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Gender Reflections: a Reconsideration of Pictish Mirror and Comb Symbols

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GENDER REFLECTIONS: A RECONSIDERATION OF PICTISH MIRROR AND COMB
SYMBOLS

by
Traci N. Billings

A Thesis Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science
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ABSTRACT

GENDER REFLECTIONS: A RECONSIDERATION OF PICTISH MIRROR AND COMB SYMBOLS

by

Traci N. Billings

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2016
Under the Supervision of Professor Bettina Arnold, PhD.

The interpretation of prehistoric iconography is complicated by the tendency to project contemporary male/female gender dichotomies into the past. Pictish monumental stone sculpture in Scotland has been studied over the last 100 years. Traditionally, mirror and comb symbols found on some stones produced in Scotland between AD 400 and AD 900 have been interpreted as being associated exclusively with women and/or the female gender. This thesis re-examines this assumption in light of more recent work to offer a new interpretation of Pictish mirror and comb symbols and to suggest a larger context for their possible meaning. Utilizing the Canmore database, 272 Pictish monumental sculpture were contextually compared with each other in light of archaeological and historical data. Mirrors and combs appear together or the mirror and comb individually appear on 66 (24.3%) stones. Of these, only eight (2.9%) sculptures are depicted with human figures. The results of this analysis suggest that the mirror and comb symbols were not associated exclusively with women but rather represent actual objects imbued with special meaning as well as symbols of particular lineages and their association with specific socio-political roles in Pictish society.

Key Words- Picts, iconography, Scotland, inalienable objects, gender, power

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To
my grandmother,
Francis B. Billings

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The Canmore database, organized and funded by the Historic Environment Scotland (HES) [<http://canmore.org.uk/>], lists over 380 entries for fragmented or intact monumental stone sculptures discovered in northeastern Scotland. The carvings found on many of these stones have been ascribed to a people known as the Picts. “Picti” is a Latin term used to “describe people living north of the Forth-Clyde line”, i.e. people who inhabited the area north of Roman-occupied Britain in what is Scotland today (Laing and Laing 1993: vii; Wainwright 1955: 4). The use of the term “Pict” itself is ambiguous. It may refer to a specific people, to a nation, or to all of the people living north of the boundary. The Romans most likely used the term in a broad sense; however, it is probable that there were many different groups of people living in the northern territory, with loose links or alliances between them during this period (Laing and Laing 1993: 1; Wainwright 1955: 14, 23).

The Picts are first mentioned by the classical writer Eumenius in AD 297. After AD 600 writers begin referring to the Pictish kingdom as a political unit. This apparent unity did not last long, however. In approximately AD 900, the Picts and the Scots were subsumed under Kenneth Mac Alpine into the newly formed Kingdom of Alba. Most of the monumental stone sculpture in the region dates to AD 400-900 (Allen and Anderson 1903; Henderson and Henderson 2004), i.e. spanning the whole of this period of state-level development. Dating the stones, however, is very difficult because there is often no suitable related organic matter for testing and the stones are not always found in their original contexts.

A highly stylized set of symbols is also found mainly in the northeastern region of Scotland, although there are some exceptions (Figure 1.1). This regional correlation, along with the study of place names, has led researchers to attribute these symbols to the Picts. In total there

are approximately 40 to 50 different types of so-called Pictish symbols (Laing and Laing 1993: 101; Wainwright 1955: 32, 36).

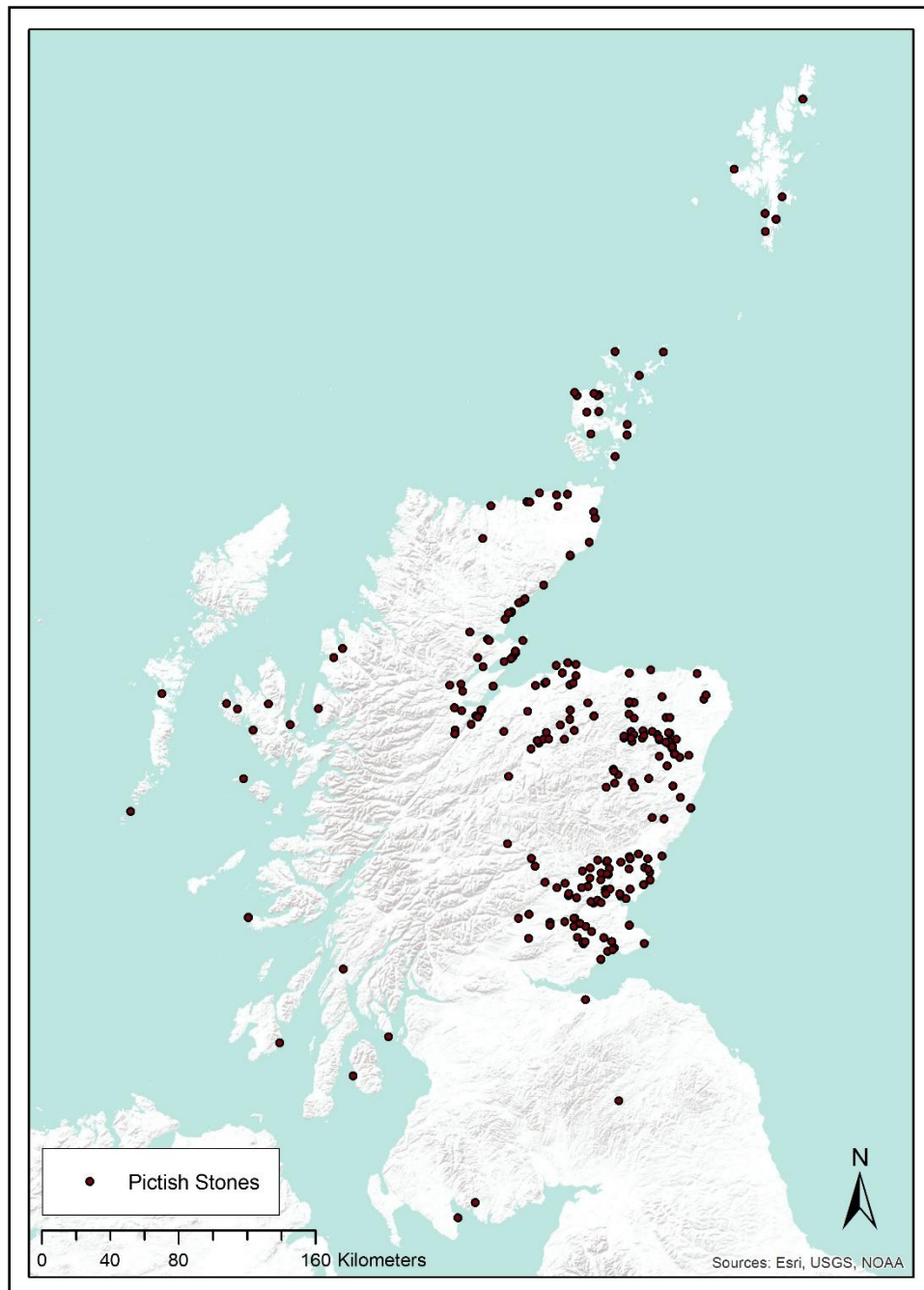


Figure 1.1: Distribution of Pictish monumental stone sculptures. Location data provided by the Canmore database. (Base map Esri and OpenStreetMap).

Both symbols and scenes with figures are displayed on the monumental stone sculptures, which range in height from 0.8 meters to just over three meters. In addition, these symbols are found on bone, metal, leather, and in cave carvings. The symbols can be divided roughly into three categories: abstract or geometric shapes, real and mythical animals, and representational objects (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvi). This study will focus on two symbols that fall within the representational object category: mirrors and combs.

Past interpretations of mirror and comb symbols include but are not limited to female identity, status and prestige, representations of the underworld, ecclesiastical connections, influences of Scandinavian mythology, markers of greater or lesser kings, and designators of funerary contexts (Allen and Anderson 1903; Bede et al. 1969; Carnegie 1999; Cessford 1997; Cummins 1995; Jackson 1990; Smith 2015). I would like to re-examine the associations between these representational categories and female identity and then suggest a new approach to explore this symbolic system further.

Research Problem and Questions

The gendering of symbols in iconography can be a useful tool for archaeologists in determining various forms of identity. However, contemporary gender biases complicate the interpretation of iconographic symbols from a gender perspective, especially if this is the main line of evidence available. There is a tendency to project current ideas of “what is a male” or “what is a female” onto a past system of symbols; even the assumption of a strict dichotomy of male and female gender categories can be troubled by contemporary biases (Hurcombe 1995; Nixon 1994). Many of the issues associated with the problematic nature of the use of iconography can be illustrated using the study of Pictish symbol stones. Given the assumption that the stones may play a role in the mediation of social relations and reproduction (Driscoll

1988), it is surprising that, with the exception of brooches and weapons worn by human figures, the mirror and comb symbols are the only Pictish images through which gender identity and ideology have been explored. Moreover, both symbols have been interpreted traditionally as being associated exclusively with women and the female gender (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvii; Carnegie 1999; Robertson 1991; Thomas 1963). A number of scholars have questioned this direct association (Cessford 1997; Driscoll 1986; Jackson 1990; Samson 1992) but until recently no systematic analysis has been conducted on this material category (but see Smith 2015).

I will re-examine the available evidence and posit a new interpretation by investigating the following research questions:

- Can an analysis of these symbols inform questions about Pictish gender ideology? If so, how?
- Is there any evidence to associate mirrors and combs with gender in this cultural context and if so, to what extent is the hypothesis that mirror and comb symbols are markers of female gender a product of contemporary gender ideology?
- Why have scholars traditionally equated mirror and comb symbols with female identity?
- What ethnographic and historical evidence might provide analogs for other possible interpretations of these symbols?
- How might the concept of inalienability be applied to inform a new interpretation of these symbols?

Research Context

The Picts have traditionally been located in the northeastern part of Scotland (Figure 1.2). This association can be demonstrated through the use of historical, archaeological, and geographic evidence that specifically denotes their territory and the territory of other

contemporary groups in the region, such as the Scots-Irish (Kingdom of Dál Riata), the Britons (Kingdom of Strathclyde), and the English (Northumbria) (Bannerman 1968; Bede et al. 1969; Campbell 2001; Clarkson 2013; Lane and Campbell 2000; Wainwright 1955), although recent scholarship has challenged the rigidity of these ethnic distinctions (Campbell 2015 EAA Conference MERC Lecture).

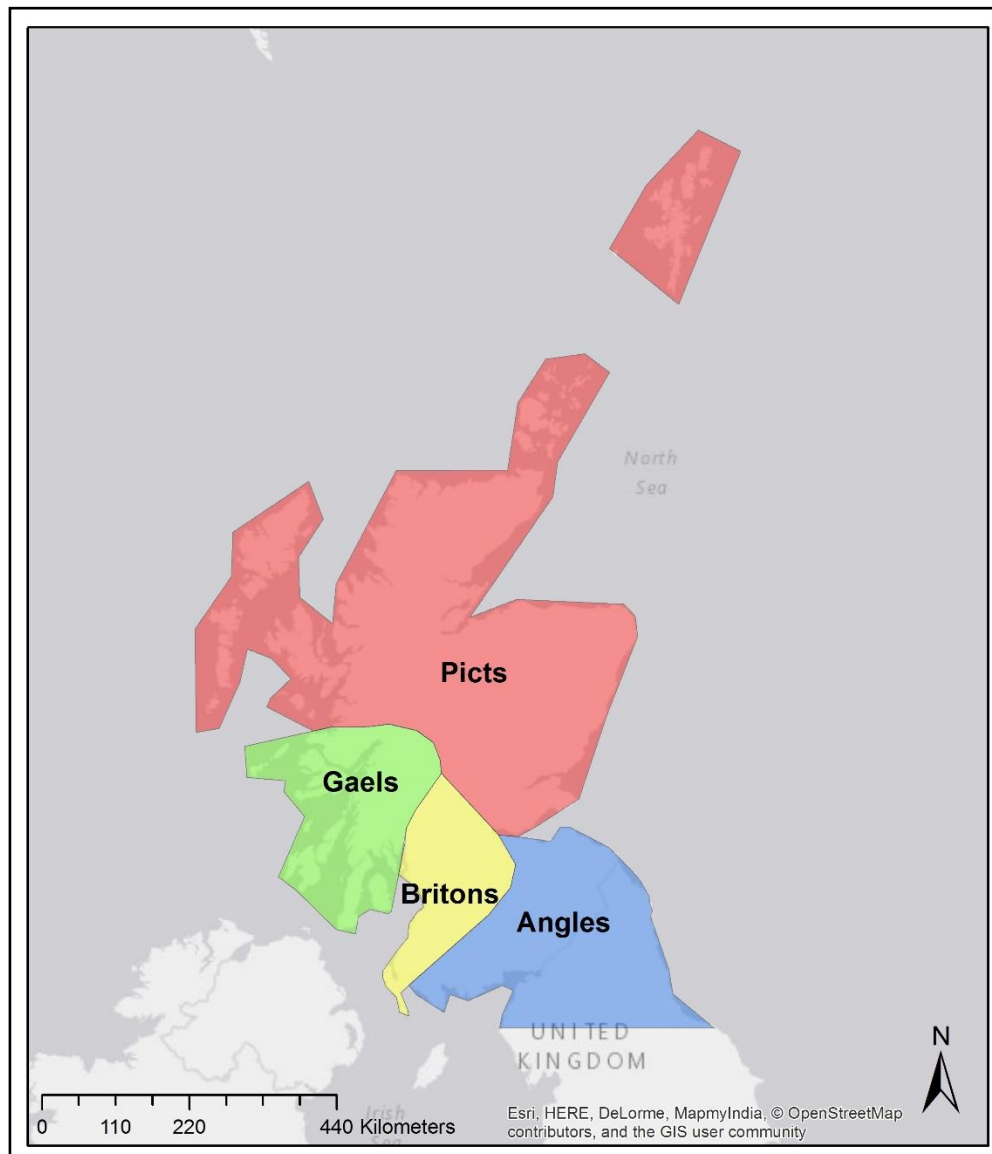


Figure 1.2: Approximate territorial boundaries around AD 800. (Based loosely on Historic Scotland website [http://www.pictishstones.org.uk/pictishstones/pictishstoneshome.htm].).

The Picts themselves did not leave any written record of their history, with the possible exceptions of Pictish symbol stones and a highly contentious king list. Whether or not the Pictish symbols can be equated to a language and their exact meaning has been debated by many scholars. Most of the information known about the Picts comes from literate contemporaries in Ireland and Northumbria. The Picts are mentioned in both the *Irish Annals of Tigernach* and the *Irish Annals of Ulster* (Laing and Laing 1993: 7). In addition, they are discussed by the Northumbrian monk Bede in his eighth century work *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. It should be noted that the use of such sources about the Picts has many pitfalls. The goals of ancient authors may not have been to present the Picts from a neutral perspective and the texts most certainly reflect the authors' biases. In addition, the authors of these writings may not have been privileged to know anything about the Pictish culture from a first-hand perspective.

Approximately 50 types of symbols appear on monumental stone sculptures in Scotland (Laing and Laing 1993: 101; Wainwright 1955: 32, 36). Sixty-six stones depict a mirror and comb or a mirror or comb separately. This constitutes 24.3% of the 272 stones analyzed in this study. The mirror symbol is found on its own on 23 stones, while the mirror and comb symbols are found together on 38 stones (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Number of mirror and comb symbols found on Pictish stone sculpture.

	<u># of Stones</u>
Mirror and Comb Together	38 (14%)
Mirror alone	23 (8%)
Comb alone	5 (2%)
Mirror and/or Comb Not Present	207 (76%)
Total # of stones	272 (100%)

The comb symbol is rarely found alone, occurring only five times on evidence recovered. It should be noted, however, that these five instances occur on monument fragments. This means that mirrors may have been present on the missing sections of the original monument. The mirror and comb symbols come in a variety of forms with regard to the type of mirror or comb illustrated. Versions of these symbols can be seen in Figures 1.3 and 1.4.

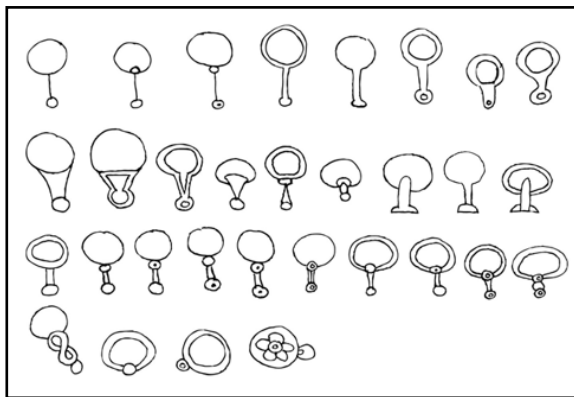


Figure 1.3: Variations of the Pictish mirror symbol. (Based on images in the Canmore database).

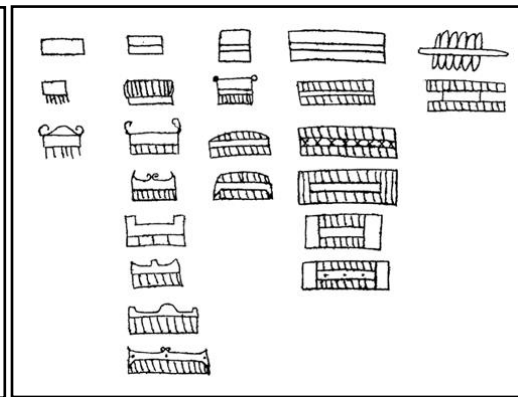


Figure 1.4: Variations of the Pictish comb symbol. (Based on images in the Canmore database).

The mirror symbols have been frequently compared with pre-Roman Iron Age mirrors (Laing and Laing 1993: 110), although Lloyd-Morgan has identified possible correlates with Roman mirrors on the monuments as well (1979: 99-100). Mirrors of either variety, however, are not often found in Scotland (Laing and Laing 1993: 110; Lloyd-Morgan 1979: 99), where the burial record of this period is poor with regard to grave goods (Maldonado 2011). Mirrors have been found in hoards and settlement contexts in Scotland, however. The Balmaclellan mirror, for example, was discovered in a hoard at Kirkcudbrightshire, Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland (National Museums of Scotland) (Figure 1.5).



Figure 1.5: Balmaclellan mirror dated between AD 110 and 240. Photo: National Museums of Scotland [<http://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/whats-on/celts/reflections-on-celts/>].

Two characteristic types of combs are displayed on Pictish monumental sculpture, including (1) simple combs of “a rectangular composite type with two sides of teeth and strengthening bars riveted lengthwise across them” and (2) combs with “a single line of teeth and an arched or more complex volute back” (Laing and Laing 1993: 110) (Figure 1.4).

Both types of comb have been found in Scotland (Figure 1.6). Dating the combs, however, is problematic and it is unknown if the symbols represent original imported material or “later Pictish versions” (Laing and Laing 1993: 110). Wood, bone/antler, and ivory combs have been found in burials, hoards, settlements, and as isolated finds in Scotland (Ashby 2009, 2011; Clarke and Heald 2002). A number of the combs show similarities to Irish and Scandinavian analogs and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

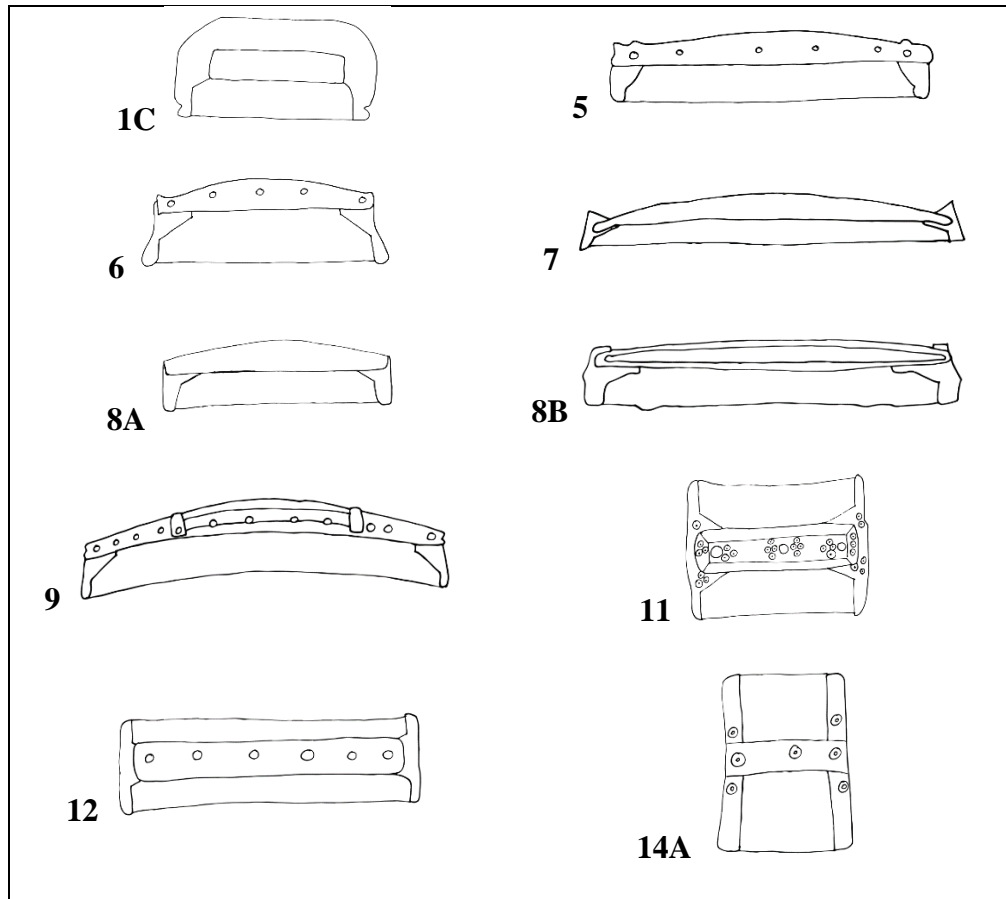


Figure 1.6: Examples of comb types found in Scotland in archaeological contexts dated to the early medieval period. Types 1A, 1B, 2, 3, 4, 8C, 10, 13, 14B, 14C are not shown as they are not usually found in Scotland (based on drawings in Ashby [2011]).

The mirror and comb symbols are found on incised monuments without Christian imagery as well as on dressed stone in relief with Christian imagery and Celtic ornamentation (Allen and Anderson 1903). The mirror and comb symbols are “almost always placed last or lowermost,” as illustrated in Figures 1.7 and 1.8 (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvi). In addition, the mirror and comb symbols usually occur in groups of two, three, and five symbols (Allen and Anderson 1903) (Appendices A-B), most frequently in association with the double disc z-shaped rod, the crescent v-shaped rod, and the Pictish beast, in that order. The total number of stones in which these symbols are depicted is noted in Table 1.2 and images of these three symbols can be seen in Figure 1.9. The groupings seem to indicate that the mirror and comb symbols were

tacked onto other symbols or pairs of symbols and used as qualifiers (Cessford 1997: 104; Jackson 1984; Samson 1992). The exact meaning of the qualifiers, however, is not clear.

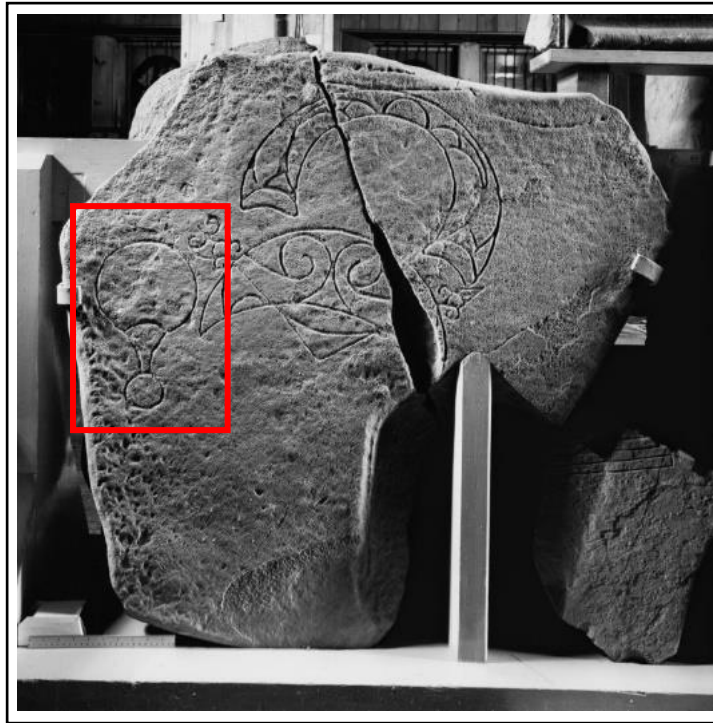


Figure 1.7 Clynmilton Stone, © Crown Copyright: Historic Environment Scotland.



Figure 1.8: Dunrobin Stone (Canmore database).

Table 1.2: Total number of mirror, comb, crescent v-rod, double disc z-rod, and Pictish beast symbols on Class 1 and Class 2 monuments.

Symbol:	# on Class 1	# on Class 2	Total #:
Mirrors	50	11	61
Combs	32	11	43
Crescent V-rod	66	21	87
Double Disc Z-rod	33	23	56
Pictish Beast	26	23	49

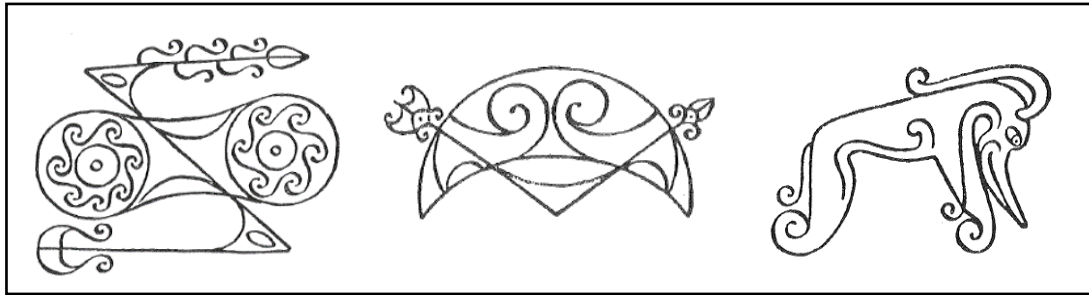


Figure 1.9: (left to right) – Mirror and comb symbols occur most frequently with the double disc z-shaped rod, the crescent v-shaped rod, and the Pictish beast symbols (Allen and Anderson 1903: 60, 62, 72).

Mirror, comb, and human figures appear in combination on seven Pictish symbol monuments, including the Hilton of Cadboll, Kingoldrum No. 1, Kirriemuir No. 1, Meigle No. 1, Drosten Stone, Maiden Stone, and Wester Denoon.

The context in which Pictish stones are found is often problematic. In many cases, stones appear to have been moved to local church yards or reused in walls, buildings, or as grave markers. When found in what is held to be primary contexts, they appear in agricultural fields along low lying slopes, along natural boundaries, sometimes in association with graves, and sometimes in association with other buildings. However, more research regarding the relationship of the stones not only to other monuments but to buildings, sites and the broader landscape is needed, as noted by Gondek and Noble (2011) and further explored in Gondek (2015).

To understand the possible meanings of Pictish mirror and comb symbols it is necessary to place them within the broader social and political contexts of Pictish society. This is a challenging task. Scholars have relied on documents from contemporary societies such as the Irish and the Northumbrians, place name studies, and archaeological evidence to inform what is known of the Picts, as the Picts themselves did not leave any discernable written records. As already noted, historical sources are not always reliable as they are frequently copies of older documents and may reflect political or social biases. Place name studies can provide information

such as “the form and organization of settlements; social structure; land use and tenure; and the appearance and ordering of the landscape” (Foster 1996: 30). However, place name studies may also be unreliable, especially if a particular area has experienced frequent population change. As Driscoll has pointed out, however, place name studies offered “the first systematic attempts to analyze the Pictish agrarian economy” and the finding that “symbol stones occupy the most desirable land, underpins all subsequent studies of the Pictish landscape” (2011: 253). The archaeological record, the third form of evidence, is also often difficult to interpret. Due to the vast territory in which it is found, “Pictish material culture blends universal Pictish traits with distinctive regional traditions” (Driscoll 2011: 246). Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish Pictish material from earlier Iron Age groups and later Norse occupation in the Isles (Driscoll 2011: 247). Scottish archaeology is also plagued by poor preservation due to the acidic nature of the soil, and only a few large-scale excavations have been conducted (Driscoll 2011: 263). Despite these challenges archaeology does have the potential to provide insight into past human behavior and is often the only line of evidence for the lower classes of society that did not have access to writing.

A few recent excavations, such as those undertaken by the Strathearn Environs and Royal Forteviot (SERF) project and the Rhynie Environs Archaeological Project (REAP), have helped to bring more information to light. By combining the different forms of available evidence and using interdisciplinary approaches, recent studies have made much progress in our understanding of Pictish society and its place within early Medieval Scotland (Driscoll 2000; Fraser 2009; Gondek 2006, 2015; Noble et al. 2013; Woolf 2007).

“The Pictish phenomenon” incorporated large areas of land and a variety of landscapes (Driscoll 2011:246). Scotland is characterized by mountains in the north and west, rocky

coastlines and islands to the west and far north, and fertile land along the eastern coastline and central/southern lowlands. Scotland's geography certainly influenced the movement of people in the past. The Druim Alban mountain range forms a barrier between eastern and western Scotland, for example, while the Grampians further divide the central/southern lowlands from the north eastern fertile land around Aberdeen. Carver has noted that the movement of people between regions was via three routes: by sea around the northern coast, through the Great Glen, or across the lowlands and the Sterling Gap (1999: 10). Scots pine, oak, and scrub covered much of the Scottish hills and mountain sides during the time of the Picts (Woolf 2007: 14). Roe and red deer, wolves, wild pigs, wild cats, beaver, wild cattle, black and red grouse, capercaillie, pine martin, and possibly bears would have lived in this habitat during the early Medieval period (Woolf 2007: 14).

When considering the geography of Scotland and its peoples' ability to move around physical barriers and open points in the natural landscape it may also be helpful to consider the political boundaries of individual groups, proto-states, and/or kingdoms. It is not clear how fluid the boundaries of these political entities would have been or if people would have openly marked or distinguished themselves in an ethnic manner. Driscoll (2000) has suggested that ethnicity may be discernable through association with the saints' cults that arose in different regions. Ethnicity, while tangentially important, is not the main focus of this thesis, however, and will not be discussed in depth. For more information regarding ethnicity see Driscoll (2000), Fraser (2009), and Pohl (1998).

To gain a better understanding of the social organization of Iron Age societies in Scotland, Hingley examined settlement evidence, particularly households and communities (1992: 10-11). He splits Scotland into two areas: (1) Atlantic Scotland and (2) Southern, Central,

Eastern Mainland Scotland (Hingley 1992: 11). He then arbitrarily confines the Iron Age to 700 BC-AD 200 but makes it clear that more specific times for the Iron Age differ depending on the region of the British Isles (Hingley 1992). Hingley (1992) stresses the piecemeal nature of excavation and interpretation with regard to settlement archaeology across Scotland. He asserts that groups living in northern and western Scotland during this period “built substantial circular houses in a complex range of forms” (Hingley 1992: 12). These structures could take the form of brochs, small, fortified, roofed circular buildings, enclosures or forts, wheelhouses, and houses on crannogs (Hingley 1992: 13). Several scholars have used settlement evidence to suggest interactions between and within Iron Age groups, including Armit (1990), Barrett (1981), Foster (1989), Hingley (1992), Nieké (1990), and Sharples (1984). These suggestions range from defense against raiding and ritualized warfare to the use of storage structures to preserve agricultural surplus of elite groups (Hingley 1992; Nieké 1990; Sharples 1985). Hingley has also called attention to the suggestion made by Armit (1990) that there were two types of monumental architecture present during this time period (1992: 14). The difference between these two types of architecture was the emphasis placed on monumentality. One type emphasized monumentality when viewed from the outside, and the other emphasized monumentality when viewed from the inside (Armit 1990; Hingley 1992). Hingley (1992) suggested that these two types of monumentality played different roles in ordering society. In the southern, eastern, and western Scottish mainland there are a variety of other structures, including fortified settlements in the form of hillforts and open settlement types (Hingley 1992). Souterrains and other subterranean structures also appear in the Iron Age (Driscoll 2011: 262; Dunwell and Ralston 2008: 113-126). Scholars like Watkins (1984) and Dunwell and Ralston (2008) have linked souterrains and these other subterranean structures with food storage. The ability to produce and

manage agricultural surplus would have impacted the state level development of the Picts, as Driscoll has noted (2011: 263). For more information regarding souterrains see Armit (2000), Barclay (1980), Driscoll (2011), Dunwell and Ralston (2008), Hingley (1992), and Wainwright (1963). Hingley (1992) has emphasized that because the types and uses of settlement across Scotland vary greatly both temporally and spatially, an overarching theory regarding social organization in the Iron Age is not an option; to avoid simplification the local context of each site should be taken into consideration when interpreting findings. Excavations in Perthshire, such as those in Strath Tummel at Litigan and Aldclune near Blair Atholl, have yielded chronological data extending from the late Iron Age into the Pictish period (Driscoll 2011: 255-256). The structures found at these locations were deemed homesteads as they appeared to be roofed in some manner (Driscoll 2011: 255-256). Other structures found during the Pictish period included round houses and rectangular/long houses, such as that at Pitcarmick, and hill forts (Driscoll 2011: 262; Dunwell and Ralston 2008; Ralston 1997). Driscoll suggests that the changes in house architecture that occur in the early historic period are indications of major social transformation based on the importance of “domestic architecture to social life” (Driscoll 2011: 263).

No Roman “administration was ever established among the Iron Age peoples of northern Britain” (Driscoll 1988: 215). For the people living north of Hadrian’s Wall the relationship with the Romans can be characterized in a number of ways, including warfare, raiding, and trading (Driscoll 1988). The impact of Roman culture on the Picts is not clear and likely varied depending on the region. Campbell (forthcoming) has suggested that Roman material may have been adapted for use in old or newly created indigenous practices.

Driscoll asserts that Christianity was one of the most important legacies of the Romans taken up by the peoples of northern Britain (2011: 253; Thomas 1971, 1981). Specifically, he highlights the connection between Christianity, writing, and literacy (Driscoll 2011). He then suggests that there is a link between this connection and Pictish symbol stones (Driscoll 2011: 252). For more information on Pictish literacy see Evans (2011) and Forsyth (1998). Christians started inscribing crosses into stone very early, as noted in Henderson and Henderson (2004: 159). It is unclear whether the Picts began erecting stones as a form of resistance (conscious or not) to Christianity and Christian stone markers, or if Christians marked stones because the Picts were already using stones to communicate in some manner, or if the two practices are unrelated.

Kings of the Picts are regularly mentioned in historical documents, such as the Irish annals, Bede's and Adomnán's writing, and the Pictish Kings Lists. This suggests that a type of leadership role--a king or something very similar--existed for the Picts. Some of these contemporary sources also mention "courts", which is suggestive of an elite class. The exact form of kingship is uncertain but we can surmise that it was unlikely that there was always one king of Pictland based on the information gathered from historical sources. Both Bede and Adomnán discuss North and South Pictland as two separate entities (Adomnán of Iona 1995; Bede et al. 1969; Foster 1996: 35). These entities were located north and south of the Mounth (Foster 1996: 35). The Annals of Ulster also mention "Dub Tholarg, king of the Picts on this side of the Monoth" (Bambyr et al. 2000: U782.1), suggesting that there was different leadership on the other side of the Mounth at least around the end of the eighth century. Pictish kingship seems to have been relatively tentative or protean. The annals hint at warfare between Picts and their neighbors as well as among the Picts themselves. Pictish kingship and control over Pictish territory appear to have regularly changed hands. In addition the Britons, Northumbrians, and

Scots of Dal Ríata all seem to have held sway at one point or another over the Picts (Foster 1996: 37). Taking into account historical sources, three Pictish kings of British descent likely ruled Pictland between AD 631-653, the Northumbrians seemed to have ruled Pictland AD 653-685, and then the Scots appear to have invaded in AD 768 and ruled AD 789-839 (Foster 1996: 37).

Conflict and warfare may be illustrated in the figurative representations on some Pictish symbol stones, such as that at Albermno, although it is interesting that there is relatively little evidence of violent trauma found in cemeteries dating to the late Iron Age and early Medieval periods (Maldonado 2011: 261). It is possible that the remains of people killed in battle were dealt with differently (Maldonado 2011: 179). However, poor preservation of human remains and other issues, such as unreliable older data and lack of excavation, may explain this anomaly.

Foster asserts that “the early historic period is characterized throughout the British Isles by the emergence of warlike, heroic kings who ruled over defined territories (even though we may not recognize their precise boundaries)” and suggests that in a general sense this may be true for both Argyll and Pictland (1996: 33). The vacuum of power left by Rome likely led to competition between the local elite over wealth and prestige acquired through their ability to control material resources by utilizing force or charisma (Foster 1996: 34). Foster posits that between the fifth and ninth centuries, Pictland saw a gradual increase in the “centralization of authority over far-flung territories” (1996: 33) and that like other groups in the British Isles there was “a fluid transition from a ‘tribal’ society, where kin-based relations were predominant, to an early state organization, where society was more institutionalized and hierarchical and relations of clientship became increasingly important” (1996: 34). She emphasizes that she does not attach any value to these designations but wants to point out that the system of clientship allowed for the possibility of a person acquiring an elite position without necessarily inheriting it by right

through their kin group (Foster 1996: 34). It should be noted, however, that inheritance of social positions seems to continue to play a role in political and social spheres. Using the Irish laws, Foster proposes that clientship would have “consisted of the payment of a range of food renders, other tribute and services (labour and military) to a lord in return for land to farm, protection and patronage, a chain of relationships which included all levels of society” (Foster 1996: 34).

Charles-Edwards has suggested that kings in Ireland, Wales, and Northumbria (contemporary neighbors of the Picts) participated in a process called a king’s circuit (1989: 28), during which kings moved through their territory (Charles-Edwards 1989: 28). In one version of this system, local elite subjects and/or monasteries would support the king with food renders and hospitality (Charles-Edwards 1989: 28). Food would take the form of the normal diet of the people inhabiting that region (Charles-Edwards 1989: 30). This system served the king by providing food, shelter, and economic support while it also provided elite families access to the king and the possibility of achieving greater status or other favors that would help in negotiating their place in society (Charles-Edwards 1989: 29).

Food renders would have affected both the core and periphery of the king’s territory differently as kings typically stayed in the core of their home territories, visiting the periphery less frequently (Charles-Edwards 1989: 29). Charles-Edwards is careful to note that the kings did not survive on food renders and hospitality alone. Food renders, especially in the periphery, could take the form of another tax, such as livestock or money, which would be payable to a royal center in the case of Wales and Northumbria (Charles-Edwards 1989: 32-33). Charles-Edwards also includes conquered foes under this system (1989: 29). Often these recently acquired areas would be required to produce a tribute to the king (Charles-Edwards 1989: 29-30). Charles-Edwards suggests that this tribute was possibly a food render in the form of cattle

(1989: 30). An example of this can be seen with the Welsh giving cows as tribute to their overlords in the twelfth century (Charles-Edwards 1989: 30).

Charles-Edwards also outlines the different ways in which this circuit could be utilized. In Ireland and Northumbria the king's circuit and kingship itself took different forms. Irish kingship was characterized by dynastic segmentation, or "the tendency of dynasties to split up into distinct branches which then took control of separate small territories", allowing for more of the branches to control more territory (Charles-Edwards 1989: 34). This means that in Ireland there were over-kings and under-kings and that kingdoms had to stay small in order to allow for dynastic segmentation, while in Northumbria, kingship took a rather different form. Using historical sources, Charles-Edwards suggests that there were other subordinate leadership roles, including subreguli, praefecti, or *duces regii* (Charles-Edwards 1989: 31-32). Further, Charles-Edwards asserts that the Queen and other members of the royal house, such as joint kings and under-kings, all could take part in separate king's circuits (1989: 32). Charles-Edwards explains that it was possible to gain support from different parts of the population through the varied royal household (1989: 32). For example, if the queen was a native and the king an outsider, the queen's circuit could be a way of garnering native support.

The Picts may or may not have subscribed to kingship systems like those of the Irish and Northumbrians. We do know that both Irish and Northumbrians ruled or controlled the Picts and Pictish territory at different times, which may suggest some similarities. If the Picts did subscribe to a process like that of the king's circuit it is possible that more than one king or royal house member went on circuit. As already mentioned, historical sources hint that there may have been at least two different Pictish kings during the late eighth century. Birdei son of Maelchu, a king of the Picts in the sixth century, was described by Adomnán in *The Life of St Columba* as having

had a sub-king from Orkney at his court (Foster 1996: 35; Yorke and Yates 2006: 130). This implies that the Picts may have had different levels of kingship (Foster 1996). Charles-Edwards suggested that the Picts had local royal centers based on the ease with which the Scots (who followed similar practices as the Irish) consolidated power over the Picts' vast territory into what would become Alba (1989: 39). This could suggest that the Picts had a system more closely aligned with the Welsh and Northumbrians.

If the Picts employed this system, it is probable that food renders took the form of the local diet. Farming, animal husbandry, and foraging were employed in Scotland (Cunliffe 2010: 442; Foster 1996: 53). Frequently, a combination of these subsistence strategies was used to compensate for the varied environment and was locally specific (Cunliffe 2010: 442; Foster 1996: 53). Evidence for subsistence strategies found in Scotland during the early Medieval period is limited but there have been studies on a number of sites, including Dun Mór Vaul on Tiree (Argyll), Dun Vulcan (South Uist), Sollas (North Uist), Crosskirk Broch (Caithness), Bu Broch and Howe (Orkney), and Scalloway (Shetland) (Cunliffe 2010: 442). The evidence points to the cultivation of barley, emmer wheat, rye, and oats (Cunliffe 2010: 442; Foster 1996: 56). Small amounts of flax seed have also been found but flax does not seem to have been widespread (Foster 1996: 56). "Fungi, wild fruit, nuts, berries, and leafy plants were also seasonally available" including "hazelnuts, raspberries, blackberries, crab-apples, sloes, damsons, elderberries, wild cherries, crow berries, sorrel," docks, coriander, dill, and bog-myrtle (used for flavoring ale) (Foster 1996: 57). Preserved human feces, uncovered in a midden at Dundurn, were found to contain cherry stones (Foster 1996: 57). The bones of cattle, sheep/goat, and pig are found in Scottish faunal assemblages dated to the early Medieval period (Foster 1996: 54). Cattle bones dominate most of these assemblages (Foster 1996: 54), which may indicate the

value of cattle in subsistence, lending support to Charles-Edwards' suggestion of the use of cattle as tribute. In addition, a number of small broken stones with incised bulls have been found near Burghead (National Museums of Scotland 2016), further suggesting the importance of cattle. Coastal resources such as fish, fowl, and seals were also exploited (Foster 1996: 54).

As already mentioned, the Pictish kingship was usurped by a variety of other groups. We know that Northumbria controlled what were likely puppet Pictish Kings in the AD 670s and demanded tribute to be paid by them (Charles-Edwards 1989; Foster 1996). Following Charles-Edwards' suggestions, this tribute may have taken the form of cattle. Finally, the idea that queens may have travelled separately to garner support for the royal family could lend some merit to Samson's (1992) suggestion and Bede's statement referring to a queen's ability to legitimate claims. If the Queen held support because she was a native then that support may have translated into legitimacy regarding the inheritance of property or land for children of the royal household. Samson's (1992) suggestion that inheritance may have been decided through the female line in times of dispute and Bede's assertion that kingly succession occurred through the female line in times of dispute are worth noting here. More research is needed, with a specific focus placed on a comparison between kingship among the Picts and their neighbors based on historical and archaeological evidence.

The Picts were traditionally believed to have been a matrilineal society, a view based on the Pictish origin legend presented by Bede and the Pictish King Lists. Part of the Pictish origin legend is described by Bede:

The Pictish race from Scythia sailed out into the ocean in a few warships and were carried by the wind beyond the furthest bounds of Britain, reaching Ireland and landing on its northern shores. There they found the Irish race and asked permission to settle among them but their request was refused. Now Ireland is the largest island of all next to Britain, and lies to the west of it... The Picts then came to this island, as we have said, by

sea and asked for the grant of a place to settle in. The Irish answered that the island would not hold them both; 'but', said they, 'we can give you some good advice as to what to do. We know of another island not far from our own, in an easterly direction, which we often see in the distance on clear days. If you will go there, you can make a settlement for yourselves; but if any one resists you, make use of our help'. And so the Picts went to Britain and proceeded to occupy the northern parts of the island, because the Britons had seized the southern regions. As the Picts had no wives, they asked the Irish for some; the latter consented to give them women, only on condition that, in all cases of doubt, they should elect their kings from the female royal line rather than the male; and it is well known that the custom has been observed among the Picts to this day (Bede et al. 1969: 10-11).

The Pictish King Lists have been used to support this assumption because sons do not usually follow their fathers in succession in the list. There has been a large amount of debate regarding whether the Picts were matrilineal (Boyle 1977; Evans 2008, 2011; Jackson 1971; Ross 1999; Sellar 1985; Smyth 1984; Woolf 1998). Bede himself indicated that the female line was only used in cases of disputes, but again as a contemporary with his own biases his words must be taken with a grain of salt. The most recent stance is that the Picts were not matrilineal and that the origin legend was propaganda created during Bede's time (Evans 2011: 55). The irregular succession pattern noted in the Pictish King Lists could be explained by the protean nature of kingship during the late Iron Age and the early Medieval period or the possibility that dynasties rotated control (Evans 2011: 55).

Maldonado (2011) has produced the first comprehensive analysis of early medieval burials in Scotland. Through this research he was able to reassess traditional theories of the process of Christian conversion in Scotland and its relationship to burial practices. His findings suggest that Christianity was adapted to existing social practices and lifeways, or as he puts it "Christianity itself was 'converted'" (Maldonado 2011: 1). He was able to confirm previous assertions that Christianity took root in Scotland during the late Iron Age (AD 400-650) (Maldonado 2011: 40). Maldonado argues that conversion to Christianity was a gradual process

and was continuously in flux (2011: 63). Much like Hingley's (1992) warning regarding the diverse nature of settlement patterns across Scotland, there is no overarching treatment of the dead, and sites and/or regions should be considered on an individual basis (Maldonado 2011: 69).

Understanding the treatment of different groups of individuals based on various features such as gender/sex, age, and status may reveal aspects of social structure. Maldonado discusses the seemingly inclusive nature of late Iron Age cemeteries but emphasizes that there were likely social rules in action as evident in disparities of gender and age categories present at some sites as well as the relatively small number of cemeteries with different burial rites occurring during the same period (Maldonado 2011: 170-178).

