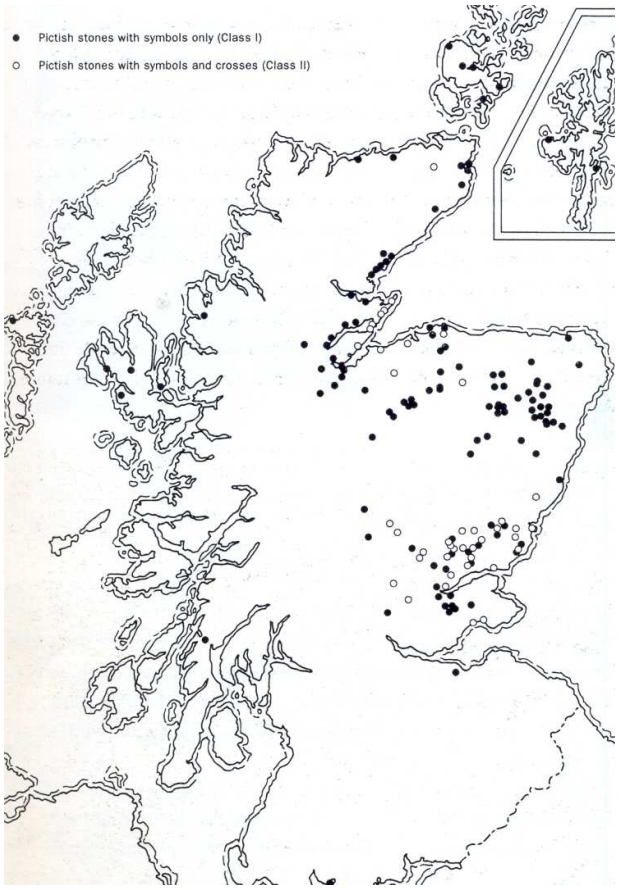

Figure 3. The Distribution of Class I and Class II symbol stones[18] © Reproduced by permission of Birlinn Ltd. www.birlinn.co.uk

The distribution of certain types of carved symbol stones appears to reinforce the east-west division of cultures in the early part of the period in question. Pictish symbol stones show great uniformity in the repeated use of a small number of very specific symbols. Stones with these symbols (known as Class I and Class II stones) are found in the areas which correspond to the P-Celtic speaking areas in the east and north-east of Scotland (Figure 3) and suggest a uniformity of culture among the speakers of this language.[19] It has been argued by Stevenson that the

[16] Sharpe 1995, cited in Campbell 2001. *Were the Scots Irish?*, 289.
[17] Forsyth 2001. *Languages of Scotland*, 378.
[18] Carver 1999. *Surviving in Symbols*, 19.
[19] Carver 1999. *Surviving in Symbols*, 21.

gradual disappearance of these symbols from carved stones represents the gradual disappearance of a distinctive Pictish culture.[20]

Given these cultural differences it seems appropriate to attempt to divide up the sources according to the cultural group in which they appear to have been produced and used. This is not without its problems. Assigning evidence to individual groups relies heavily on the geographical location and the age of the source, but these can be difficult to determine.

Carved stones from this period for example were, as already touched upon, divided into three categories by Anderson according to the combination of Pictish and Christian symbols exhibited: Class I stones only show Pictish symbols; Class II stones exhibit both Pictish and Christian symbols; and Class III stones do not have Pictish symbols on them.[21] Stones which exhibit Pictish symbols can be assigned to the Picts but Class III stones are more difficult to assign to one group or another[22] and are generally considered Pictish if they are of the right age and right geographical location. In addition to this, Henderson and Henderson have also suggested that examples in which harps appear as a symbolic attribute of king David can be seen as deriving from the mind-set of sculptors used to deploying Pictish symbols which may help to assign them to the Picts.[23]

Dating of sculptures is often heavily reliant on signs of artistic influence on the carving, but this is often influenced by ideas of what the artistic cultural influence is likely to be. The appearance of a triangular harp of the type depicted on a number of Pictish sculptures, combined with the triple pipes thought to be of Irish origin on a stone at Lethendy in Perth and Kinross, is both explained by, and used as evidence of, the idea of an Irish cultural influence moving from west to east across Scotland at the same time as the movement of political power east

[20] Stevenson 1980. *Pictish Art*, 128.
[21] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. I, xi.
[22] Foster 2004. *Picts, Gaels and Scots*, 26.
[23] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 131.

to form Alba.[24] Many writers however have considered this Lethendy sculpture with the examples of harps from Pictland.[25]

The provenance of archaeological finds is even more difficult to positively identify since they could have been easily moved from somewhere else. The Midhowe Broch whistle and Burghead horn mount are included here in the section on Pictish sources, and the possible lyre wrest-plank with other Dalriadic sources, because of their age and the location in which they were found.

A number of sources which on closer examination may not be appropriate to this investigation will be briefly outlined.

[24] Fisher and Greenhill 1974. *Two Unrecorded Carved Stones*, 240.
[25] See Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps* for example.

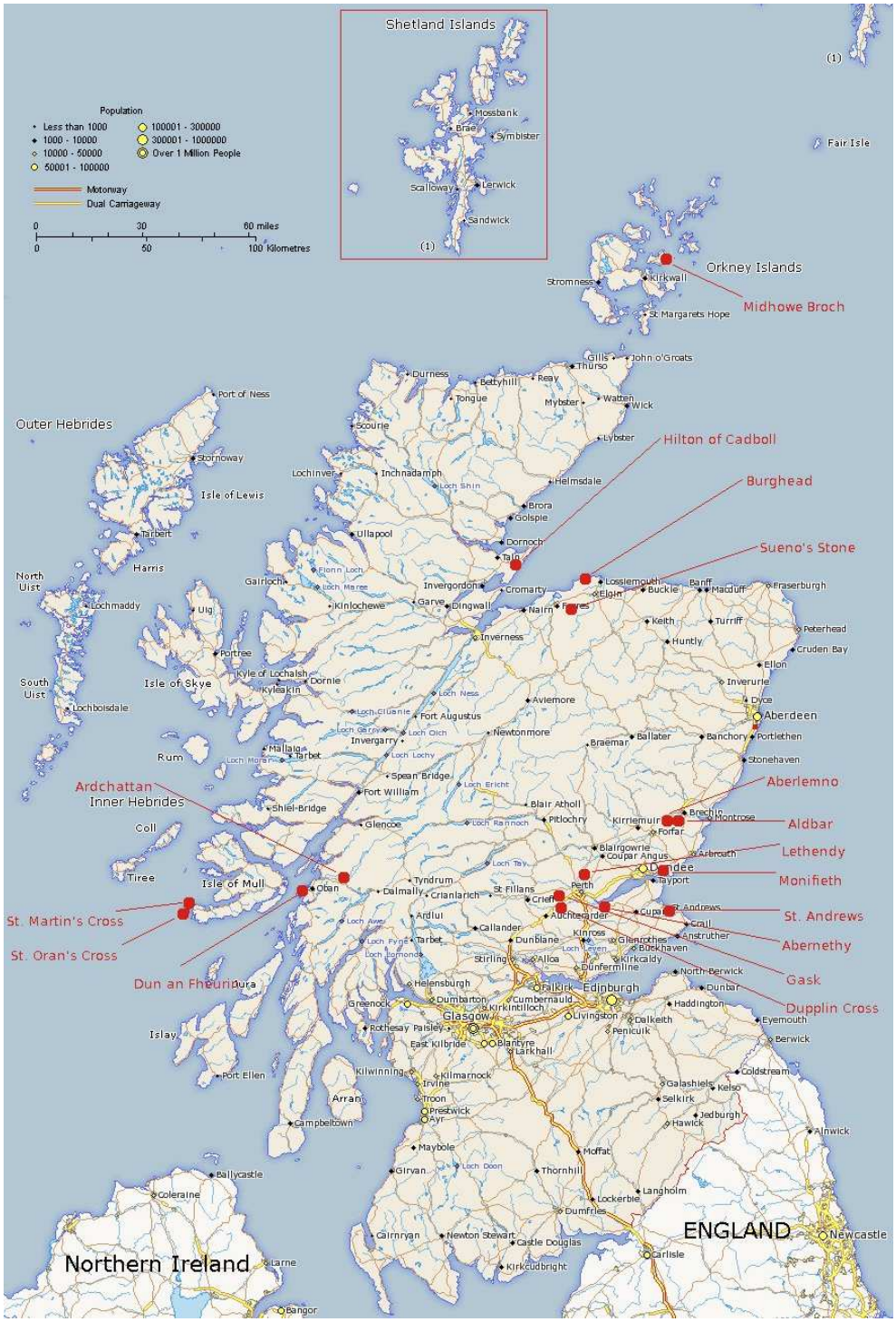

Figure 4. Source locations

Pictland

Aberlemno (Number Three) Cross Slab

This cross slab (Figure 5) is also known as Aberlemno roadside to distinguish it from the cross slab in Aberlemno church yard. The slab is currently found at Aberlemno (grid reference NO 5224 5586),[26] in what appears to be its original socket stone.[27]

Figure 5. Aberlemno (number three) cross slab © Crown copyright reproduced courtesy of Historic Scotland

[26] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Aberlemno*
[27] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 185.

The reverse face of the cross slab shows a hunting scene. [28] In the top right hand corner two figures blow into long tubes (which may be slightly flaring) and which they hold pointing into the air. Allen describes them as long hunting horns.[29] Below this, on the right-hand side, a smaller scene includes a harp tending "towards rhomboidality" lying on its side.[30]

The influence of established Pictish traditions of sculpture can be seen, as on the very similar sculpture at Hilton of Cadboll, in the highly decorated Pictish symbols which appear at the top of the reverse face of the stone,[31] but dating remains problematic. Trench-Jellicoe places Aberlemno in an early group of carvings with sculptures from Nigg, Kincardine and Gask.[32] Of these three it is only the Nigg slab whose dating has been extensively discussed, with a consensus forming around a late eighth- or early ninth-century date. [33]

---

[28] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 92.
[29] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 215.
[30] Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps*, 159, 167.
[31] Stevenson 1980. *Pictish Art*, 116.
[32] Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps*, 161.
[33] Stevenson 1980. *Pictish Art*, 118; Henderson 1967. *The Picts*, 127-34.

Aldbar Cross Slab

The slab from Aldbar (Figure 6) is now in Brechin Cathedral (Grid reference NO 5962 6009).[34] Trench-Jellicoe groups the Aldbar cross slab in a late ninth- or early tenth-century group with carvings from Dupplin, Monifieth and Lethendy.[35] A triangular harp with a slightly bowed forepillar and clearly visible strings appears on the reverse of the slab. There is no player.

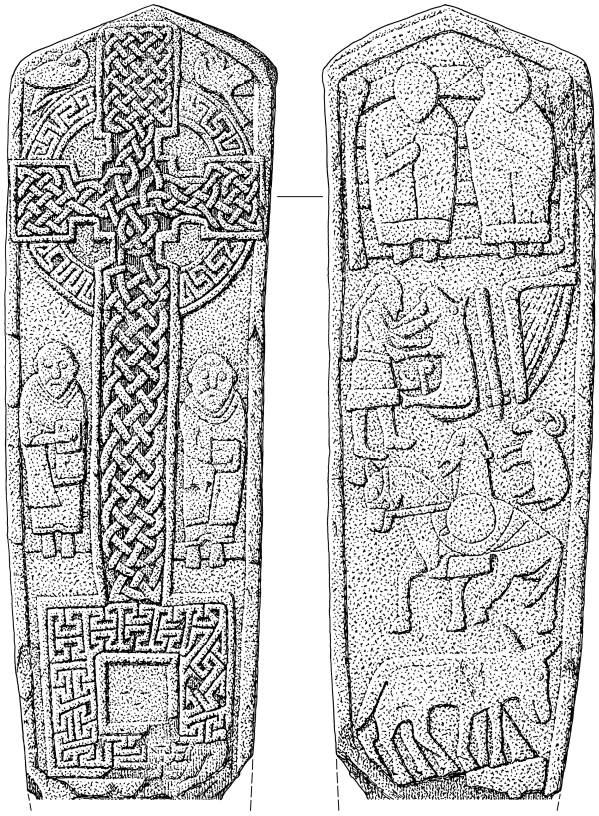

Figure 6. Aldbar cross slab © Crown Copyright: RCAHMS. Licensor www.rcahms.gov.uk

[34] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Brechin Cathedral.*
[35] Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps,* 161.

Dupplin Cross

The Dupplin cross (Figure 7) was originally located on the hillside overlooking the site of the Pictish royal palace at Forteviot, three miles away from Dunning.[36] It has since been moved to Saint Serf's church in Dunning (grid reference NO 0190 1449) for conservation reasons.[37]

Figure 7. The Dupplin Cross, detail of harper

An inscription on the west face of the cross translates as "Constantine, son of Fergus." King Constantine Mac Fergusa reined between *c.* 789 and 820, and the date of the construction of the cross is therefore thought to be around 800.[38] On the north side of the cross shaft a man viewed in profile and seated on a chair plays a triangular harp, the bottom of which rests on the ground at his feet, the top corner being level with the top of his head. The related questions of whether the harp has a forepillar and how many strings it has have been subject to debate. Armstrong suggests eight strings are depicted,[39] but Trench-Jellicoe argues that both the outer two vertical lines outline the forepillar and that only seven strings are depicted.[40]

---

[36] Tabraham 2005. *St Serf's Church.*
[37] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Dupplin Cross.*
[38] Tabraham 2005. *St Serf's Church.*
[39] Armstrong 1904. *Irish and Highland Harps,* 158.
[40] Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps,* 163.

Gask Cross Slab

The so called Bore stone or Boar stone of Gask (Figure **8**) formerly stood at grid reference NN 9730 1813 but is now in the grounds of Moncrieffe House, Perth and Kinross at grid reference NO 1366 1933.[41]

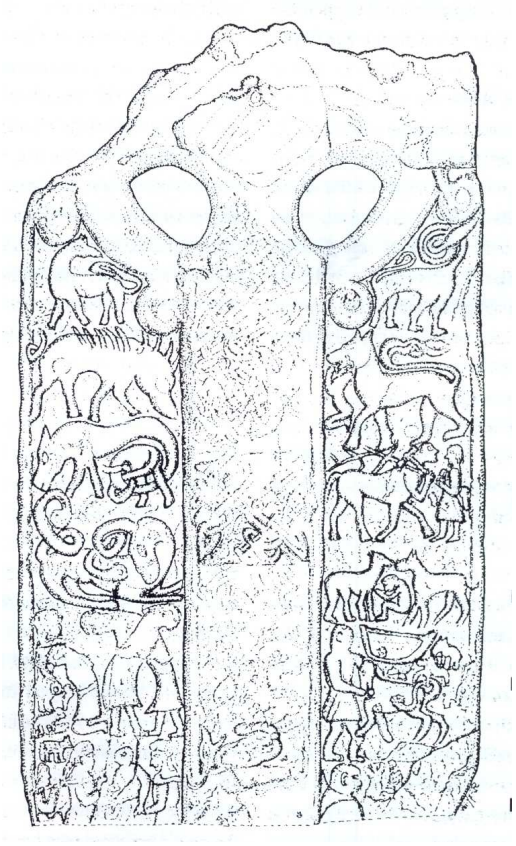

Figure 8. Gask cross slab © Reproduced courtesy of R. Trench-Jellicoe

A harp, the shape of which is "tending towards the quadrangular" is depicted lying on its side towards the bottom right hand corner of the slab.[42] A date range does not appear to have been advanced for this carving. Trench-Jellicoe groups the Gask slab with those from Nigg and Aberlemno possibly suggesting the late eighth- or early ninth-century date which appears widely accepted for the Nigg sculpture. [43]

---

[41] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Boar Stone Of Gask*
[42] Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps*, 159.
[43] Stevenson 1980. *Pictish Art*, 118; Henderson 1967. *The Picts*, 127-34.

Hilton of Cadboll Sculpture

Figure 9. Hilton of Cadboll sculpture © RCAHMS. Licensor www.rcahms.gov.uk

The Hilton of Cadboll sculpture (Figure 9) is now in the National Museum of Scotland, accession number IB 189.[44] The stump of the stone is thought to have been identified at Hilton of Cadboll at grid reference NH 8730 7688.[45] Henderson and Henderson have suggested that the stone may have been designed to stand next to or inside a private chapel.[46] Stevenson suggests that there is "fairly general agreement" that the Hilton of Cadboll sculpture dates from *c*. 800.[47]

Two figures described by Henderson as trumpeters[48] and by Allen as horn players[49] are depicted in the top right-hand corner of a hunting scene. The figures appear to blow into long slightly flaring tubes held pointing slightly upwards.

---

[44] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Hilton Of Cadboll*
[45] Murray and Ewart 2001 cited in Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Hilton Of Cadboll*.
[46] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 212.
[47] Stevenson 1980. *Pictish Art*, 116.
[48] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 91.
[49] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 62.

Monifieth Cross Shaft

The Monifieth cross shaft (Figure 10) was originally found at Monifieth in Angus, grid reference NO 4953 3235, but is now in the National Museum of Scotland, accession number IB 25.[50]

Figure 10. Monifieth cross shaft © The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland

At the bottom of the shaft a figure seated on a chair plays a large triangular harp which appears to rest on his feet at the bottom and reach the level of his head at the top corner. The weathering of the stone makes it difficult to distinguish the number of strings. Above the harpist are two figures holding horns but there is nothing to suggest that these should be considered blast horns rather than drinking horns.

