The strangest of times (continued)

I am glad to be able to present this edition of the PAS Newsletter earlier than usual. As mentioned in the last edition, we are aiming for a bi-monthly output during the period when our other activities are suspended.

As the country begins to gradually emerge from lockdown, the Scottish Government (and no doubt everyone else) waits to see if we will be hit by a second wave of Covid-19 infections. As I write this, there have been only a few new clusters but it is still early days.

So although pubs, cafes and restaurants have already reopened at the time of writing, and museums and other visitor attractions are scheduled to reopen soon, the PAS committee has decided to proceed cautiously with regards to our own return to normal business. Until it can be seen what problems, if any, arise from bringing a group of people together in one room, we have decided to change the upcoming autumn lectures to online events.

Details are yet to be finalised but we are likely to use Zoom. This will allow members to log on at the appointed time and date and listen to our speakers give their talk, accompanied by their PowerPoint presentation. This will be followed by a q&a session. You can still have tea or coffee and biscuits (but you'll need to provide them yourself).

The schedule for the autumn lecture series is published in this issue. We will circulate detailed information and instructions on how to participate to members nearer the time by email. On the plus side, this will allow all of our members to listen to the talks and not just those who live within travelling distance of Brechin. On the down side, we will lose the social interaction our events engender (of course, social interaction is the very thing we are trying to avoid!). It is also unfortunate that we will not be able to reach the sizeable contingent of non-members who have become regular attendees at the Brechin lectures. We can but hope that we pick them up again when we do eventually return to business as usual.

The committee has also decided to cancel (or rather, postpone) the annual conference this year as we feel it is still too early to risk bringing a large number of people together from all over the UK for a weekend's worth of events. We did consider if the conference could be held as an online event but decided that it would be a lot to ask of anyone to spend an entire Saturday in front of a computer. It also seemed very unfair to this year's organiser, Jane Geddes, who has put in so much work to create a great line-up and fieldtrip.

It is our intention to reschedule the same line-up and fieldtrip for October 2021. Hopefully by that time the risk factor may have diminished or, at the very least, we can learn from the experience of other conferences and gatherings so that we can proceed safely. For example, we may opt for a larger venue so that we can keep the seats spaced out. Similarly, the field trip may use a 60-seater coach but be limited to 30 delegates.

We may mark the date of this year's conference (Saturday 3 October) with a one-off online lecture – details will follow. We are yet to decide how we proceed regarding our AGM.

In order to maintain a bi-monthly output, we need you to send articles in so please keep your submissions coming!   *JB*

My life as a replica: St John's Cross, Iona
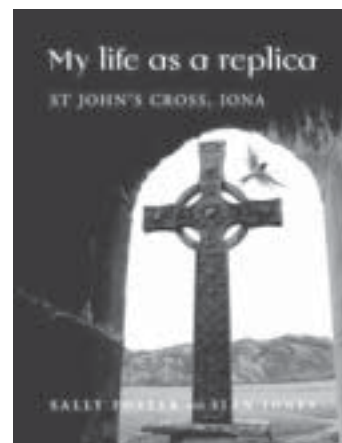
Sally Foster with **Siân Jones**
Oxbow Books, paperback and e-book

The idea of cultural biography – the story of changing patterns of meaning ascribed to an object by different people over time – is brought to life in this study. A parallel thread, the question of authenticity (and how that relates to reactions

to replicas) and its relevance for the heritage industry runs through the book. The biography of the magnificent concrete replica of St John's cross, which takes the place of the original to the west of St Columba's shrine on Iona, is intertwined with that of its eighth century prototype, whose preservation and display is far less controversial.

After a brief introduction, the book is split into three sections. The first, 'Crafting Lives', ranges over questions of replication and authenticity and the long debate over the meaning and importance of replicas within the heritage community. Sally and Siân then move on to consider the bewildering array of disparate communities whose views on Iona, its ruins and stones and, critically, the St John's Crosses form the raw data from which the biographies are created.

The islanders, the community of Iona, and the Iona Community with its base in the restored medieval abbey, form two distinct groups; the early tourists, the antiquaries who came to recognise the value of the ancient carved stones (and the locals who appropriated some of them to commemorate their own dead), artists and writers who left accounts and images of the stones at the time of their visits, chance visitors who fell under the spell of the island and returned time and time again, the officials who argued over how best to preserve and protect the collection here—the list goes on. And the timeless magic of the island itself is duly acknowledged.

In the second section, 'Creating and cultivating the cross', the emphasis switches to the work of the archaeologists, art historians and artists who have contributed so much to our understanding of the material history of St John's Cross in the early years of its existence. There is then a wide gap in the story before we have the first records of antiquarian interest in Iona late in the 17th century. Sifting through private and public archives, Sally has produced the detailed and lavishly illustrated story of the recognition and piecing together of fragments of St John's Cross, leading to its first re-erection in modern times. The story of the arguments for the creation of a lapidarium to house stones from around the abbey, the clear divisions between those who regarded the abbey as the home of a living community with links through its Christian beliefs to all who had worshipped here and those who wished to preserve the stones for tourists to visit; the less than satisfactory approach to archaeological investigations around the abbey, the prolonged difficulties in raising funds either for a lapidarium or a replica of St John's Cross, are all laid bare, while the tragic figure of the fallen cross is a potent figure in the background. The biography of the replica starts long before its creation, and the controversies were present from the start.

The tale of the creation of the replica, the meticulous research and the skill of the artists and craftsmen who created it in that ancient and durable medium, concrete, the pride and generosity of all those who had a part to play in its making, transporting and erecting is well told and the accompanying photographs catch the spirit of the project admirably. The skilled curators who prepared the fragments of the original for its display in the Abbey Museum are not forgotten, nor are those whose close study of these relics have added so much to its story.

This section of the book closes with a chapter on how contemporary visitors and residents of Iona react to/are impacted by the replica cross. The ethnographic sources are detailed in an appendix. Here again, the range of responses, especially in respect of the perceived authenticity and the necessity to consider it is as wide as it is interesting.

A concluding section, 'Celebration in concrete, celebration of concrete', returns to challenge ideas of authenticity and significance, especially as these notions apply to replicas. While many might agree with the quotation that 'to let the fact that it's a replica detract from my appreciation of it to me seems nitpicky', there is an active and important debate ongoing here. Sally and Siân have done a great service in bringing to our attention the arguments that still affect the approach of heritage professionals to some very well-loved replicas, not least of which is St John's Cross.

This has been a very brief outline of a very densely packed, many-facetted, thought-provoking book. It is well worth taking time to read and ponder over.   *Sheila Hainey*

Constantìn son of Wrguist – King of Fortriu

2020 marks the twelfth centenary of the death of a significant figure in Pictish and Dál Riadic history: that of Constantìn son of Wrguist (Constantine son of Fergus). He is not remembered as much as he perhaps should be, given the amount of information we have. Indeed, sources of evidence of Constantìn are likely the most varied in type for any early medieval king in the north of Britain in that they cover historical and religious records, language, archaeology and art history. Yet he is eclipsed by another king, Cinaed mac Ailpìn, who entered into popular history far more readily. This article will seek to redress that balance and to promote Constantìn to being equally worthy of note.

