



## CHAPTER VI

### MONUMENT TYPES

#### EARLY PILLAR-STONES

Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture includes, by definition, only carved monuments. In Cornwall, however, there are a number of early monuments containing an inscribed text but no carving. Such monuments, generally pieces of undressed or roughly dressed stone, are described as ‘pillar-stones’ and typically date from the early Christian period, most of them from *c.* 400 to *c.* 800 AD. The inscribed stones of Cornwall have been extensively studied in recent years (for example by Okasha 1993 and Thomas, A. C. 1994). These inscribed stones, which contain no decoration and which generally pre-date the sculptured stones, are not accorded full entries in the catalogue but are listed in Appendix E (p. 253).

In addition, there is a small group of similar, but uninscribed, stones of a potentially similar date, although Thomas (2007) has argued for a rather earlier date for some of them (see below). The reasons for their inclusion here are that they may compare with the simple early grave-markers associated with British cemeteries identified by Cramp (2006, 31) from other parts of the South-west. With one exception, these stones are all located in the graveyards of churches of early medieval origin. Since the date of only one can be demonstrated with absolute certainty, they are included in Appendix A, *Monuments of Uncertain Date* (p. 211). They include stones at Kea (Kea 2), Mabe (Mabe 1), Eathorne (Mabe 2), St Erth (St Erth 3) and Tintagel (Tintagel 5). The stones are all described here as pillar-stones rather than grave-markers because their function as funerary monuments is far from certain. A further mysterious stone at Feock is mentioned below but not included in the Appendix.

There are a number of further reasons why these stones deserve consideration. Tintagel 5 may have come from a socket associated with excavated early medieval levels in the churchyard. Another excavation, of the socket of a seemingly typical standing stone at Eathorne in Mabe, produced charcoal dated to the

Roman or early medieval period, demonstrating the possibility that it may be of this date; by analogy, a standing stone incised with simple crosses in the churchyard of the same parish is also included (Mabe 1). The evidence for the individual stones is admittedly weak but, taken as a whole, adds up to suggest the existence of a group of uninscribed pillar-stones which may belong together as a class. All the stones are of roughly cylindrical or pyramidal form and those at Kea and Tintagel have some minimal decoration; Mabe 1 also has simple incised crosses. The reasons for suggesting these stones to be of early medieval origin will be discussed in relation to each stone in turn.

Tintagel 5 (p. 227, Ills. 281–4), a roughly cylindrical pillar with some simple incised markings, was deeply buried when first observed. Ellis recorded only a small part visible above the level of the churchyard to the north-west of the church (Ellis, G. 1962–4e, 274–5 and fig.); we know from later investigations that it is in fact over 2 metres tall. In 1942 it was dug up by the vicar, who in the process revealed long-cists and other types of burials (Canner 1982, 3, 104; Thomas, A. C. 1993, 64–6, fig. 54). Fifty years later, excavations in the same area of the churchyard revealed a remarkable complexity of remains but, most importantly, a feature which was considered to be the socket for this stone ‘where it had originally stood in the sixth century’ (Thomas, A. C. 1993, 103). This was a flat-bottomed pit dug into bedrock with remnants of packing stones around the top (Ill. 393). The socket was not associated with one particular grave although some of the earliest cist burials appeared to be aligned on it. It was considered to have been a focal point in that area of the early graveyard and, in the land surface to the west, remains interpreted as from fires, feasting and graveside ritual were found (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 6–9; Thomas, A. C. 1993, 103, 106, fig. 83). Although it cannot be proved that the stone came from this socket, the size would have been a good fit and the assumption seems a reasonable one.

The same excavations revealed, in disturbed upper



layers, a second stone, with apparently random incised markings. Initially the lines were thought to represent ogam but on investigation no pattern could be discerned (Jacqueline Nowakowski, pers. comm.). The stone was therefore reburied. Comparison with a stone found in excavation at Cannington, Somerset, whose markings were likewise compared unsuccessfully with ogam, is striking (Cramp 2006, 147, ill. 199); however, in the absence of further information because the excavation has never been fully published, this second stone is not included in the Appendix.

Perhaps most like Tintagel 5 is Kea 2 (p. 216, Ills. 257–9), another roughly cylindrical pillar of granite, 1.7 m high, thought by Langdon to be the shaft of a cross (Langdon, Arthur 1896, 225). This is not an unreasonable suggestion since, unlike Tintagel 5, it has a tenon on the bottom, some moulding around the base and a marked entasis. Moreover it bulges slightly near the top and has a small mortice cut into the very top. The stone is said to have been found either in the foundations of the church when this was being dismantled in the early nineteenth century (Wroughton 1984) or when foundations were being dug for a poorhouse at the church site (Henderson, M. unpublished 1985, Kea no. 2). Its interpretation as a cross-shaft has always been uncertain, however, since the stone is quite unlike any early or later medieval crosses in Cornwall; Charles Henderson suggested that it could have been a converted standing stone (Henderson, C. 1929a, 33) and Charles Thomas compares it with Iron Age monuments from Anglesey and more especially Brittany (Thomas, A. C. 2007, 126–7). Apart from Tintagel 5, the closest comparison for Kea 2 is in fact the ‘Cross and Hand’ on Batcombe Down in Dorset, considered by Cramp (2006, 128) to be possibly sub-Roman and perhaps ‘some sort of marker stone, in the native Romano-British tradition’. Like Batcombe Down, Kea 2 is also reminiscent of the cylindrical stones at Wareham, some of them re-used Roman pillars, onto which early medieval Brittonic inscriptions were cut (Wareham 6 and 8: Cramp 2006, ill. 128–31, 137–9). That is not to suggest that Kea 2 is a re-used Roman monument, which seems unlikely in Cornwall, but with the moulding at the bottom, the smooth shaft with entasis and the slightly bulging top, it might conceivably have been carved in the early medieval period as someone’s idea of what a Roman pillar might look like.

Charcoal retrieved from the socket of Mabe 2, Eathorne (p. 218, Ills. 263–6, Colour Pl. 10), in 2005 produced an entirely unexpected radio-carbon determination, suggesting that the stone had been

erected in the first to the third century AD; but because the date was from mature oak, not normally recommended for dating because it is so long-lived, the date-range could also fall within the late Roman or early post-Roman eras (Hartgroves, Jones, Kirkham *et al.* 2006, 101–2). Initially, this stone had been thought to be a typical, if slightly small, standing stone or menhir, being of roughly square section and tapering markedly towards the top. However this date raises the possibility (as Thomas has pointed out: Thomas, A. C. 1994, 11) that any standing stone could have been erected at a later date than is usually assumed. The Men Screfys, for example, on the edge of moorland in West Penwith (see Appendix E, p. 254, Madron I) is an inscribed stone whose appearance and positioning within the landscape has led to the suggestion that it is a re-used menhir (Johnson and Rose 1990, 36): but the example of Mabe 2, Eathorne, indicates that the Men Scryfys might also have been newly set up in the early medieval period.

It may also be likely, then, that a standing stone with incised crosses in the churchyard at Mabe (no. 1, p. 217, Ills. 260–2, Colour Pl. 9), only a mile from Eathorne, which has hitherto always been considered a converted menhir incorporated within the site because it was ‘too inconvenient to shift’ (Thomas, A. C. 1994, 11–12, quotation from p. 12; Henderson, C. ?1932, 15n.; Thomas, A. C. 2007, 124–5), is rather of early medieval origin and perhaps, like that at Tintagel, was a significant feature in the layout of the early Christian site. The incised crosses on Mabe 1 could be of any date (see below, p. 55) but because of the churchyard context and analogy with the Eathorne stone, is considered a potential member of this group of unscribed early medieval pillar-stones.

This argument leads rather less certainly to the stone at Feock: a short, smooth, roughly pyramidal stone. It is completely unadorned and undecorated, other than by two relatively modern holes indicating that it may once have been used as a gate-post. The origin of this stone is unknown: no history is recorded but, if anything, it looks like the top of a standing stone and is reminiscent of the earliest photograph of Tintagel 5, when only the top appeared above ground level. Currently standing only 98 cm (38.6 in) high, its original size is unknown since it is impossible to tell how much is buried in the ground. Its resemblance to a truncated standing stone and the result from Eathorne make it too a candidate for consideration as an early medieval pillar-stone, although it is not included in the catalogue because of the absence of any ornamentation.

Amongst the early grave-markers identified by Cramp in 2006 was a triangular stone with crude incised markings from Cannington, Somerset, found in excavation and dated to around the sixth to eighth centuries (Cramp 2006, 147, ill. 199). Already mentioned in connection with the alleged ogam on one of the Tintagel churchyard stones (now reburied), this may also be of significance in relation to a stone at St Erth (no. 3) of similar shape. This stone is a pyramid-like stone with horizontal incised bands, an incised cross on one face, and a small tenon on the top (p. 213, Ills. 252–5). The origin of this stone is uncertain, but like the fragments of St Erth 1 beside which it sat for many years, it may have been retrieved from the church walls when these were being rebuilt in the nineteenth century (Thomas, A. C. 2007, 121, 124). As well as a similarity in shape to Cannington this stone is, as first noted by Charles Thomas (2007, 127–8), remarkably like one from Trefollwyn, Anglesey, considered by Edwards (1997, 108–17) to be an Iron Age stèle; like the St Erth stone, this is of approximately triangular shape and has an incised band around it, as well as incised arcs reminiscent of the carving on Tintagel 5.

The possibility has been considered by Charles Thomas (2007) that not only the St Erth stone, but all the stones discussed above, may be of Iron Age origin and comparable to the stèles that are such a significant feature of the Breton landscape. That a feature so common in neighbouring Brittany should apparently be absent in Cornwall does seem unexpected. The fact that many stèles are associated with burial may strengthen this argument for Cornwall, since most of the stones under discussion here are associated with Christian cemeteries where continuity of burial from earlier times must be a possibility, as appears to have been the case at Crantock on the north Cornish coast (Olson 1982, 177–82). Meanwhile however, the foregoing discussion of these anomalous Cornish stones, and the limited dating evidence available, is considered here to point instead to a possible post-Roman origin, and for the present it may be best to regard St Erth 3, though hardly pillar-like, as part of this group. In this light it may be worth noting that the Trefollwyn stone in Anglesey was associated with the probable site of a medieval chapel from which an inscribed stone is recorded (Edwards 1997, 111–15), so the possibility exists that this stone too is early medieval.