The National Museum of Scotland has not suggested a more refined date range than between the ninth and eleventh centuries for the Monifieth cross shaft.[51]

---

[50] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Monifieth*
[51] National Museums Scotland 2008. *Cross Shaft from Monifieth, Angus*

Nigg Cross Slab

The cross slab at Nigg (Ross and Cromarty) (Figure 11) originally stood within the church yard of Nigg parish church at grid reference NH 8046 7171 but has since been moved to a more sheltered position at NH 8049 7170.[52]

Figure 11. Nigg cross slab, reverse[53] © I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

On the reverse of the slab a triangular harp with a straight forepillar is depicted. Sanger and Kinnaird count seven strings.[54] There is no player associated with the instrument. In the bottom left hand corner of the same face a cymbal player may be depicted.[55]

A range of dates from the second half of the eighth century to the tenth century have been suggested for this slab but the balance of opinion seems to rest with a late eighth- or early ninth-century date,[56] and the Nigg example may be the earliest depiction of a triangular harp from the Pictish region.[57] Radford's suggestion of a tenth-century date is an isolated voice of dissent.[58]

---

[52] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Nigg*.
[53] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 80.
[54] Sanger and Kinnaird 1992. *Tree of Strings*, 15.
[55] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 75.
[56] Stevenson 1980. *Pictish Art*, 118; Henderson 1967. *The Picts*, 127-34.
[57] Rensch Erbes 1972. *The Development of the Medieval Harp*, 34.
[58] Radford 1942 cited in Rensch Erbes 1972. *The Development of the Medieval Harp*, 34.

St Andrews Fragments

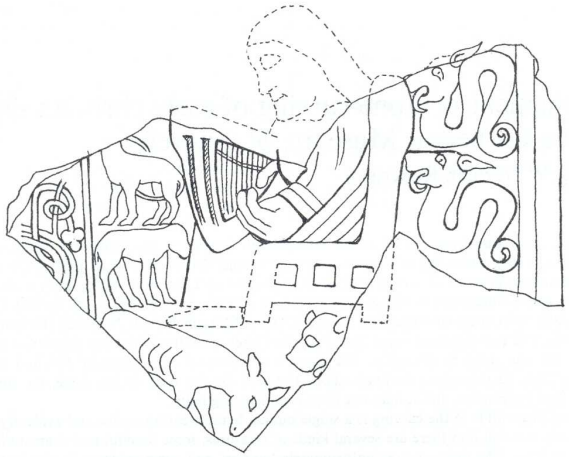

Figure 12. St Andrews fragments[59] © I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

Two carved fragments of stone were found during excavations in the St. Andrews Priory grounds in 1893-4. They are now in the St. Andrews Cathedral Museum, Fife, listed as Class A monuments numbers 28 and 29 in the 1930 *Inventory* compiled by Dr. Hay Fleming.[60]

Fitting the fragments together (Figure 12) Robertson describes "A single human figure wearing a robe and evidently sitting on a chair….His hands are clearly visible plucking the strings of the harp-like instrument which rests on his knee."[61] The instrument is much smaller than the other instruments depicted with harpers in Pictland.

Neither Robertson nor Henderson suggest a date for these fragments. The only possible clue appears to be Robertson's suggestion that some of the carved animals are "characteristically Pictish in style"[62] which might suggest a ninth-century or earlier date but on the other hand Henderson perceives a "Scoto-Pictish" carver at work[63] which could indicate a date after the formation of Alba.

---

[59] {Robertson, 1979 334 /id}, 260.
[60] Robertson 1979. *A Fragment of Stone-carving*, 259.
[61] Robertson 1979. *A Fragment of Stone-carving*, 259.
[62] Robertson 1979. *A Fragment of Stone-carving*, 259.
[63] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 106.

Burghead Horn Mount

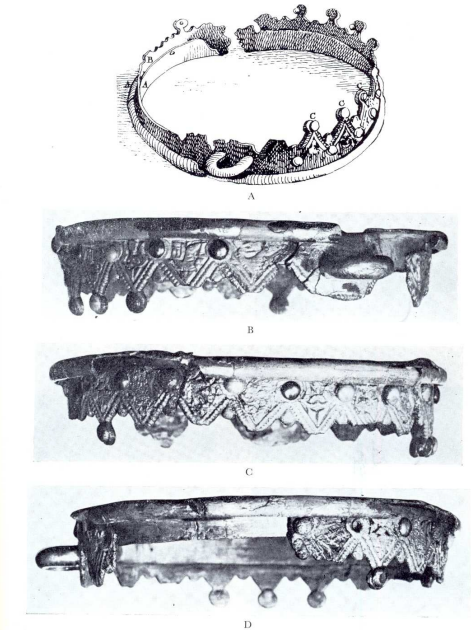

Figure 13. Burghead horn mount[64] © Reproduced courtesy of the Society for Medieval Archaeology

An almost complete decorated metal ring found at Burghead was initially identified as a bracelet but is now thought to be a horn mount (Figure 13).[65] The mount is in the National Museum of Scotland, accession number IL 214.[66]

Graham-Campbell argues that the mount is likely to be ninth-century due to the similarities in its form, method of construction and style of ornamentation to the Anglo-Saxon Trewhiddle hoard which appears to have been deposited *c.* 875.[67] He also makes a strong case for considering the mount as part of a blast horn rather than of a drinking horn, based on the presence of a suspension loop on the mount (clearly visible in the lower photo of Figure 13). Drinking horns found at Taplow and Sutton Hoo do not have suspension loops, whereas literary evidence

[64] www.maney.co.uk/journals/ma
[65] Graham-Campbell 1973. *The Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon Horn-Mount*, 43-44.
[66] Graham-Campbell 1973. *The Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon Horn-Mount*, 43.
[67] Graham-Campbell 1973. *The Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon Horn-Mount*, 48-49.

from the Anglo-Saxon Exeter book suggests that it was normal for blast horns to be suspended.[68]

[68] Graham-Campbell 1973. *The Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon Horn-Mount*, 50-51.

Midhowe Broch Whistle

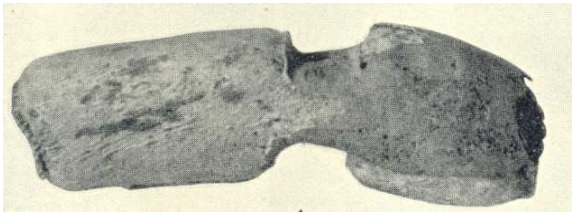

Figure 14. Midhowe Broch whistle[69] © I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

One of the finds from the excavations of Midhowe broch on Rousay is described by Callander and Grant as a "curved object, 3 inches in length, 1 inch by 13/16 inch in cross-diameters, pierced lengthwise with a large perforation, and transversely with 2 holes 1 1/8 inch from one end, possibly a whistle." (Figure 14)[70]

Callander and Grant's detailed archaeological survey of the Midhowe broch identifies the chamber in which the suggested bone flute was found as part of the second phase of the broch's construction[71] but they do not venture a date for this. Hingley, however, notes that most brochs date from between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D.[72] which may be a little early for the current enquiry.

Other Possible Sources

There are four other possible harp depictions in the Pictish region. On the cross slab from Crail a seated figure appears to hold its arms up in front of it, but the carving is so unclear that Trench-Jellicoe suggests that it should be excluded from any discussion of harps in carvings.[73] Henderson identifies three others but it is not clear whether any of these depictions, at Kingoldrum, Kirriemuir and

---

[69] {Callander, 1934 309 /id}, 491.
[70] Callander and Grant 1934. *The Broch of Midhowe*, 496.
[71] Callander and Grant 1934. *The Broch of Midhowe* cited in Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1998. *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Orkney and Shetland*, 194.
[72] Hingley 1998. *Settlement and Sacrifice*, 26.
[73] Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps*, 161.

Invergowrie in Angus, are even meant to depict musical instruments. Henderson describes the Kingoldrum and Kirriemuir carvings as "a framework of the same height as the throne appears to have strings passing across it." and suggests that "The framework may represent a musical instrument."[74] Of the Invergowrie example she suggests "That it is a small musical instrument can only be considered one of many other possibilities."[75] Allen describes the Kirriemuir example as "a rectangular frame enclosing some object",[76] the Invergowrie carving as "a remarkable object"[77] and does not even mention the Kingoldrum object.[78] Due to the difficulty in positively identifying these objects as depictions of musical instruments they will not be included in this discussion.

Figure 15. Dunkeld slab, detail[79]

There is a depiction of a mounted figure using what appears to be a blast horn incised into a slab at Dunkeld (Figure 15).[80] Unfortunately the carving consists only of this figure and the lack of other decoration may explain why the date of the carving has remained no more precise than between the ninth and twelfth centuries suggested by De Geer.[81]

---

[74] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 90.
[75] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 90.
[76] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 227.
[77] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 256.
[78] The Kingoldrum sculpture is described on Vol. III, 226 of Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*.
[79] Stuart 1856. *Sculptured stones of Scotland*, Vol. 2, plate XVI.
[80] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 285.
[81] De Geer 1985. *Earl, Saint, Bishop, Skald*, 54.

Dál Riata

Lyre Wrest-Plank from Dùn an Fheurin

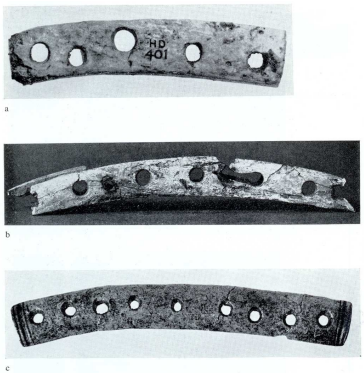

Figure 16. The wrest-plank from Dùn an Fheurin, with Abingdon and Dinorben examples[82]
© I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

An antler fragment was found during the excavations of Dùn an Fheurin (Grid reference: NM 824 266, 4.5 km south-west of Oban[83]) which Ritchie describes as a "Handle or heft, 18 by 100mm and 10mm thick, the back and ends cut straight, five perforations 5 to 8 mm diameter (NMA HD 401); possible wrest-plank."[84] Megaw compares the fragment with wrest-planks of lyres found at Abingdon and Dinorben (Figure 16) and argues that while the comparatively short length, small number of holes and irregular spacing of holes of the Dùn an Fheurin fragment suggest that it was not a lyre wrest-plank, the curvature and cross-section make it difficult to find another explanation. She suggests that the fragment found may only have been part of the wrest-plank accounting for its relative shortness, but also suggests that further conclusions cannot be drawn until more research has been undertaken.[85]

---

[82] Ritchie 1970. *Iron Age Finds from Dùn an Fheurain*, plate 17.
[83] Ritchie 1970. *Iron Age Finds from Dùn an Fheurain*, 100.
[84] Ritchie 1970. *Iron Age Finds from Dùn an Fheurain*, 109.
[85] Megaw 1970. *Iron Age Finds from Dùn an Fheurain*, 107.

Ritchie suggests that the finds from the dun can be divided into two groups: one from the first few centuries A.D.; and the other from after 500 A.D.[86] He does not make it clear which period the antler fragment is most likely to relate to.

[86] Ritchie 1970. *Iron Age Finds from Dùn an Fheurain*, 102.

St. Martin's Cross, Iona

Figure 17. St. Martin's Cross, Iona, west face © RCAHMS. Licensor www.rcahms.gov.uk

St. Martin's Cross (Figure 17) stands on the island of Iona close to the abbey church at grid reference NM 2863 2450.[87] There appears to be no suggestion that the sculpture was ever anywhere other than Iona although the material was probably imported from mainland Argyll.[88]

[87] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*.
[88] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 17.

One of the scenes carved about half way down the west face of the cross shaft is described by Fisher as "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."[89] The string instrument has been described as a "vertical quadrilateral" with "one curved angle" in the R.C.A.H.M.S *Inventory*,[90] which suggests that the instrument is a frame harp with a curved forepillar rather than a lyre.[91] The *Inventory* also notes that only the outline of the pipe survives[92] explaining Fisher's uncertainty about its exact nature.

A range of dates to as late as the twelfth century have been suggested for St. Martin's Cross.[93] The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland have suggested that the middle or second half of the eighth century might be most appropriate.[94]

---

[89] Fisher 2001. *Early Medieval Sculpture*, 133.
[90] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 206.
[91] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 207.
[92] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 206.
[93] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 17.
[94] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 208.

St. Oran's Cross, Iona

The fragments of a cross formerly in St. Oran's Chapel at NM 286 244 are now found in the museum of the abbey on Iona (Figure 18).[95]

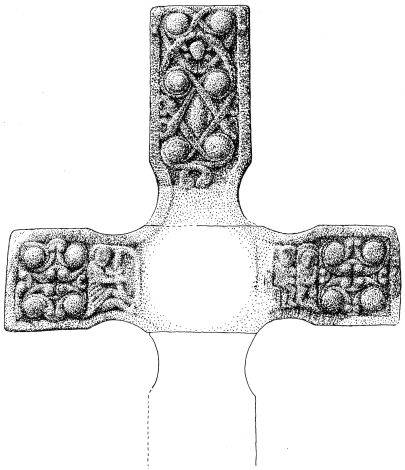

Figure 18. St. Oran's Cross, Iona, reverse © Crown Copyright: RCAHMS. Licensor www.rcahms.gov.uk

St. Oran's Cross is now thought to be the earliest of the Iona group of free standing crosses with a date or the middle or second half of the eighth century,[96] although dates as late as the twelfth century have been proposed.[97]

Fisher describes "a cloaked and seated harper" in the left constriction of the reverse face of the cross head.[98] The harp has been described as a "vertical quadrilateral with two rounded angles", although most of the forepillar has been lost through the flaking of the stone.[99] The harper appears to be seated on the ground and plays an instrument which is large enough to rest on his feet at the bottom and be level with the top of his head at the top. The harper is depicted in profile but with his head turned to face outwards towards the viewer.

---

[95] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *St Oran's Cross*
[96] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 197.
[97] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 17.
[98] Fisher 2001. *Early Medieval Sculpture*, 131.
[99] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 196.

Other Possible Sources

There are a number of literary sources which refer directly to the west of Scotland but none of them appear to be entirely useful to this enquiry. O'Curry quotes extensively from a gloss on the *Amra Coluimb Chille* which he translates as:

> Aidbsi was the name of the music of Cronán which the greater part of the men of Erin used to perform at this time; and Cepóc is its name with the men of Scotland, as the Scottish poet said:-
>
> "It is better to praise the king of Loch
> by performing our Cepóc."[100]

It seems likely that this gloss is the source of Farmer's assertion that the panegyric was called the cepóc in Scotland.[101]

Unfortunately O'Curry cites a manuscript version of the *Amra* owned by a Mr. Mason which may have been sold, according to a footnote in O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*.[102] It has not been possible to source this manuscript and so a discussion of the age, provenance and consequent usefulness of the source is not possible.

In the Irish story *Loinges Mac nDuíl Dermait* found in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*[103] a fourteenth-century compilation now housed at Trinity College Dublin, shelf mark H. 2. 16,[104] the hero, Cú Chulainn, visits the Western Isles of Scotland. When Cú Chulainn and his companions enter one of the halls they encounter they discover a large number of couches each with a tiompán hung over it.[105]

It has been argued that the material of the saga dates from the first century B.C.,[106] but the composition date of the *Loinges Mac nDuíl Dermait*, may be more likely to be the ninth century based on parallels with other works, the

---

[100] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 371.
[101] Farmer 1947. *History*, 20.
[102] O'Curry 1873. *Manuscript Materials*, 25.
[103] Hollo 2005. *Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait*, 1.
[104] O'Curry 1873. *Manuscript Materials*, 190.
[105] Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*, 67.
[106] Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*; Ó Concheanainn 1986. *Two Middle Irish Leinster Tales*, 54.

appearance of the Uí Maine in the story and certain linguistic features.[107] It therefore falls within the time-scale of this enquiry, but it is difficult to know whether it reflects contemporary practice in the Western Isles or Irish practice. We cannot know whether an instrument constructed, used and called the same as the Irish tiompán was in use in the Western Isles, whether an instrument recognisably similar was used and in this story given the name of the nearest Irish equivalent or whether a completely different practice was the norm.

The same difficulties apply to the reference to the tiompán in the *Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin*, the complete version of which also only appears in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*.[108] The story tells how Cano, son of Gartnán fled from the west coast of Scotland to Ireland accompanied by his court with a number of tiompáns.[109] The language of this version consists of a mixture of Old and Middle Irish word forms making dating difficult, but Binchy suggests that the scribe's exemplar could have dated from no earlier than the mid-ninth century.[110]

[107] Hollo 2005. *Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait*, 8.
[108] O'Curry 1873. *Manuscript Materials*, 190.
[109] Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*, 59.
[110] Binchy 1963. *Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin*, x-xiv.

Alba

These sources might best be considered as products of Alba due to their age and geographic location. They are included here, however, since methods for dating are not entirely secure and because they have appeared in previous discussions about music in Pictland and Dál Riata.

Abernethy Cross Shaft Fragment

Figure 19. Abernethy cross shaft fragment[111] © I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

The decoration of a fragment of a cross shaft found at Abernethy as part of a window frame of a house at grid reference NO 1911 1643[112] (now in the National Museum of Scotland accession number IB 290[113]), is described by Stevenson as: "each figure holds an object in its hands: (from left to right) a crozier with a curved tip, a pair of scales (?), a bunch of fruit or a scourge with four knotted lashes, a harp or noose, and again a crozier." (Figure 19).[114] The identification of the harp or noose reflects the fact that only the outline of the object is clear.

The record of the donation of the fragment to the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland labels it as tenth-century.[115] This may be due to the influence of the late Irish high crosses in the rows of figures.[116]

---

[111] Stevenson 1961. *The Inchyra Stone*, plate VIII.
[112] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Abernethy*.
[113] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Abernethy*.
[114] Stevenson 1961. *The Inchyra Stone*, 45.
[115] Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1956. *Donations*, 264.
[116] Stevenson 1961. *The Inchyra Stone*, 46.

Ardchattan Cross Slab

The Ardchattan cross slab (Figure 20) is now found in the grounds of Ardchattan Priory on the north side of Loch Etive at grid reference NM 9709 3491. This is not, however, thought to be its original location although it is thought to be from the locality.[117]

Figure 20. Ardchattan cross slab[118] © I am grateful to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to reproduce this image.

