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Edited by: Lloyd Laing, Sheila Hainey and Nick Simpson

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Foreword

With Lloyd Laing as our new Editor and sterling work from Sheila Hainey and Nick Simpson we are pleased to issue Journal 15 - still a little late, but not too late I hope for you to enjoy, and to look forward to Journal 16 which should be published by December 2001.

Eileen C Brownlie
President

THE PICTISH ARTS SOCIETY

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Forsyth, K 1997 'Some Thoughts on Pictish Symbols as a Formal Writing System', in Henry, D (ed), *The Worm, the Germ and the Thorn, Pictish and related studies presented to Isabel Henderson*, Balgavies, 85-98.

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Geographical Distribution of *Mirror-case* and *Mirror* Symbols

Bob Henery

INTRODUCTION

There is a north south division in the distribution of Pictish symbols and their decoration. This division goes hand in hand with a difference in popularity between Classes I and II in that symbols and symbol decorations that are common on northern Class I stones are relatively rare in Class II and in the south generally. From this we conclude that symbols and decorations in the north are generally earlier than those in the south. In particular the *rectangle* symbol is typically northern and early, while the *double disc and Z-rod* and *elephant* symbols are typically southern and late. The *divided mirror-case* occurs only in the north (with one exception) and the *plain mirror-case* is restricted to the south. *Mirror* decorations show an equally clear-cut differentiation, this time between the Classes: bossed *mirrors* are restricted to Class I, and all twelve (decidable) Class II *mirrors* are plain. As most Class II stones are in the south, this implies that southern *mirrors* are more likely to be plain than northern *mirrors*. Even within Class I however, the same general rule holds : all plain *mirrors* are in the south. Symbols are not uniformly spread over the whole of Pictland as implied by Anderson (ECMS I, cx). Not only are there isolated concentrations of particular symbols, like the "bovine symbols of Burghead and Inverness" mentioned by Anderson himself, but there are large-scale variations that must reflect cultural differences between the regions, in particular between north and south.

Double disc and Z-rod, rectangle and *elephant* symbols

Consider as a group the northern regions : Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland. This northern group accounts for 19.4% (103 out of 530) of all Pictish symbols, yet there is no *double disc and Z-rod* symbol in this area even though this is one of the commonest symbols, with 59 examples throughout Pictland (p-value = 0.0000012). By contrast, the majority of *rectangle* symbols (12 out of 18) came from Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland despite the fact that only 19.4% of all symbols came from this area (p-value = 0.000011). Mack (1997) has already drawn attention to this fact when he says of the *rectangle* symbol : "This may be an early symbol. There are only two in the south and only one class II *rectangle*". Note Mack's explicit recognition that some regions are earlier than others, north being earlier than south. Henderson (1958) has also observed an imbalance in the *elephant* distribution: "the Aberdeen area is, in quantity, the home of the *elephant*". To see this, compare the Class I distribution of the *crescent and V-rod* and *elephant* symbols. Aberdeenshire and areas to the south have nearly as many *elephants (22)* as *crescent and V-rod (25)* symbols, whereas all other regions of Pictland have substantially fewer *elephants* (7) than *crescent and V-rods* (42) (p-value = 0.00050). The geographical distribution of symbols is therefore dichotomised between north and south. We proceed now to show that a similar dichotomy exists for symbol decorations.

Mirror-case symbol

Take first the *mirror-case* symbol and its two variants the *divided mirror-case* and *plain mirror-case*. Even though neither variant is exactly numerous, it is easy to see that there is a north south divide. Throughout we will accept, with one small proviso, Alastair Mack's Field Guide opinions as to which symbols are on which stones (as updated in Mack 2000). In addition, we use Mack's Field Guide notation for the symbols, including his use of italics to indicate a symbol. This is particularly useful here as we occasionally wish to differentiate between the *mirror* as symbol and the mirror as object. (We will resist the temptation to discuss the mirror case as an object).

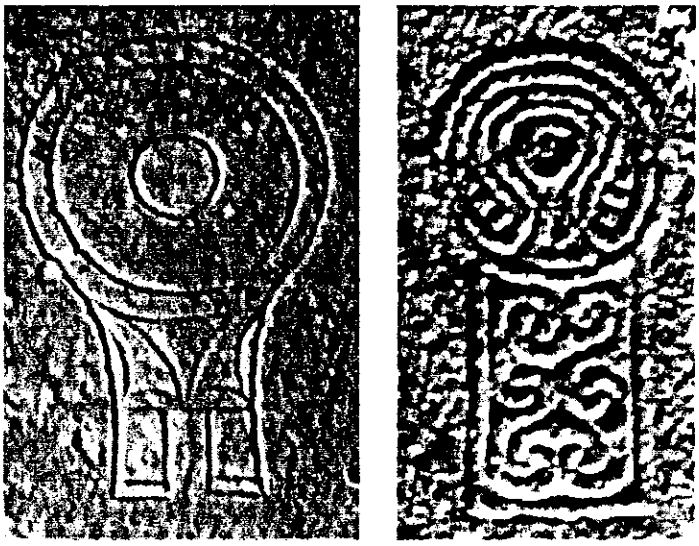

Fig 1. *Mirror-case* symbols from **Greens** (left) and **Dyce 2** (right).
The *mirror-case* on **Greens** is described here as the *divided mirror-case*. This is ECMS's (no. 123) *circular disc and rectangle with square indentation*. The *mirror-case* on **Dyce 2** is described here as a *plain mirror-case* (i.e. the rectangle has no indentation). This is ECMS's (no. 122) *circular disc and rectangle.*

The Geographic Distribution of *Mirror-case* symbols

Tables 1a and 1b give the localities of the two types of *mirror-case*. These two tables are updated versions of the tables on page 61 of ECMS part II. The eight stones with *mirror-cases* that have been discovered since ECMS was published are shown in plain font. Stones known to ECMS are shown in **bold** in this table. In the text, all symbol stones are in **bold.**

Name (Field Guide)	Region	Class
Birsay ??	ORK	I
Greens	ORK	I
Gurness	ORK	I
South Ronaldsay	**ORK**	**I**
Sandside House	**HIG-CAI**	**I**
Kintradwell 1	**HIG-SUT**	**I**
Strathmiglo	FIF	I

Table 1a.
Localities of *divided mirror-case* symbols. Birsay is included in Table 1a, on account of the Museum of Scotland reconstruction being *divided*. According to the Field Guide it should appear in Table 1b, but, as insufficient carving survives to determine whether the original symbol was divided or not, **Birsay** has been excluded from the following discussion.

Name (Field Guide)	Region	Class
Advie	HIG-BAD	I
Drumbuie 2	**HIG-INV**	**I**
Knocknagael	**HIG-INV**	**I**
Arndilly	**MOR**	**I**
Inveraven 1	**MOR**	**I**
Westfield 1	FIF	I
Fetterangus	**FIF**	**I**
Inverurie 1	**ABE**	**I**
Nether Corskie	ABE	I
Newton of Lewesk	ABE	I
Tillytarmont 1	**ABE**	**I**
DYCE 2	**ABE**	**I**
MEIGLE 5	**PER**	**I**

Table 1b.
Localities of *plain mirror-case* symbols. Some authorities, following ECMS, see the symbol on **Inverurie 2** as a *plain mirror-case*. **Inverurie 2** does not appear in Table 1b because the Field Guide sees it as a *mirror*.

It is immediately apparent from these tables that northern *mirror-cases* are *divided* and, with one exception, southern *mirror-cases* are *plain*. From the statistical point of view, it is highly probable that this represents a real difference in geographic distribution of the two types (with a p-value of 0.00052). Ritchie (1985) has already noted that the *divided mirror case* (*circular disc and rectangle with square indentation*) symbol is concentrated in the north, and seems to be "special to this area" (ibid p186) with "special importance in Orkney" (ibid p188).

Mack does not now regard Gurness as a symbol stone proper. Omitting this stone from Table 1a will clearly weaken the argument (though still highly significant with a p-value of 0.0016). If then we agree that symbols from other contexts might also be considered, the *divided mirror-case* symbols on the Gurness stone and the Burrian (Orkney) bone provide independent confirmation of a preference for this symbol in the north. The *plain mirror-case* symbols in the caves at Covesea (Moray) confirm the southern preference for these symbols. The author does not know the type of the two *mirror-cases* in East Wemyss (Fife), but ECMS attaches a question mark to them anyway.

As most *divided mirror*-case symbols come from a region (north) that is known to be early, and as the only Class II examples are *plain* (and southern), we conclude that the *divided mirror-case* is early and the *plain mirror-case* symbol is late (or perhaps we should say not as early).

Geographic distribution of plain and bossed mirrors

Now consider the *mirror* symbol. This illustrates very clearly that stylistic differences exist between the Classes. We refer to the fact that no Class II *mirror* has a boss whereas most Class I *mirrors* do. This will come as no surprise to anyone, but the added point of note here is the north south division exhibited by the variants in mirror handle. To emphasize the contrast between north and south, we will widen the meaning of "bossed" and we will distinguish two types of *mirror*. *Mirrors* whose surface is a complete disc (as on the Class II **Maiden** stone) we describe as *plain mirrors*. Those with handles protruding some way onto the mirror surface, usually by a boss, we describe as *bossed mirrors*. The two types are illustrated in Figure 2.

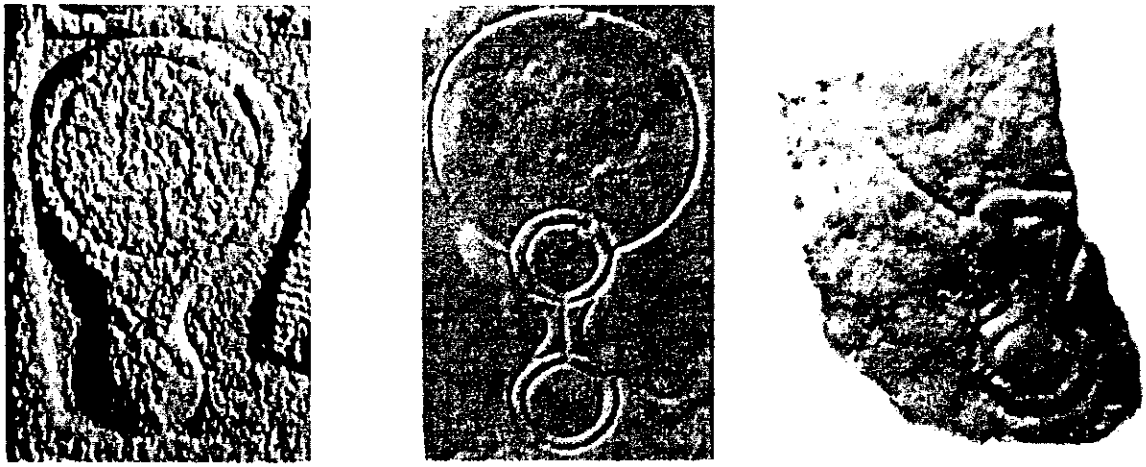

Fig 2. The *mirror* on the **Maiden** stone (left) is *plain*, i.e. has a complete disc. Both **Dunrobin 1** (middle) and **Sands of Evie** (right) are *bossed*, since the *mirror* rim is rendered incomplete by the *mirror* handle in both cases.

The distribution of *plain* and *bossed mirrors* is given in table 2, with Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and Sutherland making up the northern group as before.

Region	Class	No. of Stones	Type of Mirror			
			None	Plain	Bossed	Can't Tell
Northern	I	40	27	-	12	1
Northern	II	4	4	-	-	-
Southern	I	146	107	6	24	9
Southern	II	56	44	12	-	1

Table 2.
Distribution of *mirror* types. Rosemarkie (Class 2, southern) has two *mirrors*. **Glamis 1** and **2** *mirrors* are on the Class I faces. There are a fair number of cases labelled "can't tell". The six *plain mirrors* in Class I are **Collace, Drumbuie 2, Dunnichen, Easterton of Roseisle** reverse, **Inverurie 2,** and **Rhynie 4,** some of which are arguable also.

All northern *mirrors* are *bossed*, and are Class I. Of the 13 northern mirrors, the only possible exception is **Little Ferry Links 4** of which no part of the handle remains. All Class II *mirrors* are southern and are *plain*, the only possible exception being **Monifieth 1** which has no handle visible. We can safely conclude that the *plain mirror* symbol is late and the *bossed mirror* symbol is early. If the *mirror* symbol were a reflection of the mirror object, it would seem that the plain mirror is late and the bossed mirror is early.

Judging from the proportion of early and late (*bossed* and *plain*) *mirrors*, Class I stones in the southern area are intermediate between Class II and northern Class I, though only marginally as there are 24 early (*bossed*) and six late (*plain*) *mirrors*.

Stones standing when first noted

It seems plausible that later stones are more likely to remain standing than earlier stones, on the ground that they suffer fewer cataclysmic events such as earthquakes, storms or social revolutions. Techniques for ensuring that stones stay standing may also improve over the years. The *Field Guide* lists 48 stones as found standing. Classifying all 244 Pictish stones by region, class and whether standing, we obtain Table 4. For the present argument, we have treated **Glamis 1** and **Glamis 2** as Class II stones (their class when last erected).

Region	Class	Found Standing		
		No	Yes	Proportion Standing
Northern	I	39	1	0.0250
Northern	II	3	1	0.2500
Southern	I	117	27	0.1875
Southern	II	39	19	0.3276

Table 3. Number of stones found standing by region and class

Assuming that a high proportion of standing stones in any category is an indication that this category is relatively late, we see that south is later than north (even within Class I) and Class II is later than Class I (even within the southern region).

FINAL REMARKS

A north south division in the distribution of Pictish stones is exhibited by three **independent** properties of the stones : the symbols themselves, the decoration within the symbols, and whether or not the stone was found standing. While any one of these analyses may not be entirely conclusive, put together they add up to an overwhelming case that northern stones are earlier than southern and Class I is earlier than Class II. In so far as the *rectangle* is northern, it is an early symbol. Similarly, the *elephant* and *double disc and Z-rod* are southern and late. The conclusions from the symbols (*rectangle, elephant, double disc and Z-rod)* are not strictly independent of each other as an excess of a symbol in one region implies a deficit for others in that region. For a stricter analysis of the most frequent symbols (including *rectangle, elephant,* and *double disc and Z-rod)*, the reader is recommended to study the results of the correspondence analysis in Henery (2000). The main conclusion is that there is a

systematic tendency for north to be earlier than south, even within relatively small regions of Pictland. Certain symbols are identified as early (*rectangle* and *mirror-case*), and others as late (*elephant*, *double disc and Z-rod* and *serpent and Z-rod).* Of course, these considerations establish the general trend. It is not claimed that all northern stones are early, or that more localised variations are absent. In fact, the full correspondence analysis is capable of throwing up some anomalies, as exemplified by **Strathmiglo** whose *divided mirror-case* is of the earliest type, showing that at least one Fifeshire stone is early despite being far to the south of Pictland.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is indebted to Alastair Mack for very considerable help with all aspects of the present study, including the identification of the find-spots of the stones, in providing updated information on the stones and their symbols, and in supplying photographs of several stones. For permission to photograph the stones held in their care, the author is grateful to many individuals and especially to Dunrobin Castle, Historic Scotland, Museums of Scotland, and the museum services of Aberdeen, Angus, Caithness, Dundee, Elgin, Groam House Rosemarkie, Inverness, Moray, Orkney, Perth and Shetland.