Finally, however, it should be noted that an alternative solution is in fact available for the St Erth stone, if for none of the others: it may have originated as a pinnacle

from the tower. Although the church tower now has crocketed pinnacles, it is not impossible that original simple triangular pinnacles surmounted by granite balls once crowned its corners, to be later replaced by the present crocketed pinnacles which Blight notes are an addition to the tower (Blight 1885, 129). Older triangular pinnacles can still be seen on some Cornish churches, an instance in the same area being St Levan (Blight 1885, fig. on 197). A further factor in support of the potential early medieval origin of these pillar-stones is the fact that all apart from Eathorne (Mabe 2) are at sites whose place-names indicate an early medieval origin. Tintagel churchyard's significance as the religious counterpart to the Dark Age citadel on the Island has been established by excavation (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1990; 1992) but St Erth, Feock, Mabe and Kea all have names in *\*lann* (Padel 1976–7, 17–18; Padel 1988, respectively 82, 83, 113, 130), denoting a church site of early medieval origin (Padel 1985, 142–5; Padel 1988, 19–20; and see Fig. 14, p. 45). Also at St Erth are remains of two Penwith-style crosses, St Erth 1 and 2 (pp. 142–4, Ills. 65–80).

Although there is only a little information regarding the function of these stones, that which we have suggests that they were not exclusively grave-markers, unlike the Dorset stones mentioned above. Assuming Tintagel 5 to have been indeed associated with the excavated rock-cut socket, the evidence indicated that this was not a grave-marker but a focal point within the early cemetery, about which people gathered for feasting and ritual. Nor did Mabe 2, Eathorne appear to be associated with a burial. The excavation there was directed solely at establishing the location of the socket so that the stone could be re-erected, and not at investigating its context. Nevertheless, a reasonably large area was opened up around the stone which would probably have been sufficient to reveal a burial, had one existed (Hartgroves, Jones, Kirkham *et al.* 2006, 98). No information is available for any of the other stones, although St Erth 3 is of a size which might suggest a grave-marker rather than a landscape feature.

#### INCISED CROSSES

In western and northern parts of the British Isles, cross-incised stones are a recognised feature of early Christianity. Occurring as free-standing monuments, as graffiti at sites or landscapes of religious significance, or as additions to prehistoric monuments, they are a



wide-spread phenomenon. Generally, but not always, they are attributed to the early medieval period. Of most relevance for Cornwall, because of their geographical proximity, are the groups of such stones in south Wales, especially since these have benefitted from recent assessment (Edwards 2007, 49, 56–60, 63–72; Redknap and Lewis 2007, 89–92, 145–7). Similar stones in western Scotland have also been recently reviewed (Fisher 2001).

In Wales, the simplest cross-incised stones are mostly dated to the seventh to ninth centuries and therefore belong to the period between the early Christian inscribed memorials of the fifth to seventh centuries and the decorated free-standing crosses which first appear in the ninth century (Edwards 2007, 116–17; Redknap and Lewis 2007, 145–7). The simple incised linear crosses are distinguished from incised outline crosses to which a slightly later date is attributed, broadly the ninth to eleventh centuries (Edwards 2007, 63–71). However, unless there is some means of dating, for example through association with an inscription, a secure context, or if the cross is of a distinctive type, dating does remain a problem. As Redknap and Lewis admit (2007, 145), in most cases there is no means of giving an absolute date to these features. In Scotland, simple cross-incised stones are variously dated (Fisher 2001, 12–13, 17).

At all periods in the Christian era since the cross has been a recognised symbol of the faith, the simplest way of representing it will have been to cut two lines at right angles to each other, and the fact that a cross can be executed with such simplicity may partly explain the lack of concordance between the dates given to cross-incised stones in other parts of the British Isles and examples from Cornwall, where they appear most frequently on the later medieval wayside crosses and only occasionally on inscribed stones. For the most part it appears that, in the period between the early inscriptions and the sculptured crosses, there is little in Cornwall to compare with the cross-incised slabs and stones of Wales.

The only things in Cornwall which compare in any way with the simple cross-carved stones found elsewhere are the cross-incised slates unearthed in excavations at Tintagel, both on the Island and in the churchyard on the mainland (Fig. 15, p. 54). Of those found on the Island, one was discovered re-used in the walls of the chapel and the other is without context; that from the chapel has been suggested as either an altar frontal or a grave-marker of eleventh- or twelfth-century date while the other, cut on a roofing slate, is probably also of similar date, both therefore being

potentially comparable with the sculpture which is the subject of this volume (Thorpe 1988, 76–7, figs. 29–31). Both are similar in form to the Welsh outline crosses of ninth- to eleventh-century date, so that in this case the suggested dating ‘fits’, although the concave terminals on the arms of the alleged altar frontal/grave-marker give it the appearance of a ‘maltese’ cross which would be rather later than the eleventh century (Ill. 392).

However, a rather earlier date has been suggested for those found in the churchyard. These have been compared directly with primary grave-markers found in Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man, although for the most part the Cornish examples are graffiti rather than monumental carving (Thorpe 1988, 69–78; Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1990, 19–22, figs. 11–12; Thomas, A. C. 1993, 103–5, ill. 82). Because of their different character and uncertain date, they have been included as a list in Appendix F, p. 257.

As well as simple crosses, the stones found in the churchyard include two compass-marked stones suggested by the excavators as attempts to create a cross of arcs (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1990, 21–2, figs. 12B, 13). Some of the incised crosses are on relatively small pieces of slate but two are on large stones believed to have been the capstones of long-cists. Only one of the stones, a compass-marked stone, was found in a stratified context, but in a secondary position, re-used upside-down as the roof of a later medieval cist. Thus in only one case is a relative date indicated, and this need only be earlier than the cist in which it was re-used. All the others were found in disturbed upper layers, mixed with material of early medieval, medieval and post-medieval date. So none is definitively dated and, although these stones have been described as examples of early ‘graveside art’ (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 10), their date remains uncertain. They are distinguished by the excavators from more elaborate, pictorial graffiti found in both the churchyard (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 24–6, figs. 19–20; Thomas, A. C. 1993, 114–16, ills. 92–3) and on the island (Thorpe 1988, figs. 27–8, 31; Thomas, A. C. 1993, 114–17, ill. 93). These are generally considered to be of later medieval date (post-Norman Conquest), but there is unfortunately no way of being certain of this.

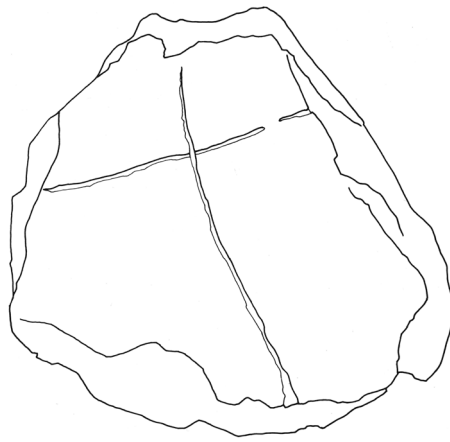
In Cornwall there are a few instances known of crosses cut on to prehistoric stone monuments, their presence perhaps reminiscent of the account in the eighth-century *Life of St Samson* (Olson 1989, 9, 16), of a cross allegedly cut by the saint on a standing stone, with an iron tool. No exhaustive search has ever taken





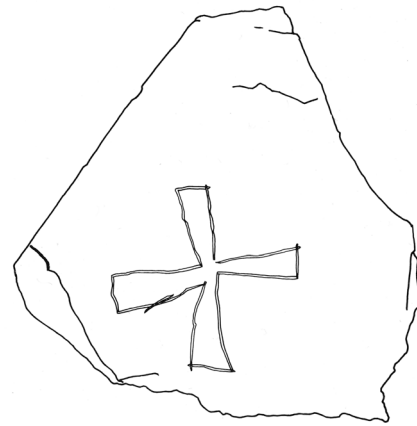


A



0 cm 10

B



0 cm 10

C

FIGURE 15

(a) Charles Thomas recording an incised stone during excavations at Tintagel churchyard, photo by J. Nowakowski;  
 (b) an incised linear cross on slate (Tintagel 6); (c) an incised outline cross on slate (Tintagel 7), drawings by C. Thorpe  
 (Nowakowski and Thomas 1990, 18). See Appendix F.



place so it is quite possible that other examples will turn up. However the examples noted to date include a small cross on Mulfra Quoit, a Neolithic chambered tomb located high on moorland in West Penwith, and another similar cross on King Arthur's Quoit, a large natural stone thought to be the capstone of a chambered tomb in Tintagel parish (see Appendix F, p. 257). Added to these there is in Mabe churchyard a two-metre high pillar (Mabe 1, p. 217, Ills. 260–2, Colour Pl. 9) resembling a standing stone, with markings on it which include two incised crosses. As all these crosses are formed of plain incised lines there is no way of knowing the period at which they were added to the stones; the fact that the two quoits have other post-medieval graffiti on them may point to a later, rather than an earlier, date.

The same may be true of the crosses on the Mabe 1 stone. However, the fact that charcoal from the socket of a menhir at nearby Eathorne, also in Mabe parish (Mabe 2, p. 218), was dated to the late Roman or very early medieval period (Hartgroves, Jones, Kirkham *et al.* 2006, 101–2) raises the intriguing possibility that the Mabe churchyard stone could be of similar date and an integral feature of the early Christian site rather than a prehistoric monument incorporated within its limits: this possibility is explored further in the discussion of the stone in Appendix A (p. 217).

Some of the early Christian inscribed stones are associated with a *chi-rho* or other symbol as a primary feature. Examples of *chi-rhos* appear on the inscribed stones at St Just, St Endellion and Southill, and on their own at Phillack and on a lost stone from Cape Cornwall (Okasha 1993, 16–17). The *chi-rho* on the stones at Southill and St Endellion, sitting on top of curved arcs which frame the texts, appear integral to the design of the monuments; that in St Just church appears on a separate face but has always been considered to be contemporary with the inscription (Thomas, A. C. 1994, 286, fig. 17.10).

On three further inscribed stones a simple cross appears; these are Boslow, the Men Srefys and Sancreed 2, the last appearing in Appendix D (Okasha 1993, 70–2, 174–8, 255–9). On the stone at Boslow, in St Just parish, the well-cut cross is on the opposite face to the inscription, so that a direct association or relative chronology cannot be determined, although the example of the St Just stone, mentioned above and in the same parish, suggests that it might be copying the other and therefore primary (Thomas, A. C. 1994, 291–3). On the Men Srefys a small incised cross sits directly beneath the 'I' of RIALOBRANI, the first name in the inscription: here it appears as

an actual extension of the I, so that there is some uncertainty as to whether the cross is intentional or not (see Thomas, A. C. 1994, 283, fig. 17.5; Thomas considers it to be secondary: it is not noted by Okasha 1993, 174–8); the fragmentary inscription on Sancreed 2 also appears to include a small incised cross (p. 243, Ill. 213).