When considering general trends with regard to the gender and sex of individuals in cemeteries throughout Scotland, males are more commonly represented during the middle Iron Age (200 BC- AD 400), while females are more frequently represented in the late Iron Age (Maldonado 2011: 171-172). These numbers vary when individual regions are taken into account. Females appear to outnumber males in cemeteries in the Lowlands (Maldonado 2011: 172). Conversely, males seem to outnumber females in cemeteries in the Atlantic region (Maldonado 2011: 172). Maldonado has highlighted a number of monumental graves with female individuals, including Cille Pheadair Cairn on South Uist, a large square barrow at Redcastle, the entire Horn Cairn Complex located at Lundin Links, a cairn at Dairy Park, Dunrobin, etc. (2011: 172-173). He notes the broader trend in Western Europe for males to disappear from the burial record, explaining that this is usually considered to be a result of males being killed away from home in the field or that women were not allowed to be buried within church graveyards (Alexander 2005; Maldonado 2011: 172). Maldonado offers a further

suggestion that it is possible that this trend is a result of the need to negotiate identity and social relationships in a tumultuous time period, noting that “the loss of a female of child-bearing age” may have had the potential to “cause the most disruption to the social obligations of a community” (2011: 172). Maldonado also found that infants, sub-adults, and older adults were underrepresented in cemetery populations (2011: 174-175).

Driscoll (1988) argues that Pictish sculpture played a central role in state formation in Scotland. He suggests that “the invention and control of a standardized symbolic system” is associated with “the development of a royal administration and an increasingly visible, self-aware aristocracy” (Driscoll 1988: 219). He makes this connection because the symbol stones and the state appear to occur simultaneously and he assumes that the symbols are controlled by the elite who would have had access to more material and cultural resources that they could use to ensure their authority (Driscoll 1988: 219). Driscoll posits that Class 1 stones related to mortuary contexts would have been used “to support the establishment of new social positions within an expanding royal administrative structure” (1988: 228). He then suggests Class 2 monuments, which have both secular images and symbols and Christian iconography, differed from Class 1 monuments by marking an established royal administration and its use of the Church as “a political arena where power disputes are contested through the patronage of religious establishments” and where symbols have been “co-opted and transformed from their original meanings into evocations of authority through past tradition” (Driscoll 1988: 232). Further, he describes Class 3 stones, monuments with no secular imagery on them, as “material symbols of prestige and status” which the elite still used to legitimate and negotiate their social identity and roles through the new power of the Church (Driscoll 1988: 33). This proposed system of elites using church patronage in the form of symbol stones as a method to promote

their status and prestige would have progressed differently depending on the individuals and regions involved. The church does seem to have played a role in the legitimization of secular leadership as is evident in the story of the Christian ordination of Aedan mac Gabhrain, a king of Dal Ríata (Adomnán et al. 1995: 26, 358; Foster 1990). There has been much speculation as to the validity of this event, however, regardless of whether it actually happened, the story itself, which was presented in the form of a saint's life, indicates that the church appears to have wanted to hold this role (Adomnán et al. 1995: 26; Foster 1990).

The brief introduction to the social and political structure of the Picts presented in this section only scratches the surface of this topic. As Driscoll noted, “there is a wide consensus that narrative in the sense of traditional political history is probably impossible for this period” (2011: 250). However, the change in focus from site-based investigations to trying to understand structures on the landscape within their wider social and cultural contexts holds much promise (Driscoll 2011: 50, 57). The Christian imagery that appears with pagan symbols, the gradual conversion to Christianity and different adaptations of Christianity, and the amount of interaction between diverse groups of people coming together in Northern Britain between the late Iron Age and early Medieval period make it difficult to discern gender ideologies that may be represented on the Pictish symbol stones. Moreover, all of these factors complicate the assertion that mirror and comb symbols are connected with female identity way through time.

Chapter 1 has attempted to situate this thesis firmly within a geographical and temporal context as well as introduce the reader to the main questions regarding the Pictish mirror and comb symbols. Chapter 2 presents a review of work completed by other scholars concerning semiotics, gender archeology, the meanings associated with mirrors and combs in different contexts worldwide, interpretations of Pictish symbols and sculpture, and mirrors and combs in

archaeological contexts of the British Isles. A discussion of the methods used, a description of the data, and the limitations of this study are laid out in Chapter 3. Finally, Chapter 4 comprises the results of the analysis, a discussion of these results, conclusions and future research directions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter is split into three major sections covering iconography and gender, the Pictish mirror and comb symbols on monumental stone sculpture, and mirrors and combs in archaeological contexts. There is a large body of information available for each of these topics which, due to both time and space constraints, will not be comprehensively covered in the pages below. I have, however, chosen a number of key articles that outline the main topics. My hope is that this introduction will provide context for the hypothesis presented here, establish precisely where my research fits within the existing body of knowledge, and demonstrate how this approach adds to existing understandings of the Pictish mirror and comb symbols and the conceptualization of gender in Pictish society.

Iconography and Gender

Archaeologists are challenged by concepts of ideology, social interactions, belief systems, gender, and other aspects of identity and behavior in past societies because the connection to these concepts and their material remains is not always straight forward. Some behaviors leave ephemeral or no traces in the archaeological record. The way an object was deposited does not always indicate how it was used. To make matters worse, post depositional processes also can affect the recovery and interpretation of material evidence. One method that archaeologists can utilize to access information related to these challenging concepts is iconographic analysis. This method is especially helpful for attempting to understand the prescribed meanings of gender and sex, as well as the cultural rationalization for the type of social relationship that existed between these concepts in any given culture (Spector and Whelan 1989: 69-70).

Archaeologists, however, must proceed with caution when utilizing images in the interpretations of past behaviors. A major issue for archaeologists lies in semantics or rather the question of meaning. When assessing any particular piece of iconography with relation to intended and perceived meaning, a researcher must consider: What meaning will be interpreted? Will it be the meaning intended by the original artists? Will it be the meaning intended by the person who commissioned the artist? Will it be the meaning understood by the everyday person who would have seen this artwork? Are these meanings different? Is one meaning more important than another? Could viewers pick up multiple meanings and how do these meanings influence their behavior within and understanding of society? These questions bring up a further issue related to the way in which meaning is created. In discussing artwork generally, Potts asserts that “the meaning we attribute to a work is not only mediated but in large part activated by cultural convention” (1996: 20). A work of art can point to or evoke “a significance quite other than what it literally is as object through conventions of which we may or may not be consciously aware” (Potts 1996: 20). Potts highlights something crucial to understanding iconography: that the layers of meaning often present in iconography are culturally specific and historically situated. The ability of artwork to convey meaning makes it “operate like a sign” or sets of signs (Potts 1996: 20-21). In the most basic sense, a sign is something that represents another thing. A sign can be visual and include many objects such as road signs, photos, and other artwork. A sign can be a word or a sound or even a gesture. A set of signs with their corresponding meaning is referred to as a code (Potts 1996: 21).

Semiotics is the study of “how signs operate” (Potts 1996: 21). Semiotics helps bring attention to the cultural coding system at work when signs are interpreted and also highlights the importance of the audience in understanding the meaning of signs (Potts 1996: 21). There are

two main traditions associated with semiotic theory that stem from the work of Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce (Chandler 2014; Potts 1996). A few other notable figures in the field of semiotics include Roland Barthes, Umberto Eco, Julia Kristeva, Charles William Morris, and Claude Levi-Strauss. Ferdinand de Saussure is a famous linguist whose linguistic model was the basis for structuralism. Structuralism when applied to archaeology is the attempt “to reconstruct the patterns of thought associated with prehistoric cultures” based on the assumption of a universal “deep structure” in which binary oppositions influence “all communication codes” (Trigger 2006: 511). It is therefore no surprise that Saussure’s theory of semiotics is closely tied to structuralism. Within Saussure’s tradition the form of the sign or “signifier” represents a physical entity whereas the “signified” represents a nonmaterial meaning or concept (Chandler 2014; Potts 1996: 22; Saussure 1974). It should be noted, however, that while Saussure’s original understanding of the “signifier” was not necessarily as a physical entity but aligned with the “signified” as a nonmaterial concept (Chandler 2014; Saussure 1974), the push toward a more physical entity is part of more recent scholarship. In addition, Saussure dismissed anything external to the “signifier” and the “signified” (Potts 1996: 22). This means that the “signified” does not reference objects existing in the real world, it is “not a thing but the notion of a thing” (Chandler 2014). Today, however, scholars following this model do allow the “signified” to indirectly reference objects existing in reality (Chandler 2014). Another change in approach with this model comes from post-structural theory, in which the formula “signifier” = “signified” as a fixed one-to-one correlation is rejected and the process of “signification” is perceived as an ongoing one in which meaning is a mutable effect of a binary sequence (Potts 1996: 22). One final note on Saussure’s theory of semiotics is that the “signifier” is not intrinsically linked to the “signified”. This link and the use of the sign itself is ontologically

arbitrary but also “conventional” because both are reliant on the cultural, social, and historical context (Chandler 2014; Saussure 1974).

An alternate perspective on the theory of semiotics is offered by Peirce. Within this model, Peirce sets up a three part process of interaction called “semiosis” (Chandler 2014; Peirce 1931-58). This model is commonly depicted as a triangle, as seen in Figure 2.1 (Chandler 2014; Potts 1996).

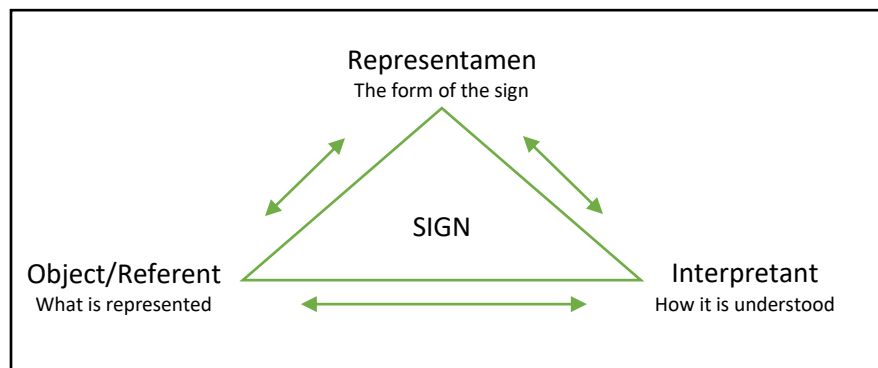


Figure 2.1: Peirce’s model of semiotic theory (Chandler 2014; Potts 1996).

The form of a sign is referred to as a “representamen” (Chandler 2014). This form can be material or nonmaterial (Chandler 2014; Peirce 1931-58). The “representamen” references an “object” through the “interpretant” (Potts 1996: 22; Peirce 1991). The “interpretant” is created through the process of a person making sense of the “representamen” (Chandler 2014). The “interpretant” is the equivalent sign that a person creates in their mind when they see a particular “representamen” which stands for a particular object (Chandler 2014; Peirce 1931-58).

Often scholars use Peirce’s designations within the general framework set out by Saussure (Chandler 2014). Both the “signifier” and the “representamen” denote the form of a sign (Chandler 2014). The “signified” is also similar to the “interpretant” with the exception that the “interpretant” can be considered a sign itself (Chandler 2014; Peirce 1931-58). Because the

“interpretant” is a form of a sign, it generates another “interpretant” and therefore another form of a sign according to Peirce’s model. “Signs, as soon as they are interpreted as signs, generate other signs, and there are no inherent limits as to how long this process can go on” (Potts 1996: 22). The concept of a continuously evolving sense of meaning is referred to as “unlimited semiosis” (Chandler 2014; Potts 1996). One important difference between Saussure’s model and Peirce’s model that allows for “unlimited semiosis” is that Peirce accounts for the object which is being referenced and thus guards against reducing the sign process to a binary understanding where sign=message (Potts 1996: 22).

Another important difference between the two models is that Peirce offers a vast number of sign typologies (Peirce 1931-58). The range of different typologies is so vast that it is hard to conceptualize, so scholars focus on three fundamental divisions of signs outlined by Peirce, including “symbol”, “icon”, and “index” (Chandler 2014; Peirce 1931-58). These divisions should be thought of as different modes of interaction between the “representamen” and the object (Chandler 2014). Chandler (2014) has defined each of these terms (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Definition for the modes between “representamen” and object as defined by (Chandler 2014: Signs).

Term/Mode:	Definition:	Examples:
Symbol	“A mode in which the signifier does <i>not</i> resemble the signified but which is fundamentally <i>arbitrary</i> or purely conventional” - the relationship must be learned	words, numbers
Icon/Iconic	“A mode in which the signifier is perceived as <i>resembling</i> or imitating the signified (recognizably looking, sounding, feeling, tasting or smelling like it) - being similar in possessing some of its qualities”	a portrait, imitative gestures, a scale-model
Index/ Indexical	“A mode in which the signifier is <i>not arbitrary</i> but is <i>directly connected</i> in some way (physically or causally) to the signified- this link can be observed or inferred”	“natural signs” (smoke, thunder, echoes), measuring instruments, pointers (a directional signpost)

Symbolic signs are the most heavily dependent on conventions set within specific social and historical contexts, which means that they require learning agreed upon rules (Chandler 2014). Peirce defines a symbol as “a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of a law, usually an association of general ideas, which operates to cause the symbol to be interpreted as referring to that object” (Peirce 1931-58, 249). Or, as Chandler puts it, “a symbol is a sign whose special significance or fitness to represent just what it does represent lies in nothing but the very fact of there being a habit, disposition, or other effective general rule that it will be so interpreted” (2014: Signs 35). For example, the Pictish symbols would be symbolic, if they represent a language system in which a mirror may refer to a syllable but may have nothing to do with the actual object. Iconic and indexical signs are slightly less “conventional”, respectively. “Signifiers” of iconic and indexical signs are more constrained or influenced by their “signifieds” (Chandler 2014). To Peirce, the iconic sign refers to an object through likeness (1931-58: 276). An icon will exhibit characteristics of an object which it represents but it has no direct connection to the object. For example, the Pictish mirror and comb would be iconic if they represent real objects that were used in the past and are being placed on the stones in reference to those objects. An indexical sign is linked to an object in a way other than the “interpretant”. An index represents a real thing. For example, the Pictish monuments are indexical in that they represent the ability of an individual or group of people to call upon the resources necessary to produce them. A sign can embody more than one mode or all three at the same time (Chandler 2014). Signs, however, “cannot be classified in terms of the three modes without reference to the purposes of their users within particular contexts” (Chandler 2014). Peirce (1931-58: 299) asserted that there is an evolutionary and hierarchical nature to the three modes and that icon and index signs were first utilized in prehistory and gradually developed into symbolic signs (as cited

in Chandler 2014). These views are somewhat supported by linguistic evidence, as for example in the early use of iconic signs in the development of Egyptian hieroglyphs (Wilkinson 1992).

A final difference between Saussure's and Peirce's traditions is the need for an audience. This is crucial to Peirce's theory of semiotics because without an audience to interpret the "representamen" the sign does not have meaning and does not exist (Chandler 2014; Potts 1996). This brings us back to our original question, who is the audience and whose interpretation will be privileged when analyzing the iconographic record? And how can we mediate conflicting perspectives in a way that allows for multiple understandings of the same image but also tells us something about the society that produced it? The issue of audience is further complicated by the characteristics of the visual medium. Potts has indicated that "the pressure to ground the study of visual images in models derived from the study of language runs pretty deep" (1996: 24). However, linguistic analogy cannot account for the analogous nature of visual images (Chandler 2014; Potts 1996). In linguistics, words can be thought of as discrete, divisible units whereas visual images are in large part a continuum and not easily divided into distinct units (Chandler 2014; Potts 1996).

In his work, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, Panofsky presents three strata of meaning which can be utilized when trying to assess artwork including (1) primary or natural subject matter or artistic motifs, (2) secondary or conventional subject matter or the connection of artistic motifs with themes, and (3) intrinsic meaning/content or symbolic value (1939: 5-7). The first stratum involves the identification of artistic motifs and description of the artwork. For Panofsky (1939), iconographic analysis does not really begin until the second stratum of meaning, which highlights the culturally and historically situated conventional themes ascribed to the artistic motifs discovered during the first stage. Potts has

argued that even a description such as “figures in landscape” involves the use of a cultural code and applies a cultural connotation (1996: 32). Thus, the act of describing artwork itself is influenced by cultural conventions to some extent.

Archaeologists, as modern viewers, frequently do not have access to the cultural knowledge and coding conventions that are operating in prehistoric iconography (Hays-Gilpin 2013; Potts 1996). For example, the Greek god known as Cupid is depicted as a human figure with wings. If a person was not familiar with Greek and Roman cultural conventions, they could possibly mistake Cupid for some other entity, such as an angel. More complicated visual allegories also exist that may be associated with mythology or religious beliefs, such as those in Christian iconography. Archaeologists must be transparent about the methods and assumptions they employ to understand specific iconographic systems. Archaeologists must also be careful to not project their own biases backwards in time (Conkey and Spector 1984). The lack of understanding of culturally and historically situated conventions makes it difficult to access the meaning behind iconography in the past, especially for aspects of identity such as gender.

Gender is a “multifaceted social phenomenon” which is “culturally constructed, culturally distinctive, and culturally variable” (Spector and Whelan 1989: 69-70). This makes it important to define what is meant by “gender” in any archaeological investigation. Spector and Whelan (1989) define four useful concepts in the study of gender (Table 2.2). These concepts guide the research presented in this thesis.

Table 2.2: Gender concepts defined by Spector and Whelan (1989: 69-70).

Gender Role	Describes what men and women actually do- their activity patterns, social relations and behaviors- in specific cultural settings.
Gender Identity	Concerns an individual’s own feeling of whether he or she is a woman or man (or other) regardless of genetic makeup.

Gender Attribution	Refers to the biological, social and/or material criteria people of a particular social group use to identify others as males, females, or any other culturally defined gender category (e.g. berdache, transsexual). The attribution may or may not conform to an individual's own sense of gender or the initial gender assignment made at birth by those observing the newborn's external genitals or chromosomes.
Gender Ideology	Encompasses the meanings of male, female, masculine, feminine, sex, and reproduction in any given culture. These might include prescriptions and sanctions for appropriate male and female behavior or cultural rationalizations and explanations for social and political relationships between males and females.

In reference to iconography, Davis has asserted that “gender systems or structures are complex, multiple, overlapping, and unstable at any given time and place and through time and across place” (1996: 331). Davis also distinguishes between what she refers to as ‘gender in representation’ or the gender of figures within artwork, and ‘gender of representation’, which determines if gender is present in artwork and then which gender conventions are depicted (1996: 331). For example, a piece of art could depict figures that are gendered female in the representation; however, they may be depicted as females viewed from a male perspective and are representative of male conventions of gender.

Díaz-Andreu has defined gender as “an individual’s self-identification and the Díaz identification by others to a specific gender category on grounds of their culturally perceived sexual difference” (2005: 14). In addition, Díaz-Andreu has asserted that “gender is not a universal” as it varies in both number and role within each society (2005: 16-17). Gender is an aspect of identity and therefore it can be described as fluid, constantly being negotiated and re-negotiated in the process of social reproduction (Díaz-Andreu 2005). Gender is also cross cut by

other aspects of identity including age, socioeconomic status, communal and individual identity, class, ethnicity, religion, etc. (Arnold 2006: 141; Díaz-Andreu 2005: 41-42; Hays-Gilpin 2013: 129).

Butler (1994, 2009) emphasizes the performative character of gender. Gender is constructed through actions of individuals within a society. Over time, norms evolve and individuals are to some extent constrained by those norms. Alberti asserts that over time the repetition of acts or performances associated with gender build up and “give the appearance of a substance- of ontological integrity- to gendered identities” making them appear to be natural (2013, 95). The accumulation over time of the material remains related to these performances may be accessed through the archaeological record under certain conditions (Alberti 2013: 95). Material culture holds critical information related to the “material context in which gendered individuals interact, relate to each other and negotiate their social position” (Díaz-Andreu 2005: 22).

Hays-Gilpin (2013) examines the representation of sexed and gendered bodies found in rock art, arguing that rock art is a method of creating social landscapes or making landscapes meaningful (Hays-Gilpin 2013: 129). She notes that a common difficulty in gendering rock art is a lack of distinguishing sexual attributes on human/human-like figures (Hays-Gilpin 2013). Hays-Gilpin (2013) expresses frustration at the ambiguous nature of these figures. Determining whether or not these ambiguous figures are representative of other gender categories or if gender is not a main aspect of identity being articulated by the artwork is often not possible. She was further troubled by the task of gendering hybrid figures. Robb (1997) has suggested that the ambiguity of gender present in artwork may have been present in the society at the time the art was produced (57).

Often researchers will use primary and secondary sexual characteristics to designate gender in iconography, including the presence of a penis or facial hair for males and the presence of breasts, hips, and a vulva for females (Joyce 2008: 53; VanPool and VanPool 2006). Sometimes the absence of male characteristics is used to designate a figure as female and vice versa. However, as Gilchrist has stressed, contemporary Western culture frequently conflates gender identity with sexuality and the dichotomy of male and female (1999: 55). Gender does not equal sex but gender and sex are equally social constructions set in historically specific contexts (Alberti 2005; Baker 1997: 184; Butler 1993; Díaz-Andreu 2005: 17). The strict adherence to binary gender categories does not make sense for all cultural systems (Baker 1997: 184; Butler 1997: 142-149; Gilchrist 1994: 43).

Joyce explains that researchers trying to understand gender relations cannot just search for women or men (2008: 54). She further asserts that this method assumes that a dichotomous system (male and female) is universal and that gender is more important than other social designations such as status (Joyce 2008: 51). These assumptions are hazardous if researchers hope to uncover other gender categories (Joyce 2008: 54). Joyce (2008) highlights these points in her study of Paleolithic figurines from Europe. In her discussion of previous studies she calls attention to the use of the binary model of sex/gender. Male traits are given paramount importance and any figurines that lack male traits are by default defined as female (Joyce 2008: 54). This means that figurines that have ambiguous or no sexual distinctions are also classified as female (Joyce 2008: 54). All the Paleolithic figurines with textile patterns have been categorized as female, which leads to an assumption that textiles are related to being female (Joyce 2008: 54), but, relatively few female figurines portray textiles (Joyce 2008: 54). Joyce (2008) posits that instead of the presence or absence of textiles on figurines indicating gender it may instead

indicate some other aspect of identity (Joyce 2008: 56). She stresses the importance of considering not only what is shared among groups but also what is different within a group (Joyce 2008: 54).

In another iconographic analysis associated with gender, Alberti (2005) examines the bodies of figurative art from Knossos, Crete, dated to the late Bronze Age. Alberti (2005) challenges the male/female dichotomy set forth by previous work and points out that these strict categories are not always followed by figures in the artwork (114). For example, men were thought to be colored red and women white. Sex specific clothing such as loin cloths were also associated only with male figures. One issue with this interpretation is that sometimes black figures appear in the artwork. Another issue is that sometimes both white and red figures are shown wearing loincloths. Alberti (2005) explains that physical characteristics were almost nonexistent in the iconography and that maleness was defined based on the absence of breasts (114). The distinguishing factors between figures include the “style of clothing, color, activity and body position” (Alberti 2005: 117). Alberti (2005) asserts that “the Knossian idea of the ‘natural’ body is an unsexed body” (117) and that the dichotomy of male and female bodies is not always the way in which societies choose to define themselves (118). This study shows that sexual organs are not always important aspects of identity (Alberti 2005: 118).

Despite the challenges related to the use of iconography in gender archaeology outlined above, when used with care iconography can still allow archaeologists to better understand past societies. Specifically, iconography can offer much needed insight into gender identity, gender roles, gender attribution, and gender ideology, especially when used with other forms of data such as written sources, ethnography, or burial evidence (Hays-Gilpin 2013).

I have offered a brief introduction to semiotics theory and gender archaeology as it pertains to my research, I will now discuss a broad array of meanings that have been ascribed to mirrors and combs, utilizing examples that vary both geographically and temporally.

Mirrors and Meaning

Mirrors are complex and multivalent objects that have been represented in various ways through time and space. In my discussion of the theories of semiotics I distinguished between symbols, icons, and indexes. A mirror when used as a “signifier” or “representamen” can embody all three modes of the sign.

People have used mirrors for a variety of purposes and the meaning ascribed to mirrors has changed throughout history (Hancock 1988; Moyer 2012). A mirror can have multiple meanings for the same individual or group. Some of these may be contradictory. Similar “uses and complex, overlapping meanings” sometimes “occur because mirrors are linked to a number of universal themes” (Werness 1999: 3-4). A few examples of these themes include mirrors’ association with the sun, regeneration/rebirth, repositories for spirits, knowledge, false knowledge, the supernatural (other worlds, divination), fertility, beauty, and status.

The mirror’s shiny, reflective surface has led to its association with the sun, the moon, and the heavens (Hancock 1988: 1; Moyer 2012: 261; Werness 1999: 10-11). Inscriptions found on mirrors in ancient Egypt have associated them with sun-related deities such as Hathor, Horus, and Ra (Hancock 1988: 20). These sun-related deities are sometimes represented as handles of mirrors, as seen in Figure 2.2 (Hancock 1988: 21). Iron Age mirrors from East Asia are occasionally inscribed with poetic themes that compare a mirror’s brightness to the sun and moon (Moyer 2012: 260-261, 291). As early as the second century BC in China, mirrors were linked to the sun in the Zhouli texts because they could be used to concentrate sunlight and

create fires (Moyer 2012: 285; Oshima 1983: 75). The sun in ancient Egypt was considered a life-giver (Hancock 1988: 21). This, along with the mirror's association with sun-related deities and their powers, led to the association of the mirror with regeneration and rebirth (Hancock 1988: 21).



Figure 2.2: Egyptian New Kingdom (c. 1479-1425 BC) mirror with a handle in the shape of a Hathor Emblem. Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art [<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/545165?=&imgno=0&tabname=label>].

Hancock (1988) has proposed that this association may be one reason for the occurrence of mirrors in burials in Egypt (21). In Orphic traditions, the mirror is also associated with the rebirth of Zagreus or Dionysus, a Greek and Roman deity (Hancock 1988: 37). According to the stories noted in both Clement of Alexandria's *Exhortation* (second century AD) and Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* (late fourth /early fifth centuries AD) Zagreus, the child of Zeus and Persephone, was tricked into looking into a mirror and was mesmerized by his own image. While he was occupied

by the mirror, the Titans cut him up and ate him. Upon discovering this horrible event, Zeus destroyed the Titans and all that was left of Zagreus was his heart. From this heart, Dionysus was reborn. Largely because of its role in this story the mirror has become associated with regeneration and rebirth in Greek and Roman myth. From a Neoplatonic perspective, the mirror, in the story of Zagreus, is seen as a sort of repository for the spirit. When the body of Dionysus is destroyed, his spirit is maintained within the mirror and is then able to regenerate (Hancock 1988: 37). The idea that the mirror captures or holds an image has led people to believe that it can capture the spirit of a person. “The mirror traps the reflection, and with it, the ineffable subjectivity of the individual” (Moyer 2012: 305). Some eastern Siberian groups also believe that mirrors can attract and anchor spirits (Moyer 2012: 305; Tedlock 2005: 47).

The belief that a mirror can hold a spirit has both positive and negative connotations. In modern times, there is the belief that mirrors should be covered in the homes of recently deceased individuals so that their spirits do not get trapped. This was commonly practiced in the British Isles until “well into the twentieth century” (Werness 1999: 3). Other variations of this belief can be found in Jewish traditions (Ron 2012), as well as the Creole traditions of Louisiana (Clifford 2011). A similar belief in Greece held that it was dangerous for a person to view their reflection in water or other water-like substances because their spirit could be pulled from them and they would die without it (Hancock 1988: 44). This belief is possibly based on the story of Narcissus in Greek and Roman mythology, the man who did not recognize his own image in a pool of water and fell in love with it (Frazer 1955: 203; Goscilo 2010: 288; Hancock 1988: 44). The story is sometimes interpreted as an example of the consequences of unchecked self-love (Goscilo 2010: 290; Hancock 1988: 42-44, 151). Moyer describes texts from Classical Greek, Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, and Christian philosophical traditions in Eurasia as sharing

three common metaphors for mirrors including “(1) reflections as distorted representations of reality; (2) reflections as a faithful likeness of reality, even to the point of sharing qualities with the original, via metonymy; and (3) the mirror itself, qua reflector, as a model for correct human behavior” (2012: 282).

In ancient Chinese writings, such as the *Zhuangzi* (a Daoist text), the mirror is used as a metaphor for “the clarity and luminosity which is naturally in the human mind/heart/soul” (Moyer 2012: 284). In a similar vein, in the Middle Ages the mirror was viewed as an object which can reflect the true self or true knowledge because of its association with reflecting an image of a person’s spirit (Hancock 1988: 83). A person could gain an understanding of themselves and their imperfections by looking into the mirror (Hancock 1988: 83). The mirror could also be used in reverse to conceal the truth (Hancock 1988: 83; Melnikova-Grigorjeva and Bogdanova 2010: 217). For example, the image seen in the mirror is the opposite of reality. If you go in front of a mirror with a shirt that has text on it, the text will appear backwards and the face you see in the mirror is not the one that is seen by others.

The ability of the mirror to bounce light off its surface has connected the mirror to the supernatural (Giles and Joy 2007: 24; Hancock 1988: 10). Hancock (1988) proposes that the bearer of a mirror may have also been associated with divinity (14). The connection to the supernatural strengthened the medieval belief that truth could be found by looking into a mirror. The light was seen as a “sign of divine presence or knowledge” (Hancock 1988: 15). In the ancient Near East and Egypt, mirrors were sometimes used as talismans or amulets of protection because of the mirror’s association with the supernatural and specifically with gods (Hancock 1988: 15; Katz et al. 1968). Siberian shamans wore large metal mirrors on their chests to protect themselves, believing that mirrors could deflect evil (Tkacz 2015). In Greece, the mirror was

sometimes associated with Athena and Perseus in the story of Medusa (Hancock 1988: 223). In both Ovid's (first century AD) and Apollodorus' (second century AD) versions of this story, Perseus uses the reflection from his shield to aid him in defeating Medusa (Hancock 1988: 223; Taylor 2008). Medusa was a mortal woman who had been turned into a terrible monster. Her hair became snakes, she grew wings, and her gaze had the power to turn all who looked upon her into stone. After Perseus found Medusa, he used his reflective shield to look upon her as she was sleeping. Her image in the shield did not have the same power as looking directly at her. By using the shield and Athena's guidance he was able to get close enough to cut off Medusa's head. The mirror in this story is again used as a form of protection. Athena is sometimes shown in the iconography on the reverse side of mirrors (Hancock 1988: 33-34). The meaning here is double, as she is both a goddess of wisdom and is associated with the hero, Perseus, and his use of the mirror for protection.

The mirror's role in protection also plays a part in Christianity. In Christian belief, the mirror is suggestive of God's protective presence (Hancock 1988; Katz 1968). The mirror served as both "an image for the cosmos and of God, and of man's relationship to God" during the Middle Ages (Hancock 1988: 81). The mirror was also used as an allegory in Christian tradition. In some instances, pre-Christian ideas were incorporated into Christian allegorical figures through syncretism, including in the case of the mirror. Allegories in art are representations that can be interpreted as referring to deeper, more abstract ideas than the literal interpretation of the character or object being shown. The mirror was prevalent in both medieval iconography and literature (Hancock 1988: 82). Book titles with the term 'speculum', another word for mirror, became popular as a metaphor in the mid-thirteenth century (Hancock 1988: 84).

Virtues such as Faith (*Fides*), Charity (*Caritas*), Justice (*Justitia*), and Fortitude (*Fortitudo*), Christian allegorical representations, were often depicted in manuscript illuminations, sculpture, and other forms of artwork (Hancock 1988: 98). Virtues, in the medieval period, represented a visual form of the characteristics and qualities most sought after by Christian believers (Hancock 1988: 98). Virtues were often depicted as women. Mirrors became affiliated with the virtues of Humility (*Humilitas*) and Chastity (*Castitas*) as seen in Hildegard's *Scivias* (Hancock 1988: 98-99). The mirror has also been affiliated with the virtue of Prudence (*Prudentia*) as seen in the frescos *Virtues and Vices* by Giotto (AD 1305-1309) (Hancock 1988: 104). *Prudentia*, representing practical wisdom, and *Sapientia*, representing higher understanding, have been linked to the mirror by the Biblical Book of Wisdom (related to the Old Testament), Cicero in his *De officiis* (44 BC) and Origen in his *De principiis* (third century AD) (Hancock 1988: 109, 114). The mirror is associated with both of these virtues because of its role in seeking out truth (Hancock 1988: 109).

The idea that scripture, saints, the Virgin Mary, and humans were mirrors of God was also common in Medieval Christian belief (Hancock 1988: 83). The Virgin Mary has been linked in literature with the mirror in her designation as the *speculum sine macula*, or the unspotted mirror of God, since the early medieval period (Hancock 1988: 103, 115). The mirror's association with the Virgin Mary in iconography, however, is not found until a little later, as seen in the illuminated manuscript *Smithfield Decretals* (14th century AD) (Hancock 1988: 115; The British Library 2016). Another, fifteenth century, example is found in the tapestry cycle *The Lady and the Unicorn*, which was created in Flanders (Figure 2.3). The metaphor of God as a mirror was commonly employed in medieval theological texts, however, its "literal translation into visual imagery appears to be unusual" (Hancock 1988: 96). God as a mirror, when used as a

metaphor, is connected to another early Christian belief of the macro-microcosmos (Hancock 1988: 88). In this view the universe is structured in a way in which the whole (macrocosm) was replicated or reflected in a smaller part (microcosm) (Hancock 1988: 11). In Christian belief each person represents the microcosm and the universe and God are the macrocosm. Mirrors became associated with this belief because they were thought to reflect the smaller part of the whole. The concept of the macro-microcosmos was not a new idea; as early as the sixth century BC, Greek writers such as Anaximandros (610-545 BC) and Heraclitus (535-475 BC) integrated aspects of this idea into their philosophies (Hancock 1988: 11). Plato in his work *Timaeus* (360 BC) discusses this concept. An iconographical representation of a version of the Christian belief in macro-microcosmos can be seen in the *Liber Divinorum Operum* by Hildegard of Bingen (AD 1098-1179) (Hancock 1988: 91).



Figure 2.3: One of six *Lady and the Unicorn* tapestries created during the fifteenth century in Flanders. The association of the mirror to the Virgin Mary and connection of

the unicorn to Christ is only one interpretation of this image. (Photo in the Public Domain).

The belief that mirrors could provide a direct connection to the supernatural world and a method of obtaining truth or knowledge, as well as mirrors' reflective qualities, have led to the idea that they are portals or methods of communicating with other worlds (Hancock 1988; Werness 1999). The theme of mirrors as portals to other worlds appears across Eurasia (Moyer 2012: 312) as well as in other parts of the world. In Mesoamerica, mirrors could be used both to communicate with gods and represented a method through which a ruler could view his subjects (Moyer 2012: 312; Oliver 2003: 260, 267). A modern example of the mirror as a portal is seen in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, written by Lewis Carroll in 1865. The liminal quality related to the mirror's position at the boundary between worlds is what makes it both useful and dangerous (Giles and Joy 2007: 25; Johns 2006: 69).

In addition, the connection with the supernatural, truth and knowledge has led to the association of mirrors with prophetic knowledge (Hancock 1988; Melnikova-Grigorjeva and Bogdanova 2010: 217; Werness 1999). When a mirror or other reflective surface is used as a divination tool the process is called catoptromancy (Addey 2007: 32; Giles and Joy 2007: 24; Hancock 1988: 16; Moyer 2012: 311-312). Catoptromancy was practiced in Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Israel, Mesoamerica, as well as elsewhere (Addey 2007; Hancock 1988: 16; Werness 1999: 59, 69). Addey suggests that based on written sources two types of catoptromancy were present in the ancient Greek and Roman world (2007: 32). One form was practiced by oracles or priests in which they would interpret the images in the mirror placed in water. The other form involved light on a reflective surface and the invocation of a spirit or god who would relay the prophetic knowledge to the user (Addey 2007: 42). Addey proposes that the

difference between these two forms of catoptromancy was in the way they were performed and in their use of natural phenomena (2007: 42). The first form used water as the primary natural phenomenon and can be categorized as a public ritual whereas the second used light as the main natural phenomenon and could have been performed by the individual in a more private setting (Addey 2007: 42). The first form of catoptromancy described by Addey (2007) may be what the priestess sitting on the tripod is performing in Figure 2.4.



Figure 2.4: Greek Red Figure vessel showing the Oracle of Delphi sitting on a tripod by the Kodros Painter (440-430 BC). (Photo in the Public Domain).

Just as mirrors could be the bearers of truth, they also could present false truths or false prophecy (Hancock 1988; Melnikova-Grigorjeva and Bogdanova 2010, 219). Till Eulenspiegel (English translation- ‘owlmirror’) a character from German folklore during the medieval period, is often depicted with an owl and a mirror in iconography. In the stories, Till Eulenspiegel is both a hero and a trickster/prankster. He “played jokes to the contemporaries revealing their

greed, hypocrisy, foolishness, and basically also unmasked the flimsiness of the society” (Melnikova-Grigorjeva and Bogdanova 2010: 230). His character and the dual nature of both the owl and the mirror become intertwined. He is a hero who reveals the truth but he uses deception to do so. The idea that mirrors could provide false knowledge was also prevalent during the Middle Ages, although the idea was present in Classical times (Hancock 1988: 127). The negative connotations associated with the use of the mirror for prophetic knowledge are reflected in early Christian condemnation of the use of mirrors in divination (Hancock 1988: 128).

Other themes to which mirrors are linked include fertility and beauty. Mirrors are instruments used for grooming. Correspondingly, mirrors are also connected to love because of their use in personal adornment, which subsequently aids in sexual attraction (Hancock 1988: 1). It is probable that the mirror’s ability to reproduce images led to its association with fertility as well (Hancock 1988: 14). Goddesses associated with fertility also are frequently linked to the mirror, such as the Egyptian goddess Hathor and the Graeco-Roman goddess Isis (Hancock 1988: 21, 25-26). The Egyptian goddess Hathor was associated with beauty, love, and fertility, and was also the mother of the sun. Another Egyptian goddess was Isis, who, depending on the tradition, followed the attributes of Hathor. These two deities are often conflated. Later, the Egyptian goddess Isis is connected to Greek and Roman goddesses such as Demeter and Aphrodite, a syncretism that led to the creation of the Graeco-Roman version. This process can be seen in both Herodotus’ (484 BC-425 BC) *Histories* and in Plutarch’s (AD 46-AD 127) *Isis and Osiris* works. The Graeco-Roman Isis is affiliated with wisdom, marriage, and health but also with rebirth. Again, her association with the mirror is twofold, as she is linked to both wisdom and fertility/rebirth. Apuleius (AD 124-AD 170) in his work *The Golden Ass* notes that in a procession in honor of Isis, her women followers would carry the objects associated with the

goddess, including a mirror, comb, and perfume pot (Hancock 1988: 25; Witt 1971: 167, 183).

The Roman emperor Tiberius (42 BC- 37 AD) is also sometimes shown in iconography with mirrors in reference to Isis (Witt 1971: 63, 223). The Greek goddess Artemis is also occasionally depicted on the backs or stands of mirrors because of her associations with fertility in some traditions (Hancock 1988: 28).

The mirror is affiliated with the Greek goddess Aphrodite because of its connection to fertility, beauty, and love (Hancock 1988: 28). Her son, Eros, is also connected to mirrors in this way. The scenes and handles of Greek caryatid mirrors are often associated with her and are frequently combined with sirens, pomegranates, and doves (Figure 2.5) (Hancock 1988: 28, 32; Werness 1999:8).



Figure 2.5: Greek bronze mirror from the mid-fifth century BC. An object from the collection of Walter C. Baker. (Photo Metropolitan Museum of Art[<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255391>]).

Aphrodite is also frequently seen with Adonis (Hancock 1988: 31). In Greek mythology, the story of Adonis is associated with life after death and rebirth as well as with love. In these scenes, the mirror can represent love, fertility, beauty, and/or rebirth. While Aphrodite is the goddess of love she is also associated with lust and vanity and is often shown in art with a mirror and comb.

Sirens, half women/half bird sea nymphs from Greek mythology, also are regularly seen on Greek mirrors. In Homer's *Odyssey* (eighth century BC) the Sirens are a dangerous group of beautiful women who sit on rocky outcrops and sing enchanting songs that lead sailors to their deaths. Sirens are regarded as temptresses and are also affiliated with lust and vanity (Hancock 1988: 31, 135; Phillpotts 1980: 30). Sirens are the definition of the femme fatale. Nereids, Greek goddesses of the sea, and mermaids are frequently conflated with Sirens. Both Pliny the Elder and Plutarch describe mermaids as Nereids (Phillpotts 1980: 12). Like the Sirens these entities are also associated with vanity and temptation (Thuente 2011: 62; Hancock 1988: 135; Higgins 1995; Phillpotts 1980: 10, 30).

Mermaids and Nereids are often depicted in iconography as holding both a mirror and comb. During the Medieval period, mermaids become cautionary tales of the "lure of fleshly pleasures to be feared and shunned by the God-fearing" (Phillpotts 1980: 22). Despite these negative connotations, Sirens, Nereids, and mermaids were considered to have or be associated with prophetic knowledge (Hancock 1988: 41). Thetis, a Nereid and Achilles' mother, has prophetic knowledge in Homer's *Iliad*. In both Homer's *Odyssey* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (AD 8), Sirens were perceived as having special knowledge (Hancock 1988: 40-41). The link between Nereids in artwork and mirrors is consistent with the idea of access to prophetic knowledge. Mermaids are a folktale element in the British Isles and there are numerous accounts

of mermaids off the coast of Britain, Scotland, and Ireland (Phillpotts 1980: 25, 26, 36).

Mermaids are mentioned by St Patrick, and appear in some Irish Annals dating to the sixth, ninth, and 12th centuries (Thuente 2011: 62; Phillpotts 1980: 26).

The scenes and handles of Greek caryatid mirrors are also associated with other goddesses, priestesses, or young women and occasionally young men (Hancock 1988: 28-29). The frequent association between mirrors, fertility, and goddesses may have led to the association of mirrors with women and femininity. Women are associated with mirrors in the iconography of funerary monuments in Noricum (located in modern Austria) during the Roman period (Hales 2010; Moyer 2012: 265). The women represented on the stelae at the site were depicted wearing Celtic dress and often with Celtic names (Hales 2010: 229, 233; Moyer 2012: 265). The Celtic culture at Noricum had appropriated the practice of erecting funerary stelae imported by the Romans and made it their own. Another example of this use of stelae is found in the neighboring region of Pannonia (Hales 2010: 231-23; Moyer 2012: 265). The mirrors depicted on the stelae are two common types used in the Roman world and are only depicted with women, not men (Hales 2010: 231, 236; Moyer 2012: 265-266). Whether or not the mirror's association with women was a Celtic or imported idea in this time period and region is not clear. While both men and women used mirrors in the past, women are often more often associated with them than men (Goscilo 2010: 292; Hancock 1988: 14, 32). Both Hittite texts and the iconography of funerary stelae link the spindle, the distaff, and the mirror to womanhood, for example (Albenda 1985: 3; Goetze 1955: 354; Hancock 1988: 13; Bacelli et al. 2014: 116-117). The Hittite women shown on these stelae with these three items are often viewed as being either priestesses or goddesses, or holding a high status in society (Hancock 1988: 13-14; Bacelli et al. 2014: 116-117).

However, there is at least one documented case where a mirror was associated with a high status male in the iconography of Hittite funerary stelae (Hancock 1988: 57). This may be indicative of the dual and polyvalent nature of this object, specifically its use in prognostication. It could also possibly be connected to male grooming habits, as Hittite rulers are often depicted with long hair and beards. Lloyd-Morgan explains that the Celtic grooming practices of “warriors and other wealthier persons, personal appearance was always important” (1995: 103). Mirrors, combs, razors, tweezers, and other toiletries begin to materialize in warrior graves throughout central and northern Europe in the period after 1500 BC (Price 2015: 202; Treherne 1995). The identity marked by these items suggests they were limited to the elites in Bronze Age society (Price 2015: 202; Treherne 1995). In this way mirrors, combs, razors, and other implements used in grooming, are tied to the themes of beauty as well as to status.

The mirror also plays an important role as one of the three objects of the Japanese emperor’s imperial regalia. The mirror in this role represents not only status but legitimacy and kinship ties as well (Okakura-Kakuzo and F.S.K. 1908: 10; De Bary et al. 2001: 362-363). In Shinto religious traditions, “the regalia are sacred insignia secured by the new ruler at his enthronement whereby his succession is legitimized, and at the same time they magically protect their possessor against evil powers” (Holtom 2011: 22).

As this section has demonstrated, the mirror is a multivalent object which has held numerous meanings through time and space (Table 2.3). Some of these entangled meanings may have been associated with Pictish mirror representations on stone sculpture as well, however, the main point here was to demonstrate the complexity of meaning associated with mirrors cross-culturally. Next, I will discuss the meaning of the comb.

Table 2.3: List of selected cross-cultural meanings ascribed to mirrors.

Potential Meanings	Examples
Sun, moon, or other heavenly bodies of light	Egypt; Asia (China)
Regeneration or rebirth	Egypt; Greek and Roman World
Fertility	Egypt; Greek and Roman World
Beauty, vanity	Etruscan, Greek, and Roman World; Europe; Christian
Goddesses, women, femininity	Egypt; Etruscan, Greek, and Roman World; Hittites (Near East); Celtic (Noricum)
Status	Hittite (Near East); Celtic Warrior Elite? Japan
Repository for the spirit	British Isles; Creole (Louisiana); Greek and Roman World; Jewish
Knowledge and truth, false knowledge	Buddhist; China; Christian; Europe; Greek and Roman World; Hindu; Muslim
Prophecy/ false prophecy	Babylonian; Egypt; Greek and Roman World; Israel; Mesoamerica; Christian; Europe
Supernatural world (portal, method of communication or travel)	European; Eurasian, Greek, and Roman World; Mesoamerica; Japan
Protection or Apotropaic	Christian; Japan; Near East; Egyptian; Greek and Roman Worlds; Siberian
Macro-microcosmos	Greek, Roman, Christian

Note: Table only illustrates the range of variation- it does not suggest that every person from groups listed subscribed to these beliefs, nor does it claim no other groups held these beliefs. It is a simplified list of examples mentioned in text.

Combs and Meaning

Like the mirror, a number of different meanings have been attributed to the comb as an object and a signifier. As with the mirror, a comb used as a “representamen” can embody all

three modes of the sign. Combs have a variety of themes associated with them, including fertility, beauty, status, ecclesiastical significance, and the supernatural.

The comb often is associated with fertility, beauty, and love. As previously noted, Aphrodite is frequently depicted in iconography holding a mirror and comb. The Greek and Roman words for comb, *kteis* and *pectin*, were also used for female genitalia (Phillpotts 1980: 10). In India, there is a Hindu tradition in which a comb is one of the items given to a girl who comes of age (J. Campbell 1895: 160). Again, Apuleius (AD 124-AD 170) in his work *The Golden Ass* mentions the comb as one of the items carried by the worshippers of Graeco-Roman Isis, a goddess associated with wisdom, marriage, health, and rebirth (Hancock 1988: 25; Witt 1971: 167, 183).