Allen describes the stone thus "on the rights of the shaft, in a vertical row one below the other, two beasts, three ecclesiastics with peaked hoods or cowls seated (one playing a harp, another the pipes, and the third an unrecognisable instrument, or possibly holding a crown in his hand),".[119] It has been suggested that the third instrument might be a short horn.[120]

---

[117] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Ardchattan Priory*
[118] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 378.
[119] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 378.
[120] Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps*, 161.

Stevenson argues for a tenth-century date for the carving based on Curle's identification of the slab's resemblance to Manx Norse-Christian slabs of the mid-tenth century.[121] A tenth- or eleventh-century date for the slab is reinforced by his observation that the pellets which appear at various points along the interlacing are akin to those characteristic of tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture of northern England.[122]

[121] Stevenson 1956. *Chronology and Relationships*, 93.
[122] Stevenson 1956. *Chronology and Relationships*, 94.

Lethendy Carving

This carved stone, thought to be a fragment of a cross slab, is found as a lintel in the tower-house at Lethendy, Perth and Kinross, grid reference NO 1405 4170.[123]

Figure 21. Lethendy carving © Crown Copyright: RCAHMS. Licensor www.rcahms.gov.uk

A standing man plays a relatively small triangular harp. Facing him a man plays triple pipes, the lower pipe being slightly longer than the other two. Between the two men is an object which Fisher and Greenhill suggest is an upturned barrel drum (Figure 21).[124]

Fisher and Greenhill argue for a tenth-century date for the Lethendy carving based on its close connections to tenth-century Irish examples at Monasterboice and Clonmacnoise in particular.[125] Hall on the other hand argues for a ninth-century date based on the relationship of the carving to those at Meigle, and on the proximity of the stone's current location to Clunie where several ninth-century brooches have been found.[126]

---

[123] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Lethendy House*.
[124] Fisher and Greenhill 1974. *Two Unrecorded Carved Stones*, 239.
[125] Fisher and Greenhill 1974. *Two Unrecorded Carved Stones*, 239.
[126] Hall 2005 cited in Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Lethendy House*.

Sueno's Stone or The Forres Pillar

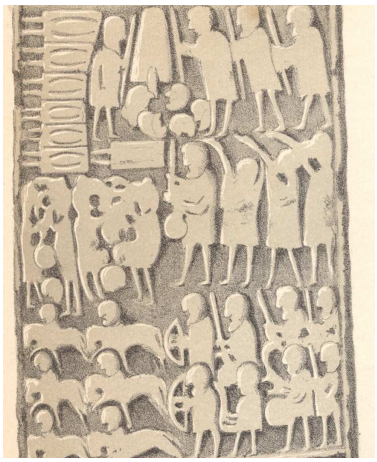

Figure 22. Sueno's Stone or the Forres Pillar, detail of reverse[127]

Sueno's stone is found in the parish of Rafford, Moray at grid reference NJ 0465 5953. The stone is not set in its original socket,[128] but there do not seem to be any suggestions that it might previously have been sited elsewhere.

Three figures appear to blow slightly flaring tubes pointing upwards which are classified as horns or trumpets by De Geer (Figure 22).[129] Duncan, Sellar and Jackson all suggest that the stone depicts a real battle of some description.[130] Which battle is depicted, however, is a matter of debate and has led to various date ranges being suggested. Sellar has argued for a ninth-century date, suggesting that the stone commemorates a ninth-century victory of the Dál Riata over the Picts.[131] Duncan, however, suggests that the stone commemorates the death of Dubh mac Mhaoil Chaluim in 966, and that it is therefore likely to be mid-tenth-century.[132] Jackson, like Sellar, argues for a mid-ninth-century date but based on the style of the decoration.[133] Excavations around the stone have yielded no evidence which might help dating.[134]

---

[127] Stuart 1856. *Sculptured stones of Scotland*, Vol. 1, plate XVIII.
[128] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 2008. *Sueno's Stone*.
[129] De Geer 1985. *Earl, Saint, Bishop, Skald*, annotation 26 to map IV, page 53.
[130] Sellar 1993. *Sueno's Stone*; Jackson 1993. *Sueno's Stone*.
[131] Sellar 1993. *Sueno's Stone*, 107.
[132] Duncan 1984 cited in Sellar 1993. *Sueno's Stone*, 112.
[133] Jackson 1993. *Sueno's Stone*, 91.
[134] McCullagh 1991. *Sueno's Stone*, 38.

Other Possible Sources

Farmer cites laws supposedly made by Macbeth and Cinaed mac Ailpín in his discussion.[135] These are taken from Bellenden's translation of Boece's *Scotorum historia a prima gentis origine libri xvii* which was published in Paris in 1527. James V, to whom Boece dedicated the work, commissioned Bellenden to make a translation, the second edition of which was published in Edinburgh sometime between 1535 and 1540.[136]

The passage of the law supposedly made by Cinaed mac Ailpín reads: "All vagabundus, fulis, bardis, scudlaris and idill personis salbe brynt on Þe cheik, and skurgit throw Þe toun."[137] while the law attributed to Macbeth reads "Fulis, mentralis, bardis and all sik idill pepill, bot gif Þai be specialye licent be Þe King, salbe compellit to seyk sum craft to wyn Þair leving. Gif Þai refuse, Þai salbe drawin like horſs Þe pleuch & harrois."[138]

Whether such laws were made by either is debateable. Boece's *Scotorum Historia* is heavily based on Bower's *Scotichronicon*,[139] which, in the sections relevant to Cinaed mac Ailpín, draws extensively on Fordun's *Chronicle*.[140] Both Fordun and Bower note that MacAlpin made some laws "whereof some remain to this day,"[141] but neither go into anymore detail than this, and neither do the similar inserts in the *Chronicle of Melrose*.[142] No reference to such laws by Macbeth appears in Fordun's or Bower's work. Boece refers to a number of other writers of whom no work survives but Royan approaches these writers with caution arguing that forgery of writings was not unknown at the time.[143] These laws will not be considered in this discussion due to their doubtful authenticity.

---

[135] Farmer 1947. *History*, 24-25.
[136] Royan 2004. *Boece*, paragraphs 6-9.
[137] Boece 1941. *The Chronicles of Scotland*, 51.
[138] Boece 1941. *The Chronicles of Scotland*, 153.
[139] Royan 1998. *Scotorum Historia and the Chronicles of Scotland*, 139.
[140] Bower 1989. *Scotichronicon*, 451.
[141] Fordun 1872. *John of Fordun's Chronicle*, 139.
[142] Anderson 1922. *Sources of Scottish History*, 270.
[143] Royan 2004. *Boece*, paragraph 11.

Discussion

Different commentators have extracted radically different information from these sources: some have seen the depictions of harps in sculpture as evidence of instruments that the Picts and Dál Riata would have used, whereas others have seen these same depictions only as copies of an iconographical model. Sanger and Kinnaird argue that although harps only appear on Class II stones with the advent of Christian imagery in Pictland, the examples of triangular harps occur in areas of Pictland furthest from Irish and Christian influence and that this makes it more likely that these instruments were part of the native Pictish culture.[144] They suggest that the introduction of Christian iconography expanded the range of subjects stone carvers could portray.[145] This view of the triangular harp as a Pictish innovation is shared by Porter.[146]

Sanger and Kinnaird suggest that the depictions of harps on Pictish sculptures show that a large harp was the norm in Pictland, but this seems hard to justify. Only the Monifieth, Dupplin, and St. Andrews sculptures show players, whereas the other harps appear as isolated instruments (see Figure 10, Figure 7, Figure 12). Monifieth and Dupplin both depict large harps, the top of the harp is level with the head of the seated player, the bottom of the instrument either resting on the ground or on the player's feet. The St Andrews fragments show a much smaller instrument.

It is difficult to determine the size of the representations without a player. The carver of the Nigg stone (Figure 11) may have represented the items on the reverse of the stone in some sort of proportion, the four human figures are all of a similar size and roughly in proportion to the sheep and dogs depicted. The pony would also be in proportion if, as suggested by Beck, the ponies depicted on Pictish stones are Eriskay ponies.[147] If this was the case, and the harp was also depicted in proportion then it would be smaller than the Monifieth and Dupplin

---

[144] Sanger and Kinnaird 1992. *Tree of Strings*, 20.
[145] Sanger and Kinnaird 1992. *Tree of Strings*, 20.
[146] Porter 1983. *Harps, Pipes and Silent Stones*, 259-261.
[147] Cited in Sanger and Kinnaird 1992. *Tree of Strings*, 23.

examples. The middle portion of the reverse face of the Aldbar stone (Figure 6) appears to depict its people and animals in proportion to each other, but the clerics at the top appear disproportionately large, as does the creature at the bottom of the same panel. If the harp was in proportion to the people then it would appear to be approximately the same size as the Monifieth and Dupplin examples, but on the whole it does not seem safe to draw any conclusions about the size of harps on the basis of the Aldbar and Nigg stones.

Of the six depictions of harps from Pictland then only two can safely be assumed to depict large instruments, the uncertainty about the size of the four others undermines Sanger and Kinnaird's argument.

Sanger and Kinnaird use the assumption that the large harp would have been the norm to suggest that the apparently light construction of these large instruments means that horsehair seems a likely stringing material, since the tension required by metal strings would be too great for the frame. [148] Such an argument does not stand up, however, when the size assumption on which it is based is questioned.

Technical information about the instruments depicted is even more difficult to glean from the sculptures of instruments in Dál Riata. The stringed instruments depicted on the St. Martin's and St. Oran's Crosses (Figure 17 and Figure 18) are generally described as quadrangular harps,[149] but similarly shaped instruments depicted on Irish crosses have been identified by Roe as poor copies of depictions of lyres.[150] The possible lyre wrest-plank discussed by Megaw could provide support for Roe's interpretation but only if the nature of the antler fragment can be more positively identified as part of a lyre.

The depiction of the possible triple pipe on the St. Martin's Cross is also difficult to draw technical information from. Fisher and Greenhill suggest that the Lethendy triple pipe example is a reed pipe, comparing it with the modern

---

[148] Sanger and Kinnaird 1992. *Tree of Strings*, 23.
[149] See for example Sanger and Kinnaird 1992. *Tree of Strings*, 14.
[150] Roe 1949. *The "David Cycle"*, 55.

Sardinian *launeddas*.[151] On the other hand, representations of triple pipes at Clonmacnoise (Figure 35) and Ardchattan (Figure 20) are described by Roe as panpipes.[152] A particular difficulty with the St. Martin's Cross is that only the outline remains and so its identification even as some form of triple pipe is conjectural.

The constraints imposed on the depictions of musical instruments by the decorative schemes of the sculptures and the constraints of the medium make it very difficult to extract detailed technical information from these sculptures.

All of these harp representations have been shown by Allen, Henderson and Trench-Jellicoe to be connected with Davidic iconography. On the Aldbar and Nigg stones the harps are pictured close to symbols such as a shepherd's staff or sheep and a man fighting a lion.[153] The Monifieth stone shows Christ and a number of saints, including David seated on a chair playing a harp,[154] and the Dupplin harper could be linked to the representation of David the lion killer on another face of the cross.[155] David is pictured with sheep on the St Andrews fragment.[156] The depiction of musicians on the St. Martin's Cross has been taken to represent David and his musicians, [157] and the St. Oran's Cross instrumentalist has also been taken for David.[158]

The association of the harp with David may suggest something about the status of the harp in Pictish and Dalriadic society. The image of David as king was an important one as can be seen by the number of representations of various other aspects of his character on sculptures in Pictland.[159] This suggests that triangular harps of this type in Pictland would have been high status instruments due to their connection with David. If, as Sanger and Kinnaird suggest, Davidic

---

[151] Fisher and Greenhill 1974. *Two Unrecorded Carved Stones*, 240.
[152] Roe 1949. *The "David Cycle"*, 55.
[153] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 80 and 254-246.
[154] Allen and Anderson 1903. *Early Christian Monuments*, Vol. III, 265.
[155] Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps*, 160.
[156] Robertson 1979. *A Fragment of Stone-carving*, 259.
[157] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 92; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 207.
[158] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 105.
[159] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 109.

iconography was imported into Pictland and Dál Riata and adapted to depict a local instrument,[160] it would be reasonable to suggest that the current highest status chordophone would be chosen as appropriate for this high status figure. The presence of decorated harps on monuments at Brechin and Forteviot (the original location of the Dupplin cross) has also been taken to show that the harp was a high status instrument.[161]

The appearance of all these harps in a Davidic context has, however, led Henderson to challenge the very idea that these representations demonstrate that the instruments depicted were used in Pictland and Dál Riata. Henderson draws a number of parallels between the Davidic iconography found on the different sculptures to suggest that the images of harps throughout Pictland all depend on a single model.[162]

Henderson also argues that a model of Davidic imagery lies behind other depictions of musicians, such as the trumpeters on the Hilton of Cadboll sculpture (Figure 9), who are positioned behind one another in such a way as to give the impression of depth of field.[163] This arrangement of the figures and similarities in the drapery of the trumpeters found on the Hilton of Cadboll stone [164] and the drapery of the trumpeters in the David miniature of the *Vespasian Psalter* (Figure 23) suggest for Henderson a model of David and his musicians introduced to Pictland from the south.[165] The model from which Henderson argues the harp iconography is drawn could have entered Pictland from the south in the same way.

---

[160] Sanger and Kinnaird 1992. *Tree of Strings*, 20.
[161] Trench-Jellicoe 1997. *Pictish and Related Harps*, 164.
[162] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 111.
[163] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 91.
[164] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 91.
[165] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 111.

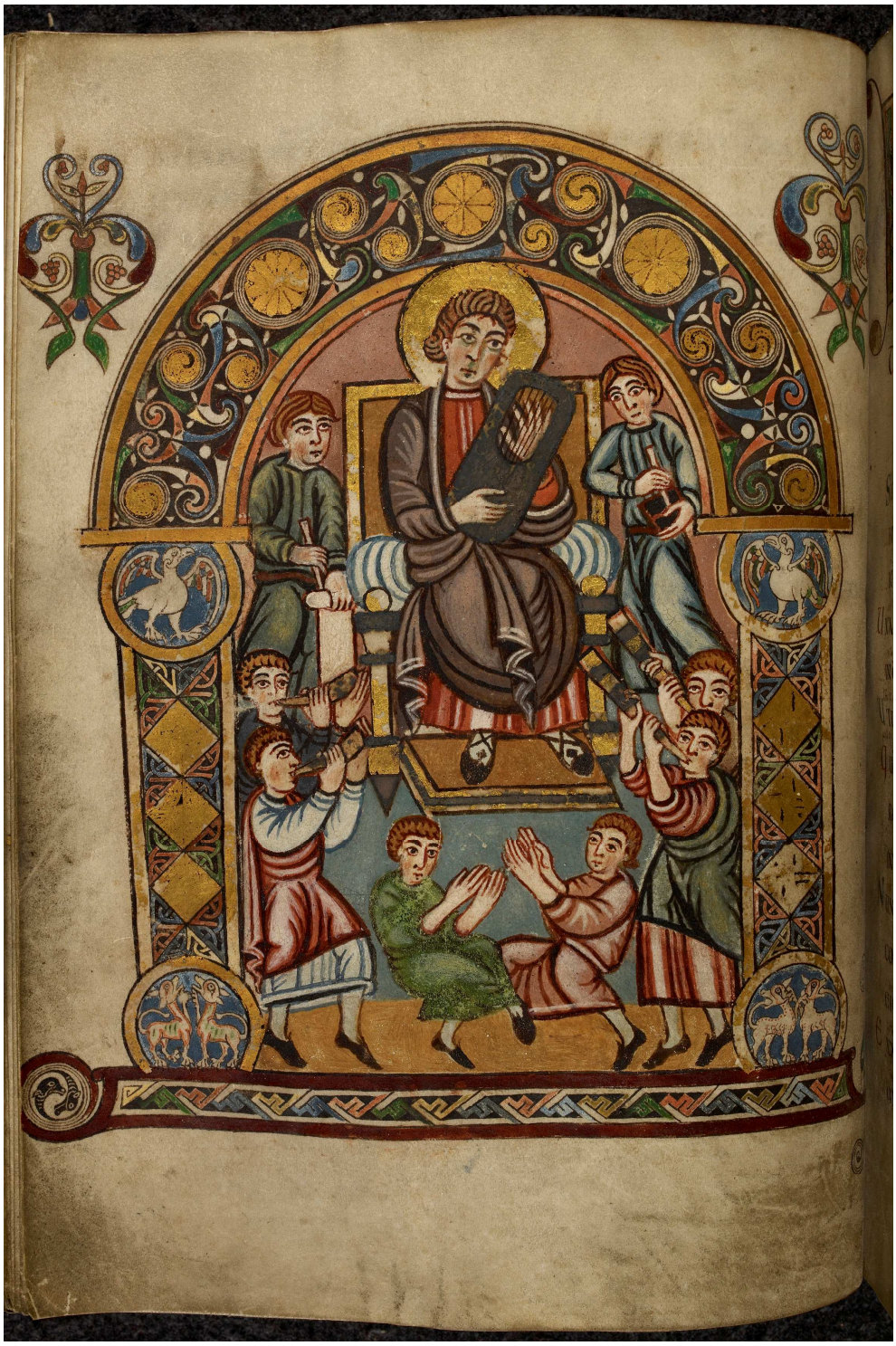

Figure 23. David miniature from the *Vespasian Psalter* © British Library Board (Cotton Vespasian A. I, f.30v)

Henderson supports this with a discussion of the relative chronology of triangular harp depictions. There is one representation of a triangular harp from England,

on a pillar thought to be a cross shaft at Marsham in North Yorkshire (Figure 24).[166] Lawson's study of this carving concluded that it probably dated from the early ninth century, the same period from which the earliest extant drawing of a triangular harp (in the Utrecht Psalter) is thought to date.[167] On the basis of his study Lawson argued that it was possible that the new Anglo-Saxon harp of this triangular type was present in England as early as the beginning of the ninth century,[168] a period which some writers have suggested for the erection of the Nigg stone.[169]

Figure 24. The Marsham Column © Reproduced courtesy of George Henderson

The argument that triangular harp depictions in Pictland can only have arisen from an imported model therefore hinges on our being able to date the carvings in question. The Dupplin cross is unusual in containing an inscription which allows accurate dating. The dating of other sculptures is problematic and taking different dates for some of the sculptures can significantly undermine Henderson's argument. For example, Henderson extends her argument to suggest that the representations of harps on Iona must have been borrowed from Pictland. The compliers of the R.C.A.H.M.S. *Inventory* suggest that the Iona crosses form an early experimental group and that sculptors may have had to be

[166] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 98.
[167] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 110.
[168] Lawson 1981, cited in Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 110.
[169] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 110.

imported from Pictland where there was such a tradition,[170] providing a mechanism for the introduction of Pictish images to Iona. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland also suggests, however, that these crosses date to the middle or second half of the eighth-century,[171] which, in this scenario, would push the earliest representations of harps in Pictland back to this time, earlier than the Marsham representation. In the absence of any extant earlier representations of harps from Anglo-Saxon England it would not seem reasonable to continue to assume that the model of the instrument must have been imported from the south. Unfortunately it seems unlikely that such reliable dating will ever be achieved.