Other than these, the earliest examples where a simple incised linear cross is found in a context with an indication of date is where it appears on one of the later pre-Conquest monuments which are the subject of this volume. Here, the small incised cross generally appears as an integral part of an inscription, as for example on the Gwinear 1 cross (p. 152, Ills. 98), the St Ewe (Lanhadron) cross-base (p. 145, Ills. 81–2) and on the altar stone at Camborne church (Camborne 1) where there is both an incised cross with the inscription and an outline cross at the centre (p. 128, Ills. 36–8). With these stones we are looking at dates from the tenth to late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. In the case of Tintagel 1, two small crosses are incorporated in the lines framing the inscription (p. 201, Ills. 224–8) and on Lanivet 2 an incised cross is part of the ornamental scheme (p. 161, Ill. 122). It should be noted, however, that not all inscriptions incorporate a cross: see for example the catalogue entries for the Doniert Stone, St Cleer 2 (p. 134), Minster 1, Waterpit Down (p. 168), Sancreed 1 (p. 198) and Gulval 1 (p. 146). The reason for the inclusion or exclusion of a cross is not clear.

From Norman times onwards, small incised crosses were used to consecrate churches and altars in Cornish churches. Cox illustrates an unusual example dated 1261 at St Michael Penkevil church (Cox 1912, 178). No pre-Conquest consecration crosses are known in Cornwall, but this is presumably due to the absence of much pre-Norman architecture.

Simple incised linear and outline crosses also appear on certain of the wheel-headed and latin-style wayside crosses listed in this volume in Appendix G (p. 259) and summarised in Chapter X (p. 100). Not all the later sculptured crosses feature incised crosses on their heads: the majority have relief-carved crosses in a variety of forms. The type of cross used is to some extent a parochial choice, not necessarily date-related, with notable groups of incised crosses appearing on monuments in St Neot and parishes in the Carnmenellis granite area, for example. The incised crosses vary, and may include simple equal-armed or latin crosses, crosses within circles, and crosses whose terminals are expanded, crossed or enhanced with a drilled hole. Examples are illustrated in Fig. 16. These are



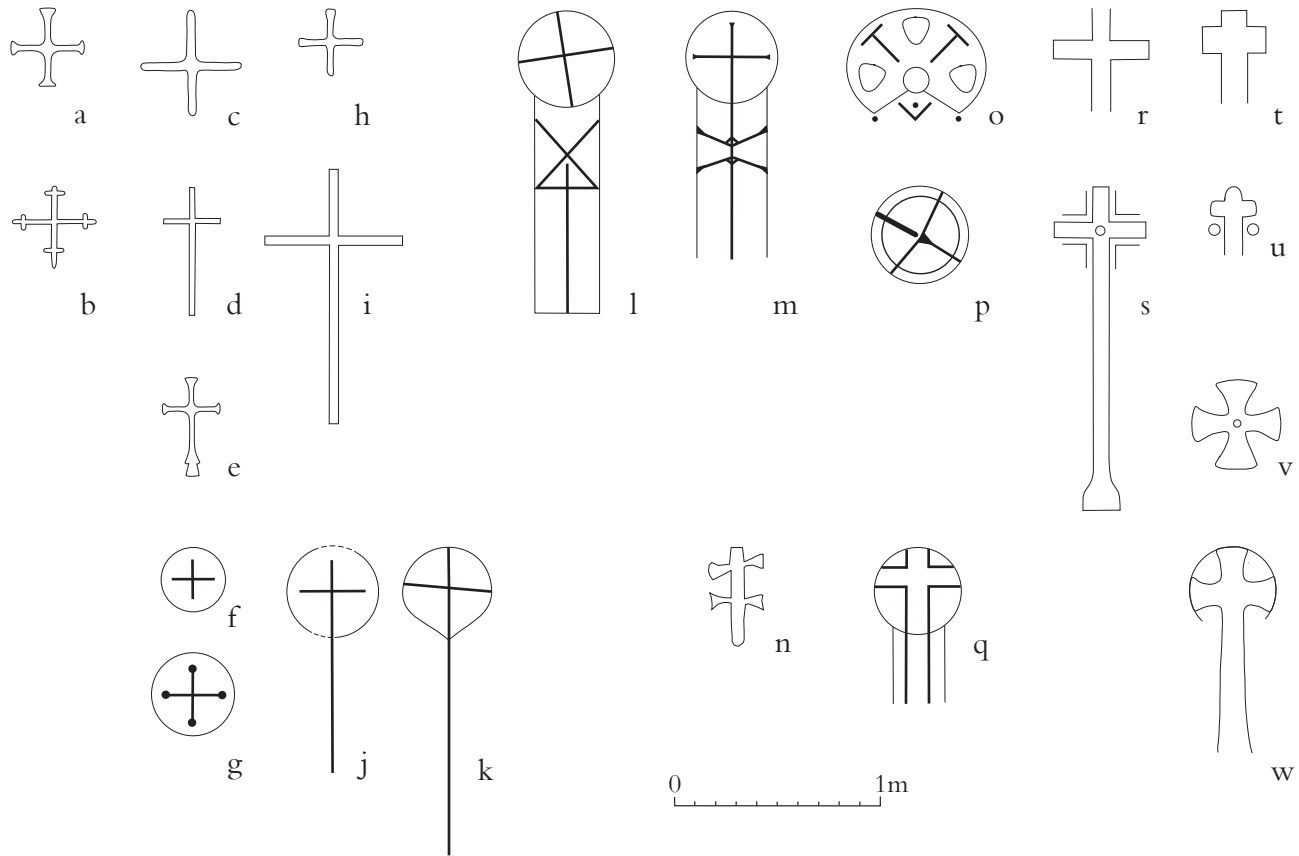


FIGURE 16

Some incised crosses in Cornwall

- a – Boslow; b – Tonacombe; c – Predannack; d – Newtown, St Neot; e – Trebartha; f – Budock; g – Helland;  
 h – Trevenning; i – Lansallos; j – Manhay; k – Predannack; l – Trewardreva; m – Trenethick; n – Trembath;  
 o – Kenwyn 1; p – Helland; q – Merthen; r – Gerrans; s – Merther Uny; t – St Just-in-Penwith; u – St Dennis 1;  
 v – Helston; w – Vellansajer

all cross-forms which, appearing on uncarved stones or pillars in Wales or Scotland, would normally be regarded as of early medieval date; here, however, they are considered to be part of the continuing tradition of cross-carving in Cornwall because of their context and similarity in all other respects to the post-Norman Conquest monuments. Compared with the Welsh examples, the Cornish ones are all rather more neatly carved with, for example, the circles being compass-drawn; by comparison the Welsh crosses appear less carefully executed and more like the graffiti crosses from Tintagel.

In the Carnmenellis area, a cross-slab at Wendron church (Wendron 2, p. 247, Ill. 327) features an incised cross within a circle which Langdon and others considered to be of early medieval date (Langdon,

Arthur 1896, 421–2), but given the frequency of this type of cross on the later medieval sculpture of the area it must surely be regarded as of similar date. However, had it been found in Ireland or the Isle of Man it would just as certainly be considered early medieval. The same caution is considered necessary in dating the cross-slabs that Langdon regarded as early at Lanivet (Lanivet 4, p. 238, Ill. 306) and Towednack (p. 246, Ill. 326), both in Appendix D, and at Temple. In the case of Temple, the stone is at a church site high on Bodmin Moor, founded in all probability in the twelfth century (Henderson, *C. et al.* 1925, 202; Orme 2010, 272–3). The unusual double-barred cross on the Towednack slab can be paralleled in the cross on a medieval wayside cross at Trembath, Madron (Langdon, Arthur 1896, 325).



In conclusion, then, it is difficult in Cornwall to identify a group of cross-incised stones which are definitely of the early medieval period and of similar date to those found in Wales and other western and northern parts of the British Isles. A handful of early and later inscriptions are associated with small crosses, but only that at Boslow might be considered remotely comparable. Incised linear and outline crosses really only appear in monumental form on the post-Conquest wayside crosses. So, unless the slates found at Tintagel can be shown to truly belong to the early medieval period, there remains at present a gap in the sculptural evidence for the middle part of the early medieval period.

### CROSSES

With over forty examples in the main catalogue, free-standing crosses represent the overwhelming majority of early medieval sculpture in Cornwall. Of these, a small number may belong to the transition between the end of the early medieval period and the beginning of Norman times but, even so, this is in remarkable contrast with neighbouring Devon, where there are only seven early medieval monuments of all types known (Cramp 2006, 77–92).

Three main groups exist amongst the Cornish crosses, with a further more disparate group which are transitional. They are each distinguished geographically, the Penwith crosses being in the far west, the Mid and East Cornwall group being centred around Bodmin Moor, and the Panelled Interlace crosses forming a more regional group with examples from the Land's End to east Cornwall (see Fig. 21, p. 84). Each group has well defined characteristics and decorative schemes which are described more fully in Chapter VIII, but are summarised and compared here.

Apart from their decoration, the most notable difference is that the crosses vary enormously in height (see Fig. 17a–h, p. 58, which compares the heights of the crosses): the Penwith group's Gwinear 1, at just under 1.5 metres, is one of the smallest crosses in Cornwall, while Quethiock 1 in east Cornwall, at just over 4 metres, is one of the tallest. Crosses of the Penwith group are all relatively small; the tallest known at present is Sancreed 1 at approximately 2 metres (allowing for the fact that a part of the shaft is missing), although the size of its head suggests that St Buryan 1 may originally have been slightly taller. Compared to these, the Mid and East Cornwall group's crosses tend to be extremely large monuments, with

one exception in the Padstow 1 cross-head whose size suggests that this was overall a relatively small monument. Crosses of the Panelled Interlace group also appear to have been substantial monuments, but as no complete examples survive it is not possible to be sure of their original height.

It is notable that the largest of all the early medieval crosses in Cornwall (Padstow 2: although only a section of its massive shaft survives), stands in Padstow churchyard, home to St Petroc's Monastery before the move to Bodmin. Presumably the difference in scale between this and Padstow 1, the smallest of the group, is related to differences in their functions. Padstow 1 may perhaps have been the memorial or grave-marker of an individual, while Padstow 2 must have been a high-status monument set up to enhance the precinct and reflect the power of Cornwall's wealthiest religious house at the end of the early medieval period. A further large cross, Padstow 3, may have marked Padstow's extended sanctuary. Amongst the crosses of the Panelled Interlace group, that at St Neot (St Neot 1) stood on the site of a religious house, where it might be linked to a visit from King Alfred in the late ninth century. In west Cornwall, the most substantial member of the Penwith group (St Buryan 1) stood at St Buryan, the primary religious house in that area, recognised with a charter in the first half of the tenth century.