Combs, like mirrors, are used in personal grooming, which has led to their affiliation with beauty and personal adornment. Sirens, Nereids, and mermaids are often illustrated in iconography holding both a mirror and a comb. The comb's association with these entities also associates it with lust and vanity (Thuente 2011: 62; Hancock 1988: 135; Higgins 1995; Phillpotts 1980: 10, 30).

Wooden combs are regularly received as gifts from admirers by women of the Ndyuka of Suriname (Milwaukee Public Museum 2016). The Ndyuka women use the wooden combs they receive for styling hair but they also sometimes present and use them as signs of wealth (Milwaukee Public Museum 2016). The Akan, an African people originally from north of Ghana that incorporate groups such as the Fanti, the Ga, and the Ashanti, also follow the tradition of men carving and giving combs as gifts to their lovers (Antiri 1974: 32). The women of the royal family would often have craftsmen on staff who would create specially designed combs (Antiri 1974: 32). These combs would frequently be decorated with clan (maternal line) and *ntoro*

(paternal line) symbols (Antiri 1974: 32). These royal combs as well as the combs of everyday people often embodied motifs related to their religious or folklore tradition (Antiri 1974: 33). For example, a number of combs have animals depicted on them that represent proverbs (Antiri 1974: 32). Each of these carvings were specific to the group in which they were created (Antiri 1974: 32), which means that the motifs and beliefs held by one group to be important may not have been the same for another group. They also were carved with scenes and objects that had meaning to everyday life. The comb for the Akan could be used to represent love, status, or religious or moral values.

The association of combs with goddesses may also have led to the association of combs with high status women. Early Medieval Irish laws have connected high status women with combs and comb bags (Dunlevy 1988: 373). Combs may have been important implements of the high status Celtic warrior for grooming as well (Lloyd-Morgan 1995: 103; Price 2015: 202; Treherne 1995). Women in early modern Japanese culture used combs as part of hairstyles to indicate their marriage status, social class, or profession (Chaiklin 2009: 41, 44).

Since the early medieval period, combs appear to have been associated with ecclesiastics in northwestern Europe. Dr. Daniel Rock in his *Church of Our Fathers* (1849) highlights the role that combs played in church ritual, particularly that of High Mass. Gilchrist has noted that during the medieval period, liturgical combs were used to part the hair of priests so that the wine would not be contaminated by particles falling from the head (2012: 180). Two examples of liturgical combs are demonstrated in Figures 2.6 and 2.7. Rock notes that combs were kept with other sacred ornaments in the Anglo-Saxon minster, a tradition that was continued later in English cathedrals (1849: V2 123). Ecclesiastics were often buried with combs (Cumming 1876: 301; J. Campbell 1895: 161; Johnson 1912: 311). Rock gives a list of saints and other ecclesiastics who

were known to have associations with combs, including St Cuthbert, St Neot, St Boysil, and St Dunstan (1849: V2 123-125). Cumming (1876) adds St Thomas also to this list. She suggested that the association between combs and ecclesiastics was a syncretism of pre-Christian pagan beliefs (Cumming 1876: 301).

Combs are occasionally associated with the supernatural. The association between combs and mermaids, Nereids, and Sirens connects them to the idea of prophetic knowledge (Hancock 1988: 41). In Japan, hair provided a direct link to the gods (Chaiklin 2009: 41). It is this connection that probably led to the Japanese belief that combing one's hair at a crossroads could be used for divination (Chaiklin 2009: 41). Comb divination described by Kelley (1919) in divination rituals in colonial America during Halloween (162). In addition, the comb's use for divination is mentioned by Cumming (1876: 301) and J. M. Campbell (1895: 161).



Figure 2.6: Italian liturgical comb dated to the late 11th-early 12th century from The Cloisters Collection, 1966. (Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art [<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471851>]).



Figure 2.7: A liturgical comb made of ivory from St Albans, England, in AD 1130. (Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum [<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O94330/liturgical-comb-liturgical-comb-unknown/>]).

In Japan, it was seen as bad luck to give combs as gifts (Chaiklin 2009: 41). The Japanese word for comb, *kushi*, sounds similar to the words which mean disaster and death (Chaiklin 2009: 41). Combs dating to the middle Jomon period were lacquered red and probably served as a sort of protective talisman (Chaiklin 2009: 44; Okazaki 1989).

The comb also makes an appearance in a number of folktales. The *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (1993) offer one example of the use of the comb in the story of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves*. In the story the Evil Queen creates a poisonous comb. She conceals herself in the costume of an old woman and pretends to sell wares outside the Dwarves' house while they are away at work. Snow White, who is hiding in the house, is tricked by the Evil Queen's disguise and allows the old woman to comb her hair. As soon as the comb touches her hair she falls to the ground as if dead. When the Dwarves arrive home they find her and remove the comb, and she is instantly revived. In this story the comb is associated with deception, poison, and death.

Another story also from the *Grimm's Fairy Tales* (1993) in which the comb plays a role is *The Nix of the Millpond*. In this story a man is taken into the pond by a Nix, a form of Germanic water spirit. The Nix pulls him deep down into the depths of the pond. After his wife looks everywhere for him but cannot find him, she decides to consult a wise woman who lives on the mountain. This old woman gives her a golden comb and instructs her to comb her hair by the pond and then leave the comb on the shore. The wife does as instructed and as soon as she lays the comb on the shore the Nix, in the form of a wave, takes the comb and simultaneously part of her husband is released from the depths of the pond. The wife returns to the wise woman twice more, follows her instructions, and eventually saves her husband. In this story the comb is a method of salvation. The comb could also possibly be understood as an object of wealth as it is seen as a worthy exchange in the story or as an object of temptation because it tempts the Nix into taking it and releasing the man. It is also possible that this story represents a Christianized echo of votive deposits in watery contexts, a practice found in Europe during the Bronze and Iron Ages.

A final story which involves a comb comes from the collection of fairy tales by Hans Christian Andersen (1805-1875). In the second part of a six part series of the story of *The Snow Queen*, a young girl allows an old woman to comb her hair with a golden comb. The old woman wants to keep the little girl, so she creates a spell as she combs the little girl's hair. The little girl forgets where she is going. In this story the comb is again an object of deception and a magical object.

These two sections have demonstrated the vast number of meanings attributed to both the mirror and the comb in different cultures and time periods. In the following section I consider

what the mirrors and combs may have meant to the Picts and why they inscribed these symbols on monumental stone sculpture.

Pictish Mirror and Comb Symbols on Monumental Stone Sculpture

Pictish symbols occur in a variety of media, including bone, metal, leather, small portable lithic objects, cave carvings, and monumental stone sculptures. The mirror and comb symbols, however, only appear on monumental stone sculptures. For this reason, this study will be centered on the symbols' role on monumental stone sculpture. It should be noted, however, that sculptures that are often classified as plaques in the literature will also be considered, including those located at Burghead and East Lomond. I have chosen to include them mainly because they are fragmentary and it is difficult to assess if they originally belonged to a larger monument.

The term “monument” in archaeology is related to two different ideas. First, the term often designates entities which are very large or colossal. Arguably more important is the second idea, where a “monument” is “interpreted as having a special social significance, as playing a special role in processes of social reproduction” (Furholt and Muller 2011: 16). Furholt and Muller emphasize that a major characteristic of monuments is that they exhibit a “surplus of meaning” which could be realized by signs, texts, non-functional colossality, and placement within a landscape (2011: 16). Monuments act as a medium to store and communicate meaning, and those meanings can change over time. Regardless of the emphasis on original meaning or a new meaning ascribed later, monuments play an important role in the creation and maintenance of a society (Furholt and Muller 2011: 16).

Pictish stone sculptures are part of a larger tradition of monumental construction within northern Europe and specifically the British Isles that started during the Neolithic period (Cunliffe 2008: 165-167; Gondek 2015). Megalithic tombs in Ireland and Britain have been

dated to a little after c. 4300 BC, while megaliths associated with the North Sea and the Baltic are thought to have begun sometime after 3700 BC (Cunliffe 2008: 165-166). Other monuments found in the British Isles beginning in the Neolithic include causewayed enclosures, long barrows, round barrows and mounds, timber and stone circles, palisaded enclosures, and henges (Albrecht 2010; Burl 2000; Cunliffe 2008; Danaher 2004; Furholt and Muller 2011; Gibson 1998; Guardamino et al. 2015; Noble 2008; Parkinson and Duffy 2007). Scotland has a particularly rich tradition of stone circles, as indicated by Figure 2.8.

Pictish sculpture is not on the same scale as these other types of monuments, but these stones can still be considered monumental in the second sense as noted above: they depict signs and were intended to project some form of meaning to a public audience that included their placement on the landscape. It is likely that Pictish sculptures were used to negotiate social identity. However, given the absence of written records to support this hypothesis and our lack of knowledge of the cultural conventions that influenced the creation of these sculptures, it is difficult to demonstrate their connection to social identities with any certainty, although recent work has made significant progress (Clarke 2007; Driscoll 2000, 2011; Gondek 2006, 2015).

Most Pictish stone sculpture is dated to the period AD 400-900 (Allen and Anderson 1903; Henderson and Henderson 2004). The sculptures are often made of red sandstone, basalt, granite, and gneiss. However, because of the prevalence of some of this material, particularly sandstone, it is often difficult to identify quarry sites and sources for individual sculptures (Gondek 2006: 110; Miller and Ruckley 2005; Ruckley and Carver 1998). In an effort to understand these monuments, Allen and Anderson (1903) created a classification system to categorize them (Table 2.4).

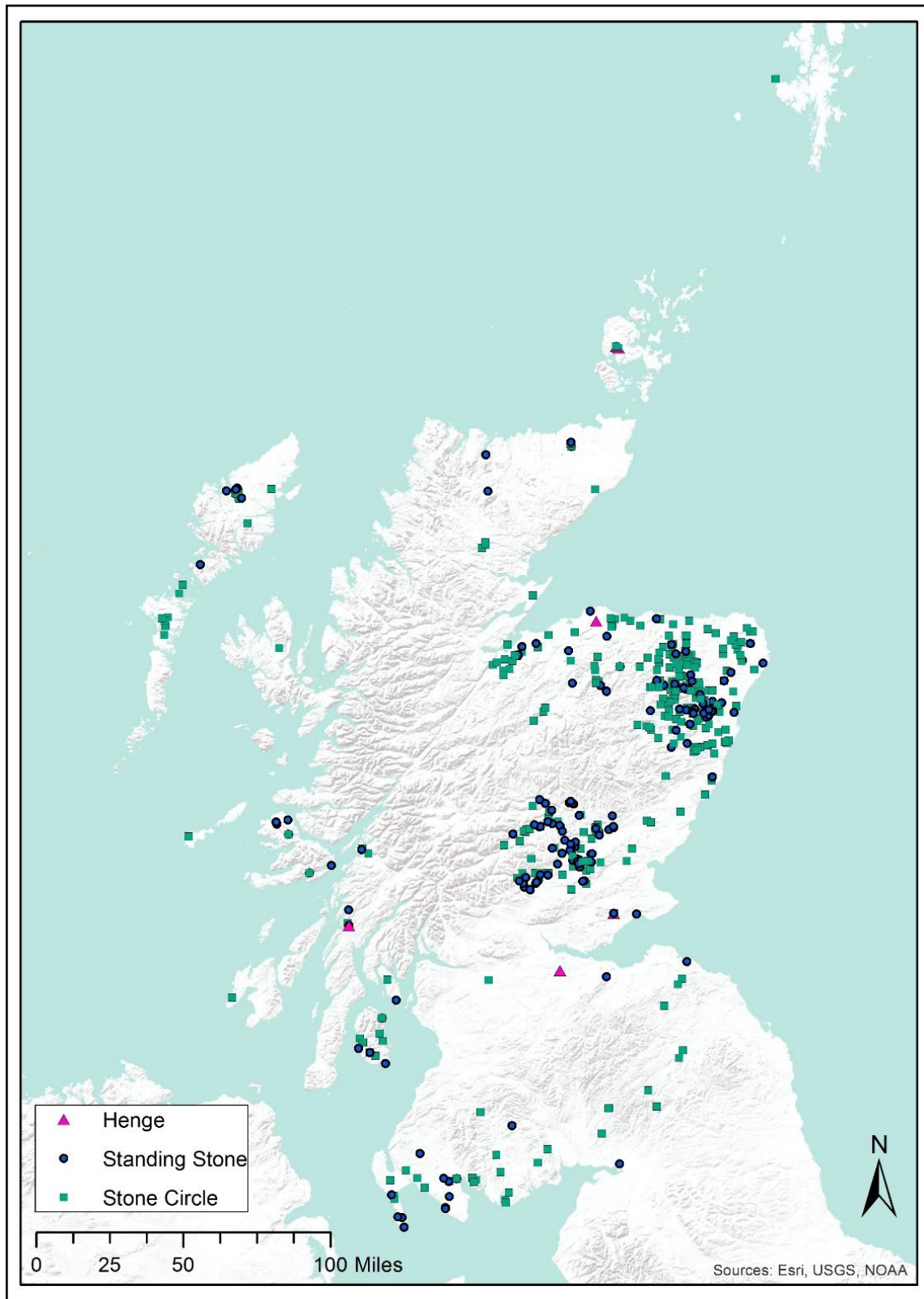


Figure 2.8: Distribution of stone circles, henges, and other standing stones. Location data provided by the Canmore database; base map provided by Esri and OpenStreetMap.

Table 2.4: Pictish Monumental Sculpture Classification created by Allen and Anderson (1903).

<u>Class 1</u>	<u>Class 2</u>	<u>Class 3</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unworked stone slabs or boulders • Incised symbols • No Christian imagery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dressed stone slabs • Low relief • Symbols, cross, and often other imagery and decoration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dressed stone slabs • Low or high relief • No symbols

Allen and Anderson's (1903) classification system has been criticized for a number of reasons. The system has been used to date Pictish sculpture, which is problematic because it simplifies very tumultuous and complex pre- and historic periods in Scotland (Henderson and Henderson 2004). It is likely that there is temporal overlap between classes, meaning for example that Class 1 sculpture was still being made when Class 2 sculpture began to be produced (Clarke 2007). In addition, Pictish sculpture is found over a large territory, so different regions may have adopted the new technology/style at different rates. The different methods/classes may also correspond to different functions. The reuse of stones is another problem. For example, a stone that may have originally been Class 1 could be reused and a cross and motifs in relief added. How should this monument be categorized? Another issue is the usefulness of the Class 3 category. The often fragmentary nature of Pictish sculpture makes it difficult to determine if a piece of sculpture without symbols may have originally belonged to a sculpture with symbols. The lack of confidence in categorization leads to difficulties with interpretation. Henderson and Henderson assert that the classification system also "obscures the significance of individual sites" and presents the sculpture only within the class framework, thus not considering the sculptures within their local context (2004: 10). A similar typological issue exists in other

material categories in the archaeological record, such as pottery. The assumption that the classes or types that the archaeologist uses to categorize the monuments are congruent with the way a person in Pictish society would have viewed them is problematic. Despite these issues, the system is still widely used today albeit with some modifications. Because this study is focused on mirror and comb symbols, only Pictish monumental sculpture which depicts these symbols will be considered (Figure 2.9). Thus, Class 3 monuments will not be considered as they do not contain Pictish symbols.

Pictish sculpture is found in a variety of contexts including ecclesiastical sites, near or part of burials, in settlements, in fields, and on hills or low rises; however, these may not always represent the stones' original contexts (Clarke 2007; Gondek 2015). In addition, Gondek (2015) has linked them to structural contexts, specifically at non-ecclesiastical sites. She posits that some stones may have been used or reused within architecture intentionally and not solely based on their functional convenience during the Pictish period (Gondek 2015: 97).

She explains that this purposeful placement is often at entranceways or thresholds and also at sites with an association with sunken, semi- or fully subterranean structures and that the stones in some cases have been placed so that the symbols are not visible (Gondek 2015: 97, 104). She uses these associations to suggest that “stones with ‘hidden’ or invisible symbols were purposefully placed and that they are votive messages meant in part to convey social memory to ‘others’ populating an underworld/otherworld that was very significant in pre-Christian Pictish ideology” (Gondek 2015: 108). She proposes that visible monuments were “connected to the theme of movement by and through the structure of which they were part, emphasizing the concept of crossing through thresholds, a mnemonic device for the significance of, and the relationships to, the otherworld” (Gondek 2015: 108).

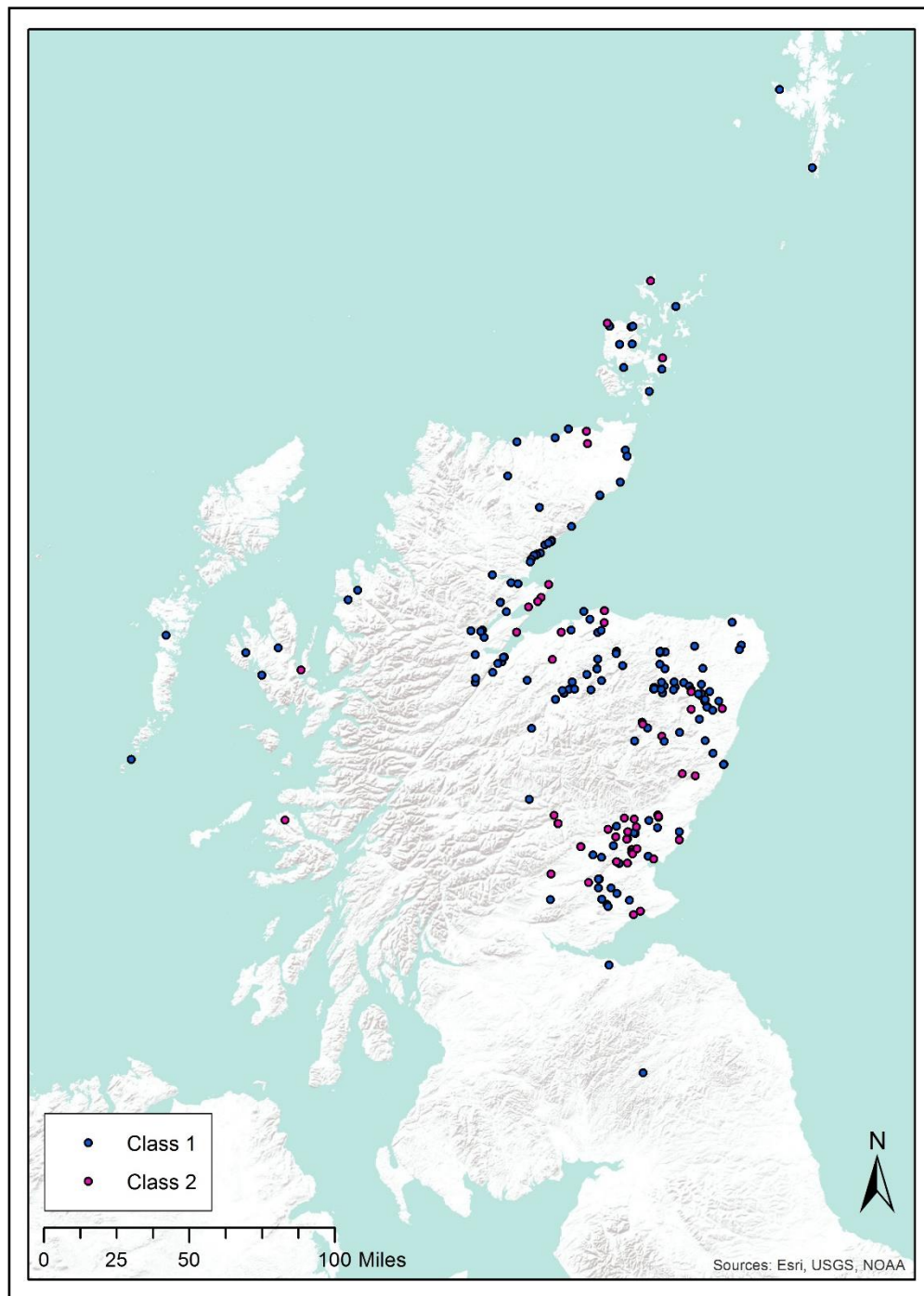


Figure 2.9: Distribution of Class 1 and Class 2 Pictish monumental stone sculpture that depicts symbols. Location data provided by the Canmore database; base map provided by Esri and OpenStreetMap.

Her assertions may have relevance for the use of the Pictish mirror symbol. A Pictish sculpture depicting an eagle, crescent with v-rod, and a mirror was found blocking the entrance to a subterranean passage or well in a Broch at the Knowe of Burran, Orkney (Gondek 2015: 100). The stone was likely placed symbol side down as suggested by the excavation notes (Gondek 2015: 100). The mirror's association with liminal spaces in other cultures may provide some support for Gondek's arguments. Interestingly, the placement of these stones in entranceways or thresholds seems to be paralleled in Ireland by Medieval sheela-na-gi figures that are also often found near windows and doors (Power 2012); these enigmatic sculptures probably had pre-Christian origins and frequently appear to have been intentionally repositioned.

Despite the frequent lack of original contexts for the stones, numerous functions have been proposed for them, including cist covers, commemorative markers within cemeteries or near battle sites, burial markers, landscape markers indicating routes or borders, and plaques (Ashmore 1980; Carver 2001, 2009; Clarke 2007; Driscoll 1988; Gondek 2015: 89; Henderson 1967). Alcock (1989) has investigated the occurrence of Pictish sculpture on good arable land vs. poor arable land. She found that in Orkney, Caithness, and Sutherland these sculptures tend to be located along the coast on poor arable land, whereas in Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Badenoch and Strathspey, Moray, Aberdeen, Banff and Buchan, Gordon, Kincardine and Deeside, Angus, Dundee, Perth and Kinross, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy and northeastern Fife sculptures tended to be located a little farther inland on good arable land (Alcock 1989: 2-3). Alcock (1989) has noted the challenges associated with linking sculpture to soil types and topography and stresses that more research should be conducted before drawing any conclusions. Nonetheless these are interesting findings as they may suggest an association between such stones and major centers,

which would have implications for the interpretation of economic systems and subsistence practices in the different regions.

Gondek (2006) explored the role of Pictish sculptures in creating and maintaining power structures within Pictish society by assessing the investment of resources that went into the production of individual monuments. She examined three regional case studies, each with a different assumed political boundary, including Argyll and Bute (Dál Riata -Scots-Irish), Fife, Perth and Kinross, Dundee City and Angus (southern Pictland), Dumfries and Galloway (Strathclyde-Britons) (Gondek 2006). She concluded that each sculpture was the end product of a long process which included choices made by the commissioner(s), carver(s), designer(s), quarries, and others (Gondek 2006: 107). This production sequence represents power relationships between actors because it “represents the culmination of a series of socially loaded processes” and the mobilization of social and material resources (Gondek 2006: 107). She assigned values to each sculpture based on a number of characteristics aimed at measuring relative investment (Gondek 2006). She then produced a map which depicted the distribution of investment in sculpture, allowing her to investigate where power structures lay within the landscape (Gondek 2006). Gondek concluded that although sculpture was utilized as a form of symbolic wealth in all three regions, it was used in ways that were specific to local and regional ideologies strategies (2006: 137). Her study highlights interactions between the elite and the church, producing structures of power within the broader society.

In a similar vein, Driscoll has asserted that the church was “an important setting for the display of ethnicity, because it was a focus for the display of political power” in early Medieval Scotland (2000: 234). Driscoll uses three aspects of ethnicity as defined by Bartlett (1993), including customs, language, and law to examine evidence of ethnicity (2000). He finds that

early monumental sculpture is one method of uncovering customs practiced by a past society. He asserts that monumental sculpture was consciously employed to define and negotiate the political landscape (Driscoll 2000: 245). Further, he suggests that elite patronage and sponsorship of particular saints' cults, which were often confined spatially to a particular geographical location, may have had implications for ethnic identity (Driscoll 2000: 247-249). Driscoll has posited that monumental stone sculpture was used as part of the setting in which ceremonial events, including baptisms, marriages, and funerals, would have taken place (2000: 250). He asserts that these monuments also provided new methods of legitimating the emerging aristocracy through the creation of a bond between the elites and the local populace (Driscoll 2000: 251). In another paper, Driscoll discusses the active appropriation of the past in order to create and maintain legitimacy by the elite (2011: 154). He mentions three examples of royal sites that have been linked with past prehistoric monuments, including Dunadd, Forfar, and Inverurie (Driscoll 2011: 153). Alternatively, Clarke has suggested that Pictish monumental stone sculpture was created in an effort to reaffirm "established social memories through the use and display of symbols" in order to resist conversion to Christianity (Clarke 2007: 36).

The development of Pictish iconography on stone sculptures has also been a source of debate. Stevenson (1959, 1971) has argued that Northumbrian illuminated manuscripts were the inspiration behind Pictish symbols. Conversely, Henderson (1967, 1982) has argued that Pictish symbols influenced manuscript art. Laing and Laing (1984) have also suggested a possible Romano-British influence on Pictish iconography. Other interpretations continue to be put forth, although recent scholarship tends to favor a more native origin model (Henderson and Henderson 2004: 31). Using an art historical approach, Henderson and Henderson place Pictish iconography firmly within the Insular art tradition (2004: 31-57). There are approximately 50

different types of Pictish symbols, a number which fluctuates based on what resource is used (Jackson 1984; Laing and Laing 1993: 101; Samson 1992; Wainwright 1955: 32, 36). This is because different researchers define symbols differently. For this study, I have identified 52 possible symbols and have outlined how I define them in the Methods chapter. A selection of Pictish symbols is illustrated in Figure 2.10.

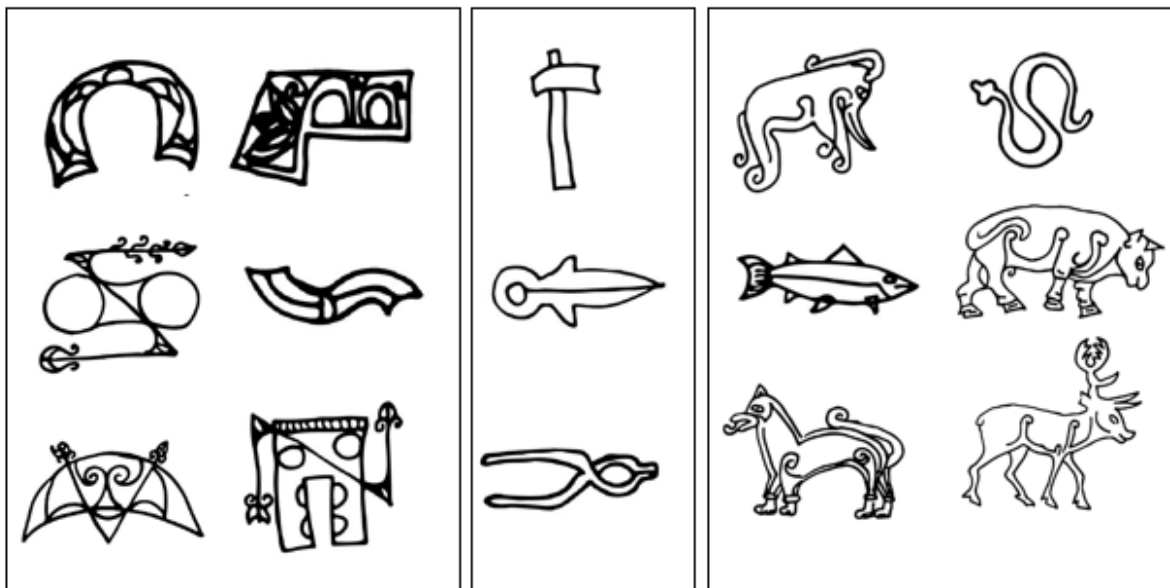


Figure 2.10: Examples of Pictish symbols. (Animal symbols drawn by Steve Moray; based on images from Canmore database).

These symbols include abstract or geometric shapes, zoomorphic figures, and representational objects (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvi). The meaning of the individual Pictish symbols is highly debated. A number of interpretations have been suggested, including political alliances or marriage treaties, lineages, clans, professions, and elements of names (Carver 1999; Jackson 1971; Samson 1992; Thomas 1984). Jackson (1971) posited that the symbols may represent totems or emblems, which functioned in a similar way as heraldic symbols or family crests do today. Forsyth (1997) highlights the similarities between the relative

use and order of Pictish symbols and Ogham script. This lends support to the interpretation of the Pictish symbols as elements of language (Forsyth 1997; Lee et al. 2010; Samson 1992).

Recently, Lee et al. (2010) published a study in which they conducted a statistical analysis of Pictish symbols and concluded that they are lexigraphic or exhibit characteristics similar to a written language. Sproat (2010, 2014), Fournet (2011), and others have criticized Lee et al.'s (2010) conclusion because of the small sample size and methods. Lee et al. (2010) is one of the only systematic semiotic analyses of Pictish symbols as a lexigraphic language system but it seems that its conclusions cannot be uncritically accepted. For this thesis, I have assumed that the Pictish symbols do not represent a lexigraphic system. Instead I will approach them as a possible semasiographic system. In a semasiographic system, information is communicated but does not actually reference any verbal language (Lee et al. 2010: 2546-2547).

Past Interpretations of Pictish Mirror and Comb Symbols

Pictish mirror and comb symbols have been interpreted as being linked to female identity, status and prestige, representations of the underworld, ecclesiastical connections, the result of influences of Scandinavian mythology, markers of greater or lesser kings, bride wealth, and designators for funerary contexts (Allen and Anderson 1903; Bede et al. 1969; Carnegie 1999; Cessford 1997; Cummins 1995; Jackson 1971, 1984, 1990; Samson 1992; Smith 2015; Thomas 1963).

Allen and Anderson's (1903) three volume book, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland: a Classified, Illustrated, Descriptive List of the Monuments, with an Analysis of their Symbolism and Ornamentation* was one of the first comprehensive attempts to catalogue and analyze the Pictish stone monuments and is still used today as a leading source of information on the topic. The authors assert that the mirror and comb symbols together are "significant of the

female sex” (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvii). Other scholars, including Black (1993), Robertson (1991), and Thomas (1963), have also identified the mirror and comb symbols as possibly indicating female identity.

These authors and others justify this argument by describing the instances in which female human figures appear together with the mirror and comb symbols on the monuments (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvii; Robertson 1991: 6-16). Other contributing factors may also be playing a role in this designation. There is evidence for the association of mirrors with women in the Classical world, where Greek, Etruscan, and Roman mirrors have been linked to female identity (Hancock 1988; Joy 2010: 75; Moyer 2012). However, although the Picts were in contact with the Romans, there is no evidence thus far to suggest that they subscribed to the same gender ideology. In the past, archaeologists studying burial practices tended to linked women with mirrors and men with weapons. However, Giles and Joy and numerous others have challenged these categories, especially the view that mirrors were associated with passive femininity (2007: 27). Joy argues that “Assigning material culture to particular sex/gender categories based on our own cultural stereotypes and preconceived notions” is problematic (2010: 75). Contemporary biases present challenges to interpreting Pictish iconography. The issue of interpretation related to androcentric models has been raised by several scholars (Cessford 1997; Driscoll 1986; Jackson 1990; Samson 1992; Smith 2015).

In addition to the direct association between female human figures and the mirror and comb symbols on the monuments, the dichotomy argument has also been defended using the writings of Bede, an English monk living in the late seventh/early eighth centuries in Jarrow, Northumbria (Bede et al. 1969: xi). His work, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, focused mainly on the English and their conversion to Christianity. Occasionally, however, he

mentions notable events and other groups such as the Irish and the Picts. More specifically, scholars have pointed to two lines of evidence in Bede's work that support their argument in favor of female symbolic representation, including a Pictish origin story which suggests that the Picts were a matrilineal society, and a contemporary account in Northumbria directly connecting a woman with a mirror and comb (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvii; Bede et al. 1969: 10, 91; Robertson 1991: 5-6).

Pictish women are almost never mentioned by name in medieval sources (Robertson 1991: 6). One exception is a reference to "princess Eithni daughter of Cinadon, [AD] 778" (Cummins 1995: 35). Bede, in fact, implied that Picts used the female royal line only in cases where the kingly succession was in doubt (Bede et al. 1969: 10; Samson 1992). Some scholars have combined this information with the Pictish King Lists to assert that the Picts were matrilineal (Anderson 1973; as noted in Evans 2011; Wainwright 1955). The fathers of the kings are identified in the Pictish King list, but they almost never correspond to a single lineage, which has given support to this matrilineal succession claim (Cummins 1995: 32; Fraser 2009: 53). While it is possible that the Picts were matrilineal, the use of the Pictish King Lists to prove this is problematic. The list, or rather lists, are copies of an older document taken from a variety of sources and they do not always agree in regard to names or chronology. Cummins (1995) presents a compelling hypothesis in support of kingly succession through the female line for political reasons. He suggests that the female line was a way of legitimizing the rotation of tribal leaders through the position of high king (Cummins 1995: 36). Alternatively, Fraser stresses that there could be other reasons that the names on the lists do not correspond in a direct line of succession, explaining that the position of king during this period was highly contested and switched lineages frequently (2009: 53).

The second line of evidence that Bede presents involves a gift received by Queen Aethelburh of Northumbria from Pope Boniface V in AD 625 (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvii; Bede et al. 1969: 91). The gift was a silver mirror and an ivory comb. While it was given as a gift of thanks for devotion, it apparently was also intended to motivate the queen to convert her husband to Christianity. This direct historical association between a woman, a mirror, and a comb appears to support the argument that the corresponding symbols are associated with female identity. Of course, as many other scholars have pointed out, including Cessford (1997) and Fortescue (1992), there are a number of issues with using this particular example to make that claim. First, the Northumbrians were not Picts, they were an entirely different culture. Second, even if the Northumbrians and Picts had similar customs with regard to female identity, it does not mean that the Pope was giving a gift in line with those customs (Cessford 1997: 109). Third, the Queen was not only a female, but a person of high status, and therefore the mirror and comb could have signified status as easily as it could have female identity, as Cessford (1997: 109) has suggested. Finally, the reference to royal femininity is linked to a Christian context, which may be unrelated to the use of these symbols in pagan Britain.

James Carnegie, the Earl of Southesk, also proposed that Pictish mirror and comb symbols represented feminine identity (1999: 30-32). He presents a number of theories, circulating during the turn of the century, surrounding Pictish origins and the development of Pictish symbols, including models involving Christians, Gnostic religions, Oriental migration, Picts as Celts or Native Picts, and Scandinavian influence (Carnegie 1999: 3-11). Carnegie dismisses most of these theories based on conflicting or lack of evidence. He then analyzes the Pictish symbols using Scandinavian mythology. He equates the mirror symbol with Freya, the moon, the power of nature, and the underworld (Carnegie 1999: 30). He argues that “the mirror itself typifies the

mystic inner sense to which all deep wisdom reveals itself, imagined forth like the semblances in a glass; hence it is symbolic of occult knowledge, whether obtained through death or by means of priestly initiation” (Carnegie 1999: 31). In addition, he equates the mirror case symbol with Frey and the sun (Carnegie 1999: 30). Carnegie supported his claims of Scandinavian influence based on the similarities between symbols in the Pictish and Scandinavian symbolic systems, as for example at Bohuslenn, a Scandinavian rock carving site (1999: 30). The use of Pictish symbols to represent deities from Scandinavian mythology is problematic, however, as there would need to be more evidence that the two systems should be compared. However, the north-eastern coast’s proximity to Scandinavia and the possible early Scandinavian combs found in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland, discussed later in this chapter, may provide support for Carnegie’s general assertion that the stones demonstrate Scandinavian influence. It is also interesting to note that Thomas, in his discussion of the meaning of Pictish symbols, presents a graph that includes Scandinavian rock art that closely resembles the mirror case symbol (1963: 59).

The mirror and comb are part of a number of other mythological references, such as the mermaid. The Murray clan’s heraldic symbol is a mermaid holding both a mirror and comb. It is unclear, however, if Pictish symbols played a role in the origin of this clan symbol. It could be suggested that the mermaid links the mirror and comb symbols to a feminine identity which is also connected with nature, as the mermaid is half woman and half animal. Pictish symbol monument Meikle No. 22, found in Perth and Kinross, depicts what can be identified loosely as a mermaid, shown in Figure 2.11 below. There are, however, no mirror or comb symbols present or associated with the mermaid in this case.



Figure 2.11: Meigle No. 22 depicts a possible mermaid. © Courtesy of Historic Environment Scotland (B C Clayton Collection).

Cessford (1997) offers another interpretation of the mirror and comb symbols. He suggests that the mirror and comb may have represented status rather than feminine identity (Cessford 1997: 112). He asserts that the mirror and comb were appropriate for women but not necessarily exclusive to them, as demonstrated on stones in which the symbols occur with male figures (Cessford 1997: 111). He indicates that a number of other Pictish symbols can be linked to mirrors, including the mirror case and double disc symbols shown in Figure 2.12 (Cessford 1997: 110). Assuming a funerary function for Pictish monumental sculpture, Cessford has also suggested that mirror and comb symbols are linked to the status of an individual in death because of their exclusive appearance in the sculpture medium (1997: 105). Jackson (1990) suggests that the mirror and comb symbols may be separate qualifiers for status. He posits that the addition of the comb could have marked the difference between full and lesser chiefs (Jackson 1990: 107, 1990: 100). In addition, Fortescue (1992) has questioned the use of the mirror and comb symbol as a symbol for all women, stressing that it may refer to a specific woman or position.

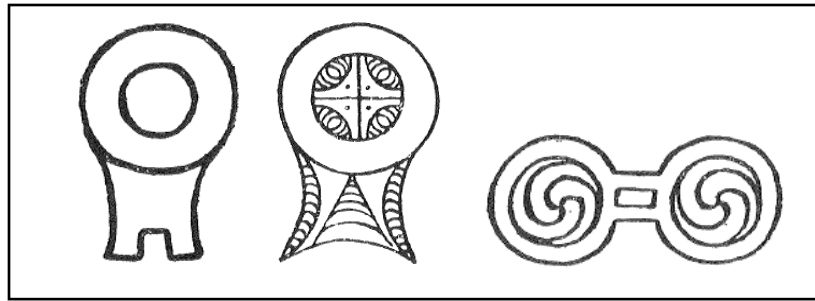


Figure 2.12: (Left to right) - Two forms of the mirror case symbol could possibly represent a closed mirror, while the double disc symbol possibly represents an open mirror (Allen and Anderson 1903: 59, 61).

Cummins (1995) compares Pictish symbol monuments to contemporary Welsh monuments. Using this comparison he asserts that the Pictish symbol monuments are analogous to Welsh monuments in that they were gravestones or memorials (Cummins 1995: 126). He suggests that the “the mirror (with or without the comb) might represent either ‘son (or daughter) of’ or ‘here lies’” (Cummins 1995: 127). Samson (1992), making a similar comparison with English personal names, posits that Pictish symbol pairs corresponded to personal names. Because the mirror and comb are often added onto pairs of symbols, he assumes that they do not play an immediate role in the creation of the name (Samson 1992: 57). He instead offers two suggestions, (1) that the mirror and comb may represent the diminutive form of a name, (2) if the mirror and comb are related to female identity, then it is possible that they acted as qualifiers for a female name (Samson 1992: 49, 58). He proposes that names were gender neutral or always masculine unless this qualifier was added to make the name feminine (Samson 1992).

Thomas suggested that if the mirror and comb were used to signify that a stone was commemorated or erected by a female for a deceased relative, these symbols also simultaneously conveyed the relationship to the deceased, such as wife or mother (1963: 43). Alternatively, Jackson has posited that the occurrence of a mirror vs. a mirror and comb on Pictish sculpture indicated differences in bride wealth acquired by sub-chiefs vs. chiefs (1984: 112).

Dutton has suggested that the mirror and comb symbols on sculpture may have performed a ritual function related to the protection of the dead when placed on monuments in funerary contexts (2011: 7). He speculates that if mirrors were used in the Iron Age as grave goods in a similar function, this tradition may have been carried on through Christian times (Dutton 2011: 7). He suggests that in an effort to convert the Picts, the church adapted these symbols (Dutton 2011: 7). Dutton draws a parallel with regard to the tradition of carving bells on gravestones during the 16th and 17th centuries to add protection after burial (2011: 7). A significant challenge to this view is the fact that mirrors have not been found in Scottish burial contexts.

The comb symbol rarely occurs by itself in Pictish monumental stone sculpture and is not often discussed beyond its combined use with the mirror symbol. Allen and Anderson explain that the comb had “ceremonial use in the ritual of the Church” and combs were sometimes used as “symbolic relics buried with ecclesiastical personages” (1903: xxxvi). They present two examples, including St Cuthbert and St Kentigern, in whose stories combs play a ritually significant role (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvi). They suggest that the comb symbol when used alone could have been a symbol of status or of an ecclesiastic (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvi-xxxvii). Carnegie also mentions the importance of combs, stressing that “objects literally or ideally connected with the hair of the head acquired a certain sanctity” (1999: 31). Clarke and Heald assert that combs are frequently linked with elites and point to imagery on the stones themselves that display “the role of hairstyles in signaling rank and status” (2002: 86). Cessford (1997) has suggested that the comb may have acted as a separate qualifier. He offers a possible interpretation where the mirror represents a person of royal lineage whereas the comb would signify ruler (Cessford 1997: 112).

I have explained the role monumental sculpture played in broad terms, discussed Pictish sculpture and examined a broad sampling of other scholars interpretations of Pictish sculpture and symbols (with attention to the mirror and comb). In the two sections that follow, I will present information that pertains to mirrors and combs found in archaeological contexts.

Mirrors in Archaeological Contexts

The earliest examples of mirrors that have been identified in the Old World come from burials at Çatalhöyük, Turkey dating to 6200 BC and are made of polished obsidian (Moyer 2012: 23). However, the earliest examples of metal mirrors are not found until after 4000 BC, when they appear in Mesopotamia and Iran as small copper disks (Enoch 2006: 775-776; Moyer 2012: 23). This technology was not found north or west of the Alps until the first millennium BC and appears to have not been widely available until the late medieval period (Moyer 2012: 24-25). Joy has summarized the existing body of literature with regard to mirrors into three categories, including “articles recording individual finds,” discussion based on “one particular aspect of mirrors such as decoration or handles,” and “examination of the corpus, or group” (many focus on one and broaden the discussion) (2010: 4). He further explains that this literature can be divided temporally into research focused on finds from the 19th-early 20th centuries, which were often poorly recorded, and finds made more recently, which are more detailed (Joy 2010: 4). Moyer (2012) has synthesized a large portion of this material in her recent thesis, *Deep Reflection: An Archaeological Analysis of Mirrors in Iron Age Eurasia*. Within this work she compiles information and data associated with mirrors in zones, including Temperate Europe, Caucasia, Inner Eurasia and the Steppes, and Temperate East Asia (Moyer 2012). For our purposes, the Temperate Europe zone will be most useful. She defines Temperate Europe as including portions of all the modern nations of Europe, including the European Plain and the

British Isles, and extending to the eastern border of the Ural Mountains but not extending into the steppe region or including the Mediterranean Basin (Moyer 2012: 8, 38).

Mediterranean cultures such as the Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans created vast numbers of mirrors, yet relatively few are found north of the Alps during the Iron Age (Moyer 2012: 6, 38). Moyer has suggested that there was a preference for locally made mirrors with regard to funerary traditions in temperate Iron Age Europe, given that Mediterranean versions were rarely utilized (2012: 38). While relatively few mirrors have been found in pre-Roman archaeological contexts in continental temperate Europe north of the Alps, approximately 55 mirrors have been discovered in the British Isles (Joy 2008, 2010, 2011: 468; Moyer 2012: 38). These mirrors have been recovered in settlement, watery, and burial contexts (Joy 2009, 2010, 2011: 468; Moyer 2012).

A large number of the mirrors found in the British Isles come from burial contexts (Table 2.5) (Joy 2008: 8, 2010: 2, 2011: 468; Moyer 2012: 27, 215). Joy has identified four temporally and geographically distinct concentrations of burial contexts in which mirrors have been discovered (Table 2.6) (Joy 2011: 470). In burials where mirror placement has been recorded, mirrors are often associated with either the head or the waist/hip area (Joy 2008: 229-230, 2011: 481). For example, a mirror was placed beneath the head of the individual in Arras 28 (Joy 2008: 229; Moyer 2012). Alternatively, a mirror was placed across the lower legs of the individual in a flexed position at Wetwang village (Hill 2001; Joy 2008: 230; Moyer 2012: 55).

Table 2.5: Mirrors found in burial contexts in the British Isles. Table adapted from similar tables in Joy (2008: 170, 2010: 58, 2011: 469) and Moyer (2012: 215).

Mirror Name	Site	Region	Context
Chettle	Dorset	England	burial or dry deposit
Bromham	Bedfordshire	England	burial?
Jordan Hill	Dorset	England	burial?

Portland I	Dorset	England	burial?
Portland II	Dorset	England	burial?
Billericay III	Essex	England	burial?
Colchester II	Essex	England	burial?
Great Chesterford	Essex	England	burial?
Rickling	Essex	England	burial?
Gibbs	Kent	England	burial?
Desborough	Northamptonshire	England	burial?
Pegsdon	Bedfordshire	England	cremation
Dorton	Buckinghamshire	England	cremation
Colchester I	Essex	England	cremation
Stanway CF115	Essex	England	cremation
Latchmere Green	Hampshire	England	cremation
Aston	Hertfordshire	England	cremation
Chilham Castle	Kent	England	cremation
Old Warden I	Bedfordshire	England	cremation?
Billericay I	Essex	England	cremation?
Billericay II	Essex	England	cremation?
Old Warden II	Bedfordshire	England	cremation?
St. Keverne	Cornwall	England	inhumation
Stamford Hill I	Devon	England	inhumation
Stamford Hill II	Devon	England	inhumation
Stamford Hill III	Devon	England	inhumation
Bridport	Dorset	England	inhumation
Portesham	Dorset	England	inhumation
Garton Slack	East Riding	England	inhumation
Birdlip	Gloucestershire	England	inhumation
Bryher	Scilly Isles	England	inhumation
Arras 10	Yorkshire	England	inhumation
Arras 28	Yorkshire	England	inhumation
Beverley	Yorkshire	England	inhumation
Wetwang Slack 2	Yorkshire	England	inhumation
Wetwang Village	Yorkshire	England	inhumation
Stoneyford	Co. Kilkenny	Ireland	cremation
Lambay Island	Co. Dublin	Ireland	inhumation
Llanwnda	Pembrokeshire	Wales	burial
Llechwedd-du Bach	Merioneth	Wales	burial?
Brecon Beacons	Powys	Wales	cremation

Table 2.6: Temporally and geographically distinct concentrations of mirror burial contexts as identified by Joy (2008: 215; 2010: 470).