A further objection to Henderson's assumption that imported models must underlie all the representations of harps is Buckley's argument that there are no models for the harper seated on the ground, such as appear on the Iona crosses, and this, combined with a comparison of later drawings, suggests that these may represent actual practice.[172]

Henderson's argument also denies the possibility that the Picts and Dál Riata were creative. Nees has made a compelling case for considering the role of individual creativity when examining medieval art based on examples in which scribes have expressed pride in their work, in colophons, for example.[173] There seems no good reason why this could not equally apply to sculpture in Scotland. It could be argued that the use of the trumpet or horn players, whom Henderson argues must have been cut from a David and musicians scene, in the hunting scenes on the Aberlemno and Hilton of Cadboll sculptures[174] shows a level of invention and manipulation of a model. Henderson also appears to be happy to credit the designers of the St. Martin's and St. Oran's Crosses with a level of creativity when she suggests that the model of David the shepherd sitting on the ground passed from Pictland to Iona, where it was combined with a native triple-

---

[170] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 18.
[171] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 208 amd 197.
[172] Buckley 2003. *Representations of Musicians*, 225.
[173] Nees 1992. *Originality of Early Medieval Artists*, 83-88.
[174] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 91.

piper to form a simple David-and-musicians scene. [175] The triple-pipes have also been seen as a native instrument by other writers such as Fisher and Greenhill who, in their discussion of a harp and triple pipes scene found at Lethendy, argue that the instruments depicted are likely to be ones known to the sculptor. They contend that since percussion and reed instruments were frowned upon by the Western Church there is little likelihood of there having been an exemplar from which to copy such a scene. [176]

Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence does not help to support either case since there is no archaeological evidence of the types of harps or triple pipes, but there is not any evidence of alternative chordophones or pipes either (with the exception of the possible wrest-plank, but the problems with this have already been discussed). Archaeological finds such as the Burghead horn mount (Figure 13) are also difficult to use since they are small and transportable. The close links between the Burghead horn mount and the Anglo-Saxon Trewhiddle hoard in form, method of construction and style of ornamentation, lead Graham-Campbell to conclude that the piece must have belonged to an Anglo-Saxon warrior, and that Viking intervention should be considered for the mount's presence at Burghead.[177]

Henderson's introduction of the possibility that the sculptors of these depictions of musical instruments in Pictland and Dál Riata may have been copying iconographical models rather than instruments used in Pictland and Dál Riata is compelling. The use of a model does not, however, automatically preclude some element of creativity on the part of the sculptor, and Henderson applies something of a double standard when she permits the possibility of innovative alteration of the model in Dál Riata but not in Pictland. Sanger and Kinnaird's suggestion that the introduction of Davidic iconography may have provided an opportunity for sculptors to depict harps and other instruments used in Pictland and Dál Riata in their sculptures, and the importance Henderson attaches to iconographical models are not mutually exclusive. An impasse in the

---

[175] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 105-106.
[176] Fisher and Greenhill 1974. *Two Unrecorded Carved Stones*, 239-240.
[177] Graham-Campbell 1973. *The Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon Horn-Mount*, 51.

interpretation of the musical evidence from Scotland before the mid-ninth century has therefore been reached and so different approaches to overcoming this problem need to be tested.

A number of methods have been suggested. Purser, for example, built on the work of earlier folk song collectors such as Alexander Carmichael's collection *Carmina Gadelica,* and Bertrand Harris Bronson's *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads* when he suggested that Scottish folk songs may have roots in the medieval period.[178] Such ideas are attractive as they represent some of the few possible hopes of getting close to what the music may have actually sounded like. The problem with this approach is that the musical evidence is easily manipulated without leaving any traces of that manipulation. Carmichael has been criticised for a tendency to choose the most archaic word forms when a number of versions of the same song were amalgamated into one in *Carmina Gadelica,* giving a false impression of the age of some songs,[179] and the possibility of such choice extends to modern singers. Bertrand Harris Bronson's suggestion that the tune of *King Orfeo* represents a "whisper from the Middle Ages"[180] relies on the assumption of intermediate stages in the transmission of songs from the medieval period to today, but there is a lack of extant evidence of any such stages.

Farmer attempts to overcome the limitations of the source material from Scotland by using Irish sources. The limitations of his approach in terms of the lack of differentiation between different cultural groups have already been outlined, but Farmer's use of Irish sources is based not only on the idea of an homogenous Scottish culture but also on the idea that the Dál Riata migrated to Scotland from Ireland.[181] This version of history has long been the received view, based on entries in the *Annals of Tigernach* and the *Senchus Fer nAlban*,[182] but has now

---

[178] Purser 1992. *Scotland's Music*, 55.
[179] Robertson 1970. *Studies*, 230.
[180] Bronson 1959. *Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads*, 275.
[181] Farmer states in a discussion of Irish references to the west of Scotland that "Of course it has to be recognised that the Scots of Dalriada were their own kith and kin." Farmer 1947. *History*, 18.
[182] In the *Annals of Tigernach*, an entry around AD 500 reads, "'*Feargus mor rnac earca cum gente dalriada partem britania tenuit et ibi inortus est*' - 'Fergus Mor, mac Erc, with the nation

been challenged. Campbell argues that there is little archaeological evidence to suggest a mass migration from Ireland to Dál Riata[183] citing: the lack of distinctive Irish settlement types, the rath and cashel, in Argyll, despite the number of sites that are geographically similar to those in Ireland where these types occur;[184] the lack of a Brittonic (P-Celtic) substratum in place names, which would be likely if the previous inhabitants had been P- rather than Q-Celtic speakers;[185] and the lack of signs of change in the settlement of the hilltop duns of Argyll.[186]

It has been suggested that the migration from Ireland may have involved a dynastic take over, rather than a large scale movement of people.[187] Campbell however counters this by arguing that it was usual for ruling elites at the time to distinguish themselves by wearing special jewellery, and that since the characteristic zoomorphic penannular brooch common in Ireland is not found in Dál Riata there is little evidence for such a take over.[188]

Campbell's preferred explanation is that the Dál Riata were natives of Argyll and that the evidence which suggests either a mass migration or a take over by a rival Irish dynasty stems solely from tenth-century political ambitions. Recent work on the *Annals of Tigernach* and the *Senchus Fer nAlban* suggests that the entries regarding the Irish origins of the Dál Riata may have been inserted in the tenth or eleventh century in order to bolster contemporary claims to land in Ireland.[189]

Although Campbell's ideas have not achieved universal acceptance[190] they do cast doubt on Farmer's initial premise. The nature of the cultural connections between Dál Riata and Ireland therefore needs re-examining as it can no longer automatically be assumed that their cultures would have been identical.

---

of Dal Riada, took (or held) part of Britain, and died there'" Campbell 2001. *Were the Scots Irish?*, 288.
[183] Campbell 2001. *Were the Scots Irish?*, 287.
[184] Campbell 2001. *Were the Scots Irish?*, 287.
[185] Campbell 2001. *Were the Scots Irish?*, 289.
[186] Campbell 2003. *The Origins of the Scots of Dál Riata*, 408.
[187] Alcock 1970. *Was there an Irish sea culture-province*, 56.
[188] Campbell 2001. *Were the Scots Irish?*, 287.
[189] Campbell 2003. *The Origins of the Scots of Dál Riata*, 408.
[190] O'Neill 2005. *Extent of Scottish Dalriada*, fn. 1.

Despite these reassessments, Farmer's ideas about the potential of patterns of cultural influence do seem to offer a possible way to break the current deadlock. The patterns of cultural influence on which Farmer based his account have been shown above to be somewhat outdated and so more recent discussions on patterns of cultural influence need to be brought to bear on the consideration of music. If cultural influences can be seen on the different groups in Scotland this could potentially widen the source base relevant to music in Scotland before the mid-ninth century. Theories of cultural interaction which might underpin such an approach will now be examined.

Models of Cultural Interaction

Farmer's idea that patterns of cultural influence might be able to illuminate patterns of musical influence and so increase the source base relies on several key assumptions: firstly, that there is a concept of culture as a distinct entity which can be identified both by its music and by other potentially more tangible objects; secondly, that it is possible to know the distribution of cultural groups in the past; and thirdly, that it is possible to suggest how different cultures may have interacted in the past.

The meaning of the term "culture" can be difficult to pin down, and the range of definitions given by the *Oxford English Dictionary* reveals that the definition of the term has changed both over time and with the context in which it is used.[1] The anthropologist Tylor defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[2] Archaeologists such as Crawford and Childe work with a similar definition but with the important addition of material objects, Crawford defining culture as "the sum of all the ideals and activities and material which characterise a group of human beings."[3] Childe describes such material objects as the expression of culture,[4] or as the sociologists Inglis and Hughson express it, as symbols and artefacts which embody the ideas, values and beliefs of a culture.[5]

Music can be considered one of these artefacts. Musical instruments have been described as "symbolic and emblematic of peoples and places" and as "embodiments of the values, politics, and aesthetics of the community of musicians that they serve.",[6] and musical systems in general as "one of several

---

[1] Oxford English Dictionary Online 2008. *Culture, n.*
[2] Schneider 1973. *The Idea of Culture*, 118.
[3] Crawford 1921. *Man and His Past*, 79.
[4] Childe 1951. *Social Evolution*, 33.
[5] Inglis and Hughson 2003. *Confronting Cultures*, 5.
[6] Dawe 2003. *The Cultural Study of Musical Instruments*274 and 275-276.

different sets of symbols by which people learn to make public sense of their feelings and social life.".[7]

Since material artefacts can be seen as an expression of culture, the geographical distribution of a group of people who share a culture can be seen in the archaeological record as "an assemblage of associated traits that occur repeatedly."[8] Childe argues that then:

> Once a few well-associated assemblages have been observed to establish that a given type of pottery, say, is characteristic of a culture or society, then, whenever we find it in another grave or house-foundation, we know that the persons buried or living there belonged to the same society.[9]

The implication of this is that other artefacts of the same culture can be assumed to have been used by the inhabitants even if archaeological evidence of them is not found at the particular site, because, as Childe puts it, the artefacts are "related as elements in a functioning whole."[10] If a certain type of metalwork or sculpture is shown to be distinctive of a cultural group and a certain type of music is also found in association with these in some areas, then from this argument it follows that, in other places where evidence of these types of sculpture and metalwork is found, the type of music which would have existed there can be inferred from the evidence from elsewhere. This underlies the assumption often made by ethnomusicologists that musical distributions would "coincide with other anthropologically defined areas."[11]

Cultural interaction in the past has been inferred by archaeologists from the geographical distribution of material culture, based on the assumptions that social boundaries hinder the movement of objects and conversely that a higher degree of cultural interaction results in greater material cultural similarities.[12] If the metalwork, sculpture, or language of one culture also appears in another culture then it is possible that the two cultures are interacting in some way which could have implications for the interaction of musical cultures.

---

[7] Blacking 1995. *Music, Culture, and Experience*228.
[8] Childe 1951. *Social Evolution*, 30.
[9] Childe 1951. *Social Evolution*, 31.
[10] Childe 1951. *Social Evolution*, 16.
[11] Nettl 1964. *Theory and Method*, 253.
[12] Hodder 1982. *Symbols in Action*, 8-9.

In addition to the migration model used by Farmer and undermined by Campbell's research there are two basic models to explain how similar ideas appear in different cultures:[13] the diffusion model, in which new technologies and cultural practices arise in one culture and then spread to other cultures that it is in contact with;[14] and the innovation model, based on Goldenweiser's principle of limited possibilities which can be summarised as "If a problem of widespread nature had few practical solutions, similar forms might well be invented at geographically widespread locations."[15]

The model at work is of critical importance to an examination of musical culture. If a process of cultural diffusion can be shown to be occurring by an examination of metalwork styles for example, then the likelihood of a similar process occurring in music seems high. Information about music in one culture could then be used to suggest what music in the other culture may have been like. If a process of innovation is occurring then it becomes more difficult to use information from one culture to suggest the nature of music in another because it would be almost impossible to frame the nature of the problem which would lead to the development of, for example, a harp or similar stringed instrument and to suggest that the same problem would have arisen in different cultures and been solved in the same way. It is therefore important to examine methods of determining which process might most accurately describe the form of cultural interaction.

Otis T. Mason suggested in 1886 that the process at work could be discovered by looking at the number of causes of an art (art here referring to activities as diverse as basket weaving and harpoon making). At a basic level these causes consist of the stresses which made the art necessary and the resources available to meet that need, but Mason broke these down further into categories such as the raw materials available, the implements available to shape those raw materials,

---

[13] Gamble 2001. *Archaeology*, 23.
[14] Prine Pauls 2008. *Culture Area*, http://search.eb.com/eb/article-274925.
[15] Goldenweiser 1913. *The Principle of Limited Possibilities*, summarised in Hägerstrand 1988. *Modelling of Culture Transfer and Transformation*, 220.

the possible forms that the raw materials could be made into known to the inventor, and the inventor's motivation.[16] Mason suggested that arts which involved the fewest causes had the greatest chance of being independently invented in different areas, and conversely that those which had the greatest number of causes were more likely to have been invented in one place and then spread to others.[17] The causes of apparently similar arts therefore have to be closely scrutinised to determine how similar they actually are. Mason cites an example of a particular basket weaving method which appears very similar in technique but is different in form, function and materials used, suggesting independent innovation rather than diffusion.[18]

Another way of determining which of the processes is likely to have occurred is by examining the possibility of two cultures being able to interact. The classic anthropological work on the subject of culture is Clark Wissler's study of the cultures of indigenous American tribes. One of the factors which Wissler suggested led to boundaries between cultural areas was geographic barriers such as the Rocky Mountains. The Rocky Mountains not only represent a change in environmental zone, a factor Wissler saw as important in defining cultural areas,[19] they also act as a barrier to communication, a factor which Hägerstrand notes has often been seen as important in accounting for the distribution of different cultural groups.[20] For diffusion to occur there need to be specific points of contact between two cultural groups; this can occur through trade[21] or in the case of musical styles by teaching or the movement of individual musicians.[22] Diffusion is more likely to have occurred than innovation in cultures which have a high level of contact.

Wissler also suggested that diffusion of cultural practices was affected by the comparative nature of the culture of the tribes involved. Diffusion occurred more readily between groups who already had cultural similarities, or as he

---

[16] Mason 1886. *Resemblances in Arts Widely Separated*, 248-249.
[17] Mason 1886. *Resemblances in Arts Widely Separated*, 249.
[18] Mason 1886. *Resemblances in Arts Widely Separated*, 250-251.
[19] Prine Pauls 2008. *Culture Area*, http://search.eb.com/eb/article-274926.
[20] Hägerstrand 1988. *Modelling of Culture Transfer and Transformation*, 229.
[21] Hägerstrand 1988. *Modelling of Culture Transfer and Transformation*, 222.
[22] Nettl 1964. *Theory and Method*, 234.

termed it, who were of the same "culture pattern".[23] A similar idea is expressed by Childe who argued that devices cannot be adopted from one culture into another unless the device fits into the culture already there. Cars, he argues for example, are unlikely to be adopted into cultures which do not already have tracks wide enough to drive on or an infrastructure which could be adapted to transport fuel for those cars.[24]

Diffusion seems the most likely explanation for cultural similarities, then, when the causes of an object or process are many and complex, when the cultures in question are geographically close and there is evidence of specific points of contact between the cultures, and when the cultures are similar in other ways. If the causes of an object or process are few, cultures are geographically divided and appear not to be in contact with each other, and if the cultures in question are different in a number of ways, innovation may be the likely explanation for similarities between cultures.

In order to suggest whether patterns of cultural influence can shed any light on music in Scotland before the mid-ninth century we need to examine the cultural evidence available and use it to suggest which model of cultural interaction most clearly explains similarities between the cultures.

[23] Prine Pauls 2008. *Culture Area*, http://search.eb.com/eb/article-274926.
[24] Childe 1951. *Social Evolution*, 37.

Cultural Interaction in Scotland

Farmer's account of musical cultural interaction in Scotland relied on similarities between Irish culture and culture in Scotland, and such similarities can be seen: in poetry, for example, links between Irish and Dalriadic poetry can be seen in the implicit relationships between the poet and God or the saints that some of the poems are addressed to, which mirrors the relationship between secular poets and their earthly patrons,[1] and in the listing of the patron's titles, such as appears in the poem *Adiutor Laborantium* composed on Iona.[2] Similar forms of brooch and evidence of their manufacture have been found in Pictland, Ireland and Dál Riata.

