

THE PICTS IN MORAY

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The Men of Moray, those difficult, pugnacious people who remained remote from central Scottish authority until as late as the second half of the 12th century, were possibly first depicted on one of the stones from Kinneddar now in Elgin Museum (Fig.4.1).¹ This shows both cavalry and foot soldiers, suggesting, as do other later Pictish carvings, the stratification of society into a warrior elite,² perhaps equating to knights, squires and freemen (plus a bonded class). The 26 carved stones from Kinneddar also serve to remind us both of the richness of the evidence for the Picts that is to be found in Moray and of its complexity. Such evidence should not, however, be used to build a picture of the Picts as mysterious or unknown: of the four peoples of early historic Scotland, divided by language rather than culture,³ as much is now known of the Picts as of the Angles, Scots or Britons put together. We can also appreciate what Leslie Alcock has called the 'potential for balkanization'⁴ that was caused by the existence of different kindreds within these four peoples, to which process the Men of Moray must have been potent contributors.

A geographical definition of Pictish Moray must look beyond the current western boundaries of the modern district or those of the old county, although the River Spey would seem to be a sensible eastern frontier with Buchan and Mar. The 12th-century *de Situ Albanie* names Moray and Ross as the vast territories of Fidach, one of the seven eponymous sons of Cruithne;⁵ we must envisage Moray stretching west beyond the head of the Great Glen to Druim Alban, the ridge of the Moine.⁶ Indeed, its influence once reached to Loch Alsh on the west coast,⁷ but for the purposes of this article, we will concentrate on the area defined by the present district, with particular reference to the rocky coastal ridge between Burghead and Lossiemouth.

The antecedents of Pictish society in Moray can be found in the later prehistoric forts and settlements in the area and in such Celtic place-names as *Loxa*, which is generally taken to denote the River Lossie on Ptolemy's map.⁸ The late Iron Age artefact evidence is also relevant; for example the fine metalwork from the Culbin Sands, including horse trappings and heavy bronze armlets,⁹ indicate a Celtic society in which can be seen the origin of the Pictish fondness for patronage of elaborate crafts such as metalwork. 'The lord as giver of rings', the Anglo-Saxon epithet, applied equally to the warrior aristocracy of Pictish Moray. On the cross slab in Elgin Cathedral is a rare scene of hawking, depicting a grouse, two dogs, and a horseman with a hawk: an activity that combined the sport of potentates with training for military service.¹⁰ Smyth provides a succinct summary of current thought on the origins and nature of Pictish society:



Fig.4.1 Kinneddar. Carving of men and horses.

'an indigenous servile population ruled by a warrior Celtic aristocracy whose origins may have lain in different parts of the wider Celtic world, but whose essential cultural unity was sufficiently self-evident to draw from Tacitus the comment that the northern Britons were basically no different from their cousins in the south and further afield in Gaul'.¹¹

The surviving evidence for the Picts in Moray consists of thirteen symbol stones, plus the six surviving bull stones from Burghead, three cross slabs as well as some late carvings such as Sueno's stone and the Kinneddar group.¹² In addition there are several forts, some better associated with the Picts than others,¹³ some probable burial sites revealed by aerial photography and, towards the end of our period, two important ecclesiastical foci, Kinneddar and Birnie. That is to say, the evidence is concentrated in the Laich, although certain important groups of evidence are also to be found along the Spey, for example the group of four symbol stones at St Peter's, Inveravon.¹⁴ In addition, place-names such as the well-known *pit* (*pett*, a piece [of land]) and *cardden* (copse) and *pres* (thicket) seem to be of genuine Pictish origin.¹⁵ Fraser has recently suggested that the surviving names may indicate 'a form of settlement that existed in a heavily forested landscape'.¹⁶ All this evidence is combined in Fig.4.2.