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Sculptural and Archaeological Cauldrons in Northern Britain

Craig Cessford

SUMMARY

The depiction of cauldrons on Pictish sculpture is examined and the archaeological evidence for cauldrons in Northern Britain between the Late Bronze Age and the Post-Roman period is reviewed. The validity of using documentary sources is considered, as is the role of perceived notions of Celticity in interpreting the archaeological material. It is argued that sculptural and archaeological cauldrons can be meaningfully compared and the sculptural examples shed interesting light on archaeological cauldrons. Attempts to equate the Pictish sculptural representations of cauldrons with a particular type of cauldron are probably unwise as the sculptural representations were probably influenced by the entire tradition of cauldron use between the Late Bronze Age and the Post-Roman period. The discontinuous nature of cauldron deposition is discussed and the reasons why there have been so few attempts to compare the evidence of archaeological artefacts and Pictish symbols are considered.

INTRODUCTION

Cauldrons occur in Northern Britain, both as archaeological remains and sculptural representations. Although depictions of cauldrons in Pictish art have been linked to Iron Age cauldrons the evidence and its implications have not previously been examined in detail[1]. Pictish sculptural depictions provide a considerable amount of information about cauldrons and are a more reliable form of evidence than documentary sources. Discussion has ignored the temporal and spatial differences between the sculptural and archaeological cauldrons and has not considered the possible role of Late Bronze Age cauldrons and buckets. There can be little doubt that the Pictish triple-disc symbol is based upon a cauldron and that it and the depiction of a cauldron on the Glamis 2 stone can shed important light upon cauldrons in Northern Britain. The neglect of Pictish art as a source of evidence in studies of archaeological cauldrons is perplexing. It is partly explicable in terms of disciplinary period divisions, the archaeological cauldrons belong to the Iron Age and Roman periods whilst the Pictish art is Post-Roman. These divisions, whilst largely arbitrary academic constructs, do reflect an actual temporal division between the two types of material. Traditional ideas of 'Celtic' identity have meant that Post-Roman Welsh and Irish documentary sources have frequently been employed as evidence to interpret a wide range of spatially and temporally different material. In contrast the Picts have often been viewed as distinct and different. This was largely due to a number of misconceptions or ideas which are no longer widely accepted and the Picts are now generally thought of as a typical north-west European society of the period (Foster 1996, 17-18). This belief that the Picts were distinct and different meant that scholars working on materials from other periods and areas did not use Pictish material, as it was not considered appropriate.

SCULPTURAL CAULDRONS

Cauldrons appear to be represented in Pictish art in two forms: as the basis for one of the Pictish symbols, known as the triple-disc symbol, and in a scene involving a cauldron as depicted on the Glamis 2 stone.

[1] This article extends and develops ideas presented at the Pictish Arts Society Living Picts conference in Forfar, May 1999 (Cessford forthcoming).

Pictish Triple-Disc Symbol

When Joseph Anderson and Romilly Allen published their corpus of *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* they did not classify the triple-disc symbol as one based on 'objects of known character and use' (ibid vol I, xxxvi and vol II, 57), despite Anderson being familiar with archaeological cauldrons (Anderson 1885; 1888). The Pictish triple-disc symbol is physically defined by the presence of a large central disc and two smaller discs lying either side of it. Charles Thomas identified it as a bronze cauldron suspended by a stick or bar inserted through its ring handles and viewed from above (Thomas 1963, 55, fig 4; repeated 1986, 166). This idea has gained widespread acceptance (Brodie 1996, 26; Cruickshank 1991, 24; Foster 1996, 74; Kermack 1997, 12; Mack 1997, 15; Sutherland 1994, 109; 1997, 16). Thomas briefly compared the symbol with archaeological cauldrons, without going into the topic in depth, and subsequent discussions have simply reiterated his identification. The triple-disc symbol occurs on both class I undressed stone slabs of the sixth to eighth centuries AD and class II dressed stone slabs with a Christian cross of the eighth to ninth centuries AD [Table 1].

Location	Class	Trans-verse Bar	Attach-ment Rings	Central Decor-ation	Double Rim	Alignment	References
Aberlemno 2, Angus	II	No	No	No	Yes	Vertical	ECMS vol III, 209-14
Clatt 1, Grampian	I	Yes	No	No	No	Horizontal	ECMS vol III, 157-58
Dyce 2, Grampian	II	No	No	Yes	Yes?	Vertical	ECMS vol III, 189-90
Fetterangus, Grampian	I	Yes	No	No	No	Horizontal	ECMS vol III, 164
Glamis 1, Angus	II	No	No	No	Yes	Vertical	ECMS vol III, 221
Glamis 2, Angus	II	No	Yes	No	Yes	Vertical	ECMS vol III, 221-23
Inveravon 2, Moray	I	Yes	No	No	No	Horizontal	ECMS vol III, 153
Kintore 1, Grampian	I	Yes	No	No	No	Horizontal	ECMS vol III, 171-72
Keiss, Highland (Dubious)	I	No	No	Yes	No	Unknown	ECMS vol III, 27-28
Kintradwell 2, Highland	I	No	No	No	Yes	Unknown	ECMS vol III, 43-44
Lindores, Fife	I	Yes	No	No	No	Horizontal	ECMS vol III, 343-44
Little Ferry Links 3, Highland (Dubious)	I	Unk.	Unk.	Poss.	Unk.	-	ECMS vol III, 47
Monymusk, Grampian	II	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Horizontal	ECMS vol III, 192-94
Navidale	I	No	No	No	Yes	Horizontal	Macdonald, 1970, 136, 143

Table 1. Pictish Triple-Disc symbols

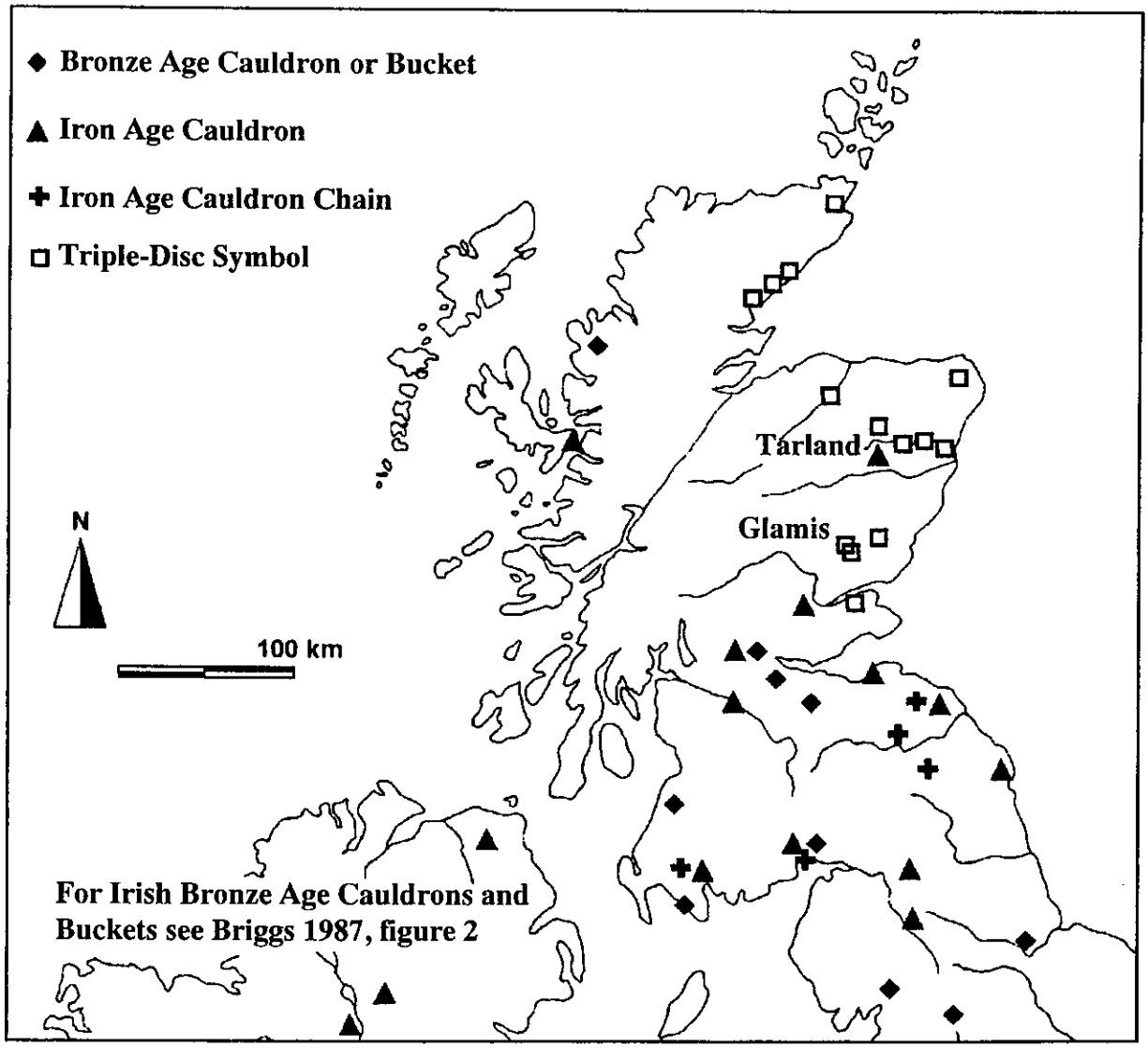

Fig. 1 Distribution map of archaeological cauldrons and the triple-disc symbol (Based upon Briggs 1987, figure 2; Burt 1997, 15; MacGregor 1976, map 21; Raftery 1980, figure 13 plus additions).

The three discs of the triple-disc symbol represent a slight case of artistic licence, as the handle attachments on an actual cauldron were vertical they have been 'flattened' on the triple-disc symbol, presumably to make it more distinctive and easily recognisable for what it represents. Interestingly this 'flattened' perspective still occurs in archaeological illustration for the same reason (eg Raftery 1980, figure 1). The triple-disc symbols fall into two main groups (Thomas 1963, 55, fig 4), those with a transverse bar and those without. The examples with transverse bars, which all occur on class I stones, are generally quite simple and display no other detail. The type is best exemplified on Kintore 1 [Figure 2] where the bar is shown passing over the larger central disc and through the two outer smaller discs in the manner of a suspension bar. The other form without the transverse bar are generally more ornate and show other details. They are frequently delineated by a pair of lines, rather that the single line of the type with the transverse bar, which may be an attempt to depict a rim binding as a similar feature occurs on other symbols such as the mirror symbol (Cessford 1997, 107). On Glamis 2 [Figure 3] and Monymusk [Figure 4] the central disc is attached to the smaller discs by a number of lines suggesting attachment rings. On Dyce 2 [Figure 5] there are three concentric circles within the large central disc, suggestive of ripples. On Monymusk [Figure 4] the interior of the large central disc is richly ornamented with two

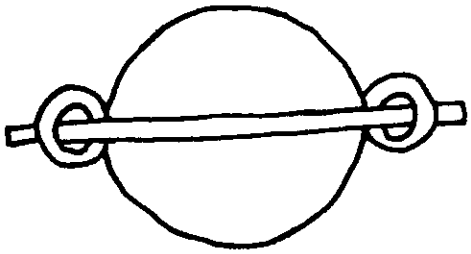

Fig. 2 Kintore 1 triple-disc symbol (Based upon ECMS volume III, figure 185 and Thomas 1963, figure 4).

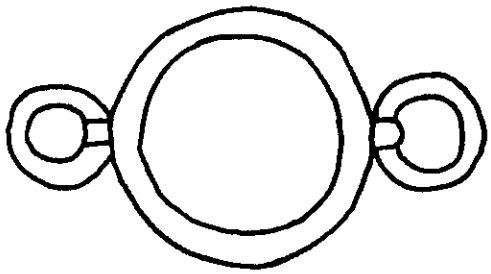

Fig. 3 Glamis 2 triple-disc symbol (Based upon Thomas 1963, figure 4).

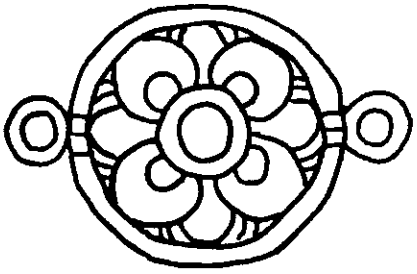

Fig. 4 Monymusk triple-disc symbol (Based upon ECMS volume III, figure 209).

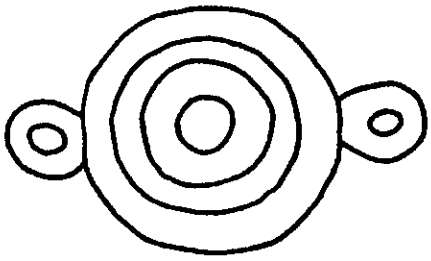

Fig. 5 Dyce 2 triple-disc symbol (Based upon ECMS volume III, figure 206 and Thomas 1963, figure 4.

concentric circles and quatrefoils in what may be an artistic embellishment of ripples. This 'ripple' decoration is intriguing and whilst it could be argued that it is purely coincidental, due to the fact that the decoration is effectively framed and bounded by a circle. This is unlikely and it tends to support the identification of cauldrons as the basis for the triple-disc symbol with the ripples indicating the presence of liquid within the container. The triple-disc symbol can be depicted either horizontally, that is with the smaller discs either side of the larger disc, or vertically, that is with the smaller discs above and below the larger disc. The vertical examples all occur in class II contexts and their alignment appears to be primarily due to space constraints. This shows that the normal alignment of the triple-disc symbol was horizontal but that it was acceptable to depict it vertically, indeed some of the 'vertical' examples are not truly vertical suggesting that it did not particularly matter how the symbol was aligned.