An examination of sculpture and metalwork in Dál Riata and Pictland, however, shows that there are strong similarities with Anglo-Saxon culture which should be considered too. The decorative forms used in stone sculpture for example show similar forms in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, Pictland and Dál Riata: vine-scroll ornament is found in sculpture throughout Pictland, on the sculptures at Hilton of Cadboll and Dupplin for example. It is also found on Northumbrian sculpture, for example, at Ruthwell and Jedburgh (Figure 25).[3]

Figure 25. Vine-scroll on the Ruthwell Cross (left) and the Jedburgh slab (right)[4] © 'Pictish Vine-Scroll Ornament' from *From the Stone-Age to the 'Forty-Five: Studies Presented to R B K Stevenson, Former Keeper, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland* edited by A. O'Connor and D. Clarke is reproduced by permission of John Donald, an imprint of Birlinn Ltd. www.birlinn.co.uk

---

[1] Clancy 1999. *The Cult of Saints in Scotland*, 21.
[2] Clancy and Markus 1995. *Iona: The Earliest Poetry*, 73-74.
[3] Henderson 1983. *Pictish Vine-Scroll Ornament*, 246.
[4] Henderson 1983. *Pictish Vine-Scroll Ornament*, 253.

Henderson and Henderson see the particular square shape of the cross head and the "slender interlocked beasts" depicted on the arms of the cross on the Nigg cross slab paralleled in the Anglo-Saxon Lindisfarne Gospels,[5] while the palm trees surrounding the saints depicted in the pediment above the cross are argued by Henderson and Henderson to represent the adoption and adaptation of the vine-scroll of early Anglo-Saxon sculpture (Figure 26).[6] Similarly, Snake-and-boss ornament is found in Pictland on sculptures such as that at Nigg, and in Dál Riata on the St. Martin's and St. Oran's crosses on Iona (Figure 17 and Figure 18).[7]

Figure 26. Nigg cross slab, front (© Courtesy of RCAHMS. Licensor www.rchams.gov.uk) compared with an extract from the Lindisfarne Gospels (© British Library Board (Cotton Nero D. IV, f.26v))

If these similarities can be explained by diffusion of Irish or Anglo-Saxon influence into Dál Riata and Pictland then Irish and Anglo-Saxon musical culture could also be assumed to be diffusing into Pictland and Dál Riata, Irish and

[5] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 41.
[6] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 53.
[7] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 18.

Anglo-Saxon musical sources could then be used to fill in the gaps between the few surviving Scottish sources.

The previous discussion suggested that diffusion was more likely to account for cultural similarities when cultural groups were geographically close, had a high level of contact, and already shared a number of cultural traits. Mason's idea that the number of causes of a particular art (as he put it) could determine whether its occurrence in two different cultures was the result of innovation or diffusion was also touched upon but it seems unlikely to be helpful in this particular context. In order to accurately assess the causes of, for example, a brooch form found in Dál Riata and Ireland would require knowledge of the maker's intention and the owner's use, not just of factors such as the raw materials used or manufacturing process which can be transmitted through the archaeological record. The likelihood of the other factors occurring will now be examined.

There has been extensive debate about the extent to which Ireland and the west coast of Scotland (and the other areas which border on the Irish Sea such as Wales and Cornwall) could be considered one "cultural province" during this period. In support of such a view Alcock notes the similar forms of crucibles, slotted-and-pointed iron tools and three-pronged socketed tools found around the Irish Sea: in Ireland; at Dunadd in Dál Riata; and in Glamorgan in Wales;[8] while Davies' discussion of Latin charters from the sixth to the twelfth centuries leads him to conclude that there was a clearly defined variant Latin charter tradition encompassing the areas around the Irish Sea.[9]

Alcock himself, however, largely rejects the idea of a completely homogenous cultural province, noting that while iron knives are found on both sides of the Irish Sea, and could therefore be argued to indicate some sort of cultural province, they are also found in continental Europe as far east as the Danube river and so do not indicate anything about the specific relationship between Ireland and her neighbours around the Irish Sea.[10] Some of the similarities between the two

[8] Alcock 1970. *Was there an Irish sea culture-province,* 64.
[9] Davies 1982. *The Latin Charter-tradition,* 280.
[10] Alcock 1970. *Was there an Irish sea culture-province,* 64.

cultures may also not be as similar as they first appear; while the characteristic settlement types of Ireland and Dál Riata, raths and cashels on the one hand and duns on the other, are all circular, they are in many ways very different,[11] and there are also aspects of the cultures which are completely different, annular brooches, simple brooch pins and 'latchet' dress fasteners, for example, are all found in Ireland but not in Dál Riata.[12]

The similarities between these areas may be accounted for by their development from a common language and culture of the late Bronze Age,[13] leading to their cultures being linked into one of Wissler's "cultural patterns", and therefore more predisposed towards cultural diffusion between each other.

The impact of geographical barriers on diffusion may be a particular consideration in the Scottish context given the mountainous nature of much of its geography. The band of the central Highlands, the *Druim Alban*, forms a substantial barrier between the east and west parts of Scotland, the difficulty of crossing which has been noted by Campbell.[14] The geography of the west coast with its long peninsulas between numerous sea lochs also makes transport very difficult except by boat,[15] in which case parts of Ireland are only twenty miles away, making Ireland much more accessible from Dál Riata than Pictland.[16] This relative ease of communication across the water and the difficulty in crossing the central Highlands has been suggested as the reason for the divergence of P- and Q-Celtic along the line of the central Highlands,[17] showing the potential impact of the geography of Scotland on cultural interaction.

Contact between Dál Riata and Ireland cannot just be assumed by the nature of the geography of the west coast of Scotland, however, and neither can a lack of contact between Dál Riata and Pictland be assumed due to the barrier of the

---

[11] Alcock 1970. *Was there an Irish sea culture-province*, 63.
[12] Laing and Laing 1992. *Art of the Celts*, 156; Ó Floinn 1989. *Secular Metalwork*, 90; Youngs 1989. *Fine Metalwork*, 20.
[13] Armit 1997. *Celtic Scotland*, 26.
[14] Campbell 2001. *Were the Scots Irish?* 290.
[15] Campbell 1999. *Saints and Sea-Kings*, 9.
[16] Campbell 2001. *Were the Scots Irish?*, 290.
[17] Forsyth 2001. *Languages of Scotland*, 378.

central Highlands, but evidence of the movement of Irish monks from Ireland to settle in Dál Riata could have provided one of the specific points of contact necessary for diffusion to occur.

From the sixth century Irish monks such as Columba and Máel Ruba founded monasteries in Dál Riata, on Iona and at Applecross respectively, which were then tied into networks of dependent houses on both sides of the Irish Sea, Iona having dependent houses on Tiree in Dál Riata and at Kells in Ireland, and Applecross being a dependent of Bangor in Ireland.[18] Iona became a place of pilgrimage, drawing pilgrims to Dál Riata from both sides of the Irish Sea.[19] These foundations also appear to have maintained secular links with Ireland, Iona receiving news of Irish events (it is thought that a record kept at Iona underlies the pre-740 entries in the later Irish annals[20]), and a number of secular Irish leaders retiring to Iona at the end of their reigns.[21]

The settling of Irish monks in Dál Riata and the maintenance of their contacts with Ireland would not, however, have necessarily guaranteed cultural contact between Ireland and the indigenous population of Dál Riata, but Columba's presence at the Convention of Druim Cett, probably in the capacity of advisor to Aedán mac Gabráin, and his attempts to influence the Dalriadic succession show that from the beginning of Irish settlement in Dál Riata the Irish Church provided a point of contact with the indigenous population as well as with Ireland. This continued after the death of Columba with the maintenance of a detailed record of the Dalriadic royal house on Iona and a continuing hagiographical tradition which emphasised the benefits of the close relationship.[22]

Opinion remains divided as to the extent of Iona's pastoral activities in the wider community; Adomnán's *Vita S. Columbae* tends to focus on the conversion of

---

[18] Fisher 2001. *Early Medieval Sculpture*, 2.
[19] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 19; Herbert 1988. *Iona, Kells, and Derry*, 30.
[20] Herbert 1988. *Iona, Kells, and Derry*, 22.
[21] Ritchie 1997. *Iona*, 67.
[22] Moisl 1983. *The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish*, 104-105.

individuals, suggesting Columba's was not a large-scale missionary operation,[23] but there are some small enclosed archaeological sites in Dál Riata which may have been built to house monks administering to the laity,[24] suggesting that there may have been some contact between the Irish Church in Dál Riata and the wider indigenous population.

Both Saint Columba and Saint Ninian are reported to have converted the Picts to Christianity, [25] and the distribution of the cult of St. Moluag (Figure 27) suggests the movement of the saint from the west coast into Pictland via the Great Glen,[26] opening potential lines of contact between the Picts and the Dál Riata and Ireland. A further point of contact between the Picts and the Irish Church in Dál Riata may have been provided by the ambitions to erect free-standing crosses on Iona, which, it has been suggested, would have required the expertise of Pictish stone masons.[27]

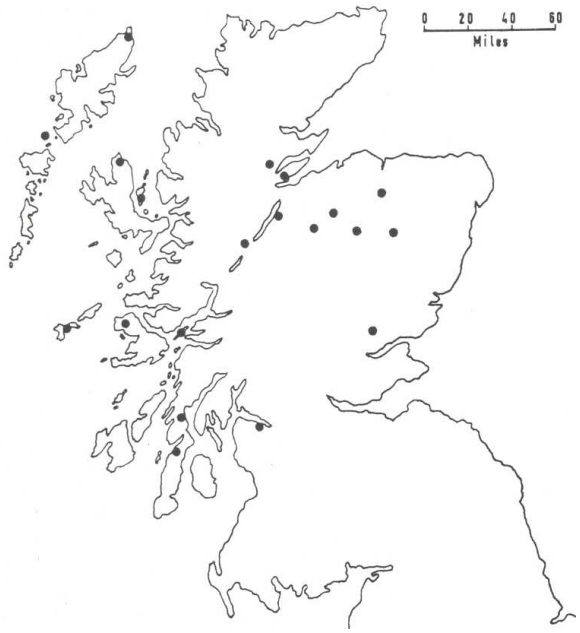

Figure 27. Distribution of the cult of St. Moluag[28] © Reproduced courtesy of University of Wales Press

[23] Ritchie 1997. *Iona*, 47.
[24] Fisher 2001. *Early Medieval Sculpture*, 4.
[25] Carver 1999. *Surviving in Symbols*, 40 and 42-43.
[26] Bowen 1977. *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*, 103.
[27] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 18; Fisher 2001. *Early Medieval Sculpture*, 23.
[28] Bowen 1977. *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*, 104.

Monks from Dál Riata also formed a point of contact with Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. King Oswald of Northumbria appears to have been baptised on Iona while in exile in Dál Riata during the reign of Edwin in Northumbria,[29] and on his accession to the throne of Northumbria invited a group of monks from Iona to found the monastery at Lindisfarne.[30] This new Northumbrian Church also became influential in Pictland, the Pictish king Nechtan attempting to align his Church with that of Northumbria in 710, taking the Roman date of Easter and tonsure in preference to that of the Columban Church.[31] It has been suggested that Christian symbols only appear on carved stones with Pictish symbols after Nechtan opened these contacts with the Northumbrian Church.[32]

The picture then is of a web of contacts: the Irish Church settling in Dál Riata and forming a bridge between Ireland and Dál Riata, moving into Pictland and Northumbria and then being bypassed by a direct Pictish-Northumbrian relationship in the early eighth century.

Running parallel to and intersecting with this web of ecclesiastical contacts there appears to have been a similar web of political interaction. The Church in Dál Riata appears to have been instrumental in some of this: in addition to St. Columba's participation in the Convention of Druim Cett, Adomnán was able to bring together Dalriadic, Irish and Pictish rulers to sign his Law of the Innocents in 697.[33]

Northumbria appears to have been politically involved in both Dál Riata and Pictland in the seventh century, its overlordship only ending with the battle of Nechtansmere in 685.[34] At its greatest extent in the mid-eighth century Pictland seems to have included Dál Riata and parts of Strathclyde in its territories.[35] Such relationships of tribute, however, would not necessarily lead to cultural interaction between the groups.

---

[29] Moisl 1983. *The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish*, 105.
[30] Moisl 1983. *The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish*, 116.
[31] Carver 1999. *Surviving in Symbols*, 44.
[32] Carver 1999. *Surviving in Symbols*, 21.
[33] Campbell 1999. *Saints and Sea-Kings*, 36.
[34] Moisl 1983. *The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish*, 117.
[35] Woolf 2001 cited in Foster 2004. *Picts, Gaels and Scots*, 107.

A greater opportunity for cultural interaction to occur seems likely to have been provided by the presence of exiled Northumbrian dynasties and their retinues in Dál Riata between the last decade of the sixth century and the last quarter of the eighth. Moisl has examined the evidence relating to Northumbrians in Dál Riata and has identified at least four named Anglo-Saxons during this period. The earliest appear to be the two Saxons mentioned by Adomnán in the *Vita S. Columbae*. Moisl argues that nature of Adomnán's passing reference to these Saxons makes it unlikely that their presence is a later hagiographical accretion. He suggests that they are most likely to have arrived on Iona in the retinue of an exiled Northumbrian dynasty,[36] such as that of Herring, son of Hussa who may have fled to Dál Riata when Ethelfrith ascended to the Bernician kingship in 592.[37] Ethelfrith's sons Oswald and Oswiu in turn fled to Dál Riata when Edwin succeeded Ethelfrith and appear to have been resident in Dál Riata between 616 and 633.[38] Moisl argues that Aldfrith, who ascended to the Northumbrian kingship after the defeat of Ecgfrith at Nechtansmere in 685, was an unexpected candidate to win the kingship. He suggests that Aldfrith must have had Dalriadic backing, possibly gained through his visits to Iona in the time beforehand.[39] Continuing contact between Aldfrith and Iona is shown by the two visits Adomnán took to Northumbria.[40]

These numerous points of contact between the different groups in and around Scotland would have provided opportunities for cultural diffusion to occur, and the evidence of such diffusion will now be considered. It has already been noted that Class II cross slabs, those which include Christian and Pictish symbolism only appear in Pictland after Nechtan opened contacts with the Northumbrian Church in 710. The Nigg slab discussed in the opening of this section is an example of a Class II slab, and the Northumbrian parallels have been noted. Nigg is not, however, an isolated example of this Northumbrian influence on sculpture in Pictland. Henderson and Henderson describe the Hilton of Cadboll

---

[36] Moisl 1983. *The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish*, 114.
[37] Moisl 1983. *The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish*, 115.
[38] Moisl 1983. *The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish*, 105.
[39] Moisl 1983. *The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish*, 120-121.
[40] Moisl 1983. *The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish*, 122.

sculpture as "the masterpiece of the Pictish vine-scroll tradition",[41] a tradition derived from Northumbria which appears on a number of sculptures in Pictland.[42] They also note that there is a case for considering the animals depicted on the recently discovered lower portions of the Hilton of Cadboll slab as extracts from the decoration of the Mercian Gandersheim casket, that is, also of Anglo-Saxon origin.[43] Stevenson suggests that the draperies of the trumpeters on this slab must be borrowed from the classical Mediterranean, but filtered through the Anglo-Saxons as intermediaries.[44]

Another demonstration of the cultural interaction made possible by the movement of the Church and political contacts is the erection of free-standing crosses on Iona and in Pictland. In the first half of the eighth century Northumbrian sculptors began to erect free-standing stone crosses. These crosses were decorated with carvings of foliage, interlace, and figures carved in a classical style. It has been argued that it was in response to this Northumbrian development that the first free-standing stone crosses were erected on Iona.[45]

The Northumbrian-style crosses were not merely imported wholesale, however, and although a continuing Northumbrian influence can be seen on the east face of the St. Martin's cross in the use of the virgin and child motif in the centre of the cross head, and the use of the paired beasts immediately above (Figure 28),[46] the Northumbrian elements have been fused with the Irish ornamental repertoire found in other crafts:[47] the prominence of figure carving and the limited projection of the side arms of the cross both find parallels in Ireland,[48] and the use of a multitude of small bosses on the east face of the cross has been argued to show the influence of secular metalwork on items such as the Tara brooch

---

[41] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 53.
[42] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 120.
[43] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 113.
[44] Stevenson 1980. *Pictish Art*, 116 and 122.
[45] Fisher 2001. *Early Medieval Sculpture*, 22.
[46] Stevenson 1956. *Chronology and Relationships*, 86.
[47] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 18; Fisher 2001. *Early Medieval Sculpture*, 22.
[48] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 19 and 205.

(Figure 28),[49] although this technique is also paralleled in sculpture at Northallerton (which then fell within the kingdom of Northumbria.)[50] On the west side of the same sculpture (Figure 17) Pictish parallels have been seen in the use of serpent-and-boss ornament at the bottom of the shaft,[51] in the lack of frames dividing the various scenes up the shaft[52] and in the depiction of David as a shepherd sitting on the ground.[53]

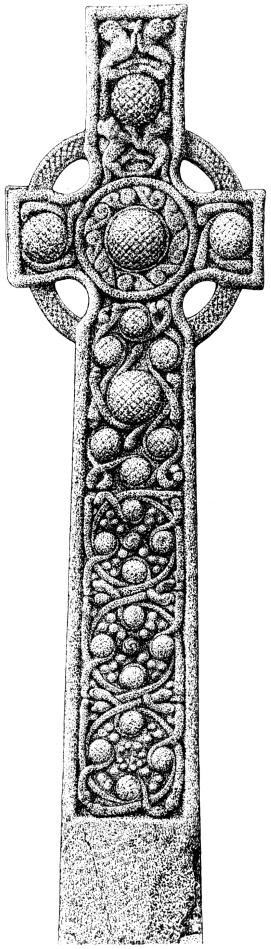

Figure removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 28. St. Martin's Cross, Iona, east face (© Crown Copyright: RCAHMS. Licensor www.rcahms.gov.uk) and the Tara brooch, reverse[54]

---

[49] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 18.
[50] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 18.
[51] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 18.
[52] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 19.
[53] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 105.
[54] Youngs 1989. *Fine Metalwork*, 77.