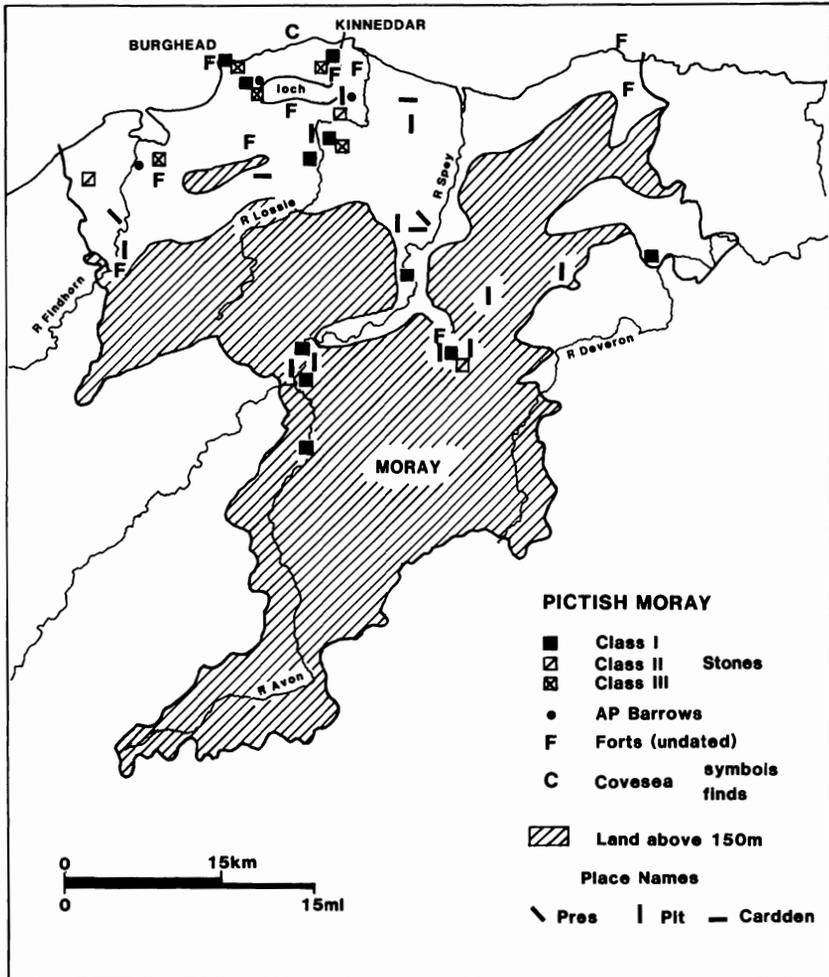


Fig.4.2 Pictish Moray.

The most important area is the sandstone coastal ridge running between Burghead and Lossiemouth which shelters a number of sites of almost unique character in Pictish times. They include Burghead, the largest (by a factor of three) fortified site in early historic Scotland; the Sculptor's Cave, Covesea, a cave site of apparently ritual significance, and Kinneddar, imperfectly understood in all its aspects but which presents evidence of having been a place of manufacture of early Christian crosses long before its role as one of the pre-13th century seats of the bishops of Moray.¹⁷ The Burghead-Covesea ridge would have been an island, literally because of the extent the Loch of Spynie,¹⁸ and figuratively owing to the agglomeration of Pictish power which such sites represented. These three sites will be examined in more detail.

The fort of Burghead bestrode a headland thrust into the Moray Firth (see Fig.2.4). Three hectares were enclosed by three cross ramparts of considerable size: the Doorie Hill, on which the culmination of the annual fire festival known as the Clavie takes place, itself of considerable antiquity,¹⁹ represents the last remnants of the innermost line. Inside lay a citadel, separated from a lower ward by a cross rampart, and the famous well, a subterranean vaulted chamber, 4.9 m square and 3.7 m high, containing a rockcut basin.²⁰

The subject of much debate, the 'Roman' or more properly 'Baillies' [in the bailey of the fort?] well should be seen in the context of other elaborate water sources in places of later prehistoric power. For example finely constructed wells or chambers are found beneath northern brochs such as Warebeth (Stromness Cemetery),²¹ Knowe of Burrian, Harray (the find-spot, significantly of the fine Class 1 eagle stone),²² Midhowe in Rousay,²³ — all Orkney — Crosskirk, Caithness,²⁴ and indeed at the important Pictish settlement on the Brough of Birsay, also in Orkney.²⁵ Such structures should not be viewed as merely utilitarian: water shrines were of considerable importance to the Celtic peoples,²⁶ while it has recently been suggested that the Burghead well itself may have been used as a drowning pool.²⁷