The fact that the triple-disc depicts a cauldron from above is atypical, Pictish symbols do not usually depict items from this viewpoint. The vertical viewpoint, unlike a more conventional horizontal viewpoint, would depict the contents of the cauldron as well as the container itself. If the Pictish symbols were originally painted (Cessford 1996) this would have allowed the symbol to actually denote the contents of the cauldron. This raises the question of the precise role of cauldrons, these are generally accepted to be cooking vessels but the existence of wooden examples [see Archaeological Cauldrons and Buckets below] suggests that they were also used as serving vessels. If cauldrons were also used as serving vessels then they may have contained various liquids. The roughly contemporary Gododdin poem from southern Scotland described mead as yellow and wine, by linking it to imagery of blood, as red (Koch 1997). If the triple-disc symbols were indeed painted this could have been used to indicate what the contents of the cauldron were. It must be remembered that cauldrons are primarily containers, although archaeological discussions often limit themselves to what survives physically in symbolic terms it may well have been the contents, rather than the container, which were of greatest importance (Arnold 2000, 84).

The Glamis 2 stone

The Glamis 2 stone, which has a triple-disc symbol in its lower left quadrant [Figure 3], also has another depiction of a cauldron on it in the lower right quadrant [Figure 6]. This shows 'a caldron hanging from a horizontal bar, supported on two vertical forked sticks, and with the legs of two naked figures projecting upwards out of the caldron' (Allen 1903, vol III, 223). It has been suggested that this may represent a cult scene (Thomas 1963, 79), human sacrifice or drowning (Laing and Laing 1993, 67, 130), a scene from folklore or an execution by drowning (Ritchie 1989, 14-15). Ritchie (ibid) draws attention to drownings in documentary sources, in 734 AD the Annals of Ulster and Tiegernach state that 'Talorc, son of Congus, took his own brother and gave him into the hands of the Picts; and he was drowned by them' (Anderson 1922, vol I, 232). The same two sets of Annals record that in 739 Talorcan, Drostan's son, king of Athole, was drowned by Angus' (ibid, vol 1, 236). In neither case is the method of drowning specified, so the use of a cauldron can not be reliably inferred and indeed requires a considerable act of imagination.

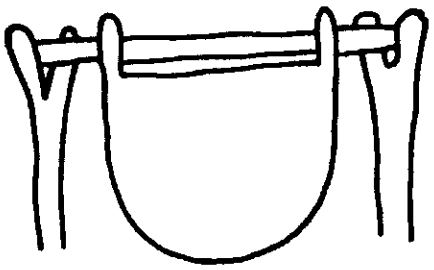

Fig. 6 Detail of Glamis 2 cauldron scene (Based upon Thomas 1963, figure 4).

An exact reading of the meaning of the cauldron on the Glamis II stone is probably impossible. The scene is placed directly above a pair of men in short tunics fighting with axes, these figures have grotesque facial features and may represent some form of 'ogre' (Henderson 1997, 17-8; see also Turner 1994). It is conceivable that these two figures are meant to be the same two figures whose legs project upward out of the cauldron above. The other elements shown on the cross slab are; on the top of the stone two beasts with a human head between them which may be a depiction of Daniel, upper right quadrant a lion, upper left quadrant a long haired centaur holding an axe in each hand and lower left quadrant two Pictish symbols, a beast's head and a triple-disc. The lion symbolises the evangelist Saint Mark. The centaur may represent Chiron from Classical mythology who chopped down a healing branch and gave it to Aesculapius/Asklepios and represents healing (Stevenson 1993 24; see also Henderson 1997, 22-23), or it could be based upon the story of Saint Anthony being directed to Saint Paul by a centaur (Alcock 1998, 528). It appears that the motif of the centaur carrying axes is linked, stylistically at least, to the 'ogres' carrying axes in the lower right quadrant (Henderson 1997, 22-23). The beast's head and triple-disc symbols represent a conventional Pictish symbol pairing and may represent the name of the deceased for whom the cross slab was erected (Samson 1992). It seems likely that all four quadrants are linked symbolically, as suggested by the shared elements between quadrants, such as axes and cauldrons, and the fact that many of the elements face inwards towards the central cross. The cauldron scene may well be linked to a theme of healing/regeneration with mythological elements, which we are unable to comprehend. It is an intriguing, but unprovable, possibility that one reason this theme and imagery was chosen was because of the link between the triple-disc symbol, which possibly formed part of the individuals name, and cauldrons which were symbols of regeneration.

Of the other class II stones with symbols on both Aberlemno 2 and Monymusk the triple-disc appears to occur simply as a symbol and is not particularly linked to other elements on the stone. Glamis 1 is very similar to Glamis 2, both re-use earlier class I stones and the class I stones both included the serpent symbol plus one other and an additional mirror symbol. The triple-disc on Glamis 1 symbol also occurs in the same location, the lower left-hand quadrant. The upper left quadrant of Glamis 1 has a bird headed man with an axe that was probably originally fighting with another figure, which is symbolically similar to the 'ogres' on Glamis 1. These parallels strongly suggest that the two stones are closely connected.

It is not clear from the Glamis 2 stone what type of frame the cauldron is being suspended from. Allen describes it as a 'horizontal bar, supported on two vertical forked sticks' (Allen 1903, vol II, 223), implying that the uprights were made of wood whilst the Laing's have suggested a 'metal tripod or other frame'(Laing and Laing 1993, 67). Given the lack of archaeological material it may well be that the frame was made of roughly shaped pieces of wood that would rarely survive and are unlikely to be recognised even if discovered.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CAULDRONS AND BUCKETS

Bronze Age

Large bronze cauldrons first appear in the archaeological record in Northern Britain during the Late Bronze Age [Table 2], they are relatively rare and were probably imported from Ireland where a large number have been found (Gerloff 1986; Coles 1960). They date from around 750 to 550 BC and can be divided into various classes. Other Late Bronze Age evidence for the use of cauldrons in Scotland is provided by a flesh-hook from a hoard at Killeonan, Argyll, and another possible example from Kilbride, Arran which are also almost certainly also Irish imports (Coles 1960, 25; see also Jockenhövel 1974). Bronze Age cauldrons and flesh-hooks are relatively rare imports from Ireland and after they occur there is a period of several centuries without any known cauldrons from Northern Britain. It is not clear if this represents a genuine absence or a change in depositional practices as bronze hoards cease to be deposited in Northern Britain around 500 BC. It has been suggested that the recovery of many cauldrons and buckets from bogs may be due to survival and discovery biases, rather than their original distribution, and that fragments in hoards represent scrap (Briggs 1987, 170-72). This has been used to argue that such items are not votive offerings (ibid), these arguments whilst plausible assume that hoards containing scrap are not votive and fail to explain why complete valuable objects which were still useworthy, and could have been recycled, were deposited.

During the Late Bronze Age when cauldrons were introduced into Northern Britain another form of container the bronze bucket, was also introduced around 700 BC (Briggs 1987; Coles 1960, 27-29; Hawkes and Smith 1957, 137-60) [Table 2]. Irish-British type buckets are very closely related technologically to cauldrons and the majority of examples have been found in Ireland. They are known from a number of sites in Northern Britain and the best preserved being a complete example with handles from Heathery Burn, Durham, (Britton 1971; Hawkes and Smith 1957, 148-60). This bucket, although markedly different in profile from cauldrons, is very similar when viewed in plan. This is supported by the description of a now lost bucket from Ravenstonedale, Cumbria, found in 1774 (Turnbull 1995) and indicates that the triple-disc symbol could be related to buckets as well as cauldrons.

Location	Cauldron	Bucket	Context	Reference
Dalduff, Strathclyde	2 x A2		Hoard	Coles 1960, 30-31, 88
Damhall / Hatterknowe, Borders	A1		Probably bog, may be associated with an axe found separately	Coles 1960, 30-31, 71, 88 Buchan 1905
Dowalton Loch, Dumfires and Galloway		Frag.	Loch which has produced other vessels	Coles 1960, 27-29, 88
Duddingston Loch, Lothian		B	Hoard in Loch	Briggs 1987, 186 Coles 1960, 27-29, 88
Flanders Moss / Cardross, Tayside		B	Probably bog	Anderson 1888 Briggs 1987, 184 Coles 1960, 27-29, 88
Gilmonby, North Yorkshire		B	Hoard, possibly used as container	Briggs 1987, 186
Heathery Burn, Durham		B	Hoard in Cave	Briggs 1987, 186 Coles 1960, 27-29, 88 Hawkes and Smith 1957, 148-60
Poolewe, Highland	B		Hoard	Briggs 1987, 186 Coles 1960, 129
Ravenstonedale, Cumbria		Lost	Bog	Clough 1969, 23-24 Turnbull 1995
Scotland	A2		Unknown	Coles 1960, 30-31, 88
Tinwald, Dumfries and Galloway	Possible handle		Possible hoard with spearhead	Coles 1966, 142, 147 Williams 1968
West of Scotland	B1		Unknown	Coles 1960, 30-31, 88

Table 2. Late Bronze Age Cauldrons and Buckets in North Britain

IRON AGE AND ROMAN

Cauldrons occur again in the archaeological during the Late Iron Age between the first century BC and the second century AD. They occur as part of a general phenomenon of depositing large vessels including bronze cauldrons and wooden kegs in watery contexts for votive reasons (Hunter 1997, 118-19; see also Hawkes 1951; Manning 1972; Piggott 1953). Cauldrons appear to occur both as independent deposits and as containers for hoards of material. The general absence of Iron Age cauldrons from north-east Scotland, the area later occupied by the Picts, may be due to the fact that stone cups were deposited instead (Hunter 1997, 118-19). Iron Age cauldrons consisted of a bronze body with a strengthening iron rim band and two iron handles from which the cauldron was suspended by an iron chain. It is usually only the bronze body of the cauldron that survives and all that is left of the iron elements are the traces of the rivet holes. It has been suggested that the iron elements were destroyed after deposition by corrosion (Spratling 1971), this is unlikely and it seems that these elements were removed prior to deposition, perhaps to symbolically render them unfit for domestic use and make them suitable as votive deposits (Hunter 1997, 118-19). This situation contrasts with Ireland where the globular cauldron from Drumlane, Co. Cavan, still possesses its handles made of forged rings which fit through the loops of simple escutcheons (Raftery 1980, 57). Other evidence for the form of cauldron handles comes from

miniature examples of the period such as those in the Salisbury hoard (Stead 1998, 115-17) where there are four different types of handle although it is unclear how closely this evidence should be extrapolated to full size examples.

As well as bronze cauldrons a number of wooden examples are known from Ireland. There is a wooden globular cauldron from Altartate Glebe, Co. Monaghan made of poplar with cylindrical lugs for handles (ibid, 58). These examples serve to demonstrate that the globular cauldron is a plausible basis for the triple-disc symbol. The wooden example demonstrates the possibility that the absence of cauldrons in the archaeological record during certain periods may be partly due to them being made of organic materials which are less likely to survive. This is supported by the radiocarbon dates of some Irish wooden cauldrons, which are different to the dates of similar metal cauldrons (Earwood 1990, 40-43). It has been suggested that Bronze Age cauldrons and buckets owe much of their design to being based on earlier leather containers (Briggs 1987, 168) and organic examples may originally have been commoner than metal examples.

Late Iron Age cauldrons come in two main types: globular and projecting-bellied (MacGregor 1976, vol I, 150-52; see also Raftery 1980 and 1984, 226-36 for Irish examples) [Table 3], of these globular cauldrons are more common in Northern Britain. The value of such cauldrons is demonstrated by the fact that they were repeatedly patched. They are often found in bogs [Table 3], this predominance of deposition in watery deposits suggests a ritual function. This ritual function is confirmed by the find from Kincardine Moss which is highly decorated, some of this decoration is so fragile that the cauldron could not have been used. The recent discovery of two fragments of a cauldron at Gullane by metal detecting may represent a rather different type of deposition. Unlike some types of native artefact, such as torcs (Cessford 1995), they are not found at Roman fort sites suggesting that access to such items was carefully restricted to native groups. Dating evidence is poor and such cauldrons can date to between the first century BC and the second century AD, hoards such as Blackburn Mill and Carlingwark suggest a peak in deposition during the late first and second centuries AD. The contents of a keg of bog butter 'found in close juxtaposition' (Anderson 1885, 311) with the cauldron at Kyleakin produced a rather later date of calibrated to between about 260 and 329 AD. As the Kyleakin cauldron had been heavily patched it could well have been deposited at around the same time. Another possibly late find is the Whitfield Moor hoard which it has been suggested contains third century material and may have been in use for a considerable period before its deposition (Smith 1969).

An unusual find from Tarland, Grampian, is a studded bronze cup that appears to be a miniature model cauldron with a profile similar to a projecting bellied cauldron (Callander 1915; MacGregor 1976, no 299). The exact circumstances of its discovery are unclear but it came from a sandpit that has produced Iron Age cist burials and a variety of finds and it was probably associated with a burial. The date of the burials is unclear but the finds appear to span the second to fourth centuries AD.

Y-shaped cauldron chains have been found in a number of hoards, sometimes in association with cauldrons, and other contexts in Northern Britain (MacGregor 1976, vol I, 152; Manning 1983; Piggott 1953, 13-14 and 24-26). [Table 3]. The majority of examples date to the first and second centuries AD but two chains from Bailie Knowe belong to a slightly different type and are probably of fourth century date (Close-Brooks 1986). They were also found in a different type of depositional context which supports the idea that they are of a different date.

As in the Late Bronze Age buckets were also in use during the Iron Age at the same time as cauldrons. Such buckets are of a very different form (Stead 1971) and the view that they present in plan is not compatible with the triple-disc symbol.