For the time period in question there is not a lot of written information and what there is can be contradictory, so a fair amount of cross-referencing and untangling is required to make sense of it. Constantìn is first mentioned in *The Annals of Ulster*, which records a battle in the year 789 amongst the Picts. This resulted in Constantìn being victorious over Conall son of Tadg, who escaped after his defeat. This date is taken as the first year of Constantìn's reign in Pictland.

He is also named in the Pictish king-list, which at this point appears to be a nearly contemporary document. The Dál Riatan king-lists, however, are far less clear. Here Constantìn is included along with his son Domnall, who is recorded as reigning at an earlier date than his father. This arrangement is unlikely and when we consider that the reign lengths and dates do not correlate, it seems that the lists cannot be taken at face-value. As a solution Dauvit Broun suggests that rather than Constantìn ruling an independent Dál Riata as well as Fortriu, the situation may have been closer to Constantìn placing his son Domnall in Dál Riata as a sub-king under his overlordship. This would effectively make him king of both regions simultaneously, which may be why he and his brother are included in some versions of the Dál Riatan king-list.

Constantìn, his brother Onuist, and his nephew, Wen son of Onuist, are named in the Durham *Liber Vitae* as people for whom St Cuthbert's monks would pray. The manuscript does not detail why they were to benefit in this way but it does suggest that they had significant connections with Northumbria, probably political as well as religious.

1 *Dupplin Cross, east face*

In addition to these documentary sources there is also sculptural evidence which provides iconographical and geographical clues. The Dupplin Cross, originally located near Forteviot, appears to commemorate Constantìn in both text and image. Nick Aitchison makes the point that


2 *Detail of Constantìn on horseback*

this is likely to be the earliest example of a portrait of a historically identifiable king in northern Britain. The way in which Constantìn has been portrayed on this monument can tell us a great deal about the culture he lived in and the reputation that he or his descendants wished to present. His image is positioned prominently at the top of the shaft and physically above all of the other human figures, which may be an indication of a hierarchy and certainly indicates authority. Most noticeably he is the only figure on horseback which likely indicates a position of power in Pictish sculpture iconography. It is obvious that Constantìn has a disproportionately large head in comparison to his body. Although at first glance this looks like a crude rendering of the human form and a fall from the realism of other sculpture, Isabel Henderson makes the point that it is more likely that this was a deliberate choice indicating his importance and was meant to be noticed. Another indication of hierarchy is the distinctive long drooping moustaches that Constantìn and the two men on the south face sport. These contrast with the apparently clean-shaven rank of warriors positioned below, suggesting a difference in status, experience or age.

Horse-riders are a fairly common feature on Pictish sculpture; however, the Dupplin Cross is part of a group in which the posture of the horses diverges from the majority. The horses on these stones stand with all four hooves on the ground, which contrasts with the accurately depicted gait of those on other stones. This may be more than just depicting a stationary horseman and may hold symbolism in showing an immutable king.

The object projecting from the back of Constantìn's neck has been considered to be a number of things. The most common interpretation is that it is a spear, as many Pictish horsemen are clearly shown holding spears in a similar position. However these spears also project forward from the horse's neck but this cannot be seen on the Dupplin Cross and does not appear to have been lost to weathering. It may also be long hair tied in a ponytail, but the only comparable sculpture known to me with a clear ponytail is on the cross slab at Govan known as the Sun Stone. It is also possible that it could be a royal sceptre held in the king's right hand and resting on his shoulder. If this interpretation is accepted, then Constantìn's presentation becomes particularly royal and comparable with other images and accessories
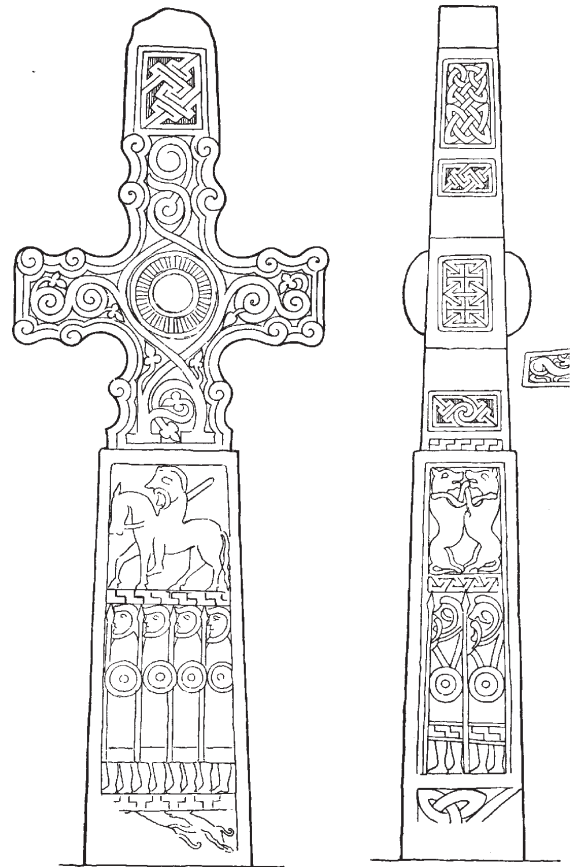

3 Romilly Alen's drawings of the Dupplin Cross:

of kingship in the neighbouring regions of Britain and the Continent, such as the whetstone sceptre at Sutton Hoo and images of Carolingian kings.

There are other images on the Dupplin Cross that give us clues about Constantìn. The most obvious is that he is commemorated by a cross, either commissioned by himself or a successor not long after his death, telling all who viewed it that he was certainly a Christian. This is corroborated by his name, which Sally Foster considers to be a deliberate link with Europe and the idea of the re-born Christian Roman Empire. Some of the documentary sources that we have for him also tell of a Christian king; these will be looked at in more detail below.

