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Early Medieval Carved Stones from Ireland, Scotland and Scandinavia: A Comparative Study Through Place, Movement, Memory and Identity

Anouk Marie Busset
Licence ès Lettres (Lausanne)

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School of Humanities

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EARLY MEDIEVAL CARVED STONES FROM IRELAND, SCOTLAND AND SCANDINAVIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY THROUGH PLACE, MOVEMENT, MEMORY AND IDENTITY

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par

ANOUK MARIE BUSSET

Directeurs de thèse:

Prof Michel Fuchs, Université de Lausanne
Prof Stephen Driscoll, University of Glasgow

Experts:

Prof Nancy Edwards, University of Bangor
Dr Katherine Forsyth, University of Glasgow
Dr Barbara Franzé, Université de Lausanne
Prof Anne-Sofie Gräslund, University of Stockholm

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Abstract

The research presented within this work proposes and develops a new approach to the analysis of early medieval carved stone monuments in North-western Europe. Three data sets of stone monuments, and their associated archaeological sites from disparate regions of north-western Europe—Ireland, Scotland and Scandinavia—are considered through a uniquely developed comparative methodology. This comparative approach was developed to create new insights and understanding of the use and functions of stone monuments during the early medieval period. Undeniably, this period witnessed one of the deepest and most significant transformations in European society and culture with the spread of Christianity across north-western Europe. The emergence and establishment of Christianity not only altered the beliefs of people, but also facilitated shifts in power between secular and ecclesiastical elites. The use of carved stone as a medium is an important characteristic in northern societies. And indeed, from the 5th century onwards, these monuments became prominent in the landscape, as objects of devotion and marks of political power, both secular and ecclesiastical.

The comparative approach developed for this study encompasses three major themes, *place*, *movement*, and *monument*, through which the case studies selected are analysed and discussed. The results are interpreted from a multi-scaled perspective: on a small level, through the monument, its identity and use as a mnemonic object; on a middle level, through the landscape settings and connection to ancient places; and on a large level, through the use and function of stone monuments within the conversion process and first centuries of Christianisation. For the latter perspective, the relationship between secular elites and the Church is closely examined.

Each regional selection is analysed from a holistic perspective comprising the study of the monument, and when available, its landscape setting and place-name, and mentions in historical sources. The results of this research demonstrate that analysing monuments, and their contexts, through a thematic approach rather than a geographical one enables the comparative process to emphasise similarities and contrasts, while allowing deeper understanding and new interpretations. Consequently, this exhibits the need for future research on carved stone monuments utilising the theoretical and methodological approaches developed by this work to further our understanding and interpretations of the place and role of these monuments in the early medieval world.

Table of Contents

Abstract i
Table of Contents ii
List of Figures iv
Acknowledgments / Remerciements viii
Author's Declaration x
Abbreviations xi
1 Early medieval stone monuments: analytical and methodological concepts 1
1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 Methodological models 7
1.3 Analytical approaches 9
1.4 The comparative approach 16
1.5 Themes 25
1.6 Methodology 37
2 Scandinavia, Ireland and Scotland in the early medieval period 45
2.1 Introduction 45
2.2 Early Medieval Scandinavia and the Svea Kingdom 52
2.3 Early medieval Ireland and the Kingdoms of Cenél nÉogain and Ulaid 65
2.4 Early medieval Scotland and the southern kingdom of the Picts 76
2.5 The study of carved stone monuments, a literature review 89
2.6 Conclusion 96
3 First theme: Monuments creating places 101
3.1 Introduction 101
3.2 Secular places 102
3.3 Stone sculpture and ecclesiastical sites 145
3.4 Discussion: monuments making places 175
4 Second theme: Monuments making movement 181
4.1 Monuments connecting places 181
4.2 Royal paths, liturgical roads and pilgrimage 220
4.3 Boundaries and liminal places 244
4.4 General discussion 252
5 Third theme: Monuments as objects of identity, memory and reuse 255
5.1 Introduction 255
5.2 Identity 255
5.3 Memory and commemoration 273
5.4 Reuse 288
5.5 Conclusion: monument as objects of identity, memory and reuse 292

6 Early medieval stone monuments: Through Verticality and Horizontality.....293
6.1 Introduction.....293
6.2 Discussion.....299
6.3 Conclusion.....309
Annexes I: Rune stones dating table.....313
Annexe II: Fieldwork form.....314
Catalogue.....317

List of Figures

Map 1-1 main areas in Europe where carved stones are erected during the early medieval period (including single occurrences signalled by the red dots). 1
Map 1-2 Regions selected for this research 3
Ill. 1.1 The stone circle at Broomend of Crichie, 14
Figure 1.a Comparative method 19
Figure 1.b The nine dimensions of comparisons 21
Ill. 1.2 Panoramic view of Hovgården (360°) (SCA12) from the rune stone U11 40
Ill. 1.3 Detail of Kilnasaggart carved pillar: horizontal marks on the bottom side of the stone 41
Figure 2.a Relative comparative chronologies 47
Ill. 2.1 The 'Craw Stane', Rhynie 50
Ill. 2.2 left: the Möjbro stone (Jansson 1987, 18) and right: the Rök stone 51
Ill. 2.3 Example of Sigurd's stone, the Gök Stone (Sö 327) 55
Map 2-1 The Districts of Uppland, Sawyer 2000, 237 58
Map 2-2 Distribution of rune stones in southern Sweden 60
Ill. 2.4 DR 42 Jelling rune stone 63
Map 2-3 Political divisions and power centres in the early medieval period 72
Ill. 2.5 Representation of early medieval monastic layout, from the Book of Mulling, a late 8thcentury gospel book. 75
Figure 2.b Shapes and morphology of Pictish stones 79
Figure 2.c Examples of Pictish symbols 80
Map 2-4 Political organisation of early medieval Scotland in the 7th and 10th century 85
Figure 2.d Proposed structure of Pictish society 87
Ill. 2.6 Drawings by Gordon and Rev. Cordiner 94
Map 3-1 Adelsö and Björkö islands in the lake Mälaren 104
Ill. 3.1 the view towards Birka from the 'Alsnö hus' 105
Map 3-2 Hovgården and Birka; © Lantmäteriet 106
Map 3-3 the archaeological remains of Hovgården on Adelsö 107
Ill. 3.2 U11 (SCA12a) at Hovgården, Adelsö 108
Map 3-4 Forteviot in Strathearn 110
Map 3-5 Location of Invermay and Constantine's Cross in relation to Forteviot 112
Ill. 3.3 Forteviot arch 113
Ill. 3.4 Constantine's Cross 114
Ill. 3.5 Clogher, situation of the royal mound and the crosses 118
Ill. 3.6 Clogher High Crosses; royal settlement in the background 119
Map 3-6 Aspa löt, Rönö Härad 124
Map 3-7 Aspa löt, *thing* site and rune stones 125
Ill. 3.7 Sö 137, Aspa löt 126
Ill. 3.8 Arkils tingstad, Bällsta, stone setting and U225 127
Map 3-8 Connections between Arkils tingstad and Ulv's estate 128
Ill. 3.9 U225 and U226 facing the Lake Vallentuna 129
Map 3-9 Granby in Orkesta, general situation 132
Map 3-10 Granby-Hyppinge 133
Ill. 3.10 Granby farm-hall, foundations 134
Ill. 3.11 U338, Granby in Orkesta parish 135
Ill. 3.12 U 337, Granby, Orkesta parish 136
Map 3-11 Östra Ryds parish and rune stones 138

Map 3-12 U 170 and archaeological remains at Bogesund brygga 139
Fig. 3a Gunne and his family connections through the rune stones 140
Map 3-13 Jarlabanke self-dedicated rune stones 141
Fig. 3b Rune stones commissioned by Jarlabanke, and his family connections. His grandmother, Estrid, was also a prominent member of the local elite (see Ch.4, 4.1.1.) 142
Ill. 3.14 Jarlabanke bro and U164 -165 143
Ill. 3.15 U212, Vallentuna, face a and b 144
Ill. 3.16 View of Armagh city by Richard Bartlett, 1601 148
Map 3-14 Spatial connection between Armagh and Navan hillfort 150
Ill. 3.17 Aerial view of contemporary Armagh. The medieval *tri-vallum* plan is clearly visible 151
Map 3-15 Nendrum monastic site 154
Ill. 3.18 Reconstruction of Nendrum and the 8th century tidal mill, including High Crosses 155
Ill. 3.19 Aerial view of Nendrum monastic site 157
Ill. 3.20 Nendrum Crosses no. 1 'Nendrum type' and no. 10 linear cross with 'forked' terminals 158
Ill. 3.21 Nendrum round tower, church and sundial 159
Map 3-16 Meigle and St Vigeans 160
Ill. 3.22 Plan of the church, churchyard and stones in 1865 162
Ill. 3.23 Meigle 'Artist's impression of the later use of sculpture around Vanora's Mound' 164
Ill. 3.24 Meigle. OS First Edition 1860 (1:10560) 165
Ill. 3.25 Meigle 26 166
Map 3-17 St Vigeans and Arbroath 167
Ill. 3.26 Aerial view of St Vigeans from the south 168
Ill. 3.27 The site at St Vigeans 169
Ill. 3.28 VIG020 and VIG027, architectural fragments (?) 170
Ill. 3.29 VIG10 (right) and 11 (left) 172
Ill. 3.30 VIG25 172
Ill. 3.31 VIG017 ecclesiastical bearing the Petrie tonsure and carrying a book 173
Ill. 3.32 'Eskilstuna cist', Stockholm Historiska Museet 179
Fig. 4a1 Estrid and her family connections through rune stones, Sawyer version (2000, 138) 184
Fig. 4a2 Estrid and her family connections through rune stones, Andersson version (2010a) 184
Map 4-1 Locations of rune stones erected by Estrid 185
Fig. 4b Estrid and Jarlabanke's connection through rune stones 186
Map 4-2 Broby bro and the farm estates of Såsta, Broby and Karby in Täby parish . 187
Map 4-3 Broby bro. 188
Ill. 4.1 Broby bro in 1724 190
Ill 4.2: Broby bro, U 135-136-137 191
Map 4-4 Harg and Hargs bro 193
Map 4-5 Hagby and Södersätra rune stones 195
Ill 4.3 Estrid, reconstruction by Oscar Nilsson 197
Map 4-6 General map of early medieval sites of Inishowen 198
Map 4-7 the land of Magh Tochúir 199
Map 4-8 Topographical map of Carndonagh 201
Map 4-9 Carndonagh 201
202
Ill. 4.4 the Marigold stone 202

Ill. 4.5 St Patrick's Cross 203
204
Ill. 4.6 the carved pillars at Carndonagh 204
Ill 4.7 Carrowmore east High Cross 205
Ill 4.8 Clonca High Cross 1 206
Ill. 4.9 Clonca geophysical survey 207
Map 4-10 The connection between Carrowmore and Clonca in the landscape 208
Ill. 4.10 the Skull House, Cooley 209
Ill. 4.11 Cooley's cross 210
Ill. 4.12 Left: IR7 cross-decorated slab, Cooley; right: Iona cross-slab SL7 212
Map 4-11 the site of Aberlemno and its wider archaeological context 213
Ill. 4.13 Finavon hillfort, Oathlaw parish 214
Ill. 4.14 Turin hillfort, Aberlemno parish 215
Ill. 4.15 OS map 1865 showing the church of Akenhatt 216
Ill. 4.16 SCO1a Aberlemno 2 217
Ill. 4.17 York helmet, AD700-820 218
Map 4-12 Uppsala, Aspa löt and Anundshög 221
Map 4-13 Anundshög spatial organisation 222
Ill. 4.18 Anundshög, stone alignment marking the ancient road 223
Ill. 4.19 Vs 13, Anundshög, SCA21 224
Ill. 4.20 U136, Broby bro, SCA5b 226
Ill. 4.21 Tomb-shrines from Banagher (top left), Saul (bottom left) and Clones (right) 227
Ill. 4.22 Bullaun, at the base of Cooley Cross IR7 228
Ill. 4.23 Bullaun stones at Banagher IR3 (top left), Kilnasaggart IR2 (bottom left), and Carrowmore IR5 (right) 228
Map 4-14 White Island, Killadeas and Devenish on Lower Lough Erne 229
Ill. 4.24 Devenish, reconstruction of early medieval settlement 230
Ill. 4.25 White Island pillar stones 231
Ill. 4.26 Killadeas carved pillar 232
Ill. 4.27 Devenish (from the north-east) 233
Map 4-15 Routes from Iona to Lindisfarne via Atholl 234
Map 4-16 Glen Lyon, sites mentioned in the text 236
Ill. 4.28 Early ecclesiastical sites and finds in Glen Lyon 237
Ill. 4.29 Dull stone cross 'Sanctuary Cross' SCO8c 238
Ill. 4.30 Fortingall 1 cross-slab (SCO11a) 239
Ill. 4.31 Dull cross-marked stones and 'Becli' stone 240
Ill. 4.32 Adamnan's cross, Balnahanaid (Fortingall parish) 241
Ill. 4.33 Stone fonts or bullaun stones at Fortingall (top left), Dull (bottom left) and Cladh Bhranno (right) 242
Ill. 4.34 View of Glen Lyon to the east from Cladh Bhranno burial ground 243
Ill. 4.35 Banagher site plan 247
Ill. 4.36 St Orland's Stone, Glamis parish 251
Ill. 4.37 St Orland's Stone, looking south-east 252
Ill. 5.1 U 135, Broby bro 258
Ill. 5.2 U 226, Arkils tingstad (Bällsta) 259
Ill. 5.3 Fragments of Armagh High Cross(es) 261
Ill. 5.4 Daniel in the Lion's Den, head of Clones High Cross 262
Ill. 5.5 Arboe High Cross 263
Ill. 5.6 Clonca High Cross – detail 264
Ill. 5.7 St Mura's Cross, Fahan 265
Ill. 5.8 Aberlemno 3 269

Ill. 5.9 Aldbar cross-slab, Brechin Cathedral....270
Ill. 5.10 St Vigeans no 11....271
Ill. 5.11 Meigle 1....276
Ill. 5.12 U 29, Hillersjö....278
Ill. 5.13 U 29, Hillersjö (SCA11)....278
Ill. 5.14 Spatial arrangement of the inscription on U 29....279
Map 5-1 Hillersjö, Snåttsta and Vreta....280
Figure 5.a Gerlög's inheritance....281
Ill. 5.15 Kilnasaggart bullaun....283
Ill. 5.16 Kilnasaggart pillar-stone in its landscape context....284
Ill. 5.17 the Drosten Stone....285
Ill. 5.18 Drosten Stone's inscription....286
Ill. 5.19 SCO5j, VIG021....290
Ill. 5.20 Early medieval carved stones embedded in the church's fabric, St Vigeans....290
Ill. 5.21 SCA14, U166....291

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This thesis is dedicated to Virginie (1988-2013), shiniest star who left too early, and to my grandmother, Jacqueline Busset-Lambert (1920-2016).

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the Universities of Glasgow and Lausanne or any other institution.

Signature: _____

Printed Name: Anouk Marie Busset

Abbreviations

Institutions

NMS	National Museums of Scotland
NIEA	Northern Ireland Environment Agency
OS	Ordnance Survey
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
RAÄ	Riksantikvarieämbetet (Swedish National Heritage Board)
SocAnScot	Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

References and Journals

Disc Excav Scot	*Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*
ECMS	Allen, J.R. and Anderson, J. (1903), *The early Christian monuments of Scotland.*
JRSAI	*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
RUNDATA	Samnordisk Runtextdatabas (versions 2.5, 2008 and 3.0, 2014)
TAFAJ	*Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal*

Written sources

AFM	Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters
AU	Annals of Ulster
BA	Book of Armagh
Gesta	Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*
VC	Adomnán's *Life of Columba*
Tig	Annals of Tígernach
TL	Tripartite *Life of St Patrick*
VA	Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*

1 Early medieval stone monuments: analytical and methodological concepts

1.1 Introduction

Since prehistory, the act of erecting stone monuments has been used by humanity as a medium for expressing messages and ideology, and as a means of transforming the landscape. During the early medieval period, this tradition developed, and indeed flourished, at the north-western edges of Europe, following the end of the Western Roman Empire. With Christianisation, carved stones were enfolded as a prominent part in this process, by embodying and expressing Christianity as part of an identity chosen by several different kinds of elites, to convey a message of power in the landscape.

Remarkably, this tradition only developed as an integral part of the identity of societies in what are now the Britain, Ireland and Scandinavia. A few occurrences have been discovered in Brittany, which seem to be related to the British tradition (Davies *et al.* 2000), and in Eastern Europe but there are not enough monuments to consider them as an established local tradition.

Map 1-1 main areas in Europe where carved stones are erected during the early medieval period (including single occurrences signalled by the red dots).
Base map © Google, additional information by the author

1.1.1 Research questions

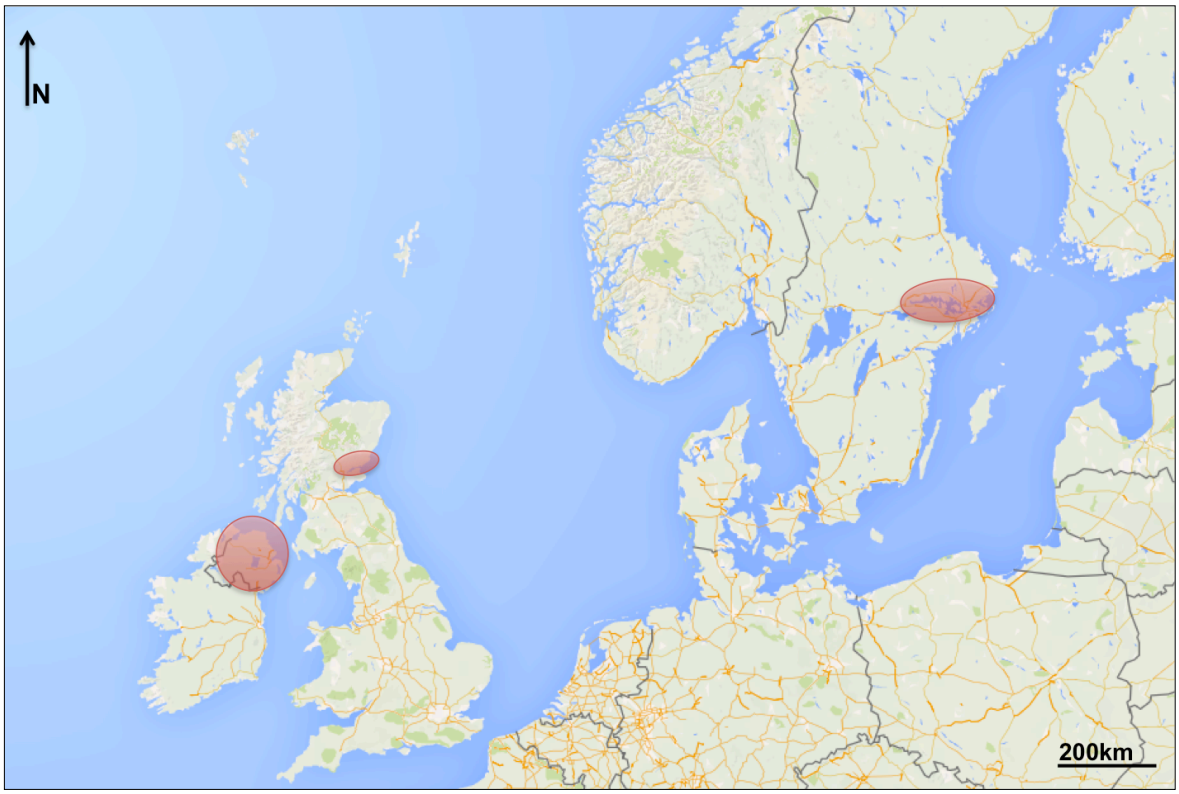
Previous research has underlined similarities in several aspects of the use and functions of early medieval carved monuments (Busset 2010); by comparing Pictish symbol stones from Aberdeenshire and Gotlandic picture stones to the very well documented Welsh monuments, this research conclusively demonstrated that early medieval carved stones in pre-Christian and early Christian societies shared multiple traits, across a range of variables, on multiple scales. Indeed, this concept of comparison has since been explored further and is supported by more recent studies (Williams *et al.* 2015b, 1-34). A comparative approach to the monuments is thus a logical continuation to the study of early medieval carved stones, as it offers new perspectives and enriches the debate on their uses and functions, as well as furthering our understanding of the role of the elites, both religious and secular, in the conversion and Christianisation processes taking place throughout north-western Europe during the early medieval period.

The choice of geographical selections is briefly introduced here, but will be thoroughly presented in Chapter 2. This thesis will focus on Sweden (more particularly Uppland, Södermanland and Västmanland), the north of Ireland (Ulster) and eastern Scotland (Strathmore and Strathearn). These regions have been selected for diverse reasons.

Scandinavia has a total of approximately 4000 rune-inscribed stones (rune stones), more than half of which are found in Sweden, especially in Uppland and Södermanland. These are especially well documented, and numerous occurrences stand in or close to their original location, providing rich information on their archaeological and landscape contexts.

In Ireland, early medieval carved stones – especially High Crosses – have been the focus of a large number of studies (Henry 1963, 1964a,b and c; Harbison 1992) but these are dominated by the art-historical interest in the monuments, and are mostly centred around central and southern Ireland, whereas early medieval sites in Ulster have been the focus of only a few publications (e.g. O'Brien & Adams 2014a and b; forthcoming; Harbison 1986, 49-86; 2014; Hamlin, 1995, 187-196; 2008 [1976]; McErlean and Crothers 2007, 350-368; Lacey 1983; Newman and Walsh 2007, 167-183).

In Scotland, several studies have been published or are being published on specific sites or regions (Hall 2011; 2014, 15-46; Hall *et al.* 2005; Hall *et al.* 2000; Gondek and Noble 2011, 281-306; Fraser and Halliday 2011, 307-335; James et al. 2008; Carver 2008); however, only a few have focused on the Strathmore region which formed part of the southern kingdom of the Picts until the 9th c., or have tried to understand the landscape connections between its early medieval sites (Hall 2011 135-168; Ritchie 1995, 1-10; 1997). The publication of the Royal Commission's *In the Shadow of Bennachie*, particularly the 'early medieval landscape' chapter (Fraser & Halliday, 2007, 115-135), has been a turning point in Pictish studies in that sense, as it proposes a holistic approach to the carved stones and their surrounding landscape.



Map 1-2 Regions selected for this research
Base map © Google, additional information by the author

These three regions thus provide the geographical focus of the study, and the monuments and sites that constitute the dataset will be examined through a series of common questions, which are as follows:

- How does the appearance of monuments (shape, size, inscriptions, and imagery) impact on the function(s) they perform? What are the regional specificities?

- What observations can be made through comparing and contrasting the topographical and archaeological contexts of stone monuments across regions?

The answers provided by these questions will then be discussed through a larger research question, which this thesis is aiming to answer:

- What are the significant regional differences in the use of carved stones and how do they inform our general understanding regarding the Christianisation of north-western societies?

Ultimately, the relevance and importance of a comparative approach for the analysis of early medieval carved stones and rune stones from three different regions is discussed, as well as its advantages and limitations. Some of these purposes may be found in the role that early medieval carved stones played as part of a grammar of commemoration practices. It includes different types of commemoration (in cases acting simultaneously): of a person, of an act of land donation, of the building of a road or bridge. They can also serve multiple topographic functions, as boundary markers, *foci* for religious or secular assembly sites and burial grounds, or praying stations along routeways.

This thesis will explore the different questions, aspects and premises presented above, by looking at stone monuments in a Christian or conversion context through a comparative study that undertakes a detailed analysis of the similarities of variables and traits found to interlink the erection, use, and display of these stone monuments within the landscape. Ultimately, these comparisons will contribute in shaping global narratives of Christianisation of the landscape of the north-western societies.

1.1.2 Thesis structure

The first part of this chapter introduces the methodological models which acted as technical and intellectual frameworks for the data recording of the case studies (1.2); it then develops the analytical approaches on which this thesis is founded (1.3), with a special focus on the conceptualisation of comparative analysis (1.4). It is designed to contextualise the main threads utilised to analyse the stone monuments, their environment, and the populations that first erected them. The second part introduces

and develops the three main themes envisaged for structuring this research (1.5); the methodology conceived and applied for the analysis of the case studies is finally presented; the monuments and sites situated within their analytical frameworks, and the fieldwork and research carried out reviewed (1.6).

The scholarship relating to this thesis is vast; Chapter 2 will delineate and present the historical backgrounds and sources for each region studied, as well as a literature review focused on the study of carved monuments. This chapter is divided in three main sections: the first section (2.1) introduces the terminology, chronology and choice of regional selections; the second section (2.2-2.4) presents the source material, archaeological remains and written sources of each region, and explores their historical backgrounds, such as the political situation, the location of power centres, and the conversion process to Christianity. The third section (2.5) presents the regional antiquarian traditions and reviews the research produced in relation to the carved monuments. The chapter will then conclude by a comparison of the source material, and discuss the main similarities and contrasts that will be explored in the following chapters (2.6).

The case studies selected for this thesis will then be presented thematically in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. The first theme, which constitutes Chapter 3, examines monuments making *places*. After introducing the notion and definition of 'place' (3.1), the first section analyses carved stones and rune stones associated with power centres and assembly places traditionally associated with secular elites (3.2), while the second section examines monuments connected to religious power centres, such as early churches, monasteries and burials (3.3). This section also discusses 'forgotten places', and how the monuments located on those sites reveal their historical significance to us. The conclusion of Chapter 3 reviews the main characteristics of the places explored throughout the chapter, and underlines the similarities and regional specificities (3.4).

The second theme, monuments creating *movement*, (Chapter 4) explores three different aspects of moving through the landscape*:* first, monuments which connects places (4.1), through the means of inscriptions or dedications to a saint, but also possibly revealing royal patronage; second, the monuments placed on routeways or waterways, that mark a processional way or pilgrimage route; finally, monuments

that marks boundaries and thus the imperceptible passage between wild and cultured or secular and sacred, and sometimes mapping the path of liturgical routes. A discussion about the interconnections of movements between the stones and the landscape, and between the audiences and the stones concludes the chapter.

Chapter 5 will focus on the monument as an expression of identity (5.2), and an object of memory and commemoration (5.3). The first section of this chapter examines the notion of identity related to the carved stones regarding their visual aspect, and how they engaged with their intended audiences, connecting individuals and communities and forming networks of clientships or kin-groups. The second section examines a selection of monuments containing an inscription recording an event of significance. The theme of memorialisation is also discussed, through the multiple reuses of carved stones, from the reuse of an ancient monument or place, to the later reuse of an early medieval carved stone (5.4). The symbolic aspects of the act of reuse are also briefly explored.

Chapter 6 will discuss the general results obtained through the comparative process, by reviewing them through the multi-scaled concept elaborated for this research and introduced in the section 1.4.3 below. The comparative analysis within which this research is produced appears through two conceptualised frameworks: the first one, by the creation of themes, which allow the monuments to be analysed outside their geographical situation; the second one by a multi-scaled approach which compares the case studies on three levels: 1) the stone monuments 2) the landscape context 3) the use and function of these stone monuments within their social environment. A catalogue – presented in section 1.6.3 below – in which all information gathered on the case studies has been recorded, completes this thesis.

The concepts introduced here are embedded in a larger analytical framework that emerges from the foundation created by methodological models and theoretical concepts that are presented in the following sections.

1.2 Methodological models

1.2.1 *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* and *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*

This section will present and discuss two main methodological models on which the research approaches of this thesis are based on: the British Academy's *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (Cramp 1984a, and several volumes thereafter) and *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales* (Edwards 2007; 2013; Redknap and Lewis 2007).

Rosemary Cramp has been a leading figure in the archaeological research on Anglo-Saxon sculpture long before the publication of the first volume of the Anglo-Saxon Corpus in 1984. The importance of this corpus is that it generated from the beginning new holistic approaches to the study of early carved monuments; indeed it not only described their shape and iconography, but also consistently and systematically observed their original contexts and locations; the historical background of the monument is also explored by identifying elites' patronage involved in the creation of the sculptured monuments. Unfortunately, the last part is not extensive enough to allow a full understanding of the political context of the monuments, and the large quantity of monuments presented renders a more thorough political analysis impossible, resulting in a 'cherry-picking' analysis, which offers in its turn token examples.

The descriptive method and methodology are set and detailed by Cramp at the beginning of the first volume (1984, viii). The first chapters of each volume follow the same pattern: past research, historical background, and regional geology. The volumes then differ from one another, some emphasising the regional specificities, some analysing their selection chronologically and geographically, and some organising the analysis around the form of the sculpture and imagery. The art-historical analysis is however predominant in every volume. Some volumes also broaden the general analysis by including the archaeological context and connections between the stone sculpture and early Christian settlements, monasteries and parishes; these aspects have however been mostly developed in the later volumes (Everson and Stocker, 1999, 69-87; Cramp, 2006, 69-74; Bryant 2012, 105-111; Preston-Jones and Okasha, 2013, 37-50).

The project of publishing a new and updated corpus of Welsh stone sculpture to revise Nash-Williams' *The early Christian monuments of Wales* in 1950 was initiated by Lewis and Thomas in the 1980s. The first two volumes of the corpus, covering south-east Wales and the English borders edited by Redknap and Lewis, and south-west Wales by Edwards, were published in 2007; the last volume, also edited by Edwards and covering north Wales was published in 2013.

The methodological approaches and classification system to analyse the stone monuments are relatively similar in all three volumes: they comprise historical, archaeological, geological and historiographical backgrounds to the monuments, and analyse their shape, iconography and the inscriptions they contain. They also try to identify regional and local ensembles of stones. The study of the landscape context holds however a more prominent place in the volumes edited by Edwards, with both comprising a chapter on the distribution, context and function of the stones. Edwards' article, 'Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales: context and functions' published 2001, had already demonstrated the benefits of applying this global approach to the analysis of early medieval carved monuments. Indeed, she demonstrates that by uncovering the primary location of a monument and analysing its multiple contexts, our understanding of the original function(s) of stone monuments could be improved, and new threads, directions and links could be explored (Edwards, 2001, 16-17, 38-39).

The Welsh Corpus follows the lead of the Anglo-Saxon Corpus in many respects, yet, it surpasses the English volumes in both the archaeological contextualisation of early stone sculpture, and the analysis of the historical background; it also dedicates an important section to the antiquarian traditions of the study of stone monuments. The presentation of the Welsh Corpus differs also in its illustration of the monuments: while the Anglo-Saxon Corpus gathers all illustration at the end of the volumes, the Welsh corpus includes them directly in the text, providing a useful visual aid. The second and third volumes also include high-quality pictures, as all monuments were newly photographed by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales for the publication.

As methodological models for the present thesis, the abundance of written sources, the large variety of types of sculptured stones, predominance of the art-historical

perspective, as well as being more clearly ecclesiastical in location, renders the Anglo-Saxon Corpus uniquely and directly applicable to the Irish ensemble of sculpture. However, with regards to the analysis of Pictish stones, the approach taken by the Welsh Corpus offers more possibilities of analyses and interpretations, as a result of its focus on the wider contexts and connections between the landscape and the stone monuments within them, the more diverse locations where the stones are situated, and the resulting holistic interdisciplinary research design.

1.2.2 Other methodological models

Several other prominent works have influenced and shaped the methodological and analytical aspects of research developed and presented here. These include Stephen Driscoll's approach of situating and connecting archaeological remains within their historical milieu (Driscoll 1988, 215-236; 2000, 233-252; Forsyth and Driscoll 2009, 31-66); sharing similar ideas, although more directly focused on stone monuments, is Anne-Sofie Gräslund's work connecting rune stones to their social identity (1991a, 1996, 19-44; 2003b, 263-276; 2012 [2008], 639-644); Howard M.R. Williams and his analysis of stone monuments in the landscape, the role played by the elites, and his analysis of early medieval landscape (Williams 1998, 90-108; 2011, 13-32; Holtorf & Williams, 2006, 235-254); the biographical analysis of stone monuments elaborated by Mark Hall (2012, 85-102; 2014, 15-46; 2015, 182-215; Hall *et al.* 2000, 154-188); and finally, Anders Andrén's perspectives and analyses of the symbolic role of stones within their sacred and political landscapes (Andrén 1993, 33-56; 1999, 383-393; 2000, 7-32; 2013, 27-45).

The various works presented in this section participate in the shaping of the methodological and analytical framework utilised to build the present study. While the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon corpora offer a model to structure the recording of early medieval stone monuments and sites and provide a framework for viewing the monuments in their wider landscape, the other works cited above participate in the intellectual conceptualisation of early medieval carved stones.

1.3 Analytical approaches

Three main analytical approaches are used to analyse the carved stones. First, the analysis of the landscape context that considers the geological, archaeological,

historical and also symbolic landscapes, within which the monuments are created, situated, and experienced. Second, the biography of stone monuments that questions the sense of belonging and identities linked to the use of carved stones. Last, the use of stone as a medium, and the action of engraving stories, symbols and texts on durable surface.

The section 1.4 below introduces comparisons as a theoretical framework for this whole research. It is presented separately from the three analytical approaches, as it provides a means of connecting these disparate components and justifies this research project. That section will start with an exploration of the concept of comparative studies, and the multi-scaled approach presented in the previous section will be developed.

1.3.1 The monument and the landscape

The first analytical approach presented in this thesis relates to situating and connecting monuments in their wider landscape. Methodologically, the concept of landscape can be analysed on two levels: first, the 'small', direct landscape within which the monuments and sites are situated, which may comprise rivers, spurs, roads, promontories, and slopes, to which I would add archaeological remains. Second, the wider landscape and the topographical nature of an area, such as the presence of arable or rocky land; mountainous or flat terrain, and marshes (Tilley 1994)

Studies on the notion of landscape, its signification and use, are numerous and have generated considerable literature from different areas of expertise, such as anthropology, cultural geography and archaeology (Howard *et al.* 2013; David *et al.* 2008, 158-175; Chouquer 2007; Ashmore and Knapp 1999, 1-32). In this section, I will introduce briefly major aspects of landscape studies relevant to this research, and present previous work on the subject.

1.3.1.1 Archaeological landscape

Two main aspects are analysed from an archaeological perspective: first, the notion of continuity of use of a site. The theme of reuse – of a monument or a place – is recurrent in several case studies presented here; that this reuse is meant for symbolic

or practical reasons will be discussed. Second, the location of monuments or sites in the landscape, and their intended impact on the early medieval populations: these populations, or their elites, erected carved monuments to convey a message, conferring significance to the place where the stone is erected. To allow a better understanding of the monument and its intended message, its original location or whereabouts has to be known; indeed, only this information allows clear connections for instance to other monuments, archaeological remains, and routeways.

The analysis of the monument and its surroundings has been the object of several studies (e.g. Cassen 2009; Mohen 2009; Bradley 1993; 2000) and is now widely utilised for the study of early medieval carved stones in Scandinavia and the British Isles (e.g. Andrén 2000, 7-32; 2006, 33-38; 2007, 105-138; Zachrisson 1994, 219-238; 1998; Jesch 1998, 462-475; Forsyth and Driscoll 2009, 31-66; Hall 2014, 15-46; Gondek 2006, 105-142; James *et al.* 2008). Yet, this approach has one main constraint: the original location must be known, which in the case of Irish and Pictish monuments can be problematic. The Swedish rune stones, being more plentiful and stable, provide a means of gaining new insights in the interpretation of the landscape surroundings early medieval carved monuments as will be seen.

1.3.1.2 Historical landscape

The analysis of the historical landscape gathers information founds in maps (roads, toponymy, archaeological remains), historical records (parish or land boundaries), and written sources. In the present research, contemporary written sources are mainly found in Ireland. In Scotland, only a few texts survive but mostly in later manuscripts, which were written outside Pictland; similarly in Sweden, the first local historical records date from the 12th century, but the inscriptions found on rune stones inform us about several aspects (political, religious, legal) of 10th – 12th century life (see Chapter 2 for further discussion on written sources).

When it comes to the study of landscape, boundaries, roads and place-names give the archaeological sites and monuments a frame and an identity. They define the position of a carved stone (on a roadside, or at a destination), features near a roadside monument (bridge or along a waterway), and type of 'destination monuments' (churchyard, assembly place). From our chronologically distant perspectives, it can be difficult to differentiate roadside markers from 'destination' monuments: they may

have been both local assembly places and churchyards on the way to more important destinations.

1.3.1.3 Symbolic aspects of the landscape

The last analytical approach of the landscape presented here is the landscape as a symbolic concept, and the notion of sacred and secular landscapes. When exploring the notion of sacred places, it is necessary to integrate the human perception of them. People have charged specific natural places, such as rivers, bogs, watersheds, wells, sources, and groves with sacred attributes through prehistory and indeed recorded history (Anttonen 2013, 13-32; Nordeide 2013, 1-12; Ashmore and Knapp 1999, 12-13; Bradley 1993). These places embody multiple notions, which commonly refer to the concept of passage and transformation between the known and the unknown, the domestic and the wild, the profane and sacred, and the living and the dead. Therefore, a sacred place may be seen as 'transitive, not fixed, and as a conglomerate of cognitive and cultural processes (Nordeide 2013, 3).

People may also create or emphasise these liminal places by building a cairn for example, or erecting a monument. At all times, sacred spaces have often been protected and marked by physical borders This is indeed observed within pre-Christian and Christian societies, where the stone monuments may be used to mark the passage, or dissimulate the most holy place from non-initiated eyes, such as chancels in churches (e.g. Andrén 1999, 384). In this regard, carved stones may be in several instances perceived as a manifestation of these limits, and thus embodying the power of sacralising a space. This phenomenon may be observed for example through the presence of carved pillars, representing walking monks carrying bells (IR4 and IR13), which could mirror an actual action executed by ecclesiastics in delineating the sacred space and repelling the forces of evil. Geddes (forthcoming [c]) has also proposed that some monuments may be linked to specific religious practices, such as Rogationtide.

1.3.2 The biography of stone monuments

> Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognised 'ages' or periods in the thing's 'life', and what are the cultural

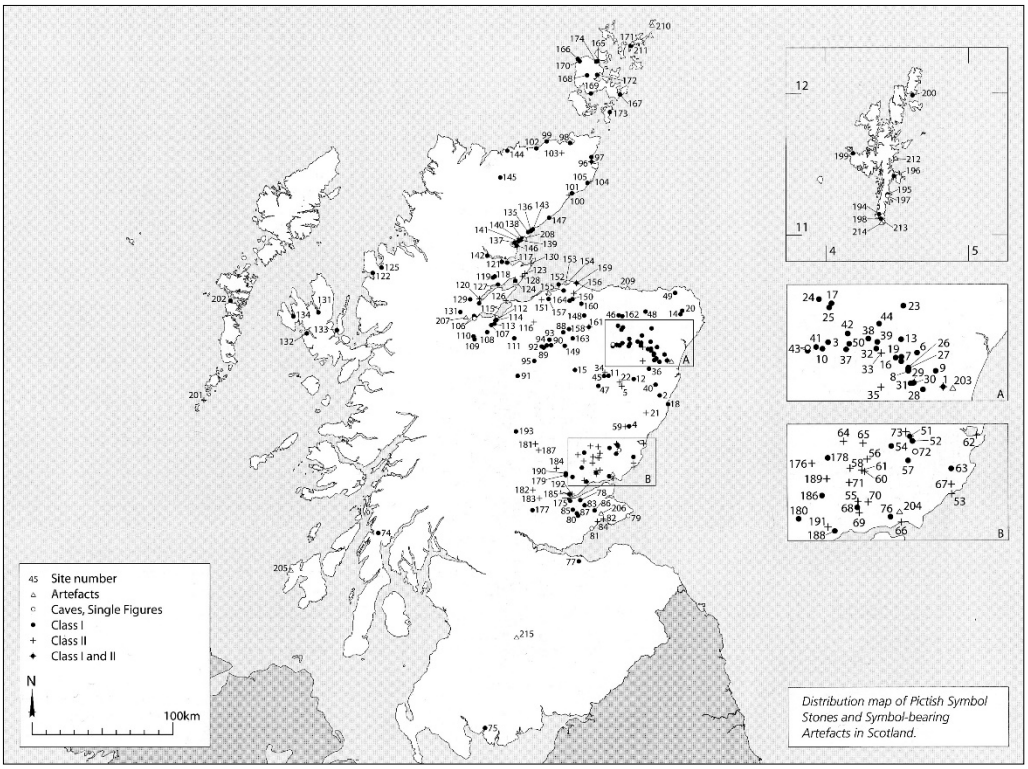
> markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness? (Kopytoff 1986, 66-67)

The questions raised by Kopytoff in 'The Cultural Biography of Things', are entirely relevant to the study of early medieval stone monuments (Moreland 1999, 194-213). When analysing a carved monument, its complete journey – geographical, historical and artistic – must be taken into account. The geographical journey will inform on the distance between its original quarry (when known) and the place it has been erected; it will also indicate if the stone has been moved after its first use or not. In doing so, it might be possible through examination to single out a specific monument, made of a different type of stone than the local one, as seen for example at St Vigeans, (Geddes forthcoming [a], Ch.1) even if a more precise interpretation is not always possible.

The historical journey of a stone will define, when possible, where the monument was first placed in the landscape, its 'connection' to other archaeological remains (contemporary or not), and its potential reuse. The reuse of a carved monument may have diverse meanings: it can be a means of destruction, alteration, re-possession; it can be used as building material, visible in a wall or pavement, as a decoration, or bearer of a symbol (Andrén 1999, 383). Another interesting case of reuse is when the carved stone itself is a reused monument. In Scotland particularly, it is not uncommon to observe cup-marks on a symbol-incised monument, or Pictish symbols on a prehistoric standing stone, sometimes still part of a stone circle, as seen for instance with Aberlemno 1 in Angus and Broomend of Crichie (ill. 1.1) in Aberdeenshire.

Ill. 1.1 The stone circle at Broomend of Crichie,
Picture © A. Busset

The artistic aspects of a carved stone encompass its shape, inscriptions, symbols, and imagery. They define the origin and identity of the monument, as well as its use and function. In Ireland for example, the dominant imagery represented on High Crosses is biblical, and commonly contains a crucifixion scene. The Pictish symbols are specific to Scotland and can be found in a clearly delimited area of northern and eastern Scotland, with a few exceptional outliers (see map 1-3). Less diversification in carving style is evident on the Swedish rune stones, however the subtle regional distinctions are embedded in the text, such as: the name of the commissioner, of the person commemorated, the reason of erecting the monument, and the name of the carver (see Ch.2 for further details; Gräslund 2006a, 117-140; Fugelsang 1998, 197-217).



Map 1-3 Distribution of stones comprising Pictish symbols
Fraser 2008, 11 © Crown Copyright: RCAHMS

The shape and morphology of stone monuments also participates in determining their use and function; indeed, a High Cross measuring 2 metres (such as Carrowmore, IR5; Downpatrick IR9; or Constantine's Cross (formerly known as the Dupplin Cross), SCO11a) is certainly not used in the same manner as a recumbent cross-incised slab (such as Cooley IR7; Nendrum IR10; Fortingall SCO12). All the elements presented above contribute to shape and determine the identity of the monuments, and how their audiences recognise it and relate to them. This recognition and relation to audience is tied to the next aspect of the framework that of stone as medium for intentional and deliberate meaning and messages.

1.3.3 The use of stone as medium

Carved stones are a defining element of early Christian societies in north-western Europe. The choice of a shared language (through texts and speech) and way of expression, a similar choice of iconography and symbols determine a social and cultural group and its identities (Fisher and DiPaolo Lauren 2003, 225-230; Jones 1997). It may also be argued that a similar practice (i.e., the act of erecting carved stones), in defined areas, over a delineated period of time, even if the language differs, is used to convey similar types of ideas and meaning.

Richard Bradley (1993; 2000, 97-114) has analysed the interrelation between stone monuments and their surroundings, and also put forward the importance of the materiality of stone. A society that erects a monument in stone has a different approach to the land than one using only perishable material. The notion of marking the land durably changes the perception of the land and transforms it in a (cultured) landscape (Holtorf and Williams 2006; Bradley 1993; 2000). By doing so, the society that erects these monuments creates a new sense of space while enhancing the significance of particular locations.

Bradley (1993, 113-129) also draws attention to the connection across long passages of time between the societies that erected stone monuments and later societies who encounter them. This aspect is of particular interest when we observe and question the reuse of stone monuments. Regarding early medieval carved stones, this reuse may concern the selection of a prehistoric monolith to create a new monument, or the future reuse of these carved stones in subsequent periods, such as rune stones being built into a church wall. In some cases, it can be argued that the reuse of earlier standing stone(s) was to create – or destroy – a connection to the ancestors, or to Christianise a 'pagan' place, such as a burial site (Williams 2011, 21; Gräslund 2003, 263-284). Stone monuments are about memory: they can be used to join the past to the present, they commemorate and they endure (Van Dyke 2008, 277-284; Holtorf and Williams 2006; Bradley 1993, 127-129). Indeed, this very act of commemoration and memory flows beyond the monument and encompasses the landscape within which the monument is situated, as we shall see.

1.4 The comparative approach

The main analytical approach of this thesis, which provides a framework to this whole study, regards a comparative analysis of the material. The following sections will summarise and present this approach and the main elements constituting a comparative study, and stress its relevance to the present thesis.

1.4.1 Why use comparisons?

Until now, no theoretical and methodological foundation has been developed or conceptualised for a comparative analysis of early medieval carved monuments within such a large geographical scale and time-span. While early medieval carved

stones have been the focus of antiquarian and academic focus for several centuries, resulting in a profusion of literature for each region studied, they have never been gathered and examined in a single study. Yet, American anthropologist and archaeologist Peter Peregrine states that (2004, 286): 'Today the goals of research are often aimed at getting a fuller understanding of the particular attribute and identifying and understanding variation', therefore this research seeks to counter this absence by bringing different groups of monuments together in a comparative study.

In the early medieval period, secular and religious elites from north-western Europe commissioned and erected stone monuments in the landscape for a variety of reasons: as a memorial practice, for pious devotions, to convey a message of power over both the people and the landscape they experienced, inhabited, traversed, and assembled in throughout the course of their own lives. The widespread nature of the erection of stone monuments thus lends itself particularly well to a comparative study.

The regions this research is focused on share three traits, which constitute the main points of comparison: they all utilise monumentality (1) in the form of carved and inscribed stones to convey a Christian message (2), and they are situated at the north-western periphery of Europe (3). They were also situated outside the Roman Empire, and as such became in contact with Christianity at a later period. The tradition of erecting stone monuments may also be regarded as a reaction to the Roman practice, and part of the process in creating their separate identity, through means of symbols and inscriptions (Driscoll and Forsyth 2009, 38).

1.4.2 Defining comparative study

1.4.2.1 Comparative study in the past

The earliest example of a comparative analysis in European archaeology was done by Gustave Oscar Montelius, director of the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm from 1907 to 1913, and focused on the composition of sealed deposits (burials and hoards) and thereby established a chronological framework which still persists (Montelius 1888). In the United States in 1898, Cyrus Thomas published a comparative analysis of earthen mounds and their historical context (cited in Smith & Peregrine 2012, 5). Interestingly, these two examples perfectly embody the two main

approaches to comparative research: the first one, based on a large sample of artefacts, takes a wide cross-cultural approach, while the second focuses on a smaller sample, in a defined area, and takes an intensive approach to the archaeological remains and analysis of the historical context.

During the early stages of this research however, the first models of comparative studies consulted were drawn from European archaeologists and particularly Classicist Mario Torelli, whose research focuses on comparing Greek and Roman artefacts (Torelli 2008; Torelli *et al.* 2012). Although this approach was useful to determine the main aspects of comparative study (materiality, monumentality and social process), it could not be applied as such to the comparison of stone monuments from varied cultural backgrounds, and to proportionally small selections. The work published by Swiss social sciences professor Daniele Caramani and American anthropology and archaeology professors Peter Peregrine and Michael E. Smith, whose respective domains of research focus on comparative studies and the methodology of comparison (Smith and Peregrine 2012, 4-20; Caramani 2009; Peregrine 2004, 281-309) appeared more fitted to this research as they reflected on similar questions and constraints. As a result, the general analytical concept of this thesis was developed, expanded and elaborated on from their models.

The scale

Caramani defines two types of scales in a comparative study: large-scale (variable-oriented) and small-scale (case-oriented) studies (Caramani, 2009, 11-15). Large-scale comparative studies focus on large samples of objects, based on a statistical record. They also offer cross-cultural (holocultural) analyses, used in most social sciences (ethnology, anthropology and sociology). Cross-cultural studies examine a limited set of data in a large number of societies. They gather information by using statistical accounts and systematic compilation. Many studies in anthropology, sociology, and to a certain extent, archaeology use this analytical approach, as it allows a researcher to define common behaviour, social habits, political structures, and religious practices (Peregrine, 2004, 281-309; Trigger, 2003, 15-39, 685-687; Ember & Ember, 1995, 87-94; 2003, 3-11). Caramani also defines them as extensive research strategies, also called systematic; that is, 'a research design that includes few variables with a high number of cases' (2009, 15).

Small-scale comparative studies (case-oriented) distance themselves from statistics. Instead, they focus more on the research question that bring together a smaller selection for comparison, in a geographically defined area and with more in-depth contextualisation (Smith & Peregrine 2012, 7-9). The important element here is to apply a 'specific logical procedure based on necessary and sufficient conditions' (Caramani 2009, 14). Case-oriented researches emphasise whole cases rather than single variables (Caramani 2009, 12). This approach is then considered as intensive, in contrast of extensive: it 'concentrates on few cases and many variables' (Caramani 2009, 15). However, the methodology for this approach needs further development, especially in archaeology and anthropology. As stated by Smith and Peregrine: "Archaeologists need to engage conceptually with work in other disciplines to make effective … comparisons, and … need to analyse [or re-analyse] [the] data so that we [they] address the topics and concepts of interest" (2012, 15).

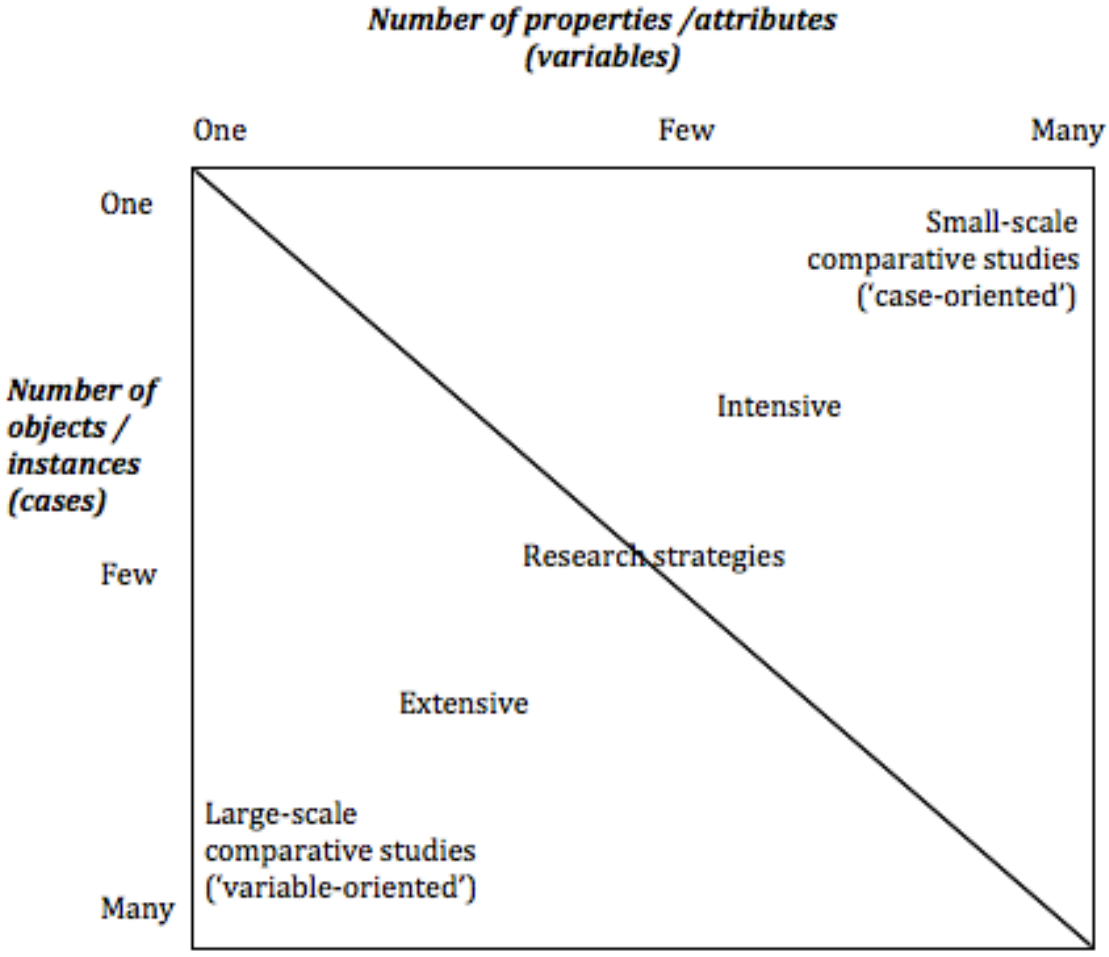


Figure 1.a Comparative method
After Caramani, 2009, 15

The dimension of time

There are also two temporal frameworks with which to define a comparative study:

- Synchronic

A synchronic approach to comparative study refers to analyses carried out in different regions to observe a set of objects, habits, and behaviours, and study them at one point in time, or over a defined period of time (Smith & Peregrine, 2012, 13; Caramani 2009, 17).

- Diachronic

A diachronic approach to comparative study refers to analyses carried out in a delimited area to observe a set of objects, habits and behaviours, and study them over time (Peregrine & Smith, 2012, 13; Caramani, 2009, 17-18). It has been argued however that a lot of early diachronic comparative studies suffered, in their beginning, from a lack of rigour in their application, such as the absence of absolute dates (Peregrine, 2004, 290-292; Trigger 2003, 16-18). Yet, this absence of absolute dates may not be problematic when a date-range is established, and the objects compared set within a defined cultural and social processes; this is why this approach is relevant to stone sculpture, despite the notorious difficulty in dating it closely. The delineation of the multiple timespans will be discussed in Chapter 2.

These defining elements are selected and applied to the comparative study, depending on the type of comparison (intensive, extensive) and the nature of the object compared. In this thesis, a small-scale and case-oriented approach has been selected. Intensive comparisons are thus used as an analytical approach to offer an interpretive framework for comparing early medieval societies that erected carved stones, and support a global narrative of Christianisation of the landscape in north-western Europe through these monuments.

1.4.3 Dimensions of comparison

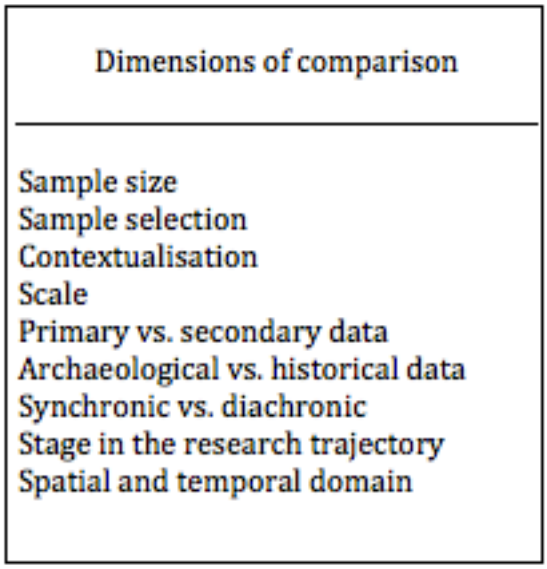


Figure 1.b The nine dimensions of comparisons
After Smith and Peregrine 2012, 10

Smith and Peregrine *in Approaches to Comparative Analysis in Archaeology* (2012, 9-15) propose nine dimensions of comparison, as a pattern to follow to define the axis of a comparative research. Comparative studies in archaeology encompass many approaches, from a wide range of objects, concepts and dates; therefore, these nine dimensions aim to offer a base to be adapted in any type of comparative research, while creating a common framework to be utilised. The following section will thus present these nine dimensions (Fig.1b) and establish how they relate to and are applied to the present study.

1.4.3.1 Sample size

Depending on the type of analytical research undertaken (systematic or intensive), the size of the sample selected will vary greatly. As the present research intends to offer a better understanding of early medieval carved monuments, the sample analysed in this research cannot be too small; however, an in-depth contextualisation of each monument is essential to the comprehension of the global analysis. For this research, I have selected 21 cases in Sweden, 16 in Ireland and 13 in Scotland; each site may comprise several monuments. The small disparities between the selections lies actually in the number of monuments included on each site: while several Scottish cases comprise a large collection of monuments (e.g. St Vigeans, SCO5 and Meigle SCO13), many Scandinavian monuments constitute a site (e.g. Bogesund SCA4

and Hillersjö SCA11). This thesis is, consequently, situated closer to the intensive type of cross-cultural research, but is situated at the larger end of the spectrum (see fig. 1a).

1.4.3.2 Sample selection

The sample selection delineates the parameters of the objects selected. For this thesis, early medieval sites have been selected which have the presence of one or more carved or incised stones within their environs – the carved stone being occasionally the only element defining the site, as we have seen above. The sample selection can be either random or systematic, although random sampling is usually not used in an intensive research. The sites contained in the selection of this research may present several major differences; yet, they also contain enough comparable data. As stated by Smith and Peregrine: '[o]ne interesting approach to sample selection is to choose cases that are rich and diverse to explore new conceptual terrains. The goal of such comparisons is to build theory that will permit more rigorous and systematic comparisons at a later stage' (2012, 11). The monuments and sites analysed in the present research have indeed been selected because they encompass a range of morphologic and iconographic styles, contexts and possibly represent various practices; the purpose of this choice is therefore to draw out the similarities and contrasts of early medieval carved stones, but also to create a framework within which each type of monument may be represented and interpreted in relation to the others.

1.4.3.3 Contextualisation

In comparative studies, contextualisation pertains to every relevant approach that enhances the understanding of the object compared: social, historical or cultural. In the present research, it refers to every analytical approach to early medieval sites that can be utilised, such as written sources, topography, and toponymy. The level of contextualisation may depend on the sample size, but also on the amount of information available for each site. For example, while the Irish, and to an extent the Scandinavian, case studies in this thesis have a wealth of historical and epigraphic sources, the same cannot be said for the Scottish case studies, which are comparatively ill-served. As a result, depth and breadth of the analyses undertaken

for this research depended heavily on the origin of the monument itself, and on the historiographical tradition of local archaeological research (see Chapter 2).

1.4.3.4 Scale

The case studies of this thesis are processed and compared through two main mediums: within a thematic framework, and from a multi-scaled perspective, which is introduced here. Indeed, 'productive archaeological comparisons can cover a wide range of analytical scales, from treatments of a single phenomenon to comparisons of whole societies' (Smith & Peregrine 2012, 12). In this fashion, this thesis approaches early medieval sites on three different levels: 1) at the smallest level, the comparative process focuses on the carved stones, and considers their appearance, the symbols or inscriptions they carry, and examines their possible reuse 2) at the middle level, the landscape context of the monuments is analysed; the geographical surroundings and archaeological remains connected to them are considered, and finally, the historical significance of the site, and its association to other places of significance are recorded; 3) the large-scale level explores the place of early medieval carved stones and sites within the societies that created them, and examines the role of religious and secular elites by whom these stones were commissioned. This multi-scaled approach ultimately discusses the multiple narratives of the Christianisation observed, from the perspective of the sculptured monuments and their contexts.

1.4.3.5 Primary data vs. secondary data

Smith and Peregrine underline the importance of access to primary archaeological data in a comparative study, as secondary data has already been subject to interpretation. The primary data in this research are the observations and analysis of the archaeological object before publication or interpretation. One of the main difficulties of the present research comes from the diverse information available on the monuments, depending on their provenance, and how they have been studied (or not) in the past (see Chapter 2). The fieldwork carried out for this thesis was pursued over several visits to Northern Ireland and Ireland, Scandinavia, and Scotland. Each case study (45 sites) has been visited, apart from a few sites, which were not accessible at the time of the visit (White Island in Northern Ireland, and Aspa löt, Fällbro, Fresta and Hargs bro in Sweden). The fieldwork has consisted of collecting information through fieldwalking observations (visibility of the site in the landscape

and viewsheds, connection to other archaeological remains, and geographical context), recording the preservation state of the monument, and when possible, recording of all archaeological data *in situ*.

1.4.3.6 Archaeological and historical data

Using archaeological and historical data collectively is the subject of numerous debates (Carver 2002, 465-496; Moreland 2001; Andrén 1998). In historical archaeology, it is a necessity to use both, as they complete each other, especially when one avenue of research is lacking or scarce in data, the other can help contextualise or offer new interpretations. A joint approach to data is now widely accepted, and recommended in archaeological research. The analysis of historical data is essential for the current research, as it offers new dimensions and understanding to the archaeological data available. This matter will be discussed further in section 2.4 below.

1.4.3.7 Synchronic versus diachronic

As discussed above, diachronic comparisons are centred on similar types of objects or phenomena over time, as synchronic comparisons regard similar types of objects or phenomena at the same time or over the same delineated period of time in different places. Synchronic approaches are prevalent while conducting a comparative study in archaeology. In this thesis, absolute synchronicity could not be attained, although each monument selected is part of an early medieval tradition. Therefore, it is argued that the data analysed in this research is part of a 'synchronic social process', in which the 12th century marks the general *terminus ante quem*. The present research is indeed focusing on praxis and traditions that were adapted and modified over an extended period of time, but which ended with the early medieval period (see section 2.1.2 in Ch.2).

1.4.3.8 Stage in the research trajectory

This dimension of comparative research is somewhat less relevant to the present study, but will be briefly summarised. The process of comparison can occur at different stages of the archaeological research, depending on the project and its purpose. An application of comparisons at a later stage of the research process is preferable when the core material being examined needs careful prior analysis.

1.4.3.9 Spatial and temporal domain

The spatial and temporal domain encompasses two main approaches: regional comparisons, which focus on diachronic comparisons in the same territory and possibly in the same society, and global comparisons, which concentrate on synchronic analyses in several regions of the world. The aim of the later is to define similar processes and phenomena in diverse places.

This thesis is situated in between those categories. Focusing on three different regions (spatial domain = north-western Europe), it does not truly compare all known occurrences of the phenomena of carved stone monuments in the early medieval period (temporal domain), but rather focuses on one similar process: erecting, utilising, and engaging with stone monuments in the landscape. In this research, it will be argued that this was done at diverse stages of the Christianisation process, following the theory of Birkeli (1973, cited by Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 636), who suggested three stages: infiltration, mission, and organisation (institutionalisation). Maintaining a tight focus on this interactive process and blending the diachronic and synchronic approaches offers a fresh perspective on carved stone monuments in early medieval Europe.

1.5 Themes

When analysing the monuments and sites that constitute the case studies presented here, two approaches presented themselves: the first one was to approach the sites geographically, exposing and describing each site, its monuments and particularities, and then bring them together in the discussion chapter. The second approach was to define themes through which the monuments and sites could be analysed critically. Although this thesis has attempted to balance these approaches (chapters 2 introduces the historical and historiographical backgrounds geographically), the majority of analysis was conducted utilising the thematic approach, to allow the comparative process to remain central to this research.

1.5.1 Places

The nature of places may vary depending on what their purpose is; yet it is argued that the function of carved stones erected within their boundaries may not vary as

much. Several types of places are explored here: first, places linked to 'secular' life and power, such as royal inauguration places, settlements, or assembly places; second, places linked to religious life and power, such as ecclesiastical sites and monasteries. Yet, it seems necessary to note that these functions are not limited to the type of sites they are located on; on the contrary, in a society within which the sacred and the secular is so closely intertwined, defining specific traits linked to a particular type of site is superficial and possibly misleading. Despite these difficulties, a distinction will nevertheless be applied in this thesis between different types of sites, to facilitate the comparative approach operated in this research.

1.5.1.1 Secular places

The secular places explored in this research are always linked to power (as opposed to simple settlements); this is primarily because stone monuments were erected on places of significance, as marks of power and patronage; stone monuments were thus marking the topography of power, often utilising prominent natural features to delineate or expand an area of influence. The types of power centres where carved stones and rune stones are found may however differ in nature or use. The monuments selected in this research are situated within royal or secular elite settlements and assembly places.

Royal or elite settlement

Royal settlements can be identified by several factors, such as their mention in written sources, epigraphic evidence or prestigious archaeological finds. Of course, the latter would not be sufficient on its own to determine the nature of such a place, however, coupled with other types of sources it may contribute to inform on specificities of the site. This is observed for example in Forteviot, Perth and Kinross (SCO10), known from written sources as the place where a Pictish king died 'in the *palacium*', and where a monumental stone arch was uncovered in the 1820s, revealing the past existence of a large stone-built structure. This site comprises also several stone monuments of very large dimensions contributing to building the identity of a royal site. On royal or high status settlements, stones are often placed to mark boundaries, as the patronage over the place needs to be physically marked and thus this manifestation must be highly visible; however, other carved stones are also

found closer to the centre of the place, possibly to mark a cult-site, but also to indicate another type of sacred nature, linked to the potentate.

Assembly places

Assembly places or *thing* sites (in Scandinavia contexts) often comprise a focal point, such as a burial mound or a grove, which is enhanced by the presence of stone monuments. These natural or man-made features are sometimes utilised to create a visible link to the past (in the case of prehistoric burial mounds) or to an ancient sacred space; both contribute to legitimise the site and connect it to a prestigious past, to emphasise the power of leader(s), and to link together members of the assembly, creating a sense of kindred identity (Brink 2004, 214-215). The assembly place may also be 'created' by the stone, as observed in several Swedish cases (Aspa löt, SCA1 and Arkils, SCA2), where the inscription records the making of the place. Prominent natural features are nevertheless often observed in these assembly sites.

1.5.1.2 Ecclesiastical sites

In this thesis, the term 'ecclesiastical site' is used to define any site that would have included an early church, such as monasteries or early parish churches (this follows the usage of O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 143). Similarly to secular places, stone monuments are mostly found on the site of prominent ecclesiastical sites. The stone monument often reveals the presence of the early church, as the building itself is missing most of the time, either hidden by more recent church buildings or by the development of a town, or because it was not originally built in an enduring material. Some of these early churches developed into medieval towns and survive to this day (such as Armagh, Co. Armagh, IR1 or Vallentuna in Uppland, SCA20), whereas others are only revealed today by the presence of the stone. Carved stones located on early ecclesiastical sites were often embodying several functions of both symbolic and tangible natures. Like royal settlements and farmstead, they were possibly marking the boundaries of the estate; but they could also mark the boundaries between secular and consecrated land, acting as a 'doors to other world' (Andrén 1992, 36). Stone monuments could also be used to indicate the path of a liturgical route (see 'movement' below).

In all three regions studied, early ecclesiastical sites are the places that contain the widest range of monuments, such as cross-slabs, High Crosses, recumbent monuments, and grave-markers, informing on the multiple natures of these sites.

The discussion of the theme 'Place' will also analyse the spatial organisation of carved stones in relation to their wider contexts, and the changes observed through the different stages of the Christianisation process. This discussion will be supported by the concept of *inecclesiamento* developed by Michel Lauwers (2013, 315-338), in regard to the centralisation and polarisation of early churches during the phase of institutionalisation.

1.5.1.3 Burials

The identification of burial sites as 'sacred' or 'secular' during the early medieval period is fraught with difficulties, and may not be possible; indeed, burials were often placed at the periphery of settlements or farmsteads (such as Broby bro SCA5), or confined to a specific zone within the settlement (Maldonado 2011a, 142-151). They were also often associated with other types of sites comprising carved stones or rune stones, such as assembly sites (Broby bro SCA5) or prehistoric burial grounds (Bogesund SCA4), thus embodying a similar liminal function to stone monuments. Yet, when placed at the periphery of settlements, they would not necessarily be considered as isolated from the community; indeed, they were places where important public business took place 'rather than political land grabs, cemeteries can be seen as "places of power" on a more supernatural level, where the living could harness the continuing efficacy of the ancestors for public gatherings, oath-taking and the settling of disputes' (Maldonado 2013, 8). Burials could also be focal points for religious assemblies and early churches; stone monuments found on those sites would therefore make a visible statement by marking the place or its boundaries as seen above. They may also embody a converting function, by securing a Christian identity to the place.

1.5.2 Movement

The second theme selected for this research is movement, and how stone monuments contribute to the creation of movement in the landscape. In the early medieval period, no movement was anodyne; to undertake a journey, even a short one, required means

and resources. One of the first questions one must ask to explore the role and impact of carved stones in the landscape is: who is travelling? Merchants, monks and priests travelling between settlements, and between monasteries and ecclesiastical centres, pilgrims, armies, kings on inauguration journeys or peregrinations, are only a few of the possible agents who traversed the landscape of north-western Europe during the early medieval period. The reasons to undertake a journey were numerous, and the stone monuments placed in the landscape embodied several roles and functions depending on the perspective and station of the peoples involved in the interaction between stone and agent. In this section, different facets of carved stones marking movement, such as monuments connecting places, marking inauguration roads or royal paths, are explored; then, the various roles of stones as boundary markers, both in their topographical situations and symbolical significance, are presented and analysed.

1.5.2.1 Routes and roadways

Numerous monuments are found alongside roads, waterways, or places linked to the notion of transition, such as inauguration roads, or bridges. The notion of routes here encompasses several aspects of movement in the landscape, both tangible and symbolic. This section explores two tangible aspects: monuments connecting places and monuments on roadsides or watersides. The symbolic aspects of monuments alongside routes will then be investigated. These aspects are: inauguration routes, pilgrimages, and liturgical routes.

Roads and waterways

Monuments on roadsides or watersides may also proclaim land ownership and/or mark the entrance to an estate (Hovgården SCA12); consequently, the visibility of the monument, and *viewshed* from the monument, is of primary importance, as it connects the land to its religious or secular leader in the eye of the viewer. However, not every monument is highly visible. What interpretation may be offered for an 'invisible' monument, such as a recumbent stone or flat bedrock? This could relate to the notion of private practices linked to 'public' monuments, such as the rune stone at Hillersjö (SCA11), which is a flat bedrock, so invisible from a distance, but offers clear visibility toward the major waterway that was the Lake Mälaren.

Royal inauguration roads

In certain instances, written sources offer opportunities to analyse and understand stone monuments. Such is the case in exploring monuments placed on inauguration roads. Inauguration roads, as a custom and practice, are known through several written sources (Brink 2012a [2008], 24-25); in Scandinavia for example, they are mentioned in various medieval law codes (Sundqvist 2001, 633-637). Although these sources have been written several centuries after rune stones were erected, it has been argued that customs and laws would have borne enough similarities during the early medieval period and earlier (Sundqvist 2001, 644-645; Pasztor *et al.*, 2000, 57-67). Monuments on Inauguration roads may be marking the path – similarly to Roman milestones (Pasztor *et al.*, 2000) – but also served to place secular kingship under the protection of the Church (Fitzpatrick 2003).

Connection between places

The assertion that 'roads connect places' may seem obvious, but what part do the carved monuments play in strengthening pre-existing, or creating new connections between specific places? It will be argued in Chapter 4 that carved stones may be used as *connectors* between places. They represent political or religious associations, symbolise a connection to the cult of a saint, or to convey the influence or dominion of a religious or secular power centre over an area. It will also be questioned if these connections are discernible from the study of monuments alone or if other concurring sources are necessary to do so; in this respect, the monuments may assist in building a narrative of these associations through the landscape.

Pilgrimages

Pilgrimage and the cult of relics are prominent characteristics of early medieval societies; they contributed to shape early Christianity by creating sacred routes and connecting monasteries and early churches to powerful religious centres. Relics of saints were usually kept in these major places, and were sometimes represented by stone shrines symbolising either the tomb of a saint, his or her eternal house, or the eternal resting-place of the relics. Carved stones were also used to mark the path of pilgrimage to emphasise the symbolism of the pilgrim's journey, and to be used as praying stations.

Liturgical routes

The notion of carved stones marking *liturgical roads* will be discussed in this thesis, as an interpretation has emerged recently proposing that some types of carved and incised stones may be representing liturgical paths in the landscape (Ó Carragáin 2003, 131-142; Bourke 1983, 464-468); these stones may characterise a path of symbolic nature, but perhaps they were marking tangible liturgical routes which have been since long forgotten.

1.5.2.2 Boundaries and crossing

The second part of this section will introduce the theme of monuments as *boundary markers*. As discussed in the previous section, stone monuments alongside roads may proclaim power over a land, but they may also mark the boundary between domains, or between religious or sacred land. Some of these roads do not survive within the modern landscape, yet it is likely that carved stones were erected where they would have been visible – if not directly next to a road, they would at least have been visible from it. Several sub-themes will be explored here, including monuments as political or religious statements, the topographical context of the monuments, and carved stones as symbolic boundaries.

Statements of power

As seen in *Roads and Waterways*, stone monuments were used as statements of landownership, both in secular or religious instances; they may have also indicated the limits or entrance to an estate or church land. As boundary markers, these monuments may have circumscribed territory, indicated a limit between secular and religious territories, or in the case of church monuments, marked the separation between the profane and the sacred. Furthermore, they may have carried a meaning of passage: crossing the boundary would have meant to change territory, and signalled to the agent their transition from one elite authority to another. This may be reflected in the topography surrounding the stone monument.

Monuments placed on natural boundaries

The original topographical context within which a carved stone was initially erected is sometimes known, but sometimes needs to be reconstituted. Indeed, topography is essential to determining several key-elements to understanding of the monument: its prominence in the landscape, its visibility, or the natural features surrounding it, such as rivers, slopes, hills or mountains. Some of these features might also have changed drastically since the early medieval period: forests, wetlands, or sea level to name only a few examples. As introduced in 'roads and waterways' (1.5.2.1) above, the visibility of a monument may have been determined by its shape and size; however, the surrounding topography would have played an equally important role in the visibility of a monument, and in the conveyance of the possible message encoded within the stone. Monuments set close to water may also have been charged with special significance, as water was representative of a shift in elements (Fabech and Näsman 2013), and thus a crossroads between realms, was often considered sacred in pre-Christian times (holy wells, sacred springs and pools, water associated with Celtic deities); the stone would thus embody a transformative message, by re-affirming the sacred nature of the place within the Christian system of beliefs.

Symbolic boundaries

These stones were also used as boundary markers, carrying a symbolic message. This message can be interpreted in different ways: the stone monuments may have marked a passage between sacred and profane, a limit between wild and 'tamed', such as wetland and arable land, or marked the boundary between the living and the dead.

Stone monuments indicating a symbolic boundary are an ancient phenomenon that have been analysed by many scholars (e.g. Williams 2003, 1-24) and interpretations can apply across different periods. As stated by Maldonado: '[t]erritorial limits were not the only boundaries in the Late Iron Age; upstanding prehistoric monuments could form a boundary between the past and the present, places where the natural and supernatural met' (2011, 152).

1.5.3 Monument as object of memory and commemoration and expression of identity

1.5.3.1 Memory and commemoration

As stated earlier, early medieval carved stone monuments are part of the grammar of commemoration praxis (Williams 2011, 25-27). They embody multiple aspects of it: the commemoration of a person, of a place (which we explored in the section related to the theme *Place*), or of an event. Their original location, the inscription(s) they carry, or their historical context (being mentioned in written sources or indicated by place names) are all elements that may help in defining the object they have been set to commemorate. These types of commemorative practises will be introduced in this section.

Commemoration of a person

There are multiple interpretations of carved stones erected as personal memorials. The carved stone as tomb marker or memorial to the deceased is the predominant reading in this category. Although widespread, this interpretation is rendered difficult by the lack of evidence that directly connects carved stones with graves. In the selection of monuments presented in this research, only a few instances show a possible connection between a carved stone and a body (Broby bro SCA5). This does not take into account monuments erected specifically as grave-markers, such as those found in Meigle (SCO13) or cross-incised recumbent slabs as Cladh Bhranno (SCO7), Dull (SCO8), Fortingall (SCO11) or Nendrum (IR10), which are found in a defined burial context.

Stone monuments may also commemorate a person whose body is not buried in the same place, but still function to memorialise the orphaned body by transforming *space* into a social *place* focused on memorialisation and commemoration by encoding within the act of erection a symbolic and transmittable message. These messages encoded by monuments may have multiple functions, such as private memorials and boundary markers (U170, Bogesund, SCA4), or statements of ownership (U 29, Hillersjö, SCA11). This interpretation is rendered possible through monuments that bear intelligible and explicit inscriptions, as long as their original location is known.

A third type of monument as personal memorial is one dedicated to people who were still alive when the carved stone was produced, such as the ones erected by Jarlabanke who ruled over the Täby hundred, where the patron has the stones erected for himself (U 164, U 165, Täby, SCA19). When there is no inscription to enlighten the type of commemoration, the nature of the commemoration is mere supposition, and with those monuments whose contexts are tenuous, or completely uncertain, it is not always possible to interpret clearly the purpose or intentionality underlying the encoded statement.

Commemoration of an event

Several types of event may be commemorated by the erection of a carved/incised stone: a donation of lands (Kilnasaggart IR2), victory in battle, as Alcock suggests for Aberlemno (SCO1), or the building of a road or a bridge, such as Fällbro (SCA6). These monuments are usually situated at key topographical points, close to the subject of the commemoration, or at a place connected to the event they commemorate, as we shall see in Chapter 4. As explained above, an inscription may inform us of these events, although in cases where the monument is not inscribed, its location (for example next to a road or a river, or at the edge of arable land), its connections to other places known, for instance through historical sources, and the symbolic meaning it carries may help us understand and interpret the object of its commemoration. Comparing the aforementioned elements on monuments from different regions may also assist in this understanding.

1.5.3.2 Reuse

The concept of *Reuse* encompasses two main ideas: firstly, the reuse or alteration of past relict landscapes explores carved stones erected on ancient sites such as burial places or assembly places, and the reuse of prehistoric monuments as raw material to create a 'new' monument. The second main approach of reuse examines the biographical aspect of the 'multiple lives' (Clarke 2007, 20-27) of early medieval carved stones, and their subsequent reuse.

Reuse from the past

Several monuments analysed in this research have been erected on older, prehistoric sites. The multiple interpretations of these reuses have been explored by many scholars (Zachrisson forthcoming; Sanmark and Semple 2008, 246, 255-256; Semple and Sanmark 2013, 522-523; Williams 2011, 21-24; Clarke 2007, 20-27; Andrén 2006, 33-38; Brink 2004, 207); it has been argued that the nature of the early site may define the use of the early medieval monument(s) erected in its vicinity. The reuse of a burial ground may be interpreted as attempting a connection to the ancestors, or as a Christianisation of a heathen place (Gräslund 2003, 270-271; Källstrom 2012); it may be also argued that the reuse of burial grounds or other types of *sacred places* may be statements of political or religious power (e.g. Andrén 2013; Semple 2013; Williams 2011; Driscoll 1988).

The reuse of assembly places may be seen as a political statement, or the 'continuity' of a political tradition (Sanmark 2009; Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010), as the reuse of a prehistoric standing stone or stone circle may be interpreted as a claim to a connection to a prestigious past, or a claim of power over a landscape or region.

'Multiple lives' of early medieval carved stones

As well as being created from a former monument, the majority of early medieval carved and incised stones have also been reused after they were first erected. David Clarke, looking specifically at Pictish symbol stones, describes this reuse as *multiple lives* (Clarke 2007, 20-27). This phenomenon is widely observed in each region studied here, and most early medieval carved stones have had multiple lives. The reuse of these monuments may be motivated by diverse reasons, including but not limited to: practical, symbolic, or associated with social changes of faith or fashion over time.

The practical reuse of carved stones is demonstrated through the numerous instances of carved stones used as building material (Armagh IR1, Woodrae SCO5, St Vigeans SCO6 and Östra Ryds Kyrka SCA14 to give only a few examples). Some cases reveal a disinterest in the monument, as the monument becomes eventually damaged, or concealed entirely. In other instances however, it may be argued that the monument is utilised as an expression of *direct* and *intentional* agency; indeed, monuments built

into church or churchyard walls have been interpreted as participating in the sanctification of a place, emphasising the transition and sanctification process from non-sacred to sacred ground (Andrén 1999) Monuments used as boundary markers in the landscape may be charged with the same significance. This symbolic aspect is of particular interest for the present research, as a large number of carved/incised stones have been rebuilt into church or churchyard walls, conferring new dimensions to, and opening a wide range of interpretations.

1.5.3.3 Audience and identity

Audience and identity are interwoven into every interpretation and analysis of early medieval carved stones. The concept of audience joins several central questions, such as: who are those expected to partake and engage with the message encoded by the monument? Is it a public monument or private? Are there different layers of understanding of a monument, and if yes, what are they? The visibility of the monument in its surrounding landscape is also central to this concept, as well as the viewshed from the monument – what can the monument 'see' and what is the arena for the audience *seeing* the monument (Williams 2011, 24-25)?

As presented above (roadside and waterside), certain stone monuments are proclaiming ownership over land. In some instances, this statement may be 'public', with the stone erected and visible in the landscape, as a manifest declaration of ownership; in other cases however, the stone monument is not discernible from afar and can only be discovered at close distance. These types of monuments, recumbent stones or flat bedrocks, may be interpreted as 'private', or carved/incised in such a way that only a selected type of audience would understand and engage with the message.

1.5.3.4 Verticality and horizontality

In conclusion to this thesis, the stone monuments will be discussed as embodiments of verticality[1] and horizontality; verticality because the stone evokes the place grounded in the moment, while the horizontality evokes the movement of time, intertwined with linear connections across the land's surface. These two

[1] The term 'verticality', although used here as a theoretical concept, does not relate to the concept created and discussed by Hollywood (2002, 211-213).

interconnected concept create a network of connections, constructed and informed by human interactions and devotional experiences, which are concentrated through the stone monuments.

1.6 Methodology

This section will show how the methodological models and analytical approaches, presented above have shaped the methodology applied to the case studies of this thesis. The fieldwork and database will be presented and detailed at the end of this chapter.

1.6.1.1 Analytical framework

Presented at the beginning of this chapter, the three analytical approaches framing this research – biography of stone monument, use of stone as medium, and monument and landscape – have been utilised on different levels of analysis, as we shall see.

Biography of stone monuments

As presented in section 1.3.2 the biography of stone monuments offers a holistic analysis of carved stones. In this research and following both the Anglo-Saxon Corpus and the Welsh Corpus models, this analytical approach has been applied to retrace the journey of the monuments studied, such as: the analysis of the geology, the shape of the stone, the type of inscriptions/carvings, its movements, and its supposed reuse(s); yet, it is not always possible to gather information on every aspect, as some monuments are sometimes too disconnected from their original context. Each stone monument has also been the object of a short art-historical description and interpretation, provided by pre-existing research; however, this examination will not debate existing interpretations or offer new analysis on the carvings and inscriptions.

Use of stone as medium

The use of stone as a medium, and the subsequent analysis of the monument case studies seen through that perspective, underlies this research in its entirety; indeed, the notion of *materiality* of carved stones is central to the use and role of these

monuments as it is a defining element of the identity of early medieval societies in north-western Europe. This analytical approach serves as an underlying foundation for this whole thesis but will especially be explored in the last thematic chapter, *Audience and Identity*, which will question the importance of choosing stone over any other material, and the possible interpretations of this choice.

Monument and landscape

This particular analytical approach considers different aspects of the analysis and understanding of the perception of landscape, forming a tapestry that links the monument and its surrounding landscape together, and offers different levels of analysis and perceptions both on tangible and symbolic levels. Each analytical aspect of the landscape presented in section 1.2.3 (geographical, archaeological, historical, and symbolic) will be used to study and interpret the case studies presented here, and deepen the understanding of methodological applications by offering new dimensions of interpretation.

1.6.1.2 Applying methodological models

The methodological models presented above have been utilised to define specific elements to study and create the main entries of the catalogue (see section 1.6.3 below). To achieve the global analysis introduced earlier, the monuments and the sites have been studied as follows: earlier research, historical background of the region (including analysis of written sources), geological sources; archaeological and topographical contexts of monuments and sites, contexts and functions of sculpture, analysis of inscriptions and carvings. As the case studies are then analysed in chapters 3, 4 and 5 through thematic concepts, the different aspects of analysis of each site and monument are not systematic, but are part of a general discourse relating to a specific theme. A systematic approach to the sites and monuments is presented in the database.

The archaeological and historical context of each site, as well as the geological sources for the monuments, will then be presented through the thematic scopes of chapters 4, 5 and 6, and 7. The analysis of inscriptions and carvings will also serve in the interpretation of monuments, to connect them with their landscape and other

monuments. The form of sculpture and art-historical 'style' of carvings will be emphasised when they suggest new or unusual connections to other sites.

1.6.2 Collecting the data: fieldwork and research

The analysis and interpretation of the sites and monuments have been conducted in two different phases. The first phase consisted of:

- Visiting the archaeological sites: the sites in Ireland and Northern Ireland were visited in November 2012 and November 2014; the sites in Sweden were visited in May and September 2013; multiple visits to Scottish sites were carried out from April 2011 to October 2014. A field form was filled on each site, to record observations on the site and on the monument(s) (see Annexe II). First, information regarding the site were registered, including: access to the site, its current situation (isolated, urban context, museum); prominent topographical elements such as elevated grounds, mountains, or proximity of water, and their connections to the site; visibility from the site, recoded by photography (see ill. 1.2), and of the site and monument(s), which was recorded by performing a walkover survey from various distances (25m, 50m, 100m and more when possible). Then observations regarding the stone monuments and other archaeological remains were recorded. These included: description of the stone monument(s), their current state; their appearance, such as their colour and shape; their imagery and inscriptions; any specificity, such as marks, or cuts (see ill. 1.3); and finally, description of other archaeological remains (such as burial mounds, round towers, or churches for instance), and their connections between to the stone monument(s).

- Gathering information on each site by collecting the specific literature on sites and regions, and recording the significance (when known) of the place-names and the mentions of the sites in written sources, using mostly secondary sources (e.g. Gwynn and Hadcock 1970). Important disparities were observed in the information available for each site; these disparities appear clearly in the database.

- Creating a database to record and describe the sites, the stone monuments and the associated archaeological remains (see 1.6.4 below).

Ill. 1.2 Panoramic view of Hovgården (360°) (SCA12) from the rune stone U11
Pictures and additional information by the author; photomerge: Coralie Voïta

Once the visits were completed and the information for the database recorded, the second phase consisted of processing the information gathered in order to present the subject through a comparative approach. This was elaborated through:

- Defining broad themes relevant to each region. These themes selected, presented above are 'place', 'movement' and 'commemoration and identity'.

- Detailing those themes to address the many aspects of the stones' wider contexts

- Selecting case studies from the database relevant to each theme.

1.6.3 Defining a 'site'

The case studies analysed in this research have been defined by several parameters:

- Presence of one or several stone monument(s)

- Other archaeological remains that may have been connected to the carved/incised stone(s)

- Relevant topographical features defined either by their prominence/visibility in the landscape, or by relevant place names

- Mention in written sources as belonging to the same place/network

These parameters are arbitrary, and which carved/incised stone(s) have been considered relating to which site is either an established proposition, or my own

interpretation. As the case studies of this research are early medieval sites containing one or several carved stones, their size is variable and is determined separately for each case.

Ill. 1.3 Detail of Kilnasaggart carved pillar: horizontal marks on the bottom side of the stone
Picture © A. Busset

1.6.4 Database and catalogue

To organise and gather information on early medieval carved stones and the sites within which they are erected, a database was created on FileMaker Pro allowing a facilitated navigation between the different case studies. Once information regarding the sites and stone monuments was compiled, it was transferred into a catalogue (word document, situated at the end of this thesis), to allow a global visualisation of each site and monument. The catalogue is organised alphabetically per country (IR, SCA, and SCO), regions, and site name.

Entries for sites consist of: the name of the site and catalogue number, country, region, parish, the type(s) of site, the saint or secular elite traditionally associated with it, historical background of the place, general description, list of archaeological remains associated, list of stone monuments, mentions in historical written sources and references.

Entries for monuments consist of: monument name or number, grid reference (SCO and IR) and x-y coordinates (SCA), type of monument, type of stone, current location,

'biography' of the monument, description of the monument, similarities with other monuments, and references. The catalogue entries are detailed at the beginning of the catalogue.

These entries have been created to delineate and manage the research on each site and monument, and offer a detailed understanding for each case study; however, information on one or several points may be missing in several cases. When confronted with that situation '*unknown*' or '*uncertain*' have been added to the entry.

For the collection of the Swedish material, several sources were used: first, the Samnordisk runtextdatabas (RUNDATA), which provided technical information regarding the monuments, such as their location, the transcription and translation of their inscription, a proposed date (based on Anne-Sofie Gräslund's system of dating, 1991b; 1992; 1994; 2006b, 117-140), the name of the carver (either given by the inscription itself, or by stylistic comparison with other inscriptions), the geology, and also the bibliographical references. Additional information regarding the archaeological context, the stones' dimensions, or their position in the landscape and coordinates, as well as maps were provided by the archaeological database of the Swedish National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet – RAÄ) Fornsök (www.fmis.raa.se).

Regarding the Irish sites, the core information was gathered in Ann Hamlin's PhD thesis, completed in 1976 but published in 2008 as *The Archaeology of Early Christianity in the North of Ireland*; however, this publication focuses only on Northern Irish sites and does not include the other historical counties of Ulster, Monaghan, Cavan and Donegal. For the latter, Brian Lacey's *Archaeological survey of Co. Donegal* published in 1983 provided a useful source for early medieval carved monuments. The monuments are described and a brief analysis of their historical background and landscape context is presented. All sites included in the present research needed also additional literature in the form of general publications; separate article were also consulted, to recreate the global picture of the sites and monuments, their description, analysis, and historical and landscape contexts (e.g. Lacey 2006; 2008, 331-345; Edwards 1990; 2005, 235-301; Aitchison 1994)

To collect information regarding the selection of Pictish monuments presented in the catalogue, general information and descriptions of the sites and monuments were partly collected in Allen and Anderson's *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (*ECMS*); Iain Fraser 's *The Pictish symbol stones of Scotland* (2008) was also consulted together with the RCAHMS portal to resources, Canmore. Canmore compiles both technical and descriptive information found in other sources on archaeological sites and monuments, such as the site's location in the landscape (map) and the parish within which it is situated. While the information Canmore proposes may sometimes be sparse, it usually compiles all observations available about the sites and monuments, while providing the source references for each of them. To collect further information on specific sites, specialised literature was also consulted (see details on catalogue entries).

1.6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and developed the analytical approaches, methodological models and the methodology that were applied to the research presented in this thesis. A specific comparative framework was elaborated to render the analysis of these varied sites and monuments plausible (1.4) and two main conceptualised approaches were developed:

1) A multi-scaled structure to compare each level of the case studies and analyse them distinctly; these three levels are:

- The monument
- The landscape context, and
- The use and function of these stone monuments within their social environment

2) A thematic approach comprising three themes, which conceptualise the analysis of early medieval stone monuments and allow the monuments to be contrasted and compared immediately, transcending geographical boundaries:

- Monuments marking places

- Monuments creating movement

- Monuments as objects of commemoration and expression of identity.

This second approach defined the three case studies oriented chapters. Each chapter then comprises a discussion of the results observed from the thematic perspective, while the general presentation of the results and discussion, elaborated in Chapter 6, is structured by the multi-scaled approach. Both these frameworks participate in discussing and answering the main questions raised at the beginning of this chapter (1.1.1).

The next chapter will define the regional selections and delineate the chronology; introduce each region with an overview of the source material, and historical backgrounds, and then present a regional literature review of stone monuments.

2 Scandinavia, Ireland and Scotland in the early medieval period

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to offer an overview of the historical context, historiography and provide a literature review for each region studied in the present thesis. The historiography will particularly focus on the literature regarding early medieval carved stone monuments and present the different strands of interpretations. The aspect of the variability of information available in each region will also be addressed; indeed the source material varies greatly from one region to the other. For example, compared to early medieval Scotland and Scandinavia, Ireland holds the most written sources for the period; however, when looking specifically at early medieval carved stone monuments, their position in the landscape and their functions, Scandinavia, and particularly Uppland in Sweden, have the richest and most comprehensive corpus.

This chapter will begin with a presentation of Sweden during the early medieval period; it will then be followed by Ireland and Scotland. For each country, and more specifically the regions that I focused on for this thesis, an overview of the historical background and the written sources will be presented, with a particular focus on the narrative of the conversion process and Christianisation. The archaeological remains of the period will then be described; lastly, the carved stone monuments, and how they fit into the Christianisation narrative, will be presented and discussed.

The last section of this chapter will consider several aspects engendered by the multi-regional approach undertaken within this work: first, I will compare and contrast the source material of each region and underline the main similarities and differences; then, I will establish how this present thesis will 'fill the gaps' and offer new understandings of early medieval carved monuments in their wider contexts.

2.1.1 Terminology

A brief explanation of terminology is required, as this research spans a large date range and includes geographically diverse case study areas that cross modern political boundaries. In this thesis I have used 'Scandinavian' instead of 'Swedish' to

define rune stones, as the tradition of erecting rune stones, although mainly found in Sweden and especially Uppland, was a widespread phenomenon, found in several Scandinavian countries. However, when referring to the provinces in which the sites and monuments are situated, the traditional name has been used, such as Uppland, Södermanland or Västmanland. Although these provinces do not serve any political or administrative purposes anymore, they are historically and culturally significant, and are still broadly used today. The historical political entity this research focuses on, and which includes the largest concentration of rune stones, is the Svea kingdom; it comprises broadly the modern provinces of central Sweden (mainly Västmanland, Uppland and Södermanland).

The same generic adjective has been applied to Irish monuments. The monuments selected for this research are all situated in the early medieval province of *Ulaidh* (Ulster). The modern delineation offered by the counties has only been used mostly in the database to locate the monument.

Regarding the Scottish selection, the adjective 'Pictish' has been used to describe the monuments which originated from eastern Scotland and are dated up to the beginning of the 10th century; this term refers not only to the people who erected carved stones in centre-east Scotland during the early medieval period, but also to specific symbols represented on the monuments, which identify them. When referring to the counties in which the monuments are situated, the post-1974 terminology has been preferred.

On a general level, Christian and Christianity are also problematic labels, as they are relative concepts: an individual can internally self-identify as 'Christian' without any external markers and what it means to be Christian can vary widely between individuals and communities (Petts 2011, 11-30). For the purpose of this thesis, 'Christian' is employed to denote a person or object that shows a clear connection to the Christian faith, and as a chronological marker, such as when cross-marked sculpture was being produced in an area. Likewise Christianity is used broadly to encompass the wide variety of *Christianities* that were being practised by individuals and both secular and religious political entities across the study regions (on the notion of *Christianities* or *Christendoms*, see Brown 2008, 1-18; 2013 [2003], 355-379; Charles-Edwards 2008, 86-106). Similarly, the term 'pagan' and 'heathen' are

highly problematic, as they encompass not only pre-Christian beliefs, but also carry folkloric notions of idealised Celtic or Norse practices (Petts 2011, 74; Carver *et al.* 2010). These terms have been then used as little as possible, and the wider term 'pre-Christian' has been preferred.

2.1.2 Chronology

The terminology of time periods varies significantly from the British Isles to Scandinavia, and both differ also from continental Europe. Below is a comparative chronology for each region studied here:

	Bronze Age	Iron Age	Roman period	Early medieval period	Medieval period
Continental W Europe	c. 2250-800 BC	8th c. BC to AD 1st c.	AD 1st c. – 5th c.	AD 5th c. – 10th c.	AD 10th c. – 15th c.

	Bronze Age	Iron Age	Early medieval period	Viking Age	Medieval period
Ireland / Scotland	2500-800/600 BC	8th/7th c. BC – AD 5th c.	AD 5th c. – 9th c.	AD 9th c. – 11th c. (AD 800 – 1050)	11th c. – 15th c.

	Bronze Age	Iron Age	Viking Age	Early medieval period
Scandinavia	1800-500 BC	5th c. BC – AD 8th c.	9th – mid-11th c.	11th – 13th c.

Figure 2.a Relative comparative chronologies
Chronologies compiled from Ballin-Smith and Banks 2002; Halpin and Newman 2006; Alcock 2003; Byrne 2001 (1973); Sawyer and Sawyer 1993

In this thesis, time periods will refer to the terminology used regionally; namely, when presenting rune stones, the denomination will refer to the Scandinavian chronology, and Irish and Pictish stones to Irish and Scottish chronology. In Scandinavia, the beginning of the first millennium may be divided into several periods, namely the Roman Iron Age (100-350), the Migration period (350-550), and the Vendel period (550-750) but to avoid any confusion, the generic term 'late Iron Age' will be preferred here. In both Ireland and Scotland, the so-called early medieval

period usually refers to the period running from the 5th to the 9th c., and is also sometimes called early historic, early Christian, or late Iron Age. The Irish and Scottish Viking Age takes place from AD 800 to *c.* 1050. Unless otherwise stated, all dates in this thesis are AD (Christian era).

2.1.3 Defining regional selections

Determining geographical areas

As briefly discussed in Chapter 1, early medieval Christian carved stones are predominantly produced in the British Isles and Scandinavia; some occurrences are also found in Brittany (Davies *et al.* 2000) and eastern European countries (e.g. Hungary and Latvia, see map 1-1; RUNDATA), although there are so few examples that they may be considered exceptions rather than custom. Frankish sarcophagi are not taken into consideration in this study, as they are placed inside churches (Cartron *et al.* 2015, 13-17).

To select the monuments and sites studied in this thesis, I examined regions in the British Isles and Scandinavia that offer sufficient academic literature, but that are generally better known and published locally rather than globally. The monuments selected are mainly part of delineated political units, as discussed below.

Sweden, with about 4000 monuments, is the Scandinavian country that has the most rune stones, and almost half of them are found in Uppland (RUNDATA; Back Danielsson 2015, 62-63; Klos 2009, 41); the profusion of monuments, in addition to the fact that many monuments stand in or near their original location, were essential in the choice of that area[2]. In Ireland, the region of Ulster was selected as the lack of recent publications concerning the stone monuments from this region offered new avenues of research, and includes rocks as primary material in the creation of rune

[2] *N.B.* when this research was first commenced, I was not aware of the differentiation between crystalline and sedimentary of the monument. The Scandinavian monuments have been selected with regard to the accessibility of monuments and the access to English literature regarding them; the selection therefore only contains two sandstone monuments, which are not 'churchyard monuments'. These constitute the later ensemble of rune-inscribed monuments, erected from the mid-11th century. The large majority of rune stones in Uppland however are crystalline rocks (Hagenfeldt and Palm 1996).

stones, and what implications the types of stone had on the interpretation monuments of various types, such as high crosses, cross-slabs, small stone crosses, and carved pillars. The Scottish material comprises monuments from the Strathmore and Strathearn areas, which were part of southern Pictland, and encompasses most of the Pictish cross-slabs and freestanding crosses ('class II' and 'class III') in Pictland (see section 2.4 below).

While the Scandinavian monuments were selected with regard to the accessibility to literature – well-known monuments constitute most of the data in this dissertation – the Irish selection is deliberately focused away from the best-known sites, such as Clonmacnoise or Monasterboice, in order to take the opportunity to propose new understandings of sites that have not generated the same level of academic attention. Regarding the Scottish selection, several sites in the Strathmore area have benefited from both detailed analysis and wider perspective in recent years (Geddes forthcoming [a]; Hall 2011; 2012; 2014) demonstrating that an interdisciplinary and multi-layered approach to the monuments and sites is the best way forward. This research will apply the same perspective, both archaeological and theoretical, to other lesser-known cases from the Strathmore area.

Timespan

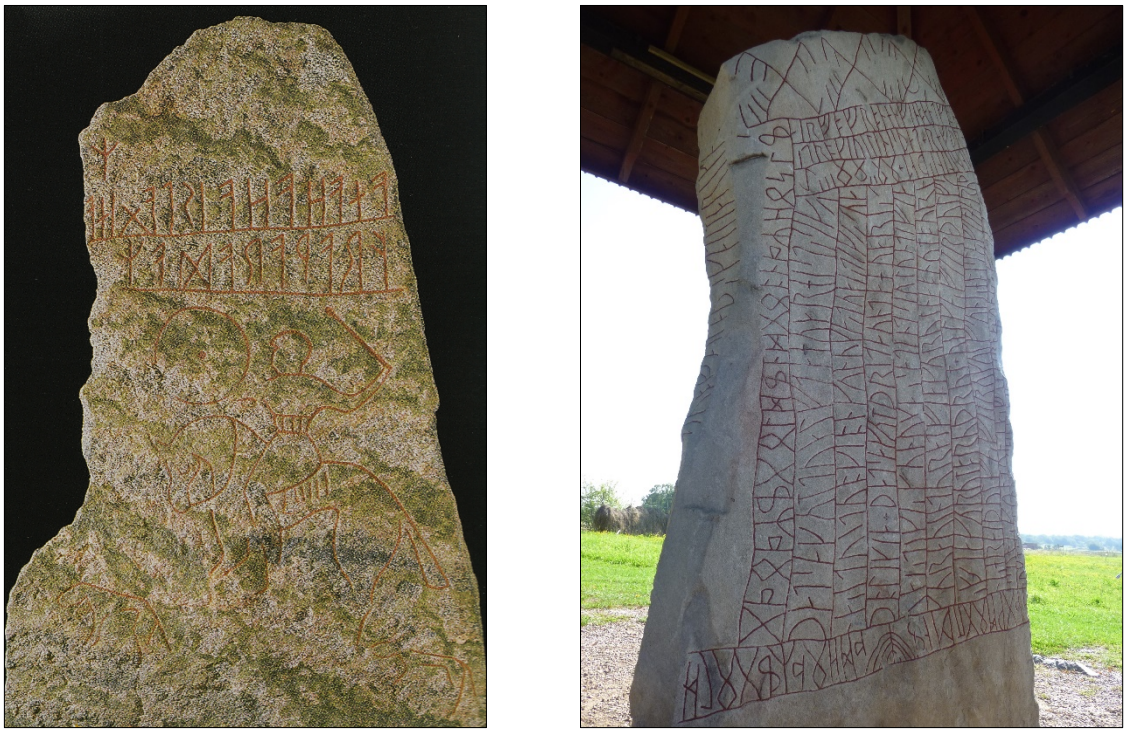
One of the main challenges in comparing multi-period material resulting from a similar process (in this case, erecting stone monuments in a Christian context) is defining the chronology. In this research, each local chronology sets the base for this delineation. Early medieval carved stones in a Christian context are erected as early as the 5th century in Ireland (Swift 1997); however, the majority of high crosses and cross-slabs are erected between the 8th and the 10th century, with a further revival during the 12th century (Alexander 2002, 166; Edwards 1990, 164-168).

Ill. 2.1 The 'Craw Stane', Rhynie
© © HES (Tom and Sybil Gray Collection)

Similarly, the beginning of the tradition of erecting symbol-incised stones in Pictland is also situated in the 5th or 6th century (Fraser 2008, 1; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 159). These first monuments, such as the 'Craw Stane' in Rhynie, Aberdeenshire, are traditionally considered to be pre-Christian, or erected in non-Christian contexts (see ill.2.1; Noble *et al.* 2013, 1142-1143; Gondek and Noble 2011, 283-290; Fraser and Halliday 2007, 115-135); this interpretation is however disputed, as the archaeological evidence is ambiguous, and the tradition of erecting stone monuments develop at the same period Christianity appears (Maldonado 2011b, 41-42; Forsyth 2005). The large majority of cross-slabs and freestanding crosses were commissioned in the 8th and 9th century (Fraser 2008, 1; Henderson and Henderson 2004). After the unification of Pictland and Dál Riata into the new kingdom of *Alba*, around the year AD 900, Pictish symbols ceased to be represented on carved stones; nevertheless, stone carving continues despite the end of the production of 'Pictish' stones.

The selection of rune stones constitutes the most recent one presented in this thesis. The tradition of inscribing runes on stone monuments has pre-Christian origins, and a few examples, such as the early 6th-century Möjbro stone or the 8th-century Rök stone suggests that the runes were then part of magical practices (Jansson 1987, 15-24; ill. 2.2). However, it is the Jelling stone in Denmark, erected around AD 960 by the newly

converted King Harald Bluetooth that marks the beginning of the widespread tradition of late Viking Age and early medieval rune stones (Roesdahl 2012 [2008], 653; Pedersen 2006b; Gräslund 2003, 263-265). The majority of these monuments are erected between *circa* AD 950 and AD 1125; therefore, they are mostly considered Christian monuments (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 629-638; Zilmer 2006, 437-454; Lager 2003; Gräslund 2003, 263-265, 270-271).



Ill. 2.2 left: the Möjbro stone and right: the Rök stone
Picture left: © Jansson 1987, 18 right: © A. Busset

A common chronological *terminus ante quem* for all three regions is the 12th century as it marks a profound transformation and strengthening in the organisation of the Church, following the Gregorian reforms started by pope Leo IX in 1049 and completed by Gregory VII almost three decades later (Chélini 2010 [1991], 252-259). The multiple 'Christianities' observed until then in the north-western part of Europe disappeared progressively to form a new centralised power and the Church, following the continental Romanesque-style architecture, becomes a more constructed and ultimately circumscribed space (O'Keeffe 2004, 28-29). This phenomenon also marked the end of the golden age of early carved stones, which, if they did not disappear entirely, were subsequently confined to church grounds only (see discussion Ch. 6).

2.2 Early Medieval Scandinavia and the Svea Kingdom

2.2.1 The sources

2.2.1.1 Archaeological remains

In recent decades, remarkable advances have been made in archaeological research in Scandinavia, which has greatly benefited from new and non-intrusive technologies, along with traditional techniques and methodologies, as well as continued programmes of excavations. Several towns known to have had medieval occupation have been studied, especially their burial grounds, but also other types of sites, such as late Viking Age harbours or assembly sites (Trinks *et al.* 2013; Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010). Geophysical research in the latter especially has allowed further understanding of activities and ritual at *thing* sites, or the lack thereof, as will be discussed in Chapter 3 (Norr and Sanmark 2008). When undisturbed by ploughing, Viking Age and early medieval burials are in several instances well preserved, sometimes still containing a skeleton, and sometimes only structurally.

2.2.1.2 Climate and resources

The sea level has lowered drastically since the late Viking Age, transforming the landscape of south-eastern Sweden considerably. The water level was indeed approximately 5 metres higher during the early medieval period (Sawyer and Sawyer 1993, 29-30). Overall, the landscape of central Sweden was constituted of lowlands, marshes and woodland; Uppland however also comprises rocky areas. The Mälar region, along with the plains of Östergötland and Västergötland, are considered the 'most prosperous agrarian regions (Lindkvist 2008, 672). As such, these regions comprised the social elites of Svealand and Götaland. In the peripheries however, because of less fertile soils, the cultivation of cereals was scarce until the 11th century, and livestock farming was preferred (Sawyer and Sawyer 1993, 31-33).

2.2.1.3 Written sources

Early medieval written sources are scarce in Scandinavia, and runic inscriptions and archaeological remains are the most important resources at our disposal for understanding the period. The first written accounts in Sweden date from the 12th century, which sees an array of texts produced, comprising saints' lives, sagas, and

law texts. Although later in date than the period under study, these texts are useful for considering several aspects of the early medieval society, such as the political structure, the secular laws, and landownership. For example, the *odal* rights, which are the property rights in medieval Norway and Sweden, state that an individual's claim to land depends on their relationship to earlier generations (Zachrisson 1994 forthcoming); this necessity to establish a clear connection to ancestors in order to claim landownership is observed on several late Viking Age rune stones, such as U29 at Hillersjö, Hilleshögs parish (SCA11).

Two contemporary written sources produced in Germany provide the only information available on Scandinavian society and the conversion process to Christianity. The first one is the *Vita Anskarii* written by Rimbert, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, during the second half of the 9th century, about his predecessor Ansgar (801-865) and his work as a missionary (Rimbertus 875, online resource: <http://clt.brepolis.net/emgh/pages/Toc.aspx?ctx=975946>). The second one is the *Gesta Hamburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen) written by Adam of Bremen in the second part of the 11th century (*c.* 1070) (Tschan 1959; Brink 2012c [2008], 622).