The dating of Burghead relies on a range of radiocarbon dates from rampart timbers which indicate occupation between the fifth and seventh centuries AD, although the possibility of earlier (and later) habitation cannot be ruled out.²⁸ In particular, one third-century date and the configuration of three cross ramparts, unique among Pictish promontory forts, suggest that a pre-Roman Iron Age fort remains a possibility to be confirmed by further excavation.²⁹ Certainly, a stone head discovered in Burghead of possible Celtic origin which was recently reported to Inverness Museum would support such a possibility.³⁰

The identification of the *munitio* of King Brude (mentioned by Adomnan) is still uncertain; it is generally held to have been in the vicinity of the Great Glen, not far to the south of the Beaully Firth,³¹ probably at Craig Phadraig

or Urquhart.³² Yet the sheer size of Burghead when compared with the relatively tiny areas enclosed at both sites³³ (or at Castle Hill, Inverness, another candidate³⁴) leads to speculation that Burghead could have been in the top grade of Pictish royal sites, equivalent to a *civitas*.³⁵ This is particularly so if its various rare or unique features are considered.

These include the hierarchy of space which its upper and lower wards display, although the division of space has not been developed as far (because of a less suitable topography?), as at that other possible *civitas*-equivalent in Pictland, Dundurn in Perthshire.³⁶ Other unique features include the use of nails or augered-in spikes,³⁷ to fasten the rampart timbers, the famous series of bull stones³⁸ apparently mounted high in the wall as a frieze³⁹ and the Anglo-Saxon blast-horn mount⁴⁰ whose military connotations are entirely appropriate to a royal site.

The fragments of an early Christian corner-post shrine, dating from the late seventh or early eighth century⁴¹ found in the modern cemetery within the area of the fort and now in the Burghead Library are also significant to this discussion as they are an unusual discovery in a Pictish fort, but one that might be interpreted as a survival from the 'impact phase' of conversion at a royal centre. The Burghead shrine is represented by the roughly square corner-post with two grooves and a zone of crude relief interlace on an outer face⁴² and a low relief hunting scene.⁴³ It is assumed that the shrine must have stood against a wall in a church or chapel, presumably of monastic origin⁴⁴ which prompts the questions: was there indeed an early monastic foundation at Burghead; if so, where precisely was it situated; and whose relics did the shrine house?

The precise end of Burghead is as intriguing as its putative beginning. The burnt rampart core indicates a conflagration, presumably terminal. Certainly Small could detect no signs of gradual decay of the wall, and so he surmised a swift end.⁴⁵ Undoubtedly burning was a favoured method of attack in the early historic period,⁴⁶ but whether this fire did indeed lead to the abandonment of the fort is unclear as there is evidence of repairing of the rampart and the latest Carbon 14 date calibrates to between 855 and 1040, i.e. most probably into the 10th century. That is to say, it is conceivable that Burghead, like Green Castle, Portknockie, 25 miles further east, which has a very late wall,⁴⁷ could have inhibited Norse expansion into Moray.

The absence of extensive evidence of Norse occupation in Grampian may be due to such strong coastal defences and entrenched Pictish presence, although responsibility for the final conflagration should probably rest with the Vikings.⁴⁸ The existence of a Pictish navy is also relevant to such speculation, given the reference in the Annals of Ulster to the Orkneys being 'destroyed by Brude' in AD 681.⁴⁹ It is certainly possible that the forts of the north coast such as Burghead or Green Castle, Portknockie were 'home ports', overlooking galleys readied for war.⁵⁰

Three miles to the east of Burghead, in a cliff of sandstone, is the Sculptor's Cave, Covesea, so named from the symbols carved at the entrance.⁵¹ The precise function that this deep coastal cave performed in Pictish times is still far from clear in spite of two campaigns of excavation.⁵² Covesea had seen a long period of use during the late Bronze Age largely as a settlement site, albeit one where a surprisingly large quantity of fine metalwork was lost and/or deposited. The evidence of subsequent use indicates that the cave was not a settlement site in Pictish times. This conclusion is drawn from three types of evidence which cannot be related closely.