Visual references to the biblical King David were not simply a religious image but also signified the ideal of kingship. On the Dupplin Cross can be seen the two commonly portrayed elements of David's story: that of protector of his flock from a lion and bear in one panel, and the harp player in another. David with the lion represents a warrior and protector. David playing the harp portrays him as the psalmist, both spiritual and cultured. These were all qualities that would have been required in a king, so in placing David with Constantìn, the latter's reputation was declared comparable with that of the former. As David was a king sanctioned
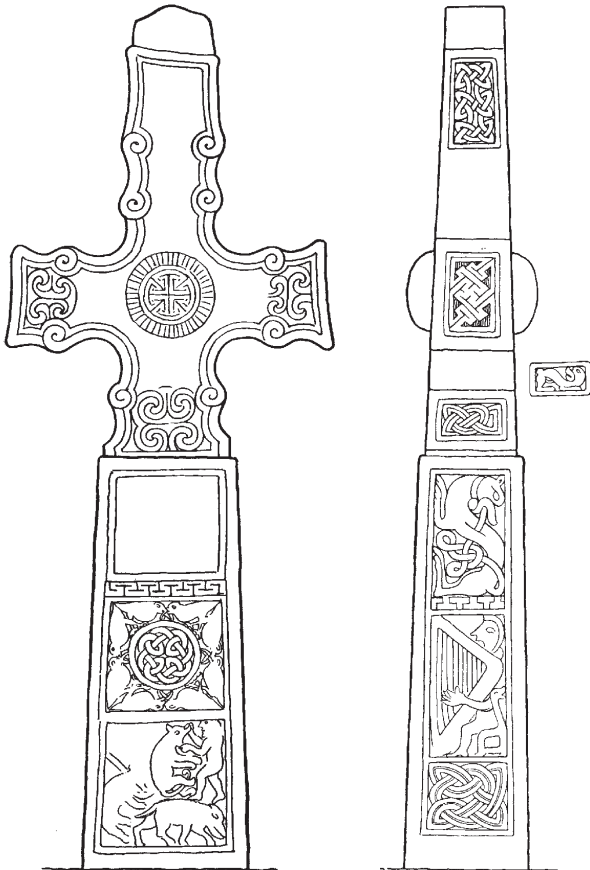
(ECMS *fig 334* [l to r] C/D/A/B)

by God, this was a way of proclaiming divine right to rule.

The six warriors that process or advance around the cross below the king are also interesting, as they are an unusual arrangement which is only seen on a few surviving stones. The closest comparable sculpture from Pictland is a fragment from Kinneddar, Moray, that has two similar warriors below a horse with supposed rider. This fragment is tantalising, as the Kinneddar collection also contains a panel with David and the lion suggesting that there was a royal connection there.

Although it is usually Cinaed mac AilpÌn who is remembered for establishing Dunkeld Cathedral, and housing some of the relics of St Columba there, this place may have had an earlier founding under the reign of Constantìn. It is stated in a note attached to his name in the later version of the king-list that Constantìn founded a church at Dunkeld. Although this is a later addition and therefore its authenticity cannot be known for certain, it would seem unlikely that this particular connection would be made without some basis in history. As discussed above, ConstantÌn had power over Dál Riata at a time of upheaval on Iona; Viking attacks had necessitated the decision to remove St Columba's relics to a safer place and Kells was already in preparation for that role. Alex

Woolf has suggested that it is possible ConstantÌn wished the relics to remain in his kingdom and as king he would have had power to ensure this, if a suitable location was provided. He may therefore have begun construction at Dunkeld for this purpose. There may be two pieces of evidence surviving on the Dupplin Cross celebrating this activity. Isabel Henderson interpreted the bird roundel with cruciform interlace on the west face as a 'coded' reference to St Columba on the basis that the birds are intended to be doves, although given the features visible and their weathered state these birds may be of another species. Another noted feature of the Dupplin Cross is the finial carved into the form of a shingled building, a very unusual addition to a Pictish cross. These are more common in Ireland where they are considered to represent a church, a shrine, a reliquary or a combination of these. If a reliquary is being represented, the possibility opens that the Dupplin Cross was created to celebrate the coming, intended or actual, of Columba's relics east to Dunkeld, perhaps by following the route of the River Earn to Forteviot before going on to Dunkeld by the Tay. This is speculative but perhaps answerable if the remainder of the inscription is ever made readable. Diarmait, Abbot of Iona, travelled to Pictland during ConstantÌn's reign, showing that there was certainly contact between Iona and the east (Clancy). Although Cinaed mac Ailpìn is credited with moving the relics and placing them in a specially constructed church at Dunkeld, he may have completed the project that was begun by Constantìn.

It has been thought that Constantìn was Dál Riatan, as his patronym was equated with the Dál Riatan king Fergus son of Eochaid (died 781). However, Broun has postulated and Woolf agreed that the Fergus in question was not the Gaelic Fergus but rather that ConstantÌn and his brother, Onuist, are the great-grandsons or nephews of the first Onuist son of Wrguist – making this family apparently Pictish. Woolf puts forward the evidence of the orthography of their names in the sources in support of this. Firstly, the Pictish king-list appears to have been written before Gaelic became the main language for record keeping and therefore retains Pictish names rather than the Gaelic equivalents. The second is their inclusion in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, compiled in Northumbria, which chooses to use the Pictish names.

At first glance it seems simple to say clearly which areas of land Constantìn ruled over. However, from the evidence we have it is not really that straightforward. The presence of a monument commemorating Constantìn at Forteviot would suggest that he was resident there at least some of the time. We also know that upon his death, Constantìn was recorded as 'King of Fortriu'. These two factors squared very well with the understanding that the region of Fortriu included the Strathearn area with Forteviot as a capital. However, Woolf's argument that Fortriu was located to the north in the Moray area means that this aspect needs more consideration. The royal nature of the sculpture from Kinneddar may also be relevant to this discussion.

On his death in 820 Constantìn was succeeded by his brother, Onuist son of Wrguist (820-34). Constantìn's son, Domnall, was already in position as king of Dál Riata and his other son, Drest, succeeded Onuist as king of Fortriu (834-37). Wen son of Onuist then became king in 837, but the dynasty established by Onuist son of Wrguist and strengthened by Constantìn son of Wrguist was obliterated by a battle against the Norsemen. At this point there appears to have been a large number of claimants to the kingship of both Pictland and Dál Riata, but it is Cinaed mac Ailpìn who secures them and his dynasty held them. It could be considered that Constantìn set the precedent of dynastic kingship over both east and west.

It is interesting to note that the name 'Constantine' had not been recorded as a kingly name, either Pictish or Dál Riadic, prior to the reign of Constantìn son of Wrguist, whereas afterwards, the name was given to two further kings, both of the family of Cinaed mac Ailpìn over two generations: Constantine mac Cinaeda and Constantine mac Aeda. It does show that there was not a determined break from the past and previous kings but whether the choice of the name was a conscious link with a strong king or the name had become more generally popular at this time is harder to say.

Constantìn son of Wrguist held the kingship of Fortriu for over thirty years, a long reign for a king at this time. For the latter years of his reign he also appears to have held Dál Riata as overlord simultaneously with Fortriu, which is a great achievement. If Constantìn's rule is being understood correctly, as is laid out here, then it is not a great leap to say that by his actions or good fortune the seed of what would become Alba was planted. He should be remembered for that pivotal role.

Jennifer Wallace

Jennifer is the steward at St Serf's Church, Dunning, where the Dupplin Cross is now displayed. She is currently involved in research for a Masters.