Rimbert's 'Vita Anskarii'

Probably completed in 875, the *Vita Anskarii* (hereafter *VA*) tells the life and deeds of Ansgar, first Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen by his successor, Rimbert. According to this hagiography, Ansgar is the missionary who Christianised Sweden; one of its main purposes was to demonstrate that the missionary work of Ansgar was successful, in order to secure the continuing support of the Frankish king Louis the Pious and his son, Louis the German. The reliability of this source is often questioned, as Rimbert may have altered some facts to accommodate another purpose of his, which according to Sawyer and Sawyer, was to 'justify and defend the union of the sees of Hamburg and Bremen' (1993, 4). However, despite its political agenda, Rimbert's text offers essential information about political structures and assemblies, the role of kings, pre-Christian beliefs, and the early Christian faith (Brink 2012c [2008]; Palmer 2004; Sawyer & Sawyer 1993), as well as the missionary work of Ansgar, especially in Birka (*VA* Ch. XI and XIX).

Adam of Bremen's 'Gesta Hamburgensis Ecclesia Pontificum'

Adam of Bremen was invited by the archbishop Adalbert to join the Church of Bremen in either 1066 or 1067, where he became a Canon of the cathedral. He probably started to write the *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* (hereafter *Gesta*) in the 1070s, and revisited his manuscript until his death, some time in the beginning of the 1080s (Tschan 1959, xiii-xvii). Books one and two of his chronicles retrace the history of the archbishopric of Hamburg, and, from 845, Hamburg-Bremen (Tschan 1959, 3-113); book three gives an account of the biography of the archbishop Adalbert (114-185) and book four describes the geography of northern Europe (186-223). They are then completed by an epilogue, which dedicates the *Gesta* to the bishop Liemar (224-227). Similarly to the *VA*, the *Gesta* is an excellent primary source, but needs to be assessed critically, as it propagandistically insists on the violent nature of the contrasts between heathendom and Christianity, contrasts that may not have been as strong as thought for a long time (see discussion in section 2.1.3; Gräslund 2000, 61).

Laws

Most surviving medieval laws from Sweden were written between the 13th and 15th centuries. They concern church legislation, but also laws regarding the land (Brink 2012a [2008], 24-25). They provide information on successions, ownership, and also penalties in case of crimes or misdeeds (Sawyer and Sawyer 1993, 17-21). These collections include not only customary laws, of which traces may be found in earlier sources, but also new laws enacted by kings or the clergy that reflect wider European connections.

Sagas and poetry

There are several types of late medieval written sources that provide information on earlier periods in Sweden, and share important connections to rune stones (Brink 2004, 205-207; Jesch 2005, 95-104; 2012 [2008], 291-297; Sawyer 1998, 766-777). Some of the most abundant and valuable texts are Old Norse sagas and poetry. Sagas, Skaldic and Eddic (or Eddaic) poetry are oral traditions that can be traced for centuries in Scandinavia before being written down by monks and scribes, mainly in Iceland, in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries (Jesch 2012 [2008], 293; Fry 1980).

However, both traditions can be observed via the medium of rune stones from earlier periods. Indeed, Sweden comprises 122 known examples of runic monuments representing Skaldic poetry (the Skaldic project), several of which are included in the present research (see dat. SCA1 & 2 Arkils and Aspa löt). Rune stones, Icelandic sagas and Skaldic poetry share one similar purpose, which is, according to Cecilia Ljung (2009, 599): 'the importance of the posthumous reputation'. This point, first made by Judith Jesch in 2005, suggests that the oral Skaldic poetry and rune stones are part of a similar tradition of commemorative practices (Jesch 2005, 95-103).

Ill. 2.3 Example of Sigurd's stone, the Gök Stone (Sö 327)
Picture © A. Busset

Sagas on the other hand are prose narratives, which may contain significant information regarding late Viking Age and early medieval Scandinavian society. Although they cannot be considered accurate historical sources, they sometimes offer detailed descriptions on several aspects such as common law, burial traditions, and the setting of, and practices at, assembly places (Clunies Ross 2010, 7-11; Brink 2004, 205-207; Fry 1980). Some imagery drawn from sagas, such as the *Völsunga saga* that tell the tales of the hero Sigurd (which is the Scandinavian version of the German

Niebelungenlied), are also represented on multiple rune stones (ill. 2.3), demonstrating the central place they had in earlier societies.

2.2.1.4 Runic inscriptions

Runic inscriptions provide the most complete and complex picture of late Viking Age and early medieval Scandinavian society. Indeed, not only do the inscriptions reveal details on commemoration practices, common laws, poetry, travel, beliefs and various acts and deeds, such as the building of a bridge, but they also link the literacy to a more three-dimensional world, especially when found in their original context (e.g. Ljung 2012, 9-16; Hagland 1998, 619-628). Runic inscriptions are found on an array of objects, made from diverse materials, such as metal, wood, bone and primarily, on the most imposing and enduring of materials: stone (Zilmer 2006, 439-440). The best-known inscriptions are thus those found on rune stones, from the end of the 10th to the beginning of the 12th century.

2.2.2 Historical context and main events

It is necessary to root the historical context of the regional case studies into broader overarching themes of centralisation and Christianisation. Consequently, these aspects will be addressed by providing a historical background for each region under analysis; however, these historical backgrounds will be brief by necessity, as a complete discussion of the historical context and social changes undergone by these regions throughout the time period is beyond the scope of the present work (for further discussion on late Viking Age and early medieval Scandinavia, see Winroth 2012; Steinsland 2011, 1-14; Brink 2003; 2012a [2008], 23-31; Lindkvist 2012 [2008], 668-674; Gräslund 2003; Sawyer 2003, 51-64; Illkjaer 2001, 89-93; Sawyer and Sawyer 1993).

The Svea kingdom and the power centres 800-1200

2.2.2.1 Political situation

According to Sawyer and Sawyer (1993, 49), there are only mentions in medieval texts of two main kingdoms in 9th century Scandinavia: the Danes and the Svear (Swedes); however, recent research has demonstrated that the Svea Kingdom cannot be considered as such until 1000, and even then, it 'was far from a coherent political

unit with a more or less undisputed kingship' (Lindkvist 2008, 668). Compared to Norway and Denmark, the early medieval history of Sweden and the creation of a Christian monarchy remain unclear.

During the early medieval period until at least the 13th century, Sweden had an elected monarchy. Election took place in Uppsala, and after the election, the king travelled the *Eriksgata*, the royal inauguration road, to be formally accepted by assemblies from local districts (*härad*). According to Lindqvist (2012 [2008], 670), this system implied a 'weak monarchy' as it suggested 'the possibility of the aristocracy (to restrict) royal authority'.

At the end of the 10th century, the king of the Svear was Erik Segersäll ('the Victorious') mentioned in several sagas and in the *Gesta*. He is said to have been baptised in Denmark sometime in the second half of the 10th century, although he might not have remained Christian until his death in AD 995. Erik founded the town of Sigtuna in AD 975, which later became a bishopric and the main religious power centre in the Svea kingdom. He was the father of Olof Skötkonung (the 'Scot king'), recognised as the first Christian king of the Svear, and who, throughout his reign, promoted Christianity (Winroth 2012, 116-118; Lindkvist 2012 [2008], 670). Olof is also considered the first king who ruled over both *Svealand* –the area around the lake Mälaren - and *Götaland*, to the south. Both his sons, first Anund then Emund, succeeded him as kings. After Emund, a new dynasty, from Västergotland, emerged, the head of which was King Håkon who ruled in the 1070s. Royal power during most of the 11th century was unstable, and rulers rarely maintained power and control over the two main regions of Sweden.

Following a new period of political turmoil between the first half of the 12th century to the 1160s, a major change took place in 1164, when Uppsala became an archbishopric. The king of Sweden was subsequently addressed by the pope as king of the *Svear* and *Götar*. From that time on, ecclesiastical structures were developed in Sweden and contributed to making the kingdom 'definitely…recognised as one of the independent, European and Christian monarchies' (Lindkvist 2008, 671).

Map 2-1 The Districts of Uppland, © B. Sawyer 2000, 237
This map represents the division of *härader* (inlands districts) and *skeppslags* (coastal districts)

2.2.2.2 Power centres

The kingdom of the Swedes comprised many smaller kingdoms. Associated with the unsettled nature of kingship during the period under analysis, several more or less important royal towns came to prominence through their associations with royal patrons and dynasties. Some of them, by their longevity, are well known and documented, while others remain more obscure. Three main royal centres of varying significance emerged in the region this research focuses on: Old Uppsala, Sigtuna and Hovgården (see Ch.3 for discussion on Hovgården).

During most of the Viking Age, Uppland's main settlement, Old Uppsala, was considered the royal and religious/cultic power centre of central Sweden (Lindkvist 2012 [2008], 671; Gräslund 2000, 61-72). Already recognised as a royal centre during the late Viking Age, as evidenced by the archaeological remains of a royal hall (long house) built on a plateau, close to the cultic centre, Old Uppsala retained its importance throughout the Middle Ages (Gräslund 2000, 65). It was where the

election of the kings was held, and where the *Eriksgata* – the royal processional route – ends its course. Adam of Bremen depicted Old Uppsala as a pagan stronghold, and contrasted it with the royal town of Sigtuna.

Founded in AD 975 by King Erik, the town of Sigtuna in the Mälar Valley is known to have been a royal centre, from which "a new form of Christian kingship … gradually extended over the region" (Sawyer 2000, 21). It also became a bishopric between 1070 and 1130, although did not remain so continuously (Lindqvist 2012 [2008], 671; Gräslund 2000).

2.2.2.3 The origins of Christianisation

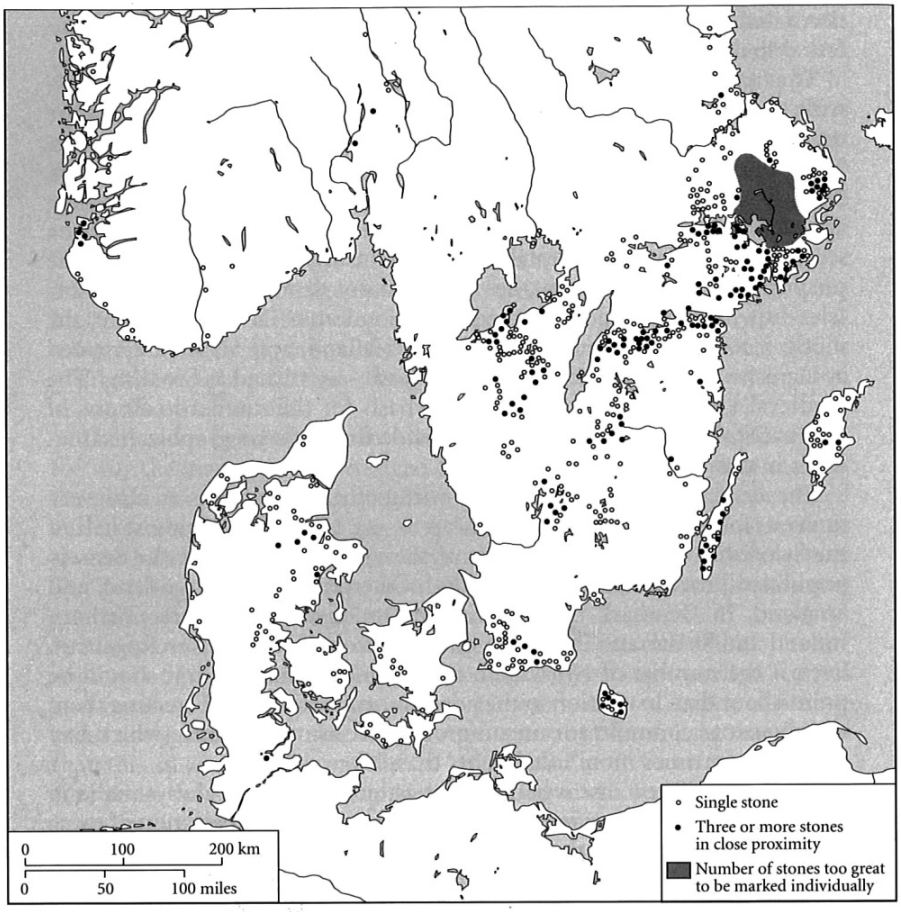
A particular emphasis on the process of conversion is made in this section, as, in contrast with the carved monuments from Ireland and Scotland presented in this thesis, rune stones were an integral part of this process. It is thus necessary to present the main aspects of the Christianisation of Sweden.

It has been questioned whether the Christianisation of Scandinavia was initiated from the British Isles or from Germany (Lager 2003, 503-507). The written sources (*Vita Anskarii* and *Gesta*) suggest that Denmark and Sweden were Christianised under German influence, as the new faith would have been brought from England to Norway with the kingship of Óláfr Tryggvason (*c.* AD 995 – AD 1000), who was converted in England at the end of the 10th century, according to the Sagas (Winroth 2012, 2-4).

It would seem obvious that there was competition between the German and Anglo-Saxon Churches in this period, leading to the paradox that up to the mid-eleventh century, Scandinavia from a judicial and administrative point of view belonged to the German Church, but more or less all the bishops came from Anglo-Saxon areas (Brink, 2012c [2008], 626). Current research also stresses that the Anglo-Saxons might have played a primary role in the conversion process especially during 11th century Cnut the Great's reign over England and Scandinavia (Norway, Denmark and 'parts of Sweden', Brink 2012c [2008], 626).

The stone monuments also offer a different perspective on the origins of Christianisation. Indeed, the act of conveying a 'Christian' message on carved stones is primarily observed in the British Isles, and this thesis will follow the argument first

laid by Lager (2003) and argue that the tradition of erecting rune stones represents the Scandinavian response to that tradition. This aspect will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 6.



Map 2-2 Distribution of rune stones in southern Sweden
© Sawyer 2000, 12

2.2.2.4 Debating the conversion process

Several key points have defined and punctuated the conversion process in Scandinavia. The first official record of a Christian missionary in Denmark dates from c. 710; in the second half of the 10th century (*c.* AD 960), the Jelling monument was erected by King Harald Bluetooth, who, in his own words "made the Danes Christian"; finally, the establishment of the archbishopric in Lund in 1103 marked the end of the hegemony of the German archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen over the Scandinavian Church. It is not to say that the whole of Scandinavia was Christianised by then (as discussed above, Sweden's Christianisation process took the majority of the 12th century) however, the main part of the process was completed in the 12th century (Andrén 2013, 27; Berend 2007).

Sweden was thus the last Scandinavian country to go through the conversion process; commencing at the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century, it was not completed before the end of the 12th century. In Denmark 'pagan' rituals were abandoned by the end of the 10th century and by 1060 diocesan structures were completed. The same could be said by 1070-1090 in Norway (Sawyer 2000, 21). Comparatively, in the mid-11th century, the only bishopric in Sweden was in Västergötland, and the first archdiocese, located in Old Uppsala, was established in 1164 (Gräslund 2000, 63).

There are two main approaches to understanding and interpreting the effects of the Christianisation process of Sweden, which have been divided scholars over the years. On the one hand, some scholars believe that the Christianisation process provoked a break amongst Swedish society, and fed into the instability of the political struggles, which are also visible through the discontinuance of the use of cult places (Sawyer 2000, 124-145; Nicolaysen and Olsen, see Andrén 2013, 29). Others, however, defend a more peaceful process, which sees Christianisation as gradual, percolating through Swedish society with its first contacts with Christianity as early as the 5th century, with the conversion process reaching its completion in the 12th century (Andrén 2013, 33-38; Brink 2012b [2008], 621-622; Gräslund 2003, 263; 2012 [2008], 640-642). The latter furthermore argue that recent excavations have shown the continued use and reuse of cult places. In certain areas, there are also spatial associations between 'pagan' graves and churches (Gräslund 1992). For Anders Andrén (2013, 28), there are overlaps between 'pagan' and Christian beliefs and cult practices until the 12th century.

According to Alexandra Sanmark (2009, 234), the struggles observed in the late 11th century amongst late Viking Age society are more of a reaction and response to the centralisation of royal power, instead of a reaction to the Christianisation of elites. Indeed, local Christian magnates tried to assert their power by enhancing assembly sites, to gain prestige. This could be in reaction to the expansion of royal power based mainly in Västergötland, but which, by the end of the 11th century, would also include Södermanland, Uppland, and Närke, culminating in the creation of Svealand. Moreover, the rune stones depict and describe a more peaceful account of the conversion process than historical sources (Gräslund 2000, 65), as we will discuss below.

For a long time, it has been thought that the Christianisation process started in the lower part of Scandinavian society, and spread up the social ladder to the elites (Fry 1980). This myth of Christian slaves spreading their faith amongst society is a long-lived trope in studies of the Christianisation process. However, 'modern research has in a way turned this picture upside-down' says Brink (2012c [2008], 622). According to him, Christianity was a very long process, which started amongst kings and chieftains who wanted to align themselves to the other European elites, and slowly filtered down into the lower parts of the society. Further supporting this theory is the work of Anne-Sofie Gräslund (2003) who asserts that the first representations of Christ were mainly that of a king: a representation of power and authority. The merciful Christ only started to be represented from the second half of the 12th century in Sweden.

Contrasting with both Scotland and Ireland, monasticism in Sweden was not part of the first phase of the conversion process to Christianity (Brink 2013, 26-27; Nyberg 2004, 197-208). In Sweden, early churches emerged first as being linked to royal domain – in the first phase, rune stones marked the early churches. However, by the 11th century, large farm estates seem to have their own private church or consecrated grounds (Brink 2013, 30). This is shown by the presence of Christian tombs (rectangular shaped, aligned E-W, with little or no grave goods) next to long houses. Yet, these early churches disappear when the parishes are formed and parish churches built, which happens from the end of the 12th, but mostly during the 13th century. Until this point, religious counsellors, or 'bishops' were attached to the kings' household, and small churches were attached to farms. In the latter, it remains unclear who the priests were that tended to these small rural flocks. The transition from rune stones to parish churches is also visible through the integration of rune stones in the churches' fabric, encompassing and absorbing the old markers of power into the new landscape foci.

2.2.2.5 Rune stones and Christianisation

Aside from written sources, the conversion process to Christianity can be primarily observed through two main aspects: burial practices and runic inscriptions. Christianisation of different areas in Scandinavia is represented through three rune stones, named by Sawyer 'the baptismal certificates' (2000, 133). Conveniently, there

is one rune stone for each country, which not only mentions the conversion to Christianity, but also offers plausible dating.

In Denmark, the famous monument of Jelling in Jutland (erected *c*. 970) is considered as the first carved stone memorial from which the 10th to 12th century tradition of erecting rune stones originated (ill 2.4). King Harald Bluetooth erected the stone for his parents and on it he claims to have Christianised the Danes, and unified Denmark and Norway under his crown (Brink 2012c [2008], 625; Gräslund, 2003, 263). Moreover, the basic structure of the inscription is the one found on the majority of the stones: it starts with who had the stone erected and in memory of whom, and it informs the reader of the connection between the two; the second part then states the good deeds achieved either by the deceased or by the commissioner (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 629; Ljung 2009, 595-596; Sawyer 2000, 134-145).

Regarding the content of the inscription on the Jelling monument, it has been much discussed and debated, and although it is unlikely that Harald converted the Danes, he may have set up this monument to commemorate the official Christianisation of Denmark; it is thus as much a political statement as a mark of religious devotion, or even more so (Brink 2012c [2008], 625).

Ill. 2.4 DR 42 Jelling rune stone
Picture © Niels Elgaard Larsen

The second stone is the Frösö Runestone (Frey's Island) in Jämtland, at the northernmost point of Sweden. The inscription reads: 'Östman, Gudfast's son, had this stone raised and this bridge built and he had converted Jämtland' (RUNDATA J RS1928;66) According to Gräslund, the stone can be dated on stylistic grounds to the middle of the 11th century (2003, 263). Similarly to Jelling, it can be argued that this

stone makes a political statement of ownership over a region, however, it may also mark the official conversion of the *Jämtar* to Christianity

The Kuli stone (RUNDATA N449), found in Edøy, Western Norway, is the third stone referring directly to the conversion to Christianity. Similarly to the Jelling and Frösö stones, it mentions the conversion of the area, but also it offers precise dating. Indeed, the monument was discovered at the end of a wooden bridge that has been dendro-chronologically dated to 1034 (Gräslund 2003, 263). As the text inscribed on the stone says that "Twelve winters had Christianity been in Norway", it suggests that the Norwegian people were converted around 1022 (Gräslund 2003, 263). Brink suggests that it may indeed relate to the 1024 event, when King Óláfr Haraldsson and his bishop Grímkell "declared the first Christian law on the island of Moster" (Brink 2012c [2008], 626).

Sweden experienced multiple conversion processes from the 10th to the 12th century. Each province converted in different times, and in different ways. Sawyer (2000, 141) argued that Uppland was the slowest to convert, as it did not have any ecclesiastical structure until the end of the 12th century. In her interpretation, the fact that more prayers are present on Upplandic rune stones is because prayers were not needed as much in regions where Christianity was well established; people do not need to be exhorted to pray for a deceased soul where representatives of the Church were numerous enough to attend to it.

In contrast, Lager (2003, 505-507) proposed an alternative interpretation, suggesting that the rune stone monuments were used 'instead of' churches and ecclesiastical centres. Indeed, the first diocese in the Svea kingdom was founded in 1020 in Västergötland. Interestingly, this region has only 300 rune stone monuments; in contrast, Uppland counts the most important concentration of rune stones in all of Sweden, with approximately 1400 monuments (RUNDATA). This suggests that rune stones were not only linked to the conversion process, they were also a central part of it. The 11th century rune stones are, according to Lager (2003, 500) '*terminus post quem* for the conversion': the people who erected them were already Christian. Furthermore, Anne-Sofie Gräslund (1987, 258) suggests that rune stones bearing an incised cross may have functioned to consecrate traditional burial grounds, to convert the place and enable Christian burials.

2.3 Early medieval Ireland and the Kingdoms of Cenél nÉogain and Ulaid

Ireland's early medieval history may be considered just as complex to understand as the other ones presented here, yet for different reasons. The considerable amount of written sources brings to light the intricacy of relationships amongst and between secular and religious elites, as well as law structures, and ecclesiastical rules. The picture rendered is one of an elaborate society, difficult to approach and understand from an outside perspective (for further discussions of early medieval Ireland, its history, sources, and archaeology, see O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014; Bhreathnach 2014; Ó Carragáin 2010; Byrne 2005, 656-679; Charles-Edwards 2000; Edwards 1990; 2005, 235-300; Hughes 1966; 1972; Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 2005b, 182-234; Etchingham 2002 [1999]). The areas presented in this section will focus on the central and eastern part of Ulster, constituting, in the beginning of our time period, the kingdoms of Cenél nEógain (part of the northern Uí Néill) in the north, Airgialla in the centre and Ulaid in the east.

2.3.1 The sources

2.3.1.1 Archaeological remains

The early medieval archaeological remains in Ireland are numerous and varied. No other European country counts as many well-preserved sites from this period; as 47,000 sites and approximately 120,000 monuments have been identified (e.g. O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 1). From settlements to ecclesiastical and monastic structures, burials, metalwork, artefacts, animal bones and seeds, the archaeological record has been gathering more and more attention through the years, and combined with historical sources they form both macro- and micro-scale pictures of the daily life, arts, crafts and customs of early Irish society (O'Sullivan, et *al.* 2014, 215-246; Edwards 2005, 276-289). Moreover, non-intrusive technologies, such as geophysical and LiDAR surveys for example, have contributed recently to the discovery of much more archaeological data (O'Brien and Adams 2016; O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 1).

Carved stones and stone monuments

Carved stones complete the collection of archaeological data of early medieval Ireland. They occur in a variety of shapes and sizes, ranging from cross-incised recumbent slabs to cross-slabs and from carved pillars to High Crosses. In comparison to the other regions presented in this research, the collection of Irish stones presents the most diversity of shape and morphology. High Crosses are the monuments most analysed and published; they have been dated from the 8th to the 10th century, with a revival in the 12th (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 166-167; Edwards 1995, 163-164). The other types of monuments such as recumbent or standing cross-carved slabs and undecorated stone crosses are more problematic to date, especially if their original context is unknown.

2.3.1.2 Climate and resources

The early medieval landscape and territories in Ireland can be deciphered through the analysis of written sources, especially genealogies, as they mention many topographical elements, such as elevated areas, river crossings, bogs, or valleys (Bhreathnach 2014, 10-11; 17). The importance of woodland areas is indicated, as wood, trees, and forest are found in place names and often referred to in the written sources as a key element for building material, heating and lighting (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 108). The extensive use of wood in early medieval production is further seen through archaeological discoveries, as evidenced by the numerous finds relating to mill constructions, built in the 8th and 9th centuries (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 203-209). These discoveries suggest the increase of arable farming during that period, while the documentary sources emphasise an economy largely based on cattle farming (Edwards 1990, 56).

A toponymic element found in numerous place names, is *mag*, which designates a fertile plain. Sites using this place name, which usually constituted part of the territory of small kingdoms, were more likely to have been disputed territories, as they would have been key to access land resources (Bhreathnach 2014, 11; Charles-Edwards 2000, 13).

The landscape was therefore varied, with grassland and woodland areas, but also extended wetlands and boggy surfaces. Although wetlands were more difficult to

cultivate, they were not entirely uninhabited. Examples of this are found in sites which include the place-name *cluain* ('Clon-' e.g. Clonmacnoise, meaning 'a damp pasture') especially found in the midlands; these were found in raised areas, close to rivers, and church or church lands were often found associated with them (Bhreathnach 2014, 23). Furthermore, the importance of control over waterways and lakes for movement and to be used in the local economy is clearly demonstrated in written sources and place-names (Bhreathnach 2014, 11).

Climate in early medieval Ireland seems to have been mild and temperate, albeit with wide regional and periodic variations (Edwards 1990, 50). Bede, in his introduction to *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* describes a land milder than Britain (HE I 1): "the snow scarcely ever lies … above three days: no man makes hay in the summer for winter's provision, or builds stables for his beasts of burden". This idealised account (by someone who never actually visited the island) needs to be balanced by evidence gathered in other indigenous sources, which demonstrate wide variations and episodes of adverse weather, which resulted sometimes in the destruction of crops or grazing, provoking famines (Ó Corráin 2005, 575).

The topography of Ulster varied substantially from the west, where the climate was wetter and consequently poorer soil resources linked to the presence of large boggy areas, and the centre and the east, where more fertile plains were found, due to a more favourable climate. This is evidenced by the presence of many *mag* place names, such as *Magh Tóchuir* situated in Inishowen, in the north of Ulster (Charles-Edwards 2000, 52-56; Ch. 4, 4.1.2).

2.3.1.3 Written sources

Early medieval Ireland has the richest and most complex corpus of written sources of north-western Europe. While the scarcity of sources may represent a challenge in the study of early medieval Scotland, the profusion of sources from Ireland presents a challenge of its own (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 8). For thorough consideration of early Irish sources, see McCarthy 2008, Mac Niocaill 1975, and Hughes 1972, 41-248. Furthermore, in recent years, the use of early Irish sources has been greatly facilitated by the Corpus of Electronic Texts (CELT; <http://celt.ucc.ie>), an academic web resource, which comprises each source presented here. Here, discussion focuses

on those sources most used in the present study, the *Annals of Ulster*, the *Annals of the Four Masters* and the *Book of Armagh*.

Most Irish sources are later transcriptions of earlier texts that were predominantly compiled within ecclesiastical institutions (McCarthy 2008, 6-13). In this research, the annals are largely utilised for the information they provide for major events at ecclesiastical sites where stone sculpture is found, in order to create a narrative framework of possible dates and events (such as information on Armagh IR1 and Nendrum IR10 for instance; 3.3.1, 3.3.2), while the *Book of Armagh* is used to observe the presence of a saint, or his relics, on a site or in an area, in order to analyse the connections between carved stones and local cults.

The Annals

"An annal may be defined as the contemporary record of an event under the year of its occurrence" (Ó Cróinín 2017 (1995), 8). The earliest contemporary annals were probably written from the 7th century, but reported earlier events (McCarthy 2008, 7); Retrospective entries are problematic as their accuracy can seldom be verified (Ó Cróinín 2017 (1995), 12).

The annals provide useful information to historians and archaeologists on political alliances, foundations, burning or raiding of ecclesiastical centres, death of religious or secular elites, and the building (or the presence) of monuments, such as *scriptoria* or round towers (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 8-9). The dating they provide may not always be reliable, but by comparing several independent sources, it is sometimes possible to cross-reference events. Hagiographies on the other hand, such as Muirchú's *Life of Saint Patrick*, are essentially texts of religious propaganda as they were specifically written to sing the praise of a particular saint, to enhance their prestige and often to claim religious authority over distant churches (Carney 2005, 493). In that sense, they may provide more information on the time they were written, than of the time they claim to depict (Hughes 1972, 219-222).

Annals of Ulster (AU)

One of the most important sources for the area under scrutiny are the *Annals of Ulster*, which include a large number of entries, from a wide chronological range; the

main body of text ranges from AD 431 to AD 1504 (McCarthy 2008, 34; ff 16-43). The *AU* were preserved in several later sources; however, the most complete one is the Trinity College Dublin manuscript 1282, transcribed or compiled in the 15th century (McCarthy 2008, 33).

The prominence and prosperity of ecclesiastical sites may be recognised through the number of references devoted to them in the written sources – although this also reflects geographical and political biases. For instance, from the 8th century, entries recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* concerning Armagh increase substantially (McCarthy 2008, 223; Hughes 1972, 129-130). Kathleen Hughes identifies this increase as a sign of the connection between the Uí Néill and Armagh (1972, 131); while Mac Niocaill (1975, 21-24) suggests that the Annals were being maintained there, which is supported by McCarthy (2008, 224). These two interpretations are not exclusive, and the connections between the Uí Néill and Armagh are evidenced by the close relations between kings and abbots (Hughes 1972, 131).

Book of Armagh (BA)

The *BA* consist of several texts related to the life of St Patrick and the see of Armagh, Muichú's *Life of Saint Patrick*, Tírechán's *Collectanea*, *Liber Angeli* 'the Book of the Angel', St Patrick's *Confessio*, and several *notulae*. The two main sources referred to in this research are Muirchú and Tírechán's works, as well as the *Liber Angeli*. The *BA* was compiled by the scribe Fedomnach (d. 847) under the abbacy of Torbach mac Gormáin in AD 807-808 (Bhreathnach 2014, 206; Charles-Edwards 2000, 11-13).

Muirchú is thought to have written his *Life of Patrick c.* AD 700 (Carney 2005, 492). While the first part of the source may have been based on Patrick's *Confessio*, the second part tells of the travels of St Patrick in the north of Ireland, and the foundation of the church of Armagh (Hughes 1972, 230). As a hagiography, the source relates a lot of magical deeds performed by Patrick to strengthen his spiritual authority (Carney 2005, 493). One of the main purposes of Muirchú's *Life* that is of particular interest for the present research is to connect the landscape to the cult of St Patrick and to Armagh, asserting the claim of the Patrician *paruchia* over the land (Charles-Edwards 2012). Similarly, the *Liber Angeli*, a "collection of statements" rather than an

individual text, seems to claim jurisdiction for Armagh over diocesan (local) territory, as well as the (more scattered) monastic *paruchia* (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 173).

Possibly written contemporaneously with Muirchú's *Life* is Tírechán's *Collectanea* (*Tír*). Of Tírechán himself, little is known other than that he was a bishop from an unknown see. His work is probably one of the least reliable sources about St Patrick, a work of propaganda, aiming to create the legend of St Patrick, and extend the prestige and power of Armagh. Tírechán often claims the foundation of a certain monastic site as the work of St Patrick, in order to reinforce the Patrician *paruchia*.

In opposition to Tírechán's text, the *Tripartite life of St Patrick* (*TL*) offers a less idealised vision of St Patrick, representing him in daily life, ordinary tasks. This source was compiled between 895 and 902 and records claims to property and carefully names the churches and their grounds (Hughes 1972, 239).

Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters (AFM)

The *Annals of the Four Masters* are a late compilation of early medieval sources, including the *Annals of Ulster* (*AU*) and the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*. They were compiled by the Franciscan brother Michael O'Clery, with the help of secular antiquarians (McCarthy 2008, 56). While this work contains several medieval sources, such as the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* and the *Annals of Ulster*, it is also problematic as important modifications, such as omissions, additions or semantic changes were made (McCarthy 2008, 59). However, the first volume of *AFM* contains a catalogue of the Kings of Ireland, and includes information as the dates of reigns and deaths; the names and genealogies of provincial kings and local elites, sometimes with corresponding dates. The *AFM* also include the dates of foundations of churches and monasteries, as well as the names of abbots and bishops, and the dates of the successions.

2.3.2 Historical context and main events

Ulster AD 700-AD 1000

2.3.2.1 Political situation

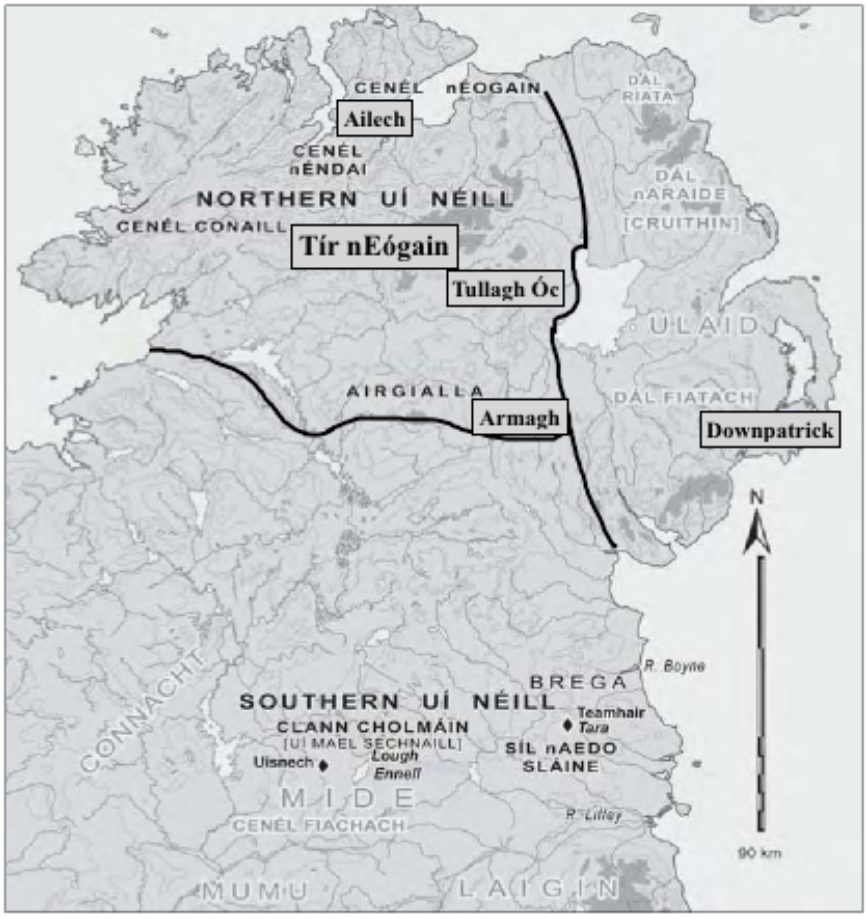
During the early medieval period, Ireland was organised into numerous petty kingdoms, the *túatha* ('peoples'), which were the smallest land division and have been described as a unit of jurisdiction, and a political community (MacCotter 2008, 22). These corresponded often to a *mag* (as presented above), and were delineated by bogs, forests or mountains (Charles-Edwards 2000, 102). These were part of larger regional and sub-regional kingdoms, over which ruled provincial kings of the *cóiceda* (Bhreathnach 2014, 40; McCotter 2008, 104-108).

From the end of the 6th century, the reigning dynasty in Ulster were the Uí Néill, whose territory spread from Donegal to the north-west to the eastern midlands, north of Dublin (Charles-Edwards 2000, 441; map 2-3). The main two reigning families amongst the northern Uí Néill were the Cenél Conaill to the north-west and the Cenél nÉogain to the north, while the north-east was controlled by the Ulaid. The south of Ulster was dominated by the Airgialla, a confederation whose territory includes part of Co. Fermanagh, Clogher and Armagh (Ó Cróinin 2005, 202-214; map 2-3).

The 8th century saw the rise to prominence of the Cenél nÉogain, whose original territory was situated in Inishowen, with their power centre in Aileach. In the reign of Áed Allán, the Cenél nÉogain became the leading family in the northern part of Ireland, reducing the kingdom of the Ulaid to the east, and subjecting the Airgialla, who were then controlling Armagh (Bhreathnach 2014, 192-193; Charles-Edwards 2000, 572-573).

In the second half of the 8th century, Ulster, as well as Ireland, experienced a period of relative political and religious stability (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 251). Major religious centres were established, around which population grew and settled, and the king of Cenél nEógain, Áed from the northern Uí Néill became King of Tara (Byrne 2001 [1973], 125). However, from the 9th century, Viking raids on both ecclesiastical and secular settlements intensified; to begin with, attacks focused on the Scottish western

Isles, and the Irish coastline, recorded by the *Annals of Ulster* (*AU* 794.7: 'Devastation of all islands of Britain by heathens'). Viking raids especially targeted ecclesiastical sites, as they held riches, such as silver or gems, used for religious ornaments, altar, or book covers (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 253), and may have been centres for secular wealth as well. These attacks are often recorded in the annals and chronicles, and give us precious information on the evolution, and sometimes the end of particular sites. In AD 839-840, the first overwintering of Vikings on mainland Ireland is recorded on Lough Neagh, north of Armagh (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983, 296-299), beginning a period of struggles and marking the presence of more permanent Viking settlements (Charles-Edwards 2000, 590-597).



Map 2-3 Political divisions and power centres in the early medieval period
Koch 2006, 1703, additional information added by the author based on O'Keeffe 2001, 96

2.3.2.2 Christianity

Two main figures are traditionally linked to the Christianisation of Ireland, Palladius and Patrick. Palladius was a bishop sent by the pope in AD 431 to provide pastoral care to the Irish Christians and act as a missionary. The mission of Palladius is recorded in Prosper's *Chronicles*, a contemporary documentary source; however,

evidence for the physical presence of Palladius in Ireland is scarce (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 41-45). Patrick, a Briton, who lived in the early 5th century, has left two written works: the *Confessio* and the *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus*, written to criticise the treatment of Christians at the hand of the British king Coroticus (Bhreathnach 2014, 152). His *Confessio* includes his story as a young Briton, he was kidnapped by Irish raiders and reduced to slavery, escaped and flew to Britain; but after receiving a vision, indicating that he had to return to Ireland, he set sail again to start his mission (*Confessio* 1-23; Charles-Edwards 2000, 182-183; 202-233).

Apart from these two works, there is no contemporary evidence of Patrick's life and mission; the earliest texts mentioning the life of St Patrick are written by the saint's hagiographers, Muirchú and Tirechán, whose writings serve to create the legend of St Patrick, and participate in the construction of the claim to primacy of the church of Armagh in the 7th century, rather than tell a faithful account of Patrick's life (see 2.3.1.3). Indeed, the 7th century sees the rise to prominence of several main rival ecclesiastical sites, linked to the cults of particular saints, such as Armagh and St Patrick, or Kildare and St Brigit (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 172-174; 176-177; Charles-Edwards 2000, 416; 427-429). By the time the stone monuments, which constitute the Irish selection for this research, are erected, the Church has been established for several centuries, and was becoming an increasingly powerful institution, whose prominent members were part of elite dynasties, establishing strong relationships, connections, and influence between secular and ecclesiastical power centres (Bhreathnach 2014, 183).

2.3.2.3 Episcopal sees and monastic *paruchiae*

The organisational structure of the Church changed significantly during the first centuries of the Christianisation process. Early sources indicate an episcopal structure from the 5th century, similar to the Continent and Britain, with delineated boundaries, corresponding to the limits of the *túath* (Charles-Edwards 2000 243-244, citing Hughes 1966). From the first half of the 7th century, however, the organisation seemed to shift to a structure of monastic *paruchiae*, understood as "a group of daughter-monasteries controlled by the abbot of the mother-house" (Charles-Edwards 2000, 245). This new type of structure allowed churches to extend their powers and influence beyond the *túath* and claim ownership over distant churches,

and extract tribute from them (Ó Cróinín 2017 (1995), 172-183; Bhreathnach 2014, 197).

By connecting Armagh to the cult of St Patrick, and emphasising the importance of the Patrician *paruchia,* in the 7th century, the material contained in the *Book of Armagh* emphasised (or, indeed, created) its prominence (Ó Cróinín 2017 (1995) 172-174; Charles-Edwards 2000, 422-429). By the end of the 7th century, Armagh had become "one of the most powerful ecclesiastical, economic and political institution of the country" (Bhreathnach 2014, 203).

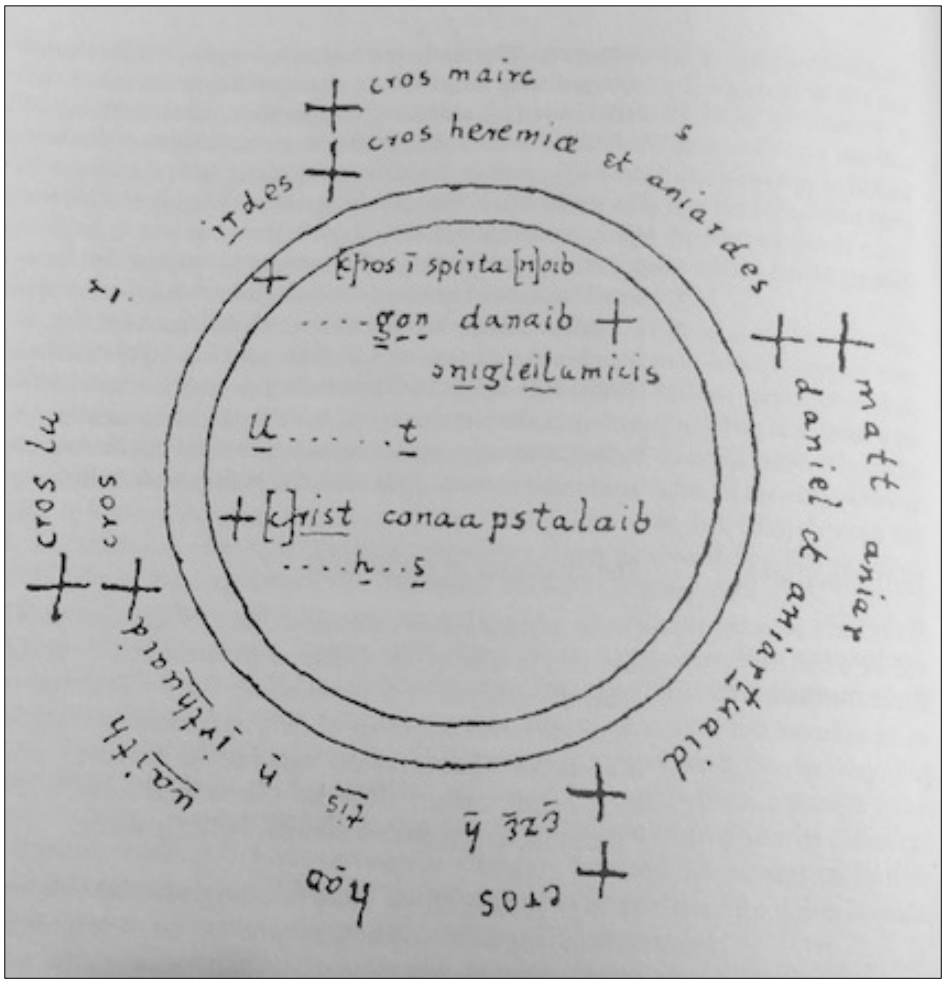
Monastic enclosures: archaeology and cosmology

The best preserved remains of early ecclesiastical sites are usually the enclosure boundaries (monastic *valla*), which consist of one or several earthen bank-and-ditches, or stone walls (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 145). These structures, often evidenced by aerial photography and archaeology (Swan 1985; Carrowmore IR5; Cooley IR7; Nendrum IR10), seem to reflect the idealised cosmological layout described in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (the Irish Collection of Canons), a series of canon laws compiled in the 8th century (Charles-Edwards 2000, 421). The key section is as follow (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 145):

> "A holy place must be surrounded by two or three enclosures. In the first we allow no one to enter except holy people that is laymen do not have access to it, not even the women, only the clergy. Admittance to the public space of the second is permitted for the crowds of common people whose morals are not too loose. In the third, through concession and custom, admittance is not forbidden to laymen guilty of homicide and adultery and to prostitutes. This is why the first is called most holy, the second holier, and the third holy, separated from each other for people of different status … signs must surround the territory of a holy place. Wherever you find the sign of the cross of Christ, do no commit any assault".

Charles-Edwards states that beyond monastic communities, monasteries were also used as sanctuaries, and welcomed lay people. Referring to the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, he also offers the definition of the multivallate structure of these monastic settlements to follow the pattern of "'holy', 'holier', and 'holiest'", reserving

the outer section to the criminals, while the middle one was for any ordinary laymen, and the inner, most holy area was reserved to the clergy (Charles-Edwards 2000, 120). A drawing found in an Irish gospel book, the *Book of Mulling,* which seems to represent a monastic layout, corresponds closely to the description in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 145; ill. 2.6). This drawing is of particular interest for the present research, as it also depicts the presence of crosses situated at different cardinal points around the enclosure, as well as within (Aitchison 1994, 234). While this representation may be abstract and does not correspond exactly to the presence of standing crosses at monastic enclosures, it has been argued by Edwards (1990, 106), that monastic enclosures may "have been invested with spiritual properties of sanctuary and divine protection"; standing crosses, and High Crosses, may have reinforced these properties.



Ill. 2.5 Representation of early medieval monastic layout, from the Book of Mulling, a late 8th century gospel book.
Figure from Lawlor 1894; © National Library of Ireland

2.4 Early medieval Scotland and the southern kingdom of the Picts

Pictish historical and archaeological studies have increased exponentially since the 1980s, and a people that were once considered 'the darkest of the people of Dark Age Britain' (Henderson 1967, 12), are now the centre of constant and renewed scholarly interest. Publications on the Picts have been as numerous as they have been varied in the past few years; many publications and research are also now fully interdisciplinary, including archaeological, historical, art historical, epigraphic, and place-names approaches (history and written sources: Fraser 2009; Woolf 2007; Anderson 2011 [1973]; Evans 2011, 45-66; Clancy 1999, 3-32; 2001, 1-28; place-name: Taylor 2011, 67-120; landscape studies Gondek and Noble 2011, 281-306; Fraser and Halliday 2007, 115-135; 2011, 307-335; Gondek 2006, 105-142; archaeology: Clarke *et al.* 2012; Driscoll 1991, 81-111; 1998, 142-158; 2011, 245-280; Dunwell and Ralston 2008; Alcock 2003; RCAHMS 1990, 1994).

Nevertheless, contrasting greatly with both Scandinavia and Ireland, Pictland is the area of research for which historical sources are the most tenuous and difficult to draw out meaningful interpretations and conclusions. The written sources are scarce and written by outsiders, and as a result are partial, and prone to biases, while the archaeological record, through lack of excavations, scarcity of finds, or difficulties in obtaining secure dates, is often confusing (Fraser 2009, 3-11; Woolf 2007, 2-14).

Due to this lack of primary sources in Scotland, it is necessary – even more than in any other region presented here – to combine several strands of evidence from multiple types of sources. Stephen Driscoll (1988; 2011) has demonstrated the necessity of analysing written sources and archaeological remains collectively, to attempt a better understanding of the Picts, their social structure, political organisation and beliefs. Therefore, the following section is background that encompasses a wider selection of data sources and strands of evidence, assembled into a brief, and by no means comprehensive, background representing the current state of knowledge concerning society, politics, and culture in Pictland during the period focused on for this work.

2.4.1 The sources

2.4.1.1 Archaeological remains

Archaeological research on early medieval Pictland presents several difficulties: of the total of potential sites identified, only a fraction has been excavated; and the sites that *have* been excavated are difficult to date. Aerial photography has, since the 1950s, and more especially the 1980s, widely contributed to the new discoveries of early medieval sites, and added to our knowledge of potential structures associated with known early medieval sites, especially in the east of Scotland, where soil and climate conditions are the most suited to differential crop growth and moisture absorption (Driscoll 2011, 257; Dunwell and Ralston 2008, 15). These surveys have shown the presence of numerous enclosed structures, among which are forts and hillforts.

Hillforts are one of the most common archaeological site types in eastern Scotland. While the research carried out by Leslie Alcock in the 1980s revealed early medieval activity on several sites, such as Dundurn in Perthshire (Alcock *et al.* 1989; 1990; 1992; Alcock 2003, 111-115), the dating of the majority of sites in the Strathmore area, which is the main area this research focused on, presents difficulties. Indeed, when dating evidence is available for sites, the dates produced are seldom early medieval, and are often as early as the late Bronze Age, though the majority fall into the Iron Age (Dunwell and Ralston 2008, 69-80). Recent research focused on northern Pictland however seems to suggest a regionally different pattern for the use of hillforts during the early medieval period (Noble *et al.* 2013, 1142-1143; Cook 2011).

Burial practices represent another type of archaeological remains that contribute to our understanding of social structure, culture and traditions. The burial grounds associated with the Pictish period are round or square barrows, in a few instances associated with dug graves and long-cists. Until recently, few burials have been excavated, and the lack of preservation of skeletal remains prevents thorough, or often any, osteological analysis (e.g. Winlow 2011).

Despite this issue however, if we examine as a further strand of evidence the material culture of the Picts, what survives of it places Pictish society firmly within its

contemporary context, with artistic styles and traditions that were flourishing and developing rapidly with both Irish and Anglo-Saxon craft productions, as well as clear evidence of trade and transfer of ideas with broader Western Europe. It demonstrates indeed that, far from being a 'Dark Age', obscure people, the Picts were actually a learned society, well connected to their contemporaries, both within the British Isles and in Europe (Clarke *et al.* 2012; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 31-58).

The carved stones, symbols and iconography

Finally, the carved stones represent one of the most visually striking and defining archaeological type of evidence for both northern and southern Pictland (and beyond, as a few examples of symbol-incised monuments have also been found in the west and north of Scotland). Although they may inform us on various aspects of the lives of the elites, they are rarely found in their original context, which renders their dating and analysis complex, and often incomplete.

While the majority of the sites and monuments selected here are well known and occasionally well published, they have not been investigated thoroughly from an archaeological perspective, nor discussed from the theoretical perspectives applied by this thesis. Indeed, past research has been disparate, with a majority focused on art historical and sculptural analysis, with relatively less attention in published literature for landscape, setting, and context. In recent years however, several publications have started to integrate this holistic approach, leading the way forward to new appreciations of the multiple uses and functions of stone monuments (Geddes forthcoming; Hall 2013; Forsyth and Driscoll 2009; Fraser and Halliday 2007, 115-135; 2011), which are the themes explored within this work. Recent and current research on Pictish studies is expanding and reviewing what has been done in the past.

Since the publication of Allen and Anderson's landmark *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (ECMS) in 1903, Pictish sculpture has been divided into three categories: the 'Class I' stones consist of undressed boulders on which symbols have been incised; the 'Class II' stones refer to dressed slabs carved in relief with Pictish symbols, biblical or mythological scenes and 'Celtic' ornaments, such as knotwork, interlace and key-patterns. Finally 'Class III' stones are dressed slabs similar to 'Class II' but

display no Pictish symbols (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 10; *ECMS* I, 3-4). To these three categories, Isabel Henderson has added a 'Class IV' that comprises 'monument displaying crosses but no other ornament' (1987). These four classes, although useful to describe the monuments, also create preconceptions, and possible misconceptions about the significance of the sites where the stones were erected, the dating of the monuments and overall, the merging of diverse and varied monuments into a simple unique ethnic phenomenon (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 10). In this thesis, Pictish monuments will thus be described following their shape ('boulder', 'slab' and 'cross'), their decorations (cross or symbols) and the technique utilised to represent the decorations (carved or incised). The position of the monument will also be specified in the cases where the monument is positioned uniquely such as laying recumbent for example.

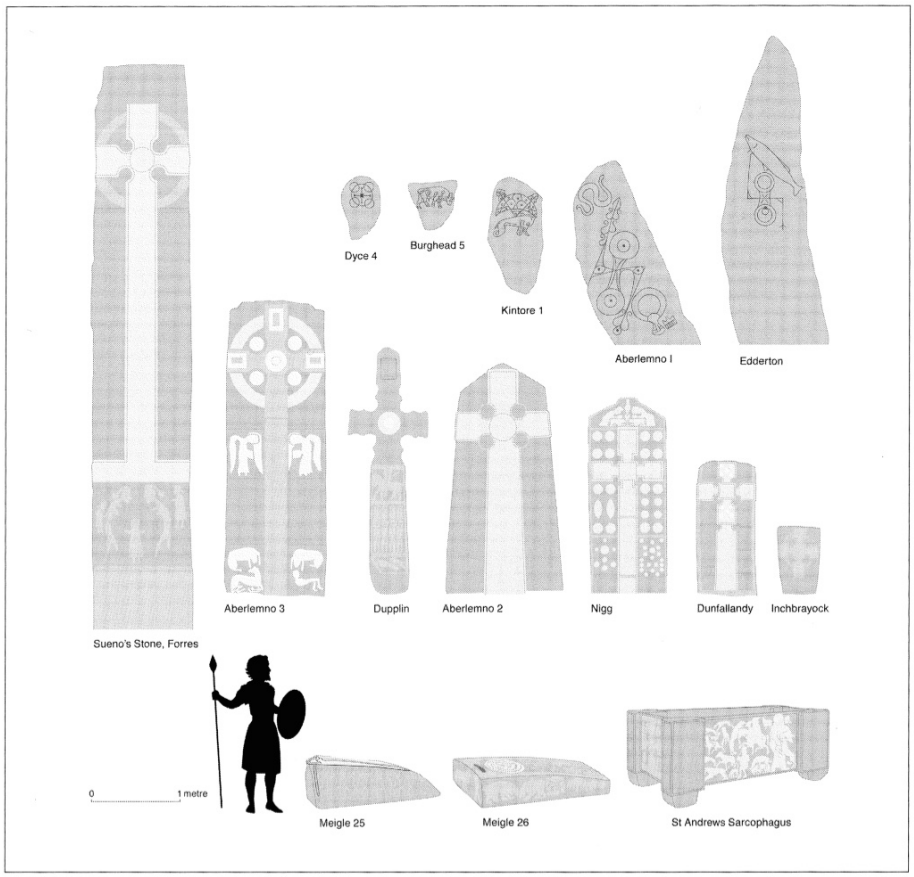


Figure 2.b Shapes and morphology of Pictish stones
Foster 2014, 8 (© Sally Foster, graphic by Chris Unwin)

As this research focuses on stone monument in a Christian context, the carved stones selected for this work and presented in the database comprise only elements that include a cross. Although this research is focused on carved monuments in their landscape context, it is necessary to present briefly the symbols and iconography

specific to Pictish stones. The Pictish monuments are defined by sets of symbols found incised or carved on stones, usually in pairs. These symbols represent an array of both geometric and animal designs. Some of these symbols are also found on stone monuments representing Christian iconography, and more particularly a cross.

Various interpretations of these symbols have been proposed through time, but the academic consensus is that they are probably part of a writing system and represent names (Lee *et al.* 2010; Forsyth 1995a, 1997; Samson 1992a). This interpretation is further supported by inscriptions found on carved stones in Ireland, Wales or Scandinavia, which all include names.

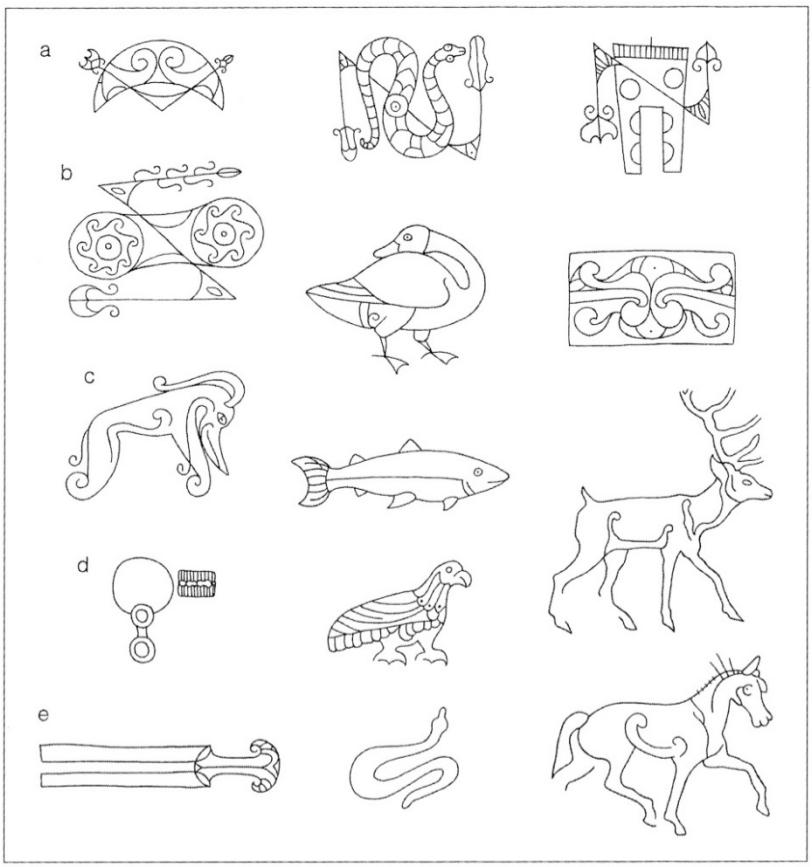


Figure 2.c Examples of Pictish symbols
Foster 2014, 94 (© Crown Copyright: HES)

Pictish iconography, apart from the symbols, comprises a range of representations linked to secular and religious themes, such as elite activities (war and hunting), biblical scenes and representations of saints and clergymen, or mythological representations. The Hendersons also note that: 'standard items of Christian iconography – for example, scenes of the Nativity, Baptism, Ministry and Passion of the Christ – are rare in the Pictish area…' (2004, 153), which would make the Pictish iconographic themes differ fundamentally from the themes represented on the Irish

High Crosses. Nevertheless, similarly to the Irish monuments, Pictish stones display a great variety of shapes and morphology (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 123-158).

The date range proposed for the cross-carved stones also corresponds to the erection of Irish monuments; while the proposed dating of symbol stones is situated at the end of the 6th century until possibly the 8th century, the dating of cross-carved stones and free-standing crosses is proposed to be from the end of the 8th to the 9th and even 10th century (Foster 2014; 193-195; Clarke *et al*. 2012, 57; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 9-10). Indeed, the merging of Pictland and Dál Riata into the new kingdom of Alba *c.* 900 does not signify the end of stone carvings; although Pictish symbols were not represented any more, carved stones and free-standing crosses continued to be erected throughout Alba into the 10th century.

2.4.1.2 Climate and resources

Eastern Scotland is constituted, both north and south of the Mounth, of rich soil and arable lands, which are 'some of the richest farming land in Scotland' (Dunwell and Ralston 2008, 13; RCAHMS 2007). This would have made this region desirable to control, as it would have been an important source of wealth. Several sites presented in this research are also situated along main routeways that connected either the west, and Iona, to the east, and Dunkeld through Atholl, such as Fortingall and Dull; or the south to the north, such as Forteviot, Meigle, Glamis and Aberlemno.

2.4.1.3 Written sources

One of the premises in studying and analysing early medieval written sources is that they offer more insights about the time they were written than the time period they are writing about (Foster 2014, 58-61; Fraser 2009, 3-11; Woolf 2007, 2-14). It is particularly true in the case of Scotland, where the contemporary written sources have mostly been written by outsiders.

Similarly to Sweden, Pictland has no direct contemporary written sources for the time period this thesis focuses on. The sources that survive were produced outside Pictland, and are mostly found in later manuscripts. Two written sources form the basis of our understanding of early medieval Scotland: Adomnán's *Life of Columba* and Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (the Ecclesiastical History of the

People of England, hereafter *HE*). Other sources that mention Pictish events are the *Chronicles of Ireland,* the Pictish king-list, and the *Chronicles of the Kings of Alba* (*CKA*) which all present several problems. While the 14th century king-list may be a copy of an earlier Pictish document, the origins of the so-called 'Chronicle of Ireland' are widely debated (Evans in Anderson 2011 [1973]).

Furthermore, whereas the runic inscriptions offer one of the richest epigraphic sources available to study many facets of the late Viking Age and early medieval Scandinavian societies, no such sources are found in Pictland, as the symbols represented on the both early symbol stones and cross-slabs still remain unintelligible. Mute, the stones stand, though this research will attempt to make them speak in other ways, and refine and contextualise their purpose.

Adomnán's Life of Columba (VC)

St Columba was born in Donegal, Ireland in 521, in the reigning Uí Néill family. He founded the monastic community on Iona in 563, as well as several other monasteries, mainly in Ireland. His missionary work and achievements have been recorded in his hagiography, written approximately a century after his death, in 597 (Sharpe 1995). Adomnán wrote the *Life of Columba* at the end of the 7th century; ninth abbot of Iona, he was one of Columba's successors. The text tells the visions and miracles performed by St Columba, but also provides invaluable details on the daily life of a monastery and its community. As a modern reader, it is however necessary to bear in mind that Adomnán was creating an idealised portrait of the 6th century and this image may tell us more about what a monastery looked like in the 7th century (Sharpe 1995).

Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, 'the Ecclesiastical History of English People' (HE)

The Venerable Bede was a monk, born in the second half of the 7th century, who lived in the monastery of Jarrow in the kingdom of Bernicia, in north-eastern England. During his lifetime, he produced a large collection of writings including biblical commentaries, hagiographies and historical accounts. The *HE*, completed in 731, is considered his major work and 'the first attempt at national history' (McClure and Collins 1994, ix).

Nevertheless, this source comprises many problems: first, as Bede records events that happened several centuries earlier, he was utilising potentially primary, but mainly secondary written sources or informants to create his narrative; how reliable his sources were is debatable. As discussed by McClure and Collins (1994), Bede also emphasised events that he cared about, while omitting some that would not feed into his own agenda. His view on the Picts, the historical enemies of Northumbria, is biased, and his depiction of them and their actions is thus often averse. However, he seemed to hold Pictish King Nechtan (706/713-729) in high regard for being a learned king, who was wise enough to seek help from Northumbria regarding the dating of Easter, which was particularly dear to Bede, as seen through the numerous entries that mention this theme (Clancy 2004, 125-126). Other types of events related to the Picts are mentioned throughout his text; those concern primarily battles and wars fought against the people of Bernicia. More 'peaceful' acts are however recorded such as the conversion of the Picts or the possible gift of Iona from the Picts to Columba, to found his community (*HE* Book 2 Ch.4). To conclude, *HE* is an invaluable source of information that needs to be used with caution, as many other written sources.

The 'king-list'

One of the few sources of Pictish origin is the so-called 'king-list', which contains the names and dates of the reigns of Pictish kings. The two main difficulties encountered with this source are that its earliest version dates only from the 14th century, and only half of the kings mentioned can be cross-referenced with other sources (Anderson 2011 [1973], 77-102; Evans 2008, 5-9). Moreover, James Fraser (2009, 53) asserts that: 'The king-list is very far indeed from an accurate record of kings succeeding to a single Pictish monarchic kingdom according to a single rule or custom of succession.' Nevertheless, when cross-referenced with other sources, it may offer valuable chronological information. From the 8th century, it becomes a more reliable source, as it corresponds to the information traced in the Irish chronicles (Woolf 2007, 60). When events can be cross-referenced in several written accounts that are not issued from the same original source, they allow us to potentially reconstruct a more reliable picture of a political situation.

The Chronicles of Ireland and The Chronicles of the Kings of Alba

The Chronicles of Ireland refer partly to the Irish annals mentioned above (1.3.1.3), but more particularly to one specific source identified by John Bannerman in 1968, which would have been written at Iona before 740 (Evans in Anderson 2011 [1973], ix). The Chronicles of the Kings of Alba was probably written during the 12th century. They are found in the Poppleton Manuscript, written *c.* 1360 in northern England, and relate the events from the reign of king Cináed Mac Alpín (842/43-858) to Cináed son of Malcolm (end of 10th century) (Evans 2008, 6-7). Both sources are written in an annalistic form, relating events chronologically. Although they cannot be used on their own to retrace the Pictish history, they provide valuable information and dating on kings, battles, and foundations or destruction of important places. A few references to Pictland are also found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, which may be cross-referenced in regard to the reign of a king for instance (Anderson 2011 [1973], 19).

2.4.1.4 Place-names and maps

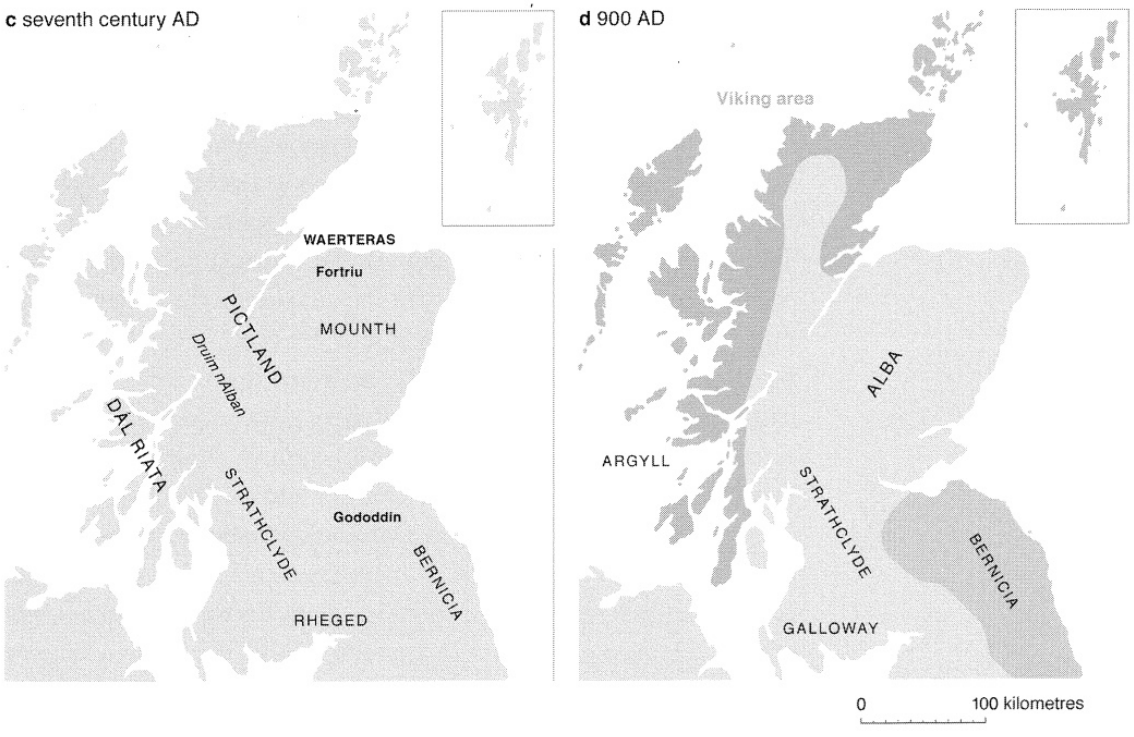
Place-name analysis may be incorporated in each region presented here, yet, for the Scottish material it is a fundamental aspect of early medieval research. In Scotland, the work produced by Simon Taylor during the last two decades has greatly enhanced the knowledge and understanding of Pictish and Gaelic place-names (1998; 1999; 2000; 2011). Associated with archaeological surveys, written sources when available, and carved stones, they contribute in the recreation of the early medieval landscape, either by offering a possible dating of a site (depending on the linguistic origin of the place-name), or by associating the place to a 'person of importance' such as a saint or a king.

2.4.2 Historical context and main events

The southern kingdom of the Picts

Due to the scarcity of written sources, it is impossible to recreate a detailed and clear narrative of Pictish history. The information we have offers glimpses of moments and events (Fraser 2009, 3-11; Woolf 2007, 2-3; Broun 1998, 71-83).

During the time period this research focuses on, the Pictish kingdoms ('Pictland') occupied the east and north of modern Scotland. Their neighbours were the Dál Riata to the west, and the Britons and Bernicia to the south, and from the mid-9th century, Vikings had established earldoms in Caithness, Orkney and Shetland .The name 'Picts' appeared episodically after 297 in Latin written sources. It is not clear which tribes this term included, but it seems that was how their neighbours referred to them, more than a conscious shared identity (Foster 2014 [1996], 2). The Picts, as a nation and as an identity however, existed in the historical record for only a short period of time. Fraser (2009, 47) states that 'there is no convincing evidence' that the term [*Pict*i] 'refers to a single political unit or ethnic solidarity before 700'. By *c.* 900, the Pictish kingdom merged with Dál Riata into the new kingdom of Alba. It seems however that the Pictish political structure and land divisions remained in use in the new kingdom (Driscoll 1998).



Map 2-4 Political organisation of early medieval Scotland in the 7th and 10th century
Foster 2014, 3 (© Sally Foster, graphic by Chris Unwin)

2.4.2.1 Political situation

The political and social structures in Pictland seem to be, during the early medieval period, similar to Ireland. Petty kingdoms would have constituted the smallest political unit, ruled by local elites, in a similar organisation to the Irish *túatha*, but at a

smaller scale (Driscoll 1998, 36; Grant 1993). This type of structure encouraged clientship, with small chieftains subordinate to political elites, seeking their protection and patronage (Fig.2d). From the 7th to the 9th century, Pictland also underwent a process of centralisation of power similar to other areas in north-western Europe, with the creation of large royal centres moving away from local petty kingdoms, and supported by religious elites.

During the 7th century, parts of southern Pictland were under Northumbrian dominion, until 685 when King Bridei son of Beli defeated the army of Anglian king Ecgfrith at the battle of Dún Nechtain (see discussion Ch.4). Bridei extended the authority of the Pictish kingdom, which was maintained by his successors. It seems that southern Pictland became shortly after subjected to northern Pictland with the central power centre in Fortriu (Fraser 2009, 224-225; Woolf 2006; 2007; map 2-4c). The kingdom was then subjected to a period of fragile stability with its neighbours, yet instability within its borders, with the rapid succession of several kings, until the stronger reign of Constantín son of Fergus (or Wrguist) from 789 to 820 (Woolf 2007, 41).

A Viking attack in 839 marked the end of the Wrguist dynasty, and the death of the Pictish king Wen, as well as Dál Riata king Aed, who may have been either the Picts' ally or vassal (*AU* 839.9; Woolf 2007, 66). The reign of Cináed mac Alpín in 842/43, marked the beginning of major changes within the Pictish and Dalriadic kingdoms, eventually ending with their final merging into Alba around 900, while portions of the north became under Viking occupation (map 2-4d). From *c.*900, 'the title *rí Alban* (king of Alba) replaced *rex Pictorum* ('king of the Picts') in the king-list.

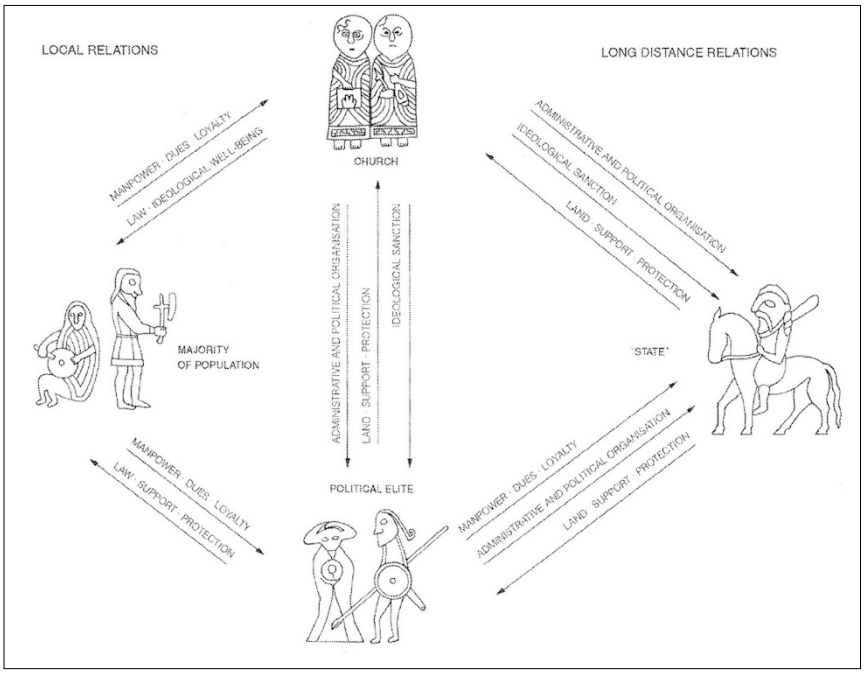


Figure 2.d Proposed structure of Pictish society
Foster 2014, 147 (© Sally Foster, graphic by Chris Unwin)

Christianity

The conversion to Christianity in Pictland, like Scandinavia and, to a certain extent, Ireland, was a long process, which started by the movement of ideas and beliefs, and contact with ecclesiastics and missionaries, possibly as early as the 5th century. Christian ideas and beliefs thus infiltrated society at different levels (Fraser 2009, 68-93; Clancy 2001).

Compared to Ireland and Scandinavia, the conversion process to Christianity and the establishment of religious power centres in Pictland is situated at a shifting stage. Indeed, the richly cross-carved slabs and free-standing crosses found at Meigle, St Vigeans or Forteviot suggest that the Church has gained power and authority over the land and people, and that secular authorities are creating a visible and prestigious link to it; however, in other places, stone monuments seem to be part of a more personal expression of faith, sometimes linked to the cult of saints. The context in which the monuments are placed may also contribute to the wider understanding of the concept of Christianity (or more accurately 'Christianities') experienced by the Pictish societies. Alice Blackwell summarises this early stage of 'Christianities': '…during this early period, it is perhaps more appropriate to think about individual and community aspects of Early Christianity than to think about it as a single institution' (Blackwell in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 30).

The conversion to, and practices of early Christianities in Pictland can be analysed from three main perspectives: the missionary conversion as told by Bede and Adomnán which, as we have discussed above, presents many difficulties; the presence of saints' names in place-names, which suggests the possible extent of ecclesiastical patronage networks (Taylor 1998; 1999, 35-70), and the presence of cross-incised or carved stones. As discussed above, the last is often a marker of royal or secular elite patronage on early church sites and monasteries. While this research utilises written sources and place-names, when available, to integrate them in the narrative of the creation of a place, it is primarily focused on the stone monuments and their contribution in the *consolidation* of Christianity and of the early Church.

2.4.2.2 Power centres

The kingdom of *Fortriu* is known from multiple written sources. Until recently, it was believed to be situated in Strathearn, and associated with Forteviot. However, in a 2006 article, soon followed by other publications, Alex Woolf proposed a convincing redefinition of Pictland's boundaries and power centres. Woolf argued that Fortriu referred to a kingdom situated north of the Mounth, on the shore of the Moray Firth (Woolf 2006, 188-200; see Ch. 4 for further discussion). However, Forteviot was indeed the location of a royal centre, as attested by the mention of a *palacium* in the *Chronicles of the Kings of Alba* (Hudson 1998, 148). Furthermore, the presence of several elements of fine sculpture, among which are two free-standing crosses, several cross-slabs and an arch, suggesting the existence of a high-status stone-built structure attest of its importance (Aitchison 2006, 51).

Both secular and religious power centres were shifting during the time carved stones were erected. Indeed, the stones themselves served as messengers, as they mirrored the changes that Pictish society was subjected to between the 7th and the 9th centuries. In southern Pictland, Dundurn and Forteviot are the best-known power centres associated with royal activities as confirmed by excavations. While Dundurn shows traces of activities between the 4th and the 10th centuries (Alcock *et a*l. 1989), Forteviot seems to have been linked to both royal and monastic activities mainly during the 8th and 9th centuries (see Ch. 3 for further discussion on Forteviot). These sites represent two very different expressions of power: Dundurn sits within a fortified hilltop and seems to be associated with military activities (as recorded in the *Chronicles of Ireland*; Alcock *et al.* 1989), while Forteviot is associated with ritual

activities since Prehistory as shown by the excavations carried by SERF (Noble and Brophy 2011), and is eventually Christianised.

Most religious centres are also problematic to determine, either by their lack of visibility in the written sources, or by the lack of archaeological analyses on their sites. For southern Pictland however, the written sources mention the three major religious centres at Abernethy, St Andrews and Dunkeld (Fraser 2009, 134). Abernethy's prominence is visible through the presence of one of the two round towers (of Irish tradition) found in Scotland, and several fragments of stone sculpture (Proudfoot 1997, 47-63). The foundation of St Andrews probably dated to the 8th century; the records show that the possible first abbot of St Andrews, Túathalán, died in 747 (Fraser 2009, 361). The presence in St Andrews of major early medieval sculpture, in particular the 'St Andrews sarcophagus', which has been recently interpreted as a reconstructed monument, composed of possible architectural elements (Blackwell in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 45), demonstrates its early prominence. The church at Dunkeld is said to have been founded by Constantín son of Wrguist possibly at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century; however, Dunkeld became a prominent religious centre after Cináed mac Alpín transferred the relics of St Columba in 849, making Dunkeld the primary centre for the cult of Columba in Scotland (Woolf 2007, 98-99).

Two other ecclesiastical sites must have also occupied a prominent place in southern Pictland during the early medieval period: Meigle, in Perth and Kinross, and St Vigeans in Angus. Indeed, these two sites comprise the largest collections of sculptured stones in all Pictland (see Ch.3 for further discussion on these two sites). Yet, the collections of carved stones remain the primary, and almost unique, source of information we dispose of for each site.

2.5 The study of carved stone monuments, a literature review

The focus of the sections above concerns primarily the wider research context of early medieval societies in Ireland, Scotland and Scandinavia. This section will thus present and explore the literature concerning the study of carved stones in each region, from antiquarian traditions to current research; it will also show the evolution of research regarding stone monuments through the shift of focus operated in each

domain, each moving toward interdisciplinary and holistic approaches. Similarly to the sections above, these literature reviews will be presented regionally.

2.5.1.1 Scandinavia

Rune stones have been studied since the end of the 16th century, when antiquarians Johannes Bureus (†1652) and Johan Hadorph (†1697) started to visit and record them. Rune stones were a popular focus of antiquarian interest, along with churches, hillforts, and mounds. This interest resulted in early records of rune stones in the form of drawings that enabled the preservation of many lost monuments (Sawyer 2000, 15).

During the second half of the 19th century, rune stones became the specialisation of philologists and linguists, and thus were isolated from archaeological studies. The publications of *Sveriges runinskrifter* from 1900, and *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer* and *Danmarks runeindskrifter* from 1941 set the foundation for wider studies of runic monuments. The Swedish corpus of runic inscriptions comprises fifteen volumes, edited from 1900 to 1981. Several scholars completed successively the first five volumes (Söderberg, Brate, Kinander, Jungner and Svärdström); however, two main authors published the majority of the volumes: Elias Wessén and Sven B.F. Jansson. The numbering of rune stones (e.g. U135; Sö26), commonly used to designate the monuments, was created in this corpus.

Originally published almost exclusively in Swedish, runic studies began to be widely translated and published in English from the 1970s. In the last decade, this corpus has been digitised and updated and is now publically available (Samnordisk runtextdatabas 'RUNDATA' www.nordiska.uu.se, Uppsala Universitet).

By their unique composition, rune stones attract the interest of many domains of expertise: philology (Källström 2012; Jesch 1994; 2005; 2008), archaeology (Gräslund 1991a; 1996; 2012 [2008]; Andrén 1998; 1999; 2000; 2007; 2013; Sanmark and Semple 2008; Semple and Sanmark 2013; Sanmark 2009, Zachrisson 1998), iconography (Gräslund and Lager 2012; Gräslund 1991b; 1992; 1994; 2006a,b; Lager 2003; 2004; Fuglesang 1978; 1998), history and laws (Lindkvist 2014; Sawyer 1998; 2000; Brink 1996; 1997; 1999; 2003; 2004; 2012a). Recent years have seen the development of laser scanning techniques, which have created new avenues

of research and interpretation of well-known monuments (Kitzler 2002; 2009; 2010; 2012a,b; Gräslund *et al.* 2008).

Since the 1980s, many scholars have adopted an interdisciplinary approach to the study of runic monuments, allowing the complexity of the monuments, their symbols and inscriptions in their wider landscape to be brought together, ultimately rendering the delineation between areas of expertise less and less relevant (Ljung 2009; 2013; Stern 2013; Klos 2009; Hagenfeldt and Palm 1996; Jesch 1991; 1998; Gräslund 1987; 1991; 2001a,b; Andrén 1998; 1999; 2000; 2007; 2013).

For the completion of the database, several sources were used: first, the Samnordisk runtextdatabas (RUNDATA), which provided technical information regarding the monuments, such as their location, the transcription and translation of their inscription, a proposed date (based on Anne-Sofie Gräslund's system, see Annexe I), the name of the carver (either given by the inscription itself, or by stylistic comparison with other inscriptions), the geology, and also the bibliographical references. Additional information regarding the archaeological context, the stones' dimensions, or their position in the landscape and coordinates, as well as maps were provided by the archaeological database of the Swedish National Heritage Board (Riksantikvarieämbetet – RAÄ) Fornsök (www.fmis.raa.se).

2.5.1.2 Ireland

Two observations first appear when looking at antiquarian work and early publications on early Irish carved stones: first, the High Crosses gathered much attention in comparison to other types of early medieval stone monuments (Roe 1965; Sexton 1946; Porter 1931; O'Neill 1857), and second, the collection of sculptures from the northern regions did not attract as much scholarly attention. The literature concerning early medieval stone monuments in Ulster, which does not have a large collection of decorated High Crosses, is consequently scarce. Furthermore, in contrast with Scandinavia and Scotland, no exhaustive corpus on early medieval carved stones has been published in Ireland.

The study of early medieval carved stones has evolved almost exclusively around the art historical analysis of High Crosses for a long time. The first antiquarian publication dedicated to these monuments is a wonderful collection of lithographs

produced by Henry O'Neill (†1880) in 1857. In 1933, French archaeologist and art historian Françoise Henry published the landmark *La sculpture irlandaise pendant les douze premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne*, followed in 1964 by a three-volume compilation on Irish art, with a particular focus on High Crosses and their art historical context and significance (1963; 1964a,b, and c). Twenty years later, Dorothy Kelly (1986) offered an alternative approach to early medieval stone monuments, focusing on their shape, distribution and number; moreover, her research also included for the first time undecorated crosses to the selection. The most comprehensive analysis of High Crosses and cross fragments, *The High Crosses of Ireland, an iconographical and photographic survey*, was published by Peter Harbison in 1992. The three-volume corpus (two of which are high quality photographs) offers a thorough analysis of the iconographical programs of each stone recorded. His corpus also includes plain and simply decorated High Crosses, shedding light on lesser known monuments. The cross-slabs and decorated pillars, such as Kilnasaggart (Co. Armagh), White Island (Co. Fermanagh) and Carndonagh (Co. Donegal) were unfortunately not included.

Regarding the early medieval monuments of Ulster, Henry Crawford published in 1907 *A descriptive list of early Irish crosses*, which includes the northern monuments. This publication comprises an account of the monuments' locations, as well as descriptions of the monuments itself but did not include any illustration.

Ann Hamlin's thesis, *The archaeology of early Christianity in the north of Ireland,* completed in 1976 but published in 2008, comprises a survey of early ecclesiastical settlements and analysis of their monuments and historical context. It also connects the sites to their possible mention(s) in early written sources (Hamlin 2008 [1976]). To this day, it remains the most useful and complete analysis of early medieval crosses and carved monuments. Her work has provided most of the information collected for the present research and presented in the database. Unfortunately, her thesis only includes the counties of Northern Ireland, and leaves out the other historic counties of Ulster: Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan. For these counties, the sculptured stones are recorded in archaeological inventories compiled in the 1980s (Lacey 1983; Brindley 1986); however, these do not offer extensive interpretations of the monuments.

Finally, both the Republic of Ireland, through the National Monuments Service (NMS) and Northern Ireland, through the NI Environment Agency (NEIA) have created databases, which gather information on the historical sites, their monuments, and provide source references:

NMS: http://www.archaeology.ie/archaeological-survey-ireland

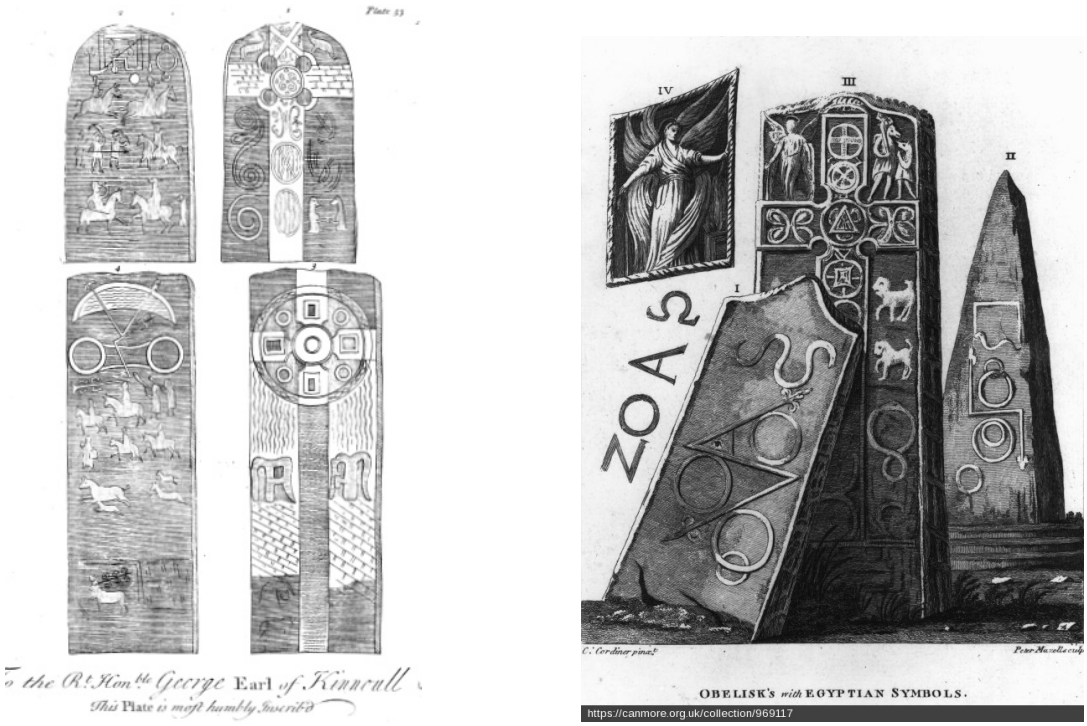
NIEA: http://apps.ehsni.gov.uk/ambit/Default.aspx

Similarly to the RAÄ's Fornsök, the NMS database is presented through a GIS map, which is highly useful to situate monuments that are still in their original position in their wider landscape context and connect them to other archaeological remains.

2.5.1.3 Scotland

Pictish stone monuments were first mentioned in the 16th–century works of Hector Boece (†1536) and George Buchanan (†1582). It was however from the 18th century that several publications described and illustrated them. Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, the primary aim of which was to record Roman forts, documented several monuments (1727; Ill. 2.6). He was soon followed by Welsh naturalist Thomas Pennant (†1798) who, while acknowledging Gordon's influence, broadened his selection of 'indigenous' remains (1774). Rev. Charles Cordiner (†1794) was the first to distinguish symbol stones from cross-slabs and consider their geographical distribution; he also focused on the Pictish symbols individually (1780, 1788-95). The first methodical research carried out on a selection of the Pictish monuments was made by Patrick Chalmers (†1854) in 1848, with his *Ancient sculptured monuments of the county of Angus*. His main aim was to encourage further interest and attention on early medieval monuments of Scotland, and only a few years later the first volume of John Stuart 's (†1877) *Sculptured stones of Scotland* was published (1856). The second volume was only published in 1867, which was, according to Isabel Henderson (in the introduction of the new edition of ECMS in 1993 xiv) 'not because of dilatoriness, but because of Stuart's lasting enthusiasm for the subject'. The second volume indeed provides more detailed description of the stones' 'biography' and contexts. Stuart's work was, as we call it today, interdisciplinary, as he analysed the monuments within their landscape setting and

archaeological context, their history, as well as proposing an analysis of their iconography.



Ill. 2.6 Drawings by Gordon and Rev. Cordiner
Left: Gordon 1727, fig.53 and right: Cordiner 1788-1795, © Crown Copyright: HES

The work of Romilly Allen and Joseph Anderson brought the study of Pictish stones even further, and offered a scientific and systematic analytical approach to the monuments. Their *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (ECMS), published in 1903, remains to this day a standard work of reference. This publication originally in one volume divided in three parts, presents its contents as follows: part I was a general introduction by Anderson of the stone monuments, their inscriptions and symbolism, their art-historical context and geographical distribution (ECMS iii-cxv). Part II, by Allen, details the methodology and classification used to analyse the monuments. This part presents more specifically the concept of the 'classes' of monuments, presented above, that remained the primary classification of Pictish stones for a century. A detailed analysis of the morphology and iconography, such as the form of crosses, or the analysis of key-patterns, interlaces and other ornaments of the stones, was then elaborated (ECMS 3-414). Part III, by Allen, comprised the main catalogue of the monuments, complemented with pictures. The numbering of the monuments has remained the same since then. Allen and Anderson thus provided a reliable methodological framework for the study and analysis of early medieval stone

monuments; yet, their straightforward classifications and analysis also created a frame somewhat too rigid to overcome for a long time (Geddes 2011, 122; Wainwright 1980 [1955]). Since the publication of the ECMS, a massive number of carved stones and fragments have been catalogued (in 1903, 508 monuments were recorded, while now about 1800 are known (Geddes 2011, 126); the evolution of excavation techniques has also created new prospects in the field of research of early medieval carved stones. All these elements suggest that new and updated version of 'ECMS' is long awaited.

Most of the research produced on Pictish stones from the 1950s to the 1990s has been dominated by the study of Pictish symbols and the art historical analysis of the iconography. The work of Isabel Henderson has been prominent in that field, and her major work, *The Art of the Picts*, co-written with George Henderson in 2004, although firmly art-historical, remains one of the landmarks of Pictish studies. The historiography and technique of the caved stones' recording process has also been explored by Graham Ritchie and Ian Scott; the illustrations produced by the latter for the RCAHMS has allowed researchers and enthusiasts alike to have access to drawings of Pictish stones (Ritchie 1997; Scott 1996, 1997; ill. 2.9). Since the 1990s, publication of proceedings of major conferences, such as Spearman and Higgitt's *The Age of Migrating Ideas* (1993), Bourke's *From the Isles of the North* (1995), and Henry's *The Worm, the Germ and the Thorn* (1997), have seen research on Pictish stone monuments advance considerably. Indeed, the carved stones have been since then studied in their wider context, placing them not only in their landscape setting, but also among north-western early medieval societies (Henderson 1986; 1987; 1993; 1996; Alcock, L. 1993; Thomas 1961; 1963; Stevenson 1980 [1955]).

The ground-breaking work produced by Katherine Forsyth in the 1990s regarding the inscriptions on carved stones, and the Pictish symbols as a formal writing system has offered new interpretation and is now widely accepted (1995a, b &c; 1996; 1997; 1998). Pictish symbols analysed as a writing system had been previously explored by Ross Samson in 1992 (1992a).

Since the 1990s again, a new approach to Pictish stones, focused on their landscape setting and historical background, has developed with the work of Leslie Alcock (2003, 384-389; Alcock and Alcock 1996); this interdisciplinary approach has been

pursued and furthered by Stephen Driscoll (1988; 1991; 1998; 2000; Forsyth and Driscoll 2009), Iain Fraser and Stratford Halliday (2007, 115-135; 2011) and Meggen Gondek (2003). This holistic approach to the monument has also demonstrated the advantages of such an approach in understanding early medieval sites (Geddes forthcoming; Gondek 2015; Gondek and Noble 2011; Carver 2008; James 2005, 95-112; 2008). This interdisciplinary approach is also explored through the biographical analysis of stone monuments, and how retracing the 'life', use and reuse of carved stones allow us not only to understand the possible 'multiple lives' of carved stones (Clarke 2007), but also their cultural biography and how audiences engage with them over time (e.g. Hall 2013; 2015; Hall *et al.* 2000; 2005).

These latter approaches have formed the background thread to analyse not only the Scottish monuments and sites, but also Irish and Scandinavian sites, as presented here. They also brought out the difficulties encountered when the lack of information or context render this holistic approach impossible.

2.6 Conclusion

The beginning of this chapter has discussed the terminology and chronology utilised for the present research. Because of the comparative approach adopted here, the geographical areas had to be delineated and the timespan clarified, in order to navigate easily through the different selections of carved monuments.

Furthermore, as the literature reviews above have demonstrated, the information available from each region varies greatly. This is seen through two main aspects: first, the existence and preservation of sources, archaeological and historical, and second, the approach taken by antiquarians and previous scholars, who analysed certain aspects of the monuments, while disregarding others entirely. Indeed, the tradition of placing and connecting monuments and artefacts in their wider landscape is embedded in Scandinavian studies since the 17th century, while this approach – now widely established – is comparatively recent in Ireland (King 1998; 2003) and Scotland. Each region however has been moving towards interdisciplinary research, which seems undeniably the most suitable approach for studying early medieval stone monuments (see for instance articles published in several edited publications: Driscoll *et al.* 2011; Andrén *et al.* 2006; Brink and Price 2012 [2008]).

2.6.1 Comparing the source material

2.6.1.1 Written sources

Ireland has the richest collection of written sources contemporary to the period under scrutiny, often preserved in later manuscripts. The different types of sources preserved concern several aspect of the early medieval societies they describe, such as annals, law documents, and hagiographies. Scandinavian sources have been written at a later time, mostly between the 12th and 14th centuries, but it is widely accepted that they probably record earlier traditions and laws that were transmitted orally. Two earlier documents, from the 9th and the 11th centuries describe the conversion process to Christianity in Scandinavia, one in the form of a hagiography, and one in the form of a narrative, both written by outsiders. The written sources concerning early medieval Scotland present several difficulties: the two main sources having been written outside of Pictland, and have political and religious agendas, while the other sources only survive in later manuscripts, and have their origins disputed.

2.6.1.2 Archaeological remains and carved stones

A great disparity is observed in the quality of preservation of archaeological remains in each region studied. While early medieval remains are numerous and well-defined in Ireland, due to important excavations carried since the beginning of the 20th century (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 1-5), Scandinavia and Scotland are under-excavated. Furthermore, when excavations are carried out in Scotland, the finds allowing a secure dating of the sites are scarce, usually raising more questions than answering them. Non-intrusive techniques developed in the past decade, such as magnetometry and resistivity, have largely contributed to a better understanding of early sites, especially in Scandinavia.

The collections of carved stones from each region are a prominent archaeological component of the early medieval landscape, yet several differences are observed in each region. The Scandinavian stones comprise runic inscriptions that are always formulated in an identical way, naming the commissioner of the monument and the person commemorated, adding the nature of their connection and recording the deeds of the commissioner and sometimes also of the commemorated. Through these

inscriptions, precious information on the structure and tradition of early medieval society is gathered. Many rune stones are still located in their original contexts, and a system of dating has been elaborated, which is widely accepted and applied (Gräslund 1991b; 1992; 2003).

The Irish monuments from Ulster are not as well known and published as their southern counterparts; often situated in or close to their original location, their archaeological context is frequently under-researched, rendering their dating often approximate; when decorated, they usually represent scenes drawn from the Old and New Testaments (Harbison 1992, 337-338). Notable exceptions in the area this research focuses on are the carved pillars, decorated with ecclesiastic and secular elite figures; these monuments seldom comprise an inscription. The dating of these monuments is proposed through two main approaches: art-historical, by comparing typology, motifs and imagery with portable artefacts or other stones monuments with a more secure dating (see for instance Stalley, 2007; Newman and Walsh 2007; Harbison 1992; Edwards 1990), and historical, by defining historical events which may have been commemorated by the stone monuments (e.g. Lacey 2006; 2008). Some rare occurrences display inscriptions, allowing a more secure dating, such as the carved pillar at Kilnasaggart (5.3.1.3; IR2).

In Scotland, Pictish cross-slabs present a unique set of symbols and iconography; both faces are usually engraved, with one face representing secular or mythical scenes while the other comprises Christian symbols; the secular themes are usually as prominent as the Christian symbols. Often moved from their original location, the stones are frequently separated from their archaeological and landscape contexts. Their dating is mostly achieved through art-historical analyses.

2.6.1.3 Discussion

The different historical backgrounds have demonstrated that, although all monuments have been erected by Christian people, in Christian contexts, they may not have been erected at a similar moment of the Christianisation process (if we define ‘Christianisation’ as a centuries-long process). The preliminary observations are that the rune stones are part of the conversion process to Christianity, while the Irish monuments are erected in secure ecclesiastical contexts only, possibly participating in the consolidation of the institutionalisation of the Church. The Pictish

carved stones presented in this research seem to have been predominantly erected before, during and after a moment of shift in the power and structure of the society, when the secular elites needed to reaffirm their power over the landscape by marking the land, but also by connecting themselves to the growing power of the Church. The paucity of context and written sources may also contribute to the difficulty of defining a clearer political and religious context within which the carved stones. These various narratives of conversion processes from Scandinavia, Ireland and Scotland offer a general framework for the question of uses and functions of early medieval stone monuments. How the monuments fit into these narratives has been analysed locally numerous times; the following chapters will thus question these narratives in comparing and contrasting the stone monuments.

3 First theme: Monuments creating places

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the historical context and presented the main power centres of each region this thesis focuses on. This chapter will build on these aspects to discuss and analyse stone monuments, which are situated at power centres, assembly places, monasteries, and early church sites within these regions. The title of this chapter evokes places that are 'created' by the presence of stone monuments; by this, it means stones that are invested with the capability of transforming a space into a place. However, before looking at stone monuments, a theoretical question needs to be asked: what is and what makes a place?

This question has multiple and complex answers (see 1.5.1 above). In order to delineate the argument of this chapter, a definition to stand by will be proposed, acknowledging that the notion of place is at once vague and intricate. Therefore, in this research, a place will be considered as a location in the landscape that can be either natural or man-made, and defined by one or several of the following transformative aspects: the presence of archaeological remains that demarcate a defined area, its mention in written sources, its use, reuse and occupation over time (sometimes still in use), or its place-name. Place-making is indeed a significant and critical strand of recent literature, which has been used for this research (e.g. Andrén 2013; Fabech and Näsman 2013; Gleeson 2012; Bradley 2000). Also, as Clarke, Blackwell and Goldberg state (2012, xvi): '[p]lace has perhaps the strongest association with community', therefore connections between individuals and monuments are central to the process of the making of a place.

There can be many types of places; some are of secular nature, such as settlements, assembly sites or royal inauguration sites, whereas others are clearly ecclesiastical. However, the boundary between sacred and secular is a variable one, as activities held at political assembly and royal inaugurations sites may include acts and rituals of sacred significance (Brink 2004, 214-215; Driscoll 2004, 78-81, 87-88; Fitzpatrick 2004a, 47-48, 66-68).

Stone monuments are utilised for multiple purposes in these places. Depending on their location, they can mark the centre of a place, its entrance, or its boundaries. While inscriptions may occasionally inform us about the specific function of the monument, their general appearance (shape and size) may not be as explicit. Indeed, the latter depends on other factors, such as who commissioned the stone(s), what style was locally prominent, or the geology of the region. Aspects linked to the appearance and identity of stone monuments are further discussed in Chapter 5 (5.2 below).

Monuments in both secular and religious places contribute to the creation or re-creation of places, and also take part in defining and identifying them. The following sections will thus explore the location, use and function of stone monuments in different types of places and will try to determine if these elements differ depending on the place. Furthermore, as all monuments presented here are 'Christian' monuments, the question of how they participate to the conversion of a place and its surrounding landscape will be addressed.

3.2 Secular places

As discussed in Chapter 1 (1.5.1), the separation between 'secular' and 'sacred places during the early medieval period can be considered irrelevant; the differentiation adopted here is based on the other functions of the sites selected, and is only used to clarify and organise the discourse. Ultimately, several sites may have multiple functions, including secular and sacred activities.

The present section will examine different types of secular places and analyse the stone monuments erected there in order to address the following questions: What were the function of Christian monuments on 'secular' sites? Did the function of stone monuments vary depending on the type of secular place they are erected in, such as assembly sites or settlements? Are the variations linked to the type of site or to the region? As a secular place, power centres are an ideal venue to examine these questions as they relate to stone monuments. Indeed, Stephen Driscoll describes power centres as 'an arena where social relations are negotiated, to allow active social roles to both the dominated and the dominating' (1998, 35). Consequently, the modification and manipulation of these places for the purpose of negotiating these social relationships should likely be inextricably intertwined with the conscious

agency involved in erecting, shaping, and utilising stone monuments within their boundaries.

3.2.1 Royal settlements

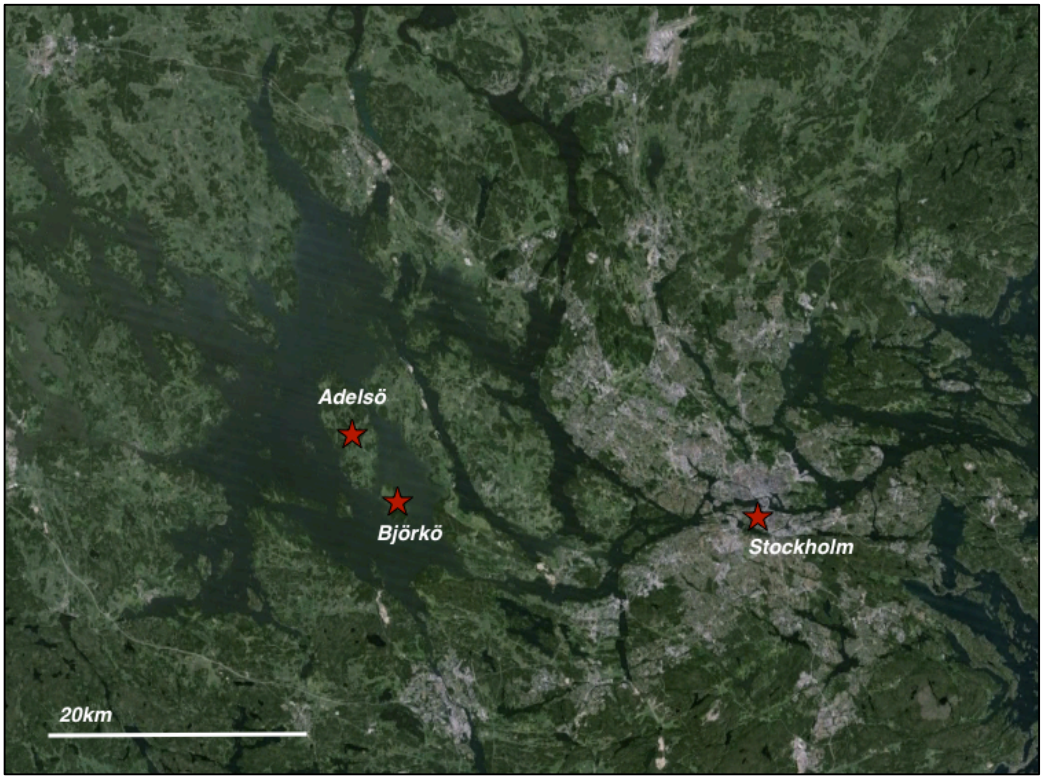
In order to examine the questions raised above, the case studies discussed in this section will focus on places associated with royal power. Furthermore, the role of carved stones in the participation of creating the identity of the place will be explored. Hovgården in the Mälar area will be presented first, followed by Forteviot in Perthshire and Clogher in Co. Tyrone.

3.2.1.1 Hovgården, a royal settlement in the lake Mälaren (SCA3 & 12)

This first case study discusses the site of Hovgården on Adelsö Island (SCA12) and its connections to royal power and patronage. It will also examine the connection between Hovgården and Birka (SCA3), and question why Adelsö's prominence continued after the end of Birka's occupation. Birka was a major trade town and burial place during the late Iron Age and Viking Age, which was abandoned during the last quarter of the 10th century. Hovgården was a royal and aristocratic settlement, burial and assembly place, with evidence of activities in the Bronze Age, Iron Age and Viking Age that remained in activity after Birka was abandoned, and became a prominent place under royal patronage in the 11th century.

Research background

Birka on Björkö Island is considered the first town of Sweden, while Hovgården on Adelsö is a royal settlement and high status burial ground (Ambrosiani 1992, 11-20). The place-name of Hovgården, which can be interpreted as 'the sacred farm' (*hov*- 'sacred place'; *gården* 'farm'; Brink 2010, 1480) may also indicate its early use as a pre-Christian cult centre. The archaeological remains of both islands have not gathered the same level of attention, resulting in disparate literature; although several publications have been produced regarding Hovgården, they are almost only published in Swedish and difficult to access (e.g. Larsson and Fridell 2013); the main English literature for Hovgården is the non-academic publication *Birka and Hovgården* edited by the Swedish National Heritage Board (Magnus and Gustin 2012).



Map 3-1 Adelsö and Björkö islands in the lake Mälaren
© Google Earth, additional information by the author

Birka has been studied and published thoroughly and archaeological campaigns led by Björn Ambrosiani from 1990 to 1995 have focused on several parts of the island, such as the 'Black Earth', where the town was situated, the 'Borg', the hillfort dominating the island, and the burial grounds, around which several fragments of early rune stones have been uncovered (Nyström 1992, 64-71; Ambrosiani and Clarke 1992; 1994; 1995). On the other hand, only one burial mound was excavated on Hovgården, in the 1920s (Rydh 1930); however since then, several geophysical surveys have been undertaken on the site. Two areas have been particularly analysed: the longhouse located on the highest point of the site, and situated underneath the ruined 13th–century castle called the 'Alsnöhus', and the harbour situated at a close distance, to the south. The survey at Alsnöhus revealed the presence of a longhouse of similar shape to Iron Age halls (Magnus and Gustin 2012, 16), suggesting the presence of aristocracy during the Viking Age.

Hovgården is situated on the south-eastern side of Adelsö Island, while Birka lays on the north/north-western part of Björkö (map 3-2). The two sites would therefore have shared a direct visible connection, emphasising their own identities: indeed, the harbour at Birka would have been visible from the royal hall of Hovgården, and *vice versa.*

Ill. 3.1 the view towards Birka from the 'Alsnö hus'
Picture © A. Busset

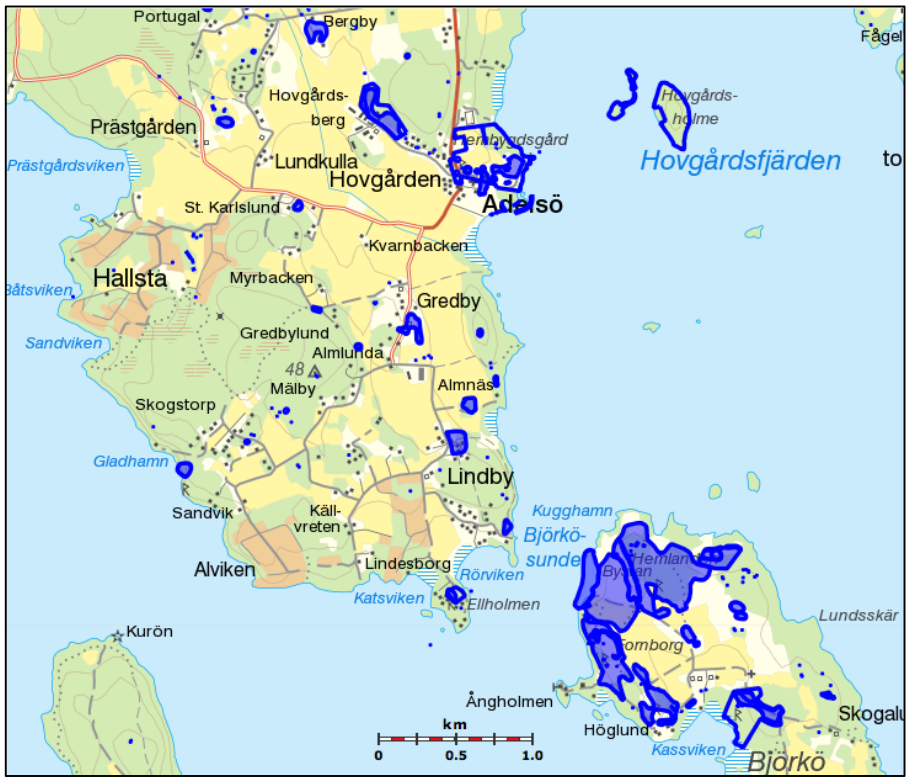
The site

The site of Hovgården was historically associated with royal and aristocratic power, and when the royal town of Sigtuna was founded at the end of the 10th century, it was part of the royal domain (Magnus and Gustin 2012, 31). Although few 10th-century activities are revealed through the archaeological remains, the place seemed to regain importance in the second half of the 11th century, as shown by the presence of a large runic inscribed boulder, and the later construction of Adelsö parish church.