Tall crosses of the Mid and East Cornwall group at St Teath and Quethiock (and fragments of further large monuments at St Breward, St Columb and Pelynt), survive at sites with no evidence of monastic status in the tenth and eleventh centuries (see Fig. 11, p. 31). These monuments may simply have acted as foci for devotion within their respective cemetery enclosures, before the construction of church buildings. The same may be true of the rather smaller monuments of the Penwith group at Sancreed, Paul, St Erth, Phillack and other church sites in West Penwith; although all have evidence of an early medieval origin, none appears to have been the site of a land-owning religious community by the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Two crosses of the Penwith group include inscriptions: Sancreed 1 and Gwinear 1 (now at Lanherne), the text on the latter suggesting that it was a memorial. This cross originally stood on the site of a chapel, not a parish church. These two facts may help to explain its very small scale, although its design and execution mark it out as one of the finest of the Penwith group. Contrasting with this is St Cleer 2, the Doniert Stone, which may commemorate the last Cornish king. This monument appears to have been the pedestal for a





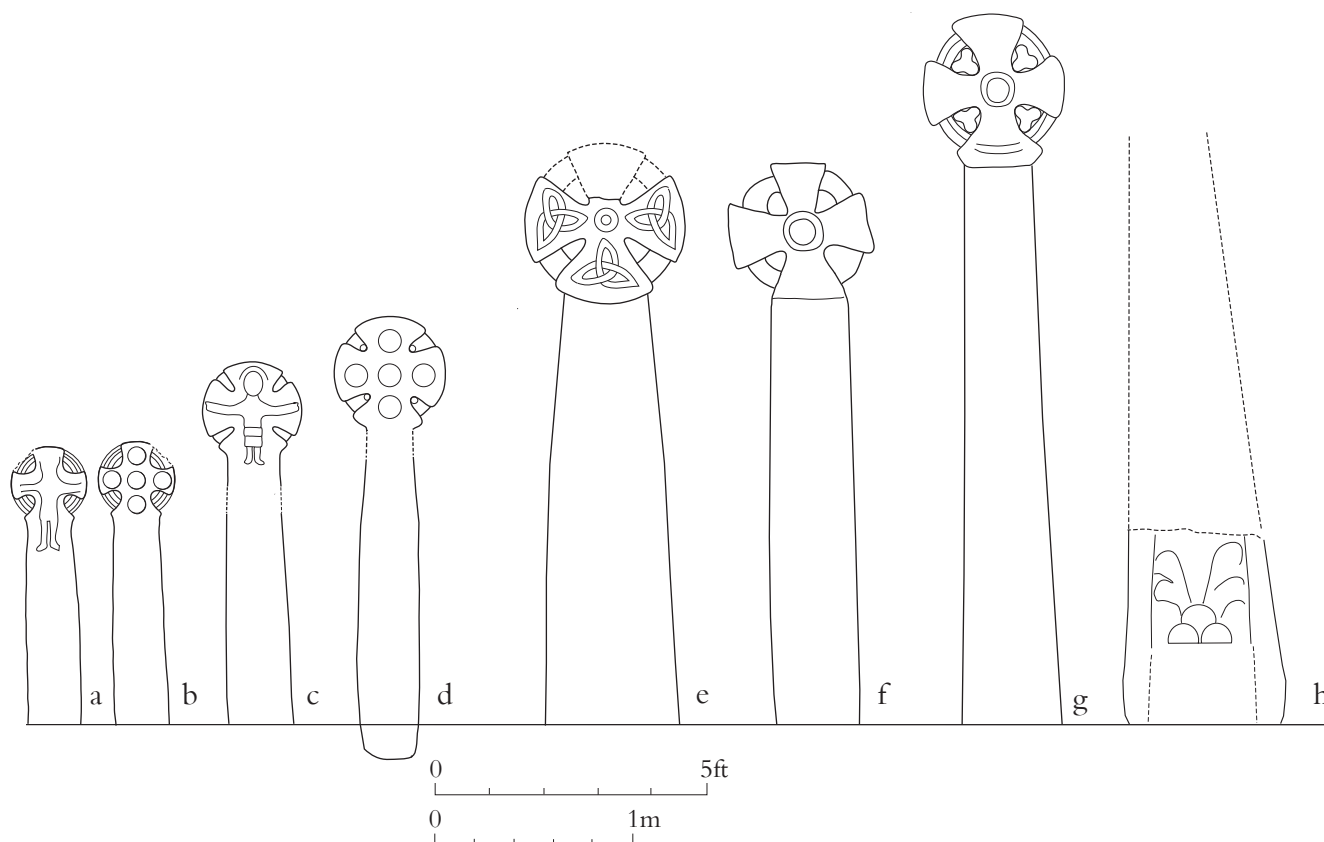


FIGURE 17

A comparison of some cross sizes in Cornwall

a – Gwinear 1A; b – Gwinear 1C; c – Sancreed 1; d – Paul 1 and 2 (reconstructed); e – St Neot 3; f – Lanivet 1; g – Quethiock 1; h – Padstow 2 (size of shaft and base suggest one of the largest crosses in Cornwall)

much larger monument, set up in a public location on open rough ground beside a major routeway along the south side of Bodmin Moor (Colour Pl. 29): this route may possibly also have been marked by a lost cross at Mount, Warleggan (of which Warleggan 1 and 2 may both be fragments).

The crosses at Waterpit Down (Minster 1), Trenython (Tywardreath 1) and Lanhadron (St Ewe 1: base) may likewise have stood by tracks across open rough ground (Colour Pl. 11). Those on rough ground may also have marked boundaries. A prime example in this respect is St Neot 3, the Fourhole Cross (p. 174), originally about 3 metres high, which still forms a significant feature in the landscape beside the modern A30 trunk road across the heart of Bodmin Moor. Standing to this day on parish and (former) hundred boundaries, it may also have stood on the boundary of lands belonging to St Neot's monastery (Turner 2006b, 38–9). Two tenth-century charters mention

crosses as boundary markers, that of the manor of Tywarnhayle in Perranzabuloe in 960 and that of Lesneage and Pennare in St Keverne parish on the Lizard in 967 (Hooke 1994, 28–33, 37–40). Elsewhere in this volume it is suggested that the *cristelmael* of the Tywarnhayle charter cannot be equated with the existing St Piran's Cross (Perranzabuloe 1, p. 189), which therefore must have had a predecessor, perhaps carved of wood, while the *crouswrah* 'hag's cross' of the Lizard may likewise have been of wood, for the Lizard generally is an area with very few stone monuments of the medieval period and no surviving early medieval sculpture (see Figs. 1 and 6, pp. xvi, 16).

The reason for the very great difference in scale between the crosses of the Mid and East Cornwall group and the Penwith group is not readily apparent. However the same difference in scale between west and east Cornwall is seen in the Panelled Interlace group: the cross-shaft at St Just-in-Penwith is approximately



half the size of the shaft which it resembles at St Neot (St Neot 1). It cannot be completely explained by the status of the sites where the sculpture is found since, as noted above, the Penwith-group crosses at St Buryan stood at the site of a religious house recorded before the Norman Conquest, while the Ludgvan 1 shaft and the cross from Roseworthy (Gwinear 1, now at Lanherne) were associated with significant manorial centres. The difference may simply point to the development of a distinctive tradition in this furthest corner of Cornwall.

Nor can the differences between west and east be explained by geology. Granite is the most commonly utilised stone for crosses in both east and west Cornwall (Fig. 5, p. 11). As the Penwith area contains many examples of massive prehistoric granite standing stones, stone of suitable scale was certainly available there, although the use of Pentewan Stone for Gwinear 1 may be a factor in explaining the smaller size and more intricate carving of this monument. The main difference is seen in the greater variety of stone types selected for the much larger foliage-decorated crosses of the Mid and East Cornwall group, particularly in the crosses with trefoil-holed heads, of which three are carved of greisen and one of sandstone, while the head and shaft of Padstow 3 are of different types of granite from Bodmin Moor.

On the other hand, if the distributions and sizes of the monuments in these two very distinctive groups can be seen to reflect the areas of power and influence of the monastic sites at which their finest examples are found, then Figs. 11 and 21 (pp. 31, 84) present a clear indication of the very much greater influence of St Petroc's Monastery, in the heart of Cornwall, compared to St Buryan, isolated in the west. As their name suggests, the crosses of the Penwith group are entirely confined to the ancient hundred of Penwith in the far west of Cornwall, while the Mid and East Cornwall crosses extend over six ancient hundreds (Pydar, Powder, Trigg, Lesnewth, West and East Wivelshire). At their core, St Petroc's Monastery in Bodmin was located close to the meeting point of four of these hundreds (Fig. 21). It would be speculative to suggest that the sizes of the monuments in the different groups may reflect the same pattern; nevertheless the great size of the ambitious Mid and East Cornwall monuments must, at the least, be an indication of the area where investment was focussed in tenth- and eleventh-century Cornwall.

The difference in scale between the crosses of east and west Cornwall does explain why the majority of those in the eastern half of the county are composite

monuments, with separate portions socketed together, while on present evidence those in the west appear to have been carved from single blocks of stone with only the base being a separate element. Most obviously, the Doniert Stone and the Other Half Stone (St Cleer 2 and 3) each have large sockets in the top to take further sections of shaft. Pelynt 1 and Quethiock 1 are both known to have had separate heads which were jointed to their shafts, and the remains of a tenon can be seen on the end of the stone at Trengoffe (Warleggan 2). All the crosses were socketed into bases, the majority of which were undecorated (see below). The tenon on the bottom of the Fourhole Cross, St Neot 3, was briefly visible when this was removed due to road widening in 1995 (Thomas, N. 1996, 5). Only St Cleer 2 and 3 were set straight into the ground; the parts which were intended to be below the ground are now visible as bulging, un-carved sections at the bottom of the stones.

Differences between the main sculpture groups extend even to the cross-sections of their shafts. Crosses of the Panelled Interlace group generally have shafts of near square cross-section and that at St Neot, St Neot 1, has an obvious entasis. In their cross-section they are like their counterparts in Devon at Coplestone and Exeter (Cramp 2006, ills. 10–13, 26–29). On the other hand, crosses of the Mid and East Cornwall group generally (but not always) have more rectangular shafts, some quite thin and slab-like. The earlier crosses in this group have sturdy tapering shafts (Cardinham 1, St Neot 3, Padstow 2; see Colour Pl. 1), while the later examples are surprisingly thin and elegant in proportion to their great height (for example Quethiock 1, see Fig. 17g, p. 58, and Colour Pl. 22). The shafts of crosses in Penwith are generally more robust and of thick rectangular or near-square section, with Phillack 1 an extreme example where the depth of the shaft is actually greater than the width of the main face.