First, the later phases of use consisted of sterile layers of soft humic material spread in the entrance passages, which material was never consolidated by regular trampling. Second, a range of small bronze objects (fourth-century Roman bronze coins — range AD 353 to 365⁵³ — tweezers, and ten ring-headed pins, one of which was silver, comprising three types⁵⁴) was deposited inside the cave (the coins concentrating around square B4⁵⁵) perhaps in a single event sometime in the late fourth century or slightly later.⁵⁶ Third, at least fifteen Pictish symbols were carved on the walls and roof of the entrance passages.⁵⁷

We do not understand how the Picts used such caves as this great cavern at Covesea or the Wemyss caves in Fife.⁵⁸ Henderson has suggested a role in the manufacture or dissemination of metalwork, in particular the Pictish chains, for the Fife examples.⁵⁹ No evidence of metalworking was recovered from Covesea and no such chains are known from Moray (while the Gaulcross hoard⁶⁰ was found around 30 miles to the east), but the Sculptor's Cave did produce a proto-hand pin amongst its pins and other, perhaps more tenuous links have been suggested.⁶¹ Given the proximity of both the Sculptor's Cave and the Wemyss caves to kingly forts (Burghead and Clatchard Craig respectively⁶²) it is possible that the explanation of the caves lies in the area of ceremonial related to the forts.

Certainly in the case of Covesea, the recent discovery in Aberdeen University of a manuscript report alluding to the 'two thousand' human bones which Miss Benton recovered from the cave but which were not included in the excavation report must raise the suggestion of an ossuary, but of what date cannot now be determined. Even if it were to have been of late Bronze Age or early Iron Age date, it is conceivable that its ritual importance was still potent in Pictish times, perhaps similar to the propinquity of Pictish sculpture in Aberdeenshire to prehistoric ritual sites noted by Inglis.⁶³ In this context the simple Latin crosses on the west wall of the west entrance (which are closely similar to ones in the Wemyss caves⁶⁴) could be seen as a continuation or recognition of a long-established ritual use for the site, a recognition that seems to have persisted for some time, given the fine Russian cross dated to the 12th century or somewhat later by R B K Stevenson (pers. comm.) on the west wall of the east

entrance. (The significance of the simple crosses to a consideration of Christianity in Moray is discussed below.)

Finally, further comment on the Sculptor's Cave, Covesea may be confined to noting a greater range of accomplishment in the carving of the symbols than is sometimes supposed for Pictish cave art. In all, the fifteen symbols⁶⁵ range from the crude and basic, such as the crescent and V-rod on the west wall of the west entrance,⁶⁶ to the stylish and orthodox, such as the triple oval and flower on the roof of the entrance (Fig.4.3).⁶⁷ An early date for the symbols found in caves was proposed some time ago.⁶⁸ The radiocarbon dating of a stone from Pool, Sanday, Orkney⁶⁹ bearing a symbol of equal simplicity to, say, one of the Covesea crescents and V-rods, to a date between the fifth and sixth centuries might seem to support the early dating of the cave symbols. However, all that the Pool date and the range of symbols at Covesea really indicate is that the development of Pictish art was a lengthy process, stretching over several centuries.⁷⁰ (Stevenson's view that the symbols found on the prestigious metalwork are the earliest and among the best, albeit starting comparatively late, in the seventh century, and that the so-called 'primitive' symbols are degenerate should also be noted.⁷¹)



Fig.4.3 Covesea. Triple oval and flower.

East again along the sandstone ridge, beside Lossiemouth, is Kinneddar, one of the pre-13th century seats of the Bishops of Moray.⁷² The *New Statistical Account* describes a formidable medieval castle, with a central tower and hexagonal surrounding walls backed by earthen ramparts of possibly earlier date whose levelling revealed a cist cemetery:

‘The great tower of Kinneddar was defended by two walls, about 50 paces from each other, each wall having its ditch in front, and, what was more uncommon, an earthen rampart, from eight to ten feet wide, and as many feet high, behind each wall. The space enclosed comprehended about two acres, the form approaching to a hexagon The fortifications on the east side were guarded by a morass, and two ditches, one of 24 and, a little beyond it, another of 12 feet wide.... The labourers who filled up the ditches were astonished at the quantity of ashes and oak charcoal, and the number of broken urns and human bones they met with, in levelling these earthen ramparts, more especially under their foundations ... the present incumbent examine[d] more minutely what remained of the earthen rampart ... under the foundations he found the graves closely packed. On removing the earth, there appeared first peat or turf ashes, then within the rude stone chest, oak charcoal, and some fragments of human bones.’⁷³

The account goes on to describe two types of cist: those with dressed stones contained smooth ashes of oak charcoal and very little bone, those of ‘rude’ construction had more turf ashes, less oak charcoal and imperfectly cremated bones. What can be made of this extraordinarily tantalising account and what relevance does it have to the story of the Picts in Moray?