Location	Time Period	Mirror Characteristics	Burial Contexts
East Yorkshire	4th-2nd century BC	Iron, Small size	Inhumations
Cornwall & The Isles of Scilly	120-80 BC	Bronze, Decorated, Small size	Stone-lined cist inhumations
South-eastern England	75-15 BC	Bronze, Decorated, Small size	Cremation burials
Western	AD 40-75	Bronze, Decorated, Large size	Varies but some from inhumations

Armit has noted that cross-culturally and in the UK the head “has been a potent symbol with associations relating to power, fertility, gender, coming of age, and the acquisition of status” (2012: 67). It could be argued that mirrors were associated with many of the same concepts (see *Mirrors and Meaning* above). The head may have held a certain sanctity in Celtic societies’ religious ideologies, where it was traditionally thought to be associated with the spirit or power of an individual and with the otherworld (Armit 2012: 8-9; Boehm 2006: 175; Megaw and Megaw 2005: 10; Ross 1967: 98). Accounts by classical writers, such as Strabo, Livy, and Diodorus, iconography, and archaeological evidence such as the temples at Entremont and Roquepertuse in Gaul have been used to support this argument (Melrose 2016: 10; Ross 1967: 98). Armit and others, however, have cautioned against lumping all Celtic groups together (2012: 9). It is important to examine each group individually before assuming that they ascribed to the same practices. The head’s possible association with the otherworld and the spirit also have parallels with the mirror, which may be another possible reason for the placement of the mirror near the head in these burials. The mirror is also often used as a tool in personal adornment, along with tweezers, combs, and other toiletries. These other items have been known to be attached to a ring or brooch and suspended from the body, sometimes on a belt near the waist

(Alcock 1963: 157; Dunlevy 1988: 373; Fitzpatrick 1997: 56; Hill 1997: 98; Joy 2008: 230, 2011: 472, 481). Joy has suggested that a mirror's placement near the waist may be related to the mirror's association with these items (2011: 481).

Past interpretations have primarily linked mirrors found in burial contexts with women and high status (Fox 1958: 84; Joy 2010: 75, 2011: 474). However, scholars have begun to question these assumptions (Fitzpatrick 1984; Giles and Joy 2007; Johns 2006; Joy 2010: 3, 2011: 474). Joy identifies seven mirrors found in burial contexts in the British Isles in which the deceased could be sexed (Table 2.7) (2010: 75, 2011: 474).

Table 2.7: Sexed burials with mirrors identified by Joy (2010: 75, 2011: 474). Table based on Joy (2010: Table 10.2, 2011: Table 21.3).

Mirror	Burial Type	Sex Determination	Source
Aston	Cremation	Probable female	Rook et al. (1982)
Chilham Castle	Cremation	Possible female	Parfitt (1998)
King Harry Lane Grave 13	Cremation	Male?	Stead and Rigby (1989)
Garton Slack	Inhumation	Female	Brewster (1980)
Portesham	Inhumation	Probable female	Fitzpatrick (1997)
Wetwang Slack	Inhumation	Female	Dent (1985)
Wetwang Village	Inhumation	Female	Hill (2001)

He finds that only three mirrors have been discovered in relation to anatomical females (Joy 2011: 474). All three of these mirrors follow the East Yorkshire burial pattern (Joy 2010: 59). Joy argues that other mirrors may also be associated with female burials (2010: 75; 2011: 475). However, he emphasizes the inconclusive nature of much of the documentary evidence available and the loss or lack of skeletal material needed to confirm these identifications (Joy 2010: 75, 2011: 475). These issues seem to stem from 19th century recording methods (Joy 2010: 58, 75, 2011: 475). The association between mirrors and females is further complicated by burials with

more than one individual, as well as traditionally accepted grave good associations. The Bridgeport mirror handle was found buried with both an elderly female and a middle-aged male (Farrar 1956; Fox 1949; Joy 2010: 70, 75). The mirror is usually associated with the female because of bronze staining on her jaw bone; however, there are a number of other bronze items in the burial from which this staining could have originated (Joy 2010: 70, 75, 2011: 475).

Mirrors and weapons are rarely discovered together in Western Europe, which has led some archaeologists to assume that they were likely related to gender (Moyer 2012: 41, 53). This view is troubled by instances where mirrors and weapons do occur together. Two burials containing both a mirror and weapons have been discovered in the British Isles, Bryher and Lambay Island (Johns 2006; Joy 2010; MacAlister 1929). These burials both contained a mirror, an iron sword, and a shield (Brewster 1980; Johns 2006: 15-16; Joy 2010: 64; Moyer 2012: 53, 87). Unfortunately, the Lambay Island burial was unsystematically recovered and the Bryher burial could not be sexed because of poor bone preservation (Johns 2006: 70-71; Joy 2010: 64; Joy 2011: 474-475; Moyer 2012). Any assessment carried out on these two examples to identify the mirrors' link with gender will likely be problematic; however, their existence does challenge previously held gendered grave good associations with regard to weapons and mirrors in Western Europe (Jordan 2016; Joy 2008: 222-223, 2011: 474).

The evidence from the British Isles so far points to mirrors predominantly being buried with female individuals; however, given the small sample size it is dangerous to draw any definitive conclusions (Joy 2011: 474-475). In addition, there is one example in which a mirror was discovered with the cremated remains of a probable male individual in the King Harry Lane cemetery, St. Albans, England (Joy 2008: 222, 2010: 68, 2011: 475; Stead and Rigby 1989).

However, this mirror and the other mirrors found at this cemetery are of a Roman type (Joy 2008: 203, 2011: 475; Stead and Rigby 1989), which may have affected the burial tradition.

Challenges have also arisen regarding the use of mirrors, discovered in burials, as indicators of status of the deceased (Joy 2008: 227, 2010: 76, 2011: 478). Assuming that the mirror is solely an indicator of the status of the individual within a burial overlooks the possible role it may have played in funerary ritual and other social relationships. “Funerary rituals do not just reinforce the existing social and political hierarchy, they are a forum in which relationships and identities can be renegotiated” (Joy 2008: 224, 2010: 76, 2011: 479). Identity is fluid, and an individual’s identity is constantly in flux. What archaeologists find in the archaeological record is only a snap shot of particular aspects of an individual’s identity. Who a person was may be different to different people at that person’s funeral. As “the dead do not bury themselves” (Parker Pearson 1999: 3), it becomes difficult to separate out whose idea of identity is being represented and if these associations would have been made in life or are part of the funerary tradition. Moreover, what is appropriate for a dead person is not necessarily the same as what is appropriate for a living person (Arnold 2006). The inclusion of a mirror and the “positioning within a grave actively generate the social position of that individual, as well as particular individuals, or groups amongst the mourners present at funerary rights” (Joy 2011: 479). The mirror may also have functioned as an apotropaic object giving protection for or from the deceased. Thus the deposition of a mirror within a burial may reflect a variety of cultural beliefs, social relationships, and aspects of identity (Joy and Giles 2007: 19). While a mirror may reflect status in some instances, it should not be assumed that it does in every example. Along with gender, Joy has also associated mirrors with burials of mature adults in the British Isles. Additionally, in the specific case of south-eastern England he discovered that mirrors associated

with mature adult burials occur frequently in isolated and prominent positions in the landscape (Joy 2008: 218-220, 230-234, 2010: 74, 78-79, 2011: 477, 482).

Mirrors are also found within settlement contexts in the British Isles (Table 2.8) (Joy 2008: 100, 169, 209, 2010: 71). Joy has suggested that because mirrors are not often found in settlement sites, the ones that are may represent acts of deliberate deposition (Joy 2008: 45, 209, 2010: 71). For example, the Holcombe mirror was discovered near the bottom of a pit in a settlement site (Joy 2008: 209, 243, 2010: 71, 86). There also was a mass of organic material found under the mirror which could be evidence for a cloth wrap (Joy 2008: 209, 244 2010: 71, 79, 82). Its deposition seemed to be related to one of the earliest features of the site (Joy 2008: 209, 244, 2010: 71). Joy has suggested that this it may represent a foundational event (Joy 2008, 2010: 82). Most of these mirrors are unlike mirrors found in burial contexts in that they are composites made of iron and bronze components (Joy 2008: 166, 211, 215, 2010: 82).

Table 2.8: Mirrors that have been discovered in settlement contexts. Table based on Joy (2008: 209-210, 2010: 71) and Moyer (2012: 215).

Mirror	Site	Region	Context
Maiden Castle	Dorset	England	settlement
Mucking	Essex	England	settlement
Glastonbury E100	Somerset	England	settlement
Holcombe	Devon	England	settlement or dry deposit
Rivenhall I	Essex	England	settlement?
Rivenhall II	Essex	England	settlement?
Bac Mhic Connain	Isle of North Uist	Scotland	settlement
Lochlee Crannog	South Ayrshire	Scotland	settlement

In addition to the mirrors found in burial and settlement contexts, a small handful have also been discovered in watery contexts in the British Isles (Table 2.9) (Jope 1954; Joy 2008: 8, 100, 169-170, 212, 2010: 58; MacGregor 1976; Murray 1860-1862).

Table 2.9: Mirrors that have been found in watery contexts or possible dry votive deposits. Table is based on Joy (2008: 212, 2010: 72) and Moyer (2012: 215).

Mirror	Site	Region	Context
Chettle	Dorset	England	dry deposit or burial
Holcombe	Devon	England	dry deposit or settlement
Bulbury	Dorset	England	dry deposit?
Ballybogey	Co. Atrim. No.	Ireland	watery deposit
Balmaclellan	Dumfries and Galloway	Scotland	watery deposit
Carlingwark	Dumfries and Galloway	Scotland	watery deposit

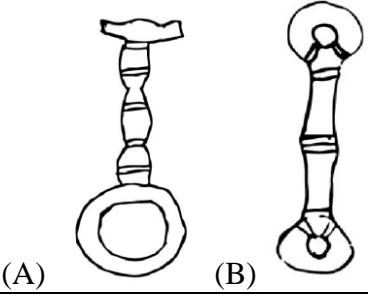
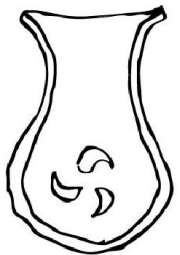
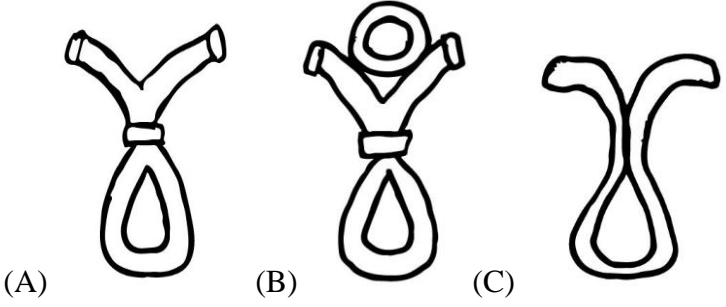


These deposits in some cases, such as Balmaclellan, were also associated with other metal finds and likely represent votive deposition (Joy 2008, 2010; Moyer 2012). Deposition of metalwork and other artifacts in watery contexts such as rivers, lakes, and bogs, follows a long-standing Northern and Western European tradition that dates back to the Bronze Age (Bradley 2005; Fitzpatrick 1984; Joy 2008: 215, 2010: 72; Mallery 2010; Moyer 2012: 27, 94). A possible interpretation of this behavior is that the objects are placed in natural environments that are associated with spiritual power in exchange for something. Moyer has pointed out that almost all mirrors discovered in watery contexts in Temperate Europe have been found in the British Isles (2012: 93). Joy and Giles have suggested a possible connection between the mirrors found in watery contexts in the British Isles and a mirror's association with the supernatural and the liminal boundary between worlds (2007: 25). Moyer likewise argues that mirrors and water may have held similar associations because of their shared qualities, such as a reflective surface (2012: 376). In addition to watery deposits, some groups of people also perform dry earth

deposits, a practice found in a number of Asian cultures (Kidder 1987; Moyer 2012: 264) and some continental ones (Mormont in Switzerland cf. Kaenel et al. forthcoming). Parallels for this behavior in the British Isles may take the form of settlement deposits like those at Holcome and Bulbury (Joy 2008, 2010; Moyer 2012: 264). Giles and Joy have further asserted that mirrors were both powerful and potentially dangerous objects in British Iron Age societies (2007: 27).

Most mirrors are made of a handle, a plate, and sometimes a bronze rim (Joy 2008: 4, 2010: 1). A range of methods involving wedging components together through the use of fitted slots and the addition of rivets and rims are employed to secure the handle to the plate (Joy 2008: 4, 2010: 1). As noted in Joy (2008), the chosen method was dependent on the material being utilized, as iron does not have the same material properties as bronze. In the British Isles, mirror plates are usually made of iron or bronze. These plates are polished to create a reflective surface on one or both sides. Generally, one side of the mirror is decorated, although this is not always the case (Joy 2008: 4-5, 2010: 1). Mirror handles are in most cases lateral and can be made of a variety of materials, including metal, such as bronze, and organic material, such as wood or bone (Joy 2008: 4, 2010: 1; Moyer 2012: 25, 113). Table 2.10 illustrates the typologies defined by Fox (1958: 98-102) and Joy (2008: 361-366, 2010: 141-143). While this is a useful method for classifying mirror types, Joy has stressed that handle type is “not a good indicator of deposition date or location” despite the presence of temporal and spatial patterns because a number of outliers exist (Joy 2008: 374-375).

Most mirrors that have been found in the British Isles are made of bronze, however, Joy suggests that this may be due to differences in the deterioration rates of other materials in the Scottish environment (Joy 2008: 6, 2010: 1).

Table 2.10: Types of mirror handles found in the British Isles as identified by Fox (1958: 98-102) and Joy (2010: 141-143). Drawings based on figures in Joy (2010: 141-143).

Type	Description of Type	Shape
I	<p>‘Bar’ handle, thin shaft (often with circular profile)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (A)- one ring • (B)- ring at each end 	
II	‘Shaped’ handle	
III	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (A)- Loop with boss handle • (B)- Loop with boss and elaboration handle • (C)- Loop without boss handle 	
IV	Double loop within Grip handle	
V	Split grip with terminal loop handle/ triangular handle	

However, preservation may not be the main issue here as the reflective portion of the mirror is usually made of inorganic material which would be archaeologically identifiable in the form of soil stains. The process of making a mirror was quite complex and would have likely involved a number of individuals with different technological skills (Joy 2008: 64, 246). Through these interactions mirrors had the potential to create social relationships but also the potential to play an active role in the creation and maintenance of identity for users and makers alike (Joy 2008; Joy 2010). Joy conducted a use-wear analysis of 32 of the mirrors discovered in the British Isles to date. He found that the majority of mirrors showed signs of use and repair before deposition, which he concluded indicated that they had a significance other than deposition (Joy 2008: 130). This suggests that mirrors often had long use lives (Joy 2008: 131).

Joy's use/wear study found that mirror handles from a number of mirrors in Southern Britain showed abrasions and striations consistent with metal rubbing on metal on their terminal loops (2008: 130). He notes that brooches have been found attached to the terminal loops of many of these mirrors. Additionally, he mentions that many of these mirrors have also been found wrapped in an organic covering. Joy suggests that the extreme wear on the terminal loops may be related to the use of brooches to secure the mirror's protective covering (Joy 2008: 130-131).

A total of five pre-Roman mirrors have been found in Scotland (Table 2.11). None of these mirrors was found in a burial context; two come from settlement contexts, Bac Mhic Connain and Lochlee Crannog (Joy 2008: 212). The Bac Mhic Connain mirror handle is made of cetacean or whale bone and is categorized as a Type 5 handle (Joy 2008: 113, 212, 254-255, 368-369, 372, 2010: 71). It was discovered within a wheelhouse located on the northern coast of North Uist (Joy 2008: 212, 2010: 71; MacGregor 1976: 141).

Table 2.11: Mirrors found in Scotland (Joy 2008, 2010: 85-87, 141-143; MacGregor 1976: 141; Moyer 2012: 96, 107-108).

Mirror	Type	Material	Region	Context
Carlingwark	I	Bronze	Dumfries and Galloway	watery deposit
Balmaclellan	II	Bronze	Dumfries and Galloway	watery deposit
Bac Mhic Connain	V	Cetacean bone and metal	Western Isles and Islands Area	settlement
Lochlee Crannog	V	Bronze	Strathclyde	settlement
Merlesford?	I?	Bronze	unknown	unknown

The Lochlee crannog mirror handle was made of bronze and is also classified as a Type 5 handle (Joy 2008: 368-369, 372, 2010: 71, 143-144). It was found in Dumfries and Galloway (Joy 2008, 2010). Both mirror handles lack specific contextual information; however, the sites where they were found were both inhabited during the Iron Age, the latter also during the medieval period (Cessford 1997: 101; Joy 2008: 212, 2010: 71). These two mirrors are the only Type 5 mirrors that have been found in the British Isles, which has led Joy to suggest that they may be a later form specific to Scotland (Joy 2008: 368-369, 2010: 143-144). Two mirrors were also found in Dumfries and Galloway, including Balmaclellan and Carlingwark (Joy 2008: 114-115, 212-213, 2010: 72; MacGregor 1976; Murray 1860-1862). The Balmaclellan mirror was found in 1861 with other bronze items including a crescent-shaped plate, parts of triangular plaques, and probable clothing accessories including pieces of bronze belts (Joy 2008: 212-213, 2010: 72; Murray 1860-1862). All of these items had been wrapped in cloth before being deposited in the bog (Joy 2008: 212-213; Murray 1860-1862). The Carlingwark mirror handle was found in 1866 in a loch near a crannog again in association with other metalwork (Cessford 1997; Joy 2008: 213, 2010: 72; MacGregor 1976). Both the Balmaclellan mirror and the

Carlingwark mirror handle are made of bronze (Cessford 1997; Joy 2008: 213, 2010: 72; MacGregor 1976; Murray 1860-1862). The Carlingwark handle is categorized as a Type I handle (Joy 2008: 273-274, 372). The Balmaclellan mirror handle is classified as a Type II handle and is the only known example of this type (Joy 2008: 114, 257-261, 363, 372). It is probable that both the Balmaclellan and Carlingwark mirrors were votive deposits (Moyer 2012: 94-96).

Merlseford has been identified as a possible example of a pre-Roman mirror (Joy 2008: 39, 2010: 143). However, this identification is inconclusive because of the object's fragmentary nature and the lack of contextual information (Joy 2008, 2010; Moyer 2012). Only a few examples of Roman mirrors have been found in Scotland (Cessford 1997: 102). One of these was discovered at Leckie Broch and consists of six fragments of a rectangular mirror. Based on its context, this mirror likely dates to the second century AD (Cessford 1997: 102; Lloyd-Morgan 1979; MacKie 1982). Two fragments of Roman mirrors were also found in the Traprain Law hoard. This hacksilver hoard was found at the hillfort of Traprain Law in Lothian and has been dated to the fifth century AD. However, some of the material within it may have been created much earlier (Cessford 1997: 102-103; Lloyd-Morgan 1979).

A number of scholars have asserted that Pictish mirror symbols represent pre-Roman Celtic mirrors (Cessford 1997: 105; Clapham 1934: 45; Fox 1949: 39-40). Other possible analogs included Roman paterae handles (Cessford 1997: 105; Thomas 1963: 56) and Roman mirrors (Cessford 1997: 105; Lloyd-Morgan 1979). Cessford categorized Pictish mirror symbols into six types, including all of the types outlined by Fox (1949, 1958) and a type for Roman paterae handles noted by Thomas (1963), as well as three new types. He compared his results to mirrors found in the British Isles and Roman mirrors and concluded that while Pictish mirror

symbols do show some Roman influences they primarily are based on mirrors found in the British Isles, although not necessarily Scotland (Cessford 1997: 106-108).


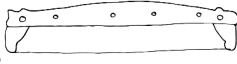
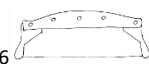

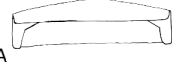
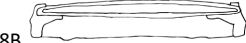

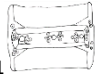
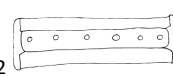

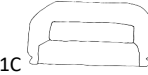
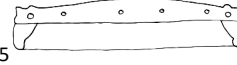


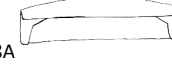

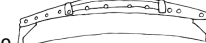



Combs in the Archaeological Record

Unlike mirrors, combs are found more frequently in the archaeological record of the British Isles. For this reason, they will be presented differently than the mirrors in the previous section, as producing a detailed catalog of all the combs that have been found in the British Isles is beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, the major trends and types of combs in Scotland as identified by Ashby (2009, 2011) will be discussed. A variety of site and regional studies related to combs have been conducted in Europe (Ambrosiani 1981; Ashby 2011; Dunlevy 1988; Smirnova 2005); however, there are not as many studies that have synthesized this material into broader frameworks (Ashby 2009, 2011; Foster 1990). Ashby (2011) created a new typology and has placed it online to facilitate the categorization of combs from the British Isles within a broader Northern European framework (Table 2.12). This information is not comprehensive and only presents broader trends, which are subject to change as more information is revealed from the archaeological record. It should also be noted that as with mirrors, the provenience of combs is sometimes difficult to assess because not all were associated with reliable stratigraphy (Ashby 2006, 2009, 2011).

Single-sided and double-sided comb types, some made of composite materials, are known in the British Isles (Dunlevy 1988; Foster 1990). Combs were made of a number of materials, including antler, bone, horn, ivory, wood, and metal (Ashby 2006, 2009; Dunlevy 1988; Foster 1990). While organic materials often decay rapidly in acidic soils, the metal components of combs, such as pins or rivets, increase the likelihood of their identification

archaeologically. Depending on the locality and comb type, decoration was often added on the sides and sometimes on the end plates (Dunlevy 1988: 348).

Table 2.12: Comb types found in Scotland during the early medieval period as identified by Ashby (2009, 2011). Table based on Ashby (2011: Table 2).

Northern Scotland	Types of Comb Found	
Caithness	9, 11, 12	1C  5  6 
Mainland, Orkney	1C, 5, 6, 8A, 8B, 9, 11, 12, 14A	7  8A  8B  9 
Shetland	5, 6, 7, 8A, 8B, 9, 11, 12, 14A	11  12  14A 
Western Scotland		
North Uist, Western Isles	1C, 11	1C  5  6 
South Uist, Western Isles	5, 6, 7, 8A, 8B, 9, 11	7  8A 
Argyll and Bute	8A, 8B	8B  9 
Ayrshire	11	11 
Southern and Eastern Scotland		
Lothian	5	5 
Fife	11	11 

Decoration consisted mainly of curvilinear designs and dot-and-circle motifs in the form of linear, jabbed, or stippled ornament created using a sharp tool (Dunlevy 1988: 348-349).

Dunlevy suggested that combs were made by two types of craftsmen who either made combs for the local community or for a wider market (1988: 347). Dunlevy has also indicated that comb makers would have been professionals as creating combs required special skills (1988: 347).

Combs were important not only for grooming but also for hygiene in the past (Dunlevy 1988: 373). In addition, as I have already noted, grooming may have played an important role as an indicator of status for many past societies, and specifically for the Celtic warrior elite (Lloyd-

Morgan 1995: 103; Price 2015: 202; Treherne 1995). A number of combs found in the British Isles show signs of wear on their endplates, which may suggest that they were suspended in a communal location or worn (Dunlevy 1988: 373). Alcock has asserted that most combs were worn around the waist (1963: 157; as noted in Dunlevy 1988: 373).

Combs played an active role in the creation and negotiation of self-identity because of their importance in grooming and the presentation of individuals (Williams 2003: 117). In addition, combs also likely influenced the nature of relationships between people (Williams 2003: 117). Williams (2003) asserts that combs played a crucial role in Anglo-Saxon funerary traditions because of their mnemonic significance. He explains that an important function of funerary tradition is to “mediate the transformation of both mourners and the deceased between identities” (Williams 2003: 105). He suggests that combs were part of “the selective remembering and forgetting influenced by the use of material culture” that allow the dead to be “situated in relation to personal and group histories and myths” (Williams 2003: 105). Williams’ study found that combs were more commonly found in wealthy graves, associated with both males and females, and may have been used to differentiate between genders and ages (2003: 108, 111-112). He further suggests that combs were very valuable despite being fairly widespread because of the labor investment required to make and decorate them (Williams 2003: 116-117). While Scottish and English funerary traditions may be different, this example does highlight some of the key roles combs can play as social objects.

To discuss broader trends, Ashby (2009, 2011) has divided Scotland into three regions: Northern (Caithness, Sutherland, Northern Isles, and Shetland), Western (Argyll and Bute, Dumfries and Galloway, Inner Hebrides, Outer Hebrides, and the Western Coast of the Highland mainland), and remaining mainland areas (Southern and Eastern Scotland) (2009: 15, 2011).

Combs are primarily found in Atlantic Scotland, an area incorporating both the Northern and Western regions (Ashby 2011). Four types of combs that frequently occur in this area during the early medieval period include types 1C, 5, 11, and 12 (Table 2.13) (Ashby 2009: 4).

Table 2.13: Four common combs found in Atlantic Scotland during the early medieval period (Ashby 2009, 2011).

Type	Time Period	Description	Location:
1C	5th-8th century AD	Single-sided, composite, high backs, ornate	Ireland, Scotland
5	c. 800-950	Single-sided, composite, shallow plano-convex section, large, graduated teeth	Scandinavian sites
11	6th-8th century AD	Double-sided, composite, ornate (horizontal motifs), straight ends, iron rivets, graduated/undifferentiated teeth	Ireland, Scotland
12	6th-9th century AD	Double-sided, composite, plano-convex section, not ornate, iron rivets, undifferentiated teeth, long	Scotland, Continent, England

Ashby has suggested that Type 11 developed out of Type 10 in the Western regions, while Type 12 likely developed elsewhere in England and the northern areas of the continent where it was then brought to the Northern regions of Scotland through the processes of gift exchange or trade (Ashby 2009: 14). Type 1C and Type 11 only appear in Scotland and Ireland; Type 12 appears in Scotland, England, and the Continent (Ashby 2009: 15). Type 5 is indicative of a Scandinavian presence and is common in northern areas (Ambrosiani 1981; Ashby 2009: 14-15). In addition, it is found in the Western Isles and to some extent the southern areas (Ashby 2009: 14). Type 5's presence in the southern area has led Ashby to suggest that these combs may represent evidence of cultural contact between Scottish natives and an early Scandinavian presence in either Northumbria or Strathclyde (Ashby 2009: 22-23), but Ashby notes that Type 5

combs are rare in northern England (Ashby 2009: 15). Types 1C, 11, 12 are often found in settlement contexts, while Type 5 combs are found in both settlement and burial contexts (Ashby 2009: 14). There is one example from Orkney of a Type 12 comb in a burial at Newark Bay cemetery (Ashby 2009: 14). Ashby has used these marked differences of context to assert that Scandinavian presence in the Northern and Western regions of Scotland likely occurred during the ninth century AD and that the people continued to use native technologies and style despite the appearance of foreign raw material (2009: 26).

Despite the frequency of comb finds in the Northern and Western regions, relatively few combs have been discovered in mainland Scotland (Ashby 2009: 15). This is surprising given the known representations of combs on monumental stone sculpture widely distributed along the east coast of the mainland. Ashby has suggested that the lack of comb finds on the mainland may be largely due to a taphonomic pattern (2009: 24). Likewise, Foster has suggested that combs in this region may have been made of more perishable materials (1990: 163). Ashby proposes that the combs found in the northern and southern regions of Scotland represent two ends of “a continuum of contact” (2009: 24). He has also asserted that “there is considerable potential for social, political and material variation across Atlantic Scotland” and some variation should be expected given their geographic separation from the Pictish core on the mainland (Ashby 2009: 4-5).

Both single-sided and double-sided variations of combs appear on Pictish stone sculpture. Researchers have tried to associate the forms with known comb varieties and have found that there are a number of types which are not represented in the archaeological record (Curle 1982; Foster 1990). Foster has suggested that the different forms may be a result of artistic flair or that they represent stylized renderings (1990: 163). She does note, however, that there are known

comb types which are represented accurately (Foster 1990: 163). Ashby has identified both Type 11 and Type 12 combs on Class 1 and Class 2 Pictish stones (2009: 12). Cessford has suggested that the combs on Pictish sculpture were made of precious material such as silver because of the difference between the number of combs (made of other materials) and mirrors found in Scotland (Cessford 1997: 103). Combs made of precious metal are rare in Scotland, although there is documentary evidence noting the discovery of several silver combs at the Broch of Burgar, Orkney dating to the eighth century AD (Cessford 1997: 103; Foster 1990: 158, 1996:67; Graham-Campbell 1985). However, the context of their discovery is suspect because they were recorded by a scholar researching the region many years after the discovery and after they were already lost. A fragment of a silver comb was also found in Northern England as part of the Cuerdale hoard dating to the tenth century AD, which demonstrates that this material was used in the northern British Isles during this period, albeit rarely (Cessford 1997: 103; Foster 1990: 158; Graham-Campbell 1985).

In this chapter I have covered topics including semiotics, interpretations of the mirror and comb through space and time, iconography and gender, Pictish mirror and comb symbols on monumental stone sculpture, and mirrors and combs in archaeological contexts, to contextualize my research. In the next chapter, I will present my methods and data. In addition, I will outline my theoretical approach. Finally, I will note any limitations of this study.

Chapter 3: Methods

This study focuses on 272 monumental stone sculptures that depict Pictish symbols in Scotland (Appendices A-B). Data related to these stone sculptures were collected using the Canmore database which houses more than 320,000 records of archaeological sites, buildings, industry, and maritime heritage specifically associated with Scotland. Canmore is maintained by Historic Environment Scotland (HES) [<http://canmore.org.uk/>]. Prior to October 2015, the site was organized by The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). The Historic Environment Scotland Act of 2014 replaced Historic Scotland and RCAHMS with HES. I note this because the change occurred during the course of this research project but does not affect the data collected.

The database's site records are available to the public free of charge and are frequently updated based on HES' ongoing archaeological fieldwork and research, architectural recording, aerial survey, and other collections' related work. These records are also updated based on information received from other organizations, such as the Local Authority Historic Environment Records and the National Trust for Scotland, as well as research publications such as *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*. Individuals and community groups can also add their own fieldwork and research to the site records by registering with Canmore. General records often include historic and modern photographs, drawings, and information related to archaeological survey and excavation. More specific to this analysis, records for early medieval sculpture contain locational data, lists of related published sources, information from field survey, photographs, sketches, rubbings, drawings, and other field notes.

The data collected from the 272 monumental stone sculptures was assembled into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet (Appendices A-B) using the variables outlined in Table 3.1. The

variables were collected based on their ability to provide information pertaining to the identification, location, physical features, and iconography of the stones. In addition to these variables, I assigned an Object ID number to each stone as a short hand way of identifying them during analysis. I recorded each stone's Canmore ID, site number, site name, alternative names, Canmore site type, and class.

Table 3.1: List of variables used to organize data recorded in the Canmore database.

Identification:	Location:	Physicality:	Iconography:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canmore ID • Site Number • Site Name • Alternative Name • Canmore Site Type • Class 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Northing and Easting • Council • County • Parish • District • Region • Original Position • Reuse or present context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material • Height • Width • Cup and/or Ring markings • Cross • # of carved sides • Fragment/Broken OR Intact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Symbols on same side as cross • Scenes • Beasts (real or mythological) • Human and/or Human Hybrid Figures • Individual Symbols (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2) • Symbols that together on one side • Notes regarding discrepancies

The stone's Canmore ID, site number, site name, and alternative names allowed me to easily go back and search records in the Canmore database when I needed to refer to a stone's entry. This information also clearly identifies the stones to others who may seek to use this data

later. The alternative names are particularly useful because many of these stones have multiple colloquial names. I recorded information on site type because it allowed me to determine how other people were classifying the overall site of which each symbol stone was a part.

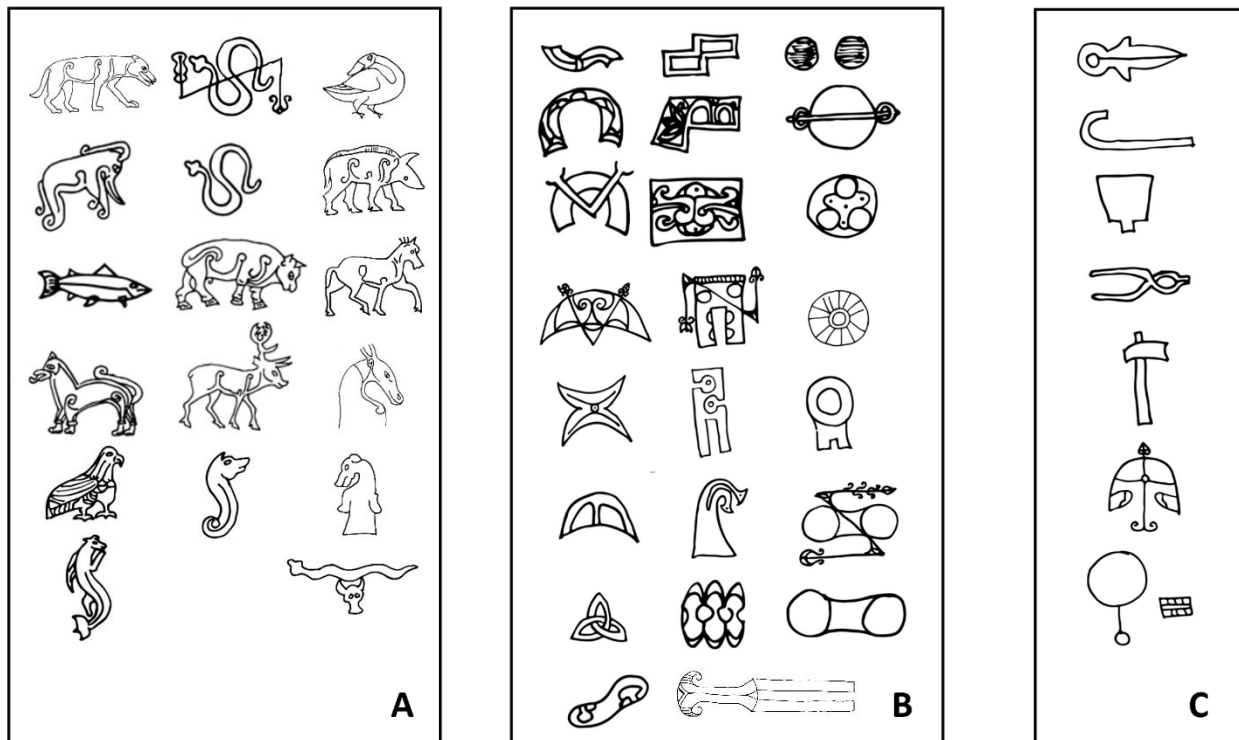


Figure 3.1: Symbols recorded: A- Real or mythical animal symbols, B- Geometric symbols, C- Representational object symbols. Key- Appendix A. Drawings based on photos in Canmore database.

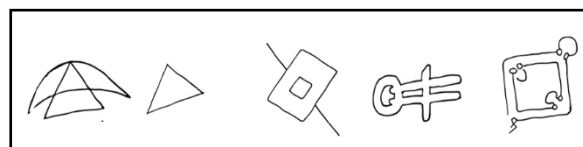


Figure 3.2: Images that may be symbols and were included. Drawings based on photos in Canmore database.

The Canmore site types that I encountered involved a primary and secondary classification system that used key words. Primary classifications included Pictish Symbol Stones, Ogham Incised Stone, Standing Stone, Stone Circle, Cup Marked, Cup and Ring Marked, Cross Slab, Cross Incised Stone, Cross Base, Cross, Marriage Stone, Cairn, Long Cist, Cist, Inhumation,

Graves, Broch, Chapel, Architecture Fragment, Bench Mark, Midden, Sundial, Beaker, Dagger, and Coins. Secondary classifications were provided in parentheses and used to further describe primary classifications. For example, secondary classifications could indicate if there were multiple stones, if they were Pictish, if there was conjecture involved in the original identification of a site, or the date. Secondary classifications included, “(s)”, “(possible)”, “(Pictish)”, “(early Medieval)”, “(19th century)”, and “(17th century)”.

To allow the stones to be compared spatially, locational information was recorded for each stone, including the northing and easting as well as the associated council, county, parish, district, and region. To further contextualize the stones, when possible the original find position and evidence for reuse was gathered. The physical properties of the stones were also considered. Variables included the material, height, width, the presence of cup and/or ring marks, the presence of a cross, the number of carved sides, and whether a stone was intact or broken. Several variables were collected for the iconographic analysis of the stones. The presence or absence of scenes, beasts (real or mythical), human and/or human hybrid figures, and individual symbols for each stone were noted. In addition, the presence of Pictish symbols on the same side as a Christian cross, as well as symbols that occurred together on one side were noted for each stone. Finally, any discrepancies in the identification of variables were noted.

Stone sculpture that is generally considered Pictish but does not depict Pictish symbols was not included in the analysis because this study was primarily concerned with understanding the use and meaning of the mirror and comb symbols. While Pictish symbols occur on bone, metal, leather, small portable lithic objects, and cave carvings, only symbols found on monumental sculpture were included in the analysis. The focus was primarily on sculpture because it is the only medium in which mirror and comb symbols are found. Allen and

Anderson's (1903) class system was used for sculpture classification. All sculptures included in the analysis fall within Class 1 and Class 2. As already mentioned, Spector and Whelan's (1989) gender categorization system was applied to the research presented in this thesis. The Pictish symbols were approached as a possible semasiographic system and Chandler's (2014) framework of symbol, icon, and index was used to interpret them. Finally, although Lloyd-Morgan (1979) has suggested that the mirror case and double disc symbols resemble Roman compact mirrors, as Cessford (1997) has pointed out, there is no definitive evidence that either symbol is related to the mirror symbol and they were therefore not considered as mirrors in the analysis that follows.

This study had four goals: (1) The first was to test the one-to-one correlation suggested by previous scholars between mirror and comb symbols and women/femaleness; (2) the second goal was to present a more systematic analysis of mirror and comb symbols to highlight the potential of using these symbols to reconstruct meaning in past social contexts; (3) the third goal was to ascertain whether Weiner's (1992) concept of inalienable possessions and cosmological authentication together with the historical and archaeological evidence can inform our understanding of the role mirror and comb symbols played in Pictish society; and (4) the ultimate goal of this study was to determine if an analysis of Pictish mirror and comb symbols can provide archaeologists new insights into the gender ideology of the Picts. Accomplishing this goal was heavily dependent on the outcome of the first three goals.

To address the first goal, the data set was examined to determine how often mirror, comb, and human figures appear together. Next, stones in which a mirror and comb together or a mirror or comb separately appeared with at least one human figure on the same side of the stone were recorded as a subset to be subjected to a more detailed gender analysis. Seven sculptures were

found which met these requirements including the Hilton of Cadboll, Kingoldrum No. 1, Kirriemuir No. 1, Meigle No. 1, The Drosten Stone, The Maiden Stone, and Wester Denoon (Table 3.2). All have been classified as Class 2 Pictish Sculptures.

Table 3.2: Sculptures depicting humans in association with mirror and comb symbols.

STONE	CANMORE ID	HYBRID HF	HUMAN FIGURES	MIRROR /COMB	OTHER ASSOCIATED SYMBOLS	SIDE OF STONE	SYMBOLS ON OTHER SIDE
Hilton of Cadboll	15261	0	1	M+C	crescent v-rod, double disc z-rod, two circle disc	Back	
The Maiden Stone	18978	1	1	M+C	lion, Pictish beast, notched rectangle z-rod	Back	
Meigle No. 1	30838	1	1	M+C	beast's head, Pictish beast, serpent z-rod, triquetra	Back	hippocamp, seahorse
Kingoldrum No. 1	32255	0	1	M+C	crescent, stepped rectangle	Back	
Kirriemuir No. 1	32299	0	1	M+C		Back	
The Drosten Stone	35560	1	1	M+C	crescent, double disc z-rod	Back	
Wester Denoon	79892	0	1	M+C			

In addition to the seven sculptures described here, there is a possible eighth stone, Invergowrie No. 1, which may depict a mirror in direct association with a human figure. However, Invergowrie No. 1 is a two-sided cross slab with no obvious Pictish symbols.

The dimensions of the eight stones in the gender analysis subsample are noted in Table 3.3. This table also indicates whether each sculpture is intact or fragmentary. Most of the stones

are either broken or a fragment. The Maiden Stone is the tallest stone of the eight, measuring over three meters despite having its top broken off. The Hilton of Cadboll, The Drosten Stone, and Meigle No. 1 appear to fall somewhere between one meter and 2.36 meters, but again two of these stones are missing their top portions. I did not include the material each stone was made of because unfortunately this information is only recorded in the Canmore database for three of the eight stones, The Hilton of Cadboll, The Maiden Stone, and Invergowrie No. 1. These stones have been identified as sandstone, granite, and old red sandstone, respectively. The other stones can be generally classified as whinstone, but their specific material has yet to be identified.

Table 3.3: Physical characteristics of the eight stones (Canmore database).

Stone:	Height (meters)	Width (meters)	Fragment/Intact
Hilton of Cadboll	2.36	1.37	Very top is broken, back chiseled off
Kingoldrum No. 1	Not listed	Not listed	Fragment
Kirriemuir No. 1	Not listed	Not listed	Fragment
Meigle No. 1	Not listed (based on objects in photo it appears to be larger than one m)	Not listed	Intact
The Drosten Stone	Not listed (based on objects in photo it appears to be larger than one m)	Not listed	Top is broken, portion missing from upper right
The Maiden Stone	3.04	0.81-0.91	Very top is broken, one side has piece missing
Wester Denoon	0.42	0.35	Fragment
Invergowrie No. 1	0.83	0.53	Base broken

The data related to the context of these eight stones are inconsistent and often lack substantial detail (Table 3.4). Specific information beyond basic locational data is not listed for Kingoldrum No. 1, Kirriemuir No. 1, or Invergowrie No. 1. Only vague information has been noted for Meigle No. 1, The Maiden Stone, and Wester Denoon. The Hilton of Cadboll seems to

have the most contextual information and is the only one for which a known original context was provided. This context was found through excavation and the stone is dated to the ninth century. It is one of only a few of the Pictish stones recovered as a result of systematic excavations. The Drosten Stone is dated to the late ninth century and is the only other stone for which a more specific date range could be determined based on a comparison with Northumbrian iconography.

Table 3.4: Contextual data for the eight stones which depict mirrors + combs + human and/or human hybrid figures (Canmore).

Stone:	Found/Original Context?	Reuse?
Hilton of Cadboll	Stood near chapel dedicated to Virgin Mary/ close to original context	Used as gravestone in 1676, laid near seashore until 1811, eventually moved to Invergordon Castle, presented to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1922
Kingoldrum No. 1	Not Listed	Not Listed
Kirriemuir No. 1	Not Listed	Not Listed
Meikle No. 1	Stood at Right side of burial ground/ not clear if original position	In Meikle Museum
The Drosten Stone	St Vigean's Church/ not clear if original position	Move to a local museum
The Maiden Stone	Possibly near original position	Moved to S side of road on a low hill toward the bottom of the slope in a field
Wester Denoon	Found while ploughing in Glamis, Angus/ not clear if original position	Part of it may have been built into a wall, moved to Meffan Institute
Invergowrie No. 1	Not Listed	Not Listed

Traditionally, scholars have analyzed the stones assuming a dichotomous gender system. I will use a modified version of this system to test this assumption. Again, I would like to stress that using this type of system to determine gender categories is not ideal as we are not privy to the symbolic conventions that influenced Pictish art. However, because gender relationships in Pictish society are not known, a starting point for discovering a more nuanced understanding of

Pictish gender relations is necessary. The resulting interpretations will be used to investigate the assumed one-to-one correlation between mirror and comb symbols and women/femaleness.

There are hints about gendered categories in the historical records such as the Pictish Kings List and the annals kept by the Picts' contemporaries. The annals often discuss kings of the Picts, using the name form "____ son of ____", as well as the term "men" and the pronoun "he". For example, *The Annals of Tigernach* report that, "The death of Bruide son of Maelchu, king of the Picts" occurred in AD 506 (Purcell et al. 2010: T506.1). This lends support to the idea that a male elite category existed among the Picts. Historical records also indicate that there was likely a female category as well, supported by Bede's discussion of succession through the female line (Bede et al. 1969: 10). These records must, of course, be taken with a grain of salt, as they were not written by the Picts themselves and probably involved the projection of contemporary gender ideology by the writers onto the Picts in these descriptions. In addition to the historical records, the burial evidence from the Late Iron Age and Early Medieval period suggests that biologically sexed male and female categories existed. However, the paucity of material goods associated with burials makes it difficult to speculate about the potential gender categories by which an individual may have been categorized. For the analysis, I have assumed that at least two gender categories existed in Pictland: male and female. It is possible that more than two gender categories were represented or that gender may have been superseded by other social categories, such as age or status. It is also possible that the mirror and comb imagery was not intended to signal gender, but rather another category of socio-political identity. It should be emphasized that this analysis is intended as a starting point for a more nuanced understanding of Pictish gender relations.

Figures present on each of the eight Pictish stone sculptures will be qualitatively assessed using primary sexual characteristics, secondary sexual characteristics, and by grouping individuals through their association with material culture such as weapons or brooches, and context within scenes, such as the position of the body or association with other figures. The figure's association with material culture and body position will be evaluated based on what is known of Pictish society from historical records and archaeology. Irish and Northumbrian analogs may be used when appropriate and substantiated. The quantitative analysis will be concerned with tallying the overall occurrences of these characteristics and placing the figures into three categories including male, female, and unknown. Henderson and Henderson (2004) highlight a number of themes that occur in Pictish figurative art. Where appropriate these will be noted as the themes provide useful terminology for description.

To address the second goal, the data associated with the 272 monumental stone sculptures have been compared and contrasted to identify patterns and relationships, with a specific focus on mirror and comb symbols. Information related to the physical features and location of stones was recorded as well. Pictish stones were found in a variety of contexts including churches, near or part of burials, in fields, on hills or low rises, near settlements, and associated to stone circles. Stones were made of a variety of materials including sandstone, basalt, granite, and gneiss. Intact sculpture ranged in size from approximately 0.8 meters to just over three meters high. Stones which depict mirrors and combs did not appear to differ in relation to general context, material, or size when compared with stones in which they did not appear. However, this information is based on incomplete or vague records found in the Canmore database. Many of the original contexts of these stones are not known. In addition, many of the records did not include material or size information for stones.

Stones in which mirrors and/or combs appear were assessed by examining their relationship with other Pictish symbols and human or hybrid human figures. The relationships between mirrors, combs, and other representational symbols, including the bow and arrow, the crozier, the anvil, the pincers, the hammer/axe, were also examined. These results were tabulated in the summary tables and are discussed in Chapter 4. In addition, the number of stones in which mirrors and/or combs appear on Class 1 and Class 2 monuments was tabulated.