Tabraham suggests that the double-curved arms of the Dupplin Cross (Figure 29) found in Pictland may have been influenced by the similarly shaped arms of the St. John's cross on Iona,[55] which Fisher argues were themselves influenced by Northumbrian metalwork.[56] This Pictish sculpture shows further parallels with both Irish and Northumbrian sculpture: Stevenson suggests that the close set footmen and the horseman with a long moustache on the east face are unparalleled in Pictland but mirrored on Muiredach's cross at Monasterboice in Ireland[57] and an Irish influence is also seen by Henderson in the block nose and frontal eye facial type (mirrored on sculpture at Moone in County Kildare) and in the tiled roof which appears at the top of the cross.[58] Similarities with Northumbrian sculpture have been described in the use of vine-scroll,[59] and in the different decorative treatment of the cross head and shaft.[60] Henderson argues that the figure seated on a profile throne on the St Andrews fragment (Figure 12) may suggest an Irish or English influence[61] and this could presumably also apply to the similarly seated Dupplin harper (Figure 7). A distinctly Pictish element also remains in the depiction of hunting dogs at the bottom of the east face.[62]

[55] Tabraham 2005. *St Serf's Church.*
[56] Fisher 2001. *Early Medieval Sculpture*, 22.
[57] Stevenson 1956. *Chronology and Relationships*, 126.
[58] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 190-120.
[59] Tabraham 2005. *St Serf's Church*; Stevenson 1956. *Chronology and Relationships*, 126.
[60] Tabraham 2005. *St Serf's Church.*
[61] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 106.
[62] Tabraham 2005. *St Serf's Church.*

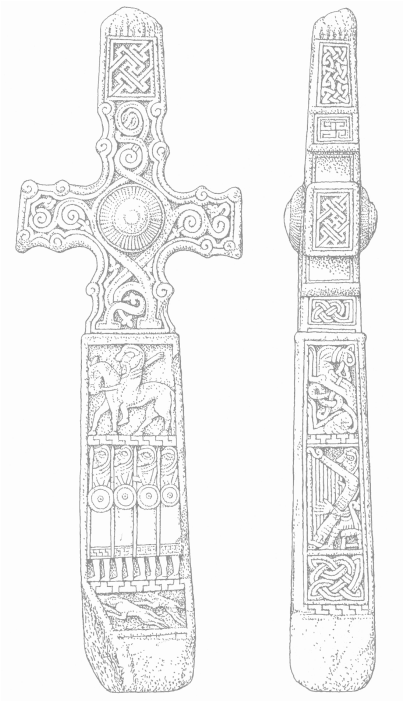

Figure 29. Dupplin Cross, east and north faces. Ian G. Scott © Crown Copyright reproduced courtesy of Historic Scotland

A picture begins to emerge from the evidence of sculpture of a web of cultural influences encompassing Ireland and Dál Riata, Dál Riata and Northumbria, Pictland and Dál Riata and Pictland and Northumbria. This impression is reinforced by an examination of decorative metalwork. An example which shows a fusion of all these influencing elements in one object is the Hunterston brooch (Figure 30),[63] found in Ayrshire in the nineteenth century but thought to have been made at a royal site such as Dunadd in Dál Riata *c*. 700.[64]

The Anglo-Saxon influences shown by the brooch have been extensively discussed by Stevenson, but to summarise: the arrangement of the decoration into variously shaped compartments may have been modelled on Anglo-Saxon examples like the Kingston brooch, which also has animals similarly distributed to the Hunterston example. Stevenson notes that the eagles with exaggerated eyes who appear at the ends of the terminals of the Hunterston brooch are of a type widespread in Germanic brooch design from the fifth century and give the

[63] Laing and Laing 1992. *Art of the Celts*, 157.
[64] National Museums Scotland 2008. *Hunterston Brooch.*

brooch an outline similar to that of the Sutton Hoo belt buckle. The buckle from Sutton Hoo and another Anglo-Saxon example from Faversham have two bosses at the wide end of the buckle balanced by a larger boss at the other end (Figure 31 and Figure 32), a feature which also appears on the pin head of the Hunterston brooch and on its terminals.[65] Stevenson in fact argues that it is only the basic shape and pin mechanism in which the brooch does not have Northumbrian parallels, and in which it parallels other Irish and Pictish penannular and pseudo-penannular forms.[66]

Figure 30. Hunterston Brooch © The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland

Figure removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 31. Buckle from Sutton Hoo[67]

[65] Stevenson 1974. *The Hunterston Brooch*, 29-30.
[66] Stevenson 1974. *The Hunterston Brooch*, 32.
[67] Stevenson 1974. *The Hunterston Brooch*, plate XIX, A.

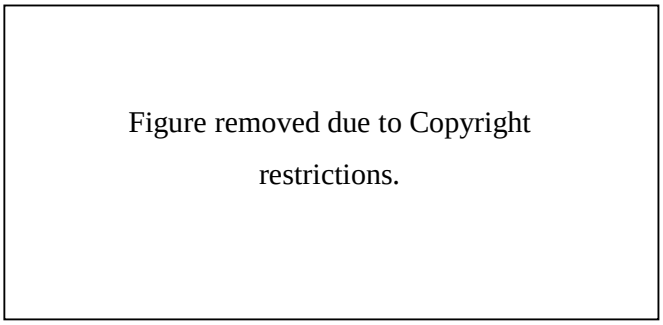

Figure 32. Buckle from Faversham[68]

Moulds for the manufacture of such large brooches have been found in Pictland and at Dunadd in Dál Riata.[69] Those found at Dunadd suggest, like the Hunterston brooch, strong links with Anglo-Saxon, Pictish and Irish metalwork: for example, the moulds to cast brooches with large recessed panels found at Dunadd seem likely to have been designed to cast brooches which would then have had the panels filled with insets of filigree work, granular ornament or stamped foil decoration, which would relate them closely to examples of brooches found in Ireland and Pictland.[70]

The greatest proportion of the brooches which appear to have been cast at Dunadd are the penannular forms known as type G. This suggests an influence from Anglo-Saxon metalwork, as the earliest examples of this type are found in Anglo-Saxon graves.[71] The best preserved mould is similar in form to the smaller of the brooches found at Clunie and the moulds from Clatchard in Fife, both from Pictland, and may represent early attempts by both the Picts and Dál Riata to imitate Anglo-Saxon metalwork. A strong Anglo-Saxon influence can also be seen in the evidence of the manufacture of distinctively Anglo-Saxon style belt-buckles.[72]

It has been suggested that the metalworking workshops at Dunadd may have been one of the points at which a fusion between Germanic and Insular styles

[68] Stevenson 1974. *The Hunterston Brooch*, plate XIX, B.
[69] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 106-107.
[70] Campbell and Lane 2000. *Dunadd*, 238.
[71] Campbell and Lane 2000. *Dunadd*, 240.
[72] Campbell and Lane 2000. *Dunadd*, 245.

was occurring,[73] and through which Germanic design forms were introduced into Ireland in the seventh century.[74] The influence of Ireland on metalworking at Dunadd has been much discussed but Campbell and Lane note that such discussions are not without their problems. The appearance of F3 types of brooch in Ireland and Dunadd, as well as the spiral ringed-pin of Irish type found at Dunadd and the use of square-ended brooch hoop panels in both places have all been interpreted as representing an Irish influence on Dál Riata, but the metal composition of the spiral ringed-pin, for example, may suggest that it is of local production at Dunadd; and the F3 brooches found in Ireland and cited by Wilson as a sign of an Irish influence on the Dál Riata could just have easily have been made at Dunadd.[75] The renewed ninth-century popularity of the penannular form of brooch in the north of Ireland is attributed by Ó Floinn to close connections with Scotland where the penannular design had never lost its popularity.[76]

The strong Anglo-Saxon influence on metalworking at Dunadd appears to have been mirrored in Pictland. As example of this is the hanging bowl found in the St. Ninian's Isle hoard. Henderson and Henderson see the animals depicted on the internal mount as Germanic types such as those depicted in the Book of Durrow, on a relief panel from Wearmouth of the late seventh or early eighth century, and on the tip of a gold buckle from the Sutton Hoo burial. They also note, however, the similar creatures on the Aberlemno churchyard cross slab and suggest that the model for this may have come directly from Northumbria or from Northumbria via the work of Pictish metalworkers.[77]

The evidence of metalwork once again then suggests a web of influences like that implied by the evidence of sculpture in Pictland and Dál Riata, and once again emphasises the importance of Anglo-Saxon as well as Irish influences. The evidence of cultural interaction provided by metalwork also shows that the Picts and Dál Riata were not just passive receivers of cultural influence, but were influencing others themselves.

---

[73] Campbell and Lane 2000. *Dunadd*, 246.
[74] Youngs 1989. *Fine Metalwork*, 23.
[75] Campbell and Lane 2000. *Dunadd*, 240-241.
[76] Ó Floinn 1989. *Secular Metalwork*, 89.
[77] Henderson and Henderson 2004. *The Art of the Picts*, 112.

This examination of the opportunities and evidence for cultural diffusion into Dál Riata and Pictland shows that there were mechanisms by which diffusion could occur, in the network of contacts provided both by the Church and by the movement of secular dynasties, and evidence in sculpture and metalwork that it did. The picture of cultural interaction seems best characterised as a web of mutual influence with Pictland and Dál Riata influencing others as well as being influenced themselves. In addition to the Irish influence emphasised by Farmer there is evidence of a strong Anglo-Saxon influence.

The implications of this network for a consideration of musical culture is that it can no longer be assumed that only parts of Irish musical culture would have been found in Dál Riata and Pictland, Anglo-Saxon musical culture seems just as likely to have diffused to Pictland and Dál Riata. This greatly complicates the application of patterns of cultural influence to a consideration of music. It seems unlikely that it will be possible to assume that elements of Irish or Anglo-Saxon musical culture will necessarily be found in Pictish or Dalriadic musical culture, particularly in cases where Irish and Anglo-Saxon musical culture differ. Patterns of cultural influence observed in metalwork and sculpture may still be useful, however, as a consideration of the Scottish sources in conjunction with sources from Ireland and Anglo-Saxon areas could potentially act as a guide to the interpretation of Scottish sources where those sources are ambiguous. It may also be possible that if an element of Irish and Anglo-Saxon musical culture is mirrored in Pictish or Dalriadic musical culture then more extensive details from Ireland and Anglo-Saxon areas might be useful to enrich the picture of music in Pictland or Dál Riata. These ideas will be explored in the next section.

Music and Cultural Interaction in Scotland

One of the main advantages of Farmer's method of using information from Irish sources to illuminate music in Scotland is that there are many more Irish sources which relate to music than there are Scottish ones. There is a particular wealth of documentary sources which mention music, and although many of these documents only survive in later compilations, such as the fourteenth-century *Yellow Book of Lecan*, methods such as analysis of their language and word forms have been used to date some of the texts to a much earlier period. The study of Anglo-Saxon music benefits not only from documentary evidence including pictorial representations of instruments, but also from a significant body of archaeological finds.

Both the Anglo-Saxons and the Irish appear to have had some form of chordophone. In the case of the Anglo-Saxons the archaeological evidence points towards lyres. The most well known example is the instrument recovered from the excavated burial chamber at Sutton Hoo, which can be dated to the first half of the seventh century by the presence of coins in the grave.[1] Although the fragments of this instrument (Figure 33) were initially reconstructed as a harp,[2] they have since been reconstructed as a lyre (Figure 34) with reference to other Germanic instruments preserved in Germany[3] and representations in illuminated manuscripts, particularly the David miniatures in the *Vespasian Psalter* (Figure 23) and Durham Cathedral Library MS B. 11. 30.[4]

[1] Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford 1970. *The Sutton Hoo Lyre*, 10.
[2] In instruments classified as harps the plane of the strings lies perpendicular to the soundboard, in instruments classified as lyres the strings lie in the same plane as the soundboard. DeVale 2007. *Harp*; Wachsmann, Lawergren, Wegner, and Clark 2008. *Lyre*.
[3] Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford 1970. *The Sutton Hoo Lyre*, 8.
[4] Remnant 1986. *English Bowed Instruments*, 42.

Figure 33. Fragments of the Sutton Hoo lyre[5]

Figure 34. The reconstructed Sutton Hoo lyre[6]

[5] Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford 1970. *The Sutton Hoo Lyre*, plate III.
[6] Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford 1970. *The Sutton Hoo Lyre*, plate I.

The fragments suggest an instrument 742 mm. long and 209 mm. wide,[7] making it of a suitable size to be played on the knee, as it appears in manuscript depictions such as that in the *Vespasian Psalter*.[8] The surviving fragments of the yoke indicate that the instrument had six strings, and Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford suggest that the softness of the wooden pegs implies that the strings would have been made either of gut or horsehair.[9] The use of horsehair on some instruments at least is suggested by the form of a tuning peg found in a grave in Suffolk,[10] while the use of humidity and temperature sensitive gut strings on this type of instrument may also be suggested by frequent manuscript depictions of a tuning key in use.[11] It is possible that metal strings were used on some examples which show reinforcement of the peg holes.[12] Parts of lyres excavated at other sites in England suggest similar instruments, for example those excavated from Taplow, Snape and Bergh Apton, all of which date from between the sixth and early seventh centuries.[13]

Unfortunately no such archaeological evidence exists in the case of Irish chordophones, and consequently the nature of such instruments has to be inferred from the surviving documents. This presents its own problems because the documents in question are generally later compilations in which the language may have been altered, a particular problem when considering musical terminology.

There appear, however, to have been two main string instruments, both of which may have been forms of lyre. References in the *Tain Bo Friach*[14] and the *Agallamh na Seanorach*[15] show that the instrument known as the cruit was a stringed instrument, but unlike the Anglo-Saxon lyres the number of strings is not clear. Two passages in the *Agallamh na Seanorach* appear to be directly

---

[7] Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford 1970. *The Sutton Hoo Lyre*, 7.
[8] Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford 1970. *The Sutton Hoo Lyre*, 10.
[9] Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford 1970. *The Sutton Hoo Lyre*, 8.
[10] Lawson 1999. *Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, 329.
[11] Bruce-Mitford 2008. *Rotte*, paragraph 16.
[12] Bruce-Mitford 2008. *Rotte*, paragraph 13.
[13] Rankin 1999. *Music*, 328.
[14] Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 171.
[15] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 223.

contradictory on the subject, one referring to nine-stringed cruits,[16] while another describes three strings,[17] although this may be symbolic. It seems likely that, like the Anglo-Saxon lyre, the cruit was plucked since the *Brehon Laws* require compensation and a "wing-nail" to be given to cruit players who had lost a nail.[18]

O'Curry suggests that the instrument was quadrangular based on a translation of the term "coircethaircuir" as the "quadrangular harmonius instrument" in the account of the second battle of Magh Tuireadh.[19] Buckley agrees with the suggestion that the cruit was quadrangular and suggests that it was a lyre (rather than a quadrangular harp). This is based on the similarity between the term "cruit" and the terms "crowd" and "crwth" used to denote lyres in England and Wales respectively.[20]

The documentary evidence relating to an instrument known as the tiompán has been examined in depth by Buckley who concludes that the tiompán was also likely to have been a form of lyre,[21] with a wooden body and three or more strings.[22]

The question of whether the tiompán was a bowed or plucked instrument is somewhat unclear with references to touching the tiompán with the nails of the performers suggesting plucking and references to wands possibly suggesting the use of the bow.[23] Buckley reconciles these seemingly contradictory statements

---

[16] Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*, 57.
[17] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 223.
[18] Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 166-169.
[19] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 214.
[20] Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 169.
[21] Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*, 83.
[22] Buckley argues that it seems likely that the instrument had a body made of wood, given the reference to a tiompán as "crann ciuil", literally "tree of music" in the *Agallamh na Seanorach* (Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?* 66). Although there is a reference in the story of Cano son of Gartnan to a tiompán of bronze, Buckley argues that this is more likely to indicate an instrument decorated with bronze than actually made entirely of it (Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?* 59). Three strings are often described (Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 166), leading Buckley to suggest the use of one stopped string and two drone strings,(Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*, 63 and 65), although Galpin argues that a passage in the Agallamh na Seanorach suggests more than three strings (Galpin 1910. *Old English Instruments*, 69). Buckley suggests that the strings were made of some form of metal (Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*, 58).
[23] See Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 166; O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 362-363.

by suggesting that a later note inserted into an eighth-century glossary on the *Félire Oengusso* regarding the use of a bow with the tiompán may show the introduction of the bow at the time when the commentator was writing after 1000 A.D.[24]

The discovery of the Sutton Hoo lyre in a royal grave suggests that it was the instrument typically used by the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy,[25] and Rankin further suggests that the large number of lyre players' graves found in East Anglia may represent a centre of royal patronage.[26] There are a number of references to an instrument referred to as the "hearpe" in Anglo-Saxon documents, for example in the Old English poems *Widsith* and *Beowulf* and in Old English glosses on the psalms. It has been suggested on the basis of iconographical and archaeological evidence that these references must be to a lyre[27] which would reinforce the argument that the lyre was associated with high status households since it would suggest that the instrument found in the ship burial at Sutton Hoo of the type played both by and for the king in *Beowulf*, a poem which features a similar ship burial.[28]

The cruit also appears to have been a high status instrument. The *Tain Bó Fraich* describes three cruit players as part of the retinue of the hero[29] and the *Brehon Laws* accord high status to a cruit player whether or not he is retained by a nobleman,[30] suggesting that at least some of them were employed in such positions. The tiompán is also associated with court entertainment in the *Saltair*

---

[24] Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?* 64-65.
[25] Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford 1970. *The Sutton Hoo Lyre*, 10.
[26] Rankin 1999. *Music*, 328.
[27] Remnant 1986. *English Bowed Instruments*, 42.
[28] Bruce-Mitford and Bruce-Mitford 1970. *The Sutton Hoo Lyre*, 11. This view that the "hearpe" was a type of lyre has been challenged by Boenig whose discussion of the items found in the same compartment of the ship burial as the Sutton Hoo lyre centres on their exotic nature. On the basis of this and the use of "hearpe" to gloss "psalterium" in the Vespasian Psalter (in which David is clearly depicted playing a lyre) and its varied use in other glosses, Boenig suggests that the term "hearpe" may not always refer to the lyre and that therefore lyres may not have been as widely used in Anglo-Saxon society as has been suggested. He further suggests that a form of triangular harp would better fit some descriptions of the acoustic properties and playing method of the hearpe. There does not yet appear to be any archaeological evidence to support this hypothesis. By the eleventh century, towards the second half of the period in question Anglo-Saxon manuscripts such as Oxford Bodleian Library, Manuscript Junius 11 do, however, begin to depict triangular harps. Boenig 1996. *The Anglo-Saxon Harp*
[29] Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 171.
[30] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 226.

na Rann,[31] and played for Congal Clean the prince Ulster before battle.[32] Despite this, there is some evidence that it may not have been as high status as the cruit, a passage in the *Brehon Laws* for example stating that players of the cruit, but not of the tiompán, were entitled to an honour price.[33]

Given the evidence of what appears to be a high status string instrument of lyre form in both Ireland and the Anglo-Saxon territories it seems not unreasonable to suggest that a similar instrument might have been found in Dál Riata. The Saga of Cú Chulainn and the story of Cano, son of Gartnan appear to refer to tiompáns in use in Dál Riata, but the problems of using these Irish sources have already been outlined in the sources discussion.