Bibliography

Aitchison, N. B. 2006. *Forteviot: a Pictish and Scottish royal centre*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus

Anderson, M. O. 1982. Dalriada and the creation of the kingdom of the Scots. In R. McKitterick, D. N. Dumville, & D. Whitelock (eds) *Ireland in early mediaeval Europe: studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes*, 106–132. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Broun, D. 1998. Pictish Kings 761-839: Integration with Dal Riata or separate development? In S. M. Foster (ed) *The St Andrews sarcophagus: a Pictish masterpiece and its international connections*, 71–83. Dublin: Four Courts

Clancy, T. 1996. Iona, Scotland and the Céli Dé. In B. E. Crawford (ed) *Scotland in dark age Britain*, 111–131. Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press

Ewart, G., Gallagher, D., & Ritchie, A. 2007. The Dupplin Cross: recent investigations. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 137: 319–336.

Forsyth, K. 1995. The Inscriptions on the Dupplin Cross. In C. Bourke (ed) *From the isles of the north: early medieval art in Ireland and Britain*, 237–244. Belfast: HMSO

Foster, S. M. 1998. Before Alba: Pictish and Dal Riata power centres from the fifth to the late ninth centuries AD. In S. M. Foster, A. I. Macinnes, & R. MacInnes (eds) *Scottish power centres: from the early Middle Ages to the twentieth century*, 1–31. Glasgow: Cruithne Press

Foster, S. M. 2014. *Picts, Gaels and Scots: early historic Scotland.* New edition. Edinburgh: Birlinn

Henderson, I. 1999. The Dupplin Cross: a Preliminary Consideration of its Art-historical Context. In J. Hawkes & S. Mills (eds) *Northumbria's golden age*, 161–177. Stroud: Sutton

Henderson, I. 1982. Pictish art and the Book of Kells. In R. McKitterick, D. N. Dumville, & D. Whitelock (eds) *Ireland in early mediaeval Europe*, 79–105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Henderson, G., & Henderson, I. 2004. *The Art of the Picts: sculpture and metalwork in early medieval Scotland*. London: Thames & Hudson

Woolf, A. 2007. *From Pictland to Alba, 789 to 1070*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

The 'Rules' of Pictish Symbol Usage

Introduction

This article summarises the research outcomes from my 2019 University of Glasgow M.Litt. dissertation project, 'Towards Establishing the rule-book of Pictish Symbol Usage'. A detailed discussion of the existing historiography and this project's research methods are outside the scope of this article. However, a brief introduction is necessary.

Although the Pictish symbol stones were first comprehensively documented more than 100 years ago and despite many attempts to explain their meaning, few scholars define criteria for assessing which Pictish designs are symbols or the rules for their use. This research aimed to do both and to create a new inventory of Pictish symbols, so that any future attempts to define their meaning could be based on more accurate data.

The project compiled an up to date database of all potentially symbol-bearing Pictish artefacts, including symbol stones, cross-slabs, caves, other living rock, and portable items. Each artefact's dimensions, location and condition were recorded, together with which Pictish designs (potential symbols) were present and how those designs were organised relative to each other. Eighty-one individual designs were recorded on 320 artefacts giving a total of more than 1000 design occurrences. Although other writers' Pictish design identifications were consulted, the study re-appraised and documented all artefacts by viewing them in person and/or using all readily available images. The level of confidence that the correct identification of a Pictish design had been made was also recorded which, together with each artefact's condition, was factored into the analysis. The comprehensive scope of the database enabled a novel and rigorous analysis of the complete corpus.

Hypothesis

The project sought to identify which designs were symbols and to identify 'rules' for their behaviour, rather than to interpret their meaning. The data was reviewed in multiple phases, so that patterns could be identified and then a hypothesis created, tested, modified, and retested. It is widely accepted that Pictish symbols are often paired and that some symbols play a supporting role to a pair. However, these ideas had never been thoroughly tested. Furthermore, little consideration had been given to the single animal symbols and whether they form part of the same 'system'. The study tested the hypothesis that there are three distinct types of Pictish symbols, defined as:

- *Pairing Symbols*
- *Auxiliary Symbols*
- *Lone Symbols*

The Aberlemno 1 Class 1 symbol stone (**1**) shows a typical symbol composition of two Pairing symbols (Serpent and Double-disc and Z-Rod) with the most common Auxiliary Symbols below (Mirror and Comb).

1 *Aberlemno 1: a typical symbol composition of two Pairing symbols with the most common Auxiliary Symbols below*

Based on initial analyses of the data set, each of the 81 designs was posited as belonging to one of the symbol types, although the wheel and boar were tested against two. Each design's occurrences on Class 1 symbol stones and then Class 2 cross-slabs were analysed. This method identified which Pictish designs conformed to the hypothesis, suggesting that they were being used as symbols with a defined syntax. Having identified which designs were symbols, the overall composition of each artefact was then analysed to identify whether the artefacts also supported the hypothesis.

Summary of Findings

The study confirmed the existence of the three types of Pictish Symbols and identified that they fulfilled different roles.

Symbol Type	Confirmed Symbols	Possible/Limited Symbols	Total
Pairing	35	4	39
Auxiliary	6	0	6
Lone	2	1	3
Grand Totals	43	5	48

2 *Table of symbol types*

Pairing Symbols form a pair with other Pairing Symbols; that is, they appear in proximity and/or closely matched in size, one usually above the other. They may touch but rarely interact. In some cases, the pair is supplemented by a limited number of third and fourth designs which are *Auxiliary Symbols*. Finally, there are some Pictish Designs that appear alone which are described as *Lone Symbols*. The number of each type identified and confirmed by this study, based on Class 1 and Class 2 stones, is shown in figure **2**.

An important observation was that each symbol type has unique characteristics. All Auxiliary Symbols play a subsidiary role to a pair and are representations of personal objects or tools; mirror, comb, hammer, anvil, pincers, and shears (possibly also sword on living rock). All Lone Symbols appear on their own and are specific animals; bull, horse and possibly the bear. Lone Symbols usually appear in or near fort contexts and all face right which may be significant. All Pairing Symbols are either accurate depictions of fauna (Pictish beast included here as fauna) or non-representational geometric figures. Renowned scholars and amateurs have spent many hours trying to identify what the geometric symbols portray. However, the Picts' accurate depiction of animals, personal objects and tools shows how well they could execute representational images, so it is unlikely that the geometric pairing symbols were intended to be representational. The study also identified a new symbol; the Placard, which acts as a Pairing Symbol on two artefacts (see the left-hand symbol in fig **3**).

Many symbols conform to their symbol type on all complete Class 1 and Class 2 artefacts. The project found that 95% of Pictish Class 1 and 93.5% of Class 2 artefacts fully conform to the hypothesis and that the small number of exceptions can usually be explained. A further significant finding is that each symbol only belongs to one of the three types, despite earlier writers suggesting that some animals appear both paired and alone. Although Class 1 and Class 2 artefacts adhere to the hypothesis equally well, the former were all originally conceived with one symbol pair but about 10% of the latter were conceived with multiple pairs, making a more elaborate statement or multiple statements.