Burial mounds and 'thing' site

There are four burial mounds on Hovgården; three, called the 'Royal mounds' are situated at the north-western edge of the site (map 3-3, no 1-2-3) and a fourth, flat-topped one ('Skopintull') is located slightly to the north of the site (map 3-3, no 4). Magnus and Gustin draw a comparison between the alignment of these mounds and those found in the royal centre of Old Uppsala (2012, 14), affirming an early royal connection to the site, through burial and possibly ritual practices. The 'Royal mounds' have not been excavated and therefore cannot be closely dated; the fourth mound was excavated in the early 20th century, and revealed a richly furnished ship-burial which was dated to the early 10th century (Magnus and Gustin 2012; Rydh

1930). At the western edge of the site, continuing the same axis of the 'Royal mounds' is a smaller hill called the 'Tingshögen', the assembly mound (map 3-3, no 5); this alignment is again reminiscent of the structure observed at Old Uppsala, emphasising further the connections to the ancient royal centre, and rituals linked to early kingship (Gräslund 2000, 64-69, fig.5).



Map 3-2 Hovgården and Birka; © Lantmäteriet
The blue zones show the concentration of archaeological remains from the Bronze Age to the Early Middle Ages

The rune stone and its inscription

The rune stone, known as Håkon's stone in reference to its inscription, is located on the western edge of the Viking Age harbour and would have been clearly visible from the ships entering and exiting the harbour (U11, SCA12a; map 3-3); however, the direct connection between the stone and the harbour is difficult to observe today, as the shoreline has moved considerably since the Viking Age, as the sea-level was 5 metres higher during the period under scrutiny (map 3-3). The stone, a prominent natural boulder, is situated at the bottom of the hill on the top of which the Viking Age long house and medieval castle (Alsnöhus) are situated (ill. 1.3).

Map 3-3 the archaeological remains of Hovgården on Adelsö
© Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

The runic inscription on the stone is of particular importance, as it is the only one in Sweden that possibly mentions the name of a king. The inscription is furthermore interesting in terms of stone monuments and their connection to social dynamics and networks of power within society, as it connects the king and a person of his household:

> 'Interpret the runes! Tólir the steward of Rodhr had them rightly carved for the King. Tólir and Gylla had [the runes] carved … this married couple as a landmark in memory of themselves (?) … Hákon ordered (it) be carved' RUNDATA U11 SCA12a

The name 'Håkon' mentioned in the inscription has been interpreted as two possible persons: it may either be Håkon 'the Red', who ruled in the 1070s over the Svea Kingdom, or a Jarl (territorial chieftain from the royal household); however, the mention of 'the king's bailiff' supports the first interpretation.

Furthermore, the location of the stone facing out toward the harbour, and the waterway beyond, but also visible from the royal dwelling above informs us on the capital role this monument embodied. Indeed, it connected visually the place to royal power and patronage, a connection then further emphasised by its runic inscription.

Ill. 3.2 U11 (SCA12a) at Hovgården, Adelsö
Picture © A. Busset

Discussion[3]

Birka's importance was linked to its connections through waterways in the Lake Mälaren region and its long-lived burial traditions (Ambrosiani 1992, 11-21; Ambrosiani and Clarke 1994). Possible changes in the water routes, or the use of larger ships may have been reasons for the town's abandonment (Ambrosiani 2012 [2008], 98). It was however the foundation of the Christian town of Sigtuna *c.* AD 975 by King Erik 'the Victorious' and the growing importance of this town as a trade-place and major harbour that really marked the end of Birka (Ros 2012 [2008], 140). While several attempts had been made to convert the place to Christianity (Birka was the first Christian mission in Sweden, *VA*), and a small Christian community resided there for some time, Birka was never fully converted. Several fragments of rune stones, mostly early in date, were discovered around the 'Borg' in Birka, while the fragment of another stone (U6; SCA3b), dating from the 11th century, were discovered in the 'Black Earth', but none was found in a defined context (SCA3a; b; Nyström 1992).

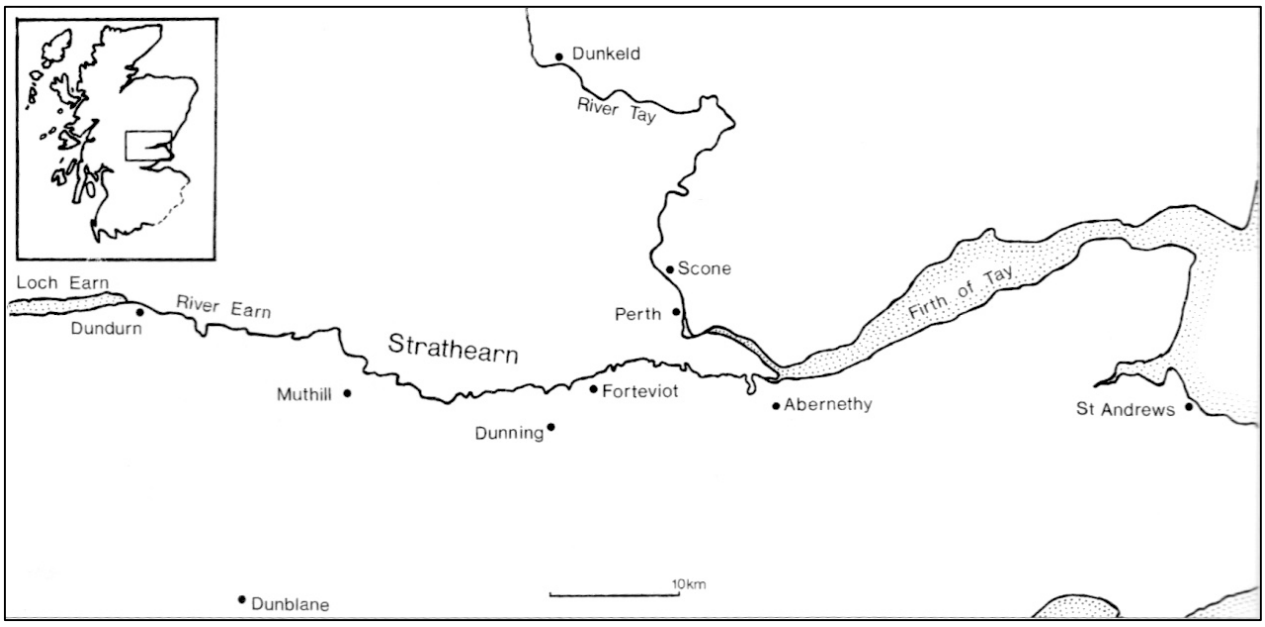
[3] The recent discovery of rune stone fragments at the site of Björko by (the medieval hamlet situated 600m south-east of Birka) has enhanced our understanding of the site and its wider connections to the Mälar region during the late 11th century, and demonstrated that the importance of Björko may not have suffered from the abandonment of Birka after AD 970. (Andersson 2016; see Birka SCA3).

At the time Birka was abandoned, activities in Hovgården slowed down; there are few archaeological remains from the end of the 10th to the middle of the 11th century. It is unclear why the kings of Svealand regained an interest in the island after several decades, but it may have occurred following troubles within the Svea kingdom or by the necessity to reaffirm a royal presence on the path of a major routeway, yet in the last quarter of the 11th century, King Håkon had possibly the monumental rune stone erected. The inscription on the stone made a strong statement of authority and the monument became a focal point, visible from both the harbour and the Alsnöhus. Hovgården was then perhaps associated with royal cultic and burial traditions during the late Iron Age and Viking Age; it later regained its prominent position under royal patronage, and the place was visibly converted to Christianity. It may therefore be proposed that the conversion of Hovgården under royal patronage, through the rune stone monument, reinvented the identity of the place, and secured its occupation and continuity.

3.2.1.2 Forteviot, a royal centre of southern Pictland

Forteviot, today a small village in Strathearn situated to the south-east of the confluence of the river Earn and the Water of May, was once at the heart of southern Pictland and a major royal power centre and early church site (Aitchison 2006; Alcock 2003, 229-233; Driscoll 1991, 102-103 1998, 151-152; Alcock and Alcock 1992, 218-242; Alcock 1982, 211-239). Despite its association with royal power in the written sources and through the presence of a unique free-standing cross bearing an inscription connecting the place to the Pictish king Constantín son of Wrguist (Fergus), and an important collection of early medieval stone sculpture, Forteviot's early medieval occupation remains enigmatic (Driscoll 2011, 270). Aerial photography in the 1970s and 1980s revealed the presence of crop-marks in the wider area surrounding Forteviot (Alcock and Alcock 1992, 230-231) and since 2006, the *Strathearn Environs and Royal Forteviot* (SERF), led by the University of Glasgow has been carrying a series of archaeological campaigns to understand better the wider landscape and its successive phases of activities.

This case study provides a point of comparison to inform the analysis of the other case studies presented in this chapter regarding the use of sacred space connected to royal power.



Map 3-4 Forteviot in Strathearn
© N. Aitchison 2006, 32

Research background

The SERF excavations and research project has revealed ceremonial activities from the Neolithic to the medieval period (Driscoll 2011, 270-274). To the south of the village, a large prehistoric ceremonial complex has been uncovered that includes several burial mounds and henges. Roman and late Iron Age traces of activities have also been revealed in the form of a square enclosure and scattered small finds (Maldonado forthcoming; Campbell and Gondek 2009, 6-10, 18-19). Early medieval occupation appears through several phases, first during the 5th and 6th century with evidence of 'cultic and funerary activities' (Maldonado forthcoming), which are situated close to the prehistoric complex. This proximity suggests that early medieval people at Forteviot were consciously connecting their ritual activities to a sacred and visible past, rooted in prehistory. This practice seems to be widely adopted by early medieval societies in the north-western edge of Europe (Andrén 2013, 29; Semple 2013, 66-68, 106-107; Pedersen 2006a, 351-352; Brink 2001).

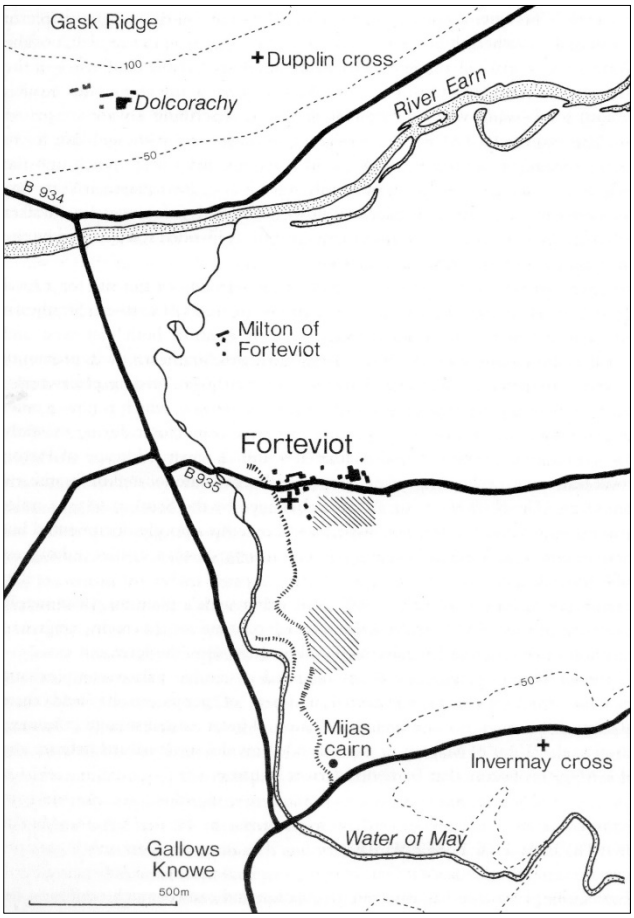
The same connection to a prestigious past may also have influenced Pictish kings to elect Forteviot as their royal residence in the 9th century, the prehistoric remains creating a nodal point to construct and consolidate their power, associating it with metaphysical properties (Driscoll 1988). The large size of the place, delineated on its northern and southern edge by two pieces of monumental sculpture, associated with the possible early church or monastery, and royal settlement at its centre, suggests

that the site was suited for large congregations, for instances, gathering in the event of royal inauguration; before being possibly replaced by Scone from the 11th century (Driscoll pers. comm.).

Historical background of the site

While Forteviot is not mentioned in the written records before the 9th century, all source consistently associate the place with royal power (Aitchison 2006, 21-22; Alcock 2003, 229-233). The main reference is found in the *CKA*, which records the death of Cináed mac Alpín in 'his palace of Forteviot' in AD 858. The site was therefore traditionally associated with the mac Alpín dynasty, and the emergence of the Kingdom of Alba (mid-9th to 12th century). An inscription rediscovered on the Constantine's Cross might suggest that it was possibly that its royal association was older, and connected to the Wrguist dynasty, at least from the end of the 8th century (see Ch.2, 2.4.2.1).

Forteviot prominence during the medieval period and Viking Age is mostly known through its collection of stone sculpture, which includes several major monuments, although most of them are in the form of fragments; this would suggest the royal patronage of an early church or monastery, as seen in Meigle and St Vigeans (Hall 2011; Aitchison 2006, 103-130; ECMS ii 319-328).



Map 3-5 Location of Invermay and Constantine's Cross in relation to Forteviot
© N. Aitchison 2006, 34

The stone monuments

The collection of sculpture connected to Forteviot comprises one complete free-standing cross (Constantine's Cross SCO10a), the fragments of a free-standing cross (Invermay Cross, SCO10b), and several fragments of cross-slabs, ringed-head cross and possibly a third free-standing cross (Forteviot 1, SCO10c). In 1832, the fragment of a monumental arch was also recovered, in the bed of the Water of May (Skene 1857, 278), confirming the presence of a major ecclesiastical centre. Most of the other fragments were recovered in Forteviot churchyard, or built into the walls of neighbouring farms. The original context of the fragmentary sculpture is unfortunately unknown; however, it is believed that they were found close to their original locations, which would have been in Forteviot or its surroundings (Aitchison 2006, 104).

The arch

The Forteviot arch has been interpreted as an architectural fragment possibly belonging to the head of a doorway (Alcock 1982); Mark Hall has recently reviewed this interpretation, proposing that it might indeed come from a canopy, part of a baptistery structure (2011, 141). This interpretation reinforces the narrative of Forteviot as a major ecclesiastical centre under royal patronage. The imagery displayed on the preserved fragment represents a cross, the *Agnus Dei* and four cloaked figures holding staffs (ill. 3.3).

Ill. 3.3 Forteviot arch
Image © National Museums Scotland

Constantine's Cross

Now situated inside Dunning's parish church, the Constantine's Cross (formerly known as 'Dupplin Cross'), was previously situated on Dupplin Moor, a ridge overviewing Forteviot and valley below. Excavations carried in 1998 uncovered the massive socket-stone of the cross, and revealed the presence of a stone surface interpreted as a 'viewing platform', which unfortunately could not be dated (James 2005, 104-105). Nevertheless, these elements, combined with the position of the stone in the landscape, mirrored by Invermay Cross the other side of the valley (map

3.5; SCO10b) support the interpretation of Dupplin Moor being the original location of Constantine's Cross (Hall 2011; Aitchison 2006).

Ill. 3.4 Constantine's Cross
Picture © A. Busset

In the early 1990s, an inscription in Roman letters was rediscovered on the central panel of the monument. Analysed by Katherine Forsyth, it revealed one of the 'longest Roman alphabet inscription from early medieval Scotland' (1995, 240). The original inscription would have been seven lines long, and the preserved portion, which constitutes the first three lines, reads as follow:

Custantin filius fircus

Before the re-discovery of the inscription, the cross was thought to be associated with the reign of Cináed Mac Alpín, due to the mention of Cináed's death at Forteviot in 858 in written sources, as well as the interpretation of the monument being 'Scottish'

and not 'Pictish' for its lack of Pictish symbols. However, the inscription suggests that it may have instead been connected to Constantín of the Wrguist dynasty. Constantín was one of the three kings that held power over both Pictland and Dalriada before the reign of Cináed Mac Alpín. Ruling over the Picts from 789 to 820, he reigned over Dalriada from 811 (Alcock 2003, 392).

As the consensus for the dating of Constantine's Cross is the first half of the 9th century (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 190; Alcock 2003, 232; Forsyth 1995a, 242), it is thus suggested that the monument may have been erected to commemorate either Constantine's rule over the two kingdoms, or his death. In the case of a posthumous commemoration, the monument may find a parallel in the Pillar of Eliseg in Wales, which was erected by Cyngen in memory of his great-grandfather; the two monuments incidentally share many similarities in their landscape context and prominent location connected to a ceremonial centre (Williams 2011, 26; see also Hall 2011; Forsyth 1995a, 242).

Whether it was a contemporary memorial to Constantín or a posthumous one, the monument, through the imagery it displays, is an ode in stone to royal power, and seems to reflect an explicit display by the king to both assert and proclaim his prominence (Driscoll and Forsyth 2009, 33-34; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 189-191). Indeed, the rich iconographic program displayed on Constantine's Cross follows a narrative of military power and divinely-sanctioned kingship, in particular, the association between the people commemorated with the figure of King David (ill 3.3) (Driscoll and Forsyth 2009, 33-34; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 189-190; Harbison 1992, 104; Henderson 1986; see chapter 5 section 5.2.1.3 for discussion on the David imagery on Pictish sculpture).

The divine connection associated with the main rider has been recently emphasised by a new reading of his attire; indeed, at the occasion of the exhibition 'the Cradle of Scotland' (http://www.pkc.gov.uk/cradleofscotland), a painted rendition of the cross was displayed, which has revealed that the rider possibly wears Roman garb, suggesting that Constantine may be represented as an emperor, emphasising the symbolism of powerful Christian king (Driscoll pers. comm.).

Furthermore, the cross has also been interpreted as being connected to the church of Iona, because of the scarcity of free-standing crosses found in Pictland, while this type of monument flourished on Iona, but also through the interlace which ornate its head, and the four interlaced birds represented under the Latin inscription, interpreted as doves, which may be a connection to St Columba, and through him, Iona (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 190). This suggestion may reinforce the interpretation of the cross commemorating the rule of Constantín over Dalriada (Alcock 2003, 392).

Discussion

While Forteviot shows strong connections to ritual practices, and undoubtedly included an important ecclesiastical centre, possibly a monastery, during the early medieval period and after, the place also shows strong connections to secular power and royal prestige. As a potential site of royal inauguration before the prominence of Scone (Driscoll 2004, 75), the landscape around Forteviot was meant for large gatherings; this is reflected through the spatial organisation of the sacred space on a monumental scale, delineated by two massive free-standing crosses. The stone monuments would have been encoded with secular and sacred messages of divine royal power, devotion and connection to the land, while participating in the transformation of the landscape in creating a space into a place.

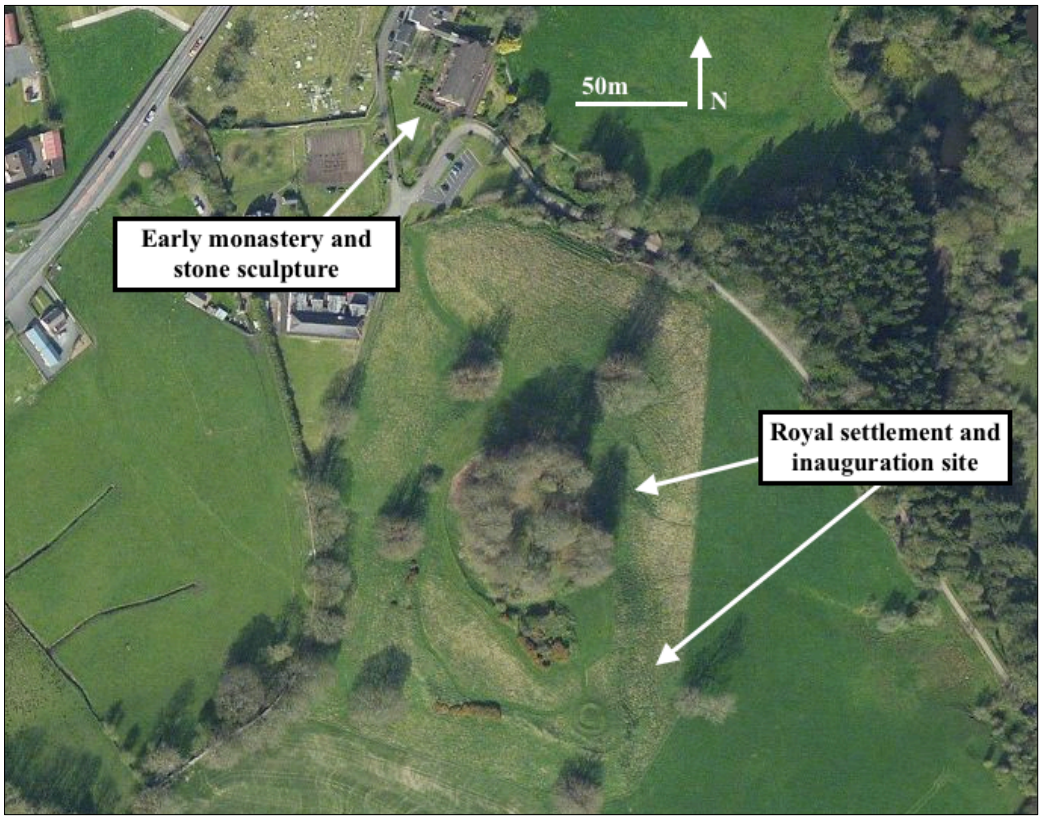
3.2.1.3 Clogher and the conversion of places

The Forteviot case study has shown that kingship and Christian beliefs are closely connected and interact within the landscape, associating past and present ritual structures through monumental stone sculpture. The case of Clogher (IR17) discusses how the Church in Ireland spatially associated itself with the symbolism of early kingship by connecting High Crosses to a royal inauguration site. This reuse of ancient places may be interpreted as an intention of the Church to convert an existing ritualised landscape (Fitzpatrick 2003; Enright 1985). From the 9th century, a strong pattern is indeed observed of the Church to appropriating places linked to royal inauguration, to transform the very nature of kingship, and promote a divine kingship by the grace of God (Gleeson 2012, 2-3, 24-26). Part of this intention may be observed in the written sources, while other aspects are visible directly in the landscape.

The site

Clogher is situated within the rich valley of the Blackwater River in Co. Tyrone, on a strategic location, close to the main road that links Lough Erne to the west to Lough Neagh, and Armagh to the east (Warner 2000, 39). It was the capital and royal inauguration site of the Uí Chremthainn, who dominated Airgialla from the 5th to the 9th century (Gleeson 2012, 4; see Chapter 2). Airgialla was the rival kingdom of the Cenél nÉogain until the battle of Leth Cam in 827, which saw the defeat of Airgialla, and the subsequent supremacy of Cenél nÉogain over the centre of Ulster (Byrne 2001 [1973], 124-126). The royal site at Clogher was consequently abandoned in the 9th century, while the ecclesiastical site grew in importance, and became a bishop's see (Byrne 2001 [1973]; Warner 2000, 48-50). The High Crosses may have been erected to reinforce the bishop's power.

The site is composed of two main focal points: a 5th century royal site, composed of a 50m diameter oval enclosure and a small triangular knoll, which was used as an inauguration site; and an early monastic foundation situated on the location of the current church (ill. 3.5) (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 371-375; Warner 1998, 23-24). Both sites are situated on commanding locations, offering extensive visibility over the Clogher Valley, and over each other (ill. 3.6).



Ill. 3.5 Clogher, situation of the royal mound and the crosses
© Bing map, additional information by the author

Excavations on the royal settlements uncovered remains that show high status secular activities, such as imported pottery and metalworking, approximately dated from the 7th century, further asserting the importance of Clogher and its wider connections (Warner 1972). A triangular knoll, composed of a natural mound, which has been 'cut back', to align with 'the ringfort interior' (Gleeson 2012, 8), situated at the southern end of the hillfort constitutes the location for royal inauguration (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 372; Warner 2004, 35-36).

Ill. 3.6 Clogher High Crosses; royal settlement in the background
Picture © A. Busset

Early ecclesiastical site

Written sources record the foundation of Clogher monastery in the 5th or 6th century; however, the *AU* records the presence of bishops in Clogher from the 9th century. According to Warner (1998, 2000, 45), St Patrick had contacts with king Eochu of Clogher, whose son Cairpre or grandson Daimíne may have founded the first monastery in Clogher. The *Tripartite Life* mentions the foundation of Clogher church by St Patrick, as a gift to bishop Mac Cairthinn, and the close contacts between Armagh and Clogher (Stokes 1887, 175-177). The ecclesiastical site of Clogher appears in several entries of the *AU*, which mentions the death of abbots from the 8th century and abbots and bishops from the 9th century. Today, the existence of the early medieval ecclesiastical site may only be seen through the remains of the High Crosses, a sundial and other fragments of stone sculpture.

The erection of the High Crosses dates from the 9th or possibly the beginning of the 10th century (Harbison 1992, 367-377). There were originally five High Crosses at Clogher, which have been today reconstructed into two monuments, while more fragments are disposed around them (ill. 3.6). The original settings of the High Crosses are unknown, however they may have been placed around the cathedral or monastery enclosures, to mark out the monastic structure, or sacred ground, as possibly seen in Armagh (Aitchison 1994, 231-233).

Transforming kingship

The sacred nature of kingship in Ireland from prehistory to the early medieval period is documented by multiple written sources, and is visible through the construction of the landscape associated with it (Gleeson 2012; Schot *et al.* 2011, xiii-xvii). The Christianisation process created strong associations with sites linked with kingship (e.g. Armagh founded next to Navan Fort, see 3.3.2), and the stone monuments played a fundamental role in the creation of Christianity in the landscape. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that during the first centuries of Christianisation, the Church sought to assert and stabilise its power, and it appeared in several instances through the reuse of sacred landscape (Gleeson 2012, 2-3, 24-26; Bhreathnach 2011, 135-138). However, in several cases, such as Clogher, the ecclesiastical site is set at the edge of the earlier structures, and does not encroach upon it (Gleeson 2012, 3; Bhreathnach 2011, 131; Schot *et al.* 2011, xvii).

Furthermore, it has been suggested that the intervention of the Church close to inauguration sites manifested an intention to transform kingship into the secular arm of the church (Simms 2000, 25). Royal inauguration sites in early medieval Ireland encompassed both the spatial and sacral construction of kingship; High Crosses erected in their vicinity, embracing the ancient royal site in their viewshed, would have enhanced the Christianity of the site, while altering the very nature of sacred kingship.

3.2.1.4 Discussion: carved stones at places connected to royal power

The three case studies presented above, all connected to royal power centres, demonstrate the transformative message encoded in the stone monuments, and within the landscape they are erected in. The role of kingship was gradually transformed during the first centuries of Christianisation, and each case study shows a different facet of it. The case of Adelsö asserts that the Christianisation of the place, embodied by the rune stone, may have participated in the renewal of the place's prominence. In Forteviot, cultic practices associated with both kingship and beliefs formed a complex multi-layered landscape, consisting of palimpsests of millennia of occupation; the imagery displayed by the only complete monument of the site, Constantine's Cross, embodies these multiple messages of secular power and kingship, sanctioned by God, while connecting it to both Northumbria and Iona,

demonstrating its widespread networks of influences (Henderson 1999). The Clogher High Crosses enhance the connection between the early ecclesiastical site and the royal inauguration site, by asserting the power of Clogher as bishopric, but also by participating in the transformation of the place. Furthermore, Clogher High Crosses and Forteviot free-standing crosses represent the insinuation of Christianity into the sacred rituals of kingship.

3.2.2 Assembly places

The use of assembly places, to perform royal inauguration ceremonies, political assemblies, judicial proceedings, and communal gatherings, is observed throughout north-western European societies. In the early 2000s, two major edited publications (Barnwell 2003, 1-10; Pantos and Semple 2004, 1-23) raised awareness concerning some of the main shared characteristics of early medieval and medieval assembly sites, such as the reuse of prehistoric monuments as foci for assemblies, frequent use of artificial mounds, and the importance of natural elements, such as prominent places and hills, fording places, or islands (Sanmark and Semple 2010, 107 Driscoll 2004, 79; Fitzpatrick 2004a, 47). While in the regions under scrutiny, written sources mentioning these sites date from the 12th to 14th century, archaeological research has demonstrated that many of these sites were in use at earlier dates (Sanmark and Semple 2010, 246; Semple and Sanmark 2013; Brink 2004, 215; Driscoll 2004, 76-81; Fitzpatrick 2004a, 66-68). These studies also showed that assembly sites adopted different sizes and forms, depending on their purpose, and on their prominence (Barnwell 2003, 3; Fitzpatrick 2003, 74; 2004a, 44).

However, despite the extensive similarities shared by north-western regions for the setting of assembly places, early medieval stone monuments seem to have played a different part in Scandinavia than in Ireland and Scotland. Indeed, within the cases analysed for this research, Irish and Scottish stone monuments are sometimes located in the vicinity of possibly identified early medieval assembly sites, yet they seem to not encroach upon them. This has been observable for instance at Forteviot and Clogher (above 3.2.1.2 and 3.2.1.3), but also at Dull (Perth and Kinross; 4.2.4.1), and Armagh and its connection to Emain Macha (3.3.1.1) (Gleeson 2012; O'Grady 2008, 291; Fitzpatrick 2004a; Aitchison 1994, 193). In all these cases, stone monuments belonged to an early Christian structure or landscape, visibly connected to the

assembly site but not interfering with it (Fitzpatrick 2003). However, this tenet is drawn exclusively from the sites selected for this research. A thorough investigation focusing solely on stone monuments placed at assembly sites should be conducted in order to offer more accurate and satisfying insights. This may be rendered difficult in Scotland by the lack of information regarding early medieval assembly sites (O'Grady 2014, 104-105), whereas early Irish assembly sites have been the subjects of recent research (Gleeson 2015).

Furthermore, local and small-scaled studies dominated research for a long time, offering detailed analysis, but little holistic understanding of the use of these sites on a European scale; however, the *Assembly Project* (HERA TAP, led by a collective of scholars from Scandinavia, Austria and the UK), started to close this gap by analysing case studies across Europe through several large-scale comparative analyses (Semple and Sanmark 2013, 518). The discussion below is mainly drawn from data found in the research undertaken by Sanmark and Semple, and TAP.

The following section therefore discusses two Scandinavian case studies, Aspa löt (SCA1) and Arkils tingstad (SCA2) through which the relationship between assembly places and rune stones will be examined. It has been argued that rune stones indeed participate in the creation – or recreation – of assembly places, while connecting individuals or kin-groups to the place (Sanmark 2009, 215-216, 234). The spatial organisation of the sites will also be discussed.

In Scandinavia, the first mention of a *thing* site in written sources is found in Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* (see 2.2.1.3), and then in laws and sagas written in the 12th and 13th century. The use of *thing* sites is moreover attested by their mentions in runic inscriptions, as we shall see (Sanmark and Semple 2008, 248; Brink 2004, 206).

At the time rune stones are erected, a differentiation between two types of assembly site can be made: *thing* sites that utilise prehistoric barrows as foci, and 'new' sites, where a mound is sometimes built, to create a focal point. Rune stones are found on both sites, and thus participate either to the creation of the *thing* site, or to the reviving of the place, and may act as an object of conversion for the pre-Christian burials (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 635; see also U212 SCA20 and Vs 13 SCA21).

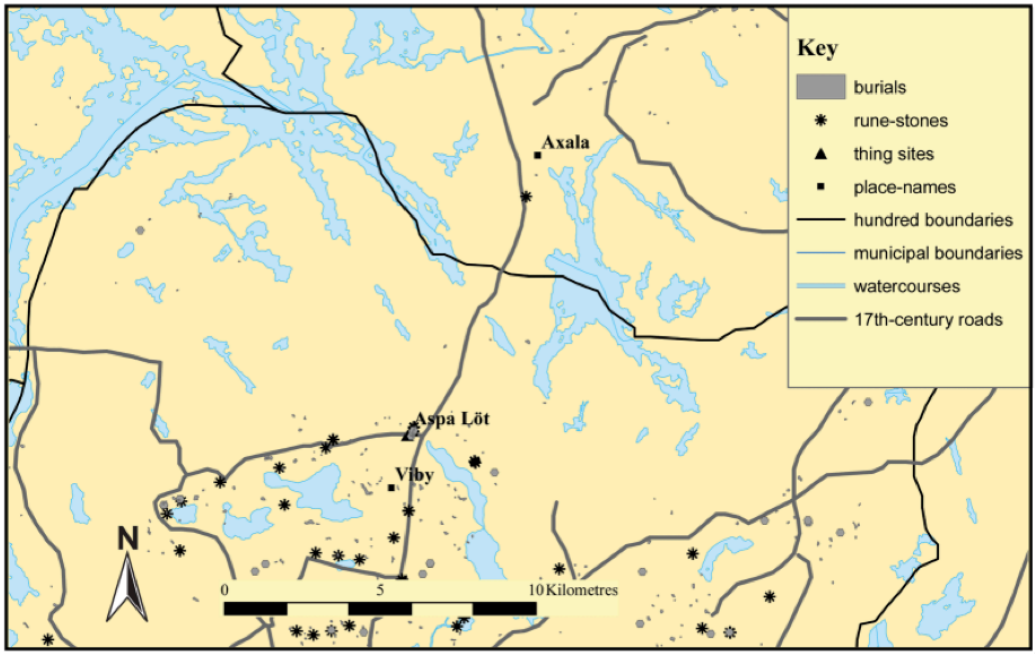
Either way, the monument contributes to the making of the place and the creation of identity while connecting individuals to their immediate landscape. The next two case studies, Aspa löt in Södermanland and Arkils tingstad in Uppland, both contain a rune stone mentioning the presence of an assembly site; yet, they are both 'new' sites. It will thus be examined how the monument contributed to the making of the place, and what features are found on each site that may define them as assembly sites.

3.2.2.1 Stone monuments creating assembly places: Aspa löt and Arkils tingstad

Aspa löt

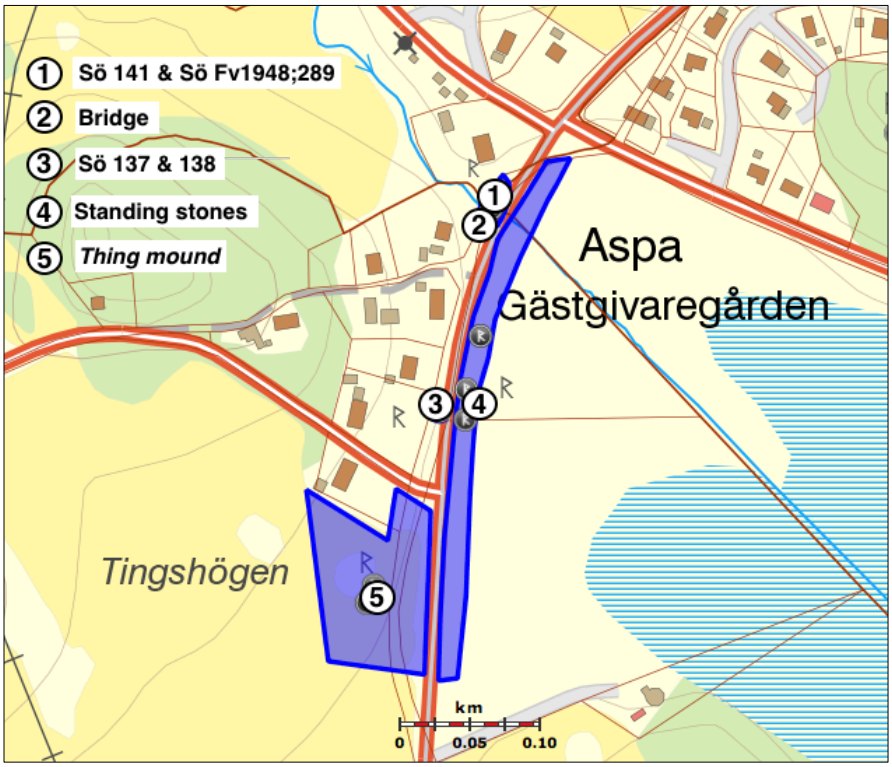
Aspa Löt (SCA1), situated on south of Lake Mälaren, is the *thing* site of the Rönö hundred. First mentioned in the written sources in 1302, it was probably in use from an earlier time, as attested by the presence of several rune stones within its grounds (Sanmark 2009, 214). Situated close to the shore of the Lake Ludgo, which would have connected the site with the south of the hundred, Aspa löt *thing* site was also located at a crossroad (map 3-6) (Sanmark 2009, 215-216). Furthermore, Aspa löt was situated along the *Eriksgata*, the royal inauguration road that the newly elected king of the Svear needed to travel, to be accepted by each local assembly (see 4.2.1) (Brink 2004, 209). The site was therefore at the centre of a network of communication routeways, ensuring its widespread connections (Sanmark 2009, 215).

The placename of Aspa löt has been interpreted by Brink (2004, 206), as a 'green, grass-ground, level field', and by Sanmark and Semple (2008, 248) as 'the field with aspen'. Both interpretations describe a unit of dry land, large enough for assemblies to gather, even though the original location of the *thing* site remains unknown (Sanmark and Semple 2008, 248; Sundqvist 2001, 635).



Map 3-6 Aspa löt, Rönö Härad
© A. Sanmark 2009, 214

The site was delineated at its southern end by a flat-topped mound measuring 4m high and 30m across, and by a bridge at its north end (map 3-6) (Sanmark and Semple 2008, 248). Five rune stones were originally recorded on the site: two close to the *thing* mound to the south (Sö137 and Sö138) and two next to the bridge to the north (Sö141 and SöFv1948;289) (map 3-7); the fifth stone, Sö136, is only known from a 17th century drawing, and has been lost since (Sanmark 2009; Sanmark and Semple 2008; Brink 2004). The east side of the road is also bordered with an alignment of several standing stones (map 3-7); the ensemble of stone monuments at Aspa löt thus formed a 'bridge monument', similar to the alignments found at Jarlabanke bro, 3.2.3.2, SCA19 and Anundshög, 4.2.2.1, SCA21, leading to the *thing* mound to the south of the site (Sanmark 2009, 214; Brink 2004, 209).



Map 3-7 Aspa löt, *thing* site and rune stones
© Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

The rune stone Sö 137, situated closest to the mound, displays the following inscription (ill. 3.7):

> Face A: Thóra raised this stone in memory of Œpir, her husbandman. Face B: This stone stands in memory of Œpir, on the Assembly-place in memory of Thóra's husband. He armed(?) (his) men in the west. The son saw this there ... (translation: RUNDATA)

The inscription thus mentions directly the 'assembly site', confirming public activities on the site during the late Viking Age. However, archaeological analyses conducted in 2004 and 2005 around the mound have revealed that no burial was associated with it, nor any structures or deposits; a road was uncovered a few metres east of the mound, continuing to the road bordered with the rune stones and standing stones to the north (Sanmark and Semple 2008, 249). Sanmark and Semple therefore interpret the *thing* mound at Aspa löt as 'new', instead of a reused prehistoric barrow that would have been used as focal point for the assembly to gather (2008, 250).

Ill. 3.7 Sö 137, Aspa löt
Picture © Swedish National Heritage Board

While the rune stones to the south of the site were erected by Œpir's family, the two rune stones to the north, close to the bridge were commissioned by the family of Ragnfrídhr and Slòdhi (SCA1; RUNDATA Sö141 and SöFv1948;289). One of the stones mentions the building of the bridge, while the other one mentions the death of Önund and Ragnvaldr, who 'were powerful in Rauningi' (RUNDATA SöFv1948;289). Indeed, the inscription reads:

> 'Ástrídhr had these monuments made in memory of Ônundr and Ragnvaldr, her son. (They) died in Denmark, were powerful in Rauningi and the ablest in Sweden' (translation: RUNDATA)

The name 'Rauningi' may refer to the name of the härad, Rönö, suggesting the use of this name at an early time, and connecting the commissioner and the deceased to the place. Furthermore, the inscription contains the earliest mention of 'Sweden', which could be interpreted as a connection to royal power, as the Svear kingdom was only being formed; as the *thing* site of Aspa löt was situated along the *Eriksgata*, this direct mention of the kingdom may have been seen as a sign of royal allegiance (Sanmark 2009, 234).

According to Sanmark and Semple, the presence of these two sets of stones may indicate tensions between two families, struggling to gain hegemony over the härad

(Sanmark 2009, 215, 234). Following that interpretation, it may thus be suggested that the building of the bridge mentioned on Sö141 or the assembly site mentioned on Sö137 were acts performed to ensure the power over the place by one or the other family.

Arkils tingstad

The site of Arkils tingstad, Bällsta (SCA2) is situated on the north-east shore of the Lake Vallentuna, in Vallentuna parish. Similarly to Aspa löt, it is a 'new' site, in the sense that no trace of earlier activities was uncovered on the site (Sanmark and Semple 2008; RAÄ Vallentuna 225:1-2). The site contains two rune stones, a square stone setting and several small standing stones (ill. 3.8). The site and rune stones are associated with an important kin-group (related to the 'Skålhamra', 'Bårresta' and 'Onäm' families; Sawyer 2000; Fuglesang 1998), which has commissioned many rune stones, which trace the connections between family members and kinsmen over three generations, between the end of the 10th century and the middle of the 11th century (see the complete list of associated rune stones in Sawyer 2000, 261, and discussion in Fuglesang 1998, 202-203).

Ill. 3.8 Arkils tingstad, Bällsta, stone setting and U225
Picture © A. Busset

The rune stones U 225 and 226 at Bällsta are dated from early rune stone styles, RAK and Pr1 (see annexe), meaning they were erected between the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century; indeed, while executed in two different styles, they were probably erected at the same time (Fuglesang 1998, 202). The inscriptions they display are joined, and read as follows:

> U225: 'Ulvkel and Arknell and Gye, they made here a *thing* site. There shall be no mightier memorials be found than those Ulv's sons set up after him, active lads, after their father'.
>
> U226: 'They raised the stones and worked the staff also, the mighty one, as marks of honour. Likewise Gyrid loved her husband. So in mourning she will have it mentioned. Gunnar cut the stone'. (Translation by Jansson 1987, 121):

This inscription presents several interesting points that will be briefly discussed here. First of all, the mention of three sons making a *thing* site in memory of their father indicates that Bällsta was Ulv's family, or kin-group's, assembly site. This site itself does not contain the main specific traits relative to assembly sites discussed above; indeed, there is no mound that may be used as focal point, nor alignment of standing stones. Furthermore, two rune stones (U 160 and U 161, Risbyle; RUNDATA) dedicated to Ulv show that his estate was probably situated at Skålhamra on the west shore of Lake Vallentuna, across from Bällsta (map 3-8).

Map 3-8 Connections between Arkils tingstad and Ulv's estate
Base map © Google, additional information by the author

The site at Bällsta would have thus been situated on the outskirts of Ulv's estate. The position of the stones, facing toward the lake rather than inland may indicate that the entrance to the site would have been operated from the water (ill. 3.9). Andrén interprets the location of Arkils tingstad as 'neutral ground', where Ulv's kin-group may have had to travel to in order to attend the assembly (pers. comm.). These elements, associated with the size of the place, as well as its possible lack of connections roads, may point toward the interpretation that the assembly site at Bällsta was a small private assembly site, rather than a large public one, such as Aspa löt (Brink 2004, 211).

Ill. 3.9 U225 and U226 facing the Lake Vallentuna
Pictures © A. Busset

Another element within the inscription may support this interpretation: the mention of a 'mighty memorial' (*mærki*) made by Ulv's stons; indeed, while this word may be interpreted as a general memorial, Ljung and Thedéen (2012, 15) propose that in this case, it may refer directly to the square stone settings. This element has been interpreted as the 'arena for the *thing* proceedings' by Sanmark and Semple (2010, 100); however, these types of settings have also been interpreted as graves (Gräslund 1987), which would not always contain an actual burial (Ljung and Thedéen 2012, 11). The stone setting at Bällsta could therefore be interpreted as a cenotaph to Ulv.

Interestingly, Arkils tingstad was also situated within the estate of Jarlabanke (see below 3.2.3.2). It has been proposed that Ulv's family may have been powerful elite in the region that would have been superseded by Jarlabanke's family within a few decades, during the first half of the 11th century (Fuglesang 1998, 202; Jansson 1987, 121-122). Following that interpretation, the assembly place at Bällsta would only have been in use for a short period of time; indeed Jarlabanke's self-commemorative rune stones stating that he owns the whole of Täby are dated from 1020-1050 (Pr2-3, see annexe), thus slightly later than U225 and U226. The last rune stones associated with Ulv's family (that we know of) commemorates Ulv's son Ulvkel; it is found at Skälby, Sollentuna, ten kilometres south-west of the Lake Vallentuna, away from Jarlabanke's estate.

3.2.2.2 Discussion: stone monuments at assembly sites

The two case studies presented in this section have demonstrated the central role of rune stones at assembly sites, defining the place as such by the inscriptions they display and connecting powerful families to the place. The size and setting of each site suggest that they were not used for the same purpose. Aspa löt was indeed a gathering place of the Rönö hundred – as suggested by the inscription on SöFv1948;289 – and was situated along the *Eriksgata*, connecting the place to royal power. Arkils tingstad on the other hand seems to have been a private *thing* site, designed for small congregations. Furthermore, the spatial composition of Arkils tingstad suggests an emphasis on the commemoration of Ulv, seen through the presence of a possible cenotaph (square stone setting), and a poetic lament ('so in mourning she will have it mentioned') found in the U226 inscription (Jesch 2012 [2008], 292-293; 1991, 62).

Aspa löt shares many similarities with other large assembly sites (Semple and Sanmark 2008; 2010; 2013; Sanmark 2009; Brink 2004), namely the presence of a *thing* mound, a rune stone sometimes directly associated with the mound, rune stones and standing stones bordering an ancient road, or the proximity of a fording place or crossroad. The same elements are indeed found at Anundshög, Badelunda for instance (SCA21; 4.2.2.1), however, while the assembly site at Aspa löt seems to have been created during the late Viking Age, the site at Anundshög shows strong connections to the past, through the presence of Bronze Age and Iron Age burials within the site, as well as cooking pits which provided remains dating from AD 150 to 500, suggesting possible ritual activities during the Iron Age (Semple and Sanmark 2013, 522).

As discussed in the introduction to this section, to display visible connections to the past is a trait shared by many early medieval and medieval outdoor assembly sites in Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland. It has been associated with the phenomenon of 'territorial historicity' and prestige sought by new rulers to assert their legitimacy over a land (3.2.2). Several scholars have also demonstrated however that 'new' sites, which do not include traces of previous activities, also started to appear in Scandinavia during the late Viking Age and early medieval period (Sanmark and Semple 2010, 110-114; Fitzpatrick 2004b, 68-80).

These 'new' sites are a possible demonstration of the forging of connections and demonstrations of acceptance between regional communities of elites to Christianisation and the intertwining regal process of centralisation of power (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2010; 2013; Sanmark 2009). Consequently, these 'new' sites are focused on displaying and highlighting a connection to the king, or to Christianity, or both, through the medium of the rune stones, and the interrelationships of the stones, the *thing* place, and inauguration routes, while at the same time echoing the spatial grammar, architecture and *feel* of the 'old' *thing* sites, emulating and recreating the ancientness of the 'old' sites by replicating the placement and use of stone monuments to forge a similar visual and ritual impact.

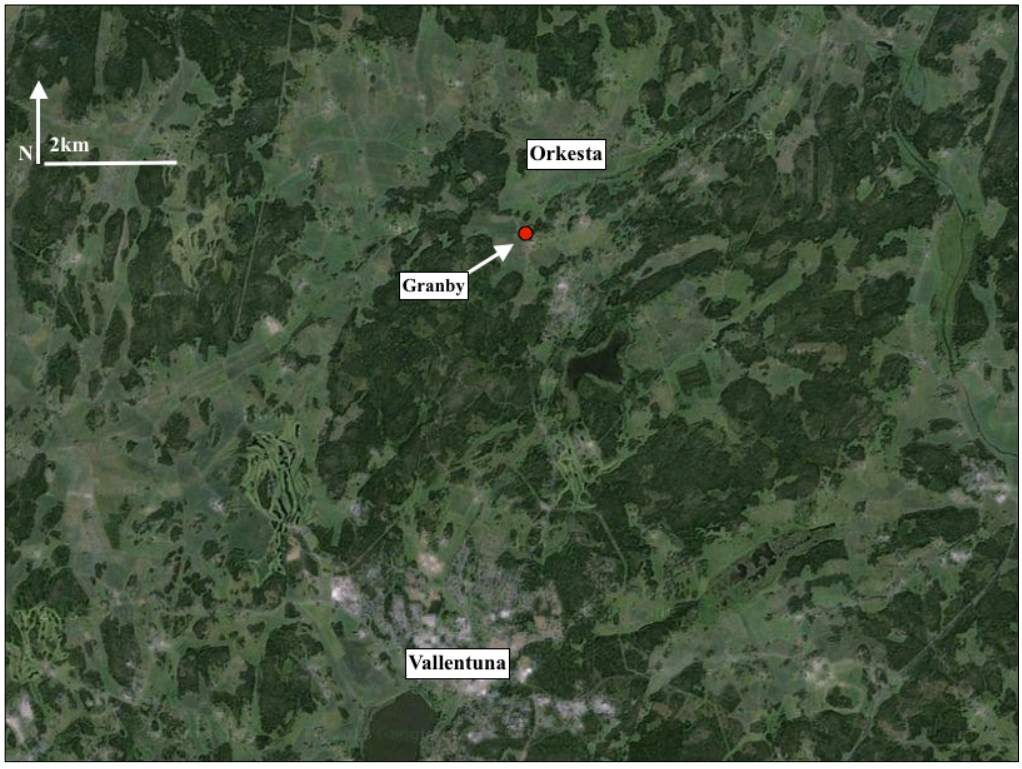
3.2.3 Rune stones, settlements and estates

Contrasting with the Irish and Scottish sculpture, runic inscriptions allow for direct connections to be made between a stone monument and a place, sometimes

delineating a settlement, sometimes a whole estate, or even a härad. This section therefore discusses three cases: the first one, Granby, focuses specifically on a place, whereas the two following, focus on two individuals, Jarlabanke and Gunne, and the area the rune stones connect them with.

3.2.3.1 Granby-Hyppinge in Orkesta

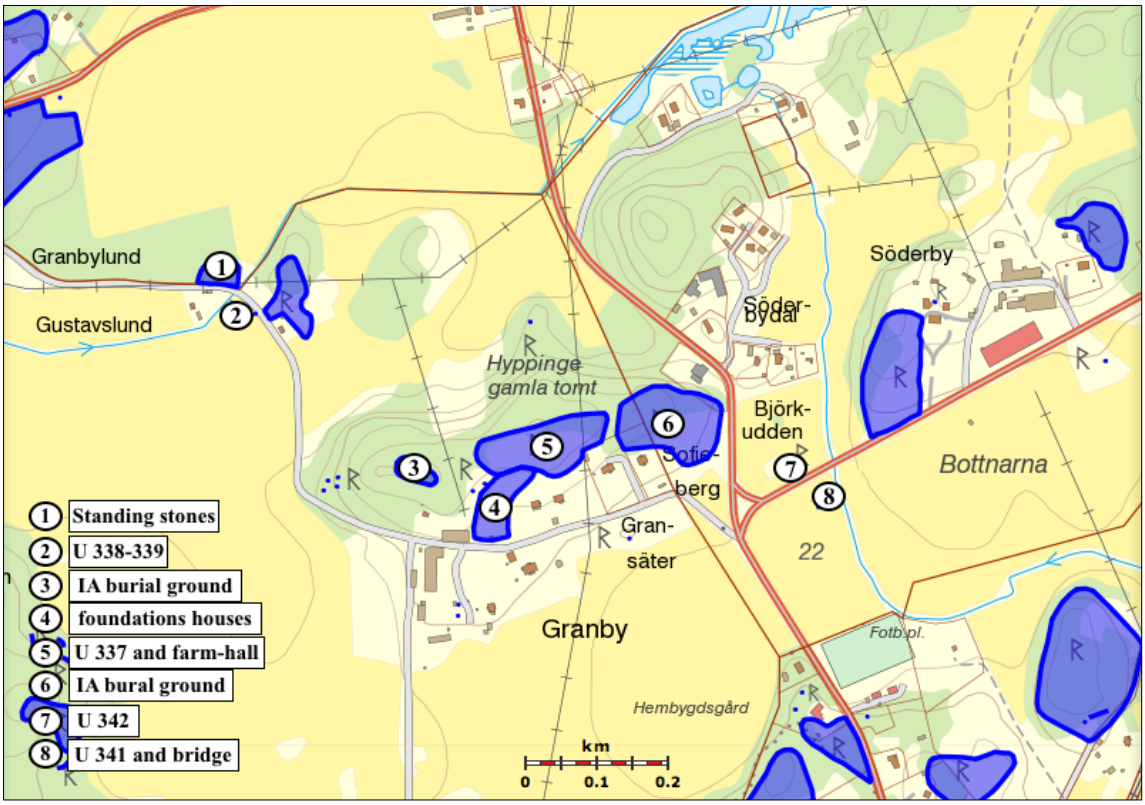
The site of Granby-Hyppinge is located in the parish of Orkesta, about 10 kilometres north of Vallentuna (map 3-9). The site, which spreads over approximately 1km, is constituted of a stony hill, on the top of which are found the foundations of a farm-hall (ill. 3.10) and a long runic inscription engraved on a large rocky outcrop (U337; SCA8a; ill. 3.11); two Iron Age burial grounds, on the slopes of the hill, both to the east and to the west; a rune stone (U338) on the north-western boundary of the estate, and two rune stones on the eastern boundary (U341 and 342), located next to a bridge (map 3-10). A fifth rune stone (U 339) was situated next to U 338, but only a few fragments have been preserved (Zachrisson 1998, 176-180).



Map 3-9 Granby in Orkesta, general situation
Base map © Google Maps, additional information by the author

The place-name of Granby-Hyppinge was analysed by Brink (1994, 277) and Zachrisson (1998, 174), and indicates the presence of a settlement in the area since the early Iron Age. Indeed, while the suffix '-by' signifies a farm or hamlet from the

late Iron Age (Granby, 'the farm, hamlet by the fir trees'), the suffix '-inge' may indicate an even earlier occupation (Brink 1994, 277). The site of Granby-Hyppinge was therefore occupied since at least the early Iron Age (Brink 2012b [2008], 58-59; Zachrisson 1998, 174). This is also corroborated by the presence of multiple Iron Age burial sites in the area. The occupation of Granby-Hyppinge during the late Viking Age and early medieval period is attested through the presence of the rune stones, and the remains of one large farm-hall and several smaller structures on the southern slope of the hill (map 3-10; SCA8). The site was subsequently abandoned during the 12th century.



Map 3-10 Granby-Hyppinge
Base map © Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

The rune stones

The site of Granby-Hyppinge contains five rune stones, two of which (U339 and U342) are fragmentary; while U 342 was located close to U 341 after its rediscovery in 1975 (Gustavson 1976, 96-109), U 339 is recorded as lost by the Samnordisk runtextdatabas (RUNDATA U339). The largest rune stone, U 337, is a rocky outcrop situated at the top of the hill next to the entrance of the farm-hall (SCA8a; map 3-10, 5, ill 3.12). The four others formed two ensembles situated respectively on the north-western and eastern boundaries of the estate (map 3-10, 2, 7 and 8); while their exact

original location is unknown, it is probable that the three remaining monuments are still located close to it (Larsson 1998; Zachrisson 1998; Gustavson 1976).

Ill. 3.10 Granby farm-hall, foundations
Picture © A. Busset

The rune stones U338 and U341 are of the RAK style (see annexe), dating them from the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century, while U 337 was dated from the last third of the 11th century (Pr4) (SCA8 and SCA17). U 338 is situated on the roadside, north-western boundary of Granby-Hyppinge, Borresta farm-estates, at the limit with Borresta estate (ill. 3.11; Zachrisson 1998, 176-180). A few metres west of the stone, on the other side of the road, is an alignment of standing stones along a small river that would have marked the natural boundary of the estate (Zachrisson 1998, 176-180). A similar setting is observed at the location of U341 and 342: they are both situated alongside the road, next to a bridge, marking the eastern boundary of Granby-Hyppinge with the estate of Söderby (map 3-10).

The inscription on U 338 is of particular interest, as it reads:

> Face A: Thorsteinn and Ragnfrídhr, they raised this stone in memory of Bjôrn in Granby, Face B: Kalfr's brother. Vígmundr slaughtered him. May God help his spirit and soul better than he deserved (translation: RUNDATA).

Ill. 3.11 U338, Granby in Orkesta parish
The top of Granby-Hyppinge is located within the trees in the background. Picture © A. Busset

Therefore, the inscription links directly Björn – and the stone – to the Granby farmstead. As the settlement is visible from the stone, the statement of connection proclaimed through the inscription is very clear (ill. 3.11). The inscription also mentions that Björn was Kalv's brother; Kalv is named on three other rune stones at Granby, U337, U341 and U342. The rune stone U 341, commissioned by Kalv's son Ingjadr, is dedicated to Kalv, his wife Ragnvé and Igull, Ingjadr's brother. Although fragmentary, the inscription on U342 mentions Kalv's name.

The runic inscription on U 337 (ill. 3.12), one of the longest in Uppland, was commissioned several decades after the first ones. It reads:

> Hemingr and Sjalfi and Jóhan, they have cut (the stone) in memory of their father Finnvidhr and Vargas(?)/Varghôss(?) and Ragnfrídhr and their mother, and in memory of Ingigerdhr and in memory of Kalfr and Gerdharr and ... He alone owned all at first. These were their kinsmen. May God help their spirits. Véseti carved these rune (translation: RUNDATA)

This inscription has generated two interpretations: the first one is that Heming, Sjalfi and Johan had the runes carved in memory of their father Finnvid, their mother, and their kinsmen, and that Finnvid owned the whole estate first (Larsson 1998, 642;

Zachrisson 1994, 225; 1998, 177-178). The second interpretation, proposed by Larsson (1998, 642), analyses the enumeration of names as a 'sequence … of forefathers through which [the] brothers had inherited the property'. The missing name, at the end of the sequence, may thus be the one of whom 'owned it all at first' (U337). Following that interpretation, this inscription may be a representation of *oðal*, a legal term to indicate land property owned by the same family over several generations (Larsson 1998, 642; Zachrisson 1994, 225; 1998, 178). By having that large boulder inscribed with prestigious names, two of which (Ragnfrid and Kalv) are found on existing monuments, the brothers would have connected themselves to the estate and claimed its ownership, but also linked themselves to the prestigious figures associated with it.

Ill. 3.12 U 337, Granby, Orkesta parish
Picture Bengt A. Lundberg ©RAÄ

One of the striking elements at Granby-Hyppinge is the emphasis on the clear delineation and sense of place linked to a kin-group found there: a place-name indicating the presence of an early settlement at least from the early Iron Age, rune stones located at the centre and boundaries of the estate, and inscriptions on each rune stone connecting individuals together and with the place. Furthermore, the dating of the boundary monuments indicates that they were erected at an early time, while the rocky outcrop was inscribed at a later date, possibly to make a statement of

inheritance. Granby-Hyppinge does not show traces of occupation after the 12th century, and the rune stones thus remained farm monuments, while the medieval church and settlement developed a couple of kilometres to the north, at Orkesta. Each rune stone at Granby-Hyppinge is a memorial to one or several deceased, sometimes displaying prayers for their souls, clearly expressing their Christian identity. They also reinforce the connection of the deceased – and their descendants – to the estate by the inscriptions they carry, but also by their strategic location in the landscape.

3.2.3.2 Rune stones creating places: Gunne and Jarlabanke

The Granby case study demonstrated how rune stones create a direct sense of place in the landscape, through the stone monuments and the inscriptions they display; this section will view similar phenomena at larger scales. The case studies discussed in this section focus on two powerful individuals, Gunne and Jarlabanke, and will view how rune stones were utilised to delineate large estates, and even possibly hundred.

Gunne and the Östra Ryds parish

The parish of Östra Ryds is situated north-east of Stockholm (map 3-11). It contains four rune stones connected to one individual, Gunne, who was probably a local chieftain or owner of a large farm estate (Jansson 1987, 118). The four rune stones are found in three different locations: U 166 and 167 are incorporated in the fabric of Östra Ryds kyrka (SCA14), while U 170 is located at the far south-eastern point of the peninsula at Bogesund brygga (SCA4), and U 171 is now located close to the farm of Söderby, but originally stood alongside the road to Frösvik (SCA16) (Källström 2013). The four stones have been identified as Pr3 and Pr4, which date them from the second half of the 11th century (see annexe) (RUNDATA).

The rune stone U170 at Bogesund brygga (SCA4) was rediscovered in 2013 after being lost for 300 years. Only its base is preserved, however, enough of the runic inscription survives to allow its identification. Before its rediscovery, it was recorded by Johan Peringskiöld in the late 17th century, who made a drawing of it (SCA4a; McLeod 2014, 2; Källström 2013). Excavations undertaken shortly after its rediscovery demonstrated that the base stands in its original location, and is surrounded by a terrace with a path that would have given access to it, from the water. Indeed, the location of the rune stone shows two important features: first, that

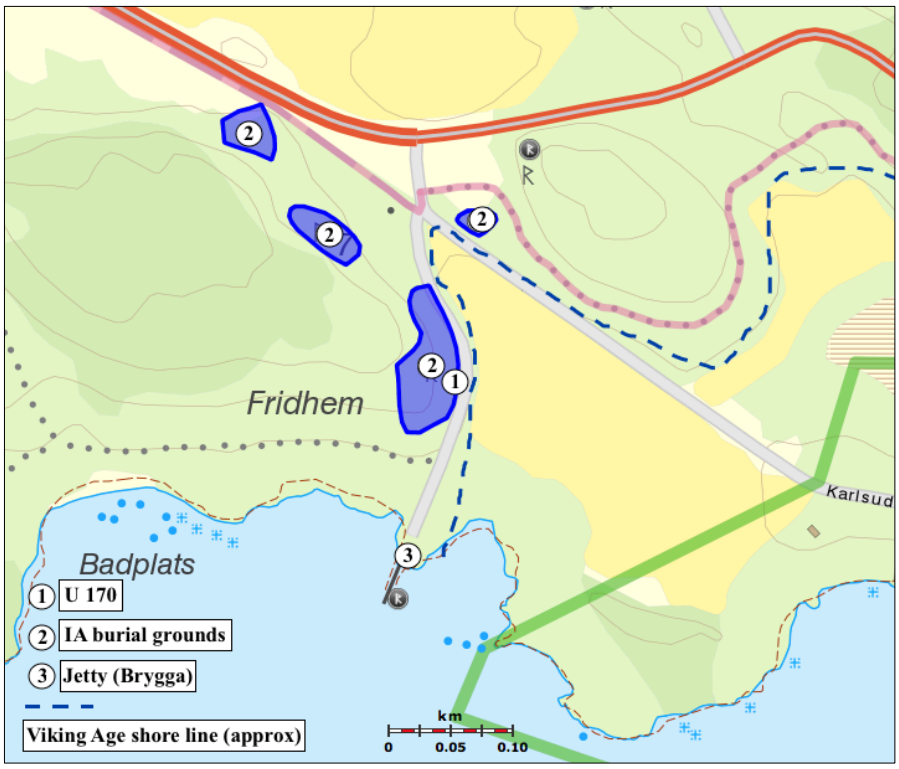
similarly to U11 at Hovgården, the rune stone U170 would have originally been situated on the waterside; and second, that it is located at the edge of an Iron Age burial ground (map 3-12; McLeod 2014; Källström 2013; RUNDATA; RAÄ Östra Ryds 6:1).

Map 3-11 Östra Ryds parish and rune stones
Base map © Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

The rune stone U170 is therefore situated at a liminal place, both marking the probable south-western boundary of Gunne's estate, while also being connected to an ancient burial ground (liminal places will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3.3). The connection to an ancient burial ground may be interpreted as a desire from the local elite members to link themselves to a prestigious past (as discussed above); however, erecting a Christian monument at a 'pagan' place, may also demonstrate a will to visibly convert the place and place it under God's protection (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2012], 635-636; Gräslund 1991a, 48-49).

The situation of the stone, next to what would have been a major waterway is also of great significance, and along with the inscription it displays, places the monument, Gunne and his family, in a wider nexus of connections. Indeed, the inscription reads:

'Gunne and Åsa had this stone and the vault ('hvalf') raised in memory of Önd(?), their son. He died in Ekerö(?). He is buried in the churchyard. Fastulv carved the runes. Gunne raised this stone rock-slab' (Ljung 2012, 2)



Map 3-12 U 170 and archaeological remains at Bogesund brygga
Base map © Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

The connection of Gunne's estate to the island of Ekerö, in Lake Mälaren is thus further supported by the indication that Gunne's son died there. Furthermore, the inscription 'he is buried in the churchyard' has been interpreted as referring to a place on Ekerö (Källström 2013; Jansson 1987, 118; Wessén and Jansson 1940-43), therefore, as the stone has been dated from the mid-11th century, this inscription may be one of the earliest mentions of a churchyard in Uppland (Ljung 2014, 156-157; McLeod 2014, 3).

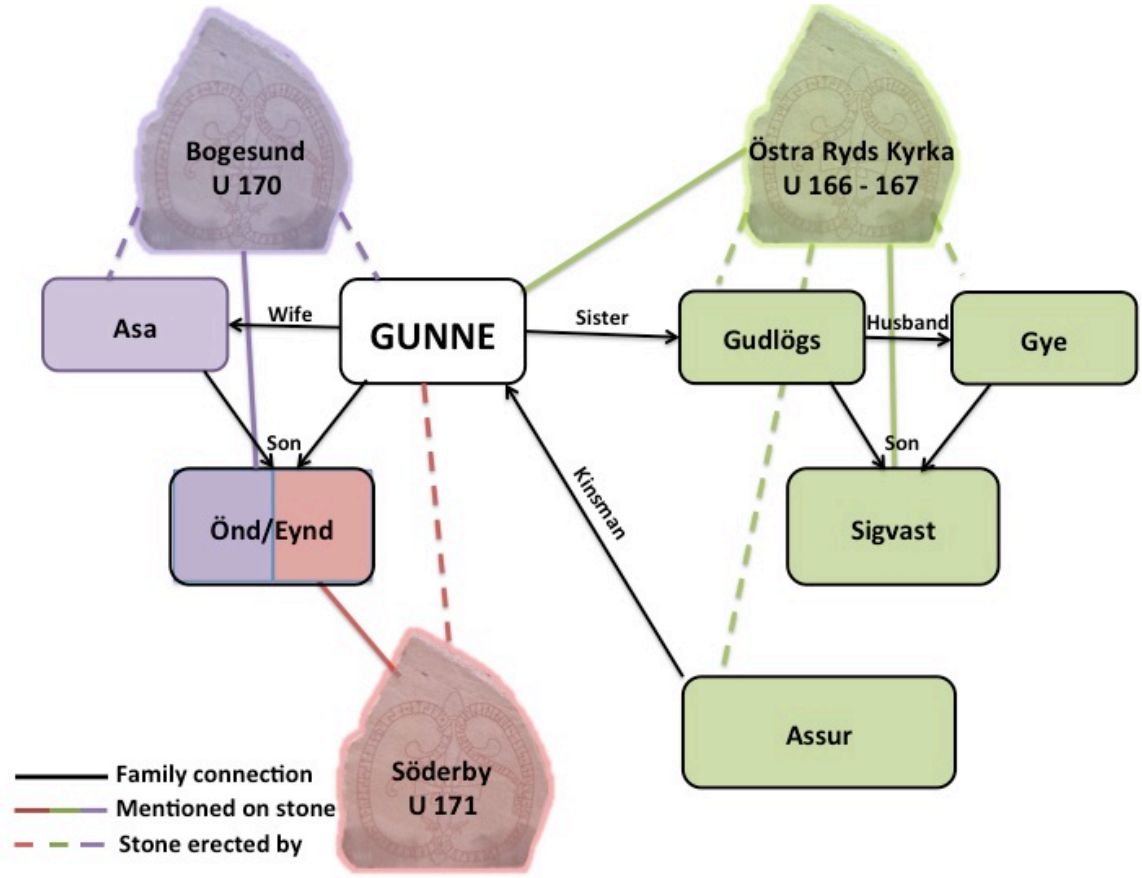


Fig. 3a Gunne and his family connections through the rune stones

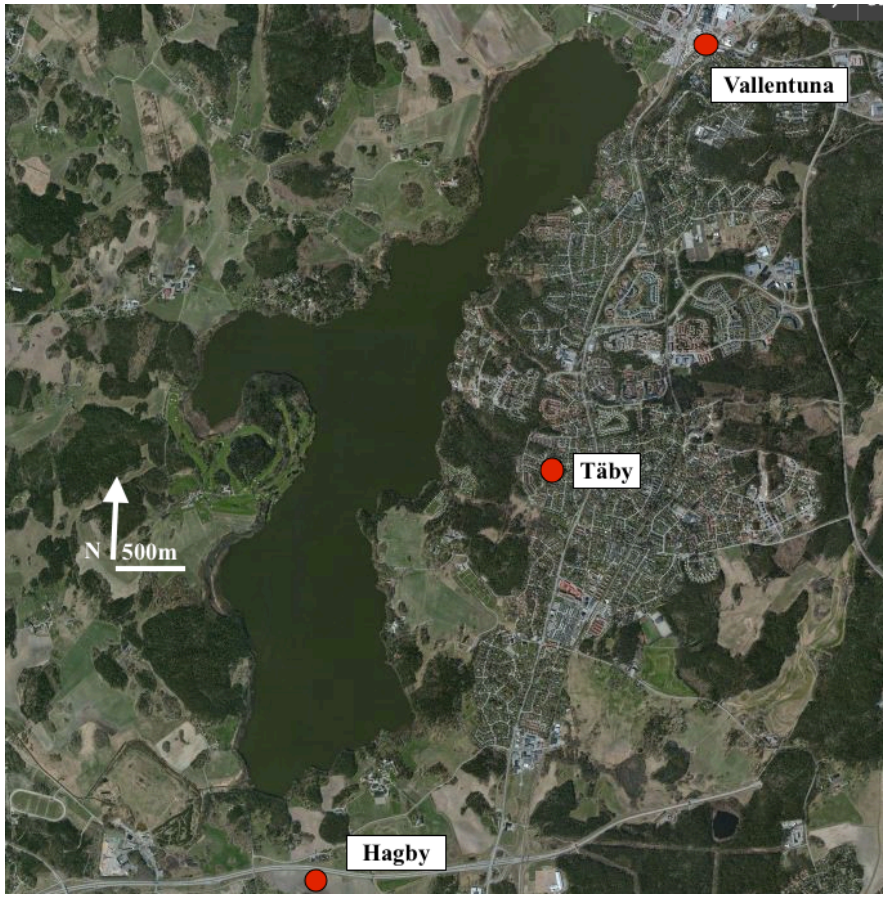
The two rune stones found in Östra Ryds kyrka were originally found in the area around the church, and built into the church walls (McLeod 2014, 3; SCA14); both were commissioned by members of Gunne's family (see fig. 3a). Their original location is unknown, however they may have marked the location of an early church or churchyard (Ljung 2012, 4). The fourth stone related to Gunne is now located a few metres south of Söderby farm; however, its original location was further west, alongside the road to Frösvik, which may have been an early medieval harbour (Zachrisson pers. comm.; RAÄ Östra Ryds 13:1). The rune stone was commissioned by Gunne, and commemorates Önd his 'good son', as well as himself (SCA16a).

The rune stones in Östra Ryds parish demonstrate multiple connections through individuals and places, both by their locations and the inscriptions they display. Their locations indicate indeed that two of them – U170 and U171 – may have marked the western and eastern boundaries of Gunne's estate, while U166 and U167 may have been situated at the northern limit, possibly at the site of an early church – or what became an early church site. Furthermore, U170 at Bogesund connects the monument, and Gunne's son Önd, to the island of Ekerö through its inscription; that

this stone is also situated alongside a major waterway, which linked the islands of the Lake Mälaren to the north-east, and the Baltic Sea supports further this connection.

Jarlabanke of the Täby estate

The last case in this section discusses one individual, Jarlabanke, who erected many rune stones, which connect him to the geographical area around Täby and the Lake Vallentuna. It is indeed impossible to discuss the question of land ownership and the creation of territory without mentioning Jarlabanke, his family and their rune stones. However, this section will only examine the self-commemorative monuments erected by Jarlabanke, as Chapter 4 will discuss the wider connections and movement in the landscape through the rune stones erected by Estrid, Jarlabanke's grandmother (4.1.2).



Map 3-13 Jarlabanke self-dedicated rune stones
Base map © Google Maps, additional information by the author

Jarlabanke and the rune stones erected by him and his family are the subject of an important body of literature, as they form an ensemble allowing us to trace the movement and connection of a family through several generations, over a whole area

from the first half to the end of the 11th century (see fig. 3b and c) (Kitzler Åfeldt 2010; Andersson and Nordberg 2009; Gräslund *et al.* 2008; Sawyer 2000, 137-139; Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999).

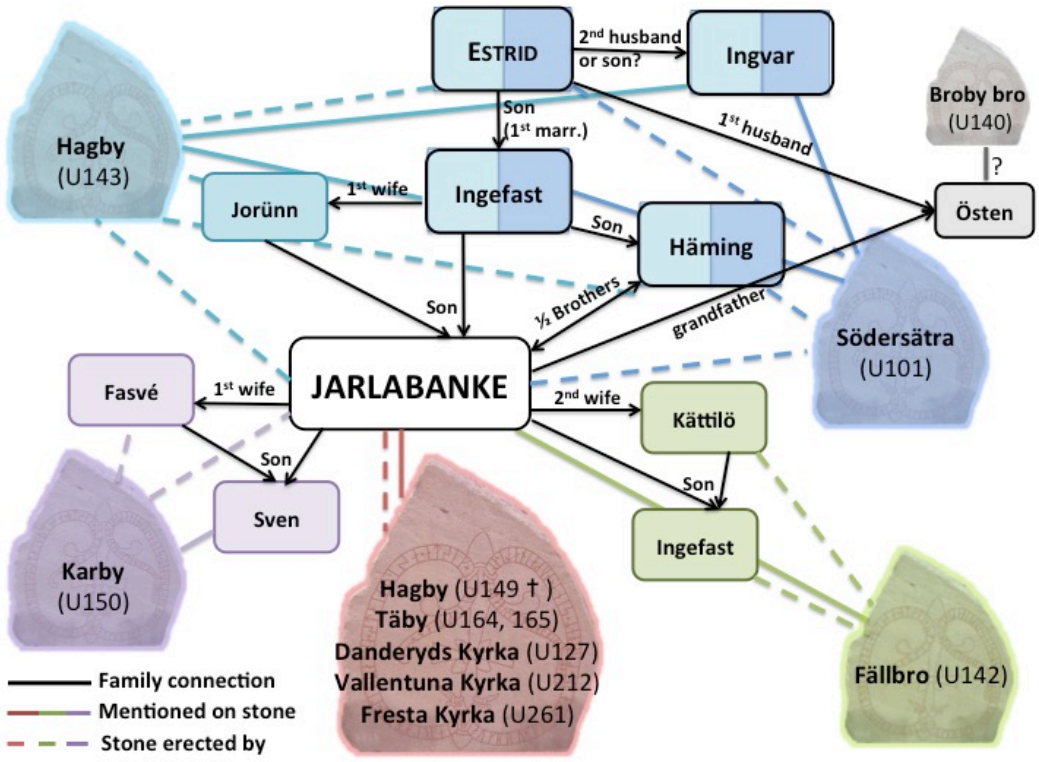


Fig. 3b Rune stones commissioned by Jarlabanke, and his family connections. His grandmother, Estrid, was also a prominent member of the local elite (see Ch.4, 4.1.1.)

He commissioned a total of eleven (known) rune stones; this section focuses on five of them, which all share similar inscriptions: U164, U 165, Täby (SCA19), U127, Danderyds, U 212, Vallentuna kyrka (SCA20) U261, Fresta kyrka (SCA7). A sixth monument displaying a similar inscription was located in Hagby, but is now lost (RUNDATA U149; map 3-12). The stone at Danderyd was recorded as being reused as 'stepping stone', while the one at Fresta was built in the fabric of the church (Fuglesang 1998, 204). The rune stones U164 and 165 are located in the north of Täby parish, at the place named Jarlabanke bro, in Täby kyrkby; aligned with two rows of standing stones, they form a 'bridge monument' that was probably built to make a path over a marshy area (Andersson and Nordberg 2009). The bridge measured approximately 150 metres long and 6m wide; of the four rune stones that originally stood at each extremity, two remain in place today (ill. 3.14). The two others have been moved and may be found in Danderyds kyrka and Fresta kyrka (Andersson and Källström 2008).

Ill. 3.14 Jarlabanke bro and U164 -165
Picture © A. Busset

The four rune stones display similar inscriptions that read (here U164, SCA19a):

> Jarlabanki had these stones raised in memory of himself while alive, and made this bridge for his spirit, and (he) alone owned all of Táby´r. May God help his spirit (translation: RUNDATA)

With each monument, Jarlabanke claims ownership over the area; while it is not unusual to see self-commemorative monuments (there are 28 such monuments in Uppland for instance; Sawyer 2000, 136), Jarlabanke erected most of them. He was therefore anxious to state his own power and wealth. While the exact boundaries of Jarbanke's estate are unknown, the rune stones erected by Jarlabanke – both self-commemorative, and those he erected in memory of others (e.g. U101, Södersätra, SCA18; U143, Hagby SCA9; U150, Karby, SCA13) – would have been placed strategically in the landscape, alongside boundaries, roads or burial places, to assert Jarlabanke's power (Andersson and Källström 2008).

Ill. 3.15 U212, Vallentuna, face a and b
Pictures © A. Busset

One of Jarlabanke's self-commemorative monuments, located in Vallentuna (U212, SCA20; ill. 3.15), presents several differences compared to the four others. First, it is inscribed on both sides and second, and more importantly, the inscription situated on the reverse states that Jarlabanke owns the whole härad:

> Face A: Jarlabanki had this stone raised in memory of himself while alive. He alone owned all of Táby´r. May God help his spirit. Face B: Jarlabanki had this stone raised in memory of himself while alive, and made this Assembly-place, and alone owned all of this Hundred (translation RUNDATA).

While the claim of ownership over 'the whole of Täby', has been considered mostly reasonable by Kitzler Åhfeldt, the claim that he owns a whole administrative area has been considered less so (2010, 7). In order to determine whether the inscriptions were contemporary or not, laser scanner analyses were undertaken on the rune stone U212. The results demonstrated that the inscription on face B was indeed added later than the first one; furthermore, a close analysis of the engravings revealed that the monument was not standing when the second inscription was inscribed, indicating that the monument may have been moved at this occasion (Gräslund *et al.* 2008, 344). This may possibly indicate that the second inscription, as well as the moving of the

stone could have been executed to acknowledge the extension of Jarlabanke's estate, or power.

3.2.3.3 Discussion: rune stones, settlements and estates

The three case studies presented in this section demonstrate that these rune stones delineate space and mark sacral points in the landscape, and in this way participate and actively engage in the creation of places. These places may be of diverse sizes: at Granby, the space delineated was a farm-estate over a concentrated area, whereas at Östra Ryds and Täby, it included large areas. While the topographic and historical contexts surrounding the stones, such as rivers, lakes, or burial grounds, emphasise their functions as boundary markers, the inscriptions on the rune stones emphasise the connections of kin-groups and individuals with the land. Analysed together, they allow a deeper understanding of the inter-connections of people within their territory, and beyond. Several of these places, such as Östra Ryds and Vallentuna, would develop into early church sites and parishes during the 12th century; however, at the time the rune stones were erected, they were the main carriers and focal points of the Christian faith, and beyond their purpose as memorials and boundary markers, they also performed as focal points for consecrated burial grounds or religious gatherings.

3.3 Stone sculpture and ecclesiastical sites

The three phases of the Christianisation process (infiltration, mission, and institutionalisation) and development of early Church organisation in Scandinavia have been identified by Birkeli in 1973, and utilised by many scholars (Brink 2010; 2013; Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 636; Lager 2003, 497). While the infiltration phase may have started as early as the 6th century, and developed through the 7th and 8th century, the rune stones appeared during the end of the mission phase, first through elites proclaiming their new faith, but also connecting them to a new centralised royal power. Brink (2012c [2008], 622-625) suggests that the institutionalisation phase started in Scandinavia between the 12th and 13th century, the rune stones ceased gradually to be erected, first paralleled and then replaced by sandstone churchyard monuments, before disappearing altogether.

It is suggested here that this three-phases framework may be theoretically applied to early medieval Ireland and Scotland, especially through the study of spatial distribution of carved stones. In contrast with the Scandinavian case studies presented above (3.2.2 and 3.2.3), early medieval stone sculpture in Ireland and Scotland is overwhelmingly found in connection to ecclesiastical sites (Edwards 1990, 161). However, while ecclesiastical centres may have embodied many functions – monastery, parochial church, place of pilgrimage, or burial ground – it is suggested here that the carved stones may inform us further on a possible focus of these sites. The last section of this chapter will therefore discuss four case studies from Ireland and Scotland, examining the role of stone sculpture at ecclesiastical sites, and ultimately discuss the interconnections between the spatial distribution of carved stones and the three phases of Christianisation.

3.3.1 Armagh (IR1)

During the period covered by this research, Armagh was one of the most prominent ecclesiastical centres in Ireland (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 172-174; Bhreathnach 2014, 192-200). The exact date of foundation of Armagh is not known, but sources place it in the middle of the 5th century (*A.U.*; *A.F.M.*). One written source particularly linked to Armagh is the *Liber Angeli*, a composite text written during the 7th century, which records the foundation of Armagh and its claim over other churches (Bieler 1979, 184-191). The foundation of Armagh is associated with St Patrick, although there is no contemporary evidence to prove the saint's connection to Armagh other than the written sources, and St Patrick himself makes no mention of the site in his writings (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 173; Bhreathnach 2014, 195).

Armagh was an episcopal centre that seems to have transformed into a monastery (with abbot who were also bishops at its head); Kathleen Hughes notes that in the 7th century, Armagh appears to be both episcopal and monastic (2005, 319). The reason for this power shift from episcopal to abbatial authority may lie in the nature itself of these early ecclesiastical sites. As an episcopal see, Armagh would not have the possibility to claim ownership of distant churches as episcopal powers, viewed as territorial, lay within the *túath*, but its abbot could act as the head of a more dispersed monastic *paruchia* (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 179; Charles-Edwards 2000, 244; Hughes 1966, 57-90). As Kathleen Hughes (1966, 83) states:

> The most revolutionary change which some of the early sees underwent occurred … when [the] church tried to follow the example of the monastic confederations and build up a *paruchia* not limited by the narrow territorial boundaries of the old diocese.

Evidence of the early history of Armagh shows that it was not a particularly prominent site; on the contrary, Tírechán and Muirchú even recognise that Downpatrick was a major ecclesiastical site in the time of Patrick's life, and possibly Patrick's burial place (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 173; Bhreathnach 2014, 195). Yet, from the 7th century, Armagh is a major monastery and strives to become the most important ecclesiastical centre of Ireland.

This shift in prominence between Downpatrick and Armagh over the course of two centuries may also be explained by the struggle for dominion between the Ulaid and the Uí Néill, and the subsequent rising power of the Uí Néill dynasty (Bhreathnach 2014, 192-200; Ó Cróinín 2005, 210-215). Until the first half of the 7th century, the Ulaid were the dominant dynasty of the north-eastern part of Ireland; the early cult of Patrick is incidentally associated with that geographical area (Bhreathnach 2014, 195-196). However, from the first half of the 7th century onwards, the King of Tara is from the Uí Néill dynasty, and from that time, the Ulaid's territory decreases, and their area of influence gets limited to the north-eastern edge of Ireland (Bhreathnach 2014, 196). From that moment on, the Uí Néill rise to prominence, along with their allies, the Airgiallas, with Armagh within their area of influence. Over the centuries, Armagh became one of the most powerful religious and political centres in the country (Bhreathnach 2014, 203); this is evidenced by the increase of entries in the *A.U.* from the 8th century, suggesting the presence of scribe in the monastic centre from then on (Hughes 1972, 129-132).

In the early modern period, the town of Armagh was almost completely abandoned, after its destruction by English forces lead by Lord Deputy Mountjoy (Aitchison 1994, 223). During the 17th century, map-maker Richard Bartlett drew a bird's view representation of the town, which shows us not only the possible location of early churches, but also situate a High Cross next to the entrance of the *ráth*, the inner enclosure (ill. 3.16; Aitchison 1994, 218-129; Edwards 1990, 108-109).

Ill. 3.16 View of Armagh city by Richard Bartlett, 1601
In Bhreathnach 2014 pl. 9. This drawing contains several key-points: the spatial connection with Navan Fort is underlined, by the presence of a connecting road; the multivallate structure is clearly visible; the many early churches, in addition to the Cathedral, are visible; one High Cross is represented standing next to the entrance to the second enclosure. © National Library of Ireland

3.3.1.1 Research background

The ecclesiastical centre of Armagh is well documented in multiple written sources, both in the context of its bid for power over the other ecclesiastical sites in Ireland during the 7th century (*Liber Angeli*, Muirchú's *Life of Patrick*), and during its time as primary church of Ireland (*A.U.*, *Tír*). A majority of scholarly analyses focus on Armagh's claim to primacy, and its transformation in the 7th century from episcopal see to mother-monastery (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 172-178; Bhreathnach 2014, 192-213; Hughes 2005, 316-318; Aitchison 1994, 198-210; Hughes 1966, 57-78). The

sources also inform us of the presence of ecclesiastical buildings (e.g. churches, or round tower) that are now lost (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 222-231).

Perhaps the most complete analyses of Armagh, looking at its early history, archaeology and spatial organisation was published in 1994 by Aitchison, who follows the work of Swan (1985) in examining the significance of recurring spatial features at large ecclesiastical sites (1994, 211-233). He also connects Armagh to royal centres in Ireland, especially Navan Fort (Aitchison 1994, 131-197; map 3-14).

3.3.1.2 The site

Armagh shows traces of occupation before and during the Iron Age (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 321; Gaskell Brown and Harper 1984). It may have been originally part of the wider landscape of Navan Fort (*Emain Macha,* the 'twins of Macha'), which was a prominent royal inauguration site, situated only two kilometres west from Armagh (map 3-14). The name Armagh, *Ard Macha,* the 'height of Macha', strengthens this connections further. While there is no evidence for activity at Navan from the early medieval period, it has been suggested that Armagh retains a significant connection with Navan and its ritual landscape (Aitchison 1994, 183; Hughes 1972, 178).

One of the main issues with the early medieval site of Armagh is that its archaeological evidence is rendered complex by its constant occupation in modern times, so little of its medieval architecture remains and potential archaeological deposits are not accessible (Bhreathnach 2014, 204; Aitchison 1994, 218; Edwards 1990, 107-112). Furthermore, only a few excavations have been carried on the site (see Lynn 1988; Gaskell Brown and Harper 1984). The work carried by Gaskell Brown and Harper in 1968 (published in 1984) shows that the town was occupied continuously from the 5th century on, however, the phases of occupation proved difficult to differentiate (1984, 157).

While there is almost no visible medieval remains in Armagh today, its layout is usually believed to retain the original structure of three enclosures (Bhreathnach 2014, 204; ill. 3.17). Archaeological excavations carried on Cathedral Hill in 1968 (published in 1984) revealed a prehistoric v-shaped ditch surrounding the hill, confirming the occupation of the site prior to the foundation of the ecclesiastical

centre. The ditch was filled with rubbish indicating the presence of an early medieval metal workshop (Gaskell Brown and Harper 1984, 117).

Map 3-14 Spatial connection between Armagh and Navan hillfort
Source © Google, additional information by the author

3.3.1.3 Armagh High Crosses: liturgy and cosmology

Today, only the fragments of two crosses remain (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 227; Harbison 1992, 19-20; IR1a), two parts of a cross shaft, assembled now as a single monument but which originally belonged to two separate monuments; and a partly preserved cross coming from the same monument as the upper shaft fragment (Harbison 1992, 19-20). These are now preserved in the western end of the Cathedral. Although the crosses are only preserved in a fragmentary state, the grand dimensions of the original monuments are clearly visible, as assembled, the two fragments measure close to 2.40m (Harbison 1992, 20; IR1a).

From textual evidence, there seem to have been originally at least five High Crosses in Armagh, which would all have been situated within the middle and inner enclosure (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 227). Indeed, in an entry from 1166, the *A.U.* mentions by name the five High Crosses, which seem to be used as landmarks:

> 'Ard Macha was burned … from the Cross of Colum-cille, the two streets to the Cross of Bishop Eogan and from the Cross of Bishop Eogan one of the two streets, up to the Cross of the Door of the Close [*Ráth*] and all the Close with its churches

> – except the monastery of [*SS*] Paul and Peter and a few of the houses besides – and a street towards the Close to the west – namely, from the Cross of [*St*] Sechnall to the Crosses of [*St*] Brigit [*was burned*], except a little.'

The two fragments preserved in the north-western corner of Armagh are said to belong to the so-called 'Market Cross' (IR1a; Edward 1990, 108-109), however Harbison (1992, 20, 337) proposes that they actually come from two different crosses. The history of these monuments can be traced from both written and iconographical sources. Bartlett's drawing shows that at least one High Cross (possibly already re-constructed from the fragments of two crosses) stood at the entrance of the inner enclosure, at the beginning of the 17th century (ill. 3.16) (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 166; Edwards 1990, 109). Later sources mention that this cross has been thrown down twice, at the end of the 17th century and 1813, before being transported into Armagh cathedral in 1916 (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 227; Harbison 1992, 19).

Ill. 3.17 Aerial view of contemporary Armagh. The medieval *tri-vallum* plan is clearly visible
Source © Google Earth, additional information by the author

The location of the Market Cross at the eastern entrance of the inner enclosure, at the top of the modern market place is not coincidental. Indeed, other similar occurrences are found in major ecclesiastical centres, such as Downpatrick (Harbison 2014), Kells, Tuam, and Glendalough (Aitchison 1994, 224), or in smaller monastic sites

(Carrowmore IR5). Furthermore, certain High Crosses also seem to have been connected to marketplaces, underlying their connection to the temporal domain (Edwards 1990, 97). However, recent archaeological research mitigates these associations (Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 166). While the original location of these monuments are often lost, it seems reasonable to suggest that High Crosses played an essential part in the construction of sacred space in early medieval ecclesiastical centres (Aitchison 1994, 224).

Despite the lack of material remains, the annals and the iconographic sources show that the crosses would have been situated either at the gate of the inner enclosure, or inside it. In term of sacral landscape, the crosses would have been integrated into the liturgy of the place. Furthermore, evidence from ecclesiastical sites with crosses possibly *in situ* show that they are sometimes placed next to the entrance of the inner enclosure (e.g. Carrowmore IR5 or Cooley IR7; Ch. 4.1.2). As discussed in chapter 2, this interpretation would be reinforced by the idealised layout of monasteries, as represented in the Book of Mulling (2.3.2.4; ill. 2.6)

Discussion

Similarly to other prominent Irish ecclesiastical centres during the early medieval period, Armagh included a large collection of High Crosses, which may have influenced the style of other sculpture found within its *paruchia* (Harbison 1992, 337; see discussion section 5.2.1.2). However, as Armagh became a modern urban site, few of its medieval remains survive, and its collection of stone sculpture is no exception. A similar situation is observed at Downpatrick for instance, while other major ecclesiastical sites, which never became modern urban centres during later times (such as Clonmacnoise), preserved more of their original structure, and their collections of stone sculpture.

In the case of Armagh, carved stones, and particularly High Crosses, were erected at a time when the place was already strongly established as a major ecclesiastical centre. The same is observed in most early medieval ecclesiastical centres. However, the monuments were raised at a time of consolidation of power by the elite families at the head of these monastic 'Mother-houses', as a tangible representation of power, patronage, and connections between secular elites and ecclesiastical institutions.

3.3.2 Nendrum (IR10)

The evidence for the early monastic site of Nendrum is the opposite of Armagh's. Indeed, while the written sources regarding the site are scarce, the archaeological evidence is abundant. The early history of Nendrum is mostly obscure; the *A.U.* records its foundation by St Mo-Choí, a missionary operating in eastern Ulster in the 5th century (McErlean 2007b, 286 citing Hamlin 1997). Despite a few occurrences in the *A.U.* and *T.L.*, very little is known of the life of St Mo-Choí, yet evidence shows that during the early medieval period, his cult was of some importance (McErlean 2007b, 286-306). Furthermore, archaeological evidence supports a 5th century date for the foundation of Nendrum. Indeed, both show occupation from the first half of the 7th century on, leading to the interpretation that the monastery was indeed founded in the 7th century (McErlean 2007b, 306; Hamlin 2008 [1976], 310-311).

Other than evidence regarding St Mo-Choí, the site of Nendrum is only mentioned in the annals when some of its prominent clerics die from AD 639 onwards (McErlean 2007b, 306). However, Charles-Edwards (2000, 260) shows that Nendrum may have been one of the main ecclesiastical centres of the Ulaid during the 7th century, as the annals record the presence of bishops at the head of the monastic community. Furthermore, Nendrum is, with Armagh, the only site to record five bishops; this furthers the interpretation of Nendrum being an early ecclesiastical site of significance (McErlean 2007b, 309). Despite this, evidence from *A.U.* suggests that the monastic community ceased to exist by the end of the 10th century (McErleans 2007d, 426). The last annalistic entry regarding Nendrum states that the superior of Nendrum was burned in his own house, suggesting the attack of the monastery (*A.U.* 976.5). There is no evidence for occupation at the site for at least two centuries after this (McErlean 2007b, 314-315).

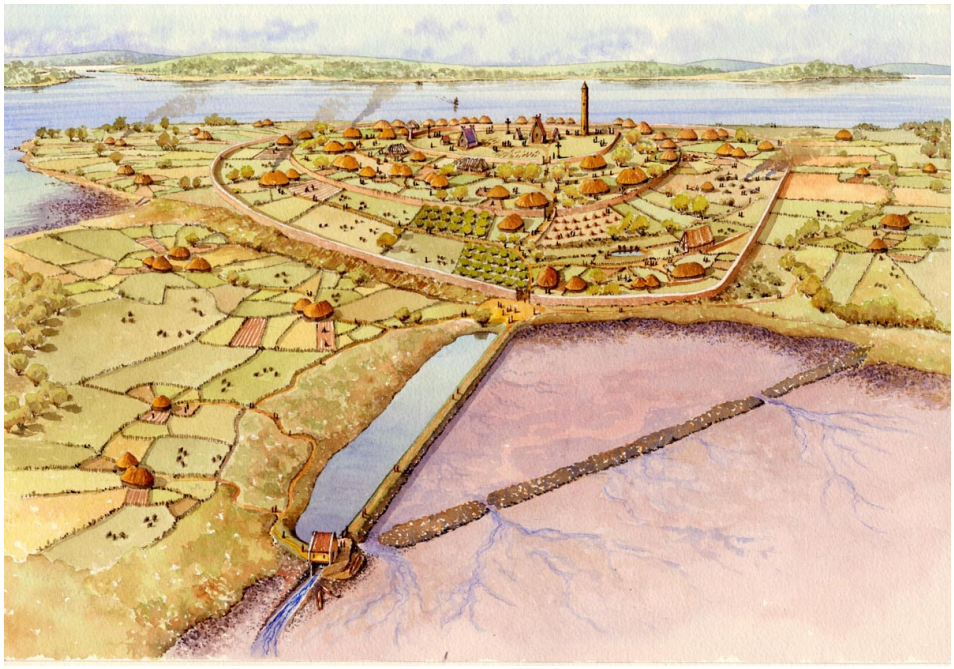
3.3.2.1 Research background

The site was re-identified by William Reeves in 1844 (Reeves, 1902), and underwent extensive excavation from 1922 to 1924, led by H.C. Lawlor (1925). While the excavations were good for their time, the results they produced are difficult to analyse today. In addition, a great deal of restoration was carried out to standing structure at the site (McErlean and Crothers 2007, 8; Edwards 1990, 107; Lawlor, 1925). These restorations particularly affected the collection of stone monuments;

indeed, the carved stones, which were found scattered throughout the inner enclosure, were then built into the walls of the ruined church, while a sundial was crudely reconstructed (McErleans 2007c, 364-365; IR10a).

Map 3-15 Nendrum monastic site
Source © Google, additional information added by the author

Several small-scale excavations have taken place since Lawlor's work (for instance, Charles Thomas in 1954, and Waterman in the 1960s) yet none has been published (McErlean 2007c, 332).



Ill. 3.18 Reconstruction of Nendrum and the 8th century tidal mill, including High Crosses
© Crown Copyright Philip Armstrong/Tom McErlean/NIEA

The understanding of the site improved following the excavation campaigns carried by McErlean and Crothers between 1999 and 2001. These excavations uncovered the remains of two tidal mills, dating respectively from *c.* AD 619 and *c.* AD 789 (McErlean and Brown 2007, 68-76; McErlean and Crothers 2007b, 110). As a result, the site of Nendrum has been completely reassessed and the remains that had been excavated in previous campaigns thoroughly reinterpreted (McErlean and Crothers, 2007; McErlean *et al.* 2002).

3.3.2.2 The site

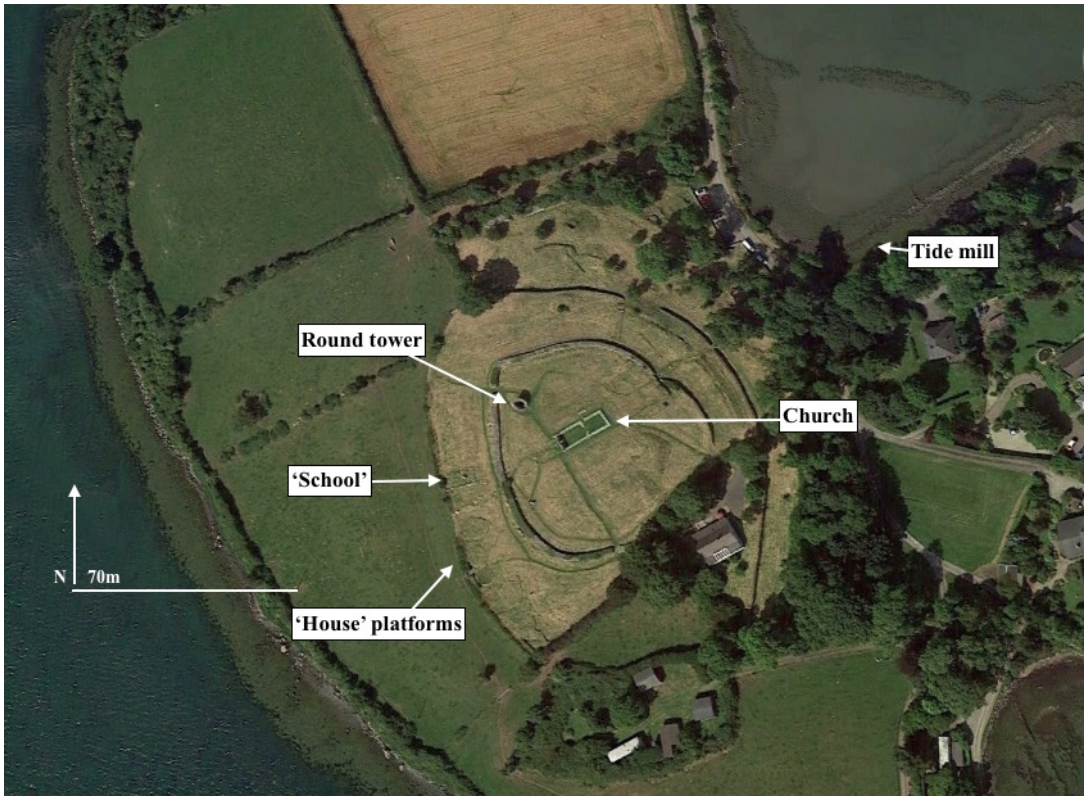
Nendrum monastery is situated of the western shore of Mahee Island, on Strangford Lough (Co. Down) (see map 3-15). A causeway was built in the late 19th century to connect the island to the mainland; until then, the island was cut off at high tide, partially isolating the monastic compound (McErlean 2007a, 8).

The early medieval site is of great significance for two main reasons: despite the restoration by Lawlor in 1922-24, Nendrum is one of the best preserved monastic structures in Ireland; furthermore, the two mills are part of a limited ensembles of tidal mills found in Europe during the early medieval period (McErlean 2007a, 16-22). The presence of the two successive mills on the sites demonstrates that the monastery would have gathered a large community (McErlean 2007a, 2).

Following the early medieval tradition of ecclesiastical spatial organisation already observed at Armagh (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 145-148; Ó Carragáin 2010, 57-60) and described in *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (see 2.3.2.3), oval and concentric walls delineate the living space of the monastic community. Nendrum however represents a rare case of three concentric enclosures (O'Sullivan *et al.* 2014, 146). These three enclosures are still largely visible on the ground, and from an aerial perspective (see ill. 3.19); Lawlor's restorations also partly contribute to their visibility and our understanding of activity within them, and while the outer enclosure would require further excavations to depict its activities precisely, the middle and inner enclosures have been thoroughly researched (McErlean 2007c, 337-390; Lawlor 1925).

The middle enclosure seems to have included the living space of the monastic community, as well as workshops and a possible monastic 'school' or *scriptorium* (McErlean 2007c, 375-378). While the structure of the latter – a rectangular structure – has been heavily restored by Lawlor, rendering difficult to place it in a secure chronological context, the archaeological finds made in that area support the 'school' or *scriptorium* interpretation, including a large number of slate motif pieces, some of them with traces of lettering, iron styli, and short knives (McErlean 2007c, 375-376).

The inner enclosure includes the remains of a stone church, which may be dated to before the 12th century; a large number of burials, dating probably from an early period to the 16th century, showing that the site may have remained a burial ground when it was already abandoned as a monastery; a round tower; a possible *leacht* ('stone shrine'); a sundial, and a large collection of cross-carved recumbent stones (McErlean 2007c, 343-370)



Ill. 3.19 Aerial view of Nendrum monastic site
Source © Google Earth, additional information from the author

3.3.2.3 The stone sculpture

The collection of stone sculpture in Nendrum is, with sixteen examples, the largest in northern Ireland; yet it contains only recumbent cross-carved slabs, and no standing cross or High Cross. The collection, which had been partially illustrated by Lawlor (1925, plate VIII), and discussed by Hamlin (2007 (1976), 313-315) was only fully published by McErlean and Crothers (2007, especially McErlean 2007c, 351-361). The numbering used in this research follows theirs. The collection of cross-carved slabs represents three main cross shapes: the first and most common type, found on eight examples, is a ringless Latin cross, with round hollows at the arm intersections (Ill. 3.20, no. 1; IR10a.1-8); the second type is a simple outline Latin cross, found on one slab (IR10a.9); the third type is a linear cross with forked terminals (Ill. 3.20, no. 10; IR10a.10); the remaining six occurrences consist of simple incised linear crosses, and uncertain forms (IR10a.11-16). The cross style on the slabs no. 1-8 was named the 'Nendrum type' by Hamlin who suggested that they might have been produced at the monastery (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 116, 138).

Almost all monuments were discovered during Lawlor's excavation, either in the inner enclosure, or within the ruined church, while only two were found *in situ*

(McErlean 2007c, 350). These two cross-slabs (IR10a.2-3) were discovered associated with a grave; while the rest of the stones have not been found in their original location, McErlean suggests that they may also be considered grave-markers (2007c, 350).

Ill. 3.20 Nendrum Crosses no. 1 'Nendrum type' and no. 10 linear cross with 'forked' terminals
Pictures © A. Busset

Discussion

While Nendrum presents all the evidence for being a major ecclesiastical site, the absence of High Crosses appears surprising. A possible explanation relates to the dating of the site; although the latest reference to the early medieval site is in AD 976, the site may have been in decline before this date, having flourished between the 7th and the 9th century, which also offers a plausible dating range for the collection of carved stones. The majority of High Crosses in the region were erected at slightly later dates (for instance, Armagh, Arboe, Downpatrick High Crosses have all been dated from the late 9th-10th century; Stalley, pers. comm.).

McErlean refutes the term 'monastic town' for Nendrum, preferring the term of 'monastic village', due to its size, and the lack of secular presence within its compound (2007c, 396). It could be proposed then that the absence of one or several High Crosses on such a site may be determined by its limited interactions with the secular world. While it is not possible to offer an exhaustive understanding of this

question due to the limited selection studied in this research, it is interesting to raise that other monastic sites present a similar profile (see for instance Devenish IR12; White Island IR15; Dull SCO8), while ecclesiastical sites with daily interactions between lay and religious communities might include one or several High Crosses (such as Armagh IR1 or Downpatrick IR9). Furthermore, as discussed by Bhreathnach (2014, 233), certain monasteries, and monastic communities were also destination for pilgrims or repentant, who might seek "a temporary exile from the normal course of life"; as such, monasteries situated on island were particularly prominent places of pilgrimage (Bhreathnach 2014, 232-235).

In that light, the stone sculpture at early ecclesiastical sites may enhance further our appreciation of the nature of these sites. While it is established that High Crosses are not only objects of religious devotion but also representations of power and patronage, it may be possible to view these monuments as a demonstration of strong interactions between secular and religious communities. Marking a contrast with these major ecclesiastical centres, sites which may have a predominantly monastic focus, may not always include major standing carved stones. Interestingly, both Nendrum and Dull (SCO8) include slabs displaying 'rounded armpits' crosses, which have been interpreted as a connection to Iona (4.2.4.1). The hypothesis regarding the 'nature' of ecclesiastical sites needs of course to be tested further at a wider scale, and include parameters such as regional and chronological variation.

Ill. 3.21 Nendrum round tower, church and sundial
Picture © A. Busset

3.3.3 Meigle (SCO13) and St Vigeans (SCO5)

The second part of this section focuses on Meigle and St Vigeans, two major early ecclesiastical sites in Southern Pictland. These two sites may have shared a royal patron in the first half of the 9th century reflected in the variety and quality of their carved stones collection. Along with St Andrews in Fife, these ecclesiastical sites have the largest collections of carved Pictish stones, yet, unlike St Andrews, Meigle and St Vigeans' collections include monuments bearing both Pictish symbols and Christian imagery, while the St Andrews collection is devoid of Pictish symbols. Following the proposed dating of the carved stones, Meigle and St Vigeans seem to have flourished between the end of the 8th and early 10th century. The royal or secular patronage of the two site may also be seen through the fact that, despite their obvious prominence during the 9th century, they both decline and become minor ecclesiastical sites after the 10th century, which may be explained by the shift of power operated in Pictland at the time, and the emergence of the kingdom of Alba (Woolf 2007, 312-313).

Map 3-16 Meigle and St Vigeans
Source: ©Bing, additional information by the author

3.3.3.1 Meigle, an early ecclesiastical site under royal patronage

During the early medieval period, Meigle, today a small village in Perth and Kinross, was a flourishing ecclesiastical site under royal patronage. The most notable remain which attests to this is its large collection of carved stones (SCO13), with other types of evidence, both literary and archaeological, supporting the notion of a major centre.

As discussed in section 2.4.1.3, early Pictish ecclesiastical sites are seldom mentioned in written sources, yet the name of Meigle appears in the *Legend of St Andrews* (Skene 1867, 188), where it is stated:

> Thana filius Dudabrach hoc monumentum scripsit regi Pherath filio Bergeth in *villa Migdele* (emphasis by the author)

This source informs us that the scribe Thana, son of Dudabrach worked in the *villa* of Meigle for King Pherath (or Ferat/Uuard), who according to the King-List, reigned from 839 to 842 (Hall 2014, 25; Clancy 1993, 350). Although the presence of a scribe may suggest that Meigle was a monastery, the term *villa* employed here indicates that Meigle was more likely part of a royal estate (Hall 2014, 25; Ritchie 1995, 4).

Furthermore, evidence for stone-built churches in southern Pictland is significantly rare (RCAHMS 1994, 130); however, Meigle has at least two architectural fragments within its collection, while the only other architectural fragment in Southern Pictland is the arch found at Forteviot (3.2.1.2; SCO10d). The presence of a stone church implies therefore the presence of royal patronage.