The form of the stringed instruments depicted on the only contemporary evidence actually from within Dál Riata, the St. Martin's and St. Oran's Crosses, is not at all clear (Figure 17 and Figure 18). The instruments depicted on the St Martin's and St Oran's Crosses do not have any of the obvious features of a lyre: there is no clear soundboard or bridge, and it is not possible to see the strings sufficiently clearly to say whether they extend across the base of the frame or not; but on the other hand they are not obviously harps either, the frame is not obviously a different height at each end for example.

A comparison of these depictions with the instruments found in the influencing culture reveals a number of significant differences which calls into question the usefulness of patterns of cultural influence to illuminate this particular example: the shapes of the frames of the instruments are different to that of the Sutton Hoo instrument, and while this could conceivably be the shape of the cruit described in Irish literature, it appears possible that the strings could have been of different lengths, a feature of harps rather than lyres; the instruments depicted are much larger than the Sutton Hoo instrument making it appear improbable that the instrument could be played in the position assumed by the lyre player in the Anglo-Saxon *Vespasian Psalter*; and this large size may be the reason that the

---

[31] Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*, 56.
[32] Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*, 66.
[33] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 265-266.

player assumes a profile playing position like that of the harpists depicted on Pictish stones rather than the frontal facing position of the lyre player in the *Vespasian Psalter* (although it should be noted that the St. Oran's harper does face towards the viewer like David playing the lyre in the *Vespasian Psalter*). The St. Martin's and St. Oran's instruments bear more resemblance to the harps depicted on Pictish sculptures than to Anglo-Saxon lyres.

The evidence of cultural influences from Northumbria and Ireland on Dál Riata would have suggested that lyres were the form of chordophone most likely to be found in Dál Riata but the depictions from Dál Riata are of an indeterminate instrument which has some lyre-like and some harp-like features. The indeterminate nature of these instruments could have arisen for a number of reasons: firstly, they may be, as Roe suggests for some of the similar (although much later) depictions of chordophones on Irish crosses, bungled depictions of lyres.[34] This may have arisen for a number of reasons: firstly, lyres may not have been used in Dál Riata and so a model of David playing the lyre was copied somewhat inaccurately; secondly it has been suggested that the group of crosses which includes the St Martin's and St Oran's Crosses may have been carved by Pictish carvers due to the lack of a tradition of such stone carving on Iona.[35] The extent to which such carvers might have been instructed by the Iona monks is unknown but such collaboration could conceivably have resulted in a strange hybrid type of instrument being depicted. This would explain the awkward position of the St. Oran's harpist.

The hybrid instrument depicted could, however have equally been produced by combining two existing instruments or by combining two models. Buckley argues that there are no models for harpers seated on the ground and so this may represent local practice,[36] and presumably therefore a local instrument, but Henderson argues that the model of the harper seated on the ground was

---

[34] Roe 1949. *The "David Cycle"*, 55.
[35] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland 1982. *Inventory Vol. 4*, 18.
[36] Buckley 2003. *Representations of Musicians*, 225.

borrowed from the Picts.[37] Given the possibility of Pictish sculptors being involved in the creation of the Iona crosses this second scenario cannot easily be discounted.

The first scenario would seem to count against the idea that lyres existed in Dál Riata and might suggest that an iconographical model was just being copied (although there is the possibility that inaccuracies in the depiction of the instrument could arise from the constraints of the medium rather than artistic inability), but the second scenario does not preclude the idea that lyres were in use in Dál Riata. In this case then, the particular nature of the instruments depicted in Dál Riata, combined with the historical circumstances surrounding their depiction render the evidence of chordophones in influencing cultures ineffective in illuminating the situation any further.

The difficulties in extrapolating the possibility of high status string instruments from iconographical evidence have already been outlined, but the probability of some form of high status chordophone existing in Dál Riata seems higher if we extrapolate from the evidence for the use of such an instrument in both Irish and Anglo-Saxon musical culture, and consider the opportunities for its introduction provided by the residency of exiled Northumbrian dynasties at Dunadd. Yet the expectations about the forms of Dalriadic chordophones based on the diffusion model were directly contradicted by the iconographical evidence from Dál Riata, and so the extent of musical diffusion from Northumbria to Dál Riata and therefore also the ability of patterns of cultural influence to illuminate any aspect music have been brought into doubt.

In this case then, the use of evidence from influencing cultures was not able to illuminate music in Dál Riata any further because the evidence from Dál Riata seemed to directly contradict expectations based on the diffusion model.

The same problem applies to depictions of chordophones in Pictland. While there are debates about the inferences that can be drawn from the depictions of

---

[37] Henderson 1986. *The 'David Cycle'*, 105.

triangular harps on Pictish stones, as outlined in a previous section, it would seem perverse to disregard this evidence altogether while there is little other evidence to suggest otherwise. In the case of Pictland the cultural influence coming from Dál Riata is of little use in illuminating Pictish music because, as discussed above, there is very little which can be said about it with any certainty.

There appears to be a greater degree of consensus regarding the form and use of aerophones depicted in Dál Riata and so this may be a better area on which to test the theory that patterns of cultural influence can illuminate musical influence.

It can be tentatively suggested that both the Irish and Anglo-Saxons had an aerophone of the flute or whistle variety (the difference in modern terminology being related to the presence or absence of finger holes). The Anglo-Saxon archaeological record contains both types in profusion, which suggests that this type of instrument was very popular.[38] Ælfric translated the Latin "tibicen" (translated in modern dictionaries as "a flute player"[39]) into "pîpere oðde hwistlere",[40] the presence of a vernacular term suggesting that this type of instrument was known in wider Anglo-Saxon society.

Crane argues that bone instruments excavated from Anglo-Saxon sites which have finger holes but no blow hole were probably intended to be reed instruments since if the instruments were intended to be flutes or whistles it would have been more practical to make the blow hole first.[41] In addition to these bone finds a reed pipe made of fruitwood and with carved decoration was excavated at an Anglo-Saxon site in York,[42] and Ælfric refers to a "reodpipere" in the supplement to his Glossary.[43]

---

[38] Lawson 1999. *Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, 328.
[39] Simpson 1959. , "tibicen" Rollason suggests that the incoming Vikings in the ninth century did not greatly disrupt Anglo-Saxon culture (Rollason 2003. *Northumbria*, 237) and so it seems reasonable to suggest that this tenth-century source can be used in discussions of earlier music.
[40] Zupitza 1880. *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, 50.
[41] Crane 1972. *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments*, 43.
[42] Lawson 1999. *Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, 329.
[43] McGee 1998. *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia*, 534.

The exact nature of the instruments which appear in Irish documents is sometimes difficult to determine but may give a similar picture to that given by the Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence. Both O'Curry and Buckley translate the instrument "cuisle", found in stories such as the account of the battle of Magh Rath, as pipes.[44] Farmer suggests that the instrument was possibly a type of recorder[45] but it is not clear on what he bases this suggestion. On the other hand, Buckley translates "cuislenna" as "bagpipes"[46] and suggests that the reference to "cuisle ciul" in the account of the battle of Magh Rath may represent a reed pipe.[47]

The only piece of evidence from Dál Riata are the triple pipes depicted in the David carving on the St. Martin's cross (Figure 17). The balance of Fisher and Greenhill's argument, outlined earlier, suggests that these triple pipes were an instrument used in Dál Riata. The patterns of Anglo-Saxon and Irish cultural influence on Dál Riata might suggest that this instrument would have been only one of a variety of aerophones found in Dál Riata and that forms of whistle, for example, might have been known too. Unfortunately, triple pipes do not appear in discussions of Anglo-Saxon music, and although they do appear in discussions of Irish music it is generally in the context of the later carving on the west cross at Clonmacnoise (Figure 35).[48] Triple pipes appear then to be potentially a local innovation, not a product of diffusion, which undermines the idea that the other whistles and pipes found in Anglo-Saxon and Irish musical culture can be assumed to have existed in Dál Riata. The clear differences in the evidence from Dál Riata and the evidence of music in the influencing cultures once again then undermine the basic premise of Farmer's argument.

---

[44] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 215; Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 171.
[45] Farmer 1947. *History*, 27.
[46] Buckley 1977. *What was the Tiompán?*, 74.
[47] Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 171.
[48] See Roe 1949. *The "David Cycle"*, 55.

Figure 35. Triple-piper on the South Cross, Clonmacnoise © F & K Schorr

The almost complete lack of evidence of aerophones from Pictland further undermines this, although it should be noted that there may be other explanations for the lack of such instruments: the soil conditions of Pictland may not be as conducive to the preservation of such material as those in some of the Anglo-Saxon regions; and it may not have been considered appropriate to depict such instruments on sculptures with a Christian bias, as Fisher and Greenhill note, such instruments would have been frowned upon by the Western Church.[49] Yet if the Dál Riata were happy to portray a native instrument how can we justifiably assume that the Picts would have been any different?

It is only in terms of lip-reed aerophones that evidence from Pictland appears to mirror more closely the evidence from Ireland and the Anglo-Saxon regions. Anglo-Saxon and Irish music both appear to have an instrument whose name is closely etymologically related to the Latin "corn," a horn. The Latin "cornu" is translated by Ælfric writing at the end of the tenth century as "horn" and "cornicen" (a player of the corn) as "hornblâwere."[50] Buckley translates the military instrument "Cornaire" in the *Tain Bo Friach* as "horns",[51] as does O'Curry the reference in the *Tochmarc Feirbe*.[52] In addition to this etymological evidence, instruments similar in form to the horns of animals appear in the

[49] Fisher and Greenhill 1974. *Two Unrecorded Carved Stones*, 239-240.
[50] Zupitza 1880. *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, 302 and 40.
[51] Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 171.
[52] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 307.

depiction of David in the *Vespasian Psalter* (Figure 23), and a horn made of a horn is described in one of the tales of the Irish Fenian cycle.[53]

The instrument depicted on the Dunkeld slab (Figure 15) may show that the Picts had an instrument shaped like a horn and the player is mounted which could mirror the military context of the horn descriptions in Irish literature. The problem with the Dunkeld representation is that while the dating remains unclear assigning it to the Picts remains tentative.

The instruments on the Hilton of Cadboll, Aberlemno and Sueno's stone sculptures (Figure 9, Figure 5 and Figure 22) are all very similar in form and are all not so obviously horn shaped as the Dunkeld instrument. Ireland and Anglo-Saxon areas appear to have had another form of lip-reed aerophone, possibly a type of trumpet, which may have been more similar to these examples. Ælfric translates the Latin "tuba" (trumpet) as "bŷme",[54] again the appearance of a vernacular term suggesting a local instrument which was considered sufficiently trumpet-like to translate it as such. An instrument called the "stoc" is alluded to in the story of Adam and Eve in the *Leabhar Breac*, in which the archangel Michael tells Gabriel to sound the "corn" and "stoc" to raise armies and hosts of angels,[55] while in the *Tain Bo Flidias* the "stoc" is also sounded in preparation for battle.[56] Buckley translates "buinnairi" as trumpeters in her description of the imaginary depictions of the seating arrangements in the banqueting hall at Tara, which would sit neatly with their seating position next to the horn players.[57] Once again the military use of such instruments appears to mirror the use of the instruments depicted on the Pictish sculptures.

Such a use would, however, be completely different from that which appears in the *Vespasian Psalter,* in which the horn or trumpet-type instruments appear as

---

[53]O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 305.
[54] Zupitza 1880. *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, 302.
[55] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 308.
[56] O'Curry 1873. *Manners and Customs*, 339.
[57] Buckley 2000. *Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society*, 170. Buckley notes that while the depiction of the banqueting hall under discussion is imaginary and much later than the period in question the evidence it provides is supported by a similar description in an eighth century document.

part of an ensemble with David and his musicians. Henderson sees the *Vespasian Psalter* as the model for the Hilton of Cadboll and Aberlemno examples. This could suggest that the Picts were engaged in actively selecting elements from the different influencing cultures, which again undermines the usefulness of patterns of cultural influence in illuminating musical practice in Scotland as the effects of such selection on areas of music about which there is no evidence would be very difficult to predict.

The musical evidence from Dál Riata and Pictland when considered with the evidence from Ireland and Anglo-Saxon areas suggests that, as in the case of sculpture and metalwork, a process far more complex than simple one-way diffusion of musical culture was occurring. There was evidence of possible local innovation in the forms of the chordophones and aerophones depicted in sculpture, and the possibility of active selection from a range of cultural influences in the case of the lip-reed aerophone depictions from Pictland. Assuming that all musical elements found in an influencing culture would have been found in the influenced culture became too simplistic

This suggests that the model of cultural interaction suggested by McNeill may be more applicable to the interaction of these musical cultures. McNeill suggests that cultural interaction often involves both diffusion and innovation, borrowed technologies and processes being altered in innovative ways in response to local need, and innovation of new technologies and processes in turn provoking borrowing in a powerful feedback mechanism.[58] The importance of innovation to this process, however, makes it a very difficult one to predict.

This leads to the conclusion that the evidence of the complex web of cultural interaction encompassing cultural groups in Scotland does broaden the musical possibilities which can be considered. In practice, however, this is not very useful because a process of local selection and innovation appears to have been at work, and there is no way of determining to what level this selection and innovation may have been applied.

---

[58] McNeill 1988. *Diffusion in History*, 75 and 89.

Conclusion

This investigation arose out of a sense of discontent with the impasse which appeared to have been reached in the study of music in Scotland before the mid-ninth century. The musically related sources appeared to have been fully exploited but the information they had yielded was inconclusive. There seemed little obvious way of breaking the deadlock through increasingly detailed study of the same few sources.

Farmer's idea that cultural similarities between Ireland and Scotland justified the use of Irish sources to illuminate Scottish music did seem to offer a way forward, particularly given the advances in scholarship in related cultural areas since the time when Farmer was writing. By combining theories of cultural interaction with information about cultural influences visible in areas such as sculpture, metalwork and poetry and with the few sources which do relate directly to music in Scotland at this time I have explored Farmer's idea in more detail to see if it can offer new insights.

Unfortunately it seems unlikely that such an examination can offer a way forward in this case. An examination of cultural interaction and influence as demonstrated in sculpture and metalwork did suggest a broad range of cultural influences on different groups in Scotland. In addition to the Irish influence used by Farmer there also appeared to be a strong Anglo-Saxon Northumbrian influence, both on the Picts and the Dál Riata. It was also notable that the Picts and Dál Riata also appeared to have some influence on each other. This broad range of influences suggested that a similarly broad range of influences might have been felt in music too, widening vastly the range of sources available.

The problem was that an examination of Pictish and Dalriadic sources in conjunction with information about music in the influencing cultures showed an unexpected number of differences and suggested that if musical culture was diffusing into Pictland and Dál Riata the diffused elements were subject to

selection and local innovation. This local selection and innovation could not be adequately predicted using the models of cultural interaction available, rendering the consideration of the music of the influencing cultures effectively a redundant exercise.

While this is in some ways a disappointing conclusion to have reached there are still aspects of this enquiry which may be useful: Firstly, it suggests that following this line of enquiry further is unlikely to reveal much more about music in Scotland before the mid-ninth century, and that consequently any way forward in the study is going to have to involve some radically different thinking to Farmer's. Other avenues have already been proposed and these now need to be explored.

Secondly, the consideration of the cultural influences shown in sculpture and metalwork underlines the importance of considering connections between groups in Scotland and all their neighbours, not just those within the borders of the modern nation or those considered "Celtic". This interconnectedness is a common consideration in the study of sculpture in particular, and is becoming increasingly important in other areas, the *New Edinburgh History of Scotland* series for example includes all of Northumbria in its considerations. So far in music, however, such questions of interconnectedness (with the exception of the Irish connection) have tended to be given less importance. This may be because the idea of a common Scottish and Irish "Celtic" past has been more useful in the creation of some forms of Scottish identity today than the alternatives. Considering such interconnectedness in terms of music in Scotland in this period will bring the study of music more into line with other disciplines in Scottish studies.

Finally, the emphasis on interconnectedness which has arisen through the examination of cultural influence in sculpture and metalwork adds to questions about the value of attempts to find and define some sort of particular "Celtic" or Scottish "Scottishness" about music in Scotland during this period. This would also help to bring music into line with recent thinking about contemporary sculpture and metalwork.

The result of this study is to suggest that one line of enquiry into music in Scotland before the mid-ninth century, that of the potential for patterns of cultural influence and interaction to help to fill in the gaps left in between the sources from Scotland, should be closed and efforts concentrated elsewhere.