The level of Class 1 and Class 2 conformance to the hypothesis was remarkable but was less well reflected on other media. Portable artefacts revealed a more informal structure, showing 61.5% conformance to the syntactical 'rules'. Of the 81 identifiable Pictish symbols in caves, approximately half might conform to the hypothesis, but even that is a stretch. Few are in the typical format of two symbols arranged in a clear pair with one above the other, although there are some such examples. Most symbols and other designs in caves appear in clusters, making it difficult to suggest a clear and unambiguous syntax, so this study's overall assessment is that caves do not conform to the normal structure of symbol syntax. Other than caves, there are only two examples on living

3 *Cargill with its Placard symbol on the left*

rock: both appearing in fort contexts and both outside Pictland. The Boar was identified by this study as being a likely Pairing Symbol, but it appears alone at Dunadd in Argyll, facing right, in a similar way to the animal Lone Symbols. If its role at Dunadd is as a bona-fide Lone Symbol, it is the only Pictish symbol that belongs to more than one symbol type. At Trusty's Hill in Dumfries and Galloway, a rodded Double-disc appears with a Sea Monster with a sword or pin below. This potentially conforms to the syntax of two Pairing Symbols and an Auxiliary Symbol, but other interpretations are possible which are outside the scope of this short article.

The classification system for Pictish symbol stones has served scholars well for more than a century, but masks differences that should be made explicit. The 'Class 1' Burghead Bulls are plaques rather than monumental steles and have a different syntax which suggests a different function. Other small 'Class 1' objects like those from Dunnicaer and Gurness are not steles and should also be reclassified. Not only is their form different, but also their decoration. They have symbol-like designs which do not conform fully to the strict pairing rules of Class 1 and Class 2 and have more in common with portable artefacts. Together, the small Class 1 and portable artefacts show a moderate level of conformance to the hypothesis, employing both classic and looser versions of the symbols. They use designs from a wider Pictish repertoire which never appear on Class 1 or Class 2 stones. The same applies to the cave symbols where there is an even looser syntax. Caves, small Class 1, and portable items all use a triangle design which suggests that it played an important role on these other media, but never made its way onto the formal Class 1 and Class 2 monuments.

Conclusions

It is evident that the true Class 1 symbol stones and the Class 2 cross slabs exhibit the most formal and consistent adherence to rules of Pictish symbol syntax. This should not surprise us because they are very public statements that are visible in the landscape. Whatever these monuments and their symbols represented, they would have done so in an unequivocal and formal way that the Picts would have seen and understood. Most portable objects have symbol pairs, but not in overwhelming numbers. The symbols are still important but the personal nature of items like jewellery meant that a formal statement on them may have been less important than on the public monuments.

There are competing explanations for why caves and small artefacts are less conformant. Either they were created before symbol rules were fully established or they were graffiti created by Picts with fewer skills or less knowledge of the 'system'. This study could not provide a conclusive answer to these questions, but some observations can be made. The Parkhill silver chain was created by a highly skilled person and uses the Triangle design that is seen in rougher forms in caves and at Dunnicaer. The chains, caves and Dunnicaer sculptures have all had early dates proposed. The quality of the Parkhill chain combined with the early dates, if confirmed, might point towards the looser syntax being early rather than just the product of unskilled Picts. Nevertheless, the rough nature and loose syntax of many of the cave designs do have a graffiti-like appearance.

An important question is whether the three types of symbols are inherent parts of the same system. The Lone Symbols, de facto, appear by themselves so it is quite conceivable, or even likely, that they are not directly connected with the Pairing and Auxiliary Symbols, other than being in a similar artistic style and probably contemporaneous. Auxiliary Symbols are particularly interesting because they are personal items or tools that appear subordinate to a symbol pair, implying some sort of relationship between them. However, there are a few exceptions where the mirror appears without pairing symbols. On Newton 2 (Class 1), a mirror appears with two inscriptions: one in ogham and the other an undeciphered cursive script. The ogham has been interpreted as containing two personal names. The Class 2 cross-slabs at Kirriemuir 1, Wester Denoon and Kineddar each have a mirror and comb but no other Pictish symbols. They are incomplete but what remains of them makes it unlikely that their mirrors and combs were subsidiary to a pair of now lost symbols. On Kirriemuir 1 and Wester Denoon the Auxiliary Symbols appear beside robed figures, probably clerics.

Although there are many theories of what the symbols represent, the most widely accepted in current academic circles is that they are a small subset of a lost written Pictish language and probably convey personal names. The auxiliary symbols are usually interpreted as linguistic modifiers that are part of that language alongside

the paired symbols. Having had time to reflect on my original 2019 findings, I would now like to propose a slightly altered hypothesis.

The representational and personal nature of the auxiliary symbols might suggest that they tell us something additional about the person named by the symbol pair, rather than being part of the symbol language that might name them. At Newton 2 the mirror symbol accompanies someone's name(s) but written in ogham rather than as a symbol pair. On Kirriemuir 1 and Wester Denoon the mirror and comb auxiliary symbols are also associated with a person, but one who is shown as a robed figure rather than named in symbols or ogham. Fraser's *The Pictish Symbol Stones of Scotland* notes that the Newton inscription has been transcribed as 'IDDARRNNN VORENNI KOI —OSR-'. Alastair Mack, Guto Rhys and others see this as a reference to Itarnan or St. Ethernan. If it is, then the mirror associated with St. Ethernan and the mirror and comb associated with probable clerics at Kirriemuir and Wester Denoon might imply that the mirror auxiliary symbol represents a spiritual leader. This is pure conjecture and is one of the reasons why my original research completely set aside any attempt to define the meaning of the symbols! Indeed, this new analysis may be found to be equally supportive of other interpretations and it is hoped that it provides a solid foundation for future research into their syntax and meaning.

Hugh Levey

Hugh will be presenting his findings in more detail at a future Pictish Arts Society event – watch out for details. He hopes to publish a fuller account in a peer-reviewed journal this year.

A cause for celebration?

On 6th April last, the country celebrated the septcentenary of the signing of the Declaration of Arbroath – or at least it should have, but planned events were greatly curtailed by the coronavirus pandemic. The main casualty was an international conference to be held at Newbattle Abbey College later that month. With so many of the participants coming from overseas, including two of the three keynote speakers, it was an early victim. The National Records of Scotland arranged an extensive lecture series dealing with it and allied topics, running from early March right through till June. I signed up for seven of them, but had only attended the first two before lockdown descended on us.

So where should latter-day Picts stand on the matter of the Declaration of Arbroath? Well, that is a little tricky to say. The document is mainly concerned with lambasting the English:

Our nation ... did live in freedom and peace up to the time when that mighty prince and King of the English, Edward, the father of the one who reigns today, when our kingdom had no head [following the death of Alexander III] and our people harboured no malice or treachery and were then unused to wars or invasions, came in the guise of a friend and ally to harass them as an enemy. The deeds of cruelty, massacre, violence, pillage, arson, imprisoning prelates, burning down monasteries, robbing and killing monks and nuns, and yet other outrages without number which he committed against our people, sparing neither age nor sex, religion nor rank, no one could describe nor fully imagine unless he had seen them with his own eyes.