Research background

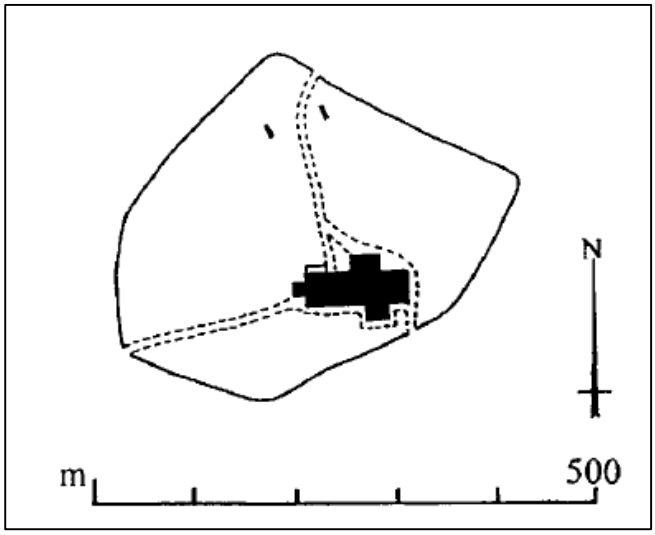
The earliest mention of carved stones in Meigle is found in the *Historia Gentis Scottorum* written by Boece in 1527 (Stuart 1867 cited by Hall 2014, 26). Jervise (1859, 242-245) gives the first overview of the history of the site, including the collection of carved stones. A historiography and description of the monuments is recorded in the *ECMS*, which also gave the monuments their current numbering (*ECMS*, 2, iii, 296-305; 329-340).

In recent years, Meigle has been the object of multiple publications. Initiated by the Royal Commission in 1994, the scholarly discussions have addressed art-historical aspects of the monuments (Goldberg in Clarke *et al.* 2014, 153-160); Henderson and Henderson 2004), but also approached the monuments and the site from a holistic perspective, discussing the historical and landscape context of the place, and the biography of the carved stones (Hall 2014; Ritchie 1995, 1997; RCAHMS 1994, 91, 93-103). Furthermore, two small-scale surveys were conducted in Meigle churchyard in 2011 and 2012; while the first survey did not reveal new information, the second one

located a section of the medieval wall, to the south-west, which was demolished during the 19th century (Cachart 2013, 172; Morris 2011, 155; ill. 3.22).

The site

The location of early medieval Meigle is consistent with other contemporary ecclesiastical sites in that it is situated on a boundary, between two dioceses (Dunkeld and St Andrews) in the middle of Southern Pictland (Hall 2014, 25; RCAHMS 1994, 88). One kilometre north of the site is the confluence between the River Isla and the Dean Water. Although these may not have been major waterways during the early medieval period, the presence of a site close to a confluence or estuary is observed in many cases analysed here (e.g. Aspa löt SCA1; Broby bro SCA5; Carndonagh IR4; Clogher IR17; Aberlemno SCO1; Forteviot SCO10; Driscoll 2009a, 252). Furthermore, the toponymy of the place, from *Mig* ('bog' or 'marsh') points not only to the Pictish origin of the place, but also that the settlement was placed on slightly raised land in an otherwise watery area (Hall 2014, 25; Taylor 2011, 89).



Ill. 3.22 Plan of the church, churchyard and stones in 1865
Source: © A. Ritchie 1995, 4

In addition to its prominent collection of carved stones, Meigle also offers several important archaeological insights (RCAHMS 1994, 91). During the 19th century, two of the largest cross-slabs - Meigle 1 and 2 - were situated on each side of the path to the northern gate (Ritchie 1995, 3M; Jervise 1859, 245; ill 3.22). In his report, Jervise informs us that in 1805, two stone coffins were uncovered at the northern edge of the churchyard. He also suggests that at least one of the stone coffins may have been associated with a cross-slabs (Jervise 1859, 245 reprise by Hall 2014, 18).

The plan of the site reveals that the churchyard wall partially retains the shape of the early ecclesiastical enclosure. Ritchie suggests that the early church may have been situated in the same location as the 18th and 19th century churches, indicating that the original enclosure would have measured approximately 100m in diameter (Ritchie 1995, 3). Although no remain from the early medieval church were uncovered, two fragments of architectural panels (10 and 22, SCO13e), one of which lost in a fire at the church in 1869, suggests that there was indeed an important stone-built structure (Hall 2014, 24; Ritchie 1995, 5).

Another interesting archaeological feature in the churchyard is the burial mound situated north of the church, east of the path. Mark Hall suggests that the mound may be prehistoric in origin, while certainly reused during the Pictish period. Another element supporting a deliberate attempt to connect to the past is the presence of at least one reused cup-marked stone amongst the collection of carved stones (Hall 2014, 18; Meigle 1, SCO13a).

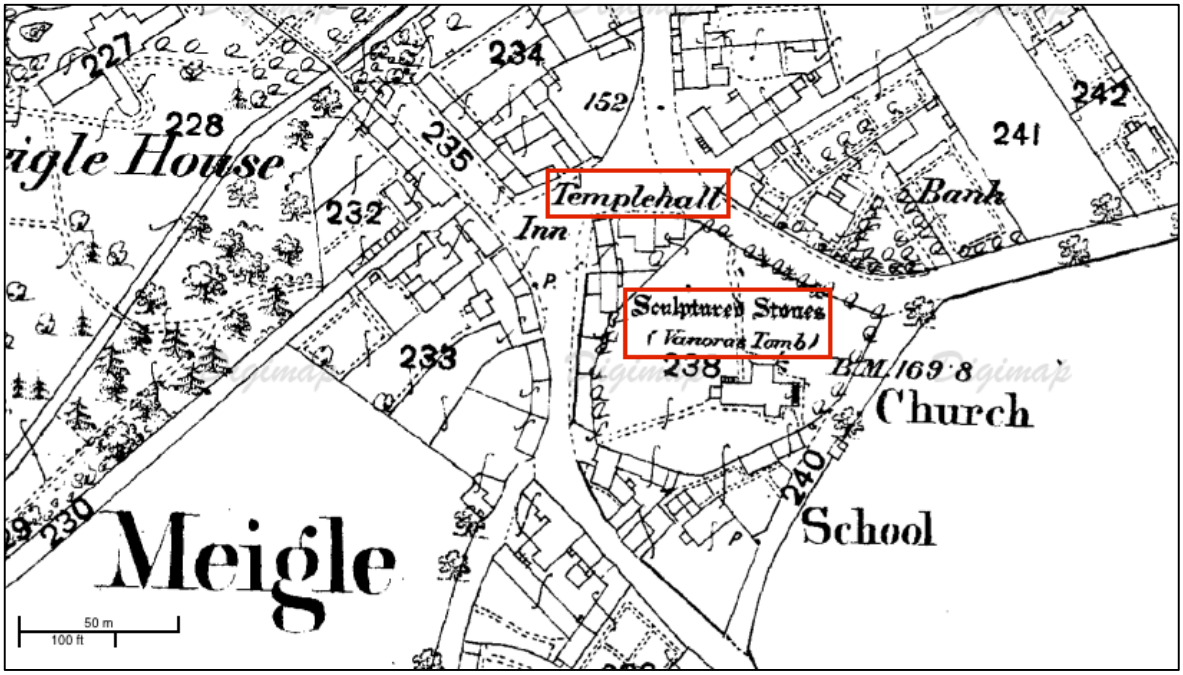
The burial mound retained a strong significance during the medieval period, when it was known as 'Vanora's Mound'. Traditionally associated with the Arthurian legends, 'Vanora's Mound' was interpreted as the grave of Queen Guinevere (Hall 2014, 26-28; Ritchie 1995, 2-3). During the late medieval period, the mound was modified as a memorial to Guinevere, using several Pictish stones to adorn it (ill. 3.23). The 1795 *Statistical Account* states that: "Many other stones, which originally belonged to this monument, have been carried off, or broken in pieces, by the inhabitants of the place" (quoted by Ritchie 1995, 3). This demonstrates that during the late medieval and early modern period, the carved stones retained a distinctive character, which undoubtedly conferred magic to the place, and enhanced local folklore and beliefs.

Ill. 3.23 Meigle 'Artist's impression of the later use of sculpture around Vanora's Mound'
Source: Hall 2014, 28; Drawing © D.M. Hall

The carved stones

Jervise's account gives us precious information on the stones and their location in the 19th century; shortly before the publication of his report, four new stones were found approximately 100 metre north of the church, when "the old corn-kiln of Temple Ha' was being pulled down" (1859, 243; ill. 3.24)

The majority of the carved stones were found within the churchyard, or built into the 18th century church walls, with the exception of the four examples uncovered in Templehall (above). In the 19th century, the collection of carved stones counted 33 monuments or fragments; seven were destroyed in the fire at the church in 1869, while eight others were discovered or re-discovered in the aftermath of this incident (Hall 2014, 15, 32). The 27 carved stones were then transported in the old schoolhouse, next to the church, where they are still displayed today (Ritchie 1997, 9).



Ill. 3.24 Meigle. OS First Edition 1860 (1:10560)
Source: ©Landmark information group Ltd and Crown copyright, additional info. by the author

As stated above, a variety of monuments are represented at Meigle; three cross-slabs of large dimensions (SCO12a, b, c), four recumbent stones, and a fifth one interpreted as a 'hogback' (SCO13d, g), two architectural fragments (SCO13e), and eighteen smaller cross-slabs or fragments of cross-slabs (SCO13f).

The presence of four recumbent stones supports the interpretation of Meigle as a significant burial ground, suitable for royal burial or funerary chapel (Hall 2014, 16, 19-20; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 197-198). This type of monument has indeed been interpreted as a grave marker, although none has been, so far, found directly associated with a body (Henderson and Henderson, 2004, 197-205). An interesting feature, which may be linked to the funerary and ritualistic function of these monuments, is the presence at their head of a small regular slot. These define the recumbent stones as 'composite monuments' (Hall 2014, 22); they have been interpreted as space to insert either an upright cross, in wood or stone, or certain types of reliquary or metalwork (Hall 2014, 22; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 200-201). Furthermore, the four recumbent stones of Meigle are the largest concentration of this type in Pictland, where a total of twelve have been uncovered so far, making Meigle the 'type site' of these recumbent stones (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 198).

The major themes represented on the Meigle stones are damnation and redemption (Hall 2014, 16; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 153-157; Henderson 1996). A violent imagery, including wild or strange animals killing, or threat of imminent death dominates the representations on the stones (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 155). Yet, on each stone, redemption is offered through *Eucharist* imagery, moving around the stone (Henderson 1996, 23). The violent and 'secular' imagery is kept on the sides of the monuments, while the top surfaces seem to elaborate intricate Christian messages (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 199).

Ill. 3.25 Meigle 26
On this side, we see a "square of fret-pattern fenc[ing] off the predatory beasts from the galloping riders (Hendersons 2004, 199). Picture © A. Busset

Other types of imagery featured on the Meigle stones are 'hunt scenes', and the figure of a rider, which are prominently displayed on Pictish stones (SCO13a; SCO13b; SCO13c; SCO13f). These scenes are further discussed in chapter 5 (5.2.1.3); however, it will be noted here that, along with the representation of Pictish symbols on several stones, they have led to interpreting the collection at Meigle as strongly secular (Clarke in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 70-84; Gondek 2006, 132; Ritchie 1995, 4). However, this interpretation has been re-evaluated by Martin Goldberg, who interprets the motif of the hunt scene as a 'Pictish *Adventus*' (Goldberg in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 154-155).

Discussion

The iconographical program visible on several carved stones, not necessarily of the same shape, hints that the spatial organisation of these monuments may have been meticulously managed. Indeed, as stated by the Hendersons (2004, 156), the "battleground between damnation and redemption", with intermediate areas like "Purgatory … depicted with power and subtlety" may indicate that movement within

the sacred house (whether a church, a baptistery, or a funerary chapel) may have been just as important as the movement depicted on the stones; Meigle carved stones thus show a very strong connection to the place they were originally located.

The imagery represented on the Meigle carved stones offers a varied picture of both religious devotion and secular power. Indeed, through the archaeological remains provided not only by the large collection of stones but also by the evidence within the ecclesiastical enclosure, it may be ascertained that a major religious structure built at least partially in stone was present during the early medieval period. The written sources inform us of a possible royal patronage of the place through King Pherath, not only linking it to the early ecclesiastical centre of St Vigeans, but also emphasising its strong connections to secular power. However, the imagery represented on the stones, admirable by their unity and their singularity conveys one major theme of redemption through baptism and *Eucharist*.

3.3.3.2 St Vigeans

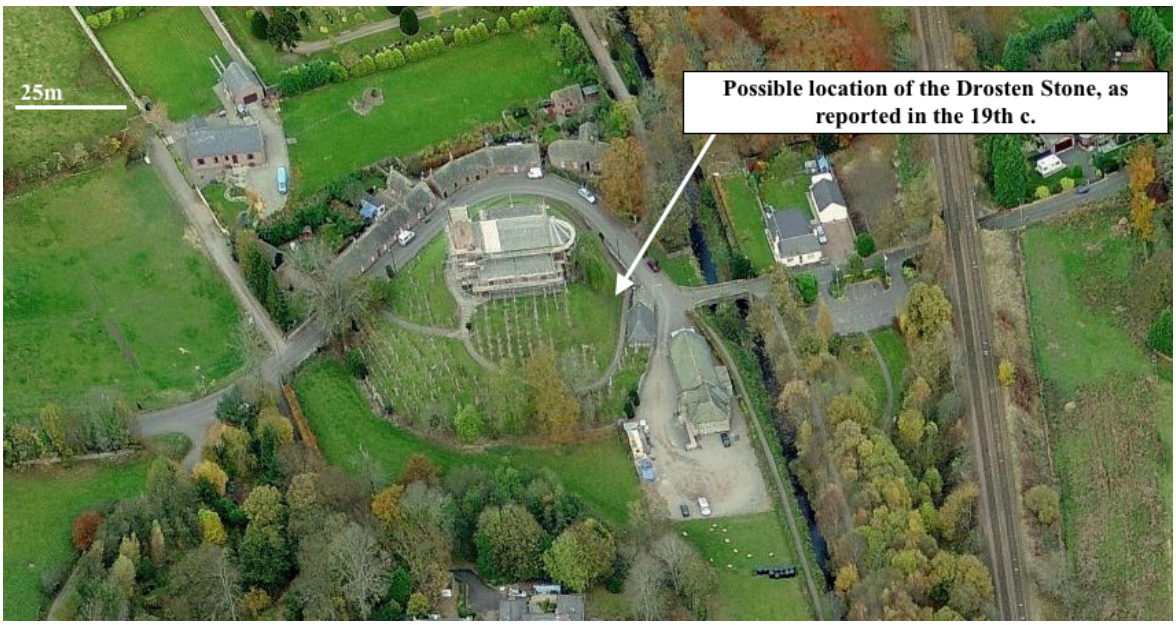
The site of St Vigeans is situated about one kilometre north of the centre of modern Arbroath (map 3-17). The most striking feature when arriving at the site is the massive knoll on which a 19th century church is situated (ill. 3.26). The collection of stones is presently displayed in a museum situated at the bottom of the hill, to the north.

Map 3-17 St Vigeans and Arbroath
Source ©Bing Map, with additional information from the author

Unlike Meigle, the name 'St Vigeans' indicates that the place was dedicated to a saint. The origin of St Vigeans' name may possibly relate to St Fechín, a saint of Irish

descent (Fraser 2009, 336-337; Taylor forthcoming), yet the name may have kept its Pictish form, possibly indicating that the site was in use before the political changes brought by the 9th century (Geddes forthcoming [c]). There is little evidence for an ecclesiastical site prior to the late 8th century at St Vigeans. It has been suggested that the production of most carved stones, along with the naming of St Vigeans may have happened during the early 9th century, possibly in association with the transfer of St Fechín's relics at the ecclesiastical centre (Geddes forthcoming [a, c]; Taylor forthcoming). Similarly to Meigle, St Vigeans seems to have lost its prominence during the 10th century, and in the 12th century, Arbroath became the major ecclesiastical centre, including St Vigeans within its area of influence (Woolf 2007, 314).

The following section focuses on the discussion of the collection at St Vigeans and what is known of the carvings context and functions, while an examination of the 9th century patronage of St Vigeans and an analysis of the Drosten Stone can be found in chapter 5 (5.3.1.4).



Ill. 3.26 Aerial view of St Vigeans from the south
Source © Bing Map, additional information from the author

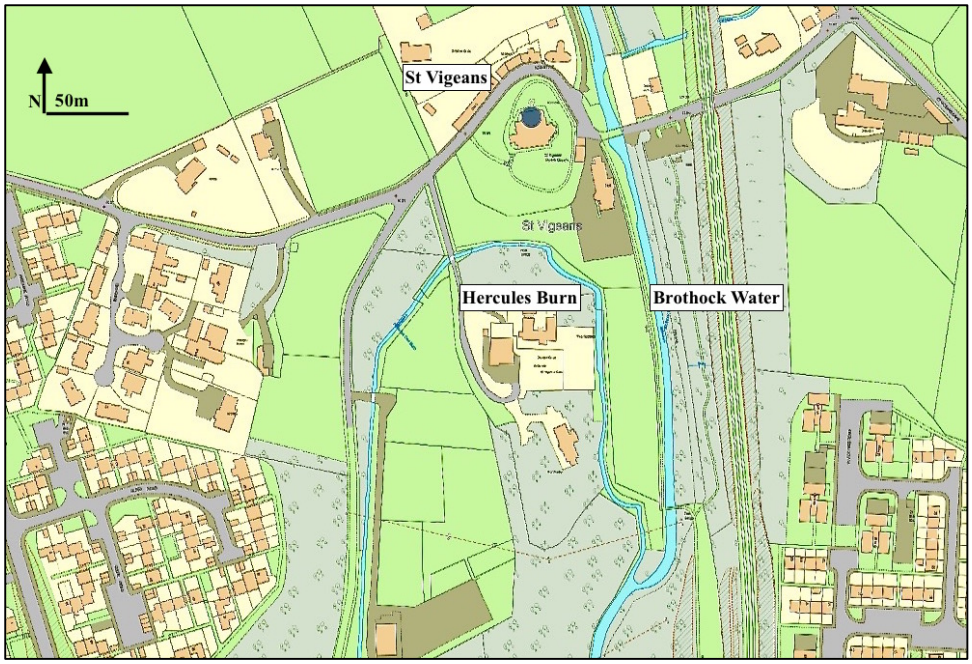
Research background

For the last years, the early ecclesiastical site of St Vigeans has been the focus of a large research project sponsored by Historic Scotland to improve the display and interpretation of the carved stones, including the history of the site, geological, and place-name analysis. The major monuments at the site were thoroughly studied both

in term of imagery and biography, the whole collection was reassessed and a new catalogue produced. The book resulting from this monumental project will be published in 2017.[4]

Prior to this comprehensive study of the site and its collection, the scholarly publications have focused on two main aspects: the art-historical analysis of the carved stones (e.g. Harden 2010, 64-68; Henderson and Henderson 2004; Henderson 1993, 211-216) and discussion of the inscription found on the Drosten Stone (Clancy 1993; Okasha 1985, 43-69). Furthermore, since the *ECMS*, the collection of stones from St Vigeans has not been studied and published comprehensively (Geddes forthcoming [a]; *ECMS*, 2, iii, 234-242, 267-280).

The historiography of St Vigeans' carved stones share many similarities with the collection at Meigle. Indeed, the site attracted the keen interest of 19th century antiquarians, when the stones started to be re-discovered, in the fabric of the church, or built into the walls of neighbouring houses (Duke 1870-72; Laing 1851-54; Chalmers 1848).



Ill. 3.27 The site at St Vigeans
Source © Crown Copyright: HES

[4] I am deeply grateful to Prof. Jane Geddes for giving me access to early versions of this work. Of course, any mistakes or misinterpretations are my own.

The site

St Vigeans is situated on a steeply sided locally prominent hill, at the confluence between the Brothock Water and the Hercules Burn (ill. 3.27). The church is situated on the flattened top of the knoll, while the modern churchyard covers the south and south-western sides of the slope. The bottom of the hill is surrounded by a circular enclosure, which identifies St Vigeans as an early ecclesiastical site (Geddes forthcoming [a]). It is likely the hill was the focus for earlier ritual practices, but, this cannot be confirmed, as no extensive archaeological excavation or survey has been carried on the site.

Despite the large collection of carved stones found in St Vigeans, the evidence for the architectural fragments is not at all clear. According to Geddes, two examples may be part of a stone structure: VIG020, which is carved "with a flat band of animals", and VIG027 which may have been part of a screen or *cancellum* (Geddes forthcoming [c]; ill. 3.28). Both these may support the idea of a stone church present in the 9th century.

Ill. 3.28 VIG020 and VIG027, architectural fragments (?)
Source © Crown Copyright: HES

The carved stones

Most stones and fragments have been uncovered since the mid-19th century. Indeed, while the current assemblage numbers 42 carved stones or fragments (which may represent 35 monuments), Chalmers recorded just four stones in 1848. The majority of the stones were recovered in the 1870s, when some preservation work was carried out with the church (Geddes forthcoming [b]; Harden 2010, 63). Like Meigle, there may be a variety of carved stones, fulfilling a variety of functions, which may be determined by their shape and the imagery they display.

The collection of St Vigeans, similarly to Meigle, contains monumental cross-slabs (VIG001, SCO5a; VIG007, SCO5b); recumbent monuments (VIG008, SCO5c; VIG013; VIG014, SCO5f); possible architectural fragments (VIG020; VIG022, SCO5h); and many smaller and fragmentary cross-slabs, decorated with Pictish symbols, animals, Christian imagery and interlaces (SCO5j). However, no incised symbol stones ('Class I') have been found on either site. Furthermore, other fragments uncovered demonstrate the wider range of sculpture found at St Vigeans, which may indicate a stronger ecclesiastical focus of the site. These include a possible shrine (VIG029, SCO5e), a monumental free-standing cross (VIG009, SCO5i), two cross-marked stones (VIG030; VIG034), and small standing crosses, which may have been used to fit into the slot of recumbent monuments (Geddes forthcoming [c]).

While the original context and location of the stones is mostly lost, there is some evidence that the Drosten Stone (VIG001 SCO5a) may have been situated close to the eastern entrance to the site (ill. 3.26). This evidence is problematic, as Chalmers, who reports it, also gives a contradictory account (1848, Note on Plate I; Geddes forthcoming [b]). However, this first interpretation is enticing, as there are many parallels for carved stones situated at the entrance of ecclesiastical compounds (e.g. Armagh IR1a; Carrowmore IR5a; Cooley IR7a). A tradition of placing cross-slabs at boundaries of ecclesiastical centres has also been demonstrated by Martin Carver at the monastery of Portmahomack (2004; 2008, 110-116). Furthermore, if the Drosten Stone was indeed located there, it would offer a direct comparison to the location of Meigle 1 and 2 (SCO13a, b).

The variety of shapes of monuments informs us that the monuments would have played an important part in organising the liturgical space, and defining the movement of people on the site. Indeed, monuments such as VIG016 (SCO5g), which seem to have been carved on each side, suggest that processions, or people, would have had to move around it (Geddes forthcoming [c]). The 'Drosten Stone' (VIG001 SCO5a) bears an inscription on its side, close to the bottom, implying that people would have had to bend down or kneel to engage with it (Clancy 1993, 346; Higgit, 1986b, 142-243; see 5.3.1.4).

Ill. 3.29 VIG10 (right) and 11 (left)
Picture © A. Busset

While scenes of the hunt and the rider are displayed on several monuments (e.g. VIG001 SCO5a; VIG017; VIG022; VIG25 ill. 3.30), the main focus of the imagery seems to be related to liturgical practices and devotion, represented by depictions of St Paul and St Anthony breaking the bread (e.g. VIG007 SCO5b), or ecclesiastical figures, many bearing the Petrie tonsure, or carrying books and satchels (Geddes forthcoming; VIG010, VIG011, ill. 3.29; VIG017, ill. 3.31). Interestingly, no clear representation of biblical scenes is found.

Ill. 3.30 VIG25
Picture © A. Busset

Ill. 3.31 VIG017 ecclesiastical bearing the Petrie tonsure and carrying a book
Picture © A. Busset

Discussion

The carved stones in St Vigeans embody liturgical and devotional practices through their shape and imagery. They indicate a range of functions, such as memorials and funerary monuments, preaching stations, an altar, and a shrine, constructing the sacred space within the ecclesiastical landscape. Furthermore, despite a few examples that may not be contemporary (such as two cross-marked stones VIG030; VIG034, ill. 3.32), most of the stones seem to have been produced over a defined period of time, during the 9th century, possibly at the occasion of the transfer of St Fechín's relics to St Vigeans (Geddes forthcoming [a, c]; Taylor forthcoming).

Following this new interpretation, it may be suggested that the carved stones would have not only participated in the creation (or re-creation) of the ecclesiastical site of St Vigeans, but they would also have connected the saint to the place, defining the identity of the ecclesiastical site, as well as the space within. In that sense, while the collection of Meigle and St Vigeans share many similarities, their character would have differed profoundly. Meigle where the carved stones revolve around the themes of hell and redemption, seem to have been a church, funerary chapel, and baptistery within a royal estate, within a secular context. St Vigeans on the other hand, would have been a major ecclesiastical site, under secular and possibly royal patronage, but its focus, defined by the type of monuments and their imagery, would have been primarily devotional.

3.3.4 Discussion: Stone monuments on ecclesiastical sites

The last section of this chapter discusses the possible roles and functions of carved stones in connection to the site they were erected in, at four major ecclesiastical centres from Ireland and Scotland. A key issue is that a lot of the analysis and interpretation is rendered difficult by the lack of original context of these monuments. While this problematic is common within the present field of research, it appeared quite strongly in the cases of Armagh, Meigle and St Vigeans. Nevertheless, several similarities occur, one of which is the connections to a prehistoric past, either direct, by reusing a cup-marked stone; or indirect, by being associated to the wider landscape of an ancient place of significance. Another similarity, if we accept antiquarians' reports and written sources to locate early monuments, is that standing stones, such as High Crosses and monumental cross-slabs seem to have all been situated near the entrance to the ecclesiastical compound, or *termann* ('sanctuary') (Ó Cróinín 2017 [1995], 96; Edwards 1990, 164).

Throughout the case studies presented, several contrasts are observed, relating to the type and shape of monuments, the imagery represented, and ultimately, the 'nature' of the site. Indeed, while the monuments recorded in Armagh are principally High Crosses, only recumbent cross-inscribed slabs have been found in Nendrum. This may have been for chronological reasons, but perhaps, it may be connected to the worldly environment within which the High Crosses were erected, conveying messages of protection and patronage from both religious and secular elites (Edwards 1990, 164), while a monastic community located on an island may have been more focused on devotion and ritual practises, and being more removed from the world (Bhreathnach 2014, 234).

The case studies of Meigle and St Vigeans have also demonstrated that their wide and varied collections highlight their prominence as ecclesiastical places during the 9th century, yet, the nature of each site may have differed, as emphasised by the iconographic program displayed on the monuments. Indeed, while St Vigeans is resolutely oriented toward an "active religious engagement" (Geddes forthcoming [c]), while Meigle seems linked to funerary practises and devotions for the (secular) dead.

Furthermore, in the four case studies presented, carved stones were found predominantly at the entrance of the inner enclosure of the ecclesiastical site, within the churchyard, or built into the fabric of the church; they were thus part of the 'topographic grammar' of ecclesiastical sites, and created a sacred cosmology in smaller spaces, focused around the church. Following that interpretation, they would encompass a deeper change in the topography of sacred space, and move closer to the special organisation of the Church during the high medieval period (Lauwers 2013, 326; O'Keeffe 2001, 28-29). Gondek (2006, 128-130) has suggested that from the 8th century, the production of elaborate monuments is strongly connected to the patronage of secular elites of the Church. This may be seen through the large presence of major carved stones at early ecclesiastical sites. It is argued here that the shift of the use of monuments in the landscape towards centralised ecclesiastical places is linked to the process of institutionalisation of the Church. As the Church becomes more prominent, the carved and inscribed stones are brought closer to the ecclesiastical centre. The number of fragments of carved stones uncovered within the fabric of churches may also partially support this view, as in the sacred embedded within the stones is then transferred into the church walls, creating a newly defined and reinforced sacred place.

On each site however, the monuments participate in the creation, or transformation of the place. This may be seen through their defined visual identity, as images of redemption, and commemorations, as well as their possible location in the landscape, delineating space, and guiding liturgical movement.

3.4 Discussion: monuments making places

While the context of early medieval carved stones from Ireland and Scotland is mostly ecclesiastical (within the scope of this research), Scandinavia presents a more nuanced picture; rune stones are built on farm estates, either close to the centre of the domain (e.g. Granby U337 SCA8a), or at its boundaries (Granby U338 SCA8b). As the Church became institutionalised only during the second half of the 12th century in Scandinavia, only a few ecclesiastical sites exist as such during the late Viking Age and early medieval period – when the first rune stones are erected – and are mostly associated with royal power, such as Sigtuna (Brink 2012c [2008], 626-627). However, in Uppland, the tradition of erecting rune stone fades, while a new type of

monument is produced, the *Erskilstuna cists* (runic churchyard monuments, ill. 3.32) at the end of the 11th century (Hagenfeldt and Palm 1996, 61). The tradition of erecting rune stones disappears altogether when the first stone churches are built. In contrast with the Scandinavian case studies, carved stones from Ulster are found almost exclusively on ecclesiastical sites (IR1; IR3-17), or at a cemetery (Kilnasaggart IR2) where it may have been used as 'praying stations' (see 5.3.1.3). In Scotland, the case of Meigle shows that a site containing a collection of stones displaying a strong religious message may not be part of an ecclesiastical centre *per se*. However, these separations remain largely perfunctory, as the stones themselves demonstrate the fervour of the elites that commissioned them.

Regarding the assembly places, several contrasts are observed: Irish and Pictish assembly sites are rarely associated with carved monuments, and if so, the stones belong to a newly settled ecclesiastical centre, installed in proximity to the inauguration or assembly place, as an answer or recuperation of the place, as we have seen in Clogher (Fitzpatrick 2004a; IR17). Contrasting with this, rune stones are found in assembly places. As Aspa löt (SCA1) and Arkils (SCA2) have shown, not only Christian rune stones are erected at secular assembly sites, but also in some cases, these stones participate in the creation of the place. Irish and Pictish assembly sites are often situated close to Prehistoric remains, such as mounds or stone circles (O'Grady 2014, 106-110; Driscoll 2004, 76-81). While Scandinavian sites can be also associated with earlier remains, this is not always the case, as early medieval assembly sites are in some instances clean or new site (Sanmark 2009). In these instances, the rune stone often constitutes the 'foundation' monument.

Judith Jesch (1998, 466) remarked that rune stones are as much, and even more so, monuments for the living than for the dead. Although they are sometimes associated with burials, rune stones are positioned at assembly sites, on farm estates, on roadsides and boundaries; from their positions, they interact with the living, publicly embodying their function(s) associated with their context, while displaying a more private commemoration (Jesch 1998, 466). The same interpretation can be applied to Irish and Scottish monuments, as seen with the Constantine's Cross (SCO10a), and the collections of Meigle (SCO13) and St Vigeans (SCO5). It could be questioned whether recumbent monuments, which may have a more funerary functions, should be included in this statement; however, the analysis of the imagery on Meigle 9, 11, 12

and 26 (SCO13) demonstrate that the reading of the iconographical cycles on recumbent monuments would perfectly fit into this. Whether these images and texts were 'read' at special occasions (on saints' day for instance, or at assemblies), or as part of private devotions of learned secular elites and ecclesiastics, the connection between the monument and its audience would have been central.

In several instances, Pictish and Irish monuments erected by leading elites, demonstrating their power through their connection to the Church, or connecting their power to the Church for spiritual support, as we have seen at Forteviot (SCO10) or Armagh (IR1). Demonstrations of power through ecclesiastical connections is not as clearly prominent in Scandinavian contexts, and is likely a result of the lack of centralisation and hierarchal structure of early Christianity in Scandinavia; deeds were performed by the elite to link themselves to Christianity, but the directionality of power in Scandinavia seems to have flowed from the elites to the Church, and not from the Church to the elites. The elites power was bolstered through these connections, but the network and connections did not hinge on the support of an institutionalised Christianity.

In that sense, the notions of secular and religious centres should not be dismissed entirely, as they seem to be intricately connected to the location of carved stones and rune stones and their spatial agency within the landscape. Indeed, as it has been observed throughout this chapter, rune stones are creating or transforming sacred places within secular estates, either marking their centres, when situated near hall or farmhouse, or delineating their boundaries, sometimes near burial grounds, always close to routeways. Similar conclusions have been made regarding incised symbol stones ('Class I') in Scotland, and ogham stones in Ireland, which were erected between the end of the 4th to the 7th century (Fraser and Halliday 2011, 313-317, McManus 1991, 118-120), while the *Eskilstuna cists* in Scandinavia seem to be more closely comparable with the later Irish and Scottish monuments (Jansson 1987, 162-175). It appears therefore that the progressive centralisation of carved stones within the landscape follows not only the centralisation of power which operated throughout the time period under scrutiny, but moreover, relates to the *institutionalisation* of the Church.

The interrelation between the monument and its place is sometimes reaffirmed by an inscription. In Scandinavia, the act of inscribing flat bedrocks or large boulders with runes undeniably 'draws the location into the discourse' of the monument (Jesch 1998, 472). This is also the case when the place is directly mentioned in the inscription, as seen with Kilnasaggart pillar-stone (IR2), which records the donation of secular land to the Church (Ch. 5, 5.3.1.2). These inscriptions are scarce in both Ulster and Pictland, although imagery may sometimes supplant them, and acts as record of such a donation, as seen for instance on the Forteviot Arch (ill.3.3), or on the Cross of Scriptures in Clonmacnoise (Stalley 2007, 156).

The topography surrounding the monument (when its original location is known) emphasises further this interrelationship. In the case of Constantine's Cross, although excavations conducted on its location were not conclusive (James 2005, 104-105), its situation in the landscape, overlooking Forteviot and Strathearn while directly responding to the presence of the Invermay Cross, on the other side of the valley, suggests Dupplin as its original location (Hall 2011, 138-140). In this instance, we can see the physicality and interrelationships between the two monuments, and their landscape positions where uplands transition into the fertile alluvium of the Strathearn demarcating clearly some past agency, creating a discourse equally as powerful as the inscription on the stone.

Each monument presented in this chapter is encoded with a transformative message, which is active on several levels. The presence itself of a monument transforms a space into a place, as seen at the assembly site of Aspa löt, while it may also reinvent an ancient place of significance, as seen for instance in Clogher. The stone monuments analysed for this research are encoded with sacred (Christian) messages that transcend individuals. Even if they are erected at first as memorials of important individuals – both by commissioning or being commemorated on a monument – the sacredness of the stones outlives the people they commemorate. In that regard, stone monuments actively transform the landscape by fixing it in time and space.

Ill. 3.32 'Eskilstuna cist', Stockholm Historiska Museet
Picture © A. Busset

4 Second theme: Monuments making movement

Early carved and inscribed stones create movement in the landscape; whether they are placed alongside roads or waterways, or because they create movement through processions and liturgical paths, stone monuments are perceived in motion by their audience. This chapter will look at carved stones from two main perspectives: first, monuments that connect places in a wider landscape, through the inscriptions or the imagery they display, to claim or delineate a land, or to connect a site to the patronage of a distant power centre, which may be part of ritual less specifically religious; then, monuments creating liturgical movement, through processional paths, or pilgrimage. Finally, this chapter will discuss monuments marking boundaries and how these may be viewed as liminal places.

4.1 Monuments connecting places

Stone monuments may be erected for many (and multiple) reasons, such as commemorating a person, the act of donation of land, as boundary marker, and as focus for devotional practises. In a commemorative function, they may embody not only the identity of the person or act they commemorate, but also of the patron who commissioned them. These identities may be secular or religious, and the monument erected may fulfil several functions, including serving as a memorial, claiming ownership over land or territory, and establishing a connection to an ecclesiastical or a secular authority that will act as patron or protector. In the following section, I present three case studies of secular patronage from Sweden, Ireland, and Scotland; the Swedish case studies of Estrid and Jarlabanke of the Täby hundred will demonstrate how inscriptions inform us on aspects of ownership, movement and boundaries in a secular context. The second case study, the Inishowen peninsula in Ulster, will then look at how stone monuments connect places to a central authority in a religious context; and lastly, the site of Aberlemno in Scotland will be discussed and elucidated by drawing parallels and comparisons with the previous case studies. I argue that when there is no inscription to inform the reader of the connections between the commissioner(s), the person commemorated, and the place, then elements embodied in carved stones offer clues that function to connect them to distant places in the landscape.

4.1.1 Estrid, a powerful Christian woman of the late Viking Age

For the first case study of this chapter, we will return to the Täby area, and the Jarlabanke family. This case demonstrates how written sources (in this instance, runic inscriptions) enlighten our understanding of power, wealth and patronage held over places by local secular elites. It also brings to light the movements undertaken by these elites for life events (marriages, political events, or pilgrimages), and how they chose to mark the boundaries of their territory, thus showing the extent of their power and authority, both realistic and projected.

This case study will look at Estrid, Jarlabanke's grandmother (see 3.2.3.2), and how the monuments she commissioned connected several estates over a wide area, creating a network of places that likely defined the origin of Jarlabanke's great estate. As we have seen in Chapter 3, it is not unusual to find several rune stones commissioned by the same person; and although Jarlabanke is one of the most prolific patrons of rune stones in Uppland, Estrid commissioned at least five monuments during her lifetime, which is of particular interest given her gender and its corresponding constraints and effects on her agency as a patron within her social station.

4.1.1.1 Historical background given by the inscriptions

Estrid was a very powerful woman in Uppland during the 11th century. Five, possibly six, rune stones mention her directly, and she was closely associated with several prominent members of elite society, who were of great renown in the region of the Lake Vallentuna. Estrid herself was in all probability the grandmother of Jarlabanke, chief of the Täby hundred who claimed to 'own the whole of Täby', but she was also likely the sister-in-law of Inga of Snåttsta, daughter of Gerlög, who erected at least four rune stones in memory of her first husband, and for whom the Hillersjö rune stone, which carries the longest inscription in Uppland, was erected (Fig. 4.a; U 29, SCA11 see chapter 5 for the analysis of Hillersjö).

There are two interpretations regarding the early life of Estrid and her ascendance; the first one, presented by Birgit Sawyer (2000: 138), argues that the father of Estrid could have been 'Jarlabanke senior' from Täby, who would have been the husband of Fastvé (mentioned on the rune stone U150) and the commissioner of all self-

dedicated rune stones (SCA7 & 19; see Fig. 4a1 below). The second interpretation, asserted by Lars Andersson (2010b) states that Estrid was probably born in the first quarter of the 11th century in Snåttsta and was the sister of Ragnfast, and daughter of Sigfast, owners of Snåttsta estate and farm; their three names are mentioned on the Snåttsta & Vreta rune stones (U 329-332, SCA15; Fig. 4a2) erected by Inga of Snåttsta in the memory of her husband Ragnfast. Andersson's theory is supported by the fact that the three rune stones in Snåttsta were carved by the same rune carver, Fot, who made several rune stones commissioned by 'Jarlabanke junior' in Täby (U127, SCA7, 15, 19). It has been also proposed that Estrid was named after the then-queen of the Swedes, Estrid of the Oborites (*circa* 979-1035 AD), who converted to Christianity, along with the king and their children in AD 1008 (Andersson 2010b). Following this interpretation of Estrid of Täby born in Snåttsa into a powerful Christian family, she may have been named after the queen, to affirm the Christian identity of the family (SLM 2015; Andersson 2010a; Andersson 2010b).

Estrid married Östen with whom she lived in Täby, and together they had four sons: Gag, Ingefast, Östen (the younger) and Sven. Gag probably died at a young age, since his parents erected a rune stone in his memory (U 137, SCA5c). When Östen died, his three remaining sons and his wife erected two rune stones and built a bridge and a mound for him (U 135-136, SCA5a-b).

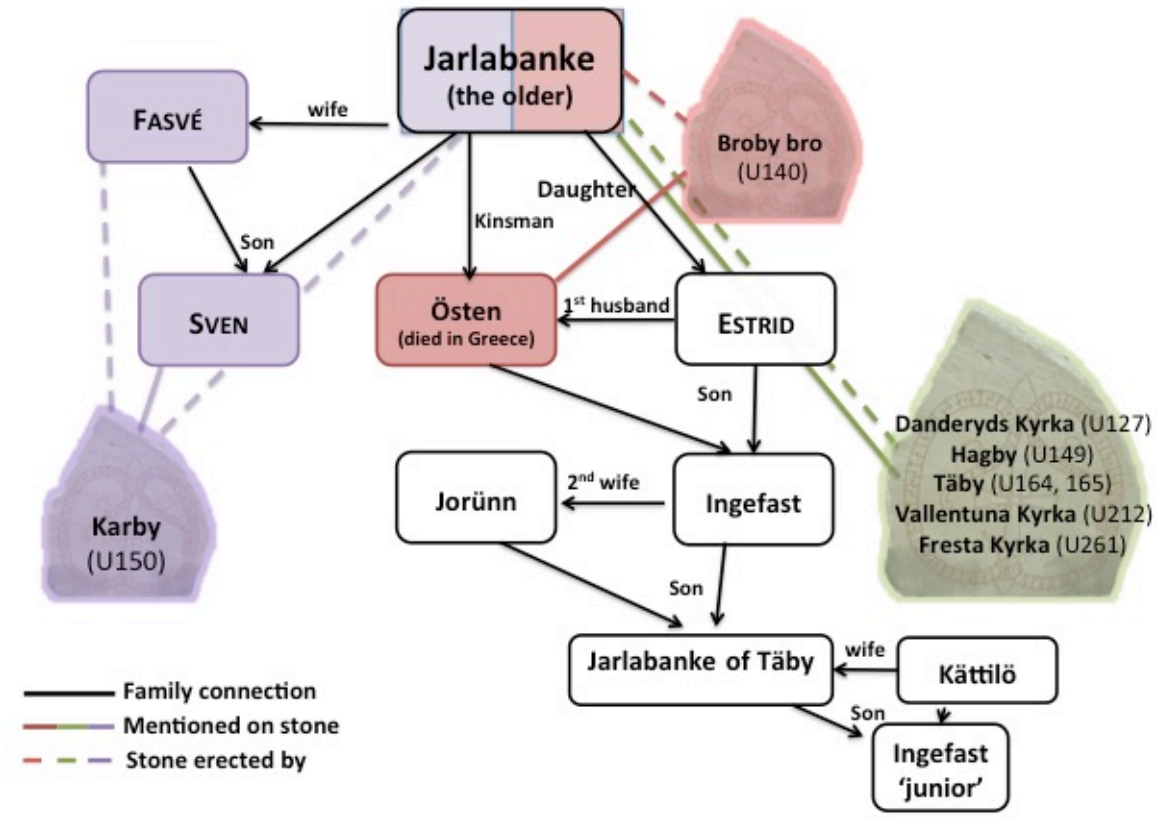


Fig. 4a1 Estrid and her family connections through rune stones, Sawyer version (2000, 138)

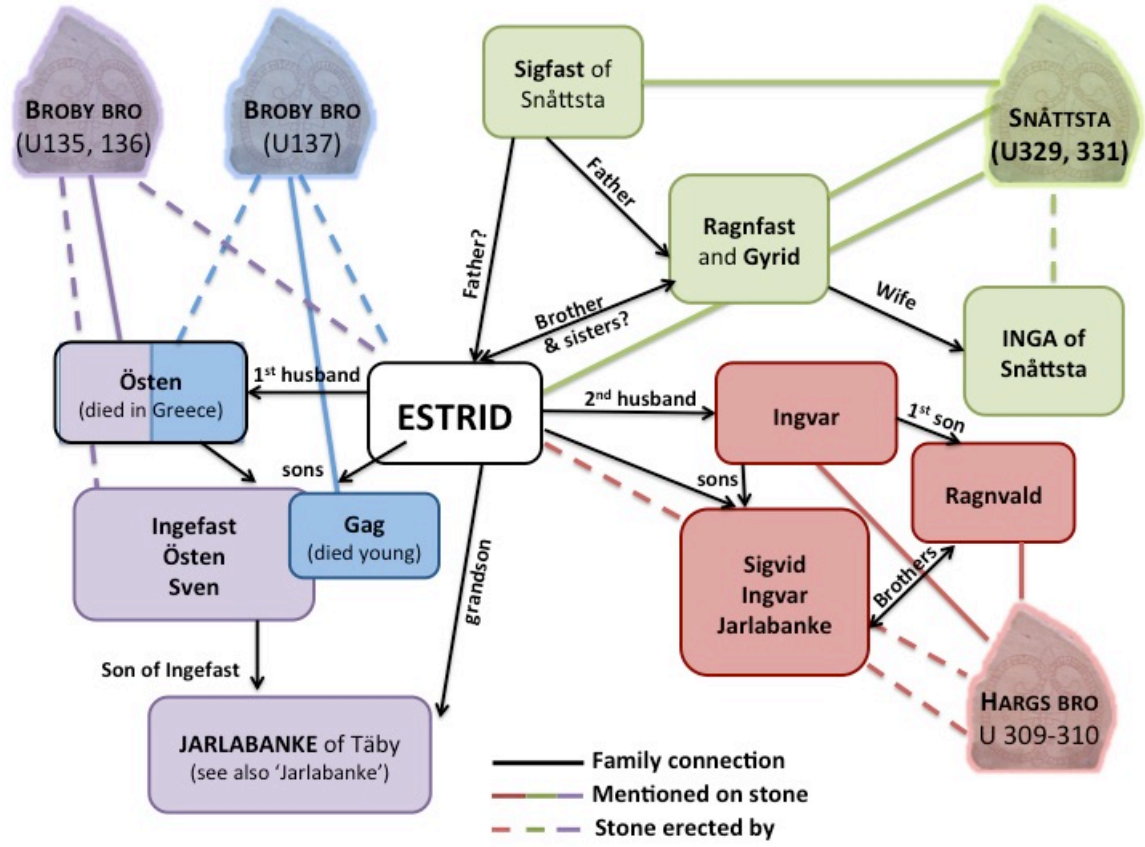
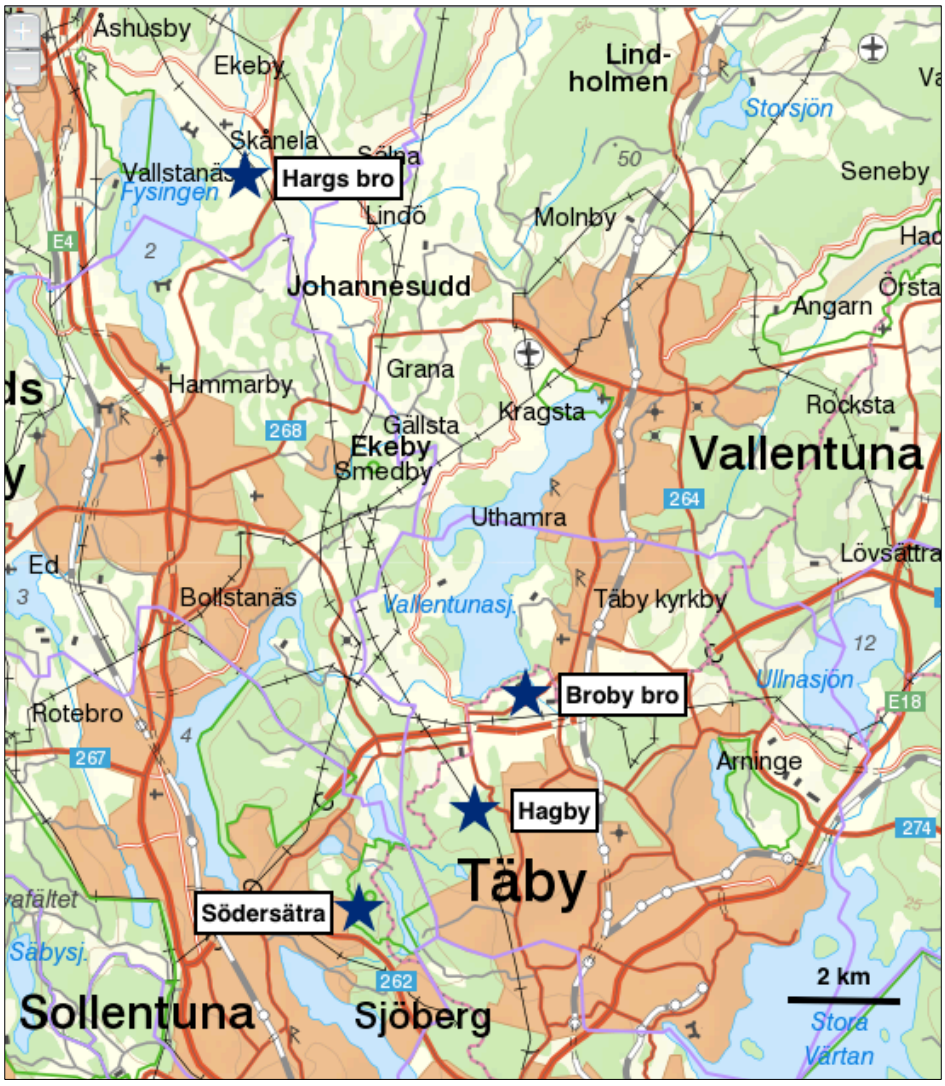


Fig. 4a2 Estrid and her family connections through rune stones, Andersson version (2010a)

After the death of Östen, Estrid remarried to Ingvar, and went to live in Hargs bro in Skånela parish, northwest of the Lake Vallentuna and close to the Snåttsta estate. She had three sons with him: Sigvid, Ingvar (the younger), and Jarlabanke. When Ingvar died, Estrid and their three sons had two rune stones erected in memory of their father and husband. They also dedicated the monument to Ragnvald, who was Ingvar's son, probably born during a first marriage (U 309-310, SCA10); the inscription however does not mention how or when Ingvar and Ragnvald died.



Map 4-1 Locations of rune stones erected by Estrid
© Lantmäteriet; additional information by the author

Two later rune stones, one situated in Hagby, south of Broby bro, and one situated in Södersätra south-west of Lake Vallentuna in Sollentuna parish, provide us with information on the life and movements of Estrid after the death of her second husband; these rune stones are 'shared memorials' erected by several commissioners in the memory of several persons (fig. 4.2; SCA9a; SCA18a; U101, U143). Estrid

erected them in the memory of her first son, Ingefast and her second husband Ingvar. These two rune stones connect Estrid and Jarlabanke, not only because they both commissioned them, but also because Estrid had the stones erected in memory of her son and Jarlabanke in memory of his father, Ingefast.

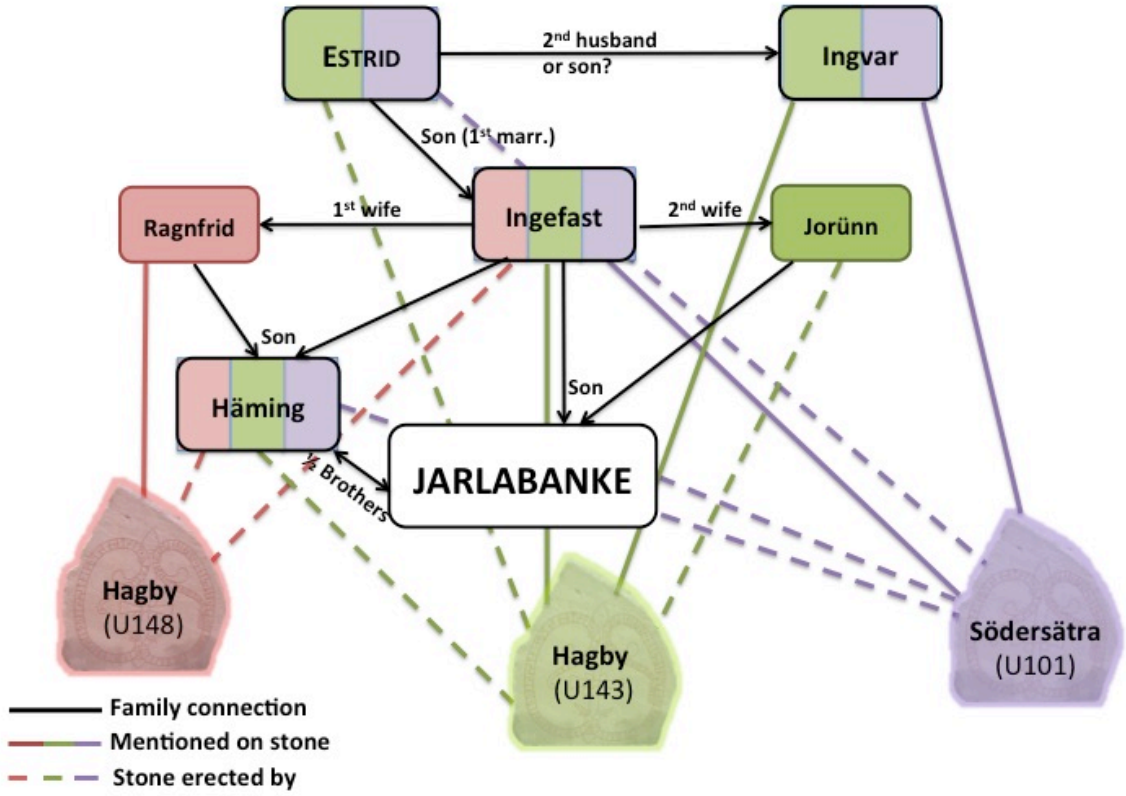


Fig. 4b Estrid and Jarlabanke's connection through rune stones

The end of Estrid's life remains unknown, although a discovery during an excavation on the site of Broby bro in 1995 may suggest that she died or was buried at Broby bro (Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999).

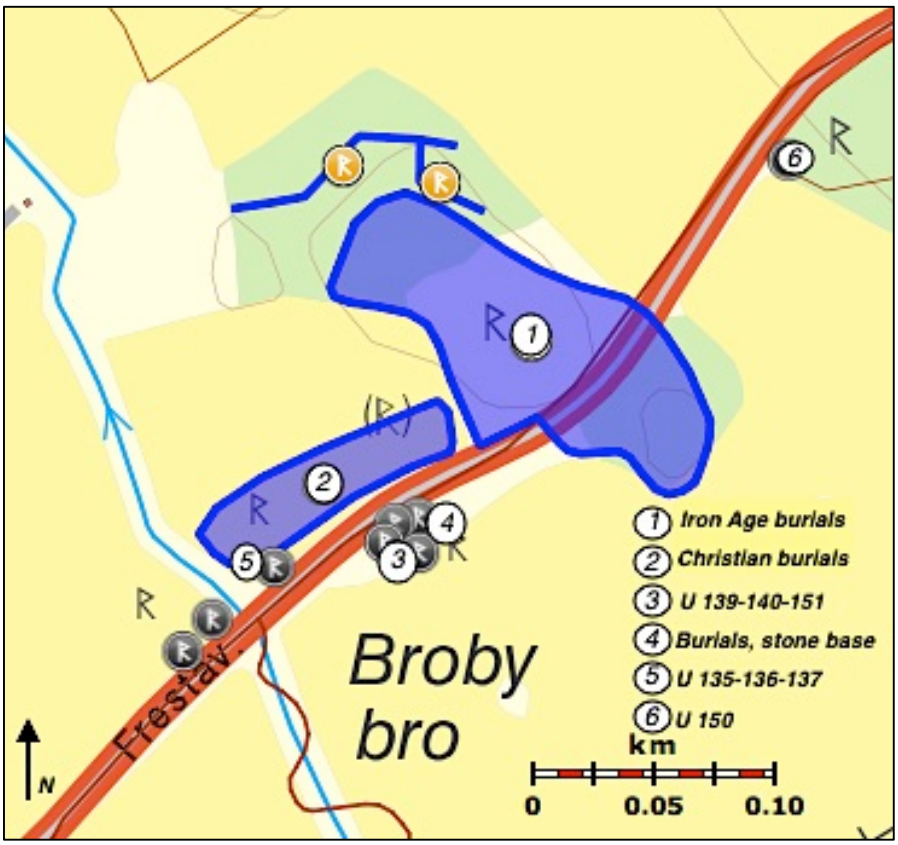
4.1.1.2 The site: Broby bro (SCA5)

Broby bro, situated in Täby parish at the bottom of Lake Vallentuna, is the site associated with Estrid and several major events of her life that is the best archaeologically researched and published (Andersson 2010a; Andersson and Källström 2008; Grön 2008, 314-344; SLM 2015; Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999). The site is also connected to Jarlabanke, and may have marked the southern boundary of his estate (see Ch.3). The site is about 200m long, and archaeological remains are found on both sides of a modern road that has probably been built over

an early road. Broby bro is also situated north of the farm estate of Broby, and at the edge of the estates of Såsta and Karby (see map 4-2).

Map 4-2 Broby bro and the farm estates of Såsta, Broby and Karby in Täby parish
© Lantmäteriet additional information by the author

The site features several burial grounds, from different time periods, and includes at least six rune stones directly linked to the site, as well as two others situated in immediate proximity. It also includes a bridge and a mound (which was razed during recent excavations), both mentioned on a rune stone (see below).



Map 4-3 Broby bro.
© Lantmäteriet, additional keys by the author

4.1.1.3 The burials

Excavations of the burial grounds (map 4-3 no 1) uncovered round and square barrows and several stone settings showing that the western burial ground would have been utilised over multiple periods, from the Neolithic to the late Iron Age (Andersson 2010a; Andersson 2011; Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999; Andrén pers. com.; RAÄ, Täby 36:1;). In 1995, a series of excavations led by Lars Andersson of the Stockholm Läns Museum revealed the presence of three tombs, about 50m west of the prehistoric burial grounds (map 4-3 no 2). The three tombs were oriented east-west, with the heads to the west, and contained the remains of an elderly man, an elderly woman, and of a ten year-old child; all three were interpreted as Christian burials (Andersson 2010a; Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999). The main discovery during that excavation was the tomb of an elderly woman, aged about 75 to 80 years old, who was buried in a casket made from an entire log, along with several objects deposited as grave goods. These grave goods included a knife, a decomposed wooden box (with its lock intact), which contained a small silver ring (probably not a finger ring), three weights and two silver coins (Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999; see Gräslund 2003; 2006c, 161-167 Gräslund 2012 [2008], 639-643 for deposits in

Christian graves). One of the silver coins, minted in Basel (Switzerland), was dated *circa* 1020-1050, giving the tomb a terminus post quem (Andersson 2010a). Following the strong connection between Estrid and Broby bro as shown by the inscriptions on the rune stones, the remains of the elderly woman in the tomb has been interpreted as being Estrid, and the ten year-old child as Gag (Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999; Andersson 2010a).

In May 2013, the University of Stockholm excavated the mound situated south of the road close to the rune stones U 139, 140 and 151 (map 4-3 no 4). Various features were uncovered, including several tombs belonging to different periods and a stone base. The earlier burials did not follow any specific orientation, but the one situated close to the top of the mound, oriented east-west, was interpreted as Christian. The stone base, situated at the north-western edge of the mound, included several deposits of burned wood and vegetation that may have been placed there when the rune stone was first erected (Andrén, pers. com.).

4.1.1.4 The rune stones

Six rune stones still stand today on the site of Broby bro, three probably in, or close to, their original locations (U139, 140, 151, SCA5d-e-f; map 4-3 no 3) and three which were moved when the modern road was built (U135, 136, 137; SCA5a-b-c). The latter three now stand north of the road and west of the Christian burial grounds, close to the river (map 4-3 no 5). The rune stones 139 and 140 are fragmentary, but it is still possible to decipher the name of Jarlabanke on U 140. The stone U 151, which is probably the most recent stone erected in Broby bro, refers to people whose association with Estrid or Jarlabanke is not clearly established (see SCA5f for the inscription and dating).

The other ensemble of rune stones is the one that interests us the most here, as they are directly connected to Estrid. The rune stone U 137 (SCA5c) is probably the oldest of the three, as Estrid and her first husband Östen had it erected in memory of their son Gag; the inscription mentions that they had the 'stones' erected for their son, leading us to believe that there were originally more rune stones and/or standing stones. The two others, U 135 and U 136 (SCA5b-c) are in all probability contemporary. Erected in the memory of Östen, they give precious information on both the site of Broby bro and on the life and events in Estrid and Östen's lives.

The inscription on U 135 states that Ingefast, Östen and Sven had the rune stones raised in memory of their father Östen and also a bridge and a mound built (for the original inscription, SCA5a). The 'bridge' referred to in the inscription is certainly the one crossing the river that marks the western edge of the site, and from which the name of Broby bro is derived ('bro' in Swedish meaning 'bridge'). Since 'Broby' is also the name of the farm situated southwest of the site, and signifies 'the hamlet of the bridge', it is likely that the bridge has always been a major component of this landscape.

The 'mound' mentioned in the inscription has had various interpretations over the years. An 18th-century map represents the rune stones close to an 'old hill' next to the river, which has been interpreted as the mound—though it is not visible anymore (see Ill. 4.1 below). Another interpretation drawn from the 2013 excavations is that the inscription refers to the burial mound situated close to the other ensemble of rune stones. As the excavation has revealed the presence of prehistoric burials, it may be argued that the three brothers decided to re-use the existing monument as a focal point of memorialisation for their deceased father. Following this interpretation, the stone base discovered at the entrance of the mound could be the base of the rune stone U 135, erected in memory of Östen.

Ill. 4.1 Broby bro in 1724.
The text to the bottom left mentions 'rune stones' and 'old hill' (Andersson 2011, 13 © Lantmäteriet)

The stone erected by Estrid, U 136, tell us that Estrid commissioned the rune stones in memory of her husband Östen, who went to Jerusalem and died in Greece. The interpretation of this inscription differs slightly from one transliteration to the other.

The rune stone database translates the inscription as follows: 'Estrid had these stones raised (for) … her husbandman, who attacked Jerusalem and met his end in Greece', offering an interpretation of Östen as a soldier who went on a war campaign to the South and did not come back. Other translations of the inscription give a different account: Andersson and Boije-Backe (1999, 4) remain originally neutral and translated the inscription as '(Östen) went to Jerusalem and died in Greece', and interpreted the rune stones U 135 and 136 as cenotaphs; finally, Sawyer interprets it as a pilgrimage jointly taken by Estrid and Östen, 'Östen died in Greece on his way to Jerusalem' (2000, 139). In the text for the exhibition 'Estrid' held in Stockholm Läns Museum in 2010, Andersson followed the interpretation proposed by Sawyer, and indicated that Estrid and Östen went together on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Östen died on the way back (Andersson 2010a). The Swiss coin discovered in Estrid's tomb might corroborate the latter interpretation, as Basel would be on the medieval route from Scandinavia to the Holy Land.

Ill 4.2: Broby bro, U 135-136-137
Picture © A. Busset

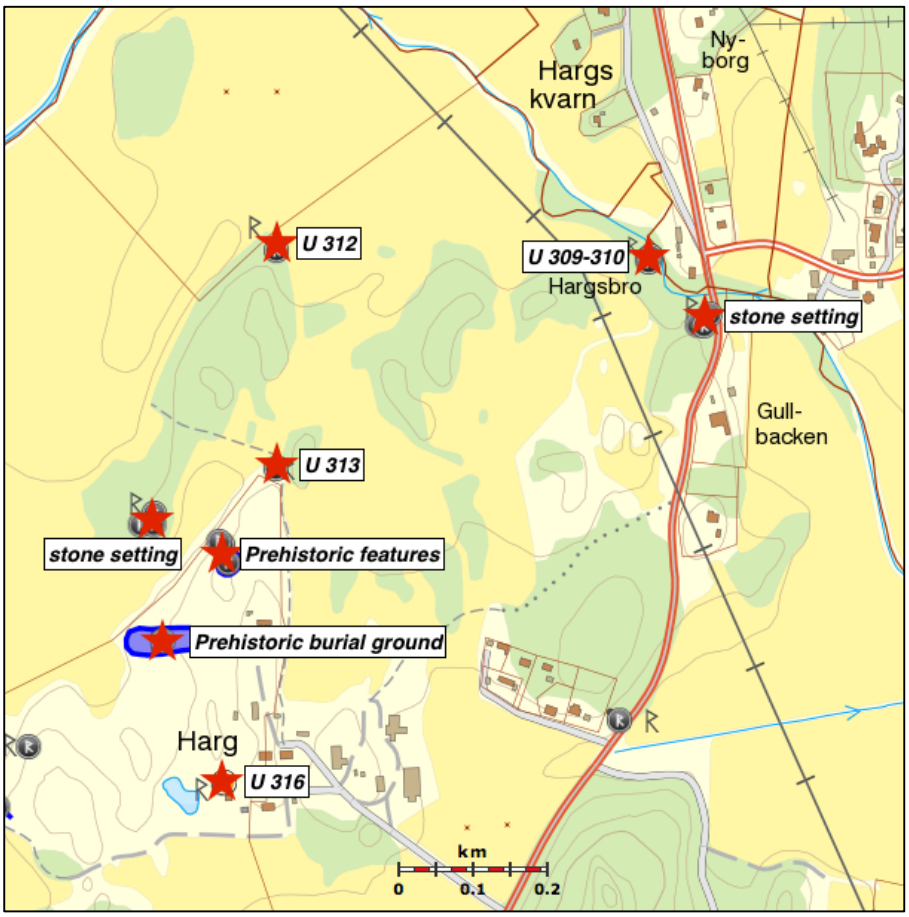
4.1.1.5 Hargs bro (SCA10), Hagby (SCA9) and Södersätra (SCA18)

As presented above, there are at least four other rune stones connected directly to Estrid (map 4-1). Hargs bro (north-west of Vallentuna) contains two: the first, U 309, was erected by Estrid's three sons from her second marriage, Sigvid, Ingvar and

Jarlabanke, in memory of their father Ingvar and their brother, Ragnvald, Ingvar's son from a first marriage (see Fig. 4.a). The second rune stone, U 310 mentions that Estrid had a bridge built for her second husband and his son, connecting the rune stone not only to the name of the place (Hargs bro), but also to the river situated less than 50m north of the stones.

These two inscriptions were incised on flat bedrock outcrops, and therefore still stand in their original locations. A third rune stone (U 311) has been discovered at Hargs bro, but it is of later date (style Pr5) and no connection could be made between the commissioners and Estrid; however, this third stone also mentions the building of a bridge, that may have replaced the earlier one. Together with the standing stones situated 50m south-east, they may have been part of an ensemble forming an alignment bordering the road, as seen in Jarlabanke bro, to mark the boundary of Hargs bro farm estate and/or to mark the location of religious gathering.

In Hargs bro, no burial grounds or settlements have been uncovered that can be directly connected to the rune stones; however 200m west and about 400 to 600m south-west of U 309 and 310 (respectively), are three other rune stones, which are close to several prehistoric burial grounds, two of which mention the building of a bridge and the creation of a 'landmark' (map 4-4). These monuments, erected slightly earlier or contemporaneous to the Hargs bro stones, may have had similar liminal and symbolic functions as the rune stones at Broby bro, while U 309 and U 310 may have had a more political or religious function. They may also have been erected by elites competing for, or sharing the power over the Harg farm estate.

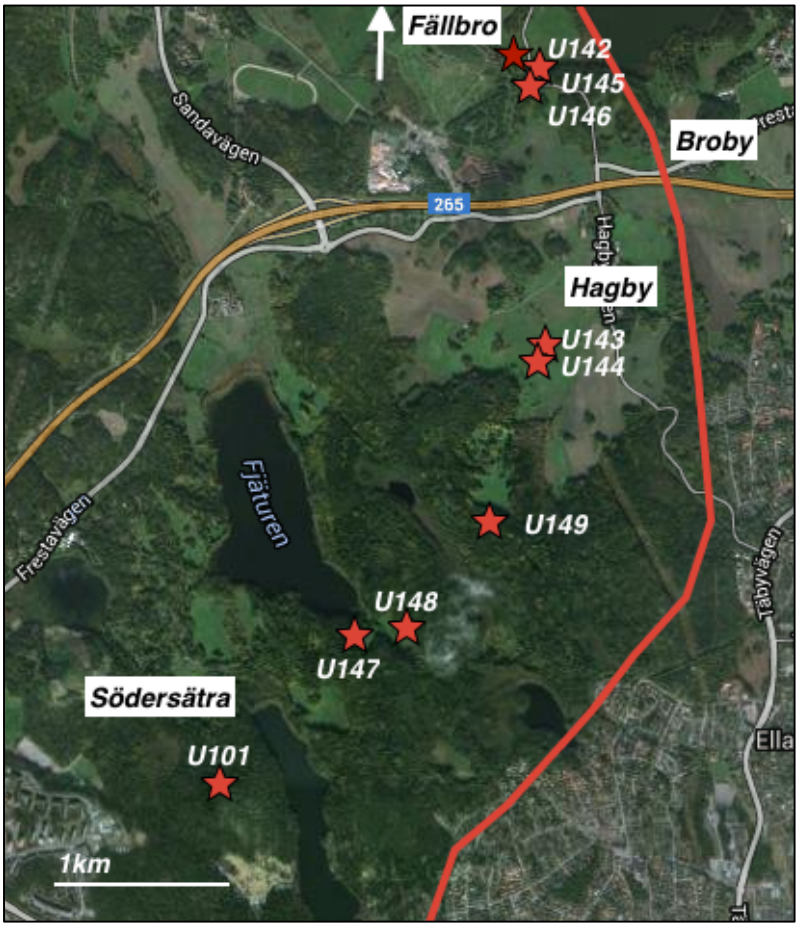


Map 4-4 Harg and Hargs bro
© Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

Hagby (SCA9) and Södersätra (SCA18) are located respectively west and south-west of Vallentuna lake and south of Broby bro, and probably marked the south-western boundary of the Täby estate. The nature of the two sites differs: while at Hagby, the rune stones are situated close to early medieval settlements and burial grounds, probably at the edge of the Hagby farm estate, the rune stone at Södersätra is in an area difficult to access, at the bottom of a small mountain, and close to prehistoric stone settings and Bronze-Age cairns (SCA8 & 18; RAÄ 74:1). Nonetheless, eight runic monuments are recorded in relation to Hagby and Södersätra, which are all positioned along an ancient path crossing fields and a forest (map 4-5). Several of them mention the commissioner 'had the path cleared' and 'had a bridge built' (U 101, U 142, U 143, U 145, U 146, U 149) indicating that this path may have crossed a wetland, and thus underlying the importance of keeping it accessible, and the labour and expression of power inherent in such an act, while ensuring continued access to an ancient sacred place, judging by the wetland context and association with prehistoric monuments.

As presented above, two of the rune stones erected at Hagby (U 143) and Södersätra (U 101) share a similar feature: they have both been commissioned by Estrid and her grandson Jarlabanke (SCA9; SCA18). Therefore, these two runic monuments not only create a connection through *space*, but also a connection in *time*, establishing and affirming the 'handover' of the land from Estrid to Jarlabanke. It has also been suggested that the rune stone U 147, situated close to Södersätra, was erected jointly by Jórunn and Estrid, as it is dedicated to Ingefast and Ingvar; however, it cannot be verified, as a section of the inscription is missing (SCA9; Andersson 2011; Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999). These rune stones have been interpreted as monuments erected by Estrid later in her life, suggesting that she may have moved back to Täby after the death of her second husband.

Although the information on the three other sites presented in this section is scarce in comparison to Broby bro, they all share one common element: the mention of bridges and/or roads in their inscriptions. Each stone, by its location, is a roadside monument meant to be seen at close range by travellers and locals to mark a boundary, or to be used as gathering place for prayers; all are linked to the notion of passage, their inscription directly connecting them to a road and/or a river.



Map 4-5 Hagby and Södersätra rune stones
Estrid and Jarlabanke's rune stones are U 101, 143, and 149. The modern Täby boundary indicated in red © DigiMap Google, additional information by the author

4.1.1.6 Discussion of *Estrid* case study

The sites linked by the rune stones commissioned by Estrid vary in nature. Broby bro is probably the most complex site of the group: a sacred burial ground, it was in use over long periods of time and includes burials that are both pagan and Christian; it also marks the boundary between the three farm estates of Såsta to the west, Broby, and Karby to the east (see map 4-1). The site is therefore charged symbolically, as it occupies the liminal place between the land of the living and the land of the dead.

The toponymy may also inform us of the nature of this site (and others): the suffix '-by' in Swedish can be translated as 'hamlet' and often refers to farm estates. In the cases presented above, the archaeological remains have demonstrated that at places whose name includes '-by', the rune stones are found close to settlements, burial grounds and roads and may have had several functions; they are sometimes placed at the centre of a farm estate, but more often at the edges of it (Ljung 2009, 600; Andrén 1999; 2013, 31-32). In the latter case, they would not only function as estate

boundaries, but may also be charged in some instances with a symbolic meaning, by creating a liminal place between sacred and secular worlds (Andrén 1999).

The stones erected between Fällbro, Hagby and Södersätra (map 4-5) are aligned with an early routeway that probably marked the south-western boundary of Täby estate. Andersson and Boije-Backe (1999, 17) propose that the creation of road networks were an important part of the political and religious reorganisation of Scandinavian society about AD 1000; the erection of the rune stones and clearing of paths would therefore coincide with the construction of churches, to render them more accessible.

Regarding the symbolic aspect of these stones as located on boundaries, the building of bridges seems also to be closely associated with the Christian identity of the commissioners; as Gräslund (2003, 271) explains: 'To build a bridge was an act comparable to donating land or money to churches and monasteries, giving alms to the poor, taking part in crusades, etc. The service in return by the Church was to offer prayers for the deceased's soul and/or a promise of absolution'. Sawyer (2000, 134) has also demonstrated that rune stones mentioning roads and bridges tend to be earlier in date (first half of the 11th century), and therefore would have been erected by newly Christianised elite, affirming their identity.

In conclusion, the movement mapped out by the rune stones associated with Estrid create movement and also reflect it. This can be observed on several levels: on a small level, the *inscriptions* mention roads and bridges, as means of movement and connection between places; they also mention travels and/or pilgrimage, connecting places in a wider perspective, such as Broby bro with Jerusalem, and Greece; on a medium level, the *landscapes* within which these monuments were erected, close to rivers, next to roads, echo the information offered by the inscriptions. This is particularly relevant when people interacting with the rune stones would not have the ability to read them: the landscape and features directly visible from the stone would 'speak for themselves' and connect themselves, or be connected to, the stone monument(s). Finally, on a large-scale level, each site presented above is related to one person, Estrid, and places her in locations over 20 kilometres apart, creating a map of her movement, travels and life, once again through space and time.

On a general level, this case study is a perfect example of how it is possible to recreate movement in the landscape when archaeological data, context and inscription are accessible and complete. Irish and Pictish case studies may not offer such a complete picture, however, the Scandinavian example offers a model of how some monuments were used in a broad landscape, over great distances.

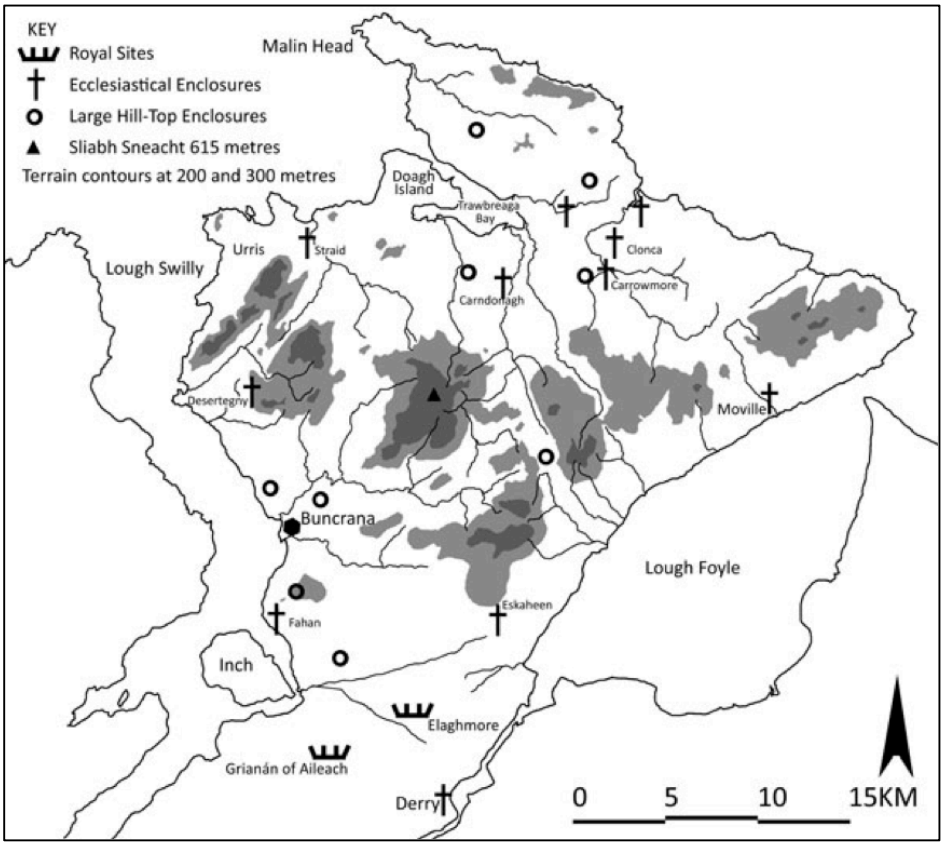
Ill 4.3 Estrid, reconstruction by Oscar Nilsson
CC:By-nc-nd ©Stockholm läns museum 2010. Photograph: Elisabeth Boogh

4.1.2 The kingdom of Cenél nÉogain and the cult of Saint Patrick

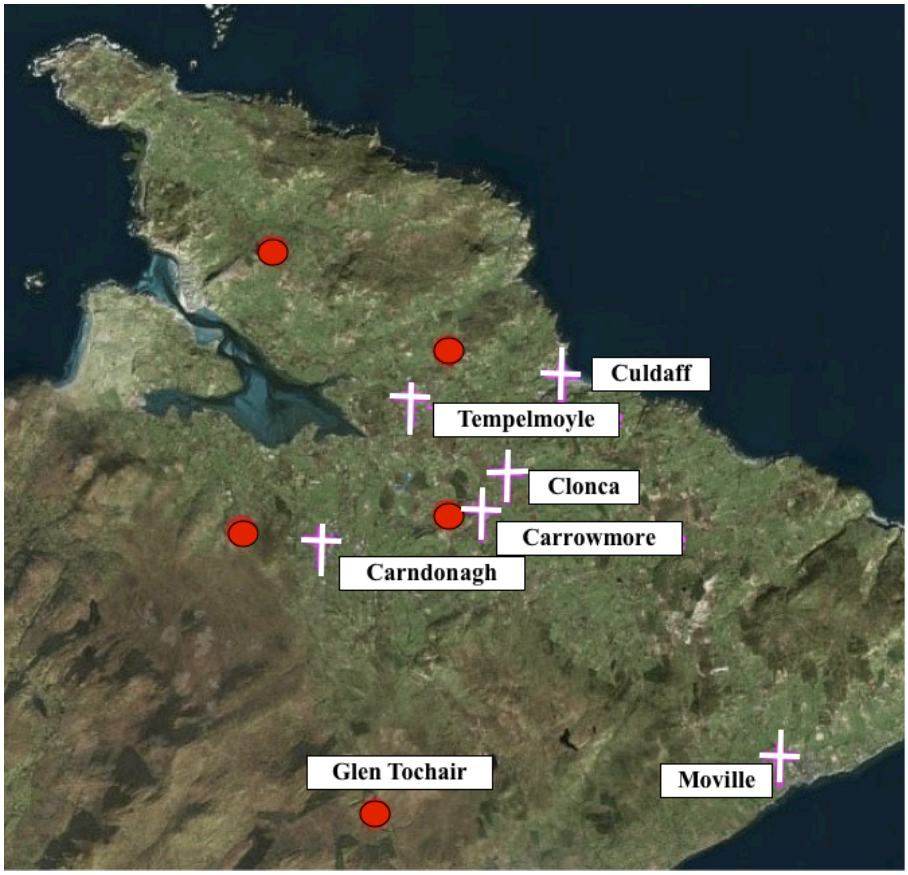
The second case study of this chapter is the Inishowen peninsula in the north of Ireland. This case study will look at carved stones, primarily High Crosses, in ecclesiastical contexts, and how they create a coherent ensemble – even with their stylistic disparities – in regard to a possible common patronage of the diocese of Armagh, serving to contrast these sites with other early ecclesiastical sites of the peninsula, which do not include carved stones.

The Inishowen peninsula is set between Lough Swilly to the west and Lough Foyle to the east, at the northern point of Ulster. At its centre, the mountain of Slieve Snaght rises to 615m above sea level, and marks the southern edge of the region this section will focus on. Several large stone enclosures on hilltops within the study area, possibly used throughout the Iron Age and early medieval period, mark the locations of secular power centres (O'Brien and Adams, forthcoming; maps 4-6 and 4-7).

Ten early ecclesiastical sites are found in this region, five of which contain stone sculpture (Carndonagh, Carrowmore, Clonca, Cooley and Fahan, map 4-6). This section will examine the first three, as these sites are situated in Magh Tóchuir, the northern plain of Ulster, and the High Cross at Cooley, Moville. Magh Tóchuir constitutes a "'cultural coreland', that is, [a] land used and warmed by cultivation again and again over long periods and which, in the early medieval era, emerged as a small economic and political unit in its own right' (O'Brien and Adams 2016, 160); this possibly defines that area as separated from the southern part of the peninsula, which is also divided by higher grounds (map 4-4). These sites form the centre of a research project lead by the Bernician Studies Group (BSG), from the University of Newcastle, which has been carrying out geophysical surveys and excavations on these early ecclesiastical sites since 2012 (O'Brien and Adams 2014a; O'Brien and Adams 2014b; O'Brien and Adams 2016)



Map 4-6 General map of early medieval sites of Inishowen
© O'Brien and Adams 2016, 161



Map 4-7 the land of Magh Tochúir
Principal ecclesiastical sites (white) and large stone enclosures on hilltops or hill-slopes (red) identified as local secular power centres (after O'Brien and Adams 2014, 3)

From the 5th century onwards, Inishowen forms the centre of the kingdom of Cenél n'Éogain, which would become, after its expansion during the 7th and 8th centuries, one of the dominant entities in the region (Lacey 2006; O'Brien and Adams 2016, 160-164). At the time the High Crosses were erected, from the end of the 8th century, the royal power centre of the Cenél nÉogain was situated at Grianán of Aileach in the south-western extremity of the peninsula (map 4-6). Some of the early ecclesiastical sites in Inishowen may have been founded as early as the 5th century; however, the erection of High Crosses happened later, and may be the result of these sites placing themselves under the patronage of major ecclesiastic centres, such as Armagh, Clonmacnoise or Kildare.

As we shall see (as with many places in Ireland), the cult of St Patrick and the locations linked to it are still widely revered today as destinations of pilgrimage or on holy days. In many cases, those places are known and visited locally, and sometimes on much larger, national and international scales. The local traditions and beliefs are also clearly respected and known by a large part of the population, as they are still subjects of popular devotional publications (Beattie 1994). Although the traditions

linked to the cult of saints have changed over time, and sometimes the original saint revered in a place has been 'replaced' by more prominent figures (such as Columba or Patrick), the popular knowledge and folklore about them can inform us as to the practices linked to specific places. When place-names and archaeological remains corroborate popular local knowledge, it may be a sign of survivals of early cult practices (Christian or pre-Christian) preserved into the modern period.

4.1.2.1 Carndonagh (IR4)

Carndonagh (*Domnach Mor Magh Tòchuir* 'mother church of the plain of Tòchuir'), IR4) is one of the main ecclesiastical centres of the Cenél n'Éogain, and home of the largest collection of early medieval carved stones in Inishowen. Although traditionally placed within Columba's area of influence, an account of Tírechán in the Book of Armagh mentions that St Patrick founded this site (Bieler and Kelly 1979, 161). Whether this claim is legitimate or not, Charles-Edwards (2002, 410) and Lacey, (2008, 342) support it by mentioning a possible alliance between the Cenél nÉogain and the Church of Armagh in the 730s. The High Cross erected on that site, St Patrick's Cross, may be a further indication of this alliance. Carndonagh then remained under Patrician patronage throughout the early medieval period (Lacey 2008, 342; Newman and Walsh 2007, 167-168).

The church itself is situated on the eastern slope of a hill, marking the north-western edge of the town (map 4-8). About 200m south-east of the churchyard, is a site called "Labby Patrick", that is traditionally believed to be a holy well linked to the cult of St Patrick. Although its origin is unknown, it is recorded on the OS map of 1865 (Lacey 1983, 249). The site is still believed today to be a source of cures (Beattie, 1994, 29-33). To the west, at the bottom of the hill runs the Glentogher River, which marks the edge of the town, and serves as its western boundary. The site thus occupies a liminal position within the modern landscape, with river and rising ground to the west serving as a backdrop to the ecclesiastical site, and the rest of the town to the east.

Map 4-8 Topographical map of Carndonagh
The liminal position of the church and stones is clearly visible, at the edge of higher grounds rising to the west. © Google, additional information by the author.

Map 4-9 Carndonagh
© Google, additional information by the author

Two groups of early medieval carved monuments are found in Carndonagh (dat. IR4). The first group, in the churchyard, consists of a rectangular piece of carved stone and a cross-slab known as the "Marigold Stone". The rectangular piece has been traditionally interpreted as a lintel (Newman & Walsh 2007, 167; Lacey 1983, 249); however, recent analysis proposes that it may in fact be the shaft of a High Cross (O'Brien, pers. comm.). The "Marigold Stone" is named after the unique marigold design it carries on its west face (ill. 4.4). It is placed in the churchyard, in or near its original location.

Ill. 4.4 the Marigold stone
Picture © A. Busset

The second group stands outside of the churchyard, to the north-east, under a modern shelter, and is composed of a High Cross known as 'St Patrick's Cross', and two small pillars placed on each side of the cross. None of these stones stand in their original location, although according to Lacey and Beattie, they originally stood across the road, 20 metres from their current location (Lacey 1983, 249; Beattie 1994, 32). Newman and Walsh suggest that the four non-architectural pieces of stone sculpture may be "broadly contemporary" (2007, 167). There is also a bullaun stone, built in the south wall of the churchyard. The exact function of these stones is unknown; it has been argued that they may have been used as mortars (Ó Carragáin 2010, 199), or fonts, and may have possibly been part of early Christian rituals associated with pilgrimages (Harbison 1991, 224). The name 'bullaun' is borrowed from the English 'bowl'. They are usually natural boulders in which a round cavity of various dimensions is carved (Harbison 1991, 223-228). Some round cavities are also found carved on the base of High Crosses (ill. 4.22; Cooley IR7), or on boulders, sometimes with a carved cross (ill. 4.23; Kilnasaggart IR2, Banagher IR3, Carrowmore IR5). Harbison reports that they are associated with healing power in traditional beliefs (1991, 223-228). The carved stones and the bullaun stone are the only remains of the early medieval church. The current fieldwork and geophysical survey undertaken by the BSG aims to delineate the early medieval precinct boundaries (O'Brien and Adams 2014b).

St Patrick's Cross is unusually decorated (Harbison 1992, 32-33). The crucifixion scene is represented on the shaft instead of the head, the latter being decorated with interlace with pointed terminals (IR4). The dating for this monument ranges between the 9th or 10th c. (Halpin and Newman 2006; Edwards 1990, 163). Brian Lacey, following his argument that the Cenél nÉogain and Armagh formed an alliance during the 8th century, proposes that the cross may have been commissioned on this occasion (Lacey 2008, 342).

Ill. 4.5 St Patrick's Cross
Picture © A. Busset

The two pillars are even more unusual, as their parallel is only found in a few instances (such as in Killadeas and White Island, co. Fermanagh; IR13 & 15). They have been interpreted as potential boundary markers of the early ecclesiastical precinct boundaries; thus, they would have enhanced the liminality of the site itself in the landscape, located at the edge of higher grounds rising to the west. The boundaries are also emphasised by the presence of watercourses. Furthermore, they may have been part of a processional way (Lacey 1983, 249-251). The significance of the carved figures is discussed below (4.3.1).

Ill. 4.6 the carved pillars at Carndonagh
Picture © A. Busset

4.1.2.2 Carrowmore (IR5)

The early medieval site of Carrowmore is situated about four kilometres to the east of Carndonagh (IR5, maps 4-4 and 4-5). It has been identified as the early monastery named Both Chonais founded by St Comhgall between the 7th and the 8th century (O'Brien and Adams 2016, 162, 167; Lacey 1983, 248; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 30). Gwynn and Hadcock mention a foundation by Conas, second husband of St Patrick's sister, Dareca, but it seems likely that it has been confused with the modern Binnion, Parish of Clonmany, in the north-western part of the Inishowen peninsula (1970, 30).

Ill 4.7 Carrowmore east High Cross
Picture © A. Busset

The site consists of two High Crosses situated on both sides of a modern road, an abandoned burial ground of rectangular shape to the west, and a large cross-incised bullaun stone and possible holy well in a field to the east. The geophysical survey carried by the Bernician Studies Group in Summer 2012 has uncovered two circular enclosures, showing that the west cross is situated inside both enclosures, almost at the centre of the inner precinct, and the east cross stands outside of what has been interpreted as the main entrance of the compound (O'Brien and Adams 2014b, 4-7). The east stone supposedly bears decorations incised on its top, but they are not visible any more, while the west one is probably undecorated. Both are tall monuments measuring about 3 metres high; it is thus safe to assume that they would have been highly visible in the wider landscape.

The first edition of the OS map also mentions the presence of a standing stone or stone circle, situated on parcel sloping down towards the Culdaff river, at proximity of the early medieval site; it is however not visible anymore today.

4.1.2.3 Clonca (IR6)

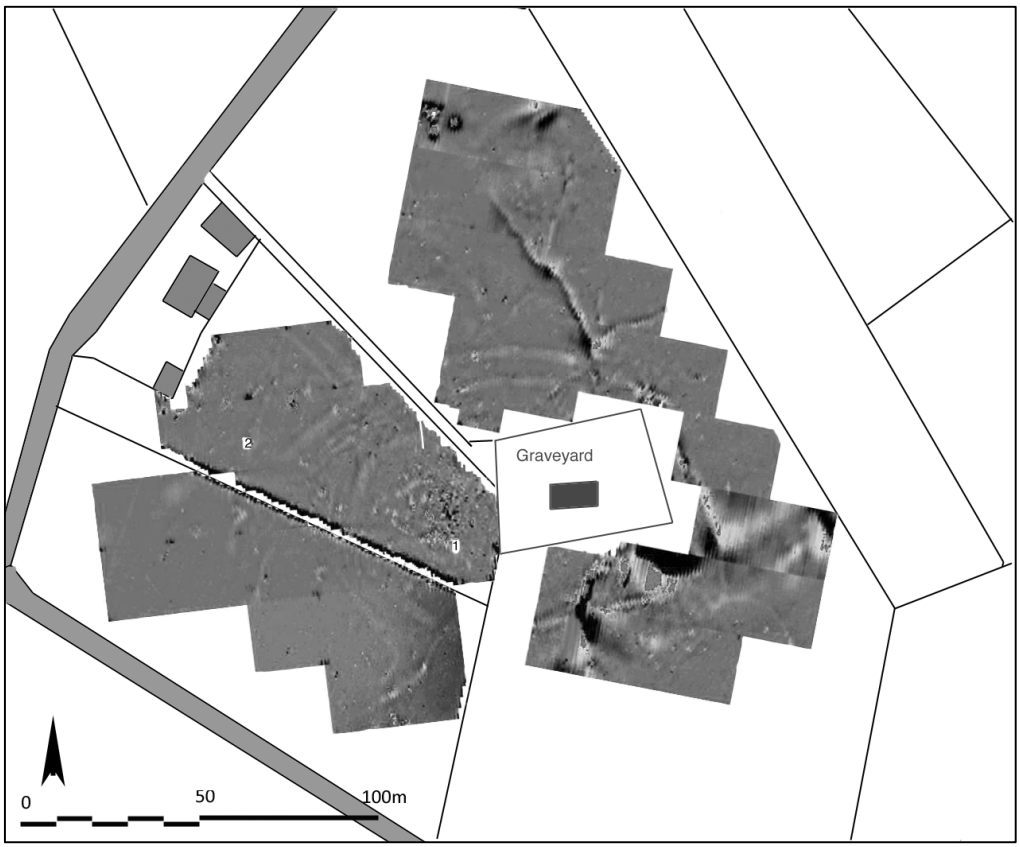
Across the valley from Carrowmore to the east, and possibly related to it, is the now abandoned early ecclesiastical site of Clonca (IR6, map 4-7). The site consists of a

modern rectangular graveyard, a ruined church, built in the 17th century, and includes several earlier elements: a High Cross which has been partially restored, the head of a second High Cross and a bullaun stone. Both crosses would have been originally very large, as the restored cross, in its present state, measures nearly 4 metres, and the fragment of the cross head about 1.70m across the arms.

Ill 4.8 Clonca High Cross 1
Picture © A. Busset

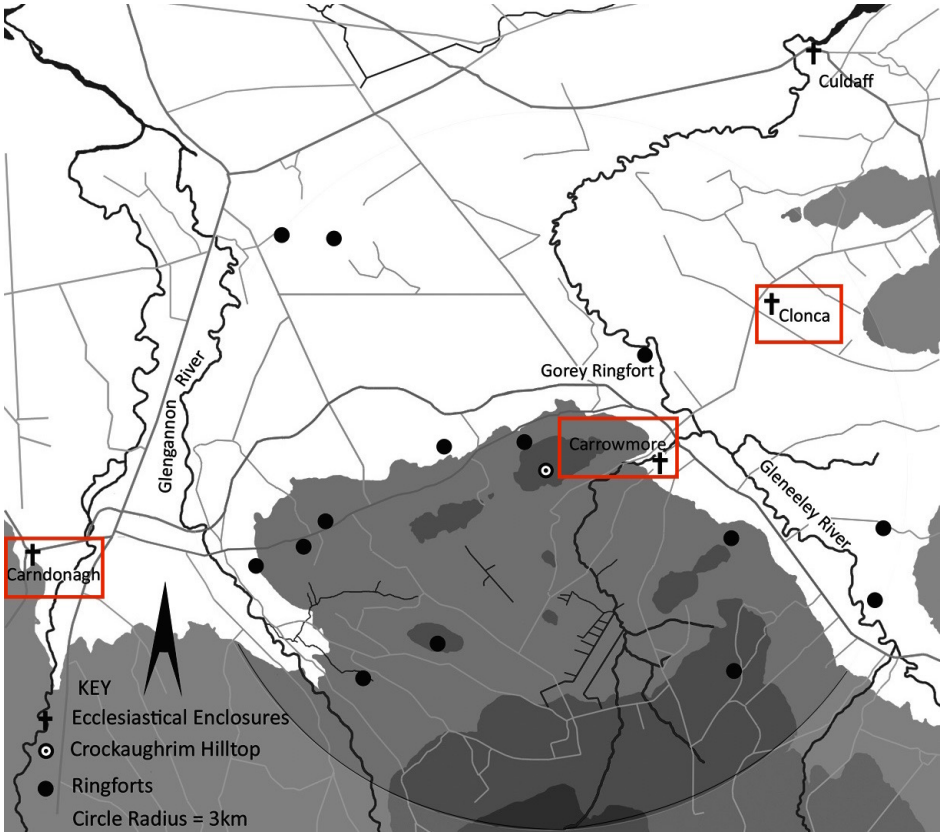
The early medieval remains of this site, situated near the river Culdaff, consist of one reconstructed High Cross – that has probably been re-erected on or nearby to its original location – the head of another High Cross, which, according to its size, would have been a massive monument, and a portable bullaun stone, which has been relocated inside the ruined church. At the entrance of the church is also a lintel that bears a 12th century date; these together suggest that this church was in use from the early medieval period, as evidenced by the crosses, up until the 17th century at least – when the latest church was built.

At Clonca, the geophysical survey carried by the BSG has also revealed a double circular enclosure and several possible burials (ill 4.8). The structure of the double enclosure reveals the possible presence of an early monastery, traces of which are not visible anymore today.



Ill. 4.9 Clonca geophysical survey
© Bernician Studies Group

Additionally, Lacey (1983, 256) reports that an ancient path connects Clonca and Carrowmore, which are less than two kilometres apart; local traditions record that monks may have used this path as a processional route between the two ecclesiastical sites during the early medieval period (Lacey, pers. comm.; map 4-10). Unlike Carrowmore, Clonca is set on flat ground, slightly above what would have been a boggy area. Despite its low situation, the site offers an extensive viewshed towards the south and the west (ill 4.7). This leads us to believe that Clonca was connected to Carrowmore not only by its similar structure and presence of High Crosses, but also by the fact that, depending on the density of the vegetation, each site is visible from the other.



Map 4-10 The connection between Carrowmore and Clonca in the landscape
Carrowmore hinterland, © Bernician Studies Group

4.1.2.4 Cooley's Cross and cemetery, Moville

The early site of Cooley (IR7), known in the annals as *Domnach Bille* is also said to have been founded by St Patrick (Gwynn & Hadcock 1970, 399); however, it's name, meaning 'mother church of the sacred tree' suggests that it may have been a sacred site at an earlier, pre-Christian time (Forsyth pers. comm.). It is located 1.5km south-east of the modern settlement of Moville, situated on higher ground gently sloping towards the town and Lough Foyle. The High Cross stands outside the west end of a modern graveyard, within which several early carved crosses have been recently re-discovered. The graveyard also includes two ruined churches.

The Bernician Studies Group conducted a magnetometry survey in 2014, which revealed two concentric circles, the diameter of the outer being 100-110 meters and the inner about 85 meters. The High Cross is situated inside the inner circle, probably close to the entrance, and is aligned with the shrine situated at the east end of the modern churchyard (O'Brien and Adams 2014a, 4-5).

Ill. 4.10 the Skull House, Cooley
Picture © A. Busset

The survey of 2014 revealed 20 slabs or fragments, 10 of which were carved with ring-headed crosses, and some which had a pointed end. These may be representations, in stone, of portable wood crosses. The ring-headed crosses may be stylistically referencing the High Crosses. The so-called 'Skull House', situated at the eastern end of the compound, is possibly a shrine, linked to the cult of a local saint. Originally believed to be of later date, it may have actually preceded the building of the enclosures. The geophysical survey has indeed demonstrated that the enclosure was initially located beyond the 'Skull House', bringing it within the enclosure (O'Brien pers. comm.). A later survey has revealed the possible presence of numerous burials, outside both inner and outer enclosures; if the presence of these burials were confirmed, their abundance would arguably indicate that Cooley was as 'community cemetery' for the wider region, rather than a 'family cemetery' for a single kin group (O'Brien pers. comm.).

The survey has also revealed the presence of a possible small-scale industrial process, showing the presence of metalworking or other craftsmanship. These discoveries, added to the observations made at Clonca and Carrowmore have led O'Brien and Adams (forthcoming) to propose that, in term of scale and complexity, the early monastic sites of Inishowen are comparable to Nendrum (IR10; Ch.3).

Regarding the High Cross situated at the modern entrance of the cemetery, there is no record indicating that it was moved from its original position; the first results offered by the geophysical survey, which place the monument within the outer enclosure, would indeed confirm it. Moreover, the cross is set in a massive base, of approximately 1 metre high and 2 metres wide, reducing further the likeliness of the cross being moved. The base itself is unusual: on its right side, steps have been cut out, while a cup-mark has been carved on the left side. This general disposition increases the imposing stature of the cross, and also suggests use for processional movement for the worshipers or pilgrims who visit the monument.

Ill. 4.11 Cooley's cross
Picture © A. Busset (with Alison Kyle for scale)

In the local folklore, Carndonagh and Cooley are traditionally connected to the cult of St Patrick through their possible healing properties. In Carndonagh, the holy well situated at Labby Patrick is thought to be the source of healing powers whereas in Cooley, these properties would be linked to the cup-mark on the base of the High Cross, which may have acted similarly to a bullaun stone (Beattie 1994, 65; Lacey 1983).

4.1.2.5 Discussion

At a basic level, Carndonagh, Cooley, Carrowmore and Clonca are linked through the presence of High Crosses. However, their connections run on a deeper, less perceptible level. Each site is situated on a prominent location in the landscape, which provides a substantial prospect from the carved stone monument. It is interesting to note however, that the sites themselves are not highly visible within or from the surrounding landscape. Moreover, the spatial grammar and boundaries of the sites in question are closely related, as evidenced by the observations of O'Brien and Adams, that '[the] double-precinct boundary [in Cooley] … is closely comparable to those at Carrowmore and Clonca (2014, 4). Consequently, we can argue for a similarity in purpose, and contemporaneity between the sites, as well as comparable practices in the use and purpose of the carved stone monuments present on those sites.

The healing powers attributed at Carndonagh and Cooley demonstrate that, however old the beliefs associated with these places may be, they are rooted in the cultural beliefs and practices of the surrounding communities which still interact with the monuments and their landscapes, and experience their supernatural properties.

On a global level, all four sites are reportedly related to, or founded by, St Patrick. If these assertions were verified, these sites would constitute a northern specificity in contrast to other ecclesiastical sites of the peninsula, which are traditionally connected to the cult of St Columba (Herbert 1988, 63-64, 110). That these sites may effectively be connected to the cult of St Patrick is open to discussion, as the only source that mentions the Patrician foundation is Tírechán; however, the historical events that led to the supremacy of the Cenél nEógain over most of Ulster would encourage an association of the northern Uí Néill with the see of Armagh during the 8th century. However, the contrast of appearance between the Inishowen High Crosses and the rest of the Ulster group, could also point toward a connection between Inishowen and Scotland (Lacey 2008, 335-337; Newman and Walsh 2007, 168). This connection may be further reinforced by the collection of cross-incised stones found in Cooley churchyard, which show similarities to the ensemble of cross-incised stones from Iona (ill. 4.12; O'Brien and Richardson, Bernician Studies Group, pers. comm.). That the Inishowen High Crosses may represent a connection to the cult of St Patrick and Armagh, or on the contrary to St Columba and western Scotland may not be possible to determine without further evidence; however, their originality

compared to the rest of Ulster High Crosses group, and their proximity in the landscape define them as a coherent ensemble, and bring forth their place within a widespread network of beliefs and power.

Ill. 4.12 Left: IR7 cross-decorated slab, Cooley; right: Iona cross-slab SL7
Left: Picture © A. Busset; right: © Crown Copyright: HES

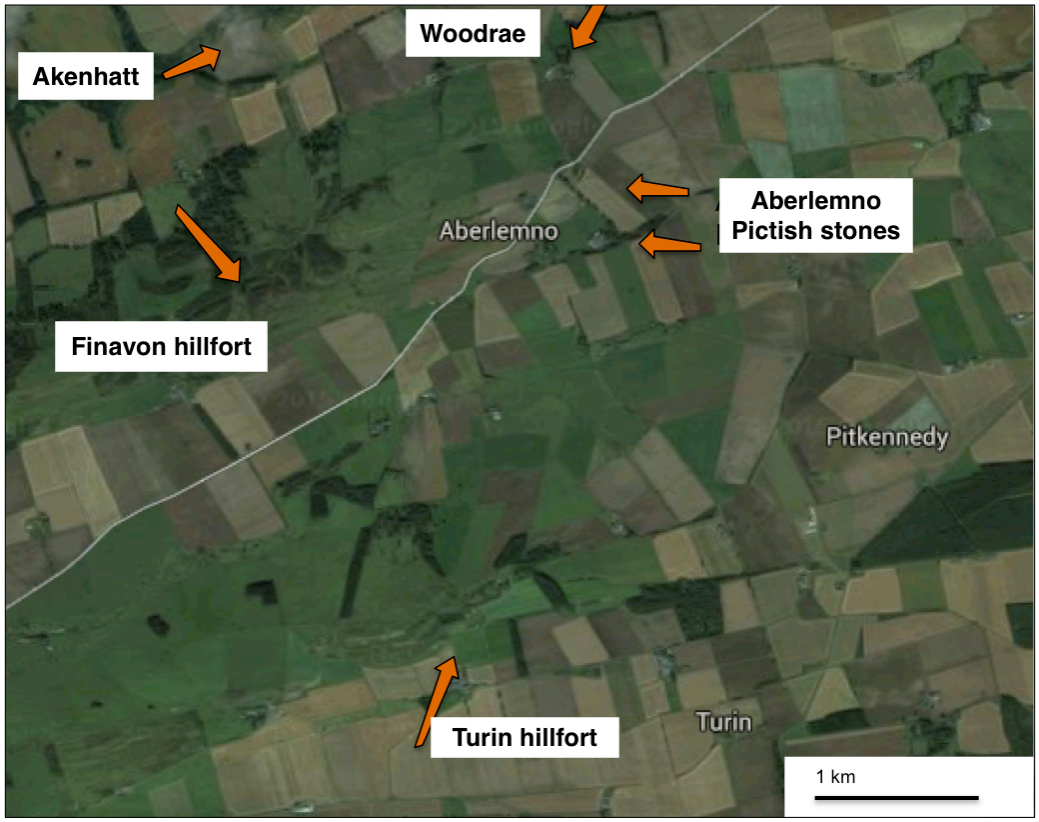
4.1.3 Aberlemno on the road to the North

The third case study of this chapter discusses the site of Aberlemno in Angus, and its suggested connection to the northern Pictish kingdom of Fortriu. This section will start with a presentation of the Christian monuments situated on this ecclesiastical site and how they connect to their broader landscape; then, following Alex Woolf's argument which situates Fortriu, the royal centre of the northern Picts on the shore of the Moray Firth (2006), it will be argued that at least one of the carved stones found at Aberlemno (Aberlemno 2) may be possibly connected to the northern royal centre; following that proposition, the scenes represented on Aberlemno 2 could actually refer to the historic Battle of Dún Nechtain, mentioned by both the *HE* and the *AU*. This hypothesis would not only connect the prominent ecclesiastical site in southern Pictland to the northern kingdom of the Picts through one of its main roads, but also arguably demonstrate an act of commemoration to a historical event. This argument is drawn from the observations and interpretations following the analyses of the

previous case studies, which connect distant places to a powerful ecclesiastical or secular centre.

4.1.3.1 The site: Aberlemno

Aberlemno is a small hamlet set along a modern secondary road between Forfar and Brechin in Angus; however, during the early medieval period it was situated on a routeway connecting southern and northern Pictland (Ritchie 1995, 7-8). The site contains four Pictish monuments: two Pictish symbol stones and two cross-slabs (SCO1). Three of these monuments are situated directly on the roadside (Aberlemno 1, 3, and 4), and one is located in Aberlemno churchyard, about 200m south-west from the first group (Aberlemno 2). The latter, standing to the west of the church, has probably been moved from an adjacent field (Ritchie 1995, 8).



Map 4-11 the site of Aberlemno and its wider archaeological context
Source © Google, additional information added by the author

Aberlemno is situated in the large flat valley of Strathmore, bordered by higher ground to the north and south. To either side of the road, on the higher ground, are situated two hillforts: Finavon to the north and Turin Hill to the south (map 4-11). Finavon is a late prehistoric vitrified hillfort, which was possibly abandoned before the early medieval period (ill.4.13). However, its name (initially *fidnemed* which

means 'wood sanctuary'; Clarke *et al.* 2012, 178) suggests that this site was a *nemeton*, a sacred pre-Christian place. Place-names including the word *Nemeton* are mainly found in northern and eastern Scotland and are absent or scarce in Gaelic-speaking areas, Ireland, Wales and western Scotland (Goldberg in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 178; see also Meigle SCO13). It has thus been suggested by Goldberg that this word survived longer in Pictland, and may have been still in use into the early medieval period (Taylor pers. comm.).