Bibliography

Alcock, L., 1970. 'Was there an Irish sea culture-province in the dark ages?' In Moore, D. (ed.), *The Irish Sea Province in Archaeology and History.* Cardiff: Cambrian Archaeological Association. pp. 55-65.

Alcock, L., 2003. *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550-850.* Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Allen, J. R. and Anderson, J., 1903. *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland.* Edinburgh: Neill and Co for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Anderson, A. O., 1922. *Early Sources of Scottish History A.D. 500 to 1286.* Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

Anderson, M. O., 1965. 'Columba and Other Irish Saints in Scotland.' In McCracken, J. L. (ed.), *Historical Studies V: Papers Read Before the Sixth Conference of Irish Historians.* London: Bowes and Bowes. pp. 26-36.

Armit, I., 1997. *Celtic Scotland.* London: B. T. Batsford Ltd.

Armstrong, R. B., 1904. *Musical Instruments, Part 1. The Irish and Highland Harps.* Edinburgh: David Douglas.

Binchy, D. A. ed., 1963. *Scéla Cano Meic Gartnáin.* Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Blacking, J., 1995. *Music, Culture, and Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Boece, H., 1941. *The Chronicles of Scotland Compiled by Hector Boece, Translated into Scots by John Bellenden 1531.* Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society.

Boenig, R., 1996. 'The Anglo-Saxon Harp.' In *Speculum*, 71 (2). pp. 290-320. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865415 [Accessed 11th August 2008]

Bowen, E. G., 1977. *Saints, Seaways and Settlements in the Celtic Lands.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Bower, W., 1989. *Scotichronicon.* Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.

Bronson, H. B., 1959. *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads.* Vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bruce-Mitford, M., 2008. 'Rotte (ii) [round lyre, Germanic lyre].' In Macy, L. (ed.), *Grove Music Online.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23943

?q=rotte&source=omo_gmo&search=quick&pos=2&_start=1#firsthit [Accessed 4th July 2008]

Bruce-Mitford, R. and Bruce-Mitford, M., 1970. 'The Sutton Hoo Lyre, *Beowulf*, and the Origins of the Frame Harp.' In *Antiquity*, 44 (173). pp. 7-13.

Buckley, A., 1977. 'What was the Tiompán? A Problem in Ethnohistorical Organology: Evidence in Irish Literature.' In *Jahrbuch Für Muscikalische Voks- und Volkerkunde*, 9 pp. 53-88.

Buckley, A., 2000. 'Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society.' In *Early Music*, XXVIII (2). pp. 165-192.

Buckley, A., 2003. 'Representations of Musicians in Medieval Christian Iconography of Ireland and Scotland as Local Cultural Expression.' In McIver, K. A. (ed.), *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period: Essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited. Ch. 10. pp. 217-232.

Callander, J. G. and Grant, W. G., 1934. 'The Broch of Midhowe, Rousay, Orkney.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 68 pp. 444-516.

Campbell, E., 1999. *Saints and Sea-Kings.* Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd.

Campbell, E., 2001. 'Were the Scots Irish?' In *Antiquity*, 75 pp. 285-292.

Campbell, E., 2003. 'New Work on the Origins of the Scots of Dál Riata.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 133 pp. 408-409.

Campbell, E. and Lane, A., 2000. *Dunadd: An Early Dalriadic Capital.* Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Carver, M., 1999. *Surviving in Symbols: A Visit to the Pictish Nation.* Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd.

Childe, V. G., 1951. *Social Evolution.* London: Watts and Co.

Clancy, T. O., 1999. 'Columba, Adomnán and the Cult of Saints in Scotland.' In Broun, D. and Clancy, T. O. (ed.), *Spes Spectorum: Hope of Scots. Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd. Ch. 1. pp. 3-34.

Clancy, T. O., 2002. 'Scottish Saints and National Identities in the Early Middle Ages.' In Thacker, A. and Sharpe, R. (ed.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 11. pp. 397-422.

Clancy, T. O. and Markus, G., 1995. *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Crane, F., 1972. *Extant Medieval Musical Instruments: A Provisional Catalogue by Types.* Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Crawford, O. G. S., 1921. *Man and His Past.* London: Oxford University Press.

Curle, C., 1940. 'The Chronology of the Early Christian Monuments of Scotland.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 74 pp. 60-116.

Davies, W., 1982. 'The Latin Charter-tradition in Western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the Early Mediaeval Period.' In Whitelock, D., McKitterick, R., and Dumville, D. (ed.), *Ireland in Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 258-280.

Dawe, K., 2003. 'The Cultural Study of Musical Instruments.' In Clayton, M., Herbert, T., and Middleton, R. (ed.), *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction.* New York: Routledge. pp. 274-283.

De Geer, I., 1985. *Earl, Saint, Bishop, Skald - and Music: The Orkney Earldom of the Twelfth Century. A Musicological Study.* Uppsala: Institutionen För Musikvetenskap Uppsala Universitet.

DeVale, S. C., 2007. 'Harp I. Introduction.' In Macy, L. (ed.), *Grove Music Online.* http://www.grovemusic.com [Accessed 14th February 2008]

Edwards, N., 2002. 'Celtic Saints and Early Medieval Archaeology.' In Thacker, A. and Sharpe, R. (ed.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 6. pp. 225-266.

Farmer, H. G., 1947. *A History of Music in Scotland.* London: Hinrichsen Edition Limited.

Fisher, I., 2001. *Early Medieval Sculpture in the Western Highlands and Islands.* Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Fisher, I. and Greenhill, F. A., 1974. 'Two Unrecorded Carved Stones at the Tower of Lethendy, Perthshire.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 104 pp. 238-241.

Fordun, J., 1872. *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation translated from the Latin text by Felix J. H. Skene.* Vol. IV. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

Forsyth, K., 2001. 'Languages of Scotland, pre-1100.' In Lynch, M. (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 377-378.

Foster, S. M., 2004. *Picts, Gaels and Scots: Early Historic Scotland.* London: B T Batsford with Historic Scotland.

Galpin, F. W., 1910. *Old English Instruments of Music.* London: Methuen and Co. Ltd.

Gamble, C., 2001. *Archaeology: The Basics.* London: Routledge.

Goldenweiser, A. A., 1913. 'The Principle of Limited Possibilities in the Development of Culture.' In *The Journal of American Folklore*, 26 (101). pp. 259-290.

Graham-Campbell, J., 1973. 'The Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon Horn-Mount from Burghead, Morayshire, Scotland.' In *Medieval Archaeology*, 17 pp. 43-52.

Hägerstrand, T., 1988. 'Some Unexplored Problems in the Modelling of Culture Transfer and Transformation.' In Hugill, P. J. and Dickson, D. B. (ed.), *The Transfer and Transformation of Ideas and Material Culture.* Texas: Texas A&M University Press. pp. 217-232.

Henderson, I., 1967. *The Picts.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Henderson, I., 1983. 'Pictish Vine-Scroll Ornament.' In O'Connor, A. and Clarke, D. V. (ed.), *From the Stone-Age to the 'Forty-Five: Studies Presented to R B K Stevenson, Former Keeper, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.* Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers. Ch. 17. pp. 243-268.

Henderson, I., 1986. 'The 'David Cycle' in Pictish Art.' In Higgitt, J. (ed.), *Early Medieval Sculpture in Britain and Ireland.* Oxford: B.A.R. pp. 87-113.

Henderson, I. and Henderson, G., 2004. *The Art of the Picts: Sculpture and Metalwork in Early Medieval Scotland.* London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.

Herbert, M., 1988. *Iona, Kells, and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba.* New York: Oxford University Press.

highcrosses.org., 2008. 'Irish High Crosses.' In *highcrosses.org* http://highcrosses.org/clonmacnoise/p1010068ax.jpg [Accessed 29th July 2008]

Hingley, R., 1998. *Display script of the Book of Kells: The Later Prehistoric People of Scotland.* Edinburgh: Canongate Books with Historic Scotland.

Hodder, I., 1982. *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hollo, K., 2005. *Fled Bricrenn ocus Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes, Translation, Bibliography and Vocabulary.* Maynooth: Department of Old and Middle Irish, National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

Inglis, D. and Hughson, J., 2003. *Confronting Cultures: Sociological Vistas.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jackson, A., 1993. 'Further thoughts on Sueno's Stone.' In Sellar, W. D. H. (ed.), *Moray: Province and People.* Edinburgh: The Scottish Society for Northern Studies. pp. 91-96.

Laing, J. and Laing, L., 1992. *Art of the Celts.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Lawson, G., 1999. 'Musical Instruments.' In Lapidge, M., Blair, J., Keynes, S., and Scragg, D. (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. pp. 328-329.

Mason, O. T., 1886. 'Resemblances in Arts Widely Separated.' In *The American Naturalist*, 20 (3). pp. 246-251. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2449927 [Accessed 26th August 2008]

McCullagh, R., 1991. 'Sueno's Stone.' In *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland 1991*. Edinburgh: Council for Scottish Archaeology. pp. 38

McGee, T. J., 1998. 'Musical Instruments.' In Szarmach, P. E., Tavormina, M. T., and Rosenthal, J. T. (ed.), *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia.* New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

McNeill, W. H., 1988. 'Diffusion in History.' In Hugill, P. J. and Dickson, D. B. (ed.), *The Transfer and Transformation of Ideas and Material Culture.* Texas: Texas A&M University Press. pp. 75-90.

Megaw, J. V. S., 1970. 'Iron Age Finds from Dùn an Fheurain, Gallanach, Argyll: Appendix 1. The Possible Wrest-Plank from Dùn an Fheurain.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 103 pp. 106-107.

Moisl, H., 1983. 'The Bernician Royal Dynasty and the Irish in the Seventh Century.' In *Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland*, 2 pp. 103-126.

National Museums Scotland, 2008. 'Hunterston Brooch.' In *National Museums Scotland.* http://www.nms.ac.uk/hunterstonbrooch.aspx

National Museums Scotland, 2008. 'Record: Cross Shaft from Monifieth, Angus.' In *www.nms.scran.ac.uk*http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-043-444-C&PHPSESSID=nfjfh2vm9jljtmk9agt6onm6r3&scache=5serpvgryq&searchdb=scran&PHPSESSID=nfjfh2vm9jljtmk9agt6onm6r3 [Accessed 20th August 2008]

Nees, L., 1992. 'The Originality of Early Medieval Artists.' In Chazelle, C. M. (ed.), *Literacy, Politics, and Artistic Innovation in the Early Medieval West: Papers Delivered at "A Symposium on Early Medieval Culture" Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA.* Lanham: University Press of America. pp. 77-110.

Nettl, B., 1964. *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

Ó Concheanainn, T., 1986. 'The Manuscript Tradition of Two Middle Irish Leinster Tales.' In *Celtica*, XVIII pp. 13-33.

Ó Cróinín, D., 1989. 'Introduction: Ireland and the Celtic Kingdoms of Britain.' In Youngs, S. (ed.), *'The Work of Angels': Masterpieces of Celtic Metalwork, 6th-9th Centuries A.D.* London: British Museum Publications. pp. 11-18.

Ó Floinn, R., 1989. 'Secular Metalwork in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries.' In Youngs, S. (ed.), *'The Work of Angels': Masterpieces of Celtic Metalwork, 6th-9th Centuries A.D.* London: British Museum Publications. pp. 72-124.

O'Curry, E., 1873. *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*. Dublin: W. B. Kelly.

O'Curry, E., 1873. *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.* Vol. III. London: Williams and Norgate.

O'Neill, P., 2005. 'The political and ecclesiastical extent of Scottish Dalriada.' In *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Society*, 1 pp. 119-132. http://home.vicnet.net.au/~medieval/jaema1/oneill.html

Oxford English Dictionary Online, 2008. 'Culture, *n.*' In *Oxford English Dictionary Online* http://dictionary.oed.com [Accessed 16th July 2008]

Porter, J., 1983. 'Harps, Pipes and Silent Stones: The Problem of Pictish Music.' In Marzac-Holland, N. and Jairazbhoy, N. A. (ed.), *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology 4: Essays in Honour of Peter Crossley-Holland on his Sixty-fifth Birthday.* Los Angeles: University of California. pp. 243-267.

Prine Pauls, E., 2008. 'Culture Area.' In *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9028167 [Accessed 17th July 2008]

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1956. 'Donations to and Purchases for the Museum.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 90 pp. 260-264.

Purser, J., 1992. *Scotland's Music.* Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing Company.

Rankin, S., 1999. 'Music.' In Lapidge, M., Blair, J., Keynes, S., and Scragg, D. (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. pp. 327-328.

Remnant, M., 1986. *English Bowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Rensch Erbes, R., 1972. 'The Development of the Medieval Harp: A Re-examination of the Evidence of the Utrecht Psalter and its Progeny.' In *Gesta*, 11 (2). pp. 27-35.

Ritchie, A., 1997. *Iona.* London: B T Batsford Ltd.

Ritchie, J. N. G., 1970. 'Iron Age Finds from Dùn an Fheurain, Gallanach, Argyll.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 103 pp. 100-112.

Robertson, H., 1970. 'Studies in Carmichael's Carmina Gadelica.' In *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 12 (1). pp. 220-265.

Robertson, W. N., 1979. 'A Fragment of Stone-carving of Early Christian Date in the Cathedral Museum, St Andrews.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 108 pp. 259-261.

Roe, H. M., 1949. 'The "David Cycle" in Early Irish Art.' In *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 79 pp. 39-59.

Rollason, D., 2003. *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 1982. *Argyll: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments. Argyll Volume 4. Iona.* Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 1998. *Twelfth Report with an Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Orkney and Shetland: Vol. II. Inventory of Orkney.* Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland.

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Aberlemno.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk.* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/newcanmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=34863 [Accessed 12th August 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Abernethy.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk.* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/newcanmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=28000 [Accessed 23rd July 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Ardchattan Priory.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/canmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=23259 [Accessed 20th March 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Brechin Cathedral.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk.* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/newcanmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=35055 [Accessed 7th August 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Dupplin Cross.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk.* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/canmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=26594 [Accessed 23rd July 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Forres, Sueno's Stone.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk.* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/newcanmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=15785 [Accessed 23rd July 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Hilton Of Cadboll, 'Cadboll Stone'.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk.* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/newcanmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=15261 [Accessed 12th August 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Iona, St Oran's Cross.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/newcanmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=21656 [Accessed 30th June 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Lethendy House.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/newcanmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=28930 [Accessed 23rd July 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Moncrieffe House, Boar Stone Of Gask.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk.* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/newcanmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=28011 [Accessed 23rd July 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Monifieth.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/newcanmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=33411 [Accessed 12 August 2008]

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, 2008. 'Nigg.' In *www.rcahms.gov.uk.* http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/pls/portal/canmore.newcandig_details_gis?inumlink=15280 [Accessed 23rd July 2008]

Royan, N., 1998. 'The Relationship between the *Scotorum Historia* of Hector Boece and John Bellenden's *Chronicles of Scotland*.' In Mapstone, S. and Wood, J. (ed.), *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland.* East Linton: Tuckwell Press. Ch. 7. pp. 136-157.

Royan, N., 2004. 'Boece [Boethius], Hector (c. 1465-1536).' In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2760 [Accessed 23rd July 2008]

Sanger, K. and Kinnaird, A., 1992. *Tree of Strings: crann nan teud.* Edinburgh: Kinmor Music.

Schneider, L., 1973. 'The Idea of Culture in the Social Sciences: Critical and Supplementary Observations.' In Schneider, L. and Bonjean, C. M. (ed.), *The Idea of Culture in the Social Sciences.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. VII. pp. 118-144.

Sellar, D., 1993. 'Sueno's Stone and its Interpreters.' In Sellar, W. D. H. (ed.), *Moray: Province and People.* Edinburgh: The Scottish Society for Northern Studies. pp. 97-116.

Simpson, D. P., 1959. *Cassell's New Latin-English English-Latin Dictionary.* London: cassell and Company Ltd.

Stevenson, R. B. K., 1956. 'The Chronology and Relationships of Some Irish and Scottish Crosses.' In *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* 86 pp. 84-96.

Stevenson, R. B. K., 1961. 'The Inchyra Stone and Some Other Unpublished Early Christian Monuments.' In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 92 pp. 33-55.

Stevenson, R. B. K., 1974. 'The Hunterston Brooch and its Significance.' In *Medieval Archaeology,* 18 pp. 16-42.

Stevenson, R. B. K., 1980. 'Pictish Art.' In Wainwright, F. T. (ed.), *The Problem of the Picts.* Perth: Melven Press. Ch. 5. pp. 97-128.

Stuart, J., 1856. *Sculptured stones of Scotland.* Aberdeen: The Spalding Club.

Tabraham, C., 2005. *St Serf's Church, Dunning and the Dupplin Cross.* Historic Scotland.

Traveluk.co.uk, 2008. 'Map of Scotland.' In *Traveluk.co.uk* www.itravel.co.uk/maps/scotland.html [Accessed 30th August 2008]

Trench-Jellicoe, R., 1997. 'Pictish and Related Harps: Their form and decoration.' In Henry, D. (ed.), *The Worm, the Germ and the Thorn: Pictish and Related Studies Presented to Isabel Henderson.* Balgavies: The Pinkfoot Press. pp. 159-173.

Wachsmann, K., Lawergren, B., Wegner, U., and Clark, J., 2008. 'Lyre.' In Macy, L. (ed.), *Grove Music Online.* http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?from=search&session_search_id=820668659&hitnum=5&section=music.50534 [Accessed 24th June 2008]

Wright, D. H. ed., 1967. *The Vespasian Psalter.* Copenhagan: Rosenkilde and Bagger.

Youngs, S., 1989. 'Fine Metalwork to *c.* AD 650.' In Youngs, S. (ed.), *'The Work of Angels': Masterpieces of Celtic Metalwork, 6th-9th Centuries A.D.* London: British Museum Publications. pp. 20-71.

Zupitza, J. ed., 1880. *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar. 1. Abt., Texte und Varianten.* Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.