Location	Globular	Projecting Bellied	Chains	Context	Reference
Abercairney, Tayside	1			Bog	MacGregor, 1976, vol II no. 300
Altartate Glebe, Co. Monaghan	1			Bog	Raftery 1980, 58
Baillie Knowe, Dumfries and Galloway			Yes	In stone lined pit	Close-Brooks, 1986
Ballymoney, Co. Antrim		1		Bog	Raftery 1980, 59
Bewcastle, Cumbria		1		Bog	MacGregor, 1976, no. 308
Blackburn Mill, Borders	2		Yes	Container for hoard in loch	MacGregor, 1976, no's. 301 and 302 Piggot, 1953, B1, B2, B17 and B18
Carlingwark Loch, Dumfries and Galloway		1	Yes	Container for hoard in loch	MacGregor, 1976, no. 309 Piggot, 1953, C1 and C10
Drumlane, Co. Cavan	1			Bog	Raftery 1980, 57
Eckford, Borders			Yes	In hoard	Piggot, 1953, 24, E6 to E9
Elvanfoot, Strathclyde	1			Bog	Burns, 1969 MacGregor, 1976, no. 303 Spratling, 1971
Ewartly Shank, Northumberland	1			Unknown	MacGregor, 1976, no. 304
Gullane, Lothian	1			Beach	NMS, 1992
Kincardine Moss, Central	1			Bog	MacGregor, 1976, no. 305
Kyleakin, Highland	1			Bog	MacGregor, 1976, no. 306
Newstead, Borders			Yes	In pit in Roman fort	Curle 1911, 287
Tentsmuir, Fife			Yes	Stray find	MacGregor, 1976, vol 1, no. 152
Whitemills Moss, Dumfries and Galloway	1			Probably from bog	MacGregor, 1976, no. 307
Whitfield Moor, Northumberland		3		Probably from bog	Smith, 1969

Table 3. Iron Age Cauldrons and Cauldron Chains from North Britain and Ireland

POST ROMAN

After the second century AD cauldrons disappear from the archaeological record, probably due to changes in depositional practices. They reappear in the fourth century and their forms appear to be largely based upon continental vessel types (Kennett 1971b). Cauldrons continued in use during the Post Roman period (Green 1998, 73-74), their later usage overlaps with the period when the Pictish symbols were being executed. They occur in seventh century Anglo-Saxon graves, most notably the large bronze example with iron handles and associated long iron chain, plus two smaller bronze

cauldrons, from mound 1 at Sutton Hoo, Suffolk (Bruce-Mitford 1983, 480-553; see also Evans 1986, 77-81). Another large cauldron was found in the burial mound at Taplow, Buckinghamshire, (ibid) and smaller examples in burials are known from Holywell Row, Suffolk, (Kennett 1971a) Kempsford, Gloucestershire, (Abbot 1962) Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, (Kennett 1971a) and Steingot, Lincolnshire, (Thompson 1956). An example accompanied by a chain was found at Garton Station, Yorkshire (Selkirk 1987) and a chain was found at Burrow Hill, Suffolk, (Fenwick 1984).

The only known cauldrons of this period from Northern Britain are two examples from Dowalton Loch, Dumfries and Galloway, a watery site with several crannogs where Late Bronze Age, Roman, Post-Roman and Medieval vessels have been found (Hunter 1994). Two cauldrons with twin pairs of diametrically opposed pierced holes for the attachment of handles can be attributed to the Post-Roman period on the basis of parallels in sixth or seventh century Merovingian cemeteries and a radiocarbon date calibrated to 665-950 AD from the soot encrustation on one (ibid, 57-61).

In addition to cauldrons a range of other large vessels were used during the post-Roman period. Buckets made of wood with copper-alloy fittings and pails and basins made entirely of metal are known from Ireland, Northumbria and Viking graves in Scotland and Norway. There is, however, no direct evidence for their use by the Picts and they do not appear to form a particularly good physical basis for the triple-disc symbol. Relatively few basins had handles and those on buckets and pails projected directly upwards from the rim of the vessel rather than outwards as is shown on the triple-disc symbol. As well as secular vessels there were Christian chalices which are known mainly from Ireland but the handles of these make them unlikely sources of inspiration for the symbol.

The one type of large vessel that there is good evidence for the Picts using are hanging bowls which have been found at Tummel Bridge, Tayside, (Brenan 1991, 106 and 276; Cessford 1999) and Castle Tioram, Highland, (Brenan 1991,104 and 197). Less definite examples also occur at Aberdour and Clatchard Craig in Fife (ibid, 302 and 313). There is even evidence for the production of hanging bowls in Pictish territory. Part of a clay mould for an escutcheon was found at Craig Phadrig, Highland, (ibid, 104 and 305) and a possible die or trial piece from the Brough of Birsay (ibid, 103-04 and 305). Hanging bowls are, however, suspended from three, or occasionally, four, escutcheons which makes them a very unlikely source of inspiration for the Pictish triple-disc symbol, which depicts only two suspension rings, although they may be depicted on the Ulbster stone, Highland (Cessford 1994). What they do, however, demonstrate is that large vessels were an important part of the material culture of the Picts.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

One approach which is often used to attempt to understand both archaeological cauldrons and the triple-disc symbol is to use Celtic documentary sources (eg Hunter 1997, 119; Kermack 1998, 3-4; Sutherland 1994, 110-11; 1997, 16; Thomas 1963, 80). A recent article by Miranda Green, Vessels of Death: Sacred Cauldrons in Archaeology and Myth (Green 1998), best exemplifies this approach (but see also Arnold 2000 for a similar approach). In it she attempts to link archaeological cauldrons of the Iron Age, which she views as the focus of repeated ceremonial activity including their deliberate deposition in watery contexts, with Post-Roman Welsh and Irish vernacular texts which show cauldrons as instruments of death and resurrection. Such an approach, linking different types of material that is extremely spatially and temporally disparate, relies strongly upon notions of 'Celtic' identity. Such notions have recently been subjected to strong criticism (eg Collis 1996; Fitzpatrick 1991; Hill 1989; Megaw and Megaw 1997; Merriman 1987; Morse 1996; for two recent very different views see James 1999 and Sims-Williams 1998). It assumes that cauldrons held the same meaning for communities widely separated in space and time, based on the fallacy that they were all 'Celtic' and that all so called 'Celtic' groups ascribed similar meanings to objects. Green attempts to link the two disparate groups of evidence by a pair of possible mechanisms, the observation or recovery of antique cauldrons during the

early medieval period and a continuous oral tradition. The first of these two mechanisms is extremely tenuous and in any case would not demonstrate that the archaeological and documentary cauldrons possessed similar meanings for the different groups who created them. The idea of oral continuity is more plausible, the Old Welsh Gododdin poem for example displays evidence of surviving Iron Age poetic elements that demonstrate a degree of oral continuity (Koch 1987a; 1987b; 1997). This, however, needs to be demonstrated on an individual case by case basis and can not simply be assumed to exist. In the case of the Glamis 2 the other imagery of the centaur Chiron on the cross slab makes a healing/regeneration theme plausible.

CONCLUSION

Pictish art provides a considerable amount of detail about cauldrons, detail that is often lacking from archaeological examples. The neglect of this source of evidence has been due to a number of factors such as disciplinary period divisions and the perception of the Picts as a distinct and different group. Neither of these is a valid reason for ignoring this source of evidence as the first is largely an arbitrary academic construct and the second is based on outdated misconceptions. The actual cauldrons that have been recovered are frequently incomplete and do not possess their iron rims and handles, archaeologically we are therefore limited about what we can say concerning cauldrons as only part of the object survives. The triple-disc symbol provides evidence concerning the handles and rims, which are not recovered archaeologically. The form of triple-disc symbol with a transverse bar also challenges the generally held implicit notion that all cauldrons were suspended from cauldron chains. Whilst some cauldrons were suspended from chains some of the time the transverse bar on the Glamis 2 stone clearly show that other suspension methods were also employed. Whilst suspension of a cauldron from a chain was the best solution when it was being used within a timber hall, when it would have hung from a substantial cross-beam several metres above the floor, it would not have been practical if the cauldron was used in other contexts. The chain would represent a very bulky and heavy object to transport, much more so than the cauldron itself, and required a substantial support to hang from. The large cauldron and 3.45m long suspension chain from Sutton Hoo for example would require a substantial beam at least five metres above floor level (Evans 1986, 78-81). If cauldrons were sometimes used outside in non-domestic contexts, as may be the case on Glamis 2, then suspension from a horizontal bar with vertical supports would have been a more practical alternative to a chain. This suggests that cauldrons were used in non-domestic contexts.

Stylistically the triple-disc symbol can be most closely linked to globular cauldrons that were deposited in hoards up until the second century AD. The other type of cauldron of this period, the projecting bellied form, is less common in Northern Britain and has a distinctive form which would be expected to have produced a different form of symbol as the projection extends beyond the circumference of the rim. Additionally the traces of the handle loop attachments on the projecting bellied cauldrons from Whitfield seem to imply very different handles from those depicted on the triple-disc symbol. Whilst cauldrons contemporary with the triple-disc symbol are known from Anglo-Saxon contexts these are unlikely to have formed the origin of the symbol, although they may possibly have exerted some influence. The earlier Late Bronze Age cauldrons and buckets, although rare, may have exerted an influence over the triple-disc symbol. The handles on the Darhall example in particular are very similar to the attachment rings on some triple-disc symbols. Charles Thomas himself suggested that some Pictish symbols were derived from Bronze Age artistic motifs (Thomas 1963, 58-61), although he did not suggest that any objects of this period had influenced the symbols. Nevertheless, even if an ultimate Bronze Age origin is conceivable the transmission of the triple-disc symbol must subsequently have been mediated through Iron Age cauldrons. This transmission means that there is a gap of several centuries between the archaeological cauldrons of the Late Iron Age and the earliest known triple-disc symbols. Although the Baillie Knowe chain, Whitfield hoard and the radiocarbon date from Kyleakin partially bridge this gap it still exists. This is not uncommon and is true of other Pictish symbols such as the mirror symbol (Cessford 1997). A number of possible early examples of ur- or proto-symbols have

been identified (Alcock 1996; Cessford 1996; Laing and Laing 1993, 106-07). Although these are still later than the archaeological cauldrons it is likely that the symbols were transmitted on perishable organic media which have not survived including tattooing on human skin (Gray 1998). Indeed the degree of stylisation, confidence of execution and wide geographical distribution all indicate that the Pictish symbols on class I and II represent a well developed and evolved form of the symbols much later than their inception. In any case these gaps in the archaeological record relate not to the use of cauldrons, which is likely to have been continuous in Northern Britain between the Late Bronze Age and the medieval period, but to the practice of deliberately depositing these items. Whilst it is necessary to recognise the discontinuous nature of cauldron deposition, when dealing with the Pictish triple-disc symbol we must be careful not to simply equate the origins of the symbol with the period when such objects are most visible in the archaeological record. By positing an underlying, if archaeologically invisible, continuum of cauldron use it appears more likely that the triple-disc symbol is not derived from a single period or type of cauldron. It derives instead from the entire tradition of cauldron use between the introduction of such items in the Late Bronze Age and the execution of the Pictish symbols in the Post-Roman period.

As well as this temporal gap, there is a spatial division between the distribution of Bronze Age and Iron Age cauldrons on the one hand and the Pictish triple-disc symbols on the other [Figure 1]. The only cauldron from the area where Pictish symbols are concentrated is Abercairney, this absence is partially counteracted by the miniature cauldron from Tarland which occurs well within the distribution area of the triple-disc symbol. The Tarland cauldron, which is probably from a burial, strengthens Hunter's suggestion (1997, 118-19) that bronze cauldrons were used in north-east Scotland during the Iron Age. Their absence from the archaeological record is due to differences in depositional practices, with stone cups being deposited instead, rather than the inhabitants of north-east Scotland not using cauldrons.

It is notable that since Charles Thomas's (1963) groundbreaking work there have been relatively few attempts to consider the Pictish symbols and the archaeological objects on which they are based. Despite various archaeological publications which make this much easier (eg MacGregor 1976) the only substantial studies on individual symbols are those on the comb (Foster 1990) and mirror symbols (Cessford 1997). Instead there has been a tendency to simply re-affirm Thomas's identifications and speculatively suggest further identifications without examining the archaeological evidence in detail. With regard to the triple-disc symbol this has meant that Thomas's identification of it with Iron Age cauldrons has generally been uncritically accepted. Whilst this identification is probably correct it is much stronger when supported by an examination of both the triple-disc symbol and archaeological cauldrons. It is notable that other possible influences, such as Late Bronze Age cauldrons and buckets, have been ignored as has the evidence of cauldrons in Ireland, which still possess their handles, that was not readily available when Thomas wrote his article. The exact reasons behind this failure are unclear. Archaeological period subdivisions, which have already been mentioned, serve to separate the prehistoric artefacts from the Post-Roman symbols. The dominant paradigm in the study of Pictish art for much of the twentieth century has been art-historical, this has tended to contextualise Pictish art within the framework of contemporary Insular or Hiberno-Saxon art rather than in the archaeology of Northern Britain. Art-historical studies of the origins of Pictish symbols (eg Henderson 1958; Murray 1986) have confined themselves largely to the internal evidence of the class I and II stones. It is notable that the major alternative approach was by an archaeologist Charles Thomas (1963). For various disciplinary reasons art-historians whilst content to admit that the origins of the Pictish symbols pre-date the symbols on class I and II stones have tended not to investigate the topic. Once again what work has been done on ur or proto symbols has been by archaeologists such as Leslie Alcock (1996) or Lloyd and Jennifer Laing (1993, 106-07).

The relationship between Pictish symbols and archaeological artefacts requires a detailed examination of both types of evidence. Attempt to equate a Pictish symbol with a particular type or form of artefact need to examine the entire range of possible influences. Whilst in some instances, such as the

comb (Foster 1990) or mirror (Cessford 1997) symbols, it may be possible to equate the symbol with a particular type of artefact whose use can be dated archaeologically to a particular period this is not always the case. Even in the case of the mirror symbol other artefact types such as ladles appear to have exerted an influence over some examples of the symbol (ibid, 107). In the case of the comb symbol it is possible that earlier forms of comb may have formed the original basis of the symbol which was subsequently updated. The triple-disc symbol has been consistently identified with Iron Age cauldrons but the physical form of the symbol does not warrant such a specific identification. The quest for a single period specific identification is flawed as it ignores other influences and does not consider the discontinuous nature of cauldron deposition. Instead we must accept that the symbol reflects a long term tradition of using large vessels and can not be linked to a specific form of vessel or period.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ECMS Early Christian Monuments of Scotland
NMS National Museums of Scotland

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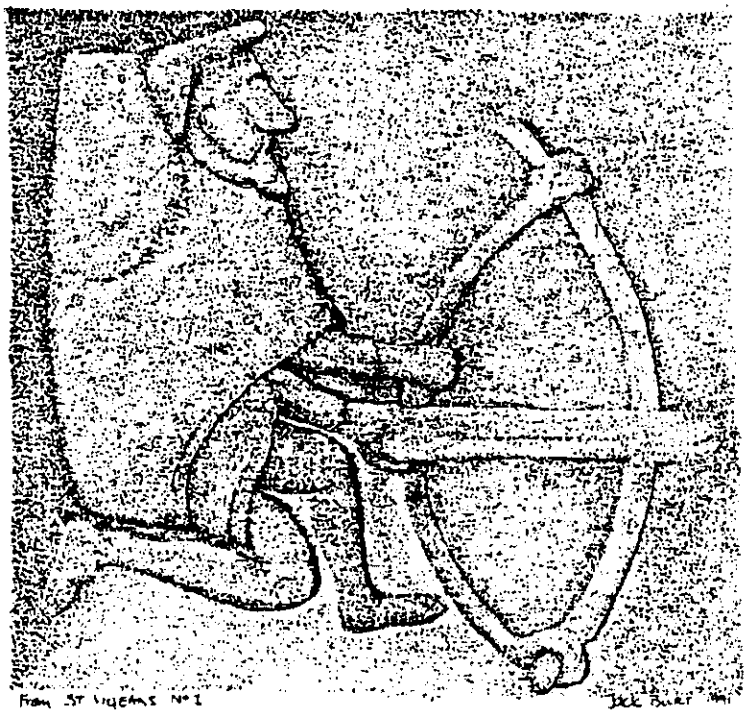

Pictish Wheeled Vehicles

Craig Cessford

INTRODUCTION

The possible use of wheeled vehicles[1] by the Picts has rarely been considered in detail, with the exception of the discussion of the Meigle 10 vehicle by Lloyd and Jennifer Laing (1984, 278; 1993, 62-63). Despite this there is a considerable body of evidence for the use of wheeled vehicles in northern Britain during the first millennium AD. The lack of attention paid to the subject is curious, particularly as a number of Pictish symbols have been tentatively identified as depictions of wheeled vehicles. In this article I will argue that the double-disc symbol is based upon a dismantled wheeled vehicle and look at the sources of evidence for the use of wheeled vehicles in Scotland during the first millennium AD.