Ill. 4.13 Finavon hillfort, Oathlaw parish
© © HES (John Dewar Collection)

The hillfort at Turin Hill is more likely to have been used in a secular context (ill.4.14). Alexander (1998, 12) dates its occupation from the late Bronze Age into the early historic period, while Fraser (2006, 64) proposes a slightly later date, from the Iron

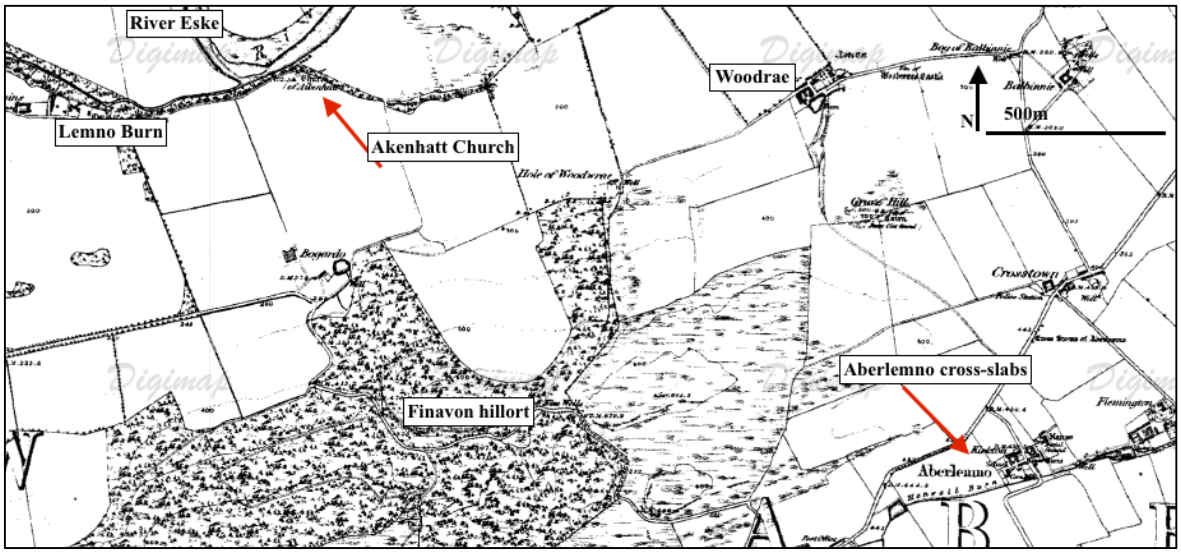
Age to the Pictish period. He interprets Turin Hill and Kemp's castle at its summit as a royal stronghold, and the destination of King Ecgfrith to attack the Picts. Although it is now largely accepted that the royal centre of the kingdom of Fortriu was situated north of the Mounth (see below), Kemp's castle was still certainly a major secular power centre (Fraser 2006, 64; Alexander 1998, 11-12; 2002).

Ill. 4.14 Turin hillfort, Aberlemno parish
© Crown Copyright: HES

Early ecclesiastical site

The early ecclesiastical site at Aberlemno is revealed by the presence of its stone sculpture; its place-name indicates a Pictish origin (*Aber* 'mouth' of the Lemno Burn), which is often associated with early church sites (such as Abernethy for instance; Taylor 2011, 83). Anna Ritchie (1995, 8) proposes that the early medieval church was located at Akenhatt, north-east of the modern Aberlemno, at the confluence of the Lemno Burn and the river South Eske. This church was visible on the 1865 edition of the Ordnance Survey (ill. 4.15). A fifth stone, uncovered in the foundations of Woodrae castle, may possibly be linked to that early church (map 4-10; SCO6). However, the presence of a church at Akenhatt does not negate the possible existence

of another church to the south-east of Finavon hill, which would have thus been situated alongside the main road, close to the cross-slabs Aberlemno 2 and 3 (SCO1a and b).



Ill. 4.15 OS map 1865 showing the church of Akenhatt
Base map: © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2017). All rights reserved. (1865), additional information by the author.

4.1.3.2 Aberlemno 2

The stone on which this section will focus is the one commonly referred to as Aberlemno 2 (SCO1a). Unlike the other carved stones found in this site, situated alongside the road (SCO1b), Aberlemno 2 stands in Aberlemno churchyard, west of the church. It is likely that it has been moved from its original spot in an adjacent field (Ritchie 1995, 8). The imposing cross-slab, measuring almost two and a half metres tall, is decorated on one side with a high relief cross, flanked by intertwined animals and hippocamps; on the other side two Pictish symbols, a notched rectangle and a Z-rod and a triple-disc, are carved at the top of the monument, while a battle scene occupies the rest of the side (ill. 4.16). The monument has been dated to the 8th century (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 135). Of the three remaining carved stones at Aberlemno, one is a cross-slab and the two others are symbol stones. Aberlemno 3 will be discussed in Chapter 5 (5.2.1.3).

Ill. 4.16 SCO1a Aberlemno 2
Picture © A. Busset

Several interpretations have been offered for the identity of the warriors represented on the monument. One of them is that the protagonists are Picts and Anglo-Saxons (Fraser 2006. 19; Alcock 2003, 122-123; Aitchison 2003), while it has also been proposed that the battle scene represents a generic or idealised conception of war (Clarke in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 71; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 135). The first interpretation is drawn from historical sources mentioning the battle of Dún Nechtain, as I will discuss below (Fraser 2006, 71-94; Aitchison 2003). The ethnicities of the two different sides are ascribed assuming that Picts are portrayed without helmets, while the argument hinges on the depiction of helmets with Anglo-Saxon parallels on the retreating army (Alcock 2003, 172-175); however, these identities must be handled carefully, as very little actual evidence supports them, other than Picts always being represented bare-headed on other carved stones (Clarke in Clarke *et al*. 2012, 71), and the discovery of an 8th century nose-guard helmet in Anglo-Saxon York, which could possibly match the representation on Aberlemno 2 (Ill. 4.17). Aberlemno 2 is one of the two early medieval carved stone that represent a battle scene, along with the one recorded on the Sueno's Stone at Forres, Moray (Clarke in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 73). However, the scene displayed on Aberlemno 2 represents two opposing armies wearing distinctive outfits and weapons; the battle of Dún Nechtain is also the only battle involving the Picts that has been reported in both Irish and

Anglo-Saxon written sources. It is thus tempting to link the uniqueness between the written accounts, and the representation engraved in stone.

The dating for this monument has not encountered a general agreement. Isabel and George Henderson date it from the 8th century (2004, 135), whereas Lloyd Laing argues for a later date, in the mid-9th century (2002, 241-252).

Ill. 4.17 York helmet, AD700-820
© Image courtesy of York Museum Trust: CC BY-SA 4.0

4.1.3.3 The location of the battle of Nechtansmere and the kingdom of Fortriu

The battle of Dún Nechtain is one of the few Pictish historical events recorded in written sources. It involved Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria and Bredei son of Beli, king of the Picts at *Dún Nechtain* in AD 685. Remarkably recorded in several written sources (Bede's *HE*, the *AU*, and the *ATig*), this battle saw the defeat of the armies of Northumbria and the death of king Egcfrith, bringing the Anglo-Saxon conquests of the North to an end (Woolf 2006, 182-188; Fraser 2006, 71-94; Alcock 2003, 133-136).

The location of the actual site of the battle has been discussed by many scholars, and the consensus has followed the interpretation first proposed in the 19th century by George Chalmers (1887, 255) is that it took place close to the village of Dunnichen in Angus, situated only six kilometres from Aberlemno (Chalmers 1887, 255; Alcock 2003, 133; Fraser 2006, 72). In his 2006 article, Woolf discussed and reinterpreted both the locations of the battle of Dún Nechtain, and the Pictish kingdom of Fortriu,

offering a new, northern, location for both. Regarding the location of Fortriu, he places the heart of the kingdom on the shores of the Moray Firth. Furthermore, he proposes a location for the battle of Dún Nechtain, at Dunnachton (Highlands). While the actual location of the battle may remain unknown for certain, the re-location of the kingdom of Fortriu to the north of the Mounth has been now widely adopted (Driscoll *et al.* 2011, xix).

The discussion on the exact location of the 7th century battle is outside of the scope of this research, however, it is argued here that if indeed the battle happened north of the Mounth, the battle-scene represented on Aberlemno 2 may still be connected to it, as we shall discuss.

4.1.3.4.Discussion

Alex Woolf's 2006 article has demonstrated convincingly that the royal centre of Fortriu lay north of the Mounth; he also placed the battle of Dún Nechtain, mentioned in several written sources, at the site of Dunnachton (Highlands). However, Fraser (2009, 216) underlines the coincidence of having a rare battle scene represented on a Pictish carved stone situated as close as five kilometres to another *Dún Nechtain* place name). It is argued here that the battle may have happened on a site further north, while the stone still embeds the commemoration of the battle.

Aberlemno 2 was erected either during the 8th or 9th century (Henderson and Henderson 2004; Laing 2000, 89; 2002, 250; Ritchie 1995, 8). The fact that the stone was erected several decades after the battle of Dún Nechtain does not exclude it from being carved as a commemoration of this event. A possible reason why it was erected there instead of closer to the battlefield could have been to commemorate local soldiers or elite who went to fight for the king in the north. However, if we follow the proposition of a later date for the creation of this monument, it may be argued that this stone was commissioned when or after Fortriu became the main royal centre of Pictland during the 8th century; the cross-slab could therefore have been erected to commemorate an ancient major victory embedded in the social histories and semi-mythic past of the kingdom of Fortriu, thus connecting Aberlemno to it, and possibly placing it under royal patronage. It would therefore parallel the Constantine's Cross, and its possible connection to Iona (3.2.1.2), as another case of distant patronage at work in southern Pictland.

Political or religious connections between stone monuments and distant power centres exist (see above 3.1.2 and below 4.3.2), and the connection is often encoded within the stones' imagery. Aberlemno is also situated alongside a major routeway, on a three-way boundary, that connects it to the religious or secular power centre it is related to. Furthermore, Gräslund (2011, 147-161) has recently analysed rune stones presenting iconographic as well as textual similarities, which are situated far apart; by doing so, she was able to determine connections between kin-groups that were connected through shared events and memories (see 5.2.1 for further discussion).

The new interpretation of a connection between Aberlemno and the north through the Ablerlemno 2 battle-scene is of course built on suppositions, and while it is an intriguing possibility, it remains that the battle displayed on Aberlemno 2 may represent an idealised scene of warfare and victory divinely sanctioned. However, once it is established that carved stones did indeed connect places and people over large areas, and that this phenomenon is observed in other parts of north-western Europe (see 4.1.1, 4.1.2 and 5.2.1), new propositions of interpretations can be offered and discussed.

4.2 Royal paths, liturgical roads and pilgrimage

The second part of this chapter will look at monuments placed alongside roads or waterways that participate in the creation of sacred movement. The first case will examine rune stones placed on the *Erikgsata*, the royal inauguration road of Svear kings; after which the concept and act of local pilgrimage and processions will be discussed through two case studies, one from Ireland and one from Scotland.

4.2.1 The Eriksgata: assembly sites and rune stones on an inauguration path

The *Eriksgata*, 'Erik's road or journey' is attested to from the 12th century in the Swedish provincial laws (Sanmark and Semple 2008, 249; Sundqvist 2001, 633-636). More than a physical road, it was a ritual journey undertaken by each new king of Svealand, once they were elected in Uppsala, during which they needed to be accepted by each local assembly, at *thing* sites; at the end of the journey, they were crowned by the bishop in Uppsala. Although this ceremony was recorded during the medieval period, and may demonstrate the shift towards a centralisation of kingship

– and institutionalisation of the Church – in Sweden, the ritual itself may have existed from an earlier time (Sundqvist 2001, 622-628, 635-637).

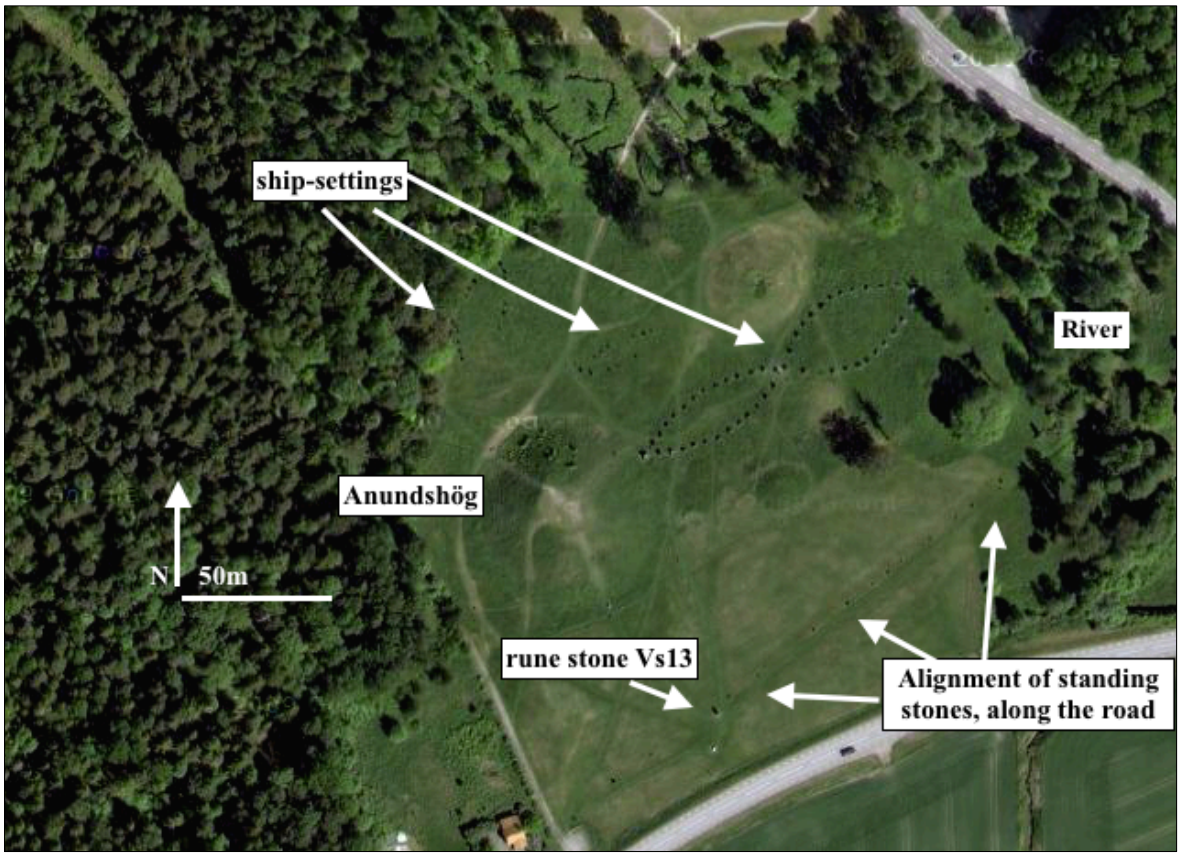
The route of the *Eriksgata* has itself moved through the years, following the ebb and flow of alliances and changes in boundaries; however, during the late Viking Age and early medieval period, the route would have gone principally through the Hundreds of the Mälar region (Sanmark 2009, 233; Sanmark and Semple 2008, 249-250; 2010, 112-114; Sundqvist 2001, 635). Rune stones are sometime located at the *thing* sites along the *Eriksgata*, where they may have been used both as foci for the assembly, along with the *thing* mound, and as part of the rituals associated with kingship inauguration. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 3 (3.2), Brink has observed a recurring structure amongst these sites: additionally to one or more rune stones, the sites also contain a *thing* mound, which is sometime formed by an ancient burial mound, and an alignment of standing stones that border an ancient road (2004, 209).

Map 4-12 Uppsala, Aspa löt and Anundshög
Base map © Google Maps, additional information by the author

4.2.1.1 Anundshög

Anundshög ('Anund's mound') is such a site as discussed above, with a *thing* mound and associated rune stones, and is situated in the parish of Badelunda, in

Västmanland (SCA21). The mound after which the site is named measures 60m diameters and is the largest in Sweden (ill. 4.18; SCA21). It probably marked the focal point of the Seunda härad assembly place (Brink 2004, 209). This site is documented as a gathering site (or *thing* site) in the 14th century but contains a burial ground and several ship settings that have been dated to the 6th century (Sanmark and Semple 2008, 251-252; 2010, 114; Bratt 1999, 3-19), strongly implying an importance reaching back into antiquity, or as discussed elsewhere, a place of power being reused, or repurposed in the early medieval period. Medieval sources record Anundshög as situated along the *Eriksgata*, and thus it was one of the assembly sites the Svear king would have stopped at to be accepted by the local assembly, and swear the oaths of kingship (Sanmark and Semple 2008, 249 after Mannerfelt 1930; Brink 2004, 209-210; Sundqvist 2001, 641-643).



Map 4-13 Anundshög spatial organisation
Base map © Google Maps, additional information by the author

The assembly site at Anundshög shares many similarities with Aspa löt, also situated on the *Eriksgata* (3.2.3.1), namely: a *thing* mound, a rune stone (although Vs13 at Anundshög does not mention the assembly site or mound), an alignment of standing stones bordering an ancient road, and proximity to navigable water (Sanmark and Semple 2008, 251-252; 2010, 114; Brink 2004, 209; map 4-13). Indeed, to the east of

the mound, the road crosses a river by a bridge, or a ford, further enhancing the movement associated with the site. However, whereas Aspa löt was revealed to be a 'new' site, with an assembly mound possibly built at the same time the rune stones were erected, the site at Anundshög shows traces of activities from multiple periods, possibly from the Bronze Age until the medieval period; while a continuity of use may not be established, the site seems to be associated with ritual activities from its earliest occupation (Sanmark and Semple 2008, 251-252; 2010, 114-115; 2013, 522-524; Bratt 1999).

Ill. 4.18 Anundshög, stone alignment marking the ancient road
Picture © A. Busset

The first mention of *Eriksgata* in the sources in the 12th century, and of Anundshögen as an assembly site in the 14th century may point to a late use of that site as part of the inauguration rites of kingship; however, the presence of the 11th century rune stone, which likely still stands in its original position (Jansson 1987, 125) demonstrates that the site was presumably part of that path at an earlier time. Furthermore, the inscription on the monument states that:

> Folvid raised all of these stones after his son Heden, Anund's brother. Vred carved the runes (RUNDATA Vs13)

Hence indicating that the standing stones were erected at the same time as the rune stone. The rune stone (ill. 4.19) is situated close to the mound, and a total of fourteen standing stones form a 'bridge' bordering the ancient road up to the ford, about 100m east of the stone (map 4-12; ill. 4.18; Jansson 1987, 125).

Ill. 4.19 Vs 13, Anundshög, SCA21
Picture © A. Busset

This ensemble of monuments was erected to commemorate Heden, a member of the local elite, similar to the group of monuments found at Jarlabanke bro (3.2.4.2; SCA19); and, as at Jarlabanke, the emphasis of the sacredness of the place, supported by the standing stones, is on the ancient path, possibly established as a memorial to the deceased.

Recent research has demonstrated that rune stones were used for ritualistic activities (Ljung and Thedéen 2012); indeed, rune stones situated at assembly places along the *Eriksgata* may have been part of the royal inauguration ritual, while a focus for Christian devotional practises. The ritual of the *Erikgsata* is indeed rooted in the concept of sacral kingship. Similarly to what is observed in Ireland and Scotland, this concept is gradually transformed during the Christianisation process, especially when the Church becomes institutionalised. At that point, the ritual of *Eriksgata* can be compared to a royal pilgrimage, where the king, after being confirmed by local

assemblies, attained the holiest place, when crowned by the bishop at Uppsala. Indeed, in this way, the stones demarcate a physical and ritual route travelled by the potential king, who progresses through the *thing* sites and the standing stones as a supplicant, with each site a necessary station before achieving kingship through divine grace. The *Eriksgata* exists then both physically, demarcated by stone monuments in the landscape, and also in the abstract, as a ritual procession through the divine, with stone monuments existing in both, serving as conduits that connect the profane world with the divine, and structure and direct movement through both realms simultaneously.

4.2.2 Pilgrimage and liturgical roads

The previous sections have discussed stone monuments connecting places, and situated alongside roads connected to kingship. This section will look more closely at stone monuments as part of pilgrimages and liturgical paths, marking a sacred topography.

Pilgrimage and the cult of relics are a defining part of early Christianity and Christianisation. The concept of sacred journeys is integrated in Christian life, and the reasons to undertake a pilgrimage are multiple, for instance an act of personal piety or penitence, or to intercede for someone's health (Harbison 1991, 23-27). A journey to Jerusalem or Rome would have been the apogee of a Christian life. In Ireland and Scotland, witnesses of such ritual journeys are also visible on a local scale, associated with early churches and monasteries (for instance Carndonagh IR4, Saul IR11, St Vigeans SCO5 or Dunkeld SCO9).

Indeed, from the 8th century, the Church encouraged local pilgrimage and the cult of saints, interpreted as an alternative to pilgrimage abroad (Ó Carragáin 2009, 213). This may have been to assert their local power, and increase their prominence and prosperity (Stopford 1994, 59-60), but also to create a social order led by the Church. Interestingly, in Scandinavia, while several rune stones mention travels abroad and two stones may refer directly to pilgrimage (U136 Broby bro SCA4 and U605 Stäket), little is known about local pilgrimage (Ill. 4.20; Sawyer 2000, 139-140). It may thus be suggested that local pilgrimage was introduced, or at least developed by the Church when it became institutionalised, to create a social dynamic of faith and rituals, whereas pilgrimage to the Holy Land would have been an act of individual piety.

Ill. 4.20 U136, Broby bro, SCA5b
Picture © A. Busset

Early sources record the 'liturgical movement of monks and pilgrims' within sacred sites in the Holy Land (Coleman and Elsner 1994, 77), and stress the importance of the topography. This experience has been conceptualised by Turner and Turner (1978, 1-39), who describe it as a liminal process ("liminoid phenomenon"): before reaching the holiest point of their pilgrimage, the pilgrims go through a process that transforms them, bringing them closer to the sacred. This process is paralleled and enhanced by their movement in the landscape. Pilgrimage in the British Isles probably followed a similar pattern, and the cosmological structure of holy sites was central to the pilgrim's experience with the sacred. In that regard, carved stones delineated, conducted and focalised the movements and rituals performed by the pilgrims, leading them through their transformative experience.

While references to specific pilgrimage sites are scarce in the written sources before the 10th century, certain types of monuments on early ecclesiastical sites may have been particularly associated with pilgrimage (Ó Carragáin 2009, 207-221; Harbison 1991, 139-233). Tomb-shrines for instance are monuments specifically built for the cult of saints; several tomb-shrines or 'mortuary houses' are found on sites within this research's selection, such as Banagher IR3, Cooley (Moville) IR7, Saul IR11 and Clones IR14 (ill. 4.10 and 4.21)

Ill. 4.21 Tomb-shrines from Banagher (top left), Saul (bottom left) and Clones (right)
Pictures © A. Busset

Another type of stone monument frequently found associated with early ecclesiastical sites is bullaun stone. These stones are found in both Ireland and Scotland, and are recorded on several sites selected for this research (e.g. Banagher IR3, Carndonagh IR4, Carrowmore IR5, Clonca IR6 Killadeas IR13, Cladh Bhranno SCO7, and Fortingall, SCO11; ill. 4.22, 4.23 and 4.33).

The following case study will discuss a third type of monument associated with pilgrimage and liturgical paths: the figure-carved pillars. Briefly discussed through the Inishowen case study (4.1.2.1), this type of monument, and the imagery it displays connects the stone monuments to their surrounding landscape through movement.

Ill. 4.22 Bullaun, at the base of Cooley Cross IR7
Picture © A. Busset

Ill. 4.23 Bullaun stones at Banagher IR3 (top left), Kilnasaggart IR2 (bottom left), and Carrowmore IR5 (right)
Pictures © A. Busset

4.2.3 Waterways and pilgrimages: Devenish, White Island and Killadeas

The three sites presented in this case study are unevenly documented; indeed, while Devenish (IR12) is often mentioned in written sources, and contains many early archaeological remains, the early histories of both White Island (IR15) and Killadeas (IR13) remain obscure, and their assemblages of stone sculpture are the main indicator of early medieval occupation (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 334-341 (Devenish), 352-353 (Killadeas), 360-363 (White Island); Francis 2010; NISMR 1986; Radford 1970; Lowry -Cowry 1935; 1959).

Map 4-14 White Island, Killadeas and Devenish on Lower Lough Erne
Base map © Google, additional information by the author

The three sites are situated in County Fermanagh, on or on the shore of Lower Lough Erne (map 4-14); White Island and Killadeas were probably linked to Devenish, which was the prominent ecclesiastical centre of the area. Devenish belonged to a Céli Dé (Culdee) community, although there is no record of it before the 15th century; however, Hamlin (2008 [1976], 334) believes that the Céli Dé connection to the place may be as early as the 9th century. The place-name of Killadeas ('Cill Chéile Dé', 'the church of the Culdees') would tend to confirm that assertion, while confirming the early medieval occupation of Killadeas. Unfortunately, the early name of White Island

is unknown, though it has been proposed without certainty that the site may have been the lost site on Lough Erne of Éo-inish (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 360).

Multiple entries are found in the *AU* about Devenish ('Daimhinis') especially from the 9th century, when it was raided by *Gentiles* (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 334). The site of Devenish includes two round towers, one that is almost entirely preserved, and the foundation of a second one. One of the oldest remains on the site is a small church, associated with the founder, St Molaise. Ó Carragáin interprets it as a shrine-chapel, dating it from the end of 11th or beginning of 12th century (2010, 257 plus additional note 8). Devenish was likely a powerful monastic centre, and the dedication of the shrine-chapel to the founder of the ecclesiastical site, St Molaise, suggests that his cult may have been an important focus during the early medieval period.

Ill. 4.24 Devenish, reconstruction of early medieval settlement
© Crown Copyright Northern Ireland Environment Agency

The collection of stone sculpture at White Island (ill. 4.25; IR15b) is highly unusual; it includes an incised cross-slab, and eight carved pillars. It is the largest collection of this type of monument in Ireland. Six pillars are decorated with ecclesiastic and elite figures, one is an unfinished pillar, and the last one is a head carved in relief on a rectangular slab. The six decorated pillars have been interpreted as religious and secular elite figures (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 362-363; Lowry-Cowry 1959, 59-61; Du Noyer 1860, 64-65). Although these monuments are often compared to the Carndonagh and Killadeas pillars, the style of the carvings is unique, in high relief. The

objects they carry however, such as crozier and hand-bell, sword and shield, or pennanular brooch, are attributes associated with saints and secular elites.

Ill. 4.25 White Island pillar stones
Picture © J. Demetrscu 2009

The carved pillar at Killadeas (IR13) is decorated on its face and side. The top of the face is carved in relief and represents a face with large open eyes and an open mouth, while the lower part decorated with interlace. The side, carved in low relief, represents a figure walking to the left, dressed with a knee-long robe, and carrying a bell and a crozier. The ecclesiastical figure on the side is strongly associated with movement, as the position of its legs clearly indicates that it is walking and a special attention has been brought to the representation of the shoes he is wearing. At the level of the mouth of the facing figure is a line that seems to link the mouth to the side of the stone (see ill 4.26). This feature has been interpreted as a possible jewel or ornament (Lowry-Cowry 1935, 26-27). I suggest that it may be a representation of speech; the figure represented would thus embody a praying ecclesiastic, which may either bless the pilgrims and believers, or accompany them in their prayers.

Ill. 4.26 Killadeas carved pillar
Pictures © A. Busset

Figures carrying bells and croziers, as displayed on Carndonagh, White Island and Killadeas carved pillars have been interpreted as representations of saints or ecclesiastics (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 353, 362-363; Lacey 1983). Harbison (1991, 217-222) suggests that they may be representations of early Irish pilgrims. He supports his interpretation with two elements: first, the figures on Killadeas and Carndonagh pillars wear knee-length robes, and second, the representation of shoes on the Killadeas figure emphasises the notion of movement. However, hand-bells are also

associated with the cult of saints (Erskine 2012, 127-128; Bourke 1983, 466), therefore, figures carrying a bell may indicate the presence of a saint's cult.

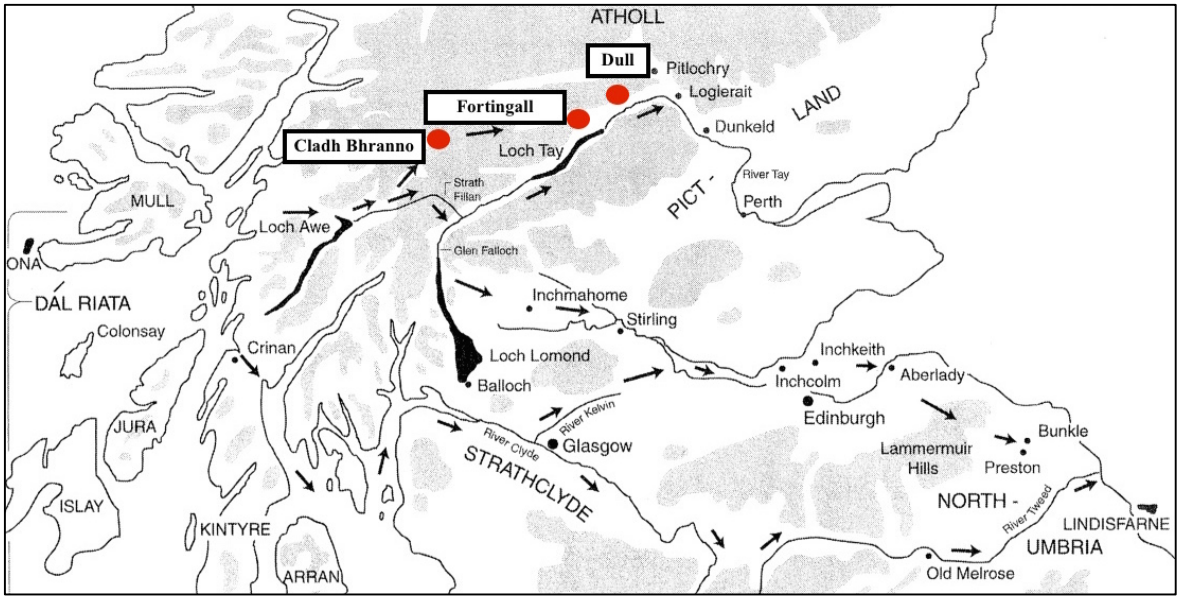
Although the information related to Killadeas and White Island is scarce, and the connection of Devenish and Killadeas with White Island may only rely on supposition, it is tempting to see an association between the two sites containing carved pillars. If the hypothesis of Harbison to link these figures with pilgrimage were accurate, the area around Lower Lough Erne would have constituted a wide sacred landscape, within which movement was conducted over land and water, to ultimately construct an initiatory journey for ecclesiastical and lay people, to reach the holiest destination on the Island of Devenish.

Ill. 4.27 Devenish (from the north-east)
Picture © A. Busset

4.2.4 Glen Lyon and the cult of Iona saints

The following case study looks at several sites, closely related geographically but also through their connection to the cult of Columba and Adomnán, and to Iona. It will be suggested here that the monuments located on ecclesiastical sites along the Glen Lyon may have functioned as markers of liturgical paths and could have been *foci* for the devotion and possibly pilgrimage, associated with St Coeti († AD 712), bishop of Iona.

Fortingall (SCO11), at the entrance of the Glen Lyon in northern Perthshire, is situated at the heart of a network of glens, which comprises several main routeways connecting Argyll – and Iona – to the west, with Logierait (SCO12) and Dunkeld (SCO9) to the east (map 4-9; Robertson 1997, 133-134). The route crosses an imposing ridge of mountains, Drumalban, 'the spine of Britain' (Taylor 1999, 42; 2000, 112), which traditionally formed the boundary between Pictland and Gaeldom in Scotland. The parish of Fortingall includes Glen Lyon and Glen Rannoch, which are two of the longest valleys in Scotland, making Fortingall a prominent place of passage in its wider landscape context (map 4-15).



Map 4-15 Routes from Iona to Lindisfarne via Atholl
© S. Taylor 2000, 130; additional information by the author

Historical background

Fortingall (SCO7) and the associated ecclesiastical sites lie in the region of Athfothla (Atholl), which could be translated as 'new Ireland' suggesting that a Gaelic-speaking community, may have settled in the area, possibly as early as the 7th or 8th century (Taylor 1999, 42; Watson 1926, 229). The name 'Athol' is also mentioned in the *AU* in 739, to record the death of its king, showing that this region is a separate hegemony to the rest of Pictland and Argyll at the time (Taylor 1999, 41-42). Moreover, several place-names of Iona abbots in the area suggest cult activities in connection with St Columba. Indeed, the early church of Logierait was originally called *Logie Mahedd*, which is, according to Taylor (1999, 58) 'Logie of St Coeti'. Coeti was a bishop of Iona at the time of Adomnán's abbacy (AD 679-704). Fortingall seems also to have been

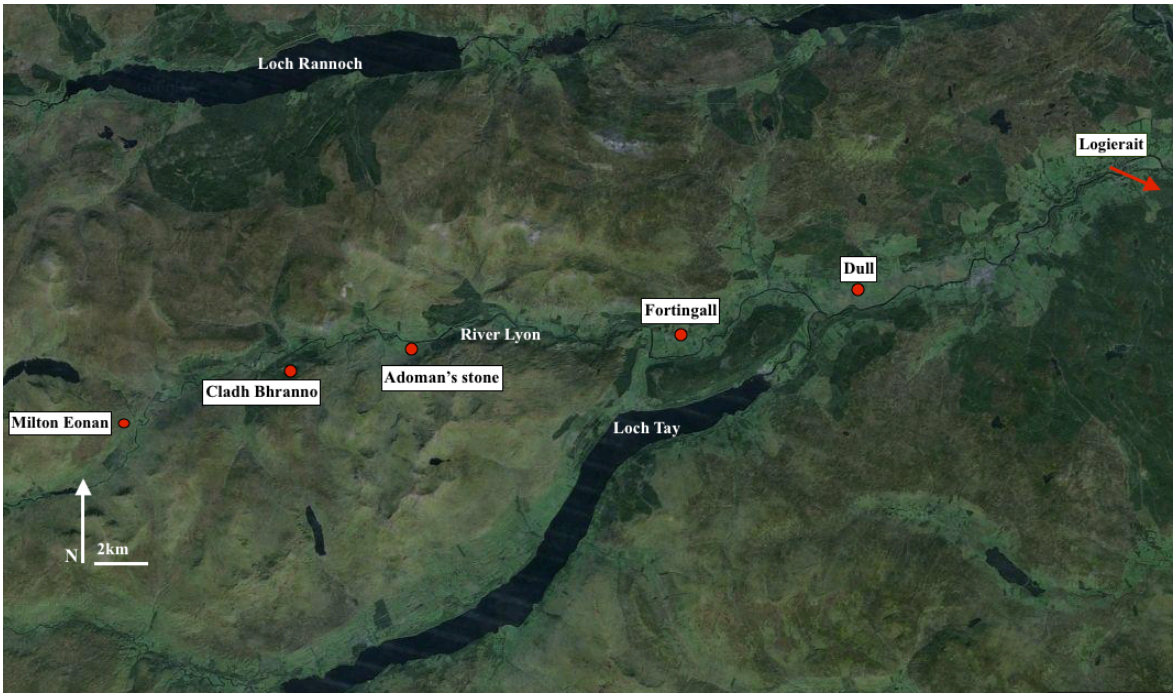
originally dedicated to St Coeti (Watson 1926, 134), and local tradition reports that the saint may have been buried at Fortingall (Robertson 1997, 135, 145). If accurate, this could provide a focus for pilgrimage through Glen Lyon.

The early ecclesiastical settlement at Dull (SCO8), 8km east of Fortingall is dedicated to Adomnán, and several places in Glen Lyon are associated with his cult (Will *et al.* 2003, 59), such as *Muileann Eódhnain*, Milton Eonan, 'Adomnán's Mill' (Taylor 1999, 68) situated at the western end of Glen Lyon, and the so-called 'Adamnan's stone', located close to Cladh Bhranno and about 500m downstream from Balnahanaid (see below, ill. 4.13) alongside the road to Fortingall (map 4-10). The early history of the latter is unknown, however, the folklore tradition associate this cross-marked stone with Adomnán, and to healing powers (Barnett 1946).

While it seems that the cult of Columba was mostly associated with Iona's sphere of influence in the west before the first common rule over Dál Riata and the Picts by Constantín from 811, Atholl and Glen Lyon seem to share strong connections with Iona at an earlier time, possibly as early as Adomnán's lifetime (Will *et al.* 2003, 59; Taylor 1999, 58-59; Robertson 1997, 135).

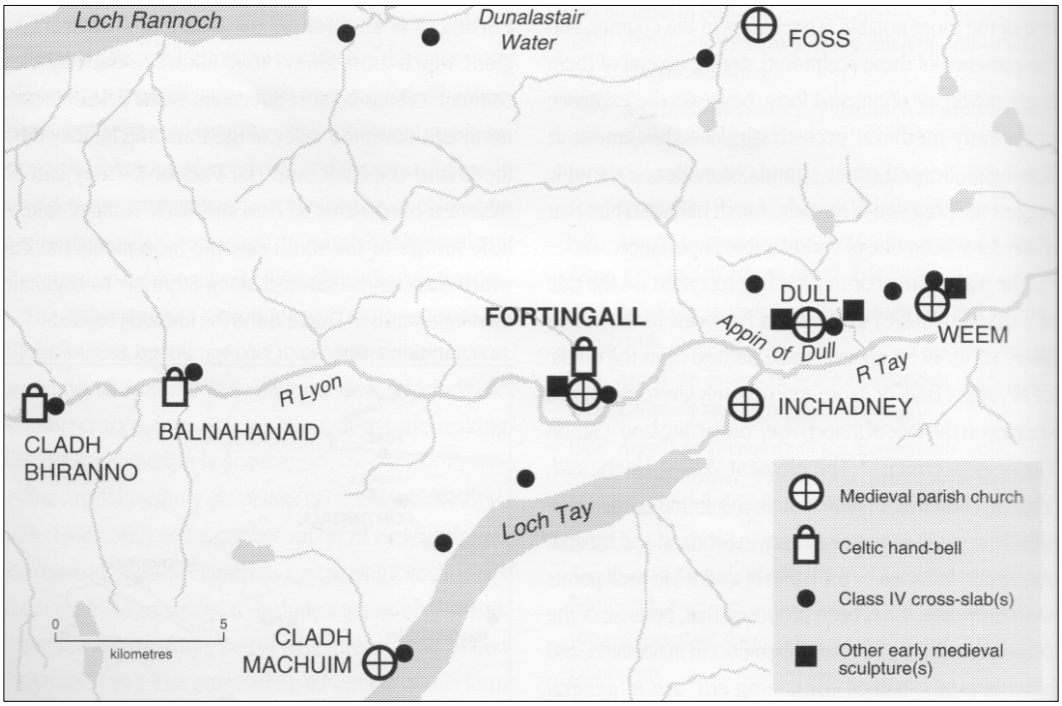
Stone monuments and iron hand-bells

The evidence of connections between early ecclesiastical sites in Glen Lyon relies heavily on place-names. However, this connection is also visible through a certain type of stone monument present on each site, recumbent slabs incised with a variety of crosses, which also connects these places through ritual and religious activities (Robertson 1997, 143). The type of monuments found in Dull, Fortingall and Cladh Bhranno are predominantly cross-marked stones, which have their origin in Ireland, and, according to the Hendersons (2004, 159), may show 'Irish missionary work among the Picts' from the 6th century.



Map 4-16 Glen Lyon, sites mentioned in the text
© Google Maps, additional information by the author

Iron hand-bells were also uncovered on three sites: Fortingall, Cladh Bhranno and Balnahanaid, although the last is now lost (Robertson 1997, 135; Bourke 1983, 467; ill. 4.28). The concentration of distribution of this artefact is remarkable, as only fourteen iron hand-bells have been uncovered in Scotland (Bourke 1983, 464). Bourke also reports that Adomnán connects iron hand-bells specifically to Iona and the cult of St Columba. Evidence from Ireland suggests that iron hand-bells were connected to early monasteries (Bourke 1983, 466). Furthermore, as discussed at the beginning of this section, the representation of hand-bells on carved stones may also be associated the cult of a saint, or pilgrimage and liturgical paths.



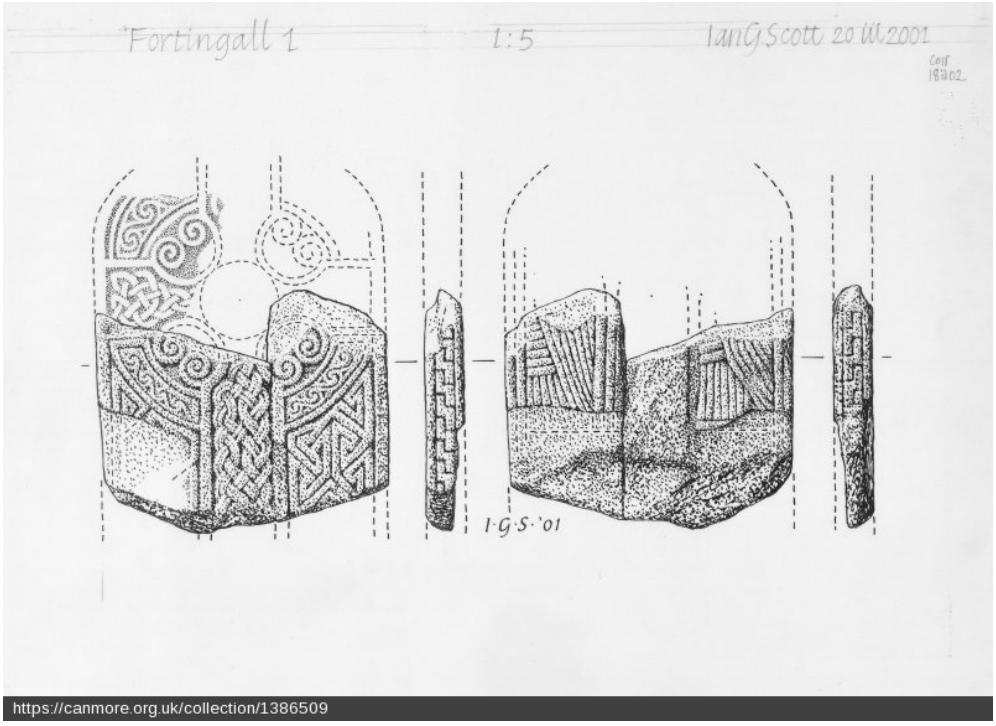
Ill. 4.28 Early ecclesiastical sites and finds in Glen Lyon
© Robertson 1997, 134

4.2.4.1 Fortingall and Dull

The sites of Fortingall and Dull share many similarities: they are both possible early monastic settlements (O'Grady 2008, 290-293; Will *et al.* 2003, 58-59, 64; Robertson 1997, 135-136); they contain an important collection of stone sculpture, including several types of monument, such as finely carved cross-slabs or panels (ill. 4.30; SCO8a), stone crosses and cross-marked recumbent slabs; they also share visible connections to prehistoric remains, attested by the presence on both sites of standing stones, cup-marked stones, a stone-circle and possible cairns and mounds (O'Grady 2008, 290-291; Robertson 1997, 134; SCO8 and 11). Both sites are early ecclesiastical centres. This is discernable through several aspects: Dull, in a 12th century source, is referred to as an *Urbs*, which, according to Will *et al.* (2003, 57), may be understood as a 'monastic settlement'. Little is known about its early medieval occupation, however, Taylor analyses its place-name as *dol* 'water-meadow, haugh' of Pictish origin. O'Grady (2008, 290) suggests that the two stone crosses found at Dull marked the boundaries of an early monastic compound (ill. 4.29).

Ill. 4.29 Dull stone cross 'Sanctuary Cross' SCO8c
Picture © A. Busset

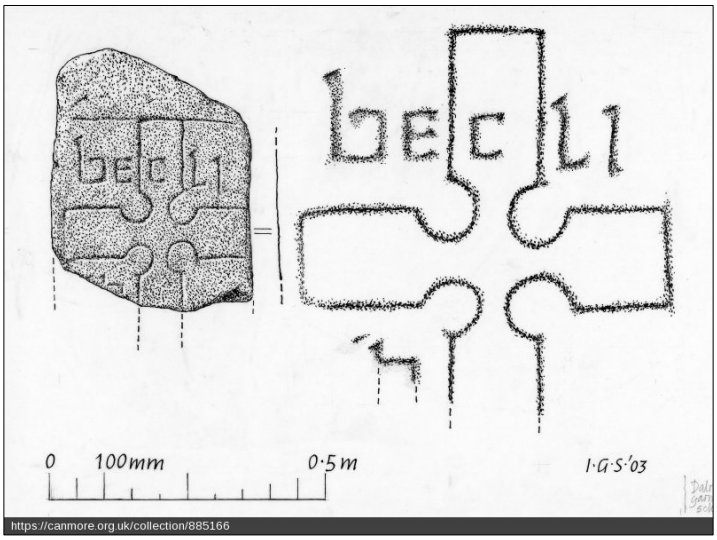
Recent archaeological research at Fortingall has uncovered cropmarks of ditched enclosures interpreted as a monastic *vallum* (O'Grady 2010; Robertson 1997, 136; Smith 1996, 33); what is more, the cross-slab Fortingall 1 (ill. 4.30; SCO11a) displays on its reverse the lower part of two cloaked figures, similar to the imagery observed on Aldbar cross-slab (SCO2a; ill. 5.9) or on St Vigeans 11 and 17 (SCO5; ill. 5.10). These figures have been interpreted as ecclesiastics, strengthening further the position of Fortingall as major ecclesiastical centre (Robertson 1997, 138).



Ill. 4.30 Fortingall 1 cross-slab (SCO11a)
Above (p.238): Picture © A. Busset, below: © © HES (Ian G. Scott Collection)

Cross-marked stones

The four sites presented in this section all have in common cross-marked stones, either recumbent or erected. As discussed above, this type of monument is traditionally associated with Irish missionary work (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 159). Dull and Fortingall have the largest collections of the region, with five stones at Fortingall (SCO11f-g-h-i) and seven at Dull (SCO8b). One stone at Dull is of particular significance: during a campaign of excavation between 2002 and 2003, a cross-marked slab bearing an inscription was discovered (ill. 4.31). The preserved portion of the inscription 'BECLI' probably represents a personal name (Clancy in Will *et al.* 2003, 65). The shape of the cross – Latin cross with rounded armpits – is found on two other stones at Dull (ill. 4.31; SCO8b), and is representative of the Iona type of cross (Forsyth in Will *et al.* 2003, 64; Henderson 1995, 209). A similar shape of cross is also observed in Nendrum, discussed in Chapter 3 (the 'Nendrum type', 3.3.2.3). The cross's style, as well as the palaeography of the inscription, suggests that the stone dates from the beginning of the 8th century (Charles-Edwards in Will *et al.* 2003, 67-68).



Ill. 4.31 Dull cross-marked stones and 'Becli' stone
Above: Picture © A. Busset, below: © © HES (Ian G Scott Collection)

The two remaining sites containing cross-marked stones, St Adamnan's cross next to Balnahanaid (ill. 4.31) and Cladh Bhranno (SCO7a), are situated about 20km west of Fortingall. The history of both early sites is unknown; they were both supposedly early medieval burial grounds and possibly ecclesiastical sites. According to Watson (1926, 251), the place-name Balnahanaid suggests the presence of an early cemetery; furthermore, the word 'anait' means 'mother church' (251-252). Cladh Bhranno may be interpreted as *Cladh* 'the burial place' and *Bhranno* possibly linked to St Brandon (or Brendan). The cemetery at Cladh Bhranno was still occasionally used at least in the 19th century, Balnahanaid seems to have been abandoned at an earlier date (RCAHMS reports NN54NE 3 and NN64NW 3).

Ill. 4.32 Adamnan's Cross, Balnahanaid (Fortingall parish)
Picture © A. Busset

4.2.4.2 Discussion

It is established that the sites presented in this section share strong connections to Iona, through the cults of Columba, Adomnán, Brendan and Coeti, and Irish missionaries may have founded the early ecclesiastical sites of Dull and Fortingall (Taylor 1999, 68-69; Robertson 1997, 133-137). Fortingall and Dull were in all probability major monastic centres, and both have large collections of carved stones. The prominence of Fortingall as an ecclesiastical site is supported by the presence of very fine cross-slabs, which have been compared in style with the stone sculpture of St Andrews (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 182). The presence of plain stone crosses possibly marking the boundaries of the monastic compound at Dull enhance the prominence of the place, while connecting it further to similar Irish sites (see Banagher below).

The cult of saints is represented through several place-names along the Glen, such as Milton Eonan, Cladh Bhranno, Cladh Chunna, Adamnan, and also Logierait, further east. These specific places were probably foci for devotional practices, enacted by local monks and lay people, or travellers. As proposed at the beginning of this section (4.3.2), several aspects of the sacred sites of Glen Lyon seem to indicate the presence of pilgrimage or liturgical practices linked to movement.

Ill. 4.33 Stone fonts or bullaun stones at Fortingall (top left), Dull (bottom left) and Cladh Bhranno (right)
Pictures: Fortingall and Cladh Bhranno © A. Busset; Dull © Crown Copyright: HES

Indeed, comparing the attributes of these sites with those introduced earlier (4.3), we notice that three sites at least (Dull, Fortingall and Cladh Bhranno) contain a bullaun stone; iron hand-bells have been also uncovered on three sites (Fortingall, Balnahanaid and Cladh Bhranno); and one site, Fortingall, may have been the burial place of a bishop of Iona, St Coeti. While iron bells are not strictly associated with pilgrimage, but more widely to liturgies, processions and a form of secondary relic of a saint, physical presence of his protection over a site (Bourke 1983), the fact that they are represented on carved stones that according to Harbison may be associated with pilgrimage is noteworthy (4.3.1).

Overall, the situation of the sacred sites in Glen Lyon emphasises ritualised movement through the landscape. Indeed, they are all located alongside a major

routeway, which links Iona to the east. Furthermore, the natural setting of the Glen – with steep hills bordering either side of the road – requires passage through possibly one single path, which is punctuated by sacred sites, and stone monuments. Also noteworthy is the frequency at which these places and monuments are found (map 4-15). The road through the Glen would certainly not have been easy to travel, and the natural elements – harsh weather, turbulent river – may have been seen as obstacles to reach the holy destination. In that perspective, the regular presence in the landscape of sacred places may have been experienced as havens to gather faith or as protection over the journey. Similarly to the Lough Erne case study, the route would have thus become an initiatory path for the pilgrim to travel, to ultimately attain the saint's relics at the monastery of Fortingall. This path would also have remained central to the cult and worship of St Columba, when Cinaéd Mac Alpín transferred his relics to Dunkeld in the 9th century.

Ill. 4.34 View of Glen Lyon to the east from Cladh Bhranno burial ground
Picture © A. Busset

4.2.5 Discussion: stone monuments, pilgrimages and liturgical paths

The three case studies presented in the second part of this chapter demonstrate that whether the stone monuments are located alongside a route to consecrate a king, or alongside pilgrimage or liturgical paths, they participate in the creation of sacred

movement, delineating devotional paths, while embodying and concentrating the transformative essence experienced by the kings, monks and lay people on their initiatory journeys.

Movement is therefore an integral part of this transformational experience; this transformation takes place in several stages, first through the journey to the sacred place or assembly site, then through the liturgical route created at the site to perform the ritual of royal inauguration or to attain the relics, or other holy focus of the pilgrimage. While stone monuments may provide stages to delineate the wider journey, alongside mounds, or churches, they may also form nodal points at or throughout the sacred paths to focalise devotional practices. They may also provide spiritual protection, by delineating sacred space, such as the stone crosses in Dull. Areas on the stone monument may sometimes be created to concentrate these devotional practices, such as the design of the cross, the location of an inscription (see discussion on the Drosten Stone 5.3.1.4), or the triangular cut visible at the bottom of monuments such as on Meigle 1 (ill. 5.11) or Constantine's Cross (ill. 3.4). As discussed in Chapter 3, the stone monuments are indeed encoded with transformative messages, conveyed by the imagery and inscriptions they carry, but also through their materiality; they thus lead, support and enhance the sacred journey travelled by the pilgrim.

4.3 Boundaries and liminal places

The last section of this chapter discusses stone monuments at boundaries and liminal places. Boundaries may embody several purposes and concepts: demarcating the limit of a religious or secular estate; marking the passage between lay and consecrated grounds; or marking a 'liminal' place, where the mundane meets the supernatural, inhabited land meets wilderness, or where the living meet the dead. For the latter part, the concept of 'liminality' in pre-Christian and early Christian beliefs will be discussed.

Boundaries marked by stone monuments may be discussed from both the perspective of place and movement, as they are intrinsically part of each; while they delineate a place, as discussed in Chapter 3, they also embody a transitional essence, by marking the passage between the 'outside' and the 'inside'. The topography surrounding them may also enhance this.

Stone monuments can be used as boundary markers of territories of various sizes. Indeed, as stated by Reynolds (2002, 171): '… boundaries can be ranked from simple enclosures around individual homesteads, to field … boundaries, and then up to estate, hundred and shire boundaries, with the physical limits of kingdoms at the very top of the scale'. Examples within the selected sites for this research may demonstrate this, such as Kilnasaggart (IR 2), which may have marked the southern boundary of a royal estate (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 242), rune stones at Fällbro U 142, Fresta kyrka U 261 or Södersätra U 101 (SCA6, SCA7 and SCA18), which may have marked Jarlabanke's estate boundaries, while the stone crosses at Dull (SCO8) may have marked the boundaries of the monastic compound.

4.3.1 Topography of boundaries

One major difficulty of studying monuments as boundary markers is that few are still *in situ*. Within the selection of this research however, a few exceptions may be noted, especially in Scandinavia, where several monuments have been proposed to be boundary markers, as they are placed on or close to the boundaries of an estate or a *härad* (e.g. Broby bro (SCA5), Fällbro (SCA6), Hagby (SCA9), Söderby, Orkesta (SCA17) (3.2.3.1; 4.1.1). The original location of these monuments is not always confirmed, however, their current position in the landscape may support such an interpretation. Several examples from Ireland and Scotland have also been proposed as boundary markers, such as Kilnasaggart (5.3.1.2; IR2), the Cooley Cross, Moville (4.1.2.4; IR7), Killadeas (4.2.3; IR13), or St Orland's Stone, Glamis (4.3.3 below; SCO4d), or the stone crosses at Dull (4.2.4.1; SCO8c); these have been interpreted not only because they may be in or close to their original location, but also in relation to the parish centre they are associated with.

The topographic settings of stone monuments at boundaries reveal also several common traits in each region studied. Indeed, they may be situated on specific locations in the landscape, such as prominent knolls, hillsides or the base of a hill (U338, Granby SCA8; U147-148, Hagby SCA9; U101, Södersätra SCA18; Banagher IR3; Glamis, Hunters' Hill SCO4a; Constantine's Cross and Invermay Cross SCO10a and b), and riversides, watersides, watersheds and bogs (Aspa löt SCA1; Arkils tingstad SCA2; Bogesund SCA4; Hillersjö SCA11; Hovgården SCA12; Östra Ryds SCA14; Vallentuna kyrka SCA20; Anundshög SCA21; Kilnasaggart IR2; Carndonagh IR4; Fahan Mura IR8;

Killadeas IR13; Clones IR14; Arboe IR16; Aberlemno SCO1; Aldbar SCO2; Glamis SCO4; St Vigeans SCO5; Woodrae SCO6; Dull SCO8; Forteviot SOC10; Fortingall SCO11; Logierait SCO12; Meigle SCO13). The presence of bridges seems also to be central, however, it is mostly revealed through runic inscriptions within the Scandinavian case studies (also revealed through the suffix –*bro*, such as Broby bro SCA5; Fällbro SCA6; Hargs bro SCA10; and Jarlabanke bro SCA19). An example from Scotland further supports this interpretation; indeed, at Kinord Loch (Grampians), a cross-slab has been found supposedly in its original position next to a causeway going out to a crannog (Shepherd 1986, 122; Stuart 1868, 68). As stone monuments are also frequently situated close to water, it may be supposed that bridges or fording places were also present close to Irish monuments.

4.3.2 Parish boundaries

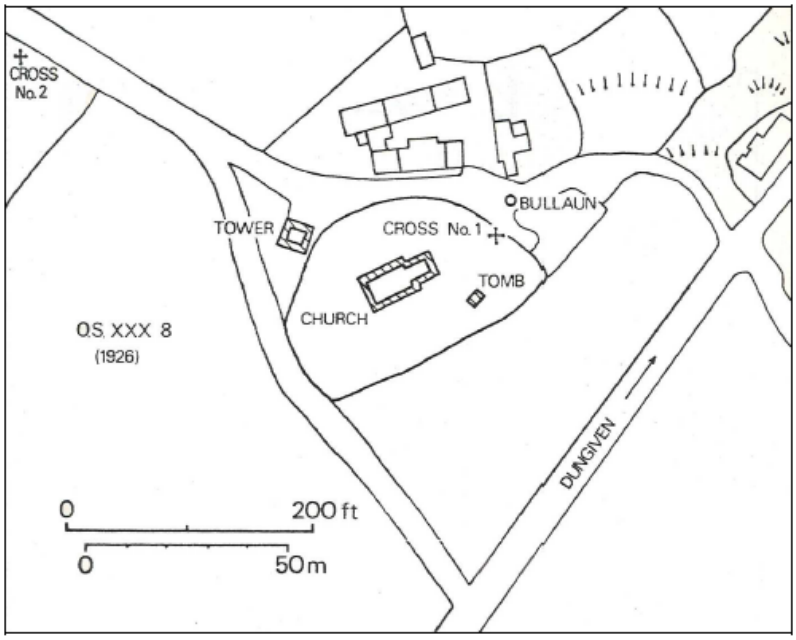
In Scotland, recent research on Aberdeenshire has underlined the connections of early medieval stone monuments with medieval parish boundaries, showing that parish organisation may reflect earlier organisation of land (Fraser and Halliday 2007, 2011). This has been since explored further in Strathspey (Moray), where Pictish stones were uncovered at both parish boundaries and the centre of the parish, at a possible early church site (Thickpenny 2015). While no such detailed research on connections between medieval parishes and carved stones has been published for the regions south of the Mounth, several cases seem to follow that pattern, such as St Orland's Stone (Glamis, SCO4), or Logierait (SCO12) for instance.

This pattern is also visible to a certain extent through both the Scandinavian selection, with stone monuments delineating the estate of an individual or family (see U338, U341 and U342 at Granby and Söderby, Jarlabanke's estate, and Gunne's estate 3.2.4.; Estrid's estate 4.1.2.4, 4.1.2.5) and the Irish selection, with for instance the stone crosses at Banagher, demarcating the limits of Magheramore townland.

4.3.2.1 Banagher, Co. Derry

Indeed, as stated at the beginning of this section, stone monuments may also mark the limit of consecrated land, on a smaller unit than parish boundary. This may be the case at Banagher, Co. Derry (IR3). The following short discussion will attempt to demonstrate how stone monuments may delineate sacred land, or *termonn*, marking

'the boundary between sacred and profane space, symbolically excluding the world from the sacred precincts' (Aitchison 1994, 217). In doing so, the stone crosses created an *inside*, without the presence of a wall or *vallum* (Samson 1992b, 28). Nevertheless, the reconstruction of sacred land may present many difficulties when the original location of monuments is unknown, and some monuments are missing. Within the selection discussed in this research, a similar case is found at Dull (4.2.5.1), and possibly Glamis, as will be discussed below.



Ill. 4.35 Banagher site plan
© A. Hamlin 2008 [1976], 258

While the early history of Banagher prior to the 12th century is mostly unknown – the first entry in *AU* regarding this site dates from 1121 – the early church may have been founded at a slightly earlier time (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 258; Reeves 1850, 106-108). Five stone crosses are traditionally recorded (Lewis 1837, http://www.libraryireland.com/topog/B/Banagher-Kenaught-Londonderry.php), but only two survive today; while one (IR3b), situated in a field north-west of the churchyard may still be at or close to its original location, the second one, situated on a knoll inside the churchyard, overlooking the eastern entry to the churchyard, may have possibly been reset (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 262). A mortuary house situated close to the church suggests that Banagher may have been associated with the cult of a saint or the founder of the place (Edwards 1990, 131; IR3), while a large bullaun stone is found near the base of the hill, close to another ruined stone building, the so-

called 'Abbey' (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 261). The five crosses recorded at Banagher echo the number of High Crosses traditionally recorded at Armagh.

Furthermore, the stone crosses have been recorded as boundary markers of the Banagher church land (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 262; Lewis 1837, 'Banagher'). The church is located on the Magheramore townland, within Banagher parish, which was known as *Baile an Teampaill* 'the townland of the church' (Reeves 1850, 53). The boundaries of Banagher townland seem to have changed slightly since the early medieval period (Muhr 2003), placing the monument situated in the north-western field (IR3b) on the neighbouring townland of Carnanbane, close to the boundary with Magheramore. The stone cross situated in the churchyard (IR3a) may either have been moved from its original boundary-marking position, or was possibly meant to be a focal point within the churchyard, while the four other crosses may have marked the boundaries, following the model of larger ecclesiastical sites, such as Armagh (3.3.1, IR1)

While the lack of evidence prevents further informed interpretation, it may be suggested that stone monuments (interestingly, at Banagher and Dull, stone crosses), demarcated the *termonn* around the church, embodying the physical representation of the intangible sacred boundary of the church. Within this boundary was the divine protection, in the same fashion as created by the multivallate structure observed at other early ecclesiastical sites, such as Nendrum (3.3.2).

4.3.3 Liminal places

The last section of this chapter will examine the concept of liminality, and how stone monuments situated at such places may embody the notion of passage, and threshold, sometimes literally. Sacred space is delineated by liminal places, marking the frontier between the secular and the holy, the natural and supernatural, or the living and the dead. This concept has its roots in pre-Christian Celtic and Norse beliefs, and is usually linked to natural places which become charged with symbolic meanings, such as groves, rivers, lakes, bogs and wetlands, springs, wells, rocky outcrops, or hills that were used as foci for ritual activities (e.g. Nordeide 2013, 14-17; Fabech and Näsman 2013, 65-82; Brink 2001, 79-88; Bradley 2000).

As discussed at the beginning of this section, several aspects may define the liminality of a place: the natural topography, the confluence of rivers, the presence of crossroads, but also constructed boundaries, as embodied by the stone monument, or by a wall. In the last case, early medieval stone monuments built into medieval church or churchyard walls may be considered (see 5.4.2). The main sacred concept of such places is the notion of passage and crossing: passage from secular to consecrated grounds or passage to the Otherworld for instance. In that sense, bridges seem to play a particular role, as is especially visible though the numerous mentions of bridges on rune stones, and their connections overall (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 634; Klos 2009, 225; Lund 2005; Sawyer 2000, 134). Indeed, in Uppland, seventy-five stones mention bridges, and at least seventy-five more may have been situated next to one (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 634); within the selection analysed for this research, ten rune stones mention the building of a bridge (Sö 141 SCA1c; U135 SCA5a; U142 SCA6; U261 SCA7; U143 SCA9a; U310 SCA10b; U330 SCA15b; U101 SCA18a; U164-165 SCA 19). While the sacred concept of bridges is also found in pre-Christian beliefs (Lund 2005, 118-120) it was also considered a good Christian deed to build a bridge, and also certainly an act of prestige (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 634); this may have been for tangible reasons, to improve communication (Sawyer 2000, 134), but also to provide a passage for the deceased, as a path to help the soul cross to the other side (Lund 2005, 121-122; Zachrisson 1998, 148). Andrén (2000, 9-10) has argued that rune stones need to be analysed as a whole, through inscription and context, therefore rune stones erected next to bridges, and which mention the building of the bridge may be interpreted as a protection, or a prayer to escort or guide the soul over the bridge; the inclusion of the place-name *-bro* ('bridge'), found in numerous occurrences associated with rune stones, emphasises the significance of the crossing further.

The notion of the boundary may also embody protection, or, on the contrary, fear, or danger. In early medieval Ireland, the presence of burial grounds at boundaries seems to evoke the protection of the dead over the estate, and a claim of ownership over the land (O'Brien and Bhreathnach 2011, 53-64); a similar interpretation has been proposed in Anglo-Saxon England (Semple 2008, 408-409; Williams, H.M.R. 1998, 91-92), while it has also been suggested that these liminal burials may have more negative connotations, and that boundaries were made to exclude 'social deviants to the limits of territories' (Reynolds 2002, 188). In Scandinavia, at least two sites

include burials at boundaries: Bogesund (SCA4) and Broby bro (SCA5). At Broby bro, some of the burials uncovered are connected to the estate, and possibly named by the rune stones (see 4.1.2.2 above), while at Bogesund, the burial grounds behind the rune stones date from the Iron Age. The presence of the rune stone at 'pagan' burial ground may be interpreted as a symbol of protection, or, as suggested by Gräslund and Lager (2012 [2008], 635), as part of the consecration of the place.

These different aspects of monuments at liminal places will now be discussed through the Scottish case study of St Orland's Stone, in Cossans, Glamis parish.

4.3.3.1 Monument at the edges: St Orland's Stone, Angus

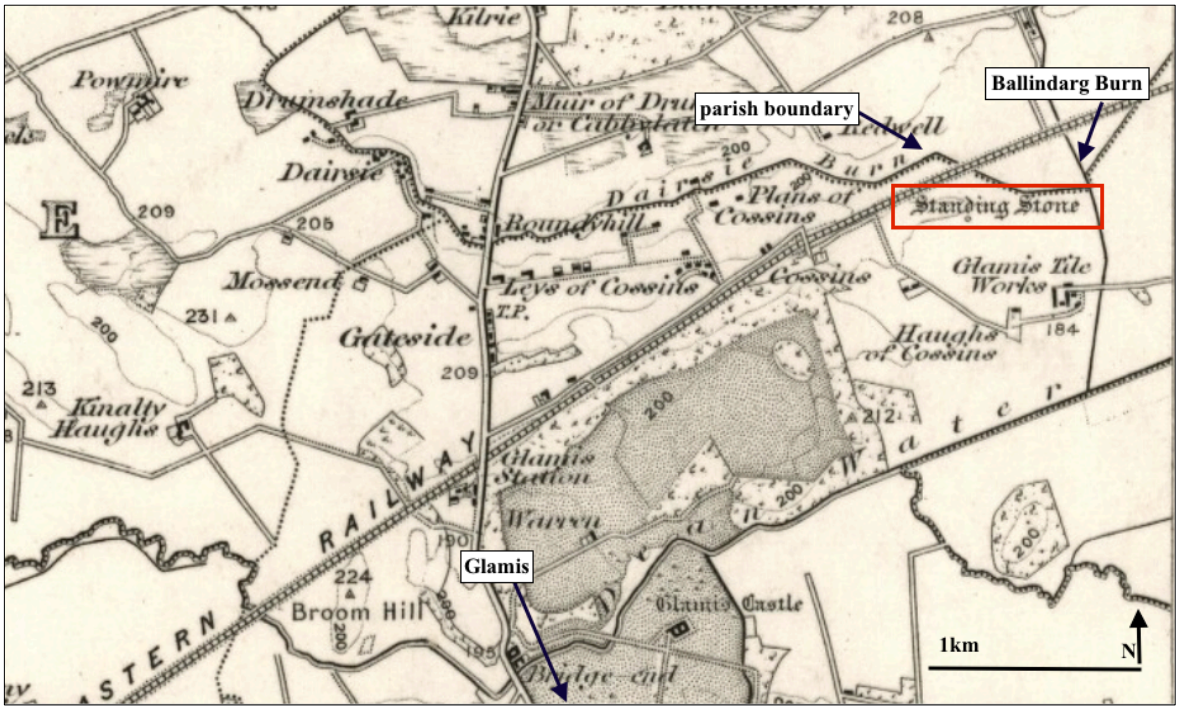
St Orland's stone (SCO4d) is situated at the north-eastern boundary of Glamis parish, at Cossans, approximately 2.5km of Glamis village in Angus. The parish of Glamis is associated with the cult of St Fergus, who was according to Stirton associated with St Patrick (1913, 6); however, while it may refer to an early medieval saint, his exact origin is unknown (see 'Fergus' in the 'Saints in Scottish place-names' database). Glamis contains also two cross-slabs and several carved stones fragments (SCO4a-b), as well as a cave and well dedicated to the saint (Stirton 1913; 1938).

The tall cross-slab is situated at the confluence of the Dairsie Burn (or Roundy Burn) to the north, and the Ballindarg Burn to the east. It is unclear whether the stone still stands in its original position, as it has been reset in a concrete base following excavations that took place during the 19th century; however, recent excavations seem to have uncovered a stone base directly underneath the cross-slab (Murray 2008, 32). The 19th century excavation, led by Andrew Jervise, uncovered six stone coffins containing human remains in crouched positions, oriented E-W (Murray 2008, 32; Jervise 1855-56, 249-251). St Orland's stone may therefore be one of the few cross-slabs possibly standing in its original location directly associated with human remains.

The monument (SCO4d) is decorated with a ring-headed cross on its east side, while the west side displays two large Pictish symbols on the top part of the slab, a hunting scene including four riders and two hounds in the middle, while the lower register depicts a boat carrying six figures above two animals, a bull or cow and a clawed creature. Above the hunting scene is a deep quadrangular recess, where a main rider

may have been represented (and possibly removed), or where an insert, of precious metal for instance, could have been embedded (Goldberg in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 165; Fraser 2008, 50). The boat depiction on St Orland's stone is unique in Pictland, and its interpretation is unclear (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 137); it may represent a life event of the person commemorated, or a metaphorical representation of souls being carried through the Otherworld, in a similar fashion as discussed by Andrén for the Gotlandic picture stones (1993, 33-56). Following this interpretation, it is interesting to note that the excavation led by Jervise uncovered six burials, making a possible parallel to the six figures represented on the boat; however, Murray also mentions the discovery of burials during the 2008 excavation, but does not indicate if they were part of Jervise's excavation or new discoveries.

The first edition of the Ordnance Survey (ill. 4.36) indicates that St Orland's Stone is situated at the boundary of the parish. This information may be treated cautiously, as parish boundaries went through several important modifications during the medieval period and the Reformation (Taylor 2014, 110), however, as the stone is situated next to a burn, the boundary may have been less likely to change.



Ill. 4.36 St Orland's Stone, Glamis parish
OS map 1st edition 1870 (Sheet 56 Blairgowrie) © National Library of Scotland

Nevertheless, the cross-slab at Cossans seems to have marked a boundary of some kind; indeed the monument is situated on a sandy ridge, at the limit between arable

lands and marshy area, which may have been the former edge of Forfar Loch, according to Allen and Anderson (*ECMS*, ii, 218; ill. 4.37)

St Orland's cross-slab seems therefore to have marked more than one boundary; indeed, it may have been situated at the parish boundary between Glamis and Kirriemuir, but stood as a marker between worlds, occupying a liminal place in the landscape, next to a small burial ground, possibly protecting it against the wilderness that a marshy area may have represented. Furthermore, the unique boat imagery represented on the stone may be a possible reference to the transport of the souls to the Otherworld. St Orland's stone would have therefore embodied an allegory of safe passage to the other world, and protection for Christian souls.

Ill. 4.37 St Orland's Stone, looking south-east
Picture © A. Busset

4.4 General discussion

This chapter has demonstrated that across each region examined, early medieval stone monuments guided and created movement within the landscape, at different scales. The first section discussed monuments, which connected places over large distances, recreating sometimes the movement of individuals throughout their life (Estrid) or connecting places to major power centres (Inishowen and Aberlemno).

Scandinavian rune stones allow for a direct understanding of these connections through the inscriptions they carry, while the connections through Irish and Scottish monuments need to be deciphered through clues sometimes displayed within the carvings, or through the presence of a certain type of monument.

The second section considered monuments on sacred routeways, such as inauguration paths, and pilgrimage. These cases demonstrated that monuments connect places throughout the landscape, but may also participate in the creation of liturgical movement on the sites they are erected at. While these are interpretations from the analysis of each region, the data and evidence they are constructed on are reflective of the commonalities of use, construction, and display of stone monuments, which are indeed common to each region.

Common to each region studied, and central to the notion of stone monuments creating movement, is the visibility of the stones from the audience's perspective. Indeed, along with the location of the stones, their visibility while moving through the landscape is also a primary element of the experiential relationship of early medieval societies with stone monuments. Interactions would have happened on two levels: first, by seeing the stones when approaching them in the landscape, people would have 'absorbed' the holistic experience of encountering a large stone monument in a natural or constructed place; and second, getting close to the monument, by touching the stone, or 'reading' the carvings (when biblical scenes are represented for instance) or the inscription when individuals were literate. In the case of pilgrimage or liturgical route, a defined path may have brought the people to the stone, participating in the experience of anticipation and emotion of progressing closer and closer to the innermost holy place marked by a sacred monument.

Movement can be thus be observed across these many interlinking levels. An inscription on a rune stone for instance may mention the clearing of a path, linking the monument to its immediate environment, but the same inscription may also mention a whole area or bigger still, travels to another land, connecting the monument to distant places. The same may be observed through the choice of certain iconography, types of monuments, or sometimes through place-names where the monument is erected.

The notion of movement thus combines multiple layers; layers which then are multiplied by the presence of other stone monuments sharing similarities in different places, guiding the flow of people in a network of interconnected social, physical and cultural exchanges, all informed, influenced, entangled, and shaped by carved stones.

5. Third theme: Monuments as objects of identity, memory and reuse

5.1 Introduction

Chapters 3 and 4 considered stone monuments within their landscape contexts, by analysing their interaction and intersections with place and movement; this chapter will centre on the monument itself, how the iconography and inscriptions it contains contribute to create its identity, its use as a mnemonic object and a focus for commemorative practices, and lastly, the reuse either of an ancient place of significance, or the subsequent reuse of an existing prehistoric standing stone within an ancient, pre-existing place of power in the landscape to erect and create a stone monument. The following reuse of early medieval stone monuments, and its symbolic significance will then be briefly discussed.

5.2 Identity

The concept of identity in archaeology is a recent one, yet it may be argued that the perception and awareness of it, conscious or unconscious, is much older (Gräslund 2011, 147-148; Insoll 2007, 3; Jones 1997, 45-47). The aim of this section is to explore how identity is expressed through carved stones and rune stones, with a specific focus on the balance between individual, collective and regional identities, and how they are used to convey both a 'Christian' and commemorative message. Here, the word Christian is used broadly, as it comprises many *Christianities* (see Ch.2). Identity is however a complex notion, fraught with difficulties and pitfalls, as it can be easily distorted to serve nationalist, political, or religious discourses, and thus needs to be used carefully (for further discussion on the notion of identity in archaeology, see e.g. Insoll 2007, 1-18; Meskell 2007, 23-43; Jones 1997; 2007, 44-58; Fisher and Di Paolo 2003).

Identity is what 'bind[s] or divide[s] human groups locally and globally' (Gosden 1994, cited by Insoll 2007, 1); indeed this can be directly observed through stone monuments, as they are defined by their multiple identities, such as artistic, iconographic, and epigraphic. These aspects connect the monuments to their

commissioner, to the workshop or sculptor/carver that made them, and more broadly, to the kin they relate to.

The various identities observed through the stone monuments will be discussed in the following section, by presenting the regional specificities of each, and comparing and contrasting them. It will finally be demonstrated that, while the similarities shared by the stone monuments link them to general commemorative practices observed in many north-western European regions between the 5th and the 12th centuries, the contrasts will elucidate the disparate praxis of the regional use of stone monuments within a political and religious discourse, as the two are often distinct yet also intertwined.

5.2.1 Regional identity and kindred identity

Early medieval carved stones encompass several aspects relating to local identity, generated either by regionality or belonging to a kin-group, or to proclaim a connection to a magnate family or a *paruchia*. The previous chapters have demonstrated that early medieval carved stones and rune stones are part of a similar practice, which defined, and *identified*, societies which were situated at the north-western edge of the Roman world. These monuments flourished with the process of conversion to Christianity; each region, however, used specific tools and designs to create monuments that reflected conscious choices of design and iconography, made first by the political and religious elites, then by the people.

The form, shape, morphology or iconography that brings a monument into being is defined by several factors, such as the choice of stone type, the carver or school of carvings that will make the monument, the conventions used locally, and also the personal preferences of the commissioner. The choice of type of stone may be decided either by the proximity of a quarry, as observed for instance through the majority of Upplandic rune stones (Hagenfeldt and Palm 1996, 20-22); but also, by a deliberate choice of the commissioner who may choose a type of stone brought from a specific quarry, as observed at St Vigeans (Geddes forthcoming [c]; VIG 001, 008 and 029; SCO 5). It may also be influenced by the evolution of the tradition of erecting carved stones, as observed in Uppland, where sandstone replaced crystalline rock as source material for stone monuments from the second half of the 11th century, when rune stones are placed in churchyards (Hagenfeldt and Palm 1996, 13-22).

In Scandinavia, Anne-Sofie Gräslund (2011, 147-161) discussed the connections through rune stones amongst kin-groups and families over extended areas; Stalley (2007, 153-166) and Harbison (1992, 337-338) have addressed the question from different (albeit complementary) perspectives: while Harbison analysed the regional patterns and specificities in the choice of imagery represented (choice of biblical scenes and disposition on the cross), Stalley analysed the work of one specific workshop – or sculptor – through the so-called 'Midland scripture crosses', to address the questions relating to the role of the commissioner and style of the sculptor. Unfortunately, no such thorough analysis has been carried out with the High Crosses from the Ulster group, although Harbison identified several traits shared by this ensemble.

5.2.1.1 Rune stones and Christian identities

The structure of runic inscriptions

The presence and importance of regional and kindred identities, and their commemoration and display can be seen quite readily in the rune stones examined by this work. Almost all runic inscriptions incised on erected stones or boulders in the 11th century employ the same formula: *x* erected the stone in memory of *y* (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 629). The same structure, with some variations then follows: the relationship between *x* and *y* is established, the way *y* died is sometimes specified, and additional information about the commissioner is occasionally added. In some instances, the name of the carver is also mentioned. An example of this type of formulaic inscription is found on U 135 at Broby bro (SCA5a):

> 'Ingifastr and Eysteinn and Sveinn had these stones raised in memory of Eysteinn, their father, and made this bridge and this mound'

And on Vs13, at Anunsdhög (SCA21):

> 'Folkvid raised all these stones in memory of his son Hedhinn, Önund's brother. Vreidhr cut the runes'

In some instances, there are multiple commissioners, and also multiple agents who are commemorated, as we have seen through the Estrid case study (e.g. U 309 in Hargs bro, SCA10a).

Sigvidhr and Ingvarr and Jarlabanki had the runes carved in memory of Ingvarr, their father, and in memory of Ragnvaldr, their brother.

Ill. 5.1 U 135, Broby bro
Picture © A. Busset

The dedications

Although rune stones are commemorative monuments dedicated to a deceased relative, they are first and foremost monuments for the living; indeed by erecting a rune stone, commissioners made also a statement of power, by linking themselves to a powerful member of their community or family for instance, and by connecting the monuments to their surrounding landscape, such as roads, assembly sites or farm estates (Jesch 2005, 95). The rune stones carry on the Old Norse tradition of remembering the good deeds of the deceased that were celebrated in songs or poems (Jesch 1998, 462-468; 2005, 97-101); however, the sponsor of the rune stone is always named first, while his or her good actions are situated at the end of the inscription, after the name and achievements of the deceased.

As seen in Chapter 2, Zachrisson (1998, 129-136) and Lager (2003, 500) consider the majority of rune stones as an indication of the conversion process being achieved for the individuals who erected them; the commissioners are thus already Christian, and the stone monuments themselves embody this Christianity. Inscriptions sometimes

reinforce the Christian identity of the commissioner, and the deceased, by the addition of a prayer (as in Sö 138, SCA1b), mention of baptism (see Sawyer 2000, 140) or by the nature of the deeds accomplished by the sponsor, such as the construction of a bridge, cleaning of a path or building of a church, although the last are rare (for discussion on the 'pagan' identity of some rune stones, see e.g. Sawyer 2000, 125-133). The building of bridges in early medieval Scandinavia is considered a Christian deed, similar to a donation to the church (Lund 2005, 120-121; Sawyer 2000, 134). Another act of piety related on rune stones is pilgrimage – although similarly to the building of churches, these are scarce (see Ch. 4; e.g. U 136, SCA5b). While not present on every rune stone, each of these elements included in runic inscriptions contribute to proclaim the Christian identity of the commissioner.

Ill. 5.2 U 226, Arkils tingstad (Bällsta)
Picture © A. Busset

Kin-groups

One essential component of runic inscriptions is the relationship or affiliation of the sponsor(s) with the deceased. Indeed, as seen through multiple case studies (e.g. Arkils, U 225-226, Ill 5.2; Granby U 337-338; Gunne U 166-167, U 170-171; Estrid U 101, U 135-140, U 142, U 143, U 150-151, U 309-310; Hillersjö U 29 – see below), this connection not only emphasises the position of the commissioners, but it also situates them within a family or client network, and a kin-group. Furthermore, the number of rune stones erected by the same sponsor also stamps his or her wealth and status onto the landscape, and asserts it in a public sphere of interaction. Gräslund (2011, 152-160) discusses the collective identity shared by members of the same kin-groups through an ensemble of rune stones presenting similar designs in addition to the inscriptions they contain. These stones not only demonstrate that the sponsors participated in the choice of ornaments of rune stones, but also that conscious collective identity processes were created beyond regionality, forming connections amongst or even beyond kin-groups.

Discussion

Runic monuments and the inscriptions and ornaments they contain participate in the creation of early medieval and early Christian identities on several levels: by stating or creating the prestige of the commissioners and affirming their Christian beliefs, by commemorating the life and deeds of the deceased, and also by connecting individuals and families on a wider scale, creating clientships and networks in a visible fashion through the landscape.

5.2.1.2 The iconography of the 'Ulster group' of Irish High Crosses

While on the surface appearing dissimilar, the Irish High Crosses are also encoded with a message that conveys information about regional and kindred identities. The following section will discuss the identity of Ulster High Crosses through their iconography, what observations can be made on the specificities of these monuments' imagery, and what connections or influences can be perceived amongst this ensemble. These observations are based on Harbison's art-historical analysis of the Ulster group (1992, 337-338).

The Irish selection of carved stones for this research includes various types of monuments, such as cross-slabs, cross-incised stones, stone crosses, carved pillars and of course High Crosses. The ensemble of High Crosses from Ulster includes a variety of decorated and undecorated crosses, which are either incised (Carrowmore IR5), carved in relief (Armagh IR1; Clonca IR6; Downpatrick IR9; Clones IR14; Arboe IR14 and Clogher IR17), or both (Carndonagh IR4).

Ill. 5.3 Fragments of Armagh High Cross(es)
Picture © A. Busset

Harbison describes the iconographical program represented on the northern group of High Crosses as 'fairly consistent' and repetitive (1992, 337). Indeed, apart from a few exceptions, at Clones for instance, the central theme on all crosses is the Crucifixion, while the Last Judgment is represented in second. Daniel in the Lion's Den is also often represented, and replaces the Crucifixion on the head of Clones High Cross (Harbison 1992, 45; ill. 5.4).

Ill. 5.4 Daniel in the Lion's Den, head of Clones High Cross
Picture © A. Busset

The surviving fragments from Armagh's High Crosses, which Harbison suggests come originally from two crosses (1992, 19), are badly damaged (ill. 5.3); one of the monuments they constituted has been indeed over-thrown at least twice, in the 17th and 19th century (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 227; Harbison 1992, 19). Therefore, the iconography of this imposing monument is difficult to read; yet several scenes found on other Ulster High Crosses are recognisable. As a major religious power centre and monastery, the monuments at Armagh would indeed have served as models and 'distributed' their imagery to the other High Crosses of Ulster (Harbison 1992, 337-338). The High Cross at Arboe (ill. 5.5) is the only complete monument of the ensemble, and the best preserved. Harbison (1992, 337-338) and Henry (1964a, 47) draw close comparisons between this cross and the one at Armagh, suggesting that if the monument at Armagh were better preserved, it would have been similar to the one at Arboe, yet grander.

Ill. 5.5 Arboe High Cross
Pictures © A. Busset

By the defined selection of scenes represented, most of Ulster High Crosses constitute a coherent ensemble of monuments; the group of crosses in Inishowen however depart both in their morphology and ornamentation from the rest of the Ulster group. Indeed, the monument at Cooley, Moville, is the only ringed cross of Inishowen, but it is undecorated; the Clonca cross is carved in relief, but is mostly decorated with interlace (ill. 5.6), and what is preserved from its head shows that it was originally a ring-less short-armed cross. It also seemingly contains the only representation of St Paul and St Anthony of the Ulster group (Harbison 1992, 44). The east cross at Carrowmore, today badly weathered, is incised with a crucifixion scene, while the Patrick Cross in Carndonagh contains a crucifixion scene on its shaft, instead of its head, which is decorated with interlaced ribbons.

Ill. 5.6 Clonca High Cross – detail
Pictures © A. Busset

A sixth monument present in Inishowen, included by Harbison in his selection of High Crosses, is St Mura's cross-slab at Fahan. This monument is unique in Ireland, and has been interpreted by Lacey (2008, 341-342) as possibly showing a connection between the Cenél nÉogain and the Picts; its shape and cross-style has also been compared to Pictish sculpture, especially Glamis (SCO4a) (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 189). The dating of this monument is uncertain and has been widely debated, ranging from the 7th to the 10th century (Lacey 2008, 342; Harbison 1986, 52; Edwards 1990, 163; Henry 1965); however, Harbison argues that the Carndonagh Cross was unlikely to have been erected before the second half of the 9th century (1992, 475-476).

Ill. 5.7 St Mura's Cross, Fahan
Picture © A. Busset

The group of Inishowen crosses is therefore not only different from the rest of Ulster High Crosses, but varies also from one monument to the other. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.1.2.1, it has been suggested that the High Cross in Carndonagh may have been erected to commemorate an alliance between the Cenél nEógain and Armagh possibly as early as the 8th century (Lacey 2008, 342; for the political alliance between Cenél nÉogain and Armagh, see Charles-Edwards 2002, 410). Patrick's Cross may have possibly been erected as a commemoration of the event, or a renewal of the alliance.

In any case, the Inishowen crosses did not use Armagh monuments as a model. Following the dating of Harbison, it seems unlikely that the Armagh monuments were not in existence at the time Inishowen crosses were erected; it may be that the elites that commissioned the monuments were instead consciously creating a different visual identity. It is, however, also possible that the local geology, which the stones were sourced from did not permit the realisation of crosses carved in high relief. More study is needed to prove or disprove the question of geology; yet the interpretation favoured by this work is that the stones were messengers that physically highlighted a different regional and kindred identity through the use of

distinct style and morphology that highlighted a conscious and *perceived difference* by the elites of Inishowen themselves, and the elites of Armagh.

Indeed, the five ecclesiastical sites in Inishowen that contain stone monuments were seemingly not part of the same carving tradition, or network of regional identity as the other High Crosses of Ulster. The historical context suggests however, that at least one of the monuments – at Carndonagh – may have been erected to create a visible connection to Armagh, reflecting ebbs and flows of political power and attempts at the creation of interregional connections amongst elites as power became centralised over the course of time, as discussed above in Chapter 4, which situated Inishowen within the larger historical context of early medieval Ulster.

Discussion

Consequently, within this milieu, Armagh, as a prominent religious centre, probably provided the model(s) to create the majority of the crosses found in Ulster; the similarities observed on Arboe High Cross, which is the only complete monument, and the restricted range of imagery observed on the other crosses, would indeed indicate this. The imagery represented on the selection of decorated crosses emphasises the theme of redemption, with the crucifixion represented on almost all crosses, while secular imagery is notably absent.

As seen through previous chapters, the Ulster ensemble of early medieval stone monuments contains a variety of shapes and ornamentations. They all convey a sense of strong Christian identity, although their function may differ slightly depending on their context. Carved pillars containing both ecclesiastical and secular figures were probably linked to liturgical routes, prayer, or pilgrimage (Carndonagh IR4c-d; Killadeas IR13; White Island IR15); while cross-incised or –carved recumbent slabs were more likely used as grave-markers. The High Crosses however contain a unique choice of imagery, proposed by a carver and selected by its commissioner(s) (Stalley 2007) to represent not only the strength of the Christian faith and its protection, but also the power, wealth and protection of the secular elite that commissioned the monument. In this vein, then, the deliberate differences between the Inishowen High Crosses and those of the rest of Ulster, is as indicative by the choice of iconography as the inscriptions of the rune stones of Scandinavia are, in promoting and displaying a

chosen and deliberate message of identity, both of regionality and of kingship, albeit through a medium of overt and deliberate Christian imagery.

5.2.1.3 Pictish stones, Christian faiths and secular prestige

In order to draw comparisons with the Irish selection, and more particularly, the imagery of the High Crosses, this section will focus on the imagery of Pictish stones, starting of course with the Pictish symbols, and then discussing two main iconographical themes widely represented on the monuments comprised in this thesis' selection: the horseman and David imagery. It will be argued that, in contrast to the Irish High Crosses, the Pictish stones retained a strong secular identity, present through embodiment of divinely sanctioned figures.

The Pictish symbols

Pictish symbols are the starting point in interpreting the identity of the Picts through carved stones (see Figure 2.c). The symbols are indeed both geographically and chronologically defined, and above all, unique to the Picts. They are represented on several types of objects, both portable and monumental, although they are most widely preserved on the latter. Pictish symbols are present in several different mediums of material cultures from the 5th or 6th century until the end of the 9th century.

Although unintelligible, the Pictish symbols have been interpreted as a writing system, possibly forming personal names (Forsyth 1995b, 7-10; 1997, 85-98; Samson 1992a, 42-57). This interpretation has been largely accepted, and situates the Pictish stones within the widespread tradition of personal patronage over commemorative practices which are publicly displayed (e.g. Carver 2004, 16; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 170).

First incised on undressed boulders mostly found in north-east Scotland, the symbols are then associated with Christian imagery on cross-slabs. Their transition to cross-slabs shows that although Christianity, and the Christian message, became prominent within early medieval society, the Pictish symbols formed an integral part of the Picts' visual identity and commemorative practices. Interestingly, the Pictish symbols are mostly represented on the face opposite the cross, and if they are sometimes

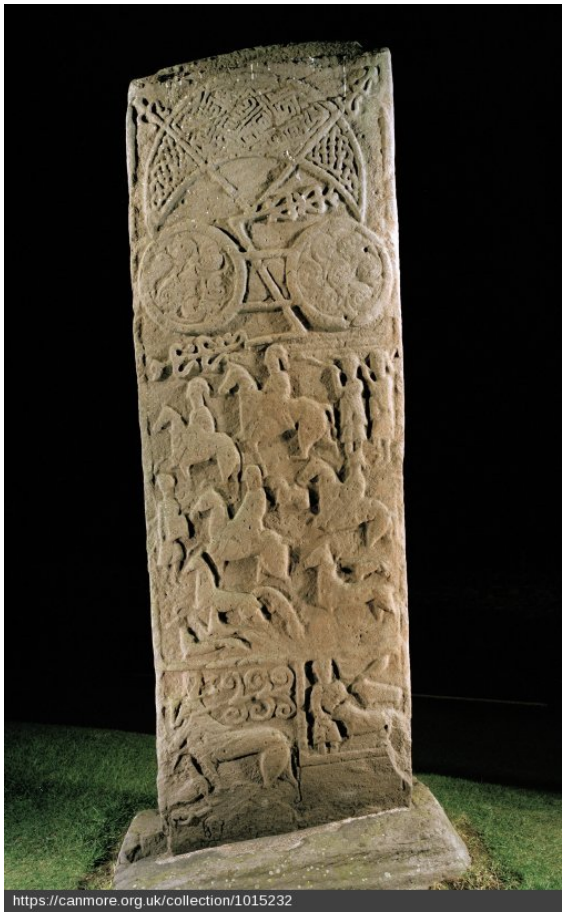
represented on the same face, they are never represented within the cross (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 175).

The symbols, however, are not the only motifs represented on cross-slabs, outside the cross itself. Indeed, a large number of monuments represent figures riding horses; this equestrian motif, if not unique to Pictish monuments, is nowhere else represented with such frequency (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 125-129; Carrington 1995, 28).

The horseman and David imagery

Equestrian figures are represented on many monuments in southern Pictland, and within the selection presented here (Aberlemno 2 and 3, SCO1a-b; Cossans SCO4; Constantine's Cross SCO10; several monuments from Meigle SCO13). Horsemen embody the notion of power, wealth, strength and superiority; indeed, 'the placing of a figure on horseback elevates him above those in the retinue on foot' (Carrington 1996, 155). The interpretation of this motif can be approached on many levels: it can offer a secular reading of aristocratic power and prestige and may also encompass a more symbolic and religious meaning (ill. 5.8) (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 125-129; Carrington 1995, 28-42; Alcock 1993, 233). Indeed the hunt imagery, widely represented on Pictish stones, may be read as an aristocratic activity, but also it embodies the 'virtues and responsibilities of good leadership' (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 179).

Moreover, Martin Goldberg interpreted the hunt scenes on cross-slabs as a Pictish *Adventus*. The 'majestic rider' embodying an imperial/Christ-like figure in an eschatological discourse, while the hunted harried deer embodies people preparing for Baptism (for thorough discussion on the Pictish *Adventus*, see Goldberg in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 154-159).



Ill. 5.8 Aberlemno 3
© Crown Copyright: HES

These interpretations show that the Pictish equestrian scenes associated with the cross offer several layers of reading and understanding, all of which embrace the dual 'nature' of the 'majestic rider', as a powerful secular ruler and divinely sanctioned figure.

Another motif reinforces the latter interpretation: the figure of David, who is represented either playing the harp or adjacent to it, and slaying the lion. This motif, or part of it, is represented on several monuments, such as Constantine's Cross, Aldbar (ill. 5.9), Aberlemno 3 (SCO1b), or Meigle 2 (SCO13b), where it is associated with a hunt scene (ill. 5.8); this imagery directly associates the monuments with royal power or patronage. As discussed in Chapter 3, the David imagery embodies the concept of divine kingship (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 129-130; Carrington 1996, 147-157; Henderson 1986). Following the *Adventus* reading of the monuments, Goldberg also interpreted David as a figure of Christian salvation (in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 159).

The equestrian and David motifs therefore not only reinforce the prestige of the secular elites associated with the monuments, by representing scenes that are either directly related to aristocratic activities, or symbolic, but also by conveying a religious message of divine power, protection and salvation. The audience encountering the monuments may have had access to part or all of the interpretative layers encompassed within the scenes represented (Goldberg in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 158-159).

Indeed, from this perspective we can observe the multi-layered identity encoded in the stones, one of the secular authority and power, but touched by the divine – the *dei gratia rex* of the later medieval period in a nascent form (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 125-131), where both the secular and divine are interlinked in the identity and message of Pictish kingship, and power within the landscape.

Ill. 5.9 Aldbar cross-slab, Brechin Cathedral
© Crown Copyright: HES

Ecclesiastical figures

Several cross-slabs included in the selection also contain ecclesiastical figures (Aldbar SCO2, ill. 5.9 and St Vigeans SCO5, ill.5.10). On St Vigeans VIG011 (ill 5.10), the figures can be interpreted as St Paul and St Anthony breaking the bread together; however,

in the majority of representations, ecclesiastics are recognisable by their clothes or objects they carry, such as bells, books or satchels, and not placed within a recognisable biblical scene. This constitutes one of the major contrasts between the imagery employed on the Ulster group of High Crosses, and the selection of Pictish stones presented in this research.

Ill. 5.10 St Vigeans no 11
Picture © A. Busset

5.2.2 Discussion: identities

Observations on several levels can be made from the points presented above. Christian identities are conveyed through the stone monuments, and these are either the primary identity being conveyed, or added to the commemorative practice. In Sweden, the rune stones are part of the conversion process to Christianity; the earliest Christian runic monument, Harald Bluetooth's stone at Jelling, set the formula widely used thereafter to convey a commemorative message. In a primary sense, all subsequent rune stones followed the base of this formula and identified themselves to a certain extent with Harald Bluetooth's inscription (Roesdahl 2013, 863-868; Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 629).

In Ireland, the High Crosses not only embodied the power, protection and wealth of the commissioner, but also enhanced the prestige of the ecclesiastical sites associated with them, and above all reinforced the power of the Church. The Christian identity is thus represented through triumphant monuments, displaying the word of God, through the central theme of redemption. The themes of redemption and salvation are also strongly represented on the Pictish monuments selected for this research, as seen through the iconographic programs of St Vigeans and Meigle (SCO5 and SCO13; 3.3.3) for instance. It is primarily embodied by the presence of the cross, but also emphasised by the imagery selected, such as the symbolic representation of the *Adventus*, the Baptism through the 'harried deer', or Daniel in the Lion's Den (Meigle 2, SCO13b).

The content of the inscriptions and imagery displayed by the monuments also create identity, and when comparing and contrasting the monuments from each region, local specificities appear, outside of the obvious morphology. Indeed, the rune stones, while fundamentally identifying the commissioner as Christian, emphasise the names of both the sponsor and the person commemorated. By erecting rune stones, the commissioner not only displays his or her Christian faith, or increases his or her personal prestige, but also executes a social obligation toward the deceased, by remembering their name, and offering prayers to secure the deceased's salvation, and their own.

By the means of inscriptions and stylistic choices, commissioners also created networks of individuals or kin-groups over large distances, though these are more difficult to establish when relying solely on art-historical evidence, in the absence of written or epigraphic sources. In each region, the signature or style of a carver may inform us on the movement and connections of imagery and iconographical programs; however, the degree of which they reflect the choice of the commissioner is open for interpretation.

When contrasting the imagery displayed on the Ulster High Crosses with the Pictish stones, several differences appear. Two main motifs encountered on Pictish stones are the 'majestic rider', and the David imagery; both are connected to, and encompass the concept of secular and royal authority and prestige, but also the spiritual and Christian meaning embedded in kingship and kingly authority. In contrast, Harbison

observed that one of the themes least represented on the Ulster High Crosses is imagery linked to David, which is more widely represented on southern High Crosses. Indeed, among our selection, David is only represented on two monuments (Armagh IR1, Arboe IR16; three in total, including Donaghmore, Co. Down), both in his combat against Goliath, and slaying the lion. The group of Ulster High Crosses do seemingly not include any secular imagery, while it is sometimes found on other High Crosses (for instance the possible 'foundation scene' on the Cross of Scriptures in Clonmacnoise, Harbison 1992, 49).

It is therefore suggested that the Ulster High Crosses embody the power and prestige of the Church, and of the word of God through the biblical imagery represented, whereas the Pictish cross-slabs reflects and broadcasts a intertwined symbolism of secular power, and idealised Christian kingship, possibly depicting personal names through Pictish symbols and thus the potentially regional and kin-group identities, but also construct 'sermons in stones' (Geddes forthcoming [e]), by the presence of ecclesiastical figures and imagery of damnation, redemption and salvation.

The identities of early medieval communities, which erected the monuments presented in this research, are multiple. The commissioners are indeed defining the carved stones' identities, by their choices of stone type, by a conscious choice in which scenes are represented, and whether the message of the stone is charged with secular meaning or enfolds and broadcasts biblical imagery, and by the choice of their position in the landscape, creating or delineating, and protecting, a sacred space; but the individuals and communities are then defined by the stone monuments, in the role of implicated audience, which interacts and relates to the monument. The monument will then create, or reinforce, the identity of individuals and communities, through their political elites, but moreover, through their faith.

5.3 Memory and commemoration

The second section of this chapter examines monuments as objects of memory and commemoration. Commemorative practices through the use of stone monuments participate also in the definition of the identity of early medieval societies, relating individuals and communities to the land and the landscape (Williams 2011, 24-25). The concept of carved stone as 'mnemonic object' will firstly be introduced, while different types of commemorations on stone monuments will then be presented and

discussed. The notion of memory, linked to the study and analysis of early medieval monuments, encompasses many complex theoretical concepts, which will only be briefly introduced here (concepts of memory associated with monuments, landscape and society have been explored by e.g. Hall 2015, 192-197; Ní Ghrádaigh 2015, 231-236; Gondek 2007, 69-89, 2015, 88-90; Williams *et al.* 2015, 8-11; Williams, H.M.R. 1998, 90-108; 2011, 13-27; Hållans Stenholm 2006, 341-345; Gosden and Lock 1998, 2-12).

Three monuments with inscriptions, one from each region, were selected as examples to discuss different aspects of commemorative practices, which are elucidated through a comparative analysis of carved stone monument. The first monument, U 29 at Hillesjö (SCA11), contains the longest inscription in Uppland and describes a pattern of inheritance. The second monument, Kilnasaggart, Co. Armagh (IR2), records the donation of land by a member of the secular elite under the protection of St Peter, and the last one, the Drosten Stone in St Vigeans (SCO5a), may be commemorating royal patronage, a saint's name, or a carver's skills, or all three of them.

These different aspects of commemorative practices will then be discussed to compare and contrast the information available in each region through the inscriptions, and how they enrich our understanding of the monument's functions.

5.3.1 Stone monuments as mnemonic objects

Stone monuments are a link in the temporal fabric that connects the past, present and future (Williams 2003, 5-11; 2011, 13-27; Petts 2003, 193-214). They are first and foremost erected as an act of commemoration(s), even though their context determines other functions. The places they are erected in are not selected at random, and embody a cultural significance to the societies connected to the monuments.

By reusing an ancient significant landscape in which to erect a stone monument, early medieval societies created a tangible connection to the past, or instead, to the past they perceived. Indeed, within the scope of this research, several monuments are situated at or close to ancient places, such as burials, mounds, and stone circles or larger structures, such as hillforts (e.g. Vs13, Anundshög SCA21; U170, Bogesund SCA4; the rune stones at Broby bro, SCA5; Aberlemno SCO1; Carrowmore IR5;

Clogher IR17). This practice may be interpreted from two perspectives: association (or remembrance) and dissociation (or forgetting) (Williams, H.M.R. 1998, 102-104; 2003, 7-8, 14-17; 2011, 13-17; Hållans Stenholm 2006, 344; Holtorf and Williams 2006).

Through association, the stone monument connects to the past, and relives or reactivates it, by recreating a place. In a dichotomy of contrast, dissociation alienates the past (Hållans Stenholm 2006, 344). The line between these two notions is furthermore often blurred; indeed, it has been argued that placing Christian monuments close to ancient burial grounds, or inauguration sites, was done to perform a conversion of the place, transmuting it into a *Christian* place (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 636; Gräslund 2003, 271). This may have been intended as an act of protection: converting the deceased to offer them salvation, as proposed for U 170 in Bogesund (SCA4) (Källström 2013); or in the case of royal inauguration sites, to create an association with a prestigious past while transforming the nature of power associated to the place, and place it under the protection of the Church (Bhreathnach 2011, 138-142).

In that sense, stone monuments create and re-create the memory of a place, which, via contact with its successive audiences, participates in the formation of social memory (Williams *et al.* 2015, 8-11; Williams 2003, 7-8; 2011, 25;Petts 2003, 210; Driscoll 2010, 234). As discussed throughout Chapters 3 and 4, the practice of reusing ancient landscape to erect stone monuments is observed throughout Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland (3.2.1; 3.2.2; 3.3.1; 3.3.3; 4.1.1; 4.2.1). The transformative message encoded in the early Christian stones may thus be seen as a widespread phenomenon, within which the landscape may be seen as a palimpsest, constantly transformed and reinvented (Holtorf and Williams 2006), but always overlaying, adding to, or recreating that which was already in existence within the landscape.

Within the selection of cases presented here, several monuments were either placed close to or at ancient places of significance, or made from reused prehistoric standing stones. The evidence for the reuse of these prehistoric stones is often still present on the altered and adapted stone – for instance, by the presence of cup-marks, such as observed on Aberlemno 3 (SCO1b) or on the back of Meigle 1 (SCO 13a; ill. 5.11) or. Created as objects of commemoration themselves, these repurposed and reused

stones carry successive layers of memory from both the past and present, which they project into the future.

Ill. 5.11 Meigle 1
The cup-marks are visible at the bottom right of the stone. © HES.

Early medieval stone monuments are first and foremost memorials (to the deceased, to the living, to record an act of donation, or a significant event); however, they also embody multiple other functions, such as marking boundaries, and liturgical processions, claiming a land, or function as foci for political or religious gatherings; they created both *places* and *movement*. These multiple functions have been recorded in each region within the scope of this research, but also in Anglo-Saxon England and Wales (Williams, H.M.R. 1998; 2011; Sanmark 2009; Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2013; Petts 2003; Edwards 2001). And indeed, the previous chapters have demonstrated the closeness of the use of early medieval monuments, within the grammar of commemoration practices.

The following section will present three case studies, each of which consists of a stone with an inscription informing on specific acts of commemoration. While the first two (U 29, Hillersjö, SCA11 and the Kilnasaggart pillar-stone, IR2), are well preserved and provide secure contexts, and offer a clear understanding of the commemorative act

performed, the third one (the Drosten Stone, St Vigeans, SCO5) poses a number of difficulties in its reading, and thus its interpretation is still discussed.

5.3.2 Gerlög and Inga: commemoration as legal inheritance

The first case study looks at a rune stone containing the tale of two women, a mother and a daughter, and their families, and ultimately the inheritance received by the mother after the death of her daughter. This monument, U 29 at Hillersjö, Hilleshögs parish, is also connected to four other rune stones situated 30km north of Hillersjö, in Marci parish (map 5-1), two of which also containing mentions of inheritance. While it has been argued that almost *all* rune stones may have functioned as a 'declaration of inheritance' (Sawyer 2000, 47), the direct mention of it does not always appear in the inscription.

Hillersjö

Hillersjö is situated within the parish of Hilleshög, on Färingsö Island, to the north of Ekerö. The runic inscription is situated on a flat rock outcrop, which overlooks the gulf of Hilleshög (Hilleshögviken), which is part of the lake Mälaren (ill. 5.12).

The inscription on Hillersjö rune stone (U 29; SCA11) is the longest inscription in Uppland; partly preserved, it reads as follows:

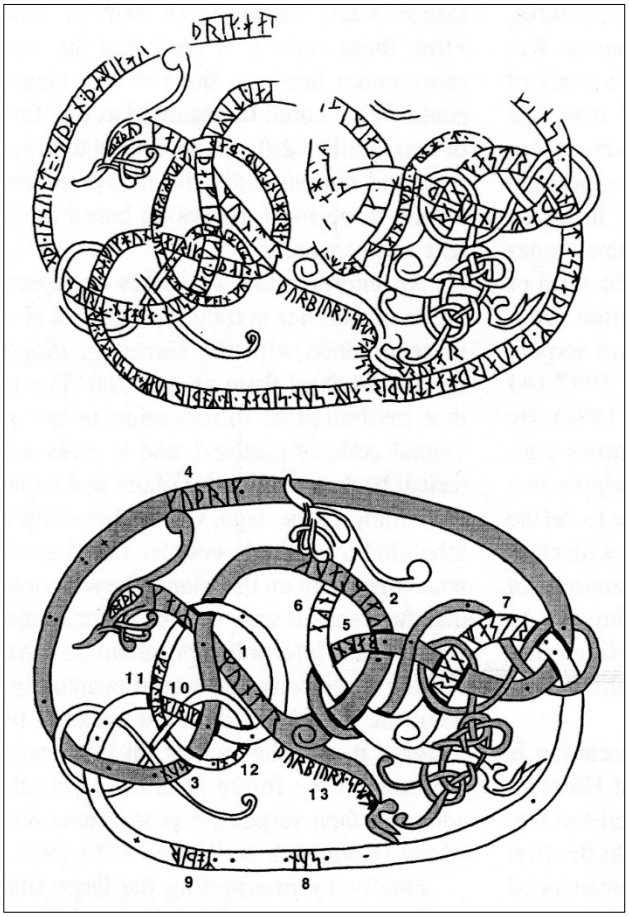
> Interpret! Germund took Gerlög a maiden as wife. Then they had a son before he [Germund] was drowned and then the son died. Then she had Gudrik as her husband. He … Then they had children, but only one girl survived. ᛁ She was called Inga. Ragnfast of Snåttsta took her to wife. Thereafter he died and the son. And the mother [Inga] inherited from her son. Then she had Erik as her husband. Then she died. Then Gerlög inherited from Inga her daughter. Torbjörn skald carved the runes. Source: Andrén 2000, 12 after Sawyer 1988 and Jansson 1987.

Ill. 5.12 U 29, Hillersjö
© B. Sawyer 2000, 31

Ill. 5.13 U 29, Hillersjö (SCA11)
Picture © A. Busset

This inscription records two acts of commemoration: the first one regards Gerlög and her family; it is spatially arranged within two snakes, each focusing on one woman, a mother, Gerlög, and a daughter, Inga. The snake situated to the left tells the story of

Gerlög, her two husbands and their children; while the right tells the story of Inga, her two husbands and her only child (ill. 5.13). It has been suggested that each snake represents a family (Andrén 2000, 12-13).