Today the evidence consists of a dark cropmark on an early RAF air photograph,⁷⁴ which seems to show one of the angles of the hexagonal enclosure, the foundation courses of the middle of the north wall of the graveyard which are unusually massive⁷⁵ and the collection of 25 carved fragments found in the kirkyard walls and now in Elgin Museum,⁷⁶ some of which indicate that slabs bearing angular crosses were being manufactured on site.⁷⁷ The excavations in 1939 by Gordonstoun School at Kinneddar were never published, but interesting results are now coming from geophysical survey.⁷⁸ One carved fragment is of considerable interest: the high relief carving of David the Shepherd rending the lion’s jaw⁷⁹ which is comparable to one of the scenes on the St Andrews sarcophagus of the later eighth or very early ninth century.⁸⁰ With its local school of stone carving and earthen ring work built over a cist cemetery of uncertain date (although it should be remembered that the Pictish cist grave at Easterton of Roseisle probably contained a cremation) does Kinneddar represent an early monastic enclosure similar to that postulated for St. Andrews, which site also had its own school of stone carving?⁸¹

Kinneddar is clearly vital to a consideration of the beginnings of Christianity in Moray. In this discussion, its potential relationship with the great fort at Burghead should be borne in mind, particularly if, as is suggested

above, the Burghead/Lossiemouth ridge functioned as an island of royal power with a range of inter-related sites. It has already been suggested (above p.79) that the corner-post shrine from Burghead, which dates from the late seventh or early eighth century⁸² and has at any rate a respectable pagan background as merely an above ground cist,⁸³ could represent one of the earliest manifestations of Christianity in Moray, if not the conversion phase then certainly a time when relic cults were in full swing.⁸⁴

For the purposes of this review the reservations that can be expressed about the evidence for the extent of seventh-century Columban Christianity in Pictland as a whole⁸⁵ are taken to apply with even greater force to Pictish Moray. The technique of corner grooving seen on the Burghead corner-post shrine was a trait of ultimately Classical Mediterranean origin which came to Pictland via Northumbria,⁸⁶ possibly through contact during the seventh century.⁸⁷ By extension, the cross slabs and relief sculpture from Kinneddar (and the putative ditched enclosure) could represent the establishment of a more concrete faith during the eighth century, one in a suitable location to be supported by royal patronage. In any event, the range of carved fragments indicate that a religious centre was in existence at Kinneddar by 934, the traditional date of St. Gerardine/Gervadus's oratory at *Kenedor*.⁸⁸

Other indications of early Christian activity are the simple Latin crosses incised on the west wall of the west entrance at Covesea which could conceivably reflect the 'eremitic and ascetic' tradition of the Columban church,⁸⁹ although reservations about its impact in Moray have already been expressed. The establishment and subsequent development of Christianity elsewhere in Moray may also be traced in such sites as Birnie kirk with its early bell,⁹⁰ class III fragments⁹¹ and the recently discovered adjacent cropmark enclosure;⁹² the simple Class IV⁹³ cross stone from Botriphnie⁹⁴ (whether indicating the spread of Irish-based monasticism,⁹⁵ a Ninianic presence⁹⁶ or a connection with the techniques used to incise symbols⁹⁷ remains to be determined); the cross slabs at Elgin, Brodie and Roseisle (now at Altyre),⁹⁸ the last two bearing ogam inscriptions (probably derived from the activities of Irish churchmen);⁹⁹ the more distant cross slab of Mortlach (perhaps an early church site),¹⁰⁰ and the great preaching cross — 'the most awe-inspiring in northern Britain'¹⁰¹ — and/or cenotaph of Sueno's Stone.

Moray can also offer some important evidence of Pictish burial sites. The cist grave with re-used symbol stone as side slab at Easterton of Roseisle¹⁰² has been known since last century but over the last thirteen years air photography has identified three locations in the Laich where the cropmarks of square barrows, presumptively of Pictish date may be seen in suitable conditions. At Pitairlie (coincidentally, not a Pictish name but a 19th-century creation¹⁰³), north-east of Elgin, is a line of contiguous square features, two of which have circular internal marks (Fig.4.4), while



Fig.4.4 Pitairlie. Possible Pictish burial site.

at Greshop, west of Forres, a small group of square barrows is in close proximity to a larger double square enclosure with gaps at the corners. This last feature has echoes of late Iron Age ritual features such as the shrine at Heathrow, Middlesex,¹⁰⁴ but a much closer parallel lies at the Pictish cemetery at Garbeg, Drumnadrochit,¹⁰⁵ almost certainly in association with a symbol stone. The third possible site is at Alves (Fig 4.2.)