The information gathered in the summary tables along with corresponding locational data (noted above in the location variables) were combined to create maps which are included and discussed in Chapter 4. Spatial analysis was undertaken to compare the locations of stones that depicted mirror and/or combs in relation to other Pictish symbols and human and/or human hybrid figures. The class of monument was also compared spatially. The locational data points related to the Northing and Easting variables taken from the Canmore database were plotted using ArcGIS. These data were tied to the OSGB36 datum and were generated using the National British Grid projection. To further analyze these comparisons, they were contextualized based on the information provided in Chapter 2, which assumes that the symbols are a semiotic system.

To address the third goal of my research, Weiner's (1992) concepts of inalienable possessions and cosmological authentication were considered in light of the historical and archaeological evidence to suggest a new interpretation of the use of mirror and comb symbols as social markers.

Weiner (1992) developed these concepts in an effort to understand gift giving and the processes of reciprocity among Polynesian kingdoms. She found that some objects had the

ability to behave differently in gift exchange systems (Weiner 1992). These objects cannot be given away or if given, must be returned. Weiner describes their significance as follows:

Cosmological authentication to amplify how material resources and social practices link individuals and groups with an authority that transcends present social and political action. Because this authority is lodged in past actions or representations and in sacred or religious domains, to those who draw on it is a powerful legitimating force (1992: 4).

She asserts that inalienable possessions are “imbued with the intrinsic and ineffable identities of their owners”, and that these objects are usually curated by their owners for many generations within a descent group or dynastic line (Weiner 1992: 6). The curation of these objects allows them to become representations for the reconstitution of identity through time (Weiner 1992: 11). An example of an inalienable possession is a monarch’s crown. The crown, a symbol of authority, both conveys and legitimizes a particular social role for an individual who has access to such an object.

Weiner discusses the sacred cloak worn by Maori chiefs as an example of an inalienable possession:

When a Maori chief brandishes a sacred cloak she is showing that she is more than herself-that she is her ancestors. This is the power of cosmological authentication. The chief incorporates her ancestors’ fame, their rank and their authority unto herself; her guardianship of the cloak accords her that right (1992: 6).

Inalienable possessions can take many forms, such as land rights, material objects, and even mythic knowledge (Weiner 1992: 11). Ian Woodward in his *Understanding Material Culture* notes that,

Objects have the ability to signify things- or establish social meanings- on behalf of people, or do ‘social work’, though this culturally communicative capacity should not be automatically assumed. Objects might signify sub-cultural affinity, occupation, participation in a leisure activity, or social status. Furthermore, objects become incorporated into, and represent, wider social discourses related to extensively held norms and values enshrined in norms and social institutions (2007: 4).

Additionally, objects can be social markers, play a part in a person's identity, as well as be the location of cultural or political power. In these ways, objects achieve a sort of secondary agency which can change over time.

Thus, inalienable possessions play a vital role in the negotiation of identity and social reproduction. The concept of inalienable possessions and specifically the idea that an object can do "social work" and represent and legitimize a person's social role is a useful tool to apply in the Pictish context.

Finally, the ultimate goal of this study, which was to determine if an analysis of Pictish mirror and comb symbols can provide archaeologists new insights into the gender ideology of the Picts, is addressed in the conclusion as it is a reflection of goals 1-3.

Beyond the previously discussed limitations associated with the use of iconography in gender archaeology, this research project faced several additional challenges. The first was related to the classification of what is and is not a Pictish symbol. In the most basic terms, Pictish symbols are signs depicted on more than one sculpture. They often vary in their specific details but their overall shape is maintained throughout all the examples. Generally, on Class 1 Pictish stones the symbols are "given equal emphasis, placed in an orderly manner one below the other, with a clear field around them" (Henderson and Henderson 2004: 60). This is not always the case for Class 2 sculptures, as Pictish symbols are sometimes placed within scenes, crammed into small spaces, exhibit different sizes on the same monument, and lack a relatively clear field around them. However, even when Pictish symbols are placed within scenes they clearly stand out and do not seem to be part of the action within the scene itself. For example, the mirror and comb appear within a hunting scene, directly in front of a figure on horseback on the Hilton of Cadboll monument. The mirror and comb are not being held by any of the figures. In fact, the

mirror and comb are too large for any of the smaller figures to hold. In this way, the direct association of these items with the figure within the scene seems to be instead signaling something about the rider or the scene itself but not necessarily playing a part in the action of the scene. Using these qualities, I have produced a list of characteristics that I have used to determine whether or not a symbol is Pictish (Table 3.5). This does not mean, however, that the scenes, decorations, or other imagery are not also symbolic in some way, only that given this definition I did not classify them as part of the system of Pictish symbols. Using the definitions outlined by Chandler (2014) with regard to symbol, icon, and index, it would seem that Pictish symbols in this context should really be considered Pictish signs which can in turn be symbols, icons, indexes, or any combination of the three. Creating any boundaries around these symbols is highly subjective as archaeologists do not have access to the original cultural code through which they were created.

Table 3.5: Characteristics used to define Pictish symbols in this study.

Characteristics of Pictish Symbols:		
<u>General</u>	<u>Class 1</u>	<u>Class 2</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usually occur on multiple sculptures • May vary in individual detail but overall structure is the same 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usually equally emphasized • Placed with some order intended • Have clear field around them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not always equally emphasized • Sometimes are haphazardly placed • Are not part of the action of a scene or part of decoration

It should be noted that the designations that I have assigned to the individual symbols are conventions and do not necessarily have an interpretive connotation. In general, I have followed the naming conventions provided by the Canmore database. In cases where more than one naming convention was offered, I chose the one that seemed to be used more frequently.

Probably the greatest limitation of this thesis was that the material being studied could not be physically examined. As a result, this analysis is a synthesis of data collected by other researchers and made available in the Canmore database. In general, this dataset is relatively accurate and up to date, but there are instances in which data are missing or unclear. Some information associated with the records is only available in physical form, meaning that not all information can be found through the online entries. For example, some records do not contain photographs and/or lack a description of the sculpture. Where multiple records described the same symbol stones I summarized the information in one record. Any records which were incomplete or unclear were omitted from the study (less than 2% of total sample). Photographs from the database are often of very low resolution, which makes it difficult to identify finer features or outlines on the sculptures that might be more visible in person. This could significantly affect the assessment of the data, for example the visibility of the outline of faint facial hair on a figure could make a difference in their assigned gender category. I identified 64 symbol stones (23.5%) depicting human and/or hybrid human figures. Another issue related to the reliance on data in the Canmore database was that the database may not contain information on all the sculptures that have been found. In an effort to offset this limitation, I cross-referenced the list with other sources, such as Allen and Anderson's (1903) and other more recent works. The map data taken from Canmore also presents problems. There is no description of how locational data was collected or to what it corresponds to (i.e. original context, where the stone

was found, or where the stone is now). To address this issue, I investigated a number of the records by using the Canmore database online map. It appears that in most cases the locational data provided generally correspond to the place where the stone was found. This does not mean the exact find spot was noted but that if the exact find spot is not known the data point is usually placed in the nearest town or village. As I do not have access to all of the information for each record, I am not able to cross-check locations beyond general observations. This would be a significant problem if I needed the locational data for detailed analysis. However, I only broadly compare locations of symbol stones and as most of the locational data seems to be roughly in the vicinity of where stones were found or originally located, this should not greatly affect my conclusions. It should be noted that HES is addressing the issues associated with the database above and has slowly been updating and standardizing information available in online entries, and specifically monumental sculpture entries through the Early Medieval Sculpture Project. Unfortunately, this work had not been completed when I recorded the data for this analysis.

Other limitations were related to the nature of the stones themselves. Many of the monumental stone sculptures are fragmented and highly worn. Most are no longer in their original context and have been reused, often multiple times. The fragmentation, deterioration, and lack of original context makes it difficult to reconstruct their original use and meaning. For example, the Hilton of Cadboll stone was originally a two-sided cross slab with both religious and secular imagery on it. When it was found, it had only one side depicting a hunting scene and Pictish symbols. Later it was discovered that the cross side had been chiseled off so that someone could use the stone as a grave marker (Henderson and Henderson 2004). The stone was also removed from its original location, which is thought to have been near a chapel (Henderson and Henderson 2004). These issues are further complicated by the relative difficulty of dating the

stone monuments as there is often no suitable related organic material for testing. Only a limited number of stones have been investigated using excavation or studied in relation to structural associations . A few notable exceptions include, the Hilton of Cadboll (James and Henderson 2008) and the Rhynie stones (Gondek 2015). Art historical approaches to developing timelines based on style have been used but they too are problematic, as noted by Laing (2000). As with any archaeological dataset, the 273 stones in this study represent only a portion of what originally existed. For example, Picts may have used their symbolic system on wood, textiles, and their bodies in the form of tattoos, but because these media decompose quickly in the Scottish environment, it is unlikely we will ever uncover adequate evidence to support these possibilities.

The use of ethnographic analogy also presents a limitation. The problem arises when scholars try to force archaeological remains into known categories of behavior demonstrated in the ethnographic record. Ethnographic analogy can help inform archaeological interpretation only when used appropriately. Specific historical context and multiple lines of evidence when used together with analogy can help researchers avoid the tyranny of the ethnographic record.

On a final note, my analysis is not the first Master's thesis to consider mirror and comb symbols in association to gender. In 2015, I presented a portion of the research included here at the European Association of Archaeologists in Glasgow, Scotland. While there I met a fellow scholar, Vanessa Smith, who had turned in a Master's thesis on the mirror and comb symbols viewed from a gender and status perspective the week of the conference. This presented a dilemma: should I scrap all the research I had conducted over the past year and a half or should I proceed as planned with my thesis topic? Upon speaking with Vanessa, it appeared that our approaches to analyzing the mirror and comb symbols were different. I decided to proceed as

planned as I had already completed much of the thesis process and my approach still seemed to have the potential to add valuable insight to this topic. In the spirit of collaboration, and to make sure that my work would add and compliment her research, Vanessa graciously sent a copy of her finished manuscript to me. I decided not to read Vanessa's thesis until after I had completed my study and then to go back and use her thesis as an independent check on my own work. I will discuss her findings and how they compare to mine in Chapter 4.

This chapter has described my methods, data, and theoretical approach, as well as the limitations associated to this study. The next chapter presents the results and interpretation of my analysis. It will also present conclusions and avenues for future research.

Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion

Results, analysis, and discussion are presented below for Goals 1-3 as outlined in Chapter 3. Following this, the conclusions of this study and Goal 4 are addressed.

To test whether there is a one-to-one correlation between mirror and comb symbols and women/femaleness, a qualitative comparative analysis was conducted. Images of seven Pictish stone sculptures that depict the mirror, comb, and human figures together, as well as a possible eighth stone, were analyzed. The term ‘together’ means on the same side of the stone. All of these stones are classified as Class 2 Pictish sculptures, which means that they are dressed stone slabs in low relief and include symbols, a cross, and often other imagery and decoration (Allen and Anderson 1903). These sculptures include the Hilton of Cadboll, Kingoldrum No. 1, Kirriemuir No. 1, Meikle No. 1, The Drosten Stone, The Maiden Stone, Wester Denoon, and Invergowrie No. 1.

For this analysis, I assumed that at least two gender categories existed in Pictland: male and female. Figures present on each of the eight Pictish stone sculptures were assessed using primary sexual characteristics, secondary sexual characteristics, by grouping individuals through their association with material culture such as weapons or brooches, and using context within scenes, such as the position of the body or association with other figures. The figure’s association to material culture and body position were evaluated by what is known of Pictish society from historical records and archaeology. Irish and Northumbrian analogs were used where appropriate and substantiated. Using the criteria above figures were placed into three categories: male, female, and unknown. Where appropriate, themes that occur in Pictish art were noted as useful terminology for descriptive purposes (Henderson and Henderson 2004).

The Hilton of Cadboll (Figure 4.1) was the first stone assessed. It depicts a figure riding side saddle or turned in a sideways position on a horse with the mirror and comb symbols placed

directly in front of it. This figure appears to be holding a circular object near the chest. In stride with this figure is another figure which is almost undetectable unless one notices the extra horse leg below. Behind these two figures are two trumpeters while below them are two figures on horseback with spears. The scene appears to depict a hunt involving hounds and a deer. Above the scene are three symbols, the double disc z-rod, the crescent v-rod, and two circle discs in order from the top of the sculpture. The other side of the sculpture has been defaced but would have originally contained a cross.

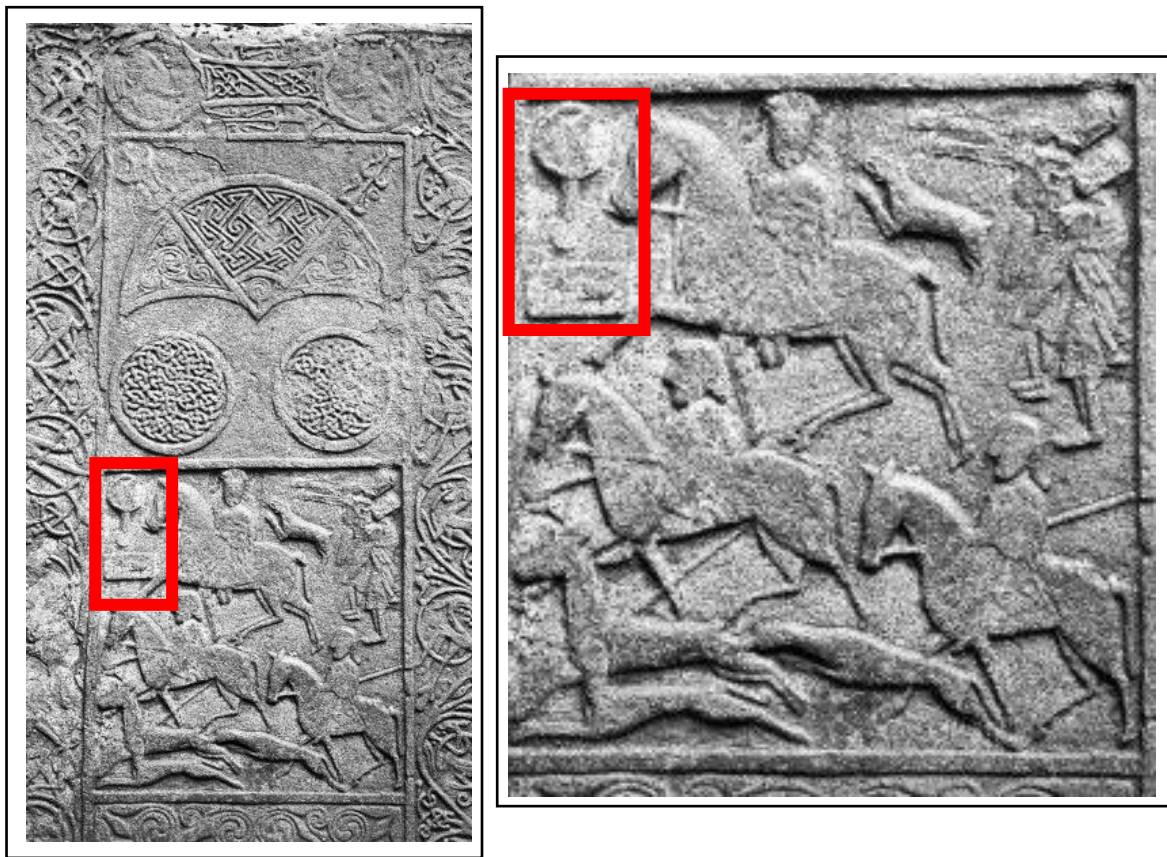


Figure 4.1: Hilton of Cadboll, back. Mirror and comb symbols indicated. © HES: Early photographs of sculptured stones...

No primary sexual characteristics are visible in any of the figures present in the scene. The worn nature of the stone also makes it difficult to distinguish secondary sexual

characteristics. Of the three figures on horseback, the lowermost figure may have facial hair; however, the figure may also just have a prominent chin.

The facial features of the trumpeters, the figure possibly riding side saddle or sideways, and the figure behind this figure are obscured by the deterioration of the stone. Breasts are not discernable on any of the figures, however, this may in large part be due to the way in which most of the figures are positioned. The possible side saddle/sideways figure is forward facing and holding an object in front of the area where one would expect to find breasts. The trumpeters are holding a trumpet or other form of musical instrument and their arms are obscuring the area where breasts would be located. The possible bearded figure on horseback is holding a shield over part of its chest. The body of the figure on horseback behind the figure possibly riding side saddle is completely obscured. Finally, the last horseback figure does not appear to have breasts.

All of the figures in the scene with the exception of the figure possibly riding side saddle or sideways are depicted from the side. These body positions do not provide discernable clues to gender given our lack of understanding of the historical and cultural context being represented. The possibility that the forward-facing figure is riding side saddle on the horse compared to other figures in the photo has led some researchers to conclude this figure is a woman probably based on later Medieval ideas of female modesty (Black 1993; Henderson and Henderson 2004: 128). Alcock has suggested that instead of riding side saddle, the rider is shown sitting sideways on the horse (2003). The rider may also be riding the horse with one leg on each side but is positioned so that part of their upper body and head are forward facing, giving the illusion that they are seated side saddle or sideways. This positioning is sometimes found in depictions of Jesus and the Virgin Mary when they are shown riding horseback in Christian iconography, as seen in Figure 4.2 (Didron 1851; Goldberg 2012; National Museums of Scotland 2016). Epona, a Celtic

horse goddess associated with fertility and prosperity, is also sometimes represented riding side saddle or sideways in images from central and northern Gaul, Germany, and Burgundy (Green 1992: 16, 2011)(Figure 4.3).

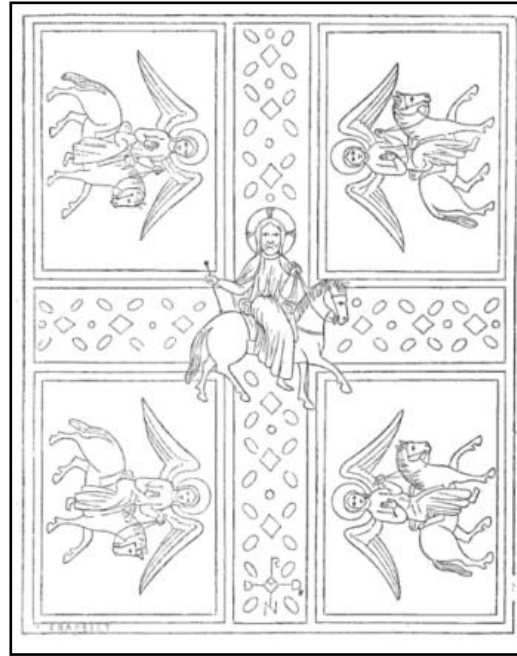


Figure 4.2: The Triumph of Christ, on horseback, 12th century French fresco in the Cathedral of Auxerre (Didron 1851: 308-309).



Figure 4.3: Epona riding a horse side saddle or sideways, Vorarlberg Museum, Bregenz, Austria (Public Domain).

Five of the six figures in the scene appear to be wearing pleated garments. Again, the rider behind the possible side saddle rider is not visible. The two visible riders and the two trumpeters appear to be wearing short tunics, while the figure possibly riding side saddle is wearing a long robe. The two trumpeters may be wearing a uniform as their dress seems to match although these figures are highly worn. The trumpeters are holding musical instruments; however, there is no evidence in this cultural context to suggest that this would be gendered. The two lower horseback riders are each carrying a shield and a spear. The figure possibly riding side saddle is holding a circular object near its chest. The mirror and comb symbol also appear directly in front of the figure possibly riding side saddle. Some scholars have suggested that this circular object is a penannular brooch (Close-Brooks 1981; Stevenson 1958-59: 41). Trench-Jellicoe compared a number of iconographic images of possible brooches and suggested that Pictish women wore penannular brooches over their chests while men wore them on their shoulders (1995: 4, 1997), although these suggestions have been contested (Black 1993). Alternatively, Black (1993) has suggested that this object is instead a torc, since its large size, much larger than a normal brooch, is out of proportion to the body (Black 1993: 38). She posits that it would be unlikely for the artist to present an unrealistically large brooch to make a symbolic statement compared to the placement of the mirror and comb symbols (Black 1993: 38). She also suggests that the torc was a symbol of royal or high status (Black 1993: 38).

A number of authors have linked weapons with the male gender (Allen and Anderson 1903; Henderson and Henderson 2004). As already noted, traditional archaeological interpretations have tended to link women with mirrors and men with weapons. This assumption, however, has been challenged as it is as much a projection of modern androcentric Western ideas related to gender ideology as a reflection of past gender ideology. However, the annals also

frequently associate warfare and violence with men. For example, *The Annals of Tigernach* note, “The battle of Moin Daire Laothair gained over the Picts by the Ui Neill of the north, wherein fell seven Pictish kings...” (Purcell et al. 2010: T562.2) and also “The battle of Monid Craebe between the Picts themselves, that is, Oengus and Alpine, it is they who fought the battle, and Oengus routed his foes and Alpin’s son was killed there, and Oengus took the royal power” (Purcell et al. 2010: T728.4). The annals do not associate women with warfare. The absence of women in these records does not necessarily preclude women from being associated with weapons but men were more likely to be connected to this context (see Arnold (1999) for her discussion of Queen Medb’s role as a war leader in the *Tain*). Again, this information was written down by Pictish contemporaries, not by the Picts themselves. The writer, most likely an Irish male ecclesiastic, would have presented events that were important to him and not necessarily a full picture of what was going on in Pictish society. This writer may also have consciously chosen not to include information about women warriors.

Based on primary sexual characteristics, none of the figures on the Hilton of Cadboll could be categorized. Using secondary characteristics, one figure on horseback may be a male given his possible facial hair. This figure and the figure riding on horseback next to him near the bottom are both associated with weapons and given the historical evidence are more likely to be male. As noted, the body position of the figure possibly riding side saddle or sideways has been used by scholars to indicate that the figure is a female. This assumption is problematic because Christian iconography has shown that Jesus is sometimes shown in this position. In addition, Epona, a Celtic deity, is also known to be depicted in this way. Just because it was appropriate for a female Celtic deity to ride or be depicted in this manner does not mean it was appropriate for mortal women. Finally, the side saddle’s strong later link to female modesty does not mean

that these ideas were prevalent in the past. Some scholars have suggested that women would have worn large oversized brooches in the center of their chest. These suggestions were based on iconographic images and therefore are not an acceptable form of evidence to support the argument that this figure is female. If the ornament is a torc, then it would provide more information regarding the figure's status than about the figure's gender. To summarize, based on this analysis the Hilton of Cadboll depicts two possible males and four figures of unknown gender.

The next Pictish sculpture to be analyzed, was Kingoldrum No. 1 (Figure 4.4).

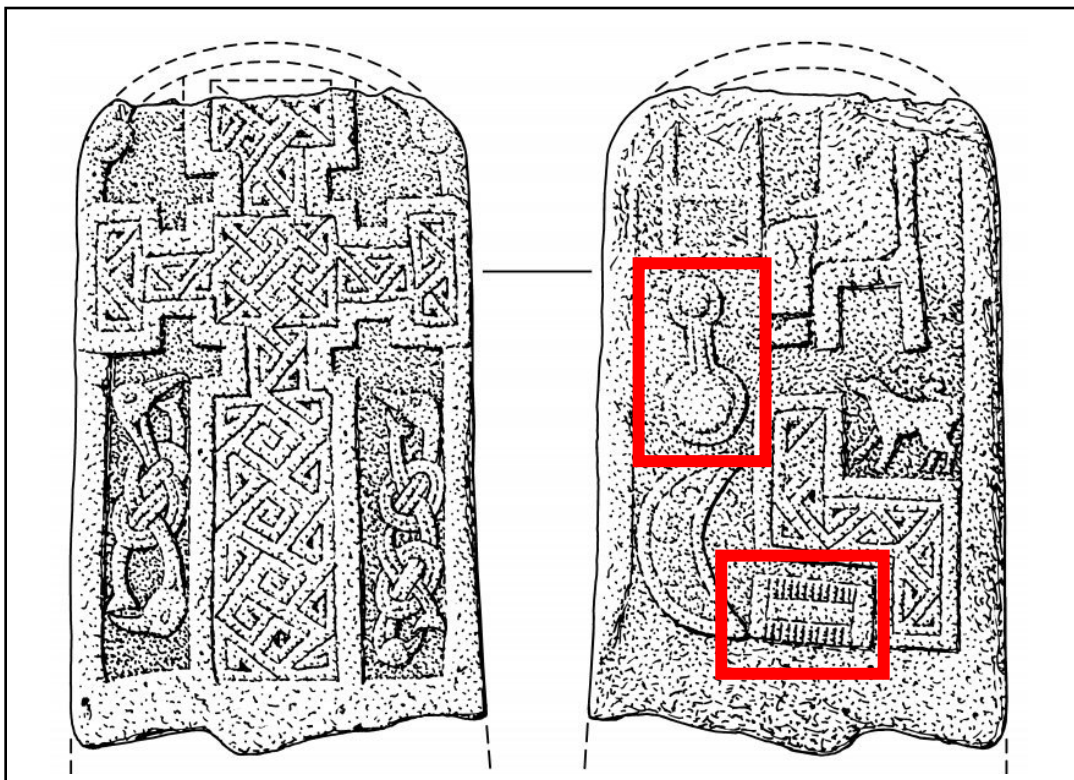


Figure 4.4: Kingoldrum No. 1, front and back. Mirror and comb symbols indicated. © Crown Copyright: Historic Environment Scotland.

No primary sexual characteristics with regard to the lone figure on this stone sculpture are visible. As the upper portion of the figure has been broken off, there are also no secondary

sexual characteristics visible. The figure is seated on what may be a throne, which could indicate that the figure is of high status. The figure's position and association with the material culture depicted on the stone does not clearly identify the figure's gender as male or female. This figure is seated in front of a square object which has also been broken off. Below the rectangular object there is an upside down mirror and crescent. The mirror is located directly southwest of the seated figure. Below the figure is the stepped rectangle symbol. On the top of the step is a lion symbol. Below the step is a comb. A cross with intertwining beasts is illustrated on the other side of the sculpture.

Kirriemuir No. 1 (Figure 4.5) consists of two panels. The top panel contains three figures. The figure to the right is standing, forward facing, and appears to be wearing a long cloak. This figure may have facial hair but its facial features are mostly obscure due to deterioration. The two remaining figures on the left are facing each other. Both appear to be wearing long robes with short cloaks, and are holding the same type of circular object. The figure farthest to the left may have facial hair but again these figures' facial features are mostly worn away. In the panel below, another seated figure is found. This figure is seated on a chair decorated with two beasts' heads on either side. The figure is frontal facing and appears to be wearing a long robe or cloak. As with the other figures on this sculpture, this figure is worn and no facial features are visible. Robertson has suggested that the figure may also have a penannular brooch located on its chest (1991: 10). This area of the figure is also worn, which makes it difficult to definitively identify any such object. To the left of the figure there is an upside down mirror and a comb. To the right of the figure is a rectangular object encased within another rectangle. This object is similar to the rectangular object shown on Kingoldrum No. 1.

The other side of Kirriemuir No. 1 contains a cross. Below the left arm of the cross is a figure with a long cloak holding a book in its right hand. This figure may have facial hair but appears to be bald. Below the right arm of the cross is a similar figure holding a book in its left hand. This figure is more worn than the other. There are two more figures above the arms of the cross on either side of the main shaft. They both appear to be facing the shaft of the cross. The figure on the right is wearing a short robe with human legs and feet. The figure also appears to have wings and a bird head. The top of the figure on the left has been broken off but it seems to be very similar to the figure on the right.

No primary sexual characteristics are visible for the four figures depicted on this stone sculpture. Although most of the facial features and detail of the sculpture are worn, it is possible that two of the figures have facial hair. Both figures appear in the top panel. The first occurs to the viewer's left. This figure is viewed from the side and appears to be wearing a long robe with a short cloak. This figure is interacting with another figure and holding onto a circular object. The other figure, also viewed from the side, is dressed in the same manner but does not show evidence of facial hair. The final figure in the top panel, on the viewer's right, may also have facial hair given its very pronounced pointed chin. This figure is facing forward. The chests of all three figures are obscured by their position and clothing. Similarly, the figure in the bottom panel is highly worn; this, along with its clothing, obscures its chest. This figure does not show any evidence of secondary sexual characteristics.

In the top panel the two left most figures are interacting with each other and a circular object, however, this association does not present any evidence to identify the gender of these figures. The figure to the right of these figures appears to be bald, however, the stone is very worn. If the figure does have a bald head in the front this may be evidence of an Insular tonsure

(McCarthy 2003) and would indicate that this figure is an ecclesiastic and likely male given the Christian tonsure tradition. The figure in the bottom panel is seated on what appears to be a throne which likely represents high status. The figure's body position does not appear to give any indication of gender. The mirror and comb symbols are directly adjacent to this figure within the same panel. The figure is also associated with a rectangular object similar to the rectangular object seen on Kingoldrum No. 1. Robertson's (1991) suggestion that the figure wears a penannular brooch on its chest cannot be confirmed as this area of the sculpture is much deteriorated. Robertson (1991) has also suggested that the rectangular object to the left of the figure is a loom. The carving of this object is schematic and extremely worn; the only definitive identification of the object that can be made is that it is an upright rectangle with lines through it. Archaeological evidence for looms in this region during the early Medieval period is limited although a number of loom weights used for spinning and weaving have been found (Cowan and Henderson 2011: 78) and as Ritchie has noted, clothing depicted in Pictish iconography can be quite intricate (2005: 29). Yet, even if the object could be identified as a loom, this in itself would not correlate this symbol with the female gender. Greek and Roman mythological sources have affiliated women with weaving and looms. In the *Odyssey*, Penelope, Odysseus' wife, creates a burial shroud on a loom, for example. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Picts and Romans shared a gender ideology.

Herlihy posits that a change in the sexual division of labor occurred approximately in the 12th century in Europe when men began to replace women in textile production (1990: 185). If Scotland followed this trend, it would be possible that women during the period when the Pictish stones were erected were associated with weaving and looms. This assertion, however, is highly speculative as the evidence is difficult to interpret.

Other contemporaries of the Picts that offer their own challenges of relevancy to Pictish gender ideology include the association of Anglo-Saxon female identity with spinning and weaving and later medieval women's association with shears in burial evidence (Gilchrist 1999, 51). Christian iconography also sometimes depicts Mary spinning in a domestic context. Christian iconography is present on Pictish stones, however, it is unclear what type of gender ideology is being represented. To summarize, Kirriemuir No. 1 depicts two possible males and two unknown gendered figures.



Figure 4.5: Kirriemuir No. 1, back. Mirror and comb symbols indicated. © Crown Copyright: Historic Environment Scotland.

Five figures riding horseback are depicted in Meigle No. 1 (Figure 4.6). All of these figures are facing left. The three figures that are farthest to the left are slightly larger than the two figures to the right. In front of the figures is a small figure with human features that appears to be flying with narrow wings. None of the figures' facial features are visible because the stone is extremely worn.

Most of the details of the clothing are also undetectable. The lowest left figure may be riding side saddle and facing forward, but again the stone is very worn, which makes it difficult to know for sure. Behind the figures are a hound and two unknown beasts. Above the figures a large mirror and comb have been placed. Directly above the mirror from the top of the sculpture there are a fish, a Pictish beast, and a serpent with a z-rod. The serpent with z-rod, the fish, the mirror, and comb are larger in proportion than the rest of the symbols, figures, and beasts depicted on the sculpture. There is also a beast's head, a triquetra, and another beast lying down that may be a deer to the left of the serpent with z-rod. The front of the sculpture contains a decorative cross surrounded by a number of both real and mythological beasts. Among these beasts are two pairs of fighting beasts. The first pair are a hippocamp and a sea horse while the second pair are two sea horses. It is difficult to determine if these pairs are part of the scenery or if they represent Pictish symbols.

No primary or secondary sexual characteristics can be discerned for the six figures depicted on this stone sculpture. The stone's deterioration has made it very difficult to identify any finer details associated with the figures. Four of the figures riding horseback are not associated with any material culture indicative of a gender category. These figures' body positions similarly do not give any hints as to gender.

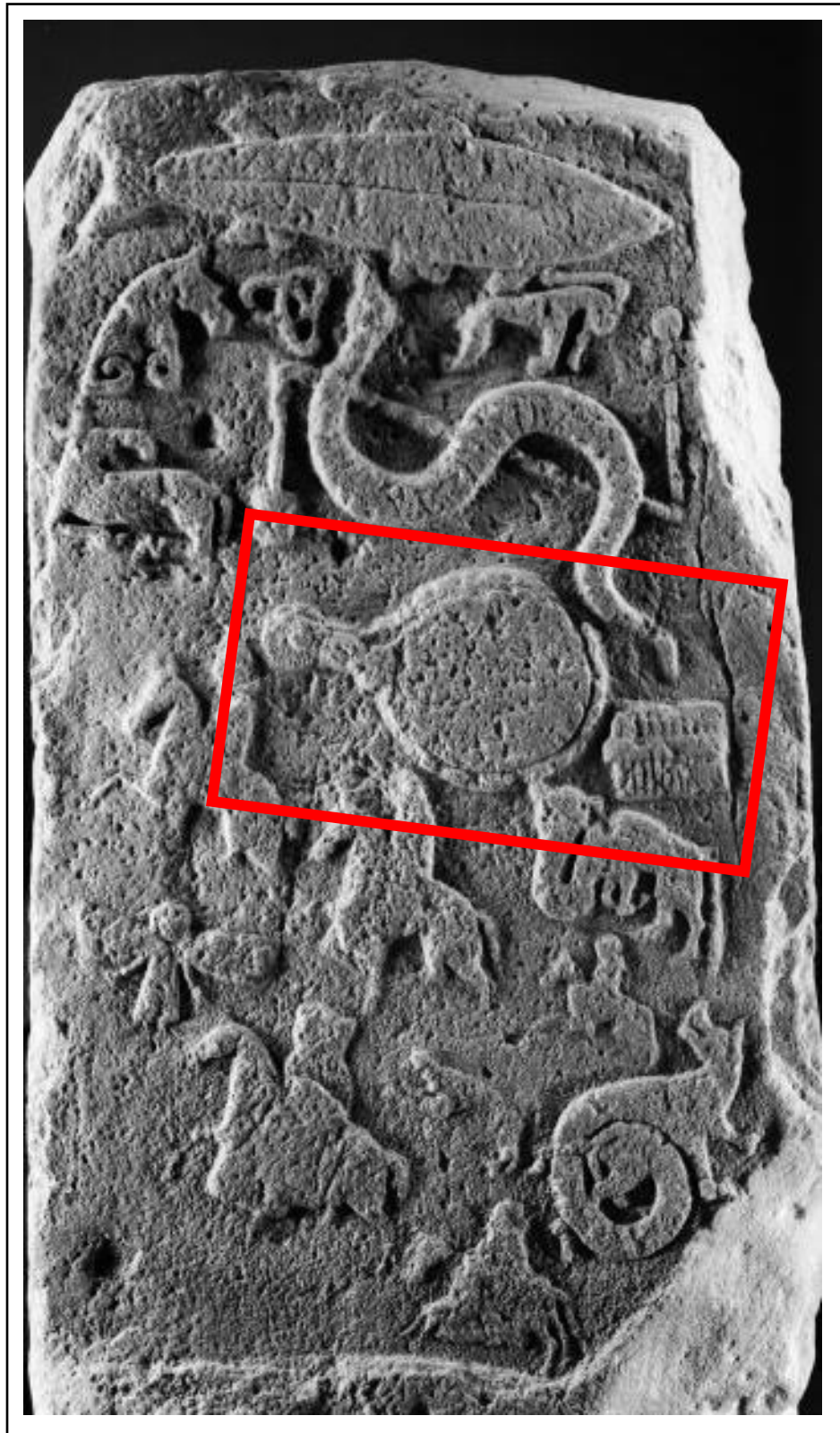


Figure 4.6: Meikle No. 1, back. Mirror and comb symbols indicated. © Crown Copyright: Historic Environment Scotland.

The lower left hand figure has been identified as female by Robertson because it faces outward, possibly riding side saddle, in the same way as the figure on the Hilton of Cadboll (1991: 10). Due to the stone's deterioration, it is difficult to confirm the rider's body position and regardless of this identification it likely does not indicate gender. The body position of the figure with wings and its associated material culture does not identify it as male or female. Robertson (1991) has suggested that this figure is an angel. If this is the case, it may not have had a gender or it may represent a gender other than male or female. To summarize, Meigle No. 1 depicts six figures of unknown gender. The figure with wings may constitute a third gender category.

There are four Pictish symbols on the Drosten Stone (Figure 4.7) which can be positively identified. These symbols are carved near the middle of the stone and include a crescent with z-rod over a crescent, comb, and mirror. The crescent with z-rod is larger than the other symbols. Above the symbols there is a beast attacking a deer. There appears to be more imagery but the sculpture is damaged. Below these symbols there are a group of animals and an archer. The animals include both real and mythical beasts. Directly below the comb and mirror there is a deer-like animal with its young, a creature resembling a Yale (from medieval bestiaries), and a boar. Below the crescent, there is a bear, an unknown beast, and an eagle eating a fish. It is not clear if the eagle, the fish, and the boar are symbols or if they are part of the overall scenery. In the lower left corner there is a crouched figure with a bow and arrow. The figure is hooded and wearing a short robe with legs and feet visible. The archer has facial hair.

The other side of this sculpture contains a decorated cross that also has been damaged. To the right of the upper shaft of the cross there is a winged human figure whose facial features are not fully visible. The lower shaft of the cross is surrounded by real and mythical beasts as well as intertwining serpents. The Drosten Stone is important because on its edge there is a Latin

inscription which reads “DROSTEN: IPEUORET [E]TTFOR CUS”. Clancy (1993) has offered a number of possible interpretations of this inscription, which he then used to propose a possible mid-ninth century date for the sculpture. If the text is Goidelic, as Clancy has suggested, then he has identified three names: Drosten, Uoret, and Forcus. However, it is not clear whether they all denote people.

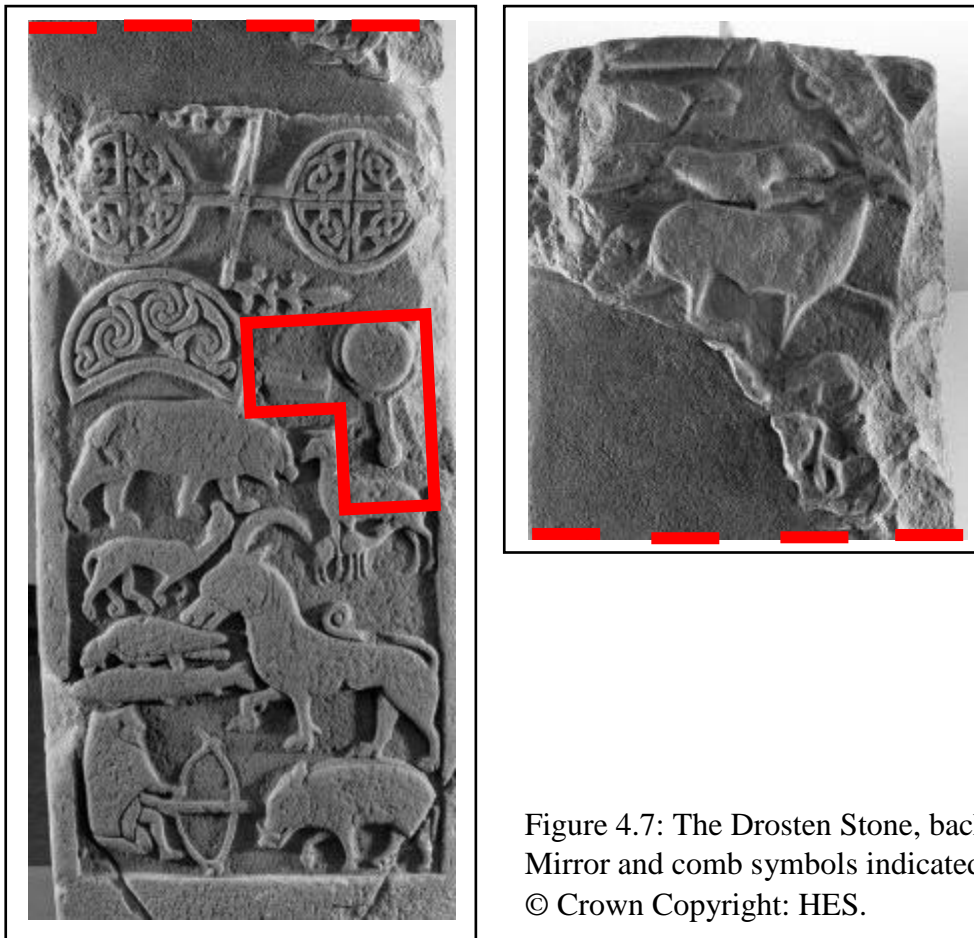


Figure 4.7: The Drosten Stone, back. Mirror and comb symbols indicated.
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There is one human figure on the same side as the mirror and comb symbols on the Drosten Stone. This figure does not display any primary sexual characteristics. The figure, however, does have facial hair. The figure’s dress obscures its chest and breasts are not visible. The figure is crouching and holding a bow and arrow. The association between males and

weapons based on the historical sources and the facial hair suggests that this figure is male. It is interesting to note that the mirror and comb symbols are within the same scene but separated diagonally from this figure by animals and beasts.

The sixth Pictish sculpture to be analyzed was the Maiden Stone (Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8: The Maiden Stone, back.

Mirror and comb symbols indicated.

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The Maiden Stone consists of four panels; the bottom three panels each have one Pictish symbol and the top panel has a scene of three half animal, half human figures that resemble the Greco-Roman Centaur. It is not clear whether this depiction is a Centaur or if the idea of Centaurs was transmitted through cultural contact with Roman Britain or Christianity or if this hybrid is a native invention. The top panel contains a scene in which a figure with a horse's lower body and a human's upper body, resembling a centaur, shows movement facing left. Above the figure is a lion symbol and two other figures facing each other, all of which are smaller than the centaur-like figure. Most of the upper torso and the heads of the two smaller figures have been broken off. The lower portion of their bodies resembles the larger centaur-like figure. All of the figures are worn and no facial features or other details beyond a simple outline are visible.

The panel below this scene contains only a notched rectangle with a z-rod. Below this symbol is another panel depicting a Pictish beast. The top three panels were for the most part square or rectangular in shape. The final panel at the bottom is not square or rectangular but instead has a slanting right side. This panel still has only four sides but the lower corner on the right has been pushed inward. Within this panel are a mirror and a comb. There is a decorative cross on the other side of this sculpture. Above the cross is a figure that is frontal facing. This figure has its hands up and appears to be fighting off two hippocamp-like creatures. There is one hippocamp-like creature on each side of the figure. This side of the sculpture is extremely worn and only very schematic outlines can be discerned.

The hybrid figures do not show any primary sexual characteristics. The lower hybrid figure may exhibit a beard. The upper portion of the other two hybrid figures has been broken off. The upper two figures appear to be interacting with each other in some way but exactly what

type of interaction is taking place is not clear. Given that these figures are of a hybrid form it is possible that they do not belong to either the male or female gender category despite one of them having the appearance of a beard. To summarize, the Maiden Stone depicts three hybrid figures of unknown gender.

The seventh sculpture, Wester Denoon, depicts a mirror and comb to the left of a standing figure (Figure 4.9). The figure is frontal facing and appears to have a large circular object on its chest, which is likely a penannular or annular brooch. The figure is wearing a long decorated robe. Unfortunately, the figure's head has been broken off and no facial features are visible. The other side of this sculpture contains a decorative cross.

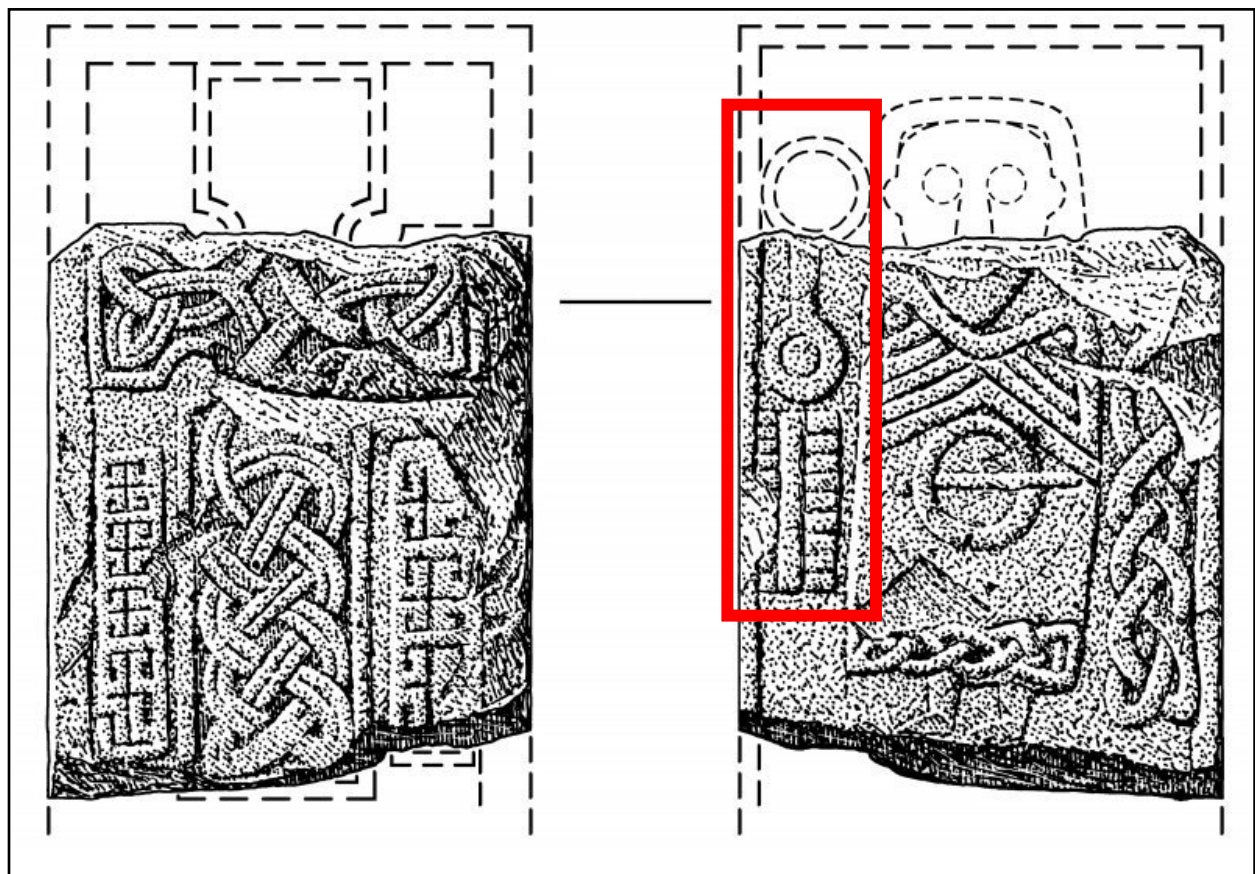


Figure 4.9: Wester Denoon, front and back. Mirror and comb symbols indicated. © Crown Copyright: Historic Environment Scotland.