Pictish Symbols

In his classic article *The Interpretation of the Pictish Symbols* Charles Thomas (1963) argued that several symbols were related to wheeled vehicles and horses. He suggested that the divided-rectangle was a chariot and two ponies, the wheel a chariot wheel, the flower a bronze harness ornament and the Walton disc was a Donside terret (ibid, 53-54 and 57). Subsequent to Thomas's article a number of other symbols have been linked to wheeled vehicles and horses. Elizabeth Sutherland has suggested that the arch may be a horseshoe (1994, 114-15; also Kermack 1998, 10-11) and the ogee a bronze harness ornament (ibid, 117) whilst Stuart Kermack has proposed that the double-disc is a dismantled chariot (1997, 12; 1998, 8-9).

The idea that the flower and ogee symbols represent bronze harness ornaments is not supported archaeologically by any particular parallels, in any case even if these identifications are correct they need not imply the use of wheeled vehicles. The identification of the arch as a horseshoe seems unlikely as the proportions are incorrect (Brodie 1996, 24), once again even if correct it need not be related to the use of wheeled vehicles. The identification of a symbol as a Donside terret relies on a single broken stone from Walton (Allen and Anderson 1903 Vol III, 344). This identification is rather dubious and the symbol could well be part of the common mirror symbol (MacAulay 1997, 27). This leaves us with the wheel, divided-rectangle and double-disc symbols as examples that may represent wheeled vehicles.

The wheel symbol occurs twice, on the class I stones Knockando 1 (Allen and Anderson 1903 Vol III, 127-28) [Figure 1] and the recently discovered example at Ardjachie (Mack 1998, 40). The Knockando symbol was not identified as a wheel by Allen who described it as 'a circle with a smaller concentric circle in the centre, the intermediate space being ornamented with radial lines' (Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, 127-28). Charles Thomas, however, identified it as a spoked wheel with a stout central nave (1963, 54). Knockando 1 is a curious stone with the wheel symbol at the top plus a pair of crescents with v-rods, as such it forms an atypical symbol grouping, although one with parallels on other stones (Cessford 1997b). The Ardjachie stone is also atypical as it only has a single symbol at the top of the stone. The wheel is certainly a rare symbol, which may have been utilised in a rather atypical fashion, so in certain senses (e.g. Forsyth 1997) it might not be a true Pictish symbol. Nonetheless it was a 'symbol' that was used by the Picts. It has been suggested that it may indicate descent from a wheelwright (Mack

[1] Wheeled vehicle refers to any type of vehicle as chariots, wagons and carts are often indistinguishable archaeologically.

1998, 4) but as the wheel was a relatively common symbol in pre-Roman and Roman Britain (Green 1979, 1981, 1984; Green and Ferguson 1987) it is more likely that the wheel symbol is linked to this earlier tradition.

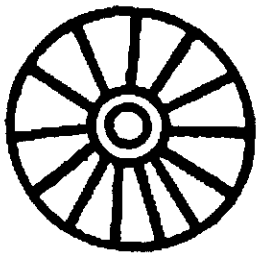

Fig.1: Wheel symbol from **Knockando 1** (based upon Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, fig 132).

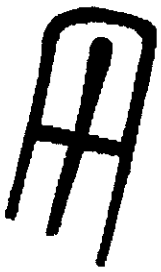

Fig.2: Divided -rectangle symbol from **Jonathan's Cave** (based upon Alcock 1996, fig 1).

Charles Thomas states that his identification of the divided-rectangle with a chariot may seem 'far-fetched' (1963, 54) and indeed it requires a hypothetical series of stages in the evolution of a stylised symbol for which there is no evidence (ibid, 54 and fig 5). The identification is based largely upon the circular and semicircular re-entrants which are taken to indicate wheels and the projections on some class I symbols which are taken to represent the bodies of ponies. More recently Kermack has argued that the double-disc represents the two wheels of a dismantled chariot, perhaps from burials (1997, 12; 1998, 8-9). The origins and meaning of the Pictish symbols fall outside the scope of this paper, but if they are a writing system of some kind (Cessford 1996; Forsyth 1997; 1998) it is inherently unlikely that two separate symbols are based upon a single item. This would have been extremely confusing and such duplication generally does not occur in the evolution of early writing systems. It is also unlikely that a single artistic tradition would have produced two such different symbols from the same original model. This line of argument would still allow for a wheel and a wheeled vehicle to occur as two separate symbols as these would be sufficiently distinct. Thomas's identification of the divided-rectangle with a wheeled vehicle is still often supported (e.g. Mack 1997, 17; Sutherland 1994, 13), however, it is somewhat unlikely as there are too many unsupported stages in the evolution of the symbol and the surviving symbols are abstract and unrecognisable (see Thomas 1963, fig 5). Additionally a pair of possibly early example of this symbol from Jonathan's Cave, East Wemyss (Alcock 1996, fig. 1; Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, 370; Ritchie and Stevenson 1993 fig 25.5) [Figure 2] do not possess any of the features that have been used to identify it as being based upon a wheeled vehicle.

Stuart Kermack's idea that the double-disc symbol represents a dismantled wheeled vehicle (1997, 12; 1998, 8-9) appears to have more to commend it. With the exception of a single recent discovery vehicle burials are unknown in Scotland, this is not simply due to the organic components rotting away as Kermack suggests (1997, 12) as even when this has occurred detectable traces are left. The absence of wheeled vehicle burials from northern Britain is genuine and reflects the fact that this is a rare and geographically restricted burial rite. Burials are not, however, the only occasion upon which wheeled vehicles would have been dismantled. They would have had to be taken to pieces for repair and may also have been dismantled for storage when not in use, for example over the winter, for repairs and possibly for transportation either by boat or in some more robust wheeled vehicle.

Apart from Kermack's suggestion it has generally been assumed that the double-disc symbol is an abstract geometric form derived from earlier art style with possible Bronze Age parallels (Thomas 1963, 61; also Brodie 1996, 23; Sutherland 1194 107-08). The Laings have compared it to a motif on an altar from the Roman fort at Vindolanda (Laing and Laing 1984b, 269). This altar from a civilian store house in the settlement to the west of the fort and probably dates to the third century (Birley 1977, plate 29 and

fig 17; Coulston and Phillips 1987, no.307). It consists of what resembles a crude horizontally aligned 'double-disc' symbol with straight connecting bars and central dots lying above a vertical rectangle with two horizontal lines at either end. Birley's suggestion that it is a stylised face or phallic fertility symbols seem highly unlikely and it is now thought to depict an altar with the 'double-disc' representing the upper part with bolsters and the rectangle representing the body (Coulston and Phillips 1987, no.307). The parallel with the double-disc symbol, in particular some possibly early examples, is quite striking but probably coincidental and there is unlikely to be any relationship.

The double-disc symbol and double-disc with z-rod symbols are amongst the commonest Pictish symbols with fifty seven and twenty one examples respectively on class I and II stones (Mack 1997, 6-7). It consists of two equal sized discs connected by a pair of lines that are normally concave on class I and II stones. Mack argues that 'its origin is uncertain' but 'It must certainly represent something specific' as many examples are 'remarkably similar' (ibid, 6). Gordon Murray's analysis of the symbol showed that the symbol is relatively simple with the majority of the class I examples having simple decoration on the discs consisting of one or two concentric or eccentric circles sometimes with a dot in the centre (1986, 235-36) [Figure 3]. The class II examples, which are likely to be predominately later than the class I stones, are less likely to fall into this group and generally have more decoration with the discs frequently being filled with ornate designs. Some of these features mainly found on class I stones such as the rims, concentric circles and central dots could be taken as supporting evidence for the wheeled vehicle theory. The majority of this decoration on class II symbols appears simply to function as space filler. One possible exception to this is the partial symbol on the stone at Alyth where the sole surviving disc is 'ornamented with a wheel-like design consisting of a dot and circle, not quite in the centre, with fifteen radial lines' (Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, 286) [Figure 4]. This is a unique form of decoration for this symbol (Mack 1997, 44) and the use of straight lines as simple 'space filler' would be atypical in Pictish art. This decoration may well be indicative of the fact that the craftsman believed that the disc was a wheel. There are a number of other cases where circular or spiral decoration exists that could be an attempt to indicate movement, which would appropriate for a wheel, but the use of such motifs within a disc shape is not convincing evidence and might well simply be a space filler.

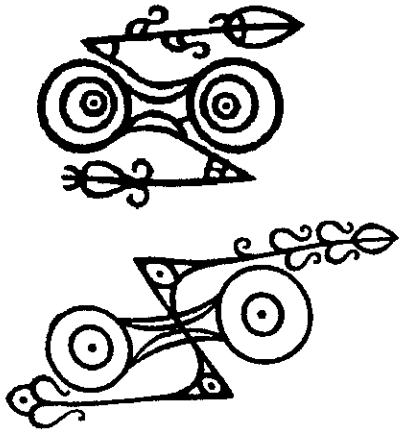

Fig.3: Double-disc symbols from **Congash** and **Aberlemno 1** (based upon Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, figs 99a and 221).

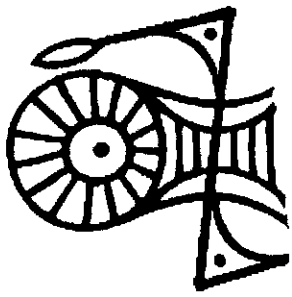

Fig.4: Double-disc symbol from **Alyth** (based upon Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, fig 304b).

Attempting to use the forms of the surviving symbols on class I and II stones as evidence for their origins is somewhat problematical, as these seem to represent relatively late highly stereotypical standardised and formalised versions. In particular a number of class II examples such as Hilton of Cadboll (Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, 61-3) Rosemarkie no.1 (ibid, 63-68) and St. Vigeans no.1 (ibid, 235-39) appear to diverge widely from what might be considered the core form of the symbol. This is

apparently primarily due to artistic reasons, and as such these symbols are extremely poor evidence. It is important also to consider unusual variants or symbols that occur in other contexts which may constitute a better source of evidence (Cessford in prep). A crucial piece of evidence for the identification of the double-disc symbol as a wheeled vehicle is the so-called 'twin-disc' symbol. It is likely that this is simply a variant of the double-disc symbol (Mack 1997, 26) as the two symbols are too similar and would cause confusion if they were genuinely different symbols. The 'twin-disc' occurs on a small stone slab or plaque Dunnicaer 5 (Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, 201) and the class II stone Hilton of Cadboll (ibid vol III, 61-3) [Figure 5]. The Hilton of Cadboll symbol occurs on a relatively late stone and has become quite ornate and decorated which obscures the essential features of the symbol, nonetheless it is important as it confirms that the 'twin-disc' is a genuine Pictish symbol. Dunnicaer 5 is one of a group of six stones which were originally set up on an almost unscaleable sea stack (Alcock and Alcock 1992, 276-81). The symbol consists of 'Two circles, with dots in the centre, placed close together' (Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, 201) and was thought by Allen to be 'perhaps intended for the double disc symbol' (ibid). Dunnicaer 5 with its pair of discs and central dots seems to be a clear representation of the central hubs and outer circles of a pair of wheels . One obvious problem is why are the spokes not depicted. This could simply represent an artistic convention that the spokes did not have to be depicted or it could be because the vehicles that were being depicted had solid rather than spoked wheels.

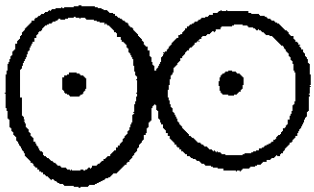

Fig.5: 'Twin-disc' symbol from **Dunnicaer** (based upon Alcock 1996, fig 1).

Fig.6: Double-disc symbol from **Pool** (based upon Alcock 1996, fig 1).

Dunnicaer 5 could represent an early ur- or proto-symbol (Alcock 1996; Laing and Laing 1993, 106-16) or it may simply represent a simpler utilitarian form of the symbol (Cessford 1996). Whatever view is taken such earlier or simpler forms are clearly important when trying to determine the origins of a symbol. A number of other such depictions of the double-disc symbol survive which allow us to elucidate the origins of the symbol. At the settlement of Pool a stone slab was found in a fifth or sixth century context face down built into a floor (Hunter 1990, 185 and 187; 1997) with a double-disc consisting simply of two circles with connecting lines which are as wide as the discs [Figure 6]. Other early examples include a bone pin from the same site and on a crossbow brooch from Carn Liath, which is probably of fourth to early sixth century date (Cessford 1997a). Early examples of the double-disc might also occur at cave sites in East Wemyss but the dating evidence for the symbols at these sites is much less reliable. From Court Cave, Jonathan's Cave and Sliding Cave at East Wemyss there are a number of similar double-disc symbols some of which have dots in the centre of the circle (Ritchie and Stevenson 1993, figs 25.3, 25.4, 25.5 and 25.7) [Figure 7]. These examples show that the double-disc symbol may well be based upon a representation of a dismantled wheeled vehicle, especially as in many cases the connecting bars are as wide as the circles. The three vehicle burials from Wetwang were arranged slightly differently with the wheels against the long axis of the body of the vehicle (Dent 1985). The dimensions do however clearly show that the short axis of the vehicles were of similar dimensions to the diameter of the wheels (ibid, figs 2, 3 and 4). Also in Jonathan's Cave are two examples 'rather like a skeletal Christmas Tree (Alcock 1996, 4) [Figure 8]. These are very different from other examples (see Alcock 1996, fig. 1; Ritchie and Stevenson 1993, figs 25.3c and 25.3f) and have generally been interpreted as double-disc symbols with 'straight' z-rods. Whilst I do not necessarily disagree with this interpretation it is interesting that the appearance of these is suggestive of wheeled vehicles and their harnessing arrangements.[2]

[2] This obviously means that I disagree with the interpretation of them as trees (Joss 1999).