#### CROSS-HEADS

The heads of all undoubtedly early medieval crosses in Cornwall have general characteristics in common, although there are differences in detail and the later, transitional, forms offer the greatest contrast. All of the cross-heads apart from Sancreed 1, which has a solid disc head, have a ring linking the arms, which is generally flush with the ends of the arms, except in some of the later monuments of the Mid and East Cornwall group, where the arms extend beyond the ring. With one or two notable exceptions, the arm-



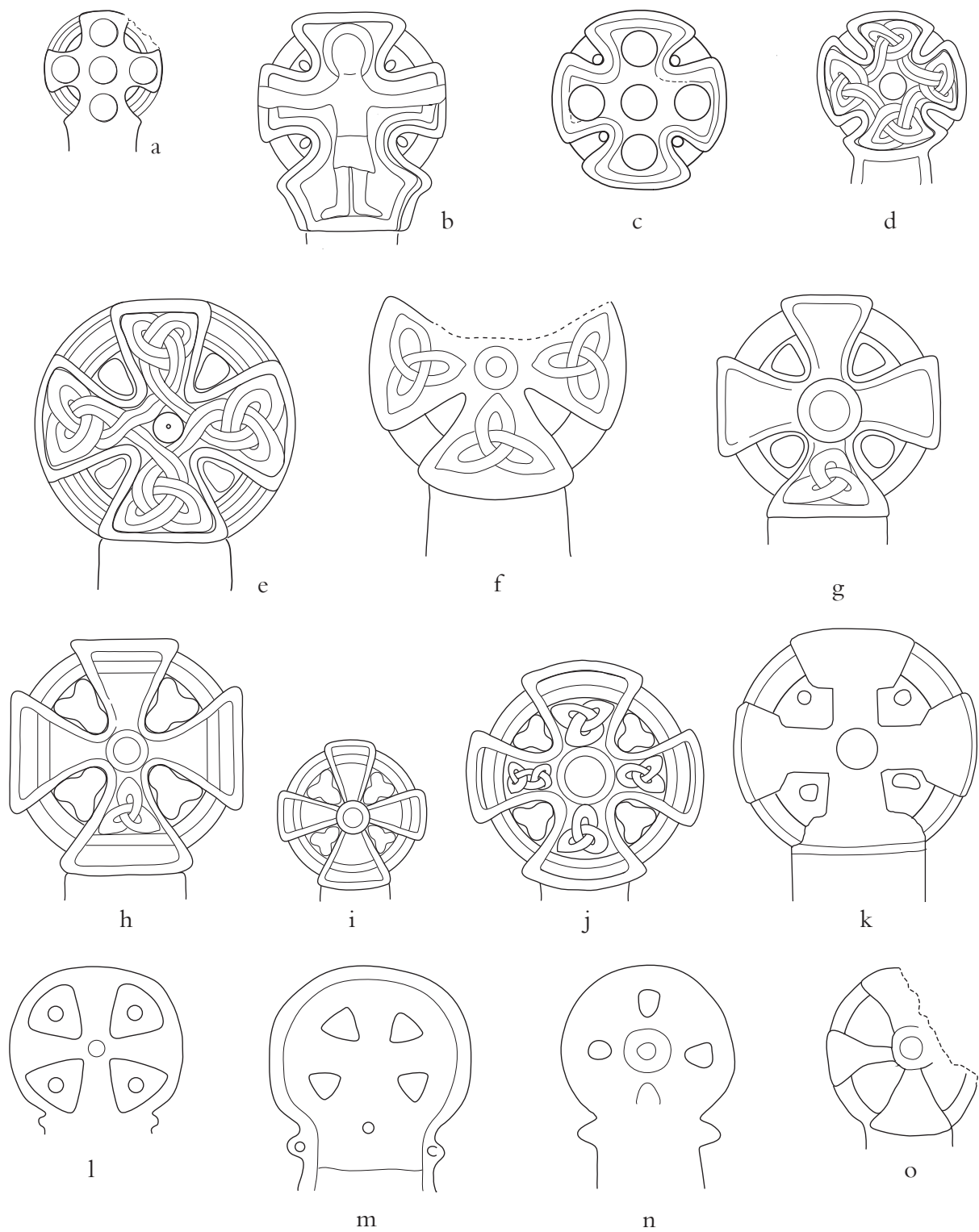


FIGURE 18

Cross-head types in Cornwall

a – Gwinear 1; b – St Buryan 1; c – Paul 1; d – Sancreed 1 (all Penwith group); e – Cardinham 1; f – St Neot 3; g – Lanivet 1 (all Mid and East Cornwall group); h – Padstow 3; i – Padstow 1; j – St Columb Major 1 (all trefoil headed); k – St Minver 1; l – Lanteglos-by-Camelford 2; m – Penzance 1; n – Perranzabuloe 1; o – Lanivet 2 (all transitional incised crosses except St Minver)



pits are normally curved, and the ends of the arms are also curved, following the line of the ring (Fig. 18).

Despite this uniform overall character, there are differences between the two main cross groups. Cross-heads of the Penwith group tend to be small in relation to the size of the shaft (Fig. 18a–d). On the majority, the upper and lower arms splay more widely than the horizontal arms, to accommodate the head to the width of the shaft, and the holes are poorly pierced (or not at all in the case of Sancreed 1). The heads carry the most obviously defining features of this group: the five bosses and the Crucifixion.

In contrast, cross-heads of monuments in the Mid and East Cornwall group are normally large in relation to the size of the shaft (Fig. 18e–g). The cross-arms are more evenly sized and the holes fully cut away. Awareness of design is indicated at Quethiock and St Teath whose heads, as Langdon points out, are ‘elliptical instead of round, presumably because a round head, at such a height, would have presented a flat or depressed appearance’ (Langdon, Arthur 1896, 399). In the later variant, three small cusps were introduced into the holes between the arms of the cross-heads to create their very distinctive trefoil-shaped holes (Fig. 18h–j). Crosses with trefoil holes may be elaborated with additional edge-mouldings to produce very ornamental heads. A number have a small hole at the centre of the central boss (clearly seen at Pelynt and Cardinham 1, less clearly at St Columb and Padstow 1) which may have been, as Bailey suggests (Bailey 2010, 61), to further decorate the head by affixing a precious stone or other attachment. More mundanely, the hole may have been the point from which the head was laid out with a compass.

Amongst the Mid and East Cornwall group, Lanivet 1 and Tywardreath 1 (Trenyhton) are notable for having straight ends to their arms, but the most notable exception is the cross at Prideaux Place (Padstow 3), whose arms flare widely from a small central boss to arms-ends which are slightly concave (Fig. 18h). Here, the ring is also in straight sections, giving the cross-head an octagonal form. This and the very widely flaring arms may indicate a late pre-Conquest date.

It is the greatest pity that no cross-head associated with monuments of the Panelled Interlace group survives but, given the ubiquity of the main type, it seems easiest to assume that they would likewise have had arms with rounded ends linked by a ring, and a central boss. The only cross-head in Cornwall with a rather different outline is that at St Michael Porthilly (St Minver 1, Fig. 18k). Here the arms extend straight

from the central boss and have expanded wedge-shaped terminals, thus almost replicating forms common in Wales and on the Isle of Man (for example some of those at Margam: Redknap and Lewis 2007, 408–25; Kermodé 1907, many examples). However the Welsh and Manx crosses are all disc heads, unlike St Minver 1. Like crosses of the Penwith group, St Minver’s holes are only partially drilled through and, like Cornish cross-heads generally, the ends of the arms are expanded and curved. Its eccentricity compared to other monuments in the region can be related to the cross at Plymstock, Devon (Cramp 2006, 87–9, ill. 36–8), which also has expanded, wedge-shaped terminals and an estuarine location, although here the similarity ends.

The heads of other crosses in Cornwall which do not belong to the main groups nonetheless conform to the same general characteristics. In west Cornwall, Wendron 1 has five bosses on each main face with the eroded remnants of a spine linking the central boss to the other four, in a way which is reminiscent of the spine-and-boss or lorgnette design common on Cumbrian crosses of the spiral-scroll school (Bailey 1980, 205; Bailey and Cramp 1988, 33–5).

Cramp (2006, 36) notes that ‘the distinctive feature of cross-heads from the region [the South-west] are the rounded ends to the arms’. This is a generic characteristic shared with Cornish crosses, but here the similarity ends. There are few parallels, other than with a mid to late eleventh-century cross-head from Glastonbury Tor, Somerset, which has a similar shape to Padstow 1. There is a generic similarity also with the forms of cross-heads found in Viking-period sculptures of Yorkshire and the west coast of Britain generally, from Whithorn in Galloway to Cumbria, Cheshire, Lancashire and the Isle of Man. However the best parallels for the shape of Cornish cross-heads are seen on free-standing crosses in Wales, for example at Carew, Nevern, Penally, Coychurch, Llandaf, and Margam (Edwards 2007, 303–10, 396–401, 410–14; Redknap and Lewis 2007, 288–92, 320–3, 426–7). Penally also has the only example in Wales of a cross with foliage decoration. At St David’s is a fragment of a cross-head which may have had cusped, trefoil-shaped holes like the Cornish examples (Edwards 2007, 429–31). In all of these cases it is a moot point whether the parallels result from influence to Cornwall from Wales or *vice versa*. The tendency is to assume that Wales, with its much larger repertoire of early medieval sculpture, was the source of inspiration, but there are numerically more examples of this head form in Cornwall and in the case of the cusped head,





assuming that the St David's fragment was of this type, the influence seems more likely to have been from Cornwall.

Cornish crosses which are considered to belong to the overlap between the end of the early medieval period and the beginning of the later medieval period are mostly characterised by solid disc- or wheel-heads, some with small protrusions at the neck; this is presumably a skeuomorph, reflecting the point where the lower arm of a ring-headed cross extends beyond the line of the shaft (Fig. 18L). On Lanteglos by Camelford 2 and Tintagel 1, the five bosses have been rearranged so that they no longer pin the arms to the ring. Although such a design can be seen on many earlier cross-slabs in Wales, for example at Llaneleu and Llangamarch in Breconshire (Redknap and Lewis 2007, 192, 203–4), the context of the Cornish examples suggests that in Cornwall this is a later feature. On Penzance 1 and Kenwyn 1, the holes between the arms are rendered with incised lines and hollows. The presence of these pseudo-holes indicates a relationship to the earlier crosses, but they do appear to represent a development towards the much simpler wheel-headed wayside crosses which are so abundantly represented in Cornwall (see Chapter X).

surface of the base can still be seen. Langdon mentions the existence of a tenon on the Quethiock cross, but does not describe it, other than to note that it is stated that the 'cross [head] has a tenon fitting into a mortice in the top of the shaft, and, at the bottom of the shaft, one which fits into the base; so that no part of the cross is wanting' (Langdon, Arthur 1896, 399).

The Doniert Stone (St Cleer 2) and the second stone at this site, St Cleer 3, are exceptions showing a different arrangement again. The Doniert Stone might be either the lower section of a composite shaft or a rather tall and elaborate cross-base; St Cleer 3 is either a relatively short cross-shaft or part of a composite monument with a shaft of several sections. Either way, the upper surface of both stones contains a neatly-cut mortice into which the tenon on the bottom of either a further section of shaft or a cross-head could have fitted (see Ill. 59). In contrast, the bottom of each stone is thick and unworked, the monument depending presumably on the weight of the stone to hold it in the ground, without the benefit of a broader separate base. A stone in west Cornwall, Gulval 2, may be comparable to these although, being decorated with large carvings of the Evangelists (Ills. 88–91), it is in strong contrast with the majority of other Cornish sculpture.