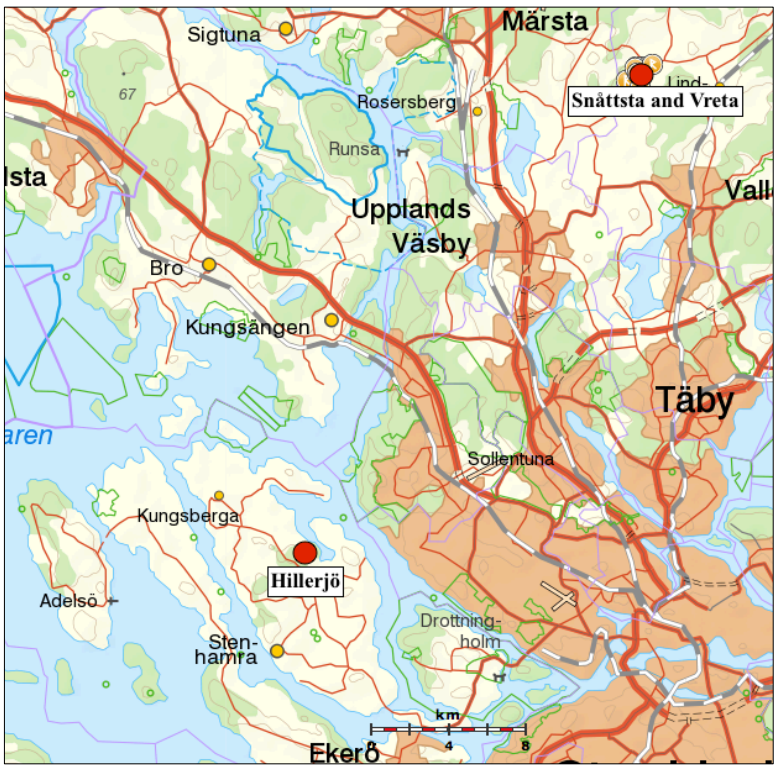


Ill. 5.14 Spatial arrangement of the inscription on U 29
© A. Andrén 2000, 12

The second act of commemoration concerns the inheritance of Gerlög from her daughter. Indeed, the inscription mentions that Inga herself inherited the Snåttsta estate after her son's death. The presence of Inga in Snåttsta and Vreta is recorded through the presence of four rune stones, erected by Inga in memory of her first husband Ragnfast (U 329-332; SCA15). Each rune stone mentions different family connections: U 329 mentions Ragnfast's two sisters, Estrid and Gyrid. Estrid has been interpreted as being possibly the same person as Jarlabanke's grandmother, although it is mere speculation (see Chapter 4; Andersson 2010a).

Through the three rune stones at Snåttsta, and the rune stone at Vreta (which is now lost, but had been recorded through a 17th c. drawing), Inga affirmed her social position, as a widow who has inherited from her child. Similarly to Estrid (Ch. 4), she

displayed her wealth and prominence by commissioning multiple monuments that assert her family connections but also, her right to inherit.



Map 5-1 Hillersjö, Snåttsta and Vreta
© Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

Discussion

The inscriptions on the Hillersjö, Snåttsta and Vreta rune stones record the commemoration of two exceptional women and their families. By erecting the four monuments for her deceased husband, Inga ascertains her rights over the Snåttsta estate, not only by describing the pattern of how she came to inherit through the monuments, but also by marking her land durably with the stone monuments.

The inscription at Hillersjö carries on, and finishes, the story commenced at Snåttsta, recording not only the death of almost every family member of Gerlög, but also recording her multiple inheritances. Indeed, the location of the stone at Hillersjö suggests a connection between Gerlög and the place, which she may have inherited either from her first husband, or from her second husband *via* Inga (see figure 5.a).

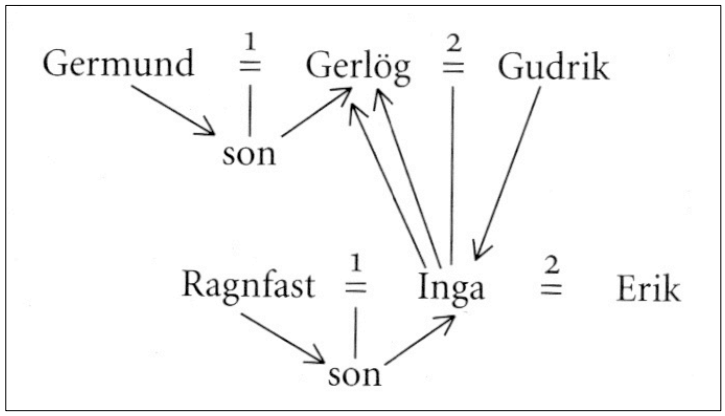


Figure 5.a Gerlög's inheritance
© B. Sawyer 2000, 50

Ultimately, the five rune stones situated at Hillersjö, Snåttsta and Vreta tell stories of loss and remembrance, but also connect successively two women to their properties, through the monuments' materiality, and through textual evidence.

5.3.3 The carved pillar at Kilnasaggart and the patronage of Ternohc (IR2)

The second case study discusses a donation of land through the erection of a pillar-stone situated at Kilnasaggart, in Co. Armagh (IR2). The inscription on Kilnasaggart pillar is one of the few found on stone monuments in Ulster, and certainly one of the most well-known along with the Greek inscription found on the Fahan Mura cross-slab (e.g. Hamlin 2001). The Latin inscription, dated from *c.* 700, reads:

> Ternohc the son of Ceran Bic put the place under the protection of Peter the Apostle

Source Hamlin 2008 [1976], 244

The opposite side of the pillar is uniquely decorated with thirteen crosses of various shapes and sizes. The monument is thus strongly connected to Christian beliefs, and possibly rituals. Indeed, the lower half of the monument, on the crosses' side bears sword marks that may have been performed as a symbolic act (Newman 2009, 426-427).

The site: Kilnasaggart

The early history of the place is quite obscure, however, the origin of the name Kilnasaggart ("cell-na-sacart") meaning the 'church of the priest', suggests an early ecclesiastical foundation. The dating of the inscription on the pillar-stone reinforces this interpretation.

Ternohc is mentioned in several early sources: martyrologies mention 'Ernáin [glossed] of Midluachair, in Cell na sacart', Reeves interprets 'Ernáin' as Ternohc, which would then be paralleled by the inscription (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 242; Reeves 1898). The death of this Ternohc is recorded in *AFM* and *Tig* in 714 (716), giving a *terminus ante quem* for the inscription on Kilnasaggart pillar; if the Ternohc mentioned in the written sources is indeed the commissioner of the pillar-stone, it would be the earliest datable stone monument in Ulster.

Excavations carried out at the site revealed the presence of several burials, all oriented E-W (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 243). The stone is located at the north-western edge of the site, thus possibly marking the location of an early Christian burial or ecclesiastical site. Other finds complete the early medieval carved stone remains at Kilnasaggart: first, seven small cross-incised stones of triangular shapes found during the excavations, which may have been grave-markers, and second, a large bullaun stone located approximately 100m south-west of the site (ill. 5.16).

Ill. 5.15 Kilnasaggart bullaun
Picture © A. Busset

Discussion

While the early medieval history of Kilnasaggart is still poorly understood, the pillar-stone, its inscription and the surrounding landscape may offer some clues to its historical significance. Indeed, the stone records the donation of the land to the Church by a man associated with the Dalriadan royal family. It is situated alongside the *Moyry Pass*, the main road connecting the provinces of Leinster, to the south, with Ulster, and near a provincial boundary (Bhreathnach 2014, 224-225). Although the excavations have uncovered only burials, and no traces of built structures or early enclosures, the prominence of the site is evidenced by the status of Ternohc. By erecting, and inscribing, the monument, Ternohc placed himself under the protection of the Church through St Peter the Apostle, but also created a memorial to himself, affirming his Christian identity, and asserting his patronage over the place.

Ill. 5.16 Kilnasaggart pillar-stone in its landscape context
Picture © A. Busset

5.3.4 The Drosten Stone in St Vigeans

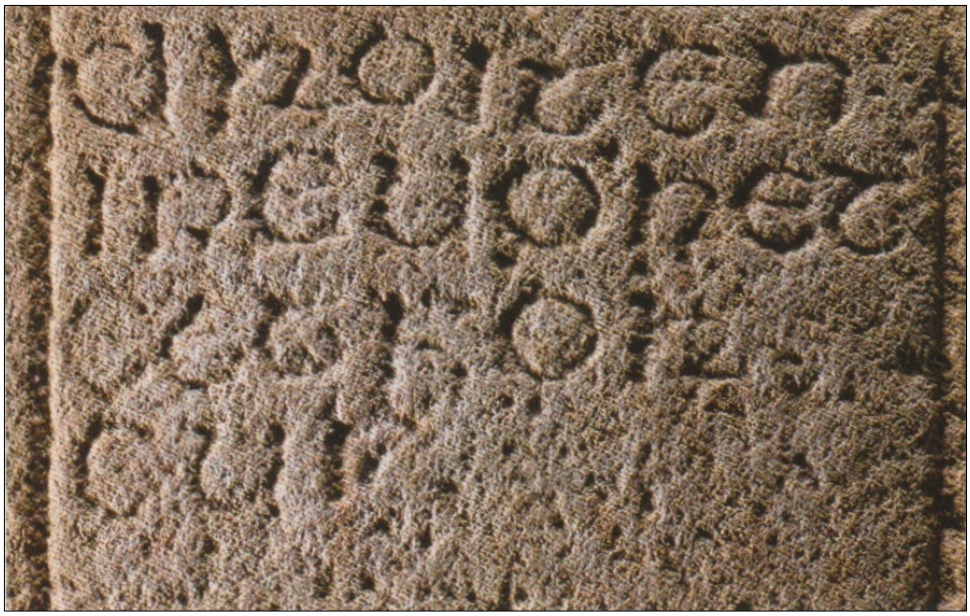
As presented in Chapter 3, the site of St Vigeans contains one of the largest collections of carved stones in southern Pictland (3.3.3.2), along with Meigle (3.3.3.1). The Drosten Stone, on which this section focuses, is named after the inscription it displays on its side, in a panel close to the bottom (VIG001; SCO5a). This, along with the inscription on Constantine's Cross in Forteviot (SCO10a) are the only inscriptions within the selection of Pictish stones analysed for this thesis; it is also more ambiguous than the one found on the free-standing cross. As discussed in Chapter 3, the beginning of the inscription on Constantine's Cross was interpreted as 'Constantine son of Fergus' (*Custantin Filius Fircus;* SCO10a) (Forsyth 1995a, 242), which offered a historical context for the creation of the stone monument. The inscription on the Drosten Stone, however, may be diversely interpreted (ill. 5.18) (Clancy 1993, 345-353; forthcoming; Okasha 1985).

Ill. 5.17 the Drosten Stone
Left: Picture © A. Busset Right: © Crown Copyright: HES

The stone

The Drosten Stone is a tall narrow cross-slab, which displays on one face a cross decorated with interlaces flanked by animals, and a little devil-like creature above its right arm. The opposite face represents a deer-hunting scene at the top, without a rider – which may have been present on the now delaminated and missing section, several wild animal figures, and a boar hunt at the bottom; a group of Pictish symbols are represented in the middle of the stone (ill. 5.17).

The inscription on the Drosten Stone has been widely published and discussed (for a thorough discussion on the inscription, see Okasha 1985, 43-69 and Clancy 1993, 345-353; the inscription has been recently reassessed and reinterpreted by Clancy in Geddes, forthcoming). It may consist of three names: Drosten, Uoret and Forcus, with additional words. We do not know whom these names refer to; however, during the Pictish period, they are borne by both kings and saints (Clancy 1993, 350-351; Jackson 1980 [1955], 140, 142, 161-166).



Ill. 5.18 Drosten Stone's inscription
Harden 2010, 65 © HSMO

The inscription may thus commemorate three different individuals, possibly four if the Pictish symbols displayed on the face of the stone represent a separate person (Clancy forthcoming). The main interpretations relating to the names are that they may represent a secular leader, a holy man and the name of the craftsman involved in the creation of the monument; however, it may also be part or combination of the above interpretations (Clancy 1993, 350-351; forthcoming). A tempting reading is that the monument has been commissioned to celebrate the coming to St Vigeans of a saint's holy relics, and would thus commemorate the saint and the secular patron of the place (Clancy forthcoming; Geddes forthcoming [c])

Commemorative practices

Although the interpretation of the Drosten Stone's inscription remains open to interpretations, two aspects of the monument clearly indicate its commemorative functions: the first one is the type of stone the monument was made from, and the second is the location of the inscription on the monument.

Most monuments constituting the St Vigeans collection came from local quarries producing sandstone (Miller and Ruckley 2005, 289-290); however, four monuments, VIG001 ('Drosten Stone'), VIG008, VIG015 and VIG029 were carved from a quarry situated probably close to Forfar (Miller and Ruckley 2005, 286); also made of sandstone, their colour differs slightly from the other monuments constituting the St

Vigeans ensemble. It has been argued that these monuments were commissioned by or for members of the religious elite and secular aristocracy, possibly a bishop and a king (Geddes forthcoming [c]). These monuments have been dated to a slightly later date than the other monuments, to the 9th century (Harden 2010, 64-68; Geddes forthcoming [c]). These four monuments may have been commissioned to commemorate the coming of holy relics (possibly of St Fechín?) to St Vigeans, participating in the transformation of the place, first by its renaming, and second, by its increase in prominence; indeed, if a saint's relics were brought to St Vigeans, it would have become a major ecclesiastical centre, attracting pilgrims and devout individuals.

The position of the inscription on the Drosten Stone, low down on one of the sides, contrasts greatly with the other inscriptions present in this selection, and the one found on Constantine's Cross. Indeed, while the stone at Forteviot displays its inscription at the observers' eye level, connecting them to the majestic rider represented on the opposite face, the inscription on the Drosten Stone is not clearly visible unless the audience engaging with the monument kneels down and lowers their heads. This interpretation has been proposed by Higgitt (1986), and relayed by Clancy (forthcoming), and would indeed support the interpretation of the inscription as commemorating at least one holy man, and the advent of a saint's relics.

Discussion on commemorative practices

The three monuments presented in this section show three different aspects of commemoratives practices; through legal inheritance, donation of land to the Church under royal patronage, in commemorating secular aristocrats and holy men, or made to the glory of a saint by a monastic community. These messages are conveyed by the inscriptions, while the landscape situation of the monuments reinforces the reading of such messages. Indeed, by inscribing the flat rock outcrop at Hillersjö, Gerlög claimed the estate as hers, while the inscription connects it to the estate at Snåttsta, and to the rune stones located there. While the rune stone would not have been highly visible from the land, as it is situated at the edge of the estate, close to the shore, it would have been seen from the water, which may have been one of the accesses to the estate (as observed at Arkils tingstad, Bällsta SCA2). The people, as the

designated audience, would have thus engaged with the monument upon their arrival to the place.

The location of the Kilnasaggart pillar-stone created the opportunity for the stone and its message to speak to a possible larger audience, as it was situated along one of the major routeways in northern Ireland; furthermore, new research has demonstrated that early cemeteries were also used as assembly sites (Gleeson 2015, 40). This supports further the interpretation that the stone was consciously placed and shaped to engage with a wide audience, which is reinforced by the large letters and prominent position of the inscription on the stone.

The location of the Drosten Stone, possibly at the east entrance of the ecclesiastical compound suggests that the monument was highly visible to the people arriving at St Vigeans; the position of the inscription, on the lower part of the side of the stone, however, indicates that the audience needed to engage physically with the monument, in order to see it. It may thus have been part of a devotional act, which could have been performed on holy days or as part of a local liturgy.

All three monuments are strongly connected to the places they are located in, connections indeed reaffirmed by the inscriptions they display. Their visibility, determined by their position on the monument, or the position of the monument itself, is however variable, which suggests differences within the commemorative practices linked to each monument and place.

5.4 Reuse

Intimately linked to commemorative practices is the act of reuse relating to early medieval monuments. The reuse and re-activation of ancient landscape has been explored in the previous section. This section will now regard the subsequent reuse of early medieval monuments, and the symbolic significance encompassed in this practice.

5.4.1 'Multiple lives' of early medieval carved stones

The term of 'multiple lives', borrowed from David Clarke (2007), encompasses the concept of cultural biography of early medieval monuments (for discussion on this

notion, and how it applies to archaeology, see Joy 2009 and Gosden and Marshall 1999).

The majority of carved stones and many rune stones have been moved from their original location; although this phenomenon may create difficulties for modern researchers to analyse the multiple contexts of the monuments, it also enlightens us on the widespread practice of reusing carved stones. It is unknown when stone monuments are first moved from their original location; indeed reuse practices can start soon after the monument was first erected, possibly as early as only a few generations later (Hall 2015, 182).

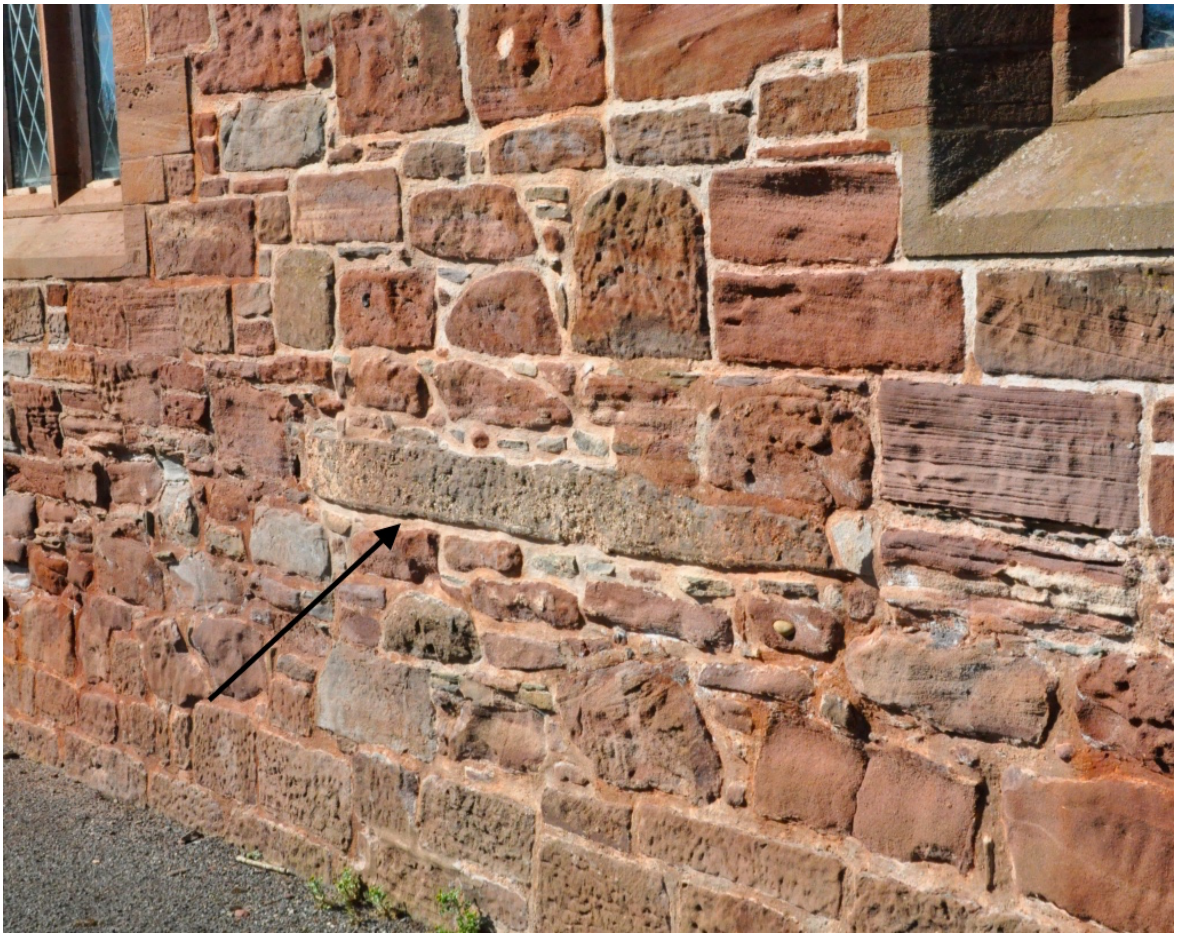
As discussed above, early medieval monuments situated close to ancient places, or created from a reused monument, reinvent and transform the landscape and the place they are associated with; similarly, when they get reused in their turn, they also accumulate meanings, and are reinvented by the successive societies that interact and engage with them. Their accumulative and cultural biographies are thus created and live through the interaction between monuments and people (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 172-174).

5.4.2 Symbolic reuse

The symbolic reuse of monuments and places has been widely discussed and published (see Chapter 1; Andrén 1993, 2013; Brink 2003; 2004; Semple and Sanmark 2008, 2010, 2013; Driscoll 1988; Fitzpatrick 2003; 2004a; Gräslund 2003, 2012 [2008]; Källström 2012). Here we will discuss one particular phenomenon, the integration of early medieval stones into the fabric of churches or churchyard walls. The reuse of stone monuments in these contexts may be seen as a deliberate choice rather than purely incidental (Driscoll 1998; Williams, H.M.R. 1998), and could possibly interpreted as a kind of 'votive deposition' (Gondek 2015, 96).

Early Christian carved stones are often found in churches' walls in Scotland and Sweden; for instance, most of St Vigeans stone sculpture has been retrieved from the fabric of the church (ex. SCO5, VIG021, ill. 5.19; ill. 5.21).

Ill. 5.19 SCO5j, VIG021
Picture © A. Busset



Ill. 5.20 Early medieval carved stones embedded in the church's fabric, St Vigeans
Picture © A. Busset

In Sweden, several monuments selected in this research have also been reused either as 'stepping stones', such as U261 in Fresta (SCA7), or in the fabric of the church, such

as U166 and U167 in Östra Ryds Kyrka (SCA14), ill. 5.20. Interestingly, the selection of Irish monuments integrated in this research does not seem to include early Christian stone sculpture reused in churches. However, the tradition of reusing early carved stones, such as ogham stones, is observed in souterrains, although only one example is recorded in Ulster (Clinton 2001, 211-216). This observation does not include other regions than Ulster, and a more thorough analysis would need to be conducted before reaching conclusive results.

Ill. 5.21 SCA14, U166
Picture © A. Busset

Carved stones and rune stones embody strong spiritual significance, primarily through the symbols and imagery they carry, but also through their use as transformative and conversion agents in the landscape. These elements may remain encoded within the stones, in the perception of the people who will then reuse them to build religious structures. As some monuments functioned as land and symbolic boundary markers, as well as marks of liturgical and processional routes (see Ch.3 and 4), they would have transferred this protective and sacralising function to the walls they were subsequently built in.

5.5 Conclusion: monument as objects of identity, memory and reuse

The commissioning and erection of carved stones and rune stones is identified as an act by early Christian secular elites to establish their power over the land while creating a visible and tangible link to the spiritual power of the Church. The stone monuments also join previous traditions of expressions of power through the prehistoric traditions of erecting standing stones and stone circles. Therefore, they are embodying a double expression of power, through *space* and *time*, but also vertically, through a spiritual connection to religious power, offering divine protection and support.

The case studies analysed in this chapter relate to the small-scale level presented in Chapter 1 (1.6.5); indeed, while Chapters 3 and 4 discussed the historical and geographical contexts of the monuments, this chapter focused on the monument itself. Each aspects presented, identity, memory and reuse, are conveyed not only through the materiality of the monuments, but also the imagery and inscriptions they display, and while their appearances present obvious disparities, the nature of the messages they carry transcends their obvious morphological disparities.

6 Early medieval stone monuments: Through Verticality and Horizontality

6.1 Introduction

This thesis originally started with the aim to compare and contrast the use of carved stones from north-western Europe, especially in a Christian context, in order to propose a new narrative of the Christianisation process through the study of stone monuments. While the use and function of carved stones had been closely studied and compared across both Ireland and Scotland, no large-scale analysis had compared these with early Christian sculpture of Scandinavia before; yet small-scale comparative studies between Scotland and Scandinavia had proven successful (Busset 2010, 52-73), and demonstrated the importance of carrying out a large-scale study.

Bringing the monuments and sites selected for this research together within a thematic framework created the first opportunity to analyse in depth the fundamental similarities and differences for the use of late Viking Age rune stones in Scandinavia, particularly Uppland, and early medieval carved stones from Ulster in Ireland and Strathmore in Scotland. This research achieved its two original purposes: to explore and analyse different types of monuments, and to gather various sites to create a wider and more nuanced picture of the use and functions of early medieval stone monuments. This study included rune stones, High Crosses, and cross-slabs, as well as and smaller monuments, to contrast and compare them within their context, in order to offer further understanding of the use and functions of early medieval stone monuments during the Christianisation process. It then proposed new interpretations of lesser-known sites by using insights gathered from the study of cases that provide more information.

The inclusion of Scandinavia in this regard proved to be decisive, as the information gathered by the study of the topographical and archaeological contexts of the rune stones is greatly enriched by the runic inscriptions, providing the name and the status of the commissioner, the person commemorated, and sometimes include additional information regarding connections or deeds performed. In contrast, the Pictish and Irish monuments included in this selection seldom display inscriptions, and when

they do, the inscriptions often present interpretative challenges (e.g. the Drosten Stone, St Vigeans SCO5a; Ch.5, 5.3.1.4).

Recent years have seen a surge of research and subsequent literature on the study of stone monuments in their broader context. Williams *et al.* (2015) in particular established a cross-cultural and temporal research agenda, while creating a theoretical framework for early medieval carved stones; yet, the present research, while integrating these elements, went further by bringing together a varied selection of monuments in one holistic analysis on an unprecedented scale.

The sites discussed and analysed in this research were first selected for their relevance (i.e. either found in a secure Christian context or displaying their connection to Christianity), their variety, and also their accessibility within their geographical areas. By selecting the sites and monuments before establishing a thematic concept, a risk was taken that the monuments chosen for analysis were too dissimilar for an effective comparative examination. This research also essentially involved becoming knowledgeable in three different research areas in order to force new ways of thinking and transcending the embedded discourses and biases of any one scholarly tradition. However, although these issues have proven complex to overcome, they allowed the comparative process to gestate and develop almost organically, while a thematic approach proved to allow further analyses to transcend the geographical specificities.

The results produced by the research will now be presented in two sections. The first one summarises and brings together the main points highlighted by each theme, analysed in chapters 3, 4 and 5, while the second section discusses how the results of the thematic analysis addresses the research questions; potential future avenues of research are then explored and assessed. The conclusion reflects upon the use of early medieval carved stones from a wider perspective while exploring the notions of carved stones through the concepts of space and time, verticality and horizontality.

6.1.1 Monuments making places

The first thematic chapter of this thesis discussed the connection between stone monuments and the sites at which they were erected. It demonstrated that carved and inscribed stones participated in the creation, or re-invention, of the place,

enhancing the power and prestige of a patron, a saint, and individuals commemorated, while also delineating sacred space.

The original framework within the theme 'monuments making places' divided sites between secular and ecclesiastical functions. This organisation, originally selected to structure the analysis of a variety of sites, established a dichotomy between secular and sacred, which proved to be problematic, while not being fruitful, and the analysis of the case studies further demonstrated the necessity to move away from these labels. Indeed, delineated classifications are impossible when it comes to the nature of early medieval stones and sites. Demonstrating that these sites overlap shows how 'secular' power was grounded in the supernatural, and the stones were often consciously conflating these two realms, as clearly evidenced by the Scandinavian case studies, the stone collection in Meigle, or Constantine's Cross.

Spatial associations throughout the landscape between stone monuments and sacred landscapes are seen in several cases, and may be rooted in the phenomenon of the reuse of the landscapes to assert power and legitimacy over an area or region, while creating a visible link to the past (e.g. Bogesund SCA4, Broby bro SCA5, Granby SCA8, Hovgården SCA12, Anundshög SCA21, Armagh IR1, Clogher IR17, Aberlemno SCO1, Dull SCO8, Forteviot SCO10, Fortingall SCO11). In these cases, stone monuments are interpreted as enhancing an existing connection, while creating a new layer of sacredness, associated with Christianity.

Case studies such as Forteviot (SCO10, Ch.3, 3.2.1.2) and Clogher (IR17, Ch.3, 3.2.1.3) showed the close connections between sacred kingship and early Christianity at different stages of conversion. The similarities observed between places associated with royal inaugurations and locations of stone monuments are numerous: reuse of ancient places of significance, such as burials, to create a link to the ancestors; creation or use of 'liminal places', to mark a boundary; and indeed, these means may also be interpreted as strategies for accessing the supernatural. As such, carved stones can be seen to forge connections between realms.

The last part of chapter 3 focused on stone monuments at ecclesiastical sites, and showed a possible correlation between the shape, imagery and variety of stone monuments, and the role of ecclesiastical sites. Within these sites, they embody the

sacred to strengthen the ecclesiastical structure, by reinforcing the passage between different enclosures, moving towards the holiest space (Armagh IR1; Ch. 3, 3.3.1); by participating in the creation or transformation of the place, embodying the identity of the place (Nendrum IR10; Ch. 3, 3.3.2; Meigle SCO13; Ch. 3, 3.3.3.1), and laying out the structure for renewed devotional practises (St Vigeans, SCO5, Ch. 3, 3.3.3.2).

6.1.2 Monuments creating movement

The second theme developed in this research has uncovered connections through the landscape created by stone monuments. Connections over large distances are observed through inscriptions (e.g. 'Estrid' case study SCA5, 8, 10; 'Inga and Gerlög' case study SCA11, 15) but also through the choice of imagery displayed on monuments. Examples of this are the doves displayed on Constantine's Cross (SCO10), which may refer to Columba and thus links to Iona, or the kinds of figural imagery on Ulster High Crosses that connect them to Armagh (IR1; Arboe IR14, Clones IR16, and Clogher IR17). These examples allowed a new proposition regarding the interpretation of Aberlemno 2 (see discussion 4.1.3.4). Following the interpretation of monuments referencing places, events, and individuals, I suggest that the battle scene represented on Aberlemno 2 might indeed refer to the battle of Dún Nechtain, but rather than commemorating the location of the battle, it may have served to mobilise the memory of the conflict to forge a connection between Aberlemno, situated on the road to the north and the royal centre of Fortriu.

This chapter also discussed the presence of carved stones alongside means of communication, including roads (e.g. Hagby SCA9, Hargs bro SCA10, Söderby, Östra Ryds SCA16, Kilnasaggart IR2, Clogher IR17, Aberlemno SCO1, Glamis SCO4, Constantine's and Invermay Crosses, SCO10) waterways (Bogesund SCA4), and processional routes (Aspa löt SCA1, Anundshög SCA21). While these monuments were memorials, they may also have been used as foci for gathering or praying stations, while enabling the sacralisation of movement.

Early Christianity was concerned with creating rituals using carved stones. This was observed through a connection to a place of importance, such as a place of political power (assembly place) or of power gained through the connection to the ancestors (old burial grounds). At ecclesiastical sites, these rituals took place both inside and outside the church, where the stones, within the landscape, were seen as a liturgy, to

lead a procession, to offer a place to gather, and to pray. These rituals in both religious and secular contexts were linked and brought together through the stone monuments.

6.1.3 Monuments as objects of identity, memory and reuse

6.1.3.1 Identities

Identities embodied by the stones can be read on several levels. It has indeed been discussed that beyond their obvious morphological disparities, the content of the message they carry may be compared closely. On rune stones, the identity of the commissioner(s) and person(s) commemorated is prominent through the inscription, allowing for the creation of wide connections within estates and large areas, while the pictorial designs allow for the creation of a dating framework, and to sometimes discern particularities linked to specific carvers or carving schools. Pictish cross-slabs may share strong similarities with the Scandinavian stones in regard to the imagery they display, as a favoured interpretation of Pictish symbols is that they represent personal names. The two only Irish examples within the selection presented here of monuments displaying an inscription show two different types of dedications: one is a prayer (Fahan Mura IR8a), while the other record a gift of land to the Church by a king's son (Kilnasaggart IR2a; Ch. 5, 5.3.1.2).

Yet, the imagery of Pictish cross-slabs also allows, if not an understanding, at least a glimpse into a mythology specific to the Picts (as seen at Meigle SCO13 or on the St Orland Stone SCO4d for instance). Accompanying the representation of the cross is also an array of Christian imagery, with a focus on the David iconography, which may be linked to a representation of idealised rulership, and representations of SS Paul and Anthony, the fathers of monasticism (Ch.5, 5.2.1.3); other scenes seem to focus on the themes of damnation and redemption attained through the *Eucharist* (Ch. 3, 3.3.4). This contrasts with the imagery displayed by Irish High Crosses, which is almost exclusively selected from an iconographic programme from the Old and New Testaments. Yet, this exclusivity is found predominantly on High Crosses, as the imagery represented on other types of sculptured stones, while mostly interpreted as religious, apart from a few exceptions in Carndonagh (IR4) and White Island (IR15) does not display any identifiable biblical elements (e.g. Kilnasaggart IR2; Carndonagh pillars IR4c and d; and Killadeas IR13).

However, on a large scale, it can be proposed that stone monuments are one of the main conveyors – and a most striking one – of the early Christian identities in north-western Europe. The disparities detailed above and in section 5.2.2 may be interpreted as demonstrating the various stages of Christianisation of each region (6.2.1.1), while the elites who commissioned them strived to connect themselves to the higher power of Christianity or the Church, either locally where the Church was already settled through major power centres (i.e. Armagh IR1) or more broadly, to benefit from a wider European support network through religion.

6.1.3.2 Memory and commemoration

As discussed throughout this thesis, stone monuments have many functions; yet they are primarily part of the commemoration praxis of early medieval societies. They may commemorate the deeds and life of powerful individuals, such as Jarlabanke and Estrid (SCA5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 18, 19, and 20), Gunne (SCA4, 14, 16), or Inga and Gerlög (SCA11, 15), Ternohc (IR2), Drosten (SCO5a), or Constantine (SCO10a). Beyond the commemoration of individuals, stone monuments also create and re-create the memory of a place, which, through the contacts with its successive audiences participates in the formation of social memory.

Furthermore, they also commemorate the act of donation of land to the Church, or a connection to ancestors, or more broadly to the past. While the latter may be observed through archaeological analyses, with the presence of ancient burials or visible marks of reuse for instance (e.g. Bogesund SCA4, Broby bro SCA5, Anundshög SCA21, Killadeas IR13a, Aberlemno SCO1b, Fortingall SCO11, or Meigle SCO13), acts of donation or inheritance may be more difficult to determine in the absence of written sources or epigraphy; this is why cases such as Hillersjö, Hilleshög (SCA11), and Snåttsta and Vreta (SCA15) are of particular significance, as they reveal specific aspects of the laws and customs within the late Viking Age society, and more importantly, allow for another possible interpretation of sites where there are stones with no inscription.

Stone monuments are also objects of memory and memorialisation, which link the past, with the present and the future; by their erection, they revive ancient places of significance, and create or affirm links to the ancestors, while commemorating prominent individuals. The enduring nature of the stone as a material suggests an

intentional projection into the future. This may be further emphasised by the subsequent reuse of many early medieval stone monuments.

6.1.3.3 Reuse

Intrinsically linked to the mnemonic nature of stone monuments is the notion of reuse. The aspects of reuse of ancient landscapes and of prehistoric standing stones as material for creating 'new' Christianised places and monuments has been discussed many times throughout this thesis. Indeed, the phenomenon of subsequent reuse is observed in each region studied. While some stone monuments may have been broken on purpose (such as Armagh IR1, or the Invermay Cross SCO10b) to destroy their original significance, and possibly mark a rupture with earlier religious practices, other monuments, it has been argued, were reused, symbolically transferring their sacredness into a new context, sometimes as building material, used in the fabric of church or churchyard walls (e.g. Östra Ryds kyrka SCA14, Vallentuna kyrka SCA20; St Vigeans SCO5; Gondek 2015, 90-97; Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 636). Interestingly, the phenomenon of reuse was not observed in any of the selected case studies from Ulster. Indeed, the only cases recorded of carved stones built into church walls are the cross-marked slabs in Nendrum, and the carved pillars in White Island, both of which are 20th-century acts of preservation. A further analysis of this phenomenon has to be carried before discussing any interpretations, as High Crosses reused in church fabric might be observed at other sites in Ulster, or in other areas of Ireland. They may also have been built in a similar way to the stones found within the fabric of churches (such as St Vigeans or Meigle for instance), some of which were not easily detectable without carrying out repairs. While further analysis is required in the case of Irish stone monuments, it is interesting to highlight how early medieval carved stones seem to retain part of their original significance through time, if only through the permanence of their material.

6.2 Discussion

The data collected regarding the monuments and their contexts followed a three-scale structure (Ch.1, 1.6.5), which was guided by the overarching research question asked by this thesis: what are the significant regional differences in the use of carved stones and how do they inform our general understanding regarding the Christianisation of north-western European societies? Each level of this structure is

intrinsically linked to the research question of this thesis, addressing several regional aspects, which reflexively inform and structure the overall comparative approach. The first aspect elaborates on the shape and appearance of stone monuments, relating to the function(s) they perform; this corresponds to the small-scale level (the monument). The middle-scale level, focusing on the monument and its landscape, connects to the observations drawn from comparing and contrasting the topographical and archaeological contexts of the stone monuments, and how these observations enhance our knowledge and understanding.

Finally, the large-scale level brings together the results gathered through the first two, to answer the overarching question, which centres on the significant regional differences between the use of stone monuments within the Christianisation process of north-western European societies. These aspects will now be discussed further, providing the basis for discussing the importance of the comparative approach adopted for this research.

6.2.1 Three-scale levels of analysis

6.2.1.1 Stone monuments, forms and functions

The appearance of the monument (its form, size, imagery, and inscription) has been discussed in several instances throughout this thesis, as it determines the monument‘s function, its visibility, or its prominence. It embodies also the notion of regional and kindred identities, such as discussed in Chapter 5 (5.2.1). While the stone monuments studied in this research may have shared similarities across regions through their topographical or archaeological contexts or through the function(s) they perform, their appearance pertains to the area they were created within, indicating their belonging to the societies that erected them. Their main traits will now be discussed, as well as how the form of monuments relates to their function(s).

Rune stones, through the inscriptions they carry, allow a deep understanding of the monuments and their context; within the selected cases, the contrast in their appearance relates primarily to the design of their inscriptions, on which their dating is based (see Annexe I). They are predominantly boulders and rock outcrops geologically defined as ‘crystalline’ (such as gneiss and granite; Hagenfeldt and Palm

1996, 11-14). The information they recorded on the elites who commissioned the monuments, as well as the person they commemorate, such as their names, status, events from their lives, and the deeds, is unparalleled in comparison with the Irish and Scottish selections. Furthermore, this information may in some occurrences be connected to their direct context, offering a unique understanding of the use and spatial organisation of rune stones (3,2,1,1; 3.2.2.1; 3.2.3.2; 4.1.1). Later rune stones, and *Eskilstuna cists* register a profound change in their appearance, such as dressed slabs, while they are made predominantly of sandstone (Hagenfeldt and Palm 1996, 30; ill. 3.32).

The selection of Irish monuments includes a variety of shapes, including High Crosses, standing crosses, cross-marked slabs, cross-slabs, cross-incised and inscribed pillars, and other carved pillars. While the function of each may not be entirely understood, it is clear that their appearance participates in the function(s) they perform. High Crosses (Armagh IR1; Carndonagh, IR4; Carrowmore IR5; Clonca IR7; Cooley, IR7; Downpatrick IR9; Clones IR14; Arboe IR16; Clogher IR17) display an elaborate iconography, which may include predominantly biblical scenes, but also, although rarely, secular figures, which may record acts of patronage (e.g. Clonmacnoise, the Cross of Scriptures; Richardson 2005, 708-711), none of which are found within the selection focused on in this thesis. High Crosses are found in major ecclesiastical centres, where they may have marked sacred space, place of gatherings, market place, and more generally participate to the creation and formation of sacred cosmology, as discussed in Chapter 3 (3.3; 3.3.4; ill. 2.6). The small stone crosses in Banagher (IR3), may have performed similar place-making functions, at a more modest scale (Ch.4, 4.3.2.1).

Cross-marked or incised slabs (Cooley IR7; Nendrum IR10; Saul IR11; Devenish IR12) are found in churchyards, and when found in a secure context have been widely interpreted as grave-markers (Ch.3, 3.3.2.3). The cross-slabs and cross-carved pillars presented in this research (Carndonagh, the Marigold Stone IR4a; Fahan Mura IR8; Killadeas IR13a; Kilnasaggart IR2) have also been found within churchyards, and may have acted as focal points for devotional practises and burials, possibly offering protection over the dead and living; Kilnasaggart also displays an inscription recording the donation of land from royal kin to the Church (Ch.4, 4.1.2.1; Ch.5, 5.3.1.2). The last type is small carved pillars, found in Carndonagh (IR4c, d), Killadeas

(IR13b), and White Island (IR15); the three sites contain the only examples of this type within the area selected for this research. While the exact functions and dating for these monuments are uncertain, the occurrences from Carndonagh and Killadeas seem to be connected to liturgical paths and pilgrimages, while the figures represented in White Island may be the representation of saints and secular elites (Ch. 4, 4.2.3). While these stones may be unique to this case study area, they embody the wider theme of sacralising movement seen across the three areas.

Similarly to Ireland, the Scottish selection contains a large array of monument types, such as monumental and small cross-slabs, recumbent monuments, and cross-incised slabs. The cross-slabs display decorated crosses, sometime accompanied with scenes of religious meaning, saints, and imagery relating to devotional practises, or damnation and redemption (Aldbar SCO2; St Vigeans SCO5a, b, c, f, j; Meigle SCO13b, d, e, f). However, key-themes of the imagery displayed on these monuments are also hunting scenes and horsemen, which may relate to representation of secular elites, encompassing symbolic meanings (5.2.1.3; Aberlemno SCO1b; Logierait SCO12; Meigle SCO13a, c). Furthermore, many cross-slabs also include Pictish symbols, which seem to be closely connected to secular elites, possibly representing their name (5.2.1.3). Monumental cross-slabs, when found within, or close to, ecclesiastical centres may achieve similar function(s) than High Crosses (Ch. 3, 3.3.4; St Vigeans SCO5a; Meigle SCO13a, b). Original context for smaller cross-slabs (St Vigeans SCO5j; Fortingall SCO11; Logierait SCO12a; Meigle SCO13) is usually lost; however, the imagery they display, similar to that displayed on larger monuments, seem to participate to the multiple functions of personal commemoration, and redemption and salvation, yet at a more personal level (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 181); amongst this monument type, Pictish symbols are sometimes displayed.

The seven recumbent monuments, found in both St Vigeans (SCO5c, f) and Meigle (SCO13d) have been interpreted as possible grave-covers for secular (possibly royal) elites. They display an imagery which seems to warn and guide the (new?) Christian, from hell to redemption achieved through the *Eucharist* (3.3.3.1; 3.3.3.2). Interestingly, none of these monuments represent Pictish symbols. This, along with Pictish symbols never displayed within crosses, may further the interpretation of symbols being closely related to secular elites (Geddes forthcoming [c]; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 175, 197-202).

A wider variety of shapes of standing carved stones is also found in St Vigeans (SCO5), Forteviot (SCO10), and Meigle (SCO13), sites which are connected to both royal and ecclesiastical power (3.2.1.2; 3.3.3.1; 3.3.3.2). Indeed, these three sites contain rare examples of carved architectural fragments, informing us on the possible presence of a stone building, or elements of it. Furthermore, St Vigeans contains several types of monuments, such as a pillar or altar (SCO5g), and two small standing crosses (SCO5d, i), which seem to be connected to liturgical movement within the ecclesiastical landscape (3.3.3.2).

Finally, the selection of Scottish stone monuments is completed by cross-incised slabs. Similarly to the Irish monuments, this type of monument, which includes a variety of cross shapes, seems to be closely connected to graveyards (Cladh Bhranno SCO7; Dull SCO8; Fortingall SCO11). Furthermore, an inscription found on a cross-incised slab in Dull 8 (SCO8b) dates this practice to the 8th century (4.2.4.1), and thus may represent a stage in which the monastery of Iona was consolidating its hold in the area.

Ultimately, while each region comprises monuments that make individual statements of local or regional identity, the multiple use and functions of stone monuments within the selected cases share many similarities, as part of commemorative practises, praying stations, boundary markers, and *foci* for religious and political gatherings. The main contrast in the variety of monument types found in both Ireland and Scotland compared to Scandinavia may be interpreted as relating to the construction of an ecclesiastical landscape, which may have already been taking place in the former two regions from the 7th century (Bhreathnach 2014, 268; Foster 2014, 209-210). Indeed, the majority of rune stones in Scandinavia (especially in Uppland, which this study focuses on) were erected at a time when cult sites were still associated with secular estates and not centralised churches (Brink 2012c [2008], 621).

6.2.1.2 Comparing and contrasting the topographical and archaeological contexts

Many similarities were registered by analysing the topographical and archaeological contexts of the selected monuments; indeed, comparisons exposed the same patterns of landscape settings in each region, both natural and human constructed, such as:

- Proximity to water, such as rivers, wetland, lakes, and confluences
- Prominent places, hilltops, or promontories
- Mounds (containing burials or not)
- Burial grounds
- Roadsides

Associated with these features, many stone monuments were used to mark secular estate or parish boundaries, their presence used as a reinforcing statement of ownership and protection. Chapter 4 also demonstrates that they guided and emphasised movement, which is supported by the frequent associations with routeways. Furthermore, the strong connections between stone monuments and the presence of water needs to be highlighted. While bodies of water may be well-known sacred places embodying the notions of liminality and passage (Fabech and Näsman 2013, 53-109), stone monuments seem to concentrate these notions. This is particularly apparent with rune stones whose inscriptions mention the presence of a bridge or path.

Furthermore, these features emphasise the importance of accessibility and visibility of standing stones, but also underline the contrast with other types of monuments, such as rune stones inscribed on flat bedrock outcrops, or recumbent cross-incised slabs. However, while the latter are often interpreted as grave markers (Nendrum IR10; Dull SCO8b; Fortingall SCO11), runes inscribed on rock outcrops, such as Hargs bro (U309, 310, SCA10) and Hillersjö (U29, SCA11a), inform us of a different connection between the monuments and their audience, as the audience would have to get closer to the stone to engage with it (see 5.3.2). This observation opens up alternative ways of engaging with recumbent stones, which may not always be mortuary in function.

In regard to the presence of stone monuments at burial sites, while the majority of standing stones cannot be directly associated with a tomb, possibly through lack of preservation of human remains, or of the stone's original context, they are often found associated with burial grounds, either contemporaneous or ancient. These can

be situated outside settlements (e.g. Kilnasaggart IR2; Bogesund SCA4; Broby bro SCA5; Anundshög SCA21; St Orland's Stone SCO4d; see 3.3.2 and 4.3.3); indeed, during the early medieval period, and earlier, burial grounds are often associated with estate or parish boundaries. This may be for instance to invoke the protection of the dead over the estate, or a claim of ownership over the land (see discussion 4.3.3). Stone monuments at burial grounds may reinforce these aspects, or act as protectors of the living *from* the dead. It has also been suggested that, when placed at pre-Christian burial grounds (e.g. Bogesund SCA4; Broby bro SCA5) they may be part of the consecration of the place (Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008] 635). Carved stones, especially in Ireland and Scotland may also be found within churchyards, as part of early ecclesiastical centres (e.g. Cooley IR7; Nendrum IR10; Saul IR11; Clogher IR17; Aberlemno SCO1a; St Vigeans SCO5; Cladh Bhranno SCO7; Dull SCO8; Fortingall SCO11; Logierait SCO12; Meigle SCO13). Here, a contrast is observed between the different types of monuments: while recumbent monuments (such as St Vigeans SCO5c, f; Meigle SCO13d) or cross-marked slabs (Nendrum IR10; Cladh Bhranno SCO7; Dull SCO8; Fortingall SCO9) were possibly grave markers, monumental cross-slabs or High Crosses may have fulfilled different and multiple functions, such as marking a consecrated ground, or its entrance, and enacting protection to the Christian dead. Furthermore, each monument would act as an active memorial to powerful individuals, showing they are part of a wider phenomenon seen across the three case study areas.

6.2.1.1 Stone monuments and Christianisation

The stone monuments presented in this research, and beyond, whether inscribed, carved or incised, are a defining element of several north-western European societies during the early medieval period. While carved and inscribed stones are found in several regions as a response to prehistoric and Roman monuments, it is during the first centuries of the Christianisation processes that their production grows extensively. The selection analysed within this research has shown that, while the topographical settings of stone monuments share many similarities, the monuments are not produced at the same phase of the Christianisation process. As discussed throughout this research, the three phases of the Christianisation process are infiltration, mission and organisation (Birkeli 1973, 14, cited by Gräslund and Lager 2012 [2008], 636). While Gräslund and Lager have suggested that rune stones are part of the mission phase, the research presented here suggests that Irish and

Scottish stone monuments at ecclesiastical sites belong to the phase of organisation, or institutionalisation.

This interpretation is supported by the work of Michel Lauwers on the Continent, who describes the process of ecclesiastical polarisation between the early medieval and medieval periods, which he names *inecclesiamento* (2013, 315-338; Ch. 1, 1.5.1.2; Ch.3, 3.4). Indeed, his analysis highlights the movement operated by early churches or early cult sites located on secular estates towards large polarised ecclesiastical centres (Lauwers 2013, 319-322). While his focus revolves primarily around early ecclesiastical centres and the centralisation of cemeteries, it may be argued, in the light of the analyses and results gathered in this research, that the localisation of stone monuments in the landscape followed a similar pattern: first associated with marking boundaries, burial grounds and early cult sites on secular estates, then focused around ecclesiastical centres.

There is indeed no single reason for the use of stone monuments, but a variety of them, such as the formation of Christian identities, the establishment of Christian hegemony, and the consolidation of ecclesiastical hierarchy; yet, they all seem to signal the start of a new phase of Christianisation. The sculptured stones and rune stones may thus be interpreted as a way to create something new, while their material itself evokes timelessness, as if they were always there, a permanent ageless element of the landscape, and the sacred places within it.

6.2.2 Comparative approach: advantages and limitations

As set by the comparative framework (1.4.2), the aim of this research was to compare an array of monuments, located on a diversity of sites, in order to offer a wide understanding of the use and functions of stone monuments in the early stages of Christianity beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire. In doing so, this research situated itself at the meeting point between a case-oriented study (which is the thorough analysis of very small sample) and a variable-oriented study (which includes a large number of occurrences). The advantages of such a study allowed not only to analyse the case studies as thoroughly as permitted by the available evidence, but also to open up new avenues of interpretation and bypass entrenched discourses in each research tradition. The results gathered from the analyses of the three selections of stone monuments from Scandinavia, Ireland and Scotland have

demonstrated that new interpretations and furthered understanding emerge from a comparative approach.

The study of early medieval carved stones and late Viking Age rune stones is generally complicated by the uncertainty of the monuments' original context. The frequent disparity of information available for some sites and monuments rendered, in places, the analysis of a few case studies slightly superficial. While these issues have been acknowledged, the comparative approach permitted the recognition of wider patterns, bringing out similarities across geographical areas, which enabled new potential interpretations. These were also furthered by the data compilation and the resulting catalogue, which gathers a wide range of information, while allowing information to be displayed clearly and systematically from one region to the other.

This research also highlighted several difficulties inherent within comparing elements from such large and diverse *corpora* of stone monuments: on one hand, the selection defined for this research is not defined enough to focus thoroughly on a specific aspect, such as a single theme, or a type of site (e.g. ecclesiastical centres, or assembly sites); on the other hand, the selection is not wide enough to compile sufficient data to produce global and empirical hypothesis or results. However, research aiming to include such a selection would require more than the timeframe of a PhD thesis.

This thesis however produced compelling results: by exploring, discussing and analysing various types of sites through different thematic perspectives, it permitted new or contrasting interpretations of several case studies and singled out the similarities and singularities of stone monuments across a wide geographical area. More importantly, it allowed both refining and expanding our understanding and discernment of the use and functions of early medieval stone monuments and of the societies that erected them within different phases of Christianisation.

Consequently, despite the difficulties encountered, the author believes that the present research has demonstrated the value, benefits and necessity of a comparative approach to the early medieval stone monuments in north-western Europe.

6.2.3 Future avenues of research

One of the difficulties encountered in this research was to remain focused on the material selected and offer a broad picture from a relatively small selection of examples and evidence. The results of course are not universal and are really aimed at observing a range of sites, to offer a broad picture; this is why I created the two concepts of the multi-scaled and thematic analysis. However, analysis aimed at stone monuments found on one type of site on a broader scale would undoubtedly allow a more detailed and nuanced understanding.

It is thus argued that this research should be extended to include not only Christian, but also all early medieval stone monuments. Indeed, other types of monuments should be integrated for further research, such as symbol stones ('Class I') in Scotland, free-standing crosses in Norway and *Eskilstuna cists* in Sweden. The Irish selection should also be extended to the rest of Ireland, including southern High Crosses, but also ogham stones.

Furthermore, since the present research was first started at the end of 2010, academic research on many sites, but also on many aspects examined here has considerably progressed and has been the subject of multiple publications, and forthcoming publications (some of the most recent publications include: on specific sites, e.g. Geddes forthcoming (a); O'Brien and Adams 2014a, 2014b, forthcoming; McLeod 2014; Hall 2013; Källström 2013; on specific subjects, such as carved stones: Williams *et al.* 2015; assembly places: Gleeson 2015; Sanmark 2015; Sanmark and Semple 2013; religion and the sacred: Nordeide and Brink 2013; Salonen *et al.* 2013). The global understanding of early medieval carved stones and their contexts has been both greatly enriched and made complex by these multiple publications.

However, all of these works, and indeed research, were by necessity focused on singular *aspects* and time periods of stone sculpture, rather than a comparative and holistic approach to *all* aspects of stone sculpture, whose entangled nature cannot be appreciated by examining a solitary thread, or even several. Rather, like a grand tapestry where countless parts make up the whole, understanding the use and function of stone sculpture in the early medieval requires one to step back, and view all of these aspects and how they interrelate with one broad, sweeping comparative lens, one created and applied by this work. Therefore, I suggest that stone

monuments in different contexts should continue to be analysed through a comparative framework elaborated by this thesis and building on this new research, although by being divided into types of sites, such as monuments at assembly places or monuments at early church sites. In that regard, all known cases from each region should be included, to allow more thorough results.

6.3 Conclusion

Study of early medieval stone monuments often revolves around the individuals, the commissioner, the person commemorated, examining their identity or their historical significance, but ultimately, the stone itself retains the major role, as the agent conveying a sacred message. When a stone is reused – a phenomenon observed in each region studied – it is often to pass on its 'sanctity' to a new structure. Indeed, by channelling the *existing* supernatural forces of a place and marrying them with emergent narratives of power through the imagery and form of the stone – the power of the individual stone thus is 'extended' across time and space.

Carved and inscribed monuments are defining elements of the early medieval period in north-western Europe; although intrinsically linked to their local society, they form, by their location, use, and reuse, the grammar of landscape, by delineating and sacralising it. Ultimately, the individuality of commemoration embodied by these monuments blends into the universality of the sacred message.

A trait shared by many monuments presented in this research is their role in creating or re-creating places. While other components participate equally to the process of place-making, such as other archaeological remains, place-names, or folklore, stone monuments mark the heart of a place or its periphery, and visibly unite these multiple components to create the place.

Furthermore, beyond the multiple similarities and contrast that have been discussed in this chapter, what brings together these selections of monuments is how people experience the stones. A fundamental aspect of analysing early medieval carved stones in their landscape is the global experience of discovering the monument in its wider physical context. In the early stages of this research, when I visited each monument presented here, I was reluctant to carry out the analytical aspect of the research beforehand, in order to experience the monument first, with no

preconceptions about its purpose, location or nature arising from other interpretations. Of course, on a methodological level, being aware of the monuments' specificities and general background may be more efficient; however, it is also essential to keep an open mind, and not focus too early on the details when carrying out a wide geographical comparative study. Indeed, as Merleau-Ponty states (1968 [1964], 4):

> "It is the things themselves, from the depths of their silence, that it wishes to bring to expression."

The visual and emotional impact of looking for a stone monument, and finding it – sometimes accidentally! – can only provoke the reflection on the impact these monuments had on early medieval societies. Their effects on time and space have been much discussed in the present research, and it seems just as appropriate to conclude this thesis by connecting the present and our experience to the experience of those for whom these monuments were erected in the first place.

To conclude, this research revealed, and emphasised fundamental aspects of stone monuments shared by each region: first, the nature of stone monument is dual. The stone monuments indeed mark places, and are *foci* for devotion, memory and gathering, while embodying the sacred. They connect the landscape to the people, and the people to the landscape, shaping their identity and creating sacred spaces. However, stone monuments also create movement, not only through the landscape, by connecting places over large distances, but also through ritual and devotional practices experienced by their audience. These two aspects can be conceptualised into verticality (place) and horizontality (movement) (see Ch.1, 1.5.3.4).

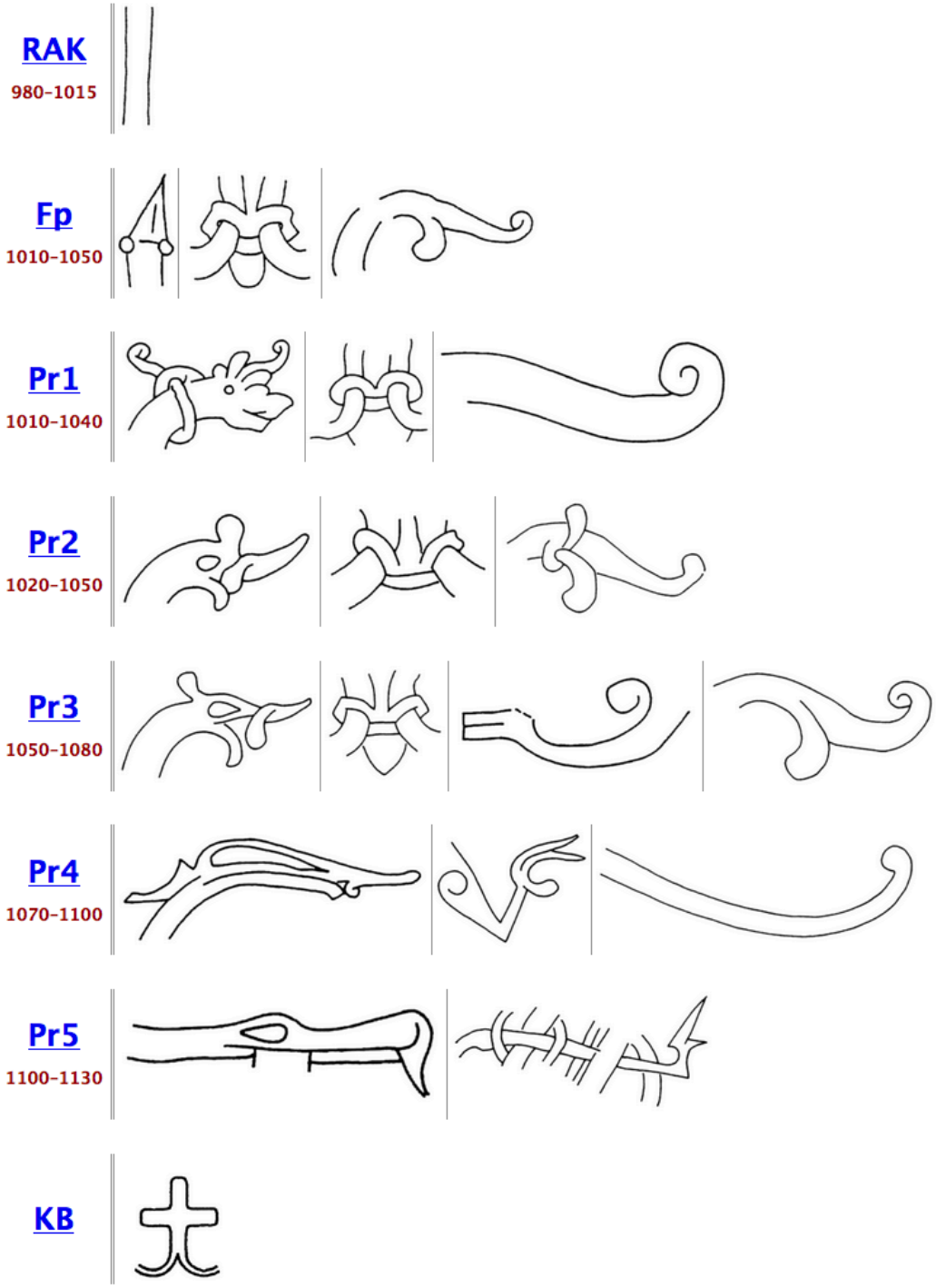
Verticality and horizontality are also echoed through less tangible aspects of stone monument: time and space. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 5, monuments are erected at a defined time in a defined place, to commemorate a person, to record the gift of a land to the Church, or to create a sacred space, but they are also often erected at ancient places of significance, to create a tangible link to past or to the ancestors for the commissioner to gain legitimacy or prestige, or to convert an ancient sacred place. They recall distant places, forming connections across space, and help sanctify the movement between them. They reach back to the past, and forward, toward the

future, while anchoring the present in a single suspended moment, crystallising the encounter of the people with the sacred.

Once they are erected, and after a few generations, their original purpose may cease to be remembered; however, the stones will transcend the individuality linked to their creation and retain their sacred nature, some for a time, and some for longer. They are thus a link in the temporal thread, reviving the past, always anchored in the present, while projecting towards the future.

Annexes I: Rune stones dating table

(Source: ©Marcus Smith, http://www.runinskrifter.net/style. Based on Anne-Sofie Gräslund 1994, 117-131; 2006b, 117-140)



Annexe II: Fieldwork form

General observations about the site: how do we approach the monument(s)?
Situation: museum? Churchyard? Open air?

Topographical settings of site:

Water (river; lake; wetland):

Connection to road / routeway /waterway?

Location of site (raised/flat grounds; fields; forest; village/town?)

Visibility: What can I see from the monument? Where the monument can be seen from?

25m

50m

100m

More?

Monument(s):

How many carved stones?

Where is it within the site?

Current state (preservation)

Imagery / inscription

Specificities

Other monuments

Description

Miscellaneous:

CATALOGUE

Table of Contents of the Catalogue

Catalogue 317
Table of Contents of the Catalogue 318
List of Figures of the Catalogue 320
Form of the catalogue entries 324
Concordance table: Swedish rune stones *signa* and catalogue entries 326
Ireland 327
Armagh IR1 328
Kilnasaggart IR2 331
Banagher IR3 334
Carndonagh IR4 339
Carrowmore IR5 346
Clonca IR6 350
Cooley (Moville) IR7 354
Fahan Mura IR8 358
Downpatrick IR9 360
Nendrum IR10 364
Saul IR11 371
Devenish IR12 374
Killadeas IR13 385
Clones IR14 388
White Island IR15 391
Arboe IR16 394
Clogher IR17 396
Scandinavia 401
Aspa Löt SCA1 402
Arkils Tingstad (Bällsta) SCA2 410
Birka – Björkö SCA3 414
Bogesund SCA4 420
Broby Bro SCA5 423
Fällbro SCA6 432
Fresta kyrka SCA7 434
Granby SCA8 436
Hagby SCA9 440
Hargs bro SCA10 445
Hillersjö SCA11 448
Hovgården SCA12 450

Karby SCA13 453
Östra Ryds kyrka SCA14 455
Snåttsta & Vreta SCA15 458
Söderby (Östra Ryds) SCA16 463
Söderby (Orkesta) SCA17 465
Södersätra SCA18 468
Täby (Jarlabanke bro) SCA19 470
Vallentuna Kyrka SCA20 473
Anundshög SCA21 476
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10233404310004 478
Scotland 479
Aberlemno SCO1 480
Aldbar SCO2 486
Brechin SCO3 489
Glamis SCO4 491
St Vigeans SCO5 497
Woodrae (or Woodwray) SCO6 509
Cladh Bhranno SCO7 512
Dull SCO8 515
Dunkeld SCO9 522
Forteviot SCO10 524
Fortingall SCO11 531
Logierait SCO12 544
Meigle SCO13 548
Bibliography 562
Online resources 597

List of Figures of the Catalogue

IR1 map of Armagh and possible locations of the high crosses 329
IR1 Market Cross, Armagh 330
IR1 Market Cross(?), Armagh 330
IR2 Kilnasaggart pillar-stone 333
IR3 Banagher 1 335
IR3 Banagher 2 336
IR3 Mortuary House 337
IR3 Bullaun Stone 338
iR4 Marigold Stone, Carndonagh 341
IR4 St Patrick Cross, Carndonagh 342
IR4 Pillar 1, Carndonagh 343
IR4 Pillar 2, Carndonagh 344
IR4d Carndonagh lintel (?) 345
IR5 High Cross 1 347
IR5 High cross 2 348
IR5 Cross-incised flat bedrock 349
IR6 Clonca 1 351
IR6 Clonca 2 353
IR6 General view of Cooley 354
IR7 Cooley Cross 355
IR7 Cross-decorated slab, Cooley 356
IR7 The 'Skull House', Cooley 357
IR8 Cross-slab, Fahan Mura 359
IR9 Market Cross, Downpatrick 361
IR9 High Cross 2, fragment, Downpatrick 362
IR10 Nendrum, the chapel and round tower 365
IR10 Sundial, Nendrum 365
IR10a Nendrum cross-slabs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 (in order) 367
IR10b Nendrum cross-slab 9 368
IR10c Nendrum cross-slab 10 369
IR10d Nendrum cross-slab 10 370
IR11 Cross-incised slab, Saul 372
IR11 Mortuary House Saul 373
IR12 Devenish, the chapel 375
IR12 Cross-carved slab, Devenish 376
IR12 Devenish Cross (late medieval) 377
IR12 Cross-carved slab, Devenish 378
IR12 Cross-carved slab, Devenish 379
IR12 Devenish round tower, looking toward the east 380
IR12 Devenish round tower, cap 381
IR12 Devenish, heavily wooded, the island is partially cleared to build the settlement
IR12 Devenish, reconstruction of the early medieval settlement 383
IR12 Devenish round tower and St Mary's Abbey, from the north-west, on Lough Erne
IR12 Devenish, foundation of early round tower 384
IR13 Cross-slab Killadeas 386
IR13 Carved Piller Stone, Killadeas 387
IR14 High Cross, Clones 389
IR14 House-Shaped Shrine with roundtower in background 390

IR15 White Island carved pillars 392
IR16 High Cross, Arboe 395
IR17 Free-standing crosses 1 and 2, Clogher 397
IR17c Clogher sundial 399
SCA1 The site at Aspa löt, 407
SCA1 Sö 139 & Sö 140, Aspa löt 409
SCA1 Sö 141 & Sö Fv1948;289, Aspa löt 409
SCA2 U 225 Arkills tingstad, Bällsta 412
SCA2 U 226 Arkills tingstad, Bällsta 412
SCA3 U4 Birka 416
SCA3 U 5 Birka 416
SCA3 U 9 Birka 416
SCA3 U 6 and U 7 Birka (Björkö by) 417
SCA3 U 8 Birka 418
SCA3 U6=U7=U8 Birka (Björkö by) reconstructed 418
SCA3 Birka, from the top of the Borg, towards the 'Black Earth' and Adelsö in the background 419
SCA4 17th century drawing from Johan Peringskiöld 422
SCA4 U 170 at Bogesund brygga 422
SCA5 The location of Broby bro 424
SCA5 Broby farm and Broby bro. 424
SCA5 U 135; SCA5 U 136, 427
SCA5 U137, Broby bro 428
SCA5 U139 Broby bro 429
SCA5 U140 Broby bro, Picture © A. Busset 430
SCA5 U151, Broby bro, Picture © A. Busset 431
SCA8 Reconstruction of Granby-Hyppinge 438
SCA8 U 337, Granby, Orkesta 438
SCA8 U 338, Granby Orkesta 439
SCA9 U143, Hagby 441
SCA9 General map Hagby 443
SCA9 Hagby U 147 443
SCA9, U 148 in its original location 444
SCA10 U 309 (bottom) U 310 (top right) and U 311 (top left), Hargs bro 446
SCA11 U 29, Hillersjö, Hilleshög 448
SCA12 U 11 Hovgården, Adelsö 451
SCA12 Hovgården, the royal mounds, Adelsö kyrka in the background 451
SCA13 U 150 Karby 454
SCA14 U 166, Östra Ryds kyrka 456
SCA14 U 167 Östra Ryds kyrka 457
SCA15 U 329, Snåttsta, Markim 459
SCA15 U 330 Snåttsta 460
SCA15 U 331, Snåttsta, Markim 461
SCA15 U332 Source: Wikipedia 462
SCA16 Map Vaxholm 463
SCA16 U 171, Söderby, Östra Ryds 464
SCA19 U 164 and U 165, and alignment of standing stones, Jarlabanke bro, Täby 470
SCA19 U 164, Jarlabanke bro, Täby 471
SCA20 Historical map of Vallentuna 474
SCA20 Vallentuna Kyrka U 212 475
SCA21 'Anund's Mound', Anundshög, Badelunda 476
SCA21 Vs 13, Anundshög, Badelunda 477

SCA21 Ship settings from the top of 'Anund's Mound', Anundshög, Badelunda 477
SCO1 Map of Aberlemno and its surroundings 481
SCO1 Aberlemno 2 482
SCO1b Aberlemno 3 483
SCO1b Aberlemno 3 484
SCO1c Aberlemno 4 484
SCO1c Aberlemno 1 (with Dr Forsyth for scale) 485
SCO2 Map of Aldbar chapel and its connections to Aberlemno and Brechin 487
SCO2 Map of Aldbar Chapel and Brechin Cathedral 487
SCO2 Aldbar cross-slab 488
SCO3 St Mary's Stone, Brechin 490
SCO4 Hunter Hill, Glamis 1 492
SCO4 Glamis 2 Manse 493
SCO4 St Orland's Stone, Cossans 496
SCO4 St Orland's Stone, Cossans 496
SCO5 VIG001 Drostan Stone 498
SCO5 VIG007 499
SCO5 VIG008 500
SCO5 VIG015 501
SCO5 VIG029 502
SCO5f VIG013 (left) and VIG014 (right) 503
SCO5g VIG016 Pillar cross 504
SCO5h VIG020 and 027 architectural fragments 505
SCO5i VIG009 arm of free-standing ring cross 506
SCO5j VIG005 507
SCO5j VIG006 507
SCO5j VIG017 (right) and VIG018 (left) 508
SCO5j VIG019 508
SCO5j VIG021 508
SCO6 The lost Woodrae cross-slab 510
SCO6 Woodrae cross-slab 511
SCO7 Cladh Bhranno – view on cemetery and Glen Lyon 513
SCO7 Cladh Bhranno Bullaun stone 513
SCO7 Cladh Bhranno Cross-Slab 514
SCO8 General view from Dull 516
SCO8 Viewshed from Dull towards Glen Lyon 516
SCO8 Dull 1 517
SCO8 Dull cross-incised slabs 518
SCO8b Dull 8 'BECLI' stone 519
SCO8 Dull 'Sanctuary stone' 520
SCO8 Dull cross-base 521
SCO10 The Dupplin Cross or Constantine Cross 526
SCO10 Invermay Cross 527
SCO10c Forteviot 3, ringed-head cross 528
SCO10c Forteviot 1 reconstructed 529
SCO11 Fortingall 2 533
SCO11 Fortingall 2 533
SCO11 Fortingall 3 534
SCO11 Fortingall 4 535
SCO11 Fortingall 5 537
SCO11 Fortingall 6 538
SCO11 Fortingall 6 Fortingall 7 539

SCO11 Fortingall 7 539
SCO11 Fortingall 8 541
SCO11 Fortingall 9 542
SCO11 Fortingall 9 543
SCO11 Fortingall 543
SCO12 Map of Logierait 544
SCO12 Logierait 1 545
SCO12 Logierait 1 546
SCO12 Logierait 2 547
SCO13a Meigle 1 549
SCO13 Meigle 2 550
SCO13c Meigle 4 551
SCO13d Meigle 9 552
SOC13d Meigle 11 553
SCO13d Meigle 12 553
SCO13d Meigle 26 554
SCO13e Meigle 10 556
SCO13e Meigle 22 556
SCO13f Meigle 3 558
SCO13f Meigle 5 558
SCO13f Meigle 6 558
SCO13f Meigle 7 558
SCO13f Meigle 8 and 14A 559
SCO13f Meigle 20 and 21 559
SCO13f Meigle 23a and b 559
SCO13f Meigle 27a and b 560
SCO13f Meigle 28 and 29 560
SCO13f Meigle 30 and 31 560
SCO13f Meigle 32 and 33 560
SCO13g Meigle 25 561

FORM OF THE CATALOGUE ENTRIES

The entries for the sites and monuments have been organised to gather the two phases of the research: the information collected on site (see the fieldwork form, Annexe II), and the desk-based research, which were then organised as follow:

Entries for sites

By country, region, and parish, each organised alphabetically. N.B. Scandinavian rune stones are usually organised through their number, allocated from the *Runinskrifter* volumes, here, they have been organised alphabetically to follow the classification applied to all three regions. A concordance table including their RUNDATA number, catalogue and page number, to facilitate their access, is found on the next page.

What type(s) of site? Is it ecclesiastical, a cemetery, a gathering site?

If known, the **name of either a saint or secular elite** associated

Historical background and placename: results gathered from desk-based research, such as written sources, archaeological reports and literature.

General description: Observations gathered while one site, and complemented with information found on maps.

Archaeological remains: Information gathered through literature, archaeological reports, and complemented with observations made on site.

Stone monuments associated: which monument(s) is/are situated on that site

Historical sources: References to written sources that have been mentioned in 'historical background', abbreviated (see list of abbreviations).

References: List of references, giving the name of the author(s) and the date of publication, used from which the information presented is drawn.

Entries for monuments

At the top left of the entry is the registered number or name to the carved stones; while at the top right is the catalogue entry number for this research.

Below the catalogue number, in the corner top right is – when known – the coordinates for rune stones and grid reference number for Irish and Scottish carved stones.

The **Type of monument** will determine if it is a rune stone, a High Cross, cross-slab, carved pillar, a cross-incised monument, and/or a recumbent monument.

The **Type of stone** determine the geological composition of the monument

The **Description of the monument** will include its dimensions (when known), the specificities of the monument, the imagery (and style), and its inscription.

The p**roposed dating** gathers the proposition(s), when existing, about the dating of a monument for Ireland and Scotland. For Scandinavia, the dating of the rune stones is provided through their style (RAK, Pr1, Pr2, Pr3, Pr4, Pr5) (see Annexe I).

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: Confirmed or supposed connection (specified) to other carved stones or rune stones, primarily from this selection.

References: List of references, giving the name of the author(s) and the date of publication, used to gather the information presented.

CONCORDANCE TABLE: SWEDISH RUNE STONES *SIGNA* AND CATALOGUE ENTRIES

Södermanland		
Sö 136	Aspa löt	SCA1
Sö 137	Aspa löt	SCA1
Sö 138	Aspa löt	SCA1
Sö 139	Aspa löt	SCA1
Sö 140	Aspa löt	SCA1
Sö 141	Aspa löt	SCA1
Sö Fv1948;289	Aspa löt	SCA1
Uppland		
U4	Birka	SCA3
U5	Birka	SCA3
U6	Birka	SCA3
U7	Birka	SCA3
U8	Birka	SCA3
U9	Birka	SCA3
U11	Hovgården	SCA12
U29	Hillesrsjö	SCA11
U101	Södersätra	SCA18
U135	Broby bro	SCA5
U136	Broby bro	SCA5
U137	Broby bro	SCA5
U139	Broby bro	SCA5
U140	Broby bro	SCA5
U142	Fällbro	SCA6
U143	Hagby	SCA9
U147	Hagby	SCA9
U148	Hagby	SCA9
U149	Hagby	SCA9
U150	Karby	SCA13
U151	Broby bro	SCA5
U164	Täby (Jarlabanke bro)	SCA19
U165	Täby (Jarlabanke bro)	SCA19
U166	Östra Ryds kyrka	SCA14
U167	Östra Ryds kyrka	SCA14
U170	Bogesund	SCA4
U171	Söderby (Östra Ryds)	SCA16
U212	Vallentuna kyrka	SCA20
U225	Arkils Tingstad (Bällsta)	SCA2
U226	Arkils Tingstad (Bällsta)	SCA2
U261	Fresta kyrka	SCA7
U309	Hargs bro	SCA10
U310	Hargs bro	SCA10
U329	Snåttsta	SCA15
U330	Snåttsta	SCA15
U331	Snåttsta å	SCA15
U332	Vreta	SCA15
U337	Granby	SCA8
U338	Granby	SCA8
U341	Söderby (Orkesta)	SCA17
U342	Söderby (Orkesta)	SCA17
Västmanland		
Vs13	Anundshög	SCA21

IRELAND

ARMAGH IR1

Grid reference: H 874452

Region: Co. Armagh

Parish: Armagh

Type of site: Ecclesiastical, diocesan

Saint or secular elite associated: St Patrick

Historical background and place-name
Early religious power centre (7th century), Armagh was the ecclesiastical capital of Ireland. Its early history is obscure, the first mentions of the site date back only from the 7th century. According to A. Hamlin, the foundation dates found in the Annals of Ulster (444) and the Annals of the Four Masters (457) are unreliable. Most early entries about Armagh are found in the *Liber Angeli* (Book of the Angel), in the *B.A.* as well as the *A.U.*

General description
Nothing remains of an early enclosure, but the present street plan may indicate the existence of such an enclosure that would have been of c.180m diameter.

Archaeological remains
Eight churches are mentioned in Armagh, most of which built in the 11th and 12th century. The cathedral is situated at the summit of the hill, probably replacing an earlier church, which would be the earliest church location in Armagh. The written sources mention a "bell-tower", however no archaeological evidence of a round tower has ever been reported. There is also a mention of a bell ("St Patrick's bell) that might have been a relic given to Armagh at St Patrick's death (A.U.); This bell, which bears an inscription, is today in the National Museum of Dublin.
The annals mention five crosses; all references are late (12th century). Today, the remains of two crosses can be found in the churchyard and inside the cathedral.

Stone monuments associated
Cross of Brigid, 'Two streets of Trian Massain, from the door of the Close to the Cross of Brigid, were burned' *A.U.* 1121. No remain found.
Cross of Colum-cille, mentioned in the annals – no remains recovered Cross of Bishop Eogain: mentioned in the annals – no remains recovered
Cross of Sechnall, On the right hand side of the churchyard gate.
Market Cross (or Cross at the Gate) (see below)

***Historical sources*:** *A.U., A.F.M., B.A.*

***References*:**
Hamlin 2008; McNiocaill 1972; Hughes 1972; Reeves 1898, 206-211; Norman and St.Joseph 1969 (fig. 69).

Market Cross or *Cross at the Gate* *IR1a*

***Grid reference**: H875.452*

Type of monument: High Cross

Type of stone: Type of stone unspecified

Current location: Inside the cathedral

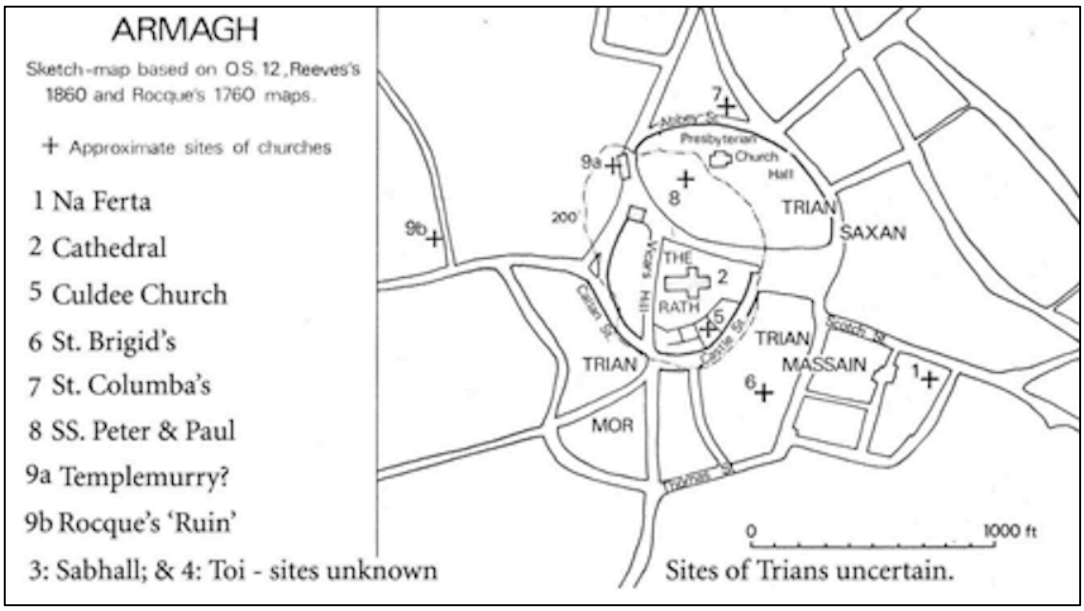
Biography
Probably used as a landmark (as the four other crosses mentioned in the annals), the history of this cross can be traced through antiquarian drawings (Stuart, Paterson, Coote, Dryden). Re-erected and thrown down several times, only badly mutilated fragments remain of this monument.

Description of the monument and analysis
The remaining shaft is constituted of two fragments assembled from two crosses.
Dimensions: Lower shaft: H.1.59m /W. 0.7m / 0.4m thickness Upper shaft: 0.8m
The cross that stands at the west end of the north aisle, inside the cathedral is called the "market cross", as it stood on the market place in the 18th century. Though the cross is today heavily damaged, it is still possible to observe the original carvings that are clearly divided into frames and followed a coherent iconographic scheme. The carvings represent diverse biblical scenes from the Old and New Testament as well as different types of interlace.

Proposed dating: Late 9th -10th century (Edwards 1990, 108; R. Stalley, pers. comm.)
Late 8th – 9th century (Henry 1967, 42)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Possible model for other High Crosses from Ulster – main religious centre

***References*:** Hamlin 2008, Harbison 1994, 19, 337; Edwards 1990



IR1 map of Armagh and possible locations of the high crosses
© A. Hamlin 2008, 22

IR1 Market Cross, Armagh
Picture © A. Busset

IR1 Market Cross(?), Armagh
Picture © A. Busset

KILNASAGGART IR2

Grid reference: J 063 150

Region: Co. Armagh

Parish: Killevy parish (formerly)

Type of site: Monastic, boundary marker (?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Unknown

Historical background and placename
The origin of the name Kilnasaggart ("cell-na-sacart") means the "church of the priest". There are some mentions of the site being part of an early monastery. The carved stone found there is the oldest dateable Christian monument of Northern Ireland. Kilnasaggart is linked to the Dalriadan Royal family (*A.F.M.*).

General description
The valley surrounding the site is overlooked by hills. A stream runs in the middle. The site is close to an ancient important route that linked Tara to Navan, known as the "Moyry Pass". The pillar might then have stood on a boundary. Several battles have also happened in this area.

Archaeological remains
Before the excavations of 1966-68 were undertaken, the ground was quite uneven. The excavations revealed a dense mass of recumbent stones in the area. At the northern edge of the area, a line of eleven flat stones was uncovered; ten stone-built graves were also found (according to Hamlin, many more are still uncovered), all uniformly orientated approximately east-west, with no sign of particular arrangement. No sockets or markers have been found, as well as any datable artefacts in the tombs. There is no early enclosure visible, nor any revealed by excavation. Apart from the graves, the discoveries are sparse, consisting of a few Neolithic and post-medieval remains.
In the adjacent field, south-west from the pillar, is a large bullaun stone.
Several incised monuments, all made of granite, are found on the site at Kilnasaggart. The most important of all being a tall pillar 2m tall, 0.5m wide and 0.2m thick. They all stand at the northern end of the modern enclosure. According to A. Hamlin, one of the small stone is today in the Ulster Museum (1), and others, recorded in earlier sources are lost.

Stone monuments associated
Pillar-stone

***Historical sources*:** *A.F.M.*

***References*:** Hamlin 2008; McCoy 1964; Morris 1904

Kilnasaggart pillar-stone *IR2a*

Grid reference: J 063 150

Type of monument: Pillar-stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: The monument is situated today in the middle of a field, on farmland.

Biography
Given its current location, the monument probably still stands on its original location. There is no further information known.

Description of the monument and analysis
The dominant features of this monument are the thirteen crosses (on both side), as well as an inscription (on the south side). The inscription (in Old Irish) reads: *In loc so Taninmarni Ternoc mac Cernan Bic er cul Peter Apstel* (« Ternóc the son of Ceran Bic put the place under the protection of Peter the Apostle »). As the death of Ternohc is mentioned both in the A.F.M. and the A.Tig., it is believed that the inscription dates back to c. 700, which would make the Kilnasaggart pillar-stone the oldest dateable Christian monument of Northern Ireland.
At the bottom of the stone, on the south side, are small incisions that have been thought to be ogham, which has been refuted since (Macalister 1949). The stone still stands at its original location (the base, in really good condition, has been discovered about 50cm below the monument). None of the graves found around the monument could be associated with it.

Proposed dating: 8th century (provided by the inscription) (Breathnach 2014, 224)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
None

***References*:** Bhreathnach 2014; Hamlin 2008 [1976]

IR2 Kilnasaggart pillar-stone
Picture © A. Busset

BANAGHER IR3

Grid reference: C 675 066

Region: Co. Derry

Parish: Banagher (Magheramore townland)

Type of site: Ecclesiastical, parish

Saint or secular elite associated: St Muiredach

Historical background and placename
It is said traditionally that the founder of Banagher is St. Muiredach O'Heney but this saint's name doesn't appear in calendars. The first mention of the site in the A.U. is in 1121 AD.

General description
The site, in the townland of Magheramore, is situated on a local promontory, sloping to the north-west towards the Owenrigh river, near the boundary with Carnanbane townland.

Archaeological remains
The local tradition reports that originally, five stone crosses marked the boundaries around the townland of Magheramore, within which Banagher is situated. Two remains today, one at the east end of the churchyard, and a second one in an adjacent field north-west of the church. At the top a small promontory, are a mortuary house and a ruined church that may be contemporary (11th/12th c. date proposed by Hamlin; 13th c. date proposed by Edwards). About 15m north-west of the church is a badly ruined building, locally referred as 'the Abbey' or 'the Residence'.

Stone monuments associated
Banagher 1; Banagher 2; Banagher 3; Banagher 4

***Historical sources*:** *A.U.*

***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 258-262; Edwards 1990, 131

Banagher 1 *IR3a*

Grid reference: C 675 066

Type of monument: Stone cross

Type of stone: Schist

Current location: In Banagher churchyard, east of ruined church. It is uncertain whether this is its original location or not.

Biography
It stands today on a prominent point of the churchyard, possibly next to the original entrance of the churchyard.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H. 1m20 / W. (across the arms) 0.5m
Undecorated. Very short arms, west face slightly concave.

Proposed dating: unknown

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Banagher 2

***References*:**
Hamlin 2008, 262

IR3 Banagher 1
Picture © A. Busset

Banagher 2 *IR3b*

Grid reference: C 675 066

Type of monument: Stone cross

Type of stone: Schist

Current location: In a field northwest of the churchyard; possibly in original location.

Biography
By its position, this cross is situated in the adjacent townland (Carnanbane) – where the stones supposed to be standing on both side of a boundary? As their biography and original location are uncertain, we can only speculate.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H. 0.8m / W. (across the arms) 0.5m
Weathered. Broken in two fragments.
Undecorated and very rough (chipped). Similarly to Banagher 1, one face slightly concave.

Proposed dating: unknown
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Banagher 1
***References*:**
Hamlin 2008, 262

IR3 Banagher 2
Picture © A. Busset

Mortuary House *IR3c*

Grid reference: C 675 066

Type of monument: Mortuary house

Type of stone: Sandstone, ashlar

Current location: South-east to the ruined church (original location).

Biography

This mortuary house is traditionally believed to be the tomb of St Muiredach.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: (approx.): L. 3m / W. 1m30 / H. 2m20
At the west-end of the monument is a little rectangular niche, inside which a mitred ecclesiastical figure is carved in relief. Triangular apex.
According to Edwards, "the style of the ecclesiastical figure carved on the west face of the structure suggests that it is of similar date to the early thirteenth-century chancel of the adjacent church." (Edwards 1990, 131)
Two other mortuary houses are found on the sites selected in this thesis (see below). Some are believed to be early enough to house the remains of the saint who founded the place.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Moville; Saul; Clones (?)
Proposed dating: 13th century (Edwards 1990, 131)
***References*:**
Hamlin 2008, 261; Edwards 1990, 131.

IR3 Mortuary House
Picture © A. Busset

Bullaun stone *IR3d*

Grid reference: C 675 066

Type of monument: Bullaun stone

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: Next to the entrance of the 'Abbey', embedded in the ground.

Biography
Hamlin, quoting unpublished O.S. memoir, says that when discovered, the bullaun stone was in the churchyard but its original position was: ' between the cross which is nearest Dungiven and the rad which passes by' (Hamlin 2008, 262).

Description of the monument and analysis
Oval depression, about 30cm deep, 'usually water-filled'.
Hamlin reports that there are no local superstition or traditions linked to it.
May have been originally situated next to one of the stone crosses.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Hamlin 2008 [1976], 262.

IR3 Bullaun Stone
Picture © A. Busset

CARNDONAGH IR4

Region: Co. Donegal

Parish: Carndonagh

Type of site: Ecclesiastical, parochial

Saint or secular elite associated: St Patrick

Historical background and placename
The early ecclesiastical site of Carndonagh is one of the most important in Donegal. According to Tírechan's account in the B.A., St Patrick has founded this site in 422, even if this geographical area is usually associated with St Columba.

General description
The church, which is part of the Church of Ireland today, is situated on the eastern slope of Crocknakillarderry Hill. About 200m south-east of the churchyard, a site called "Labby Patrick", of unknown nature, is recorded on the OS map. The site is still respected today to be a source of cure. At the bottom of the hill runs the Glentogher River, marking the edge of the town.

Archaeological remains
The 18th century church is predated by at least two earlier phases, as a 15th century door is still visible at the western entrance. Two groups of early medieval carved monuments are found in Carndonagh. The first one, found in the churchyard, consists of a carved lintel and a cross-slab known as the "Marigold Stone". The second one stands north-east of the churchyard, under a shelter and is composed of a high cross and two small pillars. None of the stones stand at their original location, though according to Lacy, the second group originally stood across the road, 20m north-east from its current location. There is also a bullaun stone, on the churchyard wall. The sculpted stones and the bullaun stone are the only remains of the early medieval church.

Stone monuments associated
Marigold Stone, St Patrick's cross, pillar 1 & 2

***Historical sources*:** B.A. (Tir.)

***References*:** Newman & Walsh 2007; Halpin & Newman 2006; Edwards 1990; Lacey 1983; Henry 1965.

Marigold Stone *IR4a*

Grid reference: C 46339 44977

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: In the churchyard; possibly close to or on its original location, although it is uncertain.

Biography
Undocumented

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.78m / W 0.4m / thickness 0.2m
The Marigold Stone is a heavily decorated rectangular slab. On the west face, an encircled marigold motif gives its name to the stone. It is mounted on a stem decorated with geometric interlaces, flanked by two figures facing each other. Below, an encircled "quatre-foil" motif is laying on a geometric design. A scene of crucifixion is represented on the east face, the stem of the cross is flanked by two figures bearing a cross-decorated coat. Another cross is represented below, laying on the same geometric pattern as the one on the west side.
The east side of the slab is much more weathered, suggesting the slab lay flat for some time. Both narrow sides are filled with interlace and geometrical patterns.
Henry proposes a 7th – 8th century date. Harbison proposes a similar dating for the Marigold stone and the St Patrick's cross. Based on his art-historical analysis, both monuments may have been produced by the same workshop, sometimes in the 9th century (see discussion below).

Proposed dating: 8th century (Lacey 2008)

7th century (Newman and Walsh 2007, 183)

9th – 10th century (Edwards 1990, 163)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Newman & Walsh 2007; Edwards 1990; Harbison 1986; Stevenson 1985; Lacey 1983; Crawford 1980; Henry 1965.

iR4 Marigold Stone, Carndonagh
Pictures © A. Busset

St Patrick Cross or *Carndonagh Cross* *IR4b*

Grid reference: C 46339 44977

Region: Co. Donegal

Parish: Carndonagh

Type of monument: High cross

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: Under a shelter outside the churchyard toward the east.

Biography: Not in its original location, although it is suggested that it originally came from approx. 20m south, across the road.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H. 2.5m / W. (across the arms) 1.1m
The east face is decorated by interlaces forming a cross, a crucifixion scene (strangely placed on the shaft) and three standing figures facing left. The west face is mostly decorated by interlace. The narrow side (south) of the monument is also ornamented with four human figures, and a fifth on the upper limb of the cross.

Proposed dating: The dating of the cross has been much discussed. Henry proposed a 7th or early 8th century date (1933, cited by Harbison), basing her proposition on the comparison with the Durham manuscript and the Book of Durrow.
Harbison defends a later date, second half of 8th or beginning of 9th, comparing the interlace with one appearing in the Cotton-Vitellius Psalter and the Book of Armagh. RBK Stevenson proposes an even later date, end of 9th century or 10th century, linking the Cross to the Hiberno-Norse tradition.
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -
***References*:** Lacey 1983, 2006; Edwards 1990; Harbison 1986; Stevenson 1985

IR4 St Patrick Cross, Carndonagh (Pictures © A. Busset)

Pillar 1 *IR4c*

Grid reference: C 46339 44977

Type of monument: Pillar-stone

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: Under a shelter outside the churchyard, toward the east.

Biography
Not in its original location, although it is suggested that it originally came from approx. 20m south, across the road.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 0.8m / W 0.3 m square
South stele:
South face: "animal-headed figure with 'two discs and a hammer'" (Henry 1965, 130)
West face: "an ecclesiastical figure with crossed arms holding a bell and a book with a crozier horizontally beneath"
North face: "a human head emerging from a fish's mouth"
East face: "a face near the top of the pillar"
Lacey 1983, 250-251

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Killadeas (?)

***References*:** Harbison 1991; Lacey 1983

IR4 Pillar 1, Carndonagh
Picture © A. Busset

Pillar 2 *IR4d*

Grid reference: C 46339 44977

Type of monument: Pillar-stone

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: Under a shelter outside the churchyard, toward the east.

Biography
Not in its original location, although it is suggested that it originally came from approx. 20m south, across the road

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 0.8m / W 0.3 m square
North stele:
South face: "a double pelta design
West face: "a figure playing a harp"
North face: "a fish and bird motif"
East face: "a human figure with a small [round] shield and sword"
Lacey 1983, 250

Proposed dating: none provided
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Killadeas (?)

***References*:** Harbison 1986, 1991; Lacey 1983

IR4 Pillar 2, Carndonagh
Pictures © A. Busset

Lintel (?) *IR4d*

Grid reference: C 46339 44977

Type of monument: architectural fragment or high cross shaft

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: In the churchyard, against the church's wall.

Biography
This fragment has always been considered as a lintel from an early church. A recent analysis of it, during the 2014 research and excavation campaign of the Bernician Studies Group has offered a new possible interpretation: the fragment may be the broken shaft of a high cross. It is impossible to say where it might have stood originally, in the churchyard, close to the other monuments, or somewhere else, outside the church area, marking a boundary?

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L1.20m/ H0.25m/0.25m thick
Central wheeled cross; to the left side of the cross, four figures, one of which at least holding a staff of a crozier (to the far left), interpreted as a possible procession (Newman and Walsh 2007, 167); to the right, panel of interlace

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-
***References*:**
O'Brien & Adams (pers. comm.); Lacey 1983 249; Newman and Walsh 2007

IR4d Carndonagh lintel (?)
Picture: © Bernician Studies Group

CARROWMORE IR5

Grid reference: C 51493 45787

Region: Co. Donegal

Parish: Clonca

Type of site: Monastery

Saint or secular elite associated: St Patrick

Historical background and place-name
The site of Carrowmore has been identified as the early monastery founded by St Comhgall between the 7th and the 8th century. Gwynn and Hadcock mention a foundation by Chonas, second husband of St Patrick's sister, Dareca, but it seems likely that it has been confused with the modern Binnion, Parish of Clonmany, in the north-western part of the Inishowen peninsula.

General description
The site is situated on arable land sloping towards the north. It is ended on the north-west by a sharp drop to the Carrowmore River. Although the site is not visible from afar, the viewshed from the monuments is commanding towards the valley to the north-east.

Archaeological remains
The site itself consists of two high crosses, an abandoned burial ground of rectangular shape to the west of the road, and a large cross-incised bullaun stone and a possible holly well to the east. A modern road cut the site in half.
The geophysical survey has shown two circular enclosures, with one of the stone situated inside both enclosures, as the second one situated near the entrance of the first enclosure. This stone supposedly bears decorations incised on its top, but they are not visible any more.
The first edition of the OS map also mentions the presence of a standing stone or stone circle, situated on small portion of flat ground on the middle of a slope, down towards the Culdaff river, at proximity of the early medieval site.

Stone monuments associated
2 High Crosses, stone socket, early med. structures, cross-incised boulder

***Historical sources*:** *TL*

***References*:** O'Brien and Adams 2012-13, 2016; Lacey 1983; Gwynn & Hadcock 1970; The Catholic Encyclopaedia , 1923-24

High cross 1 *IR5a*

Grid reference: C 51493 45787

Type of monument: High cross

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: In an open field.

Biography
Biography unknown. Geophysical analysis has revealed that it probably stands on its original position.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.80m / W. (across the arms) 1.30m
The tall cross is situated east of the modern road, across from the high cross 2 and the other archaeological remains.
The stone was originally decorated with incisions near its top, but they are now indecipherable. The cross is surrounded by a small 'cairn' of pebbles, probably ploughed up from the field and assembled there.
Proposed dating: 9th – 10th century (Stalley, pers. comm.)
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** O'Brien and Adams 2014, 2016; Lacey 1983.

IR5 High Cross 1
Picture © A. Busset

High cross 2 *IR5b*

Grid reference: C 51493 45787

Type of monument: High cross

Type of stone: Unspecified

Current location: In a field, west of a modern road.

Biography
Biography unknown. Geophysical analysis has revealed that it probably stands on its original position.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H. 3.40m / W. (across the arms) o.6m
Undecorated. The tall cross stands at the south-western edge of a modern enclosure. Geophysical survey has shown that this stone is situated inside a double circular enclosure that marked the precinct of an early medieval monastery.

Proposed dating: 9th – 10th century (Stalley, pers. comm.)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** O'Brien and Adams 2014, forthcoming; Lacey 1983.

IR5 High cross 2
Picture © A. Busset

Cross-incised flat bedrock *IR5c*

Grid reference: C 51493 45787

Type of monument: Flat bedrock

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: In a field, east of a modern road, a few metres southwest of Carrowmore 1.

Biography
Unknown. Original location. Its position in relation with the high cross 1 suggest that it was part of the original setting of the monastery, close to the main entrance of the double-enclosure.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Unspecified.
Flat bedrock incised with a cross and a cup-mark (bullaun?).

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** O'Brien and Adams 2014, 2016; Lacey 1983.

IR5 Cross-incised flat bedrock
Picture © A. Busset

CLONCA IR6

***Grid reference:* C 52576 47058**

Region: Co. Donegal

Parish: Malin

Type of site: Ecclesiastical, monastic (?), parochial (later Middle Ages)

Saint or secular elite associated: St Boden (?)

Historical background and placename
The early ecclesiastical site of Clonca is now abandoned.

General description
The site of Clonca consists of a modern rectangular graveyard, a ruined church, built in the 17th century, and includes several earlier elements: a high cross which has been partially restored, the head of a second high cross and a bullaun stone.

Archaeological remains
Two high crosses (one partially restored, while the other fragmentary); portable bullaun stones; 12th century lintel.

Stone monuments associated
Two high crosses

***Historical sources*:**

***References*:** O'Brien and Adams 2014, forthcoming

Clonca or *Cloncha 1* *IR6a*

Grid reference: C 52576 47058

Type of monument: High cross

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: Southwest of the ruined church, in an adjacent field.

Biography
'St Buadan's Cross'. The cross probably stands at its original location.
The cross (especially its head) has been restored and re-erected by the Office of the Public Work about 1980.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 3.95m / W 0.9m / 0.2m thick.
This cross features several probable biblical scenes as well as decorative interlace, concentric circles, zoomorphic designs, knotwork and designs reminiscent of contemporary metalwork.

Proposed dating: 9th – 10th century (Stalley, pers. comm.)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-
***References*:** Harbison 1992, 44; Lacey 1983, 254-256.

IR6 Clonca 1
Picture © A. Busset

Clonca or *Cloncha 2* *IR6b*

Grid reference: C 52576 47058

Type of monument: High cross

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: In the south corner of a field adjacent to the church, next to Clonca 1

Biography
Unknown, one fragment of the cross, and arm, lies within the modern churchyard.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.55m / W 1.65m (when assembled).
Only the head is left, and this survives in two fragments. 'The head is imperforate, and the cylinders are attached to the inner surface of the ring. Around the edges of both shaft there is a roll moulding. At the centre of the head there is a roundel with five interconnected C-shapes with their backs to a central boss with central depression. A similar roundel is found on the shaft, while that on the top may have had a fretwork pattern. Stored in the ruined church nearby is an arm-fragment which presumably belonged to this cross. One side is decorated with a roundel very similar to that in the centre of the cross, while the roundel on the other side is much abraded, and may have borne an interlace pattern'.

Proposed dating: unknown

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** O'Brien and Adams 2014, 2016; Lacey 1983; Harbison 1992

IR6 Clonca 2
Picture © A. Busset

COOLEY (MOVILLE) IR7

Grid Reference: C 59837 38354

Region: Co. Donegal

Parish: Moville

Type of site: ecclesiastical/monastery (?)/burial ground

Saint or secular elite associated:

Historical background and placename

General description
The early medieval site at Cooley (Moville) consists of a graveyard including several cross-incised slabs. In front of the modern entrance (outside) stands a tall high cross. Inside the churchyard, at the east-end of the compound is a mortuary house.
The site is situated on a slope facing east, toward the lough Foyle. Prominent location.

Archaeological remains
High cross, several cross-slabs, mortuary house, geophysical survey has revealed two circular enclosures and a large number of burials both included in the outer enclosure and outside.

Stone monuments associated
High cross, cross-slabs
***Historical sources*:**
***References*:** Adams and O'Brien, 2014, 2016; Lacey 1983

IR6 General view of Cooley
Picture © A. Busset

Cooley or *Cooly Cross* *IR7a*

Grid Reference: C 59837 38354

Type of monument: High cross

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: Outside the modern churchyard, toward the west.

Biography
The cross seemingly stands in its original location. Geophysical survey has shown that it is probably situated in-between two concentric enclosures that would have marked the precinct of an early medieval monastery or ecclesiastical centre.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H. 2.9m / W. (across the arms) 0.8m
Wheeled cross, undecorated, round hole at the top of the cross
The monument itself is fixed in an unusually large rectangular socket (0.8m high and 2m wide). Several steps on the side of the base lead to the cross. A cup-mark (bullaun-y?) is incised on the north end of the base, and a shoe-shaped depression at its south end.
Proposed dating: 9th – 10th century (Stalley, pers. comm.)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Unique in the region.

***References*:** O'Brien & Adams 2012, 2014, 2016; Lacey 1983.

IR7 Cooley Cross
Picture © A. Busset

Cooley cross-decorated slabs *IR7b*

Grid reference: **C 59837 38354**

Type of monument: Cross-incised or cross-decorated slabs

Type of stone: various

Current location: Disseminated within the churchyard. In or near original locations.

Biography:
Rediscovered from 2010(?) – cleaning of the churchyard.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Fragments.
Several slabs - different shaped of crosses
Probably headstones

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Iona cross-incised slabs (?)

Proposed dating: none provided

***References*:** O'Brien & Adams 2012, 2014, 2016.

IR7 Cross-decorated slab, Cooley
Picture © A. Busset

Skull House *IR7c*

Grid reference: **C 59837 38354**

Type of monument: Mortuary house or shrine

Type of stone: not specified

Current location: At the eastern edge of the churchyard.

Biography
For a long time, it was believed that the shrine was built in the Late Middle Ages, around the 12th or 13th c., however, recent geophysical survey has shown that the inner enclosure circumvents the mortuary house, suggesting that it had been built at the same time or before the early medieval enclosures.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H. 2.6m / L. 1.8m (externally)
The shrine contains a single chamber. Small window at its eastern extremity, facing Lough Foyle; inside, on the east wall, is a small niche that could have received a candle.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Saul; Banagher (although the Skull House is undecorated).

***References*:** O'Brien & Adams 2012, 2014, forthcoming; Lacey 1983.

IR7 The 'Skull House', Cooley
Picture © A. Busset

FAHAN MURA IR8

Grid Reference: ***C 34418 26424***

Region: Co. Donegal

Parish: Fahan

Type of site: Ecclesiastical, parochial

Saint or secular elite associated: St Mura

Historical background and placename
Founded by St. Muru in the early 7th century, Fahan is believed to have been the chief ecclesiastical centre for the rulers of the Inishowen peninsula (Cenél nÉogain). Muru seems to have been part of the family/or at least close to the Cenél nÉogain (Lacey 2008, 1983). It seems that the name 'Fahan' is from the Gaelic 'fathain' meaning 'field'.

General description
The graveyard where the monument stands is now situated along the modern road. Its eastern boundary bends toward the north – possibly marking the emplacement of an earlier enclosure.
The site of Fahan is situated in a Valley at the foot of Collan Hill and Carrick Hill close to the shore of Lough Swilly. About 350m north-west of the churchyard and close to the shore is a holy well dedicated to St 'Mura'

Archaeological remains
Not a lot of archaeological evidences remain from the early medieval period, but a cross-slab which dating has been much discussed of (Henry, 1965; Stevenson, 1956, 1985; Hamlin, 1985; Edwards, 1985).

Stone monuments associated
Cross-slab; bullaun stone (?)

***Historical sources*:**

***References*:**
Lacey 2008, 1983; Hamlin 1985; Edwards 1985

Cross-slab *IR8a*

Grid Reference: C 34418 26424

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: not specified

Current location: In the ancient graveyard, south of the 17th century ruined church. Possibly in original location.

Biography
The cross-slab at Fahan Mura does not bear any mark of reuse. It is not known if it has been moved, but the consensus is that it probably stands in or close to its original location.

Description of the monument and analysis
The top of the slab has a triangular shape, both arms of the cross stand out, forming two edges on the side of the monument coinciding with the arms of the crosses on both sides, and interestingly, one of the bottom corners has been cut out (see picture below). Each cross represented on the monument is a Greek cross set on a stem that make them look like Latin crosses; a boss is placed at the centre of each cross (Lacey 1983, 268). A Greek inscription runs on the edge of the stone. According to Macalister (1949), the text reads: "Glory and honour to the father and son and holy spirit" (doxology). One of the specificities of the monument are its arm-like tenons projecting from its sides.

Proposed dating: 9th-10th century (Edwards 1990, 163); 8th century (Lacey 2008, 342).
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: Glamis (proposed by Lacey as a possible connection between Inishowen and Pictland).

***References*:** Lacey 2008; Edwards 1990

IR8 Cross-slab, Fahan Mura
Picture © A. Busset

DOWNPATRICK IR9

Grid reference: J 482 445

Region: Co. Down

Parish: Downpatrick

Type of site: Ecclesiastical, monastic, diocese

Saint or secular elite associated: St Patrick

Historical background and placename
Also known as *Ráith Celtchair* and *Dun-lethglaissi/Druim Lethglaise*, Downpatrick was the power centre of the Ulaid in the 8th century. Part of the Armagh *paruchia.* The site became then a monastery enclosed by a massive ditch (NIEA 2008). Downpatrick is believed to be the burial place of St Patrick, St Brigid and St Columba since the 12th c. although there is no tangible proof for that assertion (Hamlin 2008, 293). Muirchú (*TLP*) mentions Patrick being buried in Downpatrick as Tírechán (BA) says he is buried in Saul.

General description
Downpatrick is situated on a hilltop, overlooking the surrounding landscape. The lands around the hill are marshes. Although deemed 'not very impressive' by Hamlin, the early medieval remains of Downpatrick attest of its prominence during the reign of the Ulaid.