No primary sexual characteristics are visible. The figure has a very pointy chin which may be a reference to a beard but it is difficult to tell as the head is broken off. No breasts are visible, the figure is forward facing and is wearing a penannular brooch in the center of its chest. This part of the stone is clearly defined and may give some support to the other stones having similar brooches. To summarize, the lone figure on the Wester Denoon Stone may have a beard as well as a brooch attached to the center of its chest. This makes the figure ambiguous as one would need more evidence to assign it to a gender category.

The eighth potential Pictish stone, Invergowrie No. 1 (Figure 4.10), illustrates a possible mirror on a two-sided cross slab with no obvious Pictish symbols. A decorative cross is depicted on the front of this sculpture. On the back, three figures within one panel stand above a panel with two intertwined beasts. All three figures are forward facing wearing robes and cloaks. The two left figures' right arms are visible and bent while holding rectangular objects that may be books. The right figure holds a similar pose but instead is using his left arm.

The middle figure appears to have a belt which has an object suspended from it. It is possible that this object is a mirror.

No primary sexual characteristics are visible on this stone sculpture. The middle figure on the top panel with the mirror does appear to have a beard which may indicate that the figure is male. The two figures on either side of this figure appear to have wings. Again, if these figures are angels or some other hybrid they may not belong in either the male or female gender category. To summarize, Invergowrie No. 1 depicts one possible male and two figures of unknown gender. The results of this qualitative assessment have been summarized in Table 4.1.

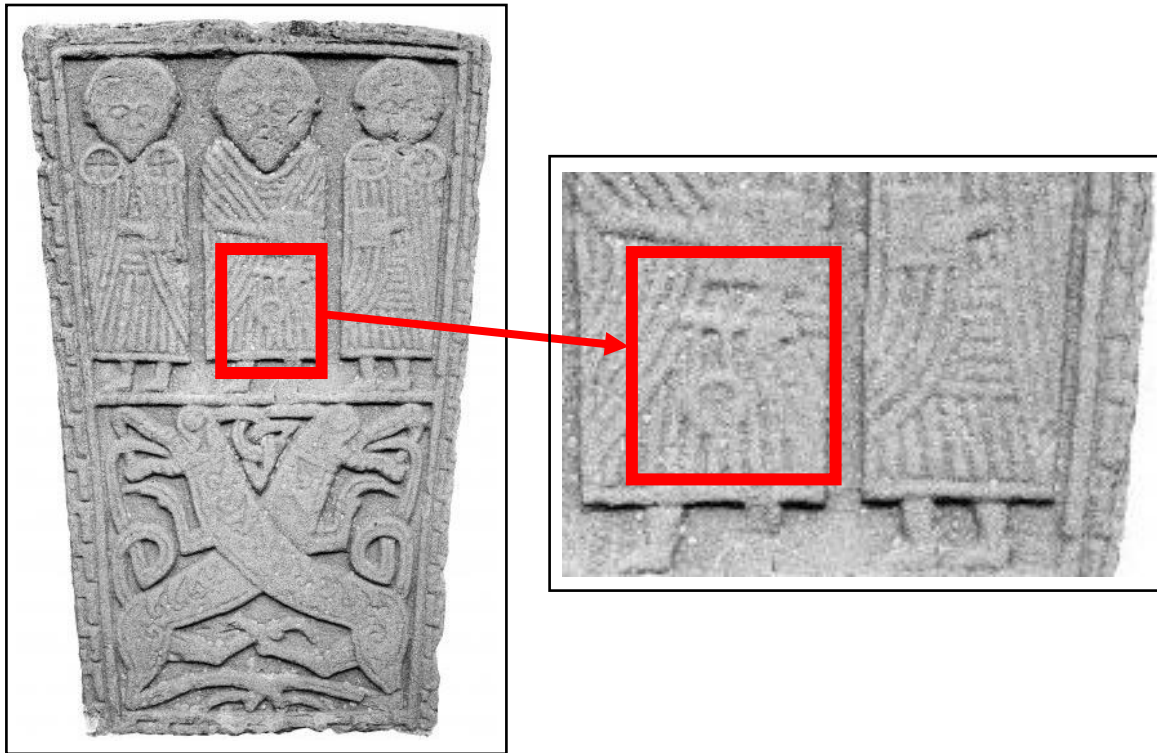


Figure 4.10: Invergowrie No. 1, back. Possible mirror symbol indicated. © Courtesy of Historic Environment Scotland (B C Clayton Collection).

Table 4.1: Summary of gender category assigned to figures that appear together with mirror and comb symbols.

Stone:	Male	Female	Unknown
Hilton of Cadboll	2? Facial Hair?, Weapons	0	4
Kingoldrum No. 1	0	0	1
Kirriemuir No. 1	2? Facial Hair?, Tonsure?	0	2
Meikle No. 1	0	0	6 (1 hybrid)
Drosten Stone	1 Facial Hair, Weapons	0	0
Maiden Stone	0	0	3 (hybrids)
Wester Denoon	0	0	1
Invergowrie No. 1	1 Facial Hair	0	2
Total:	6	0	19

No figures were identified as possible female individuals. This does not mean that there were no females present, just that based on the criteria none could be confirmed. Six figures were

identified as possible males. The Hilton of Cadboll and Kirriemuir No. 1 each depicted two potential males, while the Drosten Stone and Invergowrie No. 1 each had one possible male. Of the six possible males, the male on Invergowrie No. 1 appears to be associated directly with a mirror. This result is tentative, however, as it is not clear that the object with which the figure is associated is a mirror although it does bear a resemblance to the iron mirror found at Carlingwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire. It is also important to note that if this object is a mirror, it would be the first mirror symbol to be placed within the action of a scene and measured to scale as it was hanging from the figure's belt. In accordance with the criteria established in Chapter 2 for what is or is not a symbol, this mirror would probably not qualify as a symbol.

The potential male figure, the mirror, and the comb appear on the same side of the Drosten stone, yet their relationship is not clear. The mirror and comb, as well as the other symbols depicted, are separated from the lone archer by a scene of animals. This may indicate that this figure is not directly related to the symbols.

A majority of the figures were categorized as unknown or undetermined gender. With the exception of the Drosten Stone, the other seven stones included at least one figure to which no gender could be assigned. There were 19 total ungenderable figures present on the stones. This is not to say that these figures automatically constitute another gender, only that their gender could not be discerned based on the criteria laid out in this analysis. More gender categories may exist, however, this study did not find any definitive proof one way or the other. There were two types of human hybrid figures present on the stones including a half human, half horse and a human with wings. It is unknown if these figures would have been assigned a gender or not.

Two of the unknown figures, both seated in what appeared to be thrones, were located within close proximity to the mirror and comb symbols. In addition, mirrors and combs were

found near or within both hunting and horseback riding scenes. These associations may suggest another social category to which mirror and comb symbols may be related: status. This connection has been noted by others, particularly Cessford (1997).

The placement and orientation of the mirror and comb symbols in relation to other symbols or images on the stones may provide insight to their meaning. Placement and orientation of the mirror and comb symbols were collected for these eight stones and are described in Table 4.2. Four mirrors appeared right side up with the handle at the bottom, three mirrors appeared upside down with the handle at the top, and one mirror appeared in a horizontal position with the handle to the left. Three combs appeared horizontally, two combs appeared vertically, and one appeared both vertically and diagonally. Mirrors and combs that do not appear with human figures are most often depicted with the handle side down. When this trend is compared with the eight stones, we find that in general most of them follow the same pattern. However, it is interesting to note that in the three instances in which mirrors appear with the handle side up they are found on stones with human figures. Could this suggest a change in meaning? Fox (1973) suggested that when mirrors were not in use they may have been suspended handle side up. She supported this hypothesis by pointing to the wear found on the terminal loop, although Joy's (2008) use/wear study suggested that the wear on terminal loops could also be caused by brooches used to secure protective coverings over mirrors. If Fox's (1973) suggestion holds water, then handle side up may indicate that the mirrors depicted in these images are not being used. If this is the case then, is it possible that mirrors that were depicted handle side down were considered in use on the sculptures? In essence, then, it is possible that their power was being used by virtue of them being handle side down- i.e. the way the mirror was used in real life.

Table 4.2: Summary of mirror and comb placement and orientation on sculpture when accompanied by a human or human hybrid figure. Abbreviations: M- Mirror, M Figure- Male, C- Comb, F- Female, U- Unknown.

Stone:	M+C Symbols Placement	Orientation of M+C Symbols
Hilton of Cadboll	In front of possible F within hunt scene, M above C, Double Disc Z-Rod & Crescent V-Rod outside of scene	M- Right side up C- Horizontal
Kingoldrum No. 1	Same side SW of U figure M above C to the NW with lion & stepped rectangle	M- Upside down C- Vertical
Kirriemuir No. 1	Right of seated U figure in bottom panel, M above C	M-Upside down C-Vertical
Meigle No. 1	Large & directly above horse riding scene of U figures, other symbols present including a fish, Pictish Beast, & Serpent Z-Rod. M to the Right of C.	M-Horizontal C-Horizontal
Drosten Stone	NE from figure & is separated from M figure by animals & beasts, other symbols present including Double Disc Z-Rod, Crescent, & possibly Fish, Eagle, Bear, Boar. M to Left of C.	M-Right side up C-Horizontal
Maiden Stone	M & C in lowest panel separated from U figure panel by two more panels which contain a Notched Rectangle Z-Rod & Pictish Beast, M to Right of C.	M-Right side up C-Vertical placed diagonally
Wester Denoon	M & C to the Right of U figure, M above C	M-Right side up? C-Vertical
Invergowrie No. 1	M? worn by M figure, no C	M-Upside down hanging from belt? C-None

All of the combs depicted on these seven stones resembled double-sided composite combs possibly of Type 11 or 12 as outlined by Ashby (2009, 2011). Combs on stones that portray mirror and/or comb symbols but not human/human hybrid figures and depictions of double-sided vs. single-sided composite combs seemed to be comparable. It was difficult to classify many of the single-sided combs into a designated category laid out by Ashby (2009, 2011). Many of these combs had flourishes on their handles. The seven stones did not follow the

observed trend but more comparisons would be needed to determine whether this is significant. Seven mirrors resembled the Type 1A Bar Handle with thin shaft and one ring mirror designated by Fox (1958) and Joy (2010). The Maiden Stone mirror resembles the Type 2 Shaped Handle mirror also designated by Fox (1958) and Joy (2010). Stones that portray mirror and/or comb symbols but no human and/or human hybrid figures most often depict mirrors that appear to resemble Type 1A Bar Handle most frequently, and then Type 2 Shaped Handle and Type 3 Split Grip with Terminal Loop Handle/ Triangular Handle. The Split Grip with Terminal Loop Handle/Triangular Handle, also defined by Fox (1958) and Joy (2010), is much less often found on stones. This trend is reflected in the sample of seven stones. Examples of these three types mirrors have been found in Scotland, however, no mirrors dating to the early Medieval period have yet been found along the north-eastern coast of Scotland, where many stones are located. Similarly, data for combs found in north-eastern Scotland is lacking, which Ashby (2006) has suggested may have a taphonomic explanation. It is curious that both combs and mirrors are rare in artifact form, yet these objects are such prominent elements on monumental stone sculpture in this region. This could be related to Joy's (2008) discussion of mirrors' long use life. His study concluded that while individual mirror use varied, in general mirrors in the British Isles were often used and repaired and not just created for deposition (Joy 2008). I suggest below that these objects may have literally materialized a particular socio-political or ritual role and were passed down as inalienable objects of authority from one generation to another.

Both the mirror and comb have been interpreted in the past as being associated exclusively with women and the female gender (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvii; Carnegie 1999; Robertson 1991; Thomas 1963). Based on this analysis, however, no female figures were found, based on the author's criteria, in direct association with mirror and comb symbols. The

potential association of mirror and comb symbols with a possible male archer on St. Vigean's No. 1 and a possible male on Invergowrie No. 1 also raises issues regarding the exclusive connection of these symbols with female identity. The ambiguous nature of the figures found on Kingoldrum No. 1, Kirriemuir No. 1, and Meigle No. 1 raises more questions than answers when it comes to connecting the presence of the mirror and comb symbols to any gender category. It is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions when working with a small sample size of eight stones. However, some general trends can be noted. This analysis suggests that mirror and comb symbols do not appear to be exclusively related to female identity. That does not mean that women were not sometimes affiliated with the mirror and comb symbols but the results of this analysis suggest that on the stones at least some other meaning is more likely. It may be that women were affiliated with these symbols in another way or that these symbols represent something completely different. I will discuss this possibility further below. More systematic intersectional analysis on this iconography and a greater understanding of how it relates to the archaeological and historical evidence is needed.

The second goal of this research was to present a more systematic analysis of iconographic evidence with regard to the mirror and comb symbols to highlight the potential of using these symbols to reconstruct meaning in past social contexts. The data associated with the 273 monumental stone sculptures are compared and contrasted below to identify possible patterns and relationships.

Several interesting patterns appeared. Mirror and comb symbols together appear more frequently on Class 1 stones (Table 4.3). Mirrors also appear alone more frequently on Class 1 stones (Table 4.4). In every case in which a comb appears alone, it is part of a sculpture which is damaged or incomplete. This suggests that the comb would not have originally appeared alone

but may have always been associated with a mirror, which further suggests that the comb does not represent a viable category outside of its relationship with the mirror. This is a suggested that has been offered by Cessford (1997). This may indicate that the comb was used to modify the mirror symbol in the way that others have suggested the mirror and comb symbols modify symbol pairs (Cessford 1997; Samson 1992). The mirror and comb are generally of comparable size to other symbols, however, when they do appear out of scale, they maintain comparable size to each other, which reinforces the idea that they are semiotically linked whenever they appear together thus supporting the hypothesis that the comb modifies the mirror symbol.

Table 4.3: Sculptures depicting mirror and comb symbols categorized as Class 1 or Class 2 based on Allen and Anderson's (1903) class system.

Class 1	29	76.3%
Class 2	9	23.7%
Total # of Stones with Mirror and Comb	38	100%

Table 4.4: Sculptures depicting the mirror symbol without a comb symbol categorized as Class 1 or Class 2 based on Allen and Anderson's (1903) class system.

Class 1	21	91.3 %
Class 2	2	8.7%
Total # of Stones with Mirrors alone	23	100%

There were 583 total symbols found on the 272 stones in the sample. The number of times each symbol appeared is noted in Table 4.5. The number of stones that contained figurative imagery compared to mirror and comb symbols is tabulated in Table 4.6. The crescent v-rod, the double disc z-rod, the mirror, and the Pictish beast occur most often. These symbols occur up at least two times more than any other symbol which suggests their significance.

Table 4.5: The number of the symbols is listed based on their occurrence on the stones.

10 or more		2 to 9		only 1	
Symbol Type	#	Symbol Type	#	Symbol Type	#
Crescent v-rod	87	Tuning Fork	9	Bow and arrow	1
Double disc z-rod	56	Crescent	8	Bull and serpent	1
Pictish beast	49	Lion	6	Crescent triangle	1
Mirror Case	21	Notched rectangle	6	Crozier	1
Double disc	19	Hippocamp	5	Horse	1
Fish	19	Triple oval	5	Horse shoe v-rod	1
Horse shoe	18	Deer's head	5	Pincers	1
Eagle	16	Beast's head	4	Rectangle rod	1
Rectangle	16	Circle disc	4	Scroll	1
Triple Disc	15	Double crescent	4	Shears	1
Notched rectangle z-rod	13	L-shaped rectangle	4	Square within square	1
Serpent z-rod	13	Stepped rectangle	4	Triangle	1
Flower	12	Triquetra	4	Two circle discs	1
Serpent	11	Boar	3	Unknown	1
Bull	10	S-shaped rectangle	3		
		Stag	3		
		Wolf	3		
		Anvil	2		
		Goose	2		
		Hammer	2		
		Seahorse	2		
		Spoked wheel	2		

Table 4.6: Number of times mirrors, combs, and components of scenes such as human or hybrid human figures and beasts appear on stones.

Symbol Type	Number (%)
Mirrors	61 (27)
Combs	43 (19)
Scenes	52 (23)
Human Figures	49 (22)
Beasts (excluding identified symbols)	36 (16)
Human Hybrid Figures	15 (.01)
Total:	223

Mirror and comb symbols are most often paired with the crescent v-rod, double disc z-rod, and the Pictish Beast (Table 4.5). Similarly, the lone mirror symbol is also most often paired

with the crescent v-rod, the Pictish Beast, and the double disc z-rod (Table 4.6). Samson (1992) interpreted these three symbols as parts of names but excluded the mirror and comb from the overall analysis based on their tendency to act like qualifiers. The fact that mirrors and combs appear most frequently with these three symbols likely indicates that they refer to or mean different things. It also suggests that their pairing is significant. So Sampson's (1992) interpretation of these symbols as parts of names is possible.

Table 4.7: The number of times that other symbols appear with the combined mirror and comb symbols on Pictish monumental stone sculpture.

SYMBOL	# ON SAME SIDE	% of 38 ON SAME SIDE	# ON OTHER SIDE	% of 38 ON OTHER SIDE	TOTAL	TOTAL % of 38
crescent v-rod	11	28.9	0	0	11	28.9
double disc z-rod	8	21.1	0	0	8	21.1
Pictish beast	5	13.2	0	0	5	13.2
fish	4	10.5	1	2.6	5	13.1
flower	4	10.5	0	0	4	10.5
serpent z-rod	4	10.5	0	0	4	10.5
beast's head	3	7.9	0	0	3	7.9
horse shoe	3	7.9	0	0	3	7.9
mirror case	3	7.9	0	0	3	7.9
notched rectangle z-rod	3	7.9	0	0	3	7.9
serpent	3	7.9	0	0	3	7.9
crescent	2	5.3	0	0	2	5.3
eagle	2	5.3	0	0	2	5.3
rectangle	2	5.3	0	0	2	5.3
double crescent	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
lion	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
L-shaped rectangle	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
S-shaped rectangle	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
stepped rectangle	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
triple disc	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
triple oval	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
triquetra	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
tuning fork	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6

two circle discs	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
wolf	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.6
goose	0	0	1	2.6	1	2.6
hippocamp	0	0	1	2.6	1	2.6
sea horse	0	0	1	2.6	1	2.6

Table 4.8: The number of times other symbols appear with the mirror symbol without the comb symbol on Pictish monumental stone sculpture.

SYMBOL	# ON SAME SIDE	% of 23 ON SAME SIDE	# ON OTHER SIDE	% of 23 ON OTHER SIDE	TOTAL	TOTAL % of 23
crescent v-rod	6	26.1	1	4.3	7	30.4
Pictish beast	6	26.1	1	4.3	7	30.4
double disc z-rod	5	21.7	1	4.3	6	26
fish	3	13	0	0	3	13
horse shoe	2	8.7	0	0	2	8.7
mirror case	2	8.7	0	0	2	8.7
rectangle	2	8.7	0	0	2	8.7
serpent	2	8.7	0	0	2	8.7
tuning fork	2	8.7	0	0	2	8.7
triple disc	1	4.3	2	8.7	3	13
crescent	1	4.3	0	0	1	4.3
double disc	1	4.3	0	0	1	4.3
eagle	1	4.3	0	0	1	4.3
goose	1	4.3	0	0	1	4.3
notched rectangle	1	4.3	0	0	1	4.3
serpent v-rod	1	4.3	0	0	1	4.3

As noted in Chapter 3 mirror and comb symbols are classified as representational objects.

The occurrence of symbols of other representational objects, including the bow and arrow, the pincers, the shears, the anvil, the crozier, and the hammer/axe, with and without the mirror and comb symbol, was assessed to determine the relationship between them. A comparison found that the mirror and comb has not so far appeared with any of these symbols. In fact, none of these representational categories appear more than twice in the total sample of 272 stones. This

strongly suggests that mirrors and combs were used for something different than the other representational object categories and based on their distribution had greater importance.

Symbols which may represent the male gender, the supported proclivity of males with warfare noted in this historical context, and the occurrence of symbols that resembled weapons were compared to mirror and comb symbols. The hammer/axe may represent a weapon but its limited occurrence on the stones suggests that it does not represent a gender category at least not in its symbol role- i.e. when it is not taking part in the action of the scene. The tuning fork, which Samson (1992) and Thomas (1963) have pointed out looks like a broken sword, was also assessed in this capacity. The possible sword symbol appears with the mirror and comb together once and the mirror alone twice. The possible sword appears on nine stones in total. The fact that this symbol appears together with mirrors and combs together and mirrors alone, as well as its limited occurrence on stones, makes it unlikely that the tuning fork/broken sword represented male gender.

Maps were created for these data using the Canmore database and ArcGIS. A number of patterns emerged. An expected pattern was that with one exception all of the Pictish stone sculptures that portray mirrors and combs, and mirrors or combs, are concentrated along the northeastern coast of Scotland, which is generally considered the traditional territory of the Picts. Pictish sculpture depicting both the mirror and the comb is largely confined to mainland Scotland, whereas sculptures of mirrors alone are found both on the mainland and in the Northern Isles. This broad distribution suggests that the meaning and significance of the mirror and comb symbols would have been known or recognized throughout Pictland. Figure 4.11 shows a clustering of mirror and comb combined stones near the Firth of Forth, Aberdeen, and Elgin, as well as a clustering of mirror alone stones near the Firth of Forth, Aberdeen, and the

Northern Isles. This suggests two key points: (1) that these areas could have been important locations of social reproduction and negotiation and (2) that Orkney may not have had a use for the Pictish symbolic cultural convention attached to the comb.

Class 1 monuments that depict mirrors and/or combs seem to be more plentiful in the central and northern regions along the coast (Figure 4.12) while Class 2 monuments seem to cluster around the Firth of Forth. Class 2 monuments incorporate Christian imagery. Stones with human figures, mirrors, and combs tend to also cluster around the Firth of Forth but there were two exceptions, one in the fertile lands in the northeast and the other on the Tarbat peninsula. These stones follow the same trend as stones that only have human figures or hybrid human figures on them, which tend to be more tightly clustered around the Firth of Forth and then become more spaced out as they appear further north (Figure 4.12). If the mirror and comb symbols do not symbolize women or female identity then what alternative meanings are possible? The continued use of Pictish symbols and the erection of Pictish stone sculpture well after the conversion of much of the population to Christianity begs the question what were symbols in general used for? Why did rulers choose to use pictographs instead of Latin? Who were the Pictish symbols intended for? Were they intended for the public? Where they intended for a supernatural audience?

As noted in the Literature Review, Cessford (1997), while assuming a funerary function for Pictish sculpture, suggests that mirror and comb symbols are connected to the status of an individual in death. This hypothesis is somewhat supported by the data given that six of the eight stones that had mirror and comb symbols together were linked with high status secular scenes. At least two figures associated with mirror and comb symbols were seated on possible thrones.

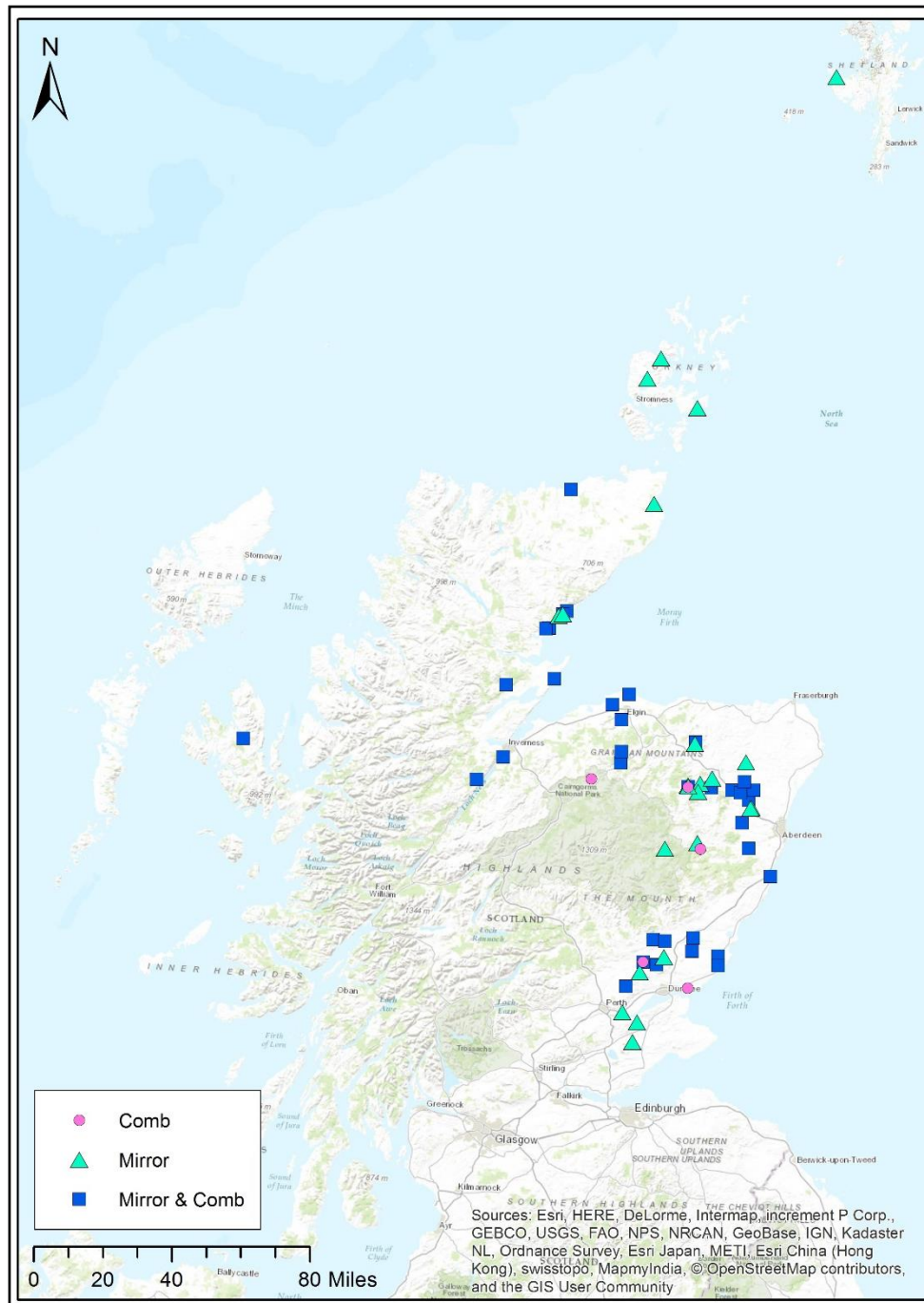


Figure 4.11: Distribution of sculpture depicting mirrors without combs, combs without mirrors, and mirrors and combs together. (Map data: Canmore database).

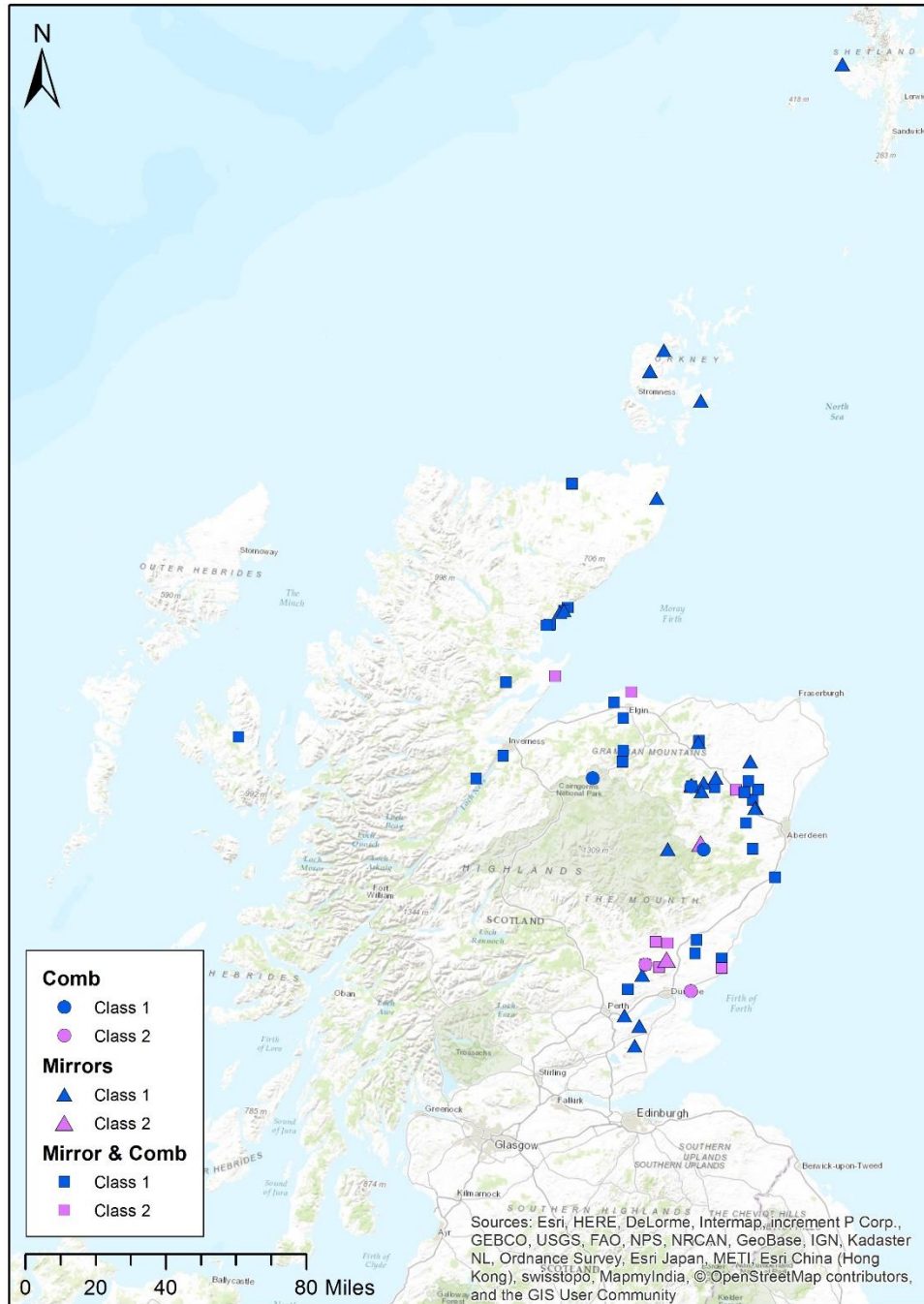


Figure 4.12: Distribution of Class 1 and Class 2 sculptures depicting mirrors without combs, combs without mirrors, and mirrors and combs together. (Map data: Canmore database).

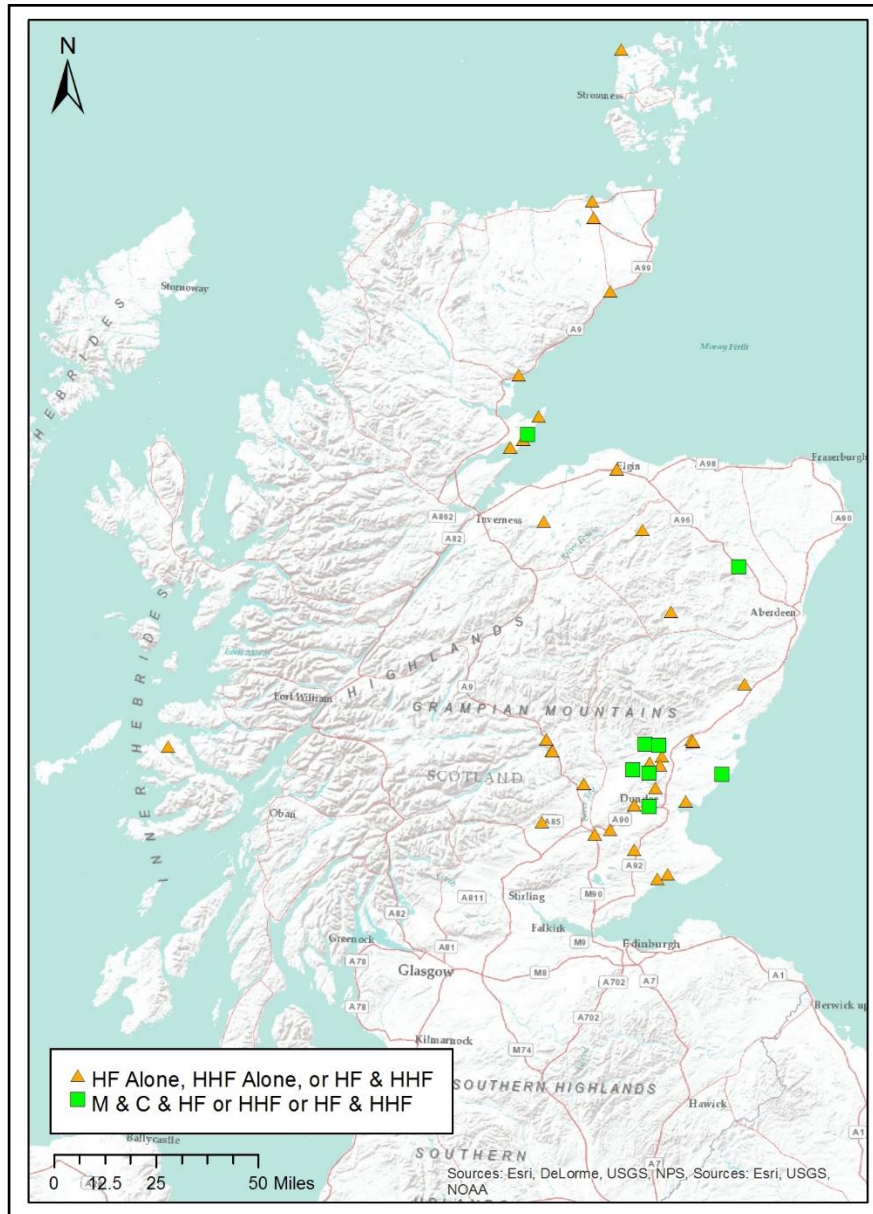


Figure 4.13: Distribution of all the sculptures depicting either combs, mirrors, or both with human figures or hybrid human figures. (Map data: Canmore database).

The other two scenes in which mirror and comb symbols appear with human figures are in a hunting scene and a horseback riding scene. Hunting scenes are generally thought to depict high status activity (Henderson and Henderson 2004). Arnold has suggested that, “there appears to be a consistent link between hunting and mastery as signifiers for other forms of socio-political

domination” (2010: 19). Henderson and Henderson (2004) have also described horseback riding as stereotypically heroic, hinting at its likely connection to warrior culture and heroic ideology. Yet, something makes the mirror and comb different than other symbols that also appear on monuments likely erected by the elite. It is also interesting to consider that if these stones were associated with a funerary function, they may not have been marking the deceased as much as the relationship of the living with the deceased (Driscoll 1988).

Mirrors and combs have been linked in many different cultures to the supernatural communication between worlds and protection both from and by supernatural entities. Could mirrors and combs have represented something similar on Pictish symbol stones? If mirrors and combs were used as communication devices between worlds then the placement of the mirror and comb on a stone could possibly have imbued its erector or the person it was erected for with supernatural power or authority. Dutton (2011) suggested a possible protective role for the mirror and comb symbols. Pronostication and divination have also been commonly related to the mirror. Beyond the importance implied by the occurrence of mirrors and combs on monumental sculpture it is hard access what type of meaning they held in the Pictish context.

Driscoll’s assertion that erection of Pictish symbol stones allowed elites to re-affirm and legitimize their authority could possibly be applicable here. He describes a gradual change in the symbols employed on the sculpture which signified a change in the way social identity and social reproduction were negotiated. He suggests that the initial phase was the erection of Class 1 Pictish stones to combine four sources of legitimacy, including “the supernatural, through the dead and the ancestors, propriety of rank claimed through descent, ideological sanction represented by the control of arcane signs, and de facto right represented by the control of material resources and skilled labour needed to erect the monument” (Driscoll 1988: 228). In the

next phase, he suggested that the elites began to use the patronage of the church as a way of promoting their status on Class 2 stones (Driscoll 1988: 232). He also suggests that the symbols likely did not maintain their original meanings and were likely viewed more as an evocation of past authority on Class 2 stones (Driscoll 1988: 232). The final phase, according to Driscoll, involved the complete disappearance of the old symbolic system as the new form of symbolic expression through Christian iconography, the church constituted the path to power (Driscoll 1988: 33). The evidence of this analysis does in some ways support this model. Driscoll associates the symbols with the elite who used them to promote and legitimize their status. As noted, the mirror and comb appear six times in high status secular scenes and twice in what seem to be direct associations with figures on thrones. If mirror and comb symbols marked positions of authority the map distribution data may also support Driscoll's model. Mirror and comb symbols occur on far more Class 1 monuments, relatively fewer Class 2 monuments, and, with the exception of Invergowrie No. 1, no Class 3 monuments. This trend is observed for most symbols but it does suggest that there was a replacement or shift in meaning. Either the old meanings became obsolete or a different type of symbolic system was starting to take hold. This may be what is hinted at by the change in orientation of mirror symbols on Class 2 monuments. It is not clear however, whether or not the Picts were placing symbols on Class 2 monuments in order to evoke past power sources or if they were hedging their bets by invoking legitimacy through two different divine authorities. The larger number of mirrors on Class 1 stones located away from Southern Pictland, a stronghold of Christianity, appears to further support Driscoll's model.

Another suggestion by Fortescue (1992) was that the mirror and comb symbols may refer to a specific woman or position. The peculiar characteristic of the mirror and comb symbols present within a scene but not involved in the action is suggestive of marked social meaning. The

mirror and comb are not held or worn by figures as brooches and weapons are. This may indicate that brooches and weapons were used to mark individual identity whereas the mirror and comb possibly transcended personal identity and demonstrated a particular status or role that was relevant to the entire community and communicated a message that could be understood across a wide area.

Using the trends identified in this analysis, archaeological evidence, and the concept of inalienable possessions, it is possible to suggest another interpretation of Pictish mirror and comb symbols. Giles and Joy (2007) have argued that mirrors were powerful and potentially dangerous objects in British Iron Age societies. Mirrors in southern Britain occur in burials often associated with females. Alternatively, mirrors in Scotland have only been found in watery contexts or in settlement deposits. The deposition of mirrors in votive contexts vs. individual burial suggests that the mirror had a symbolic association that was more important to the community than to the individual. It also suggests that the mirror played some role in ritual. Silver combs in Scotland have also been found in dry votive or hoard deposits and may likewise have been tied to a communal role.

It is unclear if the mirror and comb symbols represented individual objects, an object category, or some other meaning. Given the wide variety of mirror and comb types depicted on Pictish stones, it is likely that they either represented individual objects or object categories. The lack of deposition in graves may also suggest long use life or curation of the mirrors. A further point that the symbols may have represented real objects is supported by the bronze crescent shaped plaque found in a burial at Monifieth (Graham-Campbell 1991). This crescent shaped plaque was buried in a grave context instead of a votive context. This is interesting because this study has found that the mirror and comb symbols most often occur with the Pictish beast, the

double-disc and z-rod, and the crescent v-rod symbols. The occurrence in a burial of such a crescent may suggest that this symbol was related to personal identity or social role.

If Driscoll's model is correct and if we consider the mirror and comb symbols as representing actual objects that could have been curated by the survivors because they held some form of symbolic meaning important to the wider community, possibly related to ritual or cosmology given their deposition in votive deposits, it is possible that the mirror and comb symbols represented a form of inalienable possession. Thus, I propose that mirrors, in particular, may represent not only actual objects imbued with special meaning but also symbols of particular lineages and their association with particular socio-political roles in Pictish society. And further I suggest that these symbols occurrence on stones may have served to legitimize the status based on cosmological authentication that was gradually replaced by Christian symbols and the church. Support for this suggestion includes:

- The long use lives of mirrors in the British Isles demonstrated by Joy's (2008) use/wear study. The general absence of mirrors as artifacts found in north-eastern Scotland despite being the third most prominent symbol suggests that mirrors may have been curated and transferred to each generation, which strongly supports the interpretation of the mirror as an inalienable possession which absorbs social authority through this type of practice.
- The broad distribution of the mirror and comb symbols as well as the fact that they only occur on monumental stone sculpture and not portable objects like other symbols suggests that they were meant to be seen and their meaning was known throughout Pictish territory.
- Mirror and comb symbols are frequently found associated with elite scenes.

- The occurrence of more mirror symbols on Class 1 stones, gradually decreasing on Class 2 stones associated with Christianity, may represent a change in semiotic meaning related to these symbols. The change may have been indicated by the change in orientation of the mirror and may reflect a new set of power relations associated with the church.
- Mirrors and combs are not found in individual burials like mirrors to the south in England. Instead, mirrors are found only in watery or dry deposits suggestive of votive offerings, indicating a more ritualized role for the mirror.
- If mirrors signified a special social position which was inherited and if they were used in prognostication, it would make sense that as Christianity took hold, prognostication was discontinued but the symbol endured in its reference as a representamen of a position of power.

Conclusion

The gendering of symbols in iconography has great potential as a useful tool for archaeologists in determining various forms of identity. Guided by Spector and Whelan (1989), I have attempted to test the idea that aspects of Pictish gender ideology might be made accessible through the analysis of the mirror and comb symbols. However, contemporary gender biases complicate the interpretation of iconographic symbols. Many of the issues associated with the problematic nature of the use of iconography are illustrated in this study of Pictish symbol stones. Although both mirror and comb symbols have been interpreted traditionally as being associated exclusively with women and the female gender (Allen and Anderson 1903: xxxvii; Carnegie 1999; Robertson 1991; Samson 1995), this study has shown that the relationship between mirrors and Pictish stone sculptures is not simply or even mainly based on gender associations.

The late Iron Age to early Medieval period in Scotland can be described as an era of transition. The conversion to Christianity and the increased movement of people during this time and in this region has made it difficult to identify possible gender. No definitive evidence has been found to associate mirrors and combs with gender in this cultural context, which suggests that the one to one correlation between femaleness and the mirror and comb symbols is more a product of androcentric Western gender ideologies than representative of Pictish gender ideology.

It is difficult to be sure why scholars have traditionally equated mirror and comb symbols with female identity. However, one could speculate that beyond the contemporary Western biases, scholars may have used wider archaeological trends or trends which occurred in neighboring contemporary regions. For example, Roman women are sometimes associated with mirrors and combs. Mirrors are also found in burials in southern Britain.

To conclude, this study suggests that the mirrors and combs depicted on Pictish stones do not symbolize female identity for the following reasons:

- Mirrors and combs do not appear in association to any definitively identified female figures, based on the criteria used, while males occur more commonly on the stones.
- As demonstrated by the discussion of representational objects, as well as the hammer/axe and the tuning fork/broken sword, there does not seem to be a male gender symbol equivalent.
- The mirror and comb symbols on Class 2 monuments are often oversized or just too big to hold for human figures in the scenes they accompany. This may indicate that the mirror was less associated with an individual and more associated with the scene in general.

- Mirror and comb artifacts are not found in female burials in Scotland. In addition, combs have sometimes been associated with male ecclesiastics in both burials and venerated contexts.
- Mirrors and metal combs have been found in possible votive deposits in Scotland, which may suggest a ritual association or symbolic role for these items

A new interpretation of the mirror and comb symbols has been offered which suggests that mirrors may represent actual objects imbued with special meaning as well as symbols of particular lineages and their association with a specific socio-political role in Pictish society. The authority tied to these symbols may have been used as a way to legitimize elite status based on their connection to the supernatural, a connection that would be gradually replaced by Christian symbols and the church. Being inscribed on a stone invokes a certain kind of permanence which would have been a powerful statement of authority.

This is only the second systematic analysis completed on the stones with regard to gender. The conclusions presented by Smith (2015) will now be compared to the results of this study. As indicated in the Methods chapter, I had chosen not to read her Masters thesis until after I had worked through my conclusions and then only to serve as an independent check of my results. To my surprise, while our approaches and data sets differed, our conclusions complement each other in important ways. Smith asserts that,

While the combination of contemporary comb with a mirror style that was in use in the Iron Age may initially appear incongruous, the pairing could effectively marry the messages of power and status in the early medieval present (the comb) with allusions to legitimacy and longevity through deep ancestral ties with the prehistoric past (the mirror) (2015: 46).

Further, she concludes that, “the mirror and comb symbol is an important emblem keyed to issues of status, ancestry, and possibly the supernatural, but not gender” (Smith 2015: 48). She

found “no meaningful connection to women or femininity” (Smith 2015: 48). Her findings are congruent with many of my own, specifically the idea that the mirror and comb may have been symbols of power tied to authority associated with lineage ties and the supernatural. In addition, we both found no apparent association between mirror and comb symbols and the female gender.

Future Research

I would like to emphasize that the point here is not that women were NOT affiliated with the mirror and comb symbol, but rather that based on the available evidence we cannot make that claim definitively. It may be that women were affiliated with these symbols in another way, possibly through inheritance, or that these symbols represent something completely different, as suggested by the new interpretation presented here using Weiner’s concepts of cosmological authentication and inalienable possessions. As Gilchrist has indicated, “the most convincing and nuanced readings of gender have been developed from multiple lines of evidence” (1999: 53). What the results of a study like this demonstrate is that examining gender and other indicators of identity utilizing different approaches may make it possible to say more about community interactions, networks, individual identity, and cultural meaning related to the stones. It should be stressed that this assessment of gender and Pictish iconography is extremely preliminary and more research is required. It does provide a platform to develop further investigation of these topics, building on previous work to allow more light to be shed on these enigmatic objects. Possible avenues for future research include:

- Following Gondek and Noble’s (2011) suggestion, Pictish sculpture should be read in the context of other stones and monuments in the wider landscape
- More research aimed at mortuary and settlement archaeology would bring the lens of meaning behind Pictish sculpture more into focus.

- More analysis of metal objects found in Scotland and particularly in hoards would allow for a more nuanced discussion of votive deposits and their relationship to mirrors and combs as objects.
- A study that would consider all of the figures displayed on Pictish Class 1 and Class 2 stones could help clarify the gender categories present on the stones, if any.
- A comparison with Irish iconography and Anglo-Saxon iconography may be able to produce a more nuanced understanding of Pictish gender ideology.
- A renewed effort should be made to catalog all of the known Pictish stone symbols and sculpture using 3-D scanning technology. This could allow researchers to see more faint details that appear to have disappeared from worn surfaces.
- A consideration of Scandinavian stones and iconography and their possible connection to Pictish symbol stones might also prove fruitful.