#### TENONS

As far as we can tell, most early medieval crosses in Cornwall were supported by bases, although only a few of these survive. The evidence comes from the existence of tenons on the bottoms of some of the crosses, and from the bases themselves.

There are differences in the types of tenons used in the different sculpture groups. In the case of the Penwith group crosses, the tenon consisted merely of a tapering section of shaft below the carved portion. This can be seen on Paul 2 and St Erth 1. Langdon refers to a tenon on the bottom of Phillack 1 (Langdon, Arthur 1896, 390), but with no indication of how it was formed. Unfortunately, no Penwith cross-base survives, unless those which currently support the St Buryan 1 or St Erth 2 heads are examples. However as both of these crosses have been cut down with loss of the shaft, they remain uncertain.

Other crosses show a different type of tenon. The clearest example is Gulval 1, now set upside down with its tenon pointing to the sky. Here, the tenon is stepped in from the sides of the shaft only, the front and back being only slightly recessed from the face. The same appears to be the case at Padstow 2, where the way in which the sides of the shaft rest on the

#### CROSS-BASES

Other than these, the only certain examples of early medieval bases are those at Lanhadron (St Ewe 1), whose inscription indicates an early medieval date, and that in Padstow churchyard (Padstow 2) which was found in the nineteenth century by the sexton when digging a grave, with the shaft 'firmly socketed in the basement' ((—) 1883, 78). Two others which may also be original early medieval bases, still surviving in association with the monuments for which they were designed, are Minster 1 (Waterpit Down) and Quethiock 1. Both crosses were disturbed and were re-erected in the nineteenth century, but in each case seem to have been re-erected into the original base-stone (Langdon, Arthur 1896, 374, 398–9). St Columb 1, St Erth 2 and St Buryan 1 all stand in bases, but as cross-heads only and with no documentation to explain how they arrived in their present situation. As a result, the early medieval origin of the bases must be considered less certain, although as the head of St Buryan 1 is a poor fit in its current base, the possibility that this was the original base must exist. The mortices of the only stones where size can be determined are St Ewe 1 (0.43 x 0.3 m) and Padstow 2 (0.73 x 0.43 m).



These bases are for the most part approximately rectangular or square, although that at Quethiock is roughly circular. All, apart from St Ewe with its inscription, are plain, undecorated stones. The largest, at nearly 2.5 m long by 1.5 m wide, is that which supports Padstow 2; the smallest of the likely examples is St Ewe, at 1.25 by 1.17 m across and 0.48 m thick. Taken together, they average 1.64 x 1.39 m across, with a probable weight of at least 1 tonne. The uncertain examples are all smaller, more comparable to the bases associated with the simpler later medieval wayside crosses, which average 1.08 by 0.9 m across with a mortice of 0.29 x 0.22 m and with an estimated weight of less than half a tonne. To a large extent the differences in size must be related to the size of the monuments they were intended to support. The early medieval bases were big stones, designed to support massive monuments, witnessed by the height of the surviving cross at Quethiock (4 m high) and the bulk of the surviving section of the shaft of Padstow 2. On the whole, the later wayside crosses were slighter monuments.

A few instances survive of cross-bases whose sizes suggest that they may once have supported very large and therefore potentially early medieval monuments. These are at Kea (Kea 1: 1.83 m across, containing a mortice 0.53 m across) and at Davidstow holy well (1.37 x 1.24 m, with a mortice of 0.5 x 0.25 m). Because their size aligns them with the known early medieval cross-bases, these stones have been included in Appendix A (p. 211) as indicating potential sites of pre-Norman crosses. The fact that the Kea stone is associated with a land-owning church recorded in the *Inquisitio Geldi* of 1086 (Orme 2010, 12–13; 130–1) perhaps helps to strengthen the case for its early origin.

Although it is slightly smaller than those described above, the cross-base at Trevorder (Warleggan 3) might be another early medieval cross-base because of its possible association with the Warleggan 1 and Trengoffe (Warleggan 2) fragments. It has dimensions of 1.22 m square and a mortice of 0.36 by 0.28 m (Langdon, Andrew 2005, 70).

At Trebyan, Lanhydrock and at Trewint, Altarnun, are two cross-bases for which an inscription has been suggested (Okasha 1993, 296–8, 315–16). However the inscriptions are doubtful and, if they did exist, are now illegible. Moreover the size of both their sockets falls at the bottom end of the range for early medieval monuments, the Trewint stone being rather small overall while only half of the Trebyan base is now visible. These two are therefore excluded as potential

examples. A further large base at Constantine has been excluded because its chamfered angles suggest that it may have supported a churchyard cross of later medieval date (Langdon, Andrew 1999, 20).

#### GRAVE-COVERS

Five recumbent grave-covers are recorded in the main catalogue with a further three in Appendix D, Continuing Tradition. In the main catalogue are St Buryan 2, Lanivet 3, Padstow 5, Phillack 3 and St Tudy 1; while Lanivet 4, Towednack 1 and Wendron 2 are in Appendix D, although (as with the crosses) the date boundary between the two groups should be regarded as far from fixed. In the past, arguments have been made for considering seven of these (excluding the newly-found Padstow 5) to be early medieval. However that idea is rejected in this volume, with only five being considered early medieval and therefore recorded in the main catalogue, and it remains a possibility that two of those might in fact be of early twelfth-century date. There are differences in the form of the early medieval and continuing tradition grave-covers, as well as in the type and degree of ornament, which suggest that the contrasts seen may indeed be temporal.

The grave-covers in the main catalogue are all coped stones, of tapering or boat-shaped plan, with straight or gently sloping sides and a hipped roof. Two of the five are complete and these are massive stones, over two metres long, with maximum widths of nearly 50 cm wide and 50 cm high (at least in the case of St Tudy 1: the full height of Lanivet 3 is not visible). Their length is a sure indication that they were designed to cover graves. These stones are both in mid/east Cornwall and it is of interest that while the third, broken, stone in the same area (Padstow 5) appears to have been of similar proportions, the other two, at St Buryan and Phillack in west Cornwall, though admittedly incomplete, appear to be slighter monuments, less than 30 cm high and with maximum widths of 42 and 43 cm. Whether this difference reflects the character of the local population is unknowable but it certainly does mirror the contrast in size between the crosses of west and east Cornwall.

The decoration on these stones is varied and includes foliage trails, key patterns, plaits, knots and, in the case of St Tudy, arcading. Phillack 3 is plain, the only ornamentation being the cable moulding on the ridge. Lanivet 3 has squat and undistinguished animals on the two ends: this feature, along with its boat-shaped plan, has led to frequent comparison with the



hogback grave-covers of Viking-influenced areas of Britain.

Discussion is necessarily limited by the fact that there are so few of these stones compared to the crosses. It may be that more remain to be discovered since, as low memorials rather than tall sky-piercing monuments of long-lasting and recognisable significance, their meaning may have been lost and indeed buried within a few generations of their creation even if, as Cramp suggests, they marked the graves of high-status individuals (Cramp 2006, 31). It is notable that both the Lanivet and the St Buryan stones were found buried in their respective churchyards, although the fact that Padstow 5, Phillack 3 and St Buryan 2 are broken suggests that they were recycled as building stone.

Although these Cornish stones are normally taken to be indicative of Anglo-Scandinavian sculptural influence (see for example Lang 1984, 88, 108; Todd 1987, 296–9), a range of recumbent pre-Norman grave-covers are found elsewhere in the South-west; these include examples which may be flat-topped, domed-and-flanged or coped. The Cornish examples are unlikely to be related to the very fine domed-and-flanged monuments (see for example Ramsbury 4 and 5: Cramp 2006, ills. 503–5, 508, 506–7), but coped stones at Bath (no. 7), Wells (no. 1) and Cricklade (no. 2) present a generic similarity (respectively Cramp 2006, 142–3, 176, 214–5; ills. 183–5, 324, 327, 445). The Bath and Wells stones, dated to the tenth century, have well-executed plant trails, and Bath 7 uses the spine of the stone as the stem of the plant in an elegant manner quite unlike the Cornish examples with plant trails. However the Cricklade fragment's cable-moulded ridge and double-strand interlace, which Cramp considers reminiscent of Anglo-Scandinavian art in the north-west and Collingwood took to be an example of the creeping influence of Anglo-Danish survival, is perhaps more like the Cornish stones (Cramp 2006, 215; quoting W. G. Collingwood).

In Wales there are few examples of recumbent grave-covers: one at Llandewi Aber-arth (no. 2), located tellingly in a prominent position overlooking Cardigan Bay, is thought to be a clear example of a 'Viking colonial hogback grave-cover' (Edwards 2007, 146–7, ills. CD7.1–2; quotation from p. 146), but it is of rather different appearance to the Cornish stones. Otherwise, the only close parallel is the tapering, coped grave-slab at Newcastle in Glamorgan, whose inscriptions suggest an eleventh- to early twelfth-century date (Redknap and Lewis 2007, 488–491, ills. G114a–d). This features arcading which has been

compared to St Tudy's but, as Redknap and Lewis acknowledge, the processional cross and the square looped motif decorating it are better paralleled in Romanesque sculpture (Redknap and Lewis 2007, 490–1), and these along with the very strongly tapering form are in contrast with St Tudy. Moreover, although commonly referred to as arcading, the pattern on the side of St Tudy is more like a bisected plant-scroll than true arcading. Other Welsh grave-covers discussed and illustrated by Nash-Williams (1950, 49, pls. LXI–LXIII) appear more related to the monuments described in Appendix D, Continuing Tradition.

In summary, then, it is apparent that a variety of grave-covers, whether coped or in some other style, were a part of the repertoire of stone monuments in use in the pre-Norman period, but that the closest comparisons for the Cornish stones are with material which shows Viking influence. Lanivet 3 is commonly referred to as a hogback or as hogback-like (Hencken 1932, 279–80; Lang 1984, 144; Saunders, A. 1991, 18), and it is worth considering how like or not it is to these in fact. Briefly, the characteristics of hogbacks can be summarised as a bombé outline (bulging in the middle), being usually less than 1.5 m long and often having a tall narrow profile, although a variety of different types are recognised (Bailey 1980, 98, fig. 13; Cramp 1984, xix–xx; Lang 1984, 97–111; Lang 1991, 28–9; Lang 2001, 21–4). The roofs are usually shingled and they commonly feature an inward-facing animal at each end. Other decoration includes simple knots and interlace, with occasional plant scrolls or beasts, and scenes from Scandinavian mythology and warriors, although some are plain with a simple moulding along the angles. The form is thought to have been short-lived, with most types dating between approximately 920 and 954 (Lang 1984, 97; Lang 2001, 23), but in some areas, like Scotland, they continued into the eleventh century (Bailey 1980, 92).