Murray suggested an Aberdeenshire origin for the double-disc symbol (1986, 243). Whilst not being entirely convinced by his art-historical approach, which largely ignores possible ur- or proto symbols, this is interesting given the concentration of massive terrets in the same area.

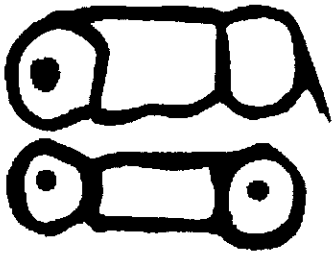

Fig.7: Double-disc symbols from **Jonathan's Cave** (Based upon Alcock 1996, fig 1).

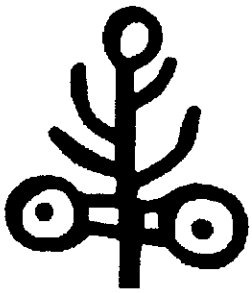

Fig.8 'Christmas tree' like double-disc and z-rod symbol from **Jonathan's Cave** (Based upon Alcock 1996, fig 1).

Artistically the double-disc symbol closely parallels an item depicted on the fourth century BC coinage from the city of Crannon in Greece (Pare 1989, 97; 1992, 181 and 185) [Figure 9]. In this instance we have documentary evidence that shows that the coinage is depicting a sacred bronze wagon (ibid). There is no evidence for any direct link between the symbol on this coinage and the Pictish double-disc symbol but the striking parallels do indicate that a wheeled vehicle might well be artistically depicted in a manner similar to the double-disc symbol. Interestingly the Crannon coins do not show a dismantled vehicle viewed vertically but are a side on horizontal view. This suggests that the double-disc could either be a vertical view of a dismantled vehicle or a horizontal view of a functional vehicle. There are also a range of other depictions of vehicles which parallel the double-disc symbol (Pare 1992, 204-15; Piggott 1983, 149-52)

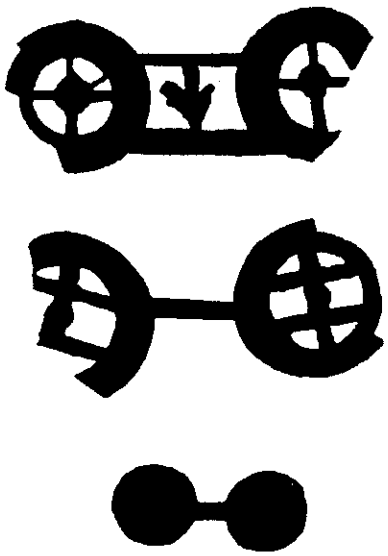

Fig.9: Simplified versions of depictions of vehicles on coins from **Crannon** [missing elements due to edges of coins](based upon Pare 1992, fig 127).

SCULPTURE

The only wheeled vehicle directly depicted in Pictish art is on the Meigle 10 stone, which is now lost (Allen and Anderson 1903 vol III, 331). The vehicle which is carrying three individuals and being pulled by two horses using a single yoke pole and has rather ornamental looking openwork sides, an awning and high twelve spoked wheels. It has been discussed by the Laings who believe it may be related to a type of Roman processional cart known as a carpentum (1984a, 277-78; 1993, 62-63).[3]

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The archaeological evidence for wheeled vehicles in Scotland consists of a range of artefacts such as wheels, terrets and lynch pins plus the recent discovery of a complete vehicle at Newbridge. Most of the evidence comes from objects deposited in hoards or recovered as stray finds. What survives are the relatively small metal components as the majority of a wheeled vehicle was composed of organic elements that do not survive and which were not deposited in hoards. There is little evidence from northern Britain concerning the production, distribution and control of vehicle equipment, no evidence comparable to Gussage All Saints in Dorset which produced bronze working debris representing about fifty sets of pony harness and fittings (Wainwright 1979; Cunliffe 1995). The elements that can be linked specifically to wheeled vehicles are wheels, terrets and lynch pins [Figure 10]. Only under exceptional circumstances can horse-trappings and bridle-bits (see MacGregor 1976 vol I, 24-38 and vol II no's 2 to 45) be linked specifically to the use of wheeled vehicles, as opposed to horse riding. Where bridle bits have been found in pairs this is sometimes taken as evidence of pairs of animals used to draw wheeled vehicles and in some cases this is supported by wear evidence (Palk 1994, 92). The distinctive pair of three-link bits from the Middlebie hoard (MacGregor 1976 vol II, no's 5 and 6) are certainly suggestive of a special pair of objects linked to the use of a wheeled vehicle.

Wheels are known from a number of sites from Scotland, mainly Roman forts. Spoked wheels are known from pits at the Roman forts of Newstead (Curle 1911, 292 and 294) and Bar Hill (Macdonald et al 1906, 94 and 99). Interestingly although most wheels have an even number of spokes, normally twelve, like the recently discovered symbol from Ardjachie (Mack 1998, 40), or fourteen some examples from Newstead and Bar Hill have only eleven. The wheel symbol on Knockando 1 has thirteen spokes, this has often been dismissed as an error (Mack 1997, 28; Thomas 1963, 54) but if the uneven number of eleven spokes was acceptable then thirteen may also have been acceptable. Another undated wheel from Blairdrummond Moss is of the solid tripartite disc type (Piggott 1958), which might be linked to the double-disc symbol if the absence of spokes is anything more than an artistic convention. Originally three wooden objects appear to have been found at Blairdrummond Moss, although only one survives, suggesting the possible presence of a four wheeled vehicle. Interestingly this area also has remains of a wooden road or track about 3.6m wide of unknown date (RCAHMS 1979, no.226). Similar wooden roads also from are reported from nearby sites at Flanders Moss [c.4m wide], Parks of Garden and Kippen (ibid, no. 227-229). Such wooden roads and tracks are much more common in Ireland where it has been shown that they span a wide range of dates (Brindley and Lanting 1998). It has been suggested that some examples are 'wide enough for wheeled traffic' (ibid, 45) but this is unlikely given the lack of supporting evidence such as wheel ruts or horse dung. It is therefore only the geographical proximity of the Blairdrummond wheels to the tracks that suggests they may be linked and it is possible that there is no connection and the wheels simply represent a deposit in the bog which was dismantled and carried along a track.

[3] There appears to be no depictions of chariots on Roman sculpture in Scotland as an example from Barnes showing a warrior in a chariot drawn by a lion and a leopard (Ross 1902) is actually Post-Medieval in date.

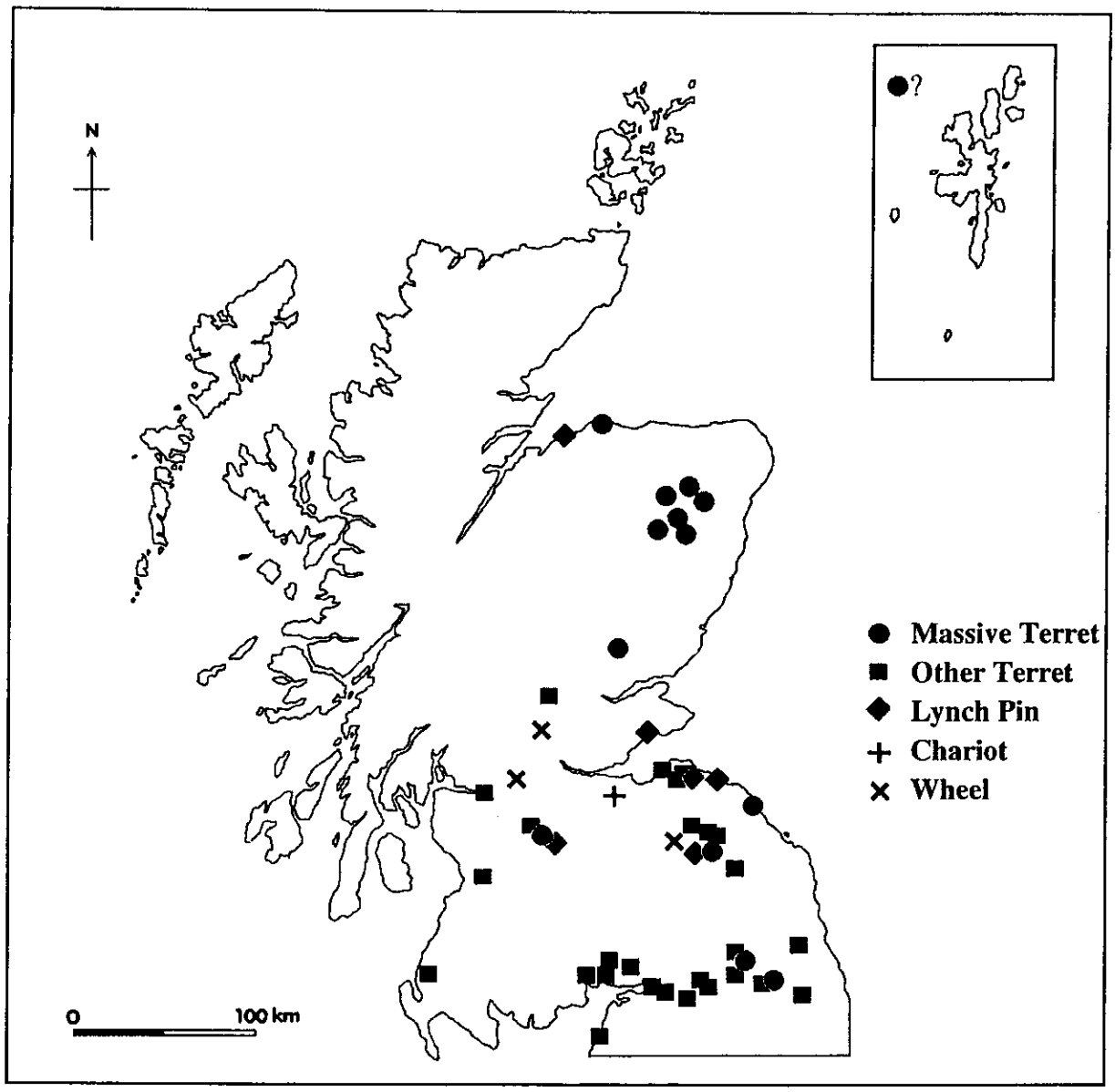

Fig.10: Distribution of archaeological evidence for chariots in Scotland.

Terrets functioned as rein rings mounted on a wooden yoke (Kilbride-Jones 1935, 448-54; 1980, 154-57; Laing and Laing 1986, 211-12; Livens 1976; MacGregor 1976 vol 1, 38-48). The evidence from vehicle burials [see below], supported by the Stanwick/Melsonby hoard, shows that sets of five or seven terrets were used on a vehicle with two horses (MacGregor 1976, 39). Various types of terret such as the crescent, lipped, ribbed and winged forms are either unknown or extremely rare in northern Britain. Other forms such as simple loops, platform and knobbed terrets whilst relatively well represented in northern Britain are still rare north of the Forth-Clyde line. The one type of terret with a predominantly northern distribution is the massive or Donside terret, 'This distribution pattern is totally at variance with those of preceding [other] terret types' (MacGregor 1976 vol I, 47). Most massive terrets lack an exact provenance but examples have been found at hillforts, in hoards and at Roman forts. There is little dating evidence for this type of terret but MacGregor has argued that they originated between the late first and mid third centuries AD (1976 vol I, 48) and their distribution makes it clear that most if not all examples were manufactured in north-east Scotland. As they have only been found singly or in pairs they do not represent complete harness sets, the majority of single finds including those from hillforts probably represent accidental losses while the pairs which have been found were in hoards.

Although other types of terrets have often been found associated with each other, for example the simple loop, platform and knobbed terrets in the Middlebie hoard, massive terrets have never been found in association with other terret types. This may well indicate that they are of later date than other types. They are also much less common on Roman fort sites than other forms of terret, this could be due to their rather later date than other types or could indicate that they rarely entered Roman possession. There is some evidence to suggest that they may have continued in use after the third century (Laing and Laing 1986, 212-13) but the evidence is not entirely convincing. No great weight can be placed upon the examples from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Linton, Cambridgeshire, and the hillfort of Dinas Emrys, Gwynedd, as dating evidence. A number of vase headed lynch pins are known from Scotland (MacGregor 1976 vol I, 48-50 and vol II, no's 128 to 135). Dating is problematical but they probably share the same general first to third century floruit as massive terrets.

The best evidence for Iron Age wheeled vehicles comes from a series of burials belonging to the Arras culture in North Yorkshire and Humberside (Dent 1985; Stead 1991) [Figures 11-13]. These were deposited between the fourth and late second centuries BC and involved dismantled vehicles being placed in burials under square barrows. Wheeled vehicles have been found in the cemeteries of Garton Slack (Brewster 1971; 1980), Garton Station (Stead 1991, 29-30, 219 fig 122), Kirkburn (ibid, 30-31, 224, fig 127) and three from Wetwang Slack (Dent 1985). The vehicles had all been dismantled but stains representing the wheels, axle, pole and box like body were clearly visible showing that all the vehicles had been dismantled prior to internment. Apart from these organic elements a number of more archaeologically durable objects associated with the vehicles survived. These generally consisted of two iron tyres and four iron or copper-alloy nave hoops per vehicle from the wheels, two iron, iron and copper alloy or antler lynch-pins, a line of five or seven copper alloy terrets from the yoke and two iron or iron and copper-alloy horse-bits.

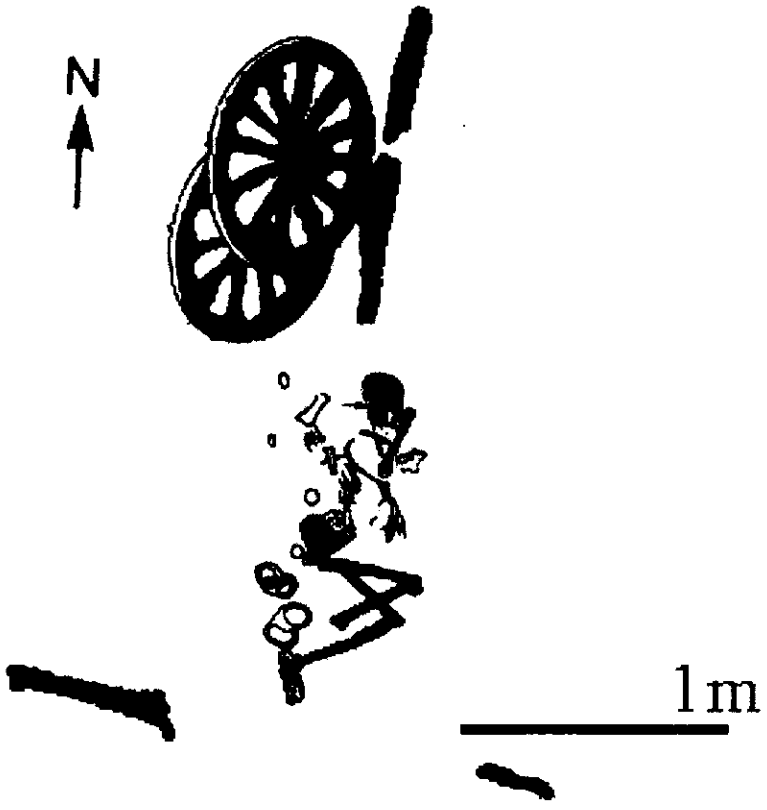

Fig.11: **Garton Station** burial GS6 (based upon Stead 1991, fig 122).