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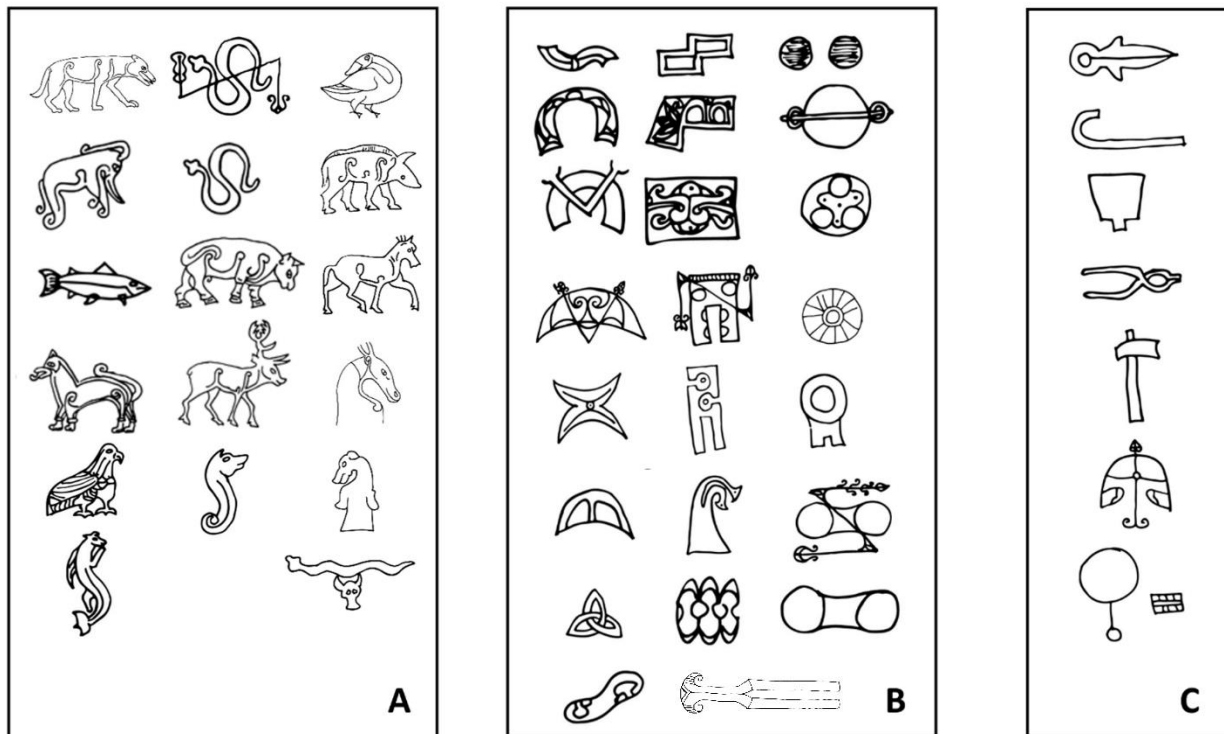
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APPENDIX A:
Symbols and Key

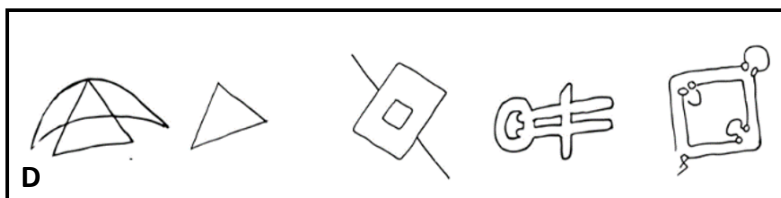


Key: Group designaed by A, B, and C. Read key from top left down each column. Then move to next column with in group.

Group A: Animal Symbols- wolf, Pictish beast, fish, lion, eagle, seahorse; serpent z-rod, serpent, bull, stag, hippocamp; goose, boar, horse, deer's head, beast's head, bull serpent.

Group B: Geometric Symbols- ogee, horseshoe, horseshoe v-rod, crescent v-rod, double crescent, crescent, triquetra, scroll; stepped rectangle, L-rectangle, rectangle, notched rectangle z-rod, notched rectangle, flower, triple oval; two circle disc; triple disc, circle disc, spoked wheel, mirror case, double disc z-rod, double disc. Symbol that spans the bottom of column 2 and 3- tuning fork.

Group C: Representational Symbols- shears, crozier, anvil, pincers, hammer, bow and arrow, mirror and comb.



Group D: May not be symbols- crescent triangle, triangle, rectangular rod, unkown, square in square.

APPENDIX B:

Summary of Data Collected from Canmore

Section 1: Identification

OBJECT_ID	CANMORE_ID	SITE_NUM	SITE_NAME	ALT_NAME	SITE_TYPE	CLASS
1	228	HU15NE 8	Sandness	Sandness Church; Sandness, St Margaret's Kirk	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
4	1789	HY22NE 4	Oxtro	Haughster; Okstrow (Stone was cover of cist, now lost)	Broch, Cist(s), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)(possible), Unidentified Pottery (roman)	1
5	1797	HY22NW 11	Brough Of Birsay, Pictish Symbol Stone	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
6	1985	HY31NE 15	Redland, Firth	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
7	2010	HY31NW 2	Knowe Of Burrian	Garth Farm	Broch (possible), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
8	2183	HY32NE 31	Sands Of Evie	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
9	2202	HY32NE 51	Broch Of Gurness, Aikerness, Pictish Symbol Stone	Point Of Helia; Sands Of Evie	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
10	3002	HY50NW 41	Ness	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
11	3064	HY50SW 9	Greens	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
12	3422	HY63NW 17	Sanday, Pool	Pool Bay	Midden, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Settlement, Comb (bone), Pin(s) (bone)	1
13	5694	NC64SE 23	Langdale	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
14	6412	NC76SW 17	Kirtomy	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
15	6460	NC80NE 171	Clynekirkton	Clynekirkton Churchyard	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
16	6461	NC80NE 172	Clynekirkton	Clyne Milton Farm; Clynekirkton Churchyard	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
17	6524	NC80SE 2	Craigton	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
18	6547	NC80SE 41	Carn Liath	NA	Carved Stone	1

19	6564	NC80SW 13	Golspie	Craigton	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
20	6567	NC80SW 16	Golspie, Dunrobin, Dairy Park	Dunrobin Castle Policies	Cairn, Long Cist, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
21	6576	NC80SW 24	Dunrobin	NA	Cairn, Long Cist(s), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
22	6594	NC80SW 9	Golspie	NA	Cist, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
23	6942	NC90NW 13	Kintradwell Links	Kintradwell 5	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
24	6944	NC90NW 141	Kintradwell	Kintradwell 2	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
25	6945	NC90NW 142	Kintradwell	Kintradwell 3	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
26	6946	NC90NW 143	Kintradwell	Kintradwell 4	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
27	6947	NC90NW 15	Kintradwell	Kintradwell 1	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
28	6951	NC90NW 19	Clynemilton	Clynemilton 1; 'near Dalchallium'; 'on Clyne-milton Farm'	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
29	6953	NC90NW 20	Clynemilton	Clynemilton 2	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
30	7247	NC96NE 10	Sandside House	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish)	1
32	7438	ND01NW 23	Navidale, St Ninian's Chapel	Navidale	Chapel, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Well	1
33	8144	ND13SE 27	Latheron	Lat 257	Ogham Inscribed Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
34	8149	ND13SE 31	Latheron Mains, Farmhouse, Pictish Symbol Stone	Lat 254; Latheron 2; Mains Of Latheron	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
36	8431	ND16NW 13	Ulbster, 'the Ulbster Stone'	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2

37	9065	ND34SW 57	Groat's Loch	Broughwhin; Watenan	Cairn, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
38	9131	ND35NW 5	Keiss, Birkle Hills	Wic 119	Long Cist(s), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Shell Midden	1
40	9585	ND49SE 1	South Ronaldsay, St Peters Church	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
41	10189	NF85NW 5	Benbecula, Strome Shunnamal	Srom Shunamul	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
44	10831	NG24NW 3	Skye, Tobar Na Maor, Duirinish	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Well	1
45	11078	NG33SW 3	Skye, Fiskavaig Bay	Fiscavaig	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
46	11276	NG44NW 1	Skye, Tote, 'clach Ard'	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
48	11475	NG53NW 30	Raasay House, Raasay	Rassay 1	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
51	11962	NG87NW 9	Gairloch, Pictish Symbol Stone	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
52	11977	NG88SE 10	Inverewe Church	Londubh	Burial Ground, Church, Font, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
53	12458	NH45NE 6	Strathpeffer, Clach An Tiompain	Strathpeffer, The Eaglestone	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
54	12626	NH53SW 11	Drumbuie	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
55	12627	NH53SW 12	Drumbuie	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
56	12634	NH53SW 151	Garbeg	Drumnadrochit	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
57	12674	NH54NW 16	Wester Balblair	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
59	12820	NH55NW 7	Dingwall Churchyard	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1

60	12828	NH55SE 14	Torgorm	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
61	13163	NH63NW 13	Dores, Clune Farm	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
62	13502	NH64SE 20	Inverness	Kingsmills	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
63	13507	NH64SE 25	Knocknagael, Boar Stone	Knocknagael Boar Stone; Boarstone; Drumdevan	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
64	13529	NH64SE 46	Inverness	Lochardill	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
65	13546	NH64SW 13	Cullaird, Scaniport	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
66	13617	NH66NE 12	Rosskeen, 'clach A' Mheirlich'	Thief's Stone	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
67	13738	NH67SE 12	Ardross	Stittenham	Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish)	1
68	13738	NH67SE 12	Ardross	Stittenham	Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish)	1
70	14139	NH73SE 5	Invereen	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
71	14393	NH75NW 71	Rosemarkie, Church Place, Rosemarkie Parish Church, Cross Slab	Rosemarkie Churchyard, No. 1	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
72	14653	NH78NW 2	Clach Chairidh, Edderton	Clach Biorach; Ardmore Lodge Hotel; Edderton Inn; Cariblair; Carriblair; Balblair	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Standing Stone	1
73	14736	NH78SW 17	Ardjachie Farm	NA	Cup Marked Stone, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
75	14913	NH80SW 21	Dunachton	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
76	15261	NH87NE 7	Hilton Of Cadboll, 'cadboll Stone'	Hilton Of Cadboll Stone	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
77	15278	NH87SE 4	Shandwick Stone	Clach A' Charridh	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
78	15280	NH87SW 1	Nigg	Nigg Church; Nigg, Old Parish Church; Nigg Churchyard	Cross Slab, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2

79	15339	NH89NW 20	Littleferry Links	Dunrobin Museum; Meikle Ferry; Little Ferry Links	Midden(s), Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish), Lithic Implement(s) (flint)	1
80	15340	NH89NW 21	Littleferry Links	Dunrobin Museum	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
81	15341	NH89NW 22	Littleferry Links	Dunrobin Museum	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
82	15342	NH89NW 23	Littleferry Links	Dunrobin Museum	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
83	15343	NH89NW 24	Littleferry Links	Dunrobin Museum	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
84	15344	NH89NW 25	Littleferry Links	Inverness Museum	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
85	15429	NH92SE 1	Lynchurn	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
86	15498	NH94SW 10	Glenferness House, Princess Stone	Glenferness House Policies; Princess' Stone	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
88	15529	NH95NE 3	Brodie, Rodney's Stone	Dyke Parish Church; Brodie Castle Policies	Cross Slab (pictish), Ogham Inscribed Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
89	15638	NH98SW 15	Tarbat	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
91	15703	NJ02NW 41	Inverallan Churchyard, Pictish Symbol Stone	Inverallan Churchyard, Symbol Stone And Cross-incised Slab; Inverallan Kirkyard	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
92	15737	NJ03SW 3	Grantown, Cnoc-an- fruich	Frenchies Hillock; Cnock-an- fruich	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
94	15977	NJ12NW 2	Balneilean	Balnalon, Balnellan, Balneilan	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
95	16011	NJ13NE 71	Inveravon	Inveravon No. 1; Inveraven, Pictish Symbol Stones	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
96	16012	NJ13NE 72	Inveravon	Inveravon No. 2; Inveraven, Pictish Symbol Stones	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1

97	16013	NJ13NE 73	Inveravon	Inveravon No. 3; Inveraven, Pictish Symbol Stones	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
98	16014	NJ13NE 74	Inveravon	Inveravon No. 4; Inveraven, Pictish Symbol Stones	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
99	16036	NJ13SW 2	Advie	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
100	16043	NJ14SE 11	Knockando	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
101	16044	NJ14SE 12	Knockando	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
102	16078	NJ15NE 7	Upper Manbean	Upper Manbeen; Field Of The Standing Stone	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
103	16255	NJ16SW 26	Easterton Of Roseisle	NA	Cist, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
104	16329	NJ23SW 2	Tom Na Heron	Inveravon	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
105	16341	NJ24NE 2	Arndilly	Arndilly House	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
106	16411	NJ25NW 11	Birnie Churchyard, Pictish Symbol Stone	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
107	16482	NJ26NW 31	Drainie	Kinnedar Manse; Old Manse Of Kinneddar; Kinnedar; Drainie Manse; Drainie No. 1	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
109	16627	NJ26SW 2	Elgin Cathedral, Pictish Cross-slab	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
110	16800	NJ33NW 12	Mortlach, The Battle Stone	Dufftown; Mortlach 1	Cross Slab, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
111	17003	NJ40NW 7	Tillypronie	Mill Of Newton; Tom-a-char; Tillypronie House	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
112	17009	NJ40SE 12	Corrachree Symbol Stone	Logiemar House; Tarland; Corrachree, Symbol Stone	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
113	17184	NJ42NE 221	Rhynie	Rhynie Plough Inn; Rhynie No. 2	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1

115	17194	NJ42NE 322	Rhynie, St Luag's Church, Churchyard, Rhynie No. 5	Rhynie, St Luag's Church, Churchyard, Rhynie No. 5	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
116	17199	NJ42NE 35	Rhynie, Craw Stane	Cro Stone; Crow Stone; Mains Of Rhynie; Rhynie No. 1	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
117	17200	NJ42NE 36	Mains Of Rhynie	Mains Of Rhynie; Rhynie No. 4	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
119	17219	NJ42NE 53	Rhynie, Barflat	Rhynie Graveyard, Mid Stone; Rhynie No. 8	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
120	17507	NJ50SW 11	Aboyne, Old Parish Church, Cross-slab	Formaston; St Adamnan's Church; Victory Hall, Aboyne	Cross Slab (pictish), Ogham Inscribed Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
121	17636	NJ52NE 3	Ardlair	Kennethmont	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Standing Stone	1
122	17656	NJ52NW 19	Hillhead Of Clatt, Salmon Stone	Percylieu Stone; Leith Hall	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
123	17676	NJ52NW 7	Clatt, Clatt 2	Clatt Churchyard; Clatt Parish Church; Clatt Kirkyard; Kirktown Of Clatt, Old Parish Church	Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish)	1
124	17706	NJ52SW 12	Knockespock House, Symbol Stone	Clatt 1; Clatt Churchyard	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
125	17740	NJ53NE 6	Leys Of Dummies	Huntly, Leys Of Dummies	Carved Stone, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
126	17744	NJ53NW 1	Huntly	Huntly Market Square; Standing Stanes Of Strathbogie	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Stone Circle (possible)	1
127	17814	NJ54NE 25	North Redhill	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
128	17824	NJ54NW 1	Tillytarmont, No. 2	Whitestones House; North Redhill	Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish)	1
129	17826	NJ54NW 11	Tillytarmont, The Goose Stone	Tilleytarmont No. 1; North Tillytarmont; Donaldstone Haugh	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1

130	17836	NJ54NW 20	Tillytarmont	Tillytarmont No. 5	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
131	17838	NJ54NW 22	Tillytarmont	Tillytarmont No.6; Tillytarmont No.5	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
132	18025	NJ60SW 6	Craigmyle	Cothill; Craigmyle House	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
133	18085	NJ62NE 121	Newton House	Shevock	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
134	18093	NJ62NE 19	Newton Of Lewesk	Kinellar House Policies	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
135	18159	NJ62NW 38	Dead Man's Howe, Wantonwells	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
136	18163	NJ62NW 41	Newbigging, Leslie	Leith Hall; Wolf Stone	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
137	18294	NJ63SW 3	Myreton Farm, Picardy Stone	Myreton Farm, Inch; Netherton	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
138	18537	NJ70NW 3	Nether Corskie	Waterton Of Echt; Upper Corskie; Dunecht School	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Stone Circle (possible)	1
139	18590	NJ71NE 321	Kintore	Castle Hill; Kintore No. 2	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
140	18591	NJ71NE 322	Kintore	Castle Hill; Kintore No. 3	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
141	18592	NJ71NE 33	Kintore	Kintore Churchyard; Kintore No. 1	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
142	18631	NJ71NE 69	Kintore, Pictish Symbol Stone	Kintore No. 4	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Saddle Quern (pictish)	1
143	18644	NJ71NE 8	Broomend Of Crichtie	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
144	18658	NJ71NW 12	Monymusk	Monymusk Castle; Monymusk Parish Church; The Monymusk Stone	Bench Mark (19th Century), Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
145	18854	NJ72NW 71	Logie Elphinstone	Logie House Policies; Logie Elphinstone No. 1; Moor Of Carden	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1

146	18855	NJ72NW 72	Logie Elphinstone	Logie House Policies; Logie Elphinstone No. 2; Moor Of Carden	Ogham Inscribed Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
147	18856	NJ72NW 73	Logie Elphinstone	Logie House Policies; Logie Elphinstone No. 3; Moor Of Carden	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
149	18873	NJ72SE 111	Inverurie	Old Inverurie Churchyard; Inverurie Cemetery; Inverurie No. 1; Inverury No. 1	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
150	18874	NJ72SE 112	Inverurie	Old Inverurie Churchyard; Inverurie Cemetery; Inverurie No. 2; Inverury No. 2	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
151	18875	NJ72SE 113	Inverurie	Old Inverurie Churchyard; Inverurie Cemetery; Inverury No. 3; Inverurie No. 3	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
152	18894	NJ72SE 23	Brandsbutt, Inverurie, Symbol Stone	Brandsbutt Stone	Ogham Inscribed Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
153	18912	NJ72SE 4	East Balhalgardy	East Balhaggardy; Easter Balhalgardy	Architectural Fragment, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
154	18919	NJ72SE 46	Keith Hall	Keithhall; Caskie Ben; River Don; Caskieben; Keith Hall Policies	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
155	18978	NJ72SW 1	Chapel Of Garioch, The Maiden Stone	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
156	18985	NJ72SW 16	Drummies	Drimmies	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
157	19033	NJ73NE 11	Fyvie	Fyvie No. 1	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
158	19034	NJ73NE 12	Fyvie	Fyvie No. 2	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
159	19036	NJ73NE 14	Fyvie	Rothiebrisan; Tocherford; Fyvie No. 4	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
160	19157	NJ74NW 20	Turriff Manse, Pictish Symbol Stone	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1

161	19465	NJ81NE 81	Dyce, Saint Fergus' Church, Pictish Symbol Stone No 1	Chapel Of St Fergus; Old Parish Church Of Dyce; Dyce, Old Church	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
162	19466	NJ81NE 82	Dyce, Saint Fergus' Church, Pictish Cross-slab No 2	Chapel Of St Fergus; Old Parish Church Of Dyce; Dyce, Old Church	Cross Slab (pictish), Ogham Inscribed Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
163	19595	NJ81SW 6	Kinellar	Kinellar Church	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
164	19726	NJ82SW 4	Bourtie Parish Church, Pictish Symbol Stone	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
165	20738	NJ95SE 41	Fetterangus Church	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
166	20818	NJ96SW 1	Tyrie, Raven Stone	Tyrie Kirk	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
167	21384	NL68NW 20	Pabbay	NA	Chapel, Cross Slab(s), Midden, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
173	25815	NN86NW 3	Struan	Strowan; Struan Church	Cross Incised Stone, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Stone	1
174	25924	NN90NW 3	Peterhead Farm, Gleneagles	Loaninghead; Blackford	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Standing Stone	1
175	26193	NN92SW 5	Fowlis Wester, Cross	Cross Of Fowlis; Fowlis Wester Church; Fowlis Wester Cross	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
176	26295	NN95NW 29	Dunfallandy	Clach An T-sagart; Dunfallandy Stone	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
177	26339	NN95SE 33	Logierait Churchyard	Logierait 2	Cross Slab (pictish)	2
178	26341	NN95SE 4	Logierait Churchyard, Cross Slab	Logierait 1	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
180	26956	NO03NE 1	Gellyburn	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2

181	26982	NO03NE 6	Gellyburn	Gellyburn Farina Works/murthly Estate	Chapel (possible), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
183	27924	NO11NE 19	Abernethy	Abernethy No. 1; School Wynd; Mornington; Abernethy Churchyard; Abernethy Round Tower	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
185	28011	NO11NW 10	Moncrieffe House, Boar Stone Of Gask	Gask, Bore Stone; Moncrieffe House Policies; Moncrieffe House Cross	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
186	28201	NO12SE 15	St Madoes Churchyard, Cross-slab	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
187	28250	NO12SE 9	St Madoes, Inchyra Stone	Inchyra House Policies	Inhumation, Ogham Inscribed Stone, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
188	28602	NO13SE 1	Cargill	West Whitefield Farm; Balhomie House; Balholmie House, Rockery	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
189	29872	NO20NW 131	Westfield, Falkland	Westfield Farm; Westfield 1	Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish)	1
190	29873	NO20NW 132	Westfield, Falkland	Westfield Farm; Westfield 2	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
191	29885	NO20NW 23	East Lomond Hill	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
192	30019	NO21NE 10	Abdie Churchyard, 'lindores Stone'	Kaim Hill	Bench Mark (19th Century), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Sundial	1
194	30156	NO21SE 18	Newton Of Collessie, Standing Stone	Halhill Farm	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Standing Stone	1
195	30302	NO21SW 21	Strathmiglo	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
196	30545	NO23NE 32	Keillor	Baldowrie Farm; Baldowrie Symbol Stone	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1

198	30680	NO23SW 4	Collace, Fairygreen	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
199	30756	NO24NW 14	Alyth	Alyth Manse; Alyth, Old Manse; Alyth High Kirk	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
200	30838	NO24SE 251	Meigle	Meigle Museum/meigle Stones; Meigle No. 1	Cross Slab, Cup And Ring Marked Stone, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
219	30860	NO24SE 253	Meigle	Meigle Museum; Meigle Stones; Meigle No. 3	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
223	30864	NO24SE 254	Meigle	Meigle Museum; Templehall; Meigle Stones; Meigle No. 4	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
224	30865	NO24SE 255	Meigle	Meigle Museum; Templehall; Meigle Stones; Meigle No. 5	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
225	30866	NO24SE 256	Meigle	Meigle Museum; Meigle Stones; Meigle No. 6	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
226	30867	NO24SE 257	Meigle	Meigle Museum; Meigle Stones; Meigle No. 7	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
227	30868	NO24SE 258	Meigle	Meigle Museum; Meigle Stones; Meigle No. 8	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
229	31054	NO25SE 17	Bruceton	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
230	31171	NO30NE 1	Walton	Crawford Priory Estate; Cupar	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
231	31328	NO30SE 15	Scoonie	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Ogham Inscribed Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
232	31715	NO32NW 14	Longforgan	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
233	31864	NO33NE 2	Balluderon, 'st Martins Stone'	Balkello; Martin's Stone	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
234	31866	NO33NE 21	Strathmartine	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
236	31880	NO33NE 72	Strathmartine	Strathmartine No.3	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2

237	31881	NO33NE 73	Strathmartine	Strathmartine No.4	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
238	31882	NO33NE 74	Strathmartine	Strathmartine No.5	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
239	31883	NO33NE 75	Strathmartine	Strathmartine No.6	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
241	32063	NO34NE 161	Glamis, St. Fergus's Church	Glamis No. 4	Cross Slab (pictish)	2
242	32064	NO34NE 17	Hunters Hill, Thornton Standing Stone	Loanhead; Glamis No. 1; Hunter's Hill Standing Stone, Thornton	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
243	32067	NO34NE 2	Glamis	Glamis No. 2	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
245	32084	NO34NE 341	Glamis Manse, Rockery	Glamis No.5	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
246	32092	NO34NE 4	Eassie	Eassie Old Church; Eassie, Old Parish Church; Eassie Old Kirk	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
247	32255	NO35NW 31	Kingoldrum	Kingoldrum Parish Church	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
249	32299	NO35SE 201	Kirriemuir	Kirriemuir No.1	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
250	32300	NO35SE 202	Kirriemuir	Kirriemuir No.2	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
252	32773	NO40SW 2	Largo	Largo Cross; Largo Parish Church	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
253	33390	NO43SE 1	Castle Greg	Linlathen House Policies; Cairn Greg	Cairn (bronze Age), Cist (bronze Age), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Beaker, Dagger	1
254	33408	NO43SE 251	Monifieth	Monifieth, St Regulus' Church	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2

255	33409	NO43SE 252	Monifieth	Monifieth, St Regulus' Church	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
257	33775	NO45SE 3	Baggerton	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
258	33868	NO45SW 4	Cossans, 'st Orland's Stone'	Glamis, St Orland's Stone	Cist (possible), Cross Slab (pictish), Grave(s) (possible), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Coin(s) (17th Century)	2
261	34684	NO54NW 3	Dunnichen	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
262	34806	NO55NW 26	Aberlemno	Aberlemno Churchyard; Aberlemno No 2.	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
263	34815	NO55NW 33	Flemington, Aberlemno	Flemington Farm; Aberlemno 5	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
264	34845	NO55NW 61	Woodrae Castle	Woodwray	Cross Slab(s) (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish)	2
265	34861	NO55NW 81	Aberlemno	Aberlemno Roadside; Aberlemno No.1	Cup Marked Stone, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
266	34862	NO55NW 82	Aberlemno	Aberlemno Roadside; Aberlemno No.4	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)(possible)	1
267	34863	NO55NW 83	Aberlemno	Aberlemno Roadside; Aberlemno No.3	Cross Base (pictish), Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
268	35444	NO64NW 12	Kinblethmont	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
269	35560	NO64SW 31	St Vigean, 'drosten Stone'	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
271	35562	NO64SW 311	St Vigean	NA	Cross Slab	2
280	35571	NO64SW 32	St Vigean	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
285	35576	NO64SW 324	St Vigean	NA	Cross Slab	2
291	35582	NO64SW 33	St Vigean	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2

293	35584	NO64SW 34	St Vigeans	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
294	35585	NO64SW 35	St Vigeans	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
295	35586	NO64SW 36	St Vigeans	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
300	36067	NO67NE 15	St Ringan's Cairn, Redstone Hill	Cairn O' Mount	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
302	36458	NO77NW 32	Auchenblae, Fordoun Parish Church, Fordoun Stone	St Palladius's Chapel; Fordoun Parish Churchyard, Saint Palladius' Chapel; Auchenblae Village	Cross Slab (pictish), Ogham Inscribed Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
303	36624	NO79NE 4410	Park House, Symbol Stone	Park House Estate; Park House Policies	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
304	37143	NO89SW 10	Auquhollie, Lang Stane	Ogham Stone	Ogham Inscribed Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish), Standing Stone	1
305	52135	NT27SE 130	Edinburgh, Princes Street Gardens	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
306	54197	NT41SW 3	Borthwick Mains	Carved Stone	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)(possible)	1
310	73071	NO23SE 41	Rossie Church, Cross-slab	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
311	73810	NJ05NW 86	Forres, 7 Saint Leonards Road, Rosebank	Forres 2	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
313	78421	HY45SE 68	Papa Westray, St Boniface's Church	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
314	79892	NO34SE 16	Wester Denoon, Cross- slab	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2

317	107566	NO59NE 182	Birse Parish Church, Manse, Walled Garden, Pictish Symbol Stone	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
318	123604	HU31SE 39	Breck Of Hillwell	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
319	132406	HY30SW 39	Orphir	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish)	1
320	132406	HY30SW 39	Orphir	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone(s) (pictish)	1
321	139356	NJ02SW 36	Ballintomb	Finlarig (Same as 139359)	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
323	183276	NJ81NE 79	Cairnton	Hill Of Middleton	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
324	191750	NJ72SE 114	Inverurie	Old Inverurie Churchyard; Inverurie Cemetery; Inverury No. 4; Inverurie No. 4	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
325	229637	NO39NE 22	Tullich, St Nathalan's Kirk, Symbol Stone, Tullich 1	Tullich Churchyard	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
327	241908	NJ72NE 11	Daviot	Newton Of Mounie; Mounie Castle	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
328	241919	NH67SW 55	Dalnavie	Stittenham; Dalnavie Farm	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
330	251204	NR45SE 33	Islay, Kildalton Chapel Burial Ground, Kildalton Great Cross	Kildalton Old Parish Church; Kildalton High Cross; Thief's Cross; The Kildalton Cross	Cross (early Medieval)	2
331	259977	NH55NW 178	Dingwall, Kinnairdie	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)(possible)	1
333	269431	NH68NW 43	Kincardine	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)(possible)	1
337	288512	NJ26NW 332	Drainie	Kinneddar Church; Drainie No. 32	Cross Slab, Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2

338	288643	NJ40NW 22	Migvie Churchyard, Symbol Stone	St Finan's Church; St Finnan's Church; Migvie, Old Parish Church; Migvie Parish Church	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
339	301509	NC82NE 64	Borrobol	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
340	317886	NH92NE 31	Finlanrig	Finlarig; Muckrach; Chapel Park; Findlarig	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
341	318083	NO43NW 92	Tealing Parish Church	NA	Carved Stone(s), Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
342	318084	NO34SW 282	Wester Denoon	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Marriage Stone	2
343	318420	NJ94NE 52	Old Deer, Deer Abbey	Old Deer Abbey; Cistercian Abbey Of Deer	Cross Incised Stone (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
345	318439	NO33SE 231	Dundee, Invergowrie, St Peter's Church, No. 1	Dargie Church; Old Kirk; Old Parish Church	Cross Slab (early Medieval)	2
348	318992	ND16SW 22	Skinnet Chapel	Skinnet, St Thomas' Chapel	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	2
349	319016	ND07SW 41	Crosskirk	Chapel Pool	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
350	319201	NJ16NW 51	Burghead	Burghead 1	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
351	319202	NJ16NW 52	Burghead	Burghead 2	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
352	319203	NJ16NW 53	Burghead	Burghead 3	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
353	319204	NJ16NW 54	Burghead	Burghead 4	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
354	319205	NJ16NW 55	Burghead	Burghead 5	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
355	319206	NJ16NW 56	Burghead	Burghead 6	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1

359	319450	NL68NW 21	Pabbay	NA	Cross Slab (pictish), Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
360	319516	NJ02NE 11	Parc-an-caipel, Congash, Congash 1	Congash, Old Kirkyard; Congash Graveyard; Congash, Grantown	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
361	319517	NJ02NE 12	Parc-an-caipel, Congash, Congash 2	Congash, Old Kirkyard; Congash Graveyard; Congash, Grantown	Pictish Symbol Stone (early Medieval)	1
362	319615	NO88SE 21	Dunnicaer	Dun-na-caer; Stonehaven; Dinnacair	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
363	319616	NO88SE 22	Dunnicaer	Dun-na-caer; Stonehaven; Dinnacair	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
364	319617	NO88SE 23	Dunnicaer	Dun-na-caer; Stonehaven; Dinnacair	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
365	319618	NO88SE 24	Dunnicaer	Dun-na-caer; Stonehaven; Dinnacair	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
366	319619	NO88SE 25	Dunnicaer	Dun-na-caer; Stonehaven; Dinnacair	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
367	319620	NO88SE 26	Dunnicaer	Dun-na-caer; Stonehaven; Dinnacair	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
368	319685	NJ52NW 230	Clatt, Clatt 3	Clatt Churchyard; Clatt Parish Church; Clatt Kirkyard; Kirktown Of Clatt, Old Parish Church	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
369	319702	NJ42NE 323	Rhynie, St Luag's Church, Churchyard, Rhynie No. 6	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
370	319725	NJ54NW 80	Tillytarmont, No. 3	Whitestones House; North Redhill	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
371	319726	NJ54NW 81	Tillytarmont, No. 4	Whitestones House; North Redhill	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
372	319861	NJ33NW 139	Mortlach, Mortlach 2	Dufftown	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1

373	319880	ND35SW 121	Ackergill Links, Ackergill 1	Wic 130a & 130b	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
374	319881	ND35SW 122	Ackergill Links, Ackergill 2	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone (pictish)	1
375	341175	NJ24NE 208	Dandaleith	NA	Pictish Symbol Stone	1

Section 2: Location

OBJECT_ID	CANMORE_ID	NORTHING	EASTING	COUNCIL	COUNTY	PARISH	DISTRICT	REGION	ORI_POS	REUSE
1	228	1157650	419120	SHETLAND ISLANDS	SHETLAND	WALLS AND SANDNESS	Shetland	Shetland Islands Area	Not Listed	In wall of Sandness Church, now lost
4	1789	1026780	325370	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	BIRSAY AND HARRAY	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Cist cover	Part of farm office at Boardhouse
5	1797	1028500	323980	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	BIRSAY AND HARRAY	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Not Listed	Found in 1935 close to the side of the cemetery
6	1985	1017100	337800	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	FIRTH	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Not Listed	Found above fireplace of cottage near Redland, said to have come from near the Broch of Redland, now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland
7	2010	1016800	330820	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	BIRSAY AND HARRAY	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Found in ruined passage in a building on a mound which is probably a broch	Now in tankerness House Museum, Kirkwall

8	2183	1026400	337230	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	EVIE AND RENDALL	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Not Listed	Found on the Sands of Evie in 1967, now in Tankerness House Museum
9	2202	1026800	338100	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	EVIE AND RENDALL	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Found in excavation of broch in 1935	Now at site museum
10	3002	1009320	354450	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	ST ANDREWS AND DEERNESS	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Found while ploughing, possibly near burials	Now in Tankerness House Museum
11	3064	1003170	354190	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	ST ANDREWS AND DEERNESS	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Found while digging drain	Not Listed
12	3422	1037850	361940	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	CROSS AND BURNES	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Not Listed	Not Listed
13	5694	944000	269000	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	FARR	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Not Listed
14	6412	963000	274000	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	FARR	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Built into wall of a barn at Kirtomy, but not recorded
15	6460	906070	289460	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	CLYNE	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Found in Clynekirkton Churchyard
16	6461	906070	289460	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	CLYNE	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Found in 1868 in Clyne Churchyard, now in Dunrobin Museum

17	6524	900930	285130	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Dug up near the site of the former parish church	Around 1834 standing E of Dunrobin Castle, standing beside a walk in woods
18	6547	901370	287040	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Found during excavation of broch	Not Listed
19	6564	900200	283700	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	In 1856 was in Golspie churchyard and had been reused as a burial grounds marker previously, 1868 was moved to Dunrobin Museum
20	6567	900390	284700	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Found while ploughing in the Dairy Park in 1977, overlay low rectangular cairn, covering long cist, female inhumation use was secondary	Now in Dunrobin Castle Museum
21	6576	900570	284940	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Partly covering long cist of two males	Not Listed

22	6594	900180	283380	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Sutherland	Capped small cist, possibly not the original capstone	Now in Dunrobin Castle Museum
23	6942	907940	292980	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	LOTH	Sutherland	Highland	Discovered near stone coffins	Not Listed
24	6944	908380	293160	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	LOTH	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Found in 1873 close to railway on the S side on Kintradwell beach 1/4 mile from Cinn Trola Broch, now in Dunrobin Museum
25	6945	908380	293160	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	LOTH	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Found in 1872 close to railway on the S side on Kintradwell beach 1/4 mile from Cinn Trola Broch, now in Dunrobin Museum
26	6946	908380	293160	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	LOTH	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Found near other two in 1873
27	6947	908060	292830	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	LOTH	Sutherland	Highland	Found in 1864, 100 yds W of Cinn Trola Broch	Now in Dunrobin Castle Museum

28	6951	906900	291400	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	CLYNE	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Found before 1860 near Dalchallium on a terrace not far from the sea on Clyne-milton farm, now in Dunrobin Museum
29	6953	906900	291400	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	CLYNE	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Broken, found at Clynemilton, now in Dunrobin Castle Museum
30	7247	965100	295100	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	REAY	Caithness	Highland	Not Listed	Used as part of the covering of the mill lade at Sandside Farm, now is attached to garden wall
32	7438	916150	304190	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	KILDONAN	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Found near St. Ninian's Chapel
33	8144	933150	319810	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	LATHERON	Caithness	Highland	Not Listed	Found in 1903 on the interior face of the wall of an old byre, then Keiss Castle, now in National Museum of Antiquities

34	8149	933430	319900	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	LATHERON	Caithness	Highland	Not Listed	Used as a lintel in a false window in the S gable of the farmhouse, whitewashed
36	8431	968790	312550	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	THURSO	Caithness	Highland	Not Listed	Stood in ancient burial ground attached to ruined church of St. martin at Ulbster, then used as burial marker, then moved to Thurso Castle, now stands at the entrance to Thurso Museum
37	9065	940763	331171	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	WICK	Caithness	Highland	Found near platform cairn, one piece on top, one piece next to it	Now on display at the Northlands Viking Centre, Auchengill
38	9131	958470	333920	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	WICK	Caithness	Highland	Not Listed	Found acting as paving stone in rectangular stone structure in top of mound, broken

40	9585	990840	347070	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	SOUTH RONALDSAY	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Not Listed	Used as the sill of a windwo at St. Peter's Church, now at the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland
41	10189	856000	80000	WESTERN ISLES	INVERNESS-SHIRE	SOUTH UIST	Western Isles	Western Isles Islands Area	Not Listed	Found lying on the seashore
44	10831	846480	124080	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	DUIRINISH	Skye and Lochalsh	Highland	Not Listed	Covered well until 1910, then removed to Dunvegan Castle
45	11078	834000	133000	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	BRACADALE	Skye and Lochalsh	Highland	Not Listed	Found on beach at Fiscavaig, Loch Bracadale, now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland

46	11276	849080	142100	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	SNIZORT	Skye and Lochalsh	Highland	Not Listed	Until 1880 was incorporated into a door jamb of a shoemaker's house in Tote, it was removed and erected on a slight ridge and is bounded on the N by a quarry
48	11475	836770	154670	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	PORTREE	Skye and Lochalsh	Highland	Found when building a road	Now stands at the entrance to a conifer plantation
51	11962	875650	180750	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	GAIRLOCH	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Found in the field of a cairn	Built into S wall of cemetery, now at Gairloch Museum
52	11977	880960	186030	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	GAIRLOCH	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	Recumbent in churchyard
53	12458	858520	248450	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	FODDERTY	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	Stands on a small tumulus
54	12626	830000	251000	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	URQUHART AND GLENMORISTON	Inverness	Highland	Found in 1864 while ploughing covering a structure similar to a cairn on the farm of Drumbuie	Now at Royal Museum of Scotland, formerly the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland

55	12627	830000	251000	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	URQUHART AND GLENMORISTON	Inverness	Highland	Found in 1864 while ploughing covering a structure similar to a cairn on the farm of Drumbuie	Broken into three fragments
56	12634	832220	251100	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	URQUHART AND GLENMORISTON	Inverness	Highland	Found during excavation of small cairn in 1974	Now in Inverness Museum
57	12674	845280	251010	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	KILMORACK	Inverness	Highland	while digging in garden	Not Listed
59	12820	858930	254930	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	DINGWALL	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	Used as lintel over doorway of church built in 1801, now erected on a bae in the churchyard opposite the entrance gateway
60	12828	854900	255900	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	URQUHART AND LOGIE WESTER	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	found on Torgorm farm, now in Inverness Museum
61	13163	835420	260570	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	DORES	Inverness	Highland	Not Listed	Found when reclaiming waste land used for chimney-head of the cottage

62	13502	844000	267000	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	INVERNESS AND BONA	Inverness	Highland	Found as Fragment near Inverness	Now in Inverness Museum
63	13507	841340	265670	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	INVERNESS AND BONA	Inverness	Highland	Not Listed	E side of Inverness-Loch Ashie (Not in original position) in a field at Knocknagael Farm S of Inverness, then in 1995 moved to Highland Regional Council Chambers, Inverness
64	13529	843800	266500	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	INVERNESS AND BONA	Inverness	Highland	Not Listed	found in a dyke
65	13546	840410	263410	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	DORES	Inverness	Highland	Found while ploughing in 1955	Not Listed
66	13617	869020	268100	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	ROSSKEEN	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	Not Listed
67	13738	874300	265000	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	ROSSKEEN	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	Built into an old wall at Stittenham before 1891
68	13738	874300	265000	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	ROSSKEEN	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	Built into an old wall at Stittenham before 1891
70	14139	831080	279680	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	MOY AND DALAROSSIE	Inverness	Highland	Not Listed	Now in the Royal Museum of Scotland

71	14393	857630	273720	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	ROSEMARKIE	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	Found in floor of old church before 1821, broken, restored, stood outside church but now moved to Groam House Museum, Rosemarkie
72	14653	885070	270820	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	EDDERTON	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Standing in arable field	Not Listed
73	14736	884500	274600	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	TAIN	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Found while ploughing in 1960	Now in Tain Museum
75	14913	804610	282080	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	ALVIE	Badenoch and Strathspey	Highland	Not Listed	Found serving as a lintel in the old steading at Dunachton, erected on the terrace at the S corner of garden
76	15261	876880	287300	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	FEARN	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Stood near chapel dedicated to Virgin Mary	Used as gravestone in 1676, lay near seashore until c. 1811, removed to Invergordon Castle, in 1922 presented to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland

77	15278	874710	285550	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	NIGG (ROSS AND CROMARTY)	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Stands in a field on a hillside sloping towards the sea above the S side of the village of Shandwick	Known graveyard near stone until 1880s, blown down c. 1846 and broken, restored and re-erected on new base, glass enclosure
78	15280	871710	280460	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	NIGG (ROSS AND CROMARTY)	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Stood in churchyard	Now inside Nigg Old Parish Church
79	15339	896600	281400	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Found near sheel mounds, now in Dunrobin Museum
80	15340	896500	281400	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Found in 1872 W of Golspie on the S side of Ferry Road on flat	Now in the Dunrobin Museum
81	15341	896500	281400	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Found in 1874 W of Golspie on the S side of Ferry Road on flat	Now in the Dunrobin Museum
82	15342	896500	281400	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Not Listed
83	15343	898000	282000	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Not Listed

84	15344	896600	281400	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	GOLSPIE	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Found in collection in Inverness Museum, fits another stone
85	15429	820600	295300	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	DUTHIL AND ROTHIE MURCHUS	Badenoch and Strathspey	Highland	Found on farm c. 1870	It was broken up, used as grave stone in Kincardine churchyard, now standing
86	15498	842602	293651	HIGHLAND	NAIRN	ARDCLACH	Nairn	Highland	Standing on small cairn	Broken, restored
88	15529	857665	298425	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DYKE AND MOY	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found during excavations for foundation of new parish church at Dyke
89	15638	884020	291510	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	TARBAT	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	Portion of it lies in graveyard, other portion was put in grave and covered up, portion in graveyard was removed to Invergordon Castle
91	15703	826020	302660	HIGHLAND	MORAYSHIRE	CROMDALE, INVERALLAN AND ADVIE	Badenoch and Strathspey	Highland	In c. 1888 found in Inverallan churchyard	Now built into NW wall of graveyard

92	15737	830120	304520	HIGHLAND	MORAYSHIRE	CROMDALE, INVERALLAN AND ADVIE	Badenoch and Strathspey	Highland	While digging the knol Cnoc- an-Fruich	Now in National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland
94	15977	825900	314900	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	KIRKMICHAEL (MORAY)	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found built into a wall of the farmstead of Balneilean, now lost, buildings were whitewashed
95	16011	837670	318280	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	INVERAVON	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Now inside church
96	16012	837570	318280	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	INVERAVON	Moray	Grampian	Found in Inveravon churchyard	Not Listed
97	16013	837570	318280	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	INVERAVON	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found near church, now in church
98	16014	837370	318280	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	INVERAVON	Moray	Grampian	Found in Inveravon churchyard in 1964	Not Listed
99	16036	834260	312650	HIGHLAND	MORAYSHIRE	CROMDALE, INVERALLAN AND ADVIE	Badenoch and Strathspey	Highland	Not Listed	Found in the old burial ground of the parish of Advie
100	16043	842830	318620	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	KNOCKANDO	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in the old burial ground of Pulvrenan, now built into church wall
101	16044	842830	318620	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	KNOCKANDO	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in the old burial ground of Pulvrenan, now built into church wall

102	16078	857610	318680	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	ELGIN	Moray	Grampian	Stands in field W of Upper Manbean Farm House	Initials now added to stone
103	16255	864800	314400	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DUFFUS	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found while ploughing - part of the W wall for a cist, but had inscribed symols on both sides- most likely stood upright, weathering of the stone supports this, was taken to museum
104	16329	831030	320840	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	INVERAVON	Moray	Grampian	Standing over tumuli	Now lost
105	16341	847070	329060	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	BOHARM	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in the wall of the old church, now built into the W gable of Arndilly House
106	16411	858737	320634	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	BIRNIE	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Stands against the outside of the entrance to Birnie parish church
107	16482	869600	322300	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DRAINIE	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Now in Elgin Museum, is lost

109	16627	863050	322190	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	ELGIN	Moray	Grampian	Found in 1823 during repairs to street, within former churchyard of St. Giles	Now located W end of the quire
110	16800	839280	332370	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	MORTLACH	Moray	Grampian	Stands in middle of the field below Mortlach churchyard	Not Listed
111	17003	807950	343240	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	LOGIE-COLDSTONE	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Stood on rising / low hillock called Tom a Char, W of the Mill of Newton	Removed and built into farmhouse wall of Mill of Newton, then erected on modern base in garden of Tillypronie House, now moved to Migvie church
112	17009	804698	346155	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	LOGIE-COLDSTONE	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Not Listed
113	17184	827150	349800	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	RHYNIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Stands to the E of the NW gate of Rhynie Square

115	17194	826512	349955	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	RHYNIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Foundations of the old church at Rhynie, founded 1878, now stands against N wall at entrance gateway
116	17199	826345	349749	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	RHYNIE	Gordon	Grampian	Stands below the crest of a low hill on arable land, near 3 enclosure, 2 were likely ditched and other likely had palisade, stone stood between ditches at S side of entrance area, Rhynie project suggests stones are affiliated with high status 6th century settlement	Not Listed

117	17200	827000	349820	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	RHYNIE	Gordon	Grampian	Stand on the Moor of Rhynie that was S of village 1797	Broken up around 1803 for building material and by 1866 was built into wall of barn, may also have been used in former school house, lost around 1903
119	17219	826200	349700	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	RHYNIE	Gordon	Grampian	Found in 1978 while ploughing	Broken, now at Grampian Regional Council headquarters, Aberdeen
120	17507	800140	354120	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABOYNE AND GLENTANAR	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Found under doorway of the old church of St. Adamnan, Formaston, relocated to Aboyne Castle, then moved to Inverurie Museum, now Victory Hall at Aboyne
121	17636	827840	355470	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	KENNETHMONT	Gordon	Grampian	Possibly part of stone circle	Not Listed