Other square barrow cemeteries of presumptively Pictish date on the coastal plain of the Moray Firth include Hills of Boyndie, Banff¹⁰⁶ and Gollanfield, Nairn.¹⁰⁷ Further afield the Dairy Park, Dunrobin produced a class I stone over a female grave.¹⁰⁸ The mix of square and round forms evident in some of these sites has been interpreted as the result of uncertainty at the time of conversion.¹⁰⁹ In this connection the putative role of the symbol stones both as memorials and markers of territory represent two potentially powerful explanations for these stones,¹¹⁰ which interpretation may be expanded by viewing them as 'ideological technology' legitimizing the 'emergence of a powerful, unified Pictish monarchy'.¹¹¹

Finally, Sueno's Stone at the western approach to the Burghead/

Lossiemouth island, the core of Pictish Moray, provides an insight into the society of the ninth century. The battle scene on the reverse¹¹² with its competing armies, single combat of champions, piles of headless corpses and the formal execution of the defeated champion demonstrates the aptness of Leslie Alcock's phrase 'two ideologies which saw their birthright in genocide'¹¹³ to describe relations between the Picts and Scots. The full reality of a society predicated on the endemic violence of historic kingship¹¹⁴ is difficult to grasp. Certainly one should be cautious of '... images drawn from [literary] compositions that glorify the behaviour and values of the armed elite for whom they were composed: a kind of self-vindicating in-house propaganda. These elites could just as well be viewed as unscrupulous aristocratic groups at the head of strict social hierarchies, prepared to kill for material gain and prestige, and to exploit and appropriate as a social right'.¹¹⁵

Given that the head-hunting theme evident on Sueno's Stone has deep Celtic Iron Age roots (although Ian Keillar (pers. comm.) sees the 'broch' as Nebuchadnezzar's furnace: — and it also could be a scene similar to the Glamis cauldron with legs protruding, used by Anna Ritchie as an illustration of possible ritual drowning¹¹⁶) it is all the more remarkable that Sueno's Stone also links us with the time of conversion through the mighty twenty feet tall cross on the other face. Preaching cross, cenotaph or a minatory boundary stone remembering perhaps a battle over the Norse in Orkney? (For Sueno's Stone see also contributions in this volume by Jackson and by Sellar).

There may of course be other sites of Pictish date in Moray. The best candidate as defended settlement is the Doune of Relugas at the confluence of the Divie and the Findhorn which is a classic early historic fort site with a craggy stepped profile eminently suitable for expressing the hierarchical divisions of Pictish society.¹¹⁷ Evidence of vitrification was seen in 1976¹¹⁸ while the ring-headed pin from the site is another suggestive pointer.¹¹⁹ It has recently been claimed that as many as 50% or so of conventional pre-Roman Iron Age forts in Scotland are in fact early historic in some phase of use or construction.¹²⁰ Sites such as Cluny Hill, Forres, or the Knock of Alves are relevant here, while to the east, Ian Ralston's meticulous excavations at the Green Castle, Portknockie have demonstrated that it was clearly an important local centre of Pictish power.¹²¹

Although the ultimate end of Pictish Moray lay in absorption, in a united Scotland under the descendants of the Scots of Dal Riada, the rulers of Moray in the late ninth, tenth and even early eleventh centuries maintained an element of independence. It can be suggested from tenth- and eleventh-century records that Moray was autonomous, for the ruling dynasty in Moray 'traced their descent from a different branch of the original Irish settlers of Dalriata than did the mac Alpin dynasty':¹²² the Cenel Loairn rather than the Cenel Gabrain, which division may have

perpetuated 'the ancient division between northern and southern Pictland'.¹²³ (The most famous scion of this dynasty was MacBeth, son of Finlay mormaer of Moray, whose career is considered later in this collection.)