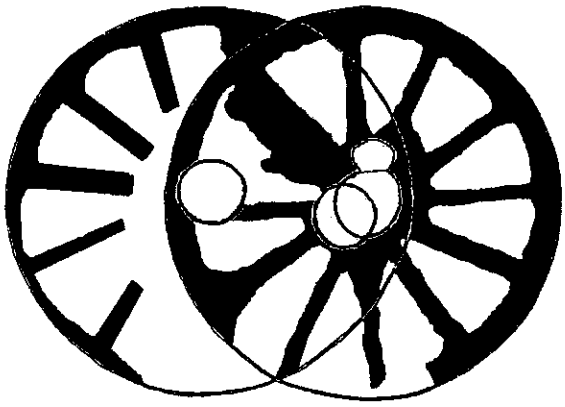

Fig.12: Wheels from **Garton Station** burial GS6 (based upon Stead 1991, fig 33).

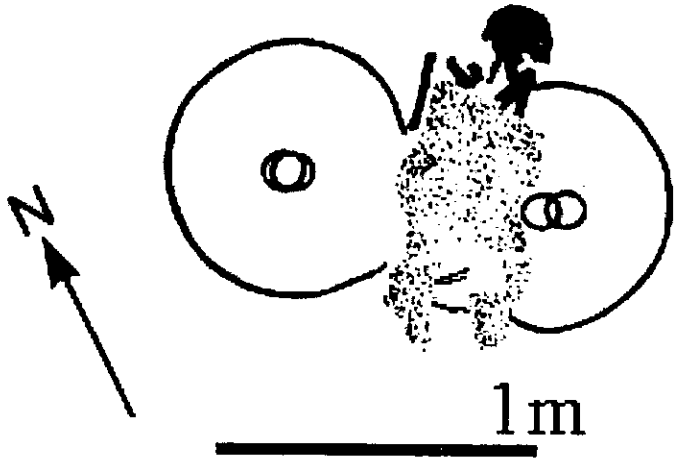

Fig.13: **Kirkburn** burial K5 (based upon Stead 1991, fig 127).

The recent discovery of a vehicle burial at Newbridge, Lothian, provisionally dated to around 250 BC is the first example from Scotland and is significantly different to the other examples as it was buried intact rather than being dismantled (Anon 2001). The pit was carefully dug to hold the vehicle and as well as the metal fittings for the vehicle, consisting of wheel rims, hub hoops and yoke fittings, some horse gear was found near the yoke.

Cheveaux-de-frise

Cheveaux-de-frise are arrangements of small upright stones that are usually interpreted as defences against wheeled vehicles. They are relatively rare In Northern Britain and in some instances do not appear to have been laid out in a defensively effective manner. Examples from Northern Britain are known at the forts of Cademuir Hill, Dreva, Kaimes Hill, Fell of Barhullion and Burgi Geos (Harbison 1971b, 195-201). These are all stone examples but a wooden version is known at South Borrule on the Isle of Man (ibid, 206-08) so *cheveaux-de-frise* may have been more common and widespread than the surviving stone examples suggest (ibid, 212). They are not well dated but the forts they are associated with generally indicate a probable late Iron Age date. They are sometimes interpreted as exotic militaristic symbols rather than actual practical defences and have been described as 'motley and scattered

examples' indicating 'defensive ineptitude' (Armit 1997, 64; see also Harbison 1971b, Mytum and Webster 1989 and Rinne 1991). Given that *cheveaux-de-frise* may have been more symbolic than practical and would also have been effective defences against infantry or cavalry as well as chariots so their distribution in Northern Britain can not be directly equated with the presence of wheeled vehicles.

Irish and Welsh Evidence

There is a considerable amount of literary and sculptural evidence from Ireland for the use of wheeled vehicles in the post-Roman period (Greene 1972; Harbison 1969; 1971a; Mallory 1992, 147-51; Piggott 1983, 235-38; Sayers 1984). Peter Harbison in particular has suggested that the low-slung Iron Age wheeled vehicles used on the Continent and in mainland Britain are very different from the high-slung wheeled vehicles of Old Irish literature. He argues that Iron Age wheeled vehicles may never have penetrated as far as Ireland and that the later documentary and sculptural evidence for Irish wheeled vehicles belong to a different tradition. This is supported by the general paucity of archaeological evidence for horsegear in Iron Age Ireland (Haworth 1971; Johns 1971; Jope 1955). This being the case the Irish evidence cannot be considered relevant to the Pictish wheeled vehicles, which presumably belong to the other tradition. What may be relevant to a consideration of Pictish vehicles is that Irish sources show that the same type of vehicle was used in war and as personal transport in peacetime. Peacetime uses included hearses and carrying mourners at funerals.

The fact that Adomnan in his life of Saint Columba mentions wheeled vehicles several times [Books i.3, i.28, ii.43] has been noted by several authors discussing the Picts (Kermack 1998, 8-9; Thomas 1963, 54). As these all occur when Columba is in Ireland or Iona rather than Scotland they must be considered to relate to the Irish vehicle tradition and cannot be realistically used as evidence for Scotland at the period when the Pictish symbols were initially developing.

Kenneth Dark (1994, 78 and 192) has recently drawn attention to Gildas's sixth century description of Cuneglasus of Powys as the 'rider of many and driver of the chariot of the Bear's Stronghold' [*multorum sessor aurigaque currus receptaculi ursi, dei cuntemptor sortisque eius depressor*] (Winterbottom, 1978, 32.1 p.31 and 101). It is not clear that Gildas should be taken literally as evidence for the use of wheeled vehicles in sixth century Wales. He may instead be ironically echoing native poetry composed in honour of Cuneglasus, but the passage does at least indicate knowledge of such vehicles.

CLASSICAL SOURCES

A number of classical authors all state that the inhabitants of northern Britain used wheeled vehicles (Piggott 1983, 229-35). Many of these are based on Caesar's campaigns of the first century BC where in his books on the Gallic Wars where he descibes their use during his invasions of Southern Britain in 55 BC (IV.24, 32, 33) and 54 BC (V.15, 16, 17, 19). This is followed up by a number of other authors such as Diodorus Siculus (C.21.3-6) and Strabo (IV.5.2). The earliest source specific to Northern Britain is Tacitus. He mentions their use in southern Britain during the Claudian invasion of 43 AD (Agricola XII) and the Boudiccan revolt of 60-61 AD (Annals XIV, 29-39) and also records that they were used at the battle of Mons Graupius in northern Scotland in 84 AD (Agricola XXXVI). At Mons Graupius he describes the aurigae (charioteers) of northern Scotland as noblemen whose clientes did the fighting. In the early third century AD Herodian and Dio Cassius describe the campaign of the emperor Severus [208-11 AD] and state that the northern Britons 'go into battle in chariots, and have small swift horses' [Dio Cassius LXXVII, 12].

Classical authors were not, however, attempting to produce an objective ethnographic account of the inhabitants of northern Britain. In the case of wheeled vehicles the use of these in warfare was perceived of as old fashioned and unusual by the time of Caesar's invasions. The fact that they are

mentioned relatively frequently in classical texts cannot therefore be taken as an indication that they were particularly widespread or important merely that they were distinctive and attracted attention. Classical authors also frequently interpolated material from earlier writers into their descriptions so the later references to wheeled vehicles in northern Britain are not absolutely reliable as they could be based on Caesar or Tacitus. Classical authors do not make clear whether chariots were widely used in battles or if their use was limited to display and intimidation beforehand and in the early stages.

Chariots and charioteers also occur occasionally on pieces of Roman art from Britain (eg Henig 1995, 89, 121 and 161; Humphrey 1986, 431-37). The evidence is however rather sparse and no specially constructed circuses for chariot racing have been found in Britain.

The Gododdin

The Gododdin poem, which survives in a single thirteenth century Welsh manuscript, is a collection of late sixth and early seventh century elegies to warriors of the kingdom of Gododdin in south-east Scotland (Jarman 1988; Koch 1997). It appears that it also contains some earlier elements, one of these describes the hero Pobddelw as llawr en assed or the laurel-bedecked champion in the war chariot (Koch 1987, 253-62; 1997, 146-47). Koch suggests that this imagery was derived from pre-Roman Iron Age coins that were derived from coins of Philip the II of Macedon and bore a laureate head of Apollo on the obverse and a two horse chariot and rider on the reverse. Such coins are rare in Northern Britain and it is unclear if many of the finds are genuinely ancient or not. There may also be references to rotauc/rotor or wheeled vehicles, although this is more problematical (ibid, 157 and 178). It is unclear what the survival of such poetic imagery implies about the actual use of wheeled vehicles but it does imply some level of knowledge so that the poems audience would have at least understood the concepts and imagery being used. The laurel-bedecked champion in the war chariot in particular suggests that the poetic imagery may have been developed in a different geographical area and its use in Northern Britain must be treated cautiously as a source of evidence.

CONCLUSIONS

The idea that the Pictish double-disc symbol represents a wheeled vehicle appears to be inherently plausible, although by no means proven, given what we know of the form and development of this symbol combined with its similarities to dismantled Iron Age wheeled vehicles and the symbols on the coins from Crannon. The use of wheeled vehicles in northern Britain between the first and third centuries AD is supported archaeologically through a number of finds, principally massive terrets, and in classical documentary sources. Exactly when wheeled vehicles ceased to be used is unclear, literary descriptions of the Picts in fourth century and later do not mention them using wheeled vehicles so it is unlikely that they were used in battle after this date. A wheeled vehicle represents a considerable investment in terms of the resources needed to construct it plus the requirements for horses and harness (Piggott 1986). Additionally there is an ongoing commitment to man it, house it and feed and care for the horses (ibid). This all means that wheeled vehicles are expensive prestige items limited to a very small social group, this probably had quite a lot to do with wheeled vehicles being selected to form the basis of a Pictish symbol. In particular it may have formed part of a distinctive material culture assemblage associated with a native aristocratic warrior class which appears to have formed the basis for many of the Pictish symbols (Cessford forthcoming). Exactly what role wheeled vehicles played in Northern Britain is unclear but there were probably a range of types that may have been used in warfare, burial, and transportation.

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Identification Of Drum Alban - Adamnan's Dorsum Britanniae

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SUMMARY

We draw attention to a remarkable topographical feature not easily visible from low ground, which we shall argue is precisely the ridge that was called Drum Alban. The term may also have been applied loosely to the mountain area in the vicinity, and the reference to the natural feature eventually forgotten, giving rise to the present uncertainty in the identification of Drum Alban.

INTRODUCTION

Drum Alban (or Drumalban) is an ancient landmark in the West of Scotland. In Gaelic it is *Druim Alban*, the ridge of Alba, where Alba appears to refer to the Central Highlands between the Forth and Spey (Watson 1926, 13). In Adamnan's time it was the recognised southern boundary between the Scots of DálRiata in the west, and the Picts in the east (Anderson and Anderson, 1961). Adamnan refers to it as *dorsum Britanniae,* the ridge or back of Britain, a Latin translation of *Druim Alban,* and states that the Picts and Scots were separated by the *montes dorsi Britannici,* the mountains of the Britannic ridge. We note that the Gaelic *druim* and the Latin *dorsum* both have the double connotation of *ridge* and *back.* According to Watson (1926, 12, 217), the earliest reference to Drum Alban is in Irish Annals of the late 4th century AD, and the name continued in use with reference to the boundary between Picts and Scots at least until the 8th c. AD (Skene 1902, 17). To quote Skene:

> *'It ... appears that Drumalban, or the dorsum Britanniae was the invariable boundary of the Picts and Scots, south of the Linnhe Loch from the year 503 down to the eighth century. There is no range of hills now bearing this name, but we find it frequently mentioned in older writers.'*

As Skene indicates, its precise identification has remained elusive; it is generally assumed that Drum Alban refers to the mountain range of the western Grampians, though, as the Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland (Groome, 1895) comments, it was so-called under an ancient mistaken notion of their being a continuous ridge.

This notion persists. Without much justification, Drum Alban continues to be identified, rather imprecisely, with the western ranges of the Grampians, despite the fact that they do not obviously form a barrier in the form of a ridge or range between west and east.

We believe that we have resolved this difficulty with our (re-) discovery of a striking natural ridge in the western Grampian range to the north-east of Ben Lui, running approximately NE-SW across Glen Lochy (west of Tyndrum), and we identify this ridge with *Druim Alban* itself.

THE RIDGE

About 2km northwest of Tyndrum is *Beinn Bheag,* "little hill", (653m) at National Grid Ref. NN 316 325. From its summit, looking south across Glen Lochy to the Ben Lui range, one sees a remarkable sight. Running straight up the hillside above *Lochan na Bi* and continuing in a straight line over the top of *Meall Odhar*, is a ridge, resembling a massive field dyke superimposed on the hillside. It has a low cover of vegetation, except for a central strip on the top of the ridge, where the bare rock is exposed,

forming a rocky line of approximately constant width. The rock is quartz-veined schist, which gives it a whitish appearance, so that it stands out prominently against the hillside. Figure 1 shows the ridge viewed from *Beinn Bheag*. It is a striking feature, but one that is only fully appreciated from the hills to the north of Glen Lochy.

Fig.1: The ridge, looking south from **Beinn Bheag** across Glen Lochy.
The **Lochan na Bi** is in the foreground

The ridge reappears on the north side of Glen Lochy, on the southern slope of *Beinn Bheag,* our original viewpoint, where however the top is grassy, so that the rock is not exposed. Its width is about 30m. At several points narrow veins of white quartz cross it at right angles, and run for some distance down the slopes on either side. It continues northeast until it terminates in the rocky, boulder-strewn mound of *Sron Garbh,* "rough point", just above the A82 road, near the Argyll-Perthshire boundary.

On the south side of Glen Lochy the ridge can be followed over the top of the first unnamed hill to *Meall Odhar*, where it runs along the south-east edge and down into the Cononish glen. Its full extent can be traced on the National Monuments Record of Scotland aerial photograph (Fig 2). It is also visible on medium-resolution LANDSAT satellite images.