After such a tirade, it might be thought there was no more ammunition left to expend on anyone else. Not so. In its prelude to the grand plea for the Pope's protection for Scotland against the marauding English, the document presented an outline of Scottish history (the accuracy of which is open to challenge) in which several other peoples, including the Picts, get a mention, and not in complimentary terms:

From the chronicles and books of the ancients we find that among other famous nations, our own, the Scots, has been graced with widespread renown. They journeyed from Greater Scythia by way of the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, and dwelt for a long course of time in Spain among the most savage tribes, but nowhere could they be subdued by any race, however barbarous. Thence they came, twelve hundred years after the people of Israel crossed the Red Sea, to their home in the west [bypassing Ireland, it would seem] where they still live today.

Then comes the less pleasant bit.

The Britons they first drove out, **the Picts they utterly destroyed**, and even though very often assailed by the Norwegians, the Danes, and the English, they took possession of that home with many victories and untold efforts; and as the historians of old bear witness, they have held it free of all bondage ever since. In their kingdom, there have reigned one hundred and thirteen kings of their own royal stock, the line unbroken by a single foreigner.

Not a hint that on arrival they were the aggressors, that they intruded themselves into Pictish territory, that they gained a hold over the Pictish royal line by insidious dynastic marriages, and that they may have ultimately taken over all Alba by the treacherous slaughter of the Pictish leadership (a record of which, so some would claim, may yet be seen on Sueno's Stone at Forres).

The looming threat of the coronavirus persuaded me not to attend the 700th anniversary commemorative events at Arbroath (in traditional Pictish territory, a fact omitted from the story presented in the Declaration) even before lockdown made it mandatory. As it transpired, they had to be greatly diluted. If I had been there, knowing of the attitude of the composers of the Declaration towards the Picts, and had three cheers been called for in celebration of the occasion, I doubt I could have mustered more than two.

Graeme Cruickshank

Musings on literary Picts

Writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries seem to have imagined the Picts as small, dark ugly creatures more akin to the goblins of folklore than to their contemporary human neighbours.

In 1890, Robert Louis Stevenson published a book of poetry entitled simply *Ballads*. It included the following tale:

Heather Ale: a Galloway Legend

From the bonny bells of heather
They brewed a drink long-syne,
Was sweeter far than honey,
Was stronger far than wine.
They brewed it and they drank it,
And lay in a blessed swound
For days and days together
In their dwellings underground.

There rose a king in Scotland,
A fell man to his foes,
He smote the Picts in battle,
He hunted them like roes.
Over miles of the red mountain
He hunted as they fled,
And strewed the dwarfish bodies
Of the dying and the dead.

Summer came in the country,
Red was the heather bell;
But the manner of the brewing
Was none alive to tell.

In graves that were like children's
On many a mountain head,
The Brewster of the Heather
Lay numbered with the dead.

The king in the red moorland
Rode on a summer's day;
And the bees hummed, and the curlews
Cried beside the way.
The king rode, and was angry,
Black was his brow and pale,
To rule in a land of heather
And lack the Heather Ale.

It fortuned that his vassals,
Riding free on the heath,
Came on a stone that was fallen
And vermin hid beneath.
Rudely plucked from their hiding,
Never a word they spoke:
A son and his aged father—
Last of the dwarfish folk.

The king sat high on his charger,
He looked on the little men:
And the dwarfish and swarthy couple
Looked at the king again.
Down by the shore he had them:
And there on the giddy brink—
"I will give you life, ye vermin,
For the secret of the drink."

There stood the son and father
And they looked both high and low,
The heather was red around them,
The sea rumbled below.
And up and spoke the father,
Shrill was his voice to hear
"I have a word in private,
A word for the royal ear.

Life is dear to the aged,
And honour a little thing;
I would gladly sell the secret,"
Quoth the Pict to the king.
His voice was small as a sparrow's,
And shrill and wonderful clear:
"I would gladly sell my secret,
Only my son I fear.

For life is a little matter,
And death is nought to the young;
And I dare not sell my honour
Under the eye of my son.
Take *him*, O king, and bind him,
And cast him far in the deep;
And it's I will tell the secret
That I have sworn to keep."

They took the son and bound hi,
Neck and heels in a thong,
And a lad took him and swung him,
And flung him far and strong,

And the sea swallowed his body,
Like that of a child of ten—
And there on the cliff stood the father,
Last of the dwarfish men.

"True was the word I told you:
Only my son I feared,
For I doubt the sapling courage
That goes without the beard.
But now in vain is the torture,
Fire shall never avail:
Here dies in my bosom
The secret of Heather Ale."

The poem itself is familiar enough, but RLS added a note which reveals something of how he felt about the Picts:

> Among the curiosities of human nature, this legend claims a high place. It is needless to remind the reader that the Picts were never exterminated, and form to this day a large proportion of the folk of Scotland: occupying the eastern and the central parts, from the Firth of Forth, or perhaps the Lammermoors, upon the south, to the Ord of Caithness on the north. That the blundering guess of a dull chronicler should have inspired men with imaginary loathing for their own ancestors is already strange: that it should have begotten this wild legend seems incredible. Is it possible the chronicler's error was merely nominal? that what he told, and what the people proved themselves so ready to receive, about the Picts, was true or partly true of some anterior and perhaps Lappish savages, small of stature, black of hue, dwelling underground – possibly also the distillers of some forgotten spirit? See Mr. Campbell's Tales of the West Highlands.

Clearly Stevenson did not personally believe in this image of the Picts, but he thought that others did. And certainly not very long after he published the *Ballads*, John Buchan, in *No Man's Land*, created a fearsome race of small, humanoid creatures still to be found in the hills on the borders of Galloway who indulged in human sacrifice and whom he called Picts. These were followed by less terrifying bee-farming Picts in *Puck of Pook's Hill*, written a few years later by Rudyard Kipling.

Milliken and Bridgewater's *Flora Celtica* includes a lengthy article on Heather Ale. They quoted RLS's poem in full (but not the footnote). They also stated that 'the 6th century theologian Boethius claimed that the ancient Picts brewed intoxicating ale from *heather* alone.' Unlikely. This started me wondering where Stevenson found his story, so I went back to *Ballads* and his footnote. Who was Stevenson's 'dull chronicler'? And what was it that men found so

loathsome about the Picts? Indeed, how common was this belief in late Victorian Britain?