122	17656	829980	353990	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	KENNETHMONT	Gordon	Grampian	Dug up and probably found in the vicinity of the cairns N of Newbigging	Stood at well called Salmon well at Hillhead until 1844 then removed to Percylieu where it was broken to fit door sill, about 1887 taken to Cransmill then Mytice, moved to Leith Hall before 1915
123	17676	826000	353890	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CLATT	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Built into the church wall
124	17706	824080	354420	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CLATT	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	First noticed forming part of a wall of burial ground at Clatt in 1842 (not in original position) now stands close to S wall of Knockespock House (taken there in 1890)
125	17740	837620	355820	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	DRUMBLADE	Gordon	Grampian	Found in field at Leys of Dummies farm	broken off and now is in Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, part of it is still in field

126	17744	839990	352920	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	HUNTLY	Gordon	Grampian	Stone circle	Moved for erection of statue, placed against statue
127	17814	846700	356000	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	ROTHIEMAY	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Not Listed
128	17824	847050	352970	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	ROTHIEMAY	Moray	Grampian	Field (Donaldstone Haugh), ploughed up in 1944	Moved to grounds of Whitestones House
129	17826	846450	352970	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CAIRNIE	Gordon	Grampian	Field, Plough	W wall outhouse
130	17836	847240	353310	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CAIRNIE	Gordon	Grampian	Field, Plough	Garden, then museum
131	17838	847160	353310	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CAIRNIE	Gordon	Grampian	Found ploughing field, was adjacent to square cairn	Now at the Marishal Museum, University of Aberdeen
132	18025	802344	364014	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	KINCARDINE O'NEIL	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Possibly part of stone circle	Not Listed
133	18085	829720	366230	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CULSALMOND	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Not Listed

134	18093	827900	369300	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	RAYNE	Gordon	Grampian	Fall 1914 Farmer of Newton of Lewesk removed block of stone from soil about 300 yds SW of Farmstead and few yards away from a dry-stone dyke, symbols were on face that was toward ground	put by Logie House, now stands on a bank beside driveway of Kinellar House, now is lost
135	18159	827450	361450	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	INSCH	Gordon	Grampian	Found in 1983 during ploughing	Broken, now in Marischal Museum, Aberdeen
136	18163	825810	360550	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	LESLIE (GORDON)	Gordon	Grampian	Came from Newbigging Farm, Leslie, part of a dyke	Now stands at the side of the walks in the garden of Leith Hall
137	18294	830259	360994	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	INSCH	Gordon	Grampian	Stood on a cairn, empty grave from 1856 excavation	In little enclosure by road near Myreton Farm
138	18537	809598	374825	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CLUNY	Gordon	Grampian	Stone Circle?	Not Listed

139	18590	816340	379390	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	KINTORE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Found on Castle Hill, now in National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland
140	18591	816340	379390	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	KINTORE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Found on Castle Hill, now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland
141	18592	816280	379300	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	KINTORE	Gordon	Grampian	Dug up in Kintore Churchyard possibly over grave, possibly came from motte at Castle Hill	Now erected on stone base to S of church
142	18631	816200	379000	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	KINTORE	Gordon	Grampian	Found in 1974 amongst cleared topsoil in a garden in Kintore	Not Listed
143	18644	819700	377980	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	KINTORE	Gordon	Grampian	Stood a short distance to the E of Broomend of Crichtie henge	Moved to middle of Broomend of Crichtie henge

144	18658	815100	370300	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	MONYMUSK	Gordon	Grampian	Found in field near river, survey indicated possible structure	Set up near public road, removed to Monymusk House
145	18854	825880	370340	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CHAPEL OF GARIOCH	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Found laying close to other two on the Moor of Carden, built into planation wall on W side of the wood and the E side of the road
146	18855	825880	370340	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CHAPEL OF GARIOCH	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Appears to have been reused in prehistory or at least corrected- one of the symbols is partially erased, found laying close to other two on the Moor of Carden, built into planation wall on W side of the wood and the E side of the road

147	18856	825880	370340	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CHAPEL OF GARIOCH	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Found laying close to other two on the Moor of Carden, built into planation wall on W side of the wood and the E side of the road
149	18873	820620	378020	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	INVERURIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Seems to have been reused in prehistory- two pairs of symbols- one pair is incised deeper than the other/ broken fragments
150	18874	820620	378020	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	INVERURIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Broken fragments of larger stone, used for building
151	18875	820620	378020	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	INVERURIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Not Listed
152	18894	822403	375992	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	INVERURIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Broken up and built into a field dyke, some pieces have been brought to an area under guardianship
153	18912	823790	376080	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CHAPEL OF GARIOCH	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Built into a N facing wall as a lintel over a window in the old farmhouse

154	18919	820180	377990	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	KEITHHALL AND KINKELL	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in River Don 1853, erected on Caskieben motte, at Keith Hall
155	18978	824714	370378	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	CHAPEL OF GARIOCH	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Near original position, moved to S of road, on lower part of slope of low hill in field
156	18985	823500	374260	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	INVERURIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Built into a wall of a garden
157	19033	837770	376840	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	FYVIE	Banff and Buchan	Grampian	Not Listed	Found at Fyvie schoolhouse but now in east gable of parish church rebuilt in 1904
158	19034	837770	376840	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	FYVIE	Banff and Buchan	Grampian	Not Listed	Built into the gable at Fyvie church
159	19036	837770	376840	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	FYVIE	Banff and Buchan	Grampian	Not Listed	From garden of Rothiebrisbane house, was previously drain cover, now at St. Peter's Church, Fyvie

160	19157	849910	372300	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	TURRIFF	Banff and Buchan	Grampian	Not Listed	Previously built into outside E wall at the manse garden of Turiff then moved to N inside wall of Manse, then moved and built into low retaining wall on edge of driveway to the E of St. Ninian's Church
161	19465	815410	387520	ABERDEEN, CITY OF	ABERDEENSHIRE	DYCE	City of Aberdeen	Grampian	Not Listed	Built into the E wall of the churchyard, now within church
162	19466	815410	387520	ABERDEEN, CITY OF	ABERDEENSHIRE	DYCE	City of Aberdeen	Grampian	Not Listed	Built into the wall of churchyard, now within church
163	19595	814450	382140	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	KINELLAR	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in 1801 forming the foundation of old church of Kinellar, now inside church
164	19726	824850	380450	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	BOURTIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Built into S exterior wall of Bourtie (Parish) Church

165	20738	850560	398130	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	OLD DEER	Banff and Buchan	Grampian	Not Listed	Moved from original position, now inside the graveyard wall of Fetterangus Church
166	20818	863110	393000	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	TYRIE	Banff and Buchan	Grampian	Not Listed	Found from foundation of NE corner of old parish church, now is part of the porch of new church
167	21384	787450	60720	WESTERN ISLES	INVERNESS-SHIRE	BARRA	Western Isles	Western Isles Islands Area	Not Listed	Formerly on side of chapel and graveyard mound, erected, cross possibly added later
173	25815	765330	280870	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	BLAIR ATHOLL	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Formerly in the churchyard, now in the church
174	25924	709800	292430	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	BLACKFORD	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	In field, survey showed structures around it	Not Listed
175	26193	724041	292777	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	FOWLIS WESTER	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Removed from original position and erected in center of village, now in church

176	26295	756530	294629	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	LOGIERAIT	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Stood near the site of the chapel at Dunfallandy	Not Listed
177	26339	752000	296700	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	LOGIERAIT	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
178	26341	752019	296798	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	LOGIERAIT	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
180	26956	739170	309390	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	LITTLE DUNKELD	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Found in wall of house at Gellyburn village, now in Perth Museum
181	26982	739200	309300	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	LITTLE DUNKELD	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Found while ploughing field	Not Listed
183	27924	716392	318990	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	ABERNETHY (PERTH AND KINROSS)	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Found in the foundations of house in Abernethy, now leaning against Abernethy tower
185	28011	719330	313660	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	DUNBARNEY	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Formerly stood in a field on the S side of road from Gask House to Gask Church, now on carriage drive to Moncrieffe House

186	28201	721190	319660	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	ST MADDOES	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Formally set on a plinth at the entrance to St. Maddoes parish church, now in Perth Museum
187	28250	721200	319040	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	ST MADDOES	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Found covering a burial, found during ploughing	Not Listed
188	28602	734500	316000	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	CARGILL	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Found on a dyke	In a rockery wall
189	29872	707320	323840	FIFE	FIFE	FALKLAND	North East Fife	Fife	Not Listed	Found in wall of byres on farm, left out by garage, moved to museum
190	29873	707320	323840	FIFE	FIFE	FALKLAND	North East Fife	Fife	Not Listed	Found in wall of byres on farm, left out by garage, moved to museum
191	29885	706200	324400	FIFE	FIFE	FALKLAND	North East Fife	Fife	Not Listed	Found within S side of the fort of the East Lomond, now in National Museum of Antiquities
192	30019	716334	325952	FIFE	FIFE	ABDIE	North East Fife	Fife	Stood on the crest of Kaim Hill	Built into the garden wall of nearby cottage, used for sun-dial

194	30156	713244	329271	FIFE	FIFE	COLLESSIE	North East Fife	Fife	Not Listed	Excavation was not clear if it is in original location
195	30302	710100	320900	FIFE	FIFE	STRATHMIGLO	North East Fife	Fife	Not Listed	Reused as gatepost, now erected outside churchyard wall at Strathmiglo
196	30545	739760	327331	PERTH AND KINROSS	ANGUS	KETTINS	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Stands on enclosed knoll or tumulus	Not Listed
198	30680	733190	320690	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	CARGILL	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Found buried in field	now in Aberdeen University Museum
199	30756	748750	324320	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	ALYTH	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Found in 1887 when leveling ground in front of the door of church, now inside Alyth High Kirk
200	30838	744590	328720	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	MEIGLE	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Stood at R side of burial ground	In Meigle Museum

219	30860	744590	328720	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	MEIGLE	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Upper part formerly built into wall of old parish church, lower part re-shaped on two occasions, possibly refashioned to fit into socketed recumbent slab
223	30864	744590	328720	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	MEIGLE	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Found 1858 during dismantling of malt-kiln at Templehall, at museum
224	30865	744590	328720	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	MEIGLE	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Found during the dismantling of the malt kiln at Templehall
225	30866	744590	328720	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	MEIGLE	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Found in parish church in 1869, used as building stone
226	30867	744590	328720	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	MEIGLE	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Found in parish church probably used as building stone
227	30868	744590	328720	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	MEIGLE	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	Fragment found outside museum building 1889

229	31054	750395	328986	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	ALYTH	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Stands in field of Bruceton farmsteadin g on the haughland of the River Isla	Not Listed
230	31171	709600	336300	FIFE	FIFE	CULTS	North East Fife	Fife	Not Listed	Found on Walton Farm, then possession of priory
231	31328	701670	338400	FIFE	FIFE	SCOONIE (KIRKCALDY)	Kirkcaldy	Fife	Not Listed	Found in former churchyard of Scoonie, now in National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland
232	31715	729900	330600	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	LONGFORGAN (PERTH AND KINROSS)	City of Dundee	Tayside	Not Listed	Found in field next to souterrain
233	31864	737580	337480	ANGUS	ANGUS	TEALING	City of Dundee	Tayside	Not Listed	Broken
234	31866	736100	337400	ANGUS	ANGUS	MAINS AND STRATHMARTINE (ANGUS)	City of Dundee	Tayside	Found on dyke on the farm of Strathmartine Castle	Not Listed
236	31880	735250	337840	ANGUS	ANGUS	MAINS AND STRATHMARTINE (ANGUS)	City of Dundee	Tayside	Not Listed	Now part of the Angus Council collection
237	31881	735250	337840	ANGUS	ANGUS	MAINS AND STRATHMARTINE (ANGUS)	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed

238	31882	735250	337840	ANGUS	ANGUS	MAINS AND STRATHMARTINE (ANGUS)	City of Dundee	Tayside	Not Listed	Now lost
239	31883	735250	337840	ANGUS	ANGUS	MAINS AND STRATHMARTINE (ANGUS)	City of Dundee	Tayside	Not Listed	Now lost
241	32063	746800	338600	ANGUS	ANGUS	GLAMIS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Found in Glamis churchyard
242	32064	746545	339379	ANGUS	ANGUS	GLAMIS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Class I was re-used as Class II?
243	32067	746860	338580	ANGUS	ANGUS	GLAMIS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Class I that was re-used as Class II, stands in the garden of the former manse at Glamis
245	32084	746880	338600	ANGUS	ANGUS	GLAMIS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Found in the rockery at Glamis Manse in 1984
246	32092	747450	335260	ANGUS	ANGUS	EASSIE AND NEVAY	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Found in bed of stream near the church, in glass enclosure
247	32255	755000	333400	ANGUS	ANGUS	KINGOLDRUM	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
249	32299	754480	338950	ANGUS	ANGUS	KIRRIEMUIR	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
250	32300	754480	338950	ANGUS	ANGUS	KIRRIEMUIR	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed

252	32773	703470	342340	FIFE	FIFE	LARGO	North East Fife	Fife	Not Listed	Portion found when section of Norrie's Law was removed, other portion found serving as drain cover a mile away, now set within west gateway of Largo parish church
253	33390	733760	346620	DUNDEE, CITY OF	ANGUS	MONIFIETH (DUNDEE, CITY OF)	City of Dundee	Tayside	Found between two capstones of a cist	Removed to Liniathen House
254	33408	732350	349530	ANGUS	ANGUS	MONIFIETH (ANGUS)	City of Dundee	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
255	33409	732350	349530	ANGUS	ANGUS	MONIFIETH (ANGUS)	City of Dundee	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
257	33775	753700	346900	ANGUS	ANGUS	RESCOBIE	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Now lost
258	33868	750019	340083	ANGUS	ANGUS	GLAMIS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Upright stone on sandy ridge overlooking marshy ground, cists in the area, excavation was carried out but not known if this is original position

261	34684	749600	351600	ANGUS	ANGUS	DUNNICHEN	Angus	Tayside	Found while ploughing in field named Chashel or Castle Park, stone coffin containing bones was found immediately below	Now in Dundee Museum
262	34806	755554	352239	ANGUS	ANGUS	ABERLEMNO	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
263	34815	755600	352400	ANGUS	ANGUS	ABERLEMNO	Angus	Tayside	Found while ploughing in 1961	Now in Dundee Museum
264	34845	756630	351850	ANGUS	ANGUS	ABERLEMNO	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Used as a slab for the kitchen floor
265	34861	755918	352277	ANGUS	ANGUS	ABERLEMNO	Angus	Tayside	Near road, in field	Not Listed
266	34862	755900	352263	ANGUS	ANGUS	ABERLEMNO	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
267	34863	755868	352245	ANGUS	ANGUS	ABERLEMNO	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
268	35444	747330	363800	ANGUS	ANGUS	INVERKEILOR	Angus	Tayside	Found while ploughing N of Kinblethmont House	Broken, unlikely original site was in that field, now moved to main hall of Kinblethmont House
269	35560	742940	363830	ANGUS	ANGUS	ARBROATH AND ST VIGEANS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Broken, now in museum
271	35562	742940	363830	ANGUS	ANGUS	ARBROATH AND ST VIGEANS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed

280	35571	742940	363830	ANGUS	ANGUS	ARBROATH AND ST VIGEANS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Now in museum
285	35576	742940	363830	ANGUS	ANGUS	ARBROATH AND ST VIGEANS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
291	35582	742940	363830	ANGUS	ANGUS	ARBROATH AND ST VIGEANS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Removed from St. Vigeans Church to museum
293	35584	742940	363830	ANGUS	ANGUS	ARBROATH AND ST VIGEANS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Now in museum
294	35585	742940	363830	ANGUS	ANGUS	ARBROATH AND ST VIGEANS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Now in museum
295	35586	742940	363830	ANGUS	ANGUS	ARBROATH AND ST VIGEANS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Now in museum
300	36067	779440	365490	ABERDEENSHIR E	KINCARDINESHIR E	FORDOUN	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in 1964 while excavating rubble for road materials, now in Marischal Museum
302	36458	778410	372610	ABERDEENSHIR E	KINCARDINESHIR E	FORDOUN	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Used as the base of the pulpit of the church of 1788

303	36624	797662	378014	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	DRUMOAK	Gordon	Grampian	Found at Bakebrae Farm	Now stands in the grounds of Park House
304	37143	790797	382326	ABERDEENSHIRE	KINCARDINESHIRE	FETTERESSO	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Possibly part of stone circle	Not Listed
305	52135	673600	325000	EDINBURGH, CITY OF	MIDLOTHIAN	EDINBURGH (EDINBURGH, CITY OF)	City of Edinburgh	Lothian	Not Listed	Used as footbridge of one of the walks in Princes Street gardens, near the Wellhouse Tower
306	54197	614111	343728	SCOTTISH BORDERS, THE	ROXBURGHSHIRE	ROBERTON	Roxburgh	Borders	Not Listed	Possibly used for gate post, now in lawn
310	73071	730800	329150	PERTH AND KINROSS	PERTHSHIRE	INCHTURE	Perth and Kinross	Tayside	Not Listed	In former church of Rossie
311	73810	858800	303930	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	FORRES	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in 1992 built into a garden wall at Rosebank, St. Leonard's Road, now in Falconer Museum in Forres
313	78421	1052000	348000	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	PAPA WESTRAY	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Not Listed	Found on the shore near St. Boniface's Church in 1992, now in Tankerness House Museum

314	79892	743390	335020	ANGUS	ANGUS	GLAMIS	Angus	Tayside	Found during ploughing 1994	Fragment, may have been built into field wall
317	107566	797300	355500	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	BIRSE	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Built into the garden wall of Birse old manse
318	123604	1114600	437200	SHETLAND ISLANDS	SHETLAND	DUNROSSNESS	Shetland	Shetland Islands Area	Not Listed	Used as field drain cover
319	132406	1004000	333000	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	ORPHIR	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Not Listed	Not Listed
320	132406	1004000	333000	ORKNEY ISLANDS	ORKNEY	ORPHIR	Orkney	Orkney Islands Area	Not Listed	Built into NW corner of the pend tower
321	139356	824000	300000	HIGHLAND	MORAYSHIRE	CROMDALE, INVERALLAN AND ADVIE	Badenoch and Strathspey	Highland	Not Listed	Found on Ballintomb farm, now built into the face of the garden wall of Finlarig farm house
323	183276	819710	385710	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	FINTRAY	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in large, modern stone pile, now at Marischal College Museum, University of Aberdeen
324	191750	820620	378020	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	INVERURIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Not Listed

325	229637	797548	339050	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	GLENMUICK, TULLICH AND GLENGAIRN	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Used as lintel at the top of a window in the N wall of church, removed now stands within iron rails against N wall of church
327	241908	828800	375950	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	DAVIOT	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Moved from by roadside to the entrance of Mounie Castle
328	241919	874140	264730	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	ROSSKEEN	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Found while ploughing at Dalnavie Farm	Not Listed
330	251204	753900	145802	ARGYLL AND BUTE	ARGYLL	KILDALTON AND OA	Argyll and Bute	Strathclyde	Not Listed	Not Listed
331	259977	858000	254000	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	DINGWALL	Ross and Cromarty	Highland	Not Listed	Not Listed
333	269431	889400	260500	HIGHLAND	ROSS AND CROMARTY	KINCARDINE (SUTHERLAND)	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Now lost
337	288512	869600	322400	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DRAINIE	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Probably originally from Kinneddar (Christian Pictish monastic settlement (Lossiemouth), Moray, now at Elgin Museum

338	288643	806822	343652	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	LOGIE-COLDSTONE	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Not Listed
339	301509	926800	286500	HIGHLAND	SUTHERLAND	KILDONAN	Sutherland	Highland	Not Listed	Not Listed
340	317886	825386	299113	HIGHLAND	MORAYSHIRE	CROMDALE, INVERALLAN AND ADVIE	Badenoch and Strathspey	Highland	Not Listed	Not Listed
341	318083	737943	340350	ANGUS	ANGUS	TEALING	City of Dundee	Tayside	Not Listed	Built into the exterior S wall of Tealing Church, now in Dundee Museum
342	318084	743180	334740	ANGUS	ANGUS	GLAMIS	Angus	Tayside	Not Listed	Used as old marriage lintel that was found during demolition at Wester Denoon Farm,
343	318420	848107	396855	ABERDEENSHIRE	ABERDEENSHIRE	OLD DEER	Banff and Buchan	Grampian	Not Listed	Stood at E end of buildings forming part of abbey
345	318439	730150	335069	PERTH AND KINROSS	ANGUS	DUNDEE (PERTH AND KINROSS)	City of Dundee	Tayside	Not Listed	Not Listed
348	318992	962050	313090	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	HALKIRK	Caithness	Highland	Not Listed	Built into interior W wall of church, removed in 1861, broken and now in Thurso Museum

349	319016	970120	302480	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	REAY	Caithness	Highland	Found in the broch	Given to King of Denmark
350	319201	869140	310880	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DUFFUS	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in 1809 in the Well at Burghead
351	319202	869140	310880	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DUFFUS	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in 1862 in during improvements to the South Quay, now in Moray Museums Service, Burghead Library
352	319203	869140	310880	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DUFFUS	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found at Burghead prior to 1867, now in Elgin Museum
353	319204	869140	310880	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DUFFUS	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found during the demolition of a house at South Quay in 1867, now in Moray Museums Service at Burghead library
354	319205	869140	310880	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DUFFUS	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found before 1809, Now in British Museum, London

355	319206	869140	310880	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	DUFFUS	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in 1854 during alterations to the South Quay, now in Elgin Museum
359	319450	787450	60720	WESTERN ISLES	INVERNESS-SHIRE	BARRA	Western Isles	Western Isles Islands Area	Not Listed	Uncovered by drifting sand some time before 1889
360	319516	826204	305792	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	ABERNETHY AND KINCARDINE	Badenoch and Strathspey	Highland	Not Listed	Found in a small circular enclosure on Congash Farm, forms gamb on right side entering enclosure
361	319517	826204	305789	HIGHLAND	INVERNESS-SHIRE	ABERNETHY AND KINCARDINE	Badenoch and Strathspey	Highland	Not Listed	Found in a small circular enclosure on Congash Farm on W side of entrance
362	319615	784700	388400	ABERDEENSHIRE	KINCARDINESHIRE	DUNNOTTAR	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Fragment, found built into the remains of low wall on the top of a rock stack

363	319616	784640	388210	ABERDEENSHIR E	KINCARDINESHIR E	DUNNOTTAR	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Fragment, found below Dunnicaer, most of the stones were in a wall and then knocked down and recovered, built into the main wall of the garden
364	319617	784640	388210	ABERDEENSHIR E	KINCARDINESHIR E	DUNNOTTAR	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Fragment, found below Dunnicaer, most of the stones were in a wall and then knocked down and recovered, built into the main wall of the garden
365	319618	784640	388210	ABERDEENSHIR E	KINCARDINESHIR E	DUNNOTTAR	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Fragment, found below Dunnicaer, most of the stones were in a wall and then knocked down and recovered, built into the main wall of the garden, now in Aberdeen University Museum

366	319619	784640	388210	ABERDEENSHIR E	KINCARDINESHIR E	DUNNOTTAR	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Fragment, found below Dunnicaer, most of the stones were in a wall and then knocked down and recovered, built into the main wall of the garden
367	319620	784640	388210	ABERDEENSHIR E	KINCARDINESHIR E	DUNNOTTAR	Kincardine and Deeside	Grampian	Not Listed	Not sure if it was originally found at Dunnicaer
368	319685	825980	353840	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	CLATT	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in 1905, built into the external face of the churchyard wall
369	319702	826510	349950	ABERDEENSHIR E	ABERDEENSHIRE	RHYNIE	Gordon	Grampian	Not Listed	Found in the foundation of the old church at Rhynie in the summer of 1878
370	319725	847050	352970	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	ROTHIEMAY	Moray	Grampian	Found before 1867 in the field called Donaldston e Haugh	Now at Whitestones House

371	319726	847050	352970	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	ROTHIEMAY	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	From North Redhill in Moray district, was built into a dyke, then removed to Rothiemay Castle, now at Whitestones House
372	319861	839240	332410	MORAY	BANFFSHIRE	MORTLACH	Moray	Grampian	Not Listed	Found while digging grave, broken, was restored, now inside church
373	319880	954990	334830	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	WICK	Caithness	Highland	Found 1896 on a mound on the links beside Sinclair's Bay	Moved to the National Museums Scotland
374	319881	954970	334870	HIGHLAND	CAITHNESS	WICK	Caithness	Highland	Not Listed	Not Listed
375	341175	845850	328900	MORAY	MORAYSHIRE	ROTHES	Moray	Grampian	Found during ploughing	Not Listed

Section 3: Iconography

OBJECT_ID	CANMORE_ID	SYM_CROSS	SCENES	HYBRID_HF	TYPE_HYB	HF	SYM_S1	SYM_S2	SYM_S3	NOTES
1	228				NA		mirror, horse shoe, rectangle	NONE	NONE	NA
4	1789				NA		eagle	NONE	NONE	NA
5	1797		1		NA	1	mirror case, crescent v- rod, Pictish beast, eagle	NONE	NONE	Likely a Cross slab, dressed/ Pictish Symbols seem to be incised, HF are in relief
6	1985				NA		rectangle, crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
7	21				NA		eagle, crescent v- rod, mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
8	2183				NA		mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
9	222				NA		notched rectangle, mirror case, rectangle	NONE	NONE	NA
1	32				NA		hippocamp	NONE	NONE	It is incised so should be Class 1 but description indicates it is Class 2

11	364				NA		mirror, mirror case, crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
12	3422				NA		double disc	NONE	NONE	Very fragmented, parts of other symbols present
13	5694				NA		horse shoe	NONE	NONE	Only part of symbol is visible, may not be horse shoe
14	6412				NA		serpent	NONE	NONE	Not recorded, no photo
15	646				NA		crescent v- rod, rectangle	NONE	NONE	NA
16	6461				NA		crescent v- rod, rectangle, mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
17	6524				NA		crescent v- rod, flower, tuning fork	NONE	NONE	NA
18	6547				NA		circle within circle	NONE	NONE	Concentric circles, no photo, possibly not Pictish

19	6564	1	1		NA	1	NONE	Pictish beast, lion, rectangle, fish, flower, crescent v- rod, double disc	NONE	Lion may be a wolf, intertwined sea horses
2	6567				NA		mirror, comb, serpent z- rod, double crescent	NONE	NONE	NA
21	6576				NA		mirror, comb, tuning fork, fish	NONE	NONE	NA
22	6594				NA		crescent v- rod, Pictish beast, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA
23	6942				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Stone is now lost, unknown symbols, no photo
24	6944				NA		S-shaped, triple disc	NONE	NONE	Fragmented, the triple disc may be part of a mirror

25	6945				NA		mirror, comb, crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	Very worn
26	6946				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Fragmented, possibly part of tuning fork
27	6947				NA		mirror case, S-shaped	NONE	NONE	NA
28	6951				NA		mirror, crescent v- rod, horse shoe	NONE	NONE	NA
29	6953				NA		mirror, comb, notched rectangle z- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
3	7247				NA		mirror, comb, triple oval, mirror case	NONE	NONE	NA
32	7438				NA		Pictish beast, triple disc	NONE	NONE	Very worn

33	8144	1	1		NA	1	eagle, fish	NONE	NONE	Very worn, cross is clearly in relief but the symbols may be at least partially incised, figures riding horseback are too worn
34	8149				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
36	8431	1	1		NA	1	serpent, bull, flower	Pictish beast, fish, crescent v-rod, double disc, stepped rectangle, lion, double crescent, hippocamp	NONE	Partially incised, possibly two cattle at top not sure if they are symbols
37	965				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
38	9131				NA		mirror, triple oval	NONE	NONE	Mirror may be triple disc
4	9585				NA		rectangle, crescent v-rod	crescent v-rod, mirror case	NONE	NA
41	1189				NA		circular disc, rectangle	NONE	NONE	NA

44	1831				NA		crescent v-rod, triple disc, circle within circle	NONE	NONE	NA
45	1178				NA		crescent v-rod, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
46	11276				NA		crescent v-rod, double disc z-rod, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA
48	11475	1			NA		tuning fork, crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	Chi Rho Cross, dressed stone slab
51	11962				NA		eagle, fish	NONE	NONE	NA
52	11977				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
53	12458				NA		horse shoe, eagle	NONE	NONE	NA
54	12626				NA		serpent z-rod, double disc	NONE	NONE	No photo
55	12627				NA		mirror, comb, mirror case, fish	NONE	NONE	No photo, fragments
56	12634				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	Fragment, possibly part of Pictish beast

57	12674				NA		triple oval, crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
59	1282				NA		double disc z-rod, crescent v- rod, crescent v- rod	circular disc, crescent v- rod	NONE	Stone is very worn three circles may represent circular disc
6	12828				NA		double disc z-rod, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	Fragment
61	13163				NA		boar	NONE	NONE	Possibly a bull
62	1352				NA		bull	NONE	NONE	NA
63	1357				NA		mirror case, boar	NONE	NONE	NA
64	13529				NA		bull	NONE	NONE	NA
65	13546				NA		mirror, comb, notched rectangle z- rod, horse shoe	NONE	NONE	Fragment
66	13617				NA		stepped rectangle	NONE	NONE	Very worn, other parts of symbols present, possibly pincers

67	13738				NA		deer's head	NONE	NONE	Only one record for two stones, added duplicate record
68	13738				NA		wolf	NONE	NONE	Only one record for two stones, added duplicate record
7	14139				NA		double disc z-rod, crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	No Photo
71	14393	1			NA		NONE	crescent v-rod, double disc z-rod, crescent v-rod	NONE	NA
72	14653				NA		fish, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
73	14736				NA		L-shaped rectangle, spoked wheel	NONE	NONE	NA
75	14913				NA		deer's head	NONE	NONE	NA

76	15261		1		NA	1	NONE	double disc z-rod, mirror, comb, two circle discs, crescent v- rod	NONE	NA
77	15278		1	1	winged figures	1	lion	double disc, Pictish beast	NONE	Possibly a lion and boar symbol on front with cross
78	1528		1	1	winged figure	1	NONE	Pictish beast, eagle	NONE	Eagle looks like part of scene, Christian Motifs- SS Anthony and Paul and the raven, David with lion and sheep
79	15339				NA		crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	Possibly part of a mirror
8	1534				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Possibly part of rectangle

81	15341				NA		crescent	NONE	NONE	Very worn, fragment, part of other symbols may be a horse shoe or crescent and separately a rod
82	15342				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Possibly part of a mirror
83	15343				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	Fragment1
84	15344				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	Possibly also part of a mirror
85	15429				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	Fragment
86	15498		1		NA	1	NONE	double disc z-rod, crescent v-rod, Pictish beast, Pictish beast	NONE	Very worn
88	15529				NA		NONE	hippocamp, hippocamp, Pictish beast, double disc z-rod	NONE	Hippocamps are facing each other

89	15638		1		NA	1	NONE	NONE	crescent v-rod, serpent z-rod, tuning fork	NA
91	1573				NA		crescent v-rod, notched rectangle z-rod	NONE	NONE	Very worn
92	15737				NA		stag, comb	NONE	NONE	Comb may be a rectangle
94	15977				NA		circular disc	NONE	NONE	possibly part of Pictish beast
95	1611				NA		mirror, comb, eagle, mirror case	NONE	NONE	NA
96	1612				NA		crescent v-rod, triple disc, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA
97	1613				NA		Pictish beast	NONE	NONE	Fragment
98	1614				NA		crescent v-rod, Pictish beast	NONE	NONE	NA
99	1636				NA		mirror case, crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	NA

1	1643				NA		crescent v-rod, crescent v-rod, spoked wheel	NONE	NONE	Fragmented
11	1644				NA		comb, mirror, flower, serpent	NONE	NONE	Very worn
12	1678				NA		mirror, comb, fish, beast's head, serpent	NONE	NONE	Very worn, fish and beast's head may be fish monster
13	16255				NA		horse shoe, crescent v-rod, mirror, comb	goose, fish	NONE	Mirror side was interior of cist
14	16329				NA		serpent	NONE	NONE	Now lost, no photo, possibly had other symbols on it
15	16341				NA		mirror case, notched rectangle z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
16	16411				NA		notched rectangle z-rod, eagle	NONE	NONE	Very worn
17	16482				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	NA

19	16627		1	1	winged figure	1	NONE	double disc z-rod, crescent v-rod	NONE	Shows hawk with rider but also possible eagle symbol
11	168		1		NA	1	NONE	eagle, bull's head and serpent	NONE	Fish monsters on side with cross
111	173				NA		notched rectangle z-rod, crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
112	179				NA		flower	NONE	NONE	Photo and description did not match
113	17184				NA		double disc z-rod, crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	Very worn, symbols are not clear
115	17194				NA		double disc z-rod, beast's head, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA
116	17199				NA		Pictish beast, fish	NONE	NONE	NA

117	172				NA		Pictish beast, crescent v- rod, mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
119	17219				NA		Pictish beast, comb	NONE	NONE	Fragment, may also have part of a mirror and S-shaped figure
12	1757	1			NA		mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
121	17636				NA		mirror, Pictish beast, tuning fork	NONE	NONE	NA
122	17656				NA		fish, horse shoe	NONE	NONE	NA
123	17676				NA		double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
124	1776				NA		triple disc, double disc z-rod, mirror	NONE	NONE	possibly part of mirror
125	1774				NA		double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
126	17744				NA		horse shoe, double disc	NONE	NONE	possible double disc
127	17814				NA		notched rectangle	NONE	NONE	Possibly part of mirror case
128	17824				NA		crescent v- rod, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA

129	17826				NA		goose, mirror, mirror case	NONE	NONE	NA
13	17836				NA		eagle, Pictish beast	NONE	NONE	NA
131	17838				NA		mirror, comb, serpent z- rod, horse shoe	NONE	NONE	NA
132	1825				NA		notched rectangle, serpent	NONE	NONE	Very worn
133	1885				NA		double disc, serpent z- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
134	1893				NA		rectangle rod, double crescent, mirror case	NONE	NONE	NA
135	18159				NA		double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	Fragment
136	18163				NA		wolf, mirror, comb, rectangle	NONE	NONE	NA
137	18294				NA		double disc z-rod, serpent z- rod, mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
138	18537				NA		mirror, comb, mirror case	NONE	NONE	Recumbent, standing stone

139	1859				NA		mirror, Pictish beast	double disc z-rod, Pictish beast	NONE	NA
14	18591				NA		double crescent, tuning fork	NONE	NONE	No photo, The tuning fork may be pincers
141	18592				NA		fish, triple disc	crescent v- rod, Pictish beast	NONE	NA
142	18631				NA		Pictish beast, square within square, mirror	NONE	NONE	Possibly mirror, symbol is incomplete
143	18644				NA		Pictish beast, crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
144	18658	1			NA		triple disc, stepped rectangle	NONE	NONE	NA
145	18854				NA		crescent v- rod, double disc	NONE	NONE	NA
146	18855				NA		crescent v- rod, double disc z-rod, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA

147	18856				NA		Pictish beast, crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
149	18873				NA		mirror case, crescent v- rod, serpent z-rod, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
15	18874				NA		mirror case, horse shoe	NONE	NONE	Very fragmented
151	18875				NA		double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	Possibly part of mirror
152	18894				NA		crescent v- rod, serpent z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
153	18912				NA		double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	Fragmented and most of symbol is not visible
154	18919				NA		double disc z-rod, fish, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA
155	18978		1	1	Centaur	1	NONE	lion, notched rectangle z- rod, Pictish beast, mirror, comb	NONE	Paneled

156	18985				NA		mirror, comb, S- shaped	NONE	NONE	NA
157	1933				NA		crescent v- rod, Pictish beast, mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
158	1934				NA		double disc z-rod, eagle	NONE	NONE	Fragment
159	1936				NA		horse shoe, circular disc	NONE	NONE	Fragment
16	19157				NA		crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
161	19465				NA		Pictish beast, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
162	19466	1			NA		crescent v- rod, triple disc, double disc z-rod, mirror case	NONE	NONE	NA
163	19595				NA		circular disc, crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
164	19726				NA		crescent v- rod, double disc z-rod, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA

165	2738				NA		triple disc, mirror case	NONE	NONE	Very worn, Parts of two different symbols are mixed - possible mirror case, other symbols may be present but not clear
166	2818				NA		eagle, notched rectangle z- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
167	21384	1			NA		crescent v- rod, flower	NONE	NONE	NA
173	25815				NA		double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	Parts of other symbols but not clear
174	25924				NA		rectangle	NONE	NONE	Very worn, Possibly goose
175	26193		1		NA	1	NONE	crescent v- rod	NONE	possible eagle on back

176	26295	1	1	1	winged figures	1	lion, stag, sea horse	Pictish beast, double disc, crescent v-rod, Pictish beast, crescent v-rod, hammer, pincers, anvil	NONE	Paneled
177	26339		1		NA	1	NONE	double disc z-rod, serpent z-rod	NONE	Very worn, possible hippocamps on front with cross
178	26341		1		NA	1	NONE	NONE	NONE	Serpent coiled around a rod- may be a symbol
18	26956				NA		NONE	triquetra, crescent v-rod, Pictish beast	NONE	NA
181	26982		1	1	Bird head with human body, beast head with human body	1	NONE	NONE	NONE	Some form of hippocamps or sea horses

183	27924				NA		hammer, tuning fork, anvil, crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	May not be anvil?
185	2811	1	1	1	human head beast body	1	NONE	double disc, serpent z- rod, flower	NONE	Very worn
186	2821		1		NA	1	NONE	crescent v- rod, double disc z-rod, Pictish beast	NONE	NA
187	2825				NA		fish, serpent, fish, double disc, mirror, tuning fork	NONE	NONE	The tuning fork may be a rectangle
188	2862				NA		notched rectangle	NONE	NONE	NA
189	29872				NA		mirror case, double disc	NONE	NONE	NA
19	29873				NA		divided rectangle, mirror	NONE	NONE	Possible part of mirror
191	29885				NA		bull	NONE	NONE	NA
192	319				NA		triple disc, crescent v- rod	mirror	NONE	NA
194	3156		1		NA	1	horse shoe	NONE	NONE	Very worn
195	332				NA		deer's head, tuning fork	NONE	NONE	The tuning fork may be mirror case

196	3545				NA		wolf, mirror, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	Very worn, possibly comb
198	368				NA		mirror, comb, Pictish beast, rectangle	NONE	NONE	NA
199	3756				NA		NONE	double disc z-rod	NONE	Very worn
2	3838		1	1	winged figures	1	hippocamp, sea horse	fish, beast's head, triquetra, Pictish beast, mirror, comb, serpent z- rod	NONE	Not sure if the hippocamp and sea horse are symbols
219	386	1	1		NA	1	double disc	NONE	NONE	NA
223	3864		1		NA	1	NONE	Pictish beast, crescent v- rod	NONE	Griffin
224	3865		1		NA	1	NONE	NONE	mirror case, Pictish beast	NA
225	3866		1		NA	1	NONE	double disc, crescent	NONE	NA
226	3867		1		NA	1	NONE	double disc z-rod, comb	NONE	Possibly part of a mirror

227	3868	2	1		NA		NONE	unknown symbol	NONE	Unknown symbol is possibly shears or pincers
229	3154				NA		horse shoe, Pictish beast	NONE	NONE	May be associated with cist burials in the area
23	31171				NA		eagle	NONE	NONE	Other symbols may be present, no photo, doubts about authenticity
231	31328	1	1		NA	1	double disc z-rod	Pictish beast	NONE	Very worn, Fragment
232	31715				NA		double disc	NONE	NONE	Fragment
233	31864	1	1		NA	1	serpent z-rod, Pictish beast	NONE	NONE	Only small portion of cross visible
234	31866				NA		crescent v-rod, Pictish beast	NONE	NONE	NA
236	3188				NA		NONE	Pictish beast, L-shaped rectangle	NONE	NA
237	31881				NA		NONE	Pictish beast	NONE	Both incised and in relief
238	31882		1		NA		NONE	double disc z-rod	NONE	Fragment

239	31883				NA		NONE	Pictish beast	NONE	Fragment
241	3263				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Fragment, possibly flower symbol
242	3264	1	1	1	winged figure, beast head human body	1	triple disc, flower	serpent	NONE	Possibly has part of a mirror
243	3267	1	1	1	centaur		triple disc, deer's head, lion	serpent, fish, mirror	NONE	cauldron
245	3284				NA		triple oval	NONE	NONE	Fragment
246	3292	1	1	1	winged figures	1	stag	double disc z-rod, Pictish beast, horse shoe	NONE	Possibly a second Pictish beast
247	32255		1		NA	1	NONE	mirror, comb, crescent, stepped rectangle	NONE	NA
249	32299		1		NA	1	NONE	mirror, comb	NONE	Very worn
25	323		1	1	winged figures	1	NONE	double disc z-rod	NONE	NA
252	32773		1		NA	1	NONE	double disc z-rod, Pictish beast	NONE	very worn, cross side has intertwined sea horses

253	3339				NA		Pictish beast	NONE	NONE	NA
254	3348				NA		NONE	comb, double disc z-rod, double disc	NONE	Possibly part of mirror on side with comb
255	3349		1		NA	1	NONE	crescent v- rod, deer's head	NONE	Paneled
257	33775				NA		serpent	NONE	NONE	No photo, possibly had sceptre
258	33868		1		NA	1	crescent v- rod, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	Paneled, Has a boat
261	34684				NA		flower, double disc z-rod, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA
262	3486		1		NA	1	NONE	notched rectangle z- rod, triple disc	NONE	Usually interpreted as the battle of Dunnichen, two intertwined sea horses
263	34815				NA		horse shoe, Pictish beast	NONE	NONE	NA

264	34845		1		NA	1	NONE	double disc, L-shaped rectangle	NONE	L-shaped rectangle may be a step
265	34861				NA		serpent, double disc z-rod, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA
266	34862				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Very worn, parts of symbols, one is half circle
267	34863		1	1	centaur, winged figures	1	NONE	crescent v- rod, double disc z-rod	NONE	Paneled
268	35444				NA		Pictish beast, crescent v- rod, mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
269	3556		1	1	winged figure	1	NONE	double disc z-rod, crescent, mirror, comb	NONE	NA
271	35562	1	1		NA	1	triquetra	NONE	NONE	NA
28	35571	1			NA		serpent z- rod, mirror, comb, eagle	NONE	NONE	Very worn
285	35576	1			NA		beast's head	NONE	NONE	Fragment
291	35582				NA		crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	Fragment

293	35584	1	1		NA	1	triquetra	double disc, crozier	NONE	Fragment
294	35585	1			NA		double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	Fragment
295	35586				NA		NONE	double disc z-rod	NONE	Fragment
3	3667				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Possibly has boar and triskele
32	36458	1	1		NA	1	double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	very worn
33	36624				NA		mirror, comb, crescent v- rod, flower	NONE	NONE	flower could be notched rectangle
34	37143				NA		double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	Very worn, possibly part of other symbols
35	52135				NA		crescent v- rod, double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	No photo just description
36	54197				NA		fish	NONE	NONE	Cessford proposed that it was created by Britons

31	7371	1	1	1	winged figure, human head beast body, beast head human body	1	NONE	crescent v-rod, Pictish beast	NONE	Paneled
311	7381				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	Fragment
313	78421	1			NA		rectangle	NONE	NONE	Fragment, no photo
314	79892		1		NA	1	mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	Possible Female with mirror and comb, penannular brooch in middle of dress
317	17566				NA		comb	NONE	NONE	Has parts of other symbols-possibly a mirror
318	12364				NA		crescent	NONE	NONE	Very worn, parts of other symbol may be rectangle

319	13246				NA		crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	Only one record for two stones, so duplicated record, no photo
32	13246				NA		rectangle, crescent v-rod	NONE	NONE	Only one record for two stones, so duplicated record, no photo
321	139356				NA		crescent v-rod, notched rectangle z-rod	NONE	NONE	NA
323	183276				NA		crescent v-rod, triple disc	NONE	NONE	NA
324	19175				NA		horse	NONE	NONE	NA
325	229637				NA		double disc z-rod, Pictish beast, mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
327	24198				NA		crescent v-rod, crescent, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA

328	241919				NA		mirror, comb, crescent v- rod, L- shaped rectangle	NONE	NONE	Very worn
33	25124		1		NA	1	NONE	NONE	NONE	Possibly lions- are they symbols or decoration? Free Standing Cross
331	259977				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Listed in NMS database but no details of symbols
333	269431				NA		triple disc	NONE	NONE	with bar, no photo
337	288512	1			NA		mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	NA
338	288643	1	1		NA	1	double disc z-rod, horse shoe v-rod, shears	NONE	NONE	NA
339	3159				NA		crescent v- rod, boar	NONE	NONE	Fragment- not sure if boar
34	317886				NA		notched rectangle z- rod, crescent v- rod	NONE	NONE	NA
341	31883				NA		NONE	Pictish beast	NONE	NA

342	31884				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Fragment, possibly two hippocamps
343	31842				NA		crescent v-rod, rectangle	NONE	NONE	No Photo
345	318439		1		NA	1	NONE	NONE	NONE	Possibly a mirror on the belt of ecclesiastic
348	318992	1	1		NA	1	hippocamp, hippocamp	triple oval, crescent v-rod,	NONE	May show chariot with two pairs of horses
349	31916				NA		crescent v-rod, horse shoe	NONE	NONE	No Photo
35	31921				NA		bull	NONE	NONE	NA
351	31922				NA		bull	NONE	NONE	Fragment
352	31923				NA		bull	NONE	NONE	NA
353	31924				NA		bull	NONE	NONE	NA
354	31925				NA		bull	NONE	NONE	NA
355	31926				NA		bull	NONE	NONE	NA
359	31945	1			NA		crescent v-rod, flower	NONE	NONE	Site indicates that the cross looks as though it was carved later
36	319516				NA		Pictish beast, horse shoe	NONE	NONE	NA

361	319517				NA		double disc z-rod, bow and arrow	NONE	NONE	NA
362	319615				NA		double disc z-rod	NONE	NONE	It has unusual flourishes and a rectangle indent
363	319616				NA		fish, triangle	NONE	NONE	NA
364	319617				NA		crescent triangle	NONE	NONE	Similar to crescent v- rod
365	319618				NA		flower, mirror, comb	NONE	NONE	Very worn, fragment
366	319619				NA		double disc	NONE	NONE	Fragment
367	31962				NA		NONE	NONE	NONE	Possibly has the end of double disc z- rod
368	319685				NA		Pictish beast, horse shoe	NONE	NONE	NA
369	31972				NA		double disc z-rod, crescent v- rod, mirror	NONE	NONE	NA
37	319725				NA		crescent	NONE	NONE	Also part of other symbol circle within circle

371	319726				NA		rectangle	NONE	NONE	NA
372	319861				NA		Pictish beast, scroll	NONE	NONE	NA
373	31988				NA		rectangle, fish	NONE	NONE	NA
374	319881				NA		notched rectangle	NONE	NONE	No photo, not sure if correct symbol
375	341175				NA		mirror case, notched rectangle z- rod	NONE	eagle, crescent v-rod	NA