Archaeological remains
Circular enclosure, round tower, high crosses, cross-carved stone, bullaun stone

Stone monuments associated
Market Cross; High Cross 2 (fragmentary)

***Historical sources*:** *AU*; *Tir*; *TLP*; *BA*

***References*:**
Harbison 2014; Hamlin 2008 [1976]; NIEA 2008; Gwynn & Hadcock 1970

Downpatrick Cross or Market Cross, or Town Cross IR9a

Grid reference: J482444

Type of monument: High Cross

Type of stone: coarse granite (shaft), head unspecified

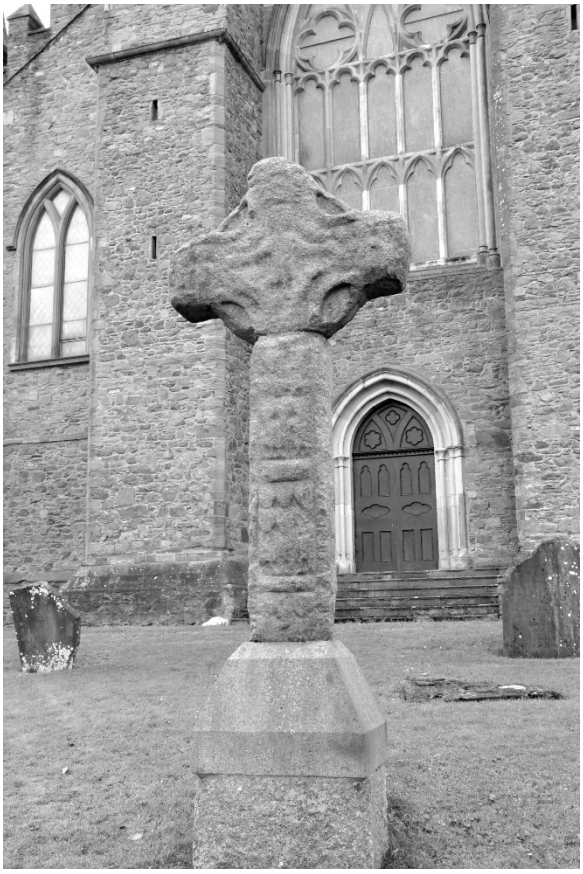
Current location: In Down Museum (since Sept. 2015), replica placed on its previous location, east of the cathedral.

Biography
The stone was set east of the cathedral in 1897. It shows signs of bad treatment and has been broken below the head. The original angles of the shaft seem to have been knocked off. Very badly preserved.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.4m / W 0.39m / 28cm thick.
This monument is badly worn and difficult to decipher. It very likely bears biblical scenes, like many other early medieval high crosses. The bottom of the shaft is missing, probably trimmed off to make a tenon in the 19th century. The east face is in a better state than the west face.
Proposed dating: 9th – 10th century (Stalley, pers. comm.);

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Harbison 2014; Hamlin 2008



IR9 Market Cross, Downpatrick
Picture © A. Busset

High Cross 2 *IR9b*

Grid reference: J482444

Type of monument: High Cross

Type of stone: granite

Current location: In November 2012, the three fragments of this high cross were placed at the entrance of the cathedral. They might have been moved to the new Down Museum during Autumn 2015.

Biography
Unknown; may have been part of St Patricks cross, shown standing at 'St Patrick's Grave in the 1840's.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: 20cm thick.
Three fragments that may have been part of one or several high crosses. Hamlin suggests they are part of the same monument. Badly weathered.
One of the fragments still shows traces of interlaces, and possibly parts of a human body.
Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:**
Harbison 1992, 67; 2014

IR9 High Cross 2, fragment, Downpatrick
Picture © A. Busset

Round tower *IR9c*

Grid reference: J482444

Type of monument: round tower

Type of stone: multiple

Current location: unknown

Biography
Hamlin, quoting an 18th century source, says the tower stood about 15m from the cathedral. Accounts vary about the date of its destruction (sometimes at the end of the 18th c). The tower of the cathedral includes some reused stones of the round tower. Various excavation campaigns have failed to re-discover the foundations of the tower.

Description of the monument and analysis
According to 18th c. sources (cited by Hamlin), the tower was approx. 20m high and 3m diameter on the inside. 'On the west side of it is an irregular gap about [3m] from the top, near a third of the circumference being broken off by the injury of time. The entrance to it is [0.9m] wide, and placed on a level with the surface of the ground' (Hamlin 2008, 293).

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
About 60 round towers in Ireland.

***References*:** Harbison 2014; Hamlin 2008 [1976]

NENDRUM IR10

Grid reference: J5244063630

Region: Co. Down

Parish: Tullynakill **Townland**: Mahee Island

Type of site: Ecclesiastical, monastic

Saint or secular elite associated: St Mochoí (Mochaoi)

Historical background and placename
The suggested date for the foundation of Nendrum site is the mid-5th century. The monastic community might have been founded at a later date. The abbots and bishops related to Nendrum are recorded in the annals from the 7th to the 9th century. The occupation of Mahee Island by the monastic community ends in 987, when the monastery was burned during a Viking raid.
In 976, the murder of the *erenagh* of Nendrum is recorded in the AU.

General description
The monastic site of Nendrum is situated on Mahee Island, on the north-western side of Strangford Lough. It is constituted of three circular enclosures, two highly visible and the external one, visible in some places. The site comprises several early medieval remains typical of monastic compounds.

Archaeological remains
Almost all archaeological remains of this site are early medieval, with several possible earlier burials.
The collections of remains comprises notably several carved stones, almost all recumbent cross-slabs, and a pre-Norman sundial. At the centre of the inner enclosure are the foundations of an early rectangular church, a burial ground is situated near its entrance; a round tower is situated north-east of the church, close to the inner wall (inside). Between the inner and second walls are several structures identified as crafts workshops. Earlier burials were uncovered outside the second wall.

Stone monuments associated
15 cross-incised stones; a sundial

***Historical sources*:** *AU*; *TL* (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 42, 107)

***References*:** Hamlin 2008; McErlean 2007; Bourke 2007; Henry 1965
NIEA SMR DOW 017:005 http://apps.ehsni.gov.uk/ambit/Details.aspx?MonID=6805 (last retrieved 14.12.2014)

IR10 Nendrum, the chapel and round tower
Picture © A. Busset

IR10 Sundial, Nendrum
Picture © A. Busset

Cross-slabs 1-8 *IR10a*

Type of monument: Cross slabs (recumbent)

Type of stone: Shale/greywacke

Current location: Visitors Centre at Nendrum

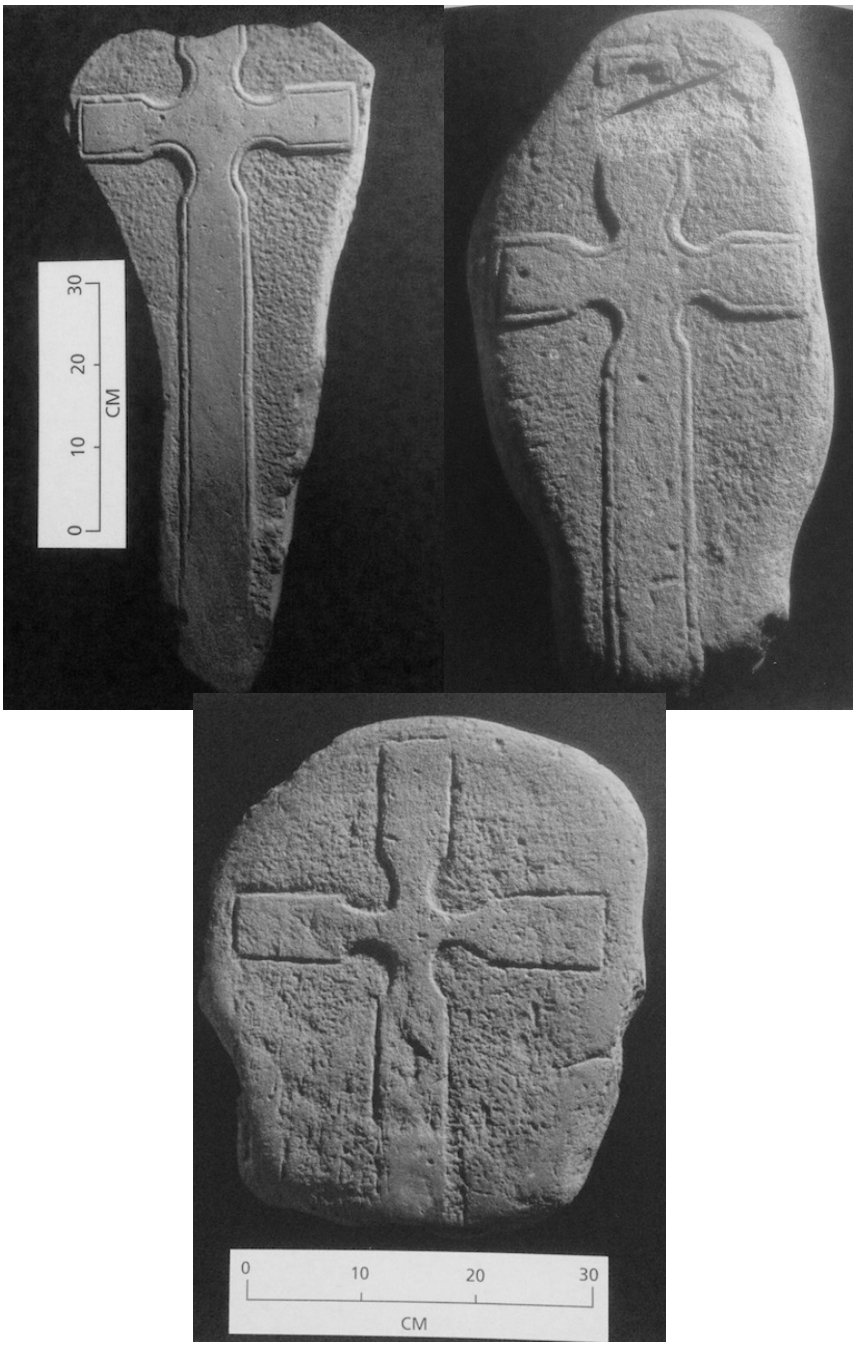
Biography
Most of the cross-incised slabs at Nendrum were discovered in front of the church by Lawlor during 1922-24 excavations; cross-slabs 2 and 3 were found *in situ* over graves. After excavations, he built them in the wall of the church, to prevent theft.
In the 1980s, they were removed and placed in the Visitor centre.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Variable (L 0.4-0.6m / W 0.2-0.5m), several fragmentary
The cross-slabs from Nendrum are finely executed. Cross-slabs 1-8 display a Latin cross with round hollows at the intersections ('armpits'), typical of Nendrum crosses.

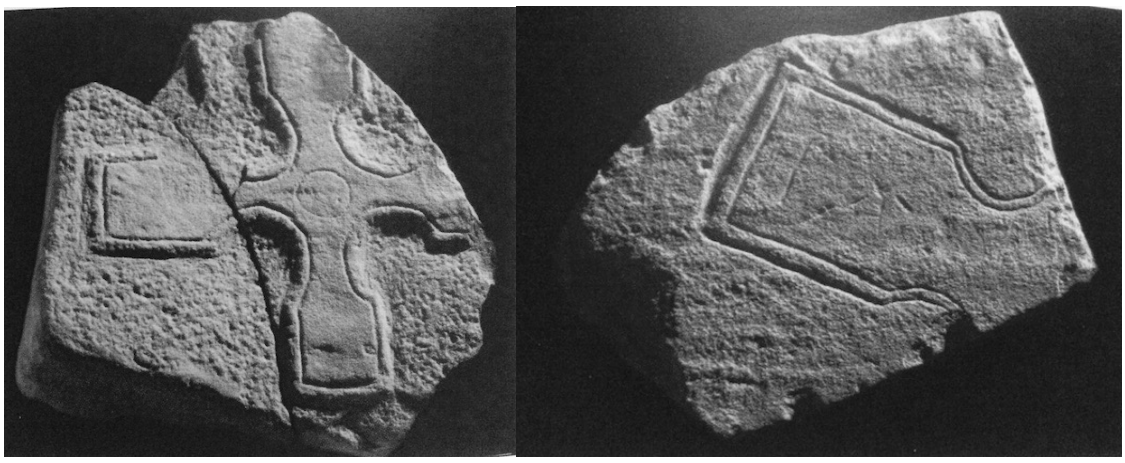
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
A few occurrences in county Down Nendrum present the same shape of crosses with round hollows; the only other ecclesiastical site counting a large number of this style is Inishcealtra, Co. Clare (O'Leary 2015). A connection to Scotland has been proposed on both iconographic and annalistic grounds

Dating proposed: end of 7th to 9th century (McErlean 2007)

***References*:** McErlean, 2007c; 350-355.



IR10a Nendrum cross-slabs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 (in order)
Source: McErlean (2007c, 352-353); photos © Tony Corey



Cross-slab 9 *IR10b*

Type of monument: Cross slabs (recumbent)

Type of stone: Shale/greywacke

Current location: Visitors Centre at Nendrum

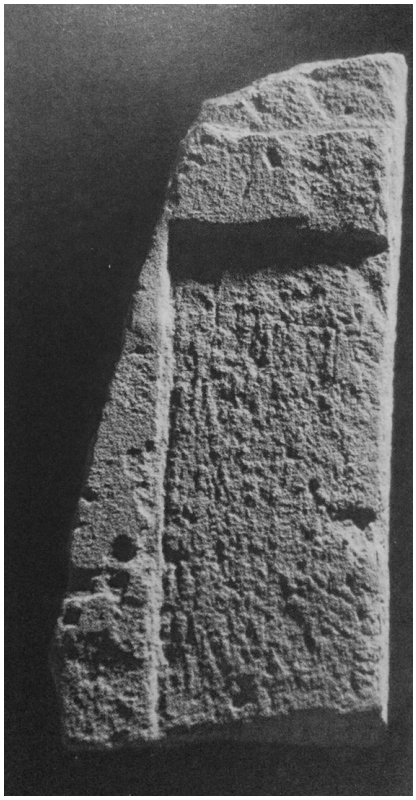
Biography
Most of the cross-incised slabs at Nendrum were discovered in front of the church by Lawlor during 1922-24 excavations. After excavations, he built them in the wall of the church, to prevent theft. In the 1980s, they were removed and placed in the Visitor centre.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Variable (L 0.3m / W 0.1m / 0.07m thickness), fragmentary
Cross-slab 9 is the only example displaying a simple outlined Latin cross. Probably originally rectangular, the slab is now broken.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Plain outline Latin crosses have a wide distribution across Ireland

Dating proposed: end of 7th to 9th century (McErlean 2007)

***References*:** McErlean, 2007c; 355-356.



IR10b Nendrum cross-slab 9
Source: McErlean (2007c, 355); photos © Tony Corey

Cross-slab 10 *IR10c*

Type of monument: Cross slabs

Type of stone: Shale/greywacke

Current location: Visitors Centre at Nendrum

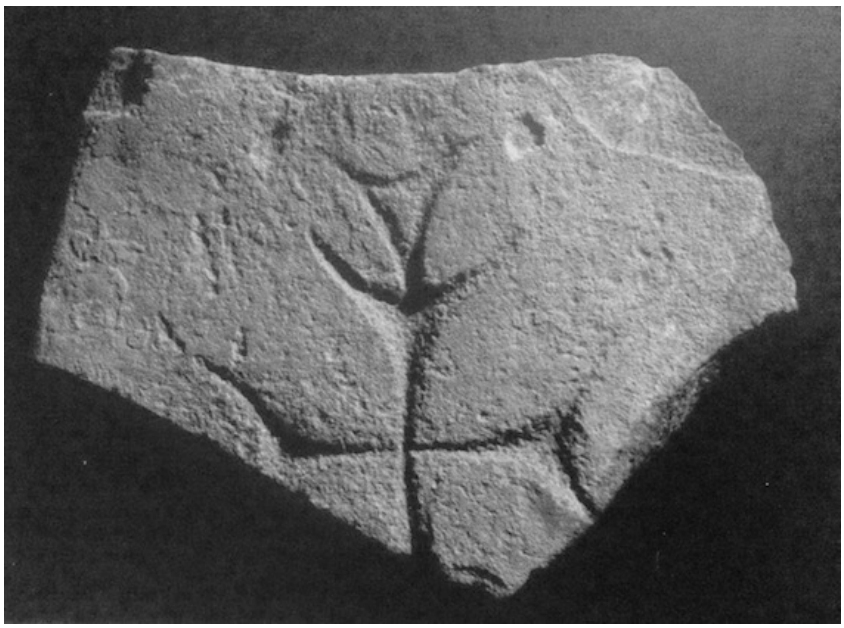
Biography
Most of the cross-incised slabs at Nendrum were discovered in front of the church by Lawlor during 1922-24 excavations. After excavations, he built them in the wall of the church, to prevent theft. In the 1980s, they were removed and placed in the Visitor centre.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Variable (L 0.3m / W 0.2m / 0.06m thick), fragmentary
Cross-slab 10 is the only example displaying a cross with bifurcated terminals.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
This type of cross is found across Ireland, although usually not in the north-east. An example has been found on Iona, which has been dated from the 9th c.

Dating proposed: 8th to 9th century

***References*:** McErlean, 2007c; 356.



IR10c Nendrum cross-slab 10
Source: McErlean (2007 c, 356); photos © Tony Corey

Cross-slabs 11-13 *IR10d*

Type of monument: Cross slabs

Type of stone: Shale/greywacke

Current location: Visitors Centre at Nendrum

Biography
Most of the cross-incised slabs at Nendrum were discovered in front of the church by Lawlor during 1922-24 excavations; after excavations, he built them in the wall of the church, to prevent theft. In the 1980s, they were removed and placed in the Visitor centre.

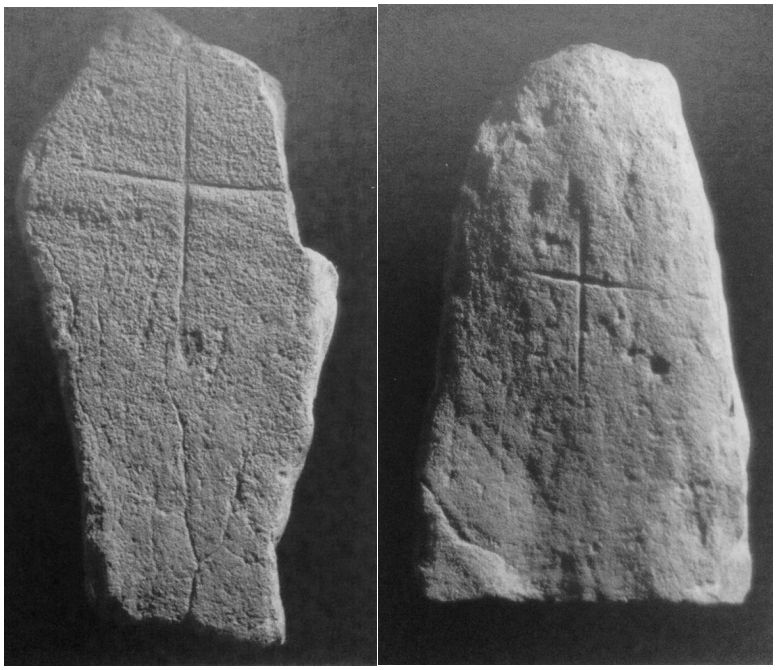
Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Variable (L 0.4-0.6m / W 0.2-0.5m), several fragmentary
Simple linear incised crosses

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Similarities observed with cross-incised monuments found in Glen Lyon (Cladh Bhranno SCO7; Dull SCO8; Fortingall SCO11)

Dating proposed: The extreme simplicity of these crosses renders them almost impossible to date.

***References*:** McErlean, 2007; 357.

Cross-slabs 14-16: possible cross of uncertain form (not represented here).



IR10d Nendrum cross-slab 10
Source: McErlean (2007c, 357); photos © Tony Corey

SAUL IR11

Grid reference: J 509 463

Region: Co. Down

Parish: Saul

Type of site: Ecclesiastical, monastic

Saint or secular elite associated: St Patrick

Historical background and placename
Supposedly the place where St Patrick died (Tír; TL). Tírechán even refers to it as the burial-place of St Patrick at '*Sabul Patricii*'. According to Hamlin, later sources give several details on the sites, such as a church orientated north-south, or the name of Patrick's disciple, Dunnius, as the abbot of Saul.

General description
The site itself is situated on a prominent location, on a steep hillside with a large viewshed towards the north and northwest (to Quoile estuary)

Archaeological remains
Several cross-carved stones and a sundial, scattered through the burial ground, over the hill; a mortuary house. According to Hamlin, several early medieval graves have also been uncovered in the graveyard.

Stone monuments associated
Cross-carved stones; mortuary house; sundial (lost); well and bullaun (I did not see the two last elements when visiting the site in Nov. 2012).

***Historical sources*:** VsP; Tír; TL; AU

***References*:** Hamlin 2008;

9 Cross-incised slabs *IR11a*

Grid reference: J 509 463

Type of monument: Cross-carved slabs

Type of stone: Shale and Slate

Current location: Scattered within churchyard.

Biography: All discovered within churchyard and remain there today apart from one, kept in the adjacent schoolroom.

Description of the monument and analysis
Four Latin crosses, all incised or pecked. One high quality incised Maltese cross within concentric circles. Two stones feature multiple incised equal armed crosses. One stone has an incised ringed cross. Two stones are trapezoidal, the remaining are rectangular.

Proposed dating: Possibly similar to Nendrum (end of 7th-9th century)?

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Nendrum IR10; Dull SCO8

***References*:** Hamlin 2008: 322-323; McCoy 1964

IR11 Cross-incised slab, Saul
Picture © A. Busset

Mortuary house *IR11b*

Grid reference: J 509 463

Type of monument: Mortuary House

Type of stone: mortared rubble wall

Current location: Churchyard

Biography
Northwest of modern house near edge of graveyard. St. Patrick was believed to have lodged in this 'house'.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: (Internally) L 1.5m / W 0.79m. Walls 0.42m thick.
"Simple rectangular structure of mortared rubble, damaged and incomplete at east-end, internally 2 ft 6 in north-south by about 5 feet east-west… Rectangular opening in south wall… Internally small cavity north wall and heavy solid stone roof supported by squinch corbels at north-east and south-west corners." (Hamlin 2008, 321).

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Cooley (Moville) (Clones has a shrine)

***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 321.

IR11 Mortuary House Saul
Picture © A. Busset

DEVENISH IR12

Grid reference: H 224469

Region: Co. Fermanagh

Parish: Devenish

Type of site: Ecclesiastical, monastic

Saint or secular elite associated: St Molaise

Historical background and placename
The site is said in the A.U. to have been given by the king of *Druim Clethchoir* (unidentified). The site is related to St Molaise who died in 564 or 571 (A.U.). The place is related to several magical events.
Devenish is mentioned several times in the annals especially from the 9th century onwards, when the destruction of Devenish (*Daimhinis*) by the Vikings is mentioned (A.U., 837); however, there is no reference in early sources of the Culdees or St Mary's Abbey house. According to Hamlin, these communities are first mentioned in the 15th century.

General description
Devenish Island is situated at the southern tip of the Lower Lough Erne. The early medieval site is situated at the south of the island, on a hill slope facing north-east.

Archaeological remains
The site is well-known for its round tower, best preserved in Ireland. Original monument, apart from the cap, restored in the 19th c.
According to Hamlin, the early medieval enclosures are difficult to identify.
The earliest remain still visible today is a small rectangular church, St Molaise House, built sometime in the 12th c. Several architectural fragments (some decorated) are found around it. To the east of this first church is slightly bigger building called *Teampull Mór* (the 'great' or 'lower' church). This is situated at the extremity of one of the two churchyards found on the site (see Hamlin's map below).
Several early medieval cross-carved stones have been found in both churchyards,
Dating from the 15th and 16th c.: St Mary Priory and a high cross of unusual form and decoration.

Stone monuments associated
Three recumbent cross-slabs (there were originally more, but are now lost); round tower; late medieval High Cross

***Historical sources*:** *A.U.*

***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 335-341; Radford 1970;
http://www.philarm.com/mecclesiastical.aspx?pageSelect=ecclesiastical
(last retrieved 02.12.2015).

IR12 Devenish, the chapel
Picture © A. Busset

Cross-carved slab *IR12a*

Grid reference: H 224469

Type of monument: Cross-carved slab

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: in the stone yard at the museum on Devenish

Biography
The sides of the slab are intact, as the back shows rough marks of pecking, indicating that it was possibly built in a wall. Discovered close the St Molaise's church.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 0.45m / about 6cm thick
Rectangular sandstone cross-slab, badly chipped, decorated in false relief with a cross of arcs. Hamlin describes it as 'sophisticated work'.
Proposed dating: none provided
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-
***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 339

IR12 Cross-carved slab, Devenish
© A. Hamlin 2008, 339

IR12 Devenish Cross (late medieval)
Picture © A. Busset

Cross-incised slab *IR12b*

Grid reference: H 224469

Type of monument: Cross-incised slab

Type of stone: sandstone (coarse)

Current location: in the stone yard at the museum on Devenish

Biography: Unknown provenance.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 0.6m / W 0.35m / 7 to 15cm thick
Rectangular (irregular) cross-incised slab, this monument does not present the same sophistication observed in IR12a above. The front of the stone is dressed and somewhat has been smoothed, but the back is very rough. Near the centre of the front, a equal-armed cross has been incised.

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 339

IR12 Cross-carved slab, Devenish
© A. Hamlin 2008, 339

Cross-incised slab *IR12c*

Grid reference: H 224469

Type of monument: Cross-incised slab

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: in the stone yard at the museum on Devenish

Biography
Discovered close to the east wall of the cemetery, south-east of Teampull Mór, now removed to the stone yard at the museum.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions : L 1.55m / W 0.6m
Recumbent cross-slab, carefully worked, decorated with a double-armed cross, within a rectangular frame.

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 339

IR12 Cross-carved slab, Devenish
© A. Hamlin 2008, 339

Round tower *IR12d*

reference: H2240046900

Type of monument: Round tower

Type of stone: ashlar of variable size

Current location: West of St Molaise House and Teampull Mór.

Biography
This round tower is one of the best-preserved in Ireland. The cap has been restored in the 19th century, while everything else is original.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H about 16m / circumference 4.6m (externally)
Interestingly, next to the round tower is the foundation of an earlier round tower, which has been abandoned, but still visible today.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-
***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 338

IR12 Devenish round tower, looking toward the east
Picture © A. Busset

IR12 Devenish round tower, cap
Picture © A. Busset

Bullaun stone *IR12e*

Grid reference: H2240046900

Type of monument: Bullaun stone

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: south of Teampull Mór

Biography
Unknown, although certainly not *in situ*

Description of the monument and analysis
Double-sided bullaun stone.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-
***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 340

IR12 Devenish, heavily wooded, the island is partially cleared to build the settlement
© Crown Copyright Northern Ireland Environment Agency; reconstruction

IR12 Devenish, reconstruction of the early medieval settlement
© Crown Copyright Northern Ireland Environment Agency

IR12 Devenish round tower and St Mary's Abbey, from the north-west, on Lough Erne
Picture © A. Busset

IR12 Devenish, foundation of early round tower
Picture © A. Busset

KILLADEAS IR13

Grid reference: H2060253985

Region: Co. Fermanagh

Parish: Derryvullan/Devenish, now Trory

Type of site: Ecclesiastical

Saint or secular elite associated:

Historical background and placename
Cill Céli Dé, Church of the *Céli Dé*. Probably under the protection of Devenish.

General description
Modern church and graveyard overlying an early church. Close to lough shore, on flattish site. "Name suggests Culdee connection, and in early seventeenth century was held by Devenish Culdees, but history obscure… Material shows beyond doubt that there was an early church here. Church site said to be hollow to N. of graveyard, but there are no traces. Referred to in Isaac Butler's journal (1744) as: "of rude sculpture, and built like a barn."'

Archaeological remains
Possible socket stone, identified by Hamlin, although it is very large in size. Another possible pillar stone with no decoration. Cross-carved stone and carved pillar stone.

Stone monuments associated
Cross-slab, possibly a stone base and a carved pillar

***Historical sources*:** early history unknown

***References*:** Hamlin, 2008: 352-353

Cross-carved stone *IR13a*

Grid reference: H2060253985

Type of monument: Cross-carved stone

Type of stone: Unspecified.

Current location: In churchyard

Biography
Found in graveyard.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.4m / W 0.9 / 20cm thick.
Cross-slab decorated with unusual ringed-headed cross, similar to portable cross used for processions; badly weathered. The back shows 15 deep cupmarks

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** Hamlin, 2008: 352.

IR13 Cross-slab Killadeas
Picture © A. Busset

Carved Pillar *IR13b*

Grid reference: H2060253985

Type of monument: Carved pillar stone

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: In graveyard

Biography: Found in graveyard.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 0.80m / L 0.39m / W 25cm.
South side of stone is in low false relief, west side of stone is in high relief. North and east sides are undecorated. The west side of stone is a face, likely of an ecclesiastic, above a simple wide band of interlace. A strange line jutting out of the side of his mouth may be a speech bubble. South side of stone depicts a walking figure carrying a bell and crosier enclosed within a frame.

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Carndonagh

***References*:** Hamlin, 2008: 352-353.

IR13 Carved Pillar Stone, Killadeas
Picture © A. Busset

CLONES IR14

Region: Co. Monaghan

Parish: Clones, Townland Crossmoyle

Type of site: Ecclesiastical / monastery

Saint or secular elite associated: Saint Tighearnach

Historical background and placename: Chluain Eois. Cluain = meadow, pasture
The monastery of Clones was probably founded by St Tighearnach in the 6th century. It remained in use until its dissolution until the protestant Reformation. The round tower appears to have had five floors and survives nearly to full height (40m). The chapel and associated monastic buildings are medieval, and the grounds around these structures were later used for settlement and burial.

General description
Today, the reconstructed High Cross is situated in the main square of the town, in front of the cathedral; however, the early ecclesiastical site was situated in the southern part of the town, downhill. The original site, now a cemetery, comprises a round tower and a shrine.

Archaeological remains
Round tower, mortuary house, and high cross are the most visible remains of the early monastery. While the date proposed for the High Cross is 9th century, the round tower and shrine are not dated.

Stone monuments associated
High Cross; shrine (mortuary house?); round tower

***Historical sources*:**

***References*:** NMS; NIAH; (last accessed 10.11.2015)
http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=MO&regno=41304037

High Cross *IR14a*

Grid reference: H 50118 25867

Type of monument: High Cross

Type of stone: Sandstone (both fragments)

Current location: 'The Diamond', Clones, in the square in front of the cathedral.

Biography
The cross has been moved from its original location; it was probably originally situated near the round tower in the south-west of the town. The cross consists of two fragments from separate crosses assembled together (head and shaft).

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 4.57m.
The very tall monument is a free-standing cross, which has been dated from the mid-9th century. It belongs to the group of High Crosses from Ulster, which also comprises Arboe and Donaghmore. The shaft is decorated with biblical scenes from the Old and New testaments: Daniel in the lions 'den, the sacrifice of Isaac, and Adam and Eve/the fall of Man (south face) and the adoration of the Magi, wedding of Cana and the multiplication of loaves and fishes (north face). Both sides are decorated with interlaces and bosses.
The head is decorated with a crucifixion scene (badly weathered) and several biblical scenes from the Old and New Testaments. Very high quality of carvings.
Proposed dating: mid-9th c. (NIAH); 9th – 10th century (Stalley, pers. comm.)
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Part of the Ulster group of High Crosses (Armagh, Arboe, Donaghmore)

***References*:** Harbison 1992, 45; NIAH no 41304037

IR14 High Cross, Clones
Picture © A. Busset

Shrine and round tower *IR14b*

Grid reference: H 50157 25676

Type of monument: Shrine and round tower

Type of stone: Sandstone (shrine)

Current location: graveyard

Biography
Shrine: Believed in the past to cover St Tighearnach's remains, more probably a memorial. Possibly contained relics of the saint.

Description of the monument and analysis
Shrine:
Dimensions: L 1.9m / W 0.65m.
A house-shaped shrine carved from a single block of sandstone and set on a plinth. In two reassembled pieces, badly weathered figures and decorations carved on it.
Round tower:
Dimensions: H 40m / 4.5m diam.
Mostly preserved, door facing E. Had apparently 5 floors when in function
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Other shrines or mortuary houses are found in Ulster, however, this one has the smallest dimensions, while bearing more decorations.
***References*:** NMS Round tower: MO011-010002 / shrine NMS MO011-010004

IR14 House-Shaped Shrine with round tower in background
Picture © A. Busset

WHITE ISLAND IR15

Grid reference*: *H1753060000

Region: Co. Fermanagh

Parish: Magheraculmoney

Type of site: Church / monastery

Saint or secular elite associated: unknown.

Historical background and placename
The early history of the place, as well as its Irish name are unknown, although it has been suggested to be the site of the unidentified Éo-inis on Lough Erne, but it could not be verified

General description
White Island is situated in the north-east part of Lower Lough Erne. The ecclesiastical site is located on the east part of the island, close to the shore.
Medieval single celled church building still stands in ruin, surrounded by what appears to be extensive earthworks and buried structures, although these have not been surveyed. Material suggests pre-Norman activity, and excavation in the interior of the church demonstrated that the stone church was preceded by a timber structure of several phases followed by a period of disuse.

Archaeological remains
Medieval Church within a modern enclosure; earthworks; several cross-carved stones and figure-carved pillars

Stone monuments associated
One incised cross-slab; one cross-carved stone (now missing); eight figure carved pillars.

***Historical sources*:** Early history obscure

***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 360-363; Du Noyer 1860
NISMR FER173:002

Incised cross-slab *IR15a*

Grid reference: H1753060000

Type of monument: Inscribed and cross-carved stones

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: Church wall,

Biography: The inscribed cross was found built in the church walls.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 0.54m / W 0.39m.
The inscribed cross slab, slightly trapezoidal in shape, is partly broken.
The outlines of a Latin cross are incised. It also contains an inscription situated above the cross that reads: DELMNE for which several interpretations have been proposed: possibly a name (Delmnae or Delmne) or in Middle Irish, meaning 'we shape'.

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 361-362

IR15 White Island carved pillars
Picture ©Jason
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2c/White_Island%2CLower_Lough_Erne..JPG

Carved pillars 1-8 *IR15b*

Grid reference: H1753060000

Type of monument: Figure-carved stone

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: North Wall of Church

Biography: The pillars have been gradually discovered from the beginning of the 19th century.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: (unspecified by Hamlin)
The numbering of the stones follows Hamlin (2008, 362-363)
Possible representation of a *Sheela-na-gig* but represented with her hands on he lap.
The second figure seems to be carrying a rectangular (unidentified) object; they wear a tunic, with a collar and short sleeves. The front seam on the tunic is represented.
The third pillar was found in 1958. It represents an ecclesiastical figure carrying a bell and a crozier (similarly to the figure at Killadeas); the tunic is also decorated with the front seam and hem. This stone is particularly well preserved.
The figure on pillar no 4 is represented with a 'clear hair-line' (Hamlin 2008, 362) that may represent a monk's tonsure (Du Noyer). The lines of the face are very clearly carved, as the rest of the carvings are badly weathered.
Pillar 5 represents a figure with curly hair that holds two bird-like creatures. An interlace is represented on the side of the stone (again, similarly to Killadeas).
This figure clearly represents a aristocratic figure, as they hold a shield. A sword and a pennanular brooch. According to Hamlin, it forms a pair with o 5, as they share several common traits.
Unfinished head and body
Different from the other monuments: this one represents a single head, on a squared block.

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Carved pillars: Killadeas and Carndonagh; however, style unique

***References*:** Hamlin 2008, 362-363; Du Noyer 1860

ARBOE IR16

Grid reference: H9672075690

Region: Co. Tyrone

Parish: Arboe

Type of site: Ecclesiastical

Saint or secular elite associated: St Colman

Historical background and placename
Possibly founded by St Colman in the 6th century.

General description
Site situated on a rocky hillock with steep cliffs to the south and east, overlooking Lough Neagh. Small harbour nearby.

Archaeological remains
The current church is ruined and likely sixteenth century. A series of structures of uncertain date north of the graveyard. South of west gable of ruined church lies a Bullaun stone, potentially tumbled from further up slope from church yard.

Stone monuments associated: High Cross

***Historical sources*:** *AU*

***References*:** Hamlin, 2008: 364-365.

High Cross *IR16a*

Grid reference: H9672075690

Type of monument: High Cross

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: West of graveyard

Biography
Head of cross fell in the early nineteenth century and subsequently restored.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 5.6m / (on a 1m High base).
Cross has open ringed head with projections on inner circumference of rings and hollowed at the intersection of the arms. Base of head marked with heavy collar, and top capped with what was probably originally a 'house-shaped' final. Old and new testament scenes depicted on all sides of the cross.

Proposed dating: 9th-10th century (Stalley pers. comm.)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Best preserved High Cross within Ulster group, strong association with Armagh Cross (Armagh; Clones; Donaghmore)

***References*:** Hamlin, 2008: 364-365.

IR16 High Cross, Arboe
Pictures © A. Busset

CLOGHER IR17

Grid reference: H5382051670

Region: Co. Tyrone

Parish: Clogher, Townland**:** Clogher demesne

Type of site: Bishopric (from 9th c); monastery 6th c.; royal inauguration site (5th century)

Saint or secular elite associated: Cairpre or Daimíne

Historical background and placename
Clochar means 'stony place' or 'stone building', and it is likely that the name is linked to the royal hillfort.

General description
Associated with nearby royal inauguration place, a mote. Along major road west-east. Hillfort and church on prominent places

Archaeological remains
Hillfort (multi-period); royal inauguration site; stone sculpture

Stone monuments associated
At least two High Crosses, a sundial, and several stone sockets

Historical sources**:** *TL; AU*

References**:** Hamlin 2008 [1976]; Warner 1972, 1998, 2000.

Free standing cross 1 — *IR17a*

Grid reference: H5382051670

Type of monument: Free standing cross (north)

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: In the ancient graveyard, west of Clogher Cathedral.

Biography
"North Cross unearthed, mended, and set up with South cross [in the current location] about 1912." (Hamlin 2008 [1976], 373)

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Base: H 0.6m / Shaft: H 0.9m / W 0.4m / 0.3m thick
This cross is composed of the fragments of three different monuments.
The two crosses in the churchyard are assembled from five different monuments (Harbison 1992, 42)
Decoration east face shaft: near the top, unframed interlace in relief; head: at the centre, interlace framed by four animals forming a cross pattern; round-headed cross.
West face shaft: lozenge-shaped panel of interlace; head: loose interlace at the centre.
South and North sides undecorated
Proposed dating: 9th-10th century (Stalley, pers. comm.)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
High Crosses Ulster group (however in contrast with Armagh, Arboe, Donagher, Downpatrick, the cross fragments in Clogher are not figurative); five monuments originally recorded like Armagh, Banagher, Downpatrick
***References*:** Hamlin, 2008 [1976]: 372-373; Harbison 1992

IR17 Free-standing crosses 1 and 2, Clogher
Picture © A. Busset

Free standing cross 2 *IR17b*

Grid reference: H5382051670

Type of monument: Free standing cross

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: In the ancient graveyard, west of Clogher Cathedral

Biography
Similarly to the North cross – reconstructed from several crosses (Harbison 1992, 42)

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: base: H 0.6m / Shaft: H 1.13m / W 0.5m / 0.3m thick

Decoration: East face shaft: panel of raised bosses of differing sizes; Head: imperforated; hemispherical boss with interlace ornament; ring decorated with interlace; top of the head broken away.
South and North sides shaft: panel of interlace; head: ends of arms facetted, but not readable anymore.
West face shaft: panel of interlace; head: interlace on the boss at the centre; ring decorated with fretwork.

Proposed dating: 9th-10th century (Stalley, pers. comm.)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
High Crosses Ulster group (however in contrast with Armagh, Arboe, Donagher, Downpatrick, the cross fragments in Clogher are not figurative); five monuments originally recorded like Armagh, Banagher, Downpatrick

***References*:** Hamlin 2008 [1976], 372-373; Harbison 1992, 42

Sundial *IR17c*

Grid reference: H5382051670

Type of monument: Sundial

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: In the ancient graveyard

Biography
Formerly stood close to south wall of cathedral near west-end. Moved to North porch to prevent further weathering.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.24m / W 0.45m.
High quality carved, but very weathered. Interlace, bands of incised lines, carved fish with scale detailing.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Nendrum sundial

***References*:** Hamlin, 2008: 374

IR17c Clogher sundial
© A. Hamlin 2008 [1976], 374

SCANDINAVIA

ASPA LÖT SCA1

Country: Sweden **Region:** Södermanland, Rönö hd

Parish: Ludgo

Type of site: Gathering site / *thing* site

Saint or secular elite associated: Ragnfrid (north of the stream) and Œpir (south of the stream). Both were members of local secular elite and were possibly fighting over this territory or sharing it (Sanmark 2009).

Historical background and placename
Aspa löt is attested in the written sources as the *thing site* of the Rönö hundred from the 13th century; however, an inscription on rune stone Sö 138 shows that the gathering site was already in use at the beginning of the 11th c. Moreover, the site is situated along the *Eriksgata*, the royal inauguration route taken by the newly elected kings, who would have had to be accepted by local hundreds (Sanmark 2009, 214).

General description
Aspa löt is situated in a flat valley at the top of Lake Ludgo (Ludgosjön). Today, the wetland at the top of the lake nearly reaches the site, but in the late Viking Age-early medieval period, the access both by waterways and roads was possible. Excavations have not uncovered any association with tombs. Sanmark (2009, 216) considers it a "'clean site', without any long-term cultic activities".

Archaeological remains
Several rune stones and standing stones are aligned on both sides of the road, leading from a bridge to a *thing mound*.

Stone monuments associated
Sö 136; Sö 137; Sö 138; Sö 139; Sö 140

***Historical sources*:** -

***References*:** Sanmark 2009; Brink 2004

Sö 136-137 *SCA1a*

Coordinates: 6533708 / 617819

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Sö 137 granite

Current location: On the roadside at Aspa löt; U 137 stands close to the *thing* mound, and across the road from standing stones to the south-west of the site.

Biography
(Sö 136 lost)
Sö 137 stands in or close to its original location; the monument shows traces of cement at its base.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Unknown
(Sö 136) Style Pr1

Old Norse:
† "Svæinn ok "Slodhi(?) thæiR ræisthu ... ... at fadhur sinn, hærsi(?) hugsniallan(?). Hann vas und hifni bæztr.

† Sveinn and Slódhi(?), they raised ... ... in memory of their father, an able-minded(?) chieftain(?) He was the best under heaven.

(Sö 137)
Dimensions: H 2.05 m / W 0.95m
Style RAK

Old Norse:
§A "Thora ræisthi stæin th[ann]si at "Øpi, boanda sinn. §B Stæinn saRsi standr at "Øpi a thingstadhi at "Thoru ver. Hann vestarla væknti(?) karla, sa thaR sunR thadh. ...

English translation:
§A Thóra raised this stone in memory of Œpir, her husbandman. §BThis stone stands in memory of Œpir, on the Assembly-place in memory of Thóra's husband. He armed(?) (his) men in the west. The son saw this there ...

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Sanmark 2009; Brink 2004; RUNDATA Sö 136, 137; RAÄ Ludgo 61:2 http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10034800610001
(Last accessed 05.08.14)

Sö 138 *SCA1b*

Coordinates: 6534450 / 1574501

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: granite

Current location: On the roadside at Aspa löt, close to a *thing* mound (south of the site)

Biography
The monument probably still stands in or near its original location.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.1 m / W 0.9m
Style Fp

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
Hier stændr stæinn at godhan "Øpis arfa ok "ThorunnaR, "Gyllu brodhurs. "Gudh hialpin and.

English translation:
Here stands the stone in memory of Œpir's and Thórunnr's good heir, Gylla's brother. May God help (his) spirit.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-

***References*:** Sanmark 2009; RUNDATA Sö138; RAÄ Ludgo 61:1 http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10034800610001
(Last accessed 05.08.14)

Sö 139 *SCA1c*

Coordinates: 6533365 /618274

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: grey gneiss

Current location: On the roadside at Jursta, close to the bridge (west of Aspa löt)

Biography
The stones U 139 and U 140 are situated next to a bridge, on the neighbouring estate from Aspa (Jursta estate), as these two are still probably in their original location, they may have been placed there as a boundary marker.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.6m / W 1.85m (base)
Style: Pr3 (?)

Old Norse:
Sö 139 $ "Stæinn let ræisa stæin th[annsi at](?) "Æshæidhi, frændkunu sina. "Kristr letti anda [henn]aR(?), kunuR godhraR. "... ok "Fidhr thæiR ristu runaR.

English translation:
Sö 139 $ Steinn had this stone raised in memory of(?) Ásheidhr, his kinswoman. May Christ relieve her spirit, the good wife. ... and Finnr, they carved the runes.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Sanmark 2009; RUNDATA; RAÄ Ludgo 80:2
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10034800800002
(Last accessed 05.08.14)

Sö 140 *SCA1d*

Coordinates: 6533362 /618268

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: red gneiss

Current location: On the roadside at Jursta, west of Aspa löt; the monument stands in or close to its original location

Biography
The stones U 139 and U 140 are situated next to a bridge, on the neigbouring estate from Aspa (Jursta estate), as these two are still probably in their original location, they may have been placed there as a boundary marker.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.8m / W 0.75m
Style: Fp

Old Norse:
Sö 140 "Sandarr ræisthi stæin æftiR "Ioar/"Ivar, frænda sinn. Ængi fødhiR sun sniallara. Sidhi(?) "Thorr(?).

English translation:
Sö 140 Sandarr raised the stone in memory of Jóarr/Ívarr, his kinsman. No-one will bear a more able son. May Thórr(?) safeguard(?)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RUNDATA Sö 140; RAÄ Ludgo 80:1
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10034800800001
(Last accessed 05.08.14)

Sö 141 *SCA1e*

Coordinates: 6533788 /620858

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: granite

Current location: On the roadside at Löta; this monument is situated next to the bridge at the north-easter edge of Aspa löt.

Biography

The original location of Sö 141 is uncertain.

Description of the monument and analysis

Dimensions: H 2.07m / W 0.6m (base)

Style: unknown

The inscription reads:

Old Norse:

"Slodhi ok "Ragnfridhr thau letu badhi bro gæra o[k] s[tæ]in ræ[i]sa æftiR "Igulbiorn, sun sinn.

English translation:

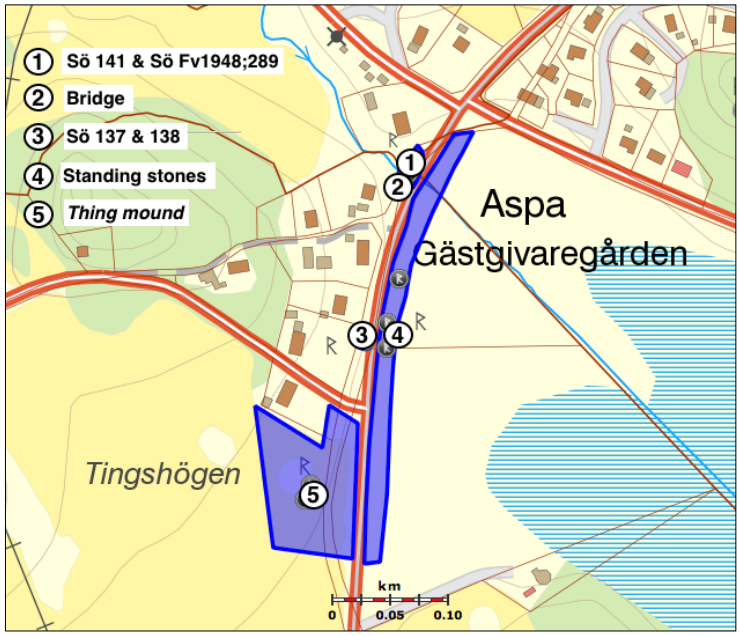
Slódhi and Ragnfrídhr, they both had the bridge made and the stone raised in memory of Ígulbjôrn, their son.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** RUNDATA Sö 141; RAÄ Ludgo 59:1

http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10034800590001

(Last accessed 05.08.14)



SCA1 The site at Aspa löt,
© Lantmäteriet, additional keys by the author

Sö Fv1948;289 *SCA1f*

Coordinates: 6533783 / 620854

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: granite

Current location: On the roadside at Löta; this monument is situated next to the bridge at the north-easter edge of Aspa löt.

Biography
The original location of this monument is uncertain, although it is connected to either the bridge (but surely the inscription would have mentioned it), or more likely the standing stones found on the other side of the road.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.93m / W 1.9m
Style: Fp

The inscription reads:

Old Norse:
"Astridh let [g]æra kum[bl tha]usi at "Anund ok "Ragnvald, sun sinn. Urdhu da[udhi]R [i] "Dan[mar]ku, va[R]u rikiR a "Rauningi ok sniallastiR i "Svethiudhu.

English translation:
Ástrídhr had these monuments made in memory of Ônundr and Ragnvaldr, her son. (They) died in Denmark, were powerful in Rauningi and the ablest in Sweden.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-
***References*:** Semple & Sanmark 2008, 2013; RUNDATA Sö Fv1948;289; RAÄ 59:2
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10034800590002
(Last accessed 05.08.14)

SCA1 Sö 139 & Sö 140, Aspa löt
©Wikipedia (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AS%C3%B6_139-140%2C_Korpbron.JPG (last accessed 02.10.2015)

SCA1 Sö 141 & Sö Fv1948;289, Aspa löt
© A. Sanmark 2009, 216

ARKILS TINGSTAD (BÄLLSTA) SCA2

Grid reference: 6601657 / 1627258

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Vallentuna hd

Parish: Vallentuna

Type of site: Gathering site / *Thing* site

Saint or secular elite associated: Ulv

Historical background and placename
This sites goes under two names: Bällsta, which is the traditional name of the place, close to the town of Vallentuna. The site itself is called Arkils (or Arkels) tingstad, referring to the *thing* (gathering) use of the site.
There isn't any detailed account and historical background for this site. Although it is situated in an area traditionally linked to Jarlabanke, this site may have been in use at an earlier time (end of 10th-beginnning of the 11th century). The proposed dating of the rune stones confirms an early date (RAK and Pr1 style).

General description
Thing site created by three brothers, in memory of their father, it is situated on the north-east shore of the lake Vallentuna. The *thing* site itself constitutes of two terraces, outlines by pebbles. Surrounded by scattered woodland, it seems that it is open towards the west, towards the lake, instead of the inlands. A possible interpretations of both the dating and situation of this *thing* site is that it has been deliberately built outside the main domain of Ulv and his sons, which lie west of the Vallentuna lake (U 161 & U 162, see map below), on 'neutral grounds', forcing the people who would attend the gathering to travel, and possibly cross the lake (Andrén, *pers. com.*).

Archaeological remains
Two rune stones, several other (non-inscribed) standing stones
Pebbles mark the terraces of the *thing* site
Geophysical analyses carried in 2005 have shown that no earlier remain (burial) are found on the site.

Stone monuments associated
U 225; U226

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** Sanmark & Semple 2008; RUNDATA (U 225, U226); RAÄ 225:1 & 225:2 (http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010802250002
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010802250001)
(Last accessed 10.08.14)

U 225 *SCA2a*

Coordinates: 6601657 / 1627258

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: red granite

Current location: On the north-east shore of the Lake Vallentuna, on the southern slope of a small hill. U 225 is situated to the west of the stone setting, about 11m from U 226.

Biography
The monument probably stands in its original location.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.8m / W 0.95m
Style: RAK

The monument reads:
Old Norse:
"[Ulfkell](?) ok "Arnkell ok "Gyi thæiR gærdhu hiar thingstadh ... [M]unu æigi mærki mæiRi verdha, than "Ulfs syniR æftiR gær[dhu], [sniall]iR svæinaR, at sinn fadhur.

English translation:
Ulfkell(?) and Arnkell and Gy´i, they made the Assembly-place here ... No landmark will be more (great), than (the one) the sons of Ulfr made in (his) memory; able lads in memory of their father.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: U226

***References*:** Sanmark and Semple; Brink 2004; RUNDATA U225
RAÄ Vallentuna 225:2
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010802250002

(Last accessed 10.08.14)

SCA2 U 225 Arkills tingstad, Bällsta
Picture © A. Busset

SCA2 U 226 Arkills tingstad, Bällsta
Picture © A. Busset

U 226 *SCA2b*

Coordinates: 6601657 / 1627258

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: red granite

Current location: On the north-east shore of the Lake Vallentuna, on a the southern slope of a small hill. U 226 is situated to the east of the stone setting forming the gathering site, about 11m from U 225.

Biography
The monument probably stands in its original location.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.7m / W 1.2m
Style: Pr1

The monument reads:

Old Norse:
Ræistu stæina ok staf unnu(?) ok inn mikla at iarteknum. Ok "Gyridhi gats at veri. Thy man i grati getit lata. "Gunnarr hiogg stæin.

English translation:
(They) raised stones and produced the staff(?) and the great signs (of acclaim); Gyrídhr also cherished her husband: he will therefore be commemorated in weeping. Gunnarr cut the stone.

U 225 and U 226 have not been executed in the same style, which let to believe that, even if the inscription on U 226 (Pr1 = 1010-1040) continues the one on U 225 (RAK 980-1015), they might not have been commissioned exactly at the same time.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: U225

***References*:** Sanmark and Semple; Brink 2004; RUNDATA U225
RAÄ Vallentuna 225:2
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010802250002
(Last accessed 10.08.14)

BIRKA – BJÖRKÖ SCA3

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Färentuna hd

Parish: Adelsö, Färentuna hd

Type of site: Secular settlement, trade town

Saint or secular elite associated: Ansgar

Historical background and placename
Birka is known to be the first major town of Sweden and a prominent market place and harbour during the late Iron Age and Viking Age. The centre and southern parts of the island are major burial places (about 1600 burials recorded), from the Bronze-Age to the Viking Age. Abandoned during the 10th century.

General description
Several fragments of rune stones have been uncovered in the Hamlet of Björkö by, *c.* 600m south of Birka, and at least one other around the hillfort ('Borg'). No original context known. Discovery of more fragments, in October 2012, have allowed further understanding regarding one rune stone.

Archaeological remains
The fragments discovered in the hamlet of Björkö were thought to be part of several rune stones, however, it seems that most of the form one monument.

Stone monuments associated
U 4; U 5; U 6; U 7; U 8; U 9

***Historical sources*:** Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*

***References*:**
Andersson *et al.* 2016; Ambrosiani 1997; Nyström 1997; RUNDATA; SNHB
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/12000000145663
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/12000000145662 (last accessed 07.09.2015)

*I am grateful to Prof. Anne-Sofie Gräslund for her comments on Birka's new discoveries, and to Prof. Magnus Källström for generously sharing his knowledge, and publications, with me.

U 4; U 5; U 9 *SCA3a*

Coordinates: 6579865 / 644850

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Sandstone (U 4 and U 9) and red sandstone (U 5)

Current location: Swedish History Museum (Historiska Museet)

Biography
Rediscovered in 1821. There are several contradictory versions of where it originally stood, and where it was found; however, it is believed that it was somewhere in the vicinity of the hillfort. Rebuilt for a time as a threshold, it was acquired by A. Seton shortly after its rediscovery. In 1826, he wrote to the State Antiquary to say that he had chopped off the part of the stone that carried the inscription. The rune stone U4 has the most complete inscription of all three fragments.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Fragmentary
Style: RAK (?)

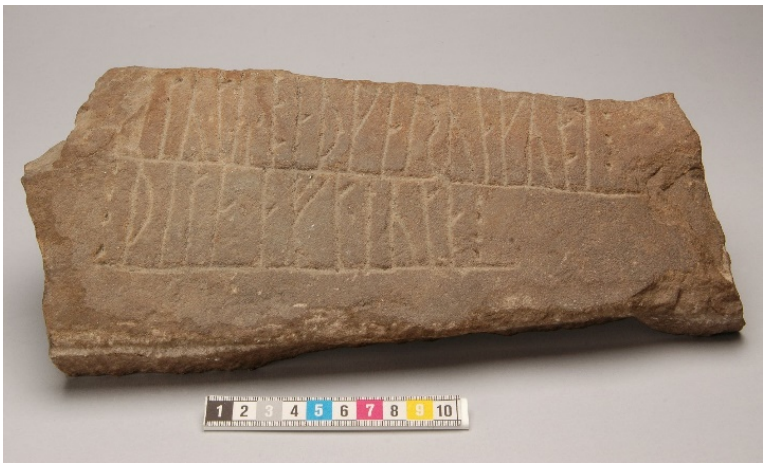
The inscription reads: -

Old Norse: U4:
tutiR baþ karua kubl þita aft iuta

English translation: U4:
Dóttir ordered this monument to be made in memory of Júti.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:**
Ambrosiani 1997; Nyström 1997; RUNDATA U4 – 5 - 9
http://historiska.se/upptack-historien/object/419438-runsten-u-4-av-sandsten/
(last accessed 07.09.2015)



SCA3 U4 Birka
Picture © Historiska Museet

SCA3 U 5 Birka
Picture © Historiska Museet

SCA3 U 9 Birka
Picture © Historiska Museet

U 6=U 7=U 8 *SCA3b*

Coordinates: 6580200 / 644901

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: red sandstone

Current location: Swedish History Museum (Historiska Museet)

Biography
The stone fragments have been uncovered during several excavations at Björkö by, the small early medieval town, 600m south of Birka; three fragments discovered in October 2012, bringing the total to ten fragments, allowed the reconstruction of the whole stone as the fragments were previously believed to be part of different monuments. According to Andersson *et al.* (2016, …), the rune stone would have been broken probably during the medieval period, as the rune stone is not mentioned in any antiquarian publication – despite the presence of J. Hadorph and J. Peringskiöld on the island in the 17th century.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: although the exact dimensions of the monument are unknown, the recontstruction showed that the original rune stone would have been about 2m hign and 1.10m wide.
Style: Pr4 (?)
The inscription, although very fragmented, seems to indicate that the stone commemorated two persons, possibly a woman named Estrid, and another person whose name is illegible. The carvings show the representation of two runic 'serpents'; two quadrupeds, and at the centre, a large cross.
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: not within this selection, however connections to the wider Mälar region through the carver (Östen), who also carved runes at Södertälje. Interestingly, 'Tälje' is, along Birka, one of the few places mentioned explicitely by Adam of Bremen (Andersson *et al.* 2016, 117).
***References*:**
Andersson 2016; Nyström 1992, 65;
http://historiska.se/upptack-historien/object/44702-runsten-u-9-av-sandsten/
http://historiska.se/upptack-historien/object/44470-runsten-u7-av-sandsten/
(last accessed 09.08.2015)

SCA3 U 6 and U 7 Birka (Björkö by)
Picture © Historiska Museet

SCA3 U 8 Birka
Picture © Historiska Museet

SCA3 U6=U7=U8 Birka (Björkö by) reconstructed
Andersson *et al.* 2016, 105 © Historiska Museet

SCA3 Birka, from the top of the Borg, towards the 'Black Earth' and Adelsö in the background
Picture © A. Busset

BOGESUND SCA4

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Danderyds skeppslag

Parish: Östra Ryds

Type of site: Burial ground, boundary (?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Gunne

Historical background and placename

The stone is situated at Bogesund Brygga, which can be translated at 'the jetty of Bogesund', indicating the presence of a possible early harbour.

General description

During the early medieval period, the rune stone would have been situated along a major waterway, linking the islands of Lake Mälaren (Björkö, Adelsö, Ekerö) to the Baltic Sea. Today, the sea is further away (there is still a jetty south of the stone); but the stone faces a meadow.

Archaeological remains
The stone is situated at the edge of an Iron Age burial ground; another portion of burial ground have been uncovered on the other side of the meadow, which would have been on the other side of the water during the early medieval period.
Excavations carried out around the base of the monument revealed the presence of a platform, indicating a possible path between the stone and the jetty.

Stone monuments associated
U 170

***Historical sources*:** Drawing from the 17th century

***References*:** McLeod 2014 Källstrom 2013; RUNDATA; RAÄ Östra Ryds 13:1 http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10012600060001
(last accessed 02.05.2013)

U 170 *SCA4a*

Coordinates: 6589489 / 683100

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: granite

Current location: at Bogesund, in original location

Biography
Only the base of the monument survives. The stone was recorded in the 17th century by Johan Peringskiöld who drew the stone. It was because of the drawing – and the inscription recorded in it – that the stone was identified in 2013.
Lost shortly after, its base was rediscovered in April 2013 by a student of Stockholm University during a fieldtrip. The top of the stone has probably been used as building material for the nearby jetty.

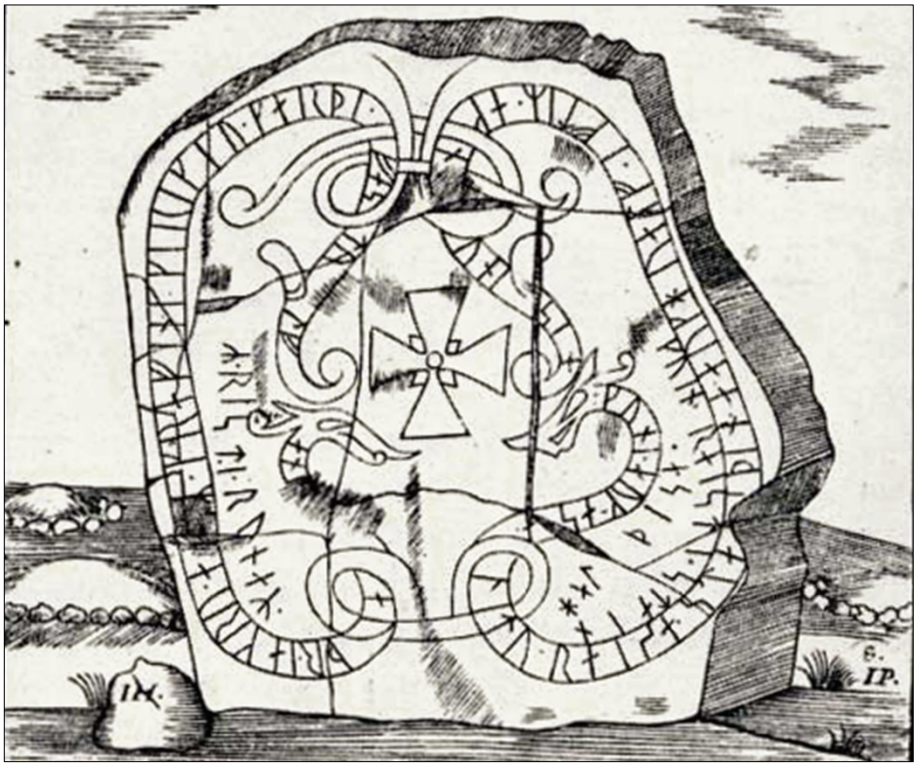
Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: (fragment)
Style: Pr4.

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Gunni ok "Asa letu ræisa st[æin] thenna ok hvalf æftiR "Øyn[d, s]un sinn. Hann [vardh d]audhr i "Æikrøy(?). Ha[nn e]R grafinn i kirkiugardhi. "FastulfR risti runaR. "Gunni ræisti stæinhall thessa.

English translation:
Gunni and Ása had this stone and the vault raised in memory of Eyndr, their son. He died in Eikrey(?). He is buried in the churchyard. Fastulfr carved the runes. Gunni raised this stone rock-slab.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Gunne is mentioned on three other stones, at Östra Ryds Kyrka and Söderby

***References*:** RUNDATA U171; RAÄ Östra Ryds 13:1
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10012600130001 (last accessed 02.05.2013)
MacLeod 2013; Källström and Zachrisson, pers. comm.



SCA4 17th century drawing from Johan Peringskiöld
MacLeod 2014, 2 from Wessén and Jansson 1940-43

SCA4 U 170 at Bogesund brygga
Picture © A. Busset

BROBY BRO SCA5

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Danderyd Skeppslag

Parish: Täby

Type of site: burial grounds, barrow, bridge, road (boundary?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Estrid and Jarlabanke of Täby

Historical background and placename
The site of Broby bro has a rich archaeological longevity. Situated on the south shore of Lake Vallentuna, at a possible boundary of the Täby hundred, it includes a burial ground used during the Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age, as well as a late Viking Age (Christian) cemetery. Its name indicates the presence of a bridge on its ground ('bro').

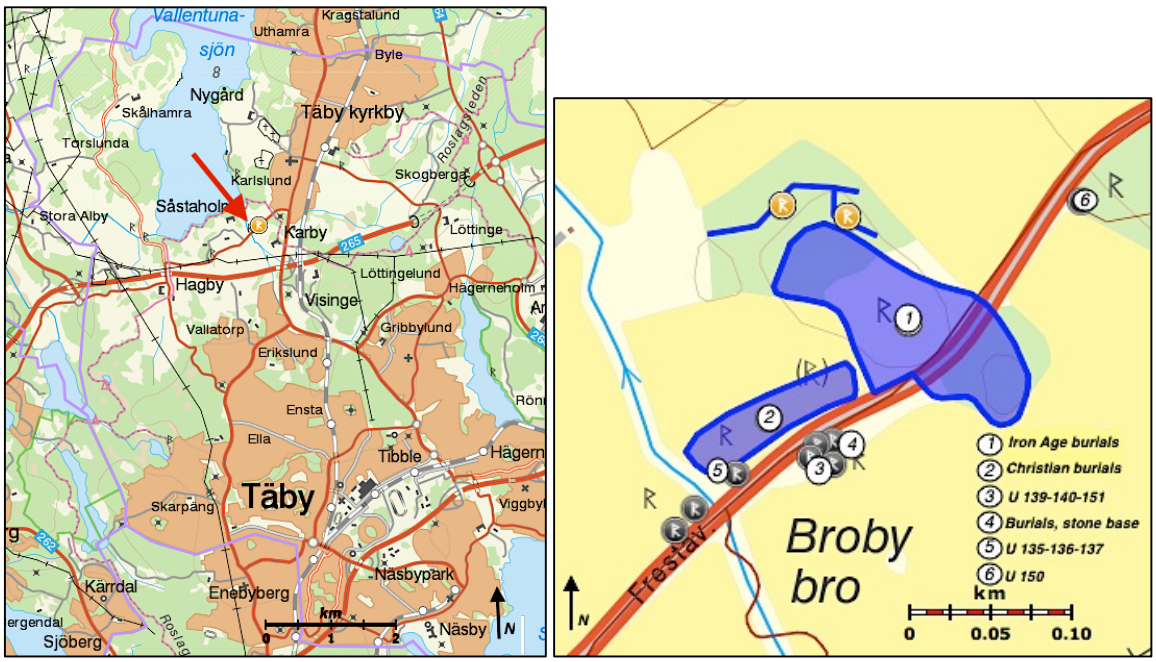
General description
North-west of the town of Täby, and south-west of Täby church, concentration of rune stones associated with Estrid and her grandson Jarlabanke, several stones mention Jarlabanke owning the whole of Täby hundred.

Archaeological remains
A 'bridge' is mentioned on at least one stone (U136) – the road crosses a small river, pointing towards the original location of the bridge. A mound or barrow, also mentioned on U 136, is still visible a few metres away from the modern bridge.
In 1995, archaeologists make a crucial discovery: three Christian tombs close to the original spot of the rune stones, oriented east-west. One of them of special importance: analyses have demonstrated that it was the skeleton of an elderly woman. What is more, deposits were discovered next to the body: a locked wooden box with its key, containing weights and two silver coins, one of which minted in Switzerland c. 1020-1050 (giving the tomb a terminus postquem). Considering the special connection of this site to Estrid, powerful woman of the local elite, the current interpretation is that the tomb is hers. In May 2013, further discoveries have been made: the base of one of the rune stones, with burnt deposits at the bottom of the hole (Andrén, *pers. com.*).

Stone monuments associated
U 135, U 136, U 137, U 139, 140, U 150(?), U 151

***Historical sources*:**
Lantmäteriet map 1724

***References*:**
Andersson 2011, 1999; Andrén (pers. com.)
RAÄ (http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400360001) (last accessed 02.05.2013)



SCA5 The location of Broby bro
In relation to Täby, Täby church and the Lake Vallentuna and the archaeological remains at Broby bro © Lantmäteriet

SCA5 Broby farm and Broby bro.
Map of 1724. The inscription pointed by the arrow mentions rune stones and an ‘old hill’.
© Lantmäteriet

U 135 *SCA5a*

Coordinates: 6597546/ 672421

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: red granite

Current location: At Broby bro, about 80m north of the road in a field.

Biography
The rune stones U 135, 136 and 137 do not stand in their original location. They have been moved north of the road; they originally possibly stood closer to the other ensemble (U 139, 140 and 151) south of the road, next to the bridge or across the road, next to the ancient mound

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.15m / W 1.25m (base)
Style: Pr2

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Ingifastr ok "Øystæinn ok "Svæinn letu ræisa stæina thessa at "Øystæin, fadhur sinn, ok bro thessa gærdhu ok haug thenna.

English translation:
Ingifastr and Eysteinn and Sveinn had these stones raised in memory of Eysteinn, their father, and made this bridge and this mound.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
U 136, 137, 138

***References*:** Andersson 1999, 2011;
RUNDATA U135; RAÄ Täby 42:4
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400420004
(last accessed 01.06.2013)

U 136 *SCA5b*

Coordinates: 6597510/ 672383

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: Red Granite

Current location: At Broby bro, about 80m north of the road, in a field.

Biography
(see U135)

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.15m / W (base) 1.25m
Style: Pr2

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
$ "Æstridhr let ræisa stæina thessa at "Øystæin, bonda sinn, es sotti "IorsaliR ok ændadhis upp i "Grikkium.

English translation:
$ Ástrídhr had these stones raised in memory of Eysteinn, her husbandman, who attacked Jerusalem and met his end up in Greece.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
U 135, 137, 138

***References*:** Andersson 1999; 2011; RUNDATA U 136; RAÄ Täby 42:6
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400420006
(last accessed 01.06.2013)

U 137 *SCA5c*

Coordinates: 6597524 / 672395

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: At Broby bro, about 80m north of the road, in a field.

Biography
(See U135)

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.05m / W (base) 1.25m
Style: Pr2

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
$ "Øystæinn ok "Æstridhr ræistu stæina æftiR "Kag(?)/"Gag(?), sun sinn.

English translation:
$ Eysteinn and Ástrídhr raised the stones in memory of Kagr(?)/Gagr(?), their son.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
U135, 136, 138

***References*:** RUNDATA U137; RAÄ Täby 42:5
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400420005
(last accessed 01.06.2013)

SCA5 U135;

SCA5 U136,

Pictures © A. Busset

SCA5 U137, Broby bro
Picture © A. Busset

U 139 *SCA5d*

Coordinates: 6597563 / 672471

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location:
Next to U140 and U151, on the south side of the road at Broby bro

Biography
Unknown

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: fragment
Style: unknown

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
... [ri]sti ru[naR] ... hial[pi] ... hans

English translation:
... carved the runes ... may help ... his
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
U135, 136, 137

***References*:** RUNDATA U139; RAÄ Täby 42:2
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400420002 (last accessed 02.06.2013)

SCA5 U139 Broby bro
Picture © A. Busset

U 140 *SCA5e*

Coordinates: 6597556 / 672467

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: Next to U139 and U151, on the south side of the road at Broby bro

Biography
Part of Jarlabanke's rune stones.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: fragment
Style: Pr2

The inscription reads:

Old Norse:
"[Iar]laba[nki] ... Hann ændadhis i "Grikkium.

English translation:
Jarlabanki ... He met his end in Greece.
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Jarlabanke's rune stones.

***References*:**
RUNDATA U140; RAÄ Täby 42:3
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400420003 (last accessed 02.06.2013)

SCA5 U140 Broby bro, Picture © A. Busset

U 151 *SCA5f*

Coordinates: 6597566 / 672480

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: Next to U139 and U140, on the south side of the road at Broby bro

Biography
Although placed among the Jarlabanke rune stones, and being the largest monument at Broby bro, U 151 does not mention either Jarlabanke or Estrid. Its dating suggests it was erected after the rest of the stones.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.05m / W (base) 1.25m
Style: Pr3, Pr4

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Thorbiorn ok "Ingithora letu ræisa stæin thenna æftiR "Igul, fadhur sinn, ok "Ærinvi æftiR boanda sinn ok æftiR ...

English translation:
Thorbjôrn and Ingithóra had this stone raised in memory of Ígull, their father; and Erinvé in memory of her husbandman and in memory of ...

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RUNDATA U151; RAÄ Täby 42:1
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400420001 (last accessed 02.06.2013)

SCA5 U151, Broby bro, Picture © A. Busset

FÄLLBRO SCA6

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Danderyds skeppslag

Parish: Täby

Type of site: Multiple sites: Barrow, Bridge, Road (boundary?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Estrid and Jarlabanke

Historical background and placename
'Bro' – bridge

General description
Southwest of Täby, concentration of rune stones associated with Estrid and her grandson Jarlabanke, several stones mention Jarlabanke owning the whole of Täby hundred

Archaeological remains
Rune stone

Stone monuments associated
U 142

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:**
Andersson 2011, 1999

U 142 *SCA6a*

Coordinates: 6597571 / 670733

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: red granite

Current location: In a field

Biography
The original location of the monument is uncertain; however it may still stand on its original spot.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.5 m W (at the base) 1.7 m
Style: Pr4

The monument reads:
Old Norse:
"Ingifastr let ræisa stæin ok bro gæra æftiR "Iarlabanka, fadhur sinn ok sun "IorunaR, ok "Kætiløy let at bonda sinn. "ØpiR risti.

English translation:

Ingifastr had the stone raised and the bridge made in memory of Jarlabanki, his father, Jórunnr's son. And Ketiley had (it raised/made) in memory of her husbandman. Œpir carved.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Connected to Jarlabanke

***References*:** RUNDATA U142: RAÄ Täby 44:1
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400440001
(last accessed 15.08.2015)

FRESTA KYRKA SCA7

Grid reference: **6601719 / 1621794**

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Vallentuna hd

Parish: Vallentuna

Type of site: Church site, churchyard, boundary (?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Jarlabanke

Historical background and placename
The town and church of Fresta are part of Fresta parish and the hundred of Vallentuna; however, this rune stone and the inscription it bears may lead us to believe that it had a closer connection to the east of Vallentunasjön and the Täby estate. They may have been situated at a crossroads, or closer to the boundary of Täby.

General description
(see above)

Archaeological remains
Twelve rune stones are found in the church ground, some standing in the churchyard, some built into the church wall.
A burial ground dating back to the early Bronze Age (with possible earlier dating) is situated about 50m east of the churchyard, across the modern road.

Stone monuments associated
U 261
(U 252 to U 260 and U 261 to U 263 are not part of this selection)

***Historical sources*:-**

***References*:** Gräslund et al. 2008; RAÄ Fresta 1:13
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10001900010013 (last accessed 15.08.2015)

U 261 *SCA7a*

Coordinates: 6601719 / 1621794

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: In the churchyard of Fresta kyrka

Biography
No extensive research has been carried on this rune stone. It may stand close to its original position in the churchyard, along a road.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.4m / W 1.1m (at the base)
Style: Pr2-Pr3.
Very similar to the three other inscriptions (see below), this inscription mentions several other stones, but no other rune stones from Fresta bears the name of Jarlabanke. It may have referred to standing stones, as in Jarlabanke bro in Täby? Regarding the 'bridge', several interpretations are possible: as no river is visible close to the site, it may have referred to a bridge over wetland, or a bridge of more symbolic nature ('… made this bridge for his spirit')? However, on other inscriptions, it always refers to a tangible monument (which does not exclude a more symbolic interpretation).

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:

$ "Iarlaba[nki] let ræisa stæina thessa at sik kvikvan, ok bro thessa gærdhi fyr and sina, ok æinn atti allan "Tæby.

English translation:

$ Jarlabanki had these stones raised in memory of himself while alive and made this bridge for his spirit, and (he) alone owned all of Táby´r.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Part of the Jarlabanke stones
Same commemoration as U 164, U 165 and U 212.

***References*:** RUNDATA U 261; RAÄ Fresta 1:13
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10001900010013 (last accessed 15.08.2015)

GRANBY SCA8

***Grid reference: 6610410* / 674936**

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Seminghundra

Parish: Orkesta

Type of site: Secular settlement, long house, burial ground (Iron Age)

Saint or secular elite associated: Björn and (unknown) (secular elite)

Historical background and placename
Granby-Hyppinge, was a secular settlement in northern Uppland.

General description
Main site at the top of a hill, early medieval settlement set next to BA burial ground.

Archaeological remains
Long house, several smaller possible habitations on the flank of the hill, prehistoric burial ground.

Stone monument(s) associated

U 337; U 338

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** Zachrisson 1998; Gustavson 1976
RAÄ http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10006500440001 (last accessed 27.09.2013)

U 337 *SCA8a*

Coordinates: 6610410 / 674936

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: flat bedrock

Current location: Original location, at the top of a hill in Granby

Biography
The stone at Granby is situated in the domain of Granby-Hyppinge, near the entrance of a long-house. It bears one of the longest inscriptions in Sweden.

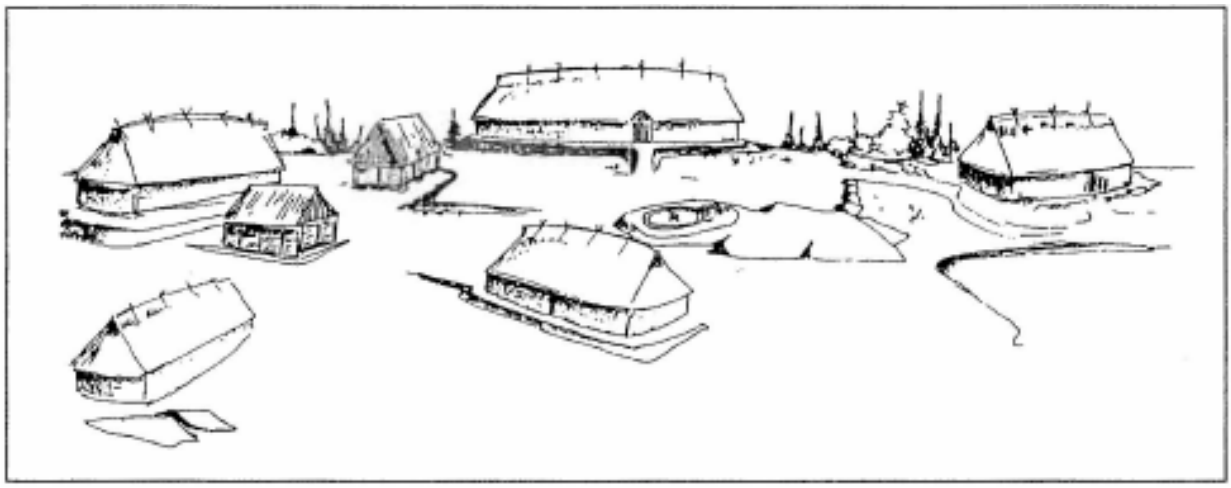
Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 4m / W 0.7m.
Style: Pr4

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
$ "HæmingR ok "Sialfi ok "Iohan thæiR lata haggva æftiR fadhur sinn "Finnvidh, ok "Vargas(?)/"Varghôss(?) ok "Ragnfridhr, ok modhur sina, ok at "Ingigærdhi ok at "Kalf ok "Gærdhar o[k] "<...-at>. Hann atti æinn allt fyrst. That vaRu frændr thæiRa. "Gudh hialpi and thæiRa. "Viseti risti runaR thessaR.

English translation:
$ Hemingr and Sjalfi and Jóhan, they have cut (the stone) in memory of their father Finnvidhr and Vargas(?)/Varghôss(?) and Ragnfrídhr and their mother, and in memory of Ingigerdhr and in memory of Kalfr and Gerdharr and ... He alone owned all at first. These were their kinsmen. May God help their spirits. Véseti carved these runes.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RAÄ Orkesta 44:1.
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10006500440001
(last accessed 27.09.2013)



SCA8 Reconstruction of Granby-Hyppinge
Zachrisson 1998, 179 (from: Hedman, Anders. 1989. Granby-Hyppinge i Orkestra sn, Uppland. *Gjallarhornet 1989:3*. Svenska Arkeologiska Samfundet)

SCA8 U 337, Granby, Orkesta
Picture © A. Busset, with Prof. Andrén for scale

U 338 *SCA8b*

Coordinates: 6610608 / 674527

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: Roadside

Biography:
Original location probable.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.75 m / W 0.7m.
Style: RAK

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
§A "Thorstæinn ok "Ragnfridhr thau ræistu stæin thenna æftiR "Biorn i "Granby, §B brodhur "Kalfs. Hanum va at "Vigm[un]dr. "Gudh hialpi hans and ok salu bætr than hann gærdhi [t]il.

English translation:
§A Thorsteinn and Ragnfrídhr, they raised this stone in memory of Bjôrn in Granby´r, §B Kalfr's brother. Vígmundr slaughtered him. May God help his spirit and soul better than he deserved.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-

***References*:** Zachrisson 1998; RUNDATA U338; RAÄ Orkesta 46:1
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10006500460001 (last accessed 27.09.2013)

SCA8 U 338, Granby Orkesta
Picture © A. Busset

HAGBY SCA9

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Danderyds skeppslag

Parish: Täby

Type of site: Multiple sites: barrow, bridge, and road (boundary?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Estrid and Jarlabanke

Historical background and placename
'By': village; Probably a farm estate connected to the Jarlabanke family

General description
Southwest of Täby, concentration of rune stones associated with Estrid and her grandson Jarlabanke, several stones mention Jarlabanke owning the whole of Täby hundred.

Archaeological remains

Stone monuments associated
Associated to Estrid and/or Jarlabanke: U 143; U 147; U 148; U 149 (lost)
Other: U 144; U 145; U 146
The record of U 149 indicates it was on the path linking Hagby with Södersätra, in the middle of a forest, and was inscribed with:
Old Norse:

† "Iarlabanki let ... [s]tæin at sialfan sik ok braut rydhia.

English translation:

† Jarlabanki had ... the stone in memory of himself and cleared a path.

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:**
Andersson 2011, 1999

U 143 — *SCA9a*

Coordinates: 6596091/ 670890

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: flat bedrock

Current location: 750m south of Hagby farmstead and about 300m west of the modern boundary (see map below).

Biography
The monument is in its original location.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.95m / W 1.45m
Style: Pr4

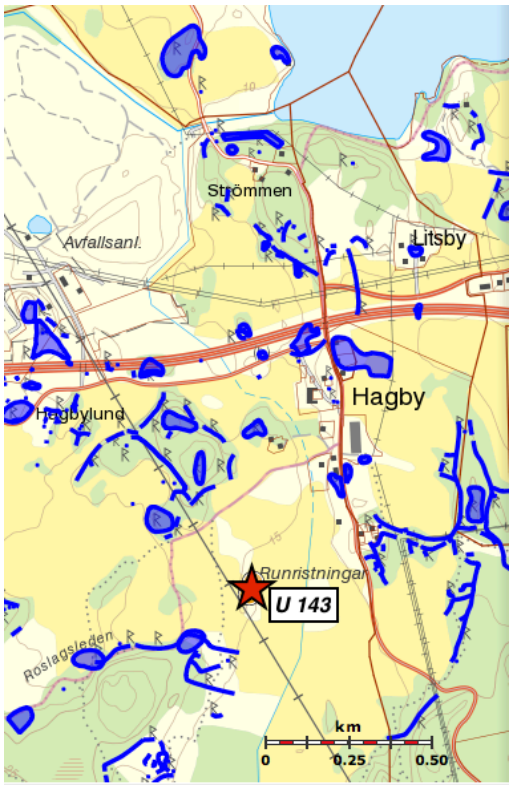
The monument reads:
Old Norse:
Iorun let gærva broaR æftiR boanda senn ok HæmingR ok Iarlabanki æftiR Ingifast, Æstridh æftiR Ingvar, allgodhan dræng.

English translation:

Jórunnr had the bridges made in memory of her husbandman; and Hemingr and Jarlabanki in memory of Ingifastr; Ástrídhr in memory of Ingvarr, an excellent valiant man.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Andersson 2011; Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999;
RUNDATA U 143;
RAÄ Täby 93:1 http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400930001 (last accessed 03.12.2014)



SCA9 U143, Hagby
© Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

U 147 *SCA9b*

Coordinates: 6594581/ 669963

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: reddish gneiss

Current location: In the forest, south of the Hagby farm

Biography

The rune stones U 147 and U 148 (and possibly U 149) are situated at the south-western edge of Hagby farmland, only 1km east of U 101 at Södersästra. Each stone may have been placed along the road marking the boundary of Jarlabanke's estate.

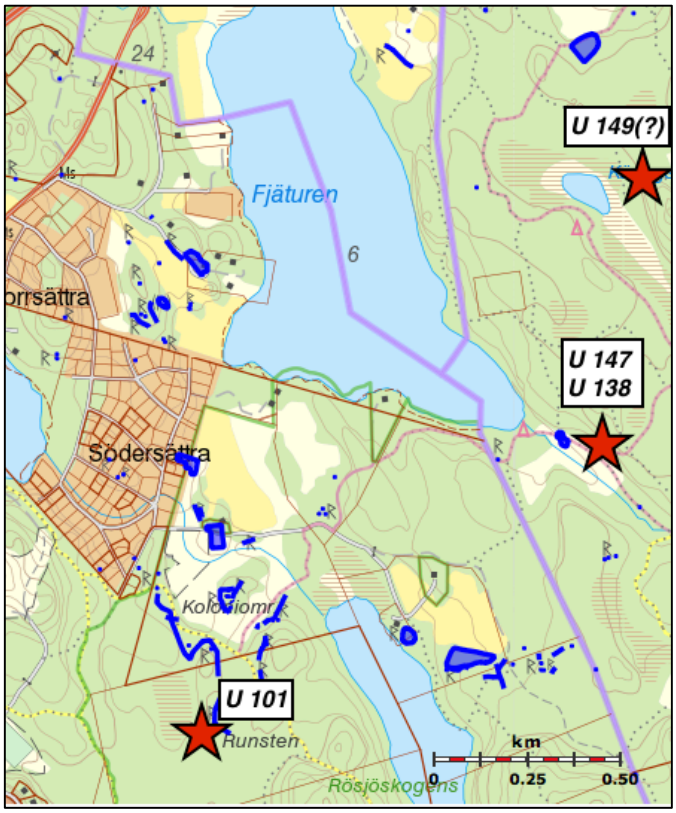
Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.15m / W 1m.
Style: Pr4

The monument reads:
Old Norse:
Iorunn ... thaR letu haggva stæina æftiR Ingifast ok Ingvar.
English translation:

Jórunnr ... they had the stones cut in memory of Ingifastr and Ingvarr.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Andersson 2011; Andersson and Boije-Back 1999;
RUNDATA U 147
RAÄ Täby 114:1
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010401140001 (last accessed 03.12.2014)



SCA9 General map Hagby
© Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

SCA9 Hagby U 147
© RAÄ http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010401140001 (last accessed 21.10.2015).
Picture © Anna Ulfhielm

U 148 *SCA9c*

Coordinates: 6596091/ 670890

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: red granite (semi-erected bedrock)

Current location: at the western edge of Täby estate, 200m to the shore of the lake Fjäturen.

Biography
The monuments are located today in a nature park, but considering the inscriptions on U 147, U 148 and U 149, they would have been placed along a road.
The rune stones U 147 and U 148 (and possibly U 149) are situated at the south-western edge of Hagby farmland, only 1km east of U 101 at Södersästra. Each stone may have been placed along the road marking the boundary of Jarlabanke's estate.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.3m / W 1.55m.
Style: Pr3

The monument reads:
Old Norse:
$ Ingifastr let rista runaR thessaR æftiR Ragnfridhi, kvinnu sina, ok HæmingR æftiR modhur sina.
English translation:
$ Ingifastr had these runes carved in memory of Ragnfrídhr, his wife; and Hemingr in memory of his mother.
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
***References*:** Andersson 2011;
RAÄ Täby 113:1
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010401130001 (last accessed 03.12.2014)

SCA9, U 148 in its original location
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010401130001; Picture © Anna Ulfhielm

HARGS BRO SCA10

Grid reference: 6607361 / 667383

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Seminghundra

Parish: Skånela

Type of site: Roadside monument – type of site unknown

Saint or secular elite associated: Estrid

Historical background and placename
'bro' means brigde, which is situated close to the stone.

General description
Today, the two stones are in the middle of forestland.

Archaeological remains
-
Stone monuments associated
U 309, U 310

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** RAÄ Skånela 114:1 (last accessed 14.11.2014)
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10008501140001

U 309 *SCA10a*

Coordinates: 6607361 / 667383

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: In the forest

Biography
Probably in its original location. Badly weathered

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Unspecified.
Style: Pr4

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Sigvidhr ok "Ingvarr ok "Iarlabanki letu rista runaR at "Ingvar, fadhur sinn, ok at "Ragnvald, brodhur sinn.

English translation:
Sigvidhr and Ingvarr and Jarlabanki had the runes carved in memory of Ingvarr, their father, and in memory of Ragnvaldr, their brother.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RAÄ Skånela 114:1.
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10008501140001 (last accessed 14.11.2014)

SCA10 U 309 (bottom) U 310 (top right) and U 311 (top left), Hargs bro
Picture © Berig
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:U_309_,_U_310_and_U_311,_Hargs_bro.JPG

U 310 *SCA10b*

Coordinates: 6607357 / 667379

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Unspecified

Current location: In the forest

Biography
Possible original locations

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Unspecified
Style: Pr4

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Æstridh let bro gæra æftiR "Ingvar, bonda sinn, ok at "Ragnvald, sun hans.

English translation:
Ástrídhr had the bridge made in memory of Ingvarr, her husbandman, and in memory of Ragnvaldr, his son.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RAÄ Skånela 114:2.
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10008501140002 ((last accessed 14.11.14)

HILLERSJÖ SCA11

Grid reference: 6586388 / 653622

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Färentuna hd

Parish: Hilleshög

Type of site: Probable farm monument, boundary (?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Gerlög and Inga

Historical background and placename
The monument records the lives and deaths of Gerlög's family and her daughter Inga, and records the inheritance of Gerlög from Inga. Hillersjö is thus probably the farm estate of Gerlög, who also inherited from Snåttsta and Vreta in Markim parish.

General description
The stone is situated today in a private garden, on the shore of the Hilleshögviken, in the Mälar region; in the 11th c. it probably marked the boundary of Hilleshögs farm estate.

Archaeological remains
unspecified

Stone monuments associated
U 29

***Historical sources*:-**

***References*:** Andrén 2000; Sawyer 2000

SCA11 U 29, Hillersjö, Hilleshög
Picture © A. Busset

U 29 *SCA11a*

Coordinates: 6586388 / 653622

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Unspecified

Current location: in a private garden

Biography
The runes are inscribed on a flat bedrock; probably original location

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.8m / W 1.8m.
Style: Pr4

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
$ Radh thu! "GæiRmundr [f]ikk "GæiRlaug møydomi i. Tha fingu thau sun, adhan hann drunknadhi. En sunn do sidhan. Tha fikk ho[n] "[Gu]dhrik. Ha[nn] ... thennsa. Tha fingu thau barn. En maR æin lifdhi; hon het "[In]ga. Ha[na] fikk "Ragnfastr i "Snutastadhum. Tha vardh hann daudhr ok sunn sidhan. En modhiR kvam at sunaR arfi. Tha fikk hon "Æirik. Thar vardh hon daudh. Thar kvam "GæiRlaug at arfi "Ingu, dottur sinnaR. "Thorbiorn "Skald risti runaR.

English translation:
Interpret! Geirmundr got Geirlaug (to wife) in her maidenhood. Then they got a son, before he (= Geirmundr) drowned. And then the son died. Then she got Gudhríkr. He ... this. Then they got children. And one maid lived; she was called Inga. Ragnfastr of Snotastadhir got her (to wife). Then he died, and thereafter the son. And the mother came to inherit from her son. Then she got Eiríkr. Then she died. Then Geirlaug came to inherit from Inga, her daughter. Thorbjôrn Skald carved the runes.

This stone is considered to have one of the longest runic inscriptions in Uppland. It overlooks an arm of the lake Mälaren, but would probably not be visible from the water.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: Snåttsta and Vreta (U329-332) linked to Inga

***References*:** RUNDATA U 29; Andrén Andrén 20002000, 12-13; Sawyer 1988
RAÄ Hilleshög 41:1. http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10002900410001 (last accessed 21.03.2014)

HOVGÅRDEN SCA12

Coordinates: 6582894 / 644041

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Färentuna hd

Parish: Adelsö

Type of site: Royal settlement

Saint or secular elite associated: King Håkon and his steward Tólir

Historical background and placename
Hovgården shows traces of occupation since the 6th century AD. It flourished at the same time as the town of Birka, situated on the island of Björkö, south-east of Adelsö. It is believed that while Birka was the main trade-centre of the Mälar area, Hovgården was the royal power centre. The settlement stayed in use for a longer period than Birka, which was abandoned during the 9th century. Its occupation during the late Viking Age and early medieval period is attested by the presence of a rune stone (U11), and a castle, now in a ruined state. An early church (Adelsö kyrka) has also been discovered underneath the modern church, south-west of the rune stone.

General description
Hovgården is situated on the south-east edge of Adelsö

Archaeological remains
Three large burial mounds named 'the Royal mounds', are situated at the western edge of the site. None of them has been excavated; it is thus unknown when and for whom they have been erected. At the western end of the alignment is a fourth mound with flattened top called the *Thing* mound ('Tingshögen'). The alignment of the burial mounds is similar to the one found in Gamla Uppsala.
A smaller mound, Skopintull, situated a few metres north of the Royal mounds has been excavated in 1911; the excavations uncovered an early 10th century tomb of a high status man cremated in a boat.
The four burial mounds and the *thing* mound suggest that Hovgården functioned as an aristocratic centre during the late Iron Age, and a royal centre during the late Viking and Early Middle Ages. This interpretation is further supported by the inscription on the rune stone U11 (see below).

Stone monuments associated
U 11

***Historical sources*:** Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*

***References*:** Magnus and Gustin 2012; Riksantivarieämbetet 2012; Jansson 1987; RAÄ Adelsö 48:2, 48:4, 48:5, 48:6, 48:7 (last accessed 05.06.2014)
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10000100480002
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10000100480004
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10000100480005
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10000100480006
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10000100480007

SCA12 U 11 Hovgården, Adelsö
Picture © A. Busset

SCA12 Hovgården, the royal mounds, Adelsö kyrka in the background
Picture © A. Busset

U 11 *SCA12a*

Coordinates: 6582894 / 644041

Type of monument: rune stone

Type of stone: Dressed boulder of grey granite

Current location: at the bottom of the castle hill, to the south-west.

Biography
The monument is in its original location; however, it has been brought in this location. A survey carried in 1994 has demonstrated that the natural bedrock underneath has been carved to receive the boulder. The monument originally stood at the entrance of Hovgården harbour; the sea level is about 5m lower today than it was in the 10th century.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.4m / W 2.75m (base)
Style: Pr4

The monument reads:
Old Norse:
Radh thu runaR. Rett let rista "ToliR bryti i rodhi kunungi. "ToliR ok "Gylla letu ris[ta] ..., thaun hion æftiR [si]k(?) mærki ... "Hakon badh rista.

English translation:
Interpret the runes! Tólir the steward of Rodhr had them rightly carved for the King. Tólir and Gylla had [the runes] carved ... this married couple as a landmark in memory of themselves(?) ... Hákon ordered (it) be carved.

What makes this rune stone unique is that its inscription is the only one that mentions directly the patronage of a king. This, added to the numerous elements underlining the high status of this site, suggests that Hovgården was a royal power centre.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** Magnus and Gustin 2012; RAÄ Adelsö 46:1, retrieved 12.11.14 (http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10000100460001)

KARBY SCA13

Grid reference: ***6597714 / 672634***

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Danderyds skeppslag

Parish: Täby

Type of site: Roadside monument (boundary?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Estrid and Jarlabanke

Historical background and placename
'By': village

General description
Southwest of Täby, concentration of rune stones associated with Estrid and her grandson Jarlabanke, several stones mention Jarlabanke owning the whole of Täby hundred

Archaeological remains
See Broby bro SCA5

Stone monuments associated
U 150

Historical sources**:**

References**:**
Andersson 2011, 1999

U 150 *SCA13a*

Coordinates: 6597714 / 672634

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: on the roadside, about 50m north-east of Broby bro

Biography
Unspecified

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 0.8m / W 0.6m / 0.3m thick.
Style: Fp?

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Iarlabanki ok "Fastvi letu ræisa stæina æftiR "Svæin, sun sinn.

English translation:
Jarlabanki and Fastvé had the stones raised in memory of Sveinn, their son.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RAÄ Täby 33:1.
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400330001 (last accessed 05.06.2013)

SCA13 U 150 Karby
Picture © A. Busset

ÖSTRA RYDS KYRKA SCA14

Coordinates: 6594373 / 681194

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Danderyds skeppslag

Parish: Östra Ryds

Type of site: Early church (?), churchyard (?), farm (?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Gunne

Historical background and placename
Östra Ryds kyrka is associated with Gunne, as two rune stones, today embedded in the church's fabric, but possibly originally situated in the churchyard, mention his name. One of the stones at least (U 167) is believed to be a grave marker.

General description
The church at Östra Ryds is situated north of the peninsula where the rune stones U 170 and U 171 (Söderby and Bogesund) have been erected. The church looks south to the 'fjord of the church' (*Kyrkfjärden*). Prehistoric burial grounds are located 500m west of the church.

Archaeological remains
Two rune stones
Stone monuments associated
U 166; U 167

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** McLeod 2014; Ljung 2013;
RAÄ http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10012600610002
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10012600610001

U 166 *SCA14a*

Coordinates: 6594373 / 681194

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: built in the church fabric, inside, close to the choir

Biography
Unknown; possibly moved from the churchyard

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Unspecified
Style: Pr4

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Gyi let ræisa [ok] "Gudhlaug æftiR sun [sinn], miok nytan dræng, mærki thessa. Hann het "Sigfastr.

English translation:
Gy´i and Gudhlaug had these landmarks raised in memory of their son, a very capable valiant man. He was called Sigfastr.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
U167

***References*:** Ljung 2013
RAÄ Östra Ryd 61:2 http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10012600610002 (last accessed 03.07.2013)

SCA14 U166, Östra Ryds kyrka
Picture © A. Busset

U 167 *SCA14b*

Coordinates: 6594361 / 681193

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Unspecified

Current location: built in the church fabric, inside, close to the choir, opposite U166

Biography
Possibly moved from the churchyard; interpreted as a gravemarker
Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Unspecified.
Style: Pr3

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Assurr let ræisa stæin at "Gunna, mag sinn. Hann vas brodhiR "GudhlaugaR. "Fotr risti runaR thessi.

English translation:
Ôzurr had the stone raised in memory of Gunni, his kinsman-by-marriage. He was Gudhlaug's brother. Fótr carved these runes.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
U 166
***References*:** Ljung 2013;
RAÄ Östra Ryd 61:1. http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10012600610001

SCA14 U 167 Östra Ryds kyrka
Picture © A. Busset

SNÅTTSTA & VRETA SCA15

Coordinates: 6612066 / 671294

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Seminghundra

Parish: Markims

Type of site: Farm

Saint or secular elite associated: Inga

Historical background and placename
The estate of Snåttsta and Vreta is mentioned in Hillersjö inscription as related to Inga (See U29)

General description
The rune stones U329-331 are situated on Snåttsta farm estate, possibly marking the centre (U331) and the boundary (U329-330) of the estate. Several prehistoric burial grounds are situated close to the stones, to the north and the west.

Archaeological remains
The rune stones

Stone monuments associated
U 329; U 330; U 331; U 332

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** Ljung 2004; Sawyer 2000; Jesch 1991

U 329 — *SCA15a*

***Coordinates:* 6612066 / 671294**

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: The three stones (U329-330-331) are situated at Snåttsta farm estate, along the road, one close to a possible assembly mound.

Biography: Probably situated in, or close to, its original location

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.7m /W 1.15m / 0.4m thick.
Style: Pr3

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Inga let ræisa stæina thasi æftiR "Ragnfast, bonda sinn. Hann vaR brodhiR "GyridhaR ok "ÆstridhaR.

English translation:
Inga had these stones raised in memory of Ragnfastr, her husbandman. He was Gyrídhr's and Ástrídhr's brother.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: U330-332

***References*:** RUNDATA U329
RAÄ Markim 21:1. http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10005100210001

SCA15 U 329, Snåttsta, Markim
Picture © Berig https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/90/U_329%2C_Snåttsta.JPG

U 330 *SCA15b*

Coordinates: 6612088 / 671275

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: Along the road, at Snåttsta farm estate

Biography: Probably situated in, or close to, its original location

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.3m / W 1.4m / 0.4m thick.
Style: Pr3

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Inga let ræisa stæina ok bro gærva æftiR "Ragnfast, bonda sinn. "Assurr vaR huskarl hans.
English translation:
Inga had the stones raised and the bridge made in memory of Ragnfastr, her husbandman. Ôzurr was his housecarl.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: U329, 331-332

***References*:** RUNDATA U330
RAÄ Markim 21:2. http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10005100210002

SCA15 U 330 Snåttsta
Picture © Berig
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Snottsta_and_Vreta_stones#/media/File:U_330,_Snåttsta.jpg

U 331 *SCA15c*

Coordinates: 6612121 / 671622

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Unspecified

Current location: Along the road, at Snåttsta farm estate.

Biography: Probably situated in, or close to, its original location

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.4m / W 0.9m.
Style: Pr3

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Inga let rista runaR æftiR "Ragnfast, bonda sinn. Hann atti æinn by thenna æftiR "Sigfast, fadhur sinn. "Gudh hialpi and thæiRa.

English translation:
Inga had the runes carved in memory of Ragnfastr, her husbandman. He alone owned this estate after Sigfastr, his father. May God help their spirits.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: U329-330; 332

***References*:** RUNDATA U331
RAÄ Markim 33:1. http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10005100330001

SCA15 U 331, Snåttsta, Markim
Picture © Berig https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8b/U_331%2C_Snåttsta.JPG

U 332 *SCA15d*

Coordinates: 6611383 / 671050

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Unspecified

Current location: lost

Biography
Used to stand at Vreta farm. Recorded in the 18th century

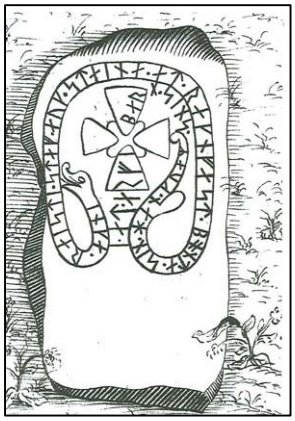
Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Unspecified.
Style: Pr3?

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
† "Inga ræisti staf ok stæina at "Ragnfast, bonda sinn. H[o]n kvam at arfi barns sins.
English translation:
† Inga raised the staff and stones in memory of Ragnfastr, her husbandman. She came to inherit from her children.

The runic inscription contains a major information: that Inga has inherited from her child, who may have died young as never mentioned by name.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: U329-331

***References*:** Andersson, *Mer om berättelsen*; RUNDATA U332
RAÄ Markim 166:1. http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10005101660001



SCA15 U332 Source: Wikipedia
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Snottsta_and_Vreta_stones#/media/File:U_332,_Vreta.jpg

SÖDERBY (ÖSTRA RYDS) SCA16

Coordinates: 6589489 / 683100

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Danderyds skeppslag

Parish: Östra Ryds

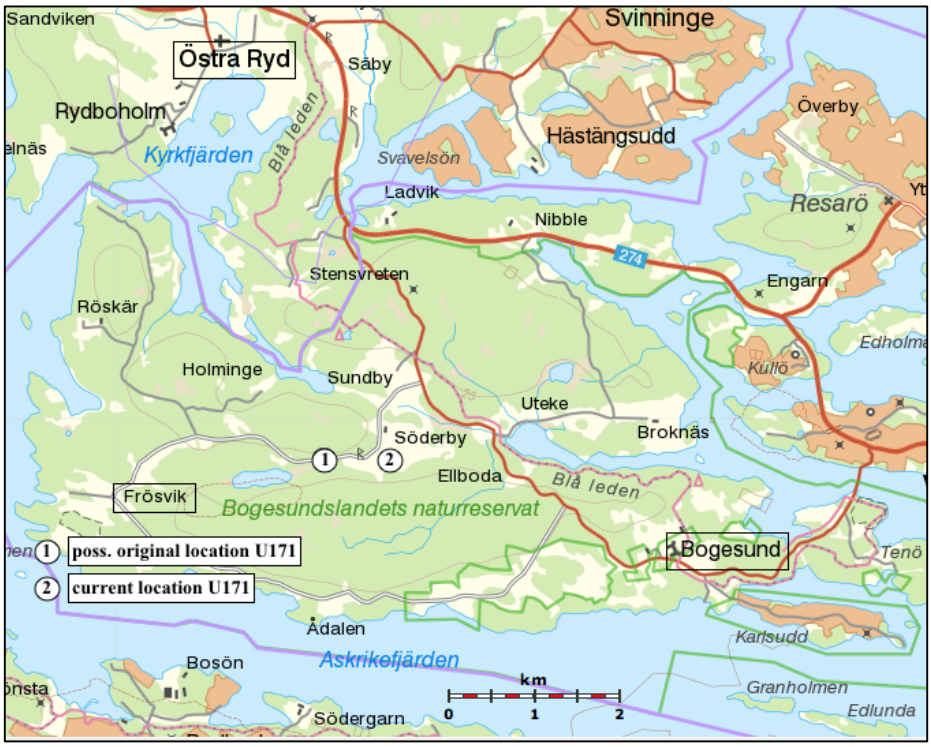
Type of site: Roadside monument, Boundary (?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Gunne

Historical background and placename
The original location of the rune stone is on the roadside toward Frösvik harbour (west of the peninsula), as indicated by a 19th c. map. It may have marked the western edge of Gunne's estate. The site is named after the location where the stone is erected today.

General description
unknown
Archaeological remains
About 50m east of the possible original location of the rune stone is a prehistoric burial ground.
Stone monuments associated
U 171
***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** Zachrisson pers. comm.; RAÄ Östra Ryd 13:1.
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10012600130001
(last accessed 06.2013)



SCA16 Map Vaxholm
© Lantmäteriet, additional information by the author

U 171 *SCA16a*

Coordinates: 6589489 / 683100

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: South of Söderby farm.

Biography
U 171 used to stand on the roadside between Bogesund and Frösvik, but the lord of Bogesund Castle had it moved to his estate in the 18th or 19th century. Unfortunately it got stuck in a marsh halfway to the estate, and stands where it was abandoned till this day.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.9m / W 2m / 1.3m thick.
Style: Pr4

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Gunni let haggva stæin the[nn]a æftiR "Øynd, sun sinn godhan, ok æfti[R] sik sialfan.
"Fasti risti runaR.

English translation:
Gunni had this stone cut in memory of Eyndr, his good son, and in memory of himself.
Fasti carved the runes.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RAÄ Östra Ryd 13:1.
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10012600130001

SCA16 U 171, Söderby, Östra Ryds
Picture © A. Busset

SÖDERBY (ORKESTA) SCA17

Coordinates: 6611382 / 671050

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Seminghundra

Parish: Orkesta

Type of site: Secular settlement, long house, burial ground (Iron Age)

Saint or secular elite associated: Kalfr

Historical background and placename
Associated with the rune stones U337 and U338 in Granby. Possibly marked the eastern boundary of Granby-Hyppinge estate.

General description
Not visited

Archaeological remains
Unspecified

Stone monument(s) associated
U 341; U 342

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** Zachrisson 1998; Gustavson 1976;

U 341 *SCA17a*

Coordinates: 6611382 / 671050

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: North side of the road at Söderby, 300m west of Granby

Biography
Found in 1906 on the farm estate approx. 150m south-west of current location.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.1m / W 0.9m / 0.3m thick.
Style: RAK

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Ingialdr(?) let ræisa stæin thennsa æftiR "Kalf, fadhur sinn, ok æftiR "Igu[l], brodhur sinn, ok æftiR "Ragnvi, modhur sina. Nu hialpi "Gudh salu thæiRa ok "Gudhs modhiR.

English translation:
Ingjaldr(?) had this stone raised in memory of Kalfr, his father, and in memory of Ígull, his brother, and in memory of Ragnvé, his mother. May God and God's mother now help their souls.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
U 342, Ragnvé is mentioned on U 338

***References*:** RUNDATA U 341
RAÄ Orkesta 34:1. http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10006500340001
(last accessed 30.01.2015)

U 342 — *SCA17b*

Coordinates: 6610365 / 675342

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: 300m west of Granby, northern roadside

Biography
Unknown

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Fragment.
Style: unknown

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
$ ... [stæ]in thennsi æftiR "Kalf, bro[dhur] ...

English translation:
$ ... this stone in memory of Kalfr, brother ...