In plan, Lanivet 3 bulges gently along its length and its slightly tapering cross-section, with a well defined 'roof', is similar to some hogbacks (ills. 124–30). However the most diagnostic features linking it with the hogbacks are the two small inward-facing quadrupeds crouched on the ends, even though these differ from the norm in being on the roof of the monument, rather than clasping its sides. At just over 200 cm, Lanivet 3 is much longer than most hogbacks and is rather more squat. The hipped ends, which are common to the three Cornish coped stones, is also at variance with hogbacks, which have straight ends. Although simple knots like those seen on the ends of Lanivet 3 are found on hogbacks, the abundant fret



patterns are not. So in conclusion, although Lanivet 3 has some characteristics in common with hogbacks, it also has features of its own and, although it can probably be attributed to Viking influence, it is not a Viking monument. Similarly, though St Tudy lacks the diagnostic end-beasts (Ills. 229–33), its plaits, plant-scrolls and knots have more in common with the decoration seen on Yorkshire hogbacks like Brompton 21 and Crathorne 4 and 5 (Lang 2001, ill. 92–3, 133–7) than Lanivet 3. Phillack 3 (Ills. 202–4) can be compared with plain hogbacks like those at Lythe, nos. 32, 33 (Lang 2001, ill. 575–6, 580–5), although later medieval parallels also exist. So while the Lanivet 3 coped stone may be the most obvious example of Viking influence, it does appear that in their form and decoration all of Cornwall's five coped stones may be yet another indicator of the area's inclusion in a western British Viking-age sculptural tradition.

Arthur G. Langdon listed a small group of early cross-slabs which he considered 'very rare' and 'quite different in character from the floriated cross-slabs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' (Langdon, Arthur 1896, 419). Those noted are stones at Lanivet, Temple (two examples), Towednack and Wendron (Langdon, Arthur 1896, 419–22). All are flat slabs, elaborated only with simple incised crosses of different types (Ills. 306, 326, 327). Thomas likewise scrutinised this group and concluded that an early date was likely for them all: Lanivet 4 and Wendron 2 were thought to be 'of early type but not necessarily all that much pre-Norman — the Wendron one seems the earlier (eighth–ninth century?)' (Thomas, A. C. 1966b, 87), while a possible tenth-century parallel was cited for Towednack (Thomas, A. C. 1968a, 14). Here however, all these stones other than those at Temple have been included in Appendix D as examples of 'continuing tradition'. Those at Temple have not been included since they are at a church site most likely founded in the twelfth century by the Knights Templar (Henderson, C. 1925, 202; Orme 2010, 272–3) and therefore clearly beyond the scope of this volume. The other three are discussed individually in Appendix D (pp. 238, 246, 247). In short, the best parallels for the types of cross that they display can be found on the later medieval wayside crosses or grave-slabs and they are best seen as rustic local examples of the cross-slab grave-covers which are so common in some parts of the country (see for example Butler 1964; Ryder 1991; Ryder 2005). Although cross-slab grave-covers are few in Cornwall, they can be divided into those which follow national trends, have a foliated cross and may be imported from Purbeck,

and others carved from local materials, which are generally of simpler and more rustic design (Allan, J. and Langdon, Andrew 2008, 132). These three are likely to be instances of the latter.

#### ALTARS

Uniquely in England, Cornwall has remains of three sculpted pre-Norman stone altars. All are from west Cornwall, with two from the same parish: these two are remarkably alike in their decoration and in the presence of inscriptions. A cross-slab from Tintagel Island, listed in Appendix F, may also be part of a stone altar, though of uncertain date (Thorpe 1988, 74–5, figs. IS5–6; Thomas, A. C. 1993, 117, fig. 94).

The two similar stones are from the parish of Camborne (Camborne 1 and 2, pp. 128, 130); the third is at Phillack (Phillack 3, p. 195). The two examples from Camborne feature a border with a T-fret, an inscription and a cross at the centre. Camborne 1 has a longer inscription set around the edge (Ills. 36–8) while Camborne 2 has a single name on it (Ills. 39–41). They have different types of crosses within their borders. The Phillack stone has incised decoration which most prominently features a Crucifixion (Ill. 205). Camborne 1 and 2 are of generally similar size; Phillack 3 is rather smaller but has been trimmed along both top and bottom. Only Camborne 1 has consecration crosses on it, although these are on the underside.

Stylistically, the two Camborne stones can be dated no more closely than to the tenth or eleventh century. Their similarity suggests they may be close in date to each other, although Thomas has argued for a difference of fifty years between them, with Camborne 1 being the older (Thomas, A. C. 1967a, 105–6). The name *Leuiut* on Camborne 1 might be Celtic but is more likely to be English, as is the name *Ægu[.]jed*, probably for *Ægured*, on Camborne 2. This does not necessarily imply that the individuals named were English, however, since Cornish landowners were adopting English names from the tenth century (see Chapter IV, p. 30). A date in the eleventh or even the early twelfth century has been proposed for Phillack 3 because of the similarity of the Crucifixion figure to that on Phillack 1, and its use of incised decoration.

That Camborne 1 was an altar is a self-declared fact. The inscription states that *Leuiut* ordered *hec altare* for his own soul. The five consecration crosses that have been recorded on the underside (but are no longer visible) seemingly confirm this, although Thomas has





suggested that these may relate to a re-use of the stone (Thomas, A. C. 1967a, 106–7). From the similarity in their appearance and size it then seems reasonable to assume a similar function for Camborne 2. However, while Thomas suggests that Camborne 2 was originally an altar table or *mensa*, with the eccentrically-placed rectangular frame representing ‘the five consecration points ... irregular though this would be’, he believes that Camborne 1 may have been an altar frontal in origin, later re-used as a *mensa*, as noted above (Thomas, A. C. 1967a, 106–10, quote on p. 109). He likewise suggests that Phillack 3 may have been part of an altar frontal (Thomas, A. C. 1961, 89–92; Thomas, A. C. 1971a, 185–6; Thomas, A. C. 1978, 77–9).

## FONTS

It has been suggested that a small group of stone bowls in Cornwall may be pre-Norman Conquest fonts. However for the most part they are plain or minimally decorated circular or oval bowls whose very simplicity makes dating difficult. These possibly early medieval fonts are at Washaway (Egloshayle; from Lanteglos by Camelford), Morwenstow, Rialton, Sithney, Boscastle, Tintagel (three examples) and Treslothan.

The fonts from Lanteglos by Camelford (now at Washaway, Egloshayle) and at Morwenstow were confidently stated to be pre-Norman and ‘Celtic’ by Sedding in his authoritative *Norman Architecture in Cornwall* (Sedding, E. 1909, 96, 294–5, 454, pls. XXXVI, CXXII). In this assertion he was followed by Henderson, who added another at Helland in Mabe (Henderson, C. 1925, 88, 133–4, 151, 167; Henderson, C. ?1932, 2, 30; Henderson, C. 1957–60a, 316–17).

Thomas proposed that a plain bowl (Camborne 3, Ills. 248–9) inverted beneath Camborne 2, the early altar slab from Treslothan, might be an eleventh-century font belonging to the former chapel of St James (Thomas, A. C. 1967a, 115–16). In 1991 the possibility that another undecorated plain bowl might indeed be an early font was enhanced during excavations in Tintagel churchyard (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992), when fragments of a plain bowl were found in the wall of a building (Tintagel 2, Ills. 271–4). This wall was thought to be from an early church predating the present Norman structure, although the stratigraphic evidence was admittedly weak (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 14–17); this is considered further below. This discovery led to speculation that other plain bowls in the same area,

from Tintagel Island (Tintagel 3), Trethevey (Tintagel 4) and Boscastle, and other simple fonts at Sithney and Germoe, Towednack, Boyton, Minster and Trevalga, might be similarly early (Thomas, A. C. unpublished 1991; Thomas, A. C. 1993, 113, caption to fig. 89).

Of this collection of stone bowls, those at Washaway, Morwenstow, Germoe, Rialton, Sithney, Towednack, Boyton, Minster and Trevalga have been proposed to be pre-Norman Conquest on account of their crude shape or simplicity, but their decoration indicates that in reality they are likely to be early Norman (see Blair 2010, 152; and Pevsner 1970: 45, Boyton; 72, Germoe; 120, Minster; 123, Morwenstow; 214, Sithney; 222, Towednack; 239, Washaway). The remaining six (Boscastle 1, Camborne 3, Mabe 3, Tintagel 2, Tintagel 3, Tintagel 4) are all plain stone bowls with a hole in the bottom, considered early because of their rudimentary form but where the absence of ornament removes the possibility of this as a means of dating. However with one or two there is doubt as to whether or not identification as a font is correct and a suspicion that they may instead be domestic artefacts. Nonetheless all six are placed in Appendix A, Uncertain Date (p. 211), to enable discussion of these problems.

Early fonts have been given extended consideration by Cramp in relation to a small number in the South-west (other than Cornwall) which may date from the early medieval period (Cramp 2006, 38–40). Cramp has shown that administrative and liturgical changes in the Anglo-Saxon church meant that from the eighth century baptism was not the sole right of bishops, as previously, while documents of the late Old English period show some increased use of the Old English word *fant* meaning ‘fount; font; baptismal water’, especially from the early eleventh century (Cramp 2006, 40). The few fonts in the South-west which are accepted as pre-Norman have been dated to the tenth or eleventh centuries. With some reservations, Blair suggests that as high-status items most of the early stone fonts in England, as opposed to those made from wood and other materials, may have been at minsters (Blair 2010, 175). Like Cramp, he suggests that the absence of many early examples may also be explained by the diversity of forms and materials in use early on: many of more perishable materials will not have survived (Cramp 2006, 38; Blair 2010, 175–7). However, Blair considers that there was a burgeoning of fonts made of stone in the late eleventh century, as the ‘Romanesque principles of greater monumentality, and of the precise cutting of fresh ashlar derived from the rapidly-expanding quarries ... encouraged the production of font-sized



blocks, and the training of specialist craftsmen to turn them into fonts' (Blair 2010, 175), with 'the rite ... now anchored to a special place within the church walls, separated from natural water-sources' (Blair 2010, 177).