This division may be reflected in the usage 'king of Scots' in the Norse sagas to refer to tenth-century mormaers of Moray.¹²⁴ Certainly these sources also illustrate that the absorption of the northern Picts was accelerated by Norse pressure.¹²⁵ We have already seen that the date of the wall at Green Castle, Portknockie is late enough to represent defence against the Vikings, while Burghead was also burnt. (Dunnottar was certainly destroyed between 889 and 900). The Caithness part of Moray and Ross was conquered by Sigurd the Mighty (d c 892) in a bitter struggle,¹²⁶ while it is possible that the rulers of Orkney and the king of Scots combined against the mormaer of Moray. However, the tantalising reference in *Jarls Saga* to Sigurd building a fort 'in the south of Moray', which has been identified with Burghead,¹²⁷ remains unconfirmed. On the other hand, the suggestion that territorial reorganisation, caused by Norse pressure, is indicated by the appearance of a new series of regional names — 'Moray' for earlier 'Fidach' — is believable.¹²⁸

Thus may we envisage that the potentate at Burghead and his system of taxation or tribute may well have underlain the feudal pattern of administration, parts of which survive to this day.

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45. Small 'Burghead' 66.
46. Alcock 'Activities of potentates' 32.
47. I B M Ralston 'The Green Castle, Portknockie, and the promontory forts of North-East Scotland' *Scot. Archaeol. Forum* 10 (1980) 32; Ralston 'Portknockie'.
48. Ritchie, *Picts* 15.
49. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship* 175.
50. Ralston 'Portknockie' 22; A Ritchie 'Orkney in the Pictish Kingdom' in *The Prehistory of Orkney* ed. C Renfrew (Edinburgh 1985) 203.
51. C Gordon-Cumming, *Memories* (Edinburgh & London 1904) 56-62.
52. S Benton 'The excavation of the Sculptor's Cave, Covesea, Morayshire' *PSAS* 65 (1930 -3) 177-216; I A G Shepherd 'Pictish settlement problems in North-East Scotland' in *Settlement in North Britain 1000BC - 1000AD* edd. J Chapman and H Mytum (Oxford 1983) 333-4. (Brit. Archaeol. Rep. no.118).
53. M Sekulla, pers. comm.
54. R B K Stevenson 'The earlier metalwork of Pictland' in *To illustrate the monuments: Essays on archaeology presented to Stuart Piggott* ed. J V S Megaw (London 1976) 247.
55. Benton 'Sculptor's Cave' 212-16.
56. Shepherd 'Pictish settlement problems' 334.
57. RCAHMS, *Pictish Symbol Stones: a handlist of 1985* (Edinburgh 1985) 10: note that its reference to Shepherd 1983 should be to Shepherd 1983 as in note 52 above.
58. Anon., *Fife's early archaeological heritage: a guide* (Glenrothes 1989)58-9.
59. I Henderson 'The silver chain from Whitecleugh, Shieldholm Crawfordjohn, Lanarkshire' *Trans Dumfriesshire Galloway Nat.Hist.Antiq.Soc.* 54 (1979) 26.

60. S Youngs, *'The Work of Angels', Masterpieces of Celtic metalwork 6th - 9th centuries AD* (London 1989) 26.
61. In Shepherd 'Pictish settlement problems' 334-5.
62. J Close-Brooks 'Excavations at Clatchard Craig, Fife' *PSAS* 116 (1986) 117-184, fiche 1:B1-C14.
63. J Inglis 'Patterns in stone, patterns in population: symbol stones seen from beyond the Mounth' in Small, *The Picts*; I B M Ralston and J Inglis, *Foul Hordes: the Picts in the North-East and their background* (Aberdeen 1984) 18.
64. *Early Christian Monuments* fig.37a.
65. RCAHMS, *Pictish Symbol Stones* 10.
66. *Early Christian Monuments* fig.135c.
67. Note that the illustration of this symbol in Shepherd 'Pictish settlement problems' fig.12b is not wholly accurate.
68. A C Thomas 'The interpretation of the Pictish symbols' *Archaeol.J.* 120 (1963) 30-97.
69. Ritchie, *Picts* 20.
70. Alcock 'Heroic Age' 331; *contra* J Close-Brooks, *Pictish Stones in Dunrobin Castle Museum* (Derby 1989) 2.
71. Stevenson 'Earlier metalwork' 248.
72. H B MacKintosh, *Pilgrimages in Moray: a guide to the County* (Elgin 1924) 14, 75-6.
73. *NSA* (1840-45) xiii, 151-3.
74. RAF no. F21/82/955:0027-9.
75. A Keith, *The Parishes of Drainie and Lossiemouth* (Lossiemouth 1975) 20-3.
76. If the class I stone in the Royal Museum of Scotland is added, the total number of stones from Kinneddar is 26.
77. Eg. Elgin Museum no.1960.14.
78. N Q Bogdan, pers. comm.
79. Henderson, *Picts* 153, fig.37.
80. Ritchie, *Picts* 40.
81. Alcock 'Heroic Age' 332.
82. Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology* 152; *Celtic Britain* 147.
83. A A M Duncan, *Scotland: the Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh 1975) 73.
84. Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology* 148.
85. Eg. I Henderson 'Early Christian monuments of Scotland displaying crosses but no other ornament' in Small *The Picts* 45; K Hughes, *Early Christianity in Pictland* (Jarrow Lecture, 1970).
86. Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology* 156; *Celtic Britain* 147-8.
87. Ritchie, *Picts* 30.
88. MacKintosh, *Pilgrimages in Moray* 75-6.
89. Ralston and Inglis, *Foul Hordes* 19.
90. A MacDonald and L Laing 'Early ecclesiastical sites in Scotland: a field survey, Part II' *PSAS* 102 (1969-70) 140-1.
91. *Early Christian Monuments* 136-7.
92. I Keillar and B Jones, pers. comm.
93. Henderson 'Early Christian Monuments' 46.