The ridge cannot be distinguished on the 1:25000 OS map. However, the section immediately south of *Lochan na Bi* rises in an arch at the top of the hill, at NN 304 306 (Fig 3); this feature is indicated on the current OS map as *Drochaid an Droma*, the "bridge of the ridge", confirming the recognition of the ridge and the 'bridge' as significant features.

The nearby village of Tyndrum (*tigh an droma*, the house of the ridge) undoubtedly takes its name from this formation. Unfortunately the OS Namelist for the Tyndrum area appears to have been among the few Scottish records that were destroyed in Southampton during the war.

Fig.2: Aerial view of Glen Lochy and the ridge, centred on the **Lochan na Bi**. Tyndrum is at the lower right.

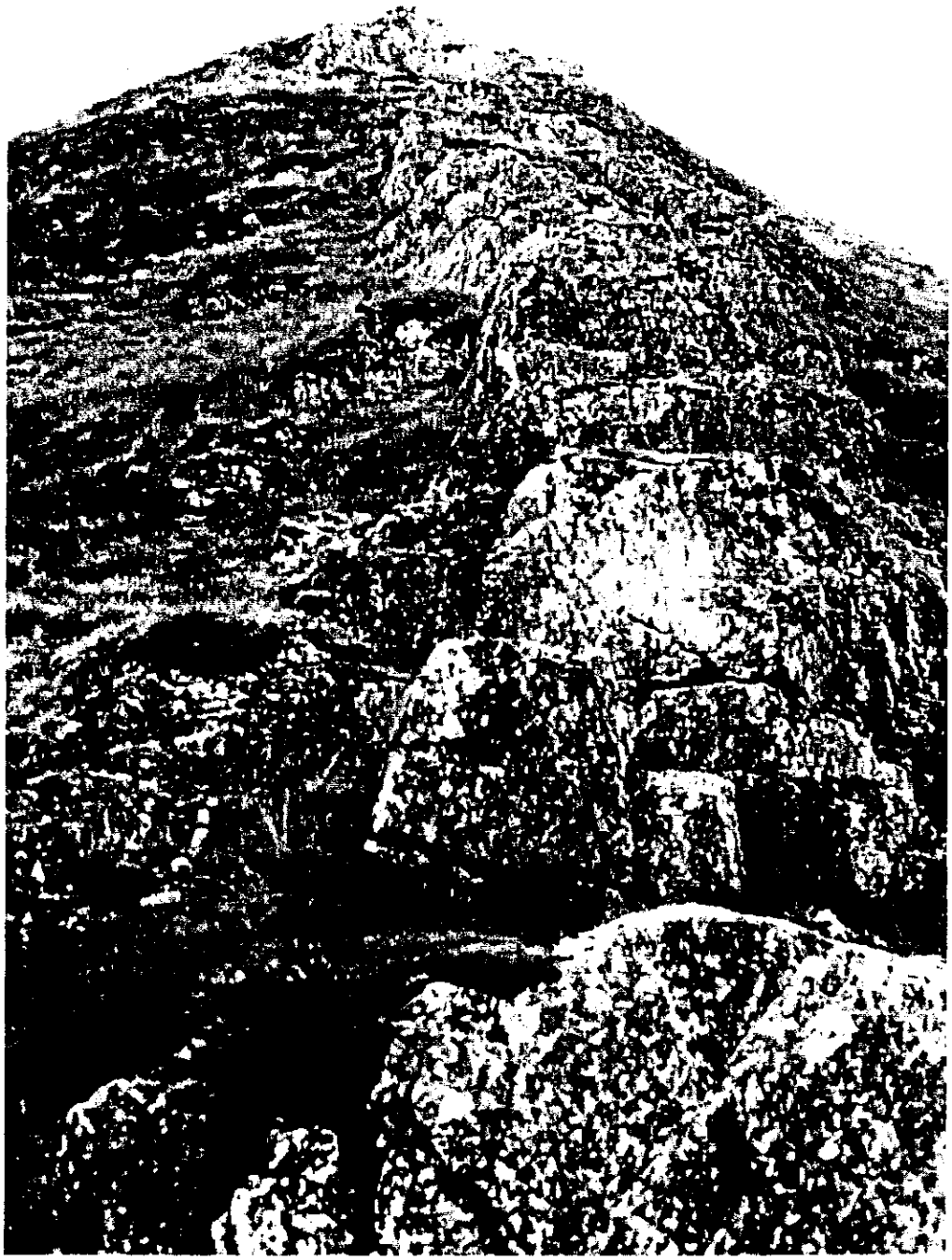

Fig.3: The Drochaid an Droma

Fig.4: Relationship of the ridge to the modern boundary.

In summary, the ridge consists of two straight sections: a 2km segment to the south of Glen Lochy running NNE, and a 1.5km segment to the north running NE. It also contains a prominent feature, the *drochaid an droma*.

THE RIDGE AS A BOUNDARY

Since the ridge provides an obvious and unambiguous means of marking a territorial division, it is not improbable that it was used as a boundary in ancient times, and there is evidence, described below, to suggest that it was recognised as such at least until the 16thc. Moreover the present modern boundary line between the counties of Argyll and Perthshire passes close to it, and indeed follows it exactly along 1km of the north section on *Beinn Bheag* (Fig 4). This may well represent the persistence of an ancient boundary line, apart from minor modern modifications; for example, there is a deviation round the east end of *Lochan na Bi*. The modern boundary continues due east from *Sron Garbh*, straight up the slope of *Beinn Odhar*, but the ridge is absent.

Our attention was drawn to *Beinn Bheag* by the mention in Watson (1926, 401) of an "ancient landmark" called *Carndroma*, the "cairn of the ridge" (*droma* is the genitive of *druim*), and his report of the presence of two other cairns, implied by him to be located in the vicinity of that hill. We were interested in the possible relevance of the cairns to the boundaries of DálRiata which we were investigating (Rennie, 1998). The cairns turn out to be relatively insignificant. However, since the Gaelic *carn* is also used to denote a "cairn-like" hill (Drummond 1992, 26), we suggest that it is more likely that *Carndroma* refers to the hill or the ridge itself. Alternatively it may refer to the hills to the south of the lochan: the *Drochaid an Droma* is rocky and there are extensive scatters of stones below it and also on the summit of *Meall Odhar*. Interestingly, in 729 there was a battle at *'Monith Carno, juxta stagnum Loogdae'*, between the Picts Oengus and Nechtan. Watson (1926, 401) identifies the battle site as the vicinity of *Lochan na Bi* (the *'stagnum Loogdae'*). Since *monith* is British for a hilly area, the battle took place in a rocky hill region *(Monith Carno)* near the lochan. Thus both Monith Carno and Carndroma may be references to the unusually rocky aspect of the landscape. If, however, we accept that Carndroma was indeed an ancient landmark, then the best candidate would probably be the Drochaid an Droma itself; it is a prominent and unusual feature of the landscape.

There is a 16th century reference to *Carndroma* as a boundary: in 1568 a warrant was granted by James VI to Ure Campbell of Strachur (MacPhail 1934, 36) 'to mak plant big and repair ane fre forest' in his lands in the Barony of Glenfalloch, the bounds of which are stated to be 'betwix the march of Carndrome on the west.....'

Glen Lochy is significant in that it was the major route from DálRiata east, leading through Glen Dochart into the southern territory of the Picts (Anderson 1973, 178; also indicated as such in the notes to the OS map of Dark Age Scotland, 1938). The *drochaid* would have been a prominent landmark on this route, especially significant in that it marked the ridge that was, we suggest, the recognised eastern boundary of DálRiata.

Adamnan refers to Columba making journeys *'trans Britanniae dorsum'*, or 'across the spine of Britain', as it has been translated (Anderson and Anderson, 1961), and to Columba's being *'ultra dorsum Britanniae'*, or 'beyond the spine of Britain'. But he also makes specific reference to the boundary between Picts and Scots:

> *'...hoc est Pictorum plebe et Scotorum Britanniae inter quos ultrosque dorsi montes britannici disterminant,'*
>
> or
>
> ...that is the population of Picts, and of the Irish of Britain, between which peoples the mountains of the spine of Britain (literally 'of the Britannic ridge') are the boundary (lit. 'divide').

Here we would suggest that in using the expression *'dorsi montes britannici'* he is making a distinction between the mountains *associated* with the ridge, and the ridge itself, which is the *dorsum Britanniae*, or *Druim Alban*.

It is of interest to note that the segmented nature of the section of the ridge containing the *drochaid*, gives it the appearance of a backbone.

CONCLUSIONS

We have argued that the ridge across Glen Lochy *is Druim Alban*, the ridge of Alba. The ridge appears to have escaped notice, or has been forgotten, possibly because it is most conspicuous from *Beinn Bheag*, a minor hill that is probably not often visited. In addition, the loss of the OS Namelist for the area means that placename references to the ridge may have been lost, apart from *Drochaid an Droma*, and of course Tyndrum. There is evidence, however, that the area was known historically as a boundary area, and indeed the modern boundary runs close to the ridge, suggesting that the ridge itself was a boundary.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

An Unpublished Silver Proto-Handpin of Norrie's Law Type

Lloyd Laing

The pin, which is the subject of this note, was acquired as part of an exchange for a video recorder in Leicester by Mr Eric Dudley, who showed it to the author. It is probable, but not certain, that it was found in a civic garden in Leicester, and was believed by its original owner to be a Victorian hat pin (fig 1). It is probable that it was a recent loss, since the shank had been broken and inexpertly re-fastened to the back of the head. The total length of the pin is 12.6 cm, the diameter of the head 15mm. The head originally had an enamelled plate, with three running scrolls in reserve. Three fingers are set in almost a straight line, the central finger being longer and originally inlaid with enamel, of which traces survived. The edge of the head is decorated with an incised lozenge pattern with medial lines. (fig 2)

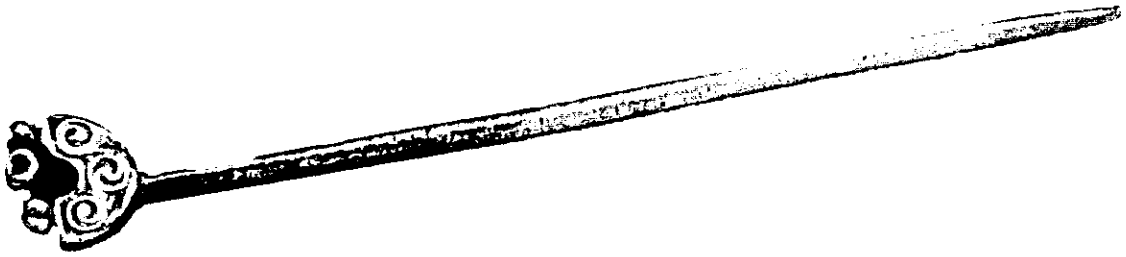

Fig.1 Leicester Proto-Handpin, Laing.

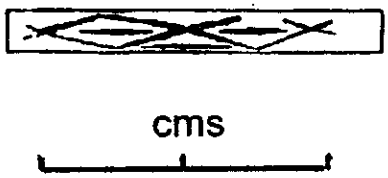

Fig.2 Leicester Proto-Handpin (de-

The pin belongs to a small group of silver pins probably of late Roman date. The most famous examples are the two from the Pictish hoard of silverwork from Norrie's Law, Fife, the one of which has a z-rod symbol incised on the back of the head prior to the addition of the pin shank. The one Norrie's Law pin may be a copy of the other. I have discussed the Norrie's Law pins and their relationship to other related examples in two studies, and the conclusions need not be repeated here (Laing, 1990; 39-42; 1994, 25-30). The closest parallel for the design on the head of the Leicester pin is on one from Long Sutton, Somerset, which has a similar scroll design on the plate (Laing, 1993, no. 117; Laing, 1990, 40). The edge of the Long Sutton head however has three grooves. Pins with similar running scroll designs on their heads are known from Clonmacnoise, Co Offaly (Kilbride-Jones, 1980, Fig.68/9) and Castletown, Kilberry, Co Meath (Kilbride-Jones, 1980, fig.68/6). The Castletown pin is bronze.

The Norrie's Law pins have a more complex scroll design on the head, and a more sophisticated lozenge pattern on their edges, and are thus slightly more sophisticated artistically than the 'Leicester' pin.

A growing number of elaborate proto-hand pins, several in silver, are known from Britain, and appear to belong to a late Roman (third and fourth century) millieu. It is very possible that such pins were indicators of status among their owners, serving in much the same way that crossbow brooches did. Such an association with insignia might well account for their continuing popularity in the post-Roman period.

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REVIEW

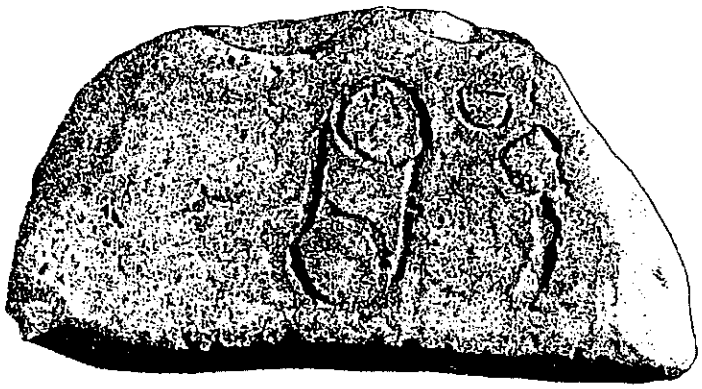
Vikings in Scotland by James Graham-Campbell and Colleen E. Batey. 1998. Edinburgh University Press. ISBN 0 7486 0641 6 (paperback) 0 7486 0863 X (hardback).

Vikings in Scotland represents a major synthesis of the ninth to twelfth century Scandinavian impact in Scotland. As such it invites obvious comparison with Barbara Crawford's *Scandinavian Scotland* (1987) and Anna Ritchie's *Viking Scotland* (1993). The book is well written and authoritative throughout and in some represents a considerable advance on its predecessors, this reflects recent important fieldwork on settlements, methodological advances including the increased use of a range of environmental techniques and chance discoveries of burials. The book discusses the local and Norwegian backgrounds (Chapters 1 and 2), sources (chapter 3), a series of regional surveys (chapters 4 to 7), burials (chapters 7 and 8), settlements (chapters 9 and 10) economy (chapter 11), silver and gold (chapter 12) and earls and bishops (chapter 13).

From a Pictish perspective the strength of the book lies not so much in the relatively brief discussion of the Picts themselves (p.5-14) but with the main part of the book and the light that it sheds on relations between the Picts and the Vikings. This topic occurs at numerous points throughout the book but the overall question is not considered in detail.

This is an accessible and easily readable book, although at times the text becomes a bit dense. As such it represents the definitive current archaeological guide to the Vikings in Scotland although Crawford's book remains a necessary companion as Graham-Campbell and Batey have deliberately largely ignored documentary sources.

Craig Cessford



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