First stop was JF Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, published in 1860. A hundred pages into the introduction Campbell did indeed refer to the Picts - not in connection with the symbol stones which he mentioned in his discussion of magical mirrors - but in connection with the inhabitants of fairy mounds. He stated: '...I believe that there was a small race of people in these islands who are remembered as fairies, for the fairy belief is not confined to the Highlanders of Scotland'. He then recounted his own adventures in Swedish Lapland, describing the Lapps, their clothes, dwellings, food, dogs and so on. Eventually, he told a story about a benighted woman who drove the peg for a tether for her calves into a knoll, disturbing its fairy inhabitant. Campbell declared 'the fairy was probably a Pict. Who will say who the Picts may have been?' Campbell gave no hint of Stevenson's 'ancient chronicler,' choosing to believe that the Picts were some ancient diminutive race remembered as fairy creatures hostile to humans. Strange, as when he was collecting his *Tales*, the Picts were regarded as unquestionable mortals like their early medieval contemporaries.

The folk around the Mull of Galloway knew the story at least as early as the time when the Reverend Dr John Lamb wrote his account of Kirkmaiden parish in the Rhinns of Galloway for *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, published in 1845. For him, the Picts were masters of a fort at Dunman, on the edge of a cliff above the waters of the North Channel, a short distance north-west of the Mull. Nearby, two small mounds were said to have been used 'by the Picts in preparing their mysterious beverage *heather crap* (top of the plant) *ale*.' However, he located the site of the Picts' last stand on the Mull itself, and recounted the tale of the father and son, the last survivors. In this version, the defiant father leapt from the cliff to join his people in their watery graves below. There is no suggestion that the Picts were thought of as some strange race of fairy creatures here. William Todd, who was schoolmaster in the parish from 1799, confirmed these traditions in a manuscript written in 1854. Incidentally, he recorded the founding of a subscription library around 1801, noting that volumes of poetry were included in the more than three hundred volumes that were available to borrow. Today, an impressive lighthouse built by RLS' grandfather,

Robert Stevenson, in 1828-30, still dominates the Mull of Galloway. And beside it, an information board gives the poem and tells the story that here the last of the Picts perished.

There were other interesting leads in *Flora Celtica*. One was a quotation from another poem, John Leyden's *Scenes of Infancy*. This lengthy poem in celebration of his beloved Teviotdale was first published in 1803 when Leyden was on the verge of leaving to take up a post in India. Licensed as a Minister of the Church of Scotland and holding a doctorate in medicine from St Andrews University, Leyden was an associate of many of the leading literary figures in late eighteenth century Edinburgh. He collected and wrote for Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders*, furnishing Scott with notes to a number of the ballads as well as composing new ones. *Scenes of Infancy* went through at least two more editions in the years following Leyden's death of fever in Java in 1811. The lines quoted by Milliken and Bridgwater refer to an inspiring drink made from heather flowers when the Picts held sway over Teviotdale:

> Though unobtrusive all thy beauties shining,
> Yet boast, though rival of the purple vine!
> For once the mantling juice was seen to laugh
> In pearly cups, which monarchs loved to quaff
> And frequently woke the wild inspired lay
> On Teviot's hills, beneath the Pictish sway.

Six short lines only from a poem that extends to nearly two thousand: not a promising source of information about literary Picts. But Leyden supplied his readers with some explanatory notes, including an account of a Teviotdale legend of how Kenneth, king of Scots, slaughtered the Picts except for the last remaining father and son. Their lives were offered in exchange for the secret of the heather ale, and the father struck the bargain that his son should die first before he revealed the secret. The young man duly put to the sword, the father refused to divulge the recipe for the fabled ale. This time, the king (who had just seen to the wholesale massacre of an entire people) was so horrified at the perfidy of the elder Pict that he condemned the man to live. Ages later, blind and bedridden, the old, old man heard some young men outside his window boasting of their prowess at field sports. He asked to feel the strength of the wrist of one of these youngsters and was jokingly given a bar of iron to hold. "Not as strong as in my youth", commented the enfeebled Pict, as he snapped the bar in one hand. Some may prefer this ending. However, it would

seem that the story of heather ale was around by the early nineteenth century, and known outside of Galloway. A volume of Leyden's poetry may even have found its way into the lending library of Kirkmaiden parish.

Leyden also provided a quotation from Boethius in support of the legend:

> 'In the desarts (sic) and moors of this realm,' says Boethius 'grows an herb named heather, very nutritive to beasts, birds and especially bees. Of this flower the Picts made a delicious and wholesome liquor. The manner of making it has perished with the extinction of the Picts, as they never showed the making of it, except to their own blood.'

Now, as an educated Scot of his time, Leyden knew that this particular Boethius did not console himself with philosophy as he waited death in an imperial prison in 6th-century Pavia. The Boethius, on whom Leyden fathered this elegant quotation, was Hector Boece, the first Principal of Aberdeen University. Boece' *Historia Gentis Scotorum* of 1527 was translated into Scots by Bellenden about ten years later, but I have not been able to trace a version in Leyden's elegant English. Nor have I been able to find anything resembling his quotation in Bellenden's translation. For in Boece's account, the Picts were not entirely exterminated by the Scots, although he credited Kenneth with that intention. He did account for the disappearance of the Picts from his sources by sending them abroad as refugees.

Also quoted in *Flora Celtica* is F Marion McNeill's recipe for Heather Ale, taken from her *The Scots Kitchen*, where the recipe was headed by a quotation from RLS's poem. Her anonymous source specified the use of heather tops. McNeill pointed out in a footnote that there is no historical evidence for the extermination of the Picts 'though there may have been a local massacre' She went on, in another footnote, to state that Thomas Pennant, the Welsh naturalist, attributed to Boethius the story of the loss of the recipe on the extirpation of the Picts. In his account of his second trip to Scotland in 1772 Pennant wrote of an ale made in Islay, using the young tops of heather in a two to one ratio with malt. 'Boethius relates that this liquor was much used among the Picts, but when their nation was extirpated by the Scots, the secret died with them.' Pennant appeared to give a reference to this claim: 'Defer. Regni Scotorum'. The trail ran cold at this point; I have not been able to trace the source given by Pennant. However, his

A Tour in Scotland and a Voyage to the Hebrides was well known in late eighteenth century Edinburgh.

In a final attempt to find where the story of the little, dark people who were prepared to die for the secret of the heather ale began, I turned to my favourite source of Scottish history, but even Sir Walter Scott almost failed me. He mentioned the Picts in two of his novels only. In *The Black Dwarf*, Hobbie Elliot's brief speculation that the eponymous dwarf may be one of the Peghts that the old folk used to talk about was quickly quashed by his grandmother, while in *The Antiquary,* Jonathan Oldbuck and Sir Arthur Wardour argued vituperatively as to whether the Picts spoke a Celtic or a Gothic language. Neither in his *The History of Scotland* nor in *Tales of a Grandfather* did he suggest that the Picts were in any way distinguishable from their contemporaries. However, in *The Voyage of the Pharos*, the diary of a cruise made with the Commissioners of the Northern Lighthouses in 1814, Scott noted a story told by RLS's grandfather. On a professional visit to North Ronaldsay, Robert Stevenson was asked to give an opinion as to what should be done with a Pict who had appeared on the island. This was a very wee, black-haired, bearded creature who was simply 'no canny', and who could scarcely be understood by the locals. Fortunately for the 'Pict', Stevenson was able to vouch for him as a former ironmonger of Edinburgh, who had answered a call to go and preach to the heathen of the Northern Isles.