94. W D Simpson, *The Celtic Church in Scotland* (Aberdeen 1935) fig.15.
95. Thomas, *Early Christian Archaeology* 124-5.
96. Simpson, *Celtic Church*
97. Henderson 'Early Christian Monuments' 50.
98. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Monuments* 132-6.
99. Ritchie, *Picts* 66; W M Calder and K H Jackson 'An inscription from Altyre' *PSAS* 90 (1956-7) 246-50.
100. MacDonald and Laing 'Early ecclesiastical sites' 142-3.
101. Alcock 'Heroic Age' 332.
102. *Early Christian Monuments* 124-6.
103. Ian Keillar, pers. comm.
104. B Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (London 1978) 320.
105. L M M Wedderburn and D Grime, *A Cairn at Garbeg, Drumnadrochit* (Inverness 1975).
106. Ralston and Inglis, *Foul Hordes* 18.
107. G Maxwell 'Settlement in southern Pictland - a new overview' in Small, *The Picts* 34, fig.3; see also P J Ashmore 'Low cairns, long cists and symbol stones' *PSAS* (1978-80) 346-55.
108. J Close-Brooks 'Excavations in the Dairy Park, Dunrobin, Sutherland, 1977' *PSAS* 110 (1978-80) 328-45; and 'Pictish and other burials' in Friell and Watson, *Pictish Studies* 87-114.
109. Alcock 'Heroic Age' 332.
110. Ritchie, *Picts* 18.
111. S Driscoll 'Power and authority in early historic Scotland: Pictish stones and other documents' *PSAS* 116 (1986) 589.
112. Reading of stone after L Southwick, *The so-called Sueno's Stone at Forres* (Elgin 1981).
113. Alcock 'Heroic Age' 333.
114. *ibid.* 332.
115. P Garwood 'Social transformations and relations of power in Britain in the late fourth to sixth centuries AD' *Scot. Archaeol. Rev.* 6 (1989) 94.
116. Ritchie, *Picts* 14.
117. cf. L Alcock 'Reconnaissance excavations on Early Historic fortifications and other royal sites in Scotland, 3: Dundurn' *PSAS* 119 (1989) 189-226.
118. Ralston and Inglis, *Foul Hordes* 25.
119. T Fanning 'Some aspects of the bronze ringed pin in Scotland' in *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five'* edd. A O'Connor and D V Clarke (Edinburgh 1983) 324-42.
120. Alcock 'Heroic Age' 328.
121. Ralston 'Portknockie'.
122. Ralston and Inglis, *Foul Hordes* 16-17.
123. D P Kirby 'Moray prior to c.1100' in McNeill and Nicholson, *An Historical Atlas of Scotland* 20.
124. Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland* 64.
125. *Ibid.*, 48-9.
126. *Ibid.*, 64.
127. Otherwise *Orkneyinga Saga* — see Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland* 57.
128. *Ibid.*, 58; Ralston and Inglis, *Foul Hordes* 16-17.