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Kalfr is mentioned on U 338 and U 341

***References*:** RUNDATA U 342
RAÄ Orkesta 108:1. http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10006501080001
(last accessed 30.01.2015)

SÖDERSÄTRA SCA18

Coordinates: 6593816 / 669160

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Sollentuna hd

Parish: Sollentune

Type of site: Boundary (?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Estrid and Jarlabanke

Historical background and placename
Unknown; the site is situated in a natural reserve situated to the north-west of Täby

General description
-
Archaeological remains
Possible association with burial

Stone monuments associated
U 101

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:**
Sollentuna 74:1
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10008700740001
(Last accessed 20.05.2015)

U 101 *SCA18a*

Coordinates: 6593816 / 669160

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: at the bottom of higher grounds

Biography
Unknown

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 3m / W 2.30m / 0.90m thick.
Style: Pr4

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"HæmingR ok "Iarlabanki thæiR letu braut rydhia ok broaR giæra æftiR fadhur sinn ok "Æstridh æftiR syni sina "Ingifast ok "Ingvar. "Gudh hialpi and thæiRa.

English translation:
Hemingr and Jarlabanki, they had the path cleared and the bridges made in memory of their father; and Ástrídhr in memory of her sons Ingifastr and Ingvarr. May God help their spirits.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RUNDATA U 101
RAÄ Sollentuna 74:1. (last accessed 20.05.2015)
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10008700740001

TÄBY (JARLABANKE BRO) SCA19

Coordinates: 6599654 / 673411

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Danderyds skeppslag

Parish: Täby

Type of site: bridge, road (over wetland)

Saint or secular elite associated: Jarlabanke

Historical background and placename
Täby formed part of the estate of Jarlabanke

General description
The two rune stones are opposing each other at the top of an alley of standing stones, marking the 'bridge' of Jarlabanke 'bro'

Archaeological remains
Embankment, rune stones, standing stones, bridge, road

Stone monuments associated
U 164; U 165

***Historical sources*: -**
***References*:** Andersson and Nordbert 2009; Andersson and Källström 2008; Andersson and Boije-Backe 1999; Jansson 1987

SCA19 U 164 and U 165, and alignment of standing stones, Jarlabanke bro, Täby
Picture © A. Busset

U 164 — *SCA19a*

Coordinates: 6599657 / 673400

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: Along the road at Jarlabanke bro

Biography: Unspecified (possibly in, or close to, its original location).

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.2m / W 1.65m / 0.3m thickness.
Style: Pr2, Pr3

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Iarlabanki let ræisa stæina thessa at sik kvikvan, ok bro thessa gærdhi fyr and sina, ok æinn atti allan "Tæby. "Gudh hialpi and hans.

English translation:
Jarlabanki had these stones raised in memory of himself while alive, and made this bridge for his spirit, and (he) alone owned all of Táby´r. May God help his spirit.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RUNDATA U 164
RAÄ Täby 4:2. (last accessed 10.10.2014)
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400040002.

SCA19 U 164, Jarlabanke bro, Täby
Picture © A. Busset

U 165 *SCA19b*

Coordinates: 6599654 / 673411

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: Granite

Current location: Along the road at Jarlabanke bro

Biography: Unspecified (possibly in, or close to, its original location)

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.85m / W 1.15m / 0.25m thickness.
Style: Pr2

The inscription reads:
Old Norse:
"Iarlabanki le[t ræi]sa stæina thessa at sik kvikvan, ok bro thessa gærdhi fyr and si[na ...] atti allan "Tæby.

English translation:
Jarlabanki had these stones raised in memory of himself while alive, and made this bridge for his spirit ... owned all of Táby´r.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** RUNDATA U 165
RAÄ Täby 4:1. (last accessed 10.10.2014)
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010400040001

VALLENTUNA KYRKA SCA20

Coordinates: ***6603231 / 673823***

Country: Sweden **Region:** Uppland, Vallentuna hd

Parish: Vallentuna

Type of site: Early church site (?), churchyard

Saint or secular elite associated: Jarlabanke

Historical background and placename
Vallentuna kyrka is a town situated at the boundary between Vallentuna härad (in the north) and Täby estate (in the south). Situated at the northern end of Vallentunasjön, it may have been the site of an early church from the 12th century.
The stone selected here is the earliest one on the site (mid-11th century). Two other stones are found inside the church (U 216 and U 217) identified as Pr5 (beginning of 12th c.). These two later stones may have mark the place of the early church – the inscription on U216 includes the Christian name Johan. Although of later date, they are probably referring to members of Jarlabanke family (possibly his son and grandson).

General description
The church and churchyard are situated about 100m north of the lake's shore. Archaeological traces of the foundations of the medieval town have been discovered east of the churchyard's wall. The town of Vallentuna is placed at a strategic point in the landscape, as it is not only situated at the meeting place of the Danderyds skeppslag, Vallentuna härad and Fresta härad, but

Archaeological remains
Three rune stones, one situated in the churchyard (possibly in its original position) and one other (U216) that had been built in the church wall, U 217 is now lost, but a 17th century drawing places it also built in the church wall.

Stone monuments associated
U 212
(U 213 to U 222 are also associated with Vallentuna kyrka, but are not part of this selection as they are later in date and do not mention Jarlabanke).

Historical sources**: -**

References**:** Gräslund et al. 2008; Andersson and Källström 2008 (Swedish)

SCA20 Historical map of Vallentuna

© Lantmäteriet (date unspecified)

U 212 *SCA20a*

Coordinates: 6603231 / 673823

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: granite

Current location: South of the church, in the churchyard.

Biography
Nothing indicates that the stone has been moved from its original location. Placed in the cemetery, it may have stood on an early church site.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H. 1.95m / W. 1.65m
Damaged near the top, this stone is inscribed on both sides, with a slight difference in style from face a (Pr2) to face b (Pr 2-3).
This stone, as three others (see below) states that Jarlabanke (who had those stones erected for himself) *owned* the whole of Täby. This stone being situated in Vallentuna, at the northern end of Vallentunasjön and at the boundary between Vallentuna hd and Täby estate (Dandreyds skeppslag), we may suppose that this stone was marking this boundary.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Connected with the other Jarlabanke stones, especially U 164, U 165, and U 261

***References*:** RUNDATA U 212; RAÄ Vallentuna 15:1
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10010800150001(last accessed 10.10.2014)

SCA20 Vallentuna Kyrka U 212
Pictures © A. Busset

ANUNDSHÖG SCA21

Coordinates: ***6612512 / 1547459***

Country: Sweden **Region:** Västmanland, Västerås

Parish: Badelunga

Type of site: Assembly site / *Thing* site, burial ground

Saint or secular elite associated: possibly King Anund

Historical background and placename
'Anund's mound'

General description
The rune stone Vs13 is situated along an alignment of standing stones. Probably situated along an ancient road, part of the Erkisgata (inauguration road).
The stone is located to the south of a very large mound. Several burials on the site, ship-settings

Archaeological remains
Burial mounds (BA and IA), ship settings, road, ridge, rune stone, standing stones

Stone monuments associated
Vs 13
***Historical sources*:-**

***References*:** Sanmark and Semple 2008, 2010

SCA21 'Anund's Mound', Anundshög, Badelunda
Picture © A. Busset

SCA21 Vs 13, Anundshög, Badelunda
Picture © A. Busset

SCA21 Ship settings from the top of 'Anund's Mound', Anundshög, Badelunda
Picture © A. Busset

Vs 13 *SCA21a*

Coordinates: 6612512/1547459

Type of monument: Rune stone

Type of stone: granite

Current location: Along a path, south of Anund's mound in an alignment of (non-inscribed) standing stones

Biography
The current situation of the stone, as well as the reference to the other stones and mound in the inscription indicate that this stone probably still stands in its original location.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H. 3.2m / W. 1.3m (at the base)
Unidentified style, although early in date (AD 1000-1050)
The design of the motif at the centre of the stone is unusual and unparalleled.
The inscription states that a prominent man Folkvid raised not only the rune stone, but also all the other standing stones that align with it. It also refers to the deceased being 'Anund's brother'. Anund was a very powerful king in the 11th century and the site and mound behind the rune stone are named after him, indicating that the mound and ship-setting may be part of his funerary monument. In erecting this rune stone, Folkvid may have tried to connect him and his family to this prestigious figure.

The inscription
Old Norse

"Folkvidhr ræisti stæina thasi alla at sun sinn "Hedhin, brodhur "AnundaR. "Vræidhr hiogg runaR.

English translation:

Folkvidhr raised all of these stones in memory of his son Hedhinn, Ônundr's brother. Vreidhr cut the runes.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** Sanmark & Semple 2013, 2008; Brink 2004; Jansson 1987; RUNDATA Vs13 ('Anundshögsområdet' Vs13); RAÄ Västerås 431:4
http://kulturarvsdata.se/raa/fmi/html/10233404310004

SCOTLAND

ABERLEMNO SCO1

***Grid reference:** 5223 5555*

Region: Angus

Parish: Aberlemno

Type of site: ecclesiastical / early church

Saint or secular elite associated: -

Historical background and placename

The prefix *Aber-* means 'the mouth of', in this case 'the mouth of the Lemno'. About 3km north-west of the site of Aberlemno and north of Finavon hillfort, is the meeting of the Lemno Burn with the river South Esk, at Milton of Finavon. Approximately 1km east of where the rivers meet is the site of Woodrae (see SCO7).

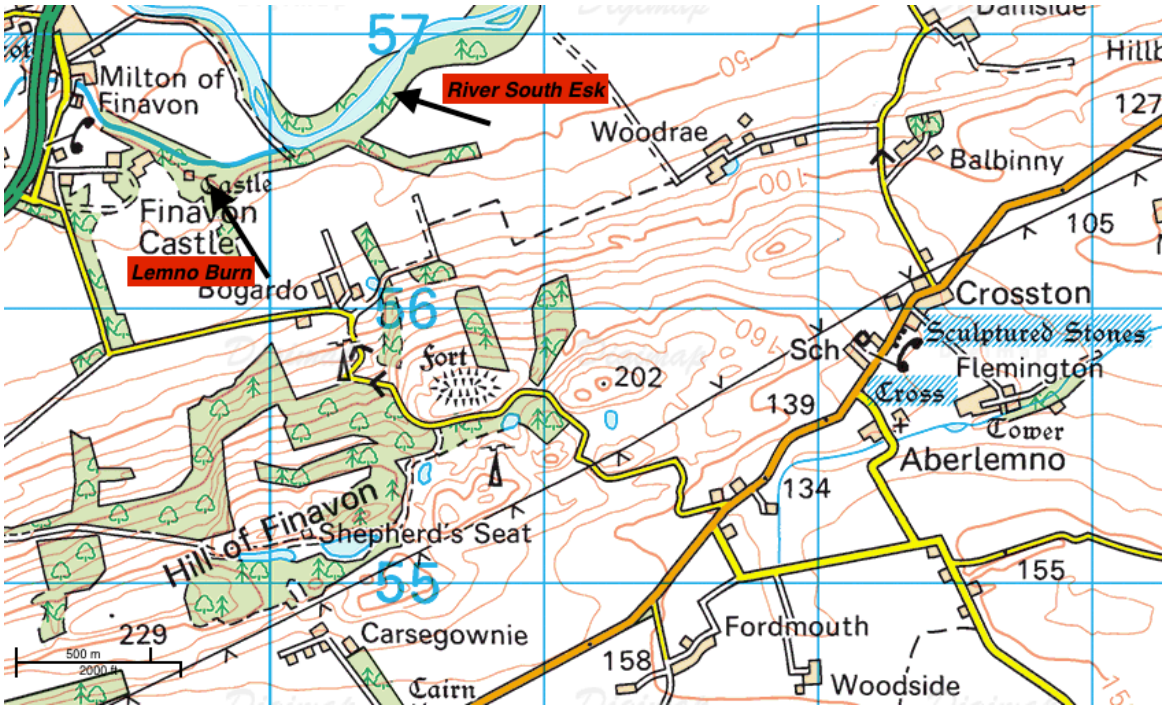
General description
Aberlemno is a small hamlet set along a modern secondary road between Forfar and Brechin in Angus. It contains four Pictish monuments: two Pictish symbol stones and two cross-slabs. Three of these monuments are situated directly on the roadside (Aberlemno 1, 3, and 4), and one is located in Aberlemno churchyard, about 200m south-west from the first group (Aberlemno 2). The latter, standing to the west of the church, has probably been moved from an adjacent field. On the north-western side of the road, higher grounds and Finavon hillfort. To the south-west. Another hillfort (Turin hill) no solid evidence for contemporary occupation.

Archaeological remains
The area around the site of Aberlemno is rich in archaeological remains from diverse periods. The remains of interest to the present research are:

Stone monuments associated
Aberlemno 1-4 (*ECMS*)

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** Alexander 1998; Ritchie 1995



SCO1 Map of Aberlemno and its surroundings

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Aberlemno 2 *SCO1a*

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: old red sandstone

Current location: In Aberlemno churchyard

Biography
The orginal location of this monument is problematic. Allen and Anderson (*ECMS*), do not mention any of its history or biography. However, Ritchie (1995, 1999) mentions that it probably stood in a nearby field originally.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.3m / W 1m (average) / T 0.2m
Standing at the church, an impressive cross-slab on the front with carefully executed intertwined animals and a pair of hippocamps flanking the shaft; on the back there is a battle scene, as well as a notched rectangle and Z-rod and triple-disc symbols. The interpretation of the battle-scene is most fully outlined in Cruickshank 1991. The battle may be that of Dunnichen between the Picts and the Angles in AD 685, in which the Picts were victorious. If so, the Angles are shown wearing helmets with noseguards and the Picts are barehead." (RCAHMS, 2008, 51.2)
Proposed dating: 8th century (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 135)
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
***References*:** *ECMS*, ii, 209-214; Fraser 2008, 46; Henderson and Henderson 2004; Ritchie 1995;
Canmore https://canmore.org.uk/site/34806/aberlemno
(last accessed 01.02.2015)

SCO1 Aberlemno 2
Picture © A. Busset

Aberlemno 3 *SCO1b*

Type of monument: cross-slab

Type of stone: old red sandstone

Current location: Aberlemno roadside

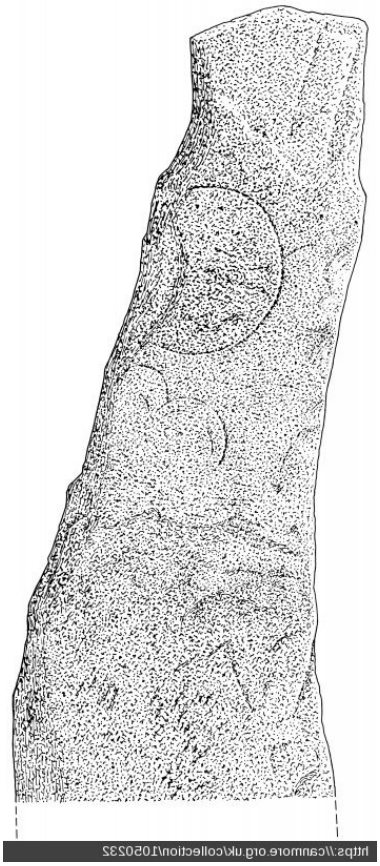
Biography
According to Allen and Anderson, this monument is recorded standing on the roadside in Aberlemno, as far back as 1569, (Turnbull 1842, 215)

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.8m / W 1m / T 0.2m
'A tall cross-slab with angels holding books on either side of the shaft; on the back dercoration includes a hunting scene with trumpeters, a centaur and a representation of David rending the jaws of the lion. At the head of the slab are large crescent and V-rod and double-disc and Z-rod symbols.' (Fraser 2008)
Proposed dating: end of 8th – 9th century
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
St Orland's stone (Cossans)

***References*:** Fraser 2008, 48; Henderson and Henderson 2004
Canmore https://canmore.org.uk/site/34863/aberlemno (retrieved 01.02.2015)

SCO1b Aberlemno 3
Picture © A. Busset

SCO1b Aberlemno 3
Picture © A. Busset



SCO1c Aberlemno 4
© Crown Copyright: HES

Aberlemno 1 and 4 *SCO1c*

Type of monument: symbol stones

Type of stone: 1) red sandstone 4) unspecified

Current location: Aberlemno roadside

Biography
Aberlemno 1 and 4 are located on the roadside, close to Aberlemno 3.
Aberlemno 1 is a round-headed shape boulder, which may be a reused prehistoric standing stones, as supported by the presence of cup marks on the back of the stone.
Aberlemno 4 is an unshaped boulder, whith a flattened face where incised Pictish symbols are visible.
Description of the monument and analysis
1) Pillar bearing the symbols of the serpent, double-disch and z-rod, and the mirror-and-combe. At the back of Aberlemno 1, towards the bottom, are six large cup marks.
4) Undressed boulder; Traces of two incised circles, appear to be the remains of a mirror or other discoid symbol (Fraser 2008, 48)
Proposed dating: possible date 7th century (?) (Henderson and Henderson 2004, 10)
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-
***References*:** Fraser 2008, 48; Henderson and Henderson 2004
Canmore: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/34861/aberlemno> (retrieved 10.12.2016)

SCO1c Aberlemno 1 (with Dr Forsyth for scale)
Picture © A. Busset

ALDBAR SCO2

Grid reference: 5731 5822

Region: Angus

Parish: Aberlemno

Type of site: parochial / early church

Saint or secular elite associated: not specified

Historical background and placename
Mentions of a rector at Aldbar chapel in the 13th and 15th century. The chapel, close to Aldbar castle, was parochial until the dissolution of the parish during the 17th century. Now part of Aberlemno parish. The chapel has been in state of ruin for decades, before being restored in the mid-19th century.

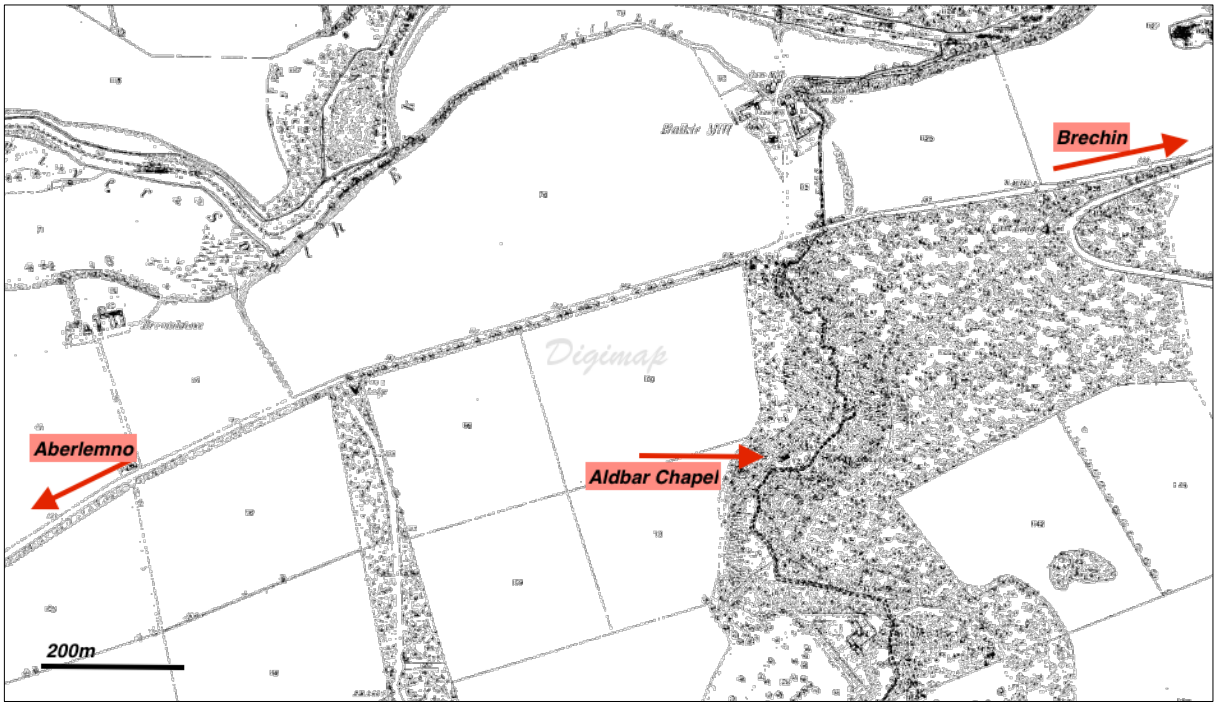
General description
The cross-slab was uncovered in an early burial ground of a ruined chapel in 1903; it has been since placed in Brechin Cathedral, about 2,5km north-east of Aldbar. The chapel is situated close to the river South Esk, along the historical road that links Aberlemno and Brechin to the north of the Mounth.

Archaeological remains
Carved stone; early chapel; burial ground

Stone monuments associated
Aldbar cross-slab

***Historical sources*:-**

***References*:** Borland *et al.* 2007, 107; Henderson 1986; *ECMS*, 245-246
Canmore http://canmore.org.uk/site/34786



SCO2 Map of Aldbar chapel and its connections to Aberlemno and Brechin

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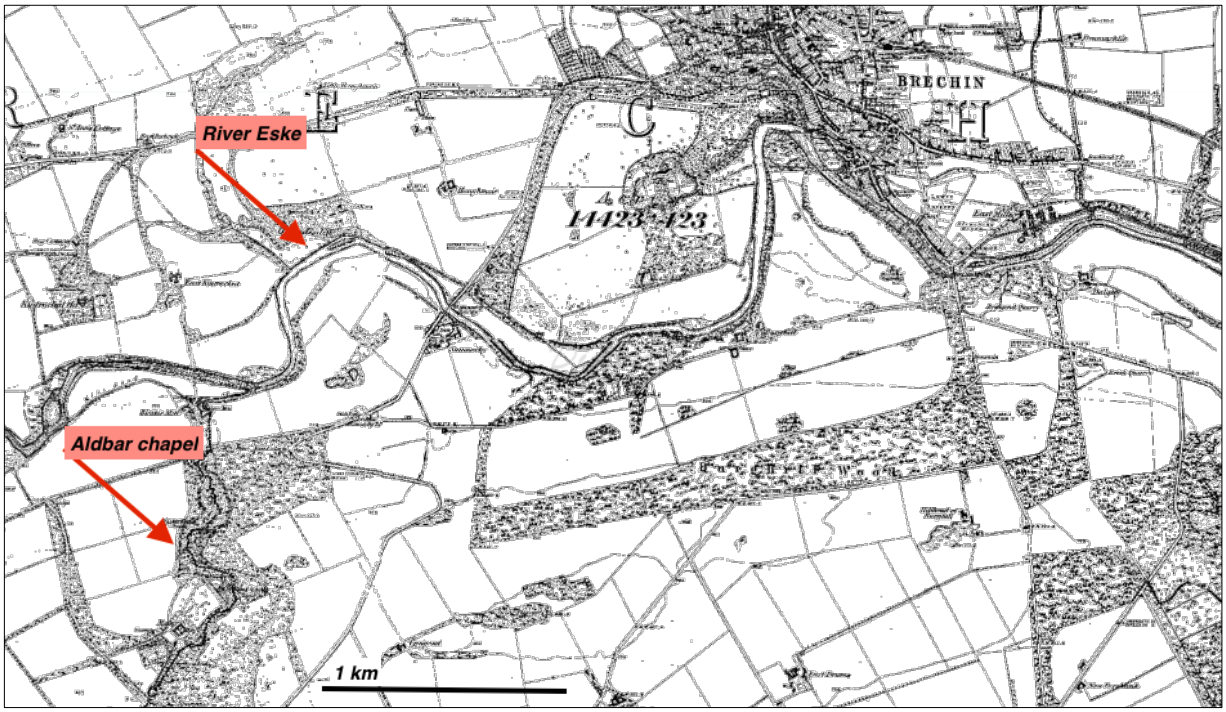

SCO2 Map of Aldbar Chapel and Brechin Cathedral

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Aldbar *SCO2a*

Grid reference: 5945 6010

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: old red sandstone

Current location: Brechin Cathedral

Biography
The red sandstone monument is said to have been situated in the burial-ground of the ancient chapel at Aldbar. It has been since moved to Brechin Cathedral.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.7m / W 0.56m / T 0.12m
The monument is an upright class III cross-slab, sculptured in relief on both faces. The front shows an interlaced cross flanked by two standing figures of ecclesiastics. The two figures are bare-head, wear cloaks and hold books in their hands; the square base of the cross is represented at the bottom of the slab, and is decorated with geometric patterns. On the top corners, above the cross, there are two birds.
The back of the cross-slabs is divided in four panels, representing top down: two cloaked figures, sitting on a bench, maybe saints or ecclesiastics; a staff is represented next to the left figure. The panel below represents a David fighting the lion, with, to the right, a staff, a harp, and a ram (or horned sheep). The third panel shows a riding figure. The lower panel shows either one donkey with more than four legs, or several donkeys (although, nothing else than the legs would be visible from this other animal).

Proposed dating: 8th -9th century
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
***References*:** *ECMS*, ii, 245, 249-252;Coutts 1970; Henderson and Henderson 2004
Canmore http://canmore.org.uk/site/35067 (last accessed 01.02.2015)

SCO2 Aldbar cross-slab
Picture © A. Busset

BRECHIN SCO3

***Grid reference:* NO 5945 6010**

Region: Angus

Parish: Brechin

Type of site: ecclesiastical

Saint or secular elite associated: unknown

Historical background and placename
Brechin bishopric founded in the 10th century

General description
Brechin Cathedral is situated at the south-western edge of the town of Brechin. Although many comparable towers are known in Ireland, the free-standing round tower at Brechin is one of only two surviving examples from medieval Scotland

Archaeological remains
Round tower:
The tower is 26m high, built of massive irregular blocks of sandstone, and probably had seven floors. The original doorway is over 2m above ground level and would have been accessed using a portable ladder, like in Ireland. The round-headed entrance doorway is ornate, with two panels decorated with carved figures, either an ecclesiastical or saintly figure. The design of the ornamentations around the door indicate a tenth-eleventh century date for the tower. Additional early medieval carved stones are located in the cathedral. Cathedral mostly 19th c.

Stone monuments associated
St Mary's stone; Aldbar cross-slab

Historical sources: *Brechin Register* (highly problematic, see Gray 2014)

***References*:** Gray 2014; Cameron 2007
Canmore: https://canmore.org.uk/site/35055/brechin-cathedral

Mary's stone *SCO3a*

Type of monument: carved slab

Type of stone: Red sandstone

Current location: in Brechin Cathedral

Biography
Recorded discovered in a garden near to the Cathedral, later moved to Aldbar Chapel, then moved back to the cathedral.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 0.97m / W 0.9m.

Cross-slab sculptured in relief, bears an inscription. On its face, representation of Mary with the Child, four evangelists in the side panels.
Proposed dating: late 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** *ECMS*, ii, 249-252
https://canmore.org.uk/site/35069/brechin-cathedral-the-mary-stone
(last accessed 12.03.2017)

SCO3 St Mary's Stone, Brechin
Picture © A. Busset

GLAMIS SCO4

Grid reference: --

Region: Angus

Parish: Glamis

Saint or secular elite associated: unknown

Historical background and placename
The early history of Glamis is obscure (recorded from 1178), however, the place is associated with several carved stones of high quality that demonstrate its importance in early medieval period. A large cross-slab is situated in the manse garden (Glamis2), while several fragments were found around the churchyard. A smaller cross-slab, which bear strong connection to Glamis 2 is situated at Hunter's Hill (Glamis 1), possibly marking boundary. The cross-slab situated in Cossans (St Orland, SCO4e) may have marked another boundary of the parish, to the north-east.

General description
There is no trace of the early medieval church at Glamis; St Fergus's Church 15th c.

Archaeological remains
1 cross-slab and several fragments of cross-slabs

Stone monuments associated
Glamis 1(manse); Glamis 2 and 4 (fragmentary)

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** *ECMS*, ii, 221; Cowan 1967; Stirton 1913

Glamis 1, Hunter's Hill — *SOC4a*

Grid reference: NO 3937 4654

Type of monument: cross-slab

Type of stone: old red sandstone

Current location: North slope of Hunter's Hill, in Lera Wood (south-east of Glamis)

Biography
Possible original location.
Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions : H 1.5m / W 0.73.
On one side is an interlaced cross, with human figures, animals and other symbols carved in relief. On the reverse a beast, a serpent and part of a mirror are incised.
Similarly to Glamis 2, the monument has one face carved in relief, while the other is incised. Specificity of the monuments, local.
Proposed dating: 7th to 9th century (EM Carved Stones Project 2016, Canmore)
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Glamis 2
***References*:** *ECMS*, ii, 221; Laing 2001
https://canmore.org.uk/site/32064/hunters-hill-thornton-standing-stone
(last accessed 12.03.2017)

SCO4 Hunter Hill, Glamis 1
Pictures © A. Busset

Glamis 2, Manse — *SCO4b*

Grid reference: No 3858 4686

Type of monument: cross-slab

Type of stone: Old red sandstone

Current location: Front garden of Glamis Manse

Biography
The monument is said to have stood in the churchyard before being erected in its current location.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H. 2.8m / W. 1.6m (on average)
This tall monument is partly sculptured and partly incised.
On one side, cross carved in relief, flanked by several figures: top left, a four-legged animal, top right, a 'centaur' with axes in both hands, below the arm, to the left, two human figures carrying weapons facing each other, and to the right, a beast haed (doe-like) and the 'cauldron' symbol. On the reverse are two incised Pictish symbols: the fish and the serpent.
Proposed dating: 8th century (Treasured Places, Canmore)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Glamis 1
***References*:** *ECMS*, ii, 221; Laing 2001
https://canmore.org.uk/site/32067/glamis (last accessed 12.03.2017)

SCO4 Glamis 2 Manse
Pictures © A. Busset

Carlunie Hill *SCO4c*

Grid reference: NO 36088 43533

Type of monument: cross-incised boulder

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: To the east of Wester Denoon stone.

Biography
Unspecified

Description of the monument and analysis
Boulder has three simple crosses carved in different faces. Possibly boundary markers, although the nearby Wester Denoon stone and chapel suggest a possible ecclesiastical connection.

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-

***References*:**
Canmore: https://canmore.org.uk/site/138027/carlunie-hill
(last accessed 05.06.2015)

St. Orland Stone, Cossans SCO4d

Grid reference: NO 40083 50019

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: Red sandstone

Current location: Standing on a ridge overlooking low laying/marshy grounds. Possible original location.

Biography

The stone has stood in its current position since at least the 19th century. Excavation to the SW of the stone in the 19th century revealed a series of six crouched inhumations, all but one in stone cists.

Excavations in 2008 and geophysical survey in 2009 have revealed burials and 'possible sub-circular enclosures and possibly small barrows to the west of the cross-slab'

Description of the monument and analysis

Dimensions: H 2.4m / W 0.73m (adverage) / 0.24m thick.

Rectangular in shape, on one face a full-length cross in relief and a variety of interlaced patterns in low relief. On the other face is an assemblage of figure scenes - mounted hunters, and two animals - and symbols including the crescent and V-rod, double disc and Z-rod.

Unique representation of a boat on the face representing the symbols. The cross-slab has also a rectangular recess that has been interpreted as possible space for metalwork bosses (now missing) (Blackwell, in Clarke *et al.* 2012, 32).

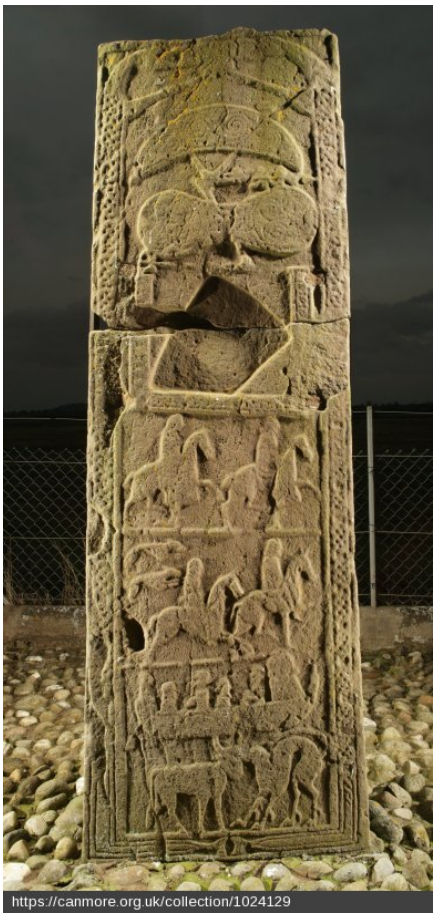
Proposed dating: late 8th – 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

Recess on the face of the cross: St John's cross at Iona.

***References*:** Murray 2008, 32; O'Grady 2009, 32

Canmore: https://canmore.org.uk/site/33868/cossans-st-orlands-stone



SCO4 St Orland's Stone, Cossans
© Crown Copyright: HES

SCO4 St Orland's Stone, Cossans
Picture © A. Busset

ST VIGEANS SCO5

Grid reference: NO 63842 42912

Region: Angus

Parish: Arbroath and St Vigeans

Type of site: Ecclesiastical site / Early church

Saint or secular elite associated: St Fechín (?)

Historical background and placename
The site of St Vigeans is likely to have been the site of an early church from at least the 8th century.
The most common interpretation of the origin of the name is Vigianus as a Latinised form of the name of St Fechin of Fohbar, an Irish saint who died in 664 (Taylor discusses the question of the origin of Viginianus in the forthcoming book on St Vigeans, edited by Jane Geddes).

General description
St Vigeans' church occupies the summit of a natural mound.

Archaeological remains
Apart from the stones, little evidence survives from the early medieval period. Elements of the standing church structure probably date back to the twelfth-century, but much of it dates from the fifteenth, with nineteenth century modifications.

Stone monuments associated
The collection of carved stones at St Vigeans counts 38 monuments and fragments of stone monuments and a much larger number of sculptured fragments that have been lost or are incorporated into the fabric of the church and churchyard. This represents a highly significant assemblage, however, this database only includes and discusses a selection of the most significant monuments St Vigeans 1, 2, 7, 8, 9 and 29. The collection of sculpture at St Vigeans has many different types and shapes of monuments: cross-slabs, carved stones (possible architectural fragments), recumbent decorated stones, the fragment of the head of a very large ring-headed cross, and a possible shrine.

***Historical sources*:**
***References*:** Geddes forthcoming c; Harden 2010; Borland 2005;
Canmore: https://canmore.org.uk/site/35559

*N.B. the numbering of the collection at St Vigeans follows the revised numbering, based on new evidence, established by Jane Geddes (Geddes, forthcoming); furthermore, the collection of stone sculpture in St Vigeans being very large, only examples relevant to the main text are presented fully.

St Vigeans VIG001 'Drosten Stone' *SCO5a*

Type of monument: Cross-Slab

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: Museum

Biography
Recorded for the first time in the 19th c. Chalmers mentions it, along with VIG002, as part of a staircase in the church (1848, 7-8); information repeated in Stuart (1856). In 1854, Laing records it as standing in the churchyard.
This stone was recovered in two broken parts, recently united. It is still incomplete and was removed from St Vigeans Church to the museum for protection.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.75m / W 0.55m.
'A) rectangular sandstone slab carved in relief with A) interlace cross surrounded by monsters; B) panel of interlace and inscription panel below; C) animals both real and fabulous, Pictish symbols and an archer; D) vine-scroll.' (Geddes forthcoming)
This monument is named after the inscription it bears on the side panel, close to the bottom of the stone; it is inscribed in Roman letters and reads 'Drosten… ipeuoret/ ettfor / cus', which was interpreted as three possible names, two of Pictish origins and the third of Irish origin : *Drosten, Uoret and Forcus* (Clancy forthcoming); they may represent the names of the Patron who commissioned the stone, the commemorated, and the artisan who made the stone.

Proposed dating: Late 8th to early 10th century
***References*:** *ECMS*, 2, 235-239; Laing 1851-54; Geddes forthcoming [f]; Clancy 1993, forthcoming; Harden 2010, 65
Canmore: https://canmore.org.uk/site/35560;

SCO5 VIG001 Drostan Stone
Picture © A. Busset

St Vigeans VIG007 *SCO5b*

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: Museum

Biography
In the eighteenth century, the monument was thought to have been the grave slab of the architect of Arbroath Abbey; it was then built into the church wall. In the 1960s, it was extracted from the church wall and brought into the museum. The stone is damaged (the head and the arms have been cut off), and shows traces of reuse.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.67m / W 0.92m / 19.5cm thick.
'A majestic cross-slab, carved with a cross and figures on both sides'
St Vigeans 7 may be the oldest of the group of monuments at this site. It depicts a large cross on both faces flanked by human figures, beasts, and symbols. Most of the decoration on the back face is mutilated. The figures appear to be mostly ecclesiastical, carrying satchels probably for a book or reliquary, tonsured heads, and wearing long hemmed robes. One scene depicts St Antony and St Paul seated on thrones receiving bread from a raven, another potentially depicts a bull sacrifice, and a third may show a ritual drowning of a bound human.
When read together, the scenes become something of a physical ritual for the observer as well, moving ones head repeatedly in the shape of a saltire. Perhaps the contrast between the saints and ecclesiasts and the bloodshed and drowning was intended to communicate the difference between the old and new religions or sects.

Proposed dating: second half-end of 8th century (Geddes forthcoming [e])

***References*:** Geddes forthcoming [e,f]; Harden, 2010: 64.

SCO5 VIG007
Left: Picture © A. Busset; right: © Crown Copyright: HES

St Vigeans VIG008 *SCO5c*

Type of monument: Recumbent monument, grave cover

Type of stone: grey to pink sandstone

Current location: Museum

Biography
Built into the wall of the church, rediscovered by Chalmers in 1848; moved to the museum in 1960.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 1.65m/ W 0.45m/ thick 0.28m
Animal incised on its side; top decorated with reptile, carved in relief.

Proposed dating: Late 8th – 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
VIG001; VIG015; VIG029 (same quarry) and VIG 013; 014: recumbent monuments

***References*:** Geddes forthcoming; Harden 2010

SCO5 VIG008
Picture © A. Busset

St Vigeans VIG015 *SCO5d*

Type of monument: cross-head (shaft did not survive)

Type of stone: grey to pink sandstone

Current location: Museum

Biography
Found built into the church wall by Allen and Anderson. Now in the museum (1960)

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 0.33m/ W0.35m/ thick 85cm
The fragment remaining of St Vig. 15 shows a finely carved ringed-head cross from a free-standing monument. The ring is filled, and the cross decorated with key-patterns.

Proposed dating: ('later date'; Geddes forthcoming [c])

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
St Vigeans 1, 8, 29

***References*:** *ECMS*, ii, 268

SCO5 VIG015
Picture © A. Busset

St Vigeans VIG029 *SCO5e*

Type of monument: Recumbent stone, house shrine

Type of stone: grey to pink sandstone

Current location: Museum

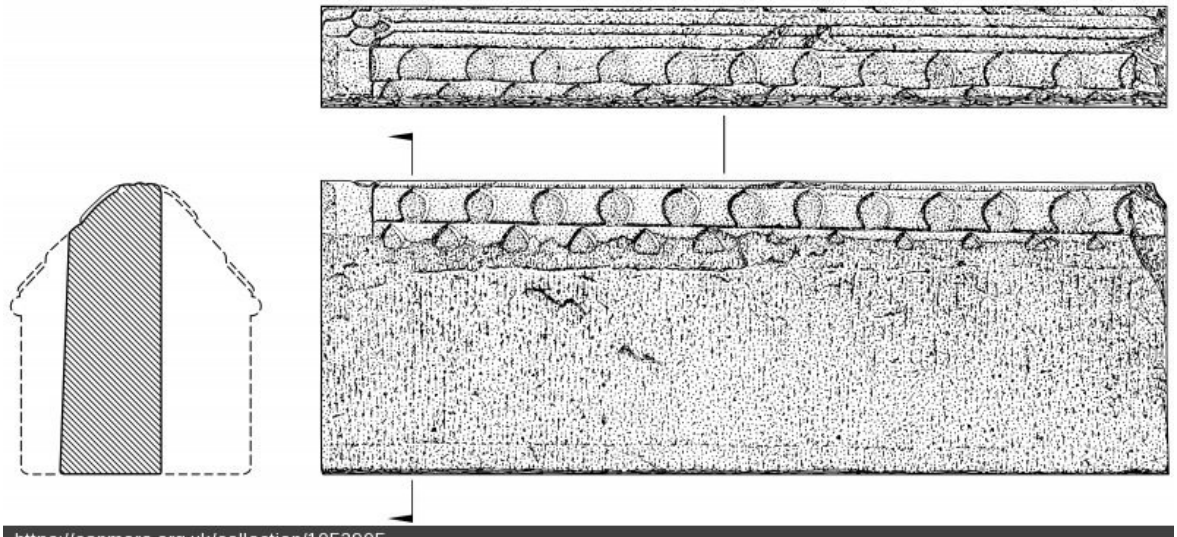
Biography
The monument was used as a lintel during the 17th century; it was later used as a step treads, then again as a lintel, before being moved to the museum. Only a sliver survives.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 0.53m / L 1.52m / 18.5cm thick.
Part of a tiled roof ridge and roof survive, but the gable tips and all four faces have been removed. The ridge is a serpent seen from above, Through comparisons with St Andrews' shrine, it has be suggested that this stone may have provided secure cover over a small tomb, potentially that containing relics of a saint such as St Fechin.

Proposed dating: 9th century (?) Geddes forthcoming [f]

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
VIG001, VIG008, and VIG015

***References*:** *ECMS*, ii, 268; Geddes forthcoming [c, f]



SCO5 VIG029
© Crown Copyright: HES

St Vigeans VIG013; VIG014 *SCO5f*

Type of monument: Recumbent monuments, grave cover

Type of stone: grey to pink sandstone

Current location: Museum

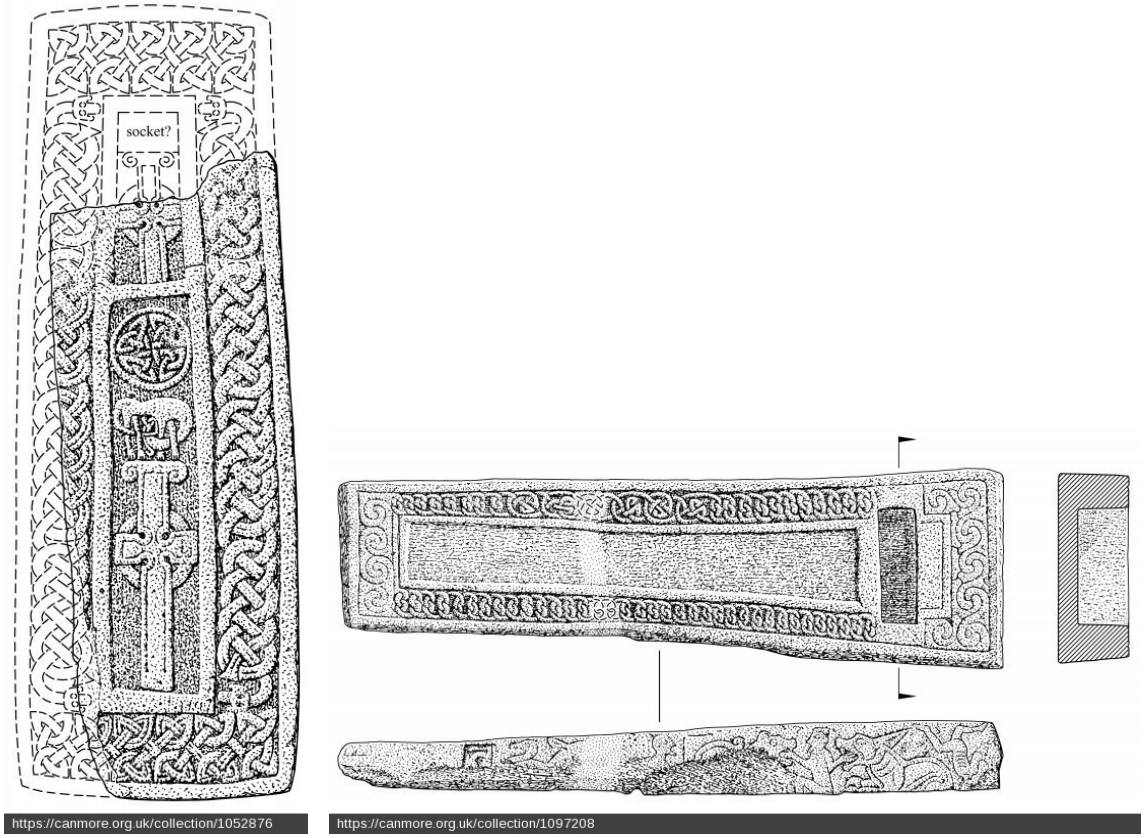
Biography
Both recumbent stones were rediscovered in the 1870s built into the fabric of the church.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: VIG013: L1.04m / H0.38m / W0.25m VIG014: L1.61m/H 0.47m to 0.34m /W 0.18m
VIG013: head broken off (slot not preserved); Decorated with interlaces, Latin cross with circular armpits; quadruped beast (with claws)
VIG014: was broken in three when rediscovered (repaired); Interlaces carvd in relief – frame; Beasts incised on the sides.

Proposed dating: 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
VIG 008 recumbent monument

***References*:** Geddes forthcoming [c, f]; Duke 1870-72



SCO5f VIG013 (left) and VIG014 (right)
© Crown Copyright: HES

St Vigeans VIG016 *SCO5g*

Type of monument: pillar / altar (?)

Type of stone: grey to pink sandstone

Current location: Museum

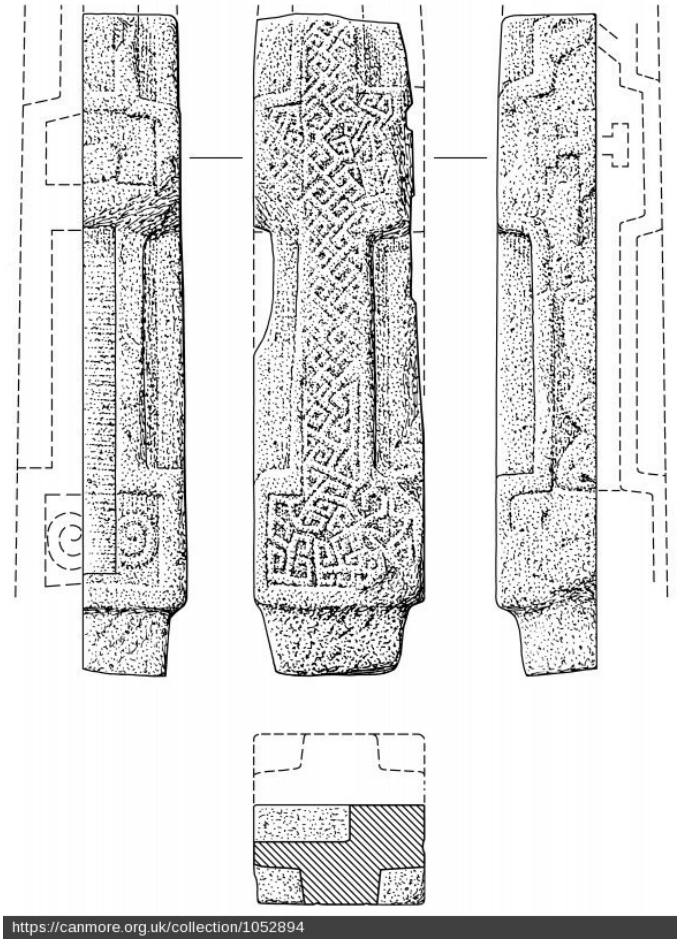
Biography Discovered "many years ago" used as foot step, then built in the church wall; placed in the museum in the 1960s

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H (with tenon) 1m / W 0.2m / 0.17m thick
Cut back on two sides; cross surface badly weathered
Pillar cross with interlace in relief; carved on all four sides (the decoration on one face does not survive). Unusual form.

Proposed dating: late 8th – 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Very unusual form

***References*:** Geddes forthcoming [c, f]; Duke 1870-72



SCO5g VIG016 Pillar cross
© Crown Copyright: HES

St Vigeans VIG020 + VIG027 *SCO5h*

Type of monument: architectural fragment

Type of stone: grey to pink sandstone

Current location: Museum

Biography
Discovered built into the fabric of the church.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimension: H 0.25m / W 0.4m /0.13m thick
Irregular fragments. Possibly part of a frieze

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
VIG027 – may be an architectural fragment as well.
***References*:** Geddes forthcoming; Duke 1870-72

SCO5h VIG020 and 027 architectural fragments
© Crown Copyright: HES

St Vigeans VIG009 *SCO5i*

Type of monument: Arm of free-standing ring cross

Type of stone: grey to pink sandstone

Current location: Museum

Biography
Probably not built in the church. Stood in the churchyard in the 19th c.
Moved into the museum in the 1960s

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 0.55m/ W0.33m/ 0.20m thick (including boss: 0.3m)
The fragment remaining of VIG009 shows arm of free-standing ring cross, with a prominent boss. The dimensions of the fragment suggest that it would have been a very large monumental cross.

Proposed dating: 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Geddes forthcoming [f]; *ECMS*, ii, 268

SCO5i VIG009 arm of free-standing ring cross
Picture © A. Busset

St Vigeans *SCO5j*
VIG002-006+010-012+017-019+021-26+028+030-032

Type of monument: cross-slabs and cross-slabs fragments

Type of stone: grey/pink sandstone

Current location: St Vigeans Museum

Biography
Most of these stone fragments have been reused in the construction of the walls of the church

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: varied

Proposed dating: late 8th to 10th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Similarities have been drawn between the Meigle collection and the St Vigeans collection, in terms of importance and variety

***References*:** Geddes forthcoming [e]
* NB The following pictures are from the author (© A. Busset)

SCO5j VIG005

SCO5j VIG006

SCO5j VIG017 (right) and VIG018 (left)

SCO5j VIG019

SCO5j VIG021

WOODRAE (OR WOODWRAY) SCO6

Grid reference: NO 5185 5663

Region: Angus

Parish: Aberlemno

Type of site: ecclesiastical / early church (?)

Saint or secular elite associated:

Historical background and placename
Not much is known about the early medieval occupation of Woodrae. It is probably the site of an early church. Anna Ritchie suggests that it may be *the* original site of the early church of Aberlemno, as it is close to the confluence of the Lemno burn and the river South Esk (which the name *Aberlemno* is drawn from); however, this viewpoint has been disputed, as both sites may have been in use at the same time. They may also mark the northern and southern boundaries of a smaller estate.

General description
The two cross-slabs at Woodrae were uncovered in the ruins of Woodrae Castle when it was cleared away.

Archaeological remains

Stone monuments associated
Woodrae cross-slab

***Historical sources*: -**

***References*:** Ritchie 1995

Woodrae *SCO6a*

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: red sandstone

Current location: NMS

Biography
The woodrae stone original location is unknown. It has been found in the ruins of Woodrae Castle in 1819, where it was used as pavement in the kitchen floor. It was then given to Sir Walter Scott, and stood in his garden until 1924, when it was moved to the NMS. This stone is a good example of how difficult it is to retrace the biography of a monument once it is removed from its original spot.
As the stone is only 800m away from the site of Aberlemno, it is said that the Woodrae stone belongs to this group (PSAS 1924, 100).

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.75m / W 1m / T 0.12m
"The cross has been deliberately erased, although the flanking animals remain. The reverse is much worn and has suffered mutilation in reuse. An upper panel depicts a horseman accompanied by a double-disc and a step symbol. The lower panel depicts a second horseman and a variety of animals" (Fraser 2008, 62).

Proposed dating: late 8th-9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Aberlemno 2 (SCO 1a)

***References*:** Fraser 2008, 62; Ritchie 1995; *ECMS*; PSAS 1924, 100; Stuart 1856
Canmore http://canmore.org.uk/site/34845

SCO6 The lost Woodrae cross-slab
© Courtesy of HES (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland)

SCO6 Woodrae cross-slab
© Crown Copyright: HES

CLADH BHRANNO SCO7

Grid reference: ***NN 58171 46767***

Region: Perth & Kinross

Parish: Fortingall

Type of site: Ecclesiastical / burial ground / possible monastery

Saint or secular elite associated: St Brandon(?)

Historical background and placename
The toponymy of Cladh Bhranno could be originating from St Brandon.
An earlier chapel was demolished in the 14th century, and a new chapel constructed nearby and supposedly dedicated to St Brandon. An iron hand-bell, believed to have come from the original chapel, is preserved in a nearby still functional church.

General description
20km west of Fortingall. Today, a 'forgotten place' across the river Lyon from the little village of Bridge of Balgie. Impressive situation in the landscape, opening on both side of the valley. Probably an early burial ground, presence of a 17th c. ruined church several metres north-east. Old cemetery. Not excavated.

Archaeological remains
Cross-incised slab (recumbent), in the cemetery, and possibly bullaun stone or font close to the entrance inside the cemetery.

Stone monuments associated
Cross-incised recumbent slab

Historical sources**:**

References**:** Robertson 1991; Bourke 1983; Stewart 1928
Canmore http://canmore.org.uk/site/24234

SCO7 Cladh Bhranno – view on cemetery and Glen Lyon
Picture © A. Busset

SCO7 Cladh Bhranno Bullaun stone
Picture © A. Busset

Cladh Bhranno or *Brenno* *SCO7a*

Type of monument: recumbent cross-incised slab

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: In the disused cemetery at Cladh Bhranno

Biography: Discovered in 1991 by N.M. Robertson, possibly in the area of original situation.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 1.8m / W 0.55m
Probably early Christian in date. A dressed slab, deeply incised with an unusual outline cross, its shaft long and narrow and its arms, which reach from side to side of the slab, about four times as broad as the shaft. This carving would seem to partly overlie an earlier outline cross, now largely worn away, whose head was at the other end of the stone. (Robertson).

Proposed dating: none provided

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: Fortingall; Dull, although the shape of the cross is unusual
***References*:** Robertson 1991

SCO7 Cladh Bhranno Cross-Slab
Picture © A. Busset

DULL SCO8

Grid reference: NN 806 492

Region: Perth & Kinross

Parish: Dull

Type of site: secular power centre (early) / ecclesiastical

Saint or secular elite associated: St Adomnán

Historical background and placename
The origins of the place-name are Pictish, suggesting an early settlement on the site (Taylor 2011). Dull was an early settlement situated on the road to two major ecclesiastical centres: Fortingall to the west and Dunkeld to the east.
'Dull parish church was dedicated to St Adomnán, 8th abbot of Iona (AD 679-704). There are more than half-a-dozen other places in Atholl (Dunkeld diocese) where Adomnán was commemorated, a concentration which Taylor characterizes as 'significant of strong Iona influence' (Will *et al.* 2003, 59).

General description
O'Grady describes the sites as following:
'Numerous early Christian cross-slabs and sanctuary crosses have been discovered within the present parish church-yard and in the vicinity of the neighbouring village, including a 9th/10th-century cross and an 8th-century incised cross with inscription that was uncovered during recent excavations within the parish church. A cross located within the neighbouring village to the east has been suggested to have marked the sanctuary boundary of the old church, along with two others now at Weem to the east of Dull. Although the early Christian provenance of these monuments has been doubted recent excavations within the church have confirmed the early significance of the site. Significantly the 'large stone' of the 13th-century historical account could have been one of the larger sanctuary crosses near the church at Dull.' (2008, 290-291)

Archaeological remains
Dull parish is rich in prehistoric and early historic remains, suggesting its prominence as a secular or ritual power centre. Although known through written sources and early medieval remains, excavations at Dull has not uncovered any ecclesiastical structures (RCAHMS).

Stone monuments associated
Cross-incised recumbent slabs; cross-incised slab with inscription; cross-base; bullaun

***Historical sources*:** *Libellus de nativitate Sancii Cuthberti* (Clancy 2003)

***References*:** Taylor 1999, 68, 2011, 85; O'Grady 2008, 290-293; Will *et al.* 2003; Robertson 1989, 1991

SCO8 General view from Dull
Picture © A. Busset

SCO8 Viewshed from Dull towards Glen Lyon
Picture © A. Busset

Dull 1 *SCO8a*

Type of monument: Decorated shrine panel

Type of stone: yellow sandstone

Current location: NMS

Biography
Discovered at the end of the 19th century in Dull churchyard

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 0.8m / H 0.4m / 7cm thick.
The face decorated represents: to the top left, the bust of two men; below are three male figures carrying decorated shields. At the centre and to the right are two riders; next to the rider at the centre is a dog.
Proposed dating: late 8th- 9th century
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** *ECMS* ii, 315 (fig. 329); Will *et al.* 2003

SCO8 Dull 1
© National Museums Scotland

Dull cross-slabs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 *SCO8b*

Type of monument: Cross-incised recumbent stones

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: Dull parish churchyard

Biography
Uncovered in 1989, 1991 and 2003 during excavation in Dull parish church and churchyard.

Description of the monument and analysis
The dimensions of the monuments vary from approx.. 1.3m to 1.7m long and 0.3m to 0.7m wide.

The recumbent slabs found in Dull churchyard present the same characteristics than the slabs found in Fortingall and Cladh Bhranno. They are incised with one or several crosses, of different forms and shapes (equal-armed, Latin, circled).

Proposed dating: unknown

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Fortingall; Cladh Bhranno

***References*:** Robertson 1989, 1991;
Canmore: http://canmore.org.uk/site/78165

SCO8 Dull cross-incised slabs
© Crown Copyright: HES

Dull 7 & 8 *SCO8b*

Type of monument: Cross-incised slabs

Type of stone: mica schist (8)

Current location: Dull church

Biography
Discovered during a 2002/2003 excavation campaign.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Dull 8: H 0.45m / W 0.35m / T 3cm
The crosses on both stones are incised in outline. Dull 8: The cross-slab is broken, its lower half missing; but the carving is deep and the inscription legible (Forsyth in Will *et al.* 2003, 62). Latin cross (outline) with circular arm-pits (typical Irish and Iona).

Inscription on Dull 8: BE C LI written near the top of the cross. Inscirption interpreted as a name.
Dull 7: cross-incised stone.

Proposed dating: early 8th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
***References*:** Will *et al.* 2003 (inscription analysed by Forsyth)

SCO8b Dull 8 'BECLI' stone
© Crown Copyright: HES

Dull 11-14 *SCO8c*

Type of monument: Free-standing crosses, undecorated

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: inside the church

Biography
Not many details are known about the free-stranding crosses found originally at Dull. At least one has been moved to the church at Weem, about 5km east of Dull. One is situated at the centre of the village at Dull.
The four crosses are believed to have marked the boundaries of the 'Sanctuary of Dull' (Will *et al.* 2003, 59).

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: unspecified.
Proposed dating: unknown
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** *ECMS* ii, 342; Will *et al.* 2003; King 1992

SCO8 Dull 'Sanctuary stone'
Picture © A. Busset

Dull 9 *SCO8d*

Type of monument: Cross-base

Type of stone: unknown

Current location: Dull parish churchyard

Biography
Unknown

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: unspecified

Proposed dating: unknown

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Canmore (picture) http://canmore.org.uk/site/78165

SCO8 Dull cross-base
© Crown Copyright: HES

DUNKELD SCO9

***Grid reference:* NO 0237 4259**

Region: Perth & Kinross **Country:** Scotland

Parish: Dunkeld

Type of site: Ecclesiastical

Saint or secular elite associated: Cinéad MacAlpin, St Columba

Historical background and placename
There has been some form of ecclesiastical centre at Dunkeld since at least 848-849, as Boethius's Scottish Chronicle records that Kenneth MacAlpin brought relics of Saint Columba to a church build by himself, probably at Dunkeld, and likely with the intent to uplift Dunkeld to the primacy centre of the church in eastern Scotland. By 943 the ecclesiastical primacy of Dunkeld had been transferred to St Andrews, although some form of church community percisted at Dunkeld until the reign of Alexander I.

General description
No structural evidence from the early medieval period remains apart from the sculpture stones. The present building dates back to the 13th-15th centuries.

Archaeological remains
One Early Medieval stone, depicting a figure on horseback carrying a spear and drinking from a horn was moved from the grounds of nearby Dunkeld House and placed in the Cathedral in the 1940's. Otherwise there are pre-historic cup marked standing stones and later medieval carved stones. Apart from these, the existing archaeological remains consist of thirteenth through fifteenth century church structures.

Stone monuments associated

***Historical sources*:**

***References*:**
Canmore: https:/canmore.org.uk/site/27156

Dunkeld no 2, 'Apostle Stone' *SCO9a*

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: Cathedral Chapterhouse

Biography
The appostle stone had formerly been used as a gate-post at the entrance to the churchyard, but was described as standing on the South side of the cathedral in 1903, it has since been moved to the Chapter House.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.47m / W 0.76m / 0.34m thick.
All that survives is the lower part of what must have been a much taller monument. 'It is likely that the decoration on the front of the slab was originally contained within a cross, but only the recesses beneath the arms are now clearly visible, and, because much of the left side was destroyed when the gate-jamb was cut, the layout of this face is not clear. The decoration is now very worn but appears to comprise: a horseman (in the right arm of the cross) riding behind another; a line of four men; three prostrate figures; a man with his arms raised in the 'orans' position flanked by pairs of beasts (probably Daniel in the den of the lions); at the bottom, a further row of figures. In the recess beneath the right arm of the cross there is a beast with its tail interlaced between its legs; the carving in the left recess is too damaged to interpret. The back of the stone is carved with panels of figures and heads. The two central rows contain six standing figures (some bearded) in each row (hence the popular attribution to the Apostles); above, there are at least twenty-two heads (many bearded) as well as a circular and two horizontal features; the lowest panel seems to contain five figures. Taken together, the panels possibly represent the miracle of the loaves and fishes. The carving on the right-hand side includes a figure on horseback, a cowled figure and a row of three men; all that survives on the left side is a fragment of spiral ornament.'

Proposed dating: 10th century (EM carved stones project, Canmore 2016)

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** https://canmore.org.uk/site/79388

FORTEVIOT SCO10

Grid reference: NO 05175 17529

Region: Perth & Kinross

Parish: Forteviot

Type of site: Royal settlement / early church / monastery(?)

Saint or secular elite associated: Pictish kings Constantín son of Wrguist (Constantine's Cross) and Cinead mac Alpín (written sources)

Historical background and placename
The site of Forteviot is mentioned on several occasions in written sources and consistently linked to royal power. Thought to be the royal centre of the Kingdom of Fortriu, until research produced by Woolf (2006) that demonstrates that Fortriu was situated north of the Mounth, in Moray. The main early medieval remains that attest of Fortevtiot prominence are several stone monuments and the fragment of a monumental arch.
The *CKA* records that Cinead MacAlpín died 'in the Palace of Forteviot' in AD858. The site of Forteviot was then primarily associated with the reign of MacAlpín and his dynasty, and the stone sculpture with their rulership; however, since the inscription on the Constantine's Cross was deciphered (Forsyth 1995a), it is thought that it was actually already a power centre at least from the end of the 8th c., under the reign of Constantín of the Wruigst dynasty.
Place-name problematic: possibly from Gaelic *Foithuir* = terrace or adaptation of P-Celtic word *uotir* = territory.

General description
The site is situated in a flat valley of Strathearn, close to River Earn surrounded by higher grounds. The Water of May marks the western edge of the village, and the river Earn runs to the north. Very rich soil. (See maps 3-4 and 3-5).

Archaeological remains
Early medieval remains: stone sculpture; Pictish burials (round and square barrows); possible

Stone monuments associated
Constantine's Cross, Invermay Cross, fragmented cross-slabs (1; 3; 4; 7; 8), the Arch

***Historical sources*:** *Foundation legend of St Andrews*; *Pictish king-list*; *CKA*

***References*:** Hall 2011; Aitchison 2006; Alcock 2003; Alcock and Alcock 1992; Maldonado forthcoming. Place-name Watson 1926 and Simon Taylor (pers. comm.)
Unpublished archaeological reports SERF project: Poller 2009, 2011; Campbell 2010a,b, 2011; Maldonado 2011b.

Constantine's Cross or Dupplin Cross *SCO10a*

Grid reference: NO 05051 18969

Type of monument: Free-standing cross

Type of stone: single block of red sandstone

Current location: St Serf's parish church, Dunning

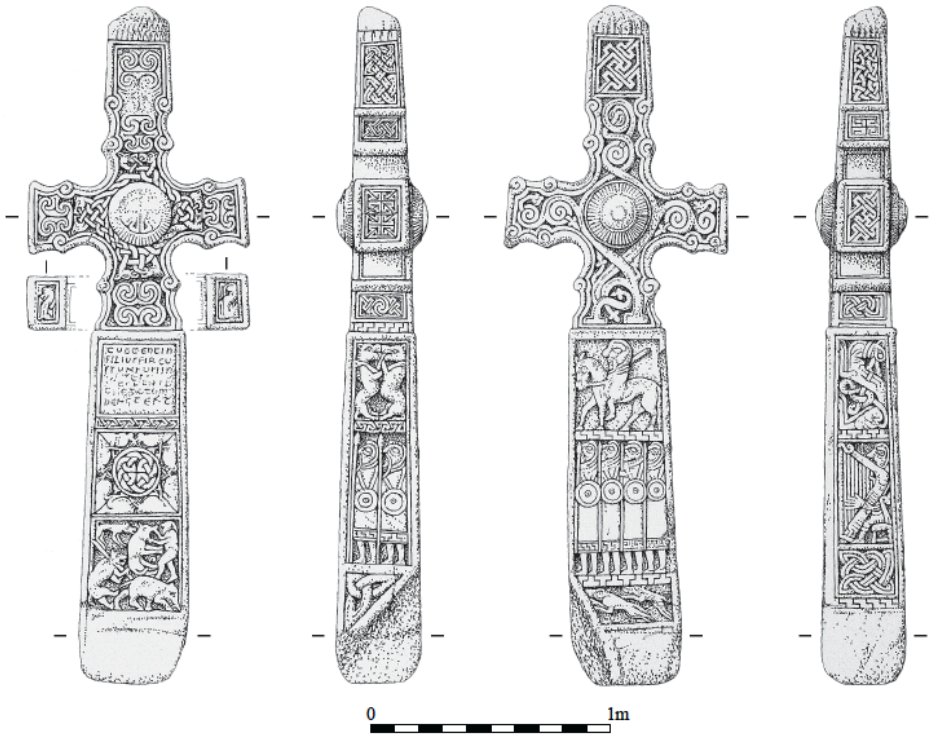
Biography
This cross stood on Dupplin Moor at least from 17th c., but was moved for reasons of preservation in the 1990a and is now displayed in St Serf's Church in Dunning.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimension: H 2.62m (including the socket) / W 0.94m (across arms)
The monument is a free-standing cross, set in a stone base. The head and the shaft are decorated and the base is plain, apart from marks on its edge that had been originally interpreted as an ogham inscription, but may instead be sword's marks.
The shaft is decorated with elements related to kingship, military and symbolic (representations of David on both sides of the shaft, while the front is decorated with a central rider/military leader, and an army on foot in the panel below him).
On the other face of the cross, in the panel corresponding to the riding leader the A 7-line Roman letter inscription; its first two lines (the only ones decipherable) read as follow: 'Custantin filius Fircus' (Forsyth 1995a). It has been interpreted as Custantin son of Wrguist, who reigned from AD 789 to 820 (king-list). The central shows birds that have been interpreted as doves, possibly connecting the cross to Iona (Henderson & Henderson 2004).

Proposed dating: late 8th or 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Henderson proposed a connection with Iona (doves and double-curved edges of the arms) and Northumbria (head different from shaft). No parallel of this particular shape. Poss. connected to Invermay Cross.

***Historical sources:* -**
***References*:** Henderson & Henderson 2004, 189-191; Henderson 1999, Forsyth 1995a



SCO10 The Dupplin Cross or Constantine Cross
© © HES (Ian G. Scott Collection)

Invermay Cross — *SCO10b*

Grid reference: NO 05981664

Type of monument: High cross

Type of stone: sandstone

Current location: Church at Forteviot

Biography
Stone broken not long before 1770 and replaced with a replica, built upon the stump of the original. Fragments of the cross where recorded in various places throughout the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries within a quarter mile of the original location. Three fragments where recorded within the porch of the church at Forteviot in the 1970's.
Possible original location to the south of Forteviot, on higher grounds, mirroring Constantine's Cross to the north.

Description of the monument and analysis
3 fragments (2 of which perfectly joined); one fragment bears similar key-patterns as Constantine's cross
Proposed dating: late 8th or 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Constantine's Cross (?)

***References*:** *ECMS*, 2, 321-327; Hall 2011, 148-149; Aitchison 2006
https://canmore.org.uk/site/26605

SCO10 Invermay Cross
Picture © A. Busset

Forteviot no 1, 3, 4, 7, 8 *SCO10c*

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: Previously Forteviot Church (now part of the exhibition 'Cradle of Scotland' http://www.pkc.gov.uk/cradleofscotland)

Biography
These stones are all fragments, and were discovered in various locations. A small grouping were found in the Forteviot churchyard, and these have been suggested to be near to their original location. Others where found built into walls of farm buildings, but thought to originate from the Forteviot area as well.

Description of the monument and analysis
1) Cross-slab or possibly a free-standing cross - two fragments of different . What may have been the lower part of the shaft is finely decorated with an intricate interlace on one side, and a 'wolf' biting a serpent (which bites its own tail) on the reverse. Another fragment (4), upper shaft (?) represents a rider, similar to Constantine's Cross. Possibly part of the same monument.
3) Fragment of an arm of a ring-headed cross.
7) large slab badly eroded on one face, but faint decoration survives, and the reverse face is better preserved and represent mouldings.
8) large slab with carved decoration in false relief on one side and face.
Proposed dating: late 8th or 9th century
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
-
***References*:** Hall 2011, 140-149; Aitchison, 2006: 103-120.

SCO10c Forteviot 3, ringed-head cross
Picture © A. Busset

SCO10c Forteviot 1 reconstructed
Picture © A. Busset

Forteviot no 2, 'Arch' *SCO10d*

Type of monument: Arch (architectural fragment)

Type of stone: Red sandstone

Current location: National Museum of Scotland

Biography
The discovery of the arch is not well understood. Recovered from the bed of the River May immediately below Haly Hill in the 1820's, it was moved to the house of Lord Ruthven, owner of the estate, for half a century before being donated to the collections of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and its subsequent incarnations in Edinburgh.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: 1.2m span / 2.1m diameter / 0.36m thick.
Carved from a single block of stone. High quality dressing on the surfaces. Cross represented at the top; with an upright animal, interpreted as a lamb, facing it. To the right, three cloaked figures carrying staffs face away from the cross. To the left, another figure, larger than the one to the right (possibly a king?), also carrying a staff.

Proposed dating: late 8th or 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: -

***References*:** Hall 2011; Aitchison, 2006: 144-172

FORTINGALL SCO11

Grid reference: NN 742 470

Region: Perth & Kinross

Parish: Fortingall

Type of site: ecclesiastical (monastic?)

Saint or secular elite associated: St Brandon or St Adomnan (Robertson)

Historical background and placename

General description

Archaeological remains
On the discovery of the stones 1-4 in Fortingall, Allen & Anderson say: 'Three stones belonging to Class III were recently found here during the demolition of the old Parish Church, for the erection of a new church on the same site, and one was found a few years previously in the wall of an old thatched cottage in the neighbourhood of the church. The church demolished was a pre-Reformation building, and the stones were found in its walls'.
The cross-slabs 5-9 are more recent discoveries; 5-8 have been recorded by Robertson in 1988 and 1991, Fortingall 9 has been recorded in Canmore by J. Borland. Fortingall 1-8 are fully described in Robertson 1997, 133-148.

Stone monuments associated
Fortingall 1-9

***Historical sources*:**

***References*:** *ECMS*, iii, 508; Robertson 1997; Stewart 1928

Fortingall no 1 *SCO11a*

Region: Perth & Kinross

Parish: Fortingall

Type of monument: cross-slab

Type of stone: fine-grained sandstone

Current location: inside Fortingall parish church

Biography
This cross-slab has been broken into pieces, used as building material and built into the walls of the pre-Reformation church. It has been rediscovered with Fortingall 2-4 when this chuch was demolished. Original location unknown.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 34 cm / W 43,5 cm / T 5 cm
Fragmentary (two fragments of the middle part of the cross-slab preserved). In the *ECMS*, a third fragment on which the rounded upper edge of the cross was visible; it is now lost.
Front: The two remaining fragments show the lower part of an outlined cross, decorated with key-patterns. The cross has round hollow angles, decorated with double-strand interlace. Although little weathered, the carvings are of high quality.
Back: The other face of this cross-slab is not well preserved; it is however possible to discern the lower part of two robed figures flanking what must have been the shaft of a second cross. Several other carved stones present this arrangement (see below). The figures wearing robes may be ecclesiastical figures, which would give 'another hint as to the status of the early church at Fortingall' (Robertson 1997, 138). On each edge, two bands of stepped key-patterns are incised.

Proposed dating: 8th or 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Robertson 1997; https://canmore.org.uk/site/243458/fortingall-parish-church

Fortingall no 2 *SCO11b*

Type of monument: cross-slab (fragment)

Type of stone:

Current location: Inside the church, Fortingall

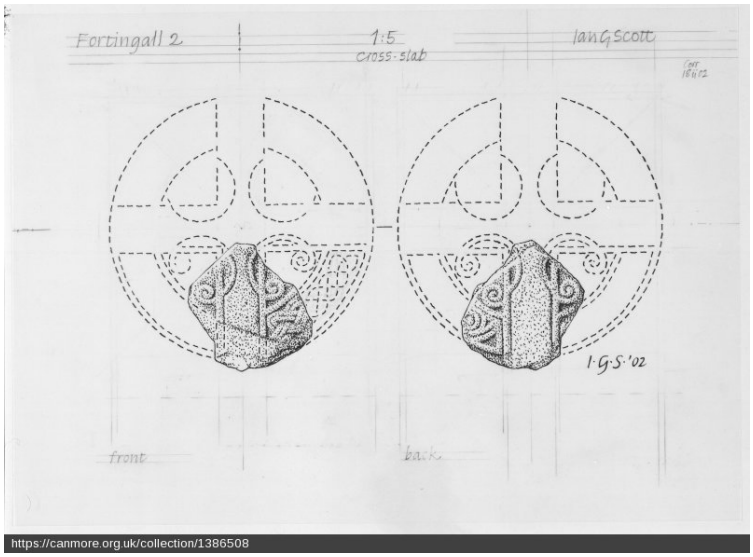
Biography
No information available

Description of the monument and analysis

Proposed dating: 8th or 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Fortingall 1, 3 and 4

***References*:** Canmore http://canmore.org.uk/site/243459



SCO11 Fortingall 2
© © HES (Ian G. Scott Collection)

SCO11 Fortingall 2
Picture © A. Busset

Fortingall no 3 *SCO11c*

Type of monument: cross-slab (fragment)

Type of stone: grey sandstone

Current location: In Fortingall parish church

Biography
In Allen and Anderson (1903), the stone is described as being constituted of two fragments. It has been further damaged since then, as today, it is broken in four pieces, with one piece at the top left of the cross missing entirely.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 25.5cm / W 13cm / T 6cm
Fragmented head of carved cross-slab broken in four pieces. Carved on only one face and probably on the edges, but only left side has been preserved.
Front: ringed-crosshead with ring decorated with key-pattern. The cross is undecorated appart from an outline. It has round hollow angles, and a compass mark at its centre. As stated in Robertson (1997, 139), damage to the top edge of the stone has made unclear what the interlaced-decorated margin had looked like. It might have been terminated in confronted beast heads, as on several other cross-slabs.
Left edge: Incised band of stepped key-pattern, similar to Fortingall 1
The quality of the carvings on Fortingall 3 are outstanding and they are all carved at different depths.
Proposed dating: 8th or 9th century
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Fortingall 1

***References*:** Robertson 1997, 139; *ECMS*, III, 509-510
https://canmore.org.uk/site/243460/fortingall-parish-church

SCO11 Fortingall 3
Picture © A. Busset

Fortingall no 4 *SCO11d*

Type of monument: Recumbent cross-slab

Type of stone: fine-grained grey sandstone

Current location: In Fortingall parish church

Biography
Unknown

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L approx. 1.1m / W 0.55m / T 5-7cm
Incomplete and fragmented recumbent cross-slab. Four pieces preserved, that have been reassembled. Robertson describes this monument as 'of unusual form'.
Upper face: An edge-margin delineates the rim of the decorated face. Three adjacent outlined equal-armed crosses would have been originally decorated the upper face of the stone. Only two remains, with the beginning of the third one on the left handside. Circular outlined rings connect the ends of the crosses' arms. The crosses on the left and right are decorated with two-strand interlace, while the middle cross is undecorated except from and thin outline around its edge (Robertson, 1997, 140).

Proposed dating: 9th or 10th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
St Andrews 43 (recumbent cross-slab with 3 crosses)
***References*:** Robertson 1997, 139-140;
https://canmore.org.uk/site/243461/fortingall-parish-church

SCO11 Fortingall 4
Picture © A. Busset.

Fortingall no 5 *SCO11e*

Type of monument: Recumbent (?) cross-incised slab

Type of stone: brown schist

Current location: Placed on the south-east wall of Fortingall parish church

Biography
The stone had be re-used as a threshold of the chruchyard gate (was still there when Robertson analysed it for his 1997 article). It's unusual shape (wider at one end and narrower on the other, where the cross is incised), make think that this stone might have been upright originally; however, there are no recordings of the other face being carved, which would indicate that it is a recumbent monument.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 1.15m / 45cm (broad end) / 34cm (narrow end)
The monument is a 'wedged-shaped' flat slab, which bear an incised cross on its narrow end. The cross has equal upper and lower arms, with shorter side arms; the incision is broad and shallow, and the general aspect of the cross is very worn. The slab itself, having being reused as a threshold, has been polished by the passage of 'countless feet' (Robertson 1997, 140).
The slandered shape of the whole monument, and its erosion towards the broader end, might suggest that it was originally standing upright. Several other standing monuments are found in the area (Robertson 1997, 140).

Proposed dating: 8th or 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Fearnan (Kenmore); Foss (Dull)

***References*:** Robertson 1988, 1997
https://canmore.org.uk/site/243458/fortingall-parish-church

SCO11 Fortingall 5
Picture © A. Busset

Fortingall no 6 *SCO11f*

Type of monument: Recumbent slab

Type of stone: brown-grey schist

Current location: in Fortingall churchyard (at the south-west of the east end of the church).

Biography
The exact original location of this stone is unknown, but it might have been part of the early medieval graveyard. It bears a later inscription - DMG - attesting of its reuse as a grave marker (?), probably in the 18th century.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 1.4m / W 41cm (uneven quadrangle)
This monument, a recumbent quadrangular slab with uneven ends, bears a cross roughly at its center of unusual shape. This cross consists of a long stem line of about 30cm crossed by three transoms line about 12cm long. This type of cross is highly unusual.
The stone is broken at about its three-quarter, but both pieces are preserved; the whole monument is badly weathered, as it has not been grass-covered after been first recorded.

Proposed dating: 7th to 9th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
The ensemble of Fortingall early recumbent stones; possibly Dull

***References*:** Robertson 1991, 1997

SCO11 Fortingall 6
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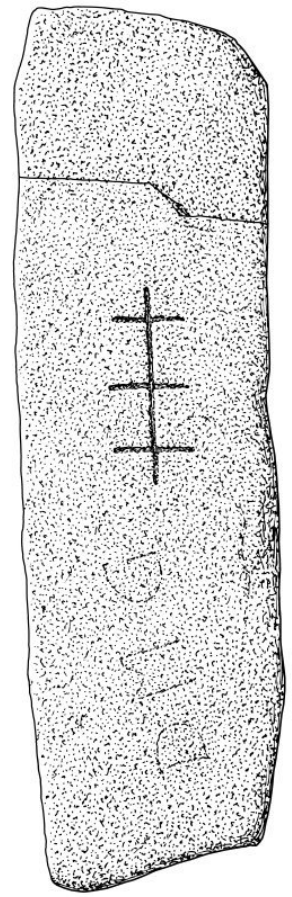
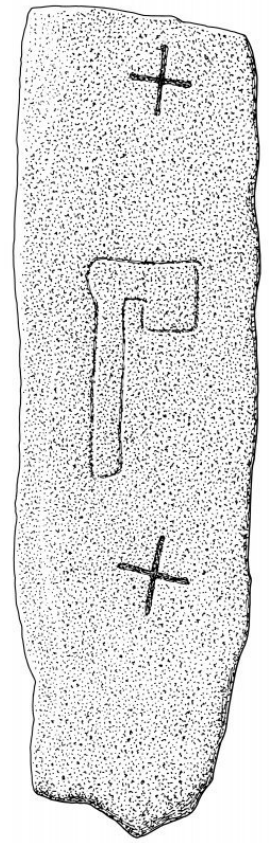


SCO11 Fortingall 6



Fortingall 7

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SCO11 Fortingall 7

Canmore © Crown Copyright: HES

Fortingall no 7 *SCO11g*

Type of monument: incised slab

Type of stone: unspecified

Current location: in the churchyard of Fortingall parish church

Biography: Unknown

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 1.52m / W 0.5m (uneven)
This slab is incised with a realistic representation of an axe or hachette, flanked by two incised crosses.

Proposed dating: Uncertain

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
The ensemble of Fortingall early recumbent stones; possibly Dull

***References*:** Robertson 1991, 1997;
Canmore http://canmore.org.uk/site/24998

Fortingall no 8 *SCO11h*

Type of monument: Recumbent cross-incised stone

Type of stone: unknown

Current location: in the churchyard of Fortingall parish church

Biography: Unknown

Description of the monument and analysis
Recumbent monument bearing two incised crosses, one circled on the left, and one simple to the right.

Proposed dating: Uncertain

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
The ensemble of Fortingall early recumbent stones; possibly Dull

***References*:** Robertson 1997;
Canmore http://canmore.org.uk/site/259961

SCO11 Fortingall 8
Canmore © Crown Copyright: HES

Fortingall no 9 *SCO11i*

Grid reference: NN 7420 4702

Type of monument: Recumbent cross-slab

Type of stone: unknown

Current location: Fixed on the south-east wall of Fortingall parish church

Biography
This monument has been rediscovered in September 2004, while the walls of the church were being cleaned of ivy; the monument is embedded in the south wall of the church. It is only recorded on the Canmore database.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions unavailable
This recumbent cross-slab is broken in three sections. Three crosses are incised to the left, centre and right of the slab. John Borland (RCAHMS) also observes a possible tenon.

Proposed dating: uncertain

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
The ensemble of Fortingall early recumbent stones

***References*:** Borland, RCAHMS on Canmore
http://canmore.org.uk/site/294129

SCO11 Fortingall 9
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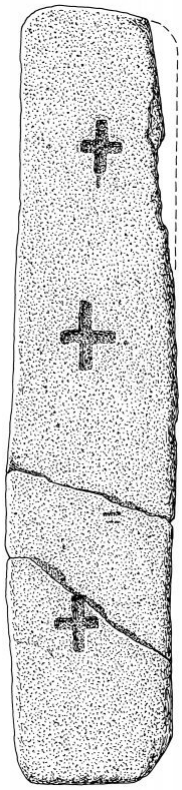


SCO11 Fortingall 9
Canmore © Crown Copyright: HES

SCO11 Fortingall
Picture © A. Busset

LOGIERAIT SCO12

Grid reference: NN 96791 52033

Region: Perth & Kinross **Country:** Scotland **Parish:** Logierait

Type of site: early church / churchyard

Saint or secular elite associated: St Coeti (bishop of Iona †612)

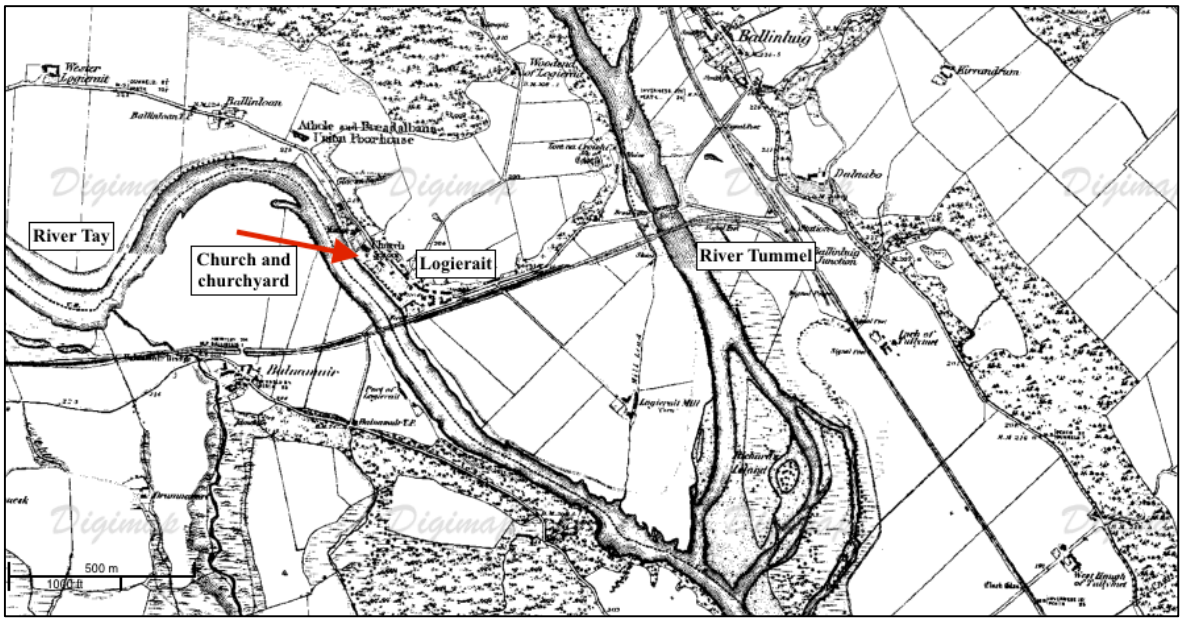
Historical background and placename
In the 12th – 13th centuries, the place was known as *Logie Mahedd*, which is 'Logie of St Coeti', who was bishop of Iona, contemporary to Adomnán's abbacy. This links Logierait to Fortingall, and the connection of these places in Strathtay and Glen Lyon to Iona at least from the 8th century. It is also situated on the route linking Fortingall to Dunkeld, where the road marks a turn from its west-east orientation, to a north-south one (see map Ch.4).

General description
Logierait church is situated on the shore of the river Tay, about a kilometre west of where the river Tummel flows into the river Tay. The churchyard is situated on a gentle slope looking toward the river, to the south.

Archaeological remains
Known: 2 cross-slabs

Stone monuments associated
Logierait 1 and 2

***Historical sources*: -**
***References*:** *ECMS*, 2, 292; Taylor 1998, 1999, 58-60



SCO12 Map of Logierait
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Logierait 1 *SCO12b*

Region: Perth & Kinross

Parish: Logierait

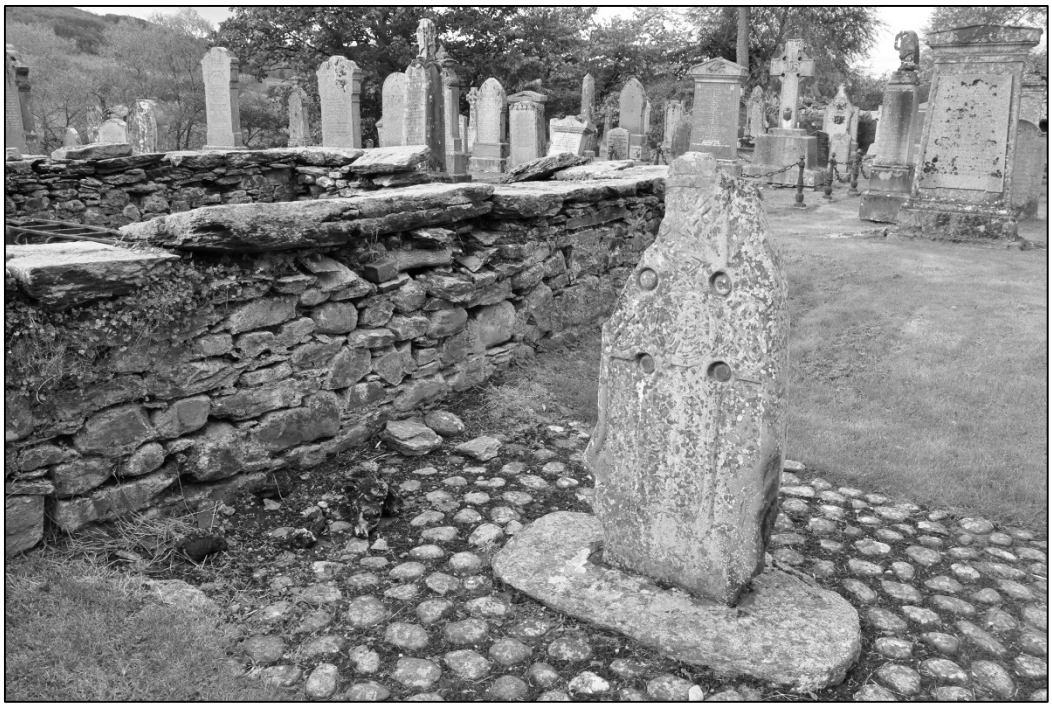
Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: whinstone

Current location: Churchyard, near the church.

Biography
Discovered in the churchyard about 1878.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions : T 1m / 11.3cm.
The front face has a cross with circular angles and filled with an interlace pattern.
Reverse face has a mounted warrior above a serpent coiled around a straight rod.
Proposed dating: 9th century (EM carved stones project, Canmore 2016)
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
The back of the stone represents a single horseman with one surviving Pictish symbol, as seen on several stones at Meigle.
***References*:** *ECMS*, 2, 291-292; Mack 1997, 49-50
https://canmore.org.uk/site/26341/logierait-churchyard-cross-slab



SCO12 Logierait 1
Picture © A. Busset

SCO12 Logierait 1
Picture © A. Busset

Logierait 2 *SCO12a*

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: unspecified

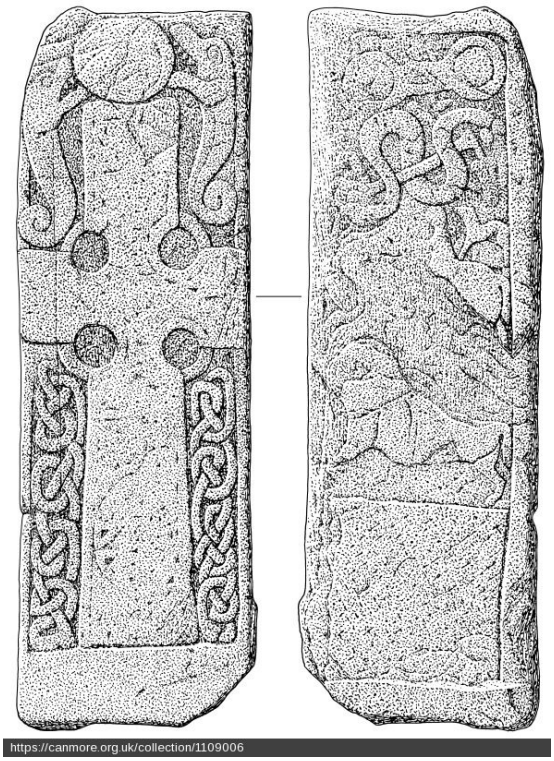
Current location: Inside church

Biography
Used as part of a mort safe enclosure, recognized in 1988 as a Pictish Stone and subsequently moved into church for protection.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: L 1.65m / W 0.52m.
Probably ninth-century in date, the carving on both sides is in relief. The front face is occupied by a quadlrilobate cross, the shaft of which is flanked by interlace. On either side of the upper arms are two confronting creatures, their gaping jaws forming a plain, circular boss. The back is badly weathered. Situated at the top are two Pictish symbols : double disc, and serpent and Z-rod. Below these damaged figures is a plain area, enclosed in an incised margin, which is connected to one running round the edge of the whole stone.

Proposed dating: 9th century (EM carved stone project, Canmore 2016)
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Mack 1997, 49-50; Robertson 1989b, 64
https://canmore.org.uk/site/26339/logierait-churchyard



SCO12 Logierait 2
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MEIGLE SCO13

Grid reference: NO 2872 4459

Region: Perth & Kinross

Parish: Meigle

Type of site: Ecclesiastical / early church / royal burial ground(?)

Saint or secular elite associated: King Pherath (Ferat/Uurad) (reign 839-842)

Historical background and placename
The toponymy of Meigle reveals its Pictish origin: its original name was *Migdele* (prefix MIG-, which means 'bog, marsh'). The site was situated on a platform situated on slightly higher grounds dominating the area.
Site situated at the boundary of the Dioceses of Dunkeld and St Andrews, at the edge of Southern Pictland. Probably an ecclesiastical centre under royal protection (early church, royal chapel?). Furthermore, the site is situated at proximity to a *nemeton* placename (Nevay), to the west, suggesting connections to an early sacred site (O'Grady 2008, 324).
The site is mentioned in written source and connect it to royal patronage: *Thana filius Dudabrach hoc monumentum scripsit regi Pherath filiio Bergeth in villa Migdele* ('Legend of St Andrew'; *Skene* 1867, 188)

General description
Early ecclesiastical centre, the site is now situated in the centre of the modern village of Meigle in Perth and Kinross. The original circular enclosure is still visible through the churchyard wall, to the south and the west. The original gate was situated towards the north of the enclosure, where a mound is still visible today. Two of the major cross-slabs were situated on each side of the path during the late medieval period.

Archaeological remains
Traces of an early circular enclosure, visible through the shape of the churchyard wall. Digging effectuated in 1805 revealed the presence of two long-cist burials, which may have been associated with Meigle 1 and 2, although no strong evidence. Entering the churchyard from the north (old gate), to the left, there is an ancient mound, called 'Vanora's mound' (local legend about the wife of Arthur, Guinevere, being buried there), which is probably a prehistoric mound reused during the Pictish period.

Stone monuments associated
The collection of carved stone found in Meigle originally counted at least 33 monuments, six of which are lost today. The current collection includes: three large cross-slabs, four recumbent stones, two architectural fragments,

***Historical sources*:** *Legend of St Andrews*
***References*:** Hall 2013; Taylor 2011, 89; O'Grady 2008; Henderson & Henderson 2004, 197-201; Ritchie, 1997; Skene 1867.

Meigle 1 *SCO13a*

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: Red sandstone

Current location: Meigle Museum

Biography
Meigle 1 formerly stood at the right-hand side of the entrance into the burial-ground. It was moved into the museum for protection and display in the ninteenth century.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 1.9m / W 1.05m / 0.2m thick.
Possibly the earliest of the surviving cross-slabs, this re-used cup-and-ring marked stone displays a greek-style cross, with completed circles at the arm-pits. The cross shaft and arms are filled with interlace, and the centre of the head is filled with spirals. The cross is flanked with beasts, real and fantastical. The reverse face of the slab is filled with a mixture of Pictish symbols and beasts, including the figure of a camel and a winged figure suggested to be a Persian god, evidence of the exchange of material and ideas over long-distances.

Dating proposed: on historical and art-historical grounds: late 8th to early 10th c.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Meigle ensemble, St Vigeans ensemble

***References*:** Ritchie, 1997: 15

SCO13a Meigle 1
Picture © A. Busset

Meigle 2 *SCO13b*

Type of monument: Cross-Slab

Type of stone: Red sandstone

Current location: Meigle Museum

Biography
Meigle 2 formerly stood on the left hand side of the entrance to the burial ground, opposite Meigle 1. This stone was referred to as 'Vanora's Gravestone' in the past, and thought to represent the mythical figure Vanora's execution by wild beasts. It was closely associated with a mound, known as Vanora's grave, which may have protected the reverse surface form weathering. The very worn state of the front may suggest some sort of habitual activity by visitors to the stone, such as rubbing or leaning against it to pray.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: H 2.55m / W 1m / 0.15m thick.
The stone is dominated by a cross on one face, which is unusual in that it employs decorative projecting bosses on the arms and surrounding a larger central boss in the centre of the head. The shaft of the cross takes the form of a broad pillar, complete with scrolled corners, and is surrounded by contorted and intertwined beasts. On the reverse face, a series of figure scenes fill the available space in an orderly fashion, showing mounted huntsmen, hounds, human figures, beasts, and a serpent biting an ox. Included in this is a centaur wielding two axes, and a figure with arms outstretched surrounded by lions, representing Daniel in the pit.
Dating proposed: on historical and art-historical grounds: late 8th to early 10th c.
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
***References*:** Ritchie, 1997: 16

SCO13 Meigle 2
Picture © A. Busset

Meigle 4 *SCO13c*

Type of monument: Cross-slab

Type of stone: Red sandstone

Current location: Meigle Museum

Biography
One of the two fragments of this cross-slab was found in 1858 during the dismantling of a malt kiln, where it had been reused.

Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Probably originally about H 2m / W 0.88m / 0.18m thick.
The slab is in two fragments, the top and bottom, with the central section of the shaft just below the cross-head missing. Meigle 4 is carved to a very high quality, with the cross-head and shaft filled with complex tightly interwoven interlace. The cross is flanked by beasts, two of which are very elongated and form the outer borders of the cross, and are themselves intertwined with other biting beasts. At the bottom, a human figure grappling with a beast is just visible. The reverse of the cross is filled with Pictish symbols, mounted figures and beasts. These motifs are closely fitted together, and remaining vacant space is filled with interlace.
Dating proposed: on historical and art-historical grounds: late 8th to early 10th c.
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:

***References*:** Ritchie, 1997: 19. https://canmore.org.uk/site/30864

SCO13c Meigle 4
Picture © A. Busset

Meigle 9; 11; 12; 26 *SCO13d*

Type of monument: Recumbent stones

Type of stone: Red sandstone

Current location: Meigle Museum

Biography
Some of these stones have been cut for reuse in later structures.

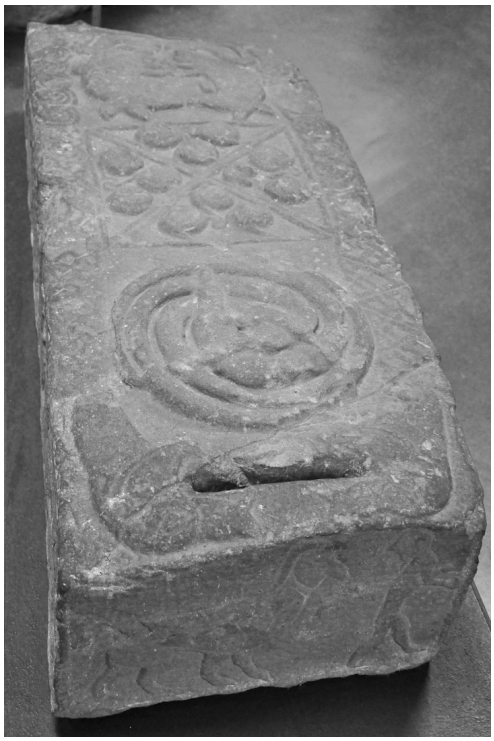
Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Between 1.5m and 1.8m in length.
Meigle 9: carved in panels along both long sides, but not on top, suggesting later alteration. A series of panels, separated by a band carved in relief, display animals a human figure, and interlace.
Meigle 11: This stone is the largest recumbent among the group, and displays two deeply recessed panels along its side within thick decorated borders, much worn. One panel contains three horsemen, a hound and a beast-headed human figure carrying two snakes. The reverse side panel contains several animals, an unknown object, a rectangle of twelve bosses encircled by serpents, and a circle of seven bosses flanked by two beasts who form the frame, grasping a human figure between their mouths.
Meigle 12: Both ends are damaged, but decoration along top and sides are clear. The top has a row of hollow lozenges bordered by interlace, one side as a fish-monster, and the other has a hound biting a deer by its leg and two bulls about to clash.
Meigle 26: The top of this slab features three serpents heaped neatly adjacent to a square of twelve serpent-encircled bosses and a pair of dancing sea-horses. All of this is framed within bands of interlace which end in bird or animal heads. On the sides are a several beasts, beasts eating human corpses, and a knot of naked humans.

Dating proposed: on historical and art-historical grounds: late 8th to early 10th c.
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
***References*:** Hall 2014, 19; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 107-201; Ritchie, 1997: 22-27.

SCO13d Meigle 9
Picture © A. Busset

SOC13d Meigle 11
Pictures © A. Busset

SCO13d Meigle 12
Pictures © A. Busset



SCO13d Meigle 26
Pictures © A. Busset

Meigle 10; 22 *SCO13e*

Type of monument: Architectural fragments

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: Meigle Museum (and lost)

Biography
Meigle 10: this now lost architectural fragment attracted a lot of antiquarian interest due to its almost unique cart representation. From its description, we know that it was part of the Vanora's monument, then was reused

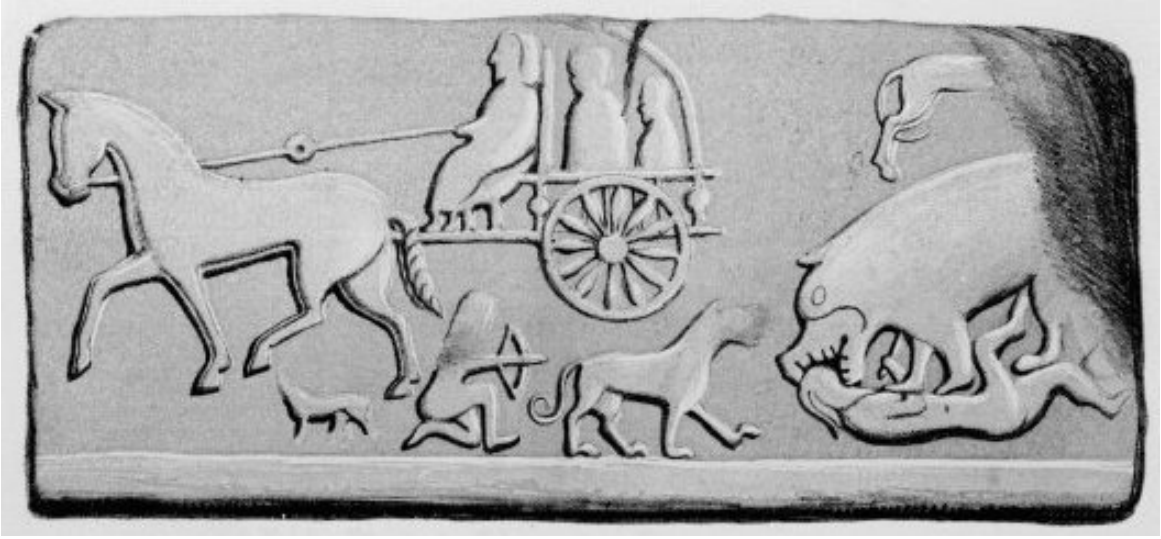
Description of the monument and analysis
Dimensions: Meigle 10: unknown Meigle 22: L. 0.82m H. 0.25m

Meigle 10: Bottom right: person on the back, his face devoured by a bear-like creature, while planting a knife in its chest. To the left of the scene is a crouched archer, ready to throw their arrow, two other wild beasts (lions?) and a possible dog are also represented. Cart riding to the left, with three (four?) people on. The twelve rods of the cart-wheel represented the twelve apostle and was a sigh of the redemption offered to those who are converted. Stone broken on the right.
Meigle 22: architectural frieze, representing a merman or mermaid clasping a coil of hair on each side; two fish-tails legs interlaced. To the left, a bear-like creature with long claws, and to the right, a seemingly resting creature, seen from above, with head on paws. High relief. Despite the fragment being broken on the left side, the rest of the monument is very well preserved, suggesting that it was an inside frieze instead of outside; may have been part of a chancel or nave screen.

Proposed dating: late 8th – 10th century

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: Only one other panel representing a cart, the 'Skinnet Stone' in Thurso (Hall 2014, 24)

***References*:** Hall 2014, 24; Henderson and Henderson 2004, 208-209, 219; Ritchie, 1997: 22-27; Stuart 1856, plate LXXVI.



SCO13e Meigle 10
Canmore © Crown Copyright: HES

SCO13e Meigle 22
Picture © A. Busset

Meigle *SCO13f*
3, 5-8, 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27-32, 34

Type of monument: cross-slabs, fragments

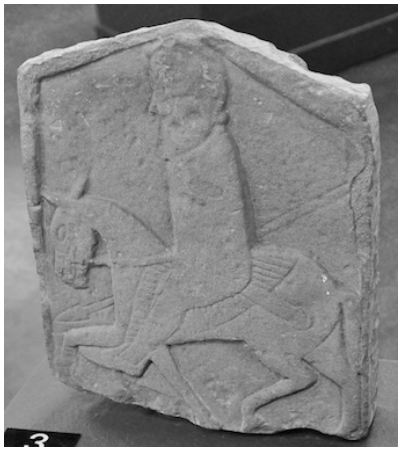
Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: Meigle Museum

Biography
Most of these stone fragments have been reused in the construction of the walls and structures in and around the church and churchyard.

Description of the monument and analysis
Meigle 3: Cross-slab depicting a detailed mounted warrior on one face and an interlace filled cross on the other.
Meigle 5: Interlace filled cross on one face and a mounted warrior on the other, carved in high relief. Several animals and Pictish symbols are present.
Meigle 6: Shaft of a cross-slab, filled with diagonal key-pattern. Reverse face displays a mounted warrior, two Pictish symbols, and a collared hound.
Meigle 7: Rounded top of a cross-slab, cross filled with diagonal key-pattern and flanked by a naked human and animal figure. Reverse face has a double disc and Z-rod and comb.
Meigle 8: Fragment of slab, with worn cross on one face and a possible tool and two animals on the reverse.
Meigle 14: Fragment of cross-head filled with loose diagonal key-pattern and interlace, and the reverse has ecclesiastics carrying books.
Meigle 15: Basal portion of cross-slab, an interlace filled cross-shaft flanked by biting and grappling beasts.
Meigle 20: Central part of cross-slab with interlace-filled cross-shaft and a rider.
Meigle 21: Tall and narrow cross-slab, cross-head filled with diagonal key-pattern and shaft filled with double-ribbon interlace.
Meigle 23: Complete, but badly weathered. 'Ringed cross on a short shaft, flanked by two seated figures.' Reverse panel filled with two pairs of beasts, intertwined and biting each other.
Meigle 24: Lost small cross slab.
Meigle 27: Part of cross-slab showing figure squatting behind another seated in a chair.
Meigle 28: Base of cross-slab with panels of key-patterned and spiral work.
Meigle 29: Two clerics, one seated and the other wearing shoulder brooches.
Meigle 30: Carved with a curled-up beast.
Meigle 31: Upper part of a small cross-slab.
Meigle 32: Left arm of a cross and part of a panel of double-spirals.
Meigle 34: Carved with a scroll.
Dating proposed: on historical and art-historical grounds: late 8th to early 10th c.
Similarities and/or connections with other monuments:
Similarities have been drawn between the Meigle collection and the St Vigeans collection, in terms of importance and variety
***References*:** Ritchie, 1997: 14-29

***NB: All following pictures are from the author (© A. Busset)**



SCO13f Meigle 3

SCO13f Meigle 5

SCO13f Meigle 6

SCO13f Meigle 7

SCO13f Meigle 8 and 14A

SCO13f Meigle 20 and 21

SCO13f Meigle 23a and b

SCO13f Meigle 27a and b

SCO13f Meigle 28 and 29

SCO13f Meigle 30 and 31

SCO13f Meigle 32 and 33

Meigle 25 *SCO13g*

Type of monument: 'Hogback'(?)

Type of stone: Sandstone

Current location: Meigle Museum

Biography
Named 'hogback', however not many connections to its Anglo-Saxon or Scottish counterparts (Govan). The most prominent feature linking this monument to hogback is the tegulated pattern on the side of the monument. Considered more like another recumbent stone, while being different from Meigle 9, 11, 12, and 26. The difficulty of interpretation of these monuments is acknowledged and will be the focus of forthcoming scholarly publications (Abrams, L., Whitworth, V. *pers. comm.*).

Description of the monument and analysis
Meigle 25: This is a 'Hogback', although adapted to the local style of tapering recumbent slabs. The long sides and end are carved with concave-sided roof tiles, and the ridge is carved into an elongated hybrid animal-fish creature, sharing the style of its ears with those on Meigle 5 and 1.

Dating proposed: Possibly 10th century, widely discussed.

Similarities and/or connections with other monuments: Possible similarities with other hogbacks (tegulated pattern), however, widely discussed.

***References*:** Hall 2014, 20; Ritchie, 1997: 26.

SCO13g Meigle 25
Picture © A. Busset

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