It seems just possible that, even if RLS showed no aptitude for the family trade of lighthouse building, his facility for telling tales may have been inherited. The legend of the heather ale may have been a potent brew of the Pict from North Ronaldsay, the stark cliffs of the Mull of Galloway and the story told by Leyden, all combined in a tale for the entertainment and edification of young Stevensons. Could the 'ancient chronicler' have been Stevenson's own grandfather? Was the story handed down in the family, eventually to enter popular mythology via the poem by Robert Louis Stevenson himself? How would he have reacted to the idea that he himself introduced this 'wild legend' to a wider public? Would he have been horrified by Buchan's use of his tale to inspire the horror story of diminutive Pictish men still hidden in the Border hills who offered up human sacrifices in No *Man's Land*? Would it have amused him

to realise that he had furnished Kipling with a (very unhistorical) version of the Picts, who in *Puck of Pook's Hill* were to stand for the little downtrodden people everywhere?

> We are the Little Folk—we!
>   Too little to love or to hate.
> Leave us alone and you'll see
>   How we can drag down the State!
>
> We are the worm in the wood!
>   We are the rot at the root!
> We are the taint in the blood!
>   We are the thorn in the foot!

Sheila Hainey

The Pictish boat carving on St Orland's Stone, Cossans, Angus

Recording St Orland's Stone at Cossans in Angus recently gave me an opportunity to examine in detail its boat carving. This depiction of a Pictish boat is rare if not unique. The only other contender is the much cruder vessel roughly pecked on the wall of Jonathan's Cave at East Wemyss, Fife. The fact that this carving was not noted at all by early antiquarians has always raised some suspicion that it might be a later forgery. But even if we accept its authenticity as a genuine early carving (it is, as I have said, convincingly pecked), it is by no means certain that it is contemporary with the other Pictish carvings in the Wemyss caves: it could be earlier. Either way, it is a rudimentary representation of a vessel with a high prow and stern, a tiller and four oars. There are no people on board.

© Copyright RCAHMS

1 *Boat carving from Jonathan's Cave, East Wymess*

As one might expect of an accomplished Pictish cross slab, the relief-carved vessel on St Orland's Stone offers us a refined and detailed rendition. The cross slab has suffered considerable damage on both carved faces (a and c). It is perhaps unusual that a cross slab of this nature is not also carved on its two narrow sides (b and d).

2 *Detail of boat carving from John Borland's survey drawing. Scale 1:5*

The boat is carved on face c and survives intact although it has lost much of its fine detail due to surface erosion. That being said, careful observation on site did reveal some interesting features and a high resolution laser scan carried out by my HES colleague Colin Muir helped to confirm my interpretation. More accurately, I should say former colleague, since my retirement from HES in May this year.

The boat carving is close to the bottom of face c, above but not separated from a panel containing two creatures: an enface ox and a large feline-looking beast with claws and a narrow waist. Its tail is curls over its arched back and it appears to be biting one of the ox's ears. The tips of the ox's horns encroach into the boat slightly, the gap between them housing one of the oar blades.

Carved in relief, the boat is moving left to right. A well-defined gunwale and a hint of a keel running down from the sternpost suggest that it is a clinker-built vessel although no evidence of planking survives. Projecting from the stern

is a tiller with a clearly defined blade and seated at the stern is the tillerman, facing to the fore, as one would expect. Very little detail survives on this figure but he appears to be bearded. He does not appear to have long hair.

In front of the tillerman, the second figure – a passenger – is also facing to the fore. He is slightly smaller in size and this is accentuated by the fact that he is shown sitting lower in the boat. He is also bearded and his long hair terminates in classic Pictish style with a curl at the back of his neck.

The third figure is an oarsman who, as one would expect, is facing aft. He is similar in size to the tillerman and like him, is seated high in the vessel. He is bearded and does not appear to have long hair. Instead of a broad blade, his oar terminates in a curve, rather like a shinty stick.

The fourth figure is a passenger, facing to the fore. Seated low in the vessel, he too is slightly smaller than the crew members. He has a long beard and long hair ending in a curl. Figure five is a second oarsman, facing aft. Seated high, he

3 *Detail from high res laser scan carried out by HES stone conservator Colin Muir. Scale 1:5*

Apart from the hierarchy indicated by the relevant size of the people in the boat, there seems to be a distinct differentiation between passengers and crew. All are bearded – this seems to be a norm for male figures on Pictish sculpture – but only the passengers appear to have characteristically long Pictish hair ending in a curl at the back of the neck. The three crew members on the other hand have either short hair or perhaps shaved heads. There is no surviving evidence of a tonsure – a detail that can be discerned on other sculpture – but the absence of long hair raises the possibility that the boat is crewed by holy men.   *JB*

© Copyright HES

4 *Detail of Fowlis Wester 2 showing the seat with the animal head terminal*

has a beard but apparently no long hair. His oar also terminates in a curved blade (it is this one that nestles between the horns of the ox).

The sixth and final figure, seated high in the bow is clearly the most important person aboard because he is significantly larger than all the others. Perhaps due to his size, more detail survives and we can see that he is bearded with long curled hair. The folds or pleats of his robe are also clearly defined. Some have interpreted him as facing forward but the curl of hair behind his neck is clearly visible, making him facing aft. This would also make more sense for anyone seated in the bow.

The boat's sternpost is plain and rises about half way up the tillerman's body. The prow rises much higher – well above the shoulders of the large seated figure – and terminates in an animal figurehead. This animal is backward-facing and has a long upright ear, a hint of an oval eye and a long downward pointing snout, which runs into the line of the fore gunwale. In form, the animal figurehead is reminiscent of the seat back terminal of the left-hand figure on the Fowlis Wester 2 cross slab.

Forthcoming Events

PAS Autumn Lecture Series

Due to the current pandemic, the forthcoming autumn lecture series will be delivered online via Zoom. Details of how to access the lectures will be circulated by email to members shortly.

Friday 18 September

Dr Juliette Mitchell

Monumental Landscapes:
The early medieval barrow and cairn cemeteries of northern and eastern Scotland.

Friday 16 October

Dr Peter McNiven

Pictish in Gowrie:
the evidence of place-names

Friday 20 November

Dr Nicholas Evans

The origins and growth of Pictish identity:
Glass half full or half empty

Friday 18 December

Dr Alex Woolf

Rethinking the disappearance of the Picts:
From Pictland to Alba 12 years on

PAS Newsletter 97

The deadline for receipt of material is
Saturday 19 September 2020
Please email contributions to the editor:
<johnborland600@aol.com>