Whitfield has suggested that in Ireland, outdoor ceremony at holy wells may have been the norm for baptism, perhaps until the twelfth century and Blair considers that this was also likely for remoter parts of the British Isles (Whitfield 2007, 512–13; Blair 2005, 463). In Cornwall this seems eminently likely, for many holy wells continued to provide water for fonts until at least the nineteenth century and some, like Whitestone, Cardinham and St Clether, still do (Quiller-Couch and Quiller-Couch 1894, 7, 24, 42–3; Meyrick 1982, 34, 144; see also Rattue 1995, 66–7). Adoption for baptism of wells and springs held sacred by pagan belief may indeed have been one of the most powerful means by which Christianity reached the very fabric of the Cornish countryside in the post-Roman period. The fact that many church-sites in Cornwall have associations with a holy well either through its incorporation in the site (for example St Samson, Golant, Michaelstow, Gunwalloe) or dedication to the same saint (Madron, St Clether, Altarnun, St Cleer) surely indicates a link. Cramp notes that pre-Conquest churches varying from the Old Minster at Winchester to St Peter, Bywell, in Northumberland, had wells within adjuncts on the north side of the building (Cramp 2006, 227). Baptism in streams or even in tidal waters would also have been possible at any of the low-lying valley-bottom, valley-head or estuarine locations shown to be favoured by pre-Norman church-sites in Cornwall with a name in *\*lann* (Preston-Jones 1994, 85). However, the number of Norman fonts in Cornwall indicates that from the late eleventh century at least, stone bowls filled with water which, to maintain this link, may have been collected from the holy well, were being adopted. The question is whether the new practice began any earlier.

A principal thesis of Blair's 2010 article is to demonstrate that as fonts were adopted for baptism, the unsophisticated early examples preserved skeuomorphic features indicating their adaptation from domestic and agricultural models. Early fonts are seen to be derived from a variety of lead, wood and stone troughs and containers. The Tintagel churchyard font, Tintagel 2 (p. 223, Ills. 271–4), is seen as a significant example, its overall shape and foot-ring preserving features which might result from turning a wooden bowl on a lathe (Blair 2010, 161). As wooden and

other organic materials do not generally survive in Cornwall, and since the early medieval period is particularly poorly represented in the archaeological record, the existence of such proto-types is difficult to prove. After the Roman and post-Roman periods, when small and elegant stone mortars and bowls made of greisen were being manufactured in Cornwall (Quinnell 1993, 33–6), the only containers of which we are aware are made of pottery.

However, this raises the reverse possibility that some of the stone bowls which have been taken as fonts in Cornwall are actually bowls of domestic origin. This is perhaps not the case with those from a secure ecclesiastical context, like Tintagel 2, even though the very rough nature of its floor raises questions regarding the use that led to this abraded finish. The question arises more in connection with those found in secular contexts (Boscastle 1) or at the site of a minor chapel where no baptismal rights are known (Tintagel 3, Tintagel 4), especially since Blair suggests that the earlier stone fonts are more likely to be associated with minsters. Most intriguing is that from Helland in Mabe (Mabe 3), a site with a name in *\*lann* but no record of a chapel.

Although stone artefacts and containers of great variety, manufactured on the granite moorlands, were ubiquitous in domestic contexts in Devon and Cornwall in the post-medieval period, they have attracted little research interest. The exceptions are the work of Worth on Dartmoor, Thomas in Camborne parish and Herring *et al.* in a brief note on Bodmin Moor (Worth 1953, 355–91; Thomas, A. C. 1967a, 117–19; Herring *et al.* 2008, 83–8). The alternative possible uses for a bowl with a hole in its base have thus not been explored. The situation is confused by the fact that bowl-like stone artefacts may make their way into churches and churchyards because they resemble fonts or stoups, even though many may well have a non-ecclesiastical origin (Worth 1953, 390–1; Thomas, A. C. 1967a, 117–19). For example there was, until they were stolen, a fine collection of mortars of presumed medieval date in the churchyard at St Enodoc, near Padstow. Although one alleged font (Boscastle 1, p. 211, Ills. 246–7) should perhaps not even be included in the catalogue because it has probably the best chance of being of domestic rather than ecclesiastical origin, it has been retained as it gives the opportunity for discussion of these problems. This bowl has been compared to a post-medieval corn measure existing in Boscastle, and it has holes through the sides suggesting that it might have been used as some sort of stone bucket. The bowl from Tintagel



Island, Tintagel 3 (p. 225, Ills. 275–6), might also have originated as a domestic item. Wear marks on the bowl suggest that it may have been in domestic use and although apparently found at the chapel site it could have been taken there from the castle once that was out of use, precisely because of its font-like appearance.

Although it has been hinted above that the parochial status of a site might help to support or disprove the identification of a stone bowl as a font, in practice this is not the case. In the later medieval period baptism, along with burial, was a right reserved to a parish church only, and a licence from the bishop was normally required to enable it to take place in a non-parochial chapel. However, the provision of Norman fonts indicates that in Cornwall until the early twelfth century at least, chapel-sites as well as parish churches could carry out baptism. The Norman fonts at St Enodoc and St Michael Porthilly, both chapelries of St Minver, are examples which demonstrate that sites which emerge in the later medieval period as chapels could have a font (Sedding, E. 1909, 106–7, pl. XLIII A), although by the twelfth century it would certainly be the case that baptism and the presence of a font would normally be allowed at parish churches only.

Conversely, this does indicate the possibility that if a bowl, which from appearance might be a font, is found at a chapel site, then it is likely to be ‘early’ and to date from before the time at which parochial rights were more firmly asserted, though whether pre- or post-Norman Conquest must remain uncertain without further supporting evidence. The prime example here is the possible font at Helland in Mabe (Mabe 3, p. 218, Ills. 267–8). Its size and profile, which compare with the early Norman font at Morwenstow, are persuasive of its origin as a font. Yet although the site has a name in *\*lann*, indicating that here was an early Christian enclosure, no medieval record of any chapel is known. Moreover, Helland is in the parish of Mabe, itself a chapelry to Mylor, which did not acquire burial rights until 1308/9, although it always seems to have enjoyed the right of a baptismal font (Henderson, C. ?1932, 4–6).

The Tintagel churchyard font, Tintagel 2 (p. 223, Ills. 271–4), is of particular importance because its excavated context makes it potentially dateable and if it is genuinely pre-Norman, then other plain bowls of similar size may be so as well. Unfortunately, the date is uncertain because the simplicity of the artefact means that it has no dateable features and because its context is not securely dated. Of the building into which the font fragment was incorporated ‘only

circumstantial evidence for the moment exists for the date of its construction and for its interpretation as an early church’ (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 14). Part of that circumstantial evidence is the font itself, for which a tenth-century date was suggested by analogy with that from Potterne, Wiltshire (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 16). Other pieces of circumstantial evidence included the uni-cameral plan of the building and comparison with other allegedly pre-Conquest churches in Cornwall, especially Minster. A window fragment found in a demolition spread within the building was considered likely to be of ‘late Saxon’ date (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 16, fig. 14); the fact that the building’s walls were bonded with a shell-based mortar is also mentioned (Nowakowski and Thomas 1992, 14). A small collection of Sandy Lane pottery (its location not specified, but presumably from the area of the chapel), ‘generally considered to be 10th and 11th century in date’ was felt to provide ‘evidence for activity within a period not previously archaeologically documented within the churchyard’ (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 16).

Sadly, these pieces of evidence do not stand up to scrutiny. In the first place, the Tintagel font is not especially like that at Potterne, which has a distinctive flower pot shape, with straight sides and, most unusually, no base (compare Blair 2010, figs. 3 and 6). The uni-cameral plan is common to many simple chapels of pre- and post-Conquest date; and in any case, as the building was not fully excavated it is not at all certain that the full plan was uncovered. Meanwhile Allan (2004–5, 150) has challenged the assertion that there is pre-Norman stonework in Minster church and the shell-based mortar (presumably an earth mortar with small flecks of lime derived from beach sand in it) is something suggested elsewhere by Thomas as likely to be indicative of a Norman, rather than early medieval, date (Russell and Pool 1968, 53; Thomas, A. C. 1968a, 11–14). Similarly it is difficult to see why the small fragment of a round-headed window need be Saxon rather than Norman in date; if pre-Norman it would be unparalleled in Cornwall. Finally, it is uncertain whether the Sandy Lane pottery was found stratified in a position where it could be directly associated with the construction of the chapel and in any case there are no absolute dates for Sandy Lane pottery, which may have persisted into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Thorpe and Wood 2011, 280).

It can more positively be said that the building overlay the location of the early Christian cemetery (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1993, 14) and the

compacted rubble fill of the building, which was not excavated to floor level, had had several post-medieval burials inserted into it (Thomas, A. C. 1993, 107). The demolition layers, only partly excavated, contained a mixture of artefacts from post-Roman amphorae sherds to a coin of Henry II (1154–89) (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 17). In summary a relatively wide date range is possible for the building, although an eleventh- to twelfth-century date seems probable (Blair 2010, 161 and fn. 65). If so the font, which had been broken and incorporated into the building's walls, would be earlier. Blair suspects a ritual aspect to the breaking of the font and its burial in the walls: a phenomenon highlighted elsewhere by Stocker (1997). However it seems an equal possibility that the font, having been discarded and broken, was merely used as building material since the wall also contained other re-used material: stones with chamfered faces and saw marks was also found built into the wall (Nowakowski and Thomas, A. C. 1992, 14); indeed, the chamfered stones may indicate a later date again for the building.

Given that the stratigraphy is unproven and, as the excavators admitted, only likely to be established through further excavation, it is difficult to assign an early medieval date to this font with absolute confidence. On the other hand, its dimensions are very much in line with the sizes of simple early Norman fonts in Cornwall. The estimated original diameter of the top, for example, is only a little bigger than the Morwenstow font's external diameter (Sedding, E. 1909, 294–5, pl. CXXII), and the depth of 24 cm (9.5

in) is very close to that of a number of early Norman fonts, for example Germoe (26 cm/10 in), St Giles (23 cm/9 in), St Clether (23 cm/9 in): see Sedding, E. 1909, 154, 157, 58). On the basis of present evidence therefore, an early Norman date might be preferred, and with it an association with the earliest phases of the surviving Norman church at Tintagel. However the eleventh- to twelfth-century date suggested in the catalogue allows for the possibility that it might nonetheless be pre-Norman.

In conclusion, there is no conclusive proof that any of the fonts and alleged fonts described in Appendix A are early medieval and in some cases even interpretation as a font is open to doubt. Therefore all have, after some consideration, been kept together as a group and included in Appendix A, to allow for comparison and argument. For very plain bowls there is really no way of dating other than by excavated context. If on further excavation Tintagel 2 indeed proves to be set within a securely dated early medieval context, then current opinion will have to be revised. However given the multiplicity of stone bowls of all sorts of shapes and functions in an area like Cornwall, where there is a great deal of stone, then even that one example cannot necessarily be used to prove the date and function of all similarly-shaped bowls. Ecclesiastical context may be a help, but given that simple stone bowls like mortars are likely to make their way to church sites, even context cannot be regarded as definitive proof. Each example must be considered on its own merits.