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STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

ST ORLAND'S STONE



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HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT SCOTLAND STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

ST ORLAND'S STONE

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1 Summary

1.1 Introduction

St Orland's Stone (NO 40083 50019), also named Cossans Stone, standing isolated in a field west of Forfar in Angus, is a Class II Pictish upright crossslab of Old Red Sandstone. It stands at 2.36m tall and dates to the second half of the first millennium AD. This cross-slab, although damaged, is one of the finest in its class. The stone is broken and has since been pinned back together.

The front face exhibits a Christian cross, carved all in relief, with numerous decorated panels of interlace, knotwork, key-pattern and spiral work, as well as several fish-monster type beasts, although these are at times indistinct. The high relief of the carving of the cross appears to make it stand out from the slab as if to emulate a freestanding cross.¹ The back face exhibits zoomorphic borders, Pictish symbols, a beast, a possible cow,² a boat with figures, men on horseback, hounds and a recess where a fragment appears to have been removed.

The stone is freely accessible as a visitor attraction and can be found in a field near Cossans Farm. The nearest road to the site is the A928, to its west. It is found isolated on a low mound within an enclosure to the south of a dismantled railway line, which is accessed from the west via the A928. There is no footpath to the stone,³ and therefore it is recommended that a fence line be followed south from the railway line to the stone.

1.2 Statement of significance

The Pictish symbol stones, cross-slabs and crosses of early medieval Scotland are perhaps the most extraordinary and beautiful of all carved stones in the British Isles. These stones, carved by the Picts, or 'Painted People', 'offer remarkable testimony to their artistic skills and insights into Pictish life and artistic contacts'.⁴

St Orland's Stone stands relatively exposed but prominent within a field. Its significance can be summarised as follows:

- It is an explicit expression of Christianity in southern Pictland, probably carved around the eighth to early ninth century AD.
- The depiction of a Pictish boat on an early medieval carved stone is unique to this stone, and in general, the depiction of an early medieval boat is a rarity on any media.
- The architecture and artistry of the high relief cross and its pyramidal base is a product of outstanding craftsmanship. Perhaps it depicts a freestanding cross.

¹ Henderson 1978, 52-3

² Pennant 1776, 164

³ Mack 1997, 63

⁴ Fraser 2008, 1

- It is a rare example of a Pictish cross-slab still standing in its original location.
- It exhibits a variety of carved detail, including interlace, knotwork, keypattern, spiral work and symbols.
- The stone appears to depict a hunting scene.
- The high relief carving on the front face is indicative of a style that is thought to have been transmitted from contemporary metalwork,⁵ although much of which has not survived.
- There is a recess carved in the back face of the cross-slab due to the seemingly deliberate removal of a piece of the stone. This is perhaps to allow for the placement of a box shrine,⁶ or it was deliberate damage.
- The mixing of Pictish symbols and Christian iconography on this crossslab was not ambivalent, and therefore perhaps designed to convey complex messages during a time of conversion.
- This stone illustrates that the Picts were not an isolated or primitive culture.

2 Assessment of Values

2.1 Background

The cross-slab is carved from brownish-grey sandstone, rectangular in shape and slightly tapering towards the top. The stone is consistent with a local source similar to that of the Balmashanner sandstone.⁷ It measures 2.36m in height, 0.71m wide at the base, 0.67m wide at the top, and 0.25m thick. The low-lying fields that surround it provide its immediate landscape setting as well as making it difficult to access.

The Carved Detail

A large Christian cross dominates full length of the front face. It is carved on two levels and extends to a pyramidal base. One level is cut back from the other and so creates an almost three-dimensional freestanding cross illusion. The crosshead has four panels, with a small circular projection at each angle of the cross, and these are set within their own circular hollow. There is a circular recess in the centre of the crosshead, perhaps to allow for the addition of a raised boss of some sort.⁸ The left and right arms of the cross are decorated with interlace and the other two are too worn to discern. There is also a circular hollow at the centre of the cross, carved to a similar depth as the four smaller circular hollows discussed previously. Providing the lower level to this, the cross has a marginal border of spiral-work that connects to the ring of the cross, which is beneath the arms of the cross. Each quadrant of the ring has a recess carved into it to accentuate the crosshead. Below the unfortunate break in the cross, the cross-shaft is decorated with interlace to

⁵ Henderson 1993, 216

⁶ Henderson and Henderson 2004, 221; Blackwell 2012, 33

⁷ Miller and Ruckley 2005, 288

⁸ Allen and Anderson 1903, Part III, 217

the top, spiral-work below, badly worn interlace below the spiral-work, and the pyramidal base is decorated with more interlace.

The front face also has a narrow border of key-pattern on the top and both sides, and between the border and the cross are deep recessed panels containing a variety of fish-monster type beasts. The top two panels at the right and left above the cross are either blank or too worn to discern. The left panel below the crosshead exhibits a fish-monster with a looped and knotted tail comprising interlace.⁹ Below this are two fish-monsters facing one another and they are bound by the interlace-work and knotwork of their bodies, and below this at the bottom are two symmetrically interlaced fish-monsters. The right panel below the crosshead is badly worn and therefore only the tails of two fish-monsters are apparent. They are bound by the interlace-work of their bodies. Below this is a fish-monster body with a body of broken plait-work that is either consuming a human head or has a human head. ¹⁰ To the bottom right is another fish-monster with a knotted body and two fins visible. The fish-monster carvings in these recessed panels are particularly complex and very difficult to view due to the wear and damage on this stone.

The back face is bordered from bottom to top by two fish-monster type beasts with bodies of interlace. Their heads and fore paws meet at the top above two Pictish symbols. The upper symbol is a crescent and v-rod and the lower a double-disc and z-rod, both decorated with spiral-work. In both cases the rod is underneath. Below these is a curious and irregular square shaped recess at the point where the stone was broken, perhaps as a deliberate act.¹¹ The recess predates the fracture. There is an interlace-decorated border to the bottom and both sides of this recess, appearing to frame the recess. Below this are two horsemen riding from the left to the right. Below them are another two horsemen riding in the same direction, and are followed by two hunting hounds. The bottom panel contains a boat with six figures inside, and below is a high-thighed beast facing a cow.

The back face is much less worn and damaged than the front and therefore the carvings are far easier to view on this face. The stone has however been digitally scanned producing a 3D model that can be altered in order to remove shadows and increase the sharpness of the carvings.¹²

Brief History

The following is designed to highlight the brief history of St Orland's Stone. Providing a full biography for the stone is not possible at this stage in our understanding, as is common with early medieval carved stones. A fuller account of the timeline of the stone is given in Appendix 1, and any further details of archaeological investigation are presented in Appendix 2.

⁹ Allen and Anderson, Part III, 217

¹⁰ Allen and Anderson 1903, Part III, 217; Henderson 1978, 53

¹¹ Maxwell 2005, 165

¹² Carty 2005, 370-1

Assigning the name of a patron or carver, or even a date to St Orland's Stone is difficult. This is the same for most carved stones of this period. It is generally thought that it was erected in the eighth century to early ninth century AD. It has more than likely been associated with the small mound it currently stands upon since it was erected.

In the early eighteenth century the stone was subject to interest from Alexander Gordon,¹³ and further interest from Thomas Pennant in the late eighteenth century.¹⁴ By the late eighteenth century the stone also became known as St Orland's Stone,¹⁵ and in the early nineteenth century James Skene sketched both faces of the cross-slab.¹⁶ At some point between Gordon and Skene illustrating the stone it was broken in two across the recess, but fortunately it was pinned back together. This is a deduction based on observing both the illustrations of Gordon and Skene, as the latter records the break and bracing. This bracing has since been removed and replaced by Historic Scotland.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Andrew Jervise noted the discovery of five burial cists containing skeletons and an enclosed burial in the vicinity of the stone during his excavations of 1855.¹⁷ Prior to 1903 Allen and Anderson removed a railing from around the cross-lab and excavated the earth from the base of the stone in order to photograph it.¹⁸

In 1951 the stone passed into guardianship and in 1952 there was an enclosure created around the stone that likely disturbed unrecorded archaeology.¹⁹

By the beginning of the twenty-first century the stone had been digitally scanned and a 3D model was produced.²⁰

In August of 2008 an excavation by Kirkdale Archaeology was carried out around the stone in order to establish its original location and to locate any further burials or associated structures. It was determined that the base of the stone came to a point, and it has since been re-set on concrete to stabilise it.²¹ Geophysical survey was carried out at the site in 2009 and several archaeological features of interest were recorded.²² For further details of the excavation and survey results see Appendix 2.

2.2 Evidential Values

St Orland's Stone is a beautiful and iconography-rich example of a Class II Pictish cross-slab. It stands out in the archaeological record as the only early

¹³ Gordon 1726, 163-4 and Pl. 59

¹⁴ Pennant 1776, 164

¹⁵ Foster 2004, 1

¹⁶ RCAHMS n.d.

¹⁷ Jervise 1857, 248-51

¹⁸ Allen and Anderson 1903, Part III, 218

¹⁹ Foster 2004, 1; RCAHMS n.d.

²⁰ Carty 2005, 370-1

²¹ Aberdeenshire Council 2015; RCAHMS n.d.

²² RCAHMS n.d.

medieval carved stone to depict a boat. Its survival is remarkable considering how badly damaged it is, although it has since been repaired and braced back together. Its complexity and good state of preservation, as well as its hunting scene and impressive Christian cross are of great importance to its current and future potential in research and education.

Perhaps the most significant individual carving on this stone is that of the boat with six figures. It is the only boat represented on a Pictish carved stone. A handful of other less formal incised representations of boats are known: they are found in a cave at East Wemyss in Fife, as well as on various stones from Jarlshof in Shetland and possibly from Burness in Orkney.²³ We know that seafaring was an important component of life for the Picts, but there is little evidence for the kind of boats they used. Apart from log-boats, no remains of Pictish boats have yet been recovered. The nature of the St Orland's carving allows its boat to be identified as double-ended clinker-built rowing boat²⁴ which makes it a very important source of evidence.

The stone appears to stand in its original location and therefore seems to have continually had a relationship with this site on a mound surrounded by wetlands.²⁵ It may provide evidence to the location of an early meeting or assembly place, or perhaps mark a boundary, although it also more than likely had the role of a prayer cross and would have been erected under elite patronage – secular or ecclesiastical aristocracy. The discovery of human remains close by in the middle of the nineteenth century is potentially related, thus significant to understanding the potential uses of this site.²⁶ It may denote the location of a burial ground, although this requires further investigation.

The nature of the cross, being that it appears to emulate a freestanding cross, is significant in terms of architecture. The cross-slab is evidently the product of a master of their skill, and the recess of the back face perhaps suggests the cross may have served another specific function.²⁷

St Orland's Stone has the potential to provide evidence of aspects of Pictish society, such as culture, religion and daily life, and the carving of the boat is not only unique but it indicates the maritime aspect of Pictish life. These issues will be discussed in the following sections.

2.3 Historical values

St Orland's Stone and other Pictish carved stones, although carved with beautiful but generally unintelligible symbols,²⁸ are of incredible historic value. Pictish symbols are explicitly identifiable as indicators of Pictish culture, yet without the discovery of 'contemporary literary reference' they will remain

²³ Foster 2014, 138

²⁴ Foster 2014, 138

²⁵ Allen and Anderson 1903, Part III, 216

²⁶ Jervise 1857, 248-51

²⁷ Henderson and Henderson 2004, 221

²⁸ Henderson 1967, 157-8

difficult to understand.²⁹ The details revealed in the numerous other carvings however can help in the elucidation of the culture, religion and lifestyle of the people of early medieval Scotland.

As a cross-slab it is an explicit manifestation of Christianity in Pictland. It provides insight into the beliefs and religious practices of the population in this region during the late first millennium AD, as well as in the surrounding areas, and to some extent the rest of the British Isles. Whoever had this stone carved and erected was overt in their devotion to Christianity. The stone belongs to a period when the nature of Pictish kingship was being redefined, and therefore carved stones of this date could potentially be significant expressions and indicators of the relationship between the elite of Pictish society and Christianity.

This stone is notably significant in its display of what is generally accepted as depicting a hunting scene. At the very least, it demonstrates the use of horses and hounds in the hunt, thus highlighting aspects of daily life. There may however be a more symbolic or religious meaning behind why the Picts chose to depict hunting scenes on their carved stones.

The stone may provide a historical link to St Orland. This name has been applied to the stone since at least 1792, yet little is known of this application,³⁰ or of the saint himself.³¹

Local legend suggests that the stone holds the power to predict the future, and so young women would consult it on questions of love during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³² This is highly speculative however it may ascribe a local historic value to the stone.

2.4 Architectural and artistic values

Evidence for the Picts predominantly comes from their art, and particularly from carved stones. These carved stones are clearly products of accomplished sculptors and may provide evidence of a structured society for example. Skilled sculptors must have been commissioned to create these masterpieces, most probably at the behest of the Pictish elite. With the lack of other significant evidence for the Picts, these carved stones therefore give an insight into Pictish society, foreign contacts and cultural resources.

The architectural and artistic value of St Orland's Stone can be summarised as follows:

Architecturally, this stone is significant. The cross is carved at two levels, and so appears to emulate the appearance of a freestanding cross. This is indicative of cultural contacts, perhaps to the west, as well as evidence of a master carver working under probable elite patronage.

²⁹ Henderson 1967, 158

³⁰ Foster 2004, 1

³¹ Jervise 1857, 248

³² Carron n.d.

The pleasing artistic effect of creating the four small circles at the angles of the cross arms is intriguing. It is noted that this may have a parallel on the crossheads of stones from Kells and Monasterboice in Ireland.³³

On the front face are several fantastic beasts, generally known as fishmonsters, but these are fairly common on Pictish carved stones, appearing in many formats. These are notable in their decoration on this stone as some have a body of interlace and some are intertwined to create knotwork. The back face has a border created by two beasts with opposing faces at the top and fish tails at the bottom. Similar designs can be found on the back faces of Aberlemno II from Angus and the Dunfallandy Stone from Perth and Kinross.³⁴

Hunting scenes are fairly common on Pictish carved stones. Significantly however, the combination of the double-disc and z-rob with the crescent and z-rod on Class II carved stones appears to be associated with the hunt scene, as is apparent on the back faces of a cross-slab from Elgin Cathedral, St Orland's Stone and the Hilton of Cadboll.³⁵

The fantastic high-thighed beast from beneath the boat and next to a supposed cow has a parallel on the front face of the Dunfallandy Stone from Perth and Kinross.³⁶

The unique representation of a boat on a Pictish carved stone has been mentioned at 2.2 above in relation to its evidential value. Clearly it is also an important and singular artistic motif which presumably sets out a particular narrative told at this place, and which we do not, as yet, understand. The above discussion of the artistic parallels and the associated geographical spread of the iconographies carved therefore attests to the artistic value of St Orland's Stone.

2.5 Landscape and aesthetic values

As with the majority of early medieval carved stones, its aesthetic significance has changed over time. This is relative to its changing landscape setting, but more importantly, to its changing audience. Those who view the stone today will have a different experience to those who viewed it within its original landscape setting.

Artistically, St Orland's Stone is aesthetically significant due to the nature, complexity and survival of its artwork. Each design is masterfully carved with precision and presented clearly. Although damaged and since repaired, its current state of preservation is good.

³³ Henderson 1978, 53; Edwards 1990, 166-7

³⁴ Fraser 2008, 50 and 122.

³⁵ Goldberg 2012, 161-64

³⁶ Fraser 2008, 122

The stone likely stood at the same location as it currently does, atop a small mound arising from some wetland and within an open landscape.³⁷ The discovery in 1855 of human remains around the cross suggest that there may be a connection between these burials and the stone, although the human remains have not been scientifically dated to confirm this. Archaeological and geophysical evidence (see Appendix 2) points to other activity close to and around the stone, and perhaps indicates further burials and enclosures associated with the stone. This may have been a significant religious location, and the stone would have been visible from all around the open landscape of the site and its environs.

The stone appears to have attracted interest in the fact that it has been named St Orland's Stone, although nothing is known of this as yet. The speculative evidence surrounding the stone being known locally as a wishing stone is also intriguing,³⁸ as perhaps this ascribes a historic value to the stone in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Early interest in its aesthetic value is demonstrated through its repair in the middle of the nineteenth century. This shows an early interest in conserving the stone for future generations.

The stone stands isolated in a field, with no visible associated monuments, sites or settlements in its direct vicinity. This most definitely would not have been the case in the past. The enclosure constructed around the stone impacts on its visual aesthetic within the landscape, and in particular the nearby plantation and its associated 9 foot high fence have an impact behind the stone. This can limit views to and from the stone. Furthermore, due to the recessed carving and the wear associated with it, it is necessary for good lighting in order to appreciate the full detail of the carvings, although this can now be viewed in 3D.

2.6 Natural heritage values

The stone stands within a field close to wetlands. No natural significance is apparent.

2.7 Contemporary/use values

The stone stands in a fairly isolated remote location in Angus, although its proximity to Glamis demonstrates that it is not completely isolated. As a Christian monument it will undoubtedly have importance to the surrounding community, although this has not been formally assessed.

The stone has perhaps had a local legend attached to it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, thus highlighting local folklore surrounding the stone and its site. It is not known if something of this aspect remains as a memory for the local community. It is often referred to as being particularly hard to access and therefore it remains a little disjointed from the surrounding modern communities.

³⁷ Allen and Anderson 1903, Part III, 216

³⁸ Carron n.d.

As an explicit manifestation of Christianity this stone has undeniable spiritual and religious value. The stone is large in scale with fine carvings and it stands prominently in the landscape, although it is difficult to access or experience. As with other Pictish stones, the meanings of the symbols and the narratives intended remain to greater or lesser degrees enigmatic. Often they do prompt thoughts of the religion, beliefs and rituals of past peoples and perhaps a feeling of connection.

The stone is located within an area of Angus that is rich in Pictish carved stones, although St Orland's Stone is very isolated and only accessible on foot across fields. It is featured in the *Angus Pictish Trail* leaflet,³⁹ however it is the least accessible of all the carved stones and sites detailed in this guide. Those dedicated to the pursuit of Pictish art, and those of the Christian faith in particular may be drawn to this stone regardless of its location. It is unlikely that this stone individually has a great impact on the local economy however.

Although the site is unstaffed it is freely accessible on foot east of the A928. It has been noted however that people have complained about difficulties in physically approaching and accessing the stone.⁴⁰ There is a PDF leaflet briefly detailing early carved stones available online for download from Historic Environment Scotland. This is titled *Investigating – Early Carved Stones*,⁴¹ and is also available in Gaelic. The stone is also featured in the *Angus Pictish Trail* leaflet.⁴² A 3D scan has been created which allows for the carving to be more fully appreciated.

This stone demonstrates good practice with regards to caring for the stone. As a monument in care it receives regular attention from Historic Environment Scotland with regards to its conservation. The old iron bracing has been removed as the rust can damage the stone and the holes associated with this have been filled with mortar.⁴³ The bracing has been replaced with a nonferrous alternative. In this case, Historic Scotland attempted to improve a poor conservation method.

3 Major gaps in understanding

- There is no single academic thesis on this sculpture, although it is widely discussed and referred to in other art historical literature.
- Can the original location of the stone be confirmed as its current location?
- Why are a hunting scene and a boat carved on this stone?
- Who had the stone created and who was the carver?
- Why was this stone created, and why was it erected here in southern Pictland?

³⁹ Atkinson 2010

⁴⁰ Foster 2004, 2

⁴¹ Historic Scotland 2009

⁴² Atkinson 2010

⁴³ Maxwell 2005, 167-7

- Can more be learned of the stones archaeological context? There has been archaeological excavation and geophysical survey, although nothing is known of the surviving archaeological evidence detected around the stone.
- What is the relationship between the stone and the human remains discovered nearby?
- What was the nature of the landscape surrounding the stone when it was erected, and was the wetland area significant?
- When was the recess carved and what function did it serve?
- When, how and why exactly was the stone first broken? Definitely a deliberate act?
- Who was St Orland, and how were they connected to the stone?
- Does the stone have any associated sites or settlements, and is there any known ecclesiastical context for the stone?
- What do the Pictish symbols represent on this carved stone?
- What was the definite function of this stone? Prayer cross? Boundary marker? Other?
- Can the supposed local folklore surrounding the powers of the stone be further understood?
- What are the wider landscape relationships between the St Orland's Stone and others in the Angus area?

4 Associated properties

Other Pictish cross-slabs/crosses – Hilton of Cadboll; Elgin Cathedral crossslab; Maiden Stone; Dupplin Cross; Eassie Stone; Dunfallandy Stone; Aberlemno II and III.

Other – Finavon fort.

Note – There is a high concentration of Pictish carved stones in the Angus area. Notably its collection of Class II carved stones.

5 Keywords

Pictish; cross-slab; Pictish symbols; Christianity; boat; Insular art; hunting scene; burial; Cossans; Angus; interlace; knotwork; key-pattern; fish-monster; metalwork

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Appendix 1 Timeline

685 – Battle of Nechtansmere (or Dunnichen), resulting in the death of King Ecgfrith of Northumbria and a victory for the Picts at the hands of King Bridei son of Beli,⁴⁴ and ultimately leading to a Northumbrian loss of territory in Pictland.⁴⁵

c.710 – Correspondence between Ceolfrid, Abbot from the Monastery at Jarrow, and King Nechtan of Pictland, in which Nechtan asks for the assistance of masons to help build a church in the Roman fashion.⁴⁶

c.750-850 – St Orland's Stone is carved and erected, but precisely when and by whom is a mystery.

843 – Cináed mac Ailpín becomes king of the Picts.47

1726 – Alexander Gordon illustrated the stone.48

1772 – Thomas Pennant noted the stone in his travels.⁴⁹

c.1792 – By the late eighteenth century the stone was referred t0 as St Orland's Stone.⁵⁰

1832 – James Skene sketched both faces of the cross-slab.⁵¹

1855 – Andrew Jervise noted the discovery of five burial cists containing skeletons and an enclosed burial in the vicinity of the stone during his excavations.⁵²

c.1900 – Prior to 1903 Allen and Anderson removed a railing from around the cross-lab and excavated the earth from the base of the stone in order to photograph it.⁵³

1951 – The stone passed into guardianship.⁵⁴

⁴⁴ Fraser 2009, 383; Woolf 2007, 10

⁴⁵ Woolf 2007, 4

⁴⁶ Henderson 1967, 82

⁴⁷ Woolf 2007, 351

⁴⁸ Gordon 1726, 163-4 and Pl. 59

⁴⁹ Pennant 1776, 164

⁵⁰ Foster 2004, 1

⁵¹ RCAHMS n.d.

⁵² Jervise 1857, 248-51

⁵³ Allen and Anderson 1903, Part III, 218

⁵⁴ Foster 2004, 1; RCAHMS n.d.

1952 – There was an enclosure created around the stone that likely disturbed unrecorded archaeology.⁵⁵

c.2004 – The stone was digitally scanned and a 3D model was produced.⁵⁶

2008 – Excavation by Kirkdale Archaeology was carried out around the stone in order to establish its original location and to locate any further burials or associated structures.

2009 – Geophysical survey was carried out at the site and several archaeological features of interest were recorded.⁵⁷

2010 – It was determined that the base of the stone came to a point and it was re-set on concrete to stabilise it.⁵⁸

Appendix 2 Summary of archaeological investigations

In the middle of the nineteenth century Andrew Jervise noted the discovery of five burial cists containing skeletons and an enclosed burial in the vicinity of the stone during his excavations of 1855.⁵⁹ It is unclear exactly whether they were short cists or long cists, and this has dating implications.

Prior to 1903 Allen and Anderson removed a railing from around the cross-lab and excavated the earth from the base of the stone in order to photograph it.⁶⁰ Nothing of archaeological significance was noted.

In August of 2008 an excavation by Kirkdale Archaeology was carried out around the stone in order to establish its original location and to locate any further burials or associated structures. They located a potential cut which may be the original socket for the stone, Jervise's excavation trenches, seventeenth century coins perhaps indicative of earlier work, a pair of human tibia (not removed) oriented east-west beneath a slab, another possible cist, two possible other graves, an early circular fence around the mound and several layers of complex deposits.⁶¹

Geophysical survey by Perth & Kinross Heritage Trust was carried out at the site in 2008 and several archaeological features of interest were detected using gradiometry, resistivity and ground-penetrating radar. Results included two possible sub-circular enclosures and possible small barrows, as well as the confirmation of burials associated with Jervise's work, but the results were poorly defined due to the surrounding geology.⁶² The unpublished report is in

⁵⁵ Foster 2004, 1; RCAHMS n.d.

⁵⁶ Carty 2005, 370-1; Pictish Stones n.d.

⁵⁷ RCAHMS n.d.

⁵⁸ Aberdeenshire Council 2015; RCAHMS n.d.

⁵⁹ Jervise 1857, 248-51

⁶⁰ Allen and Anderson 1903, Part III, 218

⁶¹ Aberdeenshire Council 2015

⁶² RCHAMS n.d.

HES files. In 2010 it was determined that the base of the stone came to a point, and it has since been re-set on concrete to stabilise it. 63

Unfortunately, and due in part to no further archaeological inspection of the stone's immediate and surrounding contexts, the history of St Orland's Stone will remain difficult to fully determine.

⁶³ Aberdeenshire Council 2015; RCAHMS